

# The Hausa Language

An Encyclopedic Reference Grammar

Paul Newman

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Paul Newman

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## Preface

**T**HIS grammar has been a long time in the making. How many years depends on from whence one commences counting. One could say that the grammar dates from 1992, when I officially began working on it in earnest; but one could push it back a few years when Russell Schuh and I came up with the idea of doing this as a joint project. (He subsequently was forced to withdraw due to other professional obligations.) In another sense, one could say that the seed was planted twenty years earlier (in 1972), when I assumed the directorship of the Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University, Kano (then part of Ahmadu Bello University), which resulted in my intellectual shift from a Chadicist, with a focus on comparative/historical work, to a Hausaist and Chadicist, and then gradually to a Hausaist. If I had not gone to Kano and inherited an ongoing dictionary project, eventually published as Newman and Newman (1977), I never would have delved into Hausa to the extent that I did and certainly would not have had the chance to be introduced to the richness and complexity of the language by the native Hausa-speaking researchers at the Centre. I cannot acknowledge individually all of my Nigerian colleagues and coworkers, but I must pay tribute to Dr. Ishaya Audu, then vice-chancellor of ABU, who brought me to Kano, and to Professor Ibrahim Yaro Yahaya, the creative and prolific Hausa scholar whose untimely death in an automobile accident was such a loss to Hausa studies. In searching for significant moments in the chain of events that led to the preparation of this grammar, one might consider the period at UCLA in the mid 1960s when Roxana Newman and I had the temerity to undertake an ambitious study of comparative Chadic (Newman and Ma 1966); or one could go back a few years earlier when I, then an untrained linguist teaching secondary school in Maiduguri, met Professor Johannes Lukas, who encouraged and inspired me to undertake the study of Tera, the Chadic language on which I later wrote my Ph.D. dissertation. Or perhaps the real starting point was in 1961 when I joined the first Peace Corps group to go to Nigeria, an event that changed the course of my professional and personal life.

The grammar project per se was carried out at Indiana University (Department of Linguistics and Institute for the Study of Nigerian Languages and Cultures) over a six-year period. Financial support was provided by generous grants from the U.S. Department of Education (P0-17A10037), the National Endowment for the Humanities (RT-21236), and the National Science Foundation (DBS-9107103), for which I am deeply grateful. Throughout the project, I depended on the assistance of a large number of people who carried out a myriad of tasks. William Anderson, Nancy Caplow, Robert Shull, and Ezra Simon helped with library research and data-entry matters. Wayne Martin and Michael Newman set up the database and provided the essential computer support without which a project of this scope would not have been possible. John Hollingsworth drew the maps; Carol Rhodes was responsible for preparing the figures and overseeing the formatting of the camera-ready manuscript; and Joyce Ippolito did the painstaking job of copy editing the work as a whole.

Dr. Mustapha Ahmad Isa served as the primary research assistant on the project while he was pursuing his Ph.D. in linguistics at Indiana University. He was ably succeeded by Dr. Lawan Danladi Yalwa. Alhaji Daiyabu Abdullahi, Alhaji Maina Gimba, and Ibro Chekaraou also assisted in verifying Hausa examples and suggesting analytical modifications.

I was extremely fortunate in being able to benefit from the input of Dr. Mahamane L. Abdoulaye and Dr. Ismail Junaidu, excellent Hausa scholars who came to Bloomington for a summer each to work on the project. They were able to provide both their intuition as native speakers and their expertise as sophisticated linguists.

Dr. Malami Buba served as the major research associate during the later stages of the project, collaborating in the work both in Bloomington and after returning to England. He worked closely with me in the preparation and checking of the first full draft of the grammar.

Finally, I cannot begin to express the extent of my obligation to Dr. Philip Jaggar of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. During his sabbatical year in Bloomington, we spent endless hours discussing the intricacies of Hausa phonology, morphology, and syntax, discussions that often forced me to rethink analyses that I had been comfortable with or to consider facts that I had been unaware of. Although Phil was always good-natured about the amount of time he devoted to my project, it is clear that he unselfishly sacrificed progress on his own academic objectives for the year in order to help me with the grammar. And later when I had completed what I thought was the final draft, Phil provided a meticulous page by page reading of the entire grammar, catching typos, redundancies, contradictions in analysis, infelicities in translations, and downright mistakes. It is undoubtedly true that this grammar would have been finished sooner if Phil had not taken such an interest in it; but it would have been a much inferior product. It is standard in academic books to acknowledge the many colleagues, friends, and coworkers who helped out in some important way or other, and this acknowledgement is invariably well deserved. In Phil's case, however, the assistance that he provided truly went beyond the ordinary. Phil's deep involvement in the preparation of this grammar is a testimony to his friendship and his love of the Hausa language. What can I say but Phil (Malam Bala), I thank you and I indeed owe you one. Allah ya saka da alheri!



# Symbols and Abbreviations

## I. Symbols

°AN:	analytical note
◊HN:	historical note
ΔDN:	dialect note
( )	(1) optional; (2) English gloss not present in corresponding Hausa example
< >	dialect variant
« »	topicalized constituent
{ }	(1) focused constituent; (2) morphemic representation
//...//	underlying (base) representation
/.../	phonemic representation
[...]	phonetic representation
)±	polar tone
=	equals
≠	not equals
*	historical/hypothetical
**	ungrammatical
??	of questional grammaticality/acceptability
σ	syllable
\$	syllable boundary
.	(1) indicator of syllable break, e.g., <b>han.tà</b> 'liver'; (2) indicator in glosses of separate morphemes within a word, e.g., <b>masà</b> 'to.him'
<	comes from (synchronically or historically)
>	changes to (historically)
→	(1) changes to (phonologically); (2) rewrites as (phrase structure)
⇒	becomes (morphologically or syntactically)
§	section (Note: A reference to §5:2.3, for example, with the first numeral in bold, indicates section 2.3 in chapter 5. An indication like §2.3 denotes section 2.3 in the chapter where the reference is found.)

## II. Abbreviations

adj	adjective	AV	aspectual verb
adj.pp	adjectival past participle	BDVN	base-derived verbal noun
adv	adverb	C	consonant
allat	allative (TAM)	cf.	compare
Ar.	Arabic	comp	completive (TAM)
Aug-1	augmentative-1	COMP	complementizer
Aug-2	augmentative-2	cont	continuous (TAM)

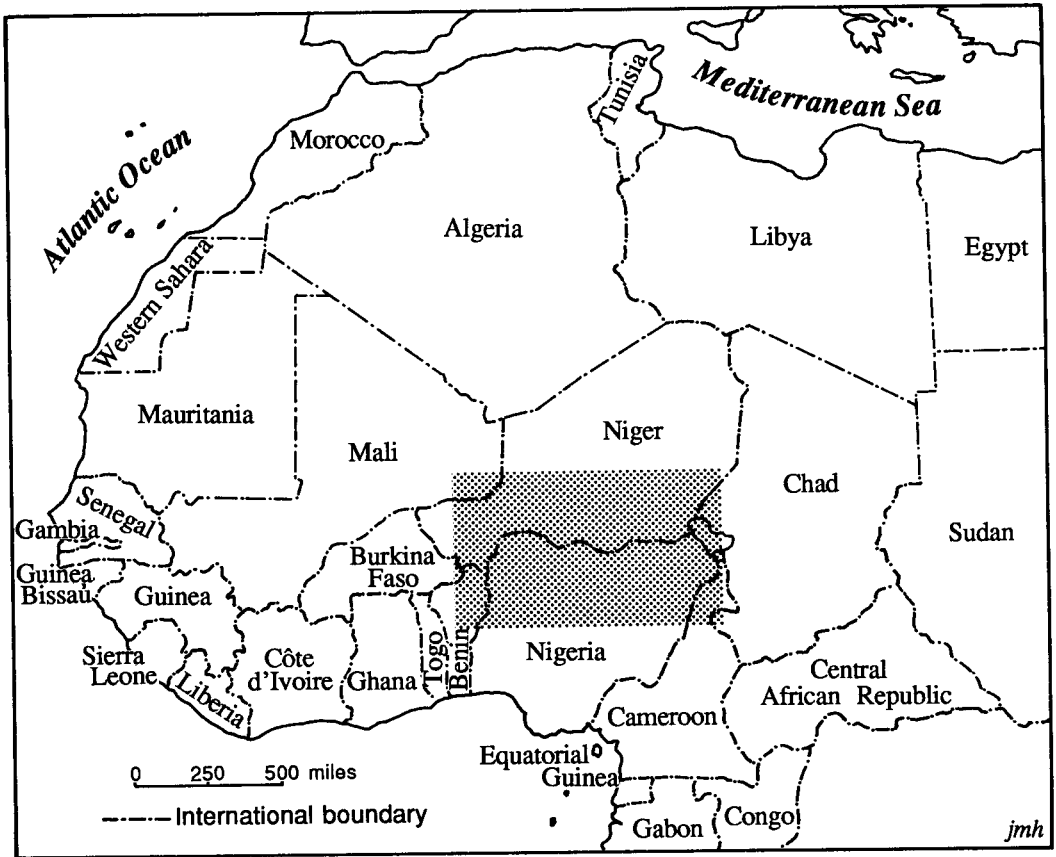
xxxviii *Symbols and Abbreviations*

cor.	coronal	N	noun
CP	complement clause	NP	noun phrase
CTE	complement-taking expression	obj	object
d.a.	definite article	OIC	oblique impersonal construction
dem	demonstrative	PAC	person-aspect-complex
det	determiner	pal.	palatal
dim	diminutive	pal-vel.	palatalized velar
dv	dialect variant	PC	Proto-Chadic
DVN	deverbal noun	pds	pre-dative suffix
Eng.	English	pl.	plural
esp.	especially	plurac.	pluractional (verb)
etc.	et cetera	pn	personal pronoun
f. = fem.	feminine	pot	potential future (TAM)
F	falling tone	pp	prepositional phrase
ff.	and following	pret	preterite (TAM)
fut	future (TAM)	psn	person
fv	finite verb	q	question morpheme
fve	finite-verb environment	Q-word	question word
G	geminate consonant)	Rcont1	relative-continuous1 (TAM)
Gen	general TAM or syntactic environment	Rcont2	relative-continuous2 (TAM)
gl	glottalized	RC	relative clause
gr1, gr2...	grade 1, grade 2, etc. (= v1, v2...)	re.	regarding
H	high tone	redup	reduplication
hab	habitual (TAM)	rel	relative (clause or pronoun)
HAVE	<i>have</i> construction	Rel	relative TAM or syntactic environment
HC	hypocoristic	rhet	rhetorical (TAM)
ICP	intransitive copy pronoun	S	sentence (excluding focus)
id	ideophone	S'	sentence (including focus)
imp	imperative	sbj	subject
intr.	intransitive	sg.	singular
i.o.	indirect object	s.o.	someone
IOM	indirect object marker	SH	Standard Hausa
IP	infinitive phrase	SDVN	stem derived verbal noun
Kts	Katsina (dialect)	Skt	Sokoto (dialect)
L	(1) low tone; (2) genitive linker	STAB	stabilizer
lab.	labial	sth	something
lab-vel.	labialized velar	sub	subjunctive (TAM)
laryn.	laryngeal	TAM	tense/aspect/mood
lit.	literally	tr.	transitive
LTR	low-tone raising	usu.	usually
m.	masculine	V	vowel
MP	modal particle	v1, v2, etc.	verb grade 1, verb grade 2, etc. (= gr1, gr2, etc.)
neg	negative	vb	verb
neut	neutral (TAM)	vd	voiced
nfv	nonfinite verb	vdat	dative verb
nfve	nonfinite verb environment	vel.	velar

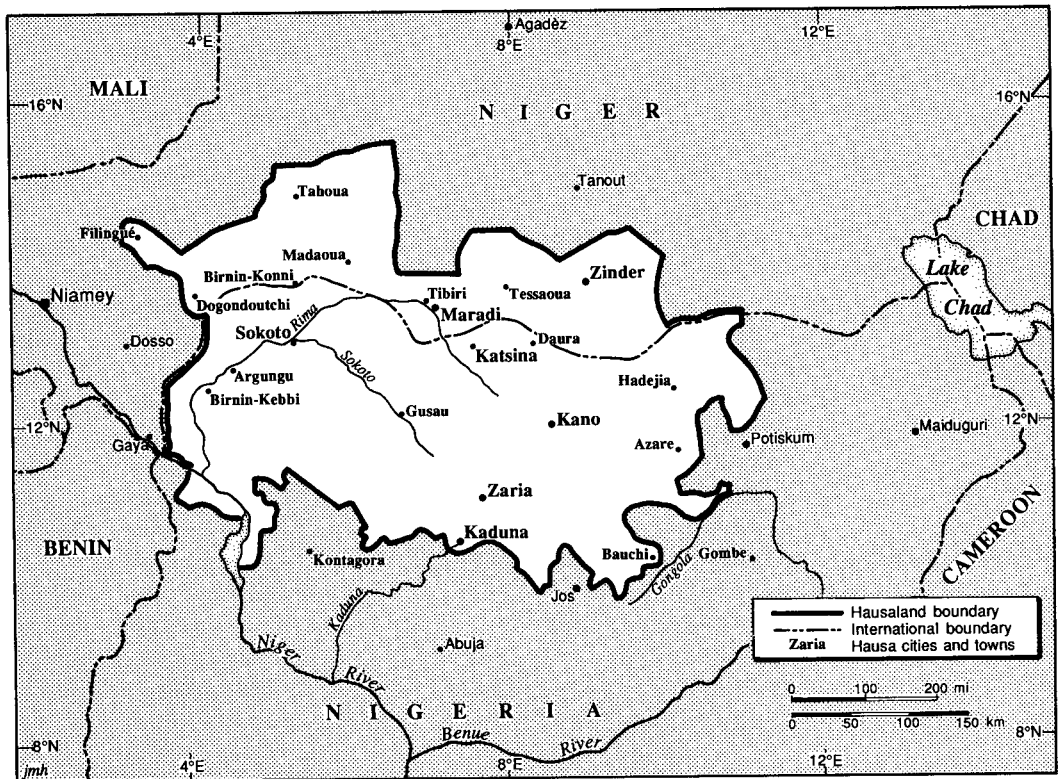
VERB	verb whether finite or nonfinite	VP	verb phrase
v.i.	intransitive verb	WH	western Hausa
vI	voiceless	wsp	weak subject pronoun
VN	verbal noun	Y/N	yes/no question

## Glossary of Hausa Words Untranslated in Examples

<i>ajami</i> / <i>àjàmi</i> /	Arabic script used for writing Hausa.
<i>bori</i> / <i>bòri</i> /	the spirit possession cult of the Hausa
<i>fura</i> / <i>furā</i> /	ball(s) of cooked flour (usu. millet) eaten (although Hausa uses the verb <i>drink</i> ) mixed with milk
<i>tuwo</i> / <i>tuwō</i> /	staple food consisting of boiled grain (usually guinea corn or millet, less often rice) served in the form of a hemisphere, accompanied by a stew or sauce



**North and West Africa**



**Hausaland**

## Introduction

THE Hausa language is spoken by upwards of thirty-five million speakers. It is the first language of ethnic Hausas and settled Fulanis in what one might call Hausaland proper (see map), which covers the traditional emirates of Kano, Katsina, Zaria, Daura, Sokoto, etc., in what is now Nigeria, and the Hausa-speaking areas of southern Niger, which consist of Gobir, Maradi, Damagaram, Tahoua, Dogondoutchi, etc. Hausa is also spoken as a first language by resident Hausa communities in Niamey (Niger), in Ibadan and Lagos (southern Nigeria), in Jos and Abuja (central Nigeria), in Ghana (especially in the north, but also in the capital Accra), and in the Blue Nile area of the Sudan. Hausa has probably been expanding for the past two hundred years, but its spread during the past half century has been particularly dramatic, particularly in northern Nigeria. Thus one finds that in urban areas like Bauchi, Gombe, Kaduna, and Potiskum, Hausa is rapidly establishing itself as a mother tongue for many of the inhabitants, or, if it is not replacing the indigenous language(s), it is at least being used on a day-to-day basis as a *lingua franca*.

Hausa is a member of the Chadic language family, which itself is a constituent member of the Afroasiatic phylum that also includes Semitic, Cushitic, Omotic, Berber, and Ancient Egyptian (Greenberg 1963; Newman 1980a). Within Chadic, Hausa's closest relatives are West Chadic languages belonging to the Bole-Tangale, Angas, and Ron groups (Newman and Ma 1966; Newman 1977a). Within West Chadic, Hausa essentially constitutes a group by itself. The only other member of the group, Gwandara, is a creolized offshoot of Hausa rather than a sister language (Newman 1985).

Hausa has a number of geographical dialects, marked by differences in pronunciation, grammatical formatives, and vocabulary (Ahmed and Daura 1970; Bello 1992). Roughly speaking, one can make a primary cut between western Hausa (WH), as spoken, for example, in Sokoto and Tahoua, and eastern Hausa, as spoken, for example, in Kano and Zinder, with the dialect of Katsina and Maradi falling somewhere inbetween. Within eastern Hausa, as so defined, one can distinguish Standard (Kano) Hausa (SH) from geographically more restricted dialects such as that of Daura in the north, Zaria in the south, or Bauchi in the far southeast. Cutting across the east-west division is a north-south division separating Hausa as spoken in Niger, characterized by the incorporation of loanwords from French, and Hausa in Nigeria, characterized by extensive influence from English.

This grammar is a description of "Standard Hausa", which essentially represents the dialect of Kano State, a dialect that has become recognized as the norm for the written language (as embodied in books and newspapers) and also for such media as radio and television. This is the dialect represented in the major dictionaries and grammars of the language prepared over the past century and in most pedagogical materials prepared for Americans and Europeans intending to learn the language. In the absence of precise information about Hausa dialectology, references to dialects other than SH are admittedly (and unfortunately) inexact. In some cases I have made reference to a particular town (e.g., Sokoto), where this seemed reasonably accurate given the available descriptions; in other cases I have used the broader designation [WH] (= western Hausa); and in other cases I have simply indicated [dv] (= dialect variant) (i.e., *not* SH).

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### 1. HISTORY OF HAUSA LINGUISTICS

Hausa has been the subject of scholarly study for a century and a half. (For an overview see R. M. Newman 1974 and Newman 1991a.) The father of Hausa linguistics is clearly James Frederick Schön (1803–1889), who produced substantial dictionaries, grammars, and text collections in the language (Schön 1843, 1862, 1876, 1885). The explorer Heinrich Barth (1821–1865) played an important role in furthering the study of Hausa, not only through his own work (e.g., Barth 1862–66), but by bringing a young Hausa man back with him to Europe at the end of his travels across the Sahara to Borno, Hausaland, and Timbuctoo (see Kirk-Greene and Newman 1971). Important contributors to Hausa linguistics at the beginning of the twentieth century up until the Second World War include Adam Mischlich (1864–1948) (e.g., Mischlich 1906, 1911), Charles H. Robinson (1861–1925) (e.g., Robinson 1897, 1899–1900)—the fifth edition (1925) of whose grammar was reprinted as late as 1959!, Maurice Delafosse (1870–1926) (e.g., Delafosse 1901), Diedrich Westermann (1875–1956) (e.g., Westermann 1911), August Klinghenben (1886–1967) (e.g., Klinghenben 1920), and F. W. Taylor (1887–19??) (e.g., Taylor 1923), an expert on both Hausa and Fulani, who could claim credit for the discovery that Hausa is a tone language. One of the major accomplishments during these years was the publication in 1934 of the monumental *Hausa-English Dictionary* of G. P. Bargery (1876–1966). The last giant of Hausa linguistic scholarship whose work fell within this period was the remarkable lexicographer and grammarian R. C. Abraham (1890–1963), who not only produced significant works on Hausa (e.g., Abraham 1959b, Abraham and Kano 1949), but also on African languages as widely separated as Somali and Yoruba (see Jaggar 1992c).

Since the Second World War, there has been an efflorescence of Hausa scholarship. Without a doubt, the dominant figure during this period was F. W. Parsons (1908–1993), Reader at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (see Parsons 1981); but extensive investigations and publications on the language have been carried out by scholars from around the world, like Joseph H. Greenberg, Carleton T. Hodge (1917–1998), and A. Neil Skinner (USA), Johannes Lukas (1901–1980) (Germany), Dmitrii Olderogge (1903–1987) (Russia), Claude Gouffé (France), and Petr Zima (Czech Republic). During the past quarter of a century, native Hausa-speaking linguists have increasingly made their impact on Hausa scholarship, of whom special mention must be made of Muhammadu Hambali (Niger), and Dauda M. Bagari and M. K. M. Galadanci (1934–1996) (Nigeria).

### 2. RECENT PEDAGOGICAL WORKS ON HAUSA

In addition to the many analytical books and articles written on Hausa, the language is fortunate in having received the attention of scholars concerned with second-language learning and practical language use. The result has been the preparation of a number of pedagogical courses, dictionaries, readers, etc., e.g., Hodge and Umaru (1963); Skinner (1972); Kraft and Kirk-Greene (1973); Kraft and Kraft (1973); Cowan and Schuh (1976); Jungraithmayr and Möhlig (1976); Furniss (1991a); Leben et al. (1991a, 1991b); Ahmad and Botne (1992); and Jaggar (1992a, 1996), as well as practically-oriented dictionaries, e.g., Skinner (1968); Newman and Newman (1977); Herms (1987); R. M. Newman (1990); Mijinguini (1994); Awde (1996); and Caron and Amfani (1997).

### 3. DATA SOURCES FOR THE GRAMMAR

In this grammar, I have unapologetically borrowed ideas, analyses, and examples from the full range of previous publications on the language: old and new, reliable and questionable, theoretical and descriptive, focused and expansive. For a comprehensive bibliography of linguistic works on Hausa as

well as on related Chadic languages, see Newman (1996). I have, however, particularly depended on a handful of essential works, without which this grammar would not have been possible. These are Abraham's dictionary and grammar (Abraham 1959b, 1962); Bargery's dictionary (1934); all of Parsons' published articles plus his collected papers (1981); Roxana Ma Newman's dictionary (1990); and H. Ekkehard Wolff's major reference grammar (1993).

In preparing the grammar, I have also drawn on the wealth of written materials now available in Hausa including elementary school readers, nonfiction books (health manuals, political tracts, history, etc.), books of fiction (novels, folktales, stories, etc.), pedagogical readers, and magazines and newspapers (especially the long-established *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo*.) Finally, I have elicited basic data, dialect information, grammatical judgments, and analytical interpretations from a large number of linguistically well-trained native Hausa speakers.

Many (but not all) of the chapters in the *Grammar* conclude with a brief list of references. These constitute recommendations for *further* study, should someone care to dig deeper into some particular matter. They do not represent citations of the full range of works that I consulted and digested in preparing the chapters in question.

#### 4. TRANSCRIPTION SYSTEM

Hausa examples are written using standard Hausa orthography (see §80:2) except for three additions needed for linguistic purposes. These are: (a) the use of diacritics (or occasionally double vowels) to indicate vowel length, (b) the use of diacritics to indicate tone, and (c) the use of a diacritic to distinguish between the two Rs found in the language. (Linguistic rather than orthographic practice is also followed in the use of lowercase rather than capital letters at the beginning of Hausa example sentences.)

Long vowels are normally indicated by means of a macron (but see below for the marking of length by means of a circumflex), e.g., *sūnā* 'name' (with long /ū/ and long /ā/) (cf. *ido* 'in the eye' (with short /i/ and short /o/)). Double vowels are occasionally used instead of a macron when needed to show optional length, e.g., *bà(a)* 'negative marker' (where the *a* can be long or short), or to specify and/or illustrate vowel shortening or lengthening rules more clearly, e.g., *d'aa* 'son' + *-nsà* 'his' ⇒ *\*d'aansà* → *d'ansà* 'his son'; *aku* 'parrot' + *-naa* 'my' ⇒ *akuunaa* 'my parrot'.

Low tone is indicated by a grave accent, e.g., *màcè* 'woman', *wàtò* 'that is to say'. Falling tone (which only occurs on heavy syllables) is indicated by a circumflex, e.g., *mántā* 'forget'. When occurring on a vowel in an open syllable, the circumflex indicates falling tone *and* length, e.g., *sū* 'fishing' (where the *ū* is long); *shigówā* 'entering' (where the *ō* is long); cf. *gyáffā* 'sides' (where the *á* is short). High tone is left unmarked, e.g., *ido* 'in the eye' (high-high); *sūnā* 'name' (high-high); *ràgō* 'ram' (low-high); *fuskà* 'face' (high-low).

The distinction between the two Rs (a retroflex flap vs. a coronal tap or roll) is indicated by a tilde over the latter, e.g., *garkā* 'small garden plot' vs. *fařkà* 'wake up', *řidà* 'action of grabbing or clutching' vs. *řibà* 'profit'.

Most Hausa consonants have essentially the same value as their English counterparts, the major exception being *c*, which represents English *ch*, e.g., *cāca* 'gambling', pronounced as in English *chachacha*. The letter *g* is always hard, e.g., the initial syllable in *gēmù* beard is pronounced as in English *get*, not as in *gem*.

The Hausa alphabet uses five consonantal letters not found in English. These are the "hooked" letters *ḅ*, *ḉ*, and *ḙ*, which represent the laryngealized (sometimes implosive) bilabial and coronal consonants and the ejective velar consonant, respectively; the apostrophe ' , which represents glottal stop (but not in non-initial position, where it is left unwritten); and 'y, a laryngealized semivowel. (In

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addition, it employs the digraph **ts** to represent the ejective coronal sibilant, and, in WH only, **c'** for the ejective palatal affricate.)

Geminate consonants are indicated by double letters, e.g., **bàbba** 'big', **mannè** 'adhere to'. In the case of geminates of consonants represented by digraphs, however, only the first letter of the digraph is doubled, e.g., **sanasshè** 'inform (pre-pronoun form)' (with the geminate **sh**) = /sanashshè/, **tsattsafi** 'sprinkling of rain' (with the geminate **ts**) = /tsatstsafi/.

### 5. ORGANIZATION OF THE GRAMMAR

This grammar is designed as a reference work. The eighty topics covered are each treated in separate units and presented in alphabetical order. The expectation is that the grammar will be consulted like an encyclopedia or a dictionary rather than being read from beginning to end like a novel. This organizational format is a clear-cut departure from the usual grammar, where "abstract nouns", for example, would be included in the overall chapter on "Nominal Derivation" whereas a topic such as "causatives" would be embedded in the chapter on "Syntax" and/or "Morphology". This novel organization necessitates a slight amount of repetition/redundancy and a certain degree of cross-referencing, but on the whole the intention is that each unit be coherent and self-contained. The hope is that once the reader becomes accustomed to the approach adopted here, he or she will find this to be a user-friendly manner of presentation, one in which information is much easier to access than in the traditional grammar.

Each chapter provides a detailed description of some particular grammatical phenomenon as found in current-day Standard Hausa (SH). Advanced or specialized material, which the average reader may want to ignore, has been presented as notes in the text itself, distinguished by a smaller font size. There are three kinds of notes, which are indicated by °AN, ΔDN, and ◊HN. These are:

°AN: Analytical notes. These notes include information about lexical exceptions, clarification regarding orthographic practice, and acknowledgment of factual or analytical uncertainties, etc. General theoretical issues are raised and scholarly differences of opinion regarding treatments of Hausa linguistic phenomena are outlined and discussed (sometimes at length).

ΔDN: Dialect notes. It is here that information is generally presented about language features that are different from what one finds in Standard Hausa. (In a few instances, dialect characteristics are covered in the main text itself.) Dialect coverage has no pretense of being complete: notes are included on a somewhat ad hoc basis, depending on what is known and what appears to be interesting.

◊HN: Historical notes. These notes include established facts and hypotheses about the history of Hausa as well as comparative data from related Chadic languages. The intention in many cases is to provide a historical perspective that helps explain synchronic irregularities or anomalies in the language.



## 1. Abstract Nouns (Derived)

**A**BSTRACT nouns are derived from common nouns or adjectives by the use of three semiproductive suffixes: {-CI}, {-TA}, and {-TAKA}. Abstracts with the -CI suffix are masculine; those with the other two suffixes are feminine. These abstracts indicate the general state or condition or ascribed attributes associated with the underlying noun or adjective, e.g.,

- (a) **ādalcɛ̀** justice, fairness < **ādali** just, honest, righteous (psn); **bambancɛ̀** difference, discrimination < **bambam** different; **butulcɛ̀** ingratitude, being a traitor < **bùtùlu** an ingrate; **shaidancɛ̀** misbehavior, recklessness < **shàidán** the devil
- (b) **kuturtà** leprosy < **kuturú** leper; **sàbùntà** newness < **sábô** new; **wautà** foolishness < **wāwā** a fool
- (c) **dàngantakà** relationship < **dangè** kin, relatives; **jàřùntakà** bravery < **jāřùmi** brave man

°AN: This chapter is devoted to a particular nominal derivation. Hausa also has a different morphological construction forming abstract nouns of sensory quality, e.g., **zurfi** 'depth', **fādi** 'width' (see chap. 2), as well as nonderived nouns that are syntactically and semantically abstract in nature, e.g., **rōwā** 'miserliness', **fari** 'whiteness' (see §52:1.2).

°HN: The -CI and -TA suffixes are clearly variants of the same affix, the choice being determined by gender. That is, although synchronically it is probably correct to say that the forms with -CI are masculine and those with -TA are feminine, viewed historically, it is more accurate to say that those abstracts that were masculine suffixed -CI and those that were feminine suffixed -TA, i.e., gender was determinative, not determined. The ending -TAKA looks like a double suffix, i.e., -TA plus -KA; but this cannot be verified at this point.

On the whole, the three suffixes are essentially equivalent in meaning, the choice of one or the other being lexically determined. There are, however, some subtle differences in their use (§5 below). For example, abstracts indicating a professional activity are formed with -CI (or occasionally -TA) but not with -TAKA, e.g.,

**alkālanɛ̀** judgeship; **dukancɛ̀** leather working; **hākimɛ̀** = **hākimtā** being a district head;  
**kāřuwancɛ̀** prostitution; **Imancɛ̀** position and work of an imam

### 1. SEGMENTAL SHAPE OF THE ABSTRACT SUFFIXES

The essential forms of the three suffixes are -ci)<sup>HL</sup>, -tā) [tone variable], and -takā)<sup>LHL</sup>. Words containing -ci)<sup>HL</sup> are minimally trisyllabic and words containing -takā)<sup>LHL</sup> are minimally quadrisyllabic. Most words containing -tā) are trisyllabic although some are longer and a few are disyllabic. With some words, these three suffixes attach directly to the base, i.e., the stem less the final

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vowel (examples in (a)); with others they are linked to the base by an intrusive **-Vn-** element (examples in (b)). Some words allow both options. Examples:

- (a) **jāhilcì** illiteracy < **jāhili** ignorant psn; **la'ifcì** impotence < **là'iffi** impotent; **wāutā** foolishness < **wāwā** fool; **gajartā** shortness < **gājērē** short; **sāmārtakā** youthfulness, boyhood < **sāmāri** young men  
(b) **bōrancì** being an unfavored co-wife < **bōrā** unfavored co-wife; **wāwancì** (= **wāutā**) foolishness < **wāwā** fool; **gūrgūntā** lameness < **gurgū** a cripple; **kumāmāntā** feebleness < **kūmāmā** feeble psn; **ābōkāntakā** friendship < **ābōki** friend

There are two interrelated questions that need to be addressed regarding the suffix: first, whether the intrusive **-Vn-** element is used, and if so, the nature of the **V**. (A similar question regarding the presence or absence of the nasal comes up with the **-TA** verbalizing suffix, see chap. 79.)

### 1.1. With disyllabic stems

CVCV words that have a glide (/w/ or /y/) as the second consonant drop the final vowel and append the **-tā** suffix directly. The glides then alter into /u/ and /i/, respectively, in accordance with automatic phonological representation rules (see §54:1.1.1), e.g.,

- bāutā** slavery < //bāwtā// < **bāwā** slave  
**māitā** witchcraft < //māytā// < **māyē** witch

Three items found in the dictionaries, none of which is readily acceptable by modern SH speakers, connect the abstract suffix to a disyllabic base by a long vowel.

- ??**mātūcì** femininity; female sexual organs < **mātā** wife, female  
??**gabācì** promotion < **gabā** front  
??**kusācì** (= **kusancì** = **kusantā**) closeness < **kusa** close

°AN: At first sight, the words **lālācì** 'laziness, weakness' and **lālātā** 'immoral behavior, being a rogue' would appear on the basis of meaning and form to be abstract nouns. However, their correct analysis is more likely as verbal nouns derived from the verb **lālātā** 'spoil, disgrace'.

All other simple disyllabic words use the **-Vn-** infix, e.g.,

- mūzancì** behaving like a simpleton < **mūzi** a simpleton; **wāwancì** foolishness < **wāwā** fool  
**bārāntā** being a servant < **barā** servant; **bēbāntakā** (= **bēbancì**) muteness < **bēbē** deaf mute  
**dōgwāntakā** or **dōgōntakā** tallness < **dōgō** tall; **gwānintā** expertise, skill < **gwāni** expert

If the final vowel of the lexical form is /u/, then the **-Vn-** is usually realized as /un/, although /an/ also occurs, e.g.,

- (a) **gūrgūntā** lameness < **gurgū** a cripple; **mūgūntā** evil(ness) < **mūgū** evil (psn); **zumuncì** closeness, friendship < **zumū** close friend  
(b) **dūkancì** leatherwork, cf. **bādūkū** leatherworker; **hūtsantā** cantankerousness < **hūtsū** cantankerous

The /un/ realization of -Vn- is also found in some words that now end in /ō/ but that historically ended in \*/u/ (Newman 1990a).

<b>bākuncì</b>	being a guest < <b>bàkō</b> (< *bàku) guest, stranger
<b>gābuntā</b>	immature behavior < <b>gābō</b> (< *gābū) simpleton
<b>sābuntakā</b> (= <b>sābuntā</b> )	newness < <b>sābō</b> (< *sābu) new

If the final vowel is /i/ or /ā/, then the -Vn- is generally realized as /an/, although in a few cases it appears as /in/. Examples:

- (a) **bàrantā** being a servant < **barā** servant; **bōrancì** being an unfavored co-wife < **bōrā** unfavored co-wife; **dāngantakā** relationship < **dangì** relatives; **gārdancì** being a *gardi* < **gārdì** snake charmer; advanced Islamic student
- (b) **gwānintā** expertise, skill < **gwānì** expert; **wōfintā** uselessness, being in a pitiful state < **wōfì** fool

With words ending in the mid vowels /ō/ (excluding the ones historically derived from \*u) or /ē/, the -Vn- is realized as /an/, e.g.,

**dōlancì** foolishness < **dōlō** fool; **gwārzāntakā** bravery, endurance < **gwārzō** brave man; **bēbāncì** behaving as if one were a deaf mute < **bēbē** deaf mute; **shēgāntakā** mischief, roguishness < **shēgē** bastard, rogue

Exception: **gwāmuntā** being knock-kneed < **gwāmē** knock-kneed

ØHN: [i] Most likely, the original form of the -Vn- in e-final and o-final words was /en/ and /on/, and the change to /an/ was due to the general phonological rule that shortens and centralizes /ē/ and /ō/ to /a/ (phonetically [ə]) in closed syllables, e.g., **shēgāntakā** < \*/shēgēntakā/, **dōlancì** < \*/dōloncì/. The intuition of modern SH speakers, however, as reflected in spelling preferences, slow speech pronunciation, etc., suggests that the erstwhile phonological rule has become (or is becoming) morphologized and that /an/ is now selected directly as part of the abstract suffix, i.e., **dōlancì** < **dōl-ancì** (sg. **dōlō**) now parallels **mūzancì** < **mūz-ancì** (sg. **mūzì**). Another possibility is that \*/an/ was the original form and that other vowel realizations of -Vn- were due to assimilation, e.g., **zumuncì** 'friendship' < \***zumancì**.

[ii] The abstract **gwāmuntā** 'being knock-kneed', which appears on the surface to be formed irregularly, actually derives not from **gwāmē** 'knock-kneed', the current Kano pronunciation, but rather from **gwāmì**, a more widespread variant. The derivation is thus **gwāmì** ⇒ **gwāmìntā** → **gwāmuntā** (with common, though not automatic, rounding of the /i/ after the /m/).

Disyllabic words ending in a diphthong or a consonant—what one might call "latent trisyllabic words"—attach the suffix directly without the intrusive nasal, e.g.,

<b>kaďaicì</b>	loneliness, being solitary < <b>kaďai</b> only
<b>kawaicì</b>	taciturnity < <b>kawài</b> silently (cf. <b>kāwaitā</b> be silent)
<b>tāgwātakā</b>	twinship < <b>tagwai</b> [dv] twins
<b>bābāncì</b>	difference, discrimination < <b>bābām</b> different
<b>halaccì</b> (< //halakcì//	legitimacy, credibility, behaving honestly < <b>hālāk</b> legitimate, lawful
<b>mūtūntakā</b> (< //mūtūmtakā//	human nature < <b>mūtūm</b> man

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### 1.2. With polysyllabic stems

Quadrisyllabic (or longer) stems normally use the suffixal form with **-an-** regardless of the quality of the stem-final vowel. Trisyllabic stems occur both with and without **-an-**. The variant without **-Vn-** appears to be the originally preferred form, as evidenced by its choice with basic words and words undergoing archaic sound changes. The form with **-Vn-**, on the other hand, seems to be the more productive variant and the one that is spreading throughout the language. The intrusive **-Vn-** rarely (if ever?) occurs with the **-TA** suffix. Examples:

(a) **fataucì** (< //fatakì//) trading < **fatàkē** traders; **gajartà** shortness < **gàjērē** short; **jàrùmtakà** = **jàrùmtā** bravery < **jārùml** brave man

Irregular: **sàràkutà** in-law relationship < **sàràkuwā** in-law

(b) **almubazzařancì** extravagance < **àlmùbazzàřl** extravagant psn; **hatsabibancì** recklessness < **hàtsàbibl** cantankerous psn, sorcerer; **kāsuwancì** marketing, trading < **kāsuwā** market; **miskilancì** contrariness < **miskill** contrary psn; **shūgabancì** leadership < **shūgābā** leader (frozen compound < \***shig-gābā** enter in front); **àbòkàntakà** friendship < **àbòkl** friend

## 2. TONE

### 2.1. The suffix **-cì**<sup>HL</sup>

The suffix **-cì**<sup>HL</sup> has a set H-L tone melody, i.e., L on the last syllable and H on all preceding syllables.

**almubazzařancì** extravagance; **bambancì** difference, discrimination; **dòlancì** foolishness; **fankashālacì** senselessness, stupidity; **jāgōrancì** leadership; **muhimmancì** importance

°AN: [i] There is a similar-looking suffix having the form **-cì**<sup>H</sup> with all H tone that is used to derive names of languages, e.g., **Jāmusancì** 'German' < **Jāmùs** 'Germany'. I have chosen to describe this formation in a separate unit (see chap. 41) although some scholars prefer to relate it to the abstract derivation.

[ii] The words **àlbařkàcì** 'good fortune, blessing' and **tàkàcì** 'indignation' semantically could be considered abstract nouns; but given their tones, they probably do not contain the derivational suffix in question.

### 2.2. The suffix **-takā**<sup>LHL</sup>

The suffix **-takā**<sup>LHL</sup> has a set L-H-L melody, i.e., H-L on the last two syllables and L on all preceding syllables, e.g.,

**jàrùmtakà** bravery; **shègàntakà** mischievousness; **tàgwàitakà** twinship, 'yàn'ùwàntakà family relationship

### 2.3. The suffix **-tā**

The tone of abstracts with the **-tā** suffix is lexically determined and nonpredictable. With the few disyllabic abstract nouns that exist, F-H, L-H, and possibly H-L occur. Examples (complete):

F-H: **māitā** witchcraft; **wāutā** foolishness, immature act by an adult

L-H: **bāutā** slavery; **cūtā** illness, disease

H-L: **tsaftā** cleanliness

°AN: Generally speaking, disyllabic words in Hausa with the tone pattern F-H can be viewed as compressed trisyllabic words with H-L-H tone (e.g., **dábgì** 'anteater' = **dābùgì**). Given the existence of the forms **máitā** 'witchcraft' and **wáutā** 'foolishness', it is thus strange that trisyllabic abstracts with **-tā** (to be described below) do *not* appear with H-L-H even though they exhibit a number of other tone patterns.

◊HN: [i] From an etymological point of view, the L-H words **bautā** and **cūtā** could be viewed not as abstract nouns but rather as deverbal nouns containing the verbalizer **-TA**, where the L-H tone pattern is common.

[ii] The status of the word **tsaftā** (pronounced [tsaptā]) is unclear. On the surface it looks like an abstract noun, but this may be accidental. There are two main reasons for the doubt. First, the non-abstract common noun on which it should be built doesn't exist synchronically; instead all one has is a related ideophone **tsaf** (or **tsap**). Second, **tsaftā** has a derived verb **tsaftacē** 'cleanse' using a **-TA** verbalizing suffix on top of the presumed **-tā** abstract suffix; no other abstract noun allows this. In short, either **tsaftā** is not an abstract noun, or else its derivation took place at a very early stage so that the suffix has now become lexically frozen.

Among the approximately fifty or so trisyllabic abstract nouns with **-tā**, H-H-L is the most common tone pattern. This is followed by L-L-H, and then L-H-L. A few words allow variant tones as equivalent alternatives. Examples:

H-H-L: **gajartā** shortness; **hūtsantā** cantankerousness; **kuturtā** leprosy; **shariftā** being a holy man; **mālantā** = **mālāntā** scholarship, teaching

L-L-H: **bārāntā** = **barāntā** being a servant; **ābōtā** friendship; **gābūntā** immature, foolish behavior; **nāgāftā** goodness, uprightness

L-H-L: **bājintā** bravery, achievement; **gwānintā** expertise, skill; **lā'iftā** impotence

◊HN: There is some indication that L-L-H was the original tone pattern for polysyllabic abstract nouns with **-tā**, i.e., there was a tonal *and* segmental opposition between masculine abstracts, which were formed with **-cī** and H-L tone, and feminine abstracts, which were formed with **-tā** and L-H tone, e.g., **gābuncī** (m.) = **gābūntā** (f.) 'immaturity, naivete' (both < **gābō** 'immature psn'). It is significant that the abstracts with the L-H pattern are built on basic Hausa nouns and that they reflect historically older forms of the underlying bases, e.g., **sābūntā** 'newness' < **sābō** (< \***sābū**) 'new'. The explanation for the H-L tone, which includes abstracts built on Arabic loanwords, is probably influence from the extremely common and fully regular H-L **-cī** abstracts. The L-H-L forms would be due to confusion between the **-tā** abstract suffix and verbal nouns of verbs containing the denominative **-TA** suffix. If this is correct, a word like **mūzantā** 'being a simpleton', for example, would come not from **mūzī** simpleton + the abstract **-tā**, but rather from the verb **mūzantā** 'behave like or be treated like a simpleton'.

### 3. ABUTTING CONSONANT ADJUSTMENTS

When any of the abstract suffixes is attached directly to a base with final /m/, this /m/ typically undergoes assimilation to the following /t/ or /c/. (This rule is limited to SH.) Examples:

**bājintakā** = **bājintā** bravery < **bājimī** bull; **hukuncī** judgment, verdict < **hūkūmā** governing body; **karantā** mean-mindedness < **kāramī** small; **mālāntā/mālantā** scholarship, position or work of a teacher < **mālām**(f) teacher; **mūtūntakā** human nature < **mūtūm** man, person; **zāluncī** oppression, tyranny < **āzzālūmī** tyrant

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In SH, the distinction between /m/ and /n/ is generally neutralized in syllable-final position with a following abutting consonant. The nasal assimilates to the following consonant and appears on the surface as [m] before labials, [n] before coronals, and [ŋ] before velars. With some abstract nouns, however, SH speakers optionally block the assimilation rule and preserve underlying lexical /m/'s (as is the norm in other dialects), e.g.,

**hařamci** (≠ \*\*hařanci ?) unlawfulness < **hãřãm** not lawful (religiously)  
**hãkĩmci** (≠ \*\*hãkĩnci ?) being and sitting in the manner of a district head < **hãkĩmĩ** district head  
**jãřũmtã** = (usu. SH) **jãřũntã** bravery < **jãřũmĩ** brave man  
**řãzãmtã** = (usu. SH) **řãzãntã** / **řãzãntã** filth, dirtiness < **řãzãmĩ** filthy  
**Musulũmci** = (usu. SH) **Musulũncĩ** Islam < **Mũsulũmĩ** Muslim

With some non-nasal base-final consonants, one gets total assimilation, thereby producing a geminate, e.g.,

**halaccĩ** legitimacy, credibility, behaving honestly < **hãlãk** legal + **ci**)<sup>HL</sup>  
**ibilicĩ** perverseness, naughtiness < **ĩbilis** satan + **ci**)<sup>HL</sup>  
**munãfũcĩ** hypocrisy < **mũnãfũkĩ** hypocrite + **ci**)<sup>HL</sup>  
**wãlĩttakã** sainthood < **wãliyyĩ** saint + **takã**)<sup>LHL</sup>

The surface form of some abstract nouns exhibits the application of Klingenheben's Law changing syllable-final /k/ to /u/ (see §34:1.5), e.g.,

**ãbõtã** friendship < **ãbõkĩ** friend + **tã**)<sup>LH</sup> (with \*/k/ > /u/ and then \*/ou/ > /õ/)  
**fataũcĩ** (base //fatak-//) trading < **fatãkẽ** traders + **ci**)<sup>HL</sup>  
**sãraũtã** being a ruler, kingship, cf. **sarkĩ** chief, **sãrãkĩ** officeholder  
**talaũcĩ** poverty < **talãkã** common man + **ci**)<sup>HL</sup>

Interestingly, syllable-final labials, which in SH commonly alter into /u/ by Klingenheben's Law, do not undergo the expected weakening in abstract nouns. Rather, they remain as obstruents, with low-level assimilation to the voicing of the following /t/ or /c/ (not reflected in orthography), e.g.,

**annabtã** = **annabcĩ** (not \***annautã** nor \***annaucĩ**) prophethood < **ãnnabĩ** prophet  
**la'ifcĩ** impotence < **la'ifĩ** impotent man  
**makwabtã** = **mãkwbãtakã** neighborliness (< unknown root)  
**shãřiftã** = **shãřifcĩ** being a holy man < **shãřif** / **shãřifĩ** holy man descended from the Prophet

### 4. SPECIAL FORMS OF THE BASE

The base generally has the form of the underlying lexical item less its final vowel and tone. There are, however, some deviations. Words with the feminine suffix drop the suffix in forming the base, e.g.,

**ãmãrtakã** condition of being or acting like a newlywed < //amar-//, cf. **amaryã** bride  
**budurcĩ** virginity, being a grown-up girl < //budur-//, cf. **bũdurwã** virgin, grown-up girl

Some abstracts are built on a base related to a feminine or plural form rather than the usually unmarked masculine singular form, e.g.,

**makantà** (base //makam-//) blindness < **màkam-niyā** (= SH **màkauniyā**) blind woman (*not* **\*\*makaftà** < **màkáfò** blind man)  
**mazancì** used in 'yan **mazancì** fearlessness < **mazā** males/men, pl. of **miji** male, husband  
**sàmàrtakà** youthfulness, boyhood < **sàmàrì** youths, pl. of **sauràyì**  
**yàrantakà** childishness < **yārā** children, pl. of **yārò**

Abstracts from trisyllabic words with reduplication use a shortened base with the final syllable lopped off, e.g.,

**sūsancì** (*not* **\*\*sūsūsancì**) foolishness < **sūsūsū** foolish psn  
**shāshancì** stupidity, silliness, acting witlessly < **shāshāshā** witless fool  
**dillancì** trade or brokerage < **dillālì** broker  
**sīrāntakà** = **sīrāntà** thinness < **sīrīfī** thin

A few nonreduplicated words also use a shortened base in forming abstracts, e.g.,

**galādancì** (base //galād-//) position of a **galādimā** a traditional title  
**munāfancì** (base //munāf-//) hypocrisy < **munāfūki** hypocrite

The abstract noun derived from the word **mūgū** 'evil' is **mūguntā** 'evilness', with a short vowel in the first syllable. The abstract derived from **gwaurō** 'bachelor' (historically derived from **\*gwagwrō** by the application of Klengenheben's Law) is **gwagwarcì** or **gwāgwārtakà** 'bachelorhood' with recovery of the historically weakened obstruent.

## 5. ALTERNATIVE FORMS

Many words have alternative abstract forms employing the three different suffixes {-CI}, {-TA}, and {-TAKA}. In most cases, the alternative forms are essentially equivalent variants, as best as can be determined, the preference for one variant or another being dialectally or idiolectally determined. In the following examples, the numbers after the words give the order of preference indicated by the SH speakers with whom I worked:

<b>gūrgūntā</b> (1) =	<b>gūrgūntakà</b> (2) =	<b>gurguncì</b> (3)	lameness
<b>gwagwarcì</b> (1) =	<b>gwāurāntakà</b> (2)		being wifeless
<b>gwānintā</b> (1) =	<b>gwānintakà</b> (2)		expertise, skill
<b>hūtsancì</b> (1) =	<b>hūtsantā</b> (2) =	<b>hūtsāntakà</b> (3)	cantankerousness
<b>shaidancì</b> (1) =	<b>shaidāntā</b> (2)		naughtiness, being strong willed
<b>sīrāntakà</b> (1) =	<b>sīrāntā</b> (2)		thinness
<b>zumuncì</b> (1) =	<b>zùmuntā</b> (2)		closeness, friendship

In some cases, however, the words with different suffixes have different (or partially different) meanings and usage, e.g.,

**amincì** friendship, trustworthiness, durability, vs. **āmīntakà** intimacy  
**bārkūntā** (1) = **bārkūntakà** (2) being a guest, strangeness, unusualness, vs. **bārkuncì** essentially limited to a greeting to a visitor, e.g., **inā bārkuncì?** How are things going? How are you adjusting?  
**bautā** slavery, vs. **bautancì** slaving for someone (e.g., being badly paid in a job)

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- bèbàntakà** deaf-muteness, vs. **bēbancì** behaving as if one were a deaf-mute
- ɖànyàntakà** being uncooked, unripe, vs. **ɖanyancì** impulsiveness.
- hākimtà** being a district head (partially = **hākimcì**), vs. **hākimcì** being and sitting in the manner of a district head, e.g., **zaman hākimcì** sitting cross-legged (*not* = **\*\*zaman hākimtà**)
- kaɖaicì** loneliness, being solitary, vs. **kàɖàitakà** oneness, uniqueness
- mùtùntakà** human nature, treating other people in a good manner, vs. **mutuncì** decency, humaneness; dignity, prestige, reputation. Note idiom **ci mutuncì** humiliate s.o. (*not* **\*\*ci mùtùntakà**)
- wàlittakà** (1) = **walittà** (2) sainthood, vs. **walicì** (1) = **walittà** (2) being a representative of a bride or bridegroom (Note: **walittà** partakes of the two meanings 'sainthood' *and* 'being a representative'.)



## 2. Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality and Their Derivatives

### 1. ANSQS

THERE is a set of some 60 or so nouns indicating the qualities of touch, taste, size, strength, etc., comparable to English words with *-th*, e.g., *strength*, or *-ness*, e.g., *sweetness*. These words have been termed Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality (ANSQ) (Parsons 1955). The words belonging to this class (a) are disyllabic, (b) have a heavy first syllable, either CVC or CVV, (c) end in *-I*, and (d) have H-H tone, e.g., **zurfi** 'depth', **zāfi** 'heat'. Because of the final *-I*, base-final coronals appear with their corresponding palatalized consonants, e.g., **kunci** 'constrictedness' (< //kunti//). The bases found in the ANSQs serve as the input to other derivations, namely that of Derived Adjectives of Sensory Quality (see §2) and Derived Verbs of Sensory Quality (see §3).

ANSQs are usually described as monomorphemic words with a common canonical shape. It is more accurate, however, to view them as derived bimorphemic words composed of an abstract base having the form CVVC- or CVCC- plus a tone-integrating suffix *-I*<sup>H</sup>.

The full set of ANSQs found in the dictionaries and listed by Parsons includes a number of archaic and dialectal items with which current HS speakers are unfamiliar. The following are generally accepted, well-recognized items:

**bāshi** unpleasant smell of sth beginning to go bad; bad breath; **bauri** astringency (e.g., of unripe fruit, tree bark); **ḏāci** bitterness (e.g., medicine, neem bark, quinine); **ḏāri** cold (dry, windy); **dādi** pleasantness; **danshi** dampness, moistness (of soil, room, garment); **fādi** breadth, width (diameter, surface area, extent); **gautsi** brittleness (e.g., of cheap, flexible plastic shoes that crack when bent); disrespectful behavior; **kaifi** sharpness (of an edge); **kanshi** pleasant fragrance; **karfi** strength (in physique or action); **kañni** rank smelling (blood, meat, fish, nursing mother); **kunci** constrictedness, narrowness, anger; **kwāri** strength (of substance or of construction); **lāmi** tastelessness; **laushi** softness (to the feel), fineness (flour, material); **nauyi** heaviness; **santsi** slipperiness, glossiness (e.g., silk cloth); **sanyi** (damp) coldness; **sauki** ease, cheapness; relief (from pain or illness); **sauri** speed, haste; **tauri** hardness; **tsāmi** sourness; **tsarki** cleanliness, holiness; **wāri** foul odor; **yauki** viscosity, sliminess (e.g., of cooked okra); **zāfi** heat, difficulty; **zāri** sweetness; well seasoned (e.g., soup); **zāni** acrid smell of urine; **zātsi** brackishness; **zurfi** depth

°AN: A few ANSQs have related common nouns, e.g., **zārò** = **bàzāriyā** 'very sweet cassava', cf. **zāri** 'sweetness'; **ḏātā** 'a bitter tomato', cf. **ḏāci** 'bitterness'.

◊HN: Hausa ANSQs have striking parallels in other Chadic languages. In Guruntum (Jaggar 1991), a West Chadic language, and Migama (Jungraithmayr and Adams 1992), a more distantly related East Chadic language, one finds abstract nouns characterized by a suffix *-i* and all H tone, e.g., Guruntum **áni** 'heat', **giisi** 'heaviness'; Migama **gázānyí** 'heat', **sáḏāamí** 'acidity'.

There is a strange phonotactic restriction with ANSQs. For unexplainable reasons, the consonant in base-final position is never a voiced obstruent nor is it /l/. (One also does not find base-final /r/. This restriction, however, is not surprising given that intervocalic /r/ is a newly introduced phoneme in the language.)

In addition to the regular ANSQs, there are three common "pseudo-ANSQs," i.e., words that do not have H-H tone but that semantically seem to fit into the class and phonologically end in -I and are disyllabic with a heavy initial syllable:

**d'òyì** stench; **mùní** ugliness, evil; **ts'ínì** being sharp pointed

On semantic grounds, one could also include **d'ùmí** 'warmth' and **kyáu** (< **kyáwò**) 'goodness' as pseudo-ANSQs, but phonologically one is getting further afield.

Grammatically, ANSQs are abstract nouns, i.e., they have intrinsic gender and all other normal nominal properties. They often are used, however, in constructions where in English they correspond to and translate as attributive or predicative adjectives, e.g.,

<b>rijyá màì zurfi</b>	a deep well (lit. well possessing depth)
<b>kèkè maràs kwári</b>	a (structurally) unsound bicycle (lit. bicycle lacking strength)
<b>fùren nàn yanà dà kanshi</b>	This flower is aromatic. (lit. this flower has (is with) aroma)
<b>yā fī nì karfi</b>	He is stronger than me. (lit. he exceeds me (in) strength)
<b>kāyā sun cikà nauyi</b>	The loads are too heavy. (lit. the loads fill heaviness)

The usual way that ANSQs enter into simple noun modification is by means of a **màì** (pl. **màsu**) phrase, e.g., **wukā màì kaifi** / **wukākē màsu kaifi** 'a sharp knife / sharp knives' (lit. knife/knives possessing sharpness). In a few cases, however, the modification is accomplished by direct genitive linking of the form N-L-ANSQ. For reasons that are not clear, this pattern is essentially restricted to phrases where the first word is **ruwā** 'water' or **lèmo** 'lemon', e.g.,

<b>lèmon zāki</b>	orange (lit. lemon.of sweetness); <b>lèmon tsāmi</b> bitter lemon
<b>ruwan sanyi</b>	cold water; <b>ruwan zāfi</b> hot water; <b>ruwan zaftsi</b> brackish water

ANSQs also enter into direct ANSQ-L-N genitive constructions, where the semantic role of the ANSQ is to modify the following noun. This is particularly common in, but not limited to, compounds. Examples:

<b>gāfin-nōnò</b>	ampleness of breasts or breast milk
<b>kaifin-bàsifà</b>	quick intellect (lit. sharpness.of-intellect)
<b>taurin-kái</b>	stubbornness (lit. hardness.of-head)
<b>karfin-hali</b>	courageousness (lit. strength.of-character)
<b>sanyin-rái</b>	patience, gentleness (lit. coolness.of-life)
<b>dāfin-bàki</b>	sweet talk, lobbying (lit. sweetness.of-mouth)
<b>d'òyin-bàki</b>	bad breath (lit. stench.of-mouth)

### 1.1. Attenuation

As is the case with simple adjectives (see §4:2.3), ANSQs undergo semantic attenuation by full reduplication accompanied by final vowel shortening on both components. (The process also applies to **d'ùmí** 'warmth'.) Examples:

dāci →	dāci-dāci	somewhat bitterish
kauri →	kauri-kauri	slight thickness
kwāri →	kwāri-kwāri	moderate strength
tsāmi →	tsāmi-tsāmi	sourishness
wāri →	wāri-wāri	slightly odorous
d'umi →	d'umi-d'umi	semiwarmth

Syntactically, these attenuated forms function more or less like corresponding nonreduplicated ANSQs, although they are unlikely to occur as clause subjects, e.g.,

rījīyā m̀ai zurfi-zurfi	a somewhat deep well
wuk̀ak̀e m̀asu kaifi-kaifi	somewhat sharp knives
fūren ǹan yanà d̀a kanshi-kanshi	This flower is somewhat aromatic.
but not **wanǹan sanyi-sanyi ỳa d̀acè d̀a ni	**This somewhat coolness suits me.
cf. wanǹan sanyi ỳa d̀acè d̀a ni	This coolness suits me.

Corresponding to ANSQs are two morphologically regular derivational formations: Derived Adjectives of Sensory Quality (DASQ) and Derived Verbs of Sensory Quality (DVSQ). These derivations, illustrated below, will be described in turn.

ANSQ	DASQ	DVSQ
fādī breadth	fāffādā very broad	fādādā broaden
zāki sweetness	zāzzāfā very sweet	zākākā sweeten
zurfi depth	zūzzurfā very deep	zurfāfā deepen

## 2. DERIVED ADJECTIVES OF SENSORY QUALITY (DASQ)

Of the sixty or so ANSQs (including the few pseudo-ANSQs), some twenty-five have commonly occurring corresponding adjectival forms, which I refer to as Derived Adjectives of Sensory Quality (DASQ), e.g., (ANSQ) zāfi 'heat', (DASQ) zāzzāfā / zāfāfā 'very hot (sg./pl.)'. Semantically these words are characterized by an intensive quality and do not simply indicate a neutral adjective related to the ANSQ.

Singular DASQs have a set canonical shape. They are trisyllabic with all heavy syllables and L-H-H tone. The first syllable is CVC; the second is CVC or CVV, and the final syllable is Cā. They are formed by means of a low-tone reduplicative prefix C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>- or C<sub>1</sub>VG - and a suffix -ā<sup>H</sup>, both of which are added to the ANSQ base. The second consonant of the prefix usually appears as G, i.e., it forms a geminate with the following consonant, although it sometimes copies and preserves the C<sub>2</sub> of the base, especially in the case of nasals. Examples:

(kàG) <sup>L</sup> + kaif + -ā) <sup>H</sup> →	kàkkaifā	very sharp
(sàn) <sup>L</sup> + sants + -ā) <sup>H</sup> →	sànsantsā	very smooth, slippery
(zàG) <sup>L</sup> + zāf + -ā) <sup>H</sup> →	zāzzāfā	very hot

<sup>o</sup>AN/ØHN: Historically, the G in the CVG- prefix undoubtedly comes from a copied C<sub>2</sub> plus assimilation to the following abutting consonant. Evidence that the G has become morphologized is provided by the fact that the geminate now appears where it synchronically is not required, e.g., kàkkaifā 'strong (psn)', not \*\*kàrkāfā, even though the phonological sequence /rk / is perfectly normal and acceptable.

The singular DASQ is not overtly marked for gender, i.e., it ends in *-ā* whether masculine or feminine. The gender distinction is, however, reflected in the form of the linker, e.g., *zàzzāfan ruwā* (m.) 'very hot water' vs. *zàzzāfā miyā* (f.) 'very hot soup'.

Plural DASQs, which are trisyllabic with three heavy syllables, are formed by means of a suffix *-āCā*<sup>HLH</sup> (where C is a copy of the base-final consonant) with an associated H-L-H tone pattern, e.g., *zāfāfā* 'very hot (pl.)'. Note that the suffix is added to the base and not to the singular DASQ with its prefixal CVC-. Examples:

<i>gāggautsā / gautsātsā</i>	very brittle (cf. <i>gautsi</i> )
<i>kākkāifā / kāifāfā</i>	very sharp (cf. <i>kaifti</i> )
<i>kārkarfā / karfāfā</i>	very strong (psn) (cf. <i>karfti</i> )
<i>rārāunā / raunānā</i>	pliant, weak, frail (cf. <i>raunī</i> )
<i>sāssantsā = sānsantsā / santsātsā</i>	very smooth, slippery (cf. <i>santsi</i> )
<i>zāzzāftsā / zāftsātsā</i>	very salty, brackish (water) (cf. <i>zāftsi</i> )

Two semantically qualitative "pseudo-ANSQs" that do not contain the normal *-i*<sup>H</sup> ANSQ suffix also form DASQs according to the regular pattern, e.g.,

<i>kyākkāwā / kyāwāwā</i>	good, beautiful < <i>kyāu</i> (< <i>kyāwō</i> ) goodness, beauty
<i>mūmmūnā / mūnānā</i>	evil, ugly < <i>mūnī</i> ugliness

Two additional words that are not ANSQs have related DASQs, but in the plural only, e.g.,

<i>girmāmā (= māsū girmā)</i>	large, important (pl. of <i>girmā</i> )
<i>sīrārā (= sīrī-sīrī)</i>	thin (pl. of <i>sīrīrī</i> )

The formation of DASQs is morphologically regular, but synchronically it is far from productive, i.e., although close to half of the ANSQs have corresponding DASQs, the other half do not. Morphologically, one can easily create DASQs from ANSQs, but only certain lexically-specific items are actually used. In marginal cases, the singular DASQ is more readily accepted than the plural form. In the absence of a DASQ, the adjectival function is handled by a phrase consisting of *māi* (pl. *māsū*) 'possessing' + an ANSQ, e.g.,

<i>māi / māsū bāshī</i>	unpleasant smelling, not <b>**bābbāsā</b>
<i>māi / māsū dāri</i>	cold (of weather), not <b>**dādāfārā</b>
<i>māi / māsū galmi</i>	tasteless (of leftover soup), not <b>**gāggalmā</b>
<i>māi / māsū lāmi</i>	tasteless, insipid, not <b>**lāllāmā</b>
<i>māi / māsū sauri</i>	quick, not <b>**sāssaurā</b>

ØHN: It would appear that there has been a relatively recent change regarding the use of DASQs. According to Parsons (1955), who drew his data from older dictionaries, most ANSQs had corresponding DASQs. Modern SH speakers, on the other hand, accept a much smaller number, and some of these only reluctantly.

Where both a DASQ and a *māi* + ANSQ construction are possible, one finds a semantic difference. First, the DASQ generally has a stronger, more intensive meaning, e.g.,

<i>zūzzurfā rījīyā</i>	a very deep well	<i>rījīyā māi zurfti</i>	a deep well
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**zàzzākan rākē** very sweet sugarcane      **rākē mài zāri** sweet sugarcane

Second, the meaning of the DASQ tends to be restricted to the literal meaning of the quality, whereas the **mài** + ANSQ phrase allows for wider interpretations, e.g.,

<b>ràkkarfan sarki</b> a physically strong king	<b>sarki mài karfi</b> a king who is either physically strong or is politically powerful and influential
<b>zàzzāfan gāri</b> a hot town (ref. to temperature)	<b>gāri mài zāfi</b> a town that is either hot in climate or dangerous and/or difficult to live in
<b>tsàttarkan mùhālli</b> a clean place of abode	<b>mùhālli mài tsarki</b> a place of abode that has been cleansed or purified

### 3. DERIVED VERBS OF SENSORY QUALITY (DVSQ)

Of the sixty or so ANSQs, only some twenty have commonly occurring corresponding verbal forms, the Derived Verbs of Sensory Quality (DVSQ), e.g., **fādi** 'breadth', **fādfā** 'broaden', **fādfā** 'become broad'. As with the DASQs, the morphological formation is regular but its use is lexically specific and not freely productive. The words that allow DVSQs are mostly the same as those that form DASQs. These derived verbs of sensory quality are formed from the ANSQ base by adding a suffix **-aCa(a)** (the length of the final vowel being determined by grade). The resulting verbs are all trisyllabic with the first two syllables having an alternating heavy-light rhythmic pattern (cf. the similar foot structure found with the verbalizer **-TA** described in §79:1.2).

The verb is normally gr1 if used transitively, and gr3 if used intransitively.

°AN: Parsons (1955) and most scholars following him have analyzed the suffix as consisting of **-aC-** with the final vowel being provided by the grade. My view is that the final **-a(a)** is an inherent part of the derivational suffix and that these verbs have been assigned to grades 1 and 3 *because* of the stem-final **-a** rather than vice versa.

<b>kausāsā</b> v1 roughen	<b>kāusasā</b> v3 become rough (cf. <b>kaushi</b> roughness)
<b>saukākā</b> v1 lessen	<b>sāukākā</b> v3 become easier, less (e.g., price) (cf. <b>sauki</b> ease)
<b>taurārā</b> v1 harden	<b>tāurarā</b> v3 become hard (cf. <b>tauri</b> hardness)
<b>tsarkākā</b> v1 purify	<b>tsārkaakā</b> v3 become clean, pure (cf. <b>tsarki</b> cleanliness, purity)
<b>yausāsā</b> v1 cause to wilt	<b>yāusasā</b> v3 wilt, droop (cf. <b>yaushi</b> being withered, wilted)
<b>zāfāfā</b> v1 heat sth	<b>zāfafā</b> v3 become hot (cf. <b>zāfi</b> heat)
<b>zākākā</b> v1 sweeten	<b>zākaakā</b> v3 become sweet (cf. <b>zāki</b> sweetness)
<b>zurfāfā</b> v1 deepen	<b>zūrfafā</b> v3 become deep (cf. <b>zurfi</b> depth)

(e.g., **munā sō mù zurfāfā iliminmù** We want to deepen our knowledge.)

°AN: The verb **saukākā** is usually cited as having an equivalent form **sawwākā**. These verbs are not, in fact, synonymous, but rather relate to the two different meanings of **sauki** (1) ease, cheapness, (2) relief (e.g., from illness). The regular DVSQ **saukākā** means 'lessen', e.g., **kā saukākā mini kāyān** 'Lower the price of the goods for me' or **wāhalār tā saukākā** 'The trouble has lessened.' The irregular DVSQ **sawwākā**—if in fact is a DVSQ—means 'relieve, or let go of', e.g., **kā sawwākā kāyān** 'Get rid of, let go of the goods', **kadā kā sawwākā matā!** 'Don't divorce her!' It is also the verb used in the formulaic phrase said to someone on hearing of a problem or an illness, namely, **Allāh yā sawwākā** 'God forbid!'; 'May you get well soon!' (i.e., may God relieve you of your malady).

18 Chapter 2

The pseudo-ANSQ **mūnī** 'ugliness, evil' has a corresponding DVSQ, as does the abstract noun **girmā** 'importance', e.g.,

**mūnānā** v1      render ugly, humiliate; **mūnanā** v3    become ugly or aggravated  
**girmāmā** v1      honor, show respect to

°AN: The verb **ḏaukākā** 'exalt, promote' looks on the surface as if it ought to be a DVSQ; however it is derived not from an abstract noun but from the verb **ḏaukā** 'lift up'. It is possible that **girmāmā** 'honor, respect' should be treated in the same way, i.e., its correct source may not be the noun **girmā**, as given above, but rather the verb **girmā** 'be older than or senior to'.

[Reference: Parsons (1955)]

### 3. Adjectival Past Participles

#### 1. FORM

ALL verbs (subject to semantic reasonableness) allow the derivation of corresponding adjectival past participles (adj.pp), e.g., **dafà** 'cook', **dàfaffē** 'cooked'. The formation, which is very regular, consists of the addition of a tone-integrating suffix **-aCCē**<sup>LHH</sup> (where CC represents a doubled/geminated copy of the preceding consonant). (Note that in transcribing geminates of consonants indicated by diagraphs, only the first letter is doubled, e.g., **ssh** = [shsh].)

ØHN: In Kanakuru (Newman 1974), adjectival past participles are formed by full reduplication, e.g., **tila-tilà toro** 'a burnt farm' (< **tilè** 'burn'), **wura-wùrà yāwè** 'fried chicken' (< **wùri** 'fry'). It seems very likely that the suffixal geminate in Hausa reflects what was originally a reduplicated structure, i.e., a current-day past participle like **dàfaffē** would have come from a construction of the form **\*dàfē-d(a)fe** (with tones uncertain).

Because of the front vowel /-ē/ in the suffix, coronal consonants undergo the normal palatalization rules. (As is generally the case, palatalization of /d/ is less regular than for the other consonants.) The feminine form has final **-iyā** rather than **-ē**, this being the regular feminine ending corresponding to masculine stems with final **-ē**. Plural past participles use the common plural suffix **-ū**<sup>LH</sup>. Examples:

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Plural</i>
filled, full	<b>cìkakkē</b>	<b>cìkakkīyā</b>	<b>cìkakkū</b>
cooked	<b>dàfaffē</b>	<b>dàfaffīyā</b>	<b>dàfaffū</b>
rebellious	<b>gàgàrrē</b>	<b>gàgàrriyā</b>	<b>gàgàrrū</b>
roasted	<b>gàsassē</b>	<b>gàsassiyā</b>	<b>gàsassū</b>
written	<b>řùbùtaccē</b>	<b>řùbùtacciyā</b>	<b>řùbùtattū</b>
stolen	<b>sàtaccē</b>	<b>sàtacciyā</b>	<b>sàtattū</b>
tight, drawn in	<b>tsùkakkē</b>	<b>tsùkakkīyā</b>	<b>tsùkakkū</b>
torn into pieces	<b>yàgàlgàllē</b>	<b>yàgàlgàlliyā</b>	<b>yàgàlgàllū</b>

ΔDN: In WH, the usual feminine formation is with **-ā** rather than **-iyā**. The plural is commonly formed with **-ī**<sup>LH</sup> instead of **-ū**<sup>LH</sup>. Thus, in WH, the typical adj.pp formation is represented by a series like **cìkakkē/cìkakkā/cìkakkī** 'filled' (m./f./pl.).

As in other derivations and grade forms, the past participle of **mutù** 'die' is built on a base //mat-// rather than //mut-//:

deceased	<b>màtaccē</b>	<b>màtacciyā</b>	<b>màtattū</b>
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## 20 Chapter 3

The irregular verbs **gàji** 'tire' and **tàfi** 'go' build their adj.pp's on the fuller forms //gàjìyà// and //tàfiyà// from which they are derived. As with other words with base-final /y/, these items generally form feminines with -ā rather than -iyā.

tired	<b>gàjìyayyē</b>	<b>gàjìyayyā</b>	<b>gàjìyayyū</b>
traveled	<b>tàfiyayyē</b>	<b>tàfiyayyā</b>	<b>tàfiyayyū</b>

Monosyllabic verbs, such as **ci** 'eat', **jā** 'pull', and **sō** 'love', form their adj.pp's on bases containing an added epenthetic /y/.

eaten	<b>ciyayyē</b>	<b>ciyayyiā</b>	<b>ciyayyū</b>
pulled	<b>jāyayyē</b>	<b>jāyayyiā</b>	<b>jāyayyū</b>

In the following examples—and there probably are a few more of the same type—the adj.pp's are built on nouns (namely, **lāfiyā** 'health' and **māsifā** 'misfortune', both Ar. loanwords) rather than on verbs.

healthy	<b>lāfiyayyē</b>	<b>lāfiyayyā</b>	<b>lāfiyayyū</b>
quarrelsome	<b>māsifaffē</b>	<b>māsifaffiyā</b>	<b>māsifaffū</b>

## 2. USE

An adjectival past participle can be used in almost any construction where a simple adjective would be allowed. It thus can function, for example, as an equational predicate, a prenominal modifier (with a linker), or a postnominal modifier, e.g.,

<b>shìnkāfār bà dàfaffiyā ba cè</b>	The rice is not cooked.
<b>gàgàràrrun d'ālibai</b>	rebellious students
<b>wani hòtò sàtaccē</b>	a stolen picture

As with normal adjectives, a head noun that is understood from the context can be omitted leaving the adj.pp standing on its own, e.g.,

<b>af lōkàcin yā̀kì nē, bá àbìn dà zā sù yi gāme dà gājìyayyū dà rāunānnū</b>	It's wartime, there is nothing that one can do about the infirmed and injured.
<b>bùdè bùhun mangwā̀ròn nan kà kuma rabà nū̀nānnū dà rù̀bàbbū</b>	Open that mango sack and separate the ripe (ones) from the rotten (ones).

## 3. EXPANSION

Adjectival past participles may be expanded by adverbial or prepositional phrase modifiers. (These modifiers are the same as those that can accompany their underlying verbs.) When expanded, the adj.pp necessarily follows the head noun, e.g.,

<b>mōtōcì wànkàkkū cìkì dà bái</b>	cars that are washed inside and out
cf. <b>yā wankè mōtōcì cìkì dà bái</b>	He washed the cars inside and out.
cf. <b>mōtōcì sun wànkū cìkì dà bái</b>	The cars have been well washed inside and out.
<b>mōtā kòmàd'ad'fiyā dàgà gēfè</b>	a car buckled from the side



tsîrê Rûnsasshê à takârdâ

cf. Rûnsasshen tsîrê

tagùwā yâgaggiyā ta bāya

cf. yâgaggiyaḥ tagùwā

yārò tàbabbê na Rîn Rârâwā

kâtî Rûbûtaccê dà ruwan Zînârê

fulāwà kwâbabbiyā dà mân gyâdâ

mâi tâtaccê dàgà Kādūna

kebab wrapped in paper

wrapped kebab

a shirt torn down the back

a torn shirt

a really crazy boy (lit. boy touched of refusing of ending)

a card written in gold

flour that is mixed with peanut oil

petrol that is refined in (lit. from) Kaduna

## 4. Adjectives

### 1. INTRODUCTION

**A**DJECTIVES in Hausa are defined *syntactically* by their use as nominal modifiers or predicators and *semantically* by their meaning. Morphologically simple adjectives are generally indistinguishable from nouns, which is why Parsons (1963) termed them "dependent nominals". They look like nouns, form feminines and plurals essentially like nouns, and use the same genitive linker as nouns. Moreover, many words exist both as nouns and as adjectives; compare, for example, the word **tsōhō** in the phrase **wani tsōhō** 'some elder' with **wani gwamnā tsōhō** 'some old governor'; **marōwāci** 'tightwad' and **marōwācin ālkāli** 'a stingy judge'; **waccān bāfādiyā** 'that courtier (female)' and **bāfādiyāf māganā** 'sycophantic speech'. A few adjectives, mainly core color terms, also function as abstract nouns, e.g., **fari** 'white or whiteness', **shūdī** 'blue or blueness', contrast **sābō** 'new', a strict adjective that does not also mean 'newness', for which one has to use the derived noun **sābuntā**. Note that when color terms serve as abstract nouns, they take the unmarked masculine form, e.g., **rīgārsā tā fi fari** 'His gown (f.) is the whitest.' (lit. exceeds in whiteness [m.]), whereas when functioning as adjectives they obligatorily agree in gender with the head noun, e.g., **rīgārsā farā cē** 'His gown (f.) is white (f.)' Lexically, some words occur more or less equally as adjectives and as nouns, e.g., **mahāukāci** 'crazy or madman', **wāwā** 'foolish or fool'; some normally occur as nouns but can be used adjectivally, e.g., **bēbē** 'dumb or a deaf-mute', **gwāni** 'expert or an expert'; whereas others tend to be used exclusively or almost exclusively as adjectives, e.g., **manāgāfci** 'reliable, good', **zāzzāfā** 'very hot'.

Adjectives can, nevertheless, be distinguished from nouns. First, there are some derivations (to be described below) whose sole function is to create adjectives, not nouns. Second, adjectives have syntactic properties that set them apart from nouns, of which two are most important. Functionally, adjectives serve as noun modifiers rather than head words, i.e., they co-occur with and depend on nouns. Moreover, gender and number in adjectives are agreement features determined by the category of the head noun (whether simple or complex) rather than being intrinsic properties, as is the case with nouns, e.g.,

[ <b>farin</b> ] <sub>m</sub> [ <b>gidā</b> ] <sub>m</sub> (lit. white.L house)	=	[ <b>gidā</b> ] <sub>m</sub> [ <b>fari</b> ] <sub>m</sub> (lit. house white)	white house
[ <b>farāf</b> ] <sub>f</sub> [ <b>mōtā</b> ] <sub>f</sub> (lit. white.L car)	=	[ <b>mōtā</b> ] <sub>f</sub> [ <b>farā</b> ] <sub>f</sub> (lit. car white)	white car
[ <b>farāren</b> ] <sub>pl</sub> [ <b>hūlunā</b> ] <sub>pl</sub> (lit. white.L caps)	=	[ <b>hūlunā</b> ] <sub>pl</sub> [ <b>farārē</b> ] <sub>pl</sub> (lit. caps white)	white caps
[ <b>tsōhon</b> ] <sub>m</sub> [ <b>jākin-dōki</b> ] <sub>m</sub>			old mule
[ <b>bāhagūwar</b> ] <sub>f</sub> [ <b>bōlā-gajā</b> ] <sub>f</sub>			left-handed (drive) wooden passenger truck
[ <b>sābābbin</b> ] <sub>pl</sub> [ <b>jiṙāgen-samā</b> ] <sub>pl</sub>			new airplanes

### 2. MORPHOLOGICAL CLASSES OF ADJECTIVES

There are approximately ten different classes of adjectives. These include (1) simple/nonderived adjectives, and (2) adjectives derived by affixation, adjectives derived by reduplication, and compound adjectives. These will all be described here briefly; fuller discussion of the derived forms is found under

the separate entry for that derivation. The inventory of the classes of adjectives will be followed by a description of an attenuation process.

### 2.1. Simple adjectives

The so-called simple adjective class consists of morphologically nonderived words. The masculine singular constitutes the unmarked form. The corresponding feminine is formed by adding a toneless suffix {-ā} to the masculine stem (not to the underlying base). The surface output is determined in accordance with general feminine formation rules described in §31:3.1), but repeated below in simplified form.

-i(i) + -ā → -ā,	e.g., <b>kūlumi</b> m. (f. <b>kūlumā</b> ) stingy
-e(e) + -ā → -iyā,	e.g., <b>bēbē</b> m. (f. <b>bēbiyā</b> ) mute
-i(i) or -è(e) + -ā → -iyā,	e.g., <b>màshàhūrī</b> m. (f. <b>màshàhūrīyā</b> ) famous; <b>shēgè</b> m. (f. <b>shēgiyā</b> ) bastardly
-u(u) or -o(o) + -ā → -uwā,	e.g., <b>huntū</b> m. (f. <b>huntuwā</b> ) naked; <b>dōgō</b> m. (f. <b>dōguwā</b> ) tall
-ù(u) or -ò(o) + -ā → -ùwā,	e.g., <b>gurgù</b> m. (f. <b>gurgùwā</b> ) lame; <b>tsòlòlò</b> m. (f. <b>tsòlòlùwā</b> ) lanky

Adjectives with lexical final -a(a) have the same form regardless of gender, e.g., **jā nè** 'It's red (m.)', **jā cè** 'It's red (f.)', but the prenominal linkers will be gender sensitive, e.g., **jan ràgò** 'a red ram (m.)', **jaṛ góḍfiyā** 'a red mare (f.)'.

Adjectives inflect for plurality using essentially the same plural formatives as nouns of the same shape (compare **fari** 'white', pl. **faràrè** with **wuri** 'place', pl. **wuràrè**). There are, however, important restrictions as to which plural formations adjectives use. For reasons that are not at all evident, adjectives do not form plurals with the -uXa suffixes (e.g., -unà, -ukà, -uwà), the -aXi suffixes (-ànni, -àki), nor with the very productive -òCi ending. (See chap. 56 for a full discussion of plural formation and an explanation of these plural class abbreviations.)

Included under "simple adjective" are three subclasses.

(1) First, there are a small number of basic adjectives that are generally listed as such in pedagogical grammars. (In the lists below, only irregular feminines will be given; plurals, enclosed in <>, will be indicated by a shorthand plural class code unless the formation is irregular.)

**algàshi** <-ai> light green; **baki** <-aCe> black; **ḍanyē** (f. **ḍanyā**) <-u> raw, unripe; **dōgō** <-aye> tall; **fari** <-aCe> white; **fatsi** <-aCe> light red (complexion); **gàjērē** (f. **gàjērā** = **gàjēriyā** = **gàjērùwā**) <-u> short; **huntū** <-aye> naked, insufficiently clothed; **hūtsū** <-aye> cantankerous; **jā** <jājāyē> red; **kātò** <-Ca> huge; **kànkānè** (f. **kànkānùwā**) <kānānà> small; **kàrami** <kānānà> small; **kàzāmi** <-ai> dirty, filthy; **kūlumi** <-aye> stingy; **kōrè** <-aye> green; **kùmāmā** <-ai> feeble; **kùrurrūmi** <-ai> broken-necked (e.g., pot), toothless; **màtsòlò** <-ai> cheap, stingy; **mùgù** (alt. f. **mugunyā**) <miyàgù, mùgàyē> evil, ugly; **ràwayà** <-u> yellow; **sābō** <sàbàbbi, sàbbi> new; **sàkarai** (f. **sàkarai**) <sàkàrkāri> witless; **shūdī** <-Ca, -aye> blue; **tsagèrà** <-u> bad-tempered (of child), unprincipled (of adult)

°AN: The adjectives **gàjērē** 'short' and **kànkānè** 'small', which end in a front vowel, are unusual in having corresponding feminine forms with final -ùwā rather than (or as an alternative to) the expected final -iyā. I have no explanation for why this occurs.

The very common adjective **bàbba** (f. **bàbba**) 'large, important, adult' has a suppletive plural **mányā**, the singular and plural forms having distinct historical origins.

ØHN: The etymology of **bàbba**, which is doubly peculiar in having (a) a short final vowel and (b) a geminate stop, is a total mystery. The word **mányā**, on the other hand, appears to have good cognates in other West Chadic languages, where the word is not restricted to the plural, e.g., Kanakuru **manjò** ‘old’ (sg.); Karekare **mayuwa** (tones not noted) ‘big’ (sg.). Interestingly, **mányā** can in fact be used as a singular in certain special contexts, e.g., **wānè mányā nè** ‘So-and-so is an important psn’; **mányan dawà** ‘epithet for a lion’ (lit. important one in the wild); **mányan gārī** ‘term of address for a village head or other titleholder’. Abraham (1962: 52) refers to such examples as “plurals of majesty”; but they may reflect an earlier more general singular usage.

(2) Second, one has a miscellaneous open-ended list of noun/adjective items, including many Arabic loanwords, which have dual class membership. These words are usually glossed in dictionaries and grammars with a nominal reading but they also occur commonly as adjectives; compare **wani gurgù dà mukà sanì** ‘a certain lame person whom we know’ with **kadà kà sàyi gurgùn rákumī** ‘Don’t buy a lame camel!’

**almùbazzàfī** <-ai> extravagant, spendthrift; **àshàfàfù** (f. **àshàfàfiyā**) <-ai> foul-mouthed, immodest (psn); **bèbè** <-aye> dumb, deaf-mute; **bàkò** <bàkī> strange(r), foreign(er); **bùtùlu** (f. **bùtùlu**) <-ai> ungrateful, an ingrate; **fāsīkī** <-ai> profligate, immoral (psn); **gādīfī** <-ai> deceitful, treacherous (psn); **guntū** <-aye> stub(by); **gurgù** <a-u> lame, a cripple; **gwāmè** <-aye> knock-kneed (psn); **gwařzò** <-aye> dauntless, energetic (psn); **jāhīlī** <-ai> ignorant, illiterate (psn); **kāmīlī** <-ai> gentle, well behaved (psn); **là’fīfī** <-ai> impotent (psn); **mākīfī** <-ai> cunning, wily (psn); **mūnāfūkī** <-ai> hypocritical, hypocrite; **shēgè** <-u> bastard(ly), rascally; **tsōhō** <tsōfāfī, tsōfī> old (psn); **wāwā** (f. **wāwā**) <-aye> fool(ish)

°AN: Some (esp. non-SH) speakers use **wāwā** (or **wāwiyā**) as a feminine adjective but **wāwanyā** as a derived feminine noun, e.g., **ita cè wāwāř sàrauniyā** ‘She is a foolish queen’, but **ita cè wāwanyā** ‘She is a fool.’

(3) Third, there are a number of trisyllabic noun/adjective items with a frozen (cv-CVCV)<sup>LHL</sup> shape (where cv-CVCV indicates that the last two syllables are segmentally identical). The initial vowel is occasionally short; the other two vowels are always long. This morphological class also includes many nouns that do not function adjectivally (see §62:3.2.1). In addition, there are a few fully reduplicated H-L-H words with all identical syllables. If these words form plurals—not all do—they employ the <-ai> suffix. Examples:

- (a) **dākīkī** stupid (e.g., **dākīkan d’ālibai** stupid students); **dòsòsò** ugly looking (of psn’s face); **dùkùkù** glumly hesitant (e.g., **dùkùkùwāř mākāuniyā** a glum blind woman); **dūzūzū** unkempt (esp. hair); **gābūbū** senseless (psn); **kwàtsàtsà** tactless; **lābūbū** flabby, soggy; **sāřūrū** nincompoop, silly; **sīřīřī** thin, slender; **tsòlòlò** tall and skinny; **zòlòlò** tall with a long neck (esp. a camel) (e.g., **zòlòlòn rákumī** a tall camel)
- (b) **shāshāshā** foolish, stupid (e.g., **wata shāshāshāř tsōhuwā** a foolish old woman); **sūsūsū** (f. **sūsūsū**) witless

## 2.2. Derived adjectives

### 2.2.1. Agential adjectives

The affix **ma-...-ī** with a set H-(L)-L-H tone pattern attaches to verb bases to form agentive nouns (see §7:1), e.g., **manòmi** m. ‘farmer’ (< //nòm-// ‘to farm’). Many words of this form, especially those based on intransitive verbs, also (or primarily) function as adjectives, e.g.,

**madàidàici** adj. average, medium-sized; **matsiyàci** adj. poor, destitute  
**mahàukàci** adj. crazy, e.g., **wani mahàukàcin dirèbà** a crazy driver; **mahàukàtan kañrukà** mad dogs, cf. **wannàn mahàukàci** this madman

### 2.2.2. Ethnonymic adjectives

Ethnonyms formed with the singular prefix **bà-** (see chap. 24) are most commonly used as nouns, e.g., **Bàhaushè** 'Hausa man', **bàdukù** 'leather worker'. They can, however, also be used adjectivally, sometimes with the general ethnonymic meaning, more often, however, with a more specialized or figurative meaning, e.g.,

**bàkanùwà** adj. Kano-style (X), e.g., **bàkanùwar kwaryà** Kano-type calabash (n. = Kano woman)  
**bàfàdiyà** adj. sycophantic, e.g., **bàfàdiyàf màganà** sycophantic language  
 cf. **wata bàfàdiyà** a woman courtier  
**bàfàrishè** adj. Persian, e.g., **bàfàrishèn bàrgō** Persian blanket (n. = a Persian)

### 2.2.3. Adjectival past participles

Adjectival past participles are productively formed from verbs by means of a tone-integrating suffix **-aCCē**<sup>LHH</sup> (where CC represents a doubled/geminated copy of the preceding consonant) (see chap. 3). The feminine counterpart has final **-iyā** rather than **-ē**. Plural past participles use the normal **-ū**<sup>LH</sup> plural suffix. Examples:

**dàfaffè / dàfaffiyā / dàfaffū** cooked < **dafà** cook  
**řùbùtaccè / řùbùtacciyā / řùbùtattū** written < **řubùtā** write  
**yàgàlgàllè / yàgàlgàlliyā / yàgàlgàllū** torn into pieces < **yagalgàlā** tear into pieces

### 2.2.4. Derived adjectives of sensory quality

Corresponding to the Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality is a set of trisyllabic intensive adjectives (DASQs) (see 2:2), e.g., **zāfi** 'heat' (ANSQ), **zàzzāfā** 'very hot' (DASQ). The singular is formed by means of a reduplicative (CVC-)<sup>L</sup> prefix plus a suffix **-ā**<sup>H</sup>. The plural makes use of a suffix **-āCā**<sup>HLH</sup>, which is added to the base rather than to the singular stem. Examples:

**fāřfāďā = fāřfāďā / fāďāďā** very broad, wide (cf. **fāďī** width)  
**kākkaifā / kaifāfā** very sharp (cf. **kaifi** sharpness)  
**mùmmūnā / mūnānā** evil, ugly (cf. **mūnī** ugliness)

### 2.2.5. Augmentative adjectives

The term *augmentative adjective* is used to describe a good-sized class of phonaesthetic, expressive adjectives where the notion of "very" or "excessively" is an integral part of the meaning of the word, e.g., **sundumēmè** (m.) 'overly big and swollen'; **santalēliyā** (f.) 'extremely tall and slender'. Unlike agentives and ethnonyms, which occur both as independent nouns and as adjectives, all words of this class function exclusively as adjectives.

There are three subclasses of augmentative adjectives: those ending in a suffix **-ēCē**<sup>HL</sup>; those ending in **-ī**<sup>H</sup>, and those ending in **-ī** with an L-H-L-H reduplicated structure. (The corresponding feminine and plural forms are described in §11:1.) Examples:

**tanƙwalèlè / tanƙwalèliyā / tanƙwalā-tanƙwalà** large and round (m./f./pl.)  
**bulluƙī (= bulluƙèƙè) / bulluƙā / bulluƙā-bùllùƙā** huge (m./f./pl.)  
**bùgùzunuzùmi / bùgùzunuzùmā / bùgùzunuzùmai** big, fat, untidy, ungainly (m./f./pl.)

Being adjectives, augmentatives naturally occur as prenominal modifiers with a linker, e.g., **suntuβēβèn yārō** 'an oaf of a boy', **santalēliyaŋ yārinyā** 'a shapely girl'. They also occur postnominally. In this position, they are often extended by a **dà** 'with' plus pronoun phrase, e.g., **yārinyā santalēliyā (dà ita)** (lit. girl shapely with her).

### 2.2.6. Diminutive adjectives

The term *diminutive adjective* is used for a small set of phonaesthetic reduplicated words emphasizing smallness in size, shape, or space (see §11:3). They are commonly preceded by the diminutive marker **d'an/'yaŋ/'yan** (m./f./pl.). Like augmentative adjectives, they can also be extended by a **dà** 'with' plus pronoun phrase when occurring postnominally, e.g.,

<b>(d'an) mītsitsīn gōfō</b>	a tiny kolanut
<b>yārinyā ('yaŋ) sīfīriyā da ita</b>	a slender girl
<b>wasu yārā ('yan) mitsi-mitsi dà sū</b>	some tiny boys

### 2.2.7. H-L reduplicated ideophonic adjectives

These is a good-sized class of H-L ideophonic adjectives that describe the color, texture, smell, look, or condition of their referents (see §35:1.2.11), e.g., **idānū kwalā-kwalā** 'protruding or bulging eyes'. Many, but not all, of these adjectives are inherently plural. Examples:

**batsō-bàtsò** pl. poorly made, ugly looking; **buzū-bùzù** long, unkempt (of hair); **darā-dārā** bold and beautiful (of eyes or writing); **falā-falā** broad and thin (e.g., leaves, paper, ears); **tsalā-tsalā** pl. long and slender (esp. legs)

As with other reduplicated or complex adjectives, these adjectives only occur attributively in post-nominal position, where they are commonly extended by **dà** plus a pronoun. They may also be used in predicate adjective position and as the object of the verb **yi** 'do'. Examples:

<b>wasu kurājē balō-bālò dà sū sun fitō minì à kā</b>	Some large boils appeared on my head.
<b>wasu yārā sumū-sùmù sun wucè</b>	Some despondent-looking chaps passed by.
<b>hancin Audù horō-hòrò</b>	Audu's nostrils are very wide.
<b>idònsà yā yi hulū-hulù don kūkā</b>	His eyelids got swollen from crying.
<b>an bā nì gōfō ruKù-rùkù à wajen d'aurin auren Bālā</b>	
They gave me some large, round kolanuts at Bala's wedding.	

### 2.2.8. LL-HL reduplicated adjectives

Hausa has a considerable number of reduplicated quadrisyllabic nouns with final **-a(a)** and LL-HL tone (see §62:3.4), e.g., **ayā-ayā** 'wild tiger-nut grass and fruit', **zàngà-zàngà** 'political demonstration'. A few words of this pattern function adjectivally, normally as postnominal modifiers, e.g.,

<b>Lādi tā bā nì wata masārā rùwà-ruwà</b>	Ladi gave me soft (juicy) corn.
<b>kāi, wà zāi àuri màzà-mazār màcè?</b>	Who would marry a masculine woman?
<b>aikì rānà-rānà bā yà dad'èwā</b>	Late-morning work doesn't last.
<b>yā yi hantà-hantār màganà</b>	He has made a nasal utterance.

### 2.2.9. Reduplicated adjectives ('X-like')

Adjectives are formed from common nouns by full reduplication of the underlying noun, preserving the original tone. This is accompanied by shortening of the final vowel of both parts, e.g., **gishiri** 'salt' ⇒

**gishiri-gishiri** 'salty'. The resulting adjectives, which correspond to such English adjectives as 'powdery' or 'handlike', indicate a quality or characteristic of the source nouns. The formation appears to be extremely productive. Although the nouns from which the adjectives are derived are variably masculine or feminine (even plural), the derivatives themselves are invariant and do not have inflected feminine or plural forms.

**bùhù** sack, **bùhu-bùhu** sacklike (object); **gàri** flour, **gàri-gàri** powdery; **gishiri** salt, **gishiri-gishiri** salty; **gùdàji** lumps, **gùdàji-gùdàji** lumpy, in little chunks; **hannù** hand, **hannu-hannu** handlike (structure, shape); **hatsi** grain, **hatsi-hatsi** with specks (such as on a TV screen); **hòtò** picture, **hòto-hòto** picturelike; **kùrtù** small gourd, **kùrtu-kùrtu** gourdlike; **kòfà** door, **kòfà-kòfà** doorlike opening; **kuŋji** boil, **kuŋji-kuŋji** boillike swelling; **ruwà** water, **ruwa-ruwa** watery; **shirù** silence, **shiru-shiru** taciturn; **tsàki** coarse part of flour, **tsàki-tsàki** coarse; **tsakuwà** stone, **tsakuwà-tsakuwà** stony (i.e., mixed with little stones); **yàshi** sand, **yàshi-yàshi** sandy; **wàkè** black-eyed peas, **wàke-wàke** speckled black and white

Syntactically these words function just like other reduplicated adjectives, i.e., they can serve as predicate adjectives or as attributive (postnominal) modifiers, e.g.,

<b>tsuntsàyen nàn wàke-wàke nè</b>	These birds are speckled.
<b>àbinci ruwa-ruwa</b>	watery food
<b>kasà yàshi-yàshi</b>	sandy soil

°AN: Some speakers allow the use of the particle **mài** between the noun and the adjective, i.e., **kasà mài yàshi-yàshi** = **kasà yàshi-yàshi** 'sandy soil', i.e., they treat the derived forms like an attenuated ANSQ. This, however, is a less preferred alternative and one that is rejected as ungrammatical by other speakers.

Color terms derived by this derivation may have an additional '-ish' connotation, which relates to the attenuation function of this same reduplicative process (see §2.3 below), e.g.,

**dòrawà** locust bean tree, **dòrawà-dòrawà** yellowish; **kasà** earth, **kasà-kasà** brownish; **màkubà** mahogany tree, **màkubà-màkubà** dark brownish color; **tòkà** ashes, **tòka-tòka** gray (ash colored)

### 2.3. Attenuated reduplicated adjectives ('-ish')

When applied to adjectives (or sensory-quality nouns), the process of full reduplication with accompanying vowel shortening produces forms that are semantically "attenuated", i.e., have the quality of the simple adjective but to a lesser extent, e.g., **tsanwà** 'green', **tsanwa-tsanwa** 'light green, greenish'. The word **jā** 'red' uses a reduplicated base as the input to this derivation, e.g., **jā** (base //jājā//) ⇒ **jāja-jāja** 'reddish'. (A few words appear only in this form without an extant nonreduplicated stem, e.g., **řòdř-řòdř** 'spotty, speckled'.) The attenuation is often further (redundantly) indicated by use of the diminutive **d'an/'yař/'yan** 'wee, small', e.g.,

<b>baři</b> black, ( <b>d'an</b> ) <b>baři-baři</b> faded black	<b>dògò</b> tall, ( <b>d'an</b> ) <b>dògo-dògo</b> medium height
<b>fari</b> white, ( <b>d'an</b> ) <b>fari-fari</b> off-white	<b>gàjèrè</b> short, ( <b>d'an</b> ) <b>gàjère-gàjère</b> a bit short
<b>shūdř</b> dark blue, <b>shūdř-shūdř</b> light blue, bluish	<b>yalò</b> yellow, <b>yalò-yalò</b> yellowish

°AN: The productivity of the attenuation process is illustrated by its use with the recent English loanword **yalò** 'yellow'.

Corresponding feminine and plural adjectives also undergo the process, e.g.,

<b>baḳā</b> f. black, <b>baḳa-baḳa</b> blackish, gray	<b>dōguwā</b> f. tall, <b>dōguwa-dōguwa</b> somewhat tall
<b>farārē</b> pl. white, <b>faràre-faràre</b> off-white	<b>shūdāyē</b> pl. blue, <b>shūdāye-shūdāye</b> bluish

°AN: Note that in a form like **dōguwa-dōguwa** 'somewhat tall' (f.) (< **dōgō** 'tall') the feminine inflection precedes the attenuation derivation, and similarly, in **faràre-faràre** 'off-white' (pl.), the inflection has to precede the derivation.

The reduplicated form **mánya-mánya** 'large (things), important (people)' (< **mányā** 'large (pl.)', does not usually have the attenuated meaning but it may, e.g.,

**bà ni wafànnàn 'yan mánya-mánya, kà ajiyè 'yan Ranānàn**  
Give me these largish ones and put aside the little ones.

Attenuated forms are most often encountered with simple, basic adjectives. The process can, however, apply to the range of derived adjectives, including their inflected feminine and plural forms, e.g.,

<b>dáfaffē / dáfaffe-dáfaffe</b>	somewhat cooked (adj.pp)
<b>tsàgaggē / tsàgagge-tsàgagge</b>	somewhat cracked (adj.pp)
<b>tsàttsāmā / tsàttsāma-tsàttsāma</b>	somewhat sour (DASQ)
<b>kàkkaurā / kàkkaura-kàkkaura</b>	somewhat stout (DASQ)
<b>mahàukàci / mahàukàci-mahàukàci</b>	slightly crazy ( <b>ma</b> -agent)
<b>malàlātā / malàlāta-malàlāta</b>	lazyish (pl.) ( <b>ma</b> -agent)
<b>bàhagò / bàhagò-bàhagò</b>	semi-left-handed (ethnonym)

The attenuated adjectives generally occur in postnominal position, e.g.,

<b>mõtā jāja-jāja</b>	reddish car
<b>sōjà d'an dōgo-dōgo</b>	medium-height soldier
<b>dōyà būsasshiya-būsasshiya</b>	somewhat-dried yams
<b>kāyā wànkàkku-wànkàkku</b>	slightly washed clothes
<b>yārā malàlāta-malàlāta</b>	lazyish children
<b>wata məcè mahaukaciya-mahaukaciya</b>	slightly crazy woman
<b>wata məcè bàgidājiya-bàgidājiya</b>	somewhat naive, dim-witted girl

Some attenuated adjectives can occur prenominally (with the linker), but this option seems to be limited to basic, phonologically short masculine forms, e.g., **wani fari-farin kèkè** 'some off-white bicycle' (= **wani kèkè fari-fari**), but not **\*\*mahaukaciya-mahaukaciyař məcè** 'a slightly mad woman'.

### 2.3.1. ANSQs

Because of their semantic attributes, abstract nouns of sensory quality (ANSQs) can also undergo this attenuation derivation even though it normally applies only to adjectives. This is also true in the case of a few other semantically appropriate words that are not ANSQs in the strict morphological sense, e.g.,

<b>dāci</b> bitterness / <b>dāci-dāci</b> somewhat bitter	<b>kauri</b> thickness / <b>kauri-kauri</b> slightly thick
<b>tsāmi</b> sourness / <b>tsāmi-tsāmi</b> sourish	<b>dūmi</b> warmth / <b>dūmi-dūmi</b> semiwarm



The resulting attenuated forms are grammatically still nouns and thus function syntactically as nouns and not as adjectives. For example, they form modifying adjectival phrases with the particle **mài/màsu** rather than immediately following the noun, and they express semantic predication by means of HAVE sentences. Moreover, they do not inflect for number or gender.

<b>māgàni mài d'āci-d'āci</b>	somewhat bitter-tasting medicine
cf. <b>bàbūr shūdī-shūdī</b>	a light blue motorcycle (with the attenuated adjective)
<b>kàtífà tanà dà laushi-laushi</b>	The mattress is somewhat soft.
cf. <b>kàtífār tsàgaggiya-tsàgaggiya cè</b>	The mattress is ripped. (with the attenuated adjective)
<b>d'ākunà màsu wāri-wāri</b>	somewhat smelly rooms

#### 2.4. Compound adjectives

There are only some twenty or so compound adjectives (see §16:1.2). About half of these are nonbasic color terms having the structure **ruwan X** 'color-of-X', e.g.,

**ruwan-hōdà** pink (< **hōdà** face powder); **ruwan-rasā** brown (< **rasā** earth); **ruwan-tòkà** gray (< **tòkà** ashes)

These adjectives can undergo the attenuation process by reduplicating the second component and subjecting it to the vowel-shortening rule, e.g.,

**ruwan-hōdà-hōdà** pinkish; **ruwan-rasa-rasa** brownish; **ruwan-tòka-tòka** grayish

The remaining compound adjectives represent a mixed assortment of formations. Here are some examples:

**awòn-igiyà** extremely tall/long (lit. measure.L rope); **ci-kař-kà-mutù** tasteless (lit. eat don't you die); **dūkàn-iskà** mentally ill (lit. beating.L spirits); **gàgàrà-kòyo** mysterious, very hard to learn (lit. defy learning); **gàmà-gàri** common, ordinary (lit. combine town); **shā-kà-tàfi** stupid (lit. drink you go)

Compound adjectives do not inflect for number or gender. When used attributively, they occur only post-nominally.

<b>mōtōci ruwan-azùřfā</b> silver-metallic-colored cars	<b>yādì ruwan-hōdà-hōdà</b> pinkish cloth
<b>wàndō d'inkìn-kèke</b> machine-sewn trousers	<b>wani mùtùm shā-kà-tàfi</b> some foolish man

### 3. SYNTAX

#### 3.1. Predicate adjectives

Adjectives can function predicatively or attributively. As predicates, adjectives function as the Y in equational or identificational sentences of the form (X) Y STAB (see chap. 23). The Y obligatorily agrees in gender and number with the expressed or understood X subject, e.g.,

[yāròn]X [dōgō]Y nè	The boy is tall.
[gidàjen nàn]X [sàbàbbi]Y nè	These houses are new.
[kàrensà]X [mafàd'āci]Y nè?	Is his dog vicious?
[wuřātā]X [kàkkaifā]Y cè	My knife is very sharp.

[rīgáf dà na sàyá]X [rinanniyá]Y cè	The gown that I bought was dyed.
[fará]Y cè	It's white. (referring to some feminine object)
tsàgaggè]Y nè	It's cracked. (referring to some masculine object)

### 3.2. Attributive adjectives

#### 3.2.1. Alternative word orders

Simple, single-word adjectives occur both before and after the head noun. Prenominal adjectives obligatorily connect to the head by means of a genitive linker (-n or -ř, depending on number and gender); postnominal adjectives are immediately juxtaposed to the head noun, e.g.,

farin gidā (lit. white.L house) =	gidā farī (lit. house white)	white house
kānjāmammen fuřsùnà =	fuřsùnà kānjāmammē	thin prisoner
tsàtsāmař furā =	furā tsàtsāmā	sour <i>fura</i>
mākēkèn dūtsè =	dūtsè mākēkē	huge stone
rūsàssun dākunà =	dākunà rūsàsū	razed rooms

Generally speaking, noun phrases with the two orders have the same essential meanings, although there are a few exceptions, e.g., **gwamnà tsòhò** 'old governor' vs. **tsòhon gwamnà** 'former governor (or old governor)'. Differences do exist, however, but at the pragmatic/stylistic level. Both orders are normal and quite common, although it is probably true that in the everyday language the prenominal adjective is the less marked of the two, i.e., postnominal simple adjectives tend to add a certain degree of emphasis or contrastiveness. Significantly, in compounds consisting of an adjective and a noun, the adjective always occurs prenominal, e.g., **bařin-cikì** 'sadness; jealousy' (lit. black.L belly), *not* **\*\*cikì-baři**.

ØHN: The standard word-order pattern in Chadic is noun + adjective, which presumably was the original order in Hausa as well. Prenominal adjectives in such phrases as **farin gidā** 'white house' probably began as N of N constructions meaning 'whiteness of house'.

A noun may be modified by more than one adjective. (Three seems to be the maximum allowed without the phrase becoming excessively clumsy.) Each prenominal adjective will contain a linker, whereas the postnominal adjectives will simply be strung one after the other. In principle, multiple adjectives can occur both before and after the head noun, although multiple prenominal adjectives are dispreferred, e.g.,

bàbban kàřkarfan àlfadàřī = àlfadàřī bàbbā kàřkarfā	big strong mule
zungurēriyař sābuwař farař mōtā = mōtā zungurēriyā sābuwā farā	long new white car

It is possible, and indeed quite common, for a noun to be modified by both pre- and postnominal adjectives. This is a normal strategy to avoid too many adjectives in front of the noun, e.g.,

gājēriyař yāriyā kyākkyāwā	a short, good-looking girl (lit. short.L girl pretty)
mafādācin kārē baři	a vicious black dog (lit. vicious.L dog black)

#### 3.2.2. Strictly postnominal adjectives

Unlike phonologically short one-word adjectives, which can occur either before or after a head noun, "heavy" adjectives are restricted to postnominal position. These heavy adjectives include fully reduplicated adjectives, compound adjectives, adjectives that are themselves modified, and adjectival phrases formed with MAI 'having' or related items (see chap. 45). Examples:

**mātā santalā-sàntalā** thin, shapely women; **mõtā jāja-jāja** reddish car; **Rafàfū tsalā-tsàlā**  
longand skinny legs  
**rīgā ruwan-dòrawā** yellow gown; **tāgùwā d'inkin-kèke** machine-sewn shirt; **littāfi gàgarà-kòyo**  
mysterious, hard-to-learn book  
**tsìrē Rùnsasshē à takārdā** kebab wrapped in paper, cf. **Rùnsasshen tsìrē** wrapped kebab  
**tagùwā yàgaggiyā ta bāya** shirt ripped in the back, cf. **yàgaggiyāf tagùwā** torn shirt  
**kāyā mài nauyi** heavy loads (lit. loads having heaviness)  
**hanyā marāf kyāu** a bad road (lit. road lacking goodness)

°AN: With reduplicated ideophonic adjectives such as **tsalā-tsàlā**, prenominal modification is viewed as possible, but less preferred, e.g., **??tsalā-tsàlān Rafàfū** 'long and slender legs'.

◇HN: The word **dàbam** 'different', which as a modifier occurs only postnominally, e.g., **hanyā dàbam** 'different road', appears on the surface to be a simple one-word adjective. However, it differs from true adjectives not only in its word-order syntax, but also in its lack of a corresponding feminine form. (It is also unusual in forming its "plural" by repetition, e.g., **Kasàshē dàbam dàbam** 'different countries'.) The explanation is that historically **dàbam** derives from a prepositional *phrase* consisting of **dà** 'with' + **\*bam** 'difference' (now usually **bambam**), e.g., **yā shā bambam dà sū** 'He differs from them (lit. he drinks difference with them).

Adjectives in postnominal position also permit the insertion of conjunctions or modal particles, which is not the case with prenominal adjectives, e.g.,

**wani mùtúm fari kātò àmmā gājērē** a big, light-skinned man but short  
**rīgā ruwan-hòdā kuma sābuwā ta sīlikì** a pink gown also new of silk

### 3.2.3. Gender/number agreement with conjoined NPs

Conjoined nouns can each be modified by an adjective, e.g.,

<b>baƙin kārē dà farāf kyánwā</b>	black dog and white cat
<b>baƙin kārē dà baƙaƙ kyánwā</b>	black dog and black cat
<b>mahàukàcin sarki dà mafàdàcin àlkālì</b>	crazy chief and a ferocious judge
<b>dòguwaƙ sàrauniyā dà gājēriyaƙ jàkàdiyā</b>	tall queen and short emissary
<b>bàhagòn kèkè dà bàhagùwaƙ mòtā</b>	left-handed bike and a left-handed car
<b>rìkìfkitaccen dòkì dà rìkìfkitaccen jàkì</b>	confused horse and confused donkey
<b>danyen lè mò dà danyen dàbìnò</b>	unripe orange and unripe date
<b>tsòhuwaƙ bütà dà tsòhon gwangwani</b>	old kettle and old can
<b>tsòhuwaƙ bütà dà tsòhuwaƙ tukunya</b>	old kettle and old pot
<b>tsàgaggiyaƙ rīgā dà tsàgaggiyaƙ tagùwā</b>	ripped gown and ripped shirt
<b>ƙarfàfan sàmàrì dà ƙarfàfan 'yammātā</b>	strong boys and strong girls
<b>faràren mòtòci dà faràren jiràgè</b>	white cars and white planes

If the two nouns are modified by the same adjective(s) *and* the words have the same gender/number, then it is possible to delete the second occurrence of the adjective(s) and have the adjectival meaning spread over the two words. This deletion seems to apply most naturally when the two nouns belong to the same semantic class, e.g.,

**rìkìfkitaccen dòkì dà ~~rìkìfkitaccen~~ jàkì** confused horse and donkey  
**danyen lè mò dà ~~danyen~~ dàbìnò** unripe orange and date

<b>tsōhuwaɾ bütà dà tsōhuwaɾ tukunyā</b>	old kettle and pot
<b>tsàgaggiyaɾ rìgà da tsàgaggiyaɾ tagùwā</b>	ripped gown and shirt
<b>karfāfan sàmàrì dà karfāfan 'yammātā</b>	strong boys and girls
<b>faràren mōtōci dà faràren jiràgē</b>	white cars and planes
<b>tsōhon farin zanì dà tsōhon farin mayāfi</b>	old white wrapper and (old white) shawl
<b>lâlâtaccen tababben sōjà dà lâlâtaccen tababben d'an sandā</b>	a perverted mad soldier and (perverted mad) policeman

The above sentences are all ambiguous because they allow the interpretation with the adjective modifying the first noun only, e.g., **tsàgaggiyaɾ rìgà da tagùwā** could also mean 'a ripped gown and (a nonripped) shirt' (a reading preferred by some speakers).

The ellipsis of the second adjective does not work if the words do not match in gender, e.g., **baɾin karē dà kyānwā** would normally be understood to mean 'a black dog and a (color unspecified) cat', and **tsōhuwaɾ bütà dà gwangwani** would be understood as 'old kettle and (age unspecified) can'.

The extension of the adjectival meaning works only from left to right. If the adjective precedes the second noun, the modification does not apply to the first noun, e.g., **bütà dà tsōhuwaɾ tukunyā** can only mean 'a kettle and an old pot', and **lēmō dà danyen dabīnò** can only mean 'oranges (unspecified for ripeness) and unripe dates'.

Instead of modifying conjoined nouns individually, the adjective can modify the coordinate structure as such, in which case it takes plural concord, e.g.,

<b>[mafādātan]<sub>pl</sub> [[mijì]<sub>m</sub> dà [màtā]<sub>f</sub>]<sub>pl</sub></b>	quarrelsome husband and wife (couple)
<b>wafānnán [[kàzā]<sub>f</sub> dà [zàkarà]<sub>m</sub>]<sub>pl</sub> [matsòràtā]<sub>pl</sub></b>	this (lit. these) frightened hen and rooster
<b>[kyāwàwan]<sub>pl</sub> [[kèke]<sub>m</sub> dà [bàbùf̄]<sub>m</sub>]<sub>pl</sub></b>	attractive bicycle and motorbike
<b>[hàzìkan]<sub>pl</sub> [[dālibi]<sub>m</sub> dà [dālibā]<sub>f</sub>]<sub>pl</sub></b>	outstanding male student and female student

### 3.2.4. Headless adjectives

Hausa does not have an overt pronominal 'one' to accompany adjectives; thus if the head **bàbùf̄** is deleted from the phrase **bàbùf̄ sàbō** (or **sàbon bàbùf̄**) 'new motorcycle', the surface result is simply **sàbō** 'new (one)'. Similarly **kàramāf̄ àkuyà** 'small goat' becomes **kàramā** 'small (one)', and **miyàgun 'yan siyàsà** 'evil politicians' becomes **miyàgù** 'evil (ones)'.

°AN: In NPs with the structure [Ø adj]<sub>NP</sub> the adjective is the only element that appears on the surface and thus it has to serve as the host/head for definite articles and such, e.g., Ø **kanānā-n** 'the small (ones)'. It is thus understandable that previous scholars would have mistakenly interpreted headless adjectives like **sàbō** and **kanānā** as nouns.

Headless adjectives, which are extremely common in the language, occur either because of syntactically favored ellipsis or because the head is understood from the context. Notice that because these words are adjectives (and not nouns), the gender is determined by the controlling noun (even if not expressed) rather than being an intrinsic property of the adjective itself. Examples:

**Mūsā yā sayō baɾaɾ mōtā, Sāni kuma farā**

Musa bought a black car and Sani a white one. (f. **farā** refers to **mōtā**)

**kanà sòn kwai? I, sai dai sòyayyē**

Do you want an egg? Yes, but fried. (m. **sòyayyē** refers to **kwai**)

**gà àlāmà dōguwā zā tà fādì**

There's indication that the tall one will fail. (f. **dōguwā** refers to an understood female)

**Kanānān sun fi saurā tsādā**

The small ones are the most expensive. (pl. **kanānā** refers to an understood group of things)

**3.3. The "quality-with-pronoun" construction**

Adjectives (and ideophones) can be strengthened by using them in a postnominal construction of the form **X dà pn**, where **X** is the adjective (or ideophone), **dà** is the preposition 'with' and **pn** is an independent pronoun coreferential with the head noun. Examples:

<b>wata yāriyā dōguwā dà ita</b>	a very tall girl (lit. some girl tall with her)
cf. <b>wata yāriyā dōguwā = wata dōguwā yāriyā</b>	a tall girl
<b>sun bā ni ruwā sàssanyā dà shi</b>	They gave me some cool water.
<b>gā shinkāfā dàffiyā dà ita</b>	Here's some well-cooked rice.

Although this construction can in principle be used with all adjectives, it is particularly common with semantically marked adjectives such as augmentatives, diminutives, or ideophonic adjectives. When the construction is used with regular adjectives, it tends to emphasize a contrast and/or indicate above-average attributes. For example, in **yāriyā kyākkyāwā dà ita** 'a beautiful girl', the construction serves to contrast **kyākkyāwā** 'beautiful' with the implied **mūmmūnā** 'ugly'. Examples:

<b>bēfā nè muḡujējè dà shi</b>	a really big mouse
<b>'yammātā santalā-sàntàlā dà sū</b>	truly shapely girls
<b>zanì ɗan dīḡḡì dà shi</b>	a skimpy, shrunk cloth
<b>rīgā cè figil dà ita</b>	a too-small gown
<b>wasu yārā mitsi-mitsi dà sū</b>	some wee little boys
<b>mùtùm digirḡirḡi dà shi (sai kà cè kwādō)</b>	a shrimp of a man (such that you would say a frog)
<b>wasu kurājè balō-balò dà sū</b>	some large boils
<b>kafāfū tsalā-tsàlā dà sū</b>	fine, thin legs
<b>wani sarki tsōfai-tsōfai dà shi</b>	a very old chief

**4. COMPARATIVE/SUPERLATIVE**

Comparatives and superlatives of adjectives and nouns of quality are expressed syntactically rather than morphologically. These are described in chap. 14. Examples:

<b>Mūsā yā fi Sulè tsawō</b>	Musa is taller than Sule. (lit. Musa exceeds Sule (in) height)
cf. <b>Mūsā dōḡō nè</b>	Musa is tall.
<b>yārò mafī karfi</b>	the strongest boy (lit. boy exceeding strength)
cf. <b>yārò mairi karfi</b>	a strong boy (lit. boy possessing strength)

[References: Korshunova and Uspensky (1993); Parsons (1963)]

## 5. Adverbs

### 1. INTRODUCTION

**A**DVERBS and adverbial phrases (of time, place, manner, etc.) have a number of different functions. To begin with, they serve as predicates of nonverbal locative and stative sentences, e.g., *d'ākīnā yanà dab dà nātà* 'My room is right next to hers'; *fādāwā sunà zàune kusa dà sarki* 'The councilors are seated close to the chief'. They appear as locative goals of motion verbs, e.g., *mù tafi cān* 'Let's go there!' They serve as modifiers in phrases and compounds having the structure N of adverb, e.g., *shūgāban d'āzu* 'the leader of the moment' (lit. leader.of now); *kīshīn-zūci* 'ambition' (lit. jealousy.of in heart) (cf. the noun *zūciyā* 'heart'). In addition, they function readily as modifiers of predicates, in which case they typically occur towards the end of the sentence after the core arguments in the VP or nonverbal predicate.

*inà sōntà ainùn*

*mùtumīn yanà dà kuɗi kwaɗai dà gāske*

*tanà aiki sànnu sànnu*

*sun dāwō jiyà dà yamma*

*munà sayensu à Tamburāwā*

*àkwai buɗòdi cikin kwabàd?*

I love her very much.

This man is really and truly rich.

She is working slowly and carefully.

They returned yesterday afternoon.

We buy them at Tamburawa.

Is there bread in the cupboard?

It is possible to string a number of adverbs in a single sentence, the order of the various adverbs being subject to some degree of flexibility, e.g.,

*gidan Bellò yanà bāyan asibitì kusa dà shāgòn kāfintà*

house.of Bello he.cont back.of hospital close with workshop.of carpenter

Bello's house is behind the hospital close to the carpenter's workshop.

*tā dafā àbinci à d'ākin girki jiyà dà dàddare cikin sauri* (or *dà gaggāwā*)

she.comp cook food at room.of cooking yesterday with evening in speed (with haste)

She cooked the food in the kitchen yesterday evening in haste.

= *tā dafā àbinci jiyà dà dàddare à d'ākin girki cikin sauri*

She cooked the food yesterday evening in the kitchen in haste.

Like most constituents in the language, adverbs can be fronted for the purpose of focus, e.g.,

*jiyà dà yamma* (nè) *sukà dāwō*

*à Tamburāwā* (nè) *mukè sayensu*

*dà kyaɗ mukà sāmù*

*à kāsuwā takè*

It was *yesterday afternoon* they returned.

It's *at Tamburawa* we buy them.

*With difficulty* we got it.

It's *at the market* she is.

Temporal adverbs can optionally be used at the beginning of a sentence without connoting focus.

jiyà an yi ruwā Yesterday it rained. (= an yi ruwā jiyà It rained yesterday.)

gòbe màkànikè zài zō yà gyārà makà bàbùf

Tomorrow the mechanic will come and fix your mortorcycle.

= màkànikè zài zō gòbe yà gyārà makà bàbùf

The mechanic will come tomorrow and fix your motorcycle.

shèkaràf àlif dà d'arI tařà dà sittin Nàjèřiyà tā sàmi mulkìn kái

In 1960 Nigeria gained independence.

dá inà iyà ciyař dà lyālì, àmmā yànzú dai, iná!

Formerly I could provide for my family, but nowadays, no way!

In the case of adverbs that indicate sentence perspective, doubt, obligation, etc., sentence initial position is the norm, e.g.,

watařilà Mūsā zài tàimàkè kà dà mòtā

Perhaps Musa will help you out with a ride.

lallè yā màkarà

Definitely he's late.

wai Tùrāwā sukàn ci d'anyen řwai

It is said that Europeans eat raw eggs.

bá shakkà makwàbcinkà yanà dà kudf

Without a doubt your neighbor is rich.

yāwanç sun sàkè irìn àddinìnsù

For the most part, they have changed their religion.

Adverbs can be viewed in terms of their function (time, manner, etc.) or in terms of their internal composition—namely, whether they are expressed by single words or by phrases. As far as lexical adverbs are concerned, one can distinguish those that are simple (non-derived) words as opposed to those that are morphologically derived from words belonging to some other part of speech.

## 2. BASIC/SIMPLE ADVERBS

The basic adverbs constitute a phonologically and semantically varied class. One common phonological feature that many of them share, as opposed to nouns or adjectives, is the absence of a monophthongal long final vowel. Typically, adverbs end in a short final vowel, a diphthong, or a consonant. Here is a selected list of adverbs grouped into rough semantic classes. (A few lexical compounds and universal forms are listed here even though they are not monomorphemic.)

### 2.1. Spatial

**dāma** right-hand side, direction; **hagu** = **hagun** left; contrary to expectation

**arèwa** north; **kudù** south; **gabàs** east; **yamma** west

**kusa** nearby; **inā** where?; **kō'inā** everywhere

### 2.2. Temporal

**bàra** last year; **bàdì** next year; **bana** this year; **città** four days hence; **dá** (**mā**) formerly, once upon a time; **dàd'ai** ever, always; (with neg) never; **d'āzu** just now; **gātà** three days hence; **gòbe** tomorrow; **jibi** day after tomorrow; **jiyà** yesterday; **yáu** today; **shèkaranjiyà** day before yesterday; **kullum** always, every day; **tùni** long ago; **tùtuř** forever, always; **wàshègàrI** (= **kàshègàrI**) the following day; **yànzú** now, at present; **yàushè** = **yàushè** when? **kōyàushè**, **kōyàushè** whenever

ØHN: Etymologically, **shēkaranjiyà** 'day before yesterday' (lit. X (?) of yesterday) and **wàshègàrì** 'the following day' (lit. clear out the town) were compounds. Synchronically, however, they constitute single words.

Some of the temporal adverbs can be specified by means of a demonstrative or a definite article, e.g., **ɗàzun nà** (lit. now.of this) 'just a little while ago', **yànzun nà** 'right now' (lit. now.of this); **yáu ɗin nà** 'this very today', **gòbèn** 'the tomorrow' (that we were referring to).

### 2.3. Deictics: Both spatial and temporal

**nán** here, now; **nan** there near you, then

**cán** there (not near you); **can** there (remote), then (later)

Because of their high frequency and importance, the four forms **nán**, **nan**, **cán**, and **can** deserve special comments on their own. (For a description of these items functioning as demonstratives meaning 'this/that', see §21:1.1.) Note that these items commonly accompany other locative adverbs or adverbial prepositional phrases. (If the immediately following preposition is **à** 'at', it is usually deleted.) Examples:

**mun hàngi mayākā can nēsà**      We saw warriors there afar (i.e., in the distance).  
**yanà nán (à) ɗākìn**              It is here in the room.

#### 2.3.1. Form

The segmental contrast is between **NAN** and **CAN**, the former being nearer in space or time than the latter.

ØHN: Assuming that the initial /c/ derives from /t/, then one ends up with the **n / t** contrast that is so common in Hausa and elsewhere in Chadic as a masculine/feminine opposition. My feeling is that this is not accidental and that what is now a spatial/temporal difference was originally one of gender.

The surface tonal contrast is between falling and high. The surface falling tone represents HL on a single syllable. The surface H tone is a manifestation (historical or underlying) of LH, the change from LH to H being a regular tonal rule in the language. (Hausa does not have rising tones.) Once the H-tone forms are understood to be LH, one is able to identify the iconic tonal opposition between an H-L pattern indicating relatively proximal and an L-H pattern indicating relatively distal.

#### 2.3.2. Meaning

The primary meaning of these deictics can be thought of as spatial, i.e., 'here/there'. By extension, three of the items (**nán**, **nan**, and **can**) also serve to denote temporal closeness or distance. Some of them also carry an existential sense. Unlike English, which has a simple two-term system 'here' vs. 'there' (with a third 'yonder' in some dialects), Hausa has a four-term system. The four deictic forms will now briefly be described one by one.

2.3.2.1. The falling tone (HL) **nán** denotes 'here' defined as speaker proximal, e.g.,

**yanà nán kusa dà nĩ**                      He is here close to me.  
**nán nē kafà kè yi minì ctwò**      It is here that my leg is hurting me.



mù tsayà nán mù yi nazàfi kán lamàfiñ

Let's stop here and look over the situation.

In expressions contrasting 'here' and 'there', one often uses a repeated **nán** rather than switching to **cán**, e.g., *tā dūbà nán tā dūbà nán bà tà ga kōwā ba* 'She looked here, she look there, she didn't see anyone.'

The fundamental identity in meaning between **nán** as a demonstrative meaning 'this' and as an adverb meaning 'here' shows up in the following structurally distinct but semantically equivalent sentences, e.g.,

*bá wandà zài dɔgà à (nán wajèn = wajen nán) sai an fàd'i gaskiyā' àl'amàfiñ*

No one will move from *this place*, until the fact of the matter is stated.

(...here (at) the place... = ...(at) this place...)

When used temporally, **nán** indicates proximal time, i.e., now or soon, e.g.,

*dàgà nán zuwà kàrshen wannàn mākò*

from now until the end of this week

*zán kammàlà aikin nán bà dà jumàwā ba*

I'll finish the work soon (lit. ...now neg with passing

time neg).

It is commonly used along with another temporal adverb or in the set expression **nán gāba** 'in the near future' (lit. now ahead), e.g., *ai nán jiyà nē ta haifū* 'Well, it was just yesterday she gave birth'; *zā à būd'è hanyār nán gāba* 'The road will be opened at some time in the future.' The phrase **nán dà X**, where X is a temporal expression, indicates within a period of time, e.g., *nán dà watā biyu* 'in two months' time', *nán dà shèkarà hàmsin* 'in the next fifty years', *nán dà 'yan mintōci* 'a few minutes from now'.

2.3.2.2. The H-tone (< LH) **nan** denotes 'there', defined as hearer proximal, e.g.,

*gà maciñi nan kusa dà kai*

There is a snake there next to you.

*zā tà sá fitilá nan à kán tēbūr*

She will put a lamp there (next to you) on the table.

*yā kāmātā kù tsayà nan indà kukè*

You ought to stay there where you are.

Used temporally, **nan** denotes 'then', often in a successive sense, e.g., **nan (= can) akà ji wani àbin mànmākì** 'Then [after sth else] one heard a wonderful thing.' The conjoined expression **nan dà nan** means 'at once', e.g., *nan dà nan sai sukà gudù* 'They fled at once', whereas **nan tākè** (lit. there stepped), followed by a clause in the preterite, means 'suddenly', e.g., *nan tākè sai sukà mutù* 'Suddenly they died.'

The H-tone **nan** also indicates 'here/there' in an existential sense, e.g.,

*munà nan munà ta tabàwā*

We're here trying. (but not literally at this spot)

*yâyà iyāli? sunà nan lāfiyà lau*

How's the family? They're fine.

(lit. they.cont there healthy very)

*kākātā tanà nan dà rántà*

My grandmother is still alive and kicking.

(lit. grandmother.my she.cont there with life.of.her)

*littàttàfai sunà nan; an káwō jiyà*

The books are here (in an existential sense, not necessarily physically near the speaker); they were brought yesterday.

*yanà nan kán aikinsà, sai akà zō masà dà lābāfiñ rāsufā mahāifinsà*

He was (there) working away at his job, when the news of his father's death reached him.

2.3.2.3. The falling-tone (HL) **cân** 'there' indicates a distance away from the speaker and the hearer, but not extremely far away, e.g.,

<b>don Allàh kù kai sù cân</b>	Please take them there.
<b>gà ta cân à gidan su Bintà</b>	There she is at the house of Binta et al.
<b>banki yanà cân à hanyàf Wùdil</b>	The bank is there on Wudil Road.

Unlike the other three members of the set, **cân** does not occur in nonspatial contexts, i.e., it is not used temporally or existentially or anaphorically.

2.3.2.4. The H-tone (< LH) **can** 'there (remote)' indicates a distance 'yonder (way far away)', e.g.,

<b>ƙasaƙ Jàpàn tanà can Āsiyà</b>	Japan is way out there in Asia.
<b>can à garin Bauchi na arēwacin Nàjēriyà</b>	there (far away) in Bauchi in northern Nigeria
<b>yanà tàfiye-tàfiye haƙ yà isa can cikin jējì</b>	He was traveling on and on until he reached there (distant) in the forest.

When used temporally, **can** indicates distal time, i.e., it is the counterpart of **nân**, e.g.,

**Fàsih ya kōmà zaurè. Can zuwà àzahàf Wàzirì ya faƙkà**

Fasih went back to the entrance room. Much later on, toward afternoon, Waziri woke up.

**can zuwà tsakaƙ-darè sai na ji yà fàrà àbìn dà sarkin nàn ya bā dà làbāfì dà rāna**

Much later on, toward midnight, I then heard him begin the thing that the chief talked about in the afternoon.

**can jìm kàd'an sai na ga yà òùbi sàkòn dà gāwaƙ nàn takè**

A little while later, I saw him look at the corner where this corpse is.

**tò àmmà tun dá can bá shi dà ànniyàf cika àlƙawāfìn**

But even then, he had no intention of fulfilling his promise.

Finally, H-tone **can** can be used anaphorically (or sometimes cataphorically). In this function, it serves sometimes as an alternative to **nân**, although **can** always implies the absence of the speaker from the location referred to, e.g.,

**manòmā sunà can cikin talaucinsù** The farmers are there (i.e., exist) in their poverty.

**kàfūwai kullum sunà can à kōfàf òtál bá ruwansù dà kōmē**

The prostitutes are always there by the hotel not mindful of anything.

#### 2.4. Manner, intensity, and other miscellaneous adverbs

The following items constitute a mixed assortment of adverblike words of different types.

**ainùn** very much, thoroughly; **àkallà** at least; **daidai** exactly; **dindindin** permanently, perpetually; **dòlè** perforce; **duk** entirely; **fàfūràtan** entirely, completely; **fàufau** absolutely not, never, none; **gālibàn = gālibi** usually; **haiƙà** very much, exceedingly; **hakà = hakàn** thus, so. (adverb pro-form); **hàrikà** surely, without a doubt; **kàsàfai** rarely, seldom; **kawài** only, merely; (with **sai**) suddenly, without warning; **kazàlikà** likewise, also; **kō** even; **kurùm** only, merely; silently, motionlessly; **ƙwàfai** very much so, surely; **làbuddà** definitely, for sure; **lallè** for sure, certainly; **maza** quickly, as quickly as possible; **mùsammàn** especially, expressly; **safai**

absolutely, very much; *sòsai* very well, correctly, perfectly; *tabbàs* undoubtedly; *tilàs* perforce; *tùkùna* (not) yet; *wai* it is said that; (*wata*)*ŋlìà* perhaps, maybe; *wulàràì* contemptuously, harshly; *kòyàyà* however; *yàyà* how?; *yawanci* mostly

The emphasizer *ƙwaƙai* 'very much so' often appears in the phrase *ƙwaƙai dà gàske* (lit. very in truth), comparable to English 'really and truly'. The adverb *daidai* 'exactly' enters in the stronger phrase *daidai wà daidà* whereas *sòsai* 'very well' can be conjoined with itself for strengthening purposes, e.g., *aikinkà yā yi kyāu sòsai dà sòsai* 'Your work was particularly good.'

Apart from manner adverbs and adverbial phrases, the expression of manner is often indicated by phonologically distinctive and semantically loaded ideophones (see chap. 35), e.g.,

<i>yana</i> tàfiyà <i>bàzàf-bazaf</i>	He is going about in a disorganized, raggedy manner.
<i>tā zauna</i> <i>bòfòfò</i>	She sat down exposing herself.
<i>yā fāfā ruwa</i> <i>fùn jùm</i>	It fell into the water with a splash.
<i>sun</i> <i>ɗaurè shi tam</i>	They tied it up tightly.

### 3. DERIVED ADVERBS

Apart from the inventory of basic adverbs, there are classes of adverbs that are morphologically derived in a more or less productive manner from nouns and verbs.

#### 3.1. Denominal adverbs

Many body-part terms, some locational and temporal nouns, and a few other items have corresponding adverbial forms. These adverbial forms, which are phonologically overtly marked, commonly occur with the prepositions *à* 'at' or *dà* 'with', e.g.,

<i>māshì yā sòkē shì à zūci</i>	A sword pierced him in the heart.
<i>nā yankè à yātsu</i>	I cut my fingers. (lit. I.comp was cut at fingers)
<i>yā zō à ƙafà</i>	He came by foot.
<i>sunà aikì bakà dà hanci</i>	They are working tooth and nail. (lit. at mouth and at nose)
<i>yā haddacē shi dà kà</i>	He memorized it by heart. (lit. by head)
<i>kadà kà ci àbinci dà rāna!</i>	Don't eat food during the day!
<i>munà sònsù dà gàske</i>	We truly like them.
<i>zanè tsàgaggè dàgà kàrbu</i>	a cloth torn at (lit. from) the selvage

These adverbs occur also in genitive constructions, including many compounds.

*yāƙìn gàske* a bitter war (lit. war.of in truth); *ɗan-kunne* earring (lit. little.of in ear); *rōmon-bakà* sweet talk, false promise (lit. broth.of in mouth); *gɪwaf-ruwa* Nile-perch (lit. elephant.of in water); *ƙwallon-ƙafà* soccer (lit. ball.of at foot); *sà-ɗakà* concubine slave-girl (lit. put-in room); *ƙishìn-zūci* ambition (lit. jealousy.of in heart)

The derivation involves the following morphophonological processes: (1) shortening of the final vowel (in all cases where the corresponding final vowel is long), (2) dropping of the feminine suffix (in almost all cases), (3) change of tone to H-H (generally accompanies (2), but otherwise lexically specific or optional); (4) addition of a tone-integrating suffix *-a*<sup>HL</sup>. This fourth process is uncommon, in three cases being accompanied by a change in the length or quality of the internal vowel as well. Examples (with the applicable processes indicated in parentheses):

## (a) Locatives

<b>cɪbiyā</b> navel ⇒ <b>cɪbi</b> on the navel (1, 2, 3)	<b>zūciyā</b> heart ⇒ <b>zūci</b> in heart, mind (1, 2, 3)
<b>idô</b> eye ⇒ <b>ido</b> in/on the eye (1, 3)	<b>kūnnē</b> ear ⇒ <b>kunne</b> on the ear (1, 3)
<b>bāyā</b> back ⇒ <b>bāya</b> in/at the back, behind (1)	<b>fiffikè</b> wing ⇒ <b>fiffikè</b> on the wing (1)
<b>gòshi</b> forehead ⇒ <b>gòshi</b> on the forehead (1)	<b>ƙafà</b> foot ⇒ <b>ƙafà</b> by foot (1) (or (4) ?)
<b>ruwā</b> water ⇒ <b>ruwa</b> in the water (1)	<b>bisā</b> height ⇒ <b>bisā</b> above (4)
<b>bàki</b> mouth ⇒ <b>bakà</b> in the mouth, by mouth (4) (= <b>bàki</b> (1))	
<b>ɗàkɪ</b> room, hut ⇒ <b>ɗakà</b> in the room (4)	<b>jiki</b> body ⇒ <b>jikà</b> in/on the body (4)
<b>ƙasā</b> ground ⇒ <b>ƙasà</b> on the ground, below (4)	<b>nɪsā</b> distance ⇒ <b>nēsà</b> distant (4)
Irregular: <b>gidā</b> house ⇒ <b>giji</b> at home	<b>kāi</b> head ⇒ <b>kā</b> (= <b>ka</b> ) on the head

°AN: The long-vowel variant **kā** is characterized by a glottal closure and phonetic vowel shortening in prepausal position, i.e., [ka-ʔ]; the short vowel variant is a new creation.

◊HN: Synchronically, the derivation of the adverbial form **giji** looks as if it involves a vowel change from the noun **gidā**. In reality, **gidā** is the plural of \***giji** (still used in some dialects), which is the source of the adverbial **giji**.

## (b) Temporals (and others)

<b>darē</b> night ⇒ <b>dare</b> at night (1)	<b>rānā</b> day, sun ⇒ <b>rāna</b> midday, in the day (1)
<b>rāni</b> dry season ⇒ <b>rāni</b> in the dry season (1)	<b>sāfiyā</b> morning ⇒ <b>sāfe</b> in the morning (1, 2)
<b>yāmmā</b> afternoon ⇒ <b>yamma</b> in the afternoon (1)	<b>gaskiyā</b> truth ⇒ <b>gāske</b> truly (1, 2)
<b>(fārā</b> begin) ⇒ <b>fārì</b> in the beginning (1)	

◊HN: [i] The word for 'truth' is often pronounced **gaskiyā** with H-H-H tone. The related adverbial form shows that the all H pronunciation is an innovation and that the L-H-H variant was the historically original form.

[ii] The adverb **fārì** derives from a synchronically nonexistent H-L i-final verbal noun \***fārì** 'beginning'.

The various stem changes are lexically restricted. The vowel shortening, on the other hand, appears to be quite a general process and, in the case of body-part nouns, can be applied even to feminatives and plurals, e.g.,

<b>dundūniyā</b> heel ⇒	<b>dundūniya</b> on the heel
<b>jɪjiyā</b> vein, artery ⇒	<b>jɪjiya</b> in the vein, artery
<b>hannāyē</b> hands ⇒	<b>hannāye</b> in/on the hands
<b>kunnuwà</b> ears ⇒	<b>kunnuwà</b> in/on the ears
<b>yātsū</b> fingers ⇒	<b>yātsu</b> on the fingers

◊HN: Originally, common nouns in Hausa all ended in short final vowels. Later, the vowels were lengthened, due to various essentially morphological processes, including the addition of feminative endings with long final vowels (Greenberg 1978; Newman 1979a, 1979b). The lengthening did not, however, affect adverbial forms. Thus, the short vowels on the locatives that synchronically appear to be due to a shortening process actually represent retention of the original vowel length. Viewed historically, **tōzō** 'hump', for example, comes from \***tōzo** (= current adverb **tōzo** 'on the hump') and not vice versa. Note, similarly, that the addition of the feminine ending did not apply to adverbs; thus **sāfiyā** comes from a feminine noun \***sāfe** 'morning' (preserved as the adverb 'in the morning') and not vice versa. Old Hausa did have processes for deriving adverbs from nouns, but they did not involve final vowel shortening per se. Rather they consisted of either the

uncommon addition of the suffix -à)<sup>HL</sup>, e.g., \*jiki (now jiki) 'body' ⇒ jikà 'on the body', or a more general tone change (essentially the addition of a final H tone), e.g., \*kunci (now kuncì) 'cheek' ⇒ kunci 'on the cheek'. Synchronically, vowel shortening appears to be the primary element in the derivation, with the result that the tone change has become a redundant option, i.e., kunci = kuncì 'on the cheek', ido (< \*idò 'eye' (now idò) = idò 'in the eye'.

### 3.2. Deverbal statives

Statives are derived productively from verbs (and occasionally from nouns) by means of a tone-integrating suffix -e)<sup>LH</sup> (see chap. 67), e.g.,

bùdè to open ⇒ bùde open, ajar, unlocked; mutù die ⇒ màce deceased; yāgà tear ⇒ yàge torn; zaunà to sit ⇒ zàune seated; Hausa Hausa ⇒ hàusance in Hausa

°AN: The statives translate into English as verb forms, adjectival past participles, etc. In Hausa, they constitute adverbials.

These statives commonly function as predicates of sentences in the continuous, e.g., sunà zàune 'They are sitting/seated', but they can serve also as adverbial modifiers, often with the preposition à, e.g.,

yā bař kōfà à bùde	He left the door open.
tā gayà minì à àsiřce	She told me in secret.
kù kāwō shì nān kō à rāye kō à màce	Bring him here dead or alive.
mutànsà sunà jèrè riķe dà māshì	His men are lined up armed with spears.

## 4. REDUPLICATION

Adverbs commonly enter into reduplicated (or repeated) formations. (It is not always clear whether the output constitutes a word, in which case one would want to speak of reduplication, or whether it is a phrase, in which case "repetition" would be the more accurate term.) In most cases, the reduplication is total (with possible final vowel modification), but some reductions do occur, especially with the strengthening group. Standard orthography is not totally consistent on how to represent reduplicated forms. Normally, partially reduplicated forms are treated as one word, e.g., mařmaza 'very quickly' < maza 'quickly', whereas fully reduplicated items are written as two words, usually without a hyphen, e.g., maza maza 'very quickly'. (Exceptions are lexicalized CVVCVV words such as daidai 'correct' or faufau 'never'.) Generally speaking the tone pattern of the simple form is also reduplicated, although in some cases the reduplicated output has its own distinct tone. Reduplication of adverbs serves a number of functions:

### 4.1. Strengthening

Some basic temporal adverbs, the locatives 'here' and 'there', and a few manner adverbs are strengthened by reduplication. Some exhibit full reduplication. Some undergo deletion of the final vowel of the first reduplicate, the deletion being optional in some cases, obligatory in others. (Resulting syllable-final obstruent consonants undergo either rhotacism or gemination in accordance with regular phonological rules.) In one case, the nonreduplicated form doesn't exist synchronically. Examples:

àsùbà dawn / àsùsùbà very early dawn; can there / can can far, far away; d'azu this moment / d'azu d'azu this very moment; gòbe tomorrow / gòbe gòbe as early as tomorrow; kusa close / kusa kusa (= kuřkusa) very close; maza quickly / maza maza (= mařmaza) very quickly; nān here /

**nán nán** right here; **sànnu** slowly, carefully / **sànnu sànnu** very slowly, carefully; **wuri** early / **wuri wuri** (= **wurwuri**) very early; **yànzú** now / **yànzú yànzú** just now; **yáú** today / **yáú yáú** this very day; / **jijjift** just before sunrise;

Tonally aberrant: **dare** at night / **dàddare** (late) at night; **sāfe** in the morning / **sassāfe** = **sassāfe** in the early morning

#### 4.2. Attenuation

Denominal adverbs (mostly locative) undergo semantic weakening when reduplicated. This is the same attenuation process found with adjectives (see §4:2.3), e.g., **gàba** 'forward' **gàba gàba** 'a bit forward', cf. **fari** 'white', **fari fari** 'whitish'. In some cases, the nonreduplicated adverb does not exist, i.e., one has only the noun and the reduplicated adverb (which being an adverb has a short final vowel), e.g.,

<b>bāya</b>	behind	<b>bāya bāya</b>	a bit behind
<b>dà dāmā</b>	OK, fairly well	<b>dà dāma dāma</b>	so-so, slightly
<b>gàba</b>	forward	<b>gàba gàba</b>	a bit forward
<b>gēfè</b>	side (not <b>**gēfè</b> on the side)	<b>gēfè gēfè</b>	around the side
<b>kasà</b>	below	<b>kasà kasà</b>	a bit lower
<b>nēsà (dà)</b>	far (from)	<b>nēsà nēsà (dà)</b>	somewhat far (from)
<b>samà</b>	above	<b>samà samà</b>	a bit higher
<b>tsakiyà</b>	center	<b>tsakiyà tsakiyà</b>	around the center

#### 4.3. Distributives

Full repetition of nouns creates adverbs that express the notion of distribution in time, space, or manner. The forms often correspond to English adverbial phrases of the sort 'from X to X' or 'X by X'.

<b>àsabàf àsabàf</b>	from Saturday to Saturday, every Saturday
<b>lòkàcì lòkàcì (= lôtò lôtò)</b>	from time to time, sometimes
e.g., <b>bā nā kallon talàbijin kōwàcè rānā sai dai lòkàcì lòkàcì</b>	
	I don't watch television every day, just from time to time.
<b>mākò mākò (= sātì sātì)</b>	weekly
e.g., <b>jàridà tanà fitōwā mākò mākò</b>	The newspaper appears weekly.
<b>ḏākì ḏākì</b>	from room to room
<b>fallē fallē</b>	singly, one by one (< <b>fallē</b> one unit)
<b>gidā gidā</b>	from house to house
e.g., <b>sukà rikà yāwò gidā gidā sunà neman wándà zái bā sù àbinci</b>	
	They kept on walking from house to house looking for someone who would give them food.
<b>kashì kashì</b>	in different categories, classes
e.g., <b>sai à kasà su kashì kashì</b>	One should put them in appropriate groups.
<b>lābà lābà</b>	in abundance (lit. pound (by) pound)
<b>tītì tītì</b>	street to street
e.g., <b>sōjōji sunà bīn 'yan tāwāyè tītì tītì</b>	The soldiers were following the rebels from street to street.

The distributed form of the numeral **ḏaya** 'one' is **ḏai ḏai** 'one by one', which optionally can be conjoined with itself, e.g., **kù ajìyè káyan nān ḏai ḏai dà ḏai ḏai** 'Put these loads down one by one'.

A few items occur only as repeated distributives rather than singly, e.g.,

<b>binì binì</b>	repeatedly, often
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<b>jěf̄ jěf̄</b>	from time to time, here and there
<b>dakì dakì</b>	in order, item by item, evenly
e.g., <b>sun jèru dakì dakì</b>	They are lined up evenly.
<b>dallā dallā</b>	clearly, in an orderly manner
e.g., <b>yā fad̄à minì lābār̄ì dallā dallā</b>	He told me the story step by step.

In the expression **à kái à kái** 'continually' (lit. at head at head), it is a prepositional phrase rather than an individual word that is repeated.

Distributives of phrases consisting of more than one word are formed by repeating the final word only, e.g.,

<b>kàsuwār̄ kauyè kauyè</b>	from village market to village market
<b>bàkin kògì kògì</b>	riverbank by riverbank

By contrast, the distributive of a true compound requires repetition of the entire compound, e.g.,

<b>kófār-gidā kófār-gidā</b>	front yard after front yard ( <b>kófār-gidā</b> = front yard)
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A few adverbial phrases indicating 'X after X' have the structure Noun<sub>1</sub>-sg **dà** 'and' Noun<sub>1</sub>-pl, e.g.,

<b>kwānā dà kwānākì</b>	day after day, it's been long since (lit. day and days)
<b>shèkarā dà shèkarū</b>	year after year (lit. year and years)
<b>watā dà wātānnì</b>	month after month (lit. month and months)

The expression **bī-da-bī** (lit. following-and-following), with the conjoined verbal nouns, indicates 'successively, in succession'.

## 5. PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Many constructions whose external syntactic and semantic function is that of an adverb, whether locative, temporal, manner, etc., are structurally prepositional phrases. Most often, the object of the preposition is a common noun or NP (or even a pp); but, as indicated earlier, some prepositional phrases prefer that the object morphologically be an adverb; compare **dà hankālì** 'carefully' (lit. with care), with **à bakà** 'in the mouth' (where **bakà** is an adverb derived from the noun **bākì** 'mouth').

### 5.1. Spatial

Prepositional phrases, whether formed with "true prepositions", "phrasal prepositions", or "genitive prepositions" (see chap. 57 for the distinction), serve as spatial adverbs. Such adverbs function as predicates of nonverbal locative sentences and as verbal or adverbial modifiers, e.g.,

<b>Lēgàs tanà [nēsà dà Kanò]</b>	Lagos is [far from Kano].
<b>kāyān bā sà [cikin kwabād]</b>	The clothes are not [in the cupboard].
<b>kāntì yanà [bāyan bankì]</b>	The store is [behind the bank].
<b>sunà zàune [dab dà bàfôn]</b>	They were sitting [right next to the guest].
<b>zā sù binnè shi [à gindin bishiyār]</b>	They will bury it [at the base of the tree].
<b>yā wucè [gāba dà mū]</b>	He passed [ahead of us]. (either in location or in rank)
<b>gà mōtā kòmàd̄ad̄iyā [dàgà gēfè]</b>	Here is a car dented [at the side].
<b>yā fizgè jakār [dàgà hannuntà]</b>	He snatched the purse [from her hand].

**nā sāmē sù [à makařantā]**

I found them [at school].

In certain contexts the extremely common preposition à 'in, at' is deleted, sometimes obligatorily, sometimes optionally. For example, in nonverbal locative sentences following a continuous TAM, the à is generally omitted, e.g.,

**yanà masallaçt (< yanà à masallaçt)**

He is at the mosque.

**mutânên dà kè flin wàsā (< mutânên dà kè à flin wàsā)**

the men who were at the playing field

In initial position, the à is optional, as it is when preceding a genitive preposition or when following a basic locative adverb such as **nân** 'here', e.g.,

(à) **makařantā na sāmē sù**

It was at school I found them.

(à) **masallaçt yakè**

It's at the mosque he is.

**nā gan tà (à) gāban asibiti**

I saw her in front of the hospital.

**sunā can (à) Landān**

They are there in London.

### 5.2. Temporal

Temporal adverb phrases are also formed with a range of prepositions, e.g.,

**Shātā yā gamā [dab dà zuwān 'yan rawān]**

Shata finished just before the coming of the dancers.

**mālāmīn yā gamā [kāfin zuwān d'ālibān]**

The teacher finished before the coming of the students.

**bà zā à rufè ba [sai bāyan řarfè biyař]**

They won't close until after five o'clock.

**[tun kāfin sù isō], mukā tāři**

Before they arrived, we had left.

### 5.3. Manner

Adverbs of manner are commonly expressed by a prepositional phrase consisting of **dā** 'with' plus a nominal or adverbial of quality, e.g.,

**dā gāngan**

deliberately (lit. with ill will) (cf. **aikīn gāngan** deliberately reckless work)

**dā gaggāwā**

quickly (with haste)

**dā hankālī**

carefully (with care)

**dā řarfi**

strongly (with strength)

**dā yawān gāske**

truly a lot (lit. with quantity of truth)

**dā kyař (= dà řyař)**

(only) with difficulty

Prepositional phrases consisting of **à** plus a stative adverb also serve as manner adverbials, e.g.,

**yā fita à gùje**

He went out on the run.

**yā bōyè kuđīn à àsīřce**

He hid the money on the sly.

**nā iskē yārōn à mimmiķe à kán gadō**

I saw the boy stretched out on the bed.

The preposition **à** is also used in phrases comparable to English 'by foot'.

**yā zō à řafā** He came by foot; **yā zō à mōtā** He came by car.



°AN: One can say *yā zō dà mōtā* 'He came with his car', which is semantically similar to *yā zō à mōtā*; but one cannot say *\*\*yā zō dà Rafā*.

There are two ways to express the idea of speaking (or writing) in a particular language. The most straightforward way is by means of a prepositional phrase consisting of *dà* plus the name of the language, e.g.,

<i>yā yi maganà dà Tūfanci</i>	He spoke in English.
<i>yā radā minì dà Fīlanci</i>	He whispered to me in Fulani.
<i>zāi bayyānā mukù dà Hausa</i>	He'll explain it to you in Hausa.
<i>tā rübütà kundintà dà Jāmusanci</i>	She wrote her thesis in German.

Alternatively, one can use a prepositional phrase made up of *à* plus a stative variant of the language name. This formation often has an indirect, figurative connotation, e.g.,

<i>yā yi maganà à Tūrānce</i>	He spoke in English (i.e., Englishly).
<i>yā radā minì à Fīllānce</i>	He whispered to me in Fulani (or in a shy manner).
<i>zāi bayyānā mukù à Hāusānce</i>	He'll explain it to you in Hausa (or in a clear manner).

(but not *\*\*tā rübütà kundintà à Jāmūsānce*)

#### 5.4. Instrumental

Instrumentals and related expressions also make use of the preposition *dà*, but with a concrete noun, e.g.,

<i>sun d'aurè shi dà igiyà</i>	They tied him with a rope.
<i>zā mù cikā dà gyàdā</i>	We will fill (it) with peanuts.
<i>nā sārè shi dà gātari</i>	I cut it down with an axe.

In principle one should be able to have an instrumental phrase formed with *dà* followed by a manner phrase with *dà*, although speakers tend to find such sentences stylistically unappealing, if not downright ungrammatical, e.g.,

??*sun d'aurè shi dà igiyà dà niyyà* They tied him with a rope on purpose.

## 6. NONPREPOSITIONAL PHRASAL ADVERBS

Hausa has a large number of idiomatic adverb phrases consisting of (a) a bare noun plus an adverb (often a stative) or (b) a pair of conjoined nouns or adverbs.

(a) *habà samà* head up (lit. chin skyward), e.g., *yanà tàfiyà habà samà* He was going along head held high; *bàki bũc'e* mouth agape; *hankali kwance* peacefully (lit. care lying down); *kāi kasà* head down; *rāi bāce* in despair (lit. life spoiled); *karā-zùbe* in a disorganized manner (lit. stalks poured out)

(b) *bàki dà hanci* (= *bakà dà hanci*) tooth and nail (lit. mouth and nose); *kāi dà fātà* adamantly (lit. head and skin); *karfi dà yāji* forcefully (lit. strength and spice)

A few nouns accompanied by a determiner function as adverbial phrases, e.g.,

**kōwàcè shèkarà** every year; **kwānan nān** at present (lit. day.of this); **wani lōkaci** sometime

The phrase **saurā kàɗan** (lit. remainder little) is used in an equational sentence followed by a clause in the subjunctive to indicate 'almost' with regard to the action of that clause, e.g.,

**saurā kàɗan (nè) tà gamà aiki** She almost finished the work.  
(lit. it's a small remainder (that) she finish the work)  
**saurā kàɗan (nè) yà kāmà birin** He almost caught the monkey.

Some negative existentials function as adverbials, e.g.,

**bá shakkà** there is no doubt (< **shakkà** doubt)  
**bá wai** there's no question (< **wai(wai)** hearsay)

## 7. COMPOUNDS

Most compounds in Hausa are nouns. There are, however, a small number of compound words (or tightly bound phrases) that function syntactically as adverbs (see §16:1.3). Examples:

**ruwā-à-jállō** (lit. water-at-bottle) desperately; **shèkarān-cittā** (lit. ? of-four days hence) five days hence; **tàkānas-ta-Kanō** (purpose-of-Kano) purposely; **tsayin-dakā** (lit. standing.of-pounding) with resolve; **wān-shèkarè** (lit. being beyond.of-?) the following day, day after tomorrow

## 8. EVEN

The word **kō** 'even' modifies NPs, VPs, prepositional phrases, etc. It occurs in front of the constituent that it is modifying. It is particularly common in negative sentences. Examples:

**kō kwabò bàì bā ni ba** He didn't give me even a penny.  
(lit. even a penny he didn't give me)  
**kō Lawān bàì sanì ba** Even Lawan doesn't know.  
**kō kèkè bā mu dà shì, ballè mōtā** Even a bicycle we don't have, much less a car.  
**bàì cè kō sànnu ba** He didn't even say hello. (lit. he didn't say even hello)  
**bàì kō dùbè mù ba** He didn't even look at us.  
**bā sà kō sòn bakin ruwā** They do not even want clean water.  
cf. **bā sà sòn kō kwabò** They do not want even a penny.  
**kō Audù yanà sòn pizza** Even Audu likes pizza.  
**kō jàrirì yā san hakà** Even a baby knows that.  
**kō dà wukā bà zài iyà kashè shi ba** He wouldn't be able to kill it even with a knife.  
(lit. even with a knife he won't be able to kill it)

Instead of modifying the VP in situ, one commonly fronts **kō** plus the corresponding verbal noun or infinitive phrase, e.g.,

**ukùnsù kō mōtsì bā sà yì** Three of them weren't even budging.  
(lit. three of them even movement they weren't doing)  
**kō rufè shi bà tà yì ba** She didn't even close it. (lit. even close it she didn't do)

## 9. A LITTLE / A LOT / ENTIRELY

The diminutive markers **ɗan**/**yaŋ**/**yan** (m./f./pl.), which are derived from 'son / daughter / children', commonly serve to modify nouns and accompany adjectives, e.g., **'yaŋ Ràramāŋ àkuyà** 'a wee small goat'. The masculine form **ɗan** also functions adverbially as a VP modifier. It occurs between the PAC (person-aspect complex) and the VP (which may be a finite or nonfinite verbal noun form).

<b>Kànde tā ɗan tàimàkē nì</b>	Kande helped me a bit.
(more or less = <b>Kànde tā tàimàkē nì kàɗan kàɗan</b> , with the post VP adverb)	
<b>kà ɗan dàkàtá!</b>	Wait a little! (lit. you.sub little wait)
<b>nā ɗan taɓà aikì</b>	I worked a little. (lit. I.comp little touch work)
<b>munà ɗan hùtàwà</b>	We were taking a little rest. (lit. we.cont little resting)

The semantic counterpart of **ɗan** is **yawàn** 'a lot' (< **yawà** 'quantity' plus the linker -n). This pseudo-adverb occurs between the PAC, which is always in the continuous, and a following verbal noun. Examples:

<b>yanà yawàn mārintà</b>	He is slapping her a lot.
cf. <b>yanà mārintà dà yawà / dà rarfi</b>	He is slapping her a lot / with strength.
<b>tanà yawàn kallon talàbijìn</b>	She watches television a lot.
(lit. she.cont lot.of watching.of television)	
<b>sunà yawàn zuwà gidanmù</b>	They come to our house a lot.

Although **yawàn** in the above sentences semantically functions as an adverbial modifier, at an abstract syntactic level it is really the head of an NP that is the direct object of the pro-verb **yi** 'do'. Thus **sunà yawàn zuwà gidanmù** derives from **sunà (yìn) yawàn zuwà gidanmù** (lit. they are (doing.of) lots.of coming house.of.us).

Among its other syntactic roles, the universal quantifier **duk(à)** 'all' functions as an adverbial indicating 'entirely, completely' (see §53:2.3). In this function, it normally appears in the form **duk** (without the final vowel) either between the subject (if expressed) and the PAC or at the beginning of the sentence before the subject.

<b>wurìn duk yā harmùtsē</b>	The place became completely muddled.
(lit. the place all it became muddled)	
<b>duk kà ɓatà minì lōkàcì à banzā</b>	You have entirely wasted my time.
(lit. all you spoil to.me time uselessly)	
<b>duk bàn dàmu ba</b>	I'm not bothered at all. (lit. all neg.I be bothered neg)
<b>duk tsòrò yā kāmà shi</b>	He became entirely frightened. (lit. all fear it caught him)

## 10. EXACTLY

The word **daidai** 'exactly' has a range of modifying uses. It occurs after an NP containing a numeral, e.g.,

**Rarfè ukù daidai** exactly three o'clock; **dalà gōmà daidai** exactly ten dollars

By contrast, it occurs before an NP (or adverb phrase) containing a relative clause, e.g.,

<b>daidai lōkàcín dà sukà zō</b>	exactly when (= the time that) they came
<b>daidai wurîn dà (= daidai indà) na bař shi</b>	exactly the place that (= exactly where) I left him
<b>daidai àbîn dà ka gayà masà</b>	exactly what (= the thing that) you told him
<b>daidai yáddà mukè yí</b>	exactly how we were doing (it)

## 11. ESPECIALLY

The semantic notion of 'especially' can be expressed lexically or syntactically.

(a) When followed by a prepositional phrase or subordinate purposive clause, 'especially, particularly, purposely' is indicated by means of items such as **mùsammàn** or **tàkànas ta Kanò**, e.g.,

**wannàn mùhimmì nē mùsammàn gà kasàshén dà bá su dà ařziki**

This is important especially for poor countries.

**anà yankà ràgō nē mùsammàn don biki**

One slaughters rams especially for festivals.

**nā zō tàkànas ta Kanò don in yi makà máganà**

I came purposely to talk with you.

(b) With nouns or prepositional phrases (or even some clauses), 'especially' is indicated by enveloping the constituent concerned in the complex expression **tun bà ...bá**, which literally means 'since not'. The first **bà** is often followed by the modal particle **mā** 'indeed'. Examples:

**yànzú mōtōci sun yi tsādā, [tun bà Mařsandí bá]**

Cars are expensive, especially Mercedes.

**yārá sunà dà ban shà'awà, [tun bà mā Kanānà bá]**

Children are enjoyable, especially the young ones.

**àbinci yā gágàrè shì cí, [tun bà mā tuwō bá]**

It was difficult for him to eat food, especially *tuwo*.

**Màidugùri tanà dà zāfi, [tun bà dà bazarā bá]**

Maiduguri is hot, especially in the hot season.

**kà riKà sà tàkàlmi [tun bà in zā kà shiga wuri mài Ràzántà bá]**

You should always wear shoes, especially if you go into a filthy place.

<sup>o</sup>AN: According to Abraham (1959b: 39), the final **bà** (presumably long, but not marked by him as such) has L tone. He states that this L-tone variant becomes **bá** after a preceding L tone. Although I have not been able to confirm the L-tone variant firsthand, I am willing to grant that it exists. Abraham is almost certainly wrong, however, in his choice of the basic form. It is much more likely that the basic form is **bá** and that the final **bà** (if it occurs) reflects the operation of a general tone simplification rule that changes F to L if the preceding tone is H (see §71:6.2.2). What remains unexplained is why the final **bá** should have falling tone and a long vowel at all since the normal discontinuous negative has the form **bà ...ba** with final H tone and a short final vowel.

[References: Jaggard and Buba (1994); R. M. Newman (1984); Parsons (1963)]

## 6. Afterthought (Right Dislocation)

**M**OST syntactic processes in Hausa, such as topicalization, focus, questioning, and relativization, involve fronting. Generally speaking, items are not moved to the end of the sentence. If, however, a noun or noun phrase has not been mentioned when it should have been, e.g., it has been pronominalized or omitted even though the semantic referent was not clear, it can be added at the end of the sentence. A single noun is often preceded by an independent pronoun functioning as a determiner/specifier. The afterthought is usually set off from the main sentence by an intonational pause, indicated here by a comma. Examples:

*yā dāwō dàgà Kàtsinà jiyà, shī Bellòn*

He returned from Katsina yesterday, the Bello in question that is.

cf. *Bellò yā dāwō dàgà Kàtsinà jiyà*

Bello returned from Katsina yesterday.

*wājībi nè sù yī sallā sàu biyař, sū fa Mùsùlmi*

It is obligatory that they perform the prayers five times, Muslims that is.

*yanà yiwuwā kà àurē tà, ita Bintà*

It is possible that you might marry her, she Binta.

cf. *yanà yiwuwā kà àuri Bintà*

It is possible that you might marry Binta.

*yā kāmàtà Tàní tà biyā shì, hàřājìn fa*

It is fitting that Tani should pay it, the taxes.

*wàtàkìlā zái sàyi bakāř, ita mōtār*

It is possible that he will buy the black one, the car.

*yā dācè, auren Bintà dà Gařbà*

It is fitting, Binta's marriage with Garba.

cf. *aurèn Bintà dà Gařbà yā dācè*

Binta's marriage with Garba is fitting.

*yā hàlattà, cín nāmàn àgwàgwā*

It is permitted, eating duck meat.

*dōlè nè, zuwàn gwamnà Kanò*

It is necessary, the governor's coming to Kano.

*mài yiwuwā nè, auren Bintà dà Audù*

It is possible, Binta's marriage with Audu.

In some cases a postposed independent pronoun serves to strengthen a weak pronoun occurring earlier in the sentence, e.g.,

*yā fi kyáu [kà] àuri Bintà, [kai] dīn*

It would be good for you to marry Binta, you that is.

*mài yiwuwā nè [nà] sàyi sábuwař mōtà, [nī dà káinā]*

It is possible/likely that I might buy a new car, I myself.

*zā à bā [tà] izìnin shìgā, [itán] (= ita dīn)*

They will give her permission to enter, she (whom we were talking about).

In equational sentences of the form Y (= predicate) Stabilizer X (= subject) (where the X is a noun preceded by a pronominal determiner/specifier), it is not always clear whether one is dealing with simple right dislocation of the X or whether the structure also entails fronting and focus of the predicate. Examples:

<b>kàramā cè, [ita yàrinỳàf]</b> (focus on <i>small</i> or afterthought mentioning of the girl or both?)	She's small, she the girl. (lit. small STAB she girl.the)
cf. <b>ita yàrinỳàf] kàramā cè</b>	She the girl is small.
<b>dabbōbi nè, [sù sàmàrín]</b>	They're (like) animals, these youths.
cf. <b>sù sàmàrín dabbōbi nè</b>	These youths are (like) animals.
<b>tàuràrùwā cè, [ita Madonna]</b>	She's a star, she Madonna.
cf. <b>ita Madonna tàuràrùwā cè</b>	She Madonna is a star.
<b>bà àbin tsòrò bā nè, [shí fànkàm-fàyàù]</b>	He is nothing to fear, this big bag of wind.
cf. <b>shí fànkàm-fàyàù bà àbin tsòrò bā nè</b>	He this big bag of wind is nothing to be afraid of.

## 7. Agent, Location, and Instrument (ma- Forms)

THERE are three related derivational formations that make use of a high-tone prefix **ma-**: agent, location, and instrument, e.g., **manòmi** 'farmer', **majēmā** 'tannery', **masassabi** 'harvesting tool'.

◊HN: This **m-** prefix is one of the more striking Afroasiatic retentions found in Hausa and other Chadic languages (Greenberg 1963).

These **ma-** forms are typically built on verb stems, although there are some exceptions. Where semantically appropriate, the same verb base can give rise to two or all three **ma-** derivatives, e.g.,

**ma'àikàci** worker, **ma'aikatā** factory, workplace  
**ma'aunā** place where grain is sold by measure, **ma'auni** measuring device, scales  
**masàssàki** carpenter, **masassakā** carpenter's work area, **masassaki** adze, carpenter's tool

### 1. AGENT (ma-...ī)

#### 1.1. Form

Nouns of agent, which are comparable to words with the *-er* ending in English, have three forms depending on gender and number. (Many words formed according to this derivation function also as adjectives, see below, §1.7). All agent nouns use the same H-tone **ma-** prefix. In addition, masculine singulars add a suffix **-i**<sup>LH</sup>, which results in an H-(L)-(L)-L-H tone pattern. Feminine singulars use the suffix **-iyā**<sup>HLH</sup>. The suffix for plural agents is **-ā**<sup>LH</sup> with the same tone melody used with the masculine singulars. Examples:

	<i>masculine</i>	<i>feminine</i>	<i>plural</i>
quarrelsome psn	<b>mafàd'āci</b>	<b>mafad'āciyā</b>	<b>mafàd'ātā</b>
parent	<b>mahàift</b>	<b>mahaifiyā</b>	<b>mahàifā</b>
beggar, praise singer	<b>maròki</b>	<b>maròkiyā</b>	<b>maròkā</b>
coward	<b>matsòràci</b>	<b>matsòraciyā</b>	<b>matsòràtā</b>

The plural formation as such is entirely regular. A few frozen/lexicalized agent nouns, however, employ other plurals, e.g., **magājiyā** / **magājiyōyi** 'a madam' f./pl.; **magūfiyā** / **māsu gūfā** = 'yan gūfā' 'woman who ululates during festivities' f./pl.; **mac̣ji** / **màc̣zai** 'snake' (lit. one who bites) m./pl.

◊AN: Derivationally, **mac̣ji** is formed from the verb **c̣zā** 'bite' even though in Hausa, snakes do not bite but rather slash, e.g., **mac̣ji yā sārè ta** 'A snake bit (lit. slashed) her'.

Monosyllabic verbs employ an epenthetic /y/ between the verb root and the suffixal ending, e.g.,

<b>bi</b>	follow	<b>mabiyi / mabiyiyā / mabiyā</b>	a follower of s.o. (m./f./pl.)
<b>ʀi</b>	dislike	<b>maʀiyi / maʀiyiyā / maʀiyā</b>	enemy (m./f./pl.)
<b>shā</b>	drink	<b>mashāyi / mashāyiyā / mashāyā</b>	drinker, alcoholic (m./f./pl.)

In the above feminine forms, the sequence /iyiyā/ is usually pronounced without the /i/ between the two /y/'s. The floating L tone attaches to the preceding syllable to produce a fall, i.e., **mabiyiyā** → [mabiyyā], **maʀiyiyā** → [maʀiyyā].

### 1.2. Verb stems with -TA

The **ma-** forms are built on verb stems. Many of these verb stems are derived from noun roots by means of the verbalizing suffix **-TA** (chap. 79), e.g.,

<b>mahàukàci</b>	crazy, madman, idiot < <b>haukàtā</b> make s.o. crazy < <b>hàukā</b> madness
<b>mahùkùnci</b>	judge, administrator < <b>hukùntā</b> judge, administer < <b>hùkùmà</b> governing body
<b>maʀàryàci</b>	liar < <b>ʀaryàtā</b> falsify < <b>ʀaryā</b> a lie
<b>mashàwàʀci</b>	adviser, counselor < <b>shàwàʀtā</b> advise < <b>shàwàʀà</b> advice
<b>matsòràci</b>	coward(ly) < <b>tsòratā</b> be afraid < <b>tsòrò</b> fear

Agents are not built directly from the verbs **jirā** 'wait for' and **ʀaura** 'migrate'; rather they are built on coexisting longer stems containing the verbalizer **-TA**, e.g.,

<b>majiràci</b> (not <b>**majiri</b> )	watchman, overseer < <b>jiràtā</b> wait for
<b>maʀàuràci</b> (not <b>**maʀauri</b> )	emigrant/immigrant < <b>ʀauràcē</b> migrate from

°AN: The verb **ʀaura** 'migrate' is probably a backformation from the verbal noun **ʀaurā** 'migrating', from which **ʀauràcē** is derived. This explains the absence of an agent **\*\*maʀauri**. There is no reason, on the other hand, to assume that **jirā**, or its equivalent longer form **jiràyà**, was ever anything but a verb, and thus the absence of **\*\*majiri** or **\*\*majiràyi** is inexplicable.

Many agentives are built on *fictitious* **-TA** verb stems, i.e., the postulated stem either does not occur independently as a verb or only rarely so, e.g.,

<b>maʔàʀnàci</b>	destructive (psn) < <b>*ʔàʀnàtā</b> < <b>ʔàʀnā</b> damage
<b>magàbci</b>	enemy < <b>*gabta</b> < <b>gàbā</b> enmity
<b>magidànci</b>	householder < <b>*gidanta</b> < <b>gidā</b> home
<b>mahàjjàci</b>	pilgrim intending to go to Mecca < <b>*hajjata</b> < <b>hajjì</b> hadj
<b>maròwàci</b>	tightwad < <b>*ròwata</b> < <b>ròwà</b> stinginess
<b>mazinàci</b>	adulterer < <b>*zinàtā</b> < <b>zinā</b> adultery

A very few agentives are built directly on noun stems (some of which historically are probably verbal nouns of verb roots), e.g.,

<b>magùdīyā</b>	woman who ululates during festivities < <b>gùdā</b> ululation
<b>matsàʔi</b>	fetish-worshipper, magician < <b>tsàʔi</b> fetish
<b>mawàʀi</b>	singer, poet < <b>wàʀā</b> song, poem

### 1.3. Meaning

The basic meaning of an agent noun is someone who customarily does the action of the underlying verb,



commonly as a profession, e.g., **maḏĩnki** 'tailor' (< **ḏĩnkà** 'to sew'). The semantic connection between the agent nouns and their source words is generally evident, e.g., **ma'aski** barber < **askè** 'shave'. In some cases, however, these words have a lexicalized meaning that is more specialized and restricted than that of the related verb. Examples:

<b>mabiyi</b>	a follower (esp. religious); younger brother or sister < <b>bi</b> follow
<b>macyi</b>	voracious < <b>ci</b> eat
<b>mafashi</b> (usu. <b>ḏan fashì</b> )	robber < <b>fasà</b> break, shatter; commit robbery
<b>makàḏ'aci</b>	unique (referring to God) < <b>kàḏ'aità</b> sit apart; acknowledge the unity of God
<b>maniiyaci</b>	an intending pilgrim < <b>*niyyata</b> < <b>niyyà</b> intention, wish
<b>mariki</b>	guardian, foster parent < <b>rikè</b> grasp, hold
<b>matashi</b>	adolescent, youth < <b>tashi</b> rise, grow up

In a couple of special cases, the agent does not denote the doer of the action but rather the one affected by the action. The word **ma'ai** (< **aikà** 'send') is used in the designation **ma'ai**kin Allàh 'the Prophet Muhammad, i.e., the one who was sent by God', cf. Allàh **ma'ai** 'God (lit. God the sender)'. The dictionaries also give the feminine agent word **makulliyà** with the meaning 'slave-concubine' (i.e., one who is locked up) < **kullè** 'lock'.

#### 1.4. Gender restrictions

Morphologically, all agentives have three forms: masculine, feminine, and plural. With adjectival usage (see below), masculine and feminine forms are equally common. For example, **mahaukaci** (m.) and **mahaukacyà** (f.) 'mad, crazy' are both fully acceptable. With nouns, however, the agentive tends to be restricted to one gender or the other. In many cases this restriction is determined by real-world culture and semantics, for example, **ma'aski** 'barber' (not **\*\*ma'askiyà**) is masculine only because this traditionally has been a masculine profession. In other cases, however, the agent occurs only in the masculine form even though there is no cultural reason why the feminine agent shouldn't be allowed, e.g., **mamaci** 'the deceased' is normal but, for inexplicable reasons, **\*\*mamacyà** is not. Examples:

##### *Masculine only*

**maḏĩnki** tailor; **magini** builder, potter, cf. **maginà tukunya** pot makers (pl.) (m. and/or f.); cf. **mài tukwàné** potter (lit. owner of pots) (m. or f.); **mahàrbi** hunter; **mahauci** butcher, meat-seller; **majèmi** tanner; **mamaci** the deceased; **manòmi** farmer; **masàsàrki** carpenter, carver; **masunci** (usu. **ḏan sù**) fisherman; **matashi** youth, young man

##### *Feminine only*

**magàjlyà** a madam; older sister (cf. **magàji** a prince) both < **gàdà** inherit; **magūḏiyà** woman who ululates; **makitsiyà** women's hairdresser; **makulliyà** (slave) concubine; **mashèklyà** winnower (used primarily in the idiomatic phrase/epithet **Ràikàyi kòmà kán mashèklyà** (lit. chaff return on winnower) the hairy weed *Indigofera astragalina*, which causes a spell to recoil on a psn who sets it in action

#### 1.5. Productivity and alternatives

Morphologically, the agent derivation is extremely regular. In principle, one could morphologically create an agent noun from almost any verb. In fact its occurrence is lexically quite restricted: some agentives are readily accepted and are commonly used, others are viewed as clumsy if not totally unacceptable. An alternative to the agentive is the MAI construction (see chap. 45) made up of **mài** (pl. **màsu**) 'one having properties of' + NP (including verbal noun). Examples (where the notation =? indicates that the variant to the left is preferred):

<b>màì askì</b>	barber (< askì shaving) = <b>ma'askì</b>	<b>màì ba'à</b>	a mocker = <b>mabà'anci</b>
<b>màì fassàfà</b>	translator =? <b>mafassàfi</b>	<b>màì fàfkanuwà</b>	forgetful psn =? <b>mafàfkàni</b>

### 1.6. Agent nouns with objects

In English, agent *-er* nouns allow the expression of the thematic direct object (in front of the noun), e.g., 'wheat farmer', 'bird watcher', 'lion hunter', etc. In Hausa, the expression of the object is also allowed in some cases, e.g., **mahàkà kwál** 'coal miners', but there are significant peculiarities and restrictions related to gender and number and to whether one uses a full form or a short form.

#### 1.6.1. Full-form agentives with objects

Masculine singular agents that take thematic objects tend to be limited to fixed phrases or very close collocations. The agent is connected to the object by means of the linker **-n**, e.g.,

<b>mashàyin giyà</b>	a drinker, drunkard (lit. drinker of alcoholic beverages)
but not <b>**mashàyin kòfi</b>	a coffee drinker
<b>mahàddàcin Kùf'ānì</b>	someone who has memorized the Koran
<b>matùkin jirgì</b>	a pilot (not <b>**matùkin môtà</b> a car driver)
<b>masòyin Mānzò</b>	devout Muslim, follower of the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad
(lit. lover of the Messenger)	

In most cases, one either uses the agent noun without explicitly mentioning the object, which is implied or understood anyway, or else employs a paraphrase, as with a **màì** construction, e.g.,

<b>marìni</b>	a dyer (of cloth) (not <b>**marìnin yādì</b> a cloth dyer)
<b>manìyyàci</b>	an intending pilgrim
= the full but less common <b>manìyyàcin aikin hajjì</b>	(lit. intender of work of hadj)
<b>màì d'inkà hùlunà</b>	cap embroiderer (not <b>**mad'inkin hùlunà</b> )

°AN: In modern journalese, as practiced, for example, by BBC announcers, one commonly comes across agents with objects, e.g., **masànin Hausa** 'a Hausa scholar'. It remains to be seen whether this practice will become the norm or whether these agent phrases are ephemeral neologisms meeting the exigencies of news deadlines.

Feminine agentives cannot be followed by thematic objects, i.e., expressions such as **\*\*mashàiyar giyà** 'a female drunk' are unacceptable.

#### 1.6.2. Plural agentives with objects

Plural agentives, on the other hand, take objects much more readily than do the masculine singular forms. Interestingly, the plural agents do not require a linker before the object. The linker is allowed, but its use is the less common alternative. Examples:

<b>manèman làbāfì</b>	reporters (= <b>manèman làbāfì</b> )
<b>maciyā nāmà</b>	meat-eaters (= <b>maciyā nāmà</b> )
<b>mashàiyā giyà</b>	alcohol drinkers, drunkards
<b>makèrā mōtōci</b>	auto manufacturers
<b>maginā tukunyā</b>	potters
<b>mabùnRūsā kāsā</b>	root-crops (potatoes, onions, etc.)
<b>masòyā āmadā</b>	lovers of the teachings of the Prophet

With the linkerless form some speakers allow phrases in which the plural agent is followed by an indirect object, e.g.,

- ??**mabùgā manà rìgunà**      the ones who beat gowns for us  
 ??**madàkà minì sàkwàrà**      the ones who pound yams for me

### 1.6.3. Short-form agentives with objects

Some verbs, mostly grade 0 monoverbs, have special disyllabic short-form agents that can be used only if there is a following object (or locative goal). These are composed of **ma-** plus a monosyllabic verb stem with an overriding H-L tone pattern. **Ci** verbs, which underlyingly have a short vowel, lengthen the vowel in the agentive formation in keeping with the requirement that the syllable after the **ma-** must be heavy. Examples:

- macì àmānà**                      treacherous person (lit. eater trust)  
**mabì sarkì**                        one who follows the emir  
**mazò gārì**                        one who comes to town  
**makì rawā**                        one who hates dancing  
**majā hanyà**                      a guide (lit. puller road)  
**makàs dubū**                      king's assassin; killer of thousands (< **kashè** kill)  
**majè sīlīmān**                    one who frequents the movies

°AN: [i] The short form **majè** (from the irregular verb **jè** 'go to') does not have a full-form counterpart, i.e., **\*\*majèyì** does not exist.

[ii] Full-form agents constitute independent, self-standing nouns, e.g., [**mabiyì**]<sub>N</sub> 'follower, younger brother' (< **bi** 'follow'). The short-form agents, on the other hand, are bound formatives that connect with the following word to form compoundlike NPs. Thus, whereas the phrase [**mabì sarkì**]<sub>N</sub> 'one who follows the emir' constitutes an NP, **mabì** by itself does not qualify as a noun.

Short-form nouns of agent can be built with short-form grade 5 verbs, which take oblique objects introduced by **dà** rather than direct objects, e.g.,

- mabà dà nōnò**                      wet nurse (lit. giver (of) breast/milk) (< **bā dà** give (sth) < **bā** give to)  
**mabì dà afnā**                      one who subdues pagans (< **bī dà** subdue, control < **bi** follow)

Short-form agents are normally understood to be singular only (gender irrelevant). Overt expression of the plural requires use of the corresponding long-form plural, e.g.,

- maciyā àmānà** treacherous people; **mabiyā sarkì** follows of the emir; **makàsā dubū** king's assassins, killers of thousands

Some speakers accept short-form agents with an indirect object. As with the plural agents, other speakers reject these formations, e.g.,

- ??**macì minì àmānà**              the one who cheats me  
 ??**mabì minì dà yārā**            the man who controls the children for me

In many cases, the short-form agentives are found in set expressions and compounds, e.g.,

<b>magà-takãrdã</b>	scribe (one who sees-paper)
<b>Magà-watã</b>	proper name (lit. one who sees-moon)
<b>majã-cikì</b>	name of a spirit. (lit. puller-belly)
<b>mashã-ruwã</b>	rainbow (lit. drinker-water)
<b>majì-dãdì</b>	luxurious psn, emir's private secretary (lit. feeler-pleasantness)
<b>majã-sĩrdì</b>	traditional title (lit. puller-saddle)

Three short-form agentives have become grammaticalized with special syntactic functions. The form **masò** (< *sò* 'want, like, love') indicates directions, e.g.,

<b>kudù masò gabàs</b>	southeast (lit. south one that likes east)
<b>arèwa masò yãmma</b>	northwest (lit. north one that likes west)

The short-form agentive **mafì** (< *fi* 'exceed') is used in superlative expressions. The plural uses the regular form **mafiyã** without the linker, e.g.,

<b>mõtã mafì tsãdã</b>	most expensive car
<b>'yan kwallon rãgã mafiyã kyãu</b>	the best basketball players

°AN: Some speakers allow **mafì** as a number-neutral grammatical marker, e.g., **'yan kwallon rãgã mafì kyãu** 'the best basketball players'; **sũ nè mafì yawà nãn gari** 'They are the majority in this town.'

The short-form agentive **maràs** (= **marãr** = **marãG** (where G geminates with the following consonant) = **marà**) (< *rasã* 'lack') functions as the negative counterpart to the particles **mài** / **mãsu** 'having the quality of'. The full-form **marãsã**, which occurs without the linker, is required in the plural, e.g.,

<b>yãrò marãr hankãlì</b>	a senseless boy (cf. <b>yãrò mài hankãlì</b> a sensible boy)
<b>yãrã marãsã hankãlì</b>	senseless boys (cf. <b>yãrã mãsu hankãlì</b> sensible boys)
<b>dãkì marãr tãgã</b>	a room without windows
<b>dãkunã marãsã tãgã</b>	rooms without windows

### 1.7. Adjectival usage

Many **ma-** agent forms, especially those based on intransitive verbs, also function as adjectives, e.g., **wannãn mahãukãcin difëbã** 'this crazy driver' vs. **wannãn mahãukãci** 'this madman'. Whether the nominal or adjectival usage is the more common varies from word to word. These adjectival items all tend to have masculine, feminine, and plural forms, e.g., **matsòràci** / **matsòraciyã** / **matsòràtã** adj./n. 'coward(ly)'. Examples (given in the masculine singular only):

<b>mabãrñaci</b> adj./n.	destructive, a spendthrift	<b>mahòmãci</b> adj./n.	boastful, swanker
<b>makwãdãici</b> adj./n.	greedy (psn)	<b>makãryãci</b> adj./n.	lying, liar
<b>makëtãci</b> adj./n.	malicious, wicked (psn)	<b>makìwãci</b> adj./n.	lazy, slacker
<b>malãlãci</b> adj./n.	lazy (psn)	<b>maròwãci</b> adj./n.	stingy, tightwad
<b>matsiyãci</b> adj./n.	poor, destitute (psn)	<b>mawãdãci</b> adj./n.	wealthy, contented (psn)
<b>mayũnwãci</b> adj./n.	voracious, hungry (psn)	<b>mazãmbãci</b> adj./n.	swindler, con man

Although one normally thinks of the **ma-** construction as a means of deriving nouns, there are some agent forms that function almost exclusively as adjectives and must be recognized as such. Examples:

**madàidàici** adj. average, medium-sized; **mafàdàci** adj. vicious, quarrelsome, cantankerous; **maffici** adj. superior; **magàggauci** adj. impetuous; **mahànkàci** adj. sensible; **maḵàzànci** adj. filthy; **manàgàfci** adj. reliable, good (e.g., **manàgàfci yārò** a reliable lad); **mani'lmci** adj. luxurious, fertile (land); **manisànci** adj. distant (e.g., **manisàncin gari** distant town); **matàbbàci** adj. permanent, enduring; reliable; **matàḵàci** adj. restricted, reduced in scale; **matsànànci** adj. severe, excessive, extreme (e.g., **matsànàncin àl'amàfi** a severe situation); **mawùyaçi** adj. difficult, troublesome (e.g., **àbù mawùyaçi** difficult or impossible thing); **mayàlwaçi** adj. abundant, adequate; extensive (of area)

Like simple adjectives, agent adjectives obligatorily agree in gender and number with the head noun, e.g., **mafàdàcin sà** 'a vicious bull'; **mafàdàciyaḵ baunā** 'a vicious buffalo' **mafàdàtan sòjòji** 'vicious soldiers'. They occur both as pre-head modifiers (with a linker) and post-head modifiers, e.g.,

<b>madàidàicin mùtùm</b> = <b>mùtùm madàidàici</b>	medium-sized man
<b>mahàukàtan kaḵnukà</b> = <b>kaḵnukà mahàukàtā</b>	mad dogs
<b>malàlàcin d'ālìbi</b> = <b>d'ālìbi malàlàci</b>	a lazy student
<b>matsananciyaḵ wàhalà</b> = <b>wàhalà matsananciya</b>	an extreme difficulty
<b>mayàudàran mutànē</b> = <b>mutànē mayàudàrà</b>	deceitful people
<b>mawadàciyaḵ sàrauniyā</b> = <b>sàrauniyā mawadàciyā</b>	a rich queen

It was pointed out above (§1.6.2), that the linker is optional (and typically not used) with plural agentives followed by an object, e.g., **makàsā kudfi** 'squanderers' (i.e., money killers). When plural agentives function as prenominal adjectives, the linker is required, e.g.,

<b>malàlàtan yārā</b> (not <b>**malàlātā yārā</b> )	lazy children
<b>mawadàtan 'yan kàsuwā</b> (not <b>**mawadātā 'yan kàsuwā</b> )	rich businessmen

There are some phrases where the agentive adjectives appear to be restricted to post-head position. These, however, are not true noun-adjective constructions, despite the translations, but rather are noun-noun constructions where the second noun is in apposition to the first, e.g.,

<b>wani mùtùm madfinki</b>	a certain tailor (lit. a certain man, a tailor)
<b>difēbà mashàyi</b> (not <b>**mashàyin difēbà</b> )	a drunkard of a driver (lit. a driver, a drunkard)
<b>Filànì makiyàya</b> (not <b>**makiyàyan Filànì</b> )	pastoral Fulani (lit. Fulani, pastoralists)
<b>tsòhò makàfànci</b> (not <b>**makàfàncin tsòhò</b> )	an old man who has memorized the Koran

## 2. LOCATION (*ma*-...-ā / *ma*-...-ī)

Deverbal nouns of location containing the prefix *ma-* occur in two forms, both of which have all H tone. Most (about three-fourths) of the commonly occurring locationals end in -ā. These are feminine. The others end in -ī. These are masculine. The meaning of the derivative is the place generally associated with the activity of the base verb. Examples:

- (a) **mabùḅbugā** spring (of water); **mafakā** shelter; **mafaraūtā** hunting ground; **majēmā** tannery; **makaḵantā** school; **makiyāyā** pasture, grazing land; **masussukā** threshing floor  
 (b) **masallāci** mosque (cf. **sàllātā** perform daily prayer); **masauki** lodging place, overnight quarters, guest room/house; **mashigi** opening, doorway; canal; **matsayi** position, post, status, place where psn or sth remains/stands; **masai** (< **\*masāyi**) cesspit (cf. **sāyè** fence in)

The derivative **mafitsārā** 'bladder' is built on the noun **fitsāri** 'urine' rather than a verb stem.

Many (but not all) location nouns containing final **-I** have an alternative variant with final **-ā**. Where the two variants coexist, the **-ā**-final form is the one that is generally preferred (indicated (1)).

<b>mabōyi</b> = <b>mabōyā</b> (1)	hiding place
<b>macēci</b> (1) = <b>macētā</b>	place of refuge
<b>magami</b> = <b>magamā</b> (1)	junction, crossroad, meeting place
<b>magangari</b> = <b>magangarā</b> (1)	place of descent
<b>makwarāri</b> = <b>makwarārā</b> (1)	water-channel

◇HN: It is possible that at an earlier stage, location nouns with **ma-...-I** were more common than at present. (Note that some of the most basic locationals, such as **masauki** 'lodging place', have this form.) The motivation for the switch to **ma-...-ā** would have been to differentiate the locationals from the **ma-** instruments nouns, all of which are formed by **ma-...-I**, e.g., **magirbi** 'harvesting tool' (*not* 'harvesting place').

In one instance—and there may be a few more—there is a semantic difference between a location noun with final **-ā** and the one with final **-I**, e.g.,

<b>matsayā</b>	a stop (e.g., <b>matsayaṛ bās</b> bus stop); a resting place for travelers
cf. <b>matsayi</b>	place where psn or thing remains, stands, position, post, status

As a class, these location nouns do not form plurals as readily as agents or instruments. (Common lexical items such as **makaṛantā** 'school' are an exception.) The formation of the plural, when used, can be described as follows. Locationals ending in **-I** form their plurals with **-ai**)<sup>LH</sup>, e.g.,

<b>macēci</b> / <b>mācētai</b>	place of refuge
<b>makwanci</b> / <b>mākwantai</b>	sleeping place
<b>masallāci</b> / <b>māsallātai</b>	mosque

Locationals ending in **-ā** show greater variation in plural formation. Some require or prefer a plural with **-u**)<sup>LH</sup>; others prefer the **-ai**)<sup>LH</sup> plural suffix. Some words allow either plural type equally. A few words with final **-iyā** also allow the **-ōCi**)<sup>H</sup> plural formative, this being the preferred plural choice for non-derived feminine nouns. Examples:

**ma'aikatā** / **mā'aikātū** workplace, factory; **makaṛantā** / **mākārāntū** school; **marāyā** / **mārāyū** town (as opposed to village); **ma'auratā** / **mā'aurātai** place for getting married; **mafakā** / **māfākai** shelter; **mahayā** / **māhāyai** incline, place where one climbs up; **mashēkā** / **māshēkai** winnowing-floor; **mafaraūtā** / **māfārāutū** = **māfārāutai** hunting ground; **masukwānā** / **māsūkwānū** = **māsūkwānai** galloping place, race field; **macyā** / **māciyū** = **māciyai** = **māciyōyi** small wayside eating place; **ma'ajiyā** / **mā'ājīyū** = **mā'ājīyai** = **mā'ājīyōyi** storeroom, place for safekeeping

◇HN: For many of the location nouns, the plural does not seem to be fixed but rather is determined by speaker preference with regard to individual items. The confusion is probably due to the choice between the two singular forms. For example, if one normally uses the form **mākētari** 'crossing-place' with the regular plural **mākētārai**, this form may become the preferred plural, rather than **mākētārū**, even if one switches to **mākētārā** in the singular. That is, originally there was probably a fully regular connection between **-ā** singulars and **-ū** plurals on the one hand and **-I** singulars and **-ai** plurals on the other hand (the latter still being seen with the instrument forms).

3. INSTRUMENT (*ma-...-ī*)

Instruments containing the prefix *ma-* are formed by suffixing *-ī*<sup>H</sup>, with an all H tone pattern. All of these words are masculine. Examples:

**madōshi** punch (tool); branding iron; **magirbi** harvesting tool; **makadī** musician's drumstick, spindle; **matōshi** stopper, cork; **mazurāri** funnel

The word **makari** 'antidote', which semantically relates to the expression **karyā dafi** 'break poison', is built on the base //kar-// without the synchronically frozen *-ya* suffix.

The *ma-* prefix often assimilates to /mu/ when the vowel in the following syllable is /u/ (especially short /u/). This has become the preferred pronunciation in present-day SH.

<b>mahūji</b> = <b>muhūji</b>	boring tool	<b>magurji</b> = <b>mugurji</b>	stone for rubbing/scraping off
<b>makulli</b> = <b>mukulli</b>	key, lock	<b>mazurāri</b> = <b>muzurāri</b>	funnel
<b>mahūci</b> = <b>muhūci</b>	fan (cf. the variant <b>mafci</b> , which does not change into <b>**mufci</b> )		

For reasons that are not clear, the assimilation is much less common with *ma-* nouns of agent and location than it is with the instruments, e.g.,

**magūji** ≠ **\*\*mugūji** a runaway (agent); **makūsā** ≠ **\*\*mukūsā** blemish (location)

The instrument **murfi** 'cover' (< **murufi** < **marufi** (< the verb **rufā** 'cover')) is now essentially fixed in the shortened form. The word **mur(i)ri** < **mariri** 'handle' is unusual in that *mu-* appears even though there is no /u/ in the following syllable.

The application of the /a/ to /u/ assimilation rule is not, however, automatic. Some instrument words resist the assimilation, especially when the following /ū/ is long, e.g., **mabūdi** 'opener' is not normally pronounced as ??[mubūdi], nor is **matūri** 'stirring stick' pronounced as ??[mutūri].

Plurals of instrument nouns are formed regularly by means of the *-ai*<sup>LH</sup> suffix, e.g.,

<b>madōshi</b> / <b>mādōsai</b>	punch (tool); branding iron
<b>magirbi</b> / <b>māgirbai</b>	harvesting tool
<b>muburgi</b> / <b>mùbūrgai</b>	swizzle stick, stick for stirring soup
<b>murfi</b> / <b>mūrfai</b>	lid, cover

Exception: **majanyi** / **mājānyai** = **mājānyū** strap for tying a baby on the back

Generally speaking the meaning of the instruments is transparent, i.e., a tool or instrument for doing the action of the verb, e.g., **magirbi** 'harvesting tool' < **girbē** 'to harvest'. In some cases, the meaning is somewhat restricted or not so clearly instrumental, e.g.,

<b>madūbi</b>	mirror < <b>dūbā</b> to look
<b>madōgari</b>	prop, support; one's means of livelihood < <b>dōgarā</b> lean on
<b>mafāri</b>	origin, beginning; reason, cause < <b>fārā</b> start
<b>makāmi</b>	weapon < <b>kāmā</b> catch
<b>mashimfidī</b>	cloth placed over animal's back before saddle is put on < <b>shimfidā</b> spread
<b>masōshi</b>	thick pin used by women for hairdressing or scratching head < <b>sōsā</b> scratch
<b>masaki</b>	large calabash < <b>sakā</b> put

4. FROZEN *ma*- FORMS

There are a small number of words that have the shape of *ma*- derivatives but that synchronically must be treated as simple lexical items. The forms can generally be derived from verb (or noun) bases, but the semantic relation is often opaque or very specific.

These words are typically feminine and look exactly like feminine agents, e.g., *matāshiyā* 'reminder, headline' (< *tāshì* 'rise'); *maḏamfariyā* 'tick' (< *ḏamfarā* 'cling to'). Semantically, however, the words do not appear to be agents. If they relate to the underlying base in any systematic way it is as instruments, and, in principle, there is no reason why they couldn't be considered as feminine instruments. (In other words, the *ma*-...-iyā H...LH forms would represent the feminine counterpart to the masculine instruments in the same way that they serve as feminine nouns corresponding to the masculine agents.) Synchronically feminine instruments do not exist as a productive derivational formative—all the productive instruments are masculine and end in -i—but there is no reason why they could not have existed as such at an earlier period, these frozen items being the vestige.

Note that words of this group that allow plurals do *not* use the regular agent plural form. Rather, they either drop the final -iyā and add -ai or else retain the -iyā ending and add -ōCI. Here is a fairly complete list of these frozen *ma*-...-iyā forms.

<i>madōbiyā</i> / <i>mādōbai</i>	rosewood tree (< ??)
<i>madudduḏiyā</i>	low (back) door (= <i>maduddukā</i> (loc.) (< <i>duddūkā</i> crouch)
<i>maḏāciyā</i> / <i>māḏātai</i>	gall bladder (< noun <i>ḏāci</i> bitterness)
<i>maḏamfariyā</i>	tick (< <i>ḏamfarā</i> cling to)
<i>magūḏiyā</i>	the short high string on a lute (< noun <i>gūḏā</i> ululating)
<i>majināciyā</i> / <i>mājīnātai</i>	artery, jugular vein; a red-juiced weed (cf. <i>jini</i> blood)
<i>maḏaḏkashiyā</i> / <i>maḏaḏkashiyōyi</i>	plot, conspiracy, sabotage (< noun <i>ḏaḏkashi</i> underside)
<i>maḏēkashiyā</i>	anemia (< <i>ḏēkashē</i> dry up)
<i>maḏēriyā</i>	flat-headed tool of blacksmith (< <i>ḏērā</i> forge)
<i>maḏyūyaciyā</i>	cramp (cf. <i>ryūyā</i> indolence, laziness)
<i>makallāciyā</i>	cornstalk, spindle (< <i>kāllatā</i> look at (?))
<i>manūniyā</i>	sign, signal (< <i>nūnā</i> show)
<i>marābiyā</i>	spleen (< <i>rābā</i> stick to, prop against (?))
<i>masaniyā</i>	knowledge (< <i>sanī</i> know)
<i>masōkiyā</i>	spasm on the side of the body (< <i>sōkē</i> stab)
<i>masōshiyā</i>	itch inducing disease (< <i>sōsā</i> scratch)
<i>matāshiyā</i> / <i>matāshiyōyi</i>	reminder, headline (< <i>tāshì</i> rise)
<i>mayanḏwaniyā</i>	anemia (< <i>yanḏwanē</i> become emaciated, shrivelled)

In addition to the above feminine words, there is one common masculine singular agent form and one plural agent form that refer to things rather than persons, e.g.,

<i>maḏāci</i>	mahogany tree (< <i>ḏāci</i> bitterness)
<i>marāinā</i>	testicles (< <i>rainā</i> have no respect for (?))

[References: McIntyre (1988a, 1988b, 1995); Parsons (1963)]



## 8. Apposition

### 1. INTRODUCTION

**A**PPPOSITION is indicated by immediate juxtaposition of two NPs without use of an overt morphological connector and normally without any noticeable phonological hiatus. The two NPs normally match in terms of number and gender. In some cases, the order of the two elements can be reversed without appreciable difference in meaning. Apposition is particularly common with proper nouns, but all kinds of nouns and NPs are possible, e.g.,

[Bālā Mūhammad] [àlkālin gārinmù]	Bala Muhammad, the judge of our town
[Lādi] [uwařgidansà]	Ladi, his senior wife
[Sānūsi] [Sarkin Kanò]	Sanusi, Emir of Kano
[Kanò] [bābban bīrnin jihār]	Kano, the capital of the state
[matāsā] [’yan cāca]	youths, gamblers
[Sulè] [sarkin tashà]	Sule, the station master
[Bellò] [gōganmù]	Bello, our hero (e.g., in this play)
[kasāřmù] [Nìjēřiyà]	our country, Nigeria
[wani mùtùm] [mad’inkī]	a certain man, a tailor
[wata yāřinyà] [Bāřilātānā]	a certain Fulani girl (lit. certain girl, Fulani)
[mùtumìn nān] [d’an kasāř Māli]	this man, a Malian
[wannān manòmi] [bāwān Allāh]	this farmer, a simple man (lit. slave of God)
[dilā] [mālāminsù] dà [zākī] [sarkinsù]	jackal, their teacher and lion, their chief

°AN: Jaggar (personal communication) has pointed out that apposition, like relativization, can be restrictive or nonrestrictive, e.g., **Mālām Mūsā mālāminmù yā yi rāsuwā** ‘Malam Musa our teacher died’ (where the restrictive apposition ‘our teacher’ tells which Malam Musa) vs. **Mālām Mūsā mālāminmù yā yi rāsuwā** ‘Malam Musa, our teacher, died’ (where the nonrestrictive apposition ‘our teacher’ is extra, extraneous information. The nature and phonological marking of this distinction needs further study.

Instead of being juxtaposed directly, nouns in apposition can be introduced by particles, the most common being **wātāu** (= **wātò**) ‘that is to say’. Examples:

<b>Rabat, wātāu bābban bīrnin Mārōkò</b>	Rabat, i.e., the capital of Morocco
<b>kānāri-bā-kējī, wātò kārūwā</b>	a prostitute (lit. canary-without-cage), i.e., a prostitute
<b>shūgāban tīm dīn, wātò Gařbā Pele</b>	the captain of the team, i.e., Garba Pele

## 2. WEAK PRONOUNS

Weak object pronouns and genitive object pronouns, which do not allow direct modification or coordination, can be followed by an appositional phrase containing a coreferential independent pronoun, e.g.,

yā tàimàkē [mù] [dà nī dà shī]	He helped us, me and him.
anà yàbon[sà] [shī àlkālin]	They are praising him, he the judge.
zān biyā [kù] [kū biyu]	I will pay you, you two.
don mè ka gayà ma[tà] [ita máyyā]?	Why did you tell her, she the witch?
mun hàfbē [shì] [shī kánsà]	We shot him, he himself.
sunà gayà mi[nì] [nī káinā]	They are telling me, me myself.

## 3. EMPHATIC REFLEXIVES

Emphatic reflexives (see §63:1.2) are formed by means of an independent pronoun followed by a reflexive pronoun in apposition, e.g.,

kāfin [shī] [kánsà] yà yārda dōlè yà tàmbàyi wánsà	Before he himself agrees he should ask his older brother.
[ita] [kántà] tàurārùwā cè	She herself is a star.
[sū] [kánsù] nē sukà gòyi bāyan máganārsà	They themselves supported his assertion.

Emphatic reflexives, which internally are appositional in structure, can themselves stand in apposition to a noun, e.g.,

[Bellò] [[shī] [kánsà]]	Bello himself (lit. Bello he himself)
[kūrā] [[ita] [kántà]]	the hyena itself
[màlàmai] [[sū] [kánsù]]	the teachers themselves

As is the case with many other items in apposition, in appropriate circumstances the noun and the emphatic reflexive can be transposed, e.g.,

[gwamnati] [ita kántà] zā tà fatař dà kuđi dà yawà	
= [ita kántà] [gwamnati] zā tà fatař dà kuđi dà yawà	The government itself is going to spend a lot of money.
yā sá [Kānde] [ita kántà] tā kōmà gidā = yā sá [ita kántà] [Kānde] tā kōmà gidā	He caused Kande herself to return home.

## 4. PRENOMINAL POSSESSIVES

Possessive pronouns consisting of a genitive linker plus a bound pronoun follow the head noun, e.g., *gidanmù* 'our house' (lit. house.of.us). One can foreground the possessive by using a free-form possessive pronoun in front of the noun (which usually will have a definite article attached) in an appositional construction, e.g.,

an rúshè [nāmù] [gidān]	They tore down <i>our</i> house. (lit. one.comp raze ours house.the )
zā mù shiga [tāsà] [mōtār]	We will enter <i>his</i> car.

wà kà iyà hòraƙ dà [nāsù] [dawākì]? Who could possibly train *their* horses?

°AN: Most grammars describe the above examples as simply having pre-head as opposed to post-head modifiers. This is inexact grammatically and misleading typologically. In Hausa, possessive modifiers qua modifiers occur *only* after the head noun; the semantically related sentences with the possessives in front represent an appositional structure.

## 5. 'KIND OF' PHRASES

Phrases indicating 'kind/type of' are indicated by an appositional structure, although the translation is not appositionlike. The special appositional phrase is formed with *irìn* 'the type' + linker (*na/ta*) + NP. Note that the linker agrees with the head noun and not with *irìn*, e.g.,

<b>tufāñ</b> [irìn na dá]	old-style clothing (lit. clothing kind.the of formerly)
<b>gàshìn-bàki irìn na Hitler</b>	a mustache like Hitler's (lit. mustache type.the of Hitler)
<b>môtà irìn tākà</b>	a car like yours (lit. car type.the of.you)

## 6. UNIT MEASURES

Non-count nouns like water, grain, sand, etc. denote an undifferentiated mass and thus cannot be modified directly by a numeral. To express a quantity, one uses an appositional phrase consisting of a "unit measure" noun plus a numeral (or other quantifier), e.g.,

<b>mái galàn huđu</b>	four gallons of oil (lit. oil gallon four)
<b>takārdā fallē d'aya</b>	a single sheet of paper (lit. paper sheet one)
<b>yàshī tífà takwà</b>	eight dump truck loads of sand (lit. sand dump trucks eight)

## 7. PRONOUNS WITH NUMERALS

Phrases consisting of a plural independent pronoun plus a numeral can stand in apposition to a head noun. In the third person, the exact semantic function of the appositional phrase as opposed to simply using the numeral is unclear, although the presence of the pronoun seems to add a degree of emphasis or specificity to the phrase, e.g.,

<b>mawállāfā kū biyaƙ</b>	you five authors (lit. authors you (pl.) five)
<b>'yan-jàrīdū mū ukū</b>	we three reporters (lit. reporters we three)
<b>shùgàbànnī sū huđu</b>	four leaders (lit. leaders they four) = (?) <b>shùgàbànnī huđu</b>
<b>bàràyi sū gōmà</b>	ten thieves (lit. thieves they ten) = (?) <b>bàràyi gōmà</b>
<b>dǎlibai sū shidà</b>	six students (lit. students they six) = (?) <b>dǎlibai shidà</b>

[Reference: Galadanci (1969)]

## 9. Aspectual Verbs

### 1. INTRODUCTION

**A**SPECTUAL verbs (AVs), like *fārà* ‘begin’, *sākè* ‘repeat’, *cikà* ‘do too much’, require that they be followed by an embedded nonfinite VP with the same subject interpretation. The embedded VP consists of an infinitive phrase (IP) or a verbal noun (VN) or VN phrase. (The VP can also consist of a dynamic noun due to deletion of the pro-verb *yi* ‘do’.) Aspectual verbs denote such concepts of verbal aspect, modality, or manner as inceptive, durative, repetitive, etc. Sentences with AVs can sometimes be translated with an English aspectual verb, but the best translation is often with an adverb or other modifier of the complement. Examples:

**wà zài sākè** [hařbà bindigār]?  
Who will fire the gun again? [IP]

**yā kāsà** [gyāràwā]  
He was unable to fix (it). [VN]

**sun nèmì** [kòyon Lāřabci]  
They tried to learn Arabic. [VN phrase]

**Audù yā dīngà** [gayà matà tà tàfi]  
Audu kept on telling her to go. [IP]

**yā cikà** [shān giyà]  
He drinks too much. [VN phrase]

(lit. he filled drinking beer)

**yā kumà** [ziyāřtār ’yan’uwansà]  
He visited his family again. [VN phrase]

(lit. he repeated visiting his family)

°AN: These verbs were formerly called “auxiliary” verbs by Hausaists. The term *aspectual* verb, used, for example, by Yalwa (1994), seems more in keeping with modern linguistic usage and the treatment of similar verbs in other languages. The term also avoids confusion with the AUX category often employed in the analysis of tense/aspect inflection.

There are some thirty or so aspectual verbs. (One cannot indicate an exact number because the dividing line between aspectual verbs and main verbs that take nonfinite VP complements is fuzzy.) Most AVs are transitive or sociative; some are intransitive. A few, e.g., *dīngà* (= *riřà* = *riřkà*) ‘keep on doing’, *fayè* (= *fiyà*) ‘do too much of’, *kumà* ‘do again’ (cf. the adverb/modal particle *kuma* ‘again’), occur exclusively as aspectual verbs. The large majority of AVs, however, exist also as simple main verbs, the primary meaning and the metaphorical/extensional meaning sometimes being close and sometimes more remote, e.g.,

(AV) **mun rasà** [ganin sarkī]  
We were unable to see the chief.

(lit. we lacked seeing chief)

(main) **mun rasà àbīn dà zā mù yi**  
We didn’t know what to do.

(lit. we lacked thing that we will do)

(AV) **Wāřřī Aku zāi řārà** [bā shì mīsàlai]  
Vizier Parrot will give him more examples.

(lit. ... will increase give him examples)

(main) <i>yā kārà kudī</i>	He increased the money.
(AV) <i>yā cikà [shân giyà]</i>	He drinks too much beer.
(main) <i>tā cikà tūlū</i>	She filled the water pot.
(AV) <i>mun kāmà [shirìn yākī dà sū]</i>	We have started preparing for war with them.
(main) <i>mun kāmà bārāwòn</i>	We caught the thief.
(AV) <i>kā tabà [cín nāmàn kadà]?</i>	Have you ever eaten crocodile meat?
(main) <i>kā tabà hòtòn?</i>	Did you touch the photo?
(AV and main) <i>kā tabà [tabà macìjì]?</i>	Have you ever touched a snake?

The following is a list of the more common aspectual verbs. The largest number operate grade 1; the rest are scattered in other grades. AVs do not seem to fall into grade 5 or grade 6. Examples:

*barì v\** stop doing/leave off doing; *ci gāba dà v0* carry on, continue doing; *cikà v1* do too much of; *dadà v1* repeat/do again; *dainà v1* stop/cease doing; *dingà v1* keep on doing; *dōsà v1* keep on doing; *fārà (dà) v1* begin (with), *fārā v2* initiate, introduce; *fāsà v1* postpone/fail; *fiyà v1 (= fayè v4)* do too much; *gamà v1* finish/complete; *gazà v1* lack; *isa v3* be capable of; *iyà v1* be able to/know how to; *jimà dà v1* be for a while; *kāmà v1* begin doing; *kammālā v1* complete doing; *kāsà v1* fail to do/be unable to; *kārà (dà) v1* repeat/do again; *kārè v4* finish doing; *kōmà v1* go back to doing; *kumà v1* repeat/do again; *kusa v\** be about to/almost; *nēmā v2* try to, be about to; *rābu dà v7* time has passed since; *ragè v4* do less than before; *rasà v1* be unable to do; *riRà (= rinRà) v1* keep on doing; *sābà (dà) v1* be used to doing; *sākè v4* repeat/do again; *sāmū v2* manage to/succeed in doing; *sōmà (dà) v1* begin (with) (= *fārà (dà)*); *sōmā v2* initiate, introduce (= *fārā*); *shā v0* do often/much; *shiga v3* set about/begin/start/take on doing; *tabà v1* ever do; *tārà v1* share doing; *tāsā v2 (= tāshì v3b)* set about, take steps toward doing; *tsayà v1* persist in, stick to, persevere in; *yi ta v0* keep doing

The gr7 aspectual verbs and a few others, including the phrasal verb *ci gāba dà* 'proceed with, continue to be' (lit. eat front with), function as sociatives with the prepositional particle *dà*. When *sābà (dà)* 'be accustomed to' is used as an AV, the *dà* is optional; otherwise it is obligatory. Examples:

<i>nā rābu dà ganinkà</i> (lit. I.comp separate with seeing you)	I haven't seen you for some time.
<i>yā sābà dà wāsà dà macìjì = yā sābà wāsà dà macìjì</i> cf. <i>yā sābà dà talaucìnsà</i>	He is accustomed to playing with snakes. He is accustomed to his poverty.
<i>Lādì tā fārà dà shirìn zàrē</i>	Ladi started with preparing the thread.
<i>Shàgàrì yā ci gāba dà zamā shùgābanmū</i>	Shagari continued to be our president.

The phrasal verb *yi ta* 'keep on doing' is composed of the pro-verb *yi* 'do' plus the preposition *ta* 'via'. In the continuous TAMs, the *yi* is almost always dropped, e.g.,

<i>sun yi ta ròkōnsà</i>	They (completive) kept on begging him.
<i>munà yi ta tàimakon talakāwā ⇒ munà ta tàimakon talakāwā</i>	
We (continuous) keep on helping the needy.	
<i>don mè kukè yi ta yàbonsà? ⇒ don mè kukè ta yàbonsà?</i>	
Why do you (pl.) keep on praising him?	

Transitive AVs followed by an embedded object use the pre-direct object C-form of the verb, which in gr1 ends in short -a and in gr2 ends in short -i, e.g.,

kù <u>gamà</u> shàrè dākin	You (pl.) finish sweeping the room!
yā <u>cikà</u> shān giyà	He drinks too much beer.
yā <u>iyà</u> sākāf tǎbarmā	He is able to weave mats.
Rùmfa yā <u>fāri</u> ginin gānuwā à Kanò	Rumfa initiated the building of the Kano wall.
yā <u>tāshi</u> bugùn yārò	He set about beating the boy.

Grade 4 verbs normally have two alternative C-forms, one with a short final -e and one with a long -ē. When functioning as AVs, grade 4 verbs (in SH at least) use the short vowel variant only, e.g.,

sá sākè fadà makà	They will probably tell you again.
cf. sá sākè(e) rġunànsù	They will probably change their gowns.
tā ragè zuwà kāsuwā	She goes to the market less often.
cf. tā ragè(e) àlbāshinmù	She reduced our wages.

With intransitive AVs, the following nonfinite VP constitutes a complement rather than a direct object. The verb thus appears in its normal A-form, e.g.,

ya isa [hawan kèkè]	He is old enough to ride a bicycle. (< isa reach)
ya kōmà [kārātun Hausa]	He switched back to the study of Hausa. (< kōmà return)
kā tsayà [yi minì wani shirmè]	You persisted in doing nonsense to me. (< tsayà stand, stay)

## 2. INDIRECT OBJECTS

Aspectual verbs do not take indirect objects. Verbs in an embedded infinitive clause, on the other hand, may take an i.o., e.g.,

tā <u>fārà</u> [dakà [masà] <sub>i.o.</sub> hatsì]	She began pounding the grain for him.
not **tā <u>fārà</u> [masà] <sub>i.o.</sub> [dakàn hatsì]	
sun <u>kāsà</u> [kāmà [wà wàzifì] <sub>i.o.</sub> dōkì]	They failed to catch the horse for the vizier.
not **sun <u>kāsà</u> [wà wàzifì] <sub>i.o.</sub> [kāmà dōkì]	
mun kusa [yi [musù] <sub>i.o.</sub> bìkì]	We were close to doing the celebration for them.
not **mun kusa [musù] <sub>i.o.</sub> [yi bìkì]	

In limited circumstances the object of an AV consisting of the pro-verb *yi* plus an i.o. plus a direct object allows deletion of *yi*. The result is a surface sequence of an AV followed immediately by an i.o. (Most AVs do not allow this.) Interestingly the AV followed by the i.o. uses the D (pre-i.o.) form of the verb (which has a long final vowel) and not the C (pre-d.o.) form with a short final vowel. This is so even though structurally the surface i.o. is not the i.o. of its adjacent AV. Examples:

nā <u>fārà</u> [yi masà aikì] = nā <u>fārà</u> [masà aikì]	(fārà is the C-form; fārà is the D-form)
I began to work for him.	
yā <u>sābà</u> [yi wà yārā wàsā dà macìjì] = yā <u>sābà</u> [wà yārā wàsā dà macìjì]	
He is accustomed to playing with snakes for the children.	
kadà kù <u>sākè</u> [yi manà munāfuncì] = kadà kù <u>sākè</u> [manà munāfuncì]	
Don't be treacherous to us again.	

Sometimes *yi* followed by an i.o. undergoes fast speech contraction rather than being deleted, e.g.,

yā yi [ta yi] wà mutànē bàrnā (→) yā yi [tai] wà mutànē bàrnā

He kept on causing damage for the people.

yā nēmi [yi] masà aikì (→) yā nēmi masà aikì

He sought to work for him.

### 3. TAM

Subject to semantic appropriateness, the aspectual verb in the main clause can be in any TAM (tense/aspect/mood) or in the imperative, e.g.,

(fut) zái kārà bā shì misàlai

He will give him additional examples.

(pret) wāndā ya shā d'aukār kāyā

the one who is burdened with picking up the loads

(cont) yanà shìgā (yīn) kāsuwanci duk lōkacin dà kuɗi ya yankè masà

He goes in for trading whenever he runs short of money.

(sub) bàì dācè ba kà dìngā wulākantà talakāwā

It is inappropriate that you should keep on belittling poor people.

(imp) fārà kařantà littāfin!

Start reading the book!

In negative sentences using the discontinuous negative marker **bà(a)...ba**, the second **ba** goes at the end of the sentence after the embedded object/complement, e.g.,

bà tà fārà kařantà littāfin ba

She hasn't started reading the book.

bà zái kārà bā shì misàlai ba

He will not give him any more examples.

bà sù isa tàfiyà makařantā ba

They aren't old enough to go to school.

The verb **nēmā** is semantically varied depending on the choice of the TAM and the verb in the nonfinite clause. Normally it means 'try to'; however, in the continuous with a nonvolitional verb, it means 'be about to', e.g.,

yā nēmi shìgā makařantā

He tried to enter school.

zā mù nēmi biyān kuɗin hayā

We will try to pay the rent.

tanà nēman cirè tàkalmintā

She is trying to take off her shoes.

tunkiyā tanà nēman mutuwā

The ewe is about to die.

dākìn yanà nēman fāfō wà mutànē à kà

The room is about to fall on people's heads.

### 4. THE EMBEDDED COMPLEMENT AND yi DELETION

AVs are followed by three main types of embedded objects/complements: (1) general nonfinite verb phrases (infinitive phrases, nominalized verbs, and verbal nouns); (2) **yīn** (which is the verbal noun of **yi** 'do' plus the linker) followed by a nonverbal dynamic noun (e.g., **barci** 'sleep', **gařdamā** 'disagreement'; **sùrūtù** 'noise'), and (3) **yīn** followed by an abstract noun (e.g., **sanyi** 'coolness', **nauyi** 'heaviness', **tsawō** 'height'). Examples:

(1) yā fārà [kařantà littāfin]

He began to read the book. (lit. he started read book)

(1) sun cikà [sāyen yādì]

They bought too much cloth. (lit. they filled buying yardage)

(1) littattāfan Lārabci sun dainà [sāmuwā à Los Angeles]

Arabic books can no longer be found in L.A. (lit. ...have ceased (being) acquirable in L.A.)

(2) yā fārà [yīn maganā]

He began to talk. (lit. he started doing conversation)

(2) sun cikà [yīn sùrūtù]

They make too much noise. (lit. they fill doing racket)

- (3) *yā fārà* [yîn wārî] It began to stink. (lit. it started doing stench)  
 (3) *sun cikà* [yîn nauyî] They were too heavy. (lit. they filled doing heaviness)

A general feature of the language is the optional (but usual) deletion of the pro-verb *yî* in nonfinite predicates (see §58:3), e.g., *yanà yîn aikî* ( $\Rightarrow$ ) *yanà aikî* 'He is working' (lit. he.cont (doing) work). As a consequence of this rule, AVs are commonly followed on the surface, not by verbal noun phrases, but rather by dynamic nouns or abstract nouns, e.g.,

<i>yā fārà mǎganà</i>	He began to talk.
<i>sun cikà sùfùtù</i>	They make too much noise.
<i>mun yî ta gǎdamà</i>	We kept on arguing.
<i>yā fārà wārî</i>	It began to stink.
<i>sun cikà nauyî</i>	They were too heavy.
<i>an yî ta sanyî</i>	It kept on being cool.

The *yî* in the AV *yî ta* 'keep on' may undergo deletion in nonfinite clauses. When it is followed by a predicate containing *yî* plus a dynamic or abstract noun, one can get two instances of *yî* deletion in the same sentence, the first obligatory, the second optional, e.g.,

*munà yî ta yîn gǎdamà*  $\Rightarrow$  *munà Ø ta (yîn) gǎdamà* We were arguing continuously.

In most cases, sentences with and without the *yî* are essentially equivalent in meaning, e.g., *yā sākè* [yîn barcî] = *yā sākè* [barcî] 'He slept again', *an sòmà yîn ruwā* = *an sòmà ruwā* 'It began to rain'. In some instances, on the other hand, there tends to be a semantic difference, the sentence with *yî* having a more specific time reference than the one without it, e.g.,

<i>wannàn mùtùm yā cikà yîn nauyî</i>	This man is getting too heavy. (process)
<i>wannàn mùtùm yā cikà nauyî</i>	This man is too heavy. (state)
<i>gàrî yā shìga yîn zāfî</i>	This town has started to become difficult to live in.
<i>gàrî yā shìga zāfî</i>	The weather has started getting hot.

If the object of *yî* is fronted, the verb (in its verbal noun form) is usually required. Sometimes, however, it may still be deleted, depending on the specific nature of the AV. If the *yî* is deleted and the AV is not followed on the surface by an object, then the AV naturally appears in its A-form with a long final vowel.

*ciyař dà ìyālìnsà kàm, yā dainà yî* = *ciyař dà ìyālìnsà kàm, yā dainà*

As for providing for his family, he has ceased doing it.

<i>mǎganà ya fārà yî</i> = <i>mǎganà ya fārà</i>	It was talking he began (to do).
<i>sùfùtùn dà sukà cikà yî</i> $\neq$ <i>**sùfùtùn dà sukà cikà</i>	the noise they made too much of
<i>mè kukà yî ta yî?</i> $\neq$ <i>**mè kukà yî ta?</i>	What did you keep on doing?

Similarly, if the nonfinite VP object of the AV is fronted, a resumptive dummy *yî* verbal noun is usually inserted after the AV, although in some cases the sentence without the *yî* is acceptable, e.g.,

<i>wuláƙàntà gǎjlyàyyū ya yî ta yî</i>	Bothering the unfortunate he kept on doing.
(< <i>yā yî ta wuláƙàntà gǎjlyàyyū</i> )	He kept on bothering the unfortunate.)
<i>sàyen mòtā ya sākè yî</i>	Buying cars he did again. (< <i>yā sākè sàyen mòtā</i> )



## 5. DELETION OF FULL VERBS IN THE EMBEDDED CLAUSE

Apart from *yi*, there are other nonfinite verb forms in the embedded clause after the AV that can sometimes be omitted. This deletion is allowed when the verb plus a semantically closely related object indicate a common, well-understood activity so that the meaning of the verb is recoverable from the context, e.g., *mâtâtâ tâ gamà dafà àbincin rāna* 'My wife finished cooking lunch' can be shortened to *mâtâtâ tâ gamà àbincin rāna* (lit. my wife finished lunch). Note that this sentence is still understood to mean 'My wife finished *cooking* lunch' and not, for example, 'My wife finished *eating* lunch'. Further examples:

*yā iyā hawan dōkì* (⇒) *yā iyā dōkì*

He is a good horseman. / He knows how to ride. (lit. he is able to (riding.L) horse)

*bà tà iyā dafà miyà ba* (⇒) *bà tà iyā miyà ba*

She doesn't know how to cook. (lit. she isn't able to (cook) soup)

*Shātā yā fārā rērā Bākandamiyā* (⇒) *Shātā yā fārā Bākandamiyā*

Shata began (singing) the *Bakandamiya* (name of a song).

*Audù yā kusa gamà nōman gōnaṣà mākòn jiyà* (⇒) *Audù yā kusa gamà gōnaṣà mākòn jiyà*

Audu almost finished (tilling) his farm last week.

*nā ci gāba dà kaṣàntà Ruwan Bagajā yāu* (⇒) *nā ci gāba dà Ruwan Bagajā yāu*

I continued (reading) *Ruwan Bagaja* (title of a novel) today.

## 6. STACKING OF AVS

Where semantically appropriate the object/complement of an AV can itself contain an AV, i.e., AVs can in principle be stacked one after the other, although if there are too many (probably more than three) the sentence becomes clumsy, e.g.,

*Tankò yā [kusa [gamà nōman gōnaṣà]]*

Tanko almost finished tilling his farm.

*Tankò zāi [iyā [fārā (yīn) kārātù cikin watà ɗaya]]*

Tanko will be able to start reading in one month.

*Tankò bà zāi [sākè [ci-gāba dà [(yīn) kārātù kàḥin mū]] ba*

Tanko will never again continue with the reading before us.

*Tankò bà zāi [kārā [ci-gāba dà [fārā [(yīn) kārātù kàḥin mū]]] ba*

Tanko will not ever continue with beginning the reading before us.

*Tankò bà zāi [iyā [kārā [sākè [(yīn) kārātù kàḥin mū]]] ba*

Tanko will not be able to repeat again the reading before us.

## 7. SUBJUNCTIVE COMPLEMENTS

Some AVs (often expressing modality) also serve as complement-taking verbs followed by a tensed sentence in the subjunctive, e.g., *Sāni zāi iyā [yā yi aikìn yāu]* 'Sani can do the work today' (lit. Sani will be able that he do the work today). These verbs are *isa* 'be up to', *iyā* 'be able to', *nēmā* 'attempt to', *rābu dà* 'not do for some time', *sābā* 'be accustomed to', and, for some speakers, *fārā* 'begin'. For speakers who accept them—and not all do—the sentences with the subjunctive are semantically more or less equivalent to the comparable sentences with an AV followed by a nonfinite VP, e.g., *Sāni zāi iyā [yā yi aikìn yāu]* = *Sāni zāi iyā [yīn aikìn yāu]* (lit. Sani will be able doing the work today) 'Sani can do the work today.' Curiously, the gr1 AVs followed by a complement sentence in the subjunctive appear

in the A-form (with a long final vowel), which is the form used when no object follows, whereas the one gr2 AV appears in the pre-object C-form. Examples:

**Gwamnà yā ìsa [yà yankè hukuncì]** (subjunctive clause) = **Gwamnà yā ìsa [yankè hukuncì]** (IP)

The Governor suffices (i.e., has the position or authority) to give the verdict.

**mutànéen sun nèmi [sù bijiré]** (subjunctive clause) = **mutànéen sun nèmi [bijiréwā]** (VN)

The people wanted to revolt. (nèmi is a gr2 C-form)

**yā sàbà [yà ziyàrci maràsā lāfiyà]** = **yā sàbà [ziyàrtàf maràsā lāfiyà]**

He is used to visiting sick people.

(sàbà with the long final -à is a gr1 A-form; sàbà with the short final -a is a gr1 C-form)

**nā ràbu dà [in gan shì]** = **nā ràbu dà [ganinsà]**

I've not seen him for some time.

**yā fàrà [yà yi zāgì]** = **yā fàrà [(yìn) zāgì]**

He began spouting insults.

[References: Abraham (1934); Jaggar (1977); Pilszczikowa (1960); Tuller (1986); Yalwa (1994)]

, whereas the one

ukuncl] (IP)

(VN)

gr1 C-form)

wa (1994)]

## 10. Associated Characteristics (Suffix -au)

THE major dictionaries of Hausa include large numbers of derived nouns containing a suffix **-au** and a fixed L-H tone pattern. These are normally built on verb bases, e.g., **màkàrau** 'dilatory psn' < **màkarà** (base //makar-//) 'be late' + **-au**)<sup>LH</sup>. Generally speaking, the suffix is nonproductive and occurs fixed in lexically specific items. Many of the individual items found in the dictionaries (including a few of the examples below) are unknown to modern SH speakers. Derivatives with **-au**)<sup>LH</sup> often have an expressive, adverblike, almost exclamatory function. It is hard to provide a single meaning for the suffix that covers all of its occurrences. The best that one can do is to group these words, which I will refer to simply as "**-au words**", into a small number of identifiable semantic categories or groups.

### 1. GROUP 1

In this most general category, the **-au** words indicate a person, action, or thing with the characteristics—often excessive—of the base verb. Examples:

**àrau** being prone to borrowing < **àrà** borrow (e.g., **yanà shán àrau dà yawà** 'He tends to borrow a lot, or tends to be borrowed from. '); **biyau** child or animal that follows the psn it knows < **bi** follow); **dàgùlau** a spoiler < **dàgùlá** be spoiled; **dàgàzau** a slovenly psn who overeats < **dàgàzà** (usu. **dàgàrgàzà** (with a short initial vowel!)) eat a large quantity of some particular food; **dàkùsau** psn who is invulnerable to knives, etc. < **dàkùsà** make blunt; **fiddau** a reject (e.g., piece of paper spoiled while writing) < **fid dà** throw out; **fikau** a very sharp thing, state of being well sharpened < **fèkè** / **fiku** sharpen / be sharpened (e.g., **wai! fikau, lallai wannan fensir yà fiku** 'Sharp! Well this pencil has been truly sharpened. '); **fitinau** being very worrisome < **fitinà** worry, bother (e.g., **kái fitinau, wannan mùtùm yà cikà fitinàr tsiyà** 'This man is a big nuisance. '); **gìgìtau** psn or thing that flusters people < **gìgìtā** fluster; **gillau** telling huge lies < **gillà karyā** tell a big lie; **hàndāmau** glutton (with medial /a/) < **hàndumà** eat much of; **jìmrau** / **jùrau** energetic, tireless person/animal (also a personal name) < **jùrè** show fortitude; **kàràirāyau** a grass < **kàràirāyā** keep breaking; **kyànkýènau** officious psn; rainbow < **kyànkýèné** be officious, monopolize conversation or work; **kàgau** a bucket jammed in well < **kàgè** get stuck; **màntau** very forgetful psn < **mántā** forget; **sàgau** leather charm worn on the upper arm supposed to stiffen arm of one's opponent < **sagè** stiffen, paralyze; **tàfiyau** s.o. who travels a lot < base //tafiy-//, cf. **tàfi** go; **tàbàrau** eye-glasses < ??

◊HN: The word **tàbàrau** 'eyeglasses' would appear to be an **-au** word, but the source stem is missing. Another possibility is that the **-au** ending has nothing to do with this derivation, but rather is an archaic plural suffix now limited to just a few words like **kibiyà** 'arrow', pl. **kibau**.

In a few instances, the **-au** derivative is built on a noun or adjective rather than a verb, e.g.,

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<b>àsīfau</b>	a psn well known for being secretive < <b>àsīfī</b> secret
<b>gàngàmau</b>	describes a huge psn < <b>gangamēmè</b> huge
<b>siyàsau</b>	s.o. overly involved in politics < <b>siyàsà</b> politics

2. GROUP 2

The second category indicates doing the action of the verb for payment, e.g.,

**càsau** threshing grain for payment < **càsā** thresh; **dàkau** pounding grain for pay < **dakà** pound; **dīnkau** sewing for pay < **dīnkà** sew; **nīkau** grinding for payment < **nīkà** grind; **rīnau** dyeing for wages < **rīnà** dye with indigo; **sūrfau** pounding grain for payment < **surfà** pound moistened grain to remove bran

3. GROUP 3

A small number of insects and plants (especially harmful) appear with frozen -au, e.g.,

<b>būrdīngau</b>	sausage-fly < ??
<b>hūrau</b>	larvae of digger-wasp (= <b>rūrau</b> , <b>būrau</b> , <b>fūrau</b> ) < <b>hūrà</b> blow (on)
<b>kūd'fau</b>	type of small water-beetle < <b>kud'è</b> to draw back head, dive into water
<b>shàshàtau</b>	a weed supposed to ward off results of wrongdoing if put in criminal's mouth or in his bathwater < <b>shàshàtā</b> treat as a fool, divert from topic
<b>ts'idau</b> (= [Kts] <b>ts'aidau</b> )	a thorny weed < <b>tsai dà</b> bring to a halt, stop
<b>tùnkūyau</b>	flea < <b>tùnkuyà</b> butt, gore

4. GROUP 4

Diseases constitute a fourth category of lexically fixed -au words:

<b>fàsau</b>	chapping, esp. of heels < <b>fasà</b> break
<b>hārbau</b>	blackquarter (cattle-disease) < <b>hārbā</b> shoot
<b>kūrkūzau</b>	eczema on cow; mange on dog/donkey < <b>kūjè</b> fray, abrade, cause slit in material or skin
<b>kārāmbau</b>	chicken pox < ??
<b>màkàrau</b>	quinsy, diphtheria; anthrax < <b>màkàrà</b> strangle (?) (Note length of initial vowel.)
<b>sànkàrau</b> (usu. <b>cīwòn sànkàrau</b> or <b>ànnòbaf sànkàrau</b> )	cerebro-spinal meningitis < <b>sankàrē</b> stiffen

5. GROUP 5

A common use of the -au suffix is in descriptive epithets, e.g.,

<b>dāgūyau</b>	epithet of a hyena < <b>dāguyà</b> gnaw at/eat much of (meat)
<b>dāmāmūsau</b>	epithet of an emir or brave warrior < <b>damāmūshē</b> eat up quickly
<b>dīmau</b>	epithet of storm; epithet of an emir < <b>dīmā</b> plunge weapon into a psn
<b>dīrkākau</b>	epithet of an emir < <b>dīrkākā</b> approach with determination
<b>gābātau</b>	epithet of a paramount chief < <b>gābātā</b> be leader of
<b>gāgàrau</b>	epithet or nickname of any Abubakar; epithet of a warrior or of a difficult, unbeatable psn or thing < <b>gāgarà</b> behave rebelliously
<b>gīndau</b>	epithet of a dog or a destitute person < ??

<b>jītau</b>	ep
<b>kètau</b>	ep
<b>kòrau</b>	ep
	an
<b>màràsau</b>	ep
	en
<b>sūrau</b>	ep

6. GROUP 6

The -au suffix also sometimes place n

<b>Bàrau</b>	prop
<b>Dìbgau</b>	name
<b>Gùsau</b>	place
<b>HàRùrau</b>	prop
<b>Kòsau</b>	name
<b>Màkau</b>	prop
<b>Màntau</b>	prop
<b>Màyau</b>	name
<b>Sàllau</b>	nickn
<b>Shèkàrau</b>	prop
	a year
<b>Tùnau</b>	prop
	(cf. A
	after
<b>Jàtau</b>	prop

ØHN: I have no different etym

Names with -au) LH regular morphologic

**Bàrau** m., cf. **Bark** m., cf. **Tùne** f.; **Jāt**

7. GROUP 7

In recent times, the employed to create r Arabic). Examples o

**àikàtau** verb < **aik**  
**dògàrau** relative, c  
**kàrbau** (direct) obje

<b>jítâu</b>	epithet of a paramount chief < <b>jítà</b> put on a lot of clothing
<b>kètâu</b>	epithet of any barber < <b>kètâ</b> split, tear
<b>kòrau</b>	epithet of any <b>shâmaki</b> (official in charge of stables); a proper name < <b>kôrâ</b> drive animals in front of oneself
<b>mâkàsau</b>	epithet of elephant, a burly psn, or an influential man < ?? (cf. ideophone <b>mâkas</b> emphasizing fullness )
<b>sùrau</b>	epithet of a kite or hawk < <b>sùrâ</b> swoop down

## 6. GROUP 6

The -au suffix also frequently occurs in descriptive proper names, most often personal names, but sometimes place names as well, e.g.,

<b>Bàrau</b>	proper name < <b>barì</b> leave
<b>Dìbgau</b>	name for any person called Bello < <b>dìbgâ</b> drive away, take too much of
<b>Gùsau</b>	place name < ??
<b>Hàkùrau</b>	proper name < <b>hàkùrà</b> be patient
<b>Kòsau</b>	name for child born at harvesttime < <b>kòsâ</b> be well-fed
<b>Màkau</b>	proper name; <b>Bàwà Màkau</b> name for a <i>bori</i> spirit < <b>màkâ</b> beat
<b>Màntau</b>	proper name (given to a child after previous infants have died) < <b>mântâ</b> forget
<b>Mâyau</b>	name for posthumous child < <b>mâyâ</b> replace
<b>Sàllau</b>	nickname for Salihu (boy born during a festival) < <b>sallâ</b> festival
<b>Shèkàrau</b>	proper name (given to a boy supposed to have spent a year in the womb) < <b>shèkarâ</b> spend a year
<b>Tùnau</b>	proper name (given to a boy whose mother was long childless) < <b>tunâ</b> remember (cf. <b>Allàh yâ tunâ dà kē</b> God has remembered you, i.e., you have given birth to a child after all.)
<b>Jàtau</b>	proper name (for light-skinned boy) < <b>jâ</b> red (?)

ØHN: I have no explanation for the medial /t/, unless this derivation is incorrect and **Jàtau** has a different etymological origin.

Names with -au)<sup>LH</sup> are all masculine. The corresponding feminine names, if they exist, do not exhibit a regular morphological formation, e.g.,

**Bàrau** m., cf. **Barkò** f. or **Bàraukà** f.; **Màntau** m., cf. **Mantai** f.; **Shèkàrau** m., cf. **Shèkarâ** f.; **Tùnau** m., cf. **Tùne** f.; **Jàtau** m., cf. **'Yaŋ-ja** (with short final vowel) f.

## 7. GROUP 7

In recent times, the -au suffix, which one would have thought was in a state of desuetude, has been employed to create new grammatical terminology (often as an alternative to loanwords from English or Arabic). Examples of these neologisms include the following:

**àikàtau** verb < **aikâtâ** to work; **bàyànu** adverb < **bayyânâ** explain (cf. **bâyânì** explanation); **dôgarau** relative, dependent (clause) < **dôgarâ** depend on; **haddàsau** causative < **haddàsâ** cause; **kàrbau** (direct) object < **kàrbâ** receive

# 11. Augmentatives and Diminutives

## 1. AUGMENTATIVE ADJECTIVES

**H**AUSA has a good-sized class of phonaesthetic, expressive adjectives (referred to in the literature as “augmentatives” or “profusatives”), where the notion of “exceedingly” or “excessively” is an integral part of the meaning of the word, e.g., **sundumēmè** ‘very big and swollen’, **santalēliyā** ‘extremely tall and slender’; **dùgùzunzùml** ‘shaggy-haired, disheveled’ (e.g., crazy person or animal). They primarily express expansiveness of size, shape, or space, often with negative connotations. Semantically these items correspond to such English words as ‘voluminous’, ‘extensive’, ‘stupendous’, ‘colossal’, etc., and often lend themselves to expressive translations like ‘a whale of a fish’, ‘a scarecrow of a youth’, ‘a well-stacked woman’, etc. These words tend to be somewhat coarse and thus are normally not found in “polite company” or formal situations.

Augmentatives are often narrowly restricted in their collations, e.g., **řingimēmè** indicates ‘overly large and round’, particularly of heads, whereas **shambafēřiyā** ‘bosomy’ refers only to women’s breasts. Most words of this class denote largeness, bountifulness, and/or beauty of some sort, but some—especially those belonging to the C-form, to be described below—connote abnormally small or stupid, being in effect augmentatives in reverse. Unlike agentives and ethnonyms, for example, many of which occur both as independent nouns and as adjectives, all words of this class function exclusively as adjectives.

Augmentative adjectives can be identified by a regular morphological formation involving a set final vowel and tone pattern plus in many cases an athematic stem-final consonant. In most cases the underlying base does not exist apart from these words. For example, **buřđumēmè** ‘huge’ (of animals) clearly contains a reduplicative suffix with an associated H-L tone pattern, but the base //buřđum-// doesn’t exist elsewhere in the language.

°AN: Out of some 140 or so augmentative adjectives, there are only a handful that could be analyzed as deriving from a base found in a possibly related extant verb. These include **gabjējè** ‘bulky’ < **gabzà** ‘heap up a lot of sth’; **gambashēshè** ‘huge and muscular’ < **gàmbasà** ‘break off a large chunk’; **shimfidēdè** ‘extensive’ < **shimfidā** ‘spread’; **tsamfēfè** ‘handsome’ < **tsamfà** ‘do task well’.

Following the convention initiated by Parsons (1963: 192–95), augmentatives are normally described as having three subclasses, referred to as forms A, B, and C. The implication is that these variant forms are essentially equivalent allomorphs of the same morpheme. Although the variant forms are semantically related and share common ideophonic and exclamatory derivations, the C-form (which I am labeling Aug(mentative)-2) is really different enough to be set apart from the A- and B-forms. These latter forms can be grouped together to form a subclass (called Aug(mentative)-1), although even this grouping is somewhat problematic.

### 1.1. Augmentativ

In describing the two forms the more active

#### 1.1.1. Augmentat

The B-form is built u consonant. The fixed feminine forms end i

**sangamēmè** m. sa  
**kuřshēshè** m. ku

About a quarter of th syllable. The base ha CVCC-. The base-fi (Examples will be gi predictable, e.g., **zūf**

**būlēlē** excess  
**wāgégè** large  
**burmēmè** ragged  
**ribdēdè** huge

About three-quarters bases where both vo the corresponding fe big and swollen’.)

(a) **birkidēdè** h  
**bundumēmè** f  
**buřbukèkè** t  
**famfarèrè** s  
**gambashēshè** t  
**zungurmēmè** (= zi

Synchronically the second most comm ways it appears to b number of doublets sonorant is dropped

**fīřdēdè** = fīřdim  
**zandēdè** = zandai  
**zungurèrè** = zun  
**bambarmēmè**  
**dandarmēmè**

1. 1. Augmentative-1 (A & B forms)

In describing the two Augmentative-1 variants, I present the B-form before the A-form because the B-form is the more active and productive.

1.1.1. Augmentative-1b: The B-form -ēCē)HL

The B-form is built using a tone-integrating suffix -ēCē)HL where C represents a copy of the base-final consonant. The fixed H-L tone pattern spreads from right to left over the entire word. The corresponding feminine forms end in -iyā as determined by general feminine formation rules, e.g.,

<b>sangamēmè</b> m.	<b>sangamēmīyā</b> f.	huge (of living things)
<b>kuřshēshè</b> m.	<b>kuřshēshīyā</b> f.	large and round (of nuts)

About a quarter of the B-form augmentatives are trisyllabic words built on a base with a heavy initial syllable. The base has either the form CVVC-, where the long vowel is /ā/ or /ū/ (or /ī/ in one case), or CVCC-. The base-final consonant is occasionally a sonorant, but most often it is an obstruent. (Examples will be given only of the masculine forms since the corresponding feminine forms are fully predictable, e.g., **zūkēkè** / **zūkēkīyā** 'very beautiful'.)

<b>bulèlè</b>	excessively fat	<b>mākèkè</b>	long and broad (e.g., room, farm)
<b>wāgēgè</b>	large	<b>tkèkè</b>	huge (Note /t/ without palatalization!)
<b>burmēmè</b>	ragged, disheveled	<b>gabjèjè</b>	huge, plentiful
<b>ribḏḏè</b>	huge and bulky	<b>shabcècè</b>	wide and slitlike (e.g., mouth, cut)

About three-quarters of the B-forms are quadrisyllabic built on CVCCVC- (or occasionally CVCCVCC-) bases where both vowels are identical. (Again, examples will be given only of the masculine forms since the corresponding feminines with -iyā are fully predictable, e.g., **sundumēmè** / f. **sundumēmīyā** 'very big and swollen'.)

(a) <b>birkidḏḏè</b>	huge (e.g., cloth)	<b>gansamēmè</b>	tall and stout
<b>bundumēmè</b>	fat-bellied, plump	<b>hangamēmè</b>	huge, cavernous (esp. mouth)
<b>buḃḃukèkè</b>	hefty	<b>sangarmēmè</b>	proportionately tall and strong
<b>famfarèrè</b>	spacious (room, container)	<b>zartabèbè</b>	big and strong
<b>gambashèshè</b>	huge and muscular, gigantic	<b>zinkirèrè</b>	chock full
<b>zungurmēmè</b> (= <b>zungurèrè</b> )	long (e.g., stick, car), tall (e.g., man)		

Synchronically the final consonant of the quadrisyllabic forms, which is most commonly /m/ (the second most common consonant being /l/), constitutes an intrinsic part of the lexical item, but in some ways it appears to be a base extension and not part of the root as such. There are, for example, a certain number of doublets with and without the final sonorant, as well as some examples where the final sonorant is dropped in the plural, e.g.,

<b>fīḏḏèdè</b> = <b>fīḏḏimēmè</b>	huge (horse) / pl. <b>fīḏḏā-fīḏḏà</b>
<b>zandèdè</b> = <b>zandamēmè</b>	tall and well built / pl. <b>zandā-zandà</b> or <b>zandamā-zandamà</b>
<b>zungurèrè</b> = <b>zungurmēmè</b>	long / pl. <b>zungurā-zùngùrà</b>
<b>bambarmēmè</b>	spacious (e.g., room, container) / pl. <b>bambarā-bàmbàrà</b>
<b>dandarmēmè</b>	huge and long / pl. <b>dandarā-dàndàrà</b>

°AN: Note that the /d/ in the example **zandédè** does not palatalize, whereas /z/ in augmentatives always does, e.g., **gabjèjè** 'huge' (< //gabzèzè//, pl. **gabzā-gàbzà**).

1.1.2. Plurals -ā x 2)H-L

The plural formation of B-type augmentatives consists of the addition of a suffix -ā to the base (extended or plain), complete reduplication, and the imposition of a fixed H-L tone pattern, i.e., all H on the first reduplicate and all L on the second reduplicate. Consonants that appear palatalized in the singular because of the final -ē (or feminine -iyā) "depalatalize" before the final -ā of the plural. Examples:

<b>gabjèjè / gabzā-gàbzà</b>	huge (people)	<b>gansamēmè / gansamā-gànsàmà</b>	tall and stout
<b>ribḏḏḏè / ribḏā-ribḏā</b>	huge and bulky	<b>shaḗtabēbè / shaḗtabā-shaḗtabā</b>	long and sharp
<b>tsālélè / tsālā-tsālā</b>	tall, slender (usu. women)	<b>zungurērè / zungurā-zùngurà</b>	long, tall

Being adjectives, augmentatives occur naturally as prenominal modifiers with an attached linker, e.g., **suntuḃḃḃèn yārò** 'an oaf of a boy'; **santalēliyaḗ yāriṅyā** 'a shapely girl'. They may also occur post-nominally, where they are usually extended by a prepositional phrase made up of **dà** plus a coreferential independent pronoun, e.g., **yārò suntuḃḃḃè dà shì**; **yāriṅyā santalēliyā dà ita**. The corresponding plural augmentatives, on the other hand, do not normally occur in prenominal position, i.e., the phrase **'yammātā santalā-sàntalā (dà sū)** 'shapely girls' is fine but **??santalā-sàntalān 'yammātā** is considered extremely clumsy. This limitation, however, is not a property of augmentatives per se but rather is due to a more general prohibition against over-heavy (including fully reduplicated) adjectives in prenominal position.

1.1.3. Augmentative-1a: The A-Form -i)H

About half of the quadrisyllabic B-form augmentatives have corresponding A-forms, e.g., **fandamēmè** (B) = **fandamī** (A) 'huge'. The trisyllabic B-forms do not have A-forms. There are no A-forms without corresponding B forms. Semantically the two forms are essentially equivalent, although native speakers have a sense that the heavier B-forms are slightly stronger and more expressive than the A-forms.

The A-forms contain a tone-integrating suffix -i)H, i.e., final -i and an all H tone pattern. They all have the canonical shape CVCCVCi. Corresponding feminines replace the final -i by -ā, this being the normal feminine marking for words ending in H tone -i, e.g., **fankamī** m. / **fankamā** f. 'very broad and flat', **bullukī** m. / **bullukā** f. 'huge'. The A-forms share the same ā-final reduplicated plurals as the B-forms, e.g., **fankamī** m. (= **fankamēmè**) / **fankamā-fānkāmā** pl. Examples (giving the masculine and plural forms only):

<b>gandamī (= gandamēmè) / gandamā-gāndāmā</b>	long and strong (e.g., sword)
<b>jimbīfī (= jimbīfērè) / jirbīfā-jimbīfā</b>	heavy
<b>sambālī (= sambalélè) / sambalā-sāmbālā</b>	tall and well-formed psn
<b>sangamī (= sangamēmè) / sangamā-sāngāmā</b>	huge

According to the standard descriptions, the A-forms and the B-forms are syntactically as well as semantically the same in that they both function as normal adjectives, e.g.,

- (a) **fankamēmèn kògī = fankamin kògī** (b) **kògī fankamēmè = kògī fankamī**  
an immensely broad river
- (a) **santalēliyaḗ yāriṅyā = santalaḗ yāriṅyā** (b) **yāriṅyā santalēliyā = yāriṅyā santalā**  
a tall, shapely girl

Present-day Hausa speakers allow the B-forms as adjectives. **kògī** is not; **yāriṅyā** is not; even others who would consider **yāriṅyā** more nominal as 'a tall, shapely one' are the A-forms (and not the B-forms). In the example, epithets like **yāriṅyā** 'large one [turban] (only the B-form) are not the corresponding nicknames for a strong, shapely man', not = \*\*gundum...

1.2. Augmentative-2  
Augmentative-2 adjectives of smallness, shortness, or weakness, not exclusively, serve to distinguish humans of one sex or one age from the corresponding Aug-1 forms. **fānkankāmī** (C) = **fānkankāmā** (A) = **wāngamī** (A) = **wāngamā** (A) clearly the exception rule forms and constitute a s...

°AN: Presumably it is the C-form (C), for example, that is used together as a single form with the common forms that...

The canonical shape for the A-form is structure X-CVC-CVCi (two syllables), and the antonym B-form has three syllables, e.g., **cākufkākūf** (same (L)-L-H-L-H tone pattern).

°HN: Historically the B-form was the case with 'unminded', for example **cākufkākūf** vowel and simplified to **cākufkākū**.

The feminine Aug-2 adjectives are formed by -ā, e.g., **cākufkākūf** (nominal plural suffix -ā) + consonant plus -i, the B-form **\*dāgizgizī**, f. **dāgizgizī** (initial syllable(s) need not be a tickset, ugly (person...)



Present-day Hausa speakers—at least as represented by most of the people with whom I worked—only allow the B-forms as adjectival NP modifiers, i.e., **fankamēmèn kògì** is acceptable but **\*\*fankamin kògì** is not; **yārin yà santalēliyā** is acceptable but **\*\*yārin yà santalā** is not. For these speakers (and even others who would allow such expressions as **fankamin kògì** as grammatical), the A-forms are considered more nominal-like and stylistically/pragmatically restricted, i.e., **santalā** is better translated as ‘a tall, shapely one’ rather than ‘tall/shapely’. This nominal character shows up in two ways. First, the A-forms (and not the B-forms) can stand as the descriptive head of a **kīrārì** (praise epithet). For example, epithets like **suntuḃi** (...) ‘Oh heavy one (you are too difficult to lift)’ or **kinkimī** (...) ‘Oh large one [turban] (only an emir can enjoy you)’ would be perfectly normal. Second, A-forms (but again, not the corresponding B-forms) can be used as nicknames, e.g., **Gundumī** (not **\*\*Gundumēmè**) nickname for a strong, solid guy (name of a famous boxer), contrast **gundumēmèn mùtùm** ‘a strong man’, not = **\*\*gundumin mùtùm**; **Santalā** (not **\*\*Santalēliyā**) nickname for a tall, shapely girl.

1.2. Augmentative-2: the C-form -ī)LHLH

Augmentative-2 adjectives constitute a small class of some two dozen or so words that denote unusual smallness, shortness, or compactness as well as largeness or expansiveness. They primarily, although not exclusively, serve to modify nouns referring to humans or other animates. They are often restricted to humans of one sex or the other. Some three words allow Aug-2 adjectives as an alternative to a corresponding Aug-1 form (A or B), namely, **bōḃaḃḃāfī** (C) = **bōḃaḃḃē** (B) ‘having big buttocks’; **fānkankāmī** (C) = **fankamī** (A) = **fankamēmè** (B) ‘very broad and flat (e.g., river)’; **wāngamgāmī** (C) = **wangamī** (A) = **wangamēmè** (B) ‘extensive or broad (e.g., container, pond)’. This, however, is clearly the exception rather than the rule. Aug-2 adjectives are generally totally independent of Aug-1 forms and constitute a separate, if semantically related, word class.

°AN: Presumably it was the existence of the triplets **fankamī** (A) = **fankamēmè** (B) = **fānkankāmī** (C), for example, that mislead Parsons into thinking that the A-, B-, and C-forms could be grouped together as a single class. As analysts, we often run the danger of generalizing on the basis of very common forms that later turn out to be atypical.

The canonical shape for Aug-2 adjectives, all of which have four or more syllables, is the reduplicative structure **X-CVC-CVCi**)<sup>LHLH</sup> (where X represents one syllable of any type (light or heavy) or two light syllables), and the antepenultimate CVC syllable is a copy of the first three segments of the final two syllables, e.g., **cākūfūkūfī** ‘short and slight (person or animal)’. The Aug-2 adjectives all exhibit the same (L)-L-H-L-H tone pattern.

°HN: Historically these augmentatives were formed by two-syllable reduplication to the right as was the case with frozen reduplicated nouns (see §62:3.1). Thus **shīnkīnkīmī** ‘heavy, weak-minded’, for example, came from **\*shīnkīm(i)** + **-kīmī** with dropping of the original stem-final vowel and simplification of the LH on the resulting antepenultimate closed syllable to H.

The feminine Aug-2 adjective is derived in a regular fashion by replacing the final **-ī** of the masculine stem by **-ā**, e.g., **cākūfūkūfā** f. The plural is formed from the singular stem by adding the very common nominal plural suffix **-ai**)<sup>LH</sup>, e.g., **cākūfūkūfai** pl. In cases where the masculine ends in a palatalized consonant plus **-ī**, the feminine and plural forms manifest the corresponding alveolars, e.g., **dāgīrgījī** (< **\*dāgizgizī**), f. **dāgīrgizā**, pl. **dāgīrgizai** ‘short and hairy (e.g., person or sheep)’. The vowel in the initial syllable(s) need not be identical to the other vowels, but it usually is, e.g., **kūtūḃuḃūfī** ‘short, thickset, ugly (person)’. The reduplicated nature of the CVC in the antepenultimate syllable is often

disguised because of phonological processes of assimilation, gemination, or rhotacism. This can be seen in the following examples, all of which form plurals with *-ai*)<sup>LH</sup>:

<b>bùgùnzùmí</b> (< *bùgùzumzùmí)	big, fat, untidy, ungainly (esp. woman), or animals
<b>dàmbarbàsā</b> (< *dàmbasbàsā)	dumpy but of pleasant appearance (woman)
<b>d'ágwār̀wàsā</b> (< *d'ágwaswàsā)	small-proportioned (girl)
<b>kùduddùsā</b> (< *kùdusdùsā)	short stout (woman)
<b>lùkùtuttùbā</b> (< *lùkùtuftùbā)	flabby, well-fatted (girl)
<b>shìnkìkìmì</b> (< *shìnkìkìmì)	heavy (psn or animal); weak-minded (psn)

There are in addition a few words that tonally and semantically would appear to fit into the Aug-2 class but do not exhibit the usual reduplicative structure. Like the regular Aug-2 adjectives, they form corresponding feminines with *-ā* and plurals with *-ai*)<sup>LH</sup>.

**dàndabàsā** squat, well-built (girl); **gàgàrùmí** (= **gùrùngundùmí**) loutish, important (affair, news); **gàrànhòtsàmí** = **gàràngàtsàmí** pushy, unruly (psn); **zàkàkùfí** outstanding (psn)

## 2. RELATED DERIVATIONS

Augmentative adjectives (esp. the Aug-1 forms) have related exclamatory and ideophonic forms, e.g.,

<b>gambashēshē</b>	huge (chunks) [Aug-1]
<b>gambāshi!</b>	what huge chunks! [exclamation]
<b>gàmbàsàs</b> sg. / <b>gàmbàs-gàmbàs</b> pl.	huge and chunky [ideophone]

### 2.1. Exclamations

Exclamations related to augmentatives are formed by adding a suffix *-i*)<sup>HL(H)</sup> to the base, i.e., short final *-i* and H-L tone if disyllabic and H-L-H tone if trisyllabic (see §25:2). Note that the base does not include the reduplicative *-ēCē* suffix of the B-form nor the CVC reduplication of the C-form. The formation is productive with the B-form augmentatives and sporadic/uncommon with the C-forms, e.g.,

<b>fīrdí</b>	what a hulk! < <b>fīrdēdē</b> large, esp. a horse (= <b>fīrdímí</b> ! < <b>fīrdímēmē</b> )
<b>mākì!</b>	how long and broad! < <b>mākēkē</b>
<b>buḅḅùkì!</b>	how hefty! < <b>buḅḅukēkē</b> hefty
<b>cākùfí!</b>	how short and slight (psn or animal) < <b>cākùfùfí</b>
<b>shìnkìmì!</b>	how heavy (psn or animal); how weak-minded (psn) < <b>shìnkìkìmì</b>

### 2.2. Ideophonic qualifiers

Many four (and five) syllable augmentatives (both Aug-1 and Aug-2) have corresponding ideophonic qualifiers that characterize a manner, state, appearance, or other quality of some NP in the sentence, e.g., **fànkànkàm** / pl. **fànkam-fànkàm** 'broadly spread out' < **fànkamēmē** 'broad'. The singular ideophone is formed by adding *-CVC*)<sup>L</sup>, i.e., by reduplicating the final CVC of the base with the imposition of an all L tone pattern, e.g., **tàngalēlē** 'huge (head) (base //tàngal-//) ⇒ **tàngàlgàl**. (Stem-final nasals automatically assimilate to the following C, e.g., //fànkànkàm// → [fànkàṅkàm].) The corresponding plural is formed by full reduplication of the base with the imposition of an H-L tone pattern, e.g., base //tàngal-// ⇒ **tàngal-tàngàl** (pl.). Examples:

<b>bangwalēlē</b>	large/round (e.g., kolanuts) ⇒	<b>bàngwàlgwàl</b> / <b>bangwal-bàngwàl</b>
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<b>dankwalēlē</b>	large
<b>bundumēmē</b>	fat-b
<b>fīndīmēmē</b>	huge
<b>jimbīrērē</b>	heav
<b>bùgùnzùmí</b>	fat,
<b>cākùfùfí</b>	short

The following two examples illustrate the use of the augmentative adjectives in a sentence.

**càfàfàsā** petite, good  
**dàbàfàbāshí** / **dàbàfàbāsā**

The ideophonic qualifiers are used in a way that is different from the augmentative adjectives. The ideophonic qualifiers are used in a way that is different from the augmentative adjectives.

**kògín yanà dà fādí fà**  
**kògunà sunà dà fādí fà**  
**kàzà nakè sò dānkwalēliyā**  
cf. **kàzà dānkwalēliyā**  
**ruwā yā saukō dānkwalēliyā**  
**mātā sunà tàfiyā shàn**  
cf. **mātā shabāfā-shàn**  
**kà yayyànkà nāmà gā**

## 3. DIMINUTIVE ADJECTIVES

A lexically very limited set of diminutive adjectives (e.g., *small, tiny, thin*) characterize size, shape, or space of some NP in the sentence, e.g., *their expressive meaning is preserved in the plural form, e.g., rolled /r/ where flap /r/ is used, tiny, skinny, constricted, etc., referred to. Collocation of these adjectives with the specificity of meaning, e.g.,*

The canonical shape of the diminutive adjectives is *last two syllables identical* (e.g., *small* food items). The feminine form is formed by inflectional rules, e.g., *small* **mini-miní**. The diminutive adjectives are invariant for gender and number, e.g., *small* all H tone pattern, e.g., *small* function as an alternative to the augmentative adjectives.

°AN: The feminine form of the diminutive adjectives, such pairs as *small* **dān** *road*' (with the con-

<b>dankwalélè</b>	large/round (e.g., raindrops, chickens) ⇒	<b>dànkwàlkwàl / dankwal-dànkwàl</b>
<b>bundumémè</b>	fat-bellied, plump (pot, psn, pit) ⇒	<b>bùndùndùm / bundum-bùndùm</b>
<b>řindřimémè</b>	huge/round (e.g., potbelly) ⇒	<b>řindřindřim / řindřim-řindřim</b>
<b>jimbřřērē</b>	heavy ⇒	<b>jřmbřřřbřř / jimbřřř-jřmbřřř</b>
<b>bùgùzùnùm</b>	fat, untidy, ungainly (psn or animal) ⇒	<b>bùgùzùnùm / buguzum-bùgùzùm</b>
<b>càkùřkùř</b>	short and slight (psn or animal) ⇒	<b>càkùřkùř / cākùř-cākùř</b>

The following two examples are interesting in that the syllable final /s/ undergoes rhotacism to /ř/ in the augmentative adjective but remains /s/ in the ideophonic qualifier.

**càřasřasā** petite, good-looking (girl) ⇒ **cařasřas / cařas-cařas** (tonally irregular)  
**dàbāřbāshi / dābāřbāsā** squat, dumpy (animal or woman) ⇒ **dābāsās / dabas-dābās**

The ideophonic qualifiers serve to describe situations and events, but in a less restrictive, more adverbial way than the augmentatives, which are bona fide adjectives. Here are some examples of ideophonic qualifiers in a sentential context:

<b>kògìn yanà dà fādř fānkānkām</b>	The river is broad, spread out flatly.
<b>kògunà sunà dà fādř fānkām-fānkām</b>	The rivers are broad, spread out flatly.
<b>kāzā nakè sò dānkwàlkwàl</b>	It's a chicken I want, large and round.
cf. <b>kāzā dānkwalēlyā nakè sò</b>	It's a large and round chicken I want. (with the Aug-1B)
<b>ruwā yā sauk dānkwal-dānkwàl</b>	The rain fell in huge round drops.
<b>mātā sunà tàřiyā shāmbāř-shāmbāř</b>	The women were walking as buxom women do.
cf. <b>mātā shābāřā-shāmbāřā</b>	bosomy women (with the Aug plural)
<b>kā yāyānkā nāmā gambas-gāmbās!</b>	Cut up the meat in lots of big chunks!

### 3. DIMINUTIVE ADJECTIVES

A lexically very limited set of some ten ideophonic diminutive adjectives emphasizes the smallness in size, shape, or space of persons, places or things. The ideophonic nature of these words is shown by their expressive meaning (e.g., **tsìgřgřin yārò** 'a shrimp of a boy') and by various phonological features, such as the preservation of nonpalatalized /t/ before a front vowel and the appearance of intervocalic rolled /ř/ where flap /r/ would be expected. These adjectives generally describe things as being narrow, tiny, skinny, constricted, short, light (in weight), etc. They also serve to belittle the people or things referred to. Collocational restrictions often apply in the usage of these adjectives because of their specificity of meaning, e.g., **yisř-yisř** 'tiny' is always plural since it refers only to teeth.

The canonical shape for diminutives (masculine singular) is **ci-CiCi**<sup>LHL</sup>, i.e., trisyllabic with the last two syllables identical. The vowel in all three syllables is /i/, e.g., **mìnřnř** 'small, tiny pieces (of food items)'. The feminine is formed by adding **-lyā** to the masculine stem in accordance with regular inflectional rules, e.g., **mìnřniyā**. The plural has a distinct reduplicated structure **CiCi-CiCi**<sup>H-H</sup>, e.g., **minř-minř**. The diminutive adjectives also have corresponding adjectival ideophones, which are invariant for gender and number. These have the segmental shape of the masculine singulars but with an all H tone pattern, e.g., **mřtsřtsř** 'tiny'. In some cases, these have become confused with and now function as an alternative to the true masculine singular adjectival forms.

°AN: The feminine singular will normally still take the proper adjectival form; thus one may find such pairs as **řan zřřřřin lungù** 'a narrow alley' (with all H), but **'yāř zřřřřiyāř hanyā** 'a narrow road' (with the correct feminine adjective tone pattern).

Table 1 contains a full list of diminutive adjectives with their corresponding ideophones. Empty cells mean that the forms in question do not occur.

Table 1: Diminutives

<i>gloss</i>	<i>m.</i>	<i>f.</i>	<i>pl.</i>	<i>ideophone</i>
small and plump			diɓɓi-diɓɓi	
skinny, shrunk	dʒɪɪɪ	dʒɪɪɪyā	dʒɪɪ-dʒɪɪ	dʒɪɪɪ
short, skimpy	fɪtɪtɪ	fɪtɪtɪyā	fɪtɪ-fɪtɪ	fɪtɪtɪ
tiny (object)			kɪlɪ-kɪlɪ	kɪlɪlɪ
tiny (food)	mɪnɪnɪ	mɪnɪnɪyā	mɪnɪ-mɪnɪ	mɪnɪnɪ
small, tiny	mɪtsɪtsɪ	mɪtsɪtsɪyā	mɪtsɪ-mɪtsɪ	mɪtsɪtsɪ
skinny, narrow	sɪfɪfɪ	sɪfɪfɪyā	sɪfɪ-sɪfɪ	sɪfɪfɪ
short and small	tsɪɪɪɪ	tsɪɪɪɪyā	tsɪɪɪ-tɪɪɪ	tsɪɪɪɪ
tiny (of teeth)			yɪsɪ-yɪsɪ	
narrow, thin	zɪfɪfɪ	zɪfɪfɪyā		zɪfɪfɪ

°AN: The word *sɪfɪfɪ* has other plurals as well, namely, *sɪfɪfɪai*, with the regular *-ai* suffix, and *sɪfɪfɪrā*, a regular DASQ-type plural.

ΔDN: [i] Some speakers pronounce the plural diminutives with a more ideophonic pattern with all short vowels, e.g., *mini-mini* 'tiny', *mitsi-mitsi* 'small', etc., cf. ideophones such as *caba-caba* 'pimpled, pockmarked', *dushi-dushi* 'hazy, dim, semiblind', etc.

[ii] The word for 'short, skimpy' is also found with /c/ instead of /t/, i.e., *fɪcɪcɪ* / *fɪcɪcɪyā* / *fɪcɪ-fɪcɪ* / *fɪcɪcɪ*.

A striking feature of diminutive adjectives is the optional (but commonly employed) redundant use of the diminutive markers *dʌn/ʔyaʔ/ʔyan* (m./f./pl.) along with them. (This is comparable to the nonstandard English usage 'wee small'.) The diminutive marker accompanies the diminutive adjective in prenominal as well as postnominal positions. Like other expressive adjectives, post-head diminutives may be extended by a phrase consisting of *dā* + a coreferential personal pronoun. Examples:

- (dʌn) mɪtsɪtsɪn gɔʔɔ a tiny kolanut
- zanè (dʌn) dʒɪɪɪ dā shɪ a skimpy, shrunk cloth
- yārɪnyā (ʔyaʔ) sɪfɪfɪyā dā ita a slender girl
- wasu yārā (ʔyan) mɪtsɪ-mɪtsɪ (dā sū) nè sukā bā mù tsòrō Some tiny boys frightened us.

With the H-tone adjectival ideophones, the use of the preposed *dʌn/ʔyaʔ/ʔyan* is generally obligatory, e.g.,

- wani yārò dʌn tsɪɪɪɪ dā shɪ a shrimp of a boy
- lungunàn Yākāsai ʔyan zɪfɪfɪ nè The alleys of Yakasai quarters are very narrow.

[References: Mijinguini (1986); R. M. Newman (1988); Parsons (1963)]

12. Ca

1. CAUSATIVES

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1.1. Causatives w

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- [rashìn ruwā yā sá] [ Lack of wat
- [ganin hakà nè ya sá Seeing thus

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- kà sá [tā gamā àbinc Make her fi
- tā sá [nā yi rawā] =
- yā sá [tā shārè d'ākīn

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## 12. Causatives (and Related Formations)

### 1. CAUSATIVES

**C**AUSATIVES are expressed analytically by a clause containing the verb **sá** 'cause', which is etymologically the same as the verb 'put'. The complement may be a tensed sentence or an NP.

<sup>o</sup>AN: The Hausa grade 5 verb form (see §74:9), as in **yā sayā** 'He sold (it)' (cf. **yā sayā** gr2 'He bought (it)'), has traditionally been labeled *causative*. This a serious misnomer, which is why I offered a new label for grade 5, namely *efferential*, see Newman (1983). The only causative in the language is the analytic causative being described here. Although Bagari (1977a) was saddled with the old terminology, he clearly outlined the very significant difference between what he termed "morphological causative" (i.e., the gr5 verb) and the analytic true causative with **sá**.

<sup>Δ</sup>DN: In place of **sá**, some speakers use **sányā**, an alternative variant of the word 'put, cause', e.g., **nā sá sun yi rawā** = **nā sányā sun yi rawā** 'I made them dance' (lit. I caused they did dancing). The word 'put' has an additional variant **sakà**. This, however, is not used to mean 'cause'.

#### 1.1. Causatives with finite-clause complements

Causatives are commonly expressed analytically by a sequence of full clauses. The initial clause with **sá**, which constitutes the higher clause, indicates who did the causing (i.e., the controller). The second clause, which constitutes the lower clause, describes who was caused (i.e., the controllee) and what he/she/they were caused to do, e.g.,

[Bellò yā sá] [Kànde tā kōmà gidā]

(lit. Bello he.comp cause Kande she.comp return home)

Bello caused Kande to return home.

[rashin ruwā yā sá] [mutânên nan sù bař kauyènsù]

Lack of water caused those people to leave their village.

[ganin hakà nē ya sá] [sukà kai sōjōjin (à) kân iyàkār]

Seeing thus caused them to post the soldiers on the border.

If the subject of the lower clause is a pronoun (represented on the surface by the weak subject pronoun), a pronoun identical in person, number and gender can be (and often is) expressed as the object of **sá** in the higher clause. The two alternatives mean essentially the same thing. Examples:

kà sá [tà gamà àbinci à kân lōkàc] = kà sá ta [tà gamà àbinci à kân lōkàc]

Make her finish (preparing) the food on time!

tā sá [nā yi rawā] = tā sá ni [nā yi rawā]

She made me dance.

yā sá [tā shārè d'ākìn] = yā sá ta [tā shārè d'ākìn]

He had her sweep the room.

<sup>o</sup>AN: Raising of the subject of the lower clause to object of the higher clause is possible with nouns as well as pronouns; but in the case of nouns it normally cannot be seen. With pronouns, one would get a derivation like the following: [yā sā ] [Pro<sub>i</sub> tā shārè dākìn] ⇒ [yā sā ta<sub>i</sub>] [Ø tā shārè dākìn], where the object pronoun, in this case 'her', has the features of the erstwhile subject pronoun. (The form tā in the lower clause is a weak subject pronoun (wsp) that copies the features of the underlying subject pronoun.) The resulting output is yā sā ta tā shārè dākìn. Without raising, the original sentence surfaces as yā sā tā shārè dākìn. With a noun subject in the lower clause, the derivation would be as follows: [yā sā] [Kànde tā shārè dākìn] [he caused] [Kande she swept the room] ⇒ [yā sā Kànde] [Ø tā shārè dākìn] [he caused Kande] [she swept the room]. The output is yā sā Kànde tā shārè dākìn 'He had Kande sweep the room', which is exactly the same surface form one would get from the original sentence without raising. There are some constructions, however, that allow one to see whether raising of the noun subject of the lower clause has taken place or not. In these cases, some speakers have a clear preference for the variant with raising. (1) In the continuous, the verb sā converts into a weak verbal noun with the suffix -wā when not followed by an object. Thus, one gets the following alternatives resulting from the presence or absence of raising: [yanà sá yārā] [sunā yi masà aikì] = [yanà sáwā] [yārā sunā yi masà aikì] 'He was having the children do work for him.' (2) The verb sányā, which some people use in place of sā, has two syntactically conditioned allomorphs: sányā with final L tone and a short final vowel, when followed by a direct object that is not a personal pronoun (the so-called C-form) and sányā elsewhere. This distinction allows one to identify raising in noncontinuous constructions, which is not possible with the verb sā, e.g., [yā sányā] [Kànde tā shārè dākìn] ⇒ [yā sányā Kànde] [Ø tā shārè dākìn] 'He had Kande sweep the room.'

The raising option is not available with the impersonal weak subject pronoun because there is no impersonal object pronoun, e.g.,

yā sā ( ) an kāmà ta	He caused that one catch her.
yanà sáwā ( ) anà kòrè su	He causes that one chase them away.

Sentences with and without the raised object pronoun mean essentially the same thing but they are not identical. The sentence with the raised pronoun indicates more explicitly that the controller is directly causing the controllee to do something whereas the sentence without the d.o. pronoun could be interpreted to mean that the causation was more indirect or roundabout, e.g.,

nā sá shi [yā mayāf dà littāfi]	I made him return the book.
nā sá [yā mayāf dà littāfi]	I made him return the book <i>or</i> I made it so (i.e., caused something to happen) such that he returned the book.

The higher clause can have any TAM. With some TAMs, the lower clause can have either (a) a copy of the higher clause TAM, e.g., comp(letive) followed by comp, or (b) the subjunctive, e.g.,

(a) nā sá shi [yā mayāf dà littāfi] (comp...comp)	I made him return the book.
(b) nā sá shi [yā mayāf dà littāfi] (comp...sub)	
(a) sū nè sukà sá Kànde ta kòmà gidā dà wuri (pret...pret)	They made Kande return home early.
(b) sū nè sukà sá Kànde ta kòmà gidā dà wuri (pret...sub)	
(a) yanà sá ta tanà shārè dākintà (cont...cont)	He is having her sweep the room.
(b) yanà sá ta tā shārè dākintà (cont...sub)	

In the completive, the choice of a copied TAM or a subjunctive in the lower clause corresponds to a

difference in meaning. If carried out; if the second which case the meaning is done, e.g.,

sarki yā sá 'yammātā su	The chief caused
sarki yā sá 'yammātā sù	The chief caused

With some TAMs (habitual clause). Rather, one finds in coordinate sentences, §19:2.1.1 and §70:18).

sukàn sá ta tā tāshì dà w  
not \*\*sukàn sá ta takàn  
zā mù sá su sù tàimàkè r  
not \*\*zā mù sá su zā sù  
nā sá (ta) tà kòmà gidan  
??nā sá (ta) tā kòmà gid

If the higher clause is in subjunctive, e.g.,

kì sá ta tā zō dà wuri! (s  
Allàh yā sá sù dāwō láfiy  
sá Mūsā yā wankè tufāfi  
sá ta tā lùra dà gōyontà!

Although causative senter other TAMs are possible,

nā sá yanà shārè dākìns  
nā sá zāi bař ofis (comp.

A sequence of a subjunct lower clause is particular Allāh (yā) sá (where the v

Allāh yā sá zā sù zō dà w  
Allāh yā sá sun dāwō láfi  
Allāh yā sá an yi cikin ya  
(greeting on a marriage) (L

The TAMs in the higher an TAM is general completiv

difference in meaning. If the second clause is also in the completive, it indicates that the action was carried out; if the second clause is in the subjunctive, it is not clear whether the action was carried out (in which case the meaning is essentially the same as that with the completive) or whether it is yet to be done, e.g.,

**sarki yā sā 'yammātā sun yi rawā** (comp...comp)

The chief caused the girls to dance (and they did).

**sarki yā sā 'yammātā sù yi rawā** (comp...sub)

The chief caused the girls to dance (and either they did or did not yet).

With some TAMs (habitual, future, potential), one normally does not get a repeated TAM in the lower clause. Rather, one finds a bare weak subject pronoun (wsp), which may represent the subjunctive or, as in coordinate sentences, the neutral TAM, there being no way on the surface to determine which (see §19:2.1.1 and §70:18). Examples:

**sukàn sá ta tà tãshì dà wurwuri** (hab...wsp)

They make her get up early.

*not \*\*sukàn sá ta takàn tãshì dà wurwuri*

**zā mù sá su sù tàimàkē mù** (fut...wsp)

We will make them help us.

*not \*\*zā mù sá su zā sù tàimàkē mù* (not normal)

**ná sá (ta) tà kómà gidan mijintà** (pot...wsp)

I intend for her to return to her husband's house.

*??ná sá (ta) tá kómà gidan mijintà* (pot...pot) (possible for some speakers but very marginal)

If the higher clause is in the subjunctive or the imperative, the lower clause will normally be in the subjunctive, e.g.,

**kì sá ta tà zō dà wuri!** (sub...sub)

You (f.) make her come early!

**Allàh yà sá sù dāwō láfiyà!** (sub...sub)

May God cause that they return safely!

**sā Mūsā yà wankè tufāfi!** (imp...sub)

Have Musa wash the clothes!

**sà ta tà lūrā dà gōyontà!** (imp...sub)

Make her look after her baby!

Although causative sentences most commonly have a copied TAM or a subjunctive in the lower clause, other TAMs are possible, e.g.,

**nā sá yanà shārè dākìnsà** (comp...cont)

I got him to clean his room.

**nā sá zāi bār ōfis** (comp...fut)

I ordered him to leave the office.

A sequence of a subjunctive in the higher clause followed by a TAM other than the subjunctive in the lower clause is particularly common in formulaic expressions of the "God willing" type introduced by **Allàh (yà) sá** (where the wsp *yà* is often omitted), e.g.,

**Allàh yà sá zā sù zō dà wuri!** (sub...fut)

May God have them come back soon!

**Allàh yà sá sun dāwō láfiyà!** (sub...comp)

May God see to it that they return safely!

**Allàh yà sá an yi cikin yawancin rāi!** (sub...comp)

May they have a long life together!

(greeting on a marriage) (lit. may God cause that one do in abundance.of life)

The TAMs in the higher and lower clauses must match in terms of the Rel feature, i.e., if the higher clause TAM is general completive or continuous, then the TAM in the lower may not be preterite or Rel-

continuous; if the higher clause TAM is preterite or Rel-continuous, then the TAM in the lower clause may not be completive or general continuous, e.g.,

màlāmai sun sá yárá sun gōgè àllō (comp...comp)

The teachers made the children wipe off the blackboard.

màlāmai nè sukà sá yárá sukà gōgè àllō (pret...pret)

The teachers made the children wipe off the blackboard.

nā sá shi yā shìga makařantā (comp...comp)

I made him enter school.

gā wāndā nā sá yā shìga makařantā (pret...pret)

Here is the one whom I made enter school.

yanā sáwā anā yi masā aikì (cont...cont)

He was having them do work for him.

wā yakè sáwā takè gamā àbinci? (Rcont1...Rcont1)

Who is causing her to be finishing the food?

nā sá yanā shāre d'ākìnsā (comp...cont)

I made it happen that he is cleaning his room.

wā ka sá yakè shāre d'ākìnsā? (pret...Rcont1)

Who did you make clean his room?

°AN: The verb aikà 'send' behaves much like sá in taking sentential complement clauses with a matching Rel feature, e.g., janār yā aikà sun kirāwō hākìmi 'The general sent (some people) to call the district head', i.e., 'The general had someone call the district head' (lit. general he sent they called district head); cf. jiyā nè janār yā aikà sukà kirāwō hākìmi 'Yesterday the general sent (some people) to call the district head.'

In most cases, the lower clause can be in the subjunctive, in which case the issue of Rel feature matching does not occur, e.g.,

màlāmai sun sá yárá sù gōgè àllō (comp...sub)

The teachers made the children wipe off the blackboard.

màlāmai nè sukà sá yárá sù gōgè àllō (pret...sub)

The teachers made the children wipe off the blackboard.

yanā sáwā à yi masā aikì (cont...sub)

He was having them do work for him.

wā yakè sáwā tà gamā àbinci? (Rcont1...sub)

Who is causing her to finish (cooking) the food?

### 1.1.1. Negation

Causatives permit negation of either the higher clause, the lower clause, or both.

Negation of the higher clause involves negating the TAM of the higher clause. The lower clause retains an affirmative TAM. The second ba of the bà(a)...ba discontinuous negative morpheme goes at the end of the whole sentence, e.g.,

bà mù sá shi yā sayō àbinci ba

We didn't cause him to buy food.

bà ná sá Mařyām tà kōmā gidan mijìntā ba

I'll not make Maryam return to her husband's house.

Audù bàì sá mu mun kāsā cín zābē ba

Audu didn't cause us to fail to win the election.

ìdan bā sà sòn sìnìmā, kadā kà sá su sù jē

If they don't like movies, don't make them go.

Negation of the lower clause is often expressed by a paraphrase using a semantically negative lexical item, e.g., yā sá mu mun kī biyān hařāji 'He had us not pay taxes' (lit. he caused us we refused paying taxes). However, it is possible to negate the lower clause directly, e.g.,

sòkè zābēn dà gwamnati ta yi yā sá [bà à nadā sābon shùgāban farař hùlā ba]

Canceling the election that the government did caused one not to install a new civilian president.

rashin lāfiyā tā (or ya)

Illness caused

yākin Tèkun Pāshā y

The Persian C

If the lower clause is n

Audù yā sá bà mù cì

election), not \*\*Audù

It is also possible to

discontinuous morphem

Audù [bàì sá [bà sù yi

Tankò bàì sá bàì d'ink

bà yājin aikin nè zāi s

It's not the str

### 1.1.2. Adverbs

Adverbial modifiers ma

upon the position of the

[dà gāngan] ya sá ta ta

yā sá ta tā yi kùkà [dà

yā sá ta tā yi rawā à m

(not \*\*It was at school t

### 1.1.3. Q-word ques

Causative sentences alle

Examples:

(a) su wā sukà sá su sù

wā yakè sáwā takè gar

don mè ta sá kī kī yi k

(b) wācē cē sukà sá ta

mè sukà sá Kānde ta y

wā sukà sá Kānde ta g

Occasionally, one cann

sentence yàushē ya sá t

be understood to be aski

dancing.

### 1.1.4. Relativization

Causative sentences alle

either the higher or the

(a) mùtumìn dà ya sá



rashìn láfiyà tā (or yā) sá bà mù sàmi dāmaḥ zuwà gidankà ba

Illness caused us not to be able to come to your house.

yāfìn Tèkun Pāshà yā sá bà à sàmi isasshen mái à dūniyà ba

The Persian Gulf War caused that one not get enough oil in the world.

If the lower clause is negated, subject to object raising is disallowed (or at least dispreferred), e.g.,

Audù yā sá bà mù ci zàbē ba Audu caused us not to win the election. (i.e., Audu caused we not win election), not \*\*Audù yā sá mu bà mù ci zàbē ba

It is also possible to negate both the higher and the lower clause. In such cases, the final **ba** of the discontinuous morpheme serves double duty for both occurrences of the negative, e.g.,

Audù [bài sá [bà sù yi aurē ba]] Audu didn't cause them not to get married.

Tankò bài sá bài d'inkà rìgáḥ ba Tanko didn't cause him not to sew the gown.

bà yājìn aikìn nē zái sá bà zán zō ba, sai dai rashìn mōtā

It's not the strike that will cause me not to come, only lack of transport.

### 1.1.2. Adverbs

Adverbial modifiers may apply either to the higher or to the lower clause, the interpretation depending upon the position of the adverb in the sentence and the semantic context, e.g.,

[dà gàngan] ya sá ta ta yi kúkà

He [purposely] caused her to cry.

yā sá ta tā yi kúkà [dà gàngan]

He had her cry [on purpose]. (e.g., she was an actress)

yā sá ta tā yi rawā à makaḥantā

He had her dance at school.

(not \*\*It was at school where he caused that she should dance.)

### 1.1.3. Q-word questions

Causative sentences allow Q-word questions coming out of either (a) the higher or (b) the lower clause. Examples:

(a) su wà sukà sá su sù kōnè ciyāwà?

Who (pl.) made them burn the grass?

wà yakè sáwā takè gamà àbinci?

Who was causing her to be finishing the food?

don mè ta sá ki kì yi kitsòn banzá?

Why did she make you do a useless hairdo?

(b) wàcè cè sukà sá ta gayà wà málàm làbārī?

Who did they cause to tell the news to the teacher?

mè sukà sá Kànde ta yi?

What did they cause Kande to do?

wà sukà sá Kànde ta gayà wà/masà làbārī?

Whom did they cause Kande to tell the news to?

Occasionally, one cannot tell from the surface which clause the Q-word belongs to; for example, the sentence *yàushē ya sá ta ta yi rawā?* 'When did he cause her to dance?' is ambiguous. It would normally be understood to be asking when he did the causing, but it could also be a question about when she did the dancing.

### 1.1.4. Relativization, focus, and topicalization

Causative sentences allow (a) relativization, (b) focus, and (c) topicalization of items coming out of either the higher or the lower clause. Examples:

(a) mùtumìn dà ya sá 'yammātā sukà yi rawā the man who caused the girls to dance

'yammātān dà sarkl ya sá (su) sukà yi rawā  
 àbīn dà sarkl ya sá 'yammātā sukà yi  
 yāriyār dà na sá ta dafà manà àbinci  
 yāriyār dà na sá yārā sù tàimākē tà  
 ita dīn dà kākā ta sá tà kōmà wajen mijintà

she whom grandmother caused to return to her husband

(b) [Sulè nē] ya sá (ni) na shārè fālò

[Sulè nē] na sá (shi) ya shārè fālò

[fālò nē] na sá Sulè ya shārè

[cikin gaggāwā] na sá shi yā shārè fālò

(c) shī kām, nā sá shi yā shārè fālò

fālò kām, nā sá Sulè yā shārè shi

sāwā kām, nā yi (cēwāf) Sulè yā shārè fālò

As for causing, I caused (lit. did) that Sule sweep the parlor.

the girls whom the chief caused to dance  
 the thing that the chief caused the girls to do  
 the girl whom I had cook food for us  
 the girl whom I had the children help

It was Sule who had me sweep the parlor.

It was Sule I had sweep the parlor.

It was the parlor that I had Sule sweep.

It was in haste I ordered him to sweep the parlor.

As for him, I had him sweep the parlor.

As for the parlor, I had Sule sweep it.

°AN: Some speakers find the above sentence with topicalization of the causative verb to be awkward and only marginally acceptable.

If a VP is focused, it appears in nonfinite (infinitive or verbal noun) form and the pro-verb *yi* 'do' is inserted in its place.

[shārè fālò nē] na sá Sulè ya yi

[sá Sulè ya shārè fālò] na yi

[sāwā] na yi Sulè ya shārè fālò

[sá Sulè] na yi ya shārè fālò

It was sweeping the parlor I had Sule do.

It was having Sule sweep the parlor that I did.

It was causing I did that Sule sweep the parlor.

Causing Sule I did that he sweep the parlor.

In the neutral sentence *nā sá Sulè ya shārè fālò* 'I caused Sule to sweep the parlor', one cannot tell whether there has been subject to object raising or not. In the sentences with focus, however, differences emerge. In *sāwā na yi Sulè ya shārè fālò* (lit. causing I did Sule he sweep parlor), Sule is clearly the subject of the lower clause, whereas in *sá Sulè na yi ya shārè fālò* (lit. causing Sule I did he sweep parlor), Sule is clearly the direct object of the verb in the higher clause.

### 1.2. Causatives with NP complements

Instead of being followed by a lower clause consisting of a tensed sentence, the causative verb *sá* can be followed by two objects in a double-object construction. The first object is the person who is being caused; the second object, which is often a dynamic noun, is what is being caused, e.g.,

yunwà tā sá [ka] [fushī]

mè ya sá [shi] [ārāhā]?

rashīn wankā yā sá [ni] [kwārkwatà]

yakān sá [mùtùm] [fàriyà]

sunà sá [Bintà] [kūkā]

Hunger has made you irritable.

What has made it so cheap?

Lack of bathing has made me full of lice.

It makes people boastful.

They are making Binta cry.

Either of the objects can be focused, e.g.,

[Bintà] sukè sáwā kūkā

[kūkā] sukè sá Bintà

It is Binta they are making cry.

It is crying they are causing Binta (to do).

The above examples show a different status. Notice which is required when following the verb, the

If the second object complement with the p

fushī sukà sá shi It wa  
 = fushī sukà sá shi yā y

The second NP can be phrase, e.g.,

shègèn nan yā sá [mu]  
 cf. shègèn nan yā sá [n  
 uwařgidā tā sá [ki] [dī  
 (lit. ...cause you dipping  
 mālāmā tā sá [su] [sāf  
 (lit. ...cause them weavi  
 cf. mālāmā tā sá (su) [  
 wà ya sá [ku] [kashè t

## 2. PERMISSIVES A

### 2.1. Permissives

The description of caus 'permit, let, allow'. Co

màigidā yā bař màtař  
 cf. màigidā yā sá màt

°AN: Similar sente  
 shi yā tàfi 'I let h

As with causatives, the when grammatically ap object of the higher cl gets both bař or bař ( optional even though continuous (and other the finite form bař. In gets the form that is us

Sàlāmātù tā bař kī kī  
 màigidā bà bař màtař

The husband  
 dògàrai bà sù bař jàř  
 The palace gu

The above examples show that the first object is the “true” direct object and that the second “object” has a different status. Notice that when **Bintà**, the first d.o., is fronted, **sá** takes the verbal noun form **sáwá**, which is required when no object follows. On the other hand, when **Bintà** stays in place immediately following the verb, the verb retains its pre-object form **sá** whether **kúkà** is fronted or not.

If the second object is focused, the double-object construction is often replaced by a sentential complement with the pro-verb **yi** ‘do’, e.g.,

**fushì sukà sá shi** It was angry they made him. (< **sun sá shi fushì** They made him angry.)  
= **fushì sukà sá shi yà yi** (< **sun sá (shi) [yà yi fushì]**) They made him be angry.

The second NP can be a simple noun, but it can also be a verbal noun (phrase) or even an infinitive phrase, e.g.,

**shègèn nan yā sá [mu] [sātōwā]** That bastard had us steal. (lit. ...caused us stealing) (VN)

cf. **shègèn nan yā sá [mu] [mù yi sātà]** (lit. ...cause us that we do theft)

**uwaṙgìdā tā sá [ki] [dʔbār ruwā]?** Did Madam have you (f.) fetch water?

(lit. ...cause you dipping water) (VN)

**mālāmā tā sá [su] [sākā tàbarmā]** The teacher had them weave mats.

(lit. ...cause them weave mats) (IP)

cf. **mālāmā tā sá (su) [sù sākā tàbarmā]** (lit. ...cause (them) that they weave mats)

**wà yā sá [ku] [kashè tsuntsàyé]?** Who had you kill the birds? (lit. ...cause you kill birds) (IP)

## 2. PERMISSIVES AND PROHIBITIVES

### 2.1. Permissives

The description of causatives applies equally to parallel “permissive” structures containing the verb **barì** ‘permit, let, allow’. Consider the following:

**màigidā yā bār màtaṙsà tā/tà tàfi biki** The husband allowed his wife to go to the ceremony.

cf. **màigidā yā sá màtaṙsà tā/tà tàfi biki** The husband made his wife go to the ceremony.

°AN: Similar sentences with other semantically permissive verbs are also possible, e.g., **nā Kyālè shi yā tàfi** ‘I let him go’ (lit. I.comp ignore him he.comp go).

As with causatives, the lower clause in a permissive construction can be in the completive (or preterite when grammatically appropriate) or in the subjunctive. If the object of the lower clause appears as the object of the higher clause, then **barì** appears as **bār** (its normal pre-object form). Before nouns, one gets both **barì** or **bār** (but usually the latter), which is consistent with the interpretation that raising is optional even though one can’t see it on the surface as one can with a direct object pronoun. In the continuous (and other nonfinite environments) one gets the verbal noun **barìn** with the linker instead of the finite form **bār**. In the case of an impersonal subject, where raising is not possible, one normally gets the form that is used when no object follows, namely, **barì**. Examples:

**Sàlāmatù tā bār kì kì/kin yi matà kitsò?** Did Salamatu allow you to braid her hair?

**màigidā bàì bār màtaṙsà tā/tà tàfi ùnguwā ba**

The husband did not allow his wife to go to the quarter.

**dògàrai bà sù barì jàma’ à sù/sun tabà àlkyabbār sarkì ba**

The palace guards did not allow the people to touch the emir’s robe.

**bàban Mūsā bà zāi bař shì yà àuri bàtūfiyā ba**

Musa's father will not allow him to marry a white woman.

**inā mutānēn dà sukā bař yārā sù/sukā shā àlāwā?**

Where are the men who allowed the children to eat candy?

**yā bař sù sun shā àlāwā = yā barì sun shā àlāwā** He allowed them to eat candy.

**yanā barin bàkō yà yi aron mōtārsà** He is letting the guest borrow his car.

**gwamnati tā barì à/an fārā fajistār jām'iyun siyāsà**

The government has allowed for political party registration to start.

The higher clause can be negated, but the lower clause cannot, presumably for pragmatic/semantic reasons, e.g.,

**bā mà barinsù sù shìga makařantā**

We are not letting them enter school.

**bāi barì à/an kāmā su ba**

He didn't allow them to be caught.

**kadā kà barì sù yī wà kānsù ràunī!**

Don't let them harm themselves!

The permissives differ from causatives in requiring finite-clause complements and not just bare NPs. Examples:

**Bintā tā sá ka [fushi]**

Binta has made you irritable.

but not **\*\*Bintā tā bař kà [fushi]**

Binta has let you irritable.

**yakān sá [yārā] [dāriyā]**

He makes children laugh.

but normally not **\*\*yakān bař yārā dāriyā**

He lets children laugh.

cf. **yakān bař yārā sù yi dāriyā**

He lets the children laugh.

(lit. he allows children that they do laughter)

## 2.2. Prohibitives

Prohibitives are typically indicated by a double-object construction formed with the verb **hanā** 'prohibit, forbid, prevent'. The second object is usually a verbal noun (phrase). Examples:

**an hanā mu shān tābā**

We were forbidden to smoke.

(lit. one.comp forbid us drinking.L tobacco)

**yā hanā Bintā sāmūnsā**

He prevented Binta (from) getting it.

**mahaifiyař yārā tā hanā su fitā wāje**

The children's mother forbade them to go outside.

With this verb, some speakers express the first object as an indirect object rather than as a direct object, e.g.,

**yā hanā minì zuwā = yā hanā ni zuwā**

He prevented me from coming.

Prohibitives also occur in biclausal structures of the type used in causatives and permissives, e.g.,

**'yan makařantā sun yi yāji sàbòdā mālāmai sun hanā su sù yi wāsān řwallō**

The students went on strike because the teacher prohibited them from playing soccer.

[Reference: Bagari (1977a)]

**V**ERBS may be a term from Grammar. There are three syntactic

## 1. COGNATE A

In the cognate accusative construction, the verb serves in an adverbial construction. The linker **mūgūn kisā** 'He is linker -n / -ř, which construction is not and it does seem to

ØHN: Parsons etc.) However of this construction more likely th

### 1.1. Cognate ac

In almost all cases, the phrase, or a **māi** 'p cognate verbal noun understood. The verbal noun limited be used). With intr verbs, it follows th

**Audù yā shāhařā s**  
Audu he.comp is fa  
**sun kōkà kūkà mà**  
they.comp cry cryi  
**mun gōdē masà dā**  
we.comp thank to.h  
**gidan nān yā ġinu**  
house.L this it.com  
**tā zāgē shì zāgē nā**  
she.comp insult hin

## 13. Cognate Accusative

**V**ERBS may be accompanied in a sentence by a morphologically related verbal noun. Borrowing the term from Greek grammar, the related verbal noun will be referred to as a cognate accusative. There are three syntactically and semantically distinct formations using cognate verbal nouns.

### 1. COGNATE ACCUSATIVE TYPE 1 (ADVERBIAL)

In the cognate accusative type 1, a verb is followed later in the sentence by a cognate verbal noun that serves in an adverbial manner to narrow or intensify the basic meaning of the verb, e.g., **an kashè shi mūgùn kisà** ‘He was killed violently’ (lit. one.comp kill him horrible.L killing). (In literal glosses, the linker -n / -ř, which often can be translated as ‘of’, will be indicated simply as L.) The cognate accusative construction is not terribly common—there is something literary about it—but it is not really esoteric and it does seem to be potentially quite productive.

◊HN: Parsons, among others, has suggested that this construction was borrowed from Arabic, where it is quite prevalent. (It is known as “maf’uul muTlaq” = absolute object, objective complement, etc.) However, since cognate accusative constructions are widespread in Chadic—a good description of this construction in Miya, for example, has been provided by Schuh (1998: 183–85)—it seems more likely that this represents an Afroasiatic inheritance rather than an Arabic borrowing.

#### 1.1. Cognate accusative with modifier

In almost all cases the cognate accusative is postmodified in some way, e.g., by an adjective, a genitive phrase, or a **mài** ‘possessor of, characterized by’ phrase (which I gloss in the examples as ‘having’). The cognate verbal noun can sometimes appear without an overt modifier, but in such cases the modifier is understood. The verb in sentences with the construction is not restricted with regard to grade nor is the verbal noun limited to any particular morphological type (i.e., both strong and weak verbal nouns can be used). With intransitive verbs, the cognate accusative follows directly upon the verb; with transitive verbs, it follows the direct object. Examples:

**Audù yā shàhařà shàhařà sànnaniyā**

Audu he.comp is famous fame known

**sun kōkà kūkà mài tsōratāřwā**

they.comp cry crying having frightening

**mun gōdè masà dà matukař gōdiyā**

we.comp thank to.him with enormous.L thanks

**gidan nān yā gīnu gīnīn gaskiyā**

house.L this it.comp built building.L truth

**tā zāgē shī zāgī na řātā hankālī**

she.comp insult him insulting of spoil sense

Audu is extremely well known.

They cried in a frightening manner.

We thanked him profusely.

This house is well built.

She hurled gross insults on him.

<b>yā dōkē shì dūkā na rashin hankali</b> he.comp beat him beating of lack.L sense	He beat him severely.
<b>yā cī àbinci mūgūn cī irin na hāfām</b> he.comp eat food evil.L eating type.the of forbidden	He ate the food horribly/maliciously.
<b>tā mārē shi mārī mai cīwō</b> she.comp slap him slap having injury	She slapped him a painful slap.
<b>sarki yā amincē ta dà iyākar amincēwā</b> emir he.comp trust her with limit.L trusting	The emir trusted her to the utmost limit.
<b>gwamnati tā azabtaf dà sū mūmmūnar āzābā</b> government it.comp torture dà them ugly.L torture [dà is a particle that accompanies gr5 verbs.]	The government tortured them mercilessly.
<b>wani maciji yā sārī Audu mūmmūnan sārā</b> some snake he.comp slash Audu ugly.L slashing	A snake has bitten Audu seriously.
<b>an wankē min kāyānā wankī mai kyāu</b> one.comp wash to.me clothes.L.my washing having goodness	My clothes have been washed spanking clean.
<b>yā tsōrataf dà sū tsōratārwā mai ban tsōrō</b> he.comp frighten dà them frightening having giving.L fear	He frightened them beyond description.
<b>māgānin yā warkař dà ni warkařwā sàhihiyā</b> medicine.the it.comp cure dà me curing pure	The medicine cured me completely.
<b>an kāyār dà Bala kāyārwā mūmmūnā</b> one.comp throw dà Bala throwing ugly	Bala was thrown down in a humiliating manner.
<b>yā sai dà mōtārsā sayārwā ta tilās</b> he.comp sell dà car.of.his selling of perforce	He was forced into selling his car.
<b>yā mutū mutuwar wulākanči</b> he.comp die death.L harshness	He died a miserable death.
<b>Mūsā yā d'auru d'aurin kàwō wukā</b> Musa he.comp is tied tying.L bring knife	Musa is all tied up tightly.

AN: The phrase *d'aurin kàwō wukā* (lit. tying.L bring knife) 'being tied up tightly' refers to the tying up of a ram that is about to be slaughtered.

The cognate accusative can modify the main verb in a contrastive manner using the conjunction *ammā* 'but':

<b>yā yābē ta àmmā yābon maròkā</b> (lit. he praised her but praise.of professional beggar)	He praised her but in an insincere way.
<b>sun kwāna à gidān àmmā kwānan zàune</b> (lit. ...but spending night.of seated)	They spent the night at the house but without any sleep.
<b>munā kōyon Tūfanci àmmā kōyon gaggāwā</b> (lit. ...but learning.of haste)	We are learning English but in a rushed manner.
<b>Audu yā shā ruwā àmmā shā na rākumi</b> (lit. ...but drinking of camel)	Audu drank water but in an impolite way.

One can have negative sentences with cognate accusatives, although for pragmatic reasons such sentences are not very common, e.g.,

<b>nā san Bala bà sanin shānū ba</b> (lit. ...neg knowing of cattle neg)	I know Bala more than casually.
(Better is <b>nā san Bala sanin gāske</b> )	I know Bala truly well.)

bà ta mārē shi mārī  
(Better is *tā d'an mārē*)

1.1.1. Focus and  
Cognate accusatives  
in relative clauses, e

ita cè ta mārē shi mārī  
wà ta mārā mārī na  
wàné irin maciji ya  
What kind of  
maciji wāndà ya sārī  
The snake t

1.2. Cognate acc  
Instead of being mod  
or other quantifier. T  
slapped him ten time  
(where *sāu* is the nor

yā fēkē fensīri fīkà  
mun bugà musu way  
jirgin samà yā tashī  
mun zaunā dà shi za  
matsòràcī zāi mutū

## 2. COGNATE ACC

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with the verb. These  
cognate object can be  
constructions, the dire  
fact that it happens t  
expressive significanc  
in parentheses repres

yā ginā ginī (d'ākī, n  
mun d'umāmā d'umāmā  
yā cāshē cāsā  
yā jīkà jīkò mai d'āc  
yā dasā dàshē dà ya

2.1. Cognate acc  
In the expressive cog  
object. Because the c  
there is nothing to pre  
construction. Note th  
Examples:

bà tà màré shì màrí mài cìwò ba                      She didn't slap him painfully.  
(Better is tā dān màré shì She slapped him a little bit.)

### 1.1.1. Focus and relativization

Cognate accusatives are allowed in clauses that are focused (including those with Q-word questions) and in relative clauses, e.g.,

ita cè ta màré shì màrí mài cìwò                      She slapped him painfully.  
wà ta màrá màrí na rashìn hankàlì?                      Whom did she slap in a thoughtless way?  
wàné irìn macìjì ya sàrí yàron mùmmūnan sàrá?  
What kind of snake gave the boy a horrible bite?  
macìjì wàndà ya sàré shì mùmmūnan sàrá kàsà cè  
The snake that bit him seriously is a puff-adder.

### 1.2. Cognate accusative with numeral

Instead of being modified adjectivally, the cognate accusative verbal noun can be followed by a numeral or other quantifier. The semantic reading is then 'so many times', e.g., tā màré shì màrí gōmà 'She slapped him ten times' (lit. ten slappings), cf. the equivalent but more usual tā màré shì sàu gōmà (where sàu is the normal word for 'times'). Examples:

yā fèkè fensìrì fìkà ukù                      He sharpened the pencil three times. (i.e., three sharpenings)  
mun bugà musù wayà bugù huđu                      We telephoned them four times. (i.e., beat...four beatings)  
jirgin samà yā tāshì tāshì shidà                      The plane took off six times. (i.e., six risings)  
mun zaunà dà shì zamà ukù                      We lived together three times. (i.e., three stayings)  
matsòràct zái mutù mutuwà mài yawà                      A coward will die many deaths.

## 2. COGNATE ACCUSATIVE TYPE 2 (DIRECT OBJECT)

In the second cognate accusative type, the direct object is a deverbal noun that is "accidentally" cognate with the verb. These are constructions like English 'He sang a song' or 'He built a building'. The cognate object can be modified, just like any other object NP, but this is not required. In these constructions, the direct object noun is just one of many direct objects that the verb could take, and the fact that it happens to be morphologically related to the verb does not carry any special semantic or expressive significance. The following are a few examples from the many one could provide. (The items in parentheses represent alternative objects.)

yā ginà ginì (dākì, masallāct) dà yawà                      He built many buildings (rooms, mosques).  
mun dumàmà dumàmē (àbinci, shìnkāfā)                      We heated up the leftovers (food, rice).  
yā cāshè cāsā                      He threshed the grain.  
yā jìkà jìkò mài d'āct                      He steeped a bitter infusion.  
yā dasà dāshè dà yawà à gōnā                      He transplanted a lot of seedlings in the farm.

### 2.1. Cognate accusative-2 plus cognate accusative-1

In the expressive cognate accusative-1 construction, the cognate verbal noun appears after the direct object. Because the cognate objects in cognate accusative-2 constructions are simple direct objects, there is nothing to prevent them from being followed by a cognate verbal noun in a cognate accusative-1 construction. Note that the direct object position could equally be filled by a noncognate object. Examples:

yā <u>shūkà shūkà</u> (irì) <u>shūkàwā</u> mài kyáu	He planted the crops (seeds) in a good manner.
tā <u>gòyi gòyontà</u> (jàrìrì) <u>gòyon</u> lálacì	She tied her baby (infant) on the back sloppily.
sun <u>dasà dàshē</u> (shinkāfā) <u>dàsuwā</u> marār àmfāni	
They transplanted the seedlings (rice) in a useless manner.	
yā <u>shānyà shanyà</u> (kāyā) <u>shanyà</u> mài kyáu	
He spread out the laundry (clothes) in a careful manner.	

### 3. COGNATE ACCUSATIVE TYPE 3 (na + VN)

Transitive verbs (including gr5 verbs, which strictly speaking take oblique objects) can take as their object a phrase made up of the linker **na/ta** plus a cognate verbal noun, e.g., **sun sàyi na sàyē** 'They bought the ones to be bought (and left the others)', lit. they bought of buying. The usual implication is that the things or people in question constitute the exclusive set affected by the verb as opposed to those that are not. Examples:

sun hàrbi na hàrbì	They shot the ones who were supposed to be shot.
sunà sūkàn na sūkà	They are criticizing those who deserve to be criticized.
nā zàbi na zàbē	I chose those available to be chosen.
yā sayār dà na sayārwā	He sold the sellable items.
munà sàyen na sàyē	We are buying the one that can be bought.
an kyālè na kyālèwā	One ignored what could/should be ignored.
tā wārè na wārèwā	She separated the ones to be separated.
kunà cín na cí?	Are you (pl.) eating the edibles?
mun tsōrataf dà na tsōratārwā	We frightened the (timid) ones who were susceptible to fright.
mun tsāmè na tsāmā (= mun tsāmè na tsāmèwā)	We picked out the ones to be taken out.

The linker + VN phrase represents an NP with a missing head, e.g.,  $\emptyset$  **na dfaurèwā** 'the ones for tying', where the  $\emptyset$  stands for the understood things or animals or people to be tied. Because the understood head is semantically plural, the linker is usually **na**, not **ta**. Nevertheless, singular nouns in Hausa may be used in a plural or generic sense and thus the feminine linker **ta** can sometimes be employed if the understood referent is grammatically feminine, e.g.,

(**gyàdāf Ràbo**) **mun cāsà ta cāsàwā**, **mun zubà ràgōwār à rùmbunsà**  
(As for Rabo's peanuts (f.)), we shelled the ones to be shelled, we poured the remainder in his bin.

(**àvabà**), **an sayār dà ta sayārwā**, **an kōmà dà saurā cikin gārējì**  
(Bananas (f.)), one sold the ones for sale, one put the rest back in the garage.

[Reference: Newman (1999)]

## 14. Co

**C**OMPARATIVE s  
represent the per  
verb indicates the na  
[Rarfi]Z 'Bala is stron  
[nāmù]Y [haskē]Z ba  
(Comparative sentenc  
an abstract noun, a ver  
Examples:

jirgi yā fi mōtā girm  
(with the abstract verb  
kàkaf Bālā tā fi tāmù  
(with the abstract verb  
wannan bāi fi wancā  
(with the abstract noun  
fātāf kadā tā gazā ta  
(with the abstract noun  
kānsā yā fi nāwa tall  
(with the verbal noun  
Gāmbō yā fi sù wāyō  
(with the quality noun

### 1. COMPARISON

For comparison at a h

kàfātù yā fi nōmā ga  
(lit. writing it exceeds  
Audù yā fi nì kudī  
(lit. Audu he exceeds  
Kanò tā fi Kādūna yā  
(lit. Kano it exceeds K  
yā fi tà shāshancì  
sāmārin yānzū sun f  
mātā sun fi mazā but  
yāfen gidankù yā fi



## 14. Comparison

COMPARATIVE statements are expressed by verbal sentences of the type X Verb Y Z, where X and Y represent the persons or things being compared, Z represents the quality being compared, and the verb indicates the nature of the comparison (higher, same, or lower), e.g., [Bālā]X yā fi [Mūsā]Y [kārfi]Z 'Bala is stronger than Musa' (lit. Bala he.comp exceeds Musa strength); [wannān]X bāi kai [nāmū]Y [haskē]Z ba 'This one isn't as bright as ours' (lit. this neg.it reach ours brightness neg). (Comparative sentences are most often in the completive, preterite, or neg-completive.) The Z must be an abstract noun, a verbal noun, or a common noun having a generic meaning; it cannot be an adjective. Examples:

jirgī yā fi mōtā girmā (with the abstract verbal noun <i>girmā</i> 'largeness'), <i>not</i> **... <i>bàbba</i> with the adjective 'big')	A plane is bigger than a car.
kàkār Bālā tā fi tāmù tsūfā (with the abstract verbal noun <i>tsūfā</i> 'age'), <i>not</i> **... <i>tsōhuwā</i> with the adjective (f.) 'old')	Bala's grandmother is older than ours.
wannān bāi fi wancān sàbùntā ba (with the abstract noun <i>sàbùntā</i> 'newness') <i>not</i> **... <i>sābō</i> with the adjective (m.) 'new'	This is not newer than that.
fātār kadà tā gazà ta macìji taushi (with the abstract noun <i>taushi</i> 'softness'), <i>not</i> **... <i>tàttausā</i> with the adjective 'very soft')	Crocodile skin is less soft than snake skin.
kānsà yā fi nàwa tallèwā (with the verbal noun <i>tallèwā</i> 'shining'), <i>not</i> **... <i>tallèlè</i> with the adjective (m.) 'very shiny'	His (shaved) head has more of a sheen than mine.
Gāmbo yā fi sù wàyō (with the quality noun <i>wàyō</i> 'cunning, cleverness')	Gambo is the most clever.

### 1. COMPARISON AT A HIGHER DEGREE

For comparison at a higher degree, the most common verb employed is *fi* 'exceed', e.g.,

kàrātū yā fi nōmā gajiyāfāwā (lit. writing it exceeds farming tiring out)	Reading/studying is more tiring than farming.
Audù yā fi nì kudfi (lit. Audu he exceeds me money/wealth)	Audu is richer than me.
Kanò tā fi Kādūna yawān mutānē (lit. Kano it exceeds Kaduna quantity.of people)	Kano is bigger (i.e., is more populous) than Kaduna.
yā fi tà shāshancì	He is more of a simpleton than she is.
sāmārin yānzū sun fi na dá lālācì	Youth of today are lazier than those of former times.
mātā sun fi mazā butulcì	Women are more ungrateful than men.
yāben gidankù yā fi nāmù duhù	The plaster on your house is darker than ours.

In the case of the primary color terms, the same word functions as an abstract noun, a common noun, and as an adjective. The fact that these words can appear in comparative sentences thus does not constitute an exception to the requirement that the Z slot must be filled by an abstract noun and not an adjective. Note that when color terms appear in the Z slot, they are invariant for gender, whereas when they function as adjectives, they obligatorily agree with the head noun. Examples:

<b>rīgātā tā fi takà fari</b>	My gown is whiter than yours. (with the m. noun <b>fari</b> 'whiteness')
cf. <b>rīgātā farā cè</b>	My gown is white. (with the f. adjective <b>farā</b> )
<b>fentī yā fi bulà shūdī</b>	Paint is darker blue than washing-blue.

Compound color terms formed with the word **ruwā** 'color', e.g., **ruwan-hōdā** 'pink' (lit. color.of powder), do not qualify as abstract nouns. To express them comparatively, one has to use paraphrases like the following:

<b>gidānā ruwan-tōkā yā fi na Bālā duhū</b>	My house is grayer than Bala's.
(lit. house.my color.of-ashes it exceeds of Bala darkness)	
<b>rīgāfā ruwan-hōdā tā fi tāki haskē</b>	Her gown is pinker than yours.
(lit. gown.of.her color-powder it exceeds yours (f.) brightness)	

There is no special construction for the superlative, either morphological or syntactic. Rather, one gets a superlative semantic interpretation from the choice of items compared, especially when the Y is a universal pronoun or quantifier, e.g.,

<b>Mūsā yā fi kōwā tsawō</b>	Musa is the tallest. (lit. Musa exceeds everyone height)
cf. <b>Mūsā yā fi Bālā tsawō</b>	Musa is taller than Bala. (lit. Musa exceeds Bala height)
<b>dōkīnā yā fi dukkānsū saurī</b>	My horse is the fastest. (lit. my horse exceeds all of them speed)

In appropriate contexts, the direct object (Y), or the quality (Z) being compared, or both can be omitted, e.g.,

<b>dògarà dà kánkù yā fi kyáu</b>	Depending on yourselves is best.
<b>cikin yāran makafantā Bellò yā fi wàyō</b>	Among the schoolboys, Bello is the cleverest.
<b>talauçì dà kwānciyāf rāi yā fi āziki dà tashin hankālī</b>	Being poor but living peacefully is better than being rich but with trouble.
<b>Sāni yā fi</b>	Sani is (best/tallest/strongest/smarest, etc.). (lit. Sani he.comp exceed)

### 1.1. Adverbial comparison

If the Z is a dynamic noun representing an action rather than an abstract concept, then the sentence corresponds to what in English would be adverbial comparison, e.g.,

<b>sun fi nì d'inkin hūlā</b>	They sew caps better than I do. (lit. they.comp exceed me sewing cap)
<b>bàì fi tà màgānā ba</b>	He doesn't speak better than she. (lit. neg.he exceed her talk neg)
<b>dōkin nān yā fi wancān gudū</b>	This horse is faster than that one.
(lit. horse.of this it.comp exceed that one running)	

### 1.2. Agentive and

In the absence of adjectives, agentive phrases with **mafi** (m)

**mōtā mafi tsādā**  
**gidan àbinci mafi tsā**  
**yāriyā mafi kyāun** |  
**'yan kwallon rāgā m**  
**mōtōci mafiyā tsādā**

These agent phrases ca

**Audù nē mafi karfi**  
**sū nē mafi /mafiyā y**

°AN: One sometin

Stative phrases (see ch  
 than qualitative sense,

**gidājē fiye dà nāmù**  
**rīgā fiye dà tawa**  
**talābijin fiye dà kusar**  
**zāfin rānā fiye dà klm**

### 1.3. Other 'exceed'

Comparison to a high  
 such as **ɗarā** 'exceed s  
 (which takes a clipped f  
 am slightly older than l

The verb **girmā** v.  
 older than', has the qua  
 for a Z (although the nu

**nā girmē shi (dà shēka**  
 I am older than

## 2. COMPARISON A

For comparison at an eq

**tawadā tā kai allō baKl**  
 (lit. ink it.comp reaches  
**āmfānin gōnā na bana** |  
 This year's crop

Another common way of  
 pro-verb yi plus an abstr

### 1.2. Agentive and stative phrases

In the absence of adjectives that inflect for degrees of comparison, attributive modifiers employ agent phrases with **mafi** (m. or f.) / **mafiyā** (pl.) 'the one(s) that exceed in Z' (see §7:1.6.3), e.g.,

<b>mōtā mafi tsādā</b>	most expensive car
<b>gidan àbinci mafi tsabtā</b>	the cleanest restaurant
<b>yārinyā mafi kyāun ganī</b>	the best-looking girl
<b>'yan kwallon rāgā mafiya tsawō</b>	the tallest basketball players
<b>mōtōci mafiya tsādā</b>	the most expensive cars

These agent phrases can also be used as the predicate in equational sentences, e.g.,

<b>Audù nē mafi karfi</b>	Audu is the stronger/strongest.
<b>sū nē mafi /mafiya yawā</b>	They are the majority (lit. the most).

°AN: One sometimes finds the singular **mafi** with a plural referent.

Stative phrases (see chap. 67) formed with **fiye dà** generally indicate 'more' in a quantitative rather than qualitative sense, e.g.,

<b>gidàjē fiye dà nāmù</b>	more houses than we have
<b>rīgā fiye dà tàwa</b>	a more expensive gown than mine
<b>talàbijìn fiye dà kusan dukā</b>	a television better than (i.e., with more features than) most
<b>zāfin rānā fiye dà kīmā</b>	a hotter day (lit. heat of day exceeding the ordinary)

### 1.3. Other 'exceed' verbs

Comparison to a higher degree can also be indicated by semantically appropriate verbs other than **fi**, such as **ɗarā** 'exceed slightly', e.g., **nā ɗarā ta tsawō** 'I am slightly taller than her.' With this verb (which takes a clipped form) the Y is often expressed as an indirect object, e.g., **nā ɗar matā shèkarā** 'I am slightly older than her' (lit. I slightly exceed to her year).

The verb **girmā** v2 (plus a direct object) or **girmè** v4 (plus an indirect object), which means 'be older than', has the quality built in and thus expresses comparison with a simple object without the need for a Z (although the number of years can be mentioned by a prepositional phrase), e.g.,

<b>nā girmè shì (dà shèkarā ukù) = nā girmè masà (dà shèkarā ukù)</b>
I am older than him (by three years).

## 2. COMPARISON AT AN EQUAL DEGREE

For comparison at an equal degree, one uses the verb **kai** 'reach', e.g.,

<b>tàwadā tā kai àllō baƙi</b>	Ink is as black as a blackboard.
(lit. ink it.comp reaches blackboard blackness)	
<b>àmƙànin gōnā na bana bàì kai na bàrà àlbaƙkà ba</b>	
This year's crops are not as plentiful as last year's.	

Another common way of expressing comparison at an equal degree is with sentences formed with the pro-verb **yi** plus an abstract noun with a genitive complement, i.e., **X yi abstract.of Y**, e.g.,

**wannàn tēbūr yā yi kwārin wancàn** This table is as strong as that one.  
 (lit. this table it does strength.of that)  
**gidānā bāi yi girman nākā ba** My house is not as big as yours.  
 (lit. house.of.my neg.it does size.of yours neg)

°AN: Similar ideas can of course be expressed by other means, e.g., **zurfin rāmin nān yā yi kāmā dā wancàn** 'This hole is as deep as that one' (lit. depth.of hole.of this it does like with that).

### 3. COMPARISON AT A LOWER DEGREE

For comparison at a lower degree, one uses the verb **gazà** 'fall short of' (or one of its synonyms, e.g., **kāsà**). Examples:

**gidānā yā gazà nākā girmā** My house is not as large as yours.  
 (lit. house.of.my it falls short of yours size)  
**bā tā gazà ki hākuri ba** She is not less patient than you.  
 (lit. neg she fall short of you patience neg)

### 4. CLAUSAL COMPARISON

Comparison at a clausal level is indicated by connecting two clauses by means of the subordinating conjunction **dā** 'than (that)'. (The clause following **dā** appears with a bare L-tone weak subject pronoun (wsp), which I interpret to be the neutral TAM although it could also be the subjunctive.) The two clauses can sometimes occur in either order. Examples:

**gāra mù kōmā gidā dā mù shā irin wannàn wāhalā**  
 We would rather go back home than experience this kind of difficulty.  
 = **dā mù shā irin wannàn wāhalā, gāra mù kōmā gidā**  
 Rather than experience this kind of difficulty, we would rather go back home.  
**sun fi sō sù zaunā dā sù kōmā wurinsā**  
 They prefer to stay where they are rather than return to him.  
**yā fi ārāhā à sàyē shi nān dā à tāfi Kanò**  
 It is cheaper to buy it here than to go to Kano.

## 15. Co

**T**HIS chapter describes infinitive or verb clauses in English, e.g. are used where English I want (that) I borrow with a finite verb. The in (a) and proposition

- (a) **mun ji làbārì (wai)**
- (b) **yā kāmātā kù kōm**

### 1. VP COMPLEME

VP complements are full presentation, the VP co

**1.1. 'That' comple**  
 'That' complements so  
 The CP is commonly in  
 saying), but the usage d  
 matrix sentence and the  
 negation. Examples:

**yārān sun tsayā cēwā s**  
 The children in  
**yārān sun tsayā cēwā s**  
 The children in  
**yā gayā wā 'yan-jārīdū**  
 He told the rep  
**hākīmī yā gārgād'ē sū**  
 The district he  
**yā musā cēwā shi fārāv**  
**yā aikā dā sārō cēwā s**

The grade 5 verb **tarā**  
 immediately following C  
 is true for the synonym

n nân yā yi kāmā  
e with that).

s synonyms, e.g.,

the subordinating  
ak subject pronoun  
e.) The two clauses

## 15. Complementation

**T**HIS chapter describes complementation by clauses (with reference, where appropriate, to equivalent infinitive or verbal noun phrases). The Hausa complement clauses sometimes correspond to finite clauses in English, e.g., *yā gayà manà zāi zō* 'He told us that he would come', whereas other times they are used where English might use an infinitive, e.g., *inà sō in àri fensīr* 'I want to borrow a pencil' (lit. I want (that) I borrow a pencil). In both cases, however, the Hausa complement has a clausal structure with a finite verb. The complements (CP) can be divided into two large categories: VP complements (as in (a)) and propositional complements (as in (b)):

- (a) *mun ji làbārì (wai) an sai dà ita*      We heard news that it was sold.  
(b) *yā kāmātà kù kōmà gidā*      It is appropriate that you return home.

### 1. VP COMPLEMENTS

VP complements are full sentences that are embedded in the VP of the matrix sentence. For purposes of presentation, the VP complements can be divided into 'that' complements and 'to' complements.

#### 1.1. 'That' complements

'That' complements sometimes follow an intransitive verb, other times a transitive verb with its object. The CP is commonly introduced by a complementizer (COMP), the most common being *cēwā* 'that' (lit. saying), but the usage depends on the specific verb or verbal expression in the matrix sentence. Both the matrix sentence and the CP allow a full range of TAMs, and both the matrix sentence and the CP allow negation. Examples:

*yārān sun tsayà cēwā sun maidō manà dà kuḍinmù*

The children insisted that they had paid us back our money.

*yārān sun tsayà cēwā mù mayař musù dà kuḍinsù*

The children insisted that we should pay them back their money.

*yā gayà wà 'yan-jāřīdū cēwā jihāřsà bā tà sāmùn tàimakō isasshē*

He told the reporters that his state does not get enough aid.

*hākīmī yā gāřgāřē sù cēwā sù biyā hārājīn*

The district head will likely admonish them that they should pay the taxes.

*yā musà cēwā shī bārāwò nē*

He denied that he was a thief.

*yā aikā dà sārō cēwā sù dainà yāře-yāře*

He sent a message that they should stop fighting.

The grade 5 verb *tarař*, which has the basic meaning of 'overtake, come upon', occurs with an immediately following CP without an intervening COMP. In this usage it connotes 'find that'. (The same is true for the synonymous gr4 verb *iskē*.) Example:

dà sukà isō, sukà tarāf àbòkansù sun rigā sun tàfi

When they arrived they found that their friends had already gone.

If the matrix sentence contains the verb *cé* 'say' (or its verbal noun *céwā*) then the COMP *céwā* is not allowed. Examples:

Audù yā cé Ø Sulè zái gàyycē shì

Audu said that Sule will invite him.

Audù yā cé Ø Sulè bà zái gàyycē shì ba

Audu said that Sule will not invite him.

not \*\*Audù yā cé *céwā* Sulè (bà) zái gàyycē shì (ba)

sarki yā cé Ø kù biyā hàfājìn

The emir said that you should pay the taxes.

not \*\*sarki yā cé *céwā* kù biyā hàfājìn

yā kārā dà *céwā* janāf zái hālāfci tārōn dà kānsà

He added (by saying) that the general would attend the meeting himself.

not \*\*yā kārā dà *céwā céwā* janāf zái hālāfci tārōn dà kānsà

Certain verbs, like *ji* 'hear', *cé* 'say', and certain phrasal verbs, like *yi tsāmmānì* 'think' and *sā rāi* 'expect' (lit. put life), generally prefer the reportive particle *wai* 'hearsay, it is said that' as the COMP instead of *céwā*, e.g.,

sun yi tsāmmānì wai zā sù sāmī hanyāf shīgā

They thought that they might find a means of getting in.

bà sù yi tsāmmānì (wai) zā sù sāmī hanyāf shīgā ba

They didn't think that they would find a means of getting in.

nā ji wai bà à nađā shī sarki ba tūkūna

I heard that they haven't appointed him chief yet.

bā mà jīn dādī wai bá ta dà lāfiyā

We are not happy that she is not well.

nā sā rāi wai zāi zō

I expect that he will come.

Audù yā shā kán Hālmā(wai) tà tàfi

Audu persuaded Halima to leave.

bàn yi zàton (wai) zā tà zō wurin nān ba

I didn't think that she would come to this place.

bàn ji làbārī (wai) bà à būđè hanyāf ba

I didn't hear the news that they didn't open up the road.

°AN: [i] The genitive linker /n/ attached to the verbal noun *zātō* 'thinking' is optional.

[ii] In the last example, note that the final *ba* serves as the second element of the discontinuous *bà...ba* morpheme both for the matrix sentence and the CP sentence. One does *not* get \*\*[bàn ji làbārī (wai) [bà à būđè hanyāf ba] ba].

Certain verbs and verbal expressions normally employ the relativizer *dà* 'that' as the COMP, e.g.,

mun yi farin cikì dà kukà zō

We are happy that you came.

munà bakin cikì dà bà kà zō ba

We are sad that you didn't come.

yā yi kirā gā mutānē dà sù biyā hàfājìn

He called upon the people to pay (that they pay) their taxes.

'yan siyāsā sun tīlāstā wā shūgābān dà yā yi fītāyā à wannān shèkarā

The politicians have forced the president to retire (that he retire) this year.

an amīncē wā Audù (dà/céwā) yā zama sarki

Audu was allowed to become the chief. (lit. one agreed to Audu (that) he become chief)

1.2. 'To' complements  
'To' complements  
of the preceding w  
that preceding wor  
in the "neutral" z  
same, a sentential C  
phrase, e.g.,

nā yi shāwafār [in  
(lit. (that) I run away  
yanà shān wāhalār  
(lit. (that) he wake u  
yanà fāri-fārin yā  
= yanà fāri-fārin  
bān yi RòRarin in r  
= bān yi RòRarin r  
sun ki sù yi aikl  
nā tsāni Audù yā d  
bà sù bāf Hālmā tà  
yanà dà sauRi Tanl  
(lit. it is easy (that) T

°AN: Because th  
one cannot be  
subjunctive sem  
is timid about v  
neutral form, alt  
analysis because

If the verbal noun sō  
linker, although use  
constituting an NP, th

munà sō(n) sù tàfi K  
bā yā sō(n) yā ziyāf  
He doesn't

With certain expressio

yanà zāfin sōn yārin  
(lit. he.cont heat.L wa  
munà kārāf (sōn) tà  
yanà fāfūtākāf shīgā

## 2. PROPOSITION

Complex sentences in  
the complement-takin

## 1.2. 'To' complements

'To' complements follow immediately upon the VP of the matrix sentence and function as the NP object of the preceding word. (Verbs appear in their pre-direct object form.) They do not make use of a COMP. If that preceding word is a noun (or verbal noun), it obligatorily adds a linker. The CP, which always occurs in the "neutral" zero TAM, cannot be negated. If the subject of the matrix sentence and the CP are the same, a sentential CP can be replaced by a semantically (essentially) equivalent verbal noun or infinitive phrase, e.g.,

<b>nā yi shāwārār [in gudù]</b>	I made the decision [to run away].
(lit. (that) I run away) = <b>nā yi shāwārār gudù</b> (lit. I made the decision of running away)	
<b>yanà shān wāhalār [yà tashì dà wuri ]</b>	He finds it difficult [to wake up early].
(lit. (that) he wake up early) = <b>yanà shān wāhalār tashì dà wuri</b> (lit. ...[of arising early])	
<b>yanà dāri-dārin yà ziyārci àbòkinsà</b>	He is timid about visiting his friend.
= <b>yanà dāri-dārin ziyārtār àbòkinsà</b>	
<b>bàn yi kòkarin in rabà su ba</b>	I didn't make an effort to separate them.
= <b>bàn yi kòkarin rabà su ba</b> (where <b>rabà su</b> is an infinitive phrase)	
<b>sun ki sù yi aikì</b>	They refused to work. = <b>sun ki yin aikì</b>
<b>nā tsāni Audù yà dingà yi minì dàriyā</b>	I hate for Audu to keep on laughing at me.
<b>bà sù bā Hālimà tà tàfi gidā ba</b>	They didn't let Halima go home.
<b>yanà dà saukì Tankò yà gyārà halinsà</b>	It is easy for Tanko to straighten up his behavior.
(lit. it is easy (that) Tanko he repair his character)	

°AN: Because the subjunctive and the neutral TAM are both phonologically zero (see §70:17-18), one cannot be sure in individual cases which one is present. Given the absence of distinctive subjunctive semantics in embedded CPs, such as in **yanà dāri-dārin [yà]<sub>neut</sub> ziyārci àbòkinsà** 'He is timid about visiting his friend', I have provisionally opted to analyze the TAM as being the neutral form, although the matter is admittedly debatable. The absence of negative CPs supports this analysis because the neutral form cannot be negated whereas the subjunctive can.

If the verbal noun *sô* 'wanting' is followed by a sentential CP as object, it commonly occurs without the linker, although use of the linker is not ungrammatical. If it is followed by a verbal noun phrase constituting an NP, then the linker is required, e.g.,

<b>munà sò(n) sù tàfi Kanò</b>	We want them to travel to Kano.
<b>bā yà sò(n) yà ziyārci sùrùkansà = bā yà sòn ziyārtār sùrùkansà</b>	
He doesn't like visiting his in-laws.	

With certain expressions, one almost always gets a verbal noun CP rather than a sentential CP, e.g.,

<b>yanà zāfin sòn yāriyār nan</b>	He is wild for that girl.
(lit. he.cont heat.L wanting.L girl.L that)	
<b>munà kār wār (sòn) tàfiyà Amīrkà</b>	We eagerly want to go to America.
<b>yanà fàfùtākār shigā makařantā</b>	He is straining every nerve to get into school.

## 2. PROPOSITIONAL COMPLEMENTS

Complex sentences involving complementation are composed of a matrix sentence, which constitutes the complement-taking expression (CTE), plus a sentential complement (CP). The CTE, which

corresponds to English clauses such as 'It is appropriate that...', can be either in the affirmative or the negative. The sentential CP is most often in the subjunctive, but it need not be (see discussion below). The CP is optionally introduced by a complementizer, either *cēwā* 'saying', *wai* 'it is said that', or *dā* 'that'. Examples:

[*yā kāmātā*]<sub>CTE</sub> [(*wai*) *sāmārin nān sù yi aurē*]<sub>CP</sub>

It is desirable that these young men get married.

[*bàì kāmātā ba*]<sub>CTE</sub> [*Tankò yà Ri biyān hàfājì*]<sub>CP</sub>

It is not right that Tanko should refuse to pay taxes.

[*yā dācè*]<sub>CTE</sub> [(*wai*) *yārān sù ci àbinci mài kyáu*]<sub>CP</sub>

It is fitting that the children should eat nutritious food.

[*yā kyàutu*]<sub>CTE</sub> [(*dā*) *kì gamà aikinkì*]<sub>CP</sub>

It is better/nice/desirable that you (f.) should finish your work.

[*mài yiwuwā nè*]<sub>CTE</sub> [(*dā*) *nà sàyi sābuwāf mōtā*]<sub>CP</sub>

It is possible I might buy a new car.

[*shirmē nè*]<sub>CTE</sub> [(*cēwā/wai*) *nà yi řitāyā yānzū fa*]<sub>CP</sub>?

Is it nonsense that I retire now?

[*bā àbin kunyā ba nè*]<sub>CTE</sub> [*mùtūm yà kwāna à gidan sùrūkansà*]<sub>CP</sub>

It is not shameful for a person to sleep overnight at his in-laws' house.

[*yānā dà muhimmāncì (kūwa)*]<sub>CTE</sub> (*dā*) [*mù gamà aikin bana*]<sub>CP</sub>

It is important (moreover) that we finish the work this year.

As best as one can determine, the sentences mean the same whether the COMP is present or not, but in many cases it is stylistically better without. Apparently *cēwā* and *wai* are mutually substitutable without substantially affecting the meaning. The use of *dā* with propositional complements appears to have a somewhat different status from *cēwā* and *wai*, but the details are yet to be worked out. (The COMP *dā* is the same as the relativizer *dā* that introduces relative clauses.)

The semantic subject of the CP can often be expressed in the matrix sentence as the object of the preposition *gà(rē)* 'at, with'. (This preposition is unique in having distinct variants depending on the nature of the object. If it is a personal pronoun, one uses *gārē*; otherwise one uses *gà*. The prepositional form *gārē* is optionally (but usually) preceded by the preposition *à* 'at'. This *à* is not used with *gà*.) If the CTE sentence contains *gà* plus a noun, the noun cannot also appear as the subject of the CP. Whether the matrix sentence contains a prepositional phrase or not, the CP remains a tensed sentence, even though the most natural English translation is often with an infinitive, e.g.,

[*yā kyàutu [gà yārā]*] [*sù ci àbinci mài kyáu*]

It is good for children to eat nice food.

(lit. it is good for children (that) they eat good food) = [*yā kyàutu [yārā sù ci àbinci mài kyáu]*]

[*yā hàfāmā [gà Mùsùlmī]*] [*sù ci nāmān àladè*]

It is unlawful for Muslims to eat pork.

(lit. ...that they eat pork) = [*yā hàfāmā cēwā [Mùsùlmī sù ci nāmān àladè]*]

[*yānā dà ban shà'awā [gà Tankò]*] *dā yà sāmī nasafā*

It is pleasing to Tanko that he succeeded.

[*yānā dà muhimmāncì [à gārē kī]*] *kī àuri mijì nagāri*

It is important for you to marry a good husband.

[*wājībi nè [à gārē mù]*] *cēwā mù yi sallā*

It is incumbent on us that we should do the prayers.

[*wāutā nè [gà Mūsā]*] *dā yà ci bāshī*

It was foolish of Musa to take out a loan.

One also finds CTE phrases with prepositions other than *gà(rē)*. For example, the verb and verbal noun *dācè/dācēwā* 'be fitting' use *dā* 'with', whereas various other structures use *à kán* 'on', or *à wurin* 'at place of', e.g.,

[*yā fi kyáu [à wurin*

[*yā dācè [dā Mūsā]*

[*zāi fi dācēwā [dā n*

It will be n

[*bābban nauyi nè [à*

It is a big n

[*wājībi nè [à kánm*

It is incumb

## 2.1. Kinds of com

There are five main k

(2) transitive verbal

sentences with a non

(1) [*yā kyàutu*] *nā g*

(2) [*yā fi saufti*] *à sà*

(3) [*yānā bā ni haus*

It annoys m

[*yā gāgāri Audù*] *yā*

It was impo

(4) [*yānā dà muhim*

(5) [*hāfāmūn nē*] *m*

(lit. prohibition STA

[*rashīn tūnānī nè*] *k*

(1) Intransitive CTEs

referential 3m weak

corresponding preterit

*yā cāncantā...* It

*yā fāskarā...* It

*yā kāmātā...* It

*yā kyàutu...* It'

°AN: Unlike "we

use a nonreferen

*kāmātā...* 'It is

The gr7 verb *yīwu* (

continuous as well as

*yā yīwu* = [*yā*]<sub>pot</sub> *yīw*

For totally unexplaine

the expected masculin

The verb *dā*



- [yā fi kyáu [à wurinkì]] kì kómà gà Tànimù It would be better for you to return to Tanimu.  
 [yā dācè [dà Mūsā]] yā shìga sōjà It is fitting for Musa that he enter the army.  
 [zái fi dācèwā [dà mù]] (dà) mù dingà zìyārtār jūnā  
 It will be more appropriate for us that we keep visiting each other.  
 [bābban nauyi nè [à kánkù]] kù taimākā wà jūnā  
 It is a big responsibility on/upon you that you should help each other.  
 [wājibi nè [à kánmù]] à kōwàcè rānā mù yi sallà sàu bìyāf  
 It is incumbent on us that we pray five times a day.

### 2.1. Kinds of complement-taking expressions (CTEs)

There are five main kinds of matrix sentences that can serve as CTEs: (1) Intransitive verbal sentences, (2) transitive verbal sentences with *yi* 'do' or *fi* 'exceed', (3) other transitive verbal sentences; (4) HAVE sentences with a nonconcrete predicate, and (5) Identificational sentences.

- (1) [yā kyàutu] nà gamà aikìnā It is desirable that I finish my work.  
 (2) [yā fi saukī] à sāmī gōrò à Kanò It is easier to get kolanuts in Kano.  
 (3) [yanà bā nì haushi] Audù yā dingà taunà cingám  
 It annoys me that Audu keeps on chewing chewing gum.  
 [yā gǎgàri Audù] yā fid dà mótār dàgà gāfējì  
 It was impossible for Audu to get (lit. that he get) the car out of the garage.  
 (4) [yanà dà muhimmanè] gà Bālā (dà) yā tǎfi yáu It is important for Bala that he go today.  
 (5) [hāfāmùn nē] mù shā giyà We are prohibited from drinking beer.  
 (lit. prohibition STAB we.sub drink beer)  
 [rashìn tūnānī nè] kà ci bāshìn nan It is a bad idea that you should take that loan.

(1) Intransitive CTEs typically contain a gr3 verb (less often, gr4 or gr7) that is preceded by a non-referential 3m weak subject pronoun (wsp). The verb is generally in the completive (or the corresponding preterite or negative-completive). Examples:

yā cāncantā...	It is appropriate...	yā hālattā (gà X)...	It is lawful (for X)...
yā fāskarā...	It is difficult to...	yā hāfamtā (gà X)...	It is unlawful (for X)...
yā kāmātā...	It is fitting...	yā dācè (dà X)...	It's nice/suitable (for X)...
yā kyàutu...	It's better/nice...		

°AN: Unlike "weather" sentences, e.g., *anà ruwā* 'It is raining', the semantically impersonal CTEs use a nonreferential third person masculine wsp rather than the impersonal pronoun, e.g., *yā kāmātā*... 'It is necessary/fitting...', *not \*\*an kāmātā*...

The gr7 verb *yiwu* (verbal noun *yiwuwā*) 'be possible' (< *yi* 'do') occurs in the potential and the continuous as well as in the completive, e.g.,

*yā yiwu* = [yā]<sub>pot</sub> *yiwu* = (more or less) [yanà]<sub>cont</sub> *yiwuwā* It is/may be possible/likely that...

For totally unexplained reasons, some speakers allow *tā yiwu* and *tā yiwu* with the 3f pronoun instead of the expected masculine pronoun.

The verb *dācè* 'be appropriate' may be either in the completive or in the future, e.g.,

yā dācè... It is appropriate...      zāi dācè... It will be appropriate...

(2) CTEs are commonly formed with the dummy verb *yī* 'do' or the verb *fi* 'exceed' plus a noun (or verbal noun) of quality. Sentences with *fi* often express the English comparative. Both the completive and the future occur naturally.

yā fi dācèwā...      It's more appropriate...  
 yā yi/fi kyāu (gà X)...      It is good/more suitable (for X)...  
 zāi fi sauKI (gà X)...      It will be easier (for X)...  
 zāi yi wūyā (gà X)...      It will be difficult (for X)...

(3) Various other verbal sentences occur as CTEs. The semantic subject of the CP generally appears as an object (direct or indirect) of the verb in the matrix sentence, e.g.,

yanà bakàntà wà X rái...      It displeases X... (lit. ...blacken to X life)  
 yanà faràntà rān X...      It pleases X that... (lit. ...whiten life.of X)  
 yā ragè ruwan X...      It is up to X... (lit. ...reduce water.of X)  
 yanà bā (wà) X màmmākì/haushi      It amazes/annoys X... (lit. ...give to X amazement/annoyance)  
 zāi tàyāf wà dà X hankàll...      It will upset X...  
 yanà dāmùn X...      It worries X...  
 yā gègàri X...      It is impossible for X...

A few verbs that commonly occur as gr3 intransitives in CTEs can occur also as transitives (usually gr2) followed by a direct object with essentially the same meaning, e.g.,

[yā kāmāci (v2) Bàrau] (dà) yà dainà kuřbāwā      It befits Barau to stop drinking (alcohol).  
 = [yā kāmātà(v3)] Bàrau yà dainà kuřbāwa      It is fitting that Barau stop drinking (alcohol).  
 [yā càncānci (v2) mutānēn] (dà) sù taimākā wà jūnā  
     It appropriate/desirable for the people to help each other.  
 = [yā càncantà (v3)] (dà) mutānēn sù taimākā wà jūnā  
     It appropriate/desirable that the people help each other.

(4) Some CTEs have the form of HAVE sentences with a 3m wsp. In many cases, the HAVE sentences have corresponding and semantically equivalent verbal sentences formed with the pro-verb *yī*, e.g.,

yanà dà wūyā... = yā yi wūyā...      It is difficult...  
 (lit. it is with difficulty = it does difficulty)  
 yanà dà kyāu (gà X)... = yā yi kyāu (gà X)...      It is nice/better (for X)...  
 yanà dà sauKI... = yā yi/fi sauKI...      It is easy...  
 yanà dà wāhalā...      It is troublesome...  
 yanà dà muhimmançi (gà X)...      It is important/essential (for X)...  
 yanà dà àmfānI (gà X)...      It is useful (for X)...  
 yanà dà ban shà'awā...      It is interesting...

(5) Identificational (i.e., reduced equational) sentences consisting of a predicate (Y) plus the stabilizer constitute another type of CTE. The stabilizer invariably takes the masculine form *nē* (with polar tone) regardless of the gender of the preceding word. A particularly common Y consists of a phrase made up of *àbin* 'thing of' plus a noun, e.g., *àbin kunyā nē* 'it is shameful' (i.e., a thing of shame). If the

identificational  
after the stabilizer

àbin àlfahāfI nē  
 àbin màmmākI nē  
 màl yiwuwā nē  
 daidai nē...  
 mùgùwāf d'ābI nē  
 nufin X nē...  
 rashin tūnānI nē  
 wājibi nē (à gār...  
     It's inc...  
 rashin kunyā nē  
     It's lack

2.2. Negation  
CTEs can be in the negative.) Example

bā shi dà àmfānI...  
     It is val...  
 cf. yanà dà àmfānI...  
 bā àbin kunyā bā...  
     It is not

Negatives formed with the second *ba*. It can occur in the entire sentence, e.g.,

bāi kāmātā bā [T...]  
     It is not t...  
 bāi kāmāci Bilki...  
     It isn't a...  
 bā tabbās bā nē [T...]  
     It is not c...

°AN: To my e...  
 when the matr...  
 with the ba n...  
 according to d...

The sentential CP of the subjunctive. If, to happen in the fut...

yā hāramtā [kunā...]  
 yā kyāutu [tā]comp...  
     It was nice

identificational sentence contains a prepositional phrase with *gà* (= (*à*) *gàrē* before a pronoun) it occurs after the stabilizer. Examples:

<i>àbin àlfahārī nē...</i>	It's a matter of pride...	<i>dòlè nē (gà X)...</i>	It's obligatory (for X)...
<i>àbin màràkì nē...</i>	It is amazing...	<i>hàràmun nē (gà X)</i>	It is unlawful (for X)...
<i>mài yìwuwā nē...</i>	It's likely/possible...	<i>lâifī nē (gà X)...</i>	It's a sin/crime (for X)...
<i>daidai nē...</i>	It's right...	<i>shīrmē nē (gà X)...</i>	It's nonsense/foolish (for X)...
<i>mūgūwār d'abi'ā nē...</i>	It's a bad habit...	<i>tīlās nē (gà X)...</i>	It's obligatory (for X)...
<i>nufin X nē...</i>	It is X's intention...	<i>wāutā nē (gà X)...</i>	It's foolish/stupid (for X)...
<i>rashin tūnānī nē...</i>	It's a bad idea...	<i>wājibi nē (gà X)...</i>	It's incumbent (on X)...

*wājibi nē (à gàrē kù = à kánkù) kù tàimàki jūnankù*

It's incumbent on you to help each other.

*rashin kunyā nē à kasàshen Afīrkà mùtùm yà ci àbinci dà hannun hagu*

It's lack of good manners in African countries for a person to eat with the left hand.

## 2.2. Negation

CTEs can be in the negative as well as in the affirmative. (The COMP is most often omitted in the negative.) Examples:

*bā shi dà àmfānī à gàrē kà kà dingà zāgin mutānē*

It is valueless for you that you keep insulting people.

cf. *yanā dà àmfānī à gàrē kà dà kà dingà kārātū*

It is useful for you to keep on studying.

*bà àbin kunyā ba nē (wai) à kwāna à gidan sūrūkai*

It is not shameful for people to sleep overnight at their in-laws' house.

Negatives formed with the discontinuous marker *bà(a)...**ba* have two options as to the position of the second *ba*. It can occur at the end of the matrix sentence before the CP or it can occur at the end of the entire sentence, e.g.,

*bāi kāmātā ba [Tankò yà ki biyān hàrājī] = bāi kāmātā [Tankò yà ki biyān hàrājī] ba*

It is not right that Tanko should refuse to pay taxes.

*bāi kāmāci Bilki ba [tà tàfi gidā yāu] = bāi kāmāci Bilki [tà tàfi gidā yāu] ba*

It isn't appropriate for Bilki to go home today.

*bā tabbās ba nē [Audù yà zō yāu] = bā tabbās nē [Audù yà zō yāu] ba*

It is not certain that Audu will come today.

°AN: To my ear—which is that of a non-native speaker—sentences with *ba* at the end sound better when the matrix sentence contains a verb, whereas identificational matrix sentences sound better with the *ba* nearby. My guess is that the alternatives are not in free variation but rather vary according to dialectal or stylistic factors that have yet to be identified precisely.

The sentential CP clause normally expresses timeless volition, obligation, etc., and thus is usually in the subjunctive. If, however, the CP expresses a statement about an event that happened in the past or is to happen in the future, then one can employ a TAM other than the subjunctive, e.g.,

*yā hàramtā [kunā]<sub>cont</sub> cīn nāmān àladè*

It was unlawful that you were eating pork.

*yā kyàutu [tā]<sub>comp</sub> gyārā halintā*

It was nice that she behaved appropriately. (lit. repaired her character)

yanà bā nì māmākì (cēwā/wai) [kā]<sub>comp</sub> kāsà gamà aikìn dà wuri

It surprises me that you failed to finish the work early.

yā yìwu sun tāshì

It is possible that they left.

cf. yā yìwu sù (= zā sù) tāshì

It is possible that they will leave.

### 2.3. Question words, focus, topicalization

#### 2.3.1. Constituents in the CP

Almost any item in the CP can be questioned, focused, or topicalized by moving it to the front of the sentence. With questions and focus, which involve movement into the focus position, the TAM in the following matrix clause requires a Rel form. Identificational matrix CTEs (such as *dōlè nē...* 'It is necessary that...') drop their stabilizer when they are preceded by a focused item (itself usually marked by a stabilizer). The deletion does not, however, apply to Q-word constructions. Examples:

##### (a) Question words

wà(nē nē) ya cāncantà yà zama sarkinmù?

Who is it appropriate for him to become our emir?

wàcè cè zāi yìwu tà zama sàrauniyā?

Who is it that it is possible for her to become the queen?

su wàyé (nē) ya dācè sù yi aurē?

Who (pl.) it is appropriate/proper for them to get married?

wàcè mōtā cē yakè dà muhimmançì Marÿam tà sāmù?

Which car is it important for Maryam to get?

dàgà wānē nē dōlè (nē) mù kārñi kuñin hàfājìn?

From whom must we take/receive the tax money?

dà su wà ya dācè (cēwā) tà zaunà à Kanò?

With whom (pl.) is it appropriate/suitable for her to live/stay in Kano?

dà wàcè mაცè cē yakè dà wùyā (wai) Daudà yà yi zaman ařziki?

With which woman is it difficult for Dauda to live in peace?

gà wà yakè dà muhimmançì à gārē mù mù bā dà kuñin?

To whom is it important for us to give the money?

##### (b) Focus

Asshà cē zāi yìwu tà zama sàrauniyā

It is Assha who it is possible that she become the queen.

Mustāfā (nē) ya cāncantà yà zama sarkinmù

It is Mustapha who is appropriate that he become our emir.

wafānnān yārā (nē) ya dācè sù yi aurē

It is these young people who it is appropriate for them to get married.

ita cè zāi yi kyáu à gārē tà (dà) tà gamà aikintà bana

It is she who it is good for her to finish her work this year.

Bàrau nē ya kāmātā Asshà tà kai wà (= masà) àbincin

It is Barau who it is desirable that Assha should take the food to (him).

dà iyāyentā (nē) ya dācè (cēwā) tà zaunà à Kanò?

Is it with her parents that it is appropriate for her to live/stay in Kano?

gà Bintā nē yakè dà muhimmançì mù bā dà kuñin

It is to Binta that it is important for us to give the money.

kārātū nē tilās mù yi à yāu d'in nān

It is studying that we must do today. (not \*\*kārātū nē tilās nē...)

tāre dà kaffi nē h

It is togeth

mū nē ya zama dō

It is we th

It is we th

(c) Topicalization

sarki kām, mài yiw

As for emi

kārātū dai, yanà dà

As for stud

wafānnān yārā kām

As for thes

hàfājì kām, yā kām

As for taxe

sàyen sàbon gidā (k

As for buyi

#### 2.3.2. The CP

The entire CP, usual

topicalization, indicat

linker attached.

{(wai) Tankò yà biy

That Tanko

«(cēwā) kà àuri Bin

As for the a

If the CP is focused, t

consisting of a wsp +

used if it is followed t

(cēwā) Ābù tà rēni y

(wai) yārān sù yi aur

(cēwā) Ābù tà rēni y

That Abu sh

(wai) yārān sù yi aur

That the you

(cēwā) Tankò yà biy

That Tanko s

When preceded by a to

may appear with a pro

(cēwā) Tankò yà biy

(The assertion

(wai) à tunā bāya, ròk

That one shou

(wai) Hasān yà gyārā

That Hassan s

**tàre dà kafīrī nè hàrāmùn Mūsūlmī yà shìga masallācī**

It is together with an unbeliever that it is forbidden for a Muslim to enter the mosque.

**mū nè ya zama dōlè à gārē mù mù tāshì yānzū**

It is we that it has become necessary that we should leave now.

(c) Topicalization

**sarki kām, mài yìuwā nè Sālisū yà zama**

As for emir, it is possible for Salisu to become (it).

**kārātū dai, yanà dà àmfānī kà yī shì**

As for studying, it is useful that you do it.

**wadānnān yārā kām, yā dācè sù yī aurē**

As for these boys, it is fitting (that) they get married.

**hārājī kām, yā kāmātā Tankò yà biyā (shì)**

As for taxes, it is desirable that Tanko pay (them).

**sāyen sābon gidā (kām), shī nè ya fī minī kyāu**

As for buying a new house, *it is that* which is better for me. (Topic and Focus)

### 2.3.2. The CP

The entire CP, usually with an overt COMP, can be fronted, for purposes of focus, indicated by { }, or topicalization, indicated by « ». In this position, the COMP *céwā* typically has the form *céwāf* with the linker attached.

{(wai) Tankò yà biyā hārājī nè} ya kāmātā

*That Tanko should pay taxes is appropriate.*

«(céwāf) kà àuri Bintā», mài yìuwā nè

As for the assertion that you should marry Binta, it is possible.

If the CP is focused, the matrix sentence can appear as is or it can be followed by a resumptive clause consisting of a *wsp + yi* 'do', optionally preceded by the COMP *dā*. The *wsp + yi* expression tends to be used if it is followed by a contrastive clause. Examples:

(céwāf) Ābù tà rēni yāròntà nè ya càncantà

*That Abu should raise her child is appropriate.*

(wai) yārān sù yī aurē nè ya dācè

*That the youths should get married is proper.*

(céwāf) Ābù tà rēni yāròntà nè ya càncantà (dā) tà yī, bà tà bā dà shī gā mài rēnō ba

*That Abu should raise her child is appropriate for her to do, not that she gives it to a nanny.*

(wai) yārān sù yī aurē nè ya dācè (dā) sù yī màimakon (yīn) yāwòn banzā

*That the youths should get married is proper that they do instead of useless roaming about.*

(céwāf) Tankò yà biyā hārājī nè ya kāmātā (dā) yà yī bà yà Rī biyā ba

*That Tanko should pay taxes is appropriate, not that he refuse to pay.*

When preceded by a topicalized CP, the matrix sentence, which usually has a zero subject indicating 'it', may appear with a pro-form subject like *wannān* 'this', or *hakà(n)* 'thus'. Examples:

(céwāf) Tankò yà biyā hārājī, yā kāmātā

(The assertion) that Tanko should pay taxes, it is desirable.

(wai) à tunà bāya, ròkò nè

That one should remember the past, it is one's wish.

(wai) Hasān yà gyārā halinsā, wannān zāi fī kyāu

That Hassan should improve his behavior, this would be better.

(cēwaf) Audù yà sàkè mōtā, wannàn yanà dà muhimmançi

That Audu should change his car, this is important.

(cēwaf) à yi sallà kullum, hakàn wājibi nè

That one should pray every day, this is compulsory.

In sentences with a topicalized CP, one sometimes finds *wai* before the matrix CTE. In this case, however, it is not functioning as a COMP but rather as a reportive, point-of-view marker, e.g.,

cēwaf Tankò yà àuri Bintà kàm, wai yā cāncantà

(As for) Tanko marrying Binta, (one could say that) it is desirable.

kà yi sallà kullum (kàm), wai wannàn wājibi nè

That you should pray every day, (as they say) this is obligatory.

### 2.3.3. The CTE

2.3.3.1. It is possible to focus or topicalize the prepositional phrase (representing the thematic subject) out of the matrix CTE. (The English translations sound clumsy, but the Hausa sentences are normal.) Examples:

gà Tankò nē ya kāmātā yà biyā hārājì      It is Tanko who ought to pay the taxes.

(lit. it is Tanko that it is better that he (Tanko) pay taxes)

gà Audù nē tilàs yà bā dà kudīn      Regarding Audu it is necessary that he give the money.

gà Tankò, yā kāmātā yà biyā hārājì      As for Tanko, it is better that he pay taxes.

gà Mūsā, tilàs nē yà kōmā gidā      As for Musa, it is necessary for him to return home.

2.3.3.2. Some verbs in the matrix sentence also permit focus (more for stylistic than emphatic purposes). This is accomplished by fronting the corresponding verbal noun and inserting the pro-verb *yi* in the original verb position. The fronted verbal noun occurs without the stabilizer, but it does require that the following TAM be a Rel form. Examples:

dācēwā ya yi kī àuri Sulè (< yā dācè (dà) kī àuri Sulè)

Appropriate it is that it is that you should marry Sule.

kyàutuwā ya yi kù tàimāki jūnankù (< yā kyàutu kù tàimāki jūnankù)

It is nice for you to help each other.

kāmātā ya yi mù hau wannàn dūtsè (< yā kāmātā mù hau wannàn dūtsè)

We ought to climb this mountain. (lit. obligation it do we climb this mountain)

2.3.3.3. Alternatively, it is possible to emphasize the entire CTE by means of a focused pseudo-cleft construction with *àbîn dà* 'what, the thing that', e.g.,

àbîn dà ya cāncantà shī nè Ābù tà yi aurē      What is proper is that Abu should get married.

àbîn dà ya fī kyáu shī nè mù wāshè gārinsù      What is better is that we sack their town.

àbîn dà ya kāmātā shī nè Tankò yà biyā hārājì      What is fitting is that Tanko should pay taxes.

àbîn dà ya dācè shī nè yārān sù kōmā gidā      What is appropriate is that the children return home.

The following examples represent an alternative means of expressing the same idea:

àbîn dà ya kāmātā Tankò yà yi shī nè yà biyā hārājì

What is fitting that Tanko do is that he should pay taxes.

àbîn dà ya cāncantà

What is pro

àbîn dà ya dācè yā

The thing t

The erstwhile subject  
marker, e.g.,

àbîn dà Tankò ya k

The thing th

In this sentence, Tanko  
still actually the subject  
the fronted noun is no

àbîn dà Ābù ya (not

The thing tha

àbîn dà yārān ya (not

The thing tha

Focusing of the CTE by  
CP. Examples:

(cēwaf) Tankò yà biy

As for Tanko

Ābù tà gyārā halintā (

As for Abu b

### 2.4. Yes/No questions

Sentences with proposi

yā kāmātā (wai) sāmā

yā hārāmtā gā Mūsūlmī

yanà dà sauƙi à sāmī

Such questions can be i

kō yā kāmātā (wai) Tā

kō wājibi nè Mūsūlmī

Another possibility is to

formation. In this case o

clause will, nevertheless

lengthening, and possib

yā kāmātā [kāmātā]? kō

tilàs nē [nē]? kō yà yi a

= kō tilàs nē yà yi azūn

àbîn dà ya càncantà Ābù tà yi shì nè tà yi aurē

What is proper for Abu to do is that she should get married.

àbîn dà ya dācè yārān sù yi shì nè sù kōmà gidā

The thing that is appropriate for the children to do is that they return home.

The erstwhile subject of the CP can be moved even further forward immediately after the Rel clause marker, e.g.,

àbîn dà Tankò ya kāmātà yà yi shì nè yà biyā hàrājì

The thing that Tanko it is appropriate that he do is that he should pay taxes.

In this sentence, **Tankò** would appear on the surface to be the subject of **kāmātà**, but syntactically it is still actually the subject of the lower verb **yi**. This can be seen clearly in the following examples where the fronted noun is not masculine singular:

àbîn dà Ābù ya (*not \*\*ta*) càncantà tà yi shì nè tà yi aurē

The thing that Abu (feminine name) it is appropriate that she do is that she should get married.

àbîn dà yārān ya (*not \*\*sukà*) dācè sù yi shì nè sù kōmà gidā

The thing that children it is appropriate that they do is that they return home.

Focusing of the CTE by means of a pseudo-cleft construction can be combined with topicalization of the CP. Examples:

(*céwaf*) Tankò yà biyā hàrājì (kām), àbù nē dà ya kāmātà

As for Tanko paying taxes, it is something that is appropriate.

Ābù tà gyārà halintà (fa), àbù nē dà ya càncantà

As for Abu bettering herself, it is something that is proper.

#### 2.4. Yes/No questions

Sentences with propositional complements can be in the interrogative, e.g.,

yā kāmātà (wai) sāmàrin nān sù yi aurē?

Is it desirable that these young men get married?

yā hàfamtà gā Mùsùlmī sù ci nāmān àladè?

Is it unlawful for Muslims to eat pork?

yanā dà saukī à sāmī gōfō à Landān?

Is it easy to get kolanuts in London?

Such questions can be introduced by the sentence-initial interrogative particle **kō**, e.g.,

kō yā kāmātà (wai) Tānī tà biyā hàrājì?

Is it fitting that Tani should pay taxes?

kō wājībī nè Mùsùlmī sù yi aikīn hajjī?

Is it obligatory for Muslims to do the hadj?

Another possibility is to treat the matrix clause and the CP as distinct sentences for purposes of question formation. In this case one can insert **kō** before the CP rather than before the matrix clause. The matrix clause will, nevertheless, carry the normal markers of questions, like question intonation, final vowel lengthening, and possibly a falling tone, e.g.,

yā kāmātà [kāmātā]? kō Tānī tà biyā hàrājīn?

Is it fitting that Tani should pay taxes?

tilās nē [nē]? kō yā yi azūmī [azūmī]?

Is it necessary that he should fast?

= kō tilās nē yā yi azūmī?

*bá shi dà kyáu? kō ìn yi zànzarō?* Is it not good that I tuck in my shirt?

*bà àbin kunyà ba nē? kō (wai) à kwāna à gidan sùrùkai?*

Is it not shameful that people should sleep overnight at their in-laws' house?

With topicalized CPs, one also has the option of placing *kō* in front of the questioned matrix sentence or else in front of the CP. In the latter case, the *kō* replaces the COMP, e.g.,

*cēwar Tàní tà biyā hàfājì, kō yā kāmātà? = kō Tàní tà biyā hàfājìn? yā kāmātà?*

That Tani should pay taxes, is it fitting?

*cēwar yà yi azùmī, kō tilàs nē? = kō yà yi azùmī? tilàs nē?*

That he should fast, is it necessary?

[References: Dimmendaal (1989); Yalwa (1995)]

**C**OMPOUNDS are  
 constitute a single  
 genitive linker (-n / -r)  
 words that are built with  
 treated elsewhere and  
 representation of compo  
 hyphens. In this chap  
 explicitly indicated as  
 The essential featur  
 What this means is the  
 permutations, insertion  
 can be expressed as h  
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 Musa) allows an adjecti  
 Musa), whereas the com  
*bàbba* 'big mosquito ne  
 mosquito). In the phras  
 without a change in mea  
*fitsārin-gwaurō* 'type of  
 allow gapping but compo  
*jan kēke dà kōrè* 'I pref  
 red.L-mouth) one cannot

°AN: It needs to be  
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Some, but not all compou  
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 'baseball cap, brimmed h  
 define compounds because  
 case in English), e.g., r  
 compositional idiomatic  
 phonological level, one fir  
 vowel length, e.g., *gāshin*



y shirt?

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atà?

## 16. Compounds

COMPOUNDS are sequences of two or more words that are bound together in such a way as to constitute a single word, e.g., **farāṅ-hùlā** (lit. white.L cap) 'civilian'. (In literal glosses, the bound genitive linker (-n / -Ḟ), which often can be translated as 'of', is indicated simply as L.) Polymorphemic words that are built with grammatical morphemes, e.g., **kōwā** 'everyone' < **kō** 'or' plus **wā** 'who?', are treated elsewhere and are not included in this chapter. Standard orthography is inconsistent in the representation of compounds: some are written as single words, some as separate words, and some with hyphens. In this chapter only, I have made use of hyphens throughout so that the compounds are explicitly indicated as such regardless of the orthographic practice.

The essential feature that distinguishes compounds from similar phrases is their "lexical integrity." What this means is that the components of the compound necessarily appear *as is* without permitting permutations, insertions, substitutions, or deletions. For example, the phrase **farāṅ hùlā** 'white cap' can be expressed as **hùlā farā**, with a postnominal adjective, whereas the compound **farāṅ-hùlā** 'civilian' allows only the adjective-noun order. The phrase **gidan Mūsā** 'Musa's house' (lit. house.L Musa) allows an adjectival insertion, e.g., **gidā bābba na Mūsā** 'Musa's big house' (lit. house big of Musa), whereas the compound **gidan-saurō** 'mosquito net' does not, i.e., one must say **gidan-saurō bābba** 'big mosquito net' (lit. house.L-mosquito big) not **\*\*gidā bābba na saurō** (lit. house big of mosquito). In the phrase **fitsārin tsōhō** 'the old man's urine', one can substitute the synonym **bawāli** without a change in meaning, i.e., **bawālin tsōhō**, but this substitution is not allowed in the compound **fitsārin-gwaurō** 'type of boil on knee' (lit. urine.L bachelor), not **\*\*bawālin-gwaurō**. Finally, phrases allow gapping but compounds do not, e.g., with the phrase **jan kēke** 'red bicycle' one can say **nā fi sōn jan kēke dà kōfē** 'I prefer a red bicycle to a green (one)', but with the compound **jan-bāki** 'lipstick' (lit. red.L-mouth) one cannot say **\*\*nā fi sōn jan-bāki dà kōfē** 'I prefer lipstick to green.'

°AN: It needs to be pointed out that, notwithstanding the above factors, the exact dividing line between loose, semantically transparent compounds and close-knit phrases is not always so easy to determine. In this sense, Hausa is not different from English, where some items are clearly compounds, some are clearly phrases, and some, e.g., note pad, record player, or window washer, are debatable.

Some, but not all compounds, have clearly distinctive semantic and/or phonological characteristics. At the semantic end of the spectrum, one finds compounds that are semantically noncompositional in relation to the component parts, e.g., **kāren-mōtā** 'driver's mate' (lit. dog.L vehicle), **hānā-sallā** 'baseball cap, brimmed hat' (lit. prevent prayer). Note that this feature, however, does not uniquely define compounds because (a) there are compounds that are semantically transparent (as is sometimes the case in English), e.g., **rīgār-ruwa** 'raincoat' (lit. coat.L rain) and (b) there are semantically non-compositional idiomatic phrases, e.g., **jan aikì** 'difficult task' (lit. red.L work) = **aikì jā**. At the phonological level, one finds that some compounds are overtly marked, primarily by means of tone and vowel length, e.g., **gāshin-bāki** 'mustache' (lit. hair.L mouth), where 'hair' is normally **gāshì** with H-L

tone and mouth is normally **bàki** with a long final vowel, whereas others are not, e.g., **farāf-kaśā** 'whitewash', which is indistinguishable on the surface from **farāf kaśā** (= **kaśā farā**) 'white earth'.

Compounds can be looked at from two main perspectives, namely, external, i.e., the syntactic class and related grammatical features of the output, and internal, i.e., the morpho-syntactic structure and phonological characteristics of the compound per se.

## 1. EXTERNAL: PART OF SPEECH

### 1.1. Nouns

Approximately 95% of Hausa compounds (regardless of their internal structure) are nouns, e.g.,

<b>àbòkin-gàbà</b>	opponent (friend.L-enmity)
<b>ban-gàskiyā</b>	trust (giving.L-truth)
<b>farin-cikì</b>	happiness (white.L-belly)
<b>hàná-karya</b>	hair grown under the lower lip (prevent-lying)
<b>hùlaf-kwānò</b>	helmet (cap.L-bowl)

#### 1.1.1. Gender

All compound nouns have gender. The gender is determined in three (perhaps four) different ways.

1.1.1.1. Sex reference. Compounds referring to humans (or other animates) have variable gender based on the sex of the real-world referent. The compounds formed with **ɗan** 'son/psn.of' have corresponding feminine forms with **'yaŋ**. Morphologically, compounds with **àbòkin** 'friend.of' might be expected to allow corresponding feminines with **àbòkiyaŋ**, but they rarely do. This is because in traditional Hausa culture, men do not have female friends, and the word for a woman's female friend is not **àbòkiyaŋ**, but rather **kaŋwā**, which does not enter into compounds. The other compounds are invariant in shape, the gender showing up in agreement rules, pronoun substitution, etc. Examples:

<b>ɗan-hayà</b>	male tenant / <b>'yaŋ-hayà</b> female tenant
<b>ɗan-kwàyā</b>	drug user (male) / <b>'yaŋ-kwàyā</b> drug user (female)
<b>àbòkin-wàsà</b>	playmate (male) / <b>àbòkiyaŋ-wàsà</b> female cross cousin
<b>àbòkin-aikì</b>	coworker, colleague (not <b>**àbòkiyaŋ aikì</b> )
<b>idòn-sanì</b>	acquaintance (male or female) (eye.L-knowing)
<b>tàttàbà-kunne</b>	great-grandchild (male or female) (touch repeatedly-ear)

e.g., **tàttàbà-kunnen Sàlè yā/tā shā ràuni** Sale's great-grandchild (m./f.) he/she was hurt.

1.1.1.2. Head determined. The gender of compound nouns of the form NP.L + X and Adj.L + NP is determined by the gender of the head noun. (In the Adj.L + NP compounds, the head noun also determines the gender of the adjective.) Examples:

(1) [ [fìtilàŋ]f [kwai]m ]f lamp.L egg 'hurricane lamp'	[ [makāfantaŋ]f [àllò]m ]f school.L slate 'Koranic school'
[ [kwan]m [fìtilà]f ]m egg.L lamp 'light bulb'	[ [tùràren]m [wutā]f ]m scent.L fire 'incense'
(2) [ [bakāf]f [zūciyā]f ]f black.L heart 'wickedness'	[ [farāf]f [kaśā]f ]f white.L earth 'whitewash'
[ [baŋin]m [māi]m ]m black.L oil 'engine oil'	[ [jan]m [karfè]m ]m red.L iron 'copper'

#### 1.1.1.3. Hyponymy by internal structure gender of some other

Compound (gender)	
<b>hàná-sallà</b> (f.)	'ba
prevent-prayer	
<b>gàgàrà-gàsa</b> (m.)	'
defy-competition	
<b>gàì-dà-yàya</b> (m.)	'
greet-elder sister	
<b>mashà-ruwā</b> (m.)	'
one who drinks-rain	
<b>fàdì-tàshi</b> (f.)	'strug
fall-rise	
<b>dàfà-dukà</b> (f.)	'jollo
cook-all	

°AN: The comp  
transportation. (I  
the kitchen sink'  
'vehicle'.

As is often the case w  
not in the overt shape  
stabilizer or adjective

**hàná-sallà cē**  
**gàì-dà-yàya kàrami**  
**kwan-fìtilà yā fashè**

The only exception is  
(-n/-f 'not f./f.') may b  
the compound as a wh

**kwan-fìtilàrsà kàrami**  
**gàì-dà-yàyaŋ = gàì-d**

1.1.1.4. Masculine de  
found—compounds ap

**fàdà-wuta** (m.)  
**fàsà-kwàri** (m.)  
[Note: Tree names in g  
**hàná-màkarà** (m.)  
**shà-jini** (m.)  
**ban-hàkuri** (m.)

1.1.1.3. Hyponymy, analogy, or semantic association. With other compounds gender is determined not by internal structure but by semantic connection between the referent of the compound as such and the gender of some other word, e.g.,

Compound (gender)		Referent (gender)
<b>hàná-sallà</b> (f.) 'baseball cap' prevent-prayer	is a type of	<b>hùlā</b> (f.) 'cap'
<b>gàgàrà-gàsa</b> (m.) 'special fabric' defy-competition	is a type of	<b>yādì</b> (m.) 'fabric'
<b>gàì-dà-yàya</b> (m.) 'type of dish' greet-elder sister	is a type of	<b>kwānò</b> (m.) 'dish'
<b>mashà-ruwā</b> (m.) 'rainbow' one who drinks-rain	is a type of	<b>bākā</b> (m.) 'arc'
<b>fàdì-tàshi</b> (f.) 'struggle, effort' fall-rise	is a type of	<b>gwagwārmayà</b> (f.) 'struggle'
<b>dàfà-dukà</b> (f.) 'jollof rice' cook-all	is a type of	<b>shìnkāfā</b> (f.) 'rice'

°AN: The compound **dàfà-dukà** also denotes a station wagon van used for commercial transportation. (This is in reference to the passengers all squashed in together, i.e., 'everyone and the kitchen sink'.) With this meaning it is also feminine because it represents a type of **mōtā** (f.) 'vehicle'.

As is often the case with noncompound nouns, the intrinsic gender of items such as the above shows up not in the overt shape or internal make-up of the compound, but rather in agreement rules (e.g., with the stabilizer or adjectives or pronouns), e.g.,

<b>hàná-sallà cē</b>	It is a baseball cap. (f. STAB)
<b>gàì-dà-yàya kàramì</b>	a small dish (m. adj.)
<b>kwan-ffitilā yā fashè</b>	The light bulb broke. (m. wsp)

The only exception is the bound genitive linker (and segmentally identical definite article) whose form (-n/-r 'not f./f.') may be determined by the gender of the last item in the compound rather than by that of the compound as a whole (see discussion in §43:2.1.1), e.g.,

<b>kwan-ffitilārsà kàramì</b>	his small light bulb
<b>gàì-dà-yàyāf̄ = gàì-dà-yàyān</b>	the small dish

1.1.1.4. Masculine default. If there is no semantic basis for the assignment—and one can usually be found—compounds appear to be assigned masculine gender by default, e.g.,

<b>fàdā-wuta</b> (m.)	moth (lit. fall into-fire)
<b>fàsà-kwàri</b> (m.)	spice-bark tree (lit. break-quiver (of arrows)).
[Note: Tree names in general are sometimes m. and sometimes f.]	
<b>hàná-màkarà</b> (m.)	rattle/chimes serving as an alarm clock (lit. prevent-lateness)
<b>shā-jìni</b> (m.)	plant used as headache medicine (lit. drink-blood)
<b>ban-hàkuri</b> (m.)	apology (lit. giving.of-patience)

## 1.1.2. Plurality

1.1.2.1. Compounds of the structure N.L + X can be pluralized by pluralizing the initial noun, e.g., *rīgāf-ruwa* 'raincoat', pl. *rīgūnān-ruwa* 'raincoats'. Examples:

<i>ɗan-fashì dà makāmi</i> / 'yan-fashì dà makāmi	armed robber(s)
<i>ɗan-kunne</i> / 'yan-kunne	earring(s)
<i>àbōkin-wàsā</i> / <i>àbōkan-wàsā</i>	playmate(s)
<i>kān-sarki</i> / <i>kāwunān-sarki</i>	postage stamp(s) (lit. head(s).L-king)
<i>wàsan-kwaikwayō</i> / <i>wàsānnin-kwaikwayō</i>	play(s), drama(s)
<i>mūgūn-dawà</i> / <i>mūggan-dawà</i>	wart hog(s) (lit. evil one(s).L-the bush)

°AN: Interestingly, *mūggan-dawà* is the preferred plural form for the compound even for speakers who otherwise use *mūgāyē* as the plural of *mūgū* 'evil, ugly'.

In a few cases, both members of a compound pluralize, e.g.,

<i>ɗan-jāfīdā</i> / 'yan-jāfīdū	newspaper reporter(s)
<i>ɗan-kwālī</i> / 'yan-kwālāyē	head scarf/head scarves

1.1.2.2. Most compounds with the structure Adj.L + N do not undergo overt pluralization. Those that do pluralize generally inflect the adjective only while keeping the head noun in its singular form. A few loose compounds pluralize both parts.

<i>farāf-hūlā</i> / <i>farāren-hūlā</i>	civilian(s) (lit. white.L-cap(s))
<i>kāramin-ālhakī</i> / <i>kānānān-ālhakī</i>	a nonentity/nonentities (lit. small.L-being)
<i>bābbā-rīgā</i> / <i>mānyan-rīgūnā</i>	full gown(s) (lit. big.L-gown(s))
<i>baḳāf-māgānā</i> / <i>baḳāfēn-māgāngānū</i>	insult(s) (lit. black.L-talk)
<i>sābōn-shiga</i> / <i>sābbin-shiga</i>	recruit(s) (lit. new.L-enter)

°AN: The normal plural of *sābō* 'new' is *sābābbi*. In the compound, however, the truncated variant is preferred.

1.1.2.3. Other compounds do not overtly inflect for number. As with unmarked gender, semantic number is overtly shown by concord phenomena, e.g.,

<i>bābbā-dā-jākā baḳī</i> / <i>bābbā-dā-jākā baḳāḳē</i>	black maribou stork(s)
<i>wata hānā-sallā</i> / <i>wasu hānā-sallā</i>	a/some baseball cap(s)

1.1.2.4. A few erstwhile compounds have become so fused that they are now treated as ordinary non-compound nouns. As a result, these words now take regular suffixal plurals, e.g.,

<i>magātākārdā</i> (< <i>magā-takārdā</i> one who sees-paper) / <i>magātākārdū</i>	scribe(s)
<i>sāḳākā</i> (< <i>sā-ḳākā</i> put-in room) / <i>sāḳākōki</i>	concubine(s)
<i>shūgābā</i> (< <i>shīg-gāba</i> enter-in front) / <i>shūgābānni</i>	leader(s)

°HN: Another possible example is *garwā* (< \**gā-ruwā* 'here is-water') / *garèwani* 'four-gallon kerosene can(s)'. It is not certain, however, that this oft-cited etymology is in fact valid. It may be—although I have my doubts—but if so, then it has to be a very old creation, witness not only

the unproductive plural or masculine most often in ɗ

## 1.2. Adjectives

There are only some 'water'.L-X'. Example

(a) *ruwan-azūffā* s  
*ruwan-gōfō* orange  
powder); *ruwan-ka*  
mahogany colored (<  
(-ashes); *ruwan-zi*  
(b) *awōn-igiyā* extr  
die); *ci-mā-zāune*  
*ḍūkān-shāhō* ment  
*gāgārā-kōyo* myste  
town); *innā-rūdūdū*  
go); *tāshin-kauyē*  
*tābā-kā-lāshē* insu  
complexioned (of a b

When used attributive  
number or gender. If

*wāndō* ɗinkin-kēke  
*rīgā yin-hannu*  
*wasu yārā wankan-t*  
*wani mūtūm shā-kā*  
*yārō gājērē ḍūkān-l*  
*hūlā kāramā ruwan-*

## 1.3. Adverbs

There are only some  
whether they constitut

*bāḳin-bāḳāḳā* many  
and-nose); *hannū-Ra*  
*fātā* adamantly (head  
*karī* right on time (he  
poured); *karfi-dā-yā*  
*jāllo* desperately (wa  
*shēkarān-cittā* five d  
after.L yesterday); *tā*  
halfway through (mid  
(middle.L-day); *tsay*  
(senior brother.L-day

the unproductive è...**ani** plural formation but also the feminine gender (cf. **ruwā**, which is either plural or masculine). Note that there does exist a compound **gà-ruwa** 'water selling', which is used most often in **ɗan /'yan gà-ruwa** 'water-seller(s)'.

### 1.2. Adjectives

There are only some twenty compound adjectives, half of which are of the type **ruwan-X** 'color (lit. water).L-X'. Examples:

- (a) **ruwan-azũřfā** silver colored, metallic colored (< -silver); **ruwan-ɗòrawà** yellow (< -locust bean); **ruwan-gõřò** orange (< -kolanut); **ruwan-gwál** gold colored (< -gold); **ruwan-hòdà** pink (< -face powder); **ruwan-ƙasā** brown (< -earth); **ruwan-ƙwai** yellow-orange (< -egg (yolk)); **ruwan-màkubà** mahogany colored (< -mahogany); **ruwan-madařā** milky white (< -milk); **ruwan-tòkà** gray (< -ashes); **ruwan-zināřè** gold colored (< -gold)
- (b) **awòn-igiyà** extremely tall/long (measure.L-rope); **ci-ƙāř-ƙà-mutù** tasteless (food) (eat-don't-you-die); **cì-mà-zàune** lazy, jobless (eat-even-seated); **dùƙàn-iskà** mentally ill (beating.L-spirits); **dùƙàn-shàhò** mentally ill (beating.L-hawk); **ɗínƙìn-ƙèke** machine-sewn (sewing.L-machine); **gàgàrà-ƙòyo** mysterious, hard to learn (defy-learning); **gàmà-gari** common, ordinary (combine-town); **innà-rùdùdù** unruly (of crowd) (spirit-scattered movement); **shā-ƙà-tàfi** stupid (drink-you-go); **tāshìn-ƙauyè** ill-mannered (getting up.L-village); **yìn-hannu** handmade (doing.L (by) hand); **tàbā-ƙà-lāshè** insufficient (esp. tasty food) (taste-you-lick up); **wankan-tařwadā** medium complexioned (of a black psn) (washing.L-mudfish)

When used attributively these compound adjectives occur only postnominally. They do not inflect for number or gender. If they co-occur with a simple adjective, the simple adjective goes first, e.g.,

<b>wàndò ɗínƙìn-ƙèke</b>	machine-sewn trousers
<b>řìgā yìn-hannu</b>	handmade shirt
<b>wasu yāřā wankan-tařwadā</b>	some medium-complexioned boys
<b>wani mùtùm shā-ƙà-tàfi</b>	a stupid man
<b>yāřò gājērè dùƙàn-iskà</b>	a short, mentally ill boy (lit. boy short mentally-ill)
<b>hùlā ƙāramā ruwan-ƙasā</b>	a small brown cap (lit. cap small brown)

### 1.3. Adverbs

There are only some twenty or so compound adverbs. With a number of them, it is not entirely clear whether they constitute true lexical compounds or whether they are close-knit phrases. Examples:

**bàɗin-bàɗɗà** many years hence (next year.L-bàɗɗà (ideophone)); **bàƙi-dà-hancì** nearby (mouth-and-nose); **hannū-Rabbānā** empty-handed (hand-God); **idò-dà-idò** face to face (eye-and-eye); **ƙàl-dà-fātà** adamantly (head-and-skin); **ƙàl-tsàye** straight ahead, without hesitation (head-standing); **ƙàn-ƙarì** right on time (head.L-happening); **ƙarā-zùbe** in a disorganized manner, randomly (cornstalks-poured); **ƙarfi-dà-yājì** forcefully (strength-and-spice); **ràbà-tsakà** halfway (divide-middle); **ruwā-à-jàllò** desperately (water-at-gourd bottle); **sanìn-shānū** casually (re. knowing s.o.) (knowing.L-cattle); **shēkarān-città** five days hence (day after.L four days hence); **shēkarānjjiyà** day before yesterday (day after.L yesterday); **tàƙānas-ta-Kanò** purposely (purpose-of-Kano); **tsàƙà-tsakì** in the middle of, halfway through (middle-middle); **tsakař-darè** midnight (lit. middle.L-night); **tsakař-rānā** noon (middle.L-day); **tsayin-dakà** with resolve (standing.L-pounding); **wān-shēkarè** the following day (senior brother.L-day after?)

°AN: The essential meaning of *shēkarè* is hard to determine because it never occurs except in compounds, but it would appear to designate the next day following a specified day. (It may be related to *shēkarà* 'year', but the semantic connection is not evident.) Its use both in *shēkaran-jiyà* 'day before yesterday' and *shēkaràn-città* 'day after four days hence' makes sense if one takes a linear perspective moving from the present, the temporal center, outward toward the past or the future, i.e., the day *before* yesterday, for example, is the next day one gets to *after* having passed yesterday. The final high tone on *shēkaran-* in *shēkaranjiyà* is due to the phonological fusion of the two elements of the compound into a single unit.

Here are a few examples in context:

<i>yanà nēman aikì ruwā-à-jállò</i>	He is desperately looking for work.
<i>yāròn yā shìga gidán kái-tsàye</i>	The boy entered the house straightaway.
<i>sun isò shēkaran-jiyà</i>	They arrived the day before yesterday.

#### 1.4. Verbs

There are no compound verbs in the strict sense of the term, i.e., one does not have compounds that constitute distinct verbal entities with the lexical integrity that characterizes words qua words. There are, on the other hand, phrasal verbs, primarily formed with the preposition *dà* 'with' or some other grammatical formative, e.g., *lūrā dà* 'look after', *ci karò (dà)* 'run/bump into someone' (lit. eat collision with), *yi ta* 'keep on doing' (lit. do via), and there are many fixed idiomatic verb phrases (see chap. 36), e.g., *karyà kùmallò* 'have breakfast' (lit. break nausea), *zubà idò* 'wait in great anticipation' (lit. pour eye), *cikà bàki* 'boast' (lit. fill mouth).

°AN: The expression *ci gàba* 'proceed, progress' (lit. eat front) is so common that it can almost be considered a compound verb; but even this can be shown to be phrasal. It can, for example, be broken up by a modal particle, e.g., *ci fa gàba na cè* 'I really told you to continue', and in nonfinite environments the verb is altered into the its corresponding verbal noun, e.g., *sunà cí gàba dà bincikè* 'They were proceeding with the investigation.' The corresponding noun *ci-gàba* 'civilization, progress', on the other does appear to constitute a discrete lexical compound.

## 2. INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF COMPOUNDS

Compounds display a wide variety of internal structures, from simple two-word compounds to full sentences. The three most common structural types are: (a) N.L + N/Adv, (b) Adj.L + N, and (c) V + N/Adv. Other common types are (d) phrases with *dà* 'and/with' or other connectors, (e) simple juxtaposition, (f) agential formations, and (g) full sentences.

### 2.1. Noun-linked compounds (N.L + X)

The most common compound type by far has the structure of a regular N.L + X genitive phrase (i.e., noun of X) where the form of the linker (L) depends on the gender and number of the head noun (-*f* for feminines ending in -*a(a)*, -*n* for others). The linker always takes the zero vowel form (i.e., -*f*/*n*, not *\*\*ta/na*), e.g., *ciwòn-zūciyā* (sickness.L-heart) 'heart attack'; *tàwadāf-Allāh* (ink.L-God) 'dark pigment on skin'. The initial noun is either (a) a common noun or (b) a verbal noun. The X is either [i] a noun (or noun phrase) or a sentence, or [ii] an adverb (or, in just a few cases, an ideophone or a numeral). Note that the X is commonly an adverbial form of a noun (see §5:3.1), even though from the translation one might expect to find a common noun, e.g., *kishìn-zūci* (N.L-adv) (desire.L-at heart) 'drive, determination', not *\*\*kishìn-zūciyā* (N.L-N) 'desire of the heart'. Examples:

(a) [i] *d'an-sàndá*  
*àbòkin-gàbá*  
*àllon-káfadà*  
*βéfan-masàf*  
*bàrkònon-tsòhuwá*  
*cácaf-bàki*  
*dòkar-tá-βáci*  
*kujèraf-ná-ki*  
*karfin-gwíwá*  
*uwaf-kudí*  
 [ii] *βaràwòn-zàune*  
*jirgin-ruwa*  
*kishìn-zūci*  
*ròmón-bakà*  
*gàrin-budus*  
*kāyan-afas*  
*'yan-biyu*  
*zàkaràn-wuyà*  
 (b) [i] *bìn-watá*  
*ban-káshi*  
*cín-fuská*  
*dúkàn-iská*  
*harbìn-àllūrà*  
*jān-rágó*  
*kāmùn-kafà*  
*són-zūciyā*  
 [ii] *awòn-gàba*  
*hàngen-nésà*  
*ganin-kwaf*  
*βatàn-βàkàtantàn*

A few N.L + X compounds  
*\*bāyan-d'ákì* (lit. behind  
 panegyrist'; *san-girmā*  
 Most compounds of  
 'Adam's apple' or *yín-h*  
 the length of the vowel  
 compounds of this type  
 short final vowel on the  
 in other structural types.

*fàrin-shiga*  
*gàshìn-bàki*  
*jàkìn-dòki*  
*kàn-táfi*  
*bàron-dàuro*  
*d'an-wàke*

(a) [i] <i>ɗan-sàndā</i>	policeman	(son.L-stick)
<i>àbòkin-gàbā</i>	enemy, foe	(friend.L-enmity)
<i>àllon-kâfàɗà</i>	shoulder blade	(slate.L-shoulder)
<i>fiēfan-masār</i>	guineapig	(mouse.L-Egypt)
<i>bàf̄kònon-tsòhuwā</i>	teargas	(pepper.L-old woman)
<i>cācār-bàki</i>	argument	(gambling.L-mouth)
<i>dòkaɗ-tā-ḡāci</i>	state of emergency	(law.L-it-spoiled)
<i>kujèraɗ-nā-ḡi</i>	veto	(chair.L-I-refuse)
<i>ḡarfin-gwɗwā</i>	courage, encouragement	(strength.L-knee)
<i>uwaf-kudɗi</i>	principal (money)	(mother.L-money)
[ii] <i>ḡarāwòn-zàune</i>	a "fence"	(thief.L-seated)
<i>jirgin-ruwa</i>	ship	(vehicle.L -in water)
<i>kishin-zūci</i>	drive, determination	(desire.L-at heart)
<i>ròmón-bakà</i>	sweet talk, false promises	(broth.L-in mouth)
<i>ḡarin-budɗus</i>	ground corn	(flour.L- <b>buɗɗus</b> [emphasizes fineness])
<i>kāyan-aḡas</i>	ceramic plates, etc.	(goods.L- <b>aḡas</b> [breaking sound])
<i>'yan-biyu</i>	twins	(children.L-two)
<i>zàkaràn-wuyà</i>	Adam's apple	(rooster.L-at neck)
(b) [i] <i>bìn-watà</i>	menstruation	(following.L-month)
<i>ban-kāshì</i>	punishment	(giving.L-excrement)
<i>cín-fuskà</i>	humiliation, insult	(eating.L-face)
<i>dūkàn-iskà</i>	mentally ill	(beating.L-demon)
<i>harbìn-àllūrà</i>	evil magic	(shooting.L-needle)
<i>jân-ràgò</i>	snoring	(pulling.L ram)
<i>kāmùn-ḡafà</i>	lobbying	(holding.L foot)
<i>són-zūciyā</i>	selfishness, greed	(liking.L-heart)
[ii] <i>awòn-gàba</i>	head start	(weighing.L-front)
<i>hàngen-nesà</i>	foresight, forecast	(espying.L-afar)
<i>ganin-ḡwaf</i>	inquisitiveness	(seeing.L- <b>ḡwaf</b> [looking about])
<i>ḡatàn-ḡakàtantàn</i>	loss of both of two opportunities	(losing.L- <b>ḡakàtantàn</b> [carelessness])

A few N.L + X compounds make use of a short, compressed form of the first noun, e.g., *ban-ɗàkì* < \**bāyan-ɗàkì* (lit. behind the room) 'toilet'; *san-ḡirā* < \**sarkin ḡirā* (lit. chief of smithing) 'head panegyrist'; *san-girmā* < *saurin girmā* (lit. speed of growing) 'growth spurt in children'.

Most compounds of the N.L + X type are phonologically unmarked. Some, such as *zàkaràn-wuyà* 'Adam's apple' or *yîn-hannu* 'handmade', appear at first sight to be marked by a short final vowel, but the length of the vowel is actually due to the second word being an adverb. There are, however, some compounds of this type that are in fact marked. Some of these have a L-L tone on the first word and a short final vowel on the last, a feature combination characteristic of phonologically marked compounds in other structural types. A few only have final vowel shortening without the tone change. Examples:

<i>fārìn-shìgā</i>	novice (cf. <i>fārì</i> beginning, <i>shìgā</i> entering)
<i>ḡāshìn-bàki</i>	mustache (cf. <i>ḡāshì</i> hair, <i>bàki</i> mouth)
<i>jākìn-dòkì</i>	mule (cf. <i>jàki</i> donkey, <i>dòkì</i> horse)
<i>kàn-tàfi</i>	carrying something on upturned palm (cf. <i>kái</i> head, <i>tàfi</i> palm)
<i>bàḡon-dàuro</i>	measles (cf. <i>bàḡō</i> stranger, <i>dàurō</i> type of millet)
<i>ɗan-wāke</i>	small dumplings made of bean flour (cf. <i>wākē</i> black-eyed peas)

<sup>o</sup>AN: At one time, it was thought that vowel shortening in and of itself was a regular marker of compounds (cf. Gouffé 1965). This turns out to be inexact. Vowel shortening is found in compounds, but it interacts with and is dependent upon tone changes and structural class.

There are a couple of compounds with the linker **na/ta** where the head is an adverb or exclamation:

tàkànas-ta-Kanò purposely                      zūkì-ta-màlle tall tale, blatant lie

### 2.2. Adjective-noun compounds (Adj.L + N)

Some very common compounds have the structure of a prenominal adjective (+ linker) plus a noun. Note that compounds never appear with the alternative N Adj order allowed in normal phrases, i.e., **farañ-hùlā** 'civilian', not **\*\*hùlā farañ** (which only means 'white cap'). The adjectives used in compounds tend to be basic underived words, commonly, but not exclusively, color terms. One example, **gajen-hākuri** 'impatience, impetuousness' (< **gājērē** 'short' + **hākuri** 'impatience'), uses an irregular short form of the adjective. Some three compounds of this type are phonologically marked by means of L tone on the initial adjective and a short vowel at the end. Examples:

(a) <b>bañin-cikì</b>	sadness, jealousy (black-belly)
<b>ɖanyen-kái</b>	savage act/behavior (raw-head)
<b>dōgon-Tūřanci</b>	beating around the bush (long-English language)
<b>farañ-řasā</b>	whitewash (white-earth)
<b>jan-karřè</b>	copper (red-metal)
<b>mūgùn-ɖā</b>	thief (wicked-son)
(b) <b>jàn-bàki</b>	lipstick (cf. <b>jā</b> red, <b>bàki</b> mouth)
<b>jàn-farçè</b>	finger nail polish (cf. <b>jā</b> red, <b>farçè</b> finger nail)
<b>sàbòn-shìga</b>	recruit (cf. <b>sābō</b> new, <b>shìgā</b> entering)

### 2.3. V + X compounds

There are numerous verb-based compounds. The verb is typically followed by a direct object, an adverbial complement, or a **dà** 'with' phrase. These verb-based compounds are of three types. The first type uses a special compound verb form. The second type uses the imperative form of the verb. The third type uses an ordinary infinitive phrase.

#### 2.3.1. Special L-tone compound form

In this structural type, the compound is overtly marked by L tone on the verb and a short final vowel on the last item in the compound, e.g., **hàná-sallā** (prevent-prayer) 'baseball cap'; **zàunà-inuwà** (sit-(in) shade) 'type of dwarf guinea-corn', **kàs-kaifi** (kill-sharpness) 'medicine to serve as protection against sharp weapons'. Unlike noun-initial and adjective-initial compounds, where final vowel shortening is rare, with V + X compounds, it represents the norm. There are some exceptions. First, compounds that have become fused and are now treated synchronically as simple nouns tend to have long final vowels, as is typical of ordinary common nouns, e.g., **jāgōrā** 'guide', from earlier **jāgōrā** (< **jā** 'pull' + **gōrā** 'staff'); **shùgàbā** 'leader, president', from earlier **shùgàba** (< **shìg(a)** 'enter' + **gàba** 'front'). Second, in long or syntactically complex compounds, the final vowel generally preserves its lexical length, e.g., **gàyà-wà-jinī-nā-wucè** 'type of sharp sword' (lit. tell-to-blood-I.comp-pass by).

In addition to the general phonological features of low-tone V + X compounds, individual verb grades have specific characteristics. (a) In compounds, gr0 Ci monoverbs lengthen their vowel, e.g., **cì-fāra** (eat-locust) 'a type of bird', cf. **yā ci fārā** 'It ate locusts.' The result is that all monosyllabic verbs that occur in compounds, whether intrinsic monoverbs or apocopated/shortened disyllabic verbs, are

bimoraic. (b) Verbs that  
invariably appear in  
here left untranslated  
**māganā**). (d) The one  
by a **dà** 'with' phrase  
compounds exhibit the  
object C-form, long e  
long final vowel and  
inexplicably, rare in  
gr1 verbs, i.e., they  
really an irregular gr2

(a) **bà-ta-kāshi**  
**bì-bango**  
**cì-rāni**  
**cì-dà-karfi**  
**gà-ruwa**  
**kì-bugù**  
**sà-māigidā-tsalle**  
**shā-jlbi**  
**bà-duhù**  
**kàs-gaushi**

<sup>o</sup>AN: [i] The verb  
gave me a penny'  
compounds with t  
without overt me  
[ii] The monosyll

(b) **tāfi-dà-gidankā**  
**tùmā-dà-gayyā**  
**tùmā-řasā**  
(c) **ɖād-dà-kāma**  
**gài-dà-yāya**  
**kāu-dà-bāfa**  
(d) **gām-dà-kātaf**  
(e) **āmsā-amo**  
**ɖāndānā-gānda**  
**řasā-kwāuri**  
**gāmā-gāri**  
**řāɖā-wuta**  
**kāryā-gārma**  
**kòmā-bāya**  
**řābā-daidai**  
**řāfā-ido**  
**tākā-tsantsan**  
(f) **dāfā-dukā**  
**gògā-māsu**



bimoraic. (b) Verbs belonging to grade 3 also manifest a long vowel. (c) Grade 5 verbs in compounds invariably appear in the short-form variant, which is always accompanied by the particle **dà** (which is here left untranslated), e.g., **tsài-dà-màganà** (stop-talk) 'hair under the lower lip' (not **\*\*tsàyāf-dà-màganà**). (d) The one grade 7 verb occurring in a compound appears in an apocopated form accompanied by a **dà** 'with' phrase), e.g., **gàm-dà-yāfī** (meet-with-war) 'black stork'. (e) Grade 1 verbs in these compounds exhibit the final vowel alternation found in normal sentences, i.e., short in the pre-direct object C-form, long elsewhere. (f) There are occasional exceptions, namely a few transitive verbs with a long final vowel and a few intransitives with a short vowel. (g) Grade 2 verbs are surprisingly, and inexplicably, rare in this formation type. In the few examples that occur, they function *as if* they were gr1 verbs, i.e., they have final **-a** in the C-form, **-ā** elsewhere. The v\* verb **barī** 'let, allow', which is really an irregular gr2 verb, also appears with short **-a** before its object. Examples:

(a) <b>bā-ta-kāshi</b>	a turmoil, fight, severe combat (give-it-shit)
<b>bì-bango</b>	leakage from the roof along the wall, wall ivy (follow-wall)
<b>cì-rāni</b>	dry season work; migrant labor (eat-dry season)
<b>cì-dà-karfi</b>	hard task/labor (eat-with-strength)
<b>gā-ruwa</b>	selling water in jerry-cans (here is-water)
<b>kì-bugù</b>	a charm that makes a person invincible (refuse-beating)
<b>sà-màigidā-tsalle</b>	type of snack (make-husband-jumping)
<b>shā-jībi</b>	type of undershirt (drink-sweat)
<b>bā-duhù</b>	a charm that makes one invisible (give-darkness)
<b>kàs-gaushi</b>	fat meat (kill-embers)

°AN: [i] The verb **bā** 'give' normally requires a thematic indirect object, e.g., **yā bā ni kwabò** 'He gave me a penny', not **\*\*yā bā kwabò**. 'He gave a penny.' In the compound **bā-duhù** (as well as in compounds with the verbal noun **ban** 'giving'), however, **bā** appears followed by the thing given without overt mention of the recipient.

[ii] The monosyllabic verb **kàs** is a clipped form derived from **kashè** 'kill'.

(b) <b>tāfī-dà-gidankà</b>	mobile (e.g., home, truck) (go-with-your home)
<b>tùmà-dà-gayyà</b>	a biting black ant before the wings have dropped off (jump-with-malice)
<b>tùmà-kasà</b>	crocheted dish cover (jump-to ground)
(c) <b>ḡad-dà-kàma</b>	disguise, camouflage (mislead-appearance)
<b>gāi-dà-yāya</b>	small basin or basket for presents (greet- elder sibling)
<b>kāu-dà-bāra</b>	a charm against attack (avert-aim)
(d) <b>gām-dà-kātaf</b>	good luck (meet-with-luck)
(e) <b>āmsà-amo</b>	loudspeaker (return-sound)
<b>ḡand'ānà-gānd'a</b>	alveolar consonant (taste-palate)
<b>fāsà-kwàuri</b>	smuggling (smash-shins)
<b>gāmà-gāri</b>	common, ordinary thing (combine-town)
<b>fāḡā-wuta</b>	moth (fall into-fire)
<b>kāryà-gārma</b>	deep-rooted plant (break-plough)
<b>kòmà-bāya</b>	reactionary ideology (return-back)
<b>rābà-daidai</b>	equal share (divide-exactly)
<b>rūfā-ido</b>	magic (close-at eye)
<b>tākà-tsantsan</b>	caution (tread-carefully)
(f) <b>dāfā-dukà</b>	Jollof rice; Peugeot station wagon used as intercity taxi (cook-all)
<b>gògà-māsu</b>	type of weed (rub-swords)

<b>zàunà-gàri-banzā</b>	idle/unemployed psn (sit-town-useless)
(g) <b>ɗàukà-wuyà</b>	carrying someone on the shoulders (carry-on neck) (< <b>ɗàukà</b> v2 carry)
<b>gàgàrà-gàsa</b>	outstanding psn or thing (defy-competition) (< <b>gàgàrà</b> v2 defy)
<b>hàràrà-garkè</b>	an eye syndrome (glance-flock) (< <b>hàràrà</b> v2 glance sideways)
<b>bàrà-gurbi</b>	unhatched egg ignored by hen (leave-hatching place) (< <b>barì</b> v* leave)

### 2.3.2. Imperative verb form

Numerous compounds are built on the imperative form of the verb. Some of these are simple compounds with the verb followed by a direct object noun, an adverb, or an ideophone. Some are expanded by a **dà** 'with' phrases. Others are composed of an imperative plus an imperative or an imperative plus a command in the subjunctive.

A number of the imperative verbs appear with final -i without an object expressed, e.g., **kwànci-tàshi** 'slowly, day by day'. With verbs belonging to grades 2 and 3b, the compound form is identical to the normal imperative form, e.g., **sàri!** 'Slash (it)!'; **tàshi!** 'Get up!' With gr1 and gr3 verbs, however, the final -i represents either a rhyming vowel or an archaic imperative marker that is no longer functional outside of fixed compounds (cf. **kwànci** in the compound **kwànci-tàshi** with the regular gr1 imperative **kwàntā!** 'Lie down!').

Unlike the compounds above, where the final vowel is usually short, the final vowel in these imperative verb-based compounds generally preserves the lexical vowel length. Examples:

<b>dàgùri-gùrzau</b>	charm for invulnerability (dig up-strong man)
<b>sàri-kutuf</b>	an old gecko (slash-very old)
<b>sàkò-tumāki</b>	simpleton (release-sheep) [short final vowel!]
<b>bāf-ni-dà-mùgù</b>	pimples in adolescents (leave-me-with-ugliness)
<b>fāḍi-kà-mutù</b>	chinaware, dish (fall-you-die)
<b>sā-dà-kūkā</b>	tight bracelet put on wrist with help of soap (put-with-crying)
<b>jè-ka-dà-kwàrinkā</b>	type of marriage (go-you-with-your bow and arrows)
<b>sàu-ta-gà-wāwā</b>	beautiful girl divorced soon after marriage (release-her-to-foolishness)
<b>bàlàgi-tsindīf</b>	precocious child (grow up-tsindīf (emphasizes quickness)) (< <b>bàlagà</b> v3)
<b>dàki-bàri</b>	strong and reliable thing (pound-leave)
<b>gùntsi-fèsār</b>	type of medicine (take sip-spray out)
<b>shāci-fāḍi</b>	wild guess, rumors (outline-tell)
<b>tsùgùni-tàshi</b>	struggle (squat-get up) (< <b>tsugùnā</b> v1)
<b>ci-ka-kà-mutù</b>	tasteless food (eat-don't-you-die)
<b>tabā-kà-lāshè</b>	insufficient, esp. tasty food (taste-you-lick)

°AN: In normal usage, transitive gr1 verbs have L-L tone in the imperative before a direct object noun, e.g., **dāfā shinkāfā!** 'Cook rice!' Thus, many of the examples included in the special L-L category such as **hàná-sallā** (prevent-prayer) 'baseball cap' might seem to belong here. I have put them in the special category for two reasons. First, they pattern with the special L-L forms in having a final short vowel on the noun that follows. Second, the corresponding intransitive gr1 verbs found in compounds also have L-L tone whereas they would be expected to have L-H tone if they were imperatives.

In a few cases, the imperative clause is preceded by mention of an addressee, e.g.,

<b>yàwō-dàḍō-miyà</b>	a wide-sleeved blouse (bride-increase-soup)
<b>mālām-bùḍā-manà-littāfi</b>	butterfly (teacher-open-for.us-book)

### 2.3.3. Infinitives

Some ten or so compounds appear in its basic form. These compounds pre-

<b>bajè-kòli</b>
<b>ɗaurè-fuskā</b>
<b>iyà-shégè</b>
<b>rabà-màkàhò-dà-gò</b>
<b>sā-hannū</b>
<b>sādà-zumunci</b>
<b>shā-jinin-marà-gātā</b>
<b>wāsà-ḥwakwalwā</b>

### 2.4. Phrasal compounds

There are a good number of compounds formed with **bā** 'with' modifications in tone

<b>bābbā-dà-jākā</b>
<b>karò-dà-gōmā</b>
<b>màcè-dà-gōyò</b>
<b>ḥarfi-dà-yājì</b>
<b>yārì-dà-jāhilcì</b>
<b>sùbùl-dà-bakā</b>
<b>bāya-bā-zanè</b>
<b>kànāfi-bā-kējì</b>
<b>shigā-bā-biyā</b>
<b>kuturū-à-wāfā</b>
<b>ruwā-à-jállò</b>

°AN: The adjective 'Big', however, has

### 2.5. Juxtaposed compounds

A small number of compounds are juxtaposed without the exhibit L-L tone on the juxtaposed compound

<b>[i] bindigà-dāḍi</b>
<b>birì-bòkò</b>
<b>kōwā-mālām</b>
<b>kwānā-rawā</b>
<b>sārā-sùkà</b>
<b>zārì-banzā</b>
<b>kāmā-fùbùtu</b>

## 2.3.3. Infinitives

Some ten or so compounds have the structure of an infinitive phrase (see §40:1), i.e., the verb stem appears in its basic form even though there is no preceding PAC (person-aspect-complex). All words in these compounds preserve their lexical tone and vowel length. Examples:

<b>bajè-kòlì</b>	trade fair (spread-wares)
<b>ɖaurè-fuskà</b>	scowling (tie-face)
<b>iyà-shēgè</b>	inconsiderate, unacceptable behavior (abusive term) (be able-bastard)
<b>rabà-màkàhò-dà-gòrà</b>	a dirty trick, cheating, deception (separate-blind man-from-staff)
<b>sà-hannū</b>	signature (put-hand)
<b>sàdà-zumuncì</b>	keeping family ties (connect-family relationship)
<b>shā-jinin-marà-gātā</b>	wearing a cap low on the forehead (suffer-blood.of-lacking-support)
<b>wàsà-kwakwalwā</b>	riddle, puzzle (sharpen-brains)

## 2.4. Phrasal compounds

There are a good number of phrasal compounds formed using the connector **dà** 'and, with' and a few formed with **bá** 'without, there is not' or **à** 'at'. These compounds are not overtly marked by modifications in tone or final vowel length. Examples:

<b>bàbbà-dà-jàkà</b>	maribou stork (Mr. Big-with-bag)
<b>karò-dà-gòmà</b>	brave person (collision-with-ten)
<b>màcè-dà-gōyō</b>	snap fastener (woman-with-baby on back)
<b>karfi-dà-yājì</b>	forcefully (strength-and-spice)
<b>yākì-dà-jāhilcì</b>	adult literacy program (war-with-ignorance)
<b>sùbùl-dà-bakà</b>	slip of the tongue (slipperiness-with-at mouth)
<b>bāya-bá-zanè</b>	false security, false confidence (at back-without-cloth)
<b>kànāfi-bá-kējì</b>	prostitute (canary-without-cage)
<b>shìgà-bá-biyà</b>	caged police van (entering-without-paying)
<b>kuturū-à-wafā</b>	type of rubber shoe (leper-at-Wapa [name of a night club])
<b>ruwā-à-jállō</b>	desperately (water-at-bottle)

°AN: The adjective **bàbba** 'big' has a short final vowel; the corresponding proper name **Bàbbà** 'Mr. Big', however, has a long final vowel, which is reflected here.

## 2.5. Juxtaposed compounds

A small number of compounds are made up of two words (nouns or verbal nouns) that are directly juxtaposed without the use of a linker. Some preserve the phonological shape of the input words; others exhibit L-L tone on the initial word plus final vowel shortening. There are also a few ideophone-initial juxtaposed compounds. Examples:

<b>[i] bindigà-dādī</b>	trigger-happy (gun pleasantness)
<b>birì-bōkò</b>	big but ineffective psn or thing (monkey-trickery)
<b>kōwā-mālām</b>	a type of leather slipper (everyone-teacher)
<b>kwānā-rawā</b>	tinkling ear-pendant (spending day-dancing)
<b>sārā-sūkà</b>	thuggery (slashing-stabbing)
<b>zāki-banzā</b>	type of brown sugarcane (sweetness-useless)
<b>kāmā-řùbùtū</b>	homographs (< <b>kāmā</b> resemblance + <b>řùbùtū</b> writing)

[ii] fankàm-fayàu	big but useless thing (big-weightless)
hàmburun-hàyà	person who eats anything (big mouthed-chaos)
kyàlkyàl-banzā	sth shiny but valueless (twinkling-useless)

### 2.6. Agentive compounds

Some six compounds consist of a **ma-** agent formative plus an object. In one case, the agentive is a plural built on a polysyllabic verb. In the other cases, one has a short-form agentive (see §7:1.6.3) with a CVV verb stem. These compounds are becoming frozen and are being reinterpreted as monomorphemic words, i.e., they could be (and sometimes are) written without the hyphen.

magà-takàrdā	scribe (one who sees-paper)
Magà-watà	proper name (one who sees-moon)
majā-ciki	name of a spirit (one who pulls-in belly)
majì-dādī	a traditional title (one who feels-pleasantness)
mashà-ruwā	rainbow (one who drinks-rain)
mabùnkùsā-ƙasā	root-crops (potatoes, onions, etc.) (ones who push up-earth)

### 2.7. Sentential compounds

Many compounds have the structure of regular sentences. (This is in addition to the imperative verb compounds described above (§2.3.2), which could have been included here as well.) Patterns that are most commonly attested include (a) an impersonal subject in the neutral TAM, (b) some other person in the neutral or subjunctive, (c) a second person subject in the completive, and (d) a negative existential. Other structures are exemplified in (e).

(a) à-kòri-kūrā	delivery truck (one-drive out-cart)
à-ji-garau	type of antidepressant pill (one-feel-clear headed)
(b) ƙaĩ-tà-ƙwāna	traditional pony-express-type message system (don't-she-sleep)
mù-hàdu-à-bankì	type of cap (we-meet-at-bank)
(c) ƙā-ƙi-àllūrā	type of drug/medicine (you-surpass-needle)
kun-ƙi-cí	a weevil found in sacks of corn (you (pl.)-refuse-eating)
(d) bá-hayà	excrement (euphemism); public toilet (there is not-renting)
bá-ruwāna	fragile part of branch (lit. there is not-my water, an idiom that means 'This is none of my business')
biyu-bābù	losing both opportunities or things (two-there is not)
(e) bá-ƙà-zuwà-ƙògì	unwashable fabric (neg-you.cont-going-river)
gāwā-tā-ƙi-rāmì	old and sickly, but courageous psn (corpse-it-refuse-grave)
ka-cè-na-cè	argument (you-say-I-say)
ƙàƙà-nikà-yi	dilemma, hard times (how-I.rhet-do)
mālām-gòbe-dà-nisā	type of sleeping drug (teacher-tomorrow-with-distance)
zá-ka-zá-ni	strong and tireless psn or horse (going-you-going-me)

### 3. FUSED COMPOUNDS

Some compounds have become so fused, phonologically and semantically, that native speakers now view them as simplex nouns on a par with other ordinary common nouns in the language. In orthography, these tend to be written as one word. Examples:

àbinci food (thing)  
fellow (son.of mother)  
anxiety (< fàd < fā  
appearance), popular  
ƙyūyā indolence, la  
concubine slave-girl  
shùgābā leader (<  
(father.of household)  
after (probably < wā  
women)

°AN: [i] The con  
àbin cí (lit. thin  
[ii] Many SH sp  
/ū/ after the pal  
origin.

That these words have  
in a number of differ  
yesterday' behaves as  
word shēkarè 'next  
common, nonfused co  
presumably derived f  
segmental shortening  
'leader' now end in a  
which would be expe  
next day', assuming  
morphological factor  
sàd'akū = sàd'akōkī  
words also enter into  
jāgorancì 'guidance,  
half brothers'; ɗan'  
'yàn'ùwàntakà 'bro  
ƙishirwā 'thirst' is f  
nouns) even though  
plural respectively. T  
controls an -n linker  
cousin'. This is unlik  
be locally determined

### 4. LOANS

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**àbinci** food (thing.of eat); **ɗan'ùbā** half brother (son.of father); **ɗan'uwā** brother, cousin, mate, fellow (son.of mother); **ɗankwāli** women's headscarf (small + ?); **fārgābā** fear, nervousness, anxiety (< **fāɗ** < **fāɗi** fall + **gāba** front); **jāgōrā** guide (pull staff); **kwàrjini** dignity (esp. of appearance), popularity (? + blood); **kishirwā** thirst (probably < \***kishin-ruwā** thirst.of water); **kyūyā** indolence, laziness (< **ki** refuse + **wūyā** trouble, hardship); **sāɗakā** (pl. **sāɗākū** = **sāɗakōki**) concubine slave-girl (put in room); **shēkaranjiyā** day before yesterday (day following + yesterday); **shūgābā** leader (< **shū** < **shig** < **shiga** enter + **gāba** front); **ùbangidā** employer, master, boss (father.of household); **ùbangiji** master; God. (father.of home); **wāshègari** the next day, morning after (probably < **wāshè** clear + **gāri** town); **yammātā** girls, young women (< diminutive (pl.) + women)

°AN: [i] The compound **àbinci** 'food' (lit. thing.of eat) is built using the finite verb **ci**; the phrase **àbin ci** (lit. thing.of eating), which contains the verbal noun **ci**, means 'edible thing'.

[ii] Many SH speakers have simplified the phonologically anomalous word **kyūyā**, with the long /ū/ after the palatalized velar, and pronounce it as **kīwā**, which totally disguises its compound origin.

That these words have made the transition from recognized compounds to integrated simplexes is shown in a number of different ways. First there are phonological factors. The item **shēkaranjiyā** 'day before yesterday' behaves as a single word with H-H-H-L tone (not \*\*H-H-L-H-L) even though the component word **shēkarè** 'next in time' has H-H-L tone. (Interestingly, the underlying tone is preserved in the less common, nonfused compound **shēkaràn-cittā** 'five days hence'. Similarly, **kishirwā** 'thirst', which is presumably derived from **kishin-ruwā** 'thirst of water' manifests simplification of the tone as well as segmental shortening of both components. For most young SH speakers, **jāgōrā** 'guide' and **shūgābā** 'leader' now end in a long final vowel, which is typical of common nouns, rather than a short vowel, which would be expected of a compound. The lengthening is presumably also true of **wāshègari** 'the next day', assuming that the analysis of this as an erstwhile compound is correct. Second, there are morphological factors. A number of these words now allow regular suffixal pluralization: **sāɗakā** / **sāɗākū** = **sāɗakōki** 'concubine slave-girl' (sg. / pl.); **shūgābā** / **shūgābānni** 'leader' (sg. / pl.). These words also enter into various secondary derivations, e.g., **jāgōrā** 'guide', **jāgōrantā** 'to guide, lead', **jāgoranci** 'guidance, leadership'; **ɗan'ùbā** (pl. 'yan'ùbā) 'half brother', 'yan'ubanci 'rivalry between half brothers'; **ɗan'uwā** 'brother, cousin, mate, fellow' (pl. 'yan'uwā 'brothers'), 'yan'uwanci = 'yan'ùwāntakā 'brotherhood'. Third, there are grammatical factors relating to gender. The word **kishirwā** 'thirst' is feminine (probably by analogy with the large number of other **wā**-final feminine nouns) even though its presumed component parts **kishi** 'thirst' and **ruwā** 'water' are masculine and plural respectively. The word **ɗan'uwā** (son.of mother) functions as a masculine noun that invariably controls an **-n** linker even though the second component 'uwā is feminine, e.g., **ɗan'uwa-n-sā** 'his cousin'. This is unlike the situation with active compounds where the form of the bound linker tends to be locally determined by the gender of the final element, e.g., **kāren-mōtārsā** 'his driver's mate'.

#### 4. LOANS

Among the loanwords that one finds in Hausa are a number of items that are compounds in the donor language. (I am limiting myself here to loanwords from English). Some of these could also be said to constitute compounds in Hausa, in the sense that the component parts of the word are recognizable. (These are transcribed with a hyphen.) Most, however, have become fused into simple monomorphemic words. Selected examples:

**atòm-bôm** atom bomb; **âtônè-janār** attorney-general; **biřkilà** bricklayer; **büzâyè** bull's-eye; **cif-jōji** chief judge of high court; **cingám** chewing gum; **fambél = fambèl** fanbelt; **fasà-òfis** post office; **fasàl-òdà** postal money order; **gàdìřdòm** guard-room, jail; **gùřóf-kyaftin** group captain (military); **hedimastà = hédmastà** headmaster of a school; **iyàkwàndishàn** air conditioner, air conditioning; **kwalàshát** shirt with collar; **làmbàtù = làmbàtú** ditch, gutter (< number two); **làmbàwán** a poison (< number one); **láškofūr** lance-corporal; **monì-òdà** money order; **sàmanjà** sergeant-major; **shakàsòbà = cakàsòbà = shakàzòbà** shock absorber; **wanwé = wanwè** one-way street

## 5. PRODUCTIVITY

Compounds of most types are lexically restricted in terms of their membership and meaning. However, some formations constitute more or less open classes with a recurrent meaning. These all have a genitive linking structure X-L-Y, where the X is the common formative and the Y is an adverb or noun (including compounds) or verbal noun or nominal phrase. Four such classes will be presented here.

### 5.1. **đan-**

The word **đan** 'person of' (or the feminine counterpart **'yař**) / plural **'yan** enters into compounds that indicate a person associated with a particular profession, activity, or place of origin, e.g., **đan-siyāsà** 'politician' (lit. psn.of politics). (Etymologically **đan** is a genitive form of the word **đā** 'son'.) For simplicity, I shall refer to these as **đan** compounds with the understanding that they may use the corresponding feminine and plural forms, e.g., **đan/'yař/'yan-kasà** 'citizen(s)' (m./f./pl.) (lit. psn.of (m./f./pl.) country). The plural form used in compounds is the short variant **'yan**, e.g., **'yan-kallō** 'spectators', and not the reduplicated form **'yā'yan** 'children of', which is the normal plural of **đan** and **'yař** in their etymological meanings, e.g., **'yā'yan Mūsā** 'Musa's children'. (The noun following **'yan-** usually remains in the singular, e.g., **'yan-kāsuwā** 'traders', not \*\* **'yan-kāsuwōyi**, but there are exceptions, e.g., **'yan-jāřidū** 'newspaper reporters', pl. of **đan-jāřidā**.) The **đan** formative is semantically comparable to English **-man** in compounds like 'fireman', e.g., **đan-sàndā** 'policeman' (lit. psn.of stick), or **-er** in derived agentials like 'trader', e.g., **đan-đambe** 'boxer' (lit. psn.of boxing). Examples (where semantically appropriate, the masculine singular **đan** can be replaced by the feminine **'yař** or the plural **'yan**):

**đan-adàm** human being (**đan-Adam**); **đan-hayà** tenant (**đan-renting**); **đan-kallō** spectator (**đan-watching**); **đan-kāsuwā** trader (**đan-market**); **đan-kwangilā** contractor (**đan-contract**); **đan-kwàyā** drug user (**đan-pill**); **đan-tébùř** stall trader (**đan-table**); **đan-zāmàni** modern person (**đan-(modern)time**); **đan-fàsà-kwàuri** smuggler (**đan-smuggle** (lit. smash shin)); **đan-gudùn-hijifā** refugee (**đan-running** of flight/migration); **'yař-kwàntà-řuri** chaperone (**'yař-lie** in corner)

ADN: In WH dialects, the words for daughter and children are **điyā** and **điyā** respectively. In SH, the initial CVC has merged into the phoneme /'y/, the original L-H and H-H disyllabic words both coming out as monosyllabic H tone 'yā. Interestingly, the WH dialects that use **điyā** and **điyā** for the words 'daughter' and 'children' in the literal senses use the phonologically fused **'yař** and **'yan** forms as compound formatives, e.g., **'yan-adàm** 'human beings', but **điyān Mūsā** 'Musa's children'.

In addition to the above compounds indicating people who perform various actions, there are **đan** compounds that denote names of things or events associated with the main noun or adverb. With many of these items, the initial **đan** reflects its function as a diminutive marker. The choice of **đan** or **'yař** in

these compounds is formed with **'yan**.) content word, but r

**đan-gōyō** cloth fr (**đan-tree**); **đan-j** **đan-mukulli** key **'yař-Bùhāři** hun gown (**'yař-inside** naira bill (**'yař-M** shirt (**'yař-sweepi** sides of the lower

°AN: The N2 state Genera 'paper'. The Nigeria. It is are feminine

### 5.2. **àbōkin-**

The word **àbōki** counterpart, e.g. compounds—bare transparent. Exar

**àbōkin-aiki** cov **àbōkin-ciniki** c **àbōkin-hiřa** cc

### 5.3. **ruwan-**

The word **ruwā** Examples:

**ruwan-tòkà** gr colored (color.of

### 5.4. **ban-**

The word **ban** generally denoti

**ban-fuskà** wel **ban-girmā** resp **ban-hàkurĩ** ap (**ban-talk**); **ban**

°AN: For r appearing t

āyè bull's-eye;  
elt; fasà-òfis post  
group captain  
conditioner, air  
umber two);  
y order; sàmanjà  
anwè one-way

meaning. However,  
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or noun (including  
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into compounds that  
e, e.g., *ɗan-siyāsà*  
word *ɗā* 'son'.) For  
they may use the  
/f./pl.) (lit. psn.of  
e, e.g., *'yan-kallō*  
plural of *ɗan* and  
the noun following  
*wōyī*, but there are  
*ɗan* formative is  
*sāndā* 'policeman'  
it. psn.of boxing).  
ed by the feminine

spectator  
-contract);  
modern person  
*an-gudūn-hijirā*  
corner)

ctively. In SH, the  
labic words both  
*ɗiyā* and *ɗiyā* for  
ed *'yař* and *'yan*  
n *Mūsā* 'Musa's

s, there are *ɗan*  
verb. With many  
f *ɗan* or *'yař* in

these compounds is fixed depending on the gender of the semantic referent. (Corresponding plurals are formed with *'yan*.) The meaning of these compounds is often not transparent from the meaning of the content word, but rather is derived in an indirect or specialized manner. Examples:

*ɗan-gōyō* cloth for securing baby when carried on the back (*ɗan*-tying baby); *ɗan-itâcē* fruit (*ɗan*-tree); *ɗan-jifâ* shuttle (in weaving) (*ɗan*-throwing); *ɗan-kunne* earring (*ɗan*-on ear); *ɗan-mukullī* key (*ɗan*-lock); *ɗan-wāke* small dumpling made of bean flour (*ɗan*-black-eyed peas); *'yař-Būhāřī* hunger, poverty, (economic) depression (*'yař*-Buhari); *'yař-ciki* light shirt worn under a gown (*'yař*-inside); *'yař-Jōs* lightweight three-quarter-length shirt (*'yař*-Jos); *'yař-Muřtālā* twenty naira bill (*'yař*-Murtala); *'yař-rāni* smallpox (*'yař*-in dry season); *'yař-shārā* type of sleeveless shirt (*'yař*-sweeping); *'yař-yāu* cake made of cassava (*'yař*-today); *'yan-bakā* facial marks on both sides of the lower cheek (*'yan*-on mouth)

°AN: The ₦20 bill is named *'yař-Muřtālā* because it has a picture of the Nigerian former head of state General Murtala Muhammad. It is feminine by analogy with the feminine word *takāřdā* 'paper'. The compound *'yař-Būhāřī* relates to the time of General Buhari, a former head of state of Nigeria. It is feminine by analogy with *yunwā* 'hunger' or *fatařā* 'impoverishment', both of which are feminine.

### 5.2. *ābōkin-*

The word *ābōki* 'friend' (pl. *ābōkai*) enters into a number of compounds that denote one's partner or counterpart, e.g., *ābōkin-tařiyā* / *ābōkan-tařiyā* 'traveling companion(s)'. These are loose compounds—barely distinguishable from close-knit phrases—whose meanings are generally quite transparent. Examples:

*ābōkin-aikī* coworker, colleague (friend.of-work); *ābōkin-ařziki* business partner (friend.of-wealth); *ābōkin-ciniki* customer (friend.of-business); *ābōkin-gābā* opponent (friend.of-enmity); *ābōkin-hiřa* conversation partner (friend.of-chatting); *ābōkin-wāsā* playmate (friend.of-play)

### 5.3. *ruwan-*

The word *ruwā* 'color, water' combines with names of various substances to produce color adjectives. Examples:

*ruwan-tōkā* gray (color.of-ash); *ruwan-gōřō* orange colored (color.of-kolanut); *ruwan-gwāl* gold colored (color.of-gold); *ruwan-hōdā* pink (color.of-face powder)

### 5.4. *ban-*

The word *ban* 'giving of' enters into a number of compounds with a considerable range of meanings, generally denoting actions or abstract qualities. Examples:

*ban-fuskā* welcoming expression on one's face (*ban*-face); *ban-gāskiyā* trust (*ban*-truth); *ban-girmā* respect (*ban*-age); *ban-haushi* outrage (*ban*-anger); *ban-hannū* handshake (*ban*-hand); *ban-hākuri* apology (*ban*-patience); *ban-kwānā* goodbye (*ban*-day); *ban-māganā* coaxing (*ban*-talk); *ban-tāusāyi* pity, sympathy (*ban*-pity)

°AN: For many SH speakers, the word *gaskiyā* 'truth' has either L-H-H tone or all H tone, the latter appearing to be in the process of becoming the norm. In the compound, however, it invariably has

the historically original L-H-H tone (at least for Kano speakers), this being a further indication of the true compound as opposed to phrasal status of these items.

ØHN/AN: Jaggar (1992a: 36) suggests that the **ban** in these compounds derives from a fused imperative *\*bà-ni*, i.e., **ban màganà** 'coaxing' (< *\*bà ni màganà* 'Give me talk!'). Because the contraction of *bà-ni* to **ban** with the regular tone change of L-H to H is well attested, this proposal is not unreasonable; nevertheless, my feeling is that a more likely hypothesis is the one put forward by Abraham (1959b: 35), namely, that **ban** is a tonally irregular verbal noun (with H rather than falling tone) plus the linker, i.e., **ban màganà** < *\*bā-n* (or *\*bai-n*) + *màganà* 'giving of talk'. The fact that *bā* synchronically always requires a recipient as first (or only) object is no impediment to the verbal noun analysis as a historical/derivational explanation. (In the compound **bā-duhù** 'a charm that makes one invisible' (lit. give-darkness), the semantic recipient is also missing.) A third, never-mentioned, possibility, which is a variant of Jaggar's proposal, but which makes better sense semantically, is that **ban** in these compounds does indeed come from a fused imperative *\*bà-ni*, but that *ni* is the old Chadic third person masculine pronoun 'him' (still seen in **wani** 'some' (m.)) rather than the first person pronoun 'me'.

[References: Ahmad (1994); Galadanci (1969, 1972); Gouffé (1975a, 1981a); Wysocka (1989)]

THIS chapter d  
(2) counterfac  
(5) hypothetical ce

## 1. REGULAR C

### 1.1. Formation

Regular condition  
introduced by the c

in mutānē sun sh  
ldan kin ci wann  
in hūlār tā yi ma  
in zā kà hūtà, kà  
ldan yanà barci,  
in àkwai sukārī,  
ldan shī likitā nē  
ldan bāi bā kà a

If he do  
in bā yā aikl, yā

If it's n  
in kanà dà kudl,

If you f

For pragmatic re  
with the reverse  
hypothetical clau

- (a) zā kl fasà sh
- (b) kadà kà sàys
- (c) munà zuwà
- (d) Abdù yakān
- (e) zāi dācè idā

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nonverbal sente  
exception of th



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derives from a fused  
ne talk!'). Because the  
attested, this proposal  
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al noun (with H rather  
+ *màganà* 'giving of  
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antic recipient is also  
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ed come from a fused  
in 'him' (still seen in

ocka (1989)]

## 17. Conditionals and Concessives

**T**HIS chapter describes six kinds of subordinate clauses, which are labeled: (1) regular conditionals, (2) counterfactual conditionals, (3) concessive conditionals, (4) universal concessive conditionals, (5) hypothetical concessive conditionals, and (6) concessives.

### 1. REGULAR CONDITIONALS

#### 1.1. Formation

Regular conditionals of the form "if X (then Y)" are expressed by a hypothetical clause (the protasis) introduced by the conjunction *ìdan* (= in) 'if' plus a full consequence clause (the apodosis), e.g.,

<i>in mutànē sun shiryà, sai mù tàfi</i>	If the people are ready, we'll go.
<i>ìdan kin ci wannàn, bà zā kì ji dādī ba</i>	If you eat this, you won't enjoy it.
<i>in hùlār tā yi makà kàd'an, zān kāwō wata</i>	If the cap is too small, I'll bring another.
<i>in zā kà hūtā, kà zaunà nān</i>	If you are intending to rest, sit here.
<i>ìdan yanà barci, kadà kà fa'ka'f dà shī</i>	If he is sleeping, don't wake him up.
<i>in àkwai sukāfī, zān sakà à shāyī</i>	If there is sugar, I'll put some in the tea.
<i>ìdan shī likitā nē, zāi wa'ka'f dà nī</i>	If he is a doctor, he will cure me.
<i>ìdan bàì bā kà aron mōtār ba, sai kà hà'ku'fā</i>	
If he doesn't lend you the car, just put up with it.	
<i>in bā yā aikī, yā kāmātā kà kai shī wajen mākānikē</i>	
If it's not working, you ought to take it to the mechanic.	
<i>in kanà dà kudī, bā wāndà zāi hanà ka shīgā</i>	
If you have money, no one will prevent you from entering.	

For pragmatic reasons, the hypothetical clause normally precedes the consequence clause. Sentences with the reverse order, however, are grammatical. In some cases, as in examples (c), (d), and (e), the hypothetical clause at the end would appear to be the most natural, e.g.,

(a) <i>zā kì fasà shi in bà kì yi hankālī ba</i>	You're going to break it if you're not careful.
(b) <i>kadà kà sàyā in yā yi tsādā!</i>	Don't buy it if it's too expensive!
(c) <i>munà zuwà sinimà in dà àkwai</i>	We go to the movies if (when) there is one.
(d) <i>Abdù yakàn hàsalà in an tabà kèkensä</i>	Abdu gets angry if anyone touches his bicycle.
(e) <i>zāi dācè ìdan Audù yā àuri Bintā</i>	It would be nice if Audu married Binta.

As illustrated in the examples presented above, hypothetical clauses can contain both verbal and nonverbal sentences. All TAMs (affirmative and negative) are allowed in the hypothetical clause with the exception of the potential and the subjunctive.

The completive and the preterite, which occur to some extent in complementary syntactic environments, are both allowed in the hypothetical clause and with very similar meanings.

in yārā sun / sukà dāwō zān bā sù kwabò kwabò

If the children come back (comp / pret), I'll give them a penny each.

in an / akà fārà ruwā, zā mù shiga d'ākin

If it starts to rain (comp / pret), we'll go in the room.

°AN: Bagari (1987) claims that the conditional sentences with the completive are more conditional and less probable than those with the preterite, i.e., the distinction corresponds more or less to an 'if/when' difference. Most Hausa speakers agree that there is a semantic difference depending on whether the completive or the preterite is used, but there is remarkable lack of agreement on where the difference lies, and in some cases the alternatives even seem to be in free variation. The intuition of many speakers is exactly opposite that of Bagari, whereas others seem to look for a different semantic nuance altogether to distinguish between the alternatives.

The Rel-continuous TAMs can occur in a hypothetical clause, but only when grammatically called for in Rel environments (such as focus fronting), e.g.,

idan zīnāriyā [kakè]<sub>Rcont1</sub> sò, tó inà dà ita If it's gold you want, I have it.

cf. idan [kanà]<sub>cont</sub> sòn zīnāriyā, tó inà dà ita If you want gold, I have it.

idan shī nè [yakè]<sub>Rcont2</sub> dà kuɗɪ, sai mù sàmi tàimakò

If he is the one who has money, we'll get some help.

The consequence clause is often in the future. If the potential future is used (which some speakers tend to avoid), it indicates uncertainty and doubt about the consequence. As an alternative to the regular future, one can use a clause introduced by the particle *sai* followed by the neutral form, i.e., a weak subject pronoun without an overt TAM. (This is a structure that other scholars describe as the subjunctive.) Examples:

in an sá musù kāyā dà yawà [zā sù]<sub>fut</sub> gàji

= in an sá musù kāyā dà yawà sai [sù]<sub>neut</sub> gàji

If one puts too heavy a load on them, they'll tire.

idan mùtùm yā yi aikì màì kyāu [zāi]<sub>fut</sub> ci lādā

= idan mùtùm yā yi aikì màì kyāu sai [yā]<sub>neut</sub> ci lādā

If someone does good work, he'll get a reward.

in kā tàfi gòbe, kògì [yá]<sub>pot</sub> kètāru

If you go tomorrow, the river is likely to be crossable.

in Allāh yā yāɗda, [má]<sub>pot</sub> gamà aikin gòbe

God willing, we will likely finish the work tomorrow.

## 1.2. Meaning

In most instances, the Hausa hypothetical clause corresponds to an English 'if' clause. Hausa, however, also uses the conditional where there is a greater degree of certainty about the future result and where English would use 'when' (see §69:1.2), e.g.,

in nā kòyi Hausa zā ni Nājēriyā

When I learn Hausa I'm going to Nigeria.

in sun dāwō, kà bā sù rŭwā sù shā

When they return, give them water to drink.

Some sentences in which the hypothetical clause is in the completive and the consequence clause is

formed with *sai* plus  
translates best as 'wh

idan mayākā sun ka

Whenever v

in mùtùm yā iské d'

"ālamdù lillāhi"

If (whenev

whereupon

idan kidā yā sākè, r

Whenever t

in mun kwashè tāsō

## 2. COUNTERFAC

### 2.1. Formation

The primary means of  
the beginning of both

dā kun ci wannan ga

dā nā sanì, dà bàn fā

dā sunà fadā, dà mu

dā mōtā tā lālācè, dà

Had the car

dā bā kà barci, dà k

If you hadn

dā nī nè mùtumin n

If I were th

dā kanà dà kuɗɪ, dà

If you had

dā shī sarki nè, dà y

If he had be

The allowable TAMs

in regular conditiona

occurs, the consequ

in the future, then th

dā [á]<sub>pot</sub> tàmbàyè r

dā [zā sù]<sub>fut</sub> zābè sh

A striking difference

of the preterite as a

in Rel environment.)

dā [sun]<sub>comp</sub> tàim

not \*\*dā [sukà]<sub>pret</sub>

formed with *sai* plus the neutral unmarked TAM express a generic situation. In these cases, *in/idan* often translates best as 'whenever' rather than 'if'. Examples:

*idan mayākā sun kai wà gārī hārì, sai sù kāmà bāyī*

Whenever warriors attacked the town, they would capture slaves.

*in mùtúm yā ìskē d'an'uwansà yanà cìn àbinci sai yà cé dà shī "munà kwaryā", shī kò sai yà cé "àlhamdù lillāhī"*

If (whenever) a person finds his pal eating, he (the pal) says to him, "Come and join me," whereupon he replies, "Thanks."

*idan kidā yā sākè, rawā sai tà sākè*

Whenever the drumming changes, the dance changes. (i.e., keep in step with the times)

*in mun kwāshè tāsōshī sai mù wankè su* Whenever we collect the dishes, we wash them.

## 2. COUNTERFACTUAL CONDITIONALS

### 2.1. Formation

The primary means of forming counterfactual conditionals is by use of *dā...dā*, the markers occurring at the beginning of both the hypothetical and consequence clauses, e.g.,

*dā kun ci wannàn ganyē, dā kun mutù*

If you had eaten these leaves you would have died.

*dā nā sanì, dā bàn fādī hakà ba*

Had I known, I would not have said that.

*dā sunà fadā, dā munà jīn ihù*

If they were fighting, we would be hearing shouts.

*dā mōtā tā lālācē, dā bà mu isō yānzū ba*

Had the car broken down, we wouldn't have been here by now.

*dā bā kà barci, dā kā ga shigōwārsà*

If you hadn't been sleeping, then you would have seen him enter.

*dā nī nè mùtumin nan mài hankàlī, dā nā sayà makà jākāf*

If I were that sensible man, I would have bought you the bag.

*dā kanà dà kudī, dā mun shiryà*

If you had any money, we would have come to an arrangement.

*dā shī sarkī nè, dā yā sá an tumbùkè wāzīrī*

If he had been chief, then he would have had the vizier deposed.

The allowable TAMs in hypothetical clauses of counterfactual conditionals are not exactly the same as those in regular conditionals. In neither case can the subjunctive be used. The potential, however, is allowed. If it occurs, the consequence clause will normally also be in the potential. Similarly, if the hypothetical clause is in the future, then the consequent clause must also be in the future, e.g.,

*dā [á]<sub>pot</sub> tàmbàyē nì, dā [ná]<sub>pot</sub> yāfda*

If one were to ask me, I would agree.

*dā [zā sù]<sub>fut</sub> zābē shì, dā [zāi]<sub>fut</sub> cūcē sù*

If they were to elect him, he would cheat them.

A striking difference between regular and counterfactual conditionals is the absence in the counterfactual case of the preterite as a free choice in the hypothetical clause. (The preterite can appear, but only when required in a Rel environment.) Examples:

*dā [sun]<sub>comp</sub> tàimàkē mù, dā [mun]<sub>comp</sub> gamà*

If they had helped us, we would have finished.

not *\*\*dā [sukà]<sub>pret</sub> tàimàkē mù, dā [mukà]<sub>pret</sub> gamà*

cf. **dà gubà** [sukà]<sub>pret</sub> **bā tà, dà** [tā]<sub>comp</sub> **hadīyē**

If it were poison that they had given her, she would have swallowed it.

The **dà** in the hypothetical clause can optionally be preceded by the conjunction 'if', usually the short form **in**, less commonly the full form **ìdan**, e.g.,

**in dà Audù sarki nè dà yā bā kà àlkyabbà**

If Audu were king, he would have given you a royal robe.

**in dà kanà kallō sòsai dà ká ga ta ìndà ta shigō**

If you had been looking carefully, you would have seen by which way she entered.

If the consequence clause is in the potential, the neutral, or the future, it is possible to omit the second **dà**, e.g.,

**dà an tàmbàyē nì (dà) nā yārda** (= **sai ìn yārda**) If they had asked me I would have agreed.

**in dà àbōkinkà zài zìyārcē nì (dà) zān bā shì tuwon dawà**

If your friend were to visit me, I'd give him guinea-corn *tuwo*.

Another possibility is to use **in** without the **dà** before the hypothetical clause, especially if the clause is negative, e.g.,

**in (dà) bà don hakà ba, dà nā yārda** If not for this I would have agreed.

### 2.2. Meaning

Counterfactual conditionals indicate hypothetical propositions that are not true and/or are not likely to become true, e.g.,

**dà nā san kanà zuwà, dà bà nā tàfi ba**

If I had known that you were coming (but I didn't!) I wouldn't have gone.

**dà ká sàmi fám dubū hàmsin, dà zā kà sàyi Mařsandī?**

If you were to get £50,000 [which you're not!] would you buy a Mercedes?

A hypothetical clause with **dà mā** that is not followed by a consequence clause forms an expression of regret or unfulfilled wish, e.g.,

**dà mā nā ji shāwāřarsà**

Would that I had followed his advice.

**dà mā bàn kashè duk kudīn ba**

If only I hadn't squandered all the money.

**dà mā inà dà môtà nē**

If only I had a car.

## 3. CONCESSIVE CONDITIONALS

### 3.1. Formation

Concessive conditional clauses, which can usually be translated by 'even if', are formed with **kō** plus a full clause. If the clause is tensed, it uses a general TAM, e.g.,

**kō an yi minì àzābà, bàn yārda ba**

Even if I were tortured, I would not agree.

**kō bà kà san nì ba, nā dai san kà**

Even if you don't know me, I know you.

**kō bā nā nān, kadà kà canzà masà sūnā**

Even if I'm not here, don't change his name.

**kō kanà barci, bā**  
Even if you

°AN: Note tha  
concessives, e  
even say helle

### 3.2. Meaning

The essence of con  
not be true, and the  
consequence depen  
the event or situati

## 4. HYPOTHETI

Hypothetical conc  
element of doubt a  
very hard to capt  
simple concessive  
formed with **kō dà**

**kō dà tā zō bà zā**  
Even if s

cf. the concessive:  
Even if s

cf. the counterfact  
If she ha

**kō dà yā zàgē kà**  
Even if I

cf. **kō yā zàgē kà**  
Even if I

**kō dà Hāmidù zā**  
In case E

**kō dà an bā kà k**  
[You me

**kō dà sun kī say**  
Even if

The phrase **kō dà**  
'just in case', e.g.

**kà tàfi dà laimà,**  
Take yo

**gà đan gùzurī k**  
Here's s

**kō kanà barci, bà shakkà zā kà jì kārāf jirgì**

Even if you are sleeping, you will hear the sound of the plane.

°AN: Note that the particle **kō** can also have the meaning 'even' in constructions other than concessives, e.g., **kō Audù yanà sòn pizza** 'Even Audu likes pizza'; **bàì cé kō sànnu ba** 'He didn't even say hello.'

### 3.2. Meaning

The essence of concessive conditionals is a semantic opposition between the first clause, which may or not be true, and the consequence clause, which is claimed to be so. Whereas in a regular conditional, the consequence depends on the truth of the hypothetical clause, in a concessive conditional, the reality of the event or situation in the first clause is irrelevant.

## 4. HYPOTHETICAL CONCESSIVE CONDITIONALS

Hypothetical concessive conditionals combine semantic properties of concessive conditionals with the element of doubt and unreality characteristic of counterfactual conditionals. (In some sentences, it is very hard to capture the semantic nuances separating a hypothetical concessive conditional from a simple concessive conditional.) The hypothetical concessive conditionals are expressed by clauses formed with **kō dà** (plus a general TAM), e.g.,

**kō dà tā zō bà zā tà sàmē nì ba**

Even if she were to come, she wouldn't meet me. [but she probably won't come]

cf. the concessive: **kō tā zō bà zā tà sàmē nì ba**

Even if she comes, she won't meet me. [so she shouldn't come]

cf. the counterfactual: **dà tā zō dà bà tà sàmē nì ba**

If she had come, she wouldn't have met me. [but she didn't come]

**kō dà yā zàgē kà kâf kà cé masà kômē**

Even if he were to insult you, don't say anything to him.

cf. **kō yā zàgē kà kâf kà cé masà kômē**

Even if he insults you, don't say anything to him.

**kō dà Hāmidù zāi biyō ta nân, kì gayà masà nā wucè**

In case Hamidu comes this way, tell him I've gone.

**kō dà an bā kà kudī, bà zā kà bař mùtùm yà shìga ba?**

[You mean] even if you were bribed, you wouldn't allow a person to enter?

**kō dà sun kì sayāř masà dà môtāř, bà daidai ba nè yà dingà zàge-zàge**

Even if they refused to sell him the car, it is not right that he should keep on hurling insults.

The phrase **kō dà akà yi**, with the impersonal rhetorical TAM, has become a fixed expression meaning 'just in case', e.g.,

**kà tàfì dà laimà, kō dà akà yi**

Take your umbrella, just in case.

**gà đan gùzurì kà shā ruwā, kō dà akà yi**

Here's some pin money for you to spend on the way, just in case.

## 5. UNIVERSAL (INDEFINITE) CONCESSIVE CONDITIONALS

Universal concessive conditional constructions are built with universal generic relatives (*kō*-forms) (see chap. 73) followed by a full clause. If the clause is tensed, it requires a Rel TAM like the preterite or the Rel-continuous, e.g., *kōmē kukè sô...* 'Whatever (= no matter what) you want...' (not *\*\*kōmē kunà sô...*). The concessive conditional clause specifies a class of possible persons, things, events, etc., the consequence relating to any and all of them. Examples:

<i>kōwā ya ci wākē, cikinsà zāi kùmburà</i>	Whoever eats beans, his stomach will swell up.
<i>kōwā mukà gàyatà, zāi zō</i>	Whoever we invite will come.
<i>kōmē sukà yi makà, kadà kà dāmu</i>	Whatever they do to you, don't worry.
<i>kōmē kakè dà shì, sai kà rabà rabon Allāh</i>	Whatever you have, you should distribute fairly.
<i>kōyāyā sukà yi, sai sun yi dà kyāu</i>	However they did it, they would do it well.
<i>kōwàdānnè kikà bā nì, zān kàrbā</i>	Whichever ones you give me, I'll accept.
<i>kōwàcè irin rīgā zā kà sàyā, munà dà ita</i>	Whatever kind of gown you'll buy, we have it.
<i>kō'inā yakàn tàfi (= yakè tàfiyā), yanà tattàrà littàttāfai</i>	Wherever (i.e., no matter where) he goes, he collects books.
<i>kōyāushè akà bugà kàrarrawā, sai d'ālibai sù fitō</i>	Whenever the bell was rung, students would come out.

The universal pro-forms built with *mè ya sá* 'why?' and *nawà* 'how much, how many?' are generally restricted to universal concessive conditional constructions.

<i>kō mè ya sá sukè òyè àbinci, bà mù yāfda ba</i>	No matter why they are hoarding food, we don't agree to it.
<i>kō nawà ka tayà, bā nà sayāfwa</i>	However much you offer, I am not selling.

Universal concessive conditionals with 'whoever' and 'whatever', can be expressed either by use of the universal pronouns *kōwā* 'everyone' and *kōmē* 'everything', as in the examples above, or else by use of *kō* plus the Q-words *wà(nē nē)* (= *wāyè*) 'who?' or *mè(nē nē)* (= *mèyè*) respectively. (If the concessive clause contains an equational predicate, then the Q-word variant is required.)

1.a. <i>kōwā ya yāfda mahàukàci nè</i>	Whoever agrees is crazy.
1.b. <i>kō wà(nē nē) ya yāfda mahàukàci nè</i>	Whoever agrees is crazy.
2.a. <i>kōmē ta ganì, tanà sò</i>	Whatever she sees, she wants.
2.b. <i>kō mè(nē nē) ta ganì, tanà sò</i>	Whatever she sees, she wants.
3. <i>kō wānè nè shì, bà zān būdè masà àkwàtīnā ba</i>	Whoever he is, I won't open my box for him.

There is a slight difference in meaning depending on whether one uses the universal pronouns or not. Sentence 1a has the reading that everyone/anyone (i.e., all people in the world) who might agree are crazy, whereas 1b could be interpreted to refer to whoever from among a specific set of people such as the ones who might be in the room. Similarly in sentence 2a, one is indicating anything in the world that she might see, whereas 2b could be more limited, e.g., to the things that she sees when she goes to a toy store.

°AN: The distinct  
i.e., 'whoever /  
exactly what the

Universal pro-forms  
can be followed by a

*kōmē karfin mùtūm*  
No matter h  
*kōmē zurfin rījyā,*  
*kōmē nisan tàfiyā,*

°AN: The constr  
proverbs (see K  
'However good t  
yā wāyè 'No ma

## 6. CONCESSIVE

Concessive clauses in  
*duk dà cēwā* plus a

*kō dà yakè inà rashi*  
Although I'  
*kō dà yakè sun tabà*  
Even thougl  
*kō dà yakè tā Ri jini*  
Even thougl  
*kō dà yakè kinà shi*  
Even thougl  
*duk dà cēwā zā kà y*  
Although it

One can optionally sl  
form, e.g.,

*kō dà [mukà]<sub>pret</sub> jē,*  
*kō dà [nikè]<sub>Rcont</sub> 2*

[Reference: Bagari (1

°AN: The distinction between the a and b sentences could be indicated by a translation difference, i.e., 'whoever / whatever' vs. 'no matter who / no matter what', although it is far from clear to me exactly what the semantic difference is in English.

Universal pro-forms are typically followed by a tensed clause. However, **kōmē** 'everything, whatever' can be followed by a genitive phrase, usually headed by an abstract noun, e.g.,

**kōmē** *karfin mùtúm, àkwai wándà ya ft shì*

No matter how strong a man is (i.e., whatever a man's strength), there is someone stronger.

**kōmē** *zurfin rìjìyā, zán shìga*

However deep the well is, I'll enter it.

**kōmē** *nisan tàfiyà, bà zā mù barì ba*

No matter how long the journey is, we won't quit.

°AN: The construction consisting of **kōmē** followed by an N of N phrase is particularly common in proverbs (see Kirk-Greene 1966), e.g., **kōmē** *kyáun táfañuwā, bà tà yì kamañ àlbasà ba* 'However good the garlic is, it's not like an onion' (i.e., quality will tell); **kōmē** *nisan darē, gari yā wāyē* 'No matter how long the night, the day will dawn' (i.e., every cloud has a silver lining).

## 6. CONCESSIVES

Concessive clauses indicating 'although, even though' are formed with **kō dà yakè** (= **duk dà yakè** = **duk dà cēwā**) plus a full clause. If the clause is tensed, it uses a general TAM, e.g.,

**kō dà yakè** *inà rashin láfiyà, bà zán jē asibiti ba*

Although I'm sick, I won't go to the hospital.

**kō dà yakè** *sun tabà zuwà gidānā sun fatà hanyà*

Even though they had been to my house before, they got lost.

**kō dà yakè** *tā fi jinin haushì, tā sayō kwikwiyo*

Even though she hates barking, she bought a puppy.

**kō dà yakè** *kinà shirin tashì, inà sòn maganà dà kē*

Even though you are preparing to leave, I have something to say to you.

**duk dà cēwā** *zā kà yì màmakinsà, gaskiyā nē*

Although it may seem strange to you, it is true.

One can optionally shorten **kō dà yakè** to **kō dà**. If this is done, then the following TAM must be a Rel form, e.g.,

**kō dà** [**mukà**]<sub>pret</sub> *jē, bà mù gan shì ba*

Even though we went, we didn't see him.

**kō dà** [**nikè**]<sub>Rcont2</sub> *dà laimà, nā jirè*

Even though I had an umbrella, I got soaked.

[Reference: Bagari (1987)]

## 18. Conjunctions

CONJUNCTIONS can be classified into three main groups: (1) the basic coordinating conjunctions; (2) the special function words **hař** and **sai**; and (3) miscellaneous subordinating conjunctions.

### 1. BASIC COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

#### 1.1. 'And'

The conjunction **dà** 'and' serves to conjoin two NPs or two postnominal adjectives. It is not used to conjoin sentences. Examples:

**Balà dà Bābiyā sunà sòn wāsā** Bala and Babiya want to play.  
**sunà nēman wata yārin yā farā dà (kuma) dōguwā**  
 They are searching for a light-skinned and (also) tall girl.

The **dà** is often used in front of the first conjunct as well as between items, especially if the first item is a pronoun, e.g., **(dà) nī dà shī dà àbōkin Mūsā mun yārda** 'He and I and Musa's friend agree.' With some items like question words, universals, etc., the conjunction serves to form pseudoplurals, e.g.,

**tunà masà [kōmē dà kōmē] yā zama aikīnā nē**  
 Reminding him of everything (lit. everything and everything) has become my job.  
**(dà) wà dà wà zā sù zō?** Who (pl.) will come?  
**tāimakon kái dà kái yanà dà àmfāni** Self-help (lit. helping oneself and oneself) is useful.

#### 1.2. 'Or'

The disjunctive conjunction **kō** 'or' serves to connect two NPs. One can optionally use **kō** in front of the first of the disjuncts, e.g., **kāwō manà (kō) kōfi kō tī!** 'Bring us (either) coffee or tea!' Unlike **dà** 'and', the conjunction **kō** can be used to connect sentences, e.g., **zāi dāwō nān dà awà biyu kō zāi bugà manà wayà** 'He'll return within two hours or he'll call us.' The discontinuous **kō...kō** with clauses generally indicates 'either/whether...or', e.g., **kō kā zō kō bà kà zō ba bài dāmē nī ba** 'Whether you come or not it doesn't bother me.'

The same notion can also be expressed by **au...au**, e.g., **au kā zō au bà kà zō ba...** 'Whether you come or not...'

A more formal alternative is **immā...kō** or **immā...immā** (followed by the subjunctive), e.g.,

**immā dai sù biyā nī yānzū kō kuma mù yi rigimā**  
 Either they pay me right now or we're going to have a fight.  
**immā kà yi hakà immā kadà kà yi, òho**  
 Whether you do this or not, I don't care.

#### 1.3. 'But'

The conjunction **à**...

**inà sòntà àmmā bà**  
**mun ròkē shì àmmā**

### 2. THE WORDS

The words **hař** 'up u

°AN: The multi

The conjunction **hař**

**zān iyà tsayāwā hař**  
**ciwò yā ci kārřintā**  
**sun yi aikī hař sun**

The word **hař** is unu

**nā dad'è inà kārřatū**  
 I was readi

The conjunction **sai**

**bà zān iyà hawan w**  
 I won't be e

**yā cé, "sai kā gamā**  
 He said, "It

**bà zā kà d'agà dàgà**  
**yanà ta kārřatū sai d**  
 cf. **yanà ta kārřatū h**

One often gets **hař p**

**zāi bař tà à gōnāf h**  
**zā à yi tāfiyā hař sa**  
**sunà yīn kārřatū À**  
**tun dà yakè tanà ba**  
 Since she is



## 1.3. 'But'

The conjunction *ammā* 'but, nevertheless', which is a loanword from Arabic, serves to connect sentences or phrases in which there is a contrast between the two constituents, e.g.,

*inà sòntà ammā bà dà yawà ba* I like her, but not a lot.  
*mun ròkè shì ammā yā òi* We begged him but he refused.

2. THE WORDS *hař* AND *sai*

The words *hař* 'up until' and *sai* 'until, except' are extremely high-frequency items that function both as prepositions (see chap. 57) and as conjunctions.

°AN: The multifunctional words *hař* and *sai* have extensive dictionary entries and have been the subject of individual lexical studies, e.g., Lukas (1955), Kraft (1970), Meyers (1974).

The conjunction *hař* indicates: as far as, up to; until; even, including; even though, even with; so much so that, etc. It serves to conjoin sentences where the first sentence is viewed as moving forward and leading into (sometimes resulting in) the second sentences, e.g.,

*zān iyà tsayàwā hař kà gamà* I can wait until you have finished.  
*dwò yā ci kàrfintà hař yā kashè ta* The illness weakened her to the point that it killed her.  
*sun yi aikì hař sun gāji* They worked until (with the result that) they got tired.

The word *hař* is unusual in that it allows preposing of a following noun subject, e.g.,

*nā dadè inà kàřàtū hař wuyānā yā kagè* = *nā dadè inà kàřàtū wuyānā hař yā kagè*  
 I was reading for such a long time that my neck got stiff.

The conjunction *sai* '(not) until, except, only, unless, etc.' (which is sometimes accompanied by *dà*) differs from *hař* in connoting a terminal point in time or space. It often occurs with an expressed or implied negative, e.g.,

*bà zān iyà hawan wannàn ginì ba sai an sakà tsānì*  
 I won't be able to climb this wall unless a ladder is put up.  
*yā cè, "sai kà gamà aikìn zā kà tàfi gidā"*  
 He said, "It is only after you have finished the work that you can go home."  
*bà zā kà d'agà dàgà nān ba sai kà biyā* You're not going to leave here until you pay.  
*yanà ta kàřàtū sai dà ya shiga sōjà* He was studying until he joined the army.  
 cf. *yanà ta kàřàtū hař yā sāmū digīrī na biyu* He studied until he got his master's degree.

One often gets *hař* plus *sai* together in immediate succession to indicate 'up until', i.e., *hař* serves to lead the action forward, while *sai* serves to put on the brakes and specify an end point, e.g.,

*zāi bař tà à gōnāř hař sai tā būshè* He will leave it in the farm up until it dries.  
*zā à yi tàfiyà hař sai an kai Sāminakà* One will keep going until one reaches Saminaka.  
*sunà yīn kàřàtūn ÀlRūř'ānì hař sai sun girma* They study the Koran until they grow up.  
*tun dà yakè tanà barci, zā mù zaunà à wāje hař sai tā tāshì*  
 Since she is sleeping we will sit outside until she gets up.

## 3. SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

The uses of the various subordinating conjunctions are described through the grammar in the sections in which different kinds of clauses are treated. Many of these subordinators introduce sentence-initial clauses. Here is a simple listing of the most common ones:

- dà** (1) when, e.g., **dà mukà gâbâcê sù sai sukà gudù** When we approached them, they fled. (2) rather than (that), e.g., **yā fi āřāhā à sàyē shì nān dà à tāfi Kanò** It is cheaper to buy it here than to go to Kano.
- bāyan (dà)** after, e.g., **bāyan sun fita mun būdê kwālin** After they went out we opened the parcel.
- dòmin (= don)** because, in order that, e.g., **an d'aurè shi don kadà yà gudù** They tied him up so that he wouldn't run away.
- ìdan (= in)** if; when (in future), e.g., **ìdan kà cùcê mù zā mù rāmà** If you cheat us, we'll get back at you.
- kāfin = kàfin (= kāmìn = kāmìn)** before, e.g., **kāfin mù hūtā sai mù kammàlà aikìn** Before we rest, we should finish the work.
- kāmař (= tāmkař)** like, as if, e.g., **nā ji kāmāř zān yi amai** I felt as if I would vomit. (Etymologically **kāmař** is composed of the noun **kāmā** 'similarity' plus the feminine linker **-ř**. For some speakers, the word is **kāman** with the masculine linker.)
- kō** even if, e.g., **kō Audù yā gāji, yā řārāsà aikìnsà** Even if Audu is tired, he will (likely) finish his work.
- kō dà** as soon as, e.g., **kō dà ya d'agà hannū, yārā sukà dainà máganà** As soon as he raised his hand, the students stopped talking.
- kō dà (yakè)** even though, e.g., **kō dà yakè kinà shirìn tāshì inā dà máganà dà kē** Even though you are prepared to leave, I have sth to say to you.
- māimakon** instead of (plus a clause in the neutral TAM), e.g., **māimakon à kòrē shì hař zā à yi masà kyàutā** Instead of chasing him away, they are even going to give him a gift; **māimakon sù rāgu, řāruwā sukà yi** Instead of decreasing, they increased.
- muddìn** as long as, provided that, e.g., **muddìn yanà zuwà gidan nān bà zā à rābu d' tāshìn hankālī ba** As long as he keeps coming to this house, there will always be trouble.)
- sabòdà** because, on account of, e.g., **nā yi fushì sabòdà kà mākara** I am angry because you are late.
- tāmkař (= kāmāř)** like, as, e.g., **tanà tākāwā d'ai-d'ai tāmkař an nadā ta sàrauniyā** She was walking around as if one had appointed her queen.
- tun** (1) while, e.g., **kā fadā musù tun sunā nān!** Tell them while they're here!; (2) (followed by **kāfin** 'before' or a neg clause) even before, e.g., **nā gamà aikì tun kāfin kà zō = nā gamà aikì tun bà kà zō ba** I finished the work (even) before you came.
- tun dà** since (past temporal), e.g., **tun dà mukà isō, bà mù gan shì ba** Since we arrived we haven't seen him.
- tun (dà yakè)** since (factive), e.g., **tun dà yakè bà kà rigā kà gayà masà ba, sai kà fāsà** Since you haven't told him yet, you might as well leave the matter alone.

## 19. C

THIS chapter deals with coordination of phrases, and full

## 1. NP COORDINATION

## 1.1. 'And'

Simple coordination

**gidā dà mōtā** a hour  
**d'aya dà tumākì gōn**  
**shān giyā** eating po

In principle, there is **shìnkāfā dà àlkamà**. between the conjunct workers'. The **dà** is o and Bello', **dà zākì d** normally occur first. both pronouns are se

**shì dà Mūsā**  
**dà nī dà shì/ita/sū**  
**kai dà ita**  
**kai dà kē or kē dà k**  
**shì dà ita or ita dà sl**

Certain types of bour cannot, for example, paraphrase like **yā ga** looking at her and Bi say **sunā kallonsù**, it

Adjectival modifiers and adjectives are connected in the postnominal position. **kuma** 'also', e.g., **d' strong**). If **dà** is used for different referent, e.g.,

## 19. Coordination

THIS chapter describes general issues of coordination affecting noun phrases, adjectives, verb phrases, and full sentences.

### 1. NP COORDINATION

#### 1.1. 'And'

Simple coordination is accomplished by means of the conjunction **dà** 'and', e.g.,

**gidà dà môtà** a house and a car; **farin tsuntsù dà dōguwař bishiyà** a white bird and a tall tree; **ràgō đaya dà tumāki gōmà** one ram and ten sheep; **kàzà dà kàzà** such and such; **cín nāmàn àladè dà shān giyà** eating pork and drinking beer

In principle, there is no limit as to the number of NPs that can be conjoined, e.g., **dāwà dà gērò dà shinkāfā dà àlkamā...** 'guinea-corn and millet and rice and wheat...'. A modal particle can be inserted between the conjunction and the following NP, e.g., **đàlibai dà kuma lēbuřōfi** 'students and also workers'. The **dà** is often inserted before the first conjunct as well, e.g., **dà Bellò dà Mūsā** 'both Musa and Bello', **dà zākì dà dāmīsà** 'both a lion and a leopard'. In conjoining nouns and pronouns, the latter normally occur first. In conjoining pronouns, the order is first person, then second, and then third. If both pronouns are second or third person, then the order is pragmatically determined, e.g.,

<b>shī dà Mūsā</b>	he and Musa	<b>ita dà Bintà</b>	she and Binta
<b>dà nī dà shī/ita/sū</b>	I and he/she/they	<b>mū dà sū</b>	we and they
<b>kai dà ita</b>	you (m.) and she	<b>kē dà shī</b>	you (f.) and he
<b>kai dà kē or kē dà kai</b>	you (m.) and you (f.) / you (f.) and you (m.)		
<b>shī dà ita or ita dà shī</b>	he and she / she and he		

Certain types of bound pronouns, specifically indirect objects and genitives, cannot be conjoined. One cannot, for example, say **\*\*yā gayà minì dà masà** 'He told me and him.' Instead one would need a paraphrase like **yā gayà manà, (dà) nī dà shī** 'He told us, me and him.' Similarly, to express 'They were looking at her and Binta' (where looking is a dynamic noun taking a genitive object), one would need to say **sunà kallonsù, ita da Bintà** (lit. they.cont looking.of.them, her and Binta).

Adjectival modifiers are normally strung together without use of **dà**. In prenominal position, the adjectives are connected by linkers, e.g., **dōgon Ràkkarfān đan-dambe** 'a tall, strong boxer'. In postnominal position the adjectives are simply juxtaposed, perhaps with the addition of the particle **kuma** 'also', e.g., **đan-dambe dōgō (kuma) Ràkkarfā** 'a tall, strong boxer' (lit. boxer tall (also) strong). If **dà** is used before the second adjective, that adjective is generally interpreted as modifying a different referent, e.g., **đan-dambe dōgō dà (kuma) Ràkkarfā** 'a tall boxer and a strong (one)'.

When used with numerals, *dà* serves both to connect independent numbers and also to form number combinations, e.g., *biyar dà shidà* '5 and 6', cf. *tàlātin dà huɗu* '34' (lit. 30 and 4).

Certain NPs can be conjoined with themselves to indicate pseudo-plurals or distributives, e.g.,

*yāki yā tāshì tsākānin Kabilā dà Kabilā*

War broke out between the tribes. (lit. tribe and tribe)

*dà wà dà wà sukà ki biyà?*

Who (pl.) refused to pay? (lit. and who and who)

*sunà shān wāhalā shēkarā dà shēkarū*

They have been suffering for years. (lit. year and years)

### 1.1.1. Ellipsis in coordinate phrases

Conjoined phrases in which the same noun appears with different modifiers permit deletion of the repeated noun, e.g.,

*faraf mōtā dà bakaf mōtā*

a white car and a black car

(⇒) *faraf mōtā dà bakā Ø*

a white car and a black (one)

*littattāfai māsū kyāu dà Ø marāsā kyāu*

good books and bad

*hūlar yārā dà Ø ta mānyā*

a cap of children and of adults

*mijin Bintā dà Ø na Jummai*

Binta's husband and Jummai's

*tūtā jā dà tūtā shūdīyā*

a red flag and a blue flag

(⇒) *tūtā jā dà Ø shūdīyā*

a red flag and a blue (one)

cf. *tūtā mai launin jā dà shūdī*

a red and blue flag

(lit. flag possessing color.of redness and blueness)

### 1.1.2. Asymmetric coordination

When a singular pronominal is conjoined with another NP, the plurality of the conjoint is often anticipated and the initial pronoun appears in plural form, i.e., an English phrase like 'I and Musa' commonly appears in Hausa as *mū dà Mūsā* (lit. we and Musa), e.g.,

*tsākāninsu dà jikān sarki, àbīn bāi kō yi shēkarā ba*

Between him (lit. them) and the emir's grandson, there wasn't even one year's difference (in age).

*nā san yāddā zān rabā su dà tsōhuwāf nān*

I know how I'm going to separate him (lit. them) and this old woman.

*rābonmū dà ganinkā yā dadē*

I haven't seen you for a long time. (lit. our separation with seeing you has been long)

It is especially common for weak subject pronouns to mark anticipatory plurality when a *dà* + NP phrase appears after the verb (or at the beginning of the sentence if focused), e.g.,

*mun jē Kanō dà Audu*

Audu and I went to Kano.

(lit. we went to Kano with Audu) (or 'Audu and we went to Kano' or 'We went to Kano with Audu')

*dà Audu nē mukā jē Kanō*

It was with Audu that I went to Kano.

*mun daddālē dà shī*

He and I reached an agreement.

(lit. we reached agreement with him)

*zā kù shiryā dà ita?*

Are you (sg.) (lit. you (pl.)) going to make up with her?

*mun shā d'awāiniyā dà shī*

He and I suffered together (in doing sth).

(lit. we drank difficulties with him)

Note that all sentences referent for the plural could also mean 'We s

### 1.1.3. Concord ph

If two (or more) singu

*yāriyā dà Kawarṭa s*  
*tūmāfir dà àlbasā d'ū*

The tomato(s)

*ḡaunā dà giwā nē mu*

(where the stabilizer n

(f.) we shot', with the

The form of the bound

whole, whereas the fr

(see §43:2.1.1), e.g.

*giwā dà ḡaunaṣā =*

*giwā dà ḡaunaṣ nān*

*ḡaunā dà giwāf dà m*

Some (but not all) sp

singular nouns, but th

??wad'annān kujērā

### 1.2. 'Or'

Disjunction, which m

to order or elements,

*Litinin kō Tālātā kō*

*Kanō kō kūwa Kātsi*

*kō biyu kō ukū two*

*kō Tankō kō Sulè b*

Either Tank

The negative '(neithe

of negative clauses o

*wāndā* 'there is no o

*bā yābō bā fāllasā*

(lit. there is not prais

*bāi ga kōmē ba bāi*

(lit. neg.he see anyth

*tsākānin Tankō dà*

(lit. between Tanko a

Neither Tan

Note that all sentences displaying asymmetric coordination are potentially ambiguous because the referent for the plural pronoun could in fact be plural, thus **mun shā dāwàiniyā dà shī**, for example, could also mean 'We suffered putting up with him.'

### 1.1.3. Concord phenomena

If two (or more) singular nouns are conjoined, they become grammatically plural, e.g.,

**yāriyā dà kawāṭà sunā wāsā** The girl and her friend (they) are playing.

**tùmātīr dà àbasā dīn dà na sàyā sun ruḃè**

The tomato(es) and onion(s) that I bought (they) became rotten.

**ḃaunā dà gīwā nè mukà hàṛḃā**

It was a buffalo and an elephant we shot.

(where the stabilizer **nè** is used because the head is plural, cf. **gīwā cè mukà hàṛḃā** 'It was an elephant (f.) we shot', with the feminine stabilizer **cè**)

The form of the bound linker is locally determined by the last conjunct rather than by the phrase as a whole, whereas the free linker agrees with the plural phrase (cf. the similar situation with compounds (see §43:2.1.1), e.g.,

**gīwā dà ḃaunaṛsà = gīwā dà ḃaunā nāsà** his elephant and buffalo

**gīwā dà ḃaunaṛ nān na (not \*\*ta) mahāṛḃīn** this elephant and buffalo of the hunter

**ḃaunā dà gīwāṛ dà mukà hàṛḃā** the buffalo and elephant that we shot

Some (but not all) speakers allow a plural demonstrative in front of a conjunct phrase consisting of two singular nouns, but the construction is considered to be awkward, e.g.,

??**wadānnān kujèrà dà tēbūr** ??these chair and table

### 1.2. 'Or'

Disjunction, which makes use of **kō** '(either) or', essentially follows the rules just described with respect to order or elements, optional use of the conjunction in front of the first noun, etc. Examples:

**Lītīnīn kō Tālātā kō Lārāḃā** Monday or Tuesday or Wednesday

**Kanò kō kùwa Kātsinā** Kano or maybe Katsina

**kō biyu kō ukù** two or three; **kō ita kō Bintā** either she or Binta; **nī kō kai** you or I (lit. I or you)

**kō Tankò kō Sulè bà zāi sāmī wurin shìgā ba**

Either Tanko or Sule will not find room to get in. (but one will)

The negative '(neither) nor' does not make use of **kō**. Rather, the idea is expressed by the juxtaposition of negative clauses or else by a paraphrase, using, for example, the negative existential expression **bá wāndà** 'there is no one who', e.g.,

**bá yàḃō bá fállasà** neither praise nor blame

(lit. there is not praise there is not blame)

**bài ga kōmē ba bài kuma ji kōmē ba** He neither saw anything nor heard anything.

(lit. neg.he see anything neg neg.he also hear anything neg)

**tsākānīn Tankò dà Sulè bá wāndà zāi sāmī wurin shìgā**

(lit. between Tanko and Sule there is not who.that fut.he get room.of entering)

Neither Tanko nor Sule will find room to get in.

1.3. 'But'

Contrasting items are conjoined by means of àmmā 'but', e.g.,

shī sīfīfī nè àmmā dà karfi	He is thin but strong.
inà sòntà àmmā bà dà yawà ba	I like her, but not a lot.
mài kudī àmmā mài rōwà	rich but stingy

2. COORDINATION OF SENTENCES

2.1. 'And'

The conjunction dà is not used to conjoin sentences. Rather, sentences are directly juxtaposed (with possible adverbial connectors inbetween), e.g.,

mun ci mun sha	We ate and drank.
Mūsà yà jē yà dāwō	Musa went and came back.
jè-ka kà kāwō ruwā!	Go and bring some water!
munà nan munà ta taḃàwā	We're there (existential) (we are) trying.
rùfè tagà tükùn, kànà mù tàfi	Close the window first, then we can go.
wata rānà sukà fitō dàgà gidā sukà nūfi makařantařsù	
One day they left home and headed for their school.	

It is common for stylistic effect to conjoin an active clause with a passive clause containing the same lexical verb. (This construction emphasize the thoroughness of an action.) Examples:

yà d'aurè tunkiyā tā d'auru	He tied a sheep (such that) it was well tied up.
tā dafà àbinci yā dàfu	She cooked the food (so that) it was good and well cooked.

Conjoined sentences commonly make use of the connective kuma 'also, in addition'. It occurs either between the sentences or, more commonly, after the PAC (person-aspect-complex) of the second sentence, e.g.,

nā ci àbinci <u>kuma</u> [nā] shā ruwan lēmō = nā ci àbinci [nā] <u>kuma</u> shā ruwan lēmō	I ate food and also drank juice.
dōlè kù būdè tagà <u>kuma</u> [kù] shāre d'ākin = dōlè kù būdè tagà [kù] <u>kuma</u> shāre d'ākin	You must open the window and sweep the room.
Bintà tanà kārātū <u>kuma</u> [tanà] sàuràren fēdiyò = Bintà tanà kārātū [tanà] <u>kuma</u> sàuràren fēdiyò	Binta was studying and listening to the radio.

In a string of conjoined sentences, kuma will show up only with the last, e.g.,

yà ci àbinci yà wankè hannunsà yà gōgè à rìgāřsà yà kuma yi hamdalà dàgà Rārshē  
 He ate food, washed his hands, wiped them on his gown, and in addition gave thanks.

One can conjoin sentences both of which are negative or one of which is negative and the other affirmative, e.g.,

tāfi maza kuma kadà kà dāwō hannū sàke!	Go quick and don't return empty-handed!
Mūsà yà shigè bàì cè masà kōmē ba	Musa passed by and didn't say anything to him.

tsōhuwā bā tà jī bā  
 kārāř bā tà rāgu bā  
 bā yā shān tí, ní ku  
 bā zā tà hād'u dà ka  
 She is not

As seen in the above marking. Alternative sentence. This option

bān fīta nā ganī bā  
 bā yā zō yā biyā bā  
 bā zā tà hād'u dà ka  
 She is not g

When a sentence in the one often gets an 'in

sū ukù àbòkan jūnā  
 These three  
 [yā] ajiyè kudī [zāi]  
 (lit. he saved money)

The use of the preterite denotes consecutive simply enumerated, e

[nā]comp hau kūkà s  
 [an]comp yi wata ga  
 There was a

A continuous sentence second action intrude

inà kārātū mutānē s  
 sunà cikin cīn àbinci  
 As they were  
 anà yāwò cikin jējī s  
 They were v  
 yanà nan kán aikins  
 He was then

Simultaneity or overl in the continuous. The participial phrase. Ex

nā gan shi yanà dūki  
 yanà wāsā Bīrnin R

**tsôhuwā bā tà jī bā tà ganī** The old woman doesn't hear and doesn't see.  
**kārāf̄ bā tà ràgu ba kuma bā tà tsayā ba** The noise has neither decreased nor stopped.  
**bā yā shān tí, nī kuma bā nā shān kōfī** He doesn't drink tea and I don't drink coffee.  
**bā zā tà hàd'ú dà kawayén ba bā kuma zā tà tàfi sinimà ba**  
 She is not going to meet her friends and she is not going to go to the movies.

As seen in the above examples, if two negative sentences are conjoined, each can carry its own negative marking. Alternatively, one can use only one (discontinuous) neg marker, which encompasses the full sentence. This option is particularly common if the two clauses are closely connected, e.g.,

**bàn fita nā ganī ba** I didn't go out and see (it).  
**bā yā zō yā biyā bāshìn dà akè bīnsà ba** He will probably not come and pay the loan.  
**bā zā tà hàd'ú dà kawayén tà kuma tàfi sinimà ba**  
 She is not going to meet her friends and go to the movies.

When a sentence in the past (preterite or completive) is conjoined with one in the allative or the future, one often gets an 'in order to' reading, e.g.,

**sū ukù àbòkan jūnā [sukà] tāshì dàgà gārinsù [zā su] wani gārì nēman aurē**  
 These three friends left their town to go to another town for marriage.  
**[yā] ajiyè kudī [zāi] sàyi tikitin jirgī** He saved money in order to buy a plane ticket.  
 (lit. he saved money he will buy a plane ticket)

The use of the preterite (optionally preceded by the conjunction *sai*) in a clause after the completive denotes consecutive action as opposed to a comp + comp sequence, where the different actions are simply enumerated, e.g.,

**[nā]<sub>comp</sub> hau kūkà sai [nā]<sub>pret</sub> ga kauyè** I climbed the baobab tree and then I saw the village.  
**[an]<sub>comp</sub> yi wata gārdamā [akà]<sub>pret</sub> cè wà ya fi wàyō cikin mutānen nān?**  
 There was a dispute and it was asked who was cleverest among these men?

A continuous sentence followed by one in the preterite (optionally preceded by *sai*) indicates that the second action intruded into the first one, e.g.,

**inà kārātū mutānē sukà shigō** While I was reading, people came in.  
**sunà cikin cín àbinci kūràyén sukà faf musù**  
 As they were eating, the hyenas attacked them.  
**anà yāwò cikin jèjì sai kwatsàm wani dòdò ya bullō**  
 They were wandering in the forest, when suddenly a monster appeared.  
**yanà nan kán aikìnsà, sai akà zō masà dà làbārìn rāsuwar mahàifinsà**  
 He was there working away at his job, when the news of his father's death reached him.

Simultaneity or overlapping of two actions is indicated by conjoined sentences, the second of which is in the continuous. The best translation for the continuous clause is often that of an English subordinate participial phrase. Examples:

**nā gan shì yanà dūkàn dōkì** I saw him beating a horse.  
**yanà wāsā Bīrnin Róm yanà kōnèwā** He was fiddling while Rome was burning.

**bā yā shān ruwā yanā cīn àbinci** He was not drinking water while eating his food.  
**gā ni nan inā ta aikī hař Ĳarfè gōmā na dare** There I was working until ten o'clock at night.  
**gā cùnkōson mutānē sunā jirān kántōmā**  
 (lit. here is crowd of people they are waiting for the administrator)  
 There was a crowd of people waiting for the government administrator.

Conjoined sentences that employ certain verbs in the first clause such as **dadè** or **jimā** 'last long' or **rigā** (= **rigā** = **rigāyā**) 'precede, have already done' have an essentially unitary meaning, e.g.,

**yā dadè yanā aikī** He's been working for a long time.  
 (lit. he.comp last long he.cont working)  
**nā dadè bàn gan shì ba** I haven't seen him for a long time.  
 (lit. I.comp last long neg.I see him neg)  
**yā jimā yanā aikī** He has been working for some time.  
**bàì jimā yanā kōyon Hausa ba** He hasn't been studying Hausa long.  
**bàì rigāyā yā sāmì bizā ba** He hadn't already got the visa.  
**bà à rigā an fārā ba** One hasn't begun yet.  
**mū nè mukā rigā mukā gan shì** We already saw him.  
**sun rigā sun ji lābārīn** They have already heard the news.  
 (lit. they.comp precede they.comp hear news.the)

°AN: When it indicates 'precede', **rigā** appears as a gr0 verb with H-H tone, e.g., **yā rigā mù** 'He preceded us.' When it is used in a conjoined sentence to indicate 'have already done', it appears either as **rigā** or as **rigā** with L-H tone. This latter form appears to be in the ascendancy among young SH speakers.

Conjoined sentences in which the first consists of the pro-verb **yi** 'do' plus an ideophone also tend to have an essentially unitary meaning, i.e., the **yi** clause expresses what would be handled in English by an adverbial phrase. Examples:

**tā yi fařat tā tāshì** She got up suddenly. (lit. she did *wup* she got up)  
**yā yi fūnjum yā fādā ruwa** He fell in the water *kerplunk*. (lit. he did *spash* he fell (in) water)

### 2.1.1. TAM deletion

If a sequence of sentences are both in the future, potential, habitual, or continuous (general or Rel), the repeated TAM marker may be deleted. (The process is similar to factoring in algebra.) What remains is a neutral PAC consisting only of the *wsp* (which takes default L tone), e.g.,

**[zā mù] tāfi gidan Aishā [Ø mù] shā tī [Ø mù] yi hīrā**  
 We're going to Aisha's house and drink tea and chat. (fut + (fut) + (fut) ⇒ fut + neut + neut)  
**[mā] tāfi gidā [mù Ø] kāwō littāfīn**  
 We will likely go home and bring the book. (pot + (pot) ⇒ pot + neut)  
**mutānē [sukān] jē masallācī [sù Ø] sàurāri huřubā**  
 People go to the mosque and listen to the sermon (hab + (hab) ⇒ hab + neut)  
**[yanā] wankè mōtā [yā Ø] gōgā māi à jiki**  
 He is washing the car and rubbing wax on it. (cont + (cont) ⇒ cont + neut)  
**wācè cè [takè] d'inkā hūlā [tā Ø] kai kāsūwā?**  
 Who (f.) sews caps and takes them to market? (Rcont1 + (Rcont1) ⇒ Rcont1 + neut)

### 2.1.2. Reduction of conjoined sentences

Conjoined sentences may be reduced to a single sentence with a second clause. The pro-verb **yi** is replaced by the second clause. The pro-verb **yi** is replaced by the second clause.

**[Bintā] tanā kārātū [Ø] yi**  
 Binta is reading the book.  
**[Mustāphā] yā yi wā**

A direct object (or object antecedent) or replaced by a repeated pronoun is

**zāi wankè [mōtā] yā**  
**zā mù ciyāř dà [shān]**  
**dōlè kù kāmā [ta] kù**  
**wasu sunā yābon [Fè]**  
 Some are preparing for the exam.  
**ta sàyi [Ĳwai], ta kai [Fè]**  
 She bought a car and she bought a house.  
**yakān tāfi wurin [wā]**  
 He would register at the office.

Another possibility (also) is to delete the second clause, e.g.

**nā sā yārā sù shārè ( )**  
 I've asked the teacher.  
**mū nè mukā nēmō ( )**  
 We're the ones who are.  
**mijì shì nè zāi ciyāř ( )**  
 It is the husband who is reading the book.  
**kāfīn àzahāř hař yā ( )**  
 Before noon, the sun is shining.  
**na yankā ( ) na kuma**

Normally, as in the above examples, the form used when no antecedent is present is the neutral form used when no antecedent is present.

**Mařyam tā [kārbi]C ( )**  
 Maryam accepted the book.  
**Bellò yā [hārbi]C ( )**  
 Bello shot at the target.

Although sentences of this type are possible, they are not considered impolite speech style.



2.1.2. Reduction of repeated NPs

Conjoined sentences with underlying identical subjects obligatorily drop the repeated subject in the second clause. The person/number/gender of the subject is then carried by the wsp, e.g.,

[Bintà] **tanà kàfàtù** [Ø] **tanà kuma sàuràren fēdiyò**

Binta is reading and also listening to the radio.

[Mustàphā] **yā yi wankā** [Ø] **yā gyārà fuskā** Mustapha took a bath and shaved.

A direct object (or oblique object) noun that is repeated can be either deleted (favored with a nonpersonal antecedent) or replaced by a resumptive pronoun (preferred in the case of a personal/animate antecedent). A repeated pronoun is usually deleted. A repeated indirect object is usually pronominalized. Examples:

**zāi wankè** [mōtā] **yā gōgè** [(ta)] **dà mīi** He will wash the car and wax it. (lit. rub it with oil)

**zā mù ciyaḥ** dà [shānunmù] **mù kuma shāyaḥ** dà [sū] We will feed our cattle and water them.

**dòlè kù kāmā** [ta] **kù d'aurè** [Ø] You should catch it and tie it up.

**wasu sunà yàbon** [Fela], **wasu sunà zāgin**[sà]

Some are praising Fela, others are insulting him.

**ta sàyi** [kwai], **ta kai** [Ø] **gidā**, **ta dafā** [Ø], **ta ci** [Ø]

She bought eggs, took (them) home, cooked (them), and ate (them).

**yakàn tàfi wurin** [wàzīfī] **yā gayā ma**[sà] **àbīn dà jikàn sarkī yakè yī**

He would regularly go to the vizier and tell him what the chief's grandson was doing.

Another possibility (albeit an uncommon one) is to suspend mention of the object until after the verb in the second clause, e.g.,

**nā sá yārā sù shārè** ( ) **sù kuma wankè** [gidān]

I've asked the boys to sweep and wash the house.

**mū nè mukà nēmō** ( ) **mukà kuma fubùtā** [lābāfīn]

We're the ones who researched and wrote the story.

**mijì shi nè zāi ciyaḥ** ( ) **yā kuma tufātaḥ** dà [mātaḥsà]

It is the husband who will feed and clothe his wife.

**kāfīn àzahār haḥ yā líkè** ( ) **yā kuma d'aurà** [tāyāḥ]

Before noon, he'd already patched and mounted the tire tube.

**na yankā** ( ) **na kuma sōyà** [ta]

I slaughtered and fried it.

Normally, as in the above examples, the objectless verb in the first clause appears in its A-form, i.e., the form used when no object follows. With grade 2 verbs, some speakers use the A-form whereas others anticipate the d.o. and use the pre-noun C-form, e.g.,

**Maḥyām tā** [kārbi]<sub>C</sub> ( ) **tā kuma rēni yārinayāḥ** = **Maḥyām tā** [kārba]<sub>A</sub> ( ) **tā kuma rēni yārinayāḥ**

Maryam accepted and raised the girl.

**Bellò yā** [hārbi]<sub>C</sub> ( ) **yā kuma sòki bàrēwāḥ** = **Bellò yā** [hārbā]<sub>A</sub> ( ) **yā kuma sòki bàrēwāḥ**

Bello shot and stabbed the gazelle.

Although sentences with the object deferred until the second clause are considered grammatically possible, they are not normal and are seldom encountered in writing. They tend to represent an abrupt, impolite speech style.

## 2.1.3. Verbal ellipsis

A repeated verbal action can be replaced by the pro-form **hakà** 'thus' plus the modal particle **mā** 'also, indeed', as in the following example:

**Audù yā biyā Bintà hakà mā Mūsā**                      Audu paid Binta and also (paid) Musa.

In many instances, the sentence is ambiguous as to whether the noun following **hakà mā** is the subject or the object of the understood action, e.g.,

**Bellò yā tsōrataf̄ dà Kànde, hakà mā Daudà**

(a) Bello frightened Kande and so did Dauda. (b) Bello frightened Kande and also (frightened) Dauda.

**inà sòn Lādì, hakà mā Lawàn**

(a) I like Ladi and Lawan also likes her. (b) I like Ladi and also (I like) Lawan.

## 2.2. 'Or'

Disjunctive sentences are formed with **kō** 'or' or **kō...kō** 'either...or'. The particle **kuma** 'also' or **mā** 'also, even' sometimes accompanies the **kō**, e.g.,

**zā kà rakà mu kō zā kà zaunà à gidà?**

Are you going to accompany us or are you going to stay home?

**bá shì dà kyáu kà zàgì mutànē kō (kuma) kà yi dà sū**

It is not right for you to insult people or to back-bite them.

**bà àbin kunyà ba nè à kwāna à gidan sùrùkai kō mā à shā furā à can**

It is not shameful for someone to sleep at one's in-laws' house or even to drink *fura* there.

**kō Tani tà biyā hàfājì kō à d'aurè ta, òho**

Whether Tani should pay the taxes or whether she should be imprisoned, I couldn't care less.

**hàfāmùn nè mù shā giyà kō mù sayaf̄ dà ita kō mā mù bāyaf̄ dà ita gā wani**

It is prohibited for us either to drink alcohol or to sell it or even to give it to someone.

## 2.3. 'But' and 'however'

Contrasting/oppositional sentences or phrases are conjoined by means of **àmmā** 'but' or **àmmā (duk dà hakà)** 'but nevertheless', e.g.,

**mun ròkè shì àmmā yā ò**

We begged him but he refused.

**nā yi nā yi àmmā iná!**

I tried and tried, but no way!

**tā zō àmmā bà tà dadè ba**

She came but she didn't stay long.

**rānā tanà fādūwā àmmā bà zā mù tsayà ba**

The sun is setting but we won't stop.

**shì bà Mùsùlmī ba nè àmmā (duk dà hakà) yanà azùmī**

He is not Muslim, however he is fasting.

**sun yi iyā ròkarinsù àmmā duk dà hakà bà sù ci ba**

They did their best, nevertheless they failed.

[References: Schwartz (1989, 1991); Schwartz, Newman, and Sani (1988)]

## 20. De

**T**HE definite article which it is attached therefrom, e.g., **tùlún** **tā fasà tūlū** 'She broke that a noun without it water pot broke.' Local restricted to sentences word in question. (This Among modern SH sp approximating the us whether this is a natur

°AN: I have adopted reference marker it focuses on the Thus, when a definite if it would require cognate marker m

The d.a. can co-occur position of the d.a. is

**wannàn dōkì-n**  
**wànnan sàrauniyá-f**  
**jàkì-n nàwa**  
**àkuyà-f ta wànnan ts**

Constructions indicating 'seed'), which obligate the gender and number

**wàndō irì-n na dá**  
(lit. trousers type-the  
**mōtōcì irì-n na māsù**  
(lit. cars type-the of h  
**rīgā irì-n ta yáu**  
(lit. gown type-the of

dal particle **mā** 'also,

sa.

**kà mā** is the subject

nd also (frightened)

an.

e **kuma** 'also' or **mā**

drink *fura* there.

couldn't care less.

t to someone.

'but' or **ammā** (**duk**

ased.

y!

ay long.

won't stop.

## 20. Definite Article

**T**HE definite article (d.a.) (= "previous reference marker") is an enclitic that indicates that the NP to which it is attached is a definite item previously referred to in the discourse or contextually inferable therefrom, e.g., **tùlún yā fashè** 'The (known) water pot (which has some previous reference) broke', cf. **tā fasà tùlù** 'She broke a water pot.' The exact meaning and uses of the d.a. are not entirely clear: note that a noun without it may also translate into English with a definite article, e.g., **tùlù yā fashè** 'The/A water pot broke.' Looking at texts and older grammars, it appears that use of the d.a. was formerly restricted to sentences where one specifically wanted to emphasize the previous referential nature of the word in question. (This is apart from definite heads of relative clauses, where the d.a. is normally found.) Among modern SH speakers, on the other hand, use of the d.a. is extremely common and seems to be approximating the use of the definite article in English. Whether this is due to English influence or whether this is a natural historical development is hard to say.

°AN: I have adopted the familiar term *definite article* instead of the more cumbersome *previous reference marker*. Semantically, however, the latter designation is probably more accurate because it focuses on the language internal (as opposed to the real-world knowledge) determinant of its use. Thus, when a definite NP occurs for the first time in a text, one normally does not use the d.a., even if it would require a definite article in English. The Hausa d.a. is thus similar to the presumably cognate marker **nə** in Mupun, a related West Chadic language (see Frajzyngier 1991).

The d.a. can co-occur with (prenominal) demonstratives and with possessives and other genitives. The position of the d.a. is always immediately after the head noun, e.g.,

<b>wannàn dōkì-n</b>	this horse in question
<b>wànnan sàrauniyá-ř</b>	that queen in question
<b>jàkì-n nàwa</b>	the donkey of mine
<b>àkuyà-ř ta wànnan tsōhuwār</b>	the goat of that old woman

Constructions indicating 'like that of' have the form **N irì-n L N**. The word **irì-n** 'the kind' (derived from 'seed'), which obligatorily contains the d.a., stands in apposition to the preceding noun, which governs the gender and number (**na** or **ta**) of the linker, e.g.,

<b>wàndō irì-n na dá</b> (lit. trousers type-the of formerly)	trousers like those of olden days
<b>mōtōcì irì-n na màsu hannū dà shūnì</b> (lit. cars type-the of having hands with dye)	cars like those of rich people
<b>riḡā irì-n ta yáu</b> (lit. gown type-the of today)	a modern gown

## 1. FORM

The d.a. appears as  $\text{̀f}$  and  $\text{̀n}$ , i.e., / $\text{f}$ / and / $\text{n}$ / preceded by a floating L tone. If the d.a. is attached to a word with final H tone, the floating L of the clitic combines with the H to produce a fall. (Final long vowels automatically shorten in the resulting closed syllables, see §54:3.) Examples:

$\text{̀bàkà} + \text{̀n} \rightarrow \text{̀bàkán}$	the bow	$\text{̀hùlā} + \text{̀f} \rightarrow \text{̀hùlār}$	the cap
$\text{̀manòmā} + \text{̀n} \rightarrow \text{̀manòmán}$	the farmers		

If the word to which the d.a. is attached ends in a low tone (or falling = HL), the floating L attaches vacuously, e.g.,

$\text{̀watā} + \text{̀n} \rightarrow \text{̀watán}$	the month	$\text{̀mõtā} + \text{̀f} \rightarrow \text{̀mõtār}$	the car
$\text{̀fāsfo} + \text{̀n} \rightarrow \text{̀fāsfon}$	the passport	$\text{̀kwàmítí} + \text{̀n} \rightarrow \text{̀kwàmítín}$	the committee

The use of  $\text{̀f}$  vs.  $\text{̀n}$  and the form of the preceding word are the same as for the segmentally identical, but toneless, enclitic linker (see §43:2 for full details). In brief,  $\text{̀f}$  is attached to feminine singular nouns ending in the vowel / $\text{a(a)}$ /;  $\text{̀n}$  is attached elsewhere. (Note: In the examples, I have glossed the d.a. as 'the', with the understanding that its exact meaning cannot be equated with 'the' in English.) Examples:

$\text{̀gōdīyā}$ f. mare / $\text{̀gōdīyā-f}$	the mare	$\text{̀ùngùlu}$ f. vulture / $\text{̀ùngùlú-n}$	the vulture
$\text{̀dōkì}$ m. horse / $\text{̀dōkì-n}$	the horse	$\text{̀nāmā}$ m. meat / $\text{̀nāmā-n}$	the meat
$\text{̀gōdīyōyī}$ pl. mares / $\text{̀gōdīyōyī-n}$	the mares		
$\text{̀d'ayā}$ m. or f. one / $\text{̀d'ayā-n}$ / $\text{̀d'ayā-f}$	the (other) one (m. or f. referent)		

ADN: The masculine d.a. is  $\text{̀n}$  in all dialects. The feminine counterpart shows considerable dialectal variation. In Daura, for example, where SH final / $\text{f}$ / generally appears as / $\text{l}$ /, the d.a. appears as  $\text{̀l}$ , e.g.,  $\text{̀rīgāl}$  'the gown'. In Katsina and Maradi, the feminine d.a. is  $\text{̀i}$ , e.g.,  $\text{̀rīgái}$ ,  $\text{̀fuskài}$  'the face', etc. (What is not clear is whether this form represents a phonological weakening of  $\text{̀f}$  or whether it is an archaic retention of a common d.a. / $\text{i}$ / found in related West Chadic languages like Kanakuru (Newman 1974: 86ff.)) In Sokoto, the d.a. for some speakers is indicated simply by the floating L tone with no segmental addition, e.g.,  $\text{̀rīgá}$  'the gown', cf.  $\text{̀rīgā}$  'a gown'.

With compounds—even some quite fixed compounds—the form of the d.a. is usually determined by the gender of the noun to which it is attached, not by the gender of the compound as a whole. (This latter controls all other gender-agreement rules.) Examples:

$[\text{̀gidan-}[\text{̀àshānā}]\text{̀f-f}]_m$	the matchbox (lit. house.of matches-the)
e.g., $\text{̀gidan-àshānār}$ dà nakè dà shì	the matchbox that I have (lit. that I am with him)
$[\text{̀kwan-}[\text{̀fitilā}]\text{̀f-f}]_m$	the light bulb (lit. bulb.of lamp-the)
e.g., $\text{̀kwan-fitilār}$ yā fashè	The light bulb (he) broke.
but $[\text{̀'yan-}[\text{̀kāsuwā}]\text{̀f-n}]_m$	the traders (lit. people.of market-the)
e.g., $\text{̀'yan kāsuwān}$ sunà ta cìnìkìnsù	The traders are doing their buying and selling.
$[\text{̀tashār-}[\text{̀jirgì}]\text{̀m-n}]_f$	the airport (lit. station.of plane-the)
e.g., $\text{̀tashār-jirgìn}$ tanà nan kusa?	Is the airport nearby?
$[\text{̀uwar}[\text{̀gidā}]\text{̀m-n}]_f$	the senior wife (lit. mother.of house-the)
e.g., $\text{̀uwar gidān}$ bā tà nān	The wife is not here.

Personal pronouns in  
̀n). All pronouns tal

ita she + d.a. → itā  
wàtàkìlā zā à bā tà  
Perhaps the  
tātā hers + d.a. → tātā

The general pro-form  
̀n as its d.a. regardles  
f. antecedent) is bette  
Semantically def  
commonly assimilates

yāròn dà ya tàfi  
yārinyār dà (often [y  
mõtār dà (often [mõt  
rìgunàn dà yakè dà s

A final falling tone or  
i.e., HL-L → H-L. In

yāràn dà sukà tàfi =  
mõtōcìn dà mukè gy  
rìgār dà ta yāgè = r  
hùlār dà na sàyā = l

If something, e.g., a  
tone surfaces, even fo

hùlār dai dà na sàyā  
mõtōcìn kùwa dà mu  
≠ \*\*mõtōcìn kùwa d

Instead of attaching t  
numerals, and ideoph  
connector ends in a vo

bās f.	bus
thesis m.	thesis
ita f.	she
Gařbā m.	prop
māi shì m.	owne
wānè m.	so-an
dōkìnsà m.	his h
kèrèrè id.	stand

Personal pronouns in Hausa can affix a definite article, e.g., **shīn** 'he/him we were referring to' (< **shī** + **̀n**). All pronouns take **̀n** rather than **̀f**, even the third person feminine pronoun that ends in /a/, e.g.,

**ita** she + d.a. → **itān**, e.g., **itān na bā wà** It's she (the one in question) I gave it to.  
**wàtàkīlā zā à bā tà izinin shīgā, itān**

Perhaps they will give her permission to enter, the she (about whom we were discussing).

**tātà** hers + d.a. → **tātān** hers (f. thing previously referred to)

The general pro-form **hakà** 'thus' takes its gender from its antecedent/referent. However, it always takes **̀n** as its d.a. regardless of the gender of its referent, e.g., **hakān tā fi** 'Thus (referring to some understood f. antecedent) is better.'

Semantically definite nouns modified by a relative clause normally contain a d.a. (The feminine **̀f** commonly assimilates to the initial /d/ of the relative marker **dà**.) Examples:

<b>yāròn dà ya tǎfi</b>	the boy who went
<b>yārinyār̀ dà</b> (often [yārinyàddà]) <b>bā tà sòn tautàù</b>	the girl who doesn't like spiders
<b>mōtār̀ dà</b> (often [mōtāddà]) <b>mukè gyāràwā</b>	the car that we were repairing
<b>rīgùnàn dà yakè dà sū</b>	the gowns that he has

A final falling tone on a noun + d.a. often simplifies to H when followed by the L-tone relativizer **dà**, i.e., HL-L → H-L. In SH, this rule is optional; in some WH dialects, it appears to be obligatory, e.g.,

<b>yārān dà sukà tǎfi = yārān dà sukà tǎfi</b>	the children who went
<b>mōtōcīǹ dà mukè gyāràwā = mōtōcīǹ dà mukè gyāràwā</b>	the car that we were repairing
<b>rīgār̀ dà ta yāgè = rīgār̀ dà ta yāgè</b>	the gown that got ripped
<b>hùlār̀ dà na sàyā = hùlār̀ dà na sàyā</b>	the cap that I bought

If something, e.g., a modal particle, is inserted between the noun and the relativizer, then the falling tone surfaces, even for speakers who normally apply the simplification rule, e.g.,

<b>hùlār̀ dai dà na sàyā</b>	the cap indeed that I bought ≠ <b>**hùlār̀ dai dà...</b>
<b>mōtōcīǹ kùwa dà mukè gyāràwā</b>	the cars, moreover, that we were repairing
≠ <b>**mōtōcīǹ kùwa dà...</b>	

Instead of attaching the d.a. directly, consonant-final words, foreign words, proper names, pronouns, numerals, and ideophones often make use of a connector **dī-** (= **kī-** in certain NW dialects). Because the connector ends in a vowel other than /a/, it takes **̀n** regardless of the gender of the head word, e.g.,

<b>bās f.</b>	bus	<b>bās dīn</b>	the bus
<b>thesis m.</b>	thesis	<b>thesis dīn</b>	the thesis
<b>ita f.</b>	she	<b>ita dīn</b>	the she (= <b>itān</b> )
<b>Garbà m.</b>	proper name	<b>Garbà dīn</b>	the Garba in question (= <b>Garbàn</b> )
<b>mài shī m.</b>	owner of it	<b>mài shī dīn</b>	the owner of it
<b>wānè m.</b>	so-and-so	<b>wānè dīn</b>	the so-and-so
<b>dōkīnsà m.</b>	his horse	<b>dōkīnsà dīn</b>	his horse we were talking about
<b>Rèrèrè id.</b>	standing disrespectfully	<b>Rèrèrè dīn</b>	the disrespectful standing

°AN: Because of the tightly bound nature of *đi-* plus the *-n*, and the fact that *đi-* does not occur as an independent word in the language, many native speakers tend to think of *đin* as a monomorphemic word comparable to English 'the'. This falling tone *đin* with the d.a. attached has a wider distribution and is less restricted phonologically and grammatically than is the same connector *đi* when used with the linker. Thus *đaya đin* 'the one in question', for example, is readily accepted whereas *\*\*đaya đin-sù* 'one of them' is disliked, *đayansù* without *đi* being much preferred. For a detailed description of the use of *đi-*, see Buba (1997b).

Use of *đi-* is a way of avoiding the gender anomaly in compounds where the compound as a whole is masculine but the final member is feminine. If the d.a. is suffixed directly, one has to choose between two unattractive alternatives: suffixing the feminine d.a. *-ř* to a masculine compound or suffixing the masculine d.a. *-n* to a feminine word.

[sarkin-[tashà] <sub>f</sub> ] <sub>m</sub> stationmaster	sarkin-tashà đin	the stationmaster
(= sarkin-tashàř = sarkin-tashàn)		
[kwan-[fitilà] <sub>f</sub> ] <sub>m</sub> light bulb	kwan-fitilà đin	the light bulb
(= kwan-fitilàř = kwan-fitilàn)		

For many speakers, *đin* is subject to the F → H tone simplification rule when preceding the relativizer *dà*, e.g.,

bás đin dà zā mù shiga = bás đin dà zā mù shiga	the bus that we will enter
kanār đin dà ya yi bōřē = kanār đin dà ya yi bōřē	the colonel who rebelled

## 2. DOUBLE DEFINITE ARTICLES

A definite head noun modified by a relative clause typically contains a d.a. Less common, but still quite normal, is to also use a d.a. at the end of the entire NP, i.e., after the relative clause. This second d.a. attaches to the final element, whatever that happens to be. Examples:

mutàné-n dà na gayà musù-n	the men that I told
(lit. men-the that I told to.them-the)	
Audù-n dà na san kàwunsà đī-n	the Audu whose uncle I know
(lit. Audu-the that I know uncle.of.his đī-the)	
wándà sukà kāmà shī-n	the one they caught
(lit. who.the.that they caught him-the)	

°AN: An exactly parallel structure is found in Kanakuru (Newman 1974), where double marking is the norm rather than the exception.

[References: Jaggar (1985); Newman (1992c)]

## 21. De

### 1. THE wa- WORD

THE label "demonstrative" is used to refer to the label 'which (one)', 'some' pronouns, e.g., *wànnē* function both as pronouns and as demonstratives. *birò yā fi kyáu* 'This is the one'.

Most of these items are used as demonstratives 'this, that, these, those'. *kàsuwāř càn* 'that man'.

The long form consists of a demonstrative and a feminine marker (f.). With a few exceptions, the demonstrative is masculine, feminine, or neuter (see below for tones). *wadānnān* 'these'.

°HN: Although the demonstrative marker, there are

The full inventory of

Table 2: Demonstratives

	m.	f.	n.
1. this (by me)	wā	wā	wā
2. that (by you)	wā	wā	wā
3. that (there)	wā	wā	wā
4. that (distant)	wā	wā	wā
5. which?	wā	wā	wā
6. which one?	wā	wā	wā
7. who, which, that	wā	wā	wā
8. some/other	wā	wā	wā
9. so-and-so	wā	wā	wā

## 21. Demonstratives and Determiners

### 1. THE wa- WORDS

THE label "demonstrative" is used as a cover term to include such grammatical items as 'this (one)', 'which (one)', 'some (one)', or 'the one who/that'. Some of these items function exclusively as pronouns, e.g., **wànnē**? 'which one', and some as determiners, e.g., **wàné dōkī**? 'which horse'. Others function both as pronouns and as determiners, e.g., **wannàn yā fi kyáu** 'This (one) is best'; **wannàn bīrò yā fi kyáu** 'This ballpoint pen is best.'

Most of these items occur in what has traditionally been referred to as a long form. The definite demonstratives 'this, that, etc.' also appear postnominally in a short form, e.g., **waccàn kàsuwā** = **kàsuwā càn** 'that market'.

The long form contains a prefix **wa-** (with variable surface tone), e.g., **wannàn** 'this', **waccē** 'which one (f.)'. With a few phonologically conditioned exceptions, these demonstratives all have distinct masculine, feminine, and plural forms. A striking feature of the plural forms is the unusual infix **-ɗan-** (see below for tones), which is not a normal plural morpheme elsewhere in the language, e.g., **wadānnān** 'these'.

ØHN: Although the **ɗan** morpheme is anomalous in that it does not function as a normal plural marker, there are possible cognate plural forms with **ɗ-** in other Chadic languages (Newman 1990b).

The full inventory of Hausa demonstratives is presented in table 2.

Table 2: Demonstratives

	<i>m.</i>	<i>f.</i>	<i>pl.</i>
1. this (by me)	wannàn	wannàn	wadānnān
2. that (by you)	wānnan / wānnan	wānnan / wānnan	wadānnan / wadānnan
3. that (there)	wancàn	waccàn	wadāncān
4. that (distant)	wāncan / wāncan	wāccan / wāccan	wadāncan / wadāncan
5. which?	wàné	wàcè	wadānnè
6. which one?	wānnē	wāccē	wadānnē
7. who, which, that	wāndà / wandà / wāndà	wāddà / waddà / wāddà / wāccè / wāccè	wadāndà / wadāndà
8. some/other	wani	wata	wa(ɗan)su
9. so-and-so	wāné	wācè	su wāné / su wācè

The above items can be organized into five groups: the definite (deictic) demonstratives (rows 1–4), the interrogative demonstratives (rows 5–6), the relative pronouns (row 7), the specific indefinite demonstratives (row 8), and the unspecified pronouns (row 9).

### 1.1. Definite (deictic) demonstratives

The singular definite demonstratives in rows 1–4 all have the following form: **wa-** (with underlying H tone) + linker (underlyingly //n// or //t//) + locative adverb (segmentally **nan** ‘here’ or **can** ‘there’), e.g., **wa- + n + cân** → **wancàn** ‘that’.

ΔDN: In WH, the speaker-proximal demonstratives corresponding to row 1 make use of the true determiner **ga** (which has an associated L-H tone pattern) instead of the erstwhile adverb **nân**, e.g., **wānga**, f. **wāgga**, pl. **wadānga** ‘this/these’.

The feminine linker //t// fully assimilates to the initial /n/ of the locative **nan**, with the result that the underlying distinction between the masculine and feminine demonstratives in rows 1 and 2 is not reflected in the surface form, e.g., //wa- + n + nân// → **wannàn** ‘this’ (m.) and //wa- + t + nân// → **wannàn** ‘this’ (f.).

°AN: As a general phonological rule, syllable-final /t/ regularly changes to /r̄/, e.g., **yā-tasà** = **yārsà** ‘his daughter’. In the case of the feminine demonstratives, one could thus have the /t/ pass through an intermediate /r̄/ stage before undergoing assimilation, i.e., //wa- + t + nân// → \***war̄nân** → **wannàn** ‘this’ (f.). It is not immediately clear whether anything is to be gained by this approach.

The plural demonstratives have the form **wa- + dān** + the locative adverb, where the plural morpheme **dān** can be analyzed either as having inherent L tone or as receiving that tone by default, e.g., **wa- + dān + nân** → **wadānnân** ‘these’. Note that the linker used in the singular forms is omitted if the plural morpheme is present. (Alternatively, one could say that the linker is structurally present and that the /n/ of **dān** does double duty, serving both as the final consonant of the plural morpheme and as the linker.)

The demonstratives in row 1 contain the speaker-proximal adverb **nân** ‘here’, which has underlying H-L tone. The demonstratives in row 3 contain the distal adverb **cân** ‘here’, which is also H-L. In the singular forms, the H-L tone pattern of these adverbs spreads over the two available syllables, e.g., (wa)<sup>H</sup>-n-nan<sup>HL</sup> → **wannan**<sup>HL</sup>, i.e., /wānnàn/ ‘this’; (wa)<sup>H</sup>-t-can<sup>HL</sup> → **waccan**<sup>HL</sup>, i.e., /wāccàn/ ‘that’.

The demonstratives in rows 2 and 4 contain the hearer-proximal adverb **nan** ‘there (near you)’, and the distal adverb **can** ‘there remote’, respectively. These morphemes both have underlying L-H tone (which, in isolation, simplifies to H because there is no rising tone in the language). The demonstratives appear with two different tonal realizations depending on the nature of the tone spreading. The (L-)L-H surface variants result from the spreading of the L-H of **nan** and **can** in a tone-integrating fashion (which obliterates the initial H tone, e.g., (wa-)<sup>H</sup> + n + nan<sup>LH</sup> → **wannan**<sup>LH</sup>, i.e., /wānnán/ ‘that (near you)’; (wa-)<sup>H</sup> + (dān)<sup>L</sup> + can<sup>LH</sup> → **wadāncan**<sup>LH</sup>, i.e., /wadāncán/ ‘those yonder’). The F-H surface variants result from the spreading of the L-H of **nan** and **can** onto the syllable consisting of the **wa** + linker, but without destroying the underlying H tone. The H + L on the initial syllable surfaces as a fall, e.g., (wa-)<sup>H</sup> + t + nan<sup>LH</sup> → (wan)<sup>HL</sup> nan<sup>H</sup>, i.e., /wānnán/ ‘that (f.) (near you)’. In the plural forms, the light syllable **wa-** cannot serve as a host for two tones and thus remains H, e.g., (wa-)<sup>H</sup> + (dān)<sup>L</sup> + can<sup>LH</sup> → (wa)<sup>H</sup> (dān)<sup>LL</sup> + can<sup>H</sup>, i.e., /wadāncán/ ‘those yonder’.

°HN: Some speakers (Buba 1997a and Galadanci 1969, for instance) feel that the L-H and F-H forms are not just equivalent phonological variants but rather have slightly contrastive meanings.

Historically this almost certainly the language. (T from biology by

The essential semanti same as that found v indicates speaker pro can also be used to d important anaphoric ‘Formerly there was indicates ‘this other’ **wannàn kùwa na** for the director’s offi **málàmi ya káwō** (opinion), this other e.g., **wadānnan awa** existential/referential Row 3 (**wancàn** etc.) there’. Row 4 (**wānc** ‘those towns far away century long ago’.

The definite dea function, they serv determiners, to be de

**wāccan ita cè kāsū**  
**wannàn yā fi wānc**  
**káwō wadānnan!**  
**wadānnán fensifōf**  
**wāccan mōtā cè na**  
**yārā ‘yan tāwāyè s**

The demonstratives

**wannàn yārò-n**  
**wāccan jihà-f**

1.1.1. Short-form  
When functioning of the locative advert ‘there (remote)’. Th is gender/number g **rāgunàn nân** ‘thes the abutting /n/, e dictate that it shou e.g., **ākuyāf cân** demonstrative is



Historically this probably was not the case. Whereas it may be so for some speakers nowadays, it is almost certainly a secondary development making use of meaningless free variation preexisting in the language. (This would be an example of *exaptation*, to use the term borrowed into linguistics from biology by Lass 1990.)

The essential semantic difference between the four rows is as follows. (The distinction is essentially the same as that found with *nân/nan/cân/can* functioning as adverbs, see §5:2.3.) Row 1 (*wannân* etc.) indicates speaker proximal, e.g., *wannân kwāli* 'this carton (in my hands or next to me the speaker)'. It can also be used to denote proximity in time, e.g., *wannân watā* 'this very month'. It also serves important anaphoric functions, e.g., *dā an yi wata sàrauniyā...*, *wannân sàrauniyā kūwa...* 'Formerly there was a queen..., this queen moreover...'. When repeated in a sentence, *wannân* often indicates 'this other' (where in English we might use 'that'), e.g., *gà wannân kà kai òfishin àkantà, wannân kūwa na òfishin dāřektà nē* 'Here, take this one to the accountant's office; this other [one] is for the director's office'; *an kirā sù don sù fāhìnci jūnā sai wannân mālāmī ya kāwō tāsà, wannân mālāmī ya kāwō tāsà* 'They were called to come to an understanding; this teacher expressed his (opinion), this other (i.e., that) teacher expressed his.' Row 2 (*wannan* etc.) indicates hearer proximal, e.g., *wadānnan awāki* 'those goats (near you the hearer)'. These L-H demonstratives also function as existential/referential/anaphoric markers, e.g., *wannan lābārī* 'that very story (we were talking about)'. Row 3 (*wancân* etc.) indicates distal from both speaker and hearer, e.g., *waccân kāsūwā* 'that market there'. Row 4 (*wāncan* etc.) indicates remoteness from speaker and hearer, e.g., *wadāncan garūruwā* 'those towns far away (yonder)'. It can also be used to denote distance in time, e.g., *wāncan kařnī* 'that century long ago'.

The definite demonstratives function both as pronouns and as prenominal determiners. In the latter function, they serve as (semantically not equivalent) alternatives to the postnominal short-form determiners, to be described below. Examples:

<i>waccan ita cē kāsūwāřmū ta dá</i>	That one (yonder) is our former market.
<i>wannân yā fi wancân kyáu</i>	This one is better than that one.
<i>kāwō wadānnan!</i>	Bring those (near you)!
<i>wadānnân fensīřōřī nāwa nē</i>	These pencils are mine.
<i>waccan mōtā cē na ganī dāzu</i>	It was that car (way off) that I saw a moment ago.
<i>yārā 'yan tāwāyē sun bātā waccân makařantā</i>	The rebellious students vandalized that school.

The demonstratives in Hausa can co-occur with the definite article, e.g.,

<i>wannân yārō-n</i>	this boy (that we were referring to) (lit. this boy-the)
<i>waccan jihā-ř</i>	that state (that we were talking about) (lit. that state-the)

### 1.1.1. Short-form definite demonstratives

When functioning as determiners, the four groups of definite demonstratives may also be expressed by the locative adverbial forms *nân* 'here', *nan* 'there (speaker proximal)', *cân* 'there (distant)', and *can* 'there (remote)'. The structure of the short-form demonstratives is noun + linker + dem, where the linker is gender/number sensitive but the demonstrative determiner itself is not, e.g., *dōkin nân* 'this horse', *rāgunân nân* 'these rams', *ākuyār nân* 'this goat'. The feminine linker /ř/ always assimilates fully to the abutting /n/, e.g., the preceding example, is pronounced [àkwiyānnân], but the orthographic rules dictate that it should be written as *r*. (One also gets assimilation of /ř/ to /c/, but this is less automatic, e.g., *ākuyār cân* 'that goat' → [àkwiyāccân] or [àkwiyāřcân]. Strictly speaking the short-form demonstrative is a clitic that should be written together with its head, e.g., *dōkin-nân*, but the

convention is to write them as separate words. (In this section only, I shall use the hyphen; elsewhere I follow the orthographic rules.)

ΔDN: The short form of the speaker-proximal demonstrative in WH is formed with *-ga* instead of *-nân*, e.g., *dōkìn-ga* 'this horse', *rīgāg-ga* 'this gown', *mōtōcîn-ga* 'these cars'.

As indicated earlier, *nân* and *cân* have underlying H-L tone. When preceded by a word with final L tone (or falling = HL), the demonstratives are realized with falling tone, e.g.,

<i>yārôn-nân</i>	this boy	<i>fāsfôn-nân</i>	this passport
<i>tāgār-cân</i>	that window	<i>dākunân-cân</i>	those rooms

When preceded by a word with final H tone, the H component of the H-L demonstrative is absorbed by the previous H tone, with the result that one ends up with an H-L melody on the final two syllables, e.g.,  $(rāgō)^{LH} + n + (nân)^{HL} \rightarrow (rāgon-nân)^{LHL}$  'this ram'. Examples:

<i>bārḡon-nân</i>	this blanket	<i>mōtōcîn-nân</i>	these cars
<i>makařantař-cân</i>	that school	<i>jirāgen-cân</i>	those planes

The formatives *nan* 'hearer proximal' and *can* 'remote' have underlying L-H tone. When attached to a word with final L tone, the L of the demonstrative is absorbed and one gets L-H spread over the final two syllables, e.g.,  $(bīřō)^{HL} + n + (nan)^{LH} \rightarrow (bīřôn-nan)^{HLH}$  'this pen'. Examples:

<i>yārôn-nan</i>	that boy	<i>fāsfôn-nan</i>	that passport
<i>tāgār-can</i>	that (remote) window	<i>dākunân-can</i>	those (remote) rooms

When an L-H demonstrative is attached to a word with final H tone, the L tone spreads onto the preceding syllable thereby producing a surface fall, and the H remains on the demonstrative. The result is a final falling-high pattern, e.g.,  $(kārē)^{LH} + n + (nan)^{LH} \rightarrow (kārēn)^{L-HL} + (nan)^H \rightarrow /kārēn-nan/$  'that dog'. Examples:

<i>bārḡon-nan</i>	that blanket	<i>mōtōcîn-nan</i>	those cars
<i>makařantař-can</i>	that yonder school	<i>jirāgen-can</i>	those planes yonder

### 1.1.2. Short-form and long-form definite demonstratives contrasted

Most descriptions state or imply that the long-form and the short-form demonstratives are equivalent, i.e., *wannân bīřō* = *bīřôn-nân* 'this ballpoint pen'. Although they are quite close in meaning, they are not in fact interchangeable. To begin with, the short form, which can be taken as the more basic, unmarked construction, can occur with words belonging to various parts of speech (e.g., adverbs or numerals) whereas the long forms can be used only with nouns. The following examples, thus, do not have long form demonstrative counterparts:

<i>kū huřun-nân kù matsā gēfē gūdā!</i>	You four (lit. you four this) move to one side!
<i>shī đin-nân đ'an-iskā nē</i>	He this (guy) (lit. he this) is a bastard.
<i>jiyā-jiyân-nân ta haihù</i>	Just yesterday (lit. yesterday yesterday this) she gave birth.
<i>mun sāmù d'āzun-nân</i>	We got it just a while ago. (lit. now this)
<i>à 'yan kwànàkin nân gwamnatì tã shìga Rafār-wàndō dà 'yan sùmōgàl</i>	

Recently (lit. few days these) the government has stepped up measures against smugglers.

°AN: The compound  
containing the long

Note that if one uses su  
the prenominal long fo

*sai gòdiyā gā Allāh à*  
Let's give the

In constructions when  
pragmatically different  
to is known, previously  
demonstrative means  
pre-nominal long form  
*sīrdī* 'this saddle (new  
explicit or implied co  
gesture, e.g., *wannân*  
'that doorway over the  
sentences:

(a) *māganāř-nân dà*  
This matter t

(b) *wannân māganāř*  
This matter t

(a) *littāfin-nan, nā sa*  
That book (v

(b) *wannan littāfi, nā*  
That book (v

(a) *gā takāřdar-nân*  
(b) *gā wannân takāř*

(a) *mōtāř-nân tanā*  
(b) *wannân mōtā tan*

(a) *Shēhùn-nân bá s*  
(b) *wannân Shēhù b*

(a) *dūbì jumlōlin-nā*  
Examine th

(b) *dūbì wađ'annân*  
Examine th

Because the prenomi  
have either a unique

*ruwan-nân* (not \*\*v  
This down

<sup>o</sup>AN: The compound *bàra-wàccan* 'the year before last' (lit. last year that) is unusual not only in containing the long-form demonstrative but also in having it after rather than before the head word.

Note that if one uses such words as day and night as common nouns rather than as temporal adverbs, then the prenominal long form is possible, e.g.,

*sai gòdiyā gà Allāh à wannàn darē/rānā mài àlbaṙkà*  
 Let's give thanks to God on this (special) blessed eve/day.

In constructions where both the long and short variants can be used, they are semantically and pragmatically different. Roughly speaking, the short form is used as a determiner when the item referred to is known, previously referred to, presupposed, etc. In some cases with the speaker-proximal *nān*, the demonstrative means little more than the definite article 'the', e.g., *sīrdīn-nān* 'the/this saddle'. The pre-nominal long form is used when indicating a new and/or non-presupposed referent, e.g., *wannàn sīrdī* 'this saddle (new information, not one that we had been talking about)'. It commonly carries an explicit or implied contrast with another deictic marker, i.e., it is often accompanied by a pointing gesture, e.g., *wannan kōfā* 'that doorway near you that I'm pointing to' as opposed to *waccan kōfā* 'that doorway over there'. The difference between the two variants is illustrated in the following pairs of sentences:

- (a) *māganār-nān dà na fadā mukù, bā nā sōn kōwā yà jī tà*  
 This matter that I told you (i.e., already known), I don't want anyone to hear it.
- (b) *wannàn māganār dà zān fadā mukù, bā nā sōn kōwā yà jī tà*  
 This matter that I'm about to tell you (i.e., new information), I don't want anyone to hear it.
- (a) *littāfin-nan, nā san wandà ya fubūtā shi*  
 That book (which perhaps you're showing me), I know who wrote it.
- (b) *wannan littāfi, nā san wandà ya fubūtā shi*  
 That book (which perhaps I know about, but you don't), I know who wrote it.
- (a) *gà takārdāf-nān kà dūbā*      Here is the/this paper for you to look at. (to which the answer might be *nā gōdē* 'Thanks (for bringing it).')
- (b) *gà wannan takārdā kà dūbā*      Here is a/this paper (that might interest you) for you to look at (to which the answer might be *mē nē nē wannan kuma?* 'What is this again?')
- (a) *mōtār-nān tanā bā nī wāhalā*      The/this car is giving me a hard time.
- (b) *wannan mōtā tanā bā nī wāhalā*      This car (which I just bought, or this car that I am pointing to as opposed to that car) is giving me a hard time.
- (a) *Shēhūn-nān bā shi dà kirkī*      This Shehu (whom we were talking about) is not nice.
- (b) *wannan Shēhū bāi ci sūnansā ba*      This Shehu doesn't deserve to have such a (glorious) name.
- (a) *dūbi jumlōlin-nān sànnan kà yi bāyānīn bambancīnsū*  
 Examine these sentences (we have been analyzing) and explain the differences between them.
- (b) *dūbi wadānnān jumlōli sànnan kà yi bāyānīn bambancīnsū*  
 Examine these sentences (here in this textbook) and explain the differences between them.

Because the prenominal long forms generally imply a contrast, they tend not to be used with words that have either a unique or a generic/nonspecific reference, e.g.,

*ruwan-nān* (not **\*\*wannan ruwā**) *dà akē tafkāvā, zā sù d'āukē kūwā?*  
 This downpour, is it ever going to stop?

**kuɗ'in-nàn** (*not \*\*wannàn/waɗ'annân kuɗi*) **na jàma'á hàfámùn nē à tabà su**

It's unlawful to touch (these) public funds.

(lit. money-this of people unlawful STAB one touch them)

**ƙasaɗ-nàn tāmù tā lālācē** This country of ours has gone to pot.

**kàrɓi àbin-nàn!** Grab the thingamajig! cf. **kàrɓi wannàn àbù!** Grab this very thing!

ØHN: The use of the long-form demonstratives as pronominal determiners is an innovation. Historically, they functioned only as pronouns, i.e., **wannàn**, for example, originally meant 'this one', e.g., **inà sôn wannàn** 'I want this one.' A phrase such as **wannàn dōkì** would have been an appositional structure, which literally would have meant 'this one, a horse'. Later this must have been reinterpreted to mean 'this horse'. Before the change, the only way to express 'this horse' would have been **dōkìn-nân**, with the postnominal short form. But even this structure is historically an innovation. Originally, the postnominal demonstrative would have been a "true" determiner like the **ga** that one finds in the WH, e.g., **dōkìn-ga** 'this horse'. This original determiner very possibly had distinct allomorphs depending on gender and number. (In Kanakuru (Newman 1974: 86–87), the definite demonstrative appears with the following variants: **gamī mè** 'this ram' (m.), **gamī me** 'that ram'; **gunyoi jè** 'this girl', **gunyói she** 'that girl'; **amboi mè** 'these children', **amboi mòdi** 'those children'.) (The tonal opposition evidenced in **gamī mè** vs. **gamī me** is strikingly similar to what exists in Hausa, e.g., **rāgon-nàn** 'this ram' vs. **rāgón-nan** 'that ram near you'.) The present-day short-form demonstratives, e.g., **dōkìn-nân** 'this horse', are paraphrases using the locative adverbs **nan** and **càn** 'here, there, etc.' thus **dōkìn-nân** was literally 'horse.of-here' and **kàsuwaɗ-càn** 'that market' was 'market.of-there', etc.

### 1.2. Interrogative demonstratives

The fifth and sixth rows in the table contain the interrogative demonstratives 'which'. The items in the fifth row have the form **wa** + (**ɗan**) + **ne/ce/ne** (where **ce** < \***te**) with an all L tone melody. They function solely as pronominal determiners, e.g.,

**wàné sōjà?** which soldier? **wàcè kujèrà?** which chair? **wàɗ'annè màlāmai?** which teachers?

The items in the sixth row have the form **wa** + (**ɗan**) linker + **nē/cē/nē** with an L-H tone pattern, e.g., **wa** + /t/ + **cē**<sup>LH</sup> → **wàccē** 'which one (f.)'. (As with the definite demonstratives, **ɗan** either supplants or incorporates the linker, depending on one's analysis.)

ØHN: It is possible that the tone pattern for the pronouns was also originally all L and that the L-H pattern is due to historical low-tone raising conditioned by the long final vowel (see §34:3.2), i.e., \***wàné** remained **wàné**, but the earlier form \***wànnè** changed to **wànnè**.

These L-H forms function solely as specific interrogative pronouns, e.g.,

**wànnè/wàccē/wàɗ'annè sukà zàbā?** Which one(s) (m./f./pl.) did they choose?

These pronouns, especially the masculine singular form, are commonly extended by a partitive genitive phrase, e.g., **wànnensù kíkè sô** 'Which of them do you (f.) want?' (Note that the shortening of the final /ē/ in the closed syllable is phonologically automatic.)

The interrogative demonstratives combine with the prefix **kō-** to form the universals **kōwàné** / **kōwàcè** / (**kōwàɗ'annè**) 'whichever, each, every (m./f./pl.(rare))' and **kōwànnè** / **kōwàccē** / **kōwàɗ'annè** 'whichever one(s) (m./ f./ pl.)' (see chap. 73). Examples:

**àkwai kàsuwā à k**  
**kōwàɗ'annè zā kà**  
**kōwàccensù tā sà**

### 1.3. Relative pr

The seventh row in  
**wa** + (**ɗan**) + def  
(relativizer). The  
consonant, e.g., **wa**

The original to  
the F represents the  
the plural, the float  
Many SH speakers r  
simplification has b  
of these forms to all

\*AN: All low i  
grammatical me  
pair described e  
**wàndà**, the for  
for some speake  
some cases eve  
may now exist  
being retention

The feminine varian  
syllable ought to be  
with the other femin  
'that (f.)'.

The relative demons  
an overt head (espe

**mun biyā wasu yār**

We paid so

**ànnòbār kwalārā tā**

A cholera (

**màcè wàddà bā tā**

A woman (

**wàddà ta shā ràun**

As for the

**inā (mùtùm) wàndà**

Where is t

### 1.4. Specific ind

The eighth row in t  
'some(one) (m./f./pl.)'  
**wata**, and **su** 'them'

àkwai kàsuwā à kōwàné gārī  
 kōwàd'annē zā kà bā nì zān kàrbā  
 kōwàccensù tā sàmi dìflōmà

There is a market in every town.  
 Whichever ones you give me, I'll accept.  
 Each (f.) of them received a diploma.

1.3. Relative pronouns

The seventh row in the table contains the relative pronouns 'who, that, which'. These have the structure **wa** (+ **d'an**) + definite article (underlyingly // ʔn// (masculine or plural) or // ʔt// (feminine)) + **dà** (relativizer). The underlying feminine marker //t// automatically geminates with the following consonant, e.g., **wa** + ʔt + **dà** → **wáddà**.

The original tone pattern of the disyllabic singular forms was F-L (e.g., **wándà** and **wáddà**), where the F represents the attachment of the floating L tone of the definite article to the H-tone prefix **wa**. (In the plural, the floating L tone attaches to the already L tone plural morpheme **d'an** (e.g., **wàd'andà**.) Many SH speakers now simplify the F-L melody to H-L (e.g., **wandà** and **waddà**); in some dialects this simplification has become lexicalized so that only H-L is found. A further tone change is the weakening of these forms to all low, e.g., **wàndà**, **wáddà**, **wàd'andà**.

°AN: All low is an uncommon tone pattern in Hausa. It is, however, found with "unstressed" grammatical morphemes, e.g., **wàné** 'which', **dàgà** 'from'. As with the case of the **wànnan/wánnan** pair described earlier, some speakers feel that there is a semantic difference between **wandà** and **wàndà**, the former being considered somewhat stronger than the latter. Jaggard (1998) has found that for some speakers the H-L and L-L forms also differ syntactically in that the latter are preferred—in some cases even required—in nonrestrictive relative clauses. My guess is that whatever differences may now exist between the coexisting variants are the result of secondary developments rather than being retentions of an old contrast.

The feminine variant **waccè** (which can also appear as **wàccè** with L-L tone) is anomalous since the final syllable ought to be **dà**. The explanation is probably not phonological, but rather analogical confusion with the other feminine demonstratives with surface geminate /cc/, e.g., **wàccè** 'which one? (f.)' **waccàn** 'that (f.)'.

The relative demonstratives serve to introduce relative clauses. They may appear by themselves or with an overt head (especially one that is indefinite), e.g.,

**mun biyā wasu yārā wàd'andà sukà yi manà aikì**

We paid some children who did work for us.

**ànnòbār kwalārā tā bārķè à kāsāshēn nan, wàd'andà dukānsù à Afīrkà ta gabàs sukè**

A cholera epidemic has broken out in those countries, all of which are in East Africa.

**màcè wáddà bā tā jīn máganà bà zā tā sàmi mijìn kwarāi ba**

A woman who doesn't listen won't find a good husband.

**wáddà ta shā ràunī fa, an kai tā asibitì**

As for the one who was injured, they took her to the hospital.

**inā (mùtúm) wándà ya cè zái iyà gamà aikìn nān?**

Where is the one (the man) who said he will be able to finish this job?

1.4. Specific indefinite demonstratives

The eighth row in the table contains the specific indefinite demonstratives **wani**, **wata**, **wa(dan)su** 'some(one) (m./f./pl.)'. These have the structure **wa-** plus a personal pronoun: **ta** 'her' in the case of **wata**, and **su** 'them' in the case of **wasu**. The **ni** in **wani** is *not* the first person pronoun 'me', as it

Grab this very thing!  
 s is an innovation.  
 Originally meant 'this  
 i would have been an  
 Later this must have  
 express 'this horse'  
 en this structure is  
 d have been a "true"  
 orse'. This original  
 umber. (In Kanakuru  
 ; variants: **gamī mè**  
 'l'; **amboi mè** 'these  
**amī mè** vs. **gamī me**  
**rāgón-nan** 'that ram  
 n 'this horse', are  
**kin-nān** was literally  
  
 ch'. The items in the  
 elody. They function  
  
 ich teachers?  
  
 tone pattern, e.g., **wa**  
 n either supplants or  
  
 ll L and that the L-H  
 owel (see §34:3.2),  
  
 oose?  
  
 a partitive genitive  
 ortening of the final  
  
**kōwàné / kōwàcè /**  
**àccè / kōwàd'annē**

appears to be but rather is a frozen vestige of what historically was a 3m pronoun \*ni 'him'. This third person pronoun \*ni is widespread in Chadic languages, where it often differs from the first person only in tone. It has been completely lost in Hausa except in this one archaism (Newman 1972a).

The plural demonstrative has two equivalent variants: **wasu** and **wadansu**. The **wasu** variant possibly represents the original form. If this is so, the insertion of **ɗan** in **wadansu** would be due to analogic pressure from the other plural demonstratives like **wadannan** 'these', **wadanda** 'the ones who', etc.

The indefinite demonstratives function both as pronominal determiners, where they sometimes correspond to the English indefinite article 'a/an'—note that Hausa doesn't have an indefinite article—and as self-standing pronouns, e.g.,

<b>wata yārin yā tā zō</b>	A girl came.
<b>bā ni dà wani àbòkì à nān gàrì</b>	I don't have a friend in this town.
<b>nā ga wasu baunāyē bāyan gàrì</b>	I saw some buffaloes behind the town.
<b>wata rānā mā shiryā</b>	Some day we are going to settle this.
<b>wani yā tsērè masà</b>	Someone (m.) escaped from him.
<b>wata tā iyā</b>	Someone (f.) is able.
<b>wasu sunà tàimakon jūnā</b>	Some (pl.) are helping one another.

As determiners, the indefinite demonstratives often combine with the nouns **àbù** 'thing', **lòkaci** 'time', and **wurì** 'place' to form semifixed compound expressions, e.g.,

<b>wani àbù yā fāru</b>	Something happened.
<b>wani lòkaci anā sāmùn ruwā</b>	Sometimes one gets water.
<b>yā tàfì wani wurì</b>	He went somewhere.

In contexts in which there is an explicit or implied contrast, the indefinite demonstratives denote 'other' or 'another', e.g.,

<b>wannan kujerā bā ta dà kyāu; bā ni wata</b>	This chair is not good; give me another.
<b>wasu sun fi sōn Fanta, wasu kuma Pepsi</b>	Some prefer Fanta, others Pepsi.
<b>wasu (ɗālìbai) sun shìga zàngà-zàngà, wasu sun zaunā à gidā kawāi</b>	
Some (students) entered the demonstration, others just stayed home.	
<b>nā ga wani dòdò à hanyā; dàgà bāya wani ya bullō</b>	
I saw a goblin on the road; after a bit another appeared.	

When followed by a plural possessive pronoun, the indefinite demonstratives function as partitives. (The feminine is only marginally acceptable.) Examples:

**waninkù** some one of you (pl); **watařsù** some one (f.) of them; **wasunmù** some of us

### 1.5. Unspecified pronouns

The ninth row in the table contains the 'so-and-so' pronouns. These pronouns morphologically differ from the others in a few respects. First, the final -cè in the feminine form does not entirely replace the masculine -nè but rather is added to a base containing a final /n/, i.e., the pairing is **wānè / wancè** m./f. 'Mr. so-and-so / Ms. so-and-so'. Second, these words do not have true plurals but rather form pseudo-plurals by prefixed the third plural personal pronoun to the masculine and feminine singular forms, e.g.,

**su wānè / su wancè**  
is known but is not

**wancè tanà nēma**  
**līnā wānè?**

## 2. PRONOUNS

In Hausa, independent pronouns are used in appositional structures. The pronoun from the preceding clause can co-occur with the pronoun 'teachers', **sū** mu person/number, **h** thing(s) as opposite

**shì Mūsā zāi tàim**  
**shì Abdù yanà zu**  
**sū Hāusāwā sunā**  
**an yabà wà shì à**  
**yanà sō yā àuri**  
**kū sāmāri, zā mū**  
**mū talakāwā mū**

We come  
**mū mālāmai mū**  
We teach

**ita dai gyāɗā, H**  
As for p

## 3. ISOLATOR

Numerals normally mean 'mangoes'. The numeral 'other', and thus sometimes termed

**ɗaya littāfin**  
**ɗaya hūlāf**

If the head noun is appropriate d.a. a

[References: Abd

su wānè / su wancè 'so-and-so's (m.) / so-and-so's (f.)'. These forms are used when a person referred to is known but is not mentioned by name. Examples:

wancè tanà nēman fàsfò dà kântà	So-and-so is seeking a passport of her own.
ìnā wānè?	Where is so-and-so (m.)?

### 2. PRONOUNS AS DETERMINERS/SPECIFIERS

In Hausa, independent pronouns can function as pre-noun determiners/specifiers in a pseudo-appositional structure, e.g., **mū mālāmai** 'we teachers', **shī Bellò** 'he Bello'. It is possible to separate the pronoun from its noun by a modal particle, e.g., **mū fa mālāmai** 'we (indeed) teachers'. This pronoun can co-occur with a definite demonstrative or definite article, e.g., **mū mālāman-nān** 'we these teachers', **sū mutānē-n** 'they the men'. The determiner pronoun, which in principle can be of any person/number, has a particularizing function, i.e., it serves to pick out some particular person(s) or thing(s) as opposed to others. Here are some examples in sentential context:

shī Mūsā zāi tàimàkē nì dà mōtā	He Musa will give me ride.
shī Abdū yanà zuwà Marādī gòbè?	Is (this particular) Abdu coming to Maradi tomorrow?
sū Hàusāwā sunà dà ìyālì màsu yawà	They the Hausa have large families.
an yabà wà shī àlkālīn	They praised him the judge.
yanà só yà àuri ita sàrauniyār kântà	He wanted to marry she the queen herself.
kū sāmārī, zā mù hàd'ù dà kū nān gāba	You guys, I'm going to meet up with you in the future.
<b>mū talakāwā munà ròkon gwamnati tà ragè manà kuḍin tākīn zāmānī</b>	
We common people are appealing to the government to lower the cost of fertilizer.	
<b>mū mālāmai munà shān wāhalā sabōdā rashīn kuḍī</b>	
We teachers are suffering because of a lack of money.	
<b>ita dai gyāḍā, Hàusāwā sunà nōmā ta sōsai</b>	
As for peanuts (lit. she indeed peanut), Hausas farm them seriously.	

### 3. ISOLATOR

Numerals normally follow their head nouns, e.g., **mōtā ḍāya** 'one car', **mangwāfò gōmā** 'ten mangoes'. The numeral **ḍāya** 'one', however, can occur in front of a singular noun with the meaning 'the other', and thus semantically, if not structurally, behaves as a demonstrative. (In this function, **ḍāya** is sometimes termed an *isolator*.) The noun necessarily contains a definite article, e.g.,

<b>ḍāya littāfin</b>	the other book (cf. <b>littāfi ḍāya</b> one book)
<b>ḍāya hūlār</b>	the other cap (cf. <b>hūlā ḍāya</b> one cap)

If the head noun is understood, it can be omitted and the isolator can appear by itself with the gender appropriate d.a. attached, e.g., **ḍāyān** 'the other one' (e.g., a book); **ḍāyār** 'the other one' (e.g., a cap).

[References: Abdoulaye (1992); Buba (1997a); Galadanci (1969); Jaggar (1985, 1988b)]

## 22. Deverbal Nouns

### 1. DVNS WITH VERBAL NOUN MORPHOLOGY

IN “nonfinite environments” (see §77:1.1), the verb slot in a Hausa sentence is often filled by a participial-like “verbal noun” (VN) rather than a finite verb (vb), e.g., **yanà kòyon** (VN) Hausa ‘He is learning Hausa’, cf. **yà kòyi** (vb) Hausa ‘He learned Hausa.’ The complex and varied morphological formation of these verbal nouns is described in §77:3. As with an English ‘-ing’ word like ‘building’, which functions as a simple noun meaning a structure as well as an inflected participial form of the verb ‘to build’, many Hausa words with verbal noun morphology have become lexicalized as common nouns, which we call “deverbal nouns” (DVNs).

°AN: Ideally one would like to have a contrast between “deverbal nouns” and “nominalized verbs” (rather than “verbal nouns”), so as to emphasize the syntactically distinct functions of the two word classes. The term “verbal noun” (VN), however is too well established in Hausa scholarship to countenance a terminological change at this point.

Morphologically, DVNs are generally indistinguishable from corresponding active verbal nouns, i.e., they follow the same affixation rules and are found in the same formation classes. Semantically, on the other hand, the connection between a deverbal noun and its source verb is often more tenuous and specialized than that of a syntactic verbal noun. (This is especially true in the case of concrete DVNs, less so in the case of DVNs indicating an activity or event associated with the source verb.)

From a syntactic point of view, deverbal nouns function just like ordinary common nouns, e.g.,

**kanà dà kyàstù?**

cf. **kanà dà àshānā?**

**yā yi mini tsimē**

cf. **yā yi mini tawadā**

**yanà sànye dà shìgā marāf kunyà**

cf. **yanà sànye dà tagùwā marāf kunyà**

**nā sàmi rāmuwā**

cf. **nā sàmi lādā**

**kāwō minì ñan burmì!**

**àkwai mòlākā à mòtārkā**

**rūrìn zākì yā firgìtā mu**

**zanè ban dà lāfì**

cf. **yanà lāfìn zanèn**

**makāfā sun yi manà cāshiyā**

Do you have a lighter? (< **kyastà** to strike flint)

Do you have a match? (with the simple noun **àshānā**)

He made me a type of ink. (< **tsimā** to soak)

He made me ink. (with the simple noun **tawadā**)

He is wearing an outlandish outfit. (< **shìgā** to enter)

He is wearing an outlandish shirt.

I got revenge. (< **rāmā** to retaliate),

I got a reward. (with the simple noun **lādā**)

Bring me a small calabash.

(< **burmā** to invert a small calabash on a large one)

There is a dent on your car. (< **mòlākē** to dent)

The lion’s roar startled us. (< **rūrā** to roar, make fire)

wrapper without a hem (< **lāfē** to hem)

He is hemming the wrapper.

The drummers sped up the music for us.

(lit. ...did for us speeding up) (< **cāshē** to speed up)

DVNs can be found in Hausa language. The following are set out in chap. 7. Those not in feminine; those not in

1.1. Weak VNs  
**girmāmāwā** respect  
cf. **gudù** run); **iyā**  
**Rwarèwā** expert  
**gabātāfwā** introduce  
inform)

1.2. Stem-derived  
**àjjiyā** trust, sth stop  
(< **barzā** grind coarse  
(< **damrè**) tie); **gā**  
break); **kārayā** 1  
**kūfā** sip); **sanì**  
**sō** love); **wadātā**

1.3. Base-derived

1.3.1. -ī  
**cūrī** a kneaded ball  
robbery (< **fasā** break  
building (< **ginā** build  
divide); **rairāyi** fire  
**wankī** the wash/d  
reproach, blame (< 1

1.3.2. -ū  
**kāftū** tool for making  
**kāmā** catch); **Kyās**  
**musū** denial, cont  
piece of cloth (< **yā**

1.3.3. -ē  
**aurē** marriage (< 1  
**dasā** transplant);  
peppers / tomato p  
steep); **wānkē** inl  
to plaster)

1.3.4. -ō  
**ɗigò** a drop; peri  
encounter, occasion  
verb is uncommon]  
**yābā** to praise); **zi**



DVNs can be found representing practically all (if not all) of the regular verbal noun formations in the language. The following is a selected list of deverbal nouns organized according to the formation classes set out in chap. 77. (Note: With few exceptions, which are overtly marked, DVNs ending in *-ā* are feminine; those not ending in *-ā* are masculine.)

### 1.1. Weak VNs

**girmāmāwā** respect (< **girmāmā** to honor, to respect); **gudāwā** diarrhea (the runs) (< **gudā** hasten, cf. **gudū** run); **iyāwā** ability, mastery (< **iyā** be able to); **sādāwā** reconciliation (< **sādā** join); **kwarēwā** expertise (< **kwarē** be(come) an expert); **rāsuwā** death (< **rāsu** die, be lacking); **gabātārwā** introduction, preface (< **gabātaf** introduce, promote); **sanārwā** announcement (< **sanaf** inform)

### 1.2. Stem-derived VNs

**ājijā** trust, sth stored for safekeeping (< **ājijē** put aside); **barzā** corn that has been or is to be ground (< **barzā** grind coarsely); **dānganā** resignation (< **dānganā** be resigned to); **dāmarā** belt (cf. **daurē** (< **damrē**) tie); **gājiyā** tiredness, fatigue (< **gāji** (< \***gājiyā**) tire); **kārayā** a bone fracture (< **karyē** break); **kārayā** loss of nerve (< **kārayā** (= **kārai**) be nervous, lose one's nerve); **kūfā** a sip (< **kūfā** sip); **sanī** knowledge (< **sanī** know); **shīgā** an outfit (< **shiga** enter); **sō** love, affection (< **sō** love); **wādātā** wealth (< **wādātā** enrich)

### 1.3. Base-derived VNs

#### 1.3.1. -ī

**cūrī** a kneaded ball (< **cūrā** knead); **daurī** knot, bundle/wad; an arrest (< **daurē** tie, arrest); **fashī** robbery (< **fasā** break, rob); **gārgādī** a warning, admonishment (< **gārgādā** warn, admonish); **ginī** a building (< **ginā** build, make pottery); **kūmburī** a swelling (< **kūmburā** swell); **rabī** a half (< **rabā** divide); **rāirayī** fine sand (< **rāirayā** sift); **tausayī** mercy, pity (< **tausayā wā** sympathize with); **wankī** the wash/laundry (< **wankā** wash); **yākī** war (< **yākā** make war on); **zārgī** accusation; reproach, blame (< **zārgā** accuse)

#### 1.3.2. -ū

**kāftū** tool for making ridges on farm (< **kāftā** hack/scrape with shovel or hoe); **kāmū** an arrest (< **kāmā** catch); **kyastū** steel for striking a fire, cigarette lighter (< **kyastā** strike (match, flint, etc.)); **musū** denial, contradiction, argument, debate (< **musā** deny); **yāgū** a fingernail scratch; tear on a piece of cloth (< **yāgā** tear, rip)

#### 1.3.3. -ē

**aurē** marriage (< **aurā** marry); **dābē** a floor (< **dabē** pound a floor); **dāshē** transplanted seedling (< **dasā** transplant); **fāntsārē** coarsely ground flour (< **fantsārā** grind coarsely); **mārkādē** ground peppers / tomato puree (< **markādā** grind, e.g., peppers); **tsimē** ink made by steeping (< **tsimā** steep); **wānkē** ink made by washing off soot on cooking pot (< **wankē** wash); **yābē** plaster (< **yābā** to plaster)

#### 1.3.4. -ō

**d'igō** a drop; period (< **d'igā** drip); **gōyō** baby (< **gōyā** carry on the back); **karō** collision, encounter, occasion (< **karā dā** collide/clash with); **kitsō** a braid, coiffure (< **kitsā** braid hair) [the verb is uncommon]; **mahō** a patch on a garment (< **mafē** mend (cloth)); **yābō** praise, eulogy (< **yābā** to praise); **zātō** assumption (< **zātā** think)

## 1.3.5. -ā (variable gender)

**askā** f. razor, penknife (< **askè** shave); **girmā** m. size, status, prestige (< **girmā** be older than); **kidāyā** f. census (< **kidāyā** count); **rawā** f. a dance, dancing (< **rau dā** shake); **sātā** f. theft (< **sātā** steal); **shūkā** f. a plant (< **shūkā** to plant); **tsinkāyā** f. foresight (< **tsinkāyā** see from afar); **hawā** m. durbar; a steep place (< **hau** mount)

## 2. DVNS WITHOUT REGULAR VERBAL NOUN MORPHOLOGY

Some deverbal nouns have distinctive forms other than those found with regular active verbal nouns.

## 2.1. DVNs with -iyā and -uwā

A small number of trisyllabic DVNs appear with the feminative endings -iyā and -uwā. The tone is usually all H, but two words have L-H-H. There are also two words with final -ōwā and L-H-L tone. Examples (complete):

**dàriyā** laughter (< **dārā** laugh); **datsiyā** dam (< **datsè** block sth); **gōdiyā** thanks (< **gōdè** thank); **tōshiyā** bribe (< **tōshè** block up a hole); **yāfiyā** addition given to corn purchaser (< **yāfā** sprinkle); **tsintuwā** sth found by chance (< **tsintā** luckily find sth); **baiwā** (< \***bāyuwā**) gift, betrothal (< **bai** give); **rantsuwā** oath, swearing (< **rantsè** swear); **cikōwā** crowd, overcrowding, overflowing (< **cika** / **cikā** be full / fill up); **rāgōwā** remainder, respect (< **ragè** remain, be left over; reduce sth)

## 2.2. DVNs with -ē)HL

There are some twenty trisyllabic verb-derived nouns ending in -ē and having H-H-L tone. In most cases, the initial syllable is CVC. With two exceptions, namely, **buwāyè** 'invincibility' (< **būwāyā** 'be beyond one's strength or ability') and **rinjāyè** 'victory, success' (< **rinjāyā** 'defeat, overcome'), the medial syllable is CV with a short vowel. These deverbal nouns generally connote concrete things resulting from or related to the action of the verb. In a number of the cases, the DVN is more common than the source verb. Examples:

**bangarè** fragment, part, chip; region (< **bangarè** chip a piece off); **dumbujè** a pile (< **dumbūzā** take a pile of sth); **dunkulè** a kneaded ball (< **dunkulā** knead into a ball); **gangarè** downward slope (< **gangarā** go down a slope); **gēwayè** enclosure; latrine (< **gēwayā** go around, encircle); **gutsurè** fragment, piece broken off (< **gutsurè** break piece off); **kuskurè** mistake (< **kùskurā** be mistaken, miss a target); **kētārè** the other side (< **kētārè** cross over); **kwarzanè** a scratch (< **kwarzanā** scratch, scrape); **RyanRyashè** embers falling from a torch (< **RyanRyāsā** tap torch to knock off burnt end); **mulmulè** kneaded ball (< **mulmulā** knead); **sassarè** chip of wood, bark of tree cut off for medicinal purposes (< **sassarā** carve); **targadè** sprain, dislocation (< synchronically nonexistent verb)

## 2.3. DVNs with -kō

A small number of nouns derived from verbs end in -kō. The nouns roughly connote the nature or result of the activity represented by the underlying verb. There are two subclasses here, the first with a simple suffix -kō, the second with a suffix -makō.

Some eleven nouns end in -kō. The suffix is added to the simple verbal base (with reduplication in some cases). Monosyllabic Ci verbs lengthen the vowel in order to add weight to the syllable preceding the suffix. Four of the derived nouns have all H tone; the others have H-L tone: the choice is lexically determined and cannot be accounted for by general rule. One example (rare, but listed in the dictionaries) is reported with an L-H-L pattern in addition to all H.

**baikō** betrothal, e  
follow); **farkō** b  
**gangankō** crowd  
**mankō** (rare) for  
for good, evil for ev  
raise (roof)); **mām**

Four verb-derived n  
suffix composed of  
formative -kō.

**māimakō**  
**sākamakō**  
**sāmmakō**  
**tāimakō**

ØHN: [i] The w  
the abutting /  
verb **sāuka** (= [ü] Synchronic  
gr2 verb **tāim**  
**tāimakō**, whic

[Reference: Gouffé

**baikō** betrothal, engagement (< **bai** give); **blkō** attempted reconciliation (by husband with wife) (< **bi** follow); **farkō** beginning (< **fārà** begin); **ffikō** superiority, favoritism (< **fi** exceed); **gankō** (= **gangankō**) crowd (< **gamà** meet, assemble); **Ikō** (/i<sup>yk</sup>ò/) power, arrogance, ability (< **iyà** be able); **mankō** (rare) forgetfulness (< **mántā** forget); **rankō** restitution, revenge (< **rāmà** pay back (good for good, evil for evil)); **tarkō** trap (< **tarè** intercept, catch up with); **tsaikō** roof frame (< **tsay(aṛ)** **dà** raise (roof)); **māmulkō** = **māmulkō** psn/mouth without teeth (< **māmùlā** eat without teeth)

Four verb-derived nouns end in the suffix **-makō**<sup>LHH</sup> with (L)-L-H-H tone. This is very likely a double suffix composed of **-ma** (elsewhere not attested as a derivational suffix in the language) and the deverbal formative **-kō**.

<b>màimakō</b>	replacement, substitute (< <b>màyā</b> replace, substitute)
<b>sākamakō</b>	result, outcome (reward or punishment) (< <b>sākà</b> pay back)
<b>sammakō</b>	early start in the morning (< <b>sàuka</b> alight ?)
<b>tàimakō</b>	help, aid (< <b>tàyā</b> help)

ØHN: [i] The word **sammakō** most likely comes from /sāfmakō/ by full assimilation of the /f/ to the abutting /m/. If so, its underlying base would be \*/saf-/, which presumably is found in the verb **sàuka** (= WH **sāfka**) 'alight' and possibly also in the adverb **sāfe** 'in the morning'.

[ii] Synchronically **tàimakō** would look to be an **-ō** verbal noun formed in a regular manner from the gr2 verb **tàimakà**. Historically, however, **tàimakà** is probably a backformation from the noun **tàimakō**, which, as indicated above, derives from **tàyā** 'help' plus the suffix **-makō**.

[Reference: Gouffé (1981b), esp. §3, "Le nom verbal en haoussa: essai de mise au point"]

## 23. Equational Sentences

### 1. BASIC STRUCTURE

EQUATIONAL sentences, which in Hausa are nonverbal sentences (even though they usually translate as English copular sentences), have the core structure X Y STAB, where X is the subject NP, Y is a predicate nominal or adjective, and STAB is the gender/number sensitive stabilizer *nē/cē*, e.g., *bilbilō tsuntsū nē* 'A swallow is a bird.'

°AN: In addition to its role in "equational" sentences, the stabilizer also functions as a focus marker, e.g., *Hādizā cē na gani* 'It was *Hadiza* I saw', and as a sentence-level or VP-level reinforcing element, e.g., *lōkacin kākā yakān zō nē bāyan dāmunā* 'Harvest time comes after the rainy season' (see chap. 66).

One can take X Y STAB as the "ideal" structure. Sentences without the X or without the stabilizer or with an alternative word order will be described in due course. Equational sentences are not inflected for tense or aspect, the temporal reading depending on the context, e.g.,

[Audù] [bāwā] nē	Audu is a slave.
[yārinyār dà ta batà] [kawař Tàlātù] cē	The girl who got lost is Talatu's friend.
dā mā [Mūsā dà Shēhù] [àbōkan gāske] nē	Musa and Shehu were already true friends.

The stabilizer takes the form *nē* when agreeing with words that are masculine singular or plural and *cē* when agreeing with feminine words. The tone of both forms is polar to that of the preceding tone, i.e., L if the preceding tone is H, and H if the preceding tone is L or falling (= HL), e.g., *wannān jàki nē / dōkì nē / bàbūr nē / rigā cē / tágà cē / tāsì cē* 'This is a donkey / horse / motorcycle / gown / window / taxi.' The polarity shows up clearly with words that have alternative variants or in the case of different word orders, e.g., *wannān tēbūrī nē / wannān tēbūr nē* 'This a table'; *Audù bà yārō ba nē = Audù bà yārō nē ba* 'Audu is not a lad.'

ΔDN: In WH, the stabilizers have the form *nā/tā*, also with polar tone. These variants with /ā/ represent the historically original shapes.

Equational sentences allow a full range of NPs as subjects (the X) and a full range of NPs and adjectives as predicates (the Y), e.g.,

<i>yādin farī nē</i>	The cloth is white.	<i>mātařsà dōguwā cē</i>	His wife is tall.
<i>mōtařsà Hondā cē</i>	His car is a Honda.	<i>mōtōcīn kōnānnū nē?</i>	Are the cars burnt?
<i>idānūn kwalā-kwàlā nē</i>	The eyes are bulging.	<i>ganinsà garma-garma nē</i>	His sight is poor.
<i>zanèn shūdī-shūdī nē</i>	The wrapper is bluish.	<i>Balā shūgābanmù nē</i>	Bala is our boss.

*shī manajà nē?*  
*sū kūrāyē nē*  
*dā nī kai nē, dà nā y*

### 2. IDENTIFICATION

Identificational sentences without an expressed

*Mūsā nē* It's Musa  
 They're jinns. *garū*  
*nē* It is Sani or Bal  
 and you STAB); *far*

Identificational sentences propositional comp with *gā* + noun or g normally use the m

*hàlák nē kà shā m*  
*shirmē nē gārē kà*  
*wājibī nē Mūsūlm*  
 (lit. it's incumbent  
*wautā nē gā Mūsā*  
 (cf. *wautā cē* It's

### 3. ALTERNATI

Equational sentences semantically have the NP preceding

*rashīn tàusāyi nē*  
 (lit. lack.of pity S'  
*sābuwař munduv*  
 (lit. new bracelet t  
*littāfī nē dà shī à*  
 (lit. book STAB w  
*kuřin gāske nē*  
 (lit. money.of tru  
*gwāřrā rūsā-rūs*  
*bà gidājē mánya*  
 It's not

The usual means

*tanà dà sābuwař*  
*mùtumīn nān y*

<b>shì manajà nē?</b>	Is he the manager?	<b>kai gwànl nē</b>	You are an expert.
<b>sū kūrâyē nē</b>	They are real cheats. (lit. they hyenas STAB)		
<b>dà nī kai nē, dà nā yàfda</b>	If I were you, I would have agreed.		

## 2. IDENTIFICATIONAL SENTENCES

Identificational sentences, which correspond to English 'it's (a) / they're ...', are equational structures without an expressed X, i.e., they have the surface structure Y STAB. Examples:

<b>Mūsā nē</b>	It's Musa.	<b>gwàdò nē</b>	It's a blanket.	<b>Kanò cē</b>	It is Kano.	<b>Rafà cē</b>	It's a foot.	<b>àljànū nē</b>	They're jinns.
<b>garūruwā nē</b>	They're towns.	<b>Kànde dà Lādì nē</b>	It is Kande and Ladi.	<b>Sāni kō Bālā nē</b>	It is Sani or Bala.	<b>ita cē</b>	It is she/her.	<b>mū nē</b>	It is we/us.
<b>shì dà kai nē</b>	It is you and him. (lit. he and you STAB);	<b>farī nē</b>	It is white.	<b>gājēriyā cē</b>	She's short.	<b>Rònnānū nē</b>	They're burnt.		

Identificational sentences with the structure Y STAB constitute one of the sentence types that take propositional complements. In this function, they are often extended by a prepositional phrase formed with **gà** + noun or **gārē** + pronoun, which occurs after the STAB. These complement-taking expressions normally use the masculine STAB regardless of the intrinsic gender of the noun. Examples:

<b>hàlák nē kà shā madaṛā</b>	It's permitted for you to drink milk.
<b>shirmē nē gārē kà kà yī fītāyà yànzū fa</b>	It is nonsense for you to retire now.
<b>wājībī nē Mūsūlmi sù yī sallā</b> (lit. it's incumbent that Muslims do prayers)	Muslims must perform the daily prayers.
<b>wāutā nē gā Mūsā dà yà cī bāshī</b> (cf. <b>wāutā cē</b> It's foolishness.)	It was foolish of Musa to take out a loan.

## 3. ALTERNATIVE 'HAVE' EXPRESSIONS

Equational sentences with the structure Y STAB plus a prepositional phrase **dà** + NP 'with NP' semantically have a 'has/have' reading. The **dà** + NP phrase semantically constitutes the possessor and the NP preceding the STAB is the thing possessed, e.g.,

<b>rashīn tàusàyi nē dà kàntòmà</b> (lit. lack.of pity STAB with administrator)	The administrator is without pity.
<b>sābuwaṛ munduwā cē dà ita</b> (lit. new bracelet STAB with her)	She has a new bracelet.
<b>littāfi nē dà shī à hannunsà</b> (lit. book STAB with him at hand.of.him)	He has a book in his hand.
<b>kuḍīn gāske nē dà mùtūmīn nān</b> (lit. money.of truth STAB with man.of this)	This man has a lot of money.
<b>gwāṛṛā rūsā-rūsà nē dà ita</b>	She has large kolanuts.
<b>bà gidàjē mánya-mánya ba nē dà Audù, kanānà nē dà shī</b> It's not big houses Audu has, it's small ones he has.	

The usual means of expressing HAVE is by a tensed sentence of the form X is with Y, e.g.,

<b>tanà dà sābuwaṛ munduwā</b>	She has (lit. is with) a new bracelet.
<b>mùtūmīn nān yanà dà kuḍīn gāske</b>	This man has a lot of money.

Sentences formed with the equational structure and the *dà* phrase are colloquial Kano speech and are not accepted by all speakers. They are definitely marked as compared with the straightforward HAVE sentences; but the exact semantic/pragmatic nuances are far from clear.

#### 4. PLEONASTIC INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

Noun subjects in equational sentences, especially those referring to humans, may optionally be accompanied by a pleonastic independent pronoun. This pronoun adds a degree of prominence to the NP, e.g.,

<b>Sāni (shī) mùtúm nē</b>	Sani (he) is truly a man. (i.e., is a truly decent psn)
<b>yāriyār (ita) gājēriyā cè</b>	The girl (she) is short.
<b>mutānēn (sū) wāwāyē nē</b>	The people (they) are fools indeed.

°AN: The sentences with the pleonastic pronouns should not be confused with similar-looking sentences with topicalization, which have a distinct intonation including a slight pause and the possibility of using a modal particle, e.g., *Sāni, shī mùtúm nē* / *Sāni kām, shī mùtúm nē* 'As for Sani, he is a true gentleman.' Nor should they be confused with prenominal pronouns that function as determiners, e.g., *shī Sāni mùtúm nē* 'He Sani (i.e., this Sani) is truly a gentleman'; *ita yāriyār bēbiyā cè* 'She the girl is deaf-mute.'

#### 5. RESUMPTIVE INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

Some equational sentences, especially with an adjectival predicate, allow the use of a resumptive pronoun agreeing with the subject at the end of the sentence after the STAB. The pronoun belongs to the independent set. The subject is generally in a definite form or else is a proper noun. The exact semantic contribution of the pronoun is not clear, but it seems to add a degree of insistence to the described attribution, sometimes with an element of contrast implied. A possible parallel in English would be sentences with a tag like, 'This kid is very bright, he is.' Examples:

<b>mōtār farā cè ita</b>	The car is white.
<b>wannān d'ālibī dākīkī nē shī</b>	This student is dull.
<b>masārār gārī cè ita</b>	The corn/maize is powdery.
<b>itācēn d'anyē nē shī</b>	The wood is green (i.e., not dry).
<b>mutānēn nan jāṛūmai nē sū</b>	Those men are brave.
<b>Sābo mālāmī nē shī, bā jāhīlī ba (nē)</b>	Sabo is a teacher, not an illiterate.

#### 6. CONCORD

If the X and Y in an equational sentence have the same gender and number, as is always the case whenever the Y is an adjective, then the choice of the stabilizer (*nē* or *cē*) is straightforward, e.g.,

<b>[wāndōnā]<sub>m</sub> [shūdī]<sub>m</sub> nē</b>	My trousers are blue.
<b>[tsōhuwār]<sub>f</sub> [makitsiyā]<sub>f</sub> cē</b>	The old woman is a hairdresser.
<b>[yāran nān]<sub>pl</sub> [ālmājīrai]<sub>pl</sub> nē</b>	These children are pupils.
<b>[mutānēn nan]<sub>pl</sub> [gājērū]<sub>pl</sub> nē</b>	Those men are short.

If, on the other hand, the X and Y do not match, the determination of which stabilizer to use is more complicated and subject to considerable idiolectal and dialectal variation. There are two basic systems,

with some shifting in seems to be favored to be determined), ar

In the subject-co stabilizer, e.g.,

[bāsukūr d'īn Audū]  
[itācēn nān]<sub>m</sub> [tsān  
[kārē]<sub>m</sub> [dabbār-gi  
[wāndō]<sub>m</sub> [tufā]<sub>f</sub> nē  
[jēmāgè]<sub>m</sub> [dabbā]<sub>f</sub>  
[dabbār dà na gan]  
[jīminā]<sub>f</sub> [bābban t  
[shīnkāfā]<sub>f</sub> [mūhim

In the prominence-c with the predicate n

[bāsukūr d'īnsà]<sub>m</sub> [  
(e.g., even though h  
[itācēn nān]<sub>m</sub> [tsān  
[jēmāgè]<sub>m</sub> [dabbā]  
[dabbār dà na gan]  
[jīminā]<sub>f</sub> [bābban t  
[shīnkāfā]<sub>f</sub> [mūhin

If the stabilizer imm with the subject, e.

[bāsukūr d'īnsà]<sub>m</sub> [  
[shīnkāfā]<sub>f</sub> cē [mī

In pseudo-cleft sen agreement is gener system, e.g.,

àbīn dà nakè sò [ā  
wandà ya ci lambī

#### 7. NEGATION

The basic structure is surrounding by

Audū bā yārò ba  
shī bā mahāukāc  
jākaṛ nān bā tāw  
mutānē sū bā wā

with some shifting inbetween. There is what I shall refer to as the "subject-controlling" system, which seems to be favored by many SH speakers (although the exact dialectal or sociolectal distribution is yet to be determined), and there is the "prominence-controlling" system.

In the subject-controlling system, the gender of the X, i.e., the subject, determines the gender of the stabilizer, e.g.,

[bāsukûř d'ín Audù] <sub>m</sub> [akwalā] <sub>f</sub> nē	Audu's bicycle is a piece of junk.
[itācen nān] <sub>m</sub> [tsāmiyā] <sub>f</sub> nē	This tree is a tamarind.
[kārē] <sub>m</sub> [dabbār-gidā] <sub>f</sub> nē	A dog is a domesticated animal.
[wāndō] <sub>m</sub> [tufā] <sub>f</sub> nē	Pants are a (type of) clothing.
[jēmāgè] <sub>m</sub> [dabbā] <sub>f</sub> nē kō tsuntsū	A bat is an animal or a bird.
[dabbār dà na ganī] <sub>f</sub> [rākūmin sarkī] <sub>m</sub> cè	The animal I saw is the emir's camel.
[jìminā] <sub>f</sub> [bābban tsuntsū] <sub>m</sub> cè	An ostrich is a big bird.
[shìnkāfā] <sub>f</sub> [mùhimmin àbinci] <sub>m</sub> cè	Rice is important food.

In the prominence-controlling system, the stabilizer can agree with the subject, but it can also agree with the predicate noun if the objective is to pay particular attention to that item.

[bāsukûř d'insà] <sub>m</sub> [akwalā] <sub>f</sub> cè	His bicycle is a piece of junk.
(e.g., even though he just paid a lot of money for it)	
[itācen nān] <sub>m</sub> [tsāmiyā] <sub>f</sub> cè	This tree is a tamarind.
[jēmāgè] <sub>m</sub> [dabbā] <sub>f</sub> cè kō tsuntsū	A bat is an animal or a bird.
[dabbār dà na ganī] <sub>f</sub> [rākūmin sarkī] <sub>m</sub> nē	The animal I saw is the emir's camel.
[jìminā] <sub>f</sub> [bābban tsuntsū] <sub>m</sub> nē	An ostrich is a big bird.
[shìnkāfā] <sub>f</sub> [mùhimmin àbinci] <sub>m</sub> nē	Rice is important food.

If the stabilizer immediately follows the subject for purposes of focus, then the agreement is invariably with the subject, e.g.,

[bāsukûř d'insà] <sub>m</sub> nē [akwalā] <sub>f</sub>	<i>His bicycle</i> is a piece of junk.
[shìnkāfā] <sub>f</sub> cè [mùhimmin àbinci] <sub>m</sub>	<i>Rice</i> is important food.

In pseudo-cleft sentences in which the subject is semantically unmarked or nonspecific, the stabilizer agreement is generally with the predicate, even for speakers who normally use the subject-controlling system, e.g.,

àbīn dà nakè sò [alāwā] <sub>f</sub> cè	The thing that I like is halvah.
wandā ya ci lambār [Hādīzà] <sub>f</sub> cè kō Mūsā	The one who won the medal is Hadiza or Musa.

## 7. NEGATION

The basic structure of negative equational and identificational sentences is (X) *bā* Y *ba* STAB, i.e., the Y is surrounding by the discontinuous marker *bā...ba*. Examples:

Audù <i>bā</i> yārò <i>ba</i> nē	Audu is not a small boy.
shī <i>bā</i> mahàukàct <i>ba</i> nē	He is not crazy.
jàkař nān <i>bā</i> tàwa <i>ba</i> cè	This bag is not mine.
mutānē sū <i>bā</i> wāwāyē <i>ba</i> nē	People are not stupid.

wànnan bà amaryātā ba cè That psn is not my bride.  
 Mūsā dà Shēhù bà àbòkai ba nè Musa and Shehu are not friends.  
 bà lèmo ba nè It's not a soft drink. bà giyà ba cè It's not beer. bà mū ba nè It's not us.

ΔDN: A common alternative found in dialects other than SH is to have the final *ba* at the end of the sentence after the stabilizer, e.g., *shī bà mahàukàcī nè ba* 'He is not crazy'; *wànnan bà amaryātā cè ba* 'That psn is not my bride'; *mutānē sū bà wāwāyē nè ba* 'People are not stupid'; *bà mū nè ba* 'It is not us.'

## 8. OMISSION OF THE STABILIZER

In normal equational sentences, affirmative or negative, the stabilizer is obligatory. There are some structures, however, where the stabilizer is always, or almost always, left out.

### 8.1. Names, times, places, occupations, numbers

Sentences indicating someone's name or describing time, place, occupation, or number normally occur without the stabilizer, although in some contexts it is allowed, e.g.,

sūnānā Sābo My name is Sabo. sūnantā Mairō Her name is Mairo.  
 yāu àsabār Today is Saturday. jiyà ran kàsuwā (nè/cè) Yesterday was market day.  
 gārinsù Kàtsinà His (home)town is Katsina. indà akà hàifē shī jējī Where he was born was the countryside.  
 sàna'ārsà nōmā His occupation is farming. mùkāmìnsà fūròfēsà His rank is professor.  
 cf. Dr. Daudà fūròfēsà nē Dr. Dauda is a professor. (nē required)  
 àbincinsù dàbam, nāmù dàbam Their food is different, ours is different.  
 gòbe bà d'aya gà watā ba Tomorrow is not the first of the month. bàdí shèkàrun Mūsā biyār dà rāsuwā (nè) Next year will be the fifth anniversary of Musa's death. mātansà huđu (nè) He has four wives. (lit. wives.of.his four STAB) 'yan-bangānsà shā-biyu He has twelve bodyguards.

Certain adjectives can be expanded by a phrase made up of *dà* plus an independent pronoun copying the number and gender of the head. If an equational predicate contains such an expansion, the stabilizer is omitted, e.g.,

yāròn dōgō dà shī The boy is tall. (cf. yāròn dōgō nè)  
 Fàtī kùduddūsā dà ita Fatī is short and stout.  
 'yammātan nān santalā-santalā dà sū The girls are shapely.

The question word *wāyē* (pl. *su wāyē*) 'who?' may occur with or without the stabilizer. If it is used, it occurs immediately after 'who?' (as is required of all focused elements) rather than after the predicate Y, e.g.,

wāyē (nē) kātòn nan dà kè kallonmù? Who was that brute who was looking at us?  
 su wāyē (nē) bàkīn? Who are the strangers?

### 8.2. Exclamatory expressions

If the stabilizer is omitted from a sentence that normally requires one, the result is an exclamatory expression, e.g.,

Mammàn bāwā!  
 cf. Mammàn bāwā  
 ruwā láfiyā!  
 talakāwā bāyin A  
 Mūsā gwāni!  
 sàrutā bà àbār w

The structure with

Allàh Sarki!  
 namiji kàré!  
 màtaf mùtùm kal  
 àbincin wani gubā  
 gidā biyu mágānī  
 kà dà màge bà ya  
 bà cinyār ba, Rafā  
 (i.e., six of one ha

By contrast with t  
 require the stabiliz

[mugunyār dàbār  
 [dān bàjimi] [bà]  
 [àbòkin fàrāwò]

8.3. Reduction  
 Identificational se  
 STAB nè/nè, e.g.,

[mài yiwuwā nè]

If, however, an ite  
 normally accompa

Balā nè [mài yiw  
 It's Bala  
 sābuwār mōtā cē  
 It's a ne  
 Audū nè dōlè ( )

As far as negative  
 applied and the ST

Fū'ād nè [bà dōk  
 It is Fu'  
 Bintā cē [bà mair  
 It is Bir



<b>Mammàn bāwà!</b>	What a slave Mamman is! (i.e., he works like a slave)
cf. <b>Mammàn bāwà nē</b>	Mamman is a slave.
<b>ruwā láfiyà!</b>	How healthy water is!
<b>talakāwā bāyin Allāh!</b>	Poor people are masses!
<b>Mūsā gwàni!</b>	Musa is a real maven!
<b>sàrautà bā àbār wàsà ba!</b>	Chieftaincy is not play!

The structure without the stabilizer is particularly prevalent in fixed expressions and proverbs, e.g.,

<b>Allāh Sarki!</b>	How wonderful! (lit. God is the Lord)
<b>namiji kàrè!</b>	How useless is a man! (lit. a man is a dog)
<b>mātař mùtùm kabāfinsà</b>	A man's wife is his destiny. (lit. his grave)
<b>àbincin wani gubāř wani</b>	One man's food is another man's poison.
<b>gidā biyu mágànin gōbārā</b>	Two houses is the remedy for a house fire.
<b>kā dà màge bā yankā ba</b>	Knocking down a cat is not slaughtering (it).
<b>bā cinyār ba, Rafār bāya</b>	It's not the thigh, it's the hind leg.
(i.e., six of one half a dozen of the other)	

By contrast with the above, proverbs in which the X and the Y contain a repetition of the same word require the stabilizer, e.g.,

<b>[mugunyār dābārā] [dābārā] cē</b>	A bad plan is still a plan.
<b>[đan bājimi] [bājimi] nē</b>	The son of a bull-ox is himself a bull-ox.
<b>[àbòkin ãarāwò] [ãarāwò] nē</b>	The friend of a thief is himself a thief.

### 8.3. Reduction of multiple stabilizers

Identificational sentences with complement-taking expressions normally appear with the STAB *nē/nē*, e.g.,

<b>[mài yiwuwā nē] Bālā tà sàyi sābuwař mōtā</b>	It is possible that Bala may buy a new car.
--	---

If, however, an item is extracted from the complement and focused (using the STAB), then the STAB that normally accompanies the complement-taking expression is deleted, e.g.,

<b>Bālā nē [mài yiwuwā ( )] yà sàyi sābuwař mōtā</b>	It's Bala who it is possible that he may buy a new car.
<b>sābuwař mōtā cē mài yiwuwā ( ) Bālā yà sàyā</b>	It's a new car that it is possible that Bala may buy.
<b>Audù nē dōlè ( ) yà àuri Bintā</b>	It is Audu who it is necessary that he marry Binta.

As far as negative complement-taking identificational sentences are concerned, the deletion rule is not applied and the STAB is retained, e.g.,

<b>Fù'ád nē [bà dōlè ba nē] (wai) yà yi barci cikin d'ākìnsà</b>	It is Fu'ad who it is not necessary that he must sleep in his room.
<b>Bintā cē [bà mài yiwuwā ba nē] (wai) tà zama sàrauniyařmù</b>	It is Binta who it is not likely that she will become our queen.

## 9. POSITION OF THE STABILIZER

According to the general formula X Y STAB, the stabilizer occurs at the end of the sentence after the predicate constituting the Y. Deviations from this order result from two independent factors: focus and heavy predicates.

## 9.1. Focus

If the subject X of an equational sentence is focused, the STAB is placed immediately after the X and before the Y. This is true also of structures that normally occur without the stabilizer. Note that the pleonastic pronoun described above in §4 is commonly used along with focused NPs. Examples:

Audù nē mālāmī	It is <i>Audu</i> who is a teacher.
cf. Audù mālāmī nē	Audu is a teacher.
d'ālibāi nē ābin tāsūyī	It is <i>students</i> who are pitiful.
shaddār cē tōka-tōka	It is the <i>brocade</i> that is gray.
kèkèn nē sàbō fil	It is the <i>bicycle</i> that is brand new.
sàna'āfsà ita cē nōmā	<i>His occupation</i> is farming.
cf. sàna'āfsà nōmā	His occupation is farming.
gwāfīrā nē rūsā-rūsā dà sū	The <i>kolanuts</i> are really large.
Bintā ita cē wùlārāntacciyā	It is <i>Binta</i> who is disrespectful.
shī nē Mālām Bellò	<i>He</i> is Malam Bello.
mū nē māsū rawā	It is <i>we</i> who are the dancers.

In negative sentences with focus, the first *bà* normally appears at the beginning of the sentence immediately in front of the focused constituent.

bà [mū] <sub>X</sub> nē mahāukātā ba	It is not <i>we</i> who are crazy.
bà [shī] <sub>X</sub> nē Mālām Sāni ba	It is not <i>he</i> who is Malam Sani.

## 9.1.1. Focusing of the Y

The predicate Y of an equational sentence is focused by moving it to the focus position at the beginning of the sentence. The fronted Y is immediately followed by the STAB. Examples:

Mālām Bellò nē nī It's *Malam Bello* who I am. (cf. nī Mālām Bellò nē I am Malam Bello.)  
 mài wàyō nē shī He is a *clever*. makaryaciya cē ita She is a *liar*. 'yan-lèkèn-āsīrī nē sū They're *spies*.

When the X is a noun (rather than a pronoun) fronting of the Y for purposes of focus results in sentences that tend to be clumsy, e.g., ??ālkālī nē Bālā 'Bala is a *judge*'. One strategy that solves the problem is to topicalize the subject. This can then be followed by a straightforward structure composed of the focused Y plus the stabilizer, followed optionally by a resumptive pronoun, e.g.,

Bālā, ālkālī nē (shī)	Bala, he's a <i>judge</i> (he is).
d'ālibīn, dàrkīkī nē (shī)	The student, he's <i>dull</i> .
sàmārīn fa, dabbōbī nē (sū)	As for the youths, (like) <i>animals</i> they are.

Corresponding negative sentences employ a pronoun either in the X position or optionally at the very end of the sentence. (Different speakers have different preferences regarding the alternative structures.)

mōtār, ita bà farā h  
 d'ālibīn, shī bà dàk

Another strategy w  
 (consisting of a no  
 (see chap. 6), e.g.,

tàurārūwā cē, [ita M  
 cf. ita Madonna tà

9.1.2. Question v  
 The stabilizer occur  
 in a sentence. (In t  
 occurrences of the s  
 and the second one

wānē nē kaninkā?  
 wācē cē mātār ma  
 su wānē nē bàkīn?  
 kèkèn nan na wānē  
 kū su wānē nē?  
 mēnē nē aikīn bàt  
 wāccē cē gōfīyār  
 kuđīn rīgunàn naw  
 How much

9.2. Heavy pred  
 If the Y is a simple  
 genitive complex, t

shī Rātò nē He is  
 nē These are guin  
 kàwun Jummai nē

If the predicate nou  
 be placed after the

Mātī dà Shēhù yā  
 Mātī and  
 àkuyā dabbā kōs  
 Ādařāwā mutānē  
 Yunūsā yārò mài  
 Mārīsandī mōtā m

Similarly, predica  
 usually allow the  
 head, e.g.,

**mōtār, ita bà farā ba cè = mōtār, bà farā ba cè (ita)**  
**d'ālibīn, shī bà dākīrī ba nè = d'ālibīn, bà dākīrī ba nè (shī)**

The car, it's not *white*.  
 The student, he is not *dull*.

Another strategy when two nouns are involved is to front the Y + STAB and to right-shift the X (consisting of a noun preceded by a pronominal determiner/specifier) in an afterthought construction (see chap. 6), e.g.,

**tàurārùwā cè, [ita Madonna]** She's *a star*, she Madonna.  
**cf. ita Madonna tàurārùwā cè** She Madonna is a star.

### 9.1.2. Question words

The stabilizer occurs immediately next to question words, whether they appear in initial position or later in a sentence. (In the interrogative forms **wānē nè** 'who', **mènē nè** 'what', etc., which contain two occurrences of the stabilizer, the orthographic convention is to write the first one attached to the Q-word and the second one separate.) Examples:

<b>wānē nè kanìkà?</b>	Who is your younger brother?
<b>wàcè cè màtār manajà?</b>	Who is the manager's wife?
<b>su wānē nè bàkín?</b>	Who are the strangers/guests?
<b>kèkèn nan na wānē nè?</b>	Whose bicycle is that? (lit. bicycle.of that of who STAB)
<b>kū su wānē nè?</b>	Who are you (pl.)?
<b>mènē nè aikìn bàbankà?</b>	What is your father's occupation?
<b>wàccè cè gōdīyař līmān?</b>	Which one is the imam's mare?
<b>kuđin rīgunān nawà-nawà nè? = nawà-nawà nè kuđin rīgunān?</b>	
How much is the price of the gowns each?	

### 9.2. Heavy predicate shift

If the Y is a simple adjective, or a single noun, with or without a pronominal modifier, or a simple genitive complex, then the basic word order is X Y STAB, e.g.,

**shī kātò nè** He is very large. **Bellò màshàhūrīn likità nè** Bello is a famous doctor. **wafānnān zābī nè** These are guinea-fowls. **Tālātù sàraunīyař kyāu cè** Talatu is the beauty queen. **mùtumīn cān kàwun Jummai nè** That man is Jummai's uncle.

If the predicate noun is followed by a relatively simple postnominal modifier, then the STAB either can be placed after the full Y or it can be moved up after the head noun and before the modifier, e.g.,

**Màtū dà Shēhù yārā nàgārtàttū nè = Mātū dà Shēhù yārā nè nàgārtàttū**

Mati and Shehu are well-behaved children.

<b>àkuyà dabbà kòsashiyā cè = àkuyà dabbà cè kòsashiyā</b>	A goat is a well-fed animal.
<b>Ādařāwā mutānē fīřđā-fīřđā nè = Ādařāwā mutānē nè fīřđā-fīřđā</b>	Ader people are hefty.
<b>Yunūsà yārò mài nàtsuwā nè = Yunūsà yārò nè mài nàtsuwā</b>	Yunusa is a composed boy.
<b>Mařsandī mōtā mài tsādā cè = Mařsandī mōtā cè mài tsādā</b>	Mercedes is an expensive car.

Similarly, predicate adjectives modified by phonologically simple ideophones (underlined> or adverbs usually allow the STAB following the entire Y although the preferred position is immediately after the head, e.g.,

<b>tukunyār bakā cè kirin</b> (= <b>tukunyār bakā kirin cè</b> )	The pot is jet black.
<b>kèkèn sàbō nè fil</b> (= <b>kèkèn sàbō fil nè</b> )	The bicycle is brand new.
<b>wannàn dōkì magùji nè sòsai</b>	This horse is really fast.
<b>dámman hatsi d'anyū nè shařaf</b> (= <b>dámman hatsi d'anyū shařaf nè</b> )	
The grain bundles are wet.	
<b>yāriyār kyàkkyāwā cè ainùn</b> (≠ <b>**yāriyār kyàkkyāwā ainùn cè</b> )	
The girl is very beautiful.	

If, however, the modifier is "heavy," i.e., it consists of a prepositional phrase or a relative clause, etc., then the STAB is generally placed immediately after the head rather than after the Y as such, e.g.,

<b>Audù d'álbì nè à jāmì'á</b>	Audu is a student at the university.
(lit. Audu student STAB at university)	
<b>mutuwà tabbàs cè gā kōwā</b>	Death is a certainty for everyone.
(lit. death certain STAB to everyone)	
<b>Kānde mātā cè dà bā tà rigimā</b>	Kande is a woman who isn't troublesome.
(lit. Kande woman STAB that neg 3f-Ncont trouble)	
<b>d'inkì babbār sàna'á cè à kasař Hausa</b>	Tailoring is an important profession in Hausaland.
<b>mōtārsā akwalā cè dàgā gēfē</b>	His car is wrecked from the side.
<b>Shatù yāriyā cè 'yař shēkarā bakwāi</b>	Shatu is a seven-year-old girl.
<b>àljānū hālttū nè dà bā à gani</b>	Jinns are creatures that are not seen.
<b>bābban nauyi nè à kánkù kù taimākā wà jūnā</b>	
It is a big responsibility on/upon you that you should help each other.	
<b>Mātù yāřō nè dà akā hāifā bāyan an yi ta haihūwař mātā</b>	
Mati is [the name of] a boy born after a series of females.	
<b>Audù shī mùtúm nè dà kè sòn à kulā dà shī</b>	Audu is a person who likes to be looked after.

Sentences such as ??**Audù shī mùtúm dà kè sòn à kulā dà shī nè** with the STAB as the end are not considered totally ungrammatical, but they are felt to be very awkward and are definitely dispreferred.

Another strategy employed to avoid placing the STAB at the end of a heavy Y is to move the STAB up between the X and the Y, e.g.,

<b>Àlhađi Mūsā nè mùtumìn dà sukā bā lābārìn</b>	Alhaji Musa is the man the story was told to.
<b>Hādizā cè yāriyār dà akā yi wà aurē</b>	Hadiza is the girl that one arranged the marriage for.
<b>zākì nè dabbār dà ta fi kōwàcè dabbā ban tsòrō</b>	A lion is the animal that is most fearful of all.

There is difference of opinion among native speakers as to whether these sentences connote focus on the X or whether they are essentially equivalent to corresponding sentences with the STAB after the Y.

If the Y contains an NP consisting of conjoined or disjoined nouns, the natural place for the STAB is after the first noun. (In such cases, the STAB usually agrees with the immediately preceding noun rather than with the subject.) Examples:

<b>Audù sākāřai nè kō mahāukāci</b>	Audu is either a fool or crazy.
<b>àbìn dà ka ganī kāsā cè kō gānshēkā?</b>	Was the thing that you saw a puff-adder or a cobra?
<b>àbōkìn nākā daktā nè kō kùwa daftàn?</b>	Is your friend a (true) doctor or just a quack?

mùtúm nè kō àljar  
Bintā cè kō Lādi  
kèkèn akwalā cè k  
wad'annān tsuntsā  
wad'annān yāřā m  
These chil

[References. Parson

mùtúm nē kō àljan?

Is it a person or a jinn?

Bintà cē kō Lādi

It's Binta or Ladi.

kèkèn akwalā cè kō gāwā

The bicycle is either a jalopy or totally useless.

wad'annán tsuntsâyē ùngùlu cè dà shāhò

These birds are a vulture and an eagle.

wad'annán yārá makàfī nē dà kuma guràgū

These children are (composed of the) blind and also the lame.

[References. Parsons (1963); Rufa'i (1977); Schachter (1966)]

## 24. Ethnonyms

### 1. BASIC FORM AND MEANING (bà-)

SINGULAR words indicating a person's place of origin, nationality, ethnicity, occupation, or social group (or qualities ascribed thereto) are formed by means of a low-tone prefix *bà-*, which is attached to the name of the ethnic group, language, or place in question. (I am using "ethnonym" as a cover term with the understanding that it is not semantically accurate in all cases.) In addition to the *bà-* prefix, masculine nouns typically utilize a vocalic suffix *-è*<sup>HL</sup>. The H-L pattern of the suffix spreads to the left up to the initial *bà-*, which retains its intrinsic L tone, thereby producing a regular L-(H)H-L tone sequence, e.g.,

**Bàgumalè** man from Gumel (**Gumàl**)      **Bàzamfarè** man from Zamfara (**Zàmfarà**)

A few ethnonyms end in /*ū*/, /*ō*/, or /*ā*/ instead of (or as an alternative to) the usual /*è*/:

**bādūkù** leather worker (cf. **dūkancù** leather working)  
**bāfādà** (= **bāfādè**) courtier (< **fādà** palace)  
**bāhagò** left-handed psn (< **hagu** left)  
**Bàkanò** (= **Bàkanè**) man from Kano (**Kanò**)

Feminine singular ethnonyms add {-*ā*} to the masculine stem. The surface realization is determined by the following regular rules of feminine inflectional formation (see §31:3.1): *-è* + *-ā* → *-iyā* and *-ò* + *-ā* → *-ūwā*, e.g., **Bàgumalè** m. / **Bàgumaliyā** f. 'man / woman from Gumel'; **Bàkanò** m. / **Bàkanūwā** f. 'man / woman from Kano'. The feminine counterpart of **bāfādà** 'courtier' is **bāfādiyā** (without palatalization of the /*d*/).

ΔDN: In WH, the feminine ending for masculine words ending in *-è* is *-ā* rather than *-iyā*, e.g., [SH] **Bàkatsiniyā** = [WH] **Bàkatsinā** 'Katsina woman'; [SH] **Bàsakkwaciya** = [WH] **Bàsakkwatā** 'Sokoto woman'; [SH] **Bàmāgujiyā** = [WH] **Bàmāguzā** 'pagan Hausa woman'. An exception is the feminine form of **Bātūrè** 'European', which is **Bātūriyā** in WH just as it is in SH. Conversely, SH uses the WH form **Bāfillātā** 'Fulani woman' (without the *-iyā* ending) as the feminine counterpart of **Bāfillacè** 'Fulani man'.

The plural forms of ethnonyms normally make use of a suffix *-āwā*, which is added to the lexical base without the final vowel and without the *bà-* prefix (see discussion below in §3.1), e.g., **Bàgumalè** m. / **Gumalāwā** 'man / people from Gumel'.

Here is a list of common ethnonyms divided into two rough semantic categories. Where the ethnonym is built on a place name, this is provided after the gloss, which is given in the singular only.

#### (1) Ethnic/geographical

	<i>m.</i>	
<b>Bàfaranshè</b>		<b>Bàf...</b>
<b>Bàhaushè</b>		<b>Bàh...</b>
<b>Bàjāmushè</b>		<b>Bàj...</b>
<b>Bàkatsinè</b>		<b>Bàk...</b>
<b>Bàlārabè</b>		<b>Bàl...</b>
<b>Bàmisirè</b>		<b>Bàm...</b>
<b>Bàsakkwacè</b>		<b>Bàs...</b>
<b>Bātūrè</b>		<b>Bāt...</b>
<b>Bāyarabè</b>		<b>Bāy...</b>

°AN: [i] The word is semantically extended, e.g., **bātūrèn-gō**

#### (2) Profession, adherence

	<i>m.</i>	
<b>bābambaḍè</b>		<b>bāb...</b>
<b>bādūkù</b>		<b>bād...</b>
<b>bāfādà</b>		<b>bāf...</b>
<b>bākwanikè</b>		<b>bāk...</b>
<b>bāmālikè</b>		<b>bām...</b>

°AN: The masculine form has a long penultimate vowel, the long /*ā*/.  
 ◊HN: The prefix *bā-* finds scattered phonological similarity, but is totally accidental.

A pair of polysyllabic diphthongs" (see §54)

//**damagar-//** ⇒ **B...**  
**(Dāmagāram)**  
 (not \*\*//**damagaFā**...  
 //**dungur-//** ⇒ **Bād...**

In just a few cases, 'itinerant trader' is a meaning to the ethnonym 'home'. (Interesting also built on the place name)

Some words, especially those integrating H-tone

## (1) Ethnic/geographical origin

<i>m.</i>	<i>f.</i>	<i>pl.</i>	
Bàfānshè	Bàfānshiyā	Fāfānsāwā	French (Fāfānsà)
Bàhaushè	Bàhaushiyā	Hāusāwā	Hausa (Hausa)
Bājāmushè	Bājāmushiyā	Jāmusāwā	German (Jāmùs)
Bākatsinè	Bākatsiniyā	Katsināwā	psn from Katsina (Kātsinà)
Bālāfābè	Bālāfābiyā	Lāfābāwā	Arab
Bāmisirè	Bāmisiriyā	Misirāwā	Egyptian (Misirā)
Bāsakkwacè	Bāsakkwaciyā	Sakkwatāwā	psn from Sokoto (Sakkwato)
Bātūrè	Bātūriyā	Tūrāwā	European (Tūrai)
Bāyārabè	Bāyārabiyā	Yārabāwā	Yoruba

°AN: [i] The word **bātūrè**, which originally meant 'white person (European or Arab)', has been semantically extended, especially in compounds and fixed phrases, to mean a government official, e.g., **bātūrèn-gōnā** 'agricultural extension worker' (lit. European.of-farm).

## (2) Profession, adherent, status

<i>m.</i>	<i>f.</i>	<i>pl.</i>	
bàbambādè	bàbambādīyā	bambādāwā	praise singer
bādūkù		dùkāwā	leather worker
bāfādā	bāfādiyā	fādāwā	courtier
bàkwānikè		kwānkāwā	joker
bāmālikè		Mālikāwā	follower of Maliki school of Islamic law
	bāzawārā	zawārāwā	widow, divorcee

°AN: The masculine word **bàbambādè** 'praise singer' has a less common variant **bàbambādē** with a long penultimate vowel. The feminine **bàbambādīyā**, on the other hand, normally occurs with the long /ā/.

◊HN: The prefix **bà-** is etymologically related to a root \***ba** meaning 'son/daughter', which one finds scattered throughout West Chadic. (The word is perhaps cognate with Semitic **bin**). The phonological similarity between the Hausa prefix **bà-** and the Bantu **ba-** class prefix for people is totally accidental and without significance.

A pair of polysyllabic place names with final /m/ treat the nasal as part of the nucleus, i.e., as a "nasal diphthong" (see §54:2.1.1), which is excluded from the base on which the ethnonym is formed, e.g.,

//damagā-// ⇒ Bādāmagāṛè / Bādāmagāriyā / Dāmagāṛāwā psn from Damagaram (Dāmagāṛam)

(not \*\*//damagāṛam-// ⇒ \*\*Bādāmagāṛāmè, etc.)

//dungur-// ⇒ Bādungurè / Bādunguriyā / Dūngurāwā psn from Dungurum (Dūngurùm)

In just a few cases, the ethnonym is built on a plural form of the underlying stem, e.g., **bàfatākè** 'itinerant trader' is built on **fatākè**, which is the plural of **faṛkè** (= **falkè**), a word that is equivalent in meaning to the ethnonym. Similarly, **bāgidājè** 'simpleton' comes from **gidājè**, the plural of **gidā** 'home'. (Interestingly, the word **gidādanci** 'being a simpleton', which contains the **-ci** manner suffix, is also built on the plural stem.)

Some words, especially those with a stem-final consonant, form their ethnonyms by adding a non-integrating H-tone suffix **-I** rather than **(-ē)<sup>HL</sup>**. The base generally retains its lexical tone. The

corresponding feminine ends in *-ā*, in accordance with the general feminine formation rules (see §31:3.1), which specify that H-tone I + *-ā* → *-ā*, e.g., **Bàgòbìrì** / **Bàgòbìrā** 'man / woman from Gobir area' (**Gòbìr**). Many speakers, however, have generalized the use of the *-ē*<sup>HL</sup> suffix, so that it is now allowed or preferred in place of the final *-i* ethnonyms cited in dictionaries and older sources. In SH, the feminines of these I-final ethnonyms often take the *-iyā* suffix built on the final *-ē* variant even if the final *-i* variant is preferred for the corresponding masculine form. Examples:

<i>m.</i>	<i>f.</i>	<i>pl.</i>	
<b>Bà'azbìní</b> = <b>Bà'azbinè</b>	<b>Bà'azbinā</b> (= <b>Bà'azbinìyā</b> )	<b>Azbināwā</b>	psn from Asben ( <b>Azbin</b> )
<b>Bàdàurì</b>	<b>Bàdàurā</b>	<b>Daurāwā</b>	psn from Daura ( <b>Daurā</b> )
<b>Bàfulātānì</b>	<b>Bàfulātānā</b>	<b>Fulānì</b>	Fulani psn
<b>bàgabāshì</b> = <b>bàgabashè</b>	<b>bàgabāsā</b> (= <b>bàgabashìyā</b> )	<b>gabasāwā</b>	easterner ( <b>gabàs</b> )
<b>Bàgumālì</b> = <b>Bàgumalè</b>	<b>Bàgumālìyā</b> (not <b>**Bàgumālā</b> )	<b>Gumalāwā</b>	psn from Gumel
<b>Bàjāhùnì</b> = <b>Bàjāhunè</b>	<b>Bàjāhunìyā</b> (not <b>**Bàjāhùnā</b> )	<b>Jāhunāwā</b>	psn from Jahun
<b>Bàtèrì</b> = <b>Bàtèrè</b>	<b>Bàtèrā</b>	<b>Tèrāwā</b>	Tera psn
<b>Bàzazzàgì</b>	<b>Bàzazzàgā</b>	<b>Zazzagāwā</b>	psn from Zaria ( <b>Zagzàg</b> )
<b>Bàgwārì</b> = <b>Bàgwārè</b>	<b>Bàgwārìyā</b>	<b>Gwārāwā</b>	Gwari psn, psn who speaks unintelligibly (cf. <b>Gwārì</b> member of the Gwari ethnic group)

ΔDN: The word **Bà'azbìní** 'psn from Asben area' (along with its related forms) is commonly pronounced with metathesis of the medial /zb/, i.e., **Bà'abzìní**, etc.

## 2. ALTERNATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Although the ethnonymic affixes are productive to some extent, they are not used freely with just any stem. In many cases, the normal way of forming an ethnonym is by using a genitive phrase with the word **mùtumìn** (f. **mùtùnìyāf**, pl. **mutànen**) lit. 'man/woman/people of', or with **ɗan** (f. **'yāf**, pl. **'yan**), lit. 'child/children of'. One often uses the **ɗan/ 'yāf/ 'yan** forms with the word **kasāf** 'country of' to indicate more explicitly 'psn of the country of', e.g.,

<b>mùtumìn/mùtùnìyāf/mutànen Azāre</b>	psn from Azare
<b>mùtumìn/mùtùnìyāf/mutànen Gùsau</b>	psn from Gusau
<b>mùtumìn/mùtùnìyāf/mutànen Māròkò</b>	Moroccan
<b>mùtumìn/mùtùnìyāf/mutànen Pākìstān</b>	Pakistani
<b>ɗan/ 'yāf/ 'yan (kasāf) Cādi</b>	Chadian
<b>ɗan/ 'yāf/ 'yan (kasāf) Kwangò</b>	Congolese
<b>ɗan/ 'yāf/ 'yan Ingilā</b>	Englishman
<b>ɗan/ 'yāf/ 'yan Nājēfīyā</b>	Nigerian

## 3. THE *-āwā* SUFFIX

### 3.1. Plural ethnonyms

Most **bà-** ethnonyms form their plurals by dropping the prefix and the final vowel and adding an *-āwā* suffix. Trisyllabic plurals with a heavy first syllable (and the one quadrisyllabic word **gidādāwā**) typically manifest L-H tone. Plurals of other shapes, e.g., those that have more than three syllables or that have a light first syllable, regardless of the number of syllables, have an all H tone pattern. A few trisyllabic heavy-syllable words allow either tone pattern. Examples:

(a) **Bàdàurì**

**bàfādā**

**bàgidājè**

**Bàgwārì**

**Bàhaushè**

**Bàtūrè**

(b) **Bàdamagafè**

**Bàgòbìrì**

**Bàkanò**

**Bàlāfābè**

### 3.2. Singular/plural

Although **bà-** singular ethnonyms are common, they are not used with them. Some ethnonyms use **bà-** as an alternative to *-āwā*.

**bādūkù**

**bàhagò**

**Bàbadè**

**Bàbarbarè**

**Bàdakkarè**

**Bàfillacè / Bàfilātā**

**Bànasārè**

**bàsarākè**

**bàtìjjānè**

°AN: From a **bà-** loanword from **annabì** it usually comes like **bà-** (like.) The word **bà-** suffix.

Conversely, some words they do not use **bà-**.

**annabì**

**dògarì**

**ɗan bārìkì**

**gārdì**

**kilākì**

**kūrì**

**talākā**

**yārì**

The singular noun **ɗan** **dattāwā** and **dattìjā** diverged in meaning: **ɗan** for 'gentlemen, older



(a) <b>Bàdàurì</b>	<b>Dàuràwā = Daurāwā</b>	people from Daura
<b>bàfādà</b>	<b>fādāwā</b>	courtiers
<b>bàgidājè</b>	<b>gidādāwā</b>	simpletons
<b>Bàgwārì</b>	<b>Gwàràwā</b>	Gwari people
<b>Bàhaushè</b>	<b>Hàusāwā</b>	Hausas
<b>Bàtūrè</b>	<b>Tūrāwā = Tūrāwā</b>	Europeans, white people
(b) <b>Bàdamagařè</b>	<b>Damagařāwā</b>	people from Damagaram
<b>Bàgòbīrì</b>	<b>Gòbīrāwā</b>	people from Gobir
<b>Bàkanò</b>	<b>Kanāwā</b>	people from Kano
<b>Bàlāřabè</b>	<b>Lāřabāwā</b>	Arabs

### 3.2. Singular/plural asymmetry

Although *bà-* singulars and *-āwā* plurals are commonly paired, there is not a perfect match between them. Some ethnonyms containing the prefix *bà-* form their plurals by means other than by *-āwā* or as an alternative to *-āwā*. In a few cases, the *bà-* prefix is retained in the plural, e.g.,

<b>bàdūkù</b>	<b>bàdūkai = dūkāwā</b>	leather workers
<b>bàhagò</b>	<b>bàhàgwai</b>	left-handed people
<b>Bàbadè</b>	<b>Badèbadì = Badāwā</b>	Bades
<b>Bàbarbarè</b>	<b>Barèbarì</b>	Kanuris
<b>Bàdakkarè</b>	<b>Dakàrkari</b>	Dakarkaris
<b>Bàfillacè / Bāfilātānì</b>	<b>Filānì / Fulānì</b>	Fulanis
<b>Bānasāřè</b>	<b>Nāsāřū = Nāsāřa</b>	white people, Christians
<b>bāsarākè</b>	<b>sārākai</b>	title holders
<b>bātijjānè</b>	<b>'yan Tijjāniyyā</b>	Tijaniyya sect members

°AN: From a morphological perspective, the word *nāsāřa* 'white people, Nazarenes', which is a loanword from Arabic, is better thought of as a collective noun rather than as a plural, even though it usually commands plural concord. (Neither the tone pattern nor the short final vowel is plural-like.) The word *nāsāřū*, on the other hand, is a true morphological plural containing the common *-ū* suffix.

Conversely, some words indicating professions or social positions form plurals with *-āwā* even though they do not use *bà-* in the singular, e.g.,

<b>ānnabì</b>	<b>annabāwā</b>	prophets
<b>dògarì</b>	<b>dògarāwā = dògarai</b>	emir's bodyguards
<b>đan bāřikì</b>	<b>bāřikāwā (= 'yan bāřikì)</b>	city slickers
<b>gāřdì</b>	<b>gāřdāwā</b>	advanced students in Koranic school
<b>kìlākì</b>	<b>kìlākāwā (= kílākai)</b>	modern-day prostitutes
<b>kūrì</b>	<b>kūrāwā</b>	young pupils
<b>talākà</b>	<b>talakāwā</b>	poor people, commoners
<b>yārì</b>	<b>yāřawā</b>	chief jailers

The singular noun *dattijò* 'adult, mature individual', which is a loanword from Fulani, has two plurals, *dàttāwā* and *dàttìjai*, which earlier were equivalent alternatives. In modern usage, the plurals have diverged in meaning: the former generally denotes 'senators' whereas the latter is used more generally for 'gentlemen, older respectable men'.

In forming new ethnonyms, the plural form with *-āwā* seems much more productive than the corresponding singular with *bā-*, e.g.,

ɗ'an / mùtùmìn Bosniyà	Bosniyāwā (= 'yan / mutànen Bosniyà)	Bosnians
ɗ'an / mùtùmìn Pàlāsɗɪnù	Palasɗɪnāwā	Palestinians
ɗ'an / mùtùmìn Sābiyà	Sābiyāwā (= 'yan / mutànen Sābiyà)	Serbs
ɗ'an / mùtùmìn Sin	Sɪnāwā (= mutànen Sin)	Chinese

### 3.3. Followers of

A special case where plural ethnonyms formed with *-āwā* occur readily without corresponding singular forms is the construction with personal names. (The *-āwā* forms have all H tone regardless of the segmental shape.) These derivatives indicate followers or adherents of someone, often in a political or religious context, e.g.,

Alāsāwā	people with connections to the family of Alhasan (Ālāsàn) Dantata
Kādirāwā	followers of Abdulkadir Jelani (i.e., members of this sect)
Mūsāwā	followers of Musa
Sanūsāwā	backers of the former Emir Sanusi
Yāfīmāwā	people related to the royal family (< yāfīmà prince)

### 3.4. Toponyms

In addition to its function as a pluralizing suffix for ethnonyms, the *-āwā* ending (usually with all H tone) also serves to form place names (villages, towns, or quarters of towns). These *-āwā* toponyms are built on a wide variety of roots: personal names, titles, simple place names, and common nouns. What semantically ties these toponyms to the plural ethnonyms, especially the group above indicating followers of someone, is the notion of *community*. Examples:

Ādamāwā	name of a province	< Ādamà	personal name
Agadasāwā	a quarter in Kano	< Āgadàs	town name
Amaryāwā	a town/village	< amaryā	bride
Daurāwā	a quarter in Kano	< Daurā	town name
Gabasāwā	a town/village	< gabàs	east
Gāgarāwā	a town/village	< Gāgarà	personal name
Gòbifāwā	a quarter in Kano	< Gòbif	name of an area/emirate
Harūnāwā	a town/village	< Harūnà	personal name
Kùrmāwā	a quarter in Kano	< kurmì	copse, wooded area
Tamburāwā	a town/village	< tamburà	ceremonial drums (for emir)
Tsanyāwā	a town/village	< tsanyà	cricket
Yāfīmāwā	a town/village	< yāfīmà	prince

Although these place names are plural in form, grammatically they are all feminine singular, as is the norm for names of towns and quarters, e.g.,

[Tsanyāwā]ɸ [tanà]ɸ nan kuɸkusa	Tsanyawa is there just nearby.
[Kùrmāwā]ɸ [tā]ɸ fi dukà yawàn mutànè	Kurmawa is the most populous.

## 4. ADJECTIVES

Up to this point, the plural form with *-āwā* can, however, also be used with a more special attributive or predicative function.

bāfāfīshèn bāfō  
 bāfādiyaɸ māganà  
 bākanūwaɸ kwarya  
 bākanūwaɸ māganà  
 bāmāgūjèn zāgì  
 bābarbariyaɸ wukā  
 (cf. Bābarbariya a  
 bāhagūwaɸ mōtā  
 (cf. bāhagūwā a left  
 bā'abōrèn mùtùm  
 (cf. Bā'abōrè man c  
 shī bāgwārè nè  
 (cf. shī Gwāri nè H  
 Audù bāfilātānì nè  
 (cf. Bāfilātānì a Ful

### 4.1. Plural of adjectives

Whereas nominal ethnonyms build their plurals on the suffixes *-āwā* or *-ā*, adjectives build their plurals on the suffixes *-ai* or *-ū*. A few examples:

bā'azbinan dāwākā  
 bābārbārun wukākē  
 bāfūman takubbā  
 gidādāwan mutànè  
 Rāuyāwan manòmā

### 4.2. Common nouns

In some instances, the plural form becomes so close that it functions as an ethnonymic adjective.

bā'ingilā  
 bābarbarā  
 bāgòbīrā  
 bāzabāfīmè  
 bāzāmfārī

[Reference: Newman

## 4. ADJECTIVES

Up to this point, the ethnonyms formed with *bà-* have all been described and glossed as nouns. They can, however, also be used adjectivally, sometimes with the general ethnonymic meaning, more often with a more specialized or figurative meaning. When functioning as adjectival modifiers, whether attributive or predicative, they obligatorily agree in number and gender with the head noun, e.g.,

<b>bàfārishèn bàrgō</b>	Persian blanket (= <b>bàrgō ḍan Fārisà</b> ) (cf. <b>Bàfārishè</b> a Persian)
<b>bàfādīyāř màganà</b>	sycophantic language (cf. <b>bàfādīyā</b> female courtier)
<b>bàkanūwāř kwaryā</b>	Kano-type calabash (cf. <b>Bàkanūwā</b> a Kano woman)
<b>bàkanūwāř màganà</b>	clever language, "fast-talk"
<b>bàmāgujèn zāgì</b>	a seriously obscene insult (cf. <b>bàmāgujè</b> a pagan Hausa man)
<b>bàbarbariyāř wukā</b>	a Borno type of knife (which is always very sharp)
(cf. <b>Bàbarbariyā</b> a woman from Borno)	
<b>bàhagūwāř mōtā</b>	car with a left-sided steering wheel, or an unusual or hard-to-handle car
(cf. <b>bàhagūwā</b> a left-handed woman)	
<b>bà'abōrèn mùtūm</b>	shy, unsophisticated man
(cf. <b>Bà'abōrè</b> man of the Abore pastoral Fulani clan)	
<b>shī bàgwārè nè</b>	He is incomprehensible, confused, unsophisticated.
(cf. <b>shī Gwāri nè</b> He is a Gwari.)	
<b>Audù bàfilātāni nè</b>	Audu is shy, modest. (adj.) or Audu is a Fulani. (n.)
(cf. <b>Bàfilātāni</b> a Fulani man)	

## 4.1. Plural of adjectival ethnonyms

Whereas nominal ethnonyms drop the *bà-* prefix in forming plurals, ethnonymic adjectives typically build their plurals on the stem complete with *bà-* in place. The most common plural suffixes employed are *-ai* or *-ū*. A few ethnonymic adjectives, however, do use the *-āwā* form. Examples:

<b>bà'azbinan dāwākai</b>	Asben horse ( <i>not</i> ** <b>azbināwan dāwākai</b> )
<b>bàbàrbàrun wukàkè</b>	Borno knives ( <i>not</i> ** <b>barèbarin wukàkè</b> )
<b>bàřūman takubbā</b>	Roman swords (= <b>Rūmāwan takubbā</b> )
<b>gìdādāwan mutānè</b>	unsophisticated people
<b>řāuyāwan manòmā</b>	naive farmers

## 4.2. Common nouns from adjectival ethnonyms

In some instances, the collocation between an ethnonymic adjective and the noun it modifies has become so close that the noun is now generally left unexpressed. The result is a transition from an ethnonymic adjective into a common noun (cf. Chinaware → china). Examples:

<b>bà'ingilā</b>	long-grain rice (< <b>bà'ingilāř shīnkāfā</b> ) (lit. English rice)
<b>bàbarbarā</b>	type of knife or sword (Borno style)
<b>bàgòbīřā</b>	type of Mercedes (with grill design similar to Gobir facial markings)
<b>bàzabařmè</b>	fringed honeycomb cloth (presumably originating from <b>Zabařmā</b> )
<b>bàzāmfāř</b>	a medicinal plant (presumably originating from <b>Zāmfāřā</b> )

[Reference: Newman (1984a)]

## 25. Exclamations / Interjections

### 1. NONDERIVED LEXICAL EXCLAMATIONS

**E**XCLAMATORY words can be divided into two groups: nonderived and derived. Included among the nonderived are a miscellany of lexical items (and phrases) that are used to express various emotions. As contrasted with most common nouns, but like adverbs, exclamations commonly end in a short vowel or a consonant. The words are difficult to define precisely because a great part of the meaning is pragmatically determined. Examples include the following:

**a'a** expression of surprise; **ā'ā** no; **af** indicates sudden surprise; used for P.S. or Nota Bene; **āhīf** Never ever do that again! **ai** well yes, but..., oh; **Allāh?** Is that so? **Allāh wadai** God damn! **ākul** (= **kul**) Stop doing that! You'd better take heed! **ānā = inā** Is that really possible?! No way! **anyā** expression of strong doubt (often preceding questions); **añ** Damn it! **ash** expression of regret; **āshē** expression of surprise or doubt; expression of confirmation, e.g., **āshē Audù nē** So it was Audu after all; **āsshā** What a pity! How distressing! **āyyē** Great, I see; **bīsimillā** used when inviting s.o. to begin a meal or to come into a room or to sit down, etc.; **cabdī = caḅ = cabdījān** (= **tabdī = tabdījān**) expression of great surprise; **hā** Open your mouth! (said to children); **hā** expression of anticipated fall, e.g., of a child or a boxer; **habā** used in negative persuasion or coaxing; used when sth is finally understood; used in contradicting; **habāwā** expression of strong doubt; No, that's impossible! **ī** yes; **kāi** used to express mild disapproval, doubt, or surprise; **kaico** (= **kaito**) What a pity! What bad luck! **kash** Oh dear! **mādāllā** expression of thanks, agreement, or approval; **mānā** for sure, well, indeed (often used with an imperative, e.g., **shīgō mānā!** Come on in now!); **na'am** yes that's so; **na'am** yes (in reply to a call); **òho** I don't know! I don't care! Who gives a hoot? **òhó** I see! **sūbhānāllāhī** Goodness gracious! **tīf** What a bother! **tó = tò** OK, That's all right (e.g., **tó fa** There you have it); then, well then...; **ùbākà** (crude) Damn you! (lit. your father); **ungo** Here, take (it)! **uwākà** (crude) Screw you! (lit. your mother); **wāsh** (= **wash**) expression of concern over news of an unfortunate event; expression of relaxation by a tired psn; **wāyyō** (= **wāyyó**) expression of deep regret, sorrow, pain; cry for help

Generally speaking, exclamations are invariant and are used as full expressions in and of themselves, but there are some exceptions. For example, the words **kaico** (= **kaito**) 'What a pity!' and **wadai** (used in **Allāh wadai** 'God damn!') allow an attached genitive pronoun, e.g., **kaiconkū** 'What bad luck for you (pl.); it serves you right'; **kaicōnā!** 'Woe is me!' (with automatic lengthening of the final vowel before the first person possessive); **Allāh wadankā** 'God damn you!' The word **ungo** 'Here, take (it)!' behaves like a verb in allowing a (usually pronominal) direct object, e.g., **ungō tà!** 'Take it!' Note that the final vowel lengthens before the d.o. pronoun, as happens regularly with verbs. Some speakers go further and treat **ungo** plus its pronoun object like a grade 2 verb in the imperative by assigning an (L)-L-H tone pattern, e.g., **ungò-ta!** 'Take it!' cf. **sàyyè-ta!** 'Buy it!' The interjection **tīf** 'What a bother!' is commonly

extended by a 'with' phrase, e.g., **tīf wā** 'What a bother with me.'  
disapproved of us.'

### 2. DERIVED EXCLAMATIONS

Exclamations indicating surprise (e.g., 'What a mess!') are derived. They typically end in a short vowel, i.e., they end in short front or back vowels, typically pronounced in a short syllable. With the augmentative suffixes, they are lexically more restricted.

(a) From augmentative suffixes:

**māki!**  
**rūshì!**  
**dībgi!**  
**ḅuḅḅūki!**  
**gambāshi!**  
**fambāshi!**  
**ringìmi!**  
**shāftābi!**  
**zangàri!**

(b) From verbs:

**dīrki!**  
**gillì!**  
**shāri!**  
**wufgi!**  
**yāḅi!**  
**danfāri!**  
**dānfāshi!**  
**hargìtsi!**  
**malāli!**  
**shīfḅuni!**

°AN: According to the dictionary, it describes it as h words.

These derived exclamations are semantically related to the verbs they are derived from. They may, however, be used in a wider range of contexts.

**kāi dībgi!**  
**ai kùwa birkìci!**  
**gabji an gābjē shi**

extended by a 'with' plus pronoun phrase, e.g., **tīr dà kē** 'the hell with you (f.)', **yā yi tīr dà mū** 'He disapproved of us.'

## 2. DERIVED EXCLAMATIONS -i)<sup>HL(H)</sup>

Exclamations indicating 'what a large X' or 'what a lot of (doing) Y' (e.g., **fīrdī!** 'What a hulk!' **birkici!** 'What a mess!') are derived from augmentatives (see §11:2.1) and verbs by adding a suffix -i)<sup>HL(H)</sup>, i.e., they end in short -i and have H-L tone if disyllabic and H-L-H tone if trisyllabic. Because of the high front suffixal vowel, base-final coronals invariably appear as corresponding palatals. These words are typically pronounced with exclamatory intonation marked by stress and raised pitch on the first syllable. With the augmentatives, the suffix is added to the base without the -ēCè suffix or reduplication characteristic of these words. The derivation appears to be fairly regular with the augmentatives, but lexically more restricted with verbs. Examples:

### (a) From augmentatives

<b>māki!</b>	How long and broad! < <b>mākēkē</b> long and broad
<b>rūshi!</b>	How big (esp. kolanuts)! < <b>rūshēshē</b> big (esp. kolanuts)
<b>dībgi!</b>	How rotund! < <b>dībgēgē</b> huge, rotund
<b>ḡuḡḡūki!</b>	How hefty! < <b>ḡuḡḡukēkē</b> hefty
<b>gambāshi!</b>	What huge chunks! < <b>gambashēshē</b> huge (chunks)
<b>ḡambāshi!</b>	What a huge body! < <b>ḡambashēshē</b> huge
<b>ringimi!</b>	What a huge head! < <b>ringimēmē</b> huge (re. head)
<b>shāḡtāḡi!</b>	How long and sharp! < <b>shāḡtabēḡē</b> long and sharp
<b>zangāri!</b>	How tall! < <b>zangārērē</b> very tall

### (b) From verbs

<b>dīrkī!</b>	What a lot of drinking! < <b>dīrkā</b> drink a lot of
<b>gillī!</b>	What a lie! < <b>gillā</b> used in <b>yā gillā karyā</b> He told a huge lie.
<b>shāri!</b>	What a lot of sweeping! < <b>shārē</b> sweep
<b>wuḡgi!</b>	What a throw! < <b>wuḡḡā</b> hurl a projectile
<b>yāḡi!</b>	What a lot of plastering! < <b>yāḡā</b> plaster
<b>dankāri!</b>	What a huge lot of packed material! < <b>dankārē</b> compress tightly
<b>dāndāshi!</b>	How befitting/elegant! < <b>dāndāsā</b> do sth well
<b>hargitsi!</b>	What a confusion! < <b>hargitsā</b> muddle up
<b>malālī!</b>	What a flooding! < <b>malālā</b> flood, overflow
<b>shīḡḡūni!</b>	What a lot of oil rubbed on! < <b>shīḡḡūnā</b> rub on oil

°AN: According to my information, the final -i is always short. Baba (1998), on the other hand, describes it as having variable length: long with disyllabic words but short with polysyllabic words.

These derived exclamations stand as self-contained utterances, i.e., they do not take subjects or objects. They may, however, be preceded by a simple exclamation plus a modal particle or followed by a semantically related clause, e.g.,

<b>kāi dībgi!</b>	Wow, how rotund!
<b>ai kūwa birkici!</b>	Indeed what disorder!
<b>gabji an gabjē shì</b>	Yikes, he's been whacked!

## 26. Existential and Other Nonverbal Sentences

### 1. EXISTENTIAL SENTENCES

**S**IMPLE existential sentences are formed by means of a predicator **àkwai** 'there is / there are', e.g., **àkwai shìnkāfā** 'There is rice.' Alternatively, existentials can make use of the particle **dà**, which presumably is the same morpheme as the preposition **dà** 'with', e.g., **dà kufi** 'There is money.' Both **àkwai** and **dà** are invariant for number and gender, e.g.,

<b>àkwai ruwā</b>	There is water.
<b>àkwai àlbasà</b>	There are onions.
<b>àkwai wani bàkō à Rōfā</b>	There is a stranger at the door.
<b>dà dàlilì</b>	There is a reason.
<b>dà isashen shāyì?</b>	Is there enough tea?
<b>dà makullintà cikin àljlhūnā</b>	

There is the key for it in my pocket.

**àkwai mutānē māsū yawà dà bà sù san amsà ba**

There are many people who don't know the answer.

**àkwai lōkàcīn dà mutānē zā sù gānē cēwā bā Sarkī sai Allāh**

There is a time when people will understand that there is no Lord except God.

**sàbābbīn mōtōcīn dà kē àkwai, yawancī anā kāwōwā dāgà Jāpān**

New cars which there are, most have been brought from Japan.

The predicator **àkwai** makes use of the weak object pronoun set whereas **dà** is followed by an independent pronoun, e.g.,

<b>àkwai tà = dà ita</b>	There is it/her.
<b>àkwai mù cikin mǎganār</b>	We were involved in the matter. (lit. there was us in the matter)
<b>dà sū wad'andà bà sù jī ba, bà sù ganī ba</b>	
	There are those (lit. them) who have nothing to do with the matter. (lit. ...who don't hear and don't see)

If no overt object is expressed immediately after the existential marker, **àkwai** must be used; **dà** cannot be stranded.

<b>àkwai?</b>	Is there any? ( <i>not **dà?</i> )
<b>àkwai saurā?</b>	Is there some remaining? <b>I, àkwai</b> Yes, there is. ( <i>not **I, dà</i> )
<b>àlbasār dà kē àkwai</b>	the onions that there are ( <i>not **àlbasār dà kē dà</i> )
cf. <b>dà àlbasà</b>	There are onions.

The only exception to this rule occurs with **àkwai** in the

**dà àkwai kufi**  
**dà àkwai sù cikin kwab**  
**dà àkwai mǎnà!**  
**àkwai isashen àbinci?**

ΔDN: In some dial

#### 1.1. Existentials exp

An existential structure of possession. (This construction by the **dà** phrase, is usually used in the HAVE construction; see also and expressive than the

**àkwai shì dà wàyō**  
**mutānen nān, àkwai s**  
 (lit. men these, there is  
**àkwai tà dà ban mām**  
**àkwai shì dà ban hau**  
**àlkalīn kām, àkwai sh**  
 cf. the normal **àlkalīn**

#### 1.2. Negative

Negative existential sentences in language in SH, the sh variants are considered

**bābù/bā wūyā**  
**bābù/bā yārā à gidā**  
**bābù/bā sauran àbin**  
**bābù/bā dōkì dà zān**  
**bābù/bā d'ālibīn dà y**

The long form **bābù** t With **bā**, the independent is attested as well. Ex

**bābù ita = bā ita (=**  
**bābù mū à lissāfin d**  
 (lit. there was not us..

If no overt object is e

**àkwai saurā?**  
**bābù?**

The only exception to the requirement that **dà** has to be followed directly by a complement is when it co-occurs with **àkwai** in the sequence **dà àkwai**, e.g.,

<b>dà àkwai kudī</b>	There is money.
<b>dà àkwai sù cikin kwabàd</b>	There are (some of) them in the cupboard.
<b>dà àkwai màrà!</b>	There are really!
<b>àkwai isasshen àbinci?</b>	Is there enough food? <b>ì, dà àkwai</b> Yes, there is.

ΔDN: In some dialects **dà àkwai** has fused into a single word, **dàkwai**.

### 1.1. Existentials expressing attributes

An existential structure made up of **àkwai** plus a pronoun extended by **dà** plus an NP indicates possession. (This construction requires **àkwai** and not **dà** or **dà àkwai**.) The thing possessed, indicated by the **dà** phrase, is usually a quality rather than a concrete object (for which one would use the normal HAVE construction; see chap. 33). In general this construction is considered semantically more marked and expressive than the normal HAVE construction. Examples:

<b>àkwai shì dà wàyō</b>	He is very clever. (lit. there is him with cleverness)
<b>mutànen nàn, àkwai sù dà rōwà</b> (lit. men these, there is them with miserliness)	These men, they are misers.
<b>àkwai tà dà ban màràkì</b>	She is really amazing.
<b>àkwai shì dà ban haushi</b>	He is really aggravating.
<b>àlkālin kām, àkwai shì dà kudī</b> cf. the normal <b>àlkālin kām, yanà dà kudī</b>	The judge, he really has money. The judge, he has money. (lit. ...he is with money)

### 1.2. Negative

Negative existential sentences are expressed by **bābù** or **bā** plus the predicate. In normal everyday language in SH, the short form **bā** is likely to be used when a nominal object is present, although both variants are considered fully grammatical and equivalent in meaning. Examples:

<b>bābù/bā wùyā</b>	It's not difficult. (lit. there is no difficulty)
<b>bābù/bā yārā à gidā</b>	There are no children at home.
<b>bābù/bā sauran àbinci</b>	There is no food remaining.
<b>bābù/bā dōkì dà zān hau?</b>	Is there no horse for me to ride?
<b>bābù/bā d'ālibīn dà ya ci nasařà kāmāř Mūsā</b>	There are no students who succeeded like Musa.

The long form **bābù** tends to be preferred with pronoun predicates, which employ the independent set. With **bā**, the independent pronoun paradigm is also usually employed, although the high-tone object set is attested as well. Examples:

<b>bābù ita = bā ita</b> (= the less common <b>bā ta</b> )	There isn't any of it.
<b>bābù mū à lissāfin dà akā yi</b> (lit. there was not us...)	We were not included in the counting that they did.
	(= <b>bā mū...</b> (= the less common <b>bā mu...</b> ))

If no overt object is expressed, only **bābù** can be used, e.g.,

<b>àkwai saurā?</b>	Is there some remaining? <b>ā'ā, bābù</b> No, there isn't. (not **ā'ā, bā)
<b>bābù?</b>	Is there not any? (not ** bā?)

The word **bābù** is sometimes used colloquially to mean 'no', generally as an elliptical response or as a sign of dispute or disagreement, e.g.,

**kā sāmī mǎi? bābù** Did you get any gas? No (I haven't got any).

◇HN: Etymologically, the relation between **bābù** and **bā** is in dispute. One analysis takes **bābù** as original and interprets **bā** as a phonologically reduced form restricted to certain syntactic environments (Eulenberg 1971). Support for this analysis comes from the fact that some WH dialects only have **bābù** but not **bā** (Caron 1991, Malami Buba, personal communication). The other analysis, which is the traditional one and the one to which I subscribe, views **bābù** as a historically fused, grammaticalized word derived from **bā** plus **àbù** 'thing' (Newman 1971a). (Skinner (1996) adopts this etymology without hesitation or discussion.) Comparative support for this view is provided by the existence of other Chadic languages, e.g., Gude (Hoskison 1983), in which the negative existential is made up of a negative marker plus the word for 'thing'. Internal evidence against the interpretation of **bābù** as a basic, monomorphemic function word comes from the fact that it uses independent rather than object pronouns as its object/complement. (Actually, in Sokoto, which does not use the **bā** form, **bābù** takes the high-tone object pronouns rather than the independent set, e.g., [Skt] **bābù ta** = [SH] **bābù ita**. I take this to be an example of grammaticalization, i.e., once **bābù** developed into the one and only negative existential marker, it was natural to replace the independent pronoun by the grammatically more integrated object set.) Finally, there is also the possibility that **bā** is a borrowing from Kanuri (whose negative existential has this same shape), which would preclude its having developed from **bābù** by internal means.

### 1.2.1. Times and numbers

The negative existentials **bābù** and **bā** (usually the latter) have the sense of 'minus/subtraction' in forming the numerals 18 and 19 and the time expression 'a quarter of', e.g.,

**àshìrìn bā ɗaya** 19 (lit. 20 there is not 1) = **gōmà shā taṙà** (lit. 10 + 9)  
**àshìrìn bā biyu** 18 (lit. 20 there is not 2) = **gōmà shā takwàs** (lit. 10 + 8)  
**karfê ukù bā kwatà** 2:45 (i.e., 3 o'clock there is not a quarter)

The numerals have an alternative formation with the negative existential at the end. In this case, the long form **bābù** is required, e.g.,

**àshìrìn ɗaya bābù** 19                      **àshìrìn biyu bābù** 18

△DN: In Sokoto, where the **bā** form is not used, the numbers 19 and 18 can be expressed only as **àshìrìn ɗaya bābù** and **àshìrìn biyu bābù**, respectively, with **bābù** at the end. To indicate 'a quarter of', one uses **saurā** 'remaining', e.g., **karhè ukkù saurā kwatà** 'a quarter of three'.

### 1.2.2. Negative-HAVE

One means of expressing the negative counterpart of affirmative HAVE sentences is by a structure that on the surface looks like the negative existential **bā** expanded with a **dà** phrase, e.g.,

**bā ta dà wǎyō** She is not clever. (i.e., there is not her with cleverness)  
 cf. **tanà dà wǎyō** She is clever. (lit. ...is with cleverness) (= **àkwai tà dà wǎyō** She is clever.)  
**bā shi dà kudī** He doesn't have money. (lit. there is not him with money)  
 cf. **yanà dà kudī** He has money.

The negative of HA  
 existential with a p  
 existential before a p  
**cikin waɗàndà sukt**  
 the previous exampl  
 whereas pronouns a  
 masculine singular p  
 pronoun **ya** (which o  
 the **shi** form, e.g., **bā**  
 'He's dead' (lit. ther  
 pronoun) can be used  
**mākāmai** 'One does  
 Neg-HAVE construct  
 have to be analyzed  
 the latter involving t

1.2.3. The **bā** X b  
 The construction **bā**  
 incompatibility betw  
 Examples:

**bā kai bā 'yātā** D  
 (lit. there is not you t  
**bā kū bā Lādi** D  
**bā nī bā shi** I'  
**bā nī bā kai** T  
**bā nī bā cìn ɗan-wā**  
 (i.e., I've learned my

There is an equivalen  
 where is Y?) (see §6)

## 2. PRESENTATIO

Presentational senten  
 are formed with **gà** (V  
 plus an NP. (If the N  
 occur only in the aff

**gà yāròn**  
**gà shi**  
**gà tsōhuwā nān**  
**gà nī nan inà ta aik**  
**Lādi kām, gà ta can**  
**gà cùnkōson mutān**  
 Hey, look a  
**gà mùtumìn dà ya t**  
 Here is the



The negative of HAVE sentences ("Neg-HAVE" structure) differs synchronically from a "true" negative existential with a pronoun object in four respects: (1) Neg-HAVE only uses *bá* whereas the negative existential before a pronoun prefers *bábù*, e.g., *bá ta dà àbinci* 'She doesn't have food', vs. *bábù ita cikin wad'andà sukà ci jařřabawà* 'She was not among those who passed the exam.' (2) As illustrated in the previous examples, the pronouns after *bá* in Neg-HAVE sentences belong to the H-tone CV set, whereas pronouns after the existential *bá* usually belong to the independent set. (3) The 3rd person masculine singular pronoun after *bá* in the Neg-HAVE construction may be expressed by the subject pronoun *ya* (which optionally reduces to /i/), whereas the 3m object of the existential *bá* only allows the *shì* form, e.g., *bá ya dà kudĩ* = *bái dà kudĩ* = *bá shì dà kudĩ* 'He doesn't have money' vs. *bá shì* 'He's dead' (lit. there isn't him). (4) The impersonal pronoun (which exists only as a weak subject pronoun) can be used in Neg-HAVE sentences but not as an object of the existential *bá*, e.g., *bá a dà màkàmai* 'One doesn't have weapons', but not *\*\*bá ā* 'There aren't some (people)'. Thus, although the Neg-HAVE construction *may* be derived historically from a negative existential, synchronically they have to be analyzed separately, the former involving a negative marker *bá* plus a weak subject pronoun, the latter involving the negative existential *bábù/bá* plus an object complement.

### 1.2.3. The *bá X bá Y* construction

The construction *bá X bá Y* with two negative existential clauses is used to indicate a serious incompatibility between people and things. It can also be used to warn or reprimand someone. Examples:

- bá kai bá 'yātā* Don't come near my daughter again! You have no business with my daughter.  
(lit. there is not you there is not my daughter)  
*bá kù bá Lādì* Don't you ever be with Ladi again! or You have no business with Ladi.  
*bá nì bá shì* I've parted ways with him.  
*bá nì bá kai* There is nothing more between you and me.  
*bá nì bá cìn d'an-wàke dàgà yāu* As of today, I shall no longer eat *d'an-wàke* beans.  
(i.e., I've learned my lesson.) (lit. there is not me there is not eating *d'an-wàke* from today)

There is an equivalent construction indicating incompatibility of the form *inā X inā Y* (lit. where is X where is Y?) (see §60:1.1.4), e.g., *inā nì inā Bālā?* 'I have no business with Bala.'

## 2. PRESENTATIONAL SENTENCES

Presentational sentences ('here is/are / there is/are') call attention to or merely present a referent. They are formed with *gà* (which presumably is derived historically from an imperative of the verb *ga(nì)* 'see') plus an NP. (If the NP is a pronoun, it will belong to the strong high-tone d.o. set.) These sentences occur only in the affirmative. Examples:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <i>gà yāròn</i>   | Here is the boy.   |
| <i>gà shì</i>   | Here he is.  |
| <i>gà tsōhuwā nān</i>   | Here is an old woman right here.   |
| <i>gà nì nan inā ta aikì hař karfè gōmā</i>                           | There I was working until ten o'clock.                                     |
| <i>Lādì kām, gà ta can à bākin kāsuwā</i>                             | As for Ladi, there she is at the entrance to the market.                   |
| <i>gà cùnkōson mutānē, sunā jirān kàntōmā</i>                         |  |
|   | Hey, look at the crowd of people waiting for the government administrator. |
| <i>gà mùtumìn dà ya tsinci kudĩ dà dāmā lōkàcìn dà ya tãfi Landān</i> |  |
|   | Here is the man who found a lot of money when he went to London.           |

sunà ràbuwà kè nan sai gâ Abdù

They were in the process of separating when here appeared Audu.

It is possible, though not so common, to embed a presentational sentence in a relative clause, e.g.,

tsôhuwâr dà (takè) gâ ta nan râi gâ Allâh the old woman who is still here (but) really old  
(lit. elder.L that (she.is) here is she there life with God)

Tankòn dà (yakè) gâ shi yanà tâkamà dà sâbon kambàs mài tsàdâ  
the Tanko who here he is showing off his new expensive sneakers

### 3. QUALITATIVE SENTENCES

Qualitative sentences, which translate into English as predicate adjective sentences, consist of an NP semantically representing a quality followed by a prepositional phrase made up of *gârè* 'at/associated with' plus a pronoun, e.g.,

<i>karfi gârè sù</i>	They are strong. (lit. strength at them)
<i>bà karfi gârè kà ba</i>	You are not strong. / It's not the case that you are strong.
<i>ilimî gârè shì</i>	He is erudite. (lit. knowledge at him)

The noun about which the quality is ascribed can be mentioned in topic position, e.g.,

*àkún (dai), hâzikancì gârè shì* The parrot (well), he is clever.  
(lit. parrot.the (indeed), cleverness at him)

These qualitative sentences can probably be subsumed under presentational or existential sentences, e.g., *hâzikancì gârè shì* < *gâ hâzikancì gârè shì* 'Here is cleverness with him' or *àkwai hâzikancì gârè shì* 'There is cleverness with him.' Synchronically, however, the derivation is not transparent.

### 4. 'RATHER' SENTENCES

Sentences indicating 'rather, (it would be) better, etc.' are indicated by the particle *gâra* (or one of its essentially equivalent alternatives: *gwamma* (or *gwammà*); *gwàndà* (or *gwanda*)) plus an NP. These sentences occur only in the affirmative. If the NP is a pronoun, it takes the independent form. The 'rather' clause is often accompanied by a contrastive prepositional phrase formed with *dà* 'than', e.g.,

<i>gâra kai dà shì</i>	Better you than him.
<i>gwammà màkarà dà kîn zuwà</i> (i.e., 'Better late than never.')	Better lateness than refusing to come.
<i>dà mûgùwâr rawâ, gâra kîn tâshì</i>	Rather than dance badly, it's better not to get up at all.
(lit. than bad.L dancing, better refusing.L arising) (i.e., 'Better leave well enough alone.')	
<i>gwàndà mutuwà sai fa (in) àkwai mutuncì mài gamsâr wâ</i>	
Death is preferable unless there is pleasing humanity.	

AN: The particle *gâra* (like its equivalent forms) also serves as an adverbial introducing clauses in the subjunctive, e.g., *gâra kà zaunà à gidâ* 'It would be better if you stayed at home'; cf. *dôlè kà zaunà à gidâ* 'You must stay at home'; *gâra mù yi saurî* 'It would be better if we hurried / We ought to hurry'; cf. *yanà dà muhimancì dà mù yi saurî* 'It is important that we hurry.'

## 27. EX

### 1. INTRODUCTION

THE label "express disregard something a child about a hùlâ complaining that a girl cares about Hadiza?"

°AN: The closest seen in *pickle / st* Hausa constructi

The exact pragmatic described, but it appears children can use it and insulting, except in the

### 2. FORM

#### 2.1. Basic format

There are two parts to tone-integrating suffix presumably is the 3rd understood to be part warning!' (< *gârgâd* expression.

°AN: [i] It is lil recognize this o cultures of the v [ii] According to H tone, thereby that this is a se entire phrase.

The suffix *-ô*<sup>H</sup>, which simple or derived, si

## 27. Expressives of Contempt

### 1. INTRODUCTION

THE label “expressives of contempt” has been adopted for a phrasal construction used to belittle or disregard something that has been mentioned in the discourse. In response to repeated pestering by a child about a *hùlā* ‘cap’, one could respond *hùlō matà* ‘The hell with the cap!’ Or if a child was complaining that a girl named *Hādizā* was getting special favors, one could answer *Hādizō matà* ‘Who cares about Hadiza?’

°AN: The closest that one has to this in (American) English is the fairly restricted *shm* construction seen in *pickle / shmickle* or *maven / shmaven*. The comparison, however, is far from apt because the Hausa construction is considerably more open-ended.

The exact pragmatic and sociolinguistic rules for employing this construction have never been described, but it appears primarily to be used as a put-down by adults talking to children, although children can use it among themselves. Among adults, the construction would be considered very rude and insulting, except in the case of peers who were clearly joking with one another.

### 2. FORM

#### 2.1. Basic formation

There are two parts to the expressive formation. First, the word in question is altered by the addition of a tone-integrating suffix  $-\bar{o})^H$ , i.e., final  $-\bar{o}$  with all H tone. Second, the word is followed by *matà*, which presumably is the 3f indirect object pronoun ‘to her’. In some cases the *matà* is omitted, although it is understood to be part of the expression, e.g., *gārgad̄ō* = *gārgad̄ō matà* ‘I don’t want to hear about a warning!’ (< *gārgad̄ī* ‘warning, stern advice’). The omission somewhat lessens the abusive force of the expression.

°AN: [i] It is likely that the ‘her’ originally referred to ‘mother’ (whether synchronically people recognize this or not). As is well known, the reference to ‘mother’ is abusive and insulting in many cultures of the world.

[ii] According to Abdullahi Bature (personal communication), some people pronounce *matà* with H-H tone, thereby calling into question its interpretation as an indirect object form. My own guess is that this is a secondary development representing the spread of the H tone of the  $-\bar{o}$  suffix to the entire phrase.

The suffix  $-\bar{o})^H$ , which replaces the final vowel of the underlying stem, can be added to almost any word, simple or derived, singular or plural, common noun or proper noun, noun or verb, etc.

fire	wutā	wutō	rings	zōbbā	zobbō
Hamisu	Hāmisù	Hāmisō	read	kařàntā	kařantō
cooked	dāfaffē	dafaffō	drumming	kiǰe-kiǰe	kiǰe-kiǰō
in a mess	kaca-kaca	kaca-kacō	three	ukù	ukō
tomorrow	gòbe	gōbō	she	ita	itō

### 2.2. Compounds and phrases

With compounds, the high tone spreads from right to left over the entire word (whether written as one word or not), e.g.,

crockery	fāǰi-kà-mutù	fāǰi-ka-mutō
pimple	bāř-ni-dà mūgù	bāř-ni-da-mūgō
peanut oil	mān gyādā	man gyadō

Short phrases are treated as compounds. With longer phrases, there is variation as to how far to the left the H tone will spread, e.g.,

Come! (lit. come you)	yā kà	yā kō
sixteen	shā shidà	shā shidō
nineteen (lit. 20 1 there is not)	àshīřin ǰaya bābù	àshīřin ǰaya bābō
United Nations	mājālisār ǰinkin dūniyā	mājālisār ǰinkin dūniyō

### 2.3. Consonant-final words

Consonant-final words (nasals excepted, see below) add  $-\bar{o}$ <sup>H</sup> to the stem, e.g.,

carrots	kařàs	kařasō	cricket (the sport)	kuřkèt	kuřketō
pencil	fensīř	fensīřō	Wudil	Wùdil	Wudilō

Stems ending in diphthongs replace the diphthong by  $-\bar{o}$ , i.e., the diphthongs are treated as complex vocalic nuclei rather than as vowel plus glide (VC) sequences, e.g.,

pennies	kwàbbai	kwabbō (not **kwabbayō)
Larai (fem. name)	Lāřai	Lāřō
Gusau (place name)	Gūsau	Gusō
patience	jimrau	jimrō

### 2.4. Nasal-final words

With most words ending in a nasal (excluding monosyllabic words), the final  $-VN$  is treated not as a vowel plus consonant sequence to which  $-\bar{o}$  is added but rather as a vocalic “nasal diphthong” (see §54:2.1.1), which is thus replaced by  $-\bar{o}$ , e.g.,

chinaware	tangaran	tangarō (not **tangaranō)
envelope	ambulàn	ambulō
fifty	hàmsin	hamsō
resident	řazdàn	řazdō
jet black	bařī řirin	bařī řirō

There is variation in SH the contrast between other speakers added, e.g.,

Ringim (place name)  
Damagaram (place name)

Nasal-final words  
loanwords, e.g.,

man mūtùm (<...>  
grape zàbùn (<...>  
teacher mālām (<...>

### 2.5. Monosyllabic words

The output of the CVC form is the form CVC, the

bomb bām  
course kwā

With vowel-final words, the final vowel, as is provided, provides a transition

drink shā  
us mū  
you (f.) kē  
foot(print) sau

°AN: [i] As an alternation seen in keyō, although [ii] Etymological shows that the disyllabic form

### 2.6. Palatalization

The behavior of the final consonant is or /z/, e.g.,

spear māš  
spice yāǰū

The treatment of the form with simple s

There is variation in the treatment of final *-Vm*. Some speakers treat it as a nasal diphthong like *-Vn*. (In SH the contrast between final /m/ and /n/ is usually neutralized, both nasals being pronounced as [ŋ].) Other speakers accord /m/ a stronger status than /n/ and treat it as a regular consonant to which *-ō* is added, e.g.,

Ringim (place name)	<b>Ringim</b>	<b>Ringō = Ringimō</b>
Damagaram (place name)	<b>Dāmagāřam</b>	<b>Damagařō = Damagařamō</b>

Nasal-final words with a "latent final vowel" retain the final nasal (whether /m/ or /n/), as do some recent loanwords, e.g.,

man	<b>mùtùm</b> (< mùtumì)	<b>mutumō</b>	Japan	<b>Jápán</b>	<b>Japanō</b>
grape	<b>zàbùn</b> (< zàbūnì)	<b>zabūnō</b>	chewing gum	<b>cìngám</b>	<b>cìngamō</b>
teacher	<b>mālám</b> (< mālāmī)	<b>mālamō</b>			

### 2.5. Monosyllabic words

The output of the contempt formation rule must have at least two syllables. With monosyllabic stems of the form CVC, the addition of *-ō* results naturally in the requisite shape.

bomb	<b>bám</b>	<b>bamō</b>	cake	<b>kyát</b>	<b>kyatō</b>
course	<b>kwás</b>	<b>kwasō</b>	ton	<b>tón</b>	<b>tonō</b>

With vowel-final monosyllabic stems, the suffix *-ō* also attaches to the stem rather than replacing the final vowel, as is done with longer stems. An epenthetic glide (/y/ after a front vowel, /w/ elsewhere) provides a transition between the stem vowel and the suffix, e.g.,

drink	<b>shā</b>	<b>shāwō</b>	love (noun)	<b>só</b>	<b>sōwō</b>
us	<b>mū</b>	<b>muwō</b>	eat	<b>ci</b>	<b>ciyō</b>
you (f.)	<b>kē</b>	<b>keyō</b>	oil	<b>mái</b>	<b>mayō</b>
foot(print)	<b>sau</b>	<b>sawō</b>			

°AN: [i] As a general phonological rule, /u/ before /w/ is automatically short, thus the vowel length alternation seen in **mū** / **muwō**. Presumably a similar process accounts for the alternation in **kē** / **keyō**, although medial short /e/ is extremely rare in Hausa.

[ii] Etymologically, **sau** is an apocopated form of the word **sāwū**. The initial short vowel in **sawō** shows that the contempt form is based on the synchronically occurring variant **sau** and not on the disyllabic form **sāwū**.

### 2.6. Palatal(ized) consonants

The behavior of palatal(ized) consonants when the *-ō* replaces a front vowel exhibits peculiarities. If the final consonant is /sh/ or /j/, one regularly undoes the palatalization and recovers the corresponding /s/ or /z/, e.g.,

spear	<b>māshì</b>	<b>māsō</b>	countries	<b>řasàshē</b>	<b>řasāsō</b>
spice	<b>yājì</b>	<b>yāzō</b>	chest	<b>řìrjì</b>	<b>řìrzō</b>

The treatment of final /c/ before *-ō* shows variation. A common pattern is to keep the /c/ in its palatal form with simple stems but to depalatalize /c/ to /t/ in inflected or derived forms, e.g.,

nose	<b>hancì</b>	<b>hancō</b>	Bici	<b>Bicì</b>	<b>Bicō</b>
food	<b>àbinci</b>	<b>abincō</b>	cars	<b>mōtōci</b>	<b>mōtōtō</b>
stolen	<b>sàtaccē</b>	<b>sātattō</b>	Sokoto man	<b>bàsakkwacē</b>	<b>basakkwatō</b>

Depalatalization of /j/ to an etymological /d/ is not liked. Preferred is to keep the /j/ or even to depalatalize it to /z/! Examples:

houses	<b>gidājē</b> (< gidā sg.)	<b>gidājō = ??gidādō = gidāzō</b>
a runaway	<b>gudajjē</b> (< gudū run)	<b>gudajjō = ??gudaddō = gudazzō</b>

°AN: Although both /z/ and /d/ palatalize to /j/, the “natural” pairing in the language, as indicated here, is z / j.

Before a front vowel, the glide /w/ palatalizes to /y/, e.g., **hawā** ‘riding’, **mahāyi** ‘rider’. However, /y/ before -ō never reverts back to /w/, e.g.,

slaves	<b>bāyī</b> (< bāwā sg.)	<b>bāyō</b> (not **bāwō)
markets	<b>kāsuwōyi</b> (< kāsūwā sg.)	<b>kāsuwōyō</b> (not **kāsūwōwō)

### 2.7. Prepausal glottal stop

This -ō suffix has an interesting phonetic property that it shares with the homophonous grade 6 ventive suffix, e.g., **kōmō** ‘return here’, namely, the addition of a phonetic glottal closure in prepausal position (see §54:1.2.2). As indicated earlier, in normal usage the contempt form is usually followed by **matà**, in which case it appears clearly with a long final vowel -ō. When, however, it is used by itself, and thus occurs sentence finally, it adds a glottal closure and appears as half-long [o·?], e.g.,

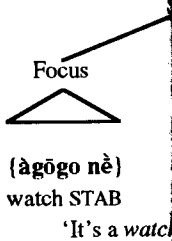
		Non-pre-pausal	Pre-pausal
paper	<b>takārdā</b>	<b>takārdō matà</b>	[takārdō·?]
gowns	<b>rigunà</b>	<b>rigunō matà</b>	[rigunō·?]
hare	<b>zōmō</b>	<b>zōmō matà</b>	[zōmō·?]

[Reference: Newman (1988)]

## 1. INTRODUCT

**F**OCUS involve contrast it wi expressed). The fo S' → {Focus} S (diagrams (fig. 1):

Figure 1: Focus st



Sentences with fo

{Mūsā nè} ta àur  
{Kānde cè} ta ci  
{Mutānen nān} n  
{kwai} yārá sukè  
{bēfā nè} ya shìg  
It was a  
bà Tàlàtù ta zàgè  
It wasn't

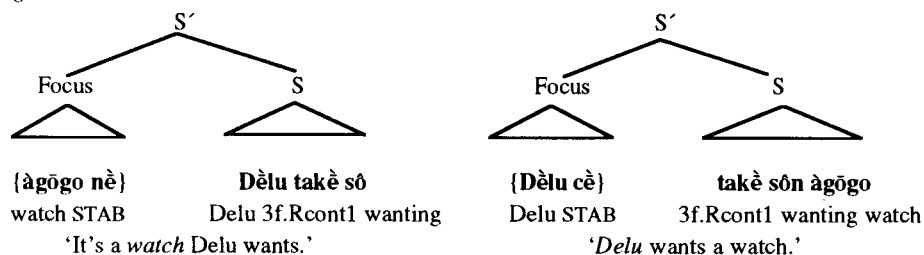
Focus shares a nu semantically disti (focus), cf. «Hād topics, which hav only that they oc sentence. For exa phrase, or in a sen

## 28. Focus

### 1. INTRODUCTION

**F**OCUS involves the fronting of an NP, adverb, or prepositional phrase, in order to emphasize it or to contrast it with some other comparable constituent (which has the potential of being overtly expressed). The focus slot is a distinct syntactic position located at the beginning of the sentence, i.e.,  $S' \rightarrow \{\text{Focus}\} S$  (where  $S$  consists of the normal NP VP etc.). This is illustrated in the following tree diagrams (fig. 1):

Figure 1: Focus structure



Sentences with focus generally correspond to and translate as English cleft sentences, e.g.,

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| {Mūsā nè} ta àurā                          | It was <i>Musa</i> she married (not someone else).                |
| {Kànde cè} ta ci jařřàbāwā                 | <i>Kande</i> passed the exam (not someone else).                  |
| {Mutànen nàn} mukà gayà wà                 | It was these <i>men</i> we told it to.                            |
| {kwai} yārā sukè sàyē (bà gōřò ba)         | It's <i>eggs</i> the children are buying (not kolanuts).          |
| {bēřā nè} ya shìga kwabàd (bà jābā ba)     | It was a <i>rat</i> that got in the cupboard (not a shrew-mouse). |
| bà Tàlātù ta zàgē shì ba (sai dai Zàinabù) | It wasn't <i>Talatu</i> who insulted him (but rather Zainabu).    |

Focus shares a number of features with topicalization (see chap. 72); but they are syntactically and semantically distinct categories, e.g., {Hādizà cē} ta ci lambà 'It was *Hadiza* who won the prize' (focus), cf. «Hādizà kàm», tā ci lambà 'As for *Hadiza*, she won the prize' (topicalization). Unlike topics, which have to be in absolute sentence-initial position, the requirement on focused elements is only that they occur at the front of *their*  $S$ , which need not be at the very beginning of the whole sentence. For examples, focus is allowed internally in a sentence following a subordinate clause or phrase, or in a sentence embedded in a relative clause, e.g.,

<b>tsākānin yāran nān, {Sulè nē} ya fi karfi</b>	Between these boys, it's <i>Sule</i> who is the strongest.
<b>in kā yārda, {baƙi nē} zān bā sù</b>	If you agree, it's the <i>black</i> one I'll give them.
<b>màimakon sù rāgu, {ƙāruwā} sukà yi</b>	Instead of decreasing, they <i>increased</i> . (lit. increasing they did)
<b>Fu'ad dīn wānda {shī nē} ya yi barci cikin d'ākīn</b>	the <i>Fu'ad</i> who slept in the room (lit. Fu'ad the who {he is} he did sleeping in room.the)
<b>mātār dà {ita cè} ya kāmātā tà biyā hārājī à bana</b>	the woman who <i>she</i> is the one who ought to pay taxes this year
<b>mālāmān wad'ānda {sū nē} zā mù zābā</b>	the teachers whom <i>they</i> are the ones we will choose

A sentence can contain more than one topicalized element, e.g., «**Audù fa**», «**hùlā kām**», **yā sàyā** 'As for Audu, regarding the cap, he bought it.' This is not, however, possible with focus because the purpose of focus is to highlight one constituent, usually in a contrastive manner. Thus, a sentence like \*\*{**Audù nē**}, {**hùlā cè**}, **ya sàyā** 'It is *Audu*, it's a *cap* he bought' is ungrammatical. There is no problem, however, in combining topicalization and focus, e.g.,

« <b>Audù fa</b> », { <b>hùlā cè</b> } <b>ya sàyā</b>	As for Audu, it's a <i>cap</i> he bought.
« <b>hùlā kām</b> », { <b>Audù nē</b> } <b>ya sàyā</b>	As for the cap, it was <i>Audu</i> who bought it.

## 2. FORM AND STRUCTURE

A focused element is placed in the focus slot immediately followed by the stabilizer (STAB), i.e., Focus → Z + STAB (where Z is any constituent). This STAB, which has the form **nē/cē/nē** (m./f./pl.) with polar tone, can be optionally deleted. (Examples will generally be given with or without the STAB as found in my own notes or in other sources. Sentences collected both with and without the STAB will be indicated with the (STAB) in parentheses.) An essential characteristic of focus is the requirement that the TAM in the sentence that follows be a Rel form, e.g.,

{ <b>bāyan bishiyà</b> } { <b>yakè</b> } <sub>Rcont2</sub>	It's behind the tree he is.
cf. [ <b>yanà</b> ] <sub>cont</sub> <b>bāyan bishiyà</b>	He is behind the tree.
{ <b>Audù (nē)</b> } [ <b>ya</b> ] <sub>pret</sub> <b>tāfi kāsuwā</b>	It is Audu who went to the market.
cf. <b>Audù [yā]</b> <sub>comp</sub> <b>tāfi kāsuwā</b>	Audu has gone to the market.
{ <b>sabòdà tsananin zāfi (nē)</b> } { <b>sukè</b> } <sub>Rcont1</sub> <b>sàyen fankà</b>	It's because of the terrible heat they are buying fans.
cf. [ <b>sunà</b> ] <sub>cont</sub> <b>sàyen fankà sabòdà tsananin zāfi</b>	They are buying fans because of the terrible heat.

°AN: It is not clear in the least what accounts for the presence or absence of the STAB in focus constructions nor what is its actual frequency of occurrence. My impression is that the STAB is more likely to appear if the focused element is a simple noun subject or object, e.g., **Bellò nē ya iyà** 'It's Bello who can do it' and less likely to appear if the focused element is an adverbial like a stative, e.g., **à zàune mukè** 'It's seated we were.' This question calls for a careful grammatical and textual study.

Question words are by nature focused and typically appear fronted in focus position, e.g.,

{ <b>mènè nē</b> } <b>yāròn ya sāmù?</b>	What did the boy get?
--	-----------------------

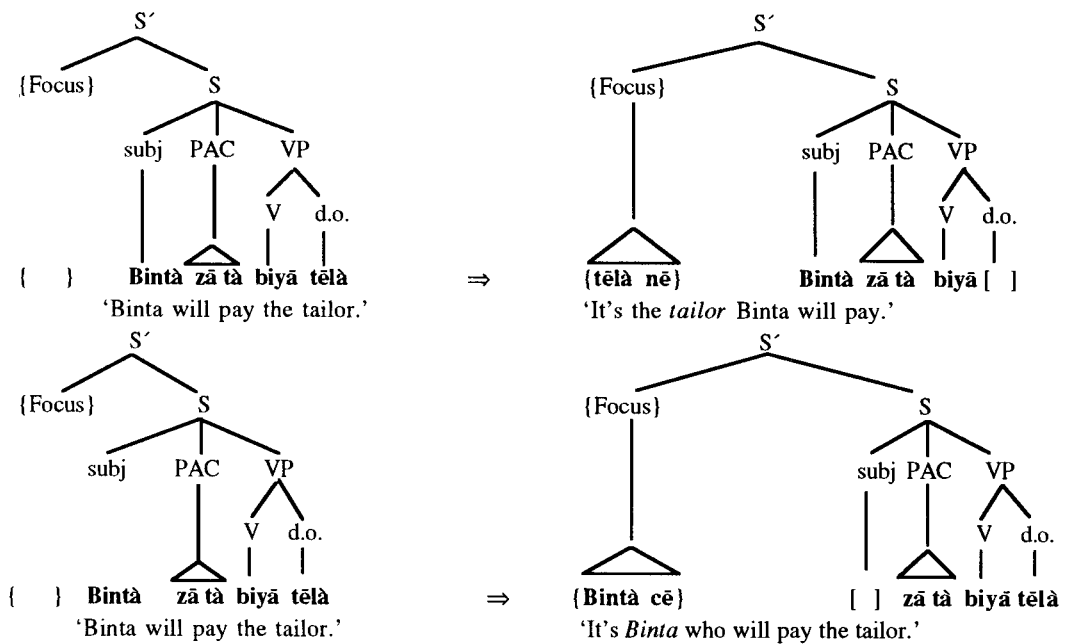


{yàushè} zā kà dāwō?  
 {kudī nawà} akà bā tà

When will you come back?  
 How much money did they give her?

With all constituents except the subject, the movement of the focused element to the beginning of the sentence is obvious. With subjects, the movement is not immediately evident, because on the surface the NP appears to be in the same position, but with the STAB added. Nevertheless, even with subjects it is important to recognize that movement into the focus position has taken place, e.g., {Focus} [Audù]subj yā tàfi kàsuwā ⇒ {Audù nē} [Ø]subj ya tàfi kàsuwā 'It is Audu who went to the market.' Compare the following tree diagrams (fig. 2). (Note: PAC is the inflectional person-aspect-complex.)

Figure 2: Focus movement



Unlike the case with topicalization, where constituents that are coreferential with the topic are usually pronominalized, with focus, deletion is the norm, with the exception of focused genitives and indirect objects, which allow pronominalization as an alternative. Examples:

{bàrāwòn nan nē} sukà ganì Ø à kàntì  
 cf. «bàrāwòn nan», sun gan shì à kàntì  
 {Lawàl nē} mukè ta kirà  
 cf. «Lawàl kùwa», munà ta kirànsà  
 {rigā cè} zán sàya  
 {mòtātà cè} ya gōgà wà mái  
 {ita cè} na gayà wà Ø (= matà) làbāfì

It was that thief they saw at the store.  
 As for that thief, they saw him at the store.  
 It's Lawal we're calling.  
 As for Lawal, we have been calling him.  
 It's a gown I'm going to buy.  
 It was my car he rubbed polish on.

It was her I told the news to.  
 {Bàrau nē} ya kàmātà Asshà tà kai wà Ø (= masà) àbincín  
 It is Barau who it is fitting that Assha should take the food to him.

As a general rule of the language, underlying subject pronouns that are identical to the weak subject pronoun (wsp) in the PAC are obligatorily deleted. They can, however, be focused, in which case they appear on the surface as independent pronouns in focus position, e.g.,

[3f]<sub>subj</sub> **tā dāwō jiyà** ⇒ [Ø]<sub>subj</sub> **tā dāwō jiyà** She returned yesterday.

{ } [3f]<sub>subj</sub> **tā dāwō jiyà** ⇒ {ita cè} [Ø]<sub>subj</sub> **ta dāwō jiyà**

She was the one who returned yesterday. (focus)

[1p]<sub>subj</sub> **munà nēman aikì** ⇒ [Ø]<sub>subj</sub> **munà nēman aikì** We are looking for work.

{ } [1p]<sub>subj</sub> **munà nēman aikì** ⇒ {mū nè} [Ø]<sub>subj</sub> **mukè nēman aikì**

We are looking for work. (focus)

In the continuous TAMs, one commonly gets surface sentences with a dynamic noun immediately following the PAC, e.g., **tanà mǎganà** 'She is talking', where **mǎganà** is a dynamic noun, not a verb. Such sentences are presumed to be derived from sentences containing the pro-verb **yī** 'do' (in its verbal noun form), e.g., **tanà yīn mǎganà** (lit. she is doing talking). These sentences are deemed grammatical, but actually are rarely used in practice. If, however, the object dynamic noun is focused, **yī** occurs commonly and naturally, e.g.,

**mǎganà takè (yī)**

It's talking that she is doing.

**wāsà dà macjji yakè (yī)**

It's playing with a snake that he is doing.

**kallon TV sukè (yī)**

It's watching television that they are doing.

### 2.1. Focus with *sai*

Focused items are commonly preceded by the particle **sai** 'just, except, only, etc.'. (In Quirk et al. (1985: 604), such adverbial particles are termed *focusing subjuncts*.) The STAB is typically omitted. The clause following focused **sai** + X is generally in the affirmative, but semantically it tends to contrast with an implied/presupposed negative proposition. Examples:

**sai kudī mukè sò**

It is only money we want.

cf. **bā mà sòn kōmē sai kudī**

We don't want anything except money.

**sai gwàni (nē) ya iyà yīnsà**

It is only an expert who could do it.

cf. **bā wāndà ya iyà yīnsà sai gwàni**

There is no one who could do it except an expert.

**sai karfè ukù zān tāshì**

It's not until three o'clock that I'm going to leave.

**sai kārà hàbakà sukè (yī)**

It was continual expansion that was happening.

Similarly, focused elements that are modified by a delimiter or by an intensifying adverb or ideophone usually occur without the STAB, e.g.,

**Audù kadai ya ci jařřàbawāř**

Audu alone passed the exam.

**fām đaya tak akà bā nì**

It was one pound only that I was given.

**kāřūwai birjik sukà kùtsà cikin đākin**

A bevy of prostitutes barged into the room.

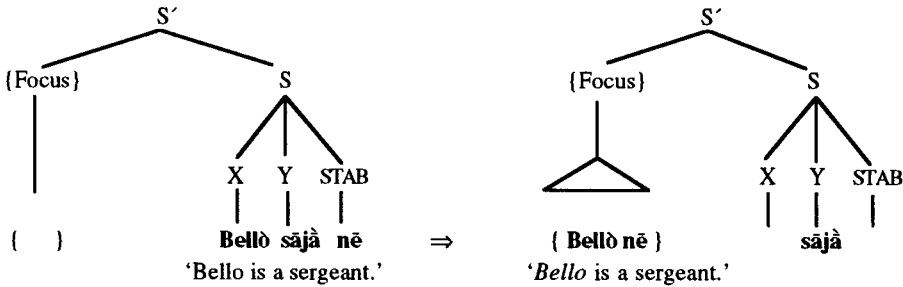
(lit. prostitutes in abundance...)

### 2.2. Equational sentences

Equational sentences (see chap. 23) have the basic structure X Y STAB, where the STAB functions as a stabilizing/copular element rather than as a focus marker, e.g., [shī]<sub>X</sub> [mālāmī]<sub>Y</sub> [nè]<sub>STAB</sub> 'He is a teacher.' If one focuses the X, one gets a sentence like **shī nè mālāmī** 'He is a teacher', which is

normally thought of as having the structure X STAB Y, with the STAB having been moved immediately after the X. An alternative analysis, which is more consistent with the treatment adopted for verbal sentences, is to move the subject NP from the X slot into the focus position where it is marked by an obligatory STAB. In the presence of a STAB earlier in the sentence, the sentence-final equational STAB is then dropped. This is illustrated in fig. 3 and in the following examples.

Figure 3: Focus in equational sentences



( ) [shì]<sub>X</sub> [mālāmì]<sub>Y</sub> [nè]<sub>STAB</sub> ⇒ {shì nè} [Ø]<sub>X</sub> [mālāmì]<sub>Y</sub> [Ø]<sub>STAB</sub> ⇒ shì nè mālāmì  
He is a teacher.

( ) [Bintà]<sub>X</sub> [kawaftà]<sub>Y</sub> [cè]<sub>STAB</sub> ⇒ {Bintà cè} [Ø]<sub>X</sub> [kawaftà]<sub>Y</sub> [Ø]<sub>STAB</sub> ⇒ Bintà cè kawaftà  
It is Binta who is her friend.

This analysis of moving the focused item into the focus slot (with the STAB) and deleting the equational STAB works well in cases where it is the Y that is focused. (In the second examples, one also has topicalization.) Examples:

( ) [shì]<sub>X</sub> [mālāmì]<sub>Y</sub> [nè]<sub>STAB</sub> ⇒ {mālāmì nè} [shì]<sub>X</sub> [Ø]<sub>Y</sub> [Ø]<sub>STAB</sub> ⇒ mālāmì nè shì  
It's a teacher he is.

«Madonna», ( ) [ita]<sub>X</sub> [tàuràrùwā]<sub>Y</sub> [cè]<sub>STAB</sub> ⇒ «Madonna», {tàuràrùwā cè} [ita]<sub>X</sub> [Ø]<sub>Y</sub> [Ø]<sub>STAB</sub>  
⇒ Madonna, tàuràrùwā cè ita As for Madonna, a star she is.

### 3. FOCUS FROM LOWER CLAUSE

As is the case with relativization and topicalization, a focused item does not have to be in the matrix sentences, but rather can be pulled out of a lower clause. Note that focus affects immediately following TAMs and not ones that occur later in the sentence, e.g

{Jummai cè} [mukè]<sub>Rcont1</sub> tsammānì Mūsā [yanà]<sub>cont</sub> sò Ø  
It's Jummai we think that Musa loves.

{àbincin rāna nè} [ya]<sub>pret</sub> kāmātà Asshà tà kai wà mijìntà Ø  
It is lunch that it is desirable for Assha to take to her husband.

{màgèn cè} Audù [ya]<sub>pret</sub> karyàtà fàdāf cèwā Ø tà kāmà bēfā  
It was the cat that Audu denied saying that it caught the rat.

{wāyāf musù dà kái} gwamnati [takè]<sub>Rcont1</sub> sò tà yi Ø  
It's enlightening them that the government wants to do.

{alhāzai nè} [ya]<sub>pret</sub> fi kyáu Ø sù tàfi dùtsèn Àrfā  
It is the pilgrims that it is much better for them to go to Mount Ararat.

{sàrauniyā cè} [ya]<sub>pret</sub> yìwu Mařyàm tà zama Ø

It is queen that is possible that Maryam might become.

{gà Bintà nē} [yakè]<sub>Rcont2</sub> dà muhimmancì mù bā dà kud'ín Ø

It is to Binta that it is important for us to give the money.

<sup>o</sup>AN: In the preceding example, note that the STAB *nē* agrees with the prepositional phrase (which is masculine) and not with the feminine proper noun *Bintà*.

#### 4. ROLE OF THE FOCUSED ELEMENT

Essentially any thematic role in the sentence can undergo focus, i.e., subject, direct object, locative, prepositional phrase, etc. Selected examples:

{Bellò nē} yakè kàřàtù

It's Bello who is reading.

{wànnē (nè) dàgà cikinsù} kukà zàbā?

Which one among them did you choose?

{inā nē} ka gan shì? {à Kanò nē}

Where did you see him? At Kano.

{dàgà Kanò} nē sukà tāsò

It was from Kano they started.

{à zàune nē} mukè

Seated we were.

{gyàd'ā cè} àkwai

Peanuts there are.

{maza-maza} nè sukà gamà aikìn

Very quickly they finished the work.

{à cikin nàtsuwā} nè ya shìga rìjìyāř

It was very carefully that he entered the well.

{jìyà} nē sukà zò

It was yesterday that they came.

cf. jìyà sun zò (= sun zò jìyà)

Yesterday they came. (= They came yesterday.)

(with the optionally fronted, but nonfocused, temporal adverb)

Underlying prepositional phrases permit focus of the full pp itself (which is masculine) or the object of the preposition. In the latter case, one either has to insert a resumptive pronoun or, with genitive prepositions, one has to replace the preposition by a related adverb, e.g.,

(a) dà wukā (nè) ya sòkè shì

It was with a knife that he stabbed him.

cf. wukā (cè) ya sòkè shì dà ita

It was a knife he stabbed him with. (lit. ...with it)

gà sàbàbbin-shìgā (nè) ya bā dà laccà

It was to the recruits that he gave the lecture.

sàbàbbin-shìgā (nè) ya bā dà laccà gārè sù

It was the recruits he gave the lecture to.

(b) cikin kwālin (nè) mukè sá yādì

It is in the carton that we are put the cloth.

cf. kwālin (nè) mukè sá yādì à cikinsà = kwālin (nè) mukè sá yādì à ciki

It is the carton that we are put the cloth in(side).

gàban àlkāli (nè) ya durkùsā

It was before the judge he kneeled.

cf. àlkāli (nè) ya durkùsā gàbansà = ??àlkāli (nè) ya durkùsā à gàba

It was the judge he knelt before.

Phrases formed with the viative preposition *ta*, on the other hand, have to be focused in their entirety, i.e., it is not possible to focus the object alone. Examples:

ta kòfāř kudù sukà shìga

It was via the south gate that they entered.

cf. sun shìga ta kòfāř kudù

They entered via the south gate.

ta wata dàbāřà dàbam zā mù cì sù

It by a different stratagem that we will defeat them.

cf. zā mù cì sù ta wata dàbāřà dàbam

We will defeat them by means of a different stratagem.

The indirect object phrase in Hausa, which consists of **ma** plus a personal pronoun or **wà** plus anything else (including zero), does not constitute a prepositional phrase and cannot be focused as such. Rather one can only focus the indirect object NP leaving the i.o. marker in its original position. Use of a resumptive pronoun in place of the focused NP is sometimes possible, but stranding of the i.o. marker is the norm. Examples:

<b>Hàlimà</b> (cē) <b>na sayō wà</b> Ø <b>zōbè</b>	It was <i>Halima</i> I bought a ring for.
<i>not **wà</i> <b>Hàlimà na sayō zōbè</b>	
<b>nī nè sukà dafà wà</b> Ø <b>àbinci</b>	It was <i>me</i> they cooked the food for.
cf. <b>sun dafà minì àbinci</b>	They cooked <i>me</i> the food.

°AN: By contrast, phrases with **gàrè** + pn / **gà** + NP are prepositional phrases, even though they semantically may represent indirect objects, and thus they can be focused in their entirety, e.g., **Balà nè sukà fadà wà làbārì** 'It was Bala they told the news to' (< **sun fadà wà Balà làbārì** 'They told Bala the news') vs. **gà Balà sukà fadì wannàn mùmūnan làbārì** 'It was to Bala they told this terrible story' = **Balà sukà fadì wannàn mùmūnan làbārì gàrè shì** 'It was Bala they told this terrible story to (him)' (< **sun fadì wannàn mùmūnan làbārì gà Balà** 'They told this terrible story to Bala').

Finite verbs and verb phrases cannot be focused as such. Instead, one has to focus the corresponding verbal noun (phrase) or infinitive phrase, leaving the pro-verb **yì** 'do' (or its corresponding verbal noun **yì**, which can optionally be deleted) in the original position. Examples:

(a) <b>biyàn hàfājìn</b> (nē) <b>Tankò ya yi</b>	It is <i>paying the taxes</i> that Tanko did.
cf. <b>Tankò yā biyā hàfājìn</b>	Tanko paid the taxes.
<b>tàimakon jūnā zā mù yì</b>	It is <i>helping one another</i> that we are going to do.
cf. <b>zā mù tàimàki jūnā</b>	We are going to help one another.
<b>bàzamà sukà yi</b>	They <i>bolted away</i> .
cf. <b>sun bàzamà</b>	They bolted away.
<b>càncantà ya yi mù ziyārci maràsā láfiyà</b>	It is <i>desirable</i> that we visit sick people.
cf. <b>yā cāncantà mù ziyārci maràsā láfiyà</b>	It is desirable that we visit sick people.
<b>ajjīyā kufī nè ya kāmātà Sulè yà yì à bankì</b>	
It is <i>depositing money</i> that it is right for Sule to do in the bank.	
cf. <b>yā kāmātà Sulè yà ajiyè kufī à bankì</b>	
It is right for Sule to deposit money in the bank.	

In the following examples, the focused phrase translates best into English as a participial/gerundive form, but in Hausa it has the structure of an infinitive phrase.

<b>fadà manà gaskiyā takè</b> (yì)	It was <i>telling us the truth</i> she was doing.
(lit. tell to.us truth she.Rcont1 (doing))	
cf. <b>tanà fadà manà gaskiyā</b>	She was telling us the truth.
<b>ɗaurè ɓàràwò</b> (nē) <b>sukà yi</b>	It was <i>jailing the thief</i> they did.
(lit. tie thief (STAB) they.pret do)	
cf. <b>sun ɗaurè ɓàràwò</b>	They jailed the thief.
<b>shàrè ɗàkìn takè</b> (yì)	It is <i>sweeping the room</i> that she is doing.
(lit. sweep room.the she.Rcont1 (doing))	
cf. <b>tanà shàrè ɗàkìn</b>	She is sweeping the room.

ginà masallāci (nè) sukè sò sù yi  
 cf. sunà sò sù ginà masallāci  
 rūsà gidán nē tīlās Lawàn yà yi  
 cf. tīlās nē Lawàn yà rūsà gidán  
 kařàntà Kùř'ānì yārá sukè  
 cf. yārá sunà kařàntà Kùř'ānì

It is *building a mosque* that they want to do.  
 They want to build a mosque.  
 It is *demolishing the house* that Lawan must do.  
 It is necessary that Lawan demolish the house.  
 It is *reading the Koran* that the children are doing.  
 The children are reading the Koran.

°AN: Tuller (1989) suggests that the use of the resumptive pro-verb *yi* is optional in the continuous. I would prefer to say that *yi* (or its verbal noun) is syntactically required in this structure but that in the continuous it can optionally be deleted in accordance with a more generally applicable deletion rule (see §58:3). Thus an example like *kařàntà Kùř'ānì yārá sukè* 'It is *reading the Koran* that the children are doing' would be understood to be derived from *kařàntà Kùř'ānì yārá sukè yi*.

Instead of focusing an entire VP as such, one can focus the verb alone, which is replaced by a corresponding verbal noun. The underlying direct object is then demoted to indirect object.

gyārā nē ya yi wà mōtā  
 cf. yā gyārā mōtā  
 zāgì nē ta yi wà mijìntà  
 cf. tā zāgì mijìntà

It was repairing he did to the car.  
 He repaired the car.  
 It was insulting she did to her husband.  
 She insulted her husband.

## 5. NEGATION AND FOCUS

It is very common to combine negation and focus. There are two means of doing this. The first means, which I think is the more common, although the matter needs to be investigated, is to negate the entire sentence that includes the focused constituent. This involves putting the entire sentence within the scope of the discontinuous negative *bà...ba*. Examples:

<b>bà Audù (nē) ya tàfi kàsuwā ba</b>	It is not Audu who went to the market.
<b>bà Lawàn (nē) Mūsā ya fadà wà maganà ba</b>	It is not Lawan that Musa told something to.
<b>bà makařàntā cè zā ta ba</b>	It's not school she's going to.
<b>bà sòsai takè ganì ba</b>	It is not clearly that she sees.
<b>bà dà sàfè Tankò ya tàfi kàsuwā ba</b>	It is not in the morning that Tanko went to the market.
<b>bà à zàune zā kà kařàntà wāřàř ba</b>	It is not in a sitting posture that you will read the song.

The second alternative is to negate the focused element directly by enclosing it in *bà...ba*. If this is done, the stab is strongly preferred. Examples:

<b>bà Audù ba nē ya tàfi kàsuwā</b>	It is not Audu who went to the market.
<b>bà Lawàn ba nē Mūsā ya fadà wà maganà</b>	It is not Lawan that Musa told something to.
<b>bà sòsai ba takè ganì</b>	It is not clearly that she sees.
<b>bà dòmìn shì gwānì nē ba mukà bā shì hēlùmà</b>	
It is not because he is an expert that we made him headman.	

## 6. PSEUDO-CLEFT SENTENCES

The normal focus formation, namely, X + STAB, can be thought of as a cleft construction, e.g., *ālāwà cē nakè sò* 'It's halvah I like.' The corresponding pseudo-cleft sentence has a normal, nonfocused

equational structure, e.g., [àbîn dà nakè só]<sub>X</sub> [àlāwà]<sub>Y</sub> cē 'The thing that I like is halvah.' In pseudo-cleft sentences the subject X is typically a relative clause headed by àbîn dà 'what' (lit. the thing that) or wàndà/wáddà/waf'àndà 'who' (m./f./pl.). Examples:

[àbîn dà sukà kāwō] nāmàn ràgō nè	[The thing that they brought] is mutton.
[wàndà ya ci zàbēn] Mūsā nè	[The one who won the election] is Musa.

Pseudo-cleft sentences can be and are often focused. This is accomplished by use of an independent pronoun following the relative formation accompanied by the STAB, e.g.,

àbîn dà nakè só [shì nè] sābon gidā	<i>What I want</i> [it is] a new house.
wàndà ya ci zàbē [shì nè] Mūsā	<i>The one who won the election</i> [he is] Musa.
waf'àndà sukà tàimākē mù [sū nè] bākī	<i>The ones who helped us</i> [they were] strangers.
àbîn dà ya càncantà [shì nè] Dèlu tà yi aurē	<i>What is proper</i> [it is] that Delu should get married.
àbîn dà ya dācè [shì nè] yārān sù kōmà gidā	
<i>What is appropriate</i> [it is] that the children return home.	

[References: Junaidu (1987); McConvell (1973)]

## 29. Frequentatives

### 1. FORM

THE term *frequentative* is used for pseudoplural deverbal nouns that have the fully reduplicated structure Base + -e)<sup>LH</sup> x 2, i.e., a lexical base (usually deverbal) plus a short final /e/ with an associated L-H tone pattern, all of which is fully reduplicated. Monosyllabic CV words insert an epenthetic glide /y/ before the suffixal vowel, e.g.,

<b>gyàre-gyàre</b>	corrections (e.g., on written work) < <b>gyàrà</b> repair
<b>tàmbàye-tàmbàye</b>	repeated questioning < <b>tàmbayà</b> ask
<b>sàssàke-sàssàke</b>	repeated carving < <b>sàssakà</b> carve
<b>gàishe-gàishe</b>	greetings < <b>gaisà</b> greet
cf. <b>gàisuwā</b>	greeting (with the feminative ending)
<b>shìrye-shìrye</b>	repeated preparations, radio/TV programs < <b>shiryà</b> prepare
cf. <b>shirì</b>	preparation (without the -yà verbal suffix)
<b>sòke-sòke</b>	criticisms, criticizing < <b>sòkà</b> pierce, criticize
cf. <b>sūkà</b>	piercing, criticism
<b>ciye-ciye</b>	constant eating < <b>ci</b> eat
<b>shàye-shàye</b>	drinks, repeated drinking < <b>shā</b> drink

°AN/ØHN: If one ignores the reduplication, statives (see §67:1), such as **rùfe** 'closed', **sàssàke** 'carved', and **zàune** 'seated', have the same canonical shape as frequentatives, i.e., short final -e and L-H tone. This formal identity notwithstanding, I have doubts on functional and semantic grounds whether the two classes are derivationally related synchronically. Whether they have a *historical* connection to one another and/or to L-H verbal nouns ending in -ē is an open question.

With few exceptions, the frequentative is built on a verbal base. In cases where the frequentative is derived from a lexical noun, it is formed morphologically on a base containing the verbalizer -TA, whether the verb actually occurs or not, e.g.,

<b>gùlmàce-gùlmàce</b>	backbiting/badmouthing (< verbal base //gùlmat-//), cf. <b>gùlma</b> mischief
<b>wàhàlce-wàhàlce</b>	troubles, difficulties (< verbal base //wàhàlt-//), cf. <b>wàhàlà</b> trouble
<b>zàmbàce-zàmbàce</b>	frauds (< verbal base //zàmbat-//), cf. <b>zàmba</b> swindling, deceit

Some nouns that presumably were verbal nouns in origin but that synchronically lack the corresponding verb build frequentatives directly on the base without use of the verbalizer, e.g.,

<b>tàdē-tàdē</b>	conversations, continual chatting < <b>tādī</b> conversation (in origin probably an H-L I-final verbal noun from a now nonexistent verb)
------------------	--

**gùdē-gùdē**

Apart from the erstv allow the direct form

**àshàre-àshàre**  
**màfàrke-màfàrke**  
**tàrìhe-tàrìhe**

### 2. FUNCTION

One can distinguish common nouns (in connection between

2.1. *Plurals of c*  
A small number of their plurals by mea not verb derived. E

**camfì / camfe-càr**  
**ciwò / ciwàce-ciwò**  
**shùkà / shùke-shù**  
**tàfiyà / tàfiye-tàf**  
**tàllà / tàllàce-tàl**  
**wàhàlà / wàhàlce**

Being nominal plur

**wàhàlce-wàhàlce**  
**[bùsàssun]<sub>pl</sub> shùk**  
**tàllàce-tàllàcen gi**  
(lit. advertisements

2.2. *Repeated a*  
Most frequentative

**bùshe-bùshe**  
**tàbe-tàbe**  
**jèfe-jèfe**  
**kàdē-kàdē**  
**sàssàke-sàssàke**

These frequentativ  
**màganà** 'talking,  
the pro-verb yi 'd



**gũḏe-gũḏe** repeated ululation < **gũḏà** ululation (in origin probably an H-L ā-final verbal noun from a now nonexistent verb)

Apart from the erstwhile verbal nouns, a few simple common nouns (including some loanwords) also allow the direct formation of the frequentative on a nominal base, e.g.,

**àshàṛe-àshàṛe** repeated obscenities < **àshàṛ** obscene or abusive language (< Ar.)  
**màfàṛke-màfàṛke** dreams < **màfàṛki** dream  
**tàṛiḥe-tàṛiḥe** histories < **tàṛiḥi** history (< Ar.)

## 2. FUNCTION

One can distinguish two groups of frequentatives in terms of their syntactic function: (1) plurals of common nouns (including deverbal nouns), and (2) repeated action verbal nouns. Semantically the connection between the two is clear.

### 2.1. Plurals of common nouns

A small number of deverbal nouns, including those that now denote things rather than actions, form their plurals by means of the frequentative. This formation is used also as a plural of some nouns that are not verb derived. Examples:

<b>camfi / camfe-camfe</b>	superstition(s)	<b>canji / canje-canje</b>	change(s)
<b>ciwò / ciwàce-ciwàce</b>	illness(es)	<b>dàbàṛà / dàbàṛce-dàbàṛce</b>	trick(s), plan(s)
<b>shùkà / shùke-shùke</b>	plant(s)	<b>sùkà / sòke-sòke</b>	criticism(s)
<b>tàfiyà / tàfiye-tàfiye</b>	journey(s)	<b>yàwò / yàwàce-yàwàce</b>	walk(s), stroll(s)
<b>tàllà / tàllàce-tàllàce</b>	hawking goods for sale, advertisement(s)		
<b>wàhàlà / wàhàlce-wàhàlce</b>	trouble(s) (cf. alternative plurals <b>wàhàlòlì</b> and <b>wàhàlhàlù</b> )		

Being nominal plurals, these frequentatives take regular plural concord, e.g.,

**wàhàlce-wàhàlce [màsù]<sub>pl</sub> yawà** many troubles  
**[bùsàsun]<sub>pl</sub> shùke-shùke** dried plants  
**tàllàce-tàllàcen gidan řèdiyò [sun]<sub>pl</sub> fi shìgà jiki** Radio advertisements are more effective.  
 (lit. advertisements.of house.of radio they exceed entering body)

### 2.2. Repeated action verbal nouns

Most frequentative nouns function as dynamic nouns indicating repeated actions, e.g.,

**bùshe-bùshe** blowing (making music) < **bùsà** blow  
**tàḃe-tàḃe** repeated pilfering, handling < **tabà** touch  
**jèfe-jèfe** throwing < **jèfà** throw at  
**kàḏe-kàḏe** drummings < **kaḏà** beat (drum)  
**sàsàḃe-sàsàḃe** repeated carving < **sàsàḃà** carve

These frequentatives occur in the same nonfinite environments as nonverbal dynamic nouns like **màganà** 'talking, conversation' or **barci** 'sleep(ing)', i.e., after continuous TAMs, aspectual verbs, or the pro-verb **yi** 'do', e.g.,

<b>yanà gùje-gùje dà tsàlle-tsàlle</b> (also means 'He is a track and field athlete.')	He was running and jumping.
<b>sunà kàḏe-kàḏe dà bùshe-bùshe</b> (also means 'They are musicians.')	They are making music (lit. drummings and blowings).
<b>yā sākè yàwàce-yàwàce</b>	He again went wandering about.
cf. <b>tā sākè màganà</b>	She talked again. (lit. she.comp repeat talking)

A frequentative can be followed by a thematic object in a genitive-type linking construction, e.g.,

<b>munà jèfe-jèfen duwàtsù</b>	We were continually throwing stones (or stone-throwing).
<b>yā rikà sàssàke-sàssàken gumàkà</b>	He kept on carving idols.
<b>sunà ta tìke-tìken jūnā</b>	They are hitting each other with fists.
<b>yā fayè nème-nèmen mātā</b>	He goes overboard chasing women (i.e., womanizing).

Sentences like the above are structurally different, however, from sentences with syntactic verbs or verbal nouns followed by direct objects. Sentences with real objects, for example, allow the object to be fronted or questioned, whereas this is not possible with the complement of the frequentative, e.g.,

a. <b>sunà [kaḏkàḏà]ṽ gangunà</b>	They are beating drums.
More or less = a' <b>sunà kàḏe-kàḏen gangunà</b>	
b. <b>mè sukè kaḏkàḏāwā?</b>	What are they beating?
but <i>not</i> b' <b>**mè sukè kàḏe-kàḏe?</b>	
a. <b>mātā sunà daddàfà àbinci</b>	The women are cooking up a lot of food.
More or less = a' <b>mātā sunà dàfe-dàfen àbinci</b>	
b. <b>àbinci mātā sukè daddàfāwā</b>	It is food that the women are cooking up.
but <i>not</i> b' <b>**àbinci mātā sukè dàfe-dàfe</b>	

The dynamic frequentative nouns may be syntactically plural if they are treated as count nouns indicating multiple actions, but they can also be masculine singular if the focus is on the ongoing action as a whole, e.g.,

<b>gùlmàce-gùlmàcenkù yā/sun yi yawà</b>	Your backbiting/badmouthings was/were too much.
<b>dàbàḏce-dàbàḏcensà bá [shi]<sub>sg</sub> dà kyáu</b>	His continual scheming is not good.
<b>dàbàḏce-dàbàḏcensà bá [su]<sub>pl</sub> dà kyáu</b>	His schemes are not good.
<b>kàḏe-kàḏen nàn [yanà]<sub>sg</sub> dāmùnā</b>	This continual drumming is bothering me.
<b>kàḏe-kàḏen mawàkan nàn [sun]<sub>pl</sub> bàmbantà</b>	
The drummings (rhythms) of these musicians were different (from one another).	

**M**ANY names  
sunà wàsán  
which are masculine  
requisite canonical  
synchronic level at

**cake** a game similar  
strike with a finger  
**gaḏà** roll a wheel,  
**lālè** shuffle cards;  
away; **zire** a game  
gambling < **zungi**  
Irregular: **caḏafke**

In addition to game  
antisocial) activities

**dangwale**  
**gōge**  
**gwaje**  
**jāgule**  
**kōre**  
**kwambale**  
**Rāḏale**  
**lālube**  
**lèke**  
**wuḏge**  
**yanke**

These activity forms  
verbal nouns present  
specialized meanings

- (a) **lèkè**
- (b) **lèke**
- (a) **lālùbè**
- (b) **lālube**

## 30. Games and Activities (Nominal Derivation)

MANY names of games contain a tone-integrating suffix **-e**<sup>H</sup> that is added to verbal roots, e.g. **Msunà wàsan kwāce** 'They are playing snatching', cf. **kwācè** 'to grab, snatch'. These words, all of which are masculine, end in short **-e** and have an all H tone pattern. In a few cases, words with the requisite canonical shape exist without a corresponding verb. The derivation is not productive at the synchronic level although there is a good-sized list of such words (see Amfani 1984). Examples:

**cake** a game similar to darts < **cakà** stab; **dambe** boxing < ?; **d'alle** a game with buttons < **d'allà** strike with a finger; **fashe** egg-breaking game < **fasà** break/shatter; **gafe** rolling a hoop or tire < **gařà** roll a wheel, etc.; **kirge** game of counting < **kirgà** count; **lāle** shuffling cards in a game < **lālè** shuffle cards; **tsallake** jumping game < **tsallākà** jump/cross over; **tsere** racing < **tsērè** run away; **zire** a game of trickery < **zirà** lower sth into a hole, overcharge s.o.; **zungure** type of gambling < **zungūrā** poke  
Irregular: **cařafke** throwing and catching (pebbles) < **cařkā** catch in the air

In addition to games per se, which constitute a semantically coherent class, other miscellaneous (often antisocial) activities are also expressed using the same suffix, e.g.

<b>dangwale</b>	pretending to give sth to s.o. and then refusing < <b>dangwālā</b> dip into
<b>gōge</b>	deliberate contact with s.o. (esp. with a girl) < <b>gōgè</b> rub
<b>gwaje</b>	measuring, testing < <b>gwadā</b> test
<b>jāgule</b>	making a mess (esp. of food by children) < <b>jāgūlā</b> spoil, mess up
<b>kōre</b>	setting up dupes for a con man < <b>kōrā</b> drive (animals) in front
<b>kwambale</b>	making an ink blot (when writing with a fountain pen) < <b>kwambālā</b> splatter
<b>kākale</b>	being finicky < ?
<b>lālube</b>	groping someone's body (or pockets by pickpockets) < <b>lālubā</b> grope at
<b>lēke</b>	cheating by looking at s.o.'s work in a sneaky way < <b>lēkà</b> peek
<b>wuřge</b>	throwing things from one place to another < <b>wuřgā</b> throw
<b>yanke</b>	a lie, lying < <b>yankà karyā</b> to lie (lit. cut a lie)

These activity forms can be contrasted with regular L-H verbal nouns ending in long **-ē**. Whereas the L-H verbal nouns preserve the general sense of the source verb, the derived activity forms typically have a specialized meaning. Compare the following:

(a) <b>lēkē</b>	act of peeking (esp. by married women) (VN)
(b) <b>lēke</b>	peeking at at someone's work in a sneaky way (derived noun)
(a) <b>lālūbē</b>	act of groping (VN)
(b) <b>lālube</b>	groping s.o.'s body or picking s.o.'s pocket (derived noun)

## 31. Gender

**G**ENDER in Hausa is a two-term system: masculine and feminine. It is operative only in the singular. There is no gender distinction in the plural, e.g.,

yārò m.	boy	yārin yà f.	girl	yārā pl.	children
fari m.	white	farā f.	white	faràrè pl.	white
tēbūr m.	table	tāgà f.	window	tēburōfi pl.	tables
				tāgōgi pl.	windows

°AN: The oft-repeated statements found in Hausa grammars going back over half a century that “plural nouns are always masculine” (Taylor 1923), or “all plurals are Masculine grammatically, no matter what the logical sex may be” (Abraham 1959b) are incorrect. There are a few morphemes, like the stabilizer *nē/cē/nē* (m./f./pl.) where the masculine and the plural markers are phonologically the same; but generally speaking masculine singular and gender-unmarked plural are grammatically distinct categories.

ΔDN: In most dialects of Hausa, gender is an essential, fully functioning part of the grammatical system. Some dialects of the south and southeast, however, such as Zaria and Bauchi, constitute an exception to this statement. Here one finds that grammatical gender has been lost to a great extent, being preserved inconsistently and in only some parts of the grammar, e.g., the pronouns. The loss of gender has progressed even further in dialects outside of Hausaland proper, such as Hausa spoken in Ghana.

Gender can be described from two points of view: the intrinsic gender of individual lexical items or classes of items, and concord phenomena (see chap. 32).

### 1. INTRINSIC GENDER

All singular NPs have gender. Out of a list of just over 5,000 common nouns, some 3,000 are masculine, 2,000 are feminine, and approximately 75 are epicene (i.e., masculine or feminine depending on the sex of the referent).

°AN: These numbers are derived from a count of the first 8,000 lexemes entered in a Hausa dictionary database in progress, which includes all the words in Newman and Newman (1977) plus further additions. The numbers of course are crude because they depend among other things on how many derivative words are or are not given separate head entries; still, they give a rough indication of the percentage of masculine as opposed to feminine words in the language.

Nouns (or pronouns) denoting people or large animals that are biologically male have masculine gender. Similarly, nouns (or pronouns) denoting people or large animals that are biologically female have feminine gender. Examples:

Masculine: *mijì* hu father; *kāwù* uncle  
*râgô* ram; *bùnsuri* Hassan; *kai* you (n)

Feminine: *mâtā* w *uwā* mother; *gwaŋ* *zākanyā* lioness; *ƙ* *Sāratù* Saratu (Sar

A small number of r upon the sex of the

*agòlà* m./f. steph relative; *bùtùlu* m. *kākā* m./f. grandp *membā* m./f. me unreliable psn; *tal* fool (f. = *wāwanyā*)

1.1. Lexically sp Gender assignment grounds. (Derivati attached.) In some generally speaking, the two genders is (

Masculine: *awò* w story; *māshì* spe  
Feminine: *būrā* ƙ talk, matter; *mēsà*

1.1.1. Variatior Generally speaking area. There are sm within the same di

(a) m. or f.: *kāmā* sea; *zumā* honey  
(b) *iskā* wind, sp m. in Kano, f. in S

°AN: Some p which is mas masculine, pe

Within SH, a few described below)

Masculine: **mijì** husband; **angò** groom; **yārò** boy; **saurayi** male youth; **sarki** emir, king; **ùbà** father; **kāwù** uncle; **wà** elder brother; **zākì** (male) lion; **ìngārmā** stallion; **bijimì** large bull; **rāgò** ram; **bùnsurù** he-goat; **zàkarà** cock; **Mūsā** Musa (Moses); **Yūsufù** Yusufu (Joseph); **Hasàn** Hassan; **kai** you (m.); **shì** he

Feminine: **màtā** wife; **amaryā** bride; **yāriyā** girl; **bùdurwā** female youth; **sàrauniyā** queen; **uwā** mother; **gwaggò** aunt; **yā** elder sister; **kàñafi-bà-kējì** prostitute (lit. canary without a cage); **zākanyā** lioness; **gōfiyā** mare; **sāniyā** cow; **tunkiyā** sheep (ewe); **ākuyā** she-goat; **kàzā** hen; **Sāratù** Saratu (Sarah); **Ma'ryām** Maryam (Mary); **Hasānā** Hassana; **kē** you (f.); **ita** she

A small number of nouns are epicene, i.e., have a single invariant form but differ in gender depending upon the sex of the referent, e.g.,

**agòlà** m./f. stepchild; **àutā** m./f. last-born, youngest child; **bārē** m./f. outsider, s.o. not a blood relative; **bùtùlu** m./f. an ingrate; **fāsinjā** m./f. passenger; **jikā** m./f. grandchild (f. = **jikanyā**); **kākā** m./f. grandparent; **kùmāmā** m./f. feeble person; **kurmā** m./f. deaf psn; **likitā** m./f. doctor; **membā** m./f. member; **nās** m./f. nurse; **sa'ā** m./f. age-mate, peer; **shāshāshā** m./f. foolish, unreliable psn; **talākā** m./f. commoner, poor psn; **wādā** m./f. dwarf (psn or animal); **wāwā** m./f. fool (f. = **wāwanyā**); **zābiyā** m./f. albino

### 1.1. Lexically specific

Gender assignment with most nonderived nouns is unpredictable and not determined on semantic grounds. (Derivational formations, like abstracts or instruments, tend to come with a set gender attached.) In some cases, described below in §1.2, classes of words share a common gender; but generally speaking, gender is "arbitrary" and lexically specific. (The matter of phonological marking of the two genders is discussed later in §2.) Examples:

Masculine: **awò** weighing; **dābīnò** date (tree); **farjì** vagina; **hancì** nose; **kùmurcì** cobra; **làbāfi** story; **māshì** spear; **shāyì** tea; **turmì** mortar; **watā** moon  
 Feminine: **būrā** penis; **fuskā** face; **kūkā** baobab tree; **kīrā** smithing, manufacturing; **māganā** talk, matter; **mēsā** python; **miyā** soup, sauce; **rānā** sun; **tabaryā** pestle; **wukā** knife

#### 1.1.1. Variation

Generally speaking, the gender of words is rigid and quite consistent throughout the Hausa-speaking area. There are small numbers of cases, however, where (a) specific words exhibit variation in gender within the same dialect, or (b) where dialects differ in the gender of individual lexical items. Examples:

- (a) m. or f.: **kāmā** likeness, like; **sāndā** stick; **tufā** garment, clothing; **yātsā** finger; **tēku** ocean, sea; **zumā** honey(comb), bee  
 (b) **iskā** wind, spirit, f. in Kano, m. in Katsina; **kēke** bicycle, m. in Kano, f. in Sokoto; **kyât** cake, m. in Kano, f. in Sokoto; **takòbì** sword, m. in Kano, f. in Katsina

°AN: Some people make a distinction between **zumā** 'bee' (= **kufan zumā** (lit. fly.of honey)), which is masculine, and **zumā** 'honey', which is feminine. Other people treat **zumā** 'honey' as masculine, perhaps treating it as elliptical from **ruwan zumā** 'honey' (lit. liquid.of honey(comb)).

Within SH, a few words occur either as masculine (unmarked) or as feminine (marked by means to be described below) with essentially the same meaning. Preferences are idiolectal or subdialectal, e.g.,

**tallē** m. = **talliya** f. (uncommon) small soup pot; **taurārò** m. = **taurārùwā** f. star;  
**tsuntsū** m. = **tsuntsuwā** f. bird; **zināřè** m. = **zināřiyā** f. gold; **zòbè** m. = **zòbanyà** f. ring

°AN: When the terms **taurārò** m. and **taurārùwā** f. are used to refer to people like movie stars, then the choice of gender is semantically assigned.

Verbal (and deverbal) nouns having alternative formations (see §77:3) and location words with **ma-** that have different endings (see §7:2) coexist as semantically equivalent words with different genders, e.g.,

(a) **jērì** m. = **jēriyā** f. row; **nācì** m. = **nāciyā** f. persistence; **nānì** m. = **nāniyā** f. sealing or mending; **mòrò** m. = **mōriyā** f. benefit

(b) **macēct** m. = **macētā** f. place of refuge; **magangari** m. = **magangarā** f. place of descent; **makuřđi** m. = **makuřđā** f. pass or waterway through hills or mountains; **masukwāni** m. = **masukwānā** f. place for galloping, race track

In a small number of cases, the masculine and feminine variants of the same lexeme differ in meaning. Examples:

**cbì** m. swollen/raised navel vs. **cbiyā** f. navel, center

**duhù** m. darkness, denseness (of forest) vs. **duhuwā** f. thickly wooded place in open country

**đòrì** m. setting bones vs. **đòriyā** f. addition (both < **đòrà** put sth on sth)

**kađē** m. used in **mān kađē** shea-nut oil vs. **kađanyā** f. shea-nut tree

**kìshì** m. jealousy vs. **kìshiyā** f. co-wife

**mađāct** m. mahogany tree vs. **mađāciyā** f. gall bladder (both < **đāct** bitter)

**nūnì** m. showing, pointing vs. **nūniyā** f. showing off (both < **nūnā** show)

**sakì** divorce, release vs. **sakiyā** f. releasing pus from an abscess (both < **sākā** release, let go)

**tòshì** m. gift to girlfriend vs. **tòshiyā** f. bribe (both < **tòshè** stop up)

◊HN: Members of pairs like **duhù** m. / **duhuwā** f. and **kìshì** m. / **kìshiyā** f. would originally have been identical in form, the meaning difference relating solely to the gender distinction, i.e., **\*[kìshì]<sub>m</sub>** 'jealousy' vs. **\*[kìshì]<sub>f</sub>** 'co-wife'. The difference in shape resulted later from a process of "overt characterization" described below in §4.

There are also a few cases (including compounds) where there is no difference in form but where there is a difference in meaning depending on the gender:

**bā-hayā** (lit. there is no renting) *m.* excrement (euphemism), public toilet vs. *f.* "Black Maria" van used to transport prisoners or those awaiting trial

**hānā-sallā** *m.* (archaic) type of coiffure used by Fulani women (with wisp of hair on forehead) (cf. **gòshì** *m.* forehead) vs. *f.* baseball cap (cf. **hūlā** *f.* cap)

**kūsā** *m.* a big shot (slang) vs. *f.* a nail

**kwallō** *m.* pit, nut, e.g., of palm tree vs. *f.* ball (cf. **tamaulā** *f.* rag ball)

**kūrā** *m.* hand cart vs. *f.* hyena

°AN: For most people, **kūrā** is *f.* regardless of its meaning; some people, however, do distinguish 'cart' from 'hyena' by gender.

## 1.2. Set gender class

Some semantic classes have members of the class as hyponyms of some su

### 1.2.1. Geographical

Terms for most geog

(a) Names of countries

e.g.,

**Afrikā** *f.* Africa; **A**

**Masār** *f.* Egypt; **Nā**

(b) Names of states a

**Bārno** *f.* Borno; **Be**

Sokoto

(c) Names of cities a

'Tsanyawa', or have

mountain.of Ma) *f.* 'f

**Bàgàdazā** *f.* Baghda

Harcourt; **Kanò** *f.* K

Sokoto; **Tsaunin** K

The words for 'city/t

feminine gender of t

If the city/town nam

concord, e.g.,

**Kanò** [cè]<sub>f</sub> It's Kan

**Tsanyawā** [tanā]<sub>f</sub> d

but **gàrin Tsanyawā**

(d) Names of quarter

of towns, the femin

they were not functi

**Dàmbàzau** *f.*; **Dau**

'meat/animal' are m

**Limancè** *f.*; **Nasarfā**

In a few cases, the

alternative to the "c

**Dan Àgundi** *m./f.*

**Lāyì** *m./f.* (lit. new

## 1.2. Set gender classes

Some semantic classes have a fixed gender regardless of the phonological or morphological shape of the members of the class. In most cases, the individual items get their gender as a result of their being hyponyms of some superordinate term with that gender; but this is not always so.

### 1.2.1. Geographical locations

Terms for most geographical locations are feminine.

(a) Names of countries are feminine (cf. **kasā** f. 'country'), as are continents (cf. **nāhiyā** f. 'continent'), e.g.,

**Afīrkā** f. Africa; **Amūrkā** f. America; **Indiyā** f. India; **Jāmūs** f. Germany; **Mārōkò** f. Morocco; **Masār** f. Egypt; **Nājēriyā/Nījēriyā** f. Nigeria; **Tūrai** f. Europe

(b) Names of states are feminine (cf. **jihā** f. state), e.g., (states within Nigeria):

**Bārno** f. Borno; **Bendèl** f. Bendel; **Filātò** f. Plateau; **Kabì** f. Kebbi; **Nējā** f. Niger; **Sakkwato** f. Sokoto

(c) Names of cities and towns are feminine. This is true even if they are plural in form, e.g., **Tsanyāwā** f. 'Tsanyawa', or have a phrasal structure where the head word is masculine, e.g., **Dūtsèn Mā** (lit. mountain.of Ma) f. 'Dutsen Ma'. Examples:

**Bāgādazā** f. Baghdad; **Bāirūl** = **Bāirūt** f. Beirut; **Dawākin Kudù** f. Dawakin Kudu; **Fātākwāl** f. Port Harcourt; **Kanò** f. Kano; **Kātsinā** f. Katsina; **Marādī** f. Maradi; **Mūsāwā** f. Musawa; **Sakkwato** f. Sokoto; **Tsaunìn Kūrā** (lit. rock.of hyena) f. Tsaunin Kura

The words for 'city/town' (**gārī**) and 'large city' (**bīrni**) are both masculine. This is thus a case where the feminine gender of the class members is not explicable in terms of the gender of the superordinate terms. If the city/town names are used in a phrase with **gārī** or **bīrni** (plus a linker), they take masculine concord, e.g.,

<b>Kanò</b> [cē] <sub>f</sub>	It's Kano; but <b>bīrni</b> <b>Kanò</b> [nē] <sub>m</sub>	It's Kano city.
<b>Tsanyāwā</b> [tanā] <sub>f</sub>	<b>dā kāsūwā m̄i kyāu</b>	Tsanyawa has a good market.
but <b>gārīn</b> <b>Tsanyāwā</b> [yanā] <sub>m</sub>	<b>dā kāsūwā m̄i kyāu</b>	Tsanyawa town has a good market.

(d) Names of quarters in a city or town are feminine (cf. **ūnguwā** f. 'quarter'). As was the case with names of towns, the feminine assignment generally overrides the gender/number that the words would have if they were not functioning as names of quarters. Examples (quarters in Kano city):

**Dāmbāzau** f.; **Daurāwā** f.; **Dōgon Nāmā** f. (lit. tall animal, where **dōgon** 'tall' and **nāmā** 'meat/animal' are masculine); **Fage** f. (cf. **fagē** m. open area); **Gīginyu** f. (cf. **gīginyū** pl. deleb-palm); **Limancè** f.; **Nasāfāwa** f.; **Tudùn Wādā** f.; **Yālwa** f.

In a few cases, the internal structure creates interference such that one gets masculine gender as an alternative to the "correct" feminine assignment, e.g.,

**Dan Àgundi** m./f. (lit. son.of Agundi); **Sābon Gārī** m./f. (lit. new town, where **gārī** is m.); **Sābon Lāyì** m./f. (lit. new line/street, where **lāyì** is m.)

(e) Names of rivers are feminine, e.g.,

**Bàdumè f., Calāwā f., Haḍ'ējā f., Kwārā f., Watàri f., Wùdil f.**  
e.g., **Binuwài tā fārō dàgà kasaf Kàmàru** The Benue begins in Cameroon.

The word for 'river' **kògì**—like the word for city—is masculine. When the river names are expressed as **kògin X** 'river.of X', which is common, they take masculine concord, e.g.,

**Haḍ'ējā [tā]<sub>f</sub> yi ambàliyà = Kògin Haḍ'ējā [yā]<sub>m</sub> yi ambàliyà** The Hadeija River is in flood.  
**Kwārā [tā]<sub>f</sub> jányē yànzū bà kàmāf dá ba = Kògin Kwārā [yā]<sub>m</sub> jányē yànzū bà kàmāf dá ba**  
The Niger has receded now, it not like before.  
**Kògin Nìl [sànnè]<sub>m</sub> nè** The River Nile is well known.

### 1.2.2. Months and days of the week

Months, whether of the Islamic or Western calendar, are masculine (cf. **watā** m. 'month'), e.g.,

**Maḥis** m. March; **Yūli** m. July; **Sātumbà** m. September; **Disambà** m. December;  
**Mūhaḥḥām** m. first Islamic month; **Shā'ābān** m. eighth Islamic month; **Zūlkīdā** m. eleventh Islamic month

Days of the week are feminine (cf. **rānā** f. 'day'), with the exception of (**ran**) **sātī** m. Saturday:

**Āsabār** f. (= (**ran**) **sātī** m.) Saturday; **Lahādī** f. Sunday; **Lītīnīn** f. Monday; **Tālātā** f. Tuesday; etc.

### 1.2.3. Prayer times

The times of day for the five Islamic prayers are all feminine (cf. **sallā** f. 'prayer'):

**āsūbāhī** f. (= **āsūbā** f.) first prayer (early morning); **āzahār** f. (= **āzahāriyyā** f.) second prayer (early afternoon); **lā'asār** f. (= **lā'asāriyyā** f.) third prayer (late afternoon); **māgāribā** f. fourth prayer (sunset); **līshā** f. fifth prayer (evening)

°AN: The statement by Wolff (1993: 139) that times of day are feminine is inexact. Times of day other than prayer times have variable gender, some being masculine, others being feminine, e.g., **ālfijīr** m. 'dawn'; **mārāicē** m. 'afternoon', **darē** m. 'night', **sāfiyā** f. 'morning', **tsakaḥ rānā** f. 'noon'.

### 1.2.4. Temporal and other adverbial nouns

When used nominally, i.e., as clause subjects, temporal-adverbial terms like **yāu** f. 'today', **gòbe** f. 'tomorrow', **jyā** f. 'yesterday'; **bana** f. 'this year', **bādī** f. 'next year'; **bāra** f. 'last year' are feminine (but see below). Phrases indicating the time of day, e.g., **karfè biyu** 'two o'clock' are feminine even though the headword **karfè** 'o'clock' (lit. metal) is masculine. Feminine gender is also the pattern with locative-adverbial terms for the cardinal points of the compass, e.g., **kudū** f. 'south'. Examples:

**[jibi]<sub>f</sub> ta Allāh cē** The day after tomorrow belongs to God. (i.e., the future is up to God)  
**[shēkaranjiyā]<sub>f</sub> tā yi kyāu** The day before yesterday was good.  
**[bādī]<sub>f</sub> wāccan** the year after next (lit. next year that (distant))  
**[gabàs]<sub>f</sub> tā fi [yāmma]<sub>f</sub>, [arèwa]<sub>f</sub> tā fi [kudū]<sub>f</sub>**  
East is better than west, north is better than south.

**[sànnu]<sub>f</sub> bā tā han**  
**[(karfè) gōmā dà**

Strangely, when ck morning or evening For example, one g **dà rabī ta sāfe**; [( sentence like 'It is allowed, but the ne result that [(karfè) better than the "corr 'It's twelve o'clock

### 1.2.5. Adverbs a

Adverb phrases—wh The gender is appare sensitive stabilizer f

**[jiyā]<sub>m</sub> nè sukā zō**  
cf. **[jiyā]<sub>f</sub> tā fi shēk**  
**[à zàune]<sub>m</sub> nè muki**  
**[dà saurī]<sub>m</sub> nè zā k**

It's quickly  
**[dà wukā]<sub>m</sub> nè ya s**  
cf. **[wukā]<sub>f</sub> cē ya sò**  
**[dàgà Kanò]<sub>m</sub> nè s**  
**[à cikin nātsuwā]<sub>m</sub>**  
**[maza-maza]<sub>m</sub> nè s**  
**[gà Bintā]<sub>m</sub> nè yak**

It is to Bin  
**[à kāsūwā]<sub>m</sub> nè kal**  
**[inā]<sub>m</sub> nè ka gan sh**  
cf. **[Kanò]<sub>f</sub> tā fi Kan**

°AN: Because th with a feminine allow masculine school they wen With other spea thus it is the gen agreement, e.g.,

### 1.2.6. Numerals

When used nominally

**gōmā tā fi takwās**  
**bakwài ita cē lambā**  
**d'aya / āshīrin bā bi**



[sànnu]<sub>f</sub> bā tà hanà zuwà (Going) slowly doesn't prevent getting there.  
 [(karfè) gômà dà rabì]<sub>f</sub> tā yì It is 10:30. (lit. (o'clock) ten and half it did)

Strangely, when clock times are followed by a freestanding linker plus an adverb phrase specifying morning or evening, the linker, which one would expect to have the feminine form *ta*, appears as *na*. For example, one gets [(karfè) gômà dà rabì]<sub>f</sub> [na]<sub>m</sub> sāfe '10:30 in the morning', not **\*\*[(karfè) gômà dà rabì ta sāfe]**; [(karfè) shá biyu]<sub>f</sub> [na]<sub>m</sub> dare 'twelve midnight', not **\*\*[(karfè) shá biyu ta dare]**. A sentence like 'It is twelve midnight' ought to be [(karfè) shá biyu na dare]<sub>f</sub> tā yì. This is indeed allowed, but the nearby phrase with the masculine linker provides a surface gender conflict with the result that [(karfè) shá biyu na dare] yā yì, with the 3m weak subject pronoun yā, ends up sounding better than the "correct" structure with the corresponding feminine pronoun tā (cf. (karfè) shá biyu tā yì 'It's twelve o'clock.')

### 1.2.5. Adverbs and prepositional phrases

Adverb phrases—which may consist of as few as one word!—and prepositional phrases are masculine. The gender is apparent when, for example, the adverb or prepositional phrase is followed by a gender-sensitive stabilizer for the purpose of focus, e.g.,

[jijà] <sub>m</sub> nē sukà zō	It was yesterday that they came.
cf. [jijà] <sub>f</sub> tā fi shēkaranjiyà ruwā	Yesterday was rainier than the day before yesterday.
[à zàune] <sub>m</sub> nē mukè	Seated we were.
[dà sauri] <sub>m</sub> nē zā kù yì wannàn mùhimmin aikì	
It's quickly that you will do this important work.	
[dà wukā] <sub>m</sub> nē ya sòkē shì	It was with a knife that he stabbed him.
cf. [wukā] <sub>f</sub> cè ya sòkē shì dà ita	It was a knife he stabbed him with.
[dàgà Kanò] <sub>m</sub> nē sukà tāsō	It was from Kano they started.
[à cikin nàtsuwā] <sub>m</sub> nē ya shìga rijiyār	It was very carefully that he entered the well.
[maza-maza] <sub>m</sub> nē sukà gamà aikìn	Very quickly they finished the work.
[gà Bintà] <sub>m</sub> nē yakè dà muhimmanè mù bā dà kuḍīn	
It is to Binta that it is important for us to give the money.	
[à kàsuwā] <sub>m</sub> nē kakàn sāmē shì	It's at the market you always find him.
[inā] <sub>m</sub> nē ka gan shì? [à Kanò] <sub>m</sub> nē	Where did you see him? At Kano.
cf. [Kanò] <sub>f</sub> tā fi Kàtsinà yawàn mutānē	Kano has a larger population than Katsina.

°AN: Because the preposition *à* can often be deleted, a phrase like [à makāfantā]<sub>f</sub> 'at school' with a feminine noun may appear as simply [makāfantā]<sub>f</sub>. In this case, some speakers still allow masculine concord with the bare nominal form, e.g., [[makāfantā]] nē sukà tàfì 'It was school they went to (cf. [makāfantā]<sub>f</sub> cè sukà ginà 'It was a school they built' (Schachter 1966). With other speakers, however, the feminine gender of the bare nominal form is too dominant and thus it is the gender of the noun qua noun (and not as a one-word adverb phrase) that determines the agreement, e.g., [makāfantā]<sub>f</sub> cè sukà tàfì 'It was school they went to.'

### 1.2.6. Numerals

When used nominally, numerals are feminine, e.g.,

gômà tā fi takwàs	Ten is more than eight.
bakwài ita cè lambār dà ta d'arà shidà dà d'aya	Seven is the number that exceeds six by one.
d'aya / àshìrìn bá biyu / hàmsin / mètán / dubū cè	It's one / 18 / 50 / 200 / 1,000.

mes are expressed as

is in flood.  
 kàmař dá ba

nth'), e.g.,

m. eleventh Islamic

Saturday:

à f. Tuesday; etc.

cond prayer (early  
 fourth prayer

exact. Times of day  
 ing feminine, e.g.,  
 g', tsakař rānā f.

f. 'today', gòbe f.  
 year' are feminine  
 are feminine even  
 so the pattern with  
 Examples:

is up to God)

Terms for fractions and the word for zero (which are mostly loanwords from Arabic) are masculine, e.g., *rabì* '1/2'; *sulùsì* '1/3'; *sùlùsàní* '2/3', *ƙubù* '1/4', *sifířì* 'zero'. Examples:

*rabì yā fi sulùsì* Half is more than a third. *sifířì nè na sanì* Zero I know.

When used anaphorically, *ɗaya* 'one, the other' is either masculine or feminine depending on the referent; the numbers above 'one' are plural, e.g.,

*gà 'yammātā biyu, ɗaya dōguwā cè, ɗayār (kuma) gājēriyā (cè)*

Here are two young women; one (f.) is tall, the other one (f.) is short.

*gà sàmārì biyu, ɗaya dōgō nè, ɗayān (kuma) gājērē (nè)*

Here are two young men, one (m.) is tall, the other one (m.) is short.

*à gārìn nān àkwai dubū wad'andā sukā ři biyān hārājì*

In this town there are a thousand who (pl.) refused to pay their taxes.

*ukùnsù sun tsērè manā* Three of them (pl.) escaped from us.

### 1.2.7. Letters of the alphabet

The names of letters of the Roman alphabet are all feminine, e.g., *á, bá, ɓá, cá, dā*, etc. The letters of the *ajami* (Arabic script) alphabet (see chap. 80), on the other hand, vary in gender from letter to letter, and with individual differences among speakers. For some speakers, the majority are feminine with a small number masculine, e.g.,

feminine: *bā, tā, já, há, ká, lá, řā, sin, shin, yā, zal, ɗá*

masculine: *àlú = àlín* ('alif'); *dal, lan-jâyē* (medial /l/), *min-jâyē* (medial /m/), *řadì, wau*

Other speakers treat most of the letters as masculine, with just a few feminine, e.g., *ká nè, sin nè* 'It's ka, it's sin', but *bā cè* 'It's ba.'

### 1.2.8. Abbreviations and acronyms

Abbreviations and acronyms are not gender specific in and of themselves. Rather, they take their gender from the gender of the full form. Thus NPC (the political party Northern Peoples Congress), is f. because *jām'iyyà* 'party' is feminine; BUK (Bayero University Kano) is f. because *kwalējì* 'college' and *jāmi'ā* 'university' are f.; and OPEC is f. because *ƙungiyā* 'organization' is f., etc. Conversely, UBA (United Bank of Africa) is m. because *bankì* 'bank' is masculine'. UNICEF is either m. because *asūsùn tàimako* 'funds, financial aid' is m. or is f. because *ƙungiyā* 'organization' is f.

### 1.2.9. Infinitives, verbal noun phrases, and whole sentences

Infinitive phrases composed of a finite verb plus an object are masculine. The gender shows up most clearly when the infinitive NP functions as a noun subject controlling a weak subject pronoun. It can also be seen, when, for example, an infinitive phrase is followed by the stabilizer for purposes of focus or when it is topicalized and requires use of a resumptive pronoun. These phrases often translate best as English gerunds or present participles, but in Hausa they have an infinitival structure, e.g.,

*[ƙērà kèkè]m [yanà]m dà wùyā*

To manufacture bicycles is difficult.

*[sayār dà mōtār wàje]m [yanà]m dà sauƙì*

Selling foreign cars is easy.

*[tūrō sù nān]m [zái]m yi kyáu*

Sending them here will be good.

*[būdè tágàř]m [yā]m gāgarā*

Opening/to open the window is impossible.

*[jēfà cèk]m [nè]m*

It was three

*[tunà masà kōmè*

Reminding

*[durkùsà wà málà*

As for know

Phrases composed

speakers, the focus

of the head verbal

*[[řirāř]f kèkè]f tar*

*[[sātāř]f gwaibā]f*

Some speakers, how

regardless of the ge

*[[řirāř]f kèkè]m y*

*[[sātāř]f gwaibā]m*

°AN: The alter

similar dynam

the infirmed is

*musù jiyà* 'S

an old verbal

the verbalizer

If the verbal noun i

regardless of which

*[[gyāran]m mōtā]f*

*[[hārbin]m-sù]m z*

Whole sentences an

masculine stabilize

subject pronoun, e

*[sun taɓà zuwà nā*

They had

*[à sāmì gōřò à Lar*

Getting kolanu

°AN: Example

even ungramm

*cēwā à sāmì*

sentence as a

London.' In a

definitely carr

[jěfà cék]<sub>m</sub> [nē]<sub>m</sub> ta yi à kwàndon shàrà

It was throwing the check she did in the trash can.

[tunà masà kōmē dà kōmē]<sub>m</sub> [yā]<sub>m</sub> zama aikìnā nè

Reminding him of everything has become my job.

[durkùsá wà mālám]<sub>m</sub> dai, Zàinabù tá yi [shì]<sub>m</sub>

As for kneeling down before the teacher, Zainabu did it.

Phrases composed of a verbal noun followed by an object are treated in two ways. For some (most?) speakers, the focus is on the N.L + N structure with the gender of the phrase being provided by the gender of the head verbal noun. If the verbal noun is feminine, the phrase is treated as feminine, e.g.,

[[kíràf̄]<sub>f</sub> kèkè]<sub>f</sub> tanà dà wùyā

Manufacturing bicycles is difficult.

[[sātāf̄]<sub>f</sub> gwaibà]<sub>f</sub> ita cè àbìn dà bā mà sò

Stealing guavas is the thing that we don't like.

Some speakers, however, treat verbal noun phrases like infinitival phrases and make them masculine regardless of the gender of the verbal noun itself, e.g.,

[[kíràf̄]<sub>f</sub> kèkè]<sub>m</sub> yanà dà wùyā

Manufacturing bicycles is difficult.

[[sātāf̄]<sub>f</sub> gwaibà]<sub>m</sub> shì nè àbìn dà bā mà sò

Stealing guavas is the thing that we don't like.

°AN: The alternative gender assignment of verbal noun phrases can even be extended to structurally similar dynamic noun phrases, e.g., [[jìyyàf̄]<sub>f</sub> maràsá láfiyà] yanà/tanà dà kyáu 'Looking after the infirmed is good', where jìyyà 'tend the sick' is a dynamic noun and not a verbal noun, cf. tá yi musù jìyyà 'She tended them' (lit. she did to them tending). Historically, jìyyà could possibly be an old verbal noun, but synchronically it is a simple noun, from which one can form a verb using the verbalizer -TA, e.g., jìyyatà 'tend sick person'.

If the verbal noun itself is masculine, the problem does not arise because the phrase will be masculine regardless of which approach is employed, e.g.,

[[gyāran]<sub>m</sub> mótà]<sub>m</sub> nē ya yi

Repairing the car he did.

[[hāf̄bìn]<sub>m</sub>-sù]<sub>m</sub> zái yi wùyā

Shooting them will be difficult.

Whole sentences are also masculine. This can be seen when, for example, the sentence as such takes the masculine stabilizer nē, or when it functions as a subject NP and thereby controls the gender of the weak subject pronoun, e.g.,

[sun tabà zuwà nán]<sub>s</sub> nē, shì ya sá...

They had indeed previously come here, that (m.) is why...

[à sàmi gōfò à Landàn]<sub>s</sub> yanà dà wùyā

Getting kolanuts in London is difficult. (lit. one.sub get kolanut in London it (m.) is with difficulty)

°AN: Examples with the sentence functioning as a subject are considered clumsy and by some people even ungrammatical. The sentence is better if preceded by the complementizer cēwā 'that', e.g., cēwā à sàmi gōfò à Landàn yanà dà wùyā. Better still is the following with the subjunctive sentence as a complement: yanà dà wùyā [à sàmi gōfò à Landàn] 'It is difficult to get kolanuts in London.' In any case, there is no disagreement that if the sentence is allowed at the beginning, it definitely carries masculine gender.

## 2. PHONOLOGICAL MARKING

As a result of historical developments (see §4 below), most native Hausa words that are feminine end in the vowel *-ā*, e.g., *ākuyā* f. 'goat', *būrā* f. 'penis', *fuskā* f. 'face', *gūguwā* f. 'whirlwind', *kibiyā* f. 'arrow', *kujērā* f. 'chair', *rīgā* f. 'gown', *tsanyā* f. 'cricket'. There are, however, many more exceptions to this oft-stated generalization than one might expect. There are some hundred feminine words that end in a consonant or in a vowel other than *-ā* and another twenty-five non-*-ā*-final epicene nouns that can be feminine. Most of the non-*-ā* feminines are fairly recent loanwords, primarily from English (or French in Niger), but some come from Arabic and Fulani. In some cases, the gender assignment has been made on the basis of real-world sex, e.g., *kilākì* f. 'modern prostitute' (< English 'clerk'), *gwaggò* f. 'aunt' (< Fulani); in others the gender assignment results from semantic analogy or association with some other words already in the language (e.g., *banatì* f. 'bayonet', cf. *wukā* f. 'knife'; *mòngwamařàn* f. 'beret' (< (General) Montgomery), cf. *hulā* f. 'cap'). Selected examples of non-*-ā* feminine words:

*ambùlās* = *ambùlan* ambulance (cf. *mõtā* car); *bàlām-balam* balloon (cf. *řòbā* rubber); *bās* bus (cf. *mõtā* car); *en'è* native authority (N.A.) (cf. *hùkùmā* governing authority); *fīřāmārè* primary school (cf. *makařantā* school), *gàzèt* gazette (cf. *takāřdā* paper); *gwamnařì* government (cf. *hùkùmā* governing authority); *hàyās* type of Toyota minivan (cf. *mõtā* car); *kòtù* court (cf. *shāřì'ā* court); *kwalējì* college (cf. *makařantā* school); *naggè* cow (< Fulani) (cf. *sānyā* cow); *siğāřì* cigarette (cf. *tābā* tobacco, cigarette); *singilētì* undershirt, singlet (cf. *tagùwā* shirt); *tāsì* taxi (cf. *mõtā* car); *tòcilàn* flashlight (cf. *fitilā* lamp); *walāt* wallet (cf. *jākā* leather sack); *wan-wè* one-way street (cf. *hanyā* road)

Other non-*-ā* feminines are much older loanwords whose source is often not identifiable. These words are assumed to be loanwords on the basis of distinctive phonological features, most notably, non-final rolled *ř* and short final vowels, e.g., *māge* f. cat (= *kyānwā* f.). Examples (non-*-ā* feminine words):

*āřādù* thunder clap (cf. *tsāwā* thunder); *bāngyal* type of short gown (cf. *rīgā* gown); *bēnu* Senegal fire finch (= *tsāda*); *būřkùtù* a type of locally brewed beer (cf. *giyā* alcoholic beverage), *gārè* type of small gown without embroidery (cf. *rīgā* gown); *kulè* cat (cf. *kyānwā* cat); *kūbè* hand-embroidered cap (cf. *hulā* cap); *mōđì* gambling game involving tossing a coin for heads or tails (cf. *cāca* gambling); *ùngùlu* vulture

ØHN: [i] The word *màcè* 'woman' has always stood out because it would appear to be a very basic old Hausa word and yet it does not end in *-ā* as expected. My guess is that it has its aberrant shape—a final short vowel other than /a/ and L-L tone—because it originally was a derived form meaning 'female' (< *mātā* 'woman, wife'), which only later came to be used as a common noun (cf. *na-mijì* 'male' with *mijì* 'husband').

[ii] Across the Chadic family, the words for 'vulture' are seldom cognate; nevertheless, they are usually feminine. A question that comes to mind about Hausa *ùngùlu* = *àngulu* (where the initial *Vn* is clearly a replacement for a syllabic nasal in the donor language) is why should the term for such a common bird be a loanword? The hypothesis (perhaps speculation is more accurate) that I would offer is the following: such words as *ùngùlu* 'vulture' and *nāmā* 'meat' (a masculine loanword ending in *-ā*, which replaced the original masculine word \**Luw-*) were associated with butchers, who, at the very early period when these words were borrowed, were not Hausas, but rather members of some Niger-Congo speaking group.

The essentially correct statement that feminine words normally end in *-ā* is often accompanied by a related statement (overt or implied) that masculine words do not end in *-a(a)*. This does not logically

follow and it is not in fact the case. There are many examples of some 3,000 masculine nouns that end in *-ā* (e.g., *řā* 'Catholic father, priest', *řā* 'bricklayers'), or by another vowel (e.g., *fānjāmā* m. 'loose-fitting shirt', which can be reinterpreted as singular in some dialects), and many nouns that end in a consonant (e.g., *rawāř dā* 'shake sth', *řā* 'crocodile'), are native Hausa words. The phonologically marked gender is the feminine, not the masculine. Examples:

- (a) Native: *bābā* indigo, baboon; *řēřā* mouse, special privileges; *gārē* crocodile; *mārē* elder brother; *wā* rooster  
 (b) Loanwords: *basfā* class (e.g., on a plane); *mu* modern stove (cf. *mu* *Nùwambā* November); *tākālmì* m. shoe(s); *wāndō* m. trousers)  
 (c) Erstwhile plurals: *řā* fly; *ruwā* water

ØDN: The last three examples are in different dialects.

- (d) Deverbal nouns: *řā* sth); *kāyā* goods, for; *řōnè* burn); *kidā* dr criticize)

ØHN: Many of the words historically ended in *-ā*, e.g., *guzā* m.

## 3. GENDER MARKING

Because many nouns (especially those with a rigid distinction between singular and plural) have more significant is the morphemes, the first two suffixes *-yā*; and (3) a s

follow and it is not in fact true. There are actually quite a number of *ā*-final masculine words (over 250 out of some 3,000 masculine (or epicene) nouns). Some are loanwords, primarily from English, in which the masculine gender has been assigned semantically, either by direct reference to the real world, e.g., *fādā* 'Catholic father, priest', *biḥkilā* m. 'bricklayer' (although presumably one could have female bricklayers), or by analogy or semantic association with some pre-existing masculine word, e.g., *fānjāmā* m. 'loose-fitting trousers', cf. *wāndō* m. 'trousers'. Some are erstwhile plurals that have been reinterpreted as singulars, e.g., *dumā* m. 'gourd, calabash', originally the plural of *dumè* m. (still used in some dialects), and some are deverbal nouns, e.g., *rawā* m. 'dancing' (< \**rāwa* 'shake (intr.)', cf. *rawā* dā 'shake sth'). Many *ā*-final masculine words, however (e.g., *gābā* m. 'front', *kadā* m. 'crocodile'), are native stems that simply reflect the earlier period in Hausa when gender was not phonologically marked and words of either gender could end in all five final vowels (as well as in consonants). Examples of *ā*-final masculines:

- (a) Native: *bābā* indigo; *bābā* eunuch; *bāwā* slave; *bāyā* back; *bidā* thatching needle; *bikā* baboon; *ḥēfā* mouse; *cinnākā* small black biting ant; *dilā* jackal; *fā* flat rock; *gātā* pampering, special privileges; *gaurākā* crownbird; *gōrā* large gourd; *guzā* water monitor; *hānkākā* crow; *kadā* crocodile; *mārāyā* orphan; *nīsā* distance; *shilā* young pigeon; *sūnā* name; *ūbā* father; *wā* elder brother; *wāsā* game, sport; *watā* moon, month; *wuyā* neck (of body or of thing); *zākarā* rooster
- (b) Loanwords: *basfā* motor scooter (< the brand name Vespa) (cf. *kèkè* m. bicycle); *faskilā* first class (e.g., on a plane or train); *indipendā* independence (cf. *mulkin kái* m. self government); *kūkā* modern stove (cf. *murhū* m. cooking place); *māntāletā* mentholatum (cf. *māi* m. oil, balm); *Nūwambā* November (cf. *watā* m. month); *ōzā* ounce; *sillfā* slippers, slip-on shoes, sandals (cf. *tākālmī* m. shoe(s)); *sūfā* premium (super) grade gasoline; *tūrōzā* trousers (western style) (cf. *wāndō* m. trousers)
- (c) Erstwhile plurals: *dumā* gourd, calabash; *gidā* house, compound; *karā* cornstalk; *ḥudā* house-fly; *ruwā* water

ΔDN: The last three words above, *karā*, *ḥudā*, and *ruwā*, are still plurals in Sokoto and related dialects.

- (d) Deverbal nouns: *dūbā* fortune-telling (< *dūbā* look at); *jifā* a throw (< *jēfā* throw at / *jēfā* throw sth); *kāyā* goods, loads (< *kai* take (< \*//*kāyā*//)); *kūnā* a burn on skin or burnt hole in clothing (< *kōnè* burn); *kidā* drumming, plucking, music (< *kadā* hit (drum)); *sūkā* criticism (< *sōkā* slash, criticize)

∅HN: Many of the words listed in (a) above derive directly from *ā*-final words. Some, however, historically ended in a nasal, which was subsequently dropped, the result being an *ā*-final masculine word, e.g., *guzā* m. < \**guzān* 'water monitor', *kadā* m. < \**kadām* 'crocodile' (see Schuh 1976).

### 3. GENDER MARKING: DERIVATION AND INFLECTION

Because many nouns (where gender is intrinsic) also function as adjectives (where gender is determined) a rigid distinction between derivation and inflection is not useful in describing gender marking. What is more significant is the form of the marking. Here one can distinguish three different feminine marking morphemes, the first two being etymologically related: (1) a suffix that one can indicate as {-*ā*}, (2) a suffix -*iyā*; and (3) a suffix that one can indicate as {-*nyā*}.

## 3.1. The feminine suffix {-ā}

Synchronically, the suffix {-ā} has two overlapping functions. With adjectives, it forms the grammatically required feminine counterparts of masculine words, e.g., *farī* m. 'white' (e.g., [*farin*]<sub>m</sub> [*zanè*]<sub>m</sub> 'white cloth'), *farā* f. 'white' (e.g., [*farāf*]<sub>f</sub> [*tagūwā*]<sub>f</sub> 'white shirt'), *dōgō* m 'tall', *dōguwā* f. 'tall'. With nouns, it usually serves to indicate the female counterpart of words denoting male persons or animals, e.g., *jāki* m. 'donkey', *jākā* f. 'she-ass', *kuturū* m. leper', *kuturwā* 'female leper'. With some inanimate nouns, it forms the grammatically feminine counterpart of the masculine form with little if any difference in meaning, e.g., *taurārō* m. star' = *taurārūwā* f. 'star'.

°AN: Some speakers feel that *taurārūwā* can be used only to refer to 'a large star'. Similarly, *kifanyā* (with the feminine suffix {-nyā}) is restricted by some speakers to 'a large fish' as opposed to the normal masculine form *kifi*. The use of feminine suffixes to connote largeness exists in various Chadic languages alongside its use as a singulative marker.

The ending -ā is a toneless suffix that is added to full stems including the final vowel and tone. It is thus unlike most suffixes in Hausa, which are tone-integrating affixes added to morphological bases devoid of final vowel and tone. It appears on the surface as -ā, -(i)yā, and -(u)wā depending on the final vowel and syllabic structure of the word to which it is attached. The variant forms are accounted for by the following set of rules. Note that the rules are the same whether the m./f. pairs are adjectival or nominal and whether the function of the feminine addition could be viewed as inflection, derivation, or overt characterization.

Rule 1: H-tone -i(i) + {-ā} → -ā

If the -ā suffix is added to a word with final H tone -i (long or short), the -i drops and the feminine form appears with final H tone -ā. Note that palatalized alveolars generally "depalatalize" when the front vowel is replaced by -ā. Examples:

*algāshī* / *algāsā* green (m./f.); *ālmūbazzāfī* / *ālmūbazzāfā* extravagant, spendthrift (m./f.); *dūgūzūnzūmī* / *dūgūzūnzūmā* shaggy-haired, unkempt (m./f.); *d'ālībī* / *d'ālībā* student (m./f.); *fatsī* / *fatsā* light red, esp. complexion (m./f.); *jāhīlī* / *jāhīlā* ignorant, illiterate psn (m./f.); *jāki* / *jākā* donkey/she-ass (m./f.); *kāramī* / *kāramā* small (m./f.); *mūnāfūki* / *mūnāfūkā* hypocrite (m./f.)

Rule 2: H-tone -e(e) + {-ā} → -(i)yā; L-tone -i(i) or -è(e) + {-ā} → -iyā

If the suffix -ā is added to a word ending in a front vowel other than H-tone -i, it appears as -(i)yā. (That is, the suffix is added to the full masculine stem including the final vowel rather than to a pre-affixal base minus the final vowel.) The transitional /i/ is present except when the penultimate syllable of the stem is light and the final consonant is a sonorant. The tone of the suffix depends on the final tone of the stem. If it is H, then the suffix appears as H-H; If it is L, then the suffix appears as L-H. Examples:

(a) *bēbē* / *bēbiyā* deaf mute (m./f.); *būgaggē* / *būgaggiyā* beaten, drunk (m./f.); *fāsasshē* / *fāsasshiyā* smashed (m./f.); *kārē* / *kāryā* dog/bitch (m./f.)  
 (b) *mītsītsī* / *mītsītsiyā* tiny (m./f.); *shākiyyī* / *shākiyyiyā* rascal (m./f.); *shārikī* / *shārikīyā* full brother/sister (m./f.); *shūdī* / *shūdīyā* blue (m./f.); *Bākatsinē* / *Bākatsiniyā* man/woman from Katsina (m./f.); *kōrē* / *kōrīyā* green (m./f.); *shēgē* / *shēgīyā* bastard(ly), rascally (m./f.); *zungurērē* / *zungurēriyā* very long, tall (m./f.)  
 Irregular: *ālhajī* / *hajīyā* psn who has made the hajj to Mecca (m./f.)

*d'anye* / *d'anyā* (<\*  
*māyè* / *māyyā* (<\*  
 Exceptions: *gājērē* /  
*Rādangarè* / *Rādang*  
*Ranè* / *Ranwā* young

°HN: A reasonab  
*Ranwā* m./f. 'yo  
 Subsequently the  
 still reflected in  
 ΔDN: In SH, the  
 formed by addin  
 (tone depending  
 vowel; thus, one  
 'woman from Ka

Rule 3: H-tone -u(u)

If the suffix -ā is added  
 the omission of the  
 Examples:

(a) *guntū* / *guntuwā*  
 (m./f.)  
 (b) *bākō* / *bākuwā*  
 (m./f.)  
 (c) *gurgū* / *gurguwā*  
 slatternly (m./f.)  
 (d) *bāhagō* / *bāhagū*  
 skinny (m./f.)  
 Exception: *mādugū*

°HN: At an abstr  
 final tone of the  
 H-H-H 'tall'. The  
 fed a low-tone r  
 vowel was long  
 \*shēgīyā H-L-L  
 'fool'. (Whether  
 proposed by Let

With few exceptions,  
 ā do not have distinc  
 cases is shown not by

*fāsinjā* nē m. / *fāsinjā*  
*wani* membā m. / *wani*  
*bābban* *bābūf* m. / *bābūf*  
*jan* *zanè* m. / *jañ* *tag*

**ɗanye / ɗanyā** (< \*ɗanyiyā) raw, fresh (m./f.)

**māyè / māyyā** (< \*māyiyā) sorcerer, wizard, witch (m./f.)

Exceptions: **gājērè / gājēriyā = gājērùwā = gājērā** short (m./f.);

**ƙàdangarè / ƙàdangarùwā** lizard (m./f.);

**ƙanè / ƙanwà** younger brother/sister; **ƙàƙanè / ƙàƙanùwā** small (m./f.)

ØHN: A reasonable hypothesis to explain the irregular alternation seen, for example, in **ƙanè / ƙanwà** m./f. 'younger sibling' is that historically the masculine form ended in **-ò**, i.e., \***ƙanò**. Subsequently the final vowel underwent a sporadic shift to **-è**, but the original vowel quality was still reflected in the feminine form.

ΔDN: In SH, the feminines of past participles and ethnonyms, which in the masculine end in **-è**, are formed by adding **-ā** to the stem and applying the rules above, the surface output being final **-iyā** (tone depending on the previous tone). In WH, the **-ā** suffix is added to the base excluding the final vowel; thus, one gets such examples as **bùgaggā** f. 'beaten' (cf. SH **bùgaggiyā**) and **Bàkatsinā** f. 'woman from Katsina' (cf. SH **Bàkatsiniyā**).

Rule 3: H-tone **-u(u)** or **-o(o)** + **{-ā}** → **-(u)wā**; L-tone **-ù(u)** or **-ò(o)** + **{-ā}** → **-ùwā**

If the suffix **-ā** is added to a word ending in a back-rounded vowel it appears as **-(u)wā**. The conditions for the omission of the transitional vowel and for the assignment of tone are the same as in Rule 2. Examples:

(a) **guntū / guntuwā** stub(by) (m./f.); **hütsü / hütsuwā** cantankerous (m./f.); **kuturū / kuturwā** leper (m./f.)

(b) **bàkò / bàkuwā** strange(r), foreign(er) (m./f.); **dōgò / dōguwā** tall (m./f.); **sābò / sābuwā** new (m./f.)

(c) **gurgù / gurgùwā** lame, a cripple (m./f.); **ƙürù / ƙürùwā** pony (m./f.); **sùllütù / sùllütùwā** lazy, slatternly (m./f.)

(d) **bàhagò / bàhagùwā** left-handed (m./f.); **gābò / gābùwā** fool (m./f.); **tsòlòlò / tsòlòlùwā** tall and skinny (m./f.)

Exception: **màdugù / màdugā** caravan leader (m./f.)

ØHN: At an abstract/historical level the **-ā** suffix and the preceding reduced vowel, if any, copied the final tone of the stem, e.g., **bēbē** H-H + **-ā** > **bēbiyā** H-H-H 'deaf mute'; **dōgò** H-H + **-ā** > **dōguwā** H-H-H 'tall'. The same would have been true for words with final L tone. The output would then have fed a low-tone raising rule (see §34:3.2) that changed final L-L sequences to L-H when the final vowel was long (Leben 1971), the result being the forms we find today, e.g., **shēgè** H-L + **-ā** > \***shēgiyā** H-L-L > **shēgiyā** H-L-H 'bastard'; **gābò** H-L + **-ā** > \***gābùwā** H-L-L > **gābùwā** H-L-H 'fool'. (Whether this historical rule still has validity as an active rule in current-day Hausa, as proposed by Leben, is very questionable.)

With few exceptions, e.g., **bāwā / bāiwā** (= [dv] **bāuyā**) 'slave' (m./f.), nouns and adjectives ending in **-ā** do not have distinct feminine forms, e.g., **wādā** 'dwarf' (m./f.), **jā** 'red' (m./f.). The gender in these cases is shown not by the form of the words as such, but by concord, e.g.,

**fāsinjā nē** m. / **fāsinjā cē** f.

He / She is a passenger.

**wani membā** m. / **wata membā** f.

a certain male / female member

**bàbban bābūr** m. / **bàbbar mōtā** f.

a large motorcycle / car

**jan zanè** m. / **jañ tagùwā** f.

a red wrapper / shirt

<b>mùmmūnan sarkī</b> m. / <b>mùmmūnař sàrauniyā</b> f	an evil king / queen
<b>zùzzurfañ rāmī</b> m. / <b>zùzzurfañ rījīyā</b> f.	a very deep hole / well

°AN/°HN: Parsons (1963) specifies that the feminine suffix for L-tone nouns and adjectives ending in -à is -iyā, e.g., **ìngarṁmā** m. (f. **ìngarṁmiyā**) 'large and strong (horse)'. He treats such examples as **rāwayā** m. (f. **rāwayā**) 'yellow' as exceptions. He has it backward. The regular feminine ending for underlying stems with final L tone -à is (or at least historically was) -ā. The -iyā suffix as a distinct morphological element is a grammatically new innovation reflecting a process of overt characterization. (For example, for most speakers **ìngarṁmā** 'large and strong (horse)' is epicene, the grammatical gender depending on the sex of the referent, e.g., **ìngarṁmā nē/cē** 'It's a large stallion/mare.' The feminine form **ìngarṁmiyā** is a new creation, which for some speakers is marginal at best.) There are in fact very few adjectives ending in L-tone -à(a) and, as far as I am aware, no one has done a systematic study about what corresponding feminine forms people nowadays actually use.

Instead of treating words ending in -ā as being epicene, one might consider postulating an additional rule whose surface result would be vacuous, i.e.,

Rule 4: H-tone -a(a) + {-ā} → -ā, e.g., **kurmā** m. 'deaf man' + {-ā} → **kurmā** f. 'deaf woman'  
L-tone -à(a) + {-ā} → -ā, e.g., **jīkà** m. 'grandson' + {-ā} → **jīkà** f. 'granddaughter'

Although this rule feels right, it runs up against the problem that words with final short -a do not lengthen in the feminine, e.g., **bābba nē** 'It's big (m.)', **bābba cē** 'It's big (f.)', not **\*\*bābbā cē**.

### 3.2. The feminine suffix {-iyā}

Originally, the suffix {-iyā} was simply the surface result of adding the feminine ending -ā to a noun stem ending in L tone -I or -ē as described above, e.g., **\*shēgē** + -ā > **\*shēgiyā** > **shēgiyā** bastard (f.). Synchronically, however, the surface form has developed into an independent feminine suffix that can be added to masculine words with other endings, i.e., with H-tone -I or -ē or with nonfront vowels, e.g.,

<b>àbōkī</b> / <b>àbōkiyā</b>	friend (m./f.)	<b>bādādī</b> / <b>bādādīyā</b>	close friend (m./f.)
<b>gājērē</b> / <b>gājēriyā</b>	short (m./f.)	<b>gàurākà</b> / <b>gàurākiyā</b>	crowbird (m./f.)
<b>gōgarmā</b> / <b>gōgarmiyā</b>	dauntless(m./f.)	<b>jākādà</b> / <b>jākādiyā</b>	ambassador, emissary (m./f.)

The suffix -iyā as a distinct feminine formative (in this case with an unexplained H-H-L-H overall tone pattern) is also used in forming feminine agent nouns (see §7:1.1) e.g.,

<b>mahāifī</b> / <b>mahaifiyā</b>	parent (m./f.)	<b>makāryāci</b> / <b>makaryaciyā</b>	liar (m./f.)
<b>masōyi</b> / <b>masōiyā</b>	lover (m./f.)		

### 3.3. The feminine suffix {-nyā}

The ending {-nyā} is an essentially nonproductive suffix. It occurs in only a small number of words (which includes some archaic or dialectal items (indicated [dv]) that are cited in the dictionaries but are not used nowadays in SH). The suffix mainly indicates the female counterpart of a word denoting a male person or (large) animal, e.g., **mārāyā** / **mārāniyā** 'orphan m./f.', **zākī** / **zākanyā** 'lion/lioness'. When used with words other than for people or animals, the suffix creates items that, although grammatically feminine, differ only slightly in meaning (if at all) as compared with the grammatically masculine forms. Examples of inanimates (complete):

<b>idō</b> m.	ey
<b>zōbē</b> m.	ri
<b>kadē</b> m. (esp. <b>mān</b> k)	fi
<b>kīfī</b> m.	fi
<b>dāci</b> m.	bi

The suffix has essential -anyā<sup>HL</sup> (which I think gets a copy of the prefix suffix has the form (m./f.). Examples (con-

(a) **barā** / **baranyā**  
native doctor, herbalist  
**gwāmiyā** knock-kn  
grandchild (m./f.); **k**  
/ **māzanyā** [dv] (= m  
**mūgūwā**) evil, ugly  
lion/lioness  
Exception: **yārō** / **yā**  
(b) **ḡarāwō** / **ḡaraun**  
//**mākāf-**// / **mākau**  
**mūtūniyā** (< **mūtun**  
Exceptions: **dōdō** (b  
**sarkī** (base //sārāk-

°HN: The derivation  
**mākauniyā** (by  
evidenced in m

## 4. OVERT CHAR

Hausa has a large nu  
Although the expla  
understanding of the  
restricted in terms of  
they could end in all  
consonant-final word  
**\*mūd'ù** f. 'python',  
final vowel because  
time.)

Although adject  
phonologically unma  
process of "overt ch  
suffix {-ā}. The esse  
not to masculine for  
**ḡarkuwā** 'shield',  
original base was t



<b>idò</b> m.	eye	= <b>idāniyā</b> f. [dv] (originally singulative?)
<b>zòbè</b> m.	ring	= <b>zòbanyā</b> f.
<b>kaḍē</b> m. (esp. <b>mān kaḍē</b> )	shea-nut oil	<b>kaḍanyā</b> f. shea-nut tree
<b>kifì</b> m.	fish	<b>kifanyā</b> f. [dv] (large) fish
<b>ḍāci</b> m.	bitterness	<b>ḍātanyā</b> f. a bitter grass

The suffix has essentially two variants: (a) With disyllabic (diconsonantal) words the suffix has the form **-anyā**<sup>HL</sup> (which I take to be tone integrating), e.g., **zākì** / **zākanyā** 'lion/lioness'. (In a few cases, one gets a copy of the preceding vowel rather than **-a**.) (b) With trisyllabic (including CVCVC) words, the suffix has the form **(-niyā)**<sup>LH</sup> (which is clearly nonintegrating), e.g., **mārāyā** / **mārainiyā** 'orphan m./f.'. Examples (complete):

(a) **barā** / **baranyā** servant (m./f.); **birì** / **birinyā** monkey (m./f.); **bōkā** / **bōkanyā** [dv] (= **bōkā**) native doctor, herbalist (m./f.); **darì** / **daranyā** hartebeest (m./f.); **gwāmì** / **gwāmanyā** [dv] (= **gwāmiyā**) knock-kneed psn (m./f.); **gyādō** / **gyādanyā** [dv] boar (m./f.); **jìkà** / **jìkanyā** (= **jìkà**) grandchild (m./f.); **kaḅò** / **kaḅanyā** young gazelle (m./f.); **kūsù** / **kūsanyā** [dv] mouse (m./f.); **māzò** / **māzanyā** [dv] (= **māzuwā**) harnessed antelope (m./f.); **mūgù** (base // **mug-**// / **mugunyā** [dv] (= **mūgùwā**) evil, ugly psn (m./f.); **wāwā** / **wāwanyā** [dv] (= **wāwā**) fool (m./f.); **zākì** / **zākanyā** lion/lioness

Exception: **yārò** / **yāriyā** (< **\*yārunyā**) (*not* **\*yāranyā**) boy/girl

(b) **ḅārāwò** / **ḅārauniyā** thief (m./f.); **jinjiri** / **jinjirniyā** = **jinjinniyā** infant (m./f.); **mākāhò** (base // **mākāf-**//) / **mākauniyā** blind psn (m./f.); **mārāyā** / **mārainiyā** orphan (m./f.); **mùtúm** / **mùtūniyā** (< **mùtumniyā**) man/woman; **zumù** / **zūniyā** (< **\*zumniyā**) age-mate, kinsman (m./f.)

Exceptions: **dòdò** (base // **dòdò-**//) / **dòdanniyā** monster, goblin (m./f.)

**sarkì** (base // **sārāk-**//) / **sārauniyā** king/queen

◊HN: The derivatiom of **mākauniyā** is **\*mākafniyā** > **mākamniyā** (by assimilation), and then > **mākauniyā** (by Klengenheben's Law). The weakening of syllable-final /m/ to /u/ before /n/ is also evidenced in **mùtūniyā**. In WH, the syllabic-final /m/ is still retained.

#### 4. OVERT CHARACTERIZATION (HISTORICAL)

Hausa has a large number of nonderived/noninflected feminine words ending in **-ā**, **-(i)yā**, and **-(u)wā**. Although the explanation is historical, one needs to be aware of it in order to have a proper understanding of the synchronic grammar of the language. Historically, feminine nouns were not restricted in terms of their phonological shape, i.e., they did not all end in **-a(a)**. Like masculine nouns, they could end in all five vowels and presumably in consonants as well (to the extent that there were consonant-final words). Feminine words like the following thus would have existed: **\*tumkì** f. 'sheep', **\*mūd'ù** f. 'python', **\*bēgo** f. 'porcupine', etc. (These hypothetical examples are transcribed with a short final vowel because the language probably did not have distinctive vowel length in final position at the time.)

Although adjectives would have carried feminine inflection, nouns themselves would have been phonologically unmarked from the point of view of gender. Subsequently, feminine nouns underwent a process of "overt characterization" (see Newman 1979a) by which they all added the overt feminine suffix **{-ā}**. The essence of "overt characterization" is that the feminine inflectional ending was added not to masculine forms but rather to words that were already feminine. For example, the feminine word **gārkuwā** 'shield', which synchronically has a plural **gārki**, clearly comes from a base **\*gārko**. This original base was not, however, masculine (as most scholars have assumed) but rather was already

feminine. That is, the function of the suffixation process was not to turn masculine nouns into their feminine counterparts, but rather involved providing overt phonological marking to nouns that were already feminine.

When the {-ā} suffix was added, surface forms were produced in accordance with the still-active rules described above in §3.1. Note that with words now ending in -(i)yā and -(u)wā, it is sometimes possible to determine the height of the original final vowel, but sometimes not. Where there is doubt about the height of the final vowel of the postulated earlier form, it is represented as E or O. Examples:

*cinì f. + -ā > cinyà f. thigh	*gafi f. + -ā > gafiyà f. bandicoot
*gàye f. + -ā > gàyā f. cooperative work	*kūgi f. + -ā > kūgiyā f. hook
*mag(a)re f. + -ā > magaryā f. jujube tree	*tsāme f. + -ā > tsāmiyā f. tamarind tree
*tsire f. + -ā > tsiryā f. parakeet	*zārÈ f. + -ā > zāriyā f. trouser string
*bēgo f. + -ā > bēguwā f. porcupine	*bütu f. + -ā > bütuwā f. poor tobacco
*guyÒ f. + -ā > *guywā > gwtwā f. knee	*kürO f. + -ā > kürwā f. soul
*makw(a)rO f. + -ā > makwarwā f. bush fowl	*shāmO f. + -ā > shāmuwā f. stork
*tsakÒ f. + -ā > tsakuwā f. gravel	*yèkò f. + -ā > yèkūwā f. proclamation
*duhù f. + -ā > duhuwā f. thickly wooded place in open country (cf. duhù m. darkness)	

In addition to the general rules described above, there are further details regarding the epenthetic vowel and the tone of the -(i)yā / -(u)wā allomorphs that need to be spelled out to account for the overtly characterized forms. The full endings -iyā and -uwā with the transitional vowel appear if the preceding syllable was heavy. The tone of the suffix is H-H if the final tone was H, L-H if the final tone was L, e.g., \*tsāme + -ā > tsāmiyā H-H-H 'tamarind tree'; \*yèkò + -ā > yèkūwā H-L-H 'proclamation'.

The suffix also surfaces as -iyā / -uwā when added to CVCV light-syllable stems where the C<sub>2</sub> is an obstruent. In this case, the tone of the suffix surfaces as H-L if the final tone was L and H-H if the final tone was H, e.g., \*kibi + -ā > kibiyā 'arrow'; \*shakÒ f. + -ā > shakuwā f. 'hiccough', \*tsage + -ā > tsagiyā 'tail hairs'; \*wāze + -ā > wājiyā 'fat in meat'. With CVCV light-syllable stems with a sonorant as C<sub>2</sub>, the suffix appeared as -yā / -wā, along with the original final tone, e.g., \*cinì + -ā > cinyā 'thigh', \*kürO + -ā > kürwā 'soul'. The endings without the transitional vowel also characterize CVC(V)CV words with an epenthetic medial vowel, e.g., tab(a)re + -ā > tabaryā 'pestle'.

Because H-tone -i + -ā is/was realized as -ā, overtly characterized feminine words originally ending in -i and feminine words originally ending in -a would have ended up with the same indistinguishable final vowel, e.g., wutā 'fire' < \*wuti + -ā, cf. kàzā 'hen' < \*kàza + -ā. Synchronically these two classes have merged and cannot be told apart. Thus there is no way to know whether rùmfā 'shed', for example, came from \*rùmfi + -ā or from \*rùmfa + -ā. In a very few cases, the true etymology can be determined from comparative evidence (as with the word for 'fire'); but synchronically the original difference has been totally lost and has no functional significance.

Generally speaking, the "feminative" suffixes constitute frozen, intrinsic parts of the stems. (I call the endings resulting from overt characterization "feminatives" to distinguish them from the active derivational and inflectional "feminine" suffixes.) In two areas of the grammar, however, their status as separate formatives still shows up. First, some (but not all) words drop the feminative ending in forming plurals, e.g.,

amaryā	bride, pl. amàrē	cinyà	thigh, pl. cinai
daḳwalwā	hen, pl. daḳwālē	gōdīyā	mare, pl. gwāḏḏī (= gōdīyōyī)
tunkiyā	sheep, pl. tumākī	zangārniyā	stubble of corn, pl. zàngārñū
(cf. giginyā)	deleb-palm, pl. gìginyū with the feminative -y- retained)		

Second, adverbial formation, e.g.,

gàskiyā (now = gaswutsiyā)

[References: Newman]

Second, adverbial forms of nouns containing feminine suffixes often drop the ending as part of the derivation, e.g.,

**gàskiyā** (now = **gaskiyā**) truth, cf. **gàske** truly      **sāfiyā** morning, cf. **sāfe** in the morning  
**wutsiyā** tail, cf. **wutsi** on the tail      **zūciyā** heart, cf. **zūci** in/on the heart

[References: Newman (1979a); Parsons (1960a, 1961, 1963)]

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 ; to nouns that were

the still-active rules  
 sometimes possible  
 re is doubt about the  
 examples:

bandicoot  
 hook  
 f. tamarind tree  
 trouser string  
 . poor tobacco  
 soul  
 wā f. stork  
 f. proclamation  
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(= **gōdīyōyi**)  
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## 32. Grammatical Agreement

**C**ONCORDIAL agreement is maximally a three-term system. Head words or phrases are either (1) masculine singular, henceforth “masculine” (m.); (2) feminine singular, henceforth “feminine” (f.); or (3) plural (gender unspecified), henceforth “plural” (pl.). With some morphemes, e.g., the stabilizer, the masculine and the plural agreement markers fall together, and with some, e.g., derived adjectives of sensory quality, the masculine and the feminine fall together. In most cases, however, the three categories are distinct. (The morphology of feminine nouns and adjectives is described in chap. 31; the morphology of plurals is described in chap. 56.)

The following are the major grammatical categories that reflect gender/number agreement.

### 1. STABILIZER

The stabilizer, which occurs in equational sentences and elsewhere (see chap. 66), has the forms **nē** (m.), **cē** (f.), and **nē** (pl.), all with polar tone.

<b>rāgō nē</b>	It's a ram. (m.)	<b>d'ākī nē</b>	It's a room. (m.)
<b>tunkiyā cē</b>	It's a sheep. (f.)	<b>tāgā cē</b>	It's a window. (f.)
<b>dabbōbī nē</b>	They're animals. (pl.)	<b>tūlunā nē</b>	They're water pots. (pl.)

### 2. LINKER

The genitive linker agrees with the head noun (or NP) to its left. Thus in a phrase like **d'ākīn na yāriyāf** ‘the girl's room’ (lit. room.the of girl.the), the linker **na** ‘of’ agrees with the masculine word ‘room’ and not with the feminine word ‘girl’. Like the stabilizer, the masculine and plural linker forms are identical. The basic full forms of the linker are **na** (m.), **ta** (f.), **na** (pl.), with the common short variants **-n** / **-f** / **-n**, respectively, e.g.,

<b>zanī na Hādizā</b>	a cloth (m.) of Hadiza's
<b>mōtā ta biyu</b>	the second car (f.) (lit. car of two)
<b>wāsānnī na yārā</b>	children's games (pl.) (lit. games of children)

The gender of independent possessives (which are formed with a long-vowel variant of the linker) is determined by the gender of the referent in the discourse, whether it is actually present in the sentence or not.

<b>mōtārsā tā fi tāmū tsādā</b>	His car (f.) is more expensive than ours (f.).
<b>gā littāfīnā; inā nākā?</b>	Here is my book (m.); where is yours (m.)?
<b>wad'ānnān nātā nē</b>	These (pl.) are hers (pl.).

**nāwa yā mutū**  
**ta Mūsā tā lālācē**

### 3. DEFINITE ARTICLE

The definite article (or demonstrative) is **ʾn** (m.), **ʾf** (f.), **ʾn** (pl.) for a word ending in H tone, and **ʾn** (m.), **ʾf** (f.), **ʾn** (pl.) for the gender/number of the word.

**yārōn**  
**tunkiyār**  
**dabbōbīn**

### 4. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

In the second and third person, singular and plural, the personal pronouns are illustrated here by the subject pronoun //a, and the object pronoun //a, **zā ā kāwō ruwā** ‘So

*Independent pronouns*

	<i>m.</i>	
1st	<b>nī</b>	I
2nd	<b>kai</b>	you
3rd	<b>shī</b>	he

*Weak direct objects*

	<i>m.</i>	
1st	<b>nī</b>	me
2nd	<b>kā</b>	you
3rd	<b>shī</b>	him

Pronouns obligatory in the second and third person, commonly occurring in the following contexts:

**tūtū [yā] fashē**  
**tukunyā [tā] fashē**  
**tūlunā / tukwānē [tā]**

### 5. DEMONSTRATIVES

Demonstratives, indicating ‘this’ (or ‘that’) in “accidental” cases

nàwa yā mutù  
ta Mūsā tā lālācē

Mine (m.) (referring to some masculine thing) died.  
Musa's (f.) (referring to some feminine thing) has broken down.

### 3. DEFINITE ARTICLE

The definite article (d.a.) uses the same basic morpheme as the stabilizer and the linker. It has the form  $\text{~n}$  (m.),  $\text{~f}$  (f.),  $\text{~n}$  (pl.), consisting of a consonant preceded by a floating L tone. (If the d.a. is attached to a word ending in H tone, it appears on the surface as a fall.) The form of the d.a. depends, inter alia, on the gender/number of the word to which it is attached. Examples:

yāròn                      the boy (m.) previously referred to  
tunkiyāf                  the sheep (f.) previously referred to  
dabbōbîn                 the animals (pl.) previously referred to

### 4. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

In the second and third persons, personal pronouns reflect the three-term m./f./pl. distinction. (They are illustrated here by pronouns belonging to the independent set and the weak direct object set.) In the first person, singular and plural are distinguished, but the m./f. contrast is not marked. The impersonal weak subject pronoun //a//, the so-called fourth person, shows no overt distinction in gender or number, e.g., *zā à kǎwō ruwā* 'Someone (m. or f.) or some people (unspecified) will bring water.' Examples:

#### *Independent pronouns*

	<i>m.</i>		<i>f.</i>		<i>pl.</i>
1st	nī I		nī I		mū we
2nd	kai you (m.)		kē you (f.)		kū you (pl.)
3rd	shī he		ita she		sū they

#### *Weak direct object pronouns*

	<i>m.</i>		<i>f.</i>		<i>pl.</i>
1st	nì me		nì me		mù us
2nd	kà you (m.)		kì you (f.)		kū you (pl.)
3rd	shì him		tà her		sù them

Pronouns obligatorily exhibit gender/number agreement whatever their syntactic function. The commonly occurring weak subject pronouns are typical, e.g.,

tùlū [yā] fashè                      The water pot (m.) [it (m.)] broke.  
tukunyā [tā] fashè                  The pot (f.) [it (f.)] broke.  
tùlunà / tukwànē [sun] fashè      The water pots / pots (pl.) [they (pl.)] broke.

### 5. DEMONSTRATIVES AND NONPERSONAL PRONOUNS

Demonstratives, indefinite determiners, and identical or phonologically related nonpersonal pronouns indicating 'this (one)', 'that (one)', 'which (one)', etc., show three-term agreement (except for "accidental" cases where the m. and f. forms have phonologically fallen together). Examples:

1. a. wannàn (< \*wa-n-nàn) dōkì nàwa nè  
 b. wannàn (< \*wa-t-nàn) gōđiyā tàwa cè  
 c. wađànnán dawākì nàwa nè  
 2a. wancàn nàwa nè  
 b. waccàn tàwa cè  
 c. wađàncàn nàwa nè  
 3a. yārò wandà na gani  
 b. yārinyà waddà na gani  
 c. yārā wađàndà na gani  
 4a. wani tsōhō yā zō  
 b. wata tsōhuwā tā zō  
 c. wasu sun zō  
 5a. wànnè ka fi sô?  
 b. wàccè ka fi sô?  
 c. wađànnè ka fi sô?

- This horse (m.) is mine.  
 This mare (f.) is mine.  
 These horses are mine.  
 That (referring to m. thing) is mine.  
 That (referring to f. thing) is mine.  
 Those (referring to pl. things) are mine.  
 a boy (m.) whom I saw  
 a girl (f.) whom I saw  
 children (pl.) whom I saw  
 Some old man (m.) came.  
 Some old woman (f.) came.  
 Some (pl.) came.  
 Which (referring to m. thing) do you prefer?  
 Which (referring to f. thing) do you prefer?  
 Which (referring to pl. things) do you prefer?

The question word *wà* 'who', which in its monosyllabic form controls default masculine agreement (e.g., *wà yakè wākā?* 'Who (m.) is singing?') can mark gender in the singular by using a longer form built by adding the stabilizer, e.g., *wànnè nè / wàccè cè* 'who (m./f.)'. Similarly, *mè* 'what' = *mènnè nè* (cf. *mè(nè nè) ya fādī?* 'What (m.) fell?'), has an overtly marked feminine long form *mè(cè cè)* although its use is much less common. The word 'who', whether in the long or short form, also has a distinct plural indicated by prefixing the 3rd person pl. pronoun *su* to the Q-word, e.g.,

- wànnè nè ya zō?* Who (m.) came?      *wàccè cè ta zō?* Who (f.) came?  
*su wà(nè nè) sukà bař aikin?* Who (pl.) left the work?  
*mènnè nè wancàn?* What (m.) is that?      *mèccè cè waccàn?* What (f.) is that?

## 6. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives, whether basic or derived, have three-term agreement (except in those cases where the masculine and the feminine have phonologically fallen together). Concord is obligatory whether the adjective is used prenominal or postnominally. The feminine form is built on the masculine stem using the inflectional suffix {-ā}. (With masculine stems ending in -ā, the feminine form will be phonologically identical.) The plural form is lexically specific in the case of basic adjectives and determined by the morphological class of the word in the case of derived adjectives. Examples:

- farin yādī* white cloth (m.) / *farāř rīgā* white gown (f.) / *farāren rīgūnā* white gowns (pl.)  
*tēbūr kàramī* small table (m.) / *kujērā kàramā* small chair (f.) / *tēbūrōfī kanānā* small tables (pl.)  
*mahàukàcin kārē* a mad dog (m.); *mahaukaciyař giwā* a crazed elephant (f.) / *mahàukàtan birai*  
 crazy monkeys (pl.)  
*rāmī zùzzurfā* a very deep hole (m.); *rījīyā zùzzurfā* a very deep well (f.) / *rījīyōyi zurfāfā* very deep wells (pl.)

°AN: Adjectival agreement is usually locally determined, i.e., the adjective takes its form from the nearby head noun. In some instances, however, masculine adjectives occur with feminine head nouns when the semantic referent is masculine, e.g., *sābon* (m.) *fitōwā* (f.) 'new moon' (lit. new coming out), not *\*\*sābuwař* (f.) *fitōwā* (f.), cf. *watā* 'moon' (m.).

## 7. DIMINUTIVE

The diminutive 'son/daughter/child'

*đan rāgō* a little boy  
*đan gājeren ya* a few short children

By contrast, in the assignment of gender

*đan-kallō / 'ya* m., but this is irre-  
*đan-Rwāyā / 'ya* f., but this is irre-

## 8. DEPENDENT

In NP of NP phrase, however, a few are dominant and control heads, but there

One is the invariant for gender

*[wànnè]<sub>m</sub> irin za*  
*[wàccè]<sub>f</sub> irin mōtā*  
*[wađànnè]<sub>pl</sub> irin*  
*[wani]<sub>m</sub> irin mū*  
*[waccàn]<sub>f</sub> irin b*  
*[kōwàđànnè]<sub>pl</sub>*

°AN: Although *mutānē* 'kin dances' (with

There are two positions as being transparent through *irin* unambiguous form but nevertheless ⇒ *[irin]<sub>f</sub> [mōtā]<sub>f</sub>* regardless of the in -ā.) The advantage appears without c

*wàccè irī ka fi sō?*  
 cf. *wànnè irī ka fi*

## 7. DIMINUTIVE

The diminutive markers *ɗan* / 'yaɗ / 'yan (m./f./pl.), which are related to the nouns *ɗā* / 'yā / 'yā'yā 'son/daughter/children', exhibit three-term agreement with the NP that follows, e.g.,

*ɗan rāgō* a little ram, 'yaɗ *tunkiyā* little ewe, 'yan *tumāki* little sheep  
*ɗan gājēren yārō* a wee short boy, 'yaɗ *gājēriyaɗ yāriyā* a wee short girl, 'yan *gājājērun yārā*  
 wee short children

By contrast, in *-er/-or* type compounds, the formatives *ɗan* / 'yaɗ / 'yan serve as the head and thus the assignment of gender and number is determined by meaning rather than by concord, e.g.,

*ɗan-kallō* / 'yaɗ-kallō / 'yan-kallō male spectator / female spectator / spectators (*kallō* 'looking' is m., but this is irrelevant)  
*ɗan-ƙwāyā* / 'yaɗ-ƙwāyā / 'yan-ƙwāyā male drug user / female drug user / drug users (*ƙwāyā* 'pill' is f., but this is irrelevant)

## 8. DEPENDENT HEADS

In NP of NP phrases, the first NP is usually the head and thus controls gender/number concord. There are, however, a few exceptions where the syntactic head is semantically weak and it is the second item that is dominant and constitutes the head for agreement purposes. I shall here describe two common *dependent heads*, but there are probably others as well.

One is the word *irìn* 'kind of' (composed of *irì* 'kind/type' plus the linker *-n*), which is usually invariant for gender and number, e.g.,

[wàné] <sub>m</sub> <i>irìn zanè</i>	what kind of wrapper (m.)?
[wàcè] <sub>f</sub> <i>irìn mōtā</i>	what kind of car (f.)?
[wàɗànnè] <sub>pl</sub> <i>irìn wàsànnin shāƙàtāwā</i>	what kinds of recreations (pl.)?
[wani] <sub>m</sub> <i>irìn mùtām</i>	a certain kind of person (m.)
[waccàn] <sub>f</sub> <i>irìn bishiyā</i> (= <i>irìn waccàn bishiyā</i> )	that kind of tree (f.)
[kōwàɗànnè] <sub>pl</sub> <i>irìn atamfōfi</i>	all kinds of printed cloths (pl.)

°AN: Although *irìn* is usually invariant, it does have two related plural forms, e.g., *ire-iren mutānè* 'kinds of people' (with a frequentative-type plural), and *rawā irì-irì* 'different kinds of dances' (with a fully reduplicated plural).

There are two possible ways to analyze gender/number assignment with *irìn*. First, one could treat *irìn* as being transparent (or permeable) for gender, so that in *wàcè irìn mōtā*, for example, *wàcè* would pass through *irìn* unaffected and agree with *mōtā*. Alternatively, one could treat *irìn* as being invariant in form but nevertheless picking up number/gender features from its controlling noun, e.g., *irìn [mōtā]<sub>f</sub>* ⇒ *[irìn]<sub>f</sub> [mōtā]<sub>f</sub>*, whereupon *wàcè*, for example, would agree with *[irìn]<sub>f</sub>*. (Note that *-n* would be used regardless of the gender of *irì* since the *-f* allomorph of the linker is added only to feminine words ending in *-ā*.) The advantage of the second analysis is that it permits one to account for phrases where *irì* appears without or separated from its head noun, e.g.,

<i>wàcè irì ka fi sô?</i>	Which kind [f.] (e.g., car) do you prefer?,
cf. <i>wàné irì ka fi sô?</i>	Which kind [m.] (e.g., bicycle) do you prefer?

**rìgàrsù kuma wata irì cè dàbam** In addition their gowns are a different kind [f].  
**gidansù kuma wani irì nē dàbam** In addition their houses are a different kind [m.].

Another dependent head whose agreement is determined by the second N is **rashìn** 'lack of', e.g.,

**yā yi [wani]<sub>m</sub> rashìn [ladàbì]<sub>m</sub>** He showed a certain lack of obedience.  
**yā rāsù bāyan [wata]<sub>f</sub> dōguwāf rashìn [lāfiyā]<sub>f</sub>** He died after a long illness. (lit. lack.of health)  
**rashìn [kunyārsà]<sub>f</sub> [tanà]<sub>f</sub> bā nì māmākì** His lack of shame (f.) amazes me.  
**[wannān]<sub>m</sub> dōgon rashìn [ruwā]<sub>m</sub> yā dāmē mù ainùn**  
 This long drought (lit. lack.of water (m.)) is bothering us a lot.

Interestingly, a phrase composed of **rashìn** plus a pronoun takes masculine concord even if the pronoun is feminine, representing an understood feminine noun, e.g.,

**[kunyā]<sub>f</sub>, rashintà [yakàn]<sub>m</sub> (not \*\*takàn) jāwō wāhalā**  
 Shame (f.), lack of it (f.) it (m.) brings on trouble.  
**[biyayyā]<sub>f</sub>, rashintà [yanā]<sub>m</sub> (not \*\*tanā) dāmūnā**  
 Obedience (f.), lack of it (f.) it (m.) annoys me.  
 cf. **rashìn biyayyā, bā nā sōntà** (not \*\*sōnsà) Lack of obedience, I don't like it (f.)

## 9. MAI AND RELATED ITEMS

The function words **mài/māsu** 'possessing, having', which form modifier phrases with a following noun (see chap. 45), agree with their head nouns in number but not in gender. Examples:

**bàbūr / mōtā mài aminci** a durable motorcycle (m.) / car (f.)  
 (lit. motorcycle/car possessing soundness)  
**bābuřā / mōtōci māsu aminci** durable motorcycles / cars (pl.)  
**dōdō / māyyā mài ban tsōrō** a frightening goblin (m.) / witch (f.)  
**dōdānni / māyū māsu ban tsōrō** frightening goblins / witches (pl.)

The negative counterparts of **mài/māsu** are **marāf/marāsā** 'lacking'. These are also marked for number but not gender, e.g.,

**ḡarāwō / ḡarauniyā marāf imānì** a merciless thief (m./f.)  
**ḡarāyi marāsā imānì** merciless thieves (pl.)  
**yārō / yārinyā marāf kunyā** a shameless boy / girl  
**yārā marāsā kunyā** shameless children (pl.)

The superlative markers **mafi / mafiyā**, which are grammaticalized agentive nouns derived from the verb **fi** 'exceed', also exhibit number, but not gender, agreement. Examples:

**gidan àbinci mafi tsabtā** the cleanest restaurant (m.)  
**mōtā mafi tsādā** the most expensive car (f.)  
**'yan kwallon rāgā mafiyā kyāu** the best basketball players (pl.)

## 10. ABSENCE

To contrast Hausa areas where gender is not marked, To begin with **shìga** 'He/She/They' and in **yā kashè** 'He/She/They' **kashè** has the same

ØHN: In some cases the verb and its compatibility

Attributive cardinal 'three miles', **daw** linker and thus **re** lioness', **māsu gu** Unlike the linker which, that' (m./f.) **yārinyā waddā** boy/girl/children t

[Reference: Rufa'i]



## 10. ABSENCE OF GENDER CONCORD

To contrast Hausa with common patterns in other languages, it is worth mentioning explicitly a few areas where gender concord does *not* apply.

To begin with, there is no gender (or number) marking on verbs themselves, e.g., in *yā/tā/sun shiga* 'He/She/They entered', the verb *shiga* has the same form regardless of the nature of the subject, and in *yā kashè birī / kūrā / tsuntsāyē* 'He killed a monkey (m.) / a hyena (f.) / birds (pl.)', the verb *kashè* has the same form regardless of the gender or number of the object.

◊HN: In some Chadic languages (e.g., Bole), one does get three-way m./f./pl. agreement between the verb and the subject, but this is extremely rare. More common is number agreement or semantic compatibility between the verb and the direct object (or other patient); see Newman (1990b).

Attributive cardinal numbers are also invariant, e.g., *zākī / zākanyà ɗaya* 'one lion/lioness', *mīl ukū* 'three miles', *dawāki gōmà* 'ten horses'. The ordinals, on the other hand, are built with a preceding linker and thus reflect gender/number, e.g., *zākī na ukū* 'the third lion'; *zākanyà ta biyu* 'the second lioness', *māsu gudū na huɗu* 'the fourth runners'.

Unlike the long-form relative pronouns *wandà/waddà/waɗàndà* (with tonal variants) 'who, which, that' (m./f./pl.), the bare relative marker *dà* 'that' is invariant, e.g., *yārò wandà na ganī / yārin yà waddà na ganī / yārā waɗàndà na ganī = yāròn/yārin yār/yāràn dà na ganī* 'the boy/girl/children that I saw'.

[Reference: Rufa'i (1977)]

### 33. HAVE Sentences

#### 1. FORMATION (AFFIRMATIVE)

**A**FFIRMATIVE "HAVE" sentences are formed with a continuous TAM plus a predicate headed by the preposition **dà** 'with' (see table 3 with the accompanying examples).

Table 3: HAVE

1s	<b>inà dà</b>	1p	<b>munà dà</b>
2m	<b>kanà dà</b>	2p	<b>kunà dà</b>
2f	<b>kinà dà</b>		
3m	<b>yanà dà</b>	3p	<b>sunà dà</b>
3f	<b>tanà dà</b>		
		4p	<b>anà dà</b>

**yàrinyà tanà [dà zòbè]** The girl has a ring. (lit. girl she.cont with ring)  
**yàró yanà [dà fensīf]** The boy has a pencil. (lit. boy he.cont with pencil)  
**sunà [dà kudī]** They have money. (lit. they.cont with money)

Pronoun objects of **dà** use the independent set.

**Bellò yanà dà ita** Bello has it (f). **kunà dà sū?** Do you (pl.) have them?

As is normal in the continuous, the *wsp* in HAVE sentences can be deleted if there is an expressed subject, e.g., **àbòkīn Garbà nà dà sàbuwāf mōtā** 'Garba's friend has a new car.' HAVE sentences with quality predicates are unusual in that they allow deletion of both the *wsp* and the continuous marker, e.g.,

**aikīn nān dà sauī** (< **aikīn nān yanà dà sauī**) This work is easy. (lit. ...with ease)  
**wurīn dà 'yař tazarā** (< **wurīn yanà dà 'yař tazarā**) The place is a short distance away.

°AN: A plausible alternative analysis would be to treat sentences without the *wsp* and the continuous marker as being formed not with the preposition **dà** but rather with the homophonous existential marker, i.e., **aikīn nān dà sauī** would literally mean 'work this, there is ease'.

In Rel environments, the continuous is replaced by the Rcont2 form, which, when attached to a weak subject pronoun, has the form **-kè** with a short vowel. (If the *wsp* is omitted then the bare **kè** automatically appears with a long vowel.) Examples:

**yàron dà yakè dà f**  
**Kànde cè takè dà j**  
**wà yakè dà bírò?**  
**gàfmār dà mutàné**

As illustrated in the resumptive pronoun

**àshānā cè yakè dà**  
**mè kikè dà shī?**  
**faràren rìgunà kài**

#### 2. NEGATIVE-F

The corresponding consisting of a falli plus a CV pronoun **bān; bá ya** → **bái**.

Table 4: Negative-F

1s	<b>bā ni / b</b>
2m	<b>bá ka</b>
2f	<b>bá ki</b>
3m	<b>bá shi /</b>
3f	<b>bá ta</b>

The negative paradigm e.g.,

**bá mu dà ruwā**  
**bán dà làsī**

An alternative means than **bá** plus a CV

**bā yà dà fensīf =**  
**bā tã dà kōmē =**

#### 3. MEANING AND

**3.1. Possession**  
 HAVE sentences a English constructio

**àbòkīnā yanà dà s**

yāròn dà yakè dà fensīr            the boy who has a pencil (= yāròn dà kè dà fensīr)  
 Kànde cè takè dà jàn-bàki        Kànde has lipstick.  
 wà yakè dà bìrô?                    Who has a ballpoint pen?  
 gârmâr dà mutânê kè dà ita        the plow that the men have

As illustrated in the previous example, if the object of **dà** is displaced, its must be replaced by a resumptive pronoun, e.g.,

àshānā cè yakè dà ita                It's matches he has. (lit. matches STAB he.Rcont2 with it (f.))  
 mè kikè dà shī?                      What do you have? (lit. what you (f).Rcont2 with it (m.))  
 farāren rīgunà kām, munà dà sū     As for white gowns, we have them.

## 2. NEGATIVE-HAVE

The corresponding negative sentences make use of a special negative-HAVE paradigm (table 4) consisting of a falling-tone negative marker **bâ** (identical in shape with the negative existential marker) plus a CV pronoun with H tone. In the 1s and 3m persons, there are optional contracted forms: **bâ ni** → **bân**; **bâ ya** → **bâi**.

Table 4: Negative-HAVE

1s	<b>bâ ni / bân</b>	1p	<b>bâ mu</b>
2m	<b>bâ ka</b>	2p	<b>bâ ku</b>
2f	<b>bâ ki</b>		
3m	<b>bâ shi / bâ ya / bâi</b>	3p	<b>bâ su</b>
3f	<b>bâ ta</b>		
		4p	<b>bâ a</b>

The negative paradigm is followed by a **dà** + NP phrase as with the corresponding affirmative sentences, e.g.,

**bâ mu dà ruwā**                                We don't have water. (lit. neg we with water)  
**bân dà làisì**                                      I don't have a license.

An alternative means of negating HAVE sentences is to use a normal negative-continuous PAC rather than **bâ** plus a CV pronoun, e.g.,

**bā yà dà fensīr =**        **bâ shi dà fensīr**                      He doesn't have a pencil.  
**bā tà dà kōmē =**        **bâ ta dà kōmē**                        She doesn't have anything.

## 3. MEANING AND FUNCTION

### 3.1. Possession

HAVE sentences are so called because they indicate simple possession in a manner comparable to English constructions with the verb 'have', e.g.,

**àbōkīnā yanà dà sābuwār hūlā mài kyáu**        My friend has a new good cap.

<b>sunà dà 'yā'yā biyař</b>	They have five children.
<b>munà dà dàbārà</b>	We have a scheme.
<b>Tàlàtù bá ta dà zòbè</b>	Talatu doesn't have a ring.

### 3.2. Predicative qualities

HAVE sentences with complements consisting of abstract nouns indicate predicative qualities, e.g.,

<b>munà dà karfi</b>	We are strong. (lit. we.cont with strength)
<b>yanà dà ban-màmākì</b> (lit. it.cont with giving.of-amazement)	It is amazing.
<b>ƙauyènmù wàndà yakè dà nlsā</b> (lit. village.of.our which it.Rcont2 with distance)	our village which is far away
<b>rijiyār nan (ta)nà dà zurfi</b>	That well is deep. (lit.well.of that 3f.cont with depth)
cf. <b>rijiyār nan zùzzurfā cè</b> (equational sentence with the adjective <b>zùzzurfā</b> instead of the noun <b>zurfi</b> ) (see §23:1)	That well is very deep. (lit.well.of that very deep STAB)

### 3.3. "Tough" and "quick" constructions

#### 3.3.1. "Tough construction"

An English "tough construction" of the type 'The book is tough to read' is expressed in Hausa by a HAVE sentence in which the predicate consists of **wùya** 'difficulty' or **sauki** 'ease' plus a linker (L) plus a verbal noun (VN). Examples:

<b>tàgàr tanà dà wùyař bũdāwā</b> (lit. window.the 3f.cont with difficulty.L opening)	The window is hard to open.
<b>igiyār nán bá ta dà wùyař tsinkèwā</b>	This cord is not hard to snap.
<b>madařā tanà dà sauƙin shā</b>	Milk is easy to drink.
<b>mòtār nan bá ta dà sauƙin gyārāwā (= gyārā)</b>	That car is not easy to repair.

°AN: For a discussion of this construction in Hausa from a more theoretical perspective, see Bature (1991) and Yalwa (1995).

Verbs that have both weak and strong VNs, e.g., **gyārāwā** (weak) = **gyārā** (strong) 'repairing' (both < **gyārā** 'repair'), normally allow either one to be used in a tough construction without any difference in meaning.

A thematic subject can be expressed by means of a prepositional phrase (à) **wurin X** 'at the place of X', e.g.,

<b>mòtòcin waje sunà dà wùyař sayè (à) wurin Gàmbò</b>	Foreign cars are hard for Gambo to buy.
(lit. cars.of outside 3p.cont with difficulty.L buying (at) place.of Gambo)	

Sentences semantically comparable to those with the tough construction (and from which the tough sentences are presumably derived via extraposition) exist that have an infinitive phrase or VN (phrase) as subject. Unlike tough sentences, which are restricted to transitive verbs, this structure is also found with intransitive verbs.

<b>[rufèwā] tanà dà wùya</b>	Closing (it) is difficult. (lit. closing 3f.cont with difficulty) (VN)
<b>[tsinkè igiyār nán] bá shi dà wùya</b>	Snapping this cord is not hard. (IP)
<b>[kařàntà littāfin] yanà dà wùya</b>	Reading (lit. read) the book is difficult. (IP)

**ballèwā dàgà war**  
[sàyen mòtòcin w  
cf. [sàyen mòtòcin  
preceding or 'Buy

An alternative pa  
followed by a tens

**yanà dà sauƙi** [à  
**bá shi dà wùya** [à  
**yanà dà sauƙi** [T  
**yanà dà wùya** [G

Alternative paraph  
e.g.,

**yā fàskarà à kām**  
cf. **fàrāwòn nan y**

3.3.2. "Quick  
Sentences of the  
different qualitativ

**mán shānū yanà c**  
**gyàmbón yanà dà**  
**zàrèn yanà dà sai**

Unlike "tough" ser  
verb, e.g.,

**gilāshin yanà dà s**  
cf. **gilāshin yanà c**

The quick senten  
prepositional phras

**mán shānū yanà n**  
**gyàmbón yanà wa**

## 4. OTHER MEA

In place of normal  
structure made up o  
which requires àkw  
normal HAVE cons

**àkwai shi dà wàyō**  
(lit there is him wit

**ballèwà dàgà wannàn kùrkukù tanà dà wùyà** Breaking out of this jail is difficult. (VN)  
**[sàyen mōtōcin wàje] yanà dà wùyà à wurin Gàmbó** Buying foreign cars is hard for Gambo.  
 cf. **[sàyen mōtōcin wàje] à wurin Gàmbó yanà dà wùyà**, which can either mean the same as the preceding or 'Buying foreign cars at Gambo's (dealership) is difficult.'

An alternative paraphrase is to have an 'It is hard/It is easy' HAVE clause at the front of the sentence followed by a tensed complement in the subjunctive, e.g.,

**yanà dà sauƙi [à kaƙàntà littàfin]** It is easy to read (lit. that one read) the book.  
**bà shi dà wùyà [à tsinkè igiyàf nán]** It is not difficult to break this cord.  
**yanà dà sauƙi [Tankò yà gyàrà halinsà]** It is easy for Tanko to improve his behavior.  
**yanà dà wùyà [Gàmbó yà sàyi mōtōcin wàje]** It is difficult for Gambo to buy foreign cars.

Alternative paraphrases are also possible using a simple intransitive verb like **fàskarà** 'be impossible', e.g.,

**yà fàskarà à kāmà fàràwòn nan** It is impossible to catch that thief.  
 cf. **fàràwòn nan yà fàskarà kàmuwà** That thief is impossible to catch.

### 3.3.2. "Quick construction"

Sentences of the type 'The butter is quick/slow to melt' parallel the "tough construction" but use different qualitative nouns, namely, **sauri** 'quickness' and **nàwà** 'slowness', e.g.,

**màn shānū yanà dà saurin narkèwā** The butter is quick to melt.  
**gyàmbón yanà dà nàwaf warkèwā** The abscess is slow to heal.  
**zàrèn yanà dà saurin tsinkèwā** The thread is quick to snap.

Unlike "tough" sentences, the verbal noun in "quick construction" is built on an intransitive form of the verb, e.g.,

**gìlāshìn yanà dà saurin fashèwā** The glass is quick to break. (< **fashè** v4-intr.)  
 cf. **gìlāshìn yanà dà wùyaƙ fasàwā** The glass is difficult to break. (< **fasà** v1-tr.)

The quick sentences semantically correspond to simple intransitive sentences containing a prepositional phrase or other adverb of manner, e.g.,

**màn shānū yanà narkèwā dà sauri** Butter melts quickly.  
**gyàmbón yanà warkèwā sànnu sànnu** The abscess is healing little by little.

## 4. OTHER MEANS OF EXPRESSING 'HAVE'

In place of normal HAVE sentences with abstract qualitative objects, it is possible to use an existential structure made up of **àkwai** plus a weak object pronoun followed by a **dà + NP** phrase. This alternative, which requires **àkwai** itself and not **dà** or **dà àkwai**, is semantically more marked and expressive than the normal HAVE construction. Examples:

**àkwai shì dà wàyō kƙwafai** He is very clever.  
 (lit there is him with cleverness very) = the normal **yanà dà wàyō kƙwafai**

**mutānen nān, àkwai sù dà rōwā**

(lit. men these, there is them with miserliness)

**àkwai shì dà ban haushi**

(lit. there is him with giving.of annoyance)

These men, they are misers.

He's really aggravating.

ØHN: This construction helps explain the nonparallelism in SH between the affirmative HAVE sentences (e.g., **tanā dà...**) and their normal SH negative counterparts (**bā ta dà...**). Originally, the negative-HAVE forms (1b) would have been the negative counterpart of existential sentences (1a), whereas the tensed HAVE sentences in the continuous (2a) would have been negated by using the negative-continuous forms (2b), e.g.,

Affirmative

(1a) **àkwai tà dà...**

(2a) **tanā dà...**

Negative

(1b) **bā ta dà...**

(2b) **bā tà dà...**

What happened historically is that the affirmative existential-type construction essentially dropped out as a normal means of expressing possession, whereas the corresponding negative remained and, for many speakers, tended to drive out the negative-continuous forms. The result was the skewed pairing of (2a) and (1b) that one finds in SH today.

**C**OMPARATIVE Hausa have undergone. Some that they apply in synchronically historically recent Law, are well established eleven sets of cha

## 1. CHANGES /

### 1.1. \*r > y/i

Non-initial \*r requires onset position an (The Proto-Chadic unpublished note represent cognate especially the voc

àiki (< \*arki) se  
māi oil < PC \*r  
wuyā neck < PC  
bùkwī (< \*bùkuy

Throughout Chad modern-day Hausa initial \*r's that or

Assuming the non-initial /r/ is e. i.e., there was pro d'āri 'cold', cf. Ka

The present-day syllable-final position rhotacism of an o 'become ripped' ( from Arabic, man 'verb', làdān 'mu

the affirmative HAVE  
à...). Originally, the  
initial sentences (1a),  
negated by using the

essentially dropped  
negative remained and,  
result was the skewed

## 34. Historical Sound Laws

COMPARATIVE studies of Hausa and other Chadic languages and internal reconstruction within Hausa have led to the discovery of a number of historical sound changes that the language has undergone. Some of these changes, e.g., \*r > y, would appear to be quite old, as evidenced by the fact that they apply fully to all dialects, they feed other phonological developments, and they do not appear in synchronically active alternations. Others, e.g., \*B > u, which only apply in some dialects, are historically recent and give evidence of still being ongoing. Some of the changes, e.g., Klingenberg's Law, are well established and well known. Others, e.g., final \*ū > ō, still need to be verified. Some eleven sets of changes are described here.

### 1. CHANGES AFFECTING CONSONANTS

#### 1.1. \*r > y/i

Non-initial \*r regularly changed to y/i. (In modern Hausa, the resultant glide appears as y in syllable onset position and i elsewhere.) This is clearly a very early change. Here are some selected examples. (The Proto-Chadic [PC] citations, which are not marked for tone, are drawn from Newman (1977a, and unpublished notes), supplemented by data from Jungrathmayr and Ibrizimow (1994). These all represent cognates widely attested throughout the Chadic family. The exact form of the PC citations, especially the vocalization, is not relevant here.)

àiki (<\*arki) send (C-form) < PC \*rəkə

mái oil < PC \*mar

wuyà neck < PC \*wura

bùkwī (<\*bùkuy) in a bare, exposed state < \*buƙur?

kifi fish < PC \*kirfi

sōyà fry < PC \*surə

Throughout Chadic, initial r tends to be a relatively uncommon phoneme, something also true of modern-day Hausa. It does, however, occur in a number of seemingly basic words, suggesting that the initial \*r's that originally existed remained as such and did not undergo the change to /y/.

Assuming that all (or most) non-initial \*r's changed to y/i, one needs to account for the fact that non-initial /r/ is extremely common in modern-day Hausa. A good hypothesis is that the source was \*l, i.e., there was probably a regular change of \*l > r. Suggestive cognates are yārò 'child', PC \*wulo; ɗàri 'cold', cf. Kanakuru ɗwal; cirè 'extract', cf. Kanakuru tole; rufè 'cover, close', cf. Kanakuru lipe.

The present-day l's probably have two sources, one internal and one external. The internal source in syllable-final position is the dialectally and idiolectally specific change from ř, which itself represents rhotacism of an originally coronal obstruent, e.g., biyār 'five' (< biyat < \*biyad) (> biyal; faṛkè 'become ripped' (> falkè; gārṁā 'large hoe' (> gālmā. The external source is the influx of loanwords from Arabic, many of which contain /l/, e.g., àlāmà 'sign', àlbasà 'onion', jāhili 'ignorant', fi'ili 'verb', làdān 'muezzin', linzāmì 'bridle, bit'.

1.2. Initial \*Ø > ' and h

In Old Hausa, neither / ' / nor /h/ existed as distinctive phonemes. (The lack of these phonemes was also true of Proto-Chadic (Newman 1977a, 1984b).) Before back-rounded vowels, phonetic [h] occurred, but this functioned only as an allophone of /f/, e.g., [mākāhð] = /mākāfð/ 'blind man'; [hūtā] = /fūtā/ 'rest'. The present-day / ' / and /h/ represent fairly recent phonemes, with language-external and language-internal sources (Newman 1976a). Externally, they represent borrowed phonemes that were introduced in initial and medial position along with Arabic loanwords that contained them (or phonetically related guttural consonants), e.g., **himmā** 'zeal, determination', **'addu'** 'prayer'. Internally, they resulted from the creation of an onset for vowel-initial words.

Modern Hausa has a rigid phonotactic constraint specifying that all syllables, and thus all words, must begin with a consonant. (Orthographically one finds vowel-initial words, but this is because initial glottal stop is not written, thus orthographic **aro** 'borrowing, a loan' is really / 'arō/.) This was not always the case. At an earlier period, it was normal for words to begin with vowels, the occurring vowels being **a** and **i** (and possibly **u** as well). These word-initial vowels were probably pronounced with a glottal or breathy attack, but this was at a phonetic, subphonemic level. As some point in time a change occurred, possibly stimulated by the influx of Arabic loanwords, all of which are consonant-initial. This change involved the reanalysis and upgrading of the phonetic onsets as the phonemes / ' / and /h/.

°AN: This historical analysis, which was first presented in Newman (1976), was presaged by Parsons (1955: 388) some twenty years earlier when he wrote: "h and ' (the glottal stop) [are] the realizations of zero consonant with voiceless and glottalized prosodies respectively."

The nature of the word-initial phonetic attack (whether aspirated or glottal), which became the basis of the phonemicized consonantal onset, was determined essentially as follows. If the root already contained a glottalized consonant, then it was the nonglottal [h] that was added. This was in keeping with a general phonotactic aversion in Hausa to having two different glottal(ized) consonants in the same word (see §54:5.2). Examples:

<b>haβā</b>	chin < *Øaβa	<b>hatsī</b>	grain < *Øatsi
<b>had'è</b>	swallow < *Øad'e	<b>hakà</b>	dig < *Øaka

°AN: In all of the examples, /h/ is followed by /a/. It is not clear what happened to words, assuming that they existed, that originally had the shape \*ØiC[+glot]V.

If the vowel-initial word did not contain a glottalized consonant, then [ ' ] served as the phonetic onset. Examples:

<b>'idò</b>	eye < *Øido	<b>'ita</b>	she < *Øita
<b>'aduwa</b>	desert date < *Øado + f. suffix)	<b>'askì</b>	shaving < *Øaski (< *saki)
<b>'àiki</b>	send (C-form) < *Øaiki (< *Øarki < *rəkə)		

ΔDN: In some eastern dialects (like Guddiri) there is an additional source for initial glottal stop, namely the change of initial /k/ to /'/, e.g., **'ofā** = SH **kōfā** 'doorway', **'otā** = SH **kōtā** 'tool handle'.

Because there is no restriction against /h/ co-occurring with nonglottalized consonants, it is not surprising that some originally vowel-initial words have dialect variants using the two different initial consonants, e.g.,

'aihù /'aifù = haβ  
'antà = hantà

Terms for body part

haβà chin; haβàr  
intestines; hannù

Leslau (1962) suggests a prefix. Because we do not represent a direction which there is evidence for a general rule regarding not begin with glottal have initial /h/, e.g. should have become morphological fact output of the historical

1.3. The sequer

The Hausa phoneme Although it has a h one root, namely, marker (f.), 'yan 'manumit', and 'ya Fulani). This his 'daughter' and d'iy tones on the result the tone) was \*d'iy

°AN: [i] Instead there is no realization /d'y/, notwith occur in the l: being realized [ii] As corrected about, we still is true that 'y Interestingly, its \*d'iy source

What is particularly began with vowel and only later spread preserve the original 'manumit', and d' e.g., 'yak kàssuv with the plural dim



'aihù /'aifù = haihù / haifù give birth (< \*Øaifu)  
 'antà = hantà liver (< \*Øanta)

Terms for body parts present a particular puzzle. Many such words begin with /ha/, e.g.,

habà chin; haḳàrkari ribs; haḳōri teeth; hamatā / hammatā armpit; hancì nose; hanjì intestines; hannū arm, hand (cf. Ngizim amai); hantsà udder; harshè tongue (cf. PC \*alse)

Leslau (1962) suggested that the initial /h/ in these Hausa words could reflect an old Afroasiatic body part prefix. Because we now know that Old Hausa did not have /h/ as a phoneme, the /h/ that one sees could not represent a direct reflex of such a prefix. On the other hand, Hausa could have had an a- prefix, for which there is evidence elsewhere in Chadic, e.g., \*alse 'tongue', \*anji 'intestines', etc. Given our general rule regarding the choice of glottal vs. aspirated onsets, the question here is why do these words not begin with glottal stop? We would naturally expect the words containing a glottalized consonant to have initial /h/, e.g., \*Øaḳa > habà 'chin', but not the words without a glottalized consonant, which should have become \*\*/'alsè/, \*\*/'anjì/, etc. The only plausible explanation that I can offer is that morphological factors, i.e., the patterning of body part terms as a class, overrode or regularized the output of the historical sound rules per se.

1.3. The sequence d'iy > 'y

The Hausa phoneme /'y/, a laryngealized palatal semivowel, has an unusual status in the language. Although it has a high frequency of occurrence, it is found only in what could be considered variants of one root, namely, 'yā 'daughter' (cf. ḳā 'son, freeborn child'), 'yā'yā 'children', 'yaḳ 'diminutive marker (f.)', 'yan 'diminutive marker (pl.)', 'yam + indirect object 'give a little (food)', 'yāntā 'manumit', and 'yancì 'freedom'. (It is also used by some speakers in the place name 'Yōlā 'Yola' (< Fulani).) This historically recent phoneme was created by the reduction of the morphemes d'iyā 'daughter' and d'iyā 'children', which are still extant in some WH dialects, to 'yā, both the LH and HH tones on the resulting monosyllabic words being realized as H. The developmental sequence (ignoring the tone) was \*d'iy > \*d'y > 'y.

°AN: [i] Instead of viewing [ 'y] as a glottalized /y/, which is what is normally done by Hausaists, there is no reason why one couldn't treat it synchronically (in SH at least) as a palatalized /d/, i.e., /d'y/, notwithstanding its phonetic realization as a semivowel. Note that phonetic [d'y] doesn't occur in the language any more than [ty], for example, does, in the latter case, the palatalized /t/ being realized as [é].

[ii] As correctly emphasized by Gouffé (1969), although it is obvious how 'y historically came about, we still cannot deny it synchronic phonemic status, as was done by Parsons (1955: 388n). It is true that 'y represents a newly developed phoneme in the language, but a distinct phoneme it is. Interestingly, in the dialect of Filinge, in far northwest Hausa, 'y has separated even further from its \*d'iy source and is now pronounced as /ky/ (Malka 1978).

What is particularly informative about the \*d'iy > 'y change is that one can see how it developed. It began with vowel loss and consonant fusion in a specific morpheme, the feminine diminutive marker, and only later spread to other \*d'iy sequences. In WH dialects, the words for 'daughter' and 'children' still preserve the original form, i.e., d'iyā 'daughter' and d'iyā 'children', and similarly in the words d'iyāutā 'manumit', and d'iyaucì 'freedom'. The diminutive markers, on the other hand, contain 'y as in SH, e.g., 'yak kassuwā 'small market'; 'yan tumāki 'small lambs'. Interestingly, in this latter example with the plural diminutive (but not with the feminine diminutive) the unchanged form is still possible,

i.e., **ḍiyan tumāki** 'small lambs'. In short, it seems that the phoneme first emerged as a contracted pronunciation [ʔyaɪ̯] of the grammaticalized morpheme **ḍiyaɪ̯** 'diminutive (f.)' (< **ḍiyā** 'daughter of'). This pronunciation subsequently spread to the corresponding plural form **ḍiyan** > **'yan** 'diminutive (pl.)'; and only then, in SH, was the change generalized to all **\*ḍiy** sequences.

#### 1.4. Word-final \*N > Ø

Although many Chadic languages dislike word-final obstruents, word-final sonorants are quite common. Old Hausa clearly allowed both of its nasals, /m/ and /n/, in word-final position. At some early historical period, both of these nasals (N) were both lost by a general **\*N > Ø** rule (Schuh 1976). Examples:

<b>kaḍà</b>	crocodile < PC <b>*kadam</b>	<b>kūsù</b>	rat < PC <b>*kusum</b>
<b>giwā</b>	elephant < PC <b>*giwan</b>	<b>guzà</b>	Nile monitor < PC <b>*guzan</b>
<b>ukù</b>	three < PC <b>*kun(u)</b>	<b>zàbō</b>	guinea fowl < PC <b>*zaban</b>

Subsequent to the loss of final nasals, word-final /m/ and /n/ have been reintroduced through sporadic apocope, e.g., **mùtùm** 'man' < **mùtumì**, **gidán** 'the house' < **\*gidā-nì**, and through the addition of loanwords, e.g., **mālām** 'teacher' < Arabic, **kwastàn** 'customs' < English, **dùbbān** 'wine' < French (*dù vin*). In modern-day SH, both /m/ and /n/ are usually pronounced [ŋ] in final position. It is possible that this change is recapitulating the first step in the old nasal-loss rule, i.e., final **\*m / \*n > ŋ**, whereupon **\*ŋ > Ø**.

#### 1.5. Klingenberg's Law

The designation "Klingenberg's Law" refers to a set of three historical changes resulting in the weakening of syllable-final (coda) consonants. As used here the term "Klingenberg's Law" has a very limited and specific sense, which does not comprise all of the phonological changes discussed in Klingenberg's (1927/28) own study. The changes originally applied to word-internal codas followed by an abutting consonant. Application of the rule in word-final position, which is also evident, probably represents rule extensions at a later date. Geminate consonants were not affected, nor normally were ideophones, which by their nature are phonologically aberrant. The first two of these changes are essentially dormant—they do not, for example, apply to recent loanwords—the third is still operative (Schuh 1974b).

##### 1.5.1. Syllable-final velars

Syllable-final velars historically weakened to /u/, e.g.,

<b>talauḥ</b>	poverty < <b>*talak-ḥ</b> , cf. <b>talākà</b> common man
<b>sàrauniyā</b>	queen < <b>*sàrak-niyā</b> , cf. <b>sarki</b> king
<b>hauni</b>	left < <b>*hagni</b> , cf. the doublet <b>hagu(n)</b>
<b>haurè</b>	tooth < <b>*haḥrè</b> , cf. <b>haḥōri</b> tooth/teeth (originally a plural form)
<b>zauḍà</b>	move aside < <b>*zakḍà</b> , cf. the doublet <b>zākùḍà</b>
<b>wàtàu</b>	that is to say < <b>*wàtāk</b> , cf. WH <b>wàtākà</b>

°AN: According to the phonological analysis adopted here, /w/ in syllable-final position does not function as a coda consonant but rather constitutes a vowel /u/ that automatically attaches to the nucleus as the second part of a diphthong (or long vowel). Note, for example, that the word **ḥaunā** (< **\*ḥaknā**) 'buffalo' forms its plural either as **ḥakānē**, building an internal plural utilizing the historical C<sub>2</sub>—this plural formation requiring three consonants—or else as **ḥaunāyē**, using the formation typical of other CVVCVV singulars. What one does not get is **\*ḥawānē**, which would be

the expected plu  
Regarding the fo  
traditionally don  
understands that  
justification for  
debatable. (The a  
Klingenheben's l

If the vowel preceding  
thereby hiding the er

<b>nūna</b>	ripen (n
<b>tūshiyā</b>	stubble
<b>zūciyā</b>	heart <

ØHN: Disyllabic  
many of these de  
there is no way to  
CVCCV. Words t  
need to examine  
animal to catch c  
plow', **kūjè** 'abra

1.5.2. Syllable-fin  
Syllable-final labial  
historically most shall  
such, e.g.,

<b>Audù</b>	proper n
<b>audùgā</b>	cotton
<b>kauri</b>	thickness
<b>sàuka</b>	get down

ADN: Interesting  
pronounced with ,

The change also affect  
followed by other con  
abutting consonant, e.

<b>aurè</b>	marriage
<b>gaurākà</b>	crownbu
<b>ḍaurè</b>	tie (cf. ḍ
<b>màkauniyā</b>	blind wc
<b>zaunà</b>	sit (cf. z

ØHN: The SH form  
**mākāfō** 'blind ma  
the **\*f/ > /u/ ch**

the expected plural form if the correct phonemicization were truly /*ḡawnā*/ with a /*w*/ coda. Regarding the formulation of the historical change, one could still describe it as \**velar* > /*w*/, as traditionally done, i.e., as a change from one consonant to a weaker consonant, as long as one understands that the output is immediately subject to the /*w*/ → /*u*/ change. Whether there is any justification for the postulated /*w*/ between the velar starting point and the /*u*/ endpoint is still debatable. (The analytical issue discussed here applies equally to the \**labial* > /*u*/ component of Klingenheben's Law.)

If the vowel preceding the affected velar was /*u*/, the surface output was a long monophthongal vowel, thereby hiding the erstwhile consonantal coda, e.g.,

<b>nūna</b>	ripen (naturally) < * <b>nūk-na</b> (with frozen suffix), cf. <b>nūka</b> ripen (with assistance)
<b>tūshiyā</b>	stubble of corn < * <b>tuk<sup>w</sup>slīyā</b> (with fem. suffix), cf. alt. pl. <b>tuk(w)āsū</b> (= <b>tūshiyōyī</b> )
<b>zūciyā</b>	heart < * <b>zuktīyā</b> (with fem. suffix), cf. pl. <b>zūkātā</b>

ØHN: Disyllabic words with a long /*ū*/ in the first syllable are fairly common. It is possible that many of these derive historically from CVCCV words, where the C<sub>2</sub> was a velar. Synchronically, there is no way to determine which of these words were originally CVVCV in shape and which were CVCCV. Words that could be suspected of hiding an original syllable-final velar (which one would need to examine comparatively) would include such examples as **būdē** 'open', **cūnā** 'set psn or animal to catch or attack s.o.', **cūsā** 'stuff sth into sth', **hūdā** 'bank up ridges in a farm with a plow', **kūjē** 'abrade, scratch', **tūbē** 'take off (clothing)', **ūfē** 'run away quickly, disappear'.

### 1.5.2. Syllable-final labials

Syllable-final labial consonants also weakened to /*u*/. The law affecting labials, which is the historically most shallow of the three, applied in SH only. In WH, labials in coda position remained as such, e.g.,

<b>Audū</b>	proper name	= <b>Abdū</b> [WH]
<b>audūgā</b>	cotton	= <b>abdūgā</b> [WH]
<b>kaurī</b>	thickness	= <b>kabrī</b> [WH]
<b>sāuka</b>	get down	= <b>sāfka</b> [spelled <b>sabka</b> ] [WH]

ΔDN: Interestingly, such names as **Ābdūllāhī**, **Ābdūsālām**, and **Ābdūlmālik** are typically pronounced with /*b*/ rather than /*u*/ even by SH speakers who normally say **Audū** rather than **Abdū**.

The change also affected syllable-final /*m*/, but only when abutting with a following /*r*/ or /*n*/. When followed by other consonants, **m** remained a nasal and generally assimilated to the position of the abutting consonant, e.g., **ḡānzākī** > **ḡānzākī** 'morning star'. Examples:

<b>aurē</b>	marriage (cf. <b>amaryā</b> bride)	= <b>amrē</b> [WH]
<b>ḡaurākā</b>	crowbird	= <b>ḡāmrākā</b> [WH]
<b>ḡaurē</b>	tie (cf. <b>ḡamarā</b> amulet belt)	= <b>ḡāmrē</b> [WH]
<b>mākaunīyā</b>	blind woman	= <b>mākamniyā</b> [WH]
<b>zaunā</b>	sit (cf. <b>zamā</b> being)	= <b>zamnā</b> [WH]

ØHN: The SH form **mākaunīyā** 'blind woman' is usually described as being derived from the stem **mākāfō** 'blind man' (with the final vowel dropped) + a feminine suffix **-niyā**, thereby instantiating the \*/*f*/ > /*u*/ change. This is probably incorrect. More likely, the obstruent \*/*f*/ did not change

directly into /u/, i.e., there was no \**màkafniyā* > *màkauniyā* change. Rather \*/f/ (and \*/b/) regularly assimilated to /m/ before nasal consonants in all dialects and only then did one get the SH change of \*/m/ followed by /n/ going to /u/. Other likely examples of the obstruent to nasal rule are *gwannà* 'governor' < \**gwabnà* and *sàmmakō* 'getting an early start in the morning' < \**sàfmakō* (cf. *sāfe* 'morning').

ΔDN: Some northern dialects that preserved /m.r/ abutting sequences have undergone systematic metathesis to /r.m/, e.g., *amrē* > *armē* 'marriage'; *ɗamrē* > *ɗarmē* 'tie'; *gàmrākà* > *gàrmākà* 'crownbird'.

The labial to /u/ change fed a monophthongization rule \*iu > ū (described below in §2.3), e.g.,

<i>shūkà</i>	sow (< * <i>shiukà</i> )	= <i>shifkà</i> [spelled <i>shibka</i> ] [WH]
<i>jūdà</i>	musk (< * <i>jiudà</i> )	= <i>j ibdà</i> [WH]
<i>jūrè</i>	endure (< * <i>jiurè</i> )	= <i>jimrè</i> [WH]

It has long been known that the labial component of Klingenberg's Law was dialect-limited. Scholars have not, however, noticed the extent to which the weakening of labial obstruents was phonologically conditioned and lexically restricted. (This lack of regularity is what one would expect with a historical sound law that is so recent it has not had time to work its way systematically throughout the language.) For example, when abutting with /r/ or /sh/, the change was fully operative (see (a)); when abutting with /t/ (or /c/) or /g/, the weakening did not occur (see (b)); and when followed by /d/, or /k/, the law was lexically specific and unpredictable (see (c)). Examples:

(a) <i>taurè</i>	castrated goat	= <i>tabrè</i> [WH]
<i>shūrà</i>	kick (< * <i>shiurà</i> )	= <i>shibrà</i> [WH]
<i>haushì</i>	barking	= <i>hafshì</i> [spelled <i>habshì</i> ] [WH]
<i>taushì</i>	type of drum (pl. <i>tafàshē</i> )	= <i>tafshì</i> [spelled <i>tabshi</i> ] [WH]
(b) <i>kaftà</i>	dig ground for planting (no change)	
<i>řifcē</i>	winking, blinking (no change)	
<i>dàbgē</i>	a stew with a lot of meat (no change)	
<i>jibgà</i>	pile loads on one another (no change)	
(c) <i>yaudō</i>	an herb	= <i>yabdō</i> [WH]
cf. <i>riřdā</i>	demolish (no change)	
<i>àuku</i>	happen, occur	= <i>àfku</i> [WH]
cf. <i>tafkì</i>	lake (no change)	

The weakening rule has generally not affected labial obstruents occupying coda position as a result of morphological suffixation, e.g.,

<i>ɗàlibcē</i>	become a student (not ** <i>ɗàlūcē</i> ) < <i>ɗàlibi</i> student
<i>hasàftā</i>	give a small present to s.o. < <i>hasàfti</i> gift
<i>màřwàbtakà</i>	neighborliness < // <i>màřwàb-</i> // (cf. <i>màřwàbci</i> neighbor)
<i>la'ifcì</i>	impotence < <i>là'ifti</i> impotent
<i>zubshē</i>	pour out (gr5 B-form) < <i>zubbà</i> pour in (gr1)

Doublets with some Arabic loanwords indicate that the tendency to weaken syllable-final labial obstruents has spilled over into word-final position, e.g.,

*àlú* = *àlif* the letter

1.5.3. Syllable-final  
Syllable-final coronal  
the flap /r/ and the

*fařkà* wake up  
'*yařsà* his daughter

ΔDN: In various  
undergone this  
*fařkē*.

In Klingenberg's  
applying to /s/ and  
/z/ that remained

*kaskō* earthen  
*řizgā* grab, snare  
*kwàřfā* shell, pot

Some examples of  
the weakening is  
followed by a nasal

*binnè* (< \**bīrnè*)  
*ařnā* (= *annā*)  
*gàřmā*  
*guřdè*

°AN: Contrary  
syllable-final  
*fùřfurtā* 'go  
conditions, v

Although the rhotacism  
historically quite  
alternations involving  
Hausa, there are numerous  
cases the ř came from  
examples include

*buřgā* (< \**budgā*)  
(< \**řatke* ?) bread  
tree; *màřkā* (< \**ř*)

The rhotacism applies  
word-final position

ǎlǎ = ǎlif the letter aleph; shǎřǎ = shǎřif holy man tracing descent from the Prophet

1.5.3. Syllable-final coronals

Syllable-final coronal obstruents (**t**, **đ**, and **d**) changed to rolled /ř/. (The phonemic opposition between the flap /r/ and the rolled /ř/ is to a great extent due to this rhotacism rule.)

**fǎřkǎ** wake up = **fǎđakǎ**      **řǎřnǎ** damage (n.) < **řǎřǎ** to damage (vb.)  
 'yařsǎ his daughter = 'yǎřasǎ      **fǎřkē** itinerant trader (< \*fatkē), cf. pl. **fatǎkē**

ADN: In various, mostly WH, dialects, syllable final /ř/ has altered into /l/. Although SH has not undergone this change as a regular rule, the word for 'trader' often appears as **falkē** rather than as **fǎřkē**.

In Klingenheben's original formulation, the syllable-final change to rolled ř was described as also applying to /s/ and /z/. This is incorrect, as evidenced by the numerous examples of syllable-final /s/ and /z/ that remained unaltered, e.g.,

**kaskō** earthen bowl      **řyastǎ** strike flint  
**řizgǎ** grab, snatch      **řyǎřbǎ** skin disease on face, neck  
**kwǎřfǎ** shell, pod      **řazwǎ** scabies

Some examples of the sibilants /s/ and /z/ undergoing rhotacism do exist, but like the labial codas, (a) the weakening is limited to SH only; (b) it is phonologically conditioned (occurring primarily when followed by a nasal, esp. /n/); and (c) it is lexically sporadic. Examples:

**binnē** (< \*biřnē) bury = **biznē** [WH] (cf. **bisō** burying)  
**ařnǎ** (= **annǎ**) pagans = **aznǎ** [WH]  
**gǎřmǎ** a large hoe = **gǎřmǎ** [WH]  
**guřđē** sprain = **gusđē** [WH]

°AN: Contrary to Klingenheben's assertion, which has been repeated by many Hausa scholars, syllable-final /r/ does not automatically change into rolled ř, cf. **sarkǎ** 'chief', **farcē** 'fingernail', **fǎřfurtǎ** 'go gray', **sartsē** 'splinter'. Rather, it does so only under specific phonological conditions, which still apply synchronically (see §54:1.1.1).

Although the rhotacism rule continues to operate in the language as an active process, it appears to be historically quite old. As a result it is much more difficult to find good examples of morphophonemic alternations involving a coronal obstruent and /ř/ than it is between a velar obstruent and /u/. In modern Hausa, there are numerous examples of CVCCV words with syllable-final ř. We can assume that in most cases the ř came historically from \*t, \*đ, or \*d, even when there is no extant internal evidence. Such examples include the following:

**buřgǎ** (< \*budga ?) whisk with swizzle stick; **buřgū** (< \*budgu ?) giant male rat or bandicoot; **řǎřkē** (< \*řǎřke ?) break out; **cǎřkǎ** (< \*catki or \*cadki ?) ox-pecker bird; **mǎřgǎ** (< \*madga ?) cassia tree; **mǎřkǎ** (< \*matka or madka ?) heavy rainy days; **wuřgǎ** (< \*wudga ?) throw hard

The rhotacism applies also (or has historically applied) to some instances of coronal obstruents in word-final position. This, however, is *not* an automatic process, e.g.,

**kāf̄** < \***kād** (< **kadà**) don't! **kyāf̄** = **kyat** difficult; **biyāf̄** = [WH] **biyat** (< \***biyaf̄**) five

Some words ending in /s/ allow final **f̄** as an alternative pronunciation, but most such words (especially loanwords from Arabic and English) do not, e.g.,

**marāf̄** = **maràs** lacking (cf. pl. **maràsā**); **māf̄** = **màs** (< **masà**) to him; **fitāf̄** = **fitas** [WH] take out; **takwāf̄** = (but less common than) **takwàs** eight; **wāf̄wāf̄** = **wāf̄was** ideophone describing falling flat on ones back  
cf. **ìbilis** devil (Ar.), **mùf̄ābùs** resignation (Ar.), **àlhāmìs** Thursday (Ar.), **ōfis** office (Eng.), **dùf̄òs** underpants (Eng.), **kaf̄às** carrots (Eng.)

### 1.6. Law of Codas in Reduplication

Most descriptions of Hausa (including Klingenberg's own study) cite reduplicated words to illustrate the operation of Klingenberg's Law, e.g., **mafmatsā** (< \***mats-matsā**) 'push, pester repeatedly', cf. **matsā** 'push, pester'; **maf̄maza** (< \***maz-maza**) 'very quickly', cf. **maza** 'quickly'. This is a serious error. Properly speaking, these observed changes should not be lumped together with Klingenberg's Law but rather need to be accounted for by a distinct set of rules applying to codas in reduplicated forms. (I have designated these rules as the *Law of Codas in Reduplication*.) In the case of syllable-final **t**, **d** and **ɗ**, the Law of Codas in Reduplication and Klingenberg's Law coincide; otherwise they do not. The Law of Codas in Reduplication applied historically *and* is still operative. (In the description that follows, I shall thus conveniently use the historical present.)

#### 1.6.1. Gemination

In reduplicative forms (both historically frozen and morphologically active), syllable-final "grave" obstruents (i.e., velars and labials) form a geminate with the following abutting consonant rather than weakening to /u/ as happens with Klingenberg's Law. Examples:

- (a) Velar: **fiffikè** < \***fik-fikè** wing; **hàbàb̄bakà** < \***hàb̄ak-bakà** expand significantly < **hàbakà** swell; **sassàkà** < \***saṛ-sàkà** carve; **kàf̄af̄agō** < \***kàf̄ag-fagō** figlike tree; **bubbùgà** < \***bug-bùgà** beat repeatedly < **bugà** beat  
(b) Labial: **dùd̄d̄uf̄à** < \***dùf̄-duf̄à** sacred white ibis; **daddàf̄à** < \***daf̄-dàf̄à** cook repeatedly < **daf̄à** cook; **ciccif̄à** < \***cif̄-cif̄à** big girl, big hen; **lallàb̄è** < \***laḃ-làb̄è** crouch repeatedly or by many < **laḃè** crouch; **sassàb̄è** < \***sab-sàb̄è** clear land to make farm

ADN: Unlike the labial > /u/ component of Klingenberg's Law, which is restricted to SH, this rule applies to all dialects.

In simple words, syllable-final /w/, which phonologically counts as a velar, remains as such and is realized as the /u/ component of the vocalic nucleus, e.g., **bautā** 'slavery' (< \***bawtā** < **bāwà** 'slave'). In reduplicated words, syllable-final /w/ commonly undergoes gemination. With certain items the gemination has become fixed; with others it is optional, e.g.,

**dàddawā** = **dàudawā** < \***dàw-dawā** locust bean cake  
**shásshāwà** = **sháushāwà** < \***shāw-shāwà** tribal marks  
**tsátt̄sēwà** < \***tsēw-tsēwà** a swift, swallow  
**hāhhawà** = **hāuhawà** < \***hàw-hawà** rising (of river in flood or of blood pressure)  
cf. **hau** climb up

By contrast, the palatal gemination is possible

**kw̄kw̄wiyò** < \***kw̄wiy-kyò**  
**ràiràyì** < \***rày-ràyì**  
**zàizàyé** < \***zay-zàyè**  
cf. **sàisàyè** = **sàssàyè**

### 1.6.2. Rhotacism

In reduplication, all syllable-initial **r** changes to **l**; this change also affects the reduplicated geminate. The change continues to apply in

- (a) **kw̄rkw̄watà** < \***kw̄kw̄wadò** proportion, measure  
**kw̄wàshl** dandruff; **ḡir**  
(b) **f̄irf̄ita** (= **fiffita**) < **matsā** // push, pester  
**huḃu** four; **kaṛkàshi**  
**maza** // very quickly,

It should be pointed out that this change is inapplicable in reduplication

**furfurā** not \*\***fuffurā**  
call many, often

ØHN: In a small number of cases, an anomalous nasal consonant (see §1.6.1) is found in the initial position of a word, e.g., **kar** 'pot' < \***kar-karè** 'pot'. The matter needs further investigation. The other hand, the initial **r** in **kar** is the result of rhotacism. The matter needs further investigation.

## 2. CHANGES AFFECTING

### 2.1. Medial \*i > u

Old Hausa most likely had a diphthong **iu** in word-initial position; final vowels historically have been **i** or **u**, of which could be either **i** or **u**, which need not co-occur (a few loanwords)—as conditioned sound changes followed in the next syllable.

By contrast, the palatal glide /y/ does not exhibit gemination in frozen reduplicated forms, although gemination is possible in some active reduplications, e.g.,

<b>kwikwiyò</b> < *kwiy-kwiyò < *kuy-kuyò	puppy
<b>ràiràyì</b> < *rày-ràyì	fine sand
<b>zàizàyē</b> < *zay-zàyē	erode
cf. <b>sàisàyē</b> = <b>sàssàyē</b> < *sày-sàyē	repeated buying, cf. <b>sàyē</b> buying

1.6.2. Rhotacism

In reduplication, all syllable-final obstruents change to *r̄*. Unlike the case with Klingenheben's Law, this change also affects the sibilants /s/ and /z/ (and their palatalized counterparts /sh/ and /j/). As with the reduplicated gemination rule, this change manifests itself in historically frozen forms (a) and continues to apply in active reduplicative formations (b). Examples:

- (a) **kwàrkwatà** < \*kwát-kwatà lice; **waŕwàdā** < \*wad-wādā write quickly; **gwàrgwadō** < \*gwād-gwadō proportion, moderation; **kwàrkwàsā** < \*kwas-kwàsā driver ant; **kwàrkwàshì** < \*kwàs-kwàshì dandruff; **gìrgizā** < \*giz-gizā shake; **řagařgājē** < \*řagaz-gàzē be shattered
- (b) **fìřfita** (= **fiffita**) < //fit-fita// go out (many or often), cf. **fita** go out; **mařmàtsā** < //mats-màtsā// push, pester repeatedly, cf. **matsā** push, pester; **huřhuđu** < //huđ-huđu// four each, cf. **huđu** four; **kařkàshē** (= **kakkàshē**) < //kas-kàsē// kill many, cf. **kashē** kill; **mařmaza** < //maz-maza// very quickly, cf. **maza** quickly

It should be pointed out that the putative syllable-final *r* to *r̄* change (see note above) is just as inapplicable in reduplicated as in nonreduplicated words, e.g.,

**furfurā** not \*\*fuřfurā gray hair; **gùrgurā** not \*\*gùřgurā gnaw ; **kirkirā** (= **kikkirā**) not \*\*kiřkirā call many, often

ØHN: In a small (but not inconsequential) number of frozen reduplicated words, one finds an anomalous nasal appearing in coda position in place of the expected /l/ or /r/ or other coronal consonant (see §62:3.1.1.3), e.g., **janjalō** 'pebble' < \*jal-jalo, **kankarē** 'food scrapings from pot' < \*kar-karē, **kyànkyašō** 'roach' < \*kyàs-kyasō, **gyangyàdā** 'nod from drowsiness' < \*gyad-gyadā. This change does not appear to be due to a phonologically regular sound law; on the other hand, the instances are too numerous to allow one to ignore them as insignificant exceptions. The matter needs and deserves a careful historical investigation.

2. CHANGES AFFECTING VOWELS

2.1. Medial \*ī > ē and \*ū > ō

Old Hausa most likely had a skewed 2-3-5 vowel system. That is, it had two short vowels, /i/ and /a/, in word-initial position; five short vowels, /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/, in word-final position (the lengthening of final vowels historically occurring later); and three vowels, /i(i)/, /a(a)/, /u(u)/, in medial position, all of which could be either long or short. (The language presumably also had two diphthongs, /ai/, and /au/, which need not concern us here.) Present-day Hausa also has /ē/ and /ō/—always long (apart from a few loanwords)—as commonly occurring medial vowels. These vowels historically resulted from a conditioned sound change, whereby long /i/ and long /ū/ lowered to the corresponding mid vowels when followed in the next syllable by a mid vowel, i.e., \*V[+high, +long] > V[+mid, +long] / —...V[+mid].

As best as one can determine, this anticipatory assimilation rule was exceptionless. Presumed examples of words having undergone this change are:

\*bibe > bēbē mute; \*kīsò > kēsò mat; \*tūzo > tōzò hump, \*zūbè > zōbè ring

The rule did not apply to short /i/ and /u/, which explains the absence of short /e/ and /o/ in medial position.

Originally the long high vowels and the long mid vowels would have been in complementary distribution, the phonetic distinction caused by the assimilation being subphonemic. Subsequent changes resulted in long high vowels being followed by a mid vowel and by long mid vowels being followed by a non-mid vowel, thus throwing the two sets of vowels into contrast. The following represent the major processes that resulted in the vowel split.

(1) When the feminative suffix -ā was added to words ending in /e/ and /o/, these vowels raised on the surface to /i/ and /u/, e.g.,

tōliyā tuft < \*tōle-ā < \*tūle; tōtūwā pulp < \*tōtò-ā < \*tūtò  
cf. dūdūwā a song < \*dūdū-ā < \*dūdū

(2) Sporadic raising of /ā/ when preceded by a palatal(ized) or labialized consonant resulted in long mid vowels before /ā/, e.g.,

cērā crowing of cock < cārā (still extant in WH); gōnā farm < \*gwānā

(3) Sporadic monophthongization of /ai/ (and less often /au/) resulted in examples of /ē/ and /ō/ before non-mid vowels, e.g.,

sēmā container < saimā; lōmā morsel of food < laumā; dōkī horse < \*daukī (< \*dawkī, cf. pl. dawākī)

(4) The operation of Klingenberg's Law weakening syllable-final consonants resulted in the creation of new long /ū/'s before mid-vowels. (The fact that Klingenberg's Law did not feed the mid-vowel rule indicates that it (KL) is historically more recent.) Examples:

tūshè (not \*\*tōshè) base < \*tukwsè (cf. pl. tukwāsū)  
jūrè (not \*\*jōrè) endure < jimrè (still found in WH)

(5) With the establishment of /ē/ and /ō/ as distinct phonemes in medial position, they were available for use in recent loanwords in nonconditioned environments, e.g.,

tēlà tailor; fēgì peg; mōtà automobile; jōjì judge

### 2.1.1. Synchronic alternations

Because the vowel lowering is a historically old rule, the medial \*/\*ū > ē/ō change has left few active alternations in the language. It does manifest itself, however, in the small, lexically frozen set of "ablauted verbal nouns." A number of disyllabic verbs with /ē/ or /ō/ in the first syllable have corresponding verbal nouns with the pattern I...ā)<sup>HL</sup> or ū...ā)<sup>HL</sup>, e.g.,

	Verb
pare	fērè
tan	jēmà
comb	tséfè

Synchronically, it is specifying the change noun formative probably the original, underlying \*ftrè to pare > fērè; i.e., we do not know the vowel, but the direction

◊HN: The irregular d'èbè (B-form, followed by a re

The high/mid alternation high vowel was originally e.g.,

tsīra (gr3a) escape, (n.m.) crying, cf. kō

2.2 Lowering of j Based on the method \*/u(u)/ to /o(o)/ when of the words that present vowel lowering took j

sābō < \*sābū new, hospitality, being a singular zābō < \*zābū guinea pl. tsākī

The evidence for the phonotactic gaps, irregular

The phonotactic opposed to the very plurals, e.g., shānū 'c

The irregular morph formation of some ab (which is what would expected if the stem w

The morphological rāmī / rāmū 'holes', with totally ad hoc rule, however, was p



	Verb	VN		Verb	VN
pare	<b>fērè</b>	<b>fīrà</b>	rub	<b>gōgè</b>	<b>gūgà</b>
tan	<b>jēmà</b>	<b>jīmà</b>	scratch	<b>sōsà</b>	<b>sūsà</b>
comb	<b>tséfè</b>	<b>tsífà</b>	burn	<b>tōyà</b>	<b>tūyà</b>

Synchronically, it seems reasonable to derive the verbal noun from the corresponding verb by specifying the change in the initial vowel from mid to high. Viewed historically, however, the verbal noun formative probably consisted solely in the suffix  $-\bar{a}$ <sup>HL</sup>, the high vowel in the first syllable being the original, underlying vowel. What changed in these words was the initial vowel in the *verb*, e.g., \*fīrè to pare > fērè; \*gūgè to rub > gōgè. The exact details of the conditioning are not understood, i.e., we do not know what final vowel in what form of the verb caused the lowering of the medial high vowel, but the direction of the change and the class of words affected seems clear.

ǿHN: The irregular alternation found in the gr2 verb ‘to dip out’, namely **ǿībà** (A-form, no object), **ǿèbè** (B-form, pre-pronoun object), **ǿèbi** (C-form, pre-noun object), is due to this vowel lowering followed by a redeployment of the originally H-L  $\bar{a}$ -final verbal noun **ǿībà** as a finite verb form.

The high/mid alternation appears also with certain irregular H-H verbs. Again, we can be sure that the high vowel was original and that the mid vowel was due to phonologically conditioned vowel lowering, e.g.,

**tsīra** (gr3a) escape, cf. **tsērè** (gr4) escape from; **ǿūya** (gr3a) hide, cf. **ǿōyè** (gr4) hide (from); **kūkà** (n.m.) crying, cf. **kōkà** (gr1) cry, complain

### 2.2 Lowering of final \*ū > ō

Based on the method of internal reconstruction, one can postulate a historical lowering of word-final \*/u(u)/ to /o(o)/ when the preceding syllable contained long /ā/ (Newman 1990a). (Note: At present, all of the words that presumably underwent this change end in long /ō/. There is no way to know whether the vowel lowering took place before or after final vowels underwent lengthening.) Examples:

**sābō** < \*sābū new, cf. **sābuntā** freshness, newness; **bākō** < \*bākū guest, stranger, cf. **bākuncì** hospitality, being a stranger; **yārō** < \*yārū boy, cf. **yārīntā** (< \*yārūntā) childhood, childishness; **zābō** < \*zābū guinea-fowl, pl. **zābi**; **kwādō** < \*kwādū frog, pl. **kwādī**; **tsākō** < \*tsākū chick, pl. **tsākī**

The evidence for the proposed change is provided by various internal factors. These consist of phonotactic gaps, irregular morphophonemic alternations, and morphological asymmetries.

The phonotactic gap is the unexpected rarity in the language of words of the shape **CāCū**, as opposed to the very common **CāCō** pattern. Most of the examples of **CāCū** words that do exist are plurals, e.g., **shānū** ‘cattle’; **rāmū** ‘holes’ (plural of **rāmī**), etc.

The irregular morphophonemic alternation involves the appearance of /u/ rather than /a/ in the formation of some abstract nouns. For example, **sābō** ‘new’ + **-ntā** is realized as **sābuntā** ‘newness’ (which is what would be expected if the stem were \*sābū) and not \*\***sābantā** (which is what would be expected if the stem were \*sābō).

The morphological pattern asymmetry shows up with plurals formed by final vowel change, e.g., **rāmī** / **rāmū** ‘holes’, cf. **zābō** / **zābi** ‘guinea-fowl’. Synchronically, one has to describe these plurals with totally ad hoc rules specifying that **-ī** ⇒ **-ū** and **-ō** ⇒ **-ī** (see §56:10). The original morphological rule, however, was probably a symmetrical one in which high vowels switched on a front/back

dimension, i.e., -I ⇒ -ū and -ū ⇒ -I. Assuming that this was the nature of the morphological rule, then words like *zàbō* would have had to have come from words of the form *\*zàbū*, etc.

### 2.3. Monophthongization of \*iu and \*ui

Synchronically Hausa only has two phonemic diphthongs /ai/ and /au/, these two being the norm in Chadic languages. At a historically shallow period, it also had two more diphthongs, namely, *\*iu* and *\*ui*. These were eliminated by two monophthongization rules.

°AN: A few scholars, e.g., Abubakar (1983/85), even ascribe synchronic status to these diphthongs, a position with which I am sympathetic, although not totally in agreement. Significantly, in Mischlich's (1911) dictionary, which dates back to the beginning of this century, words are written with the *iu* and *ui* diphthongs in both Roman and Arabic transcriptions.

Rule 1. *\*iu* > *ū*. The *\*iu* diphthong, which arose primarily as a result of Klingenberg's Law changing syllable-final velars and labials to /u/, e.g., *\*shifka* > *\*shiuka* 'to plant', monophthongized to /ū/. Conditioned palatalization of preceding obstruents was preserved. Examples:

*\*shiukà* > *shūkà* plant; *\*shiurà* (< *shibrà*) > *shūrà* kick; *\*shiu* (short form of *shirū*) > *shū* silence; *\*jiuji* (< *jibji*) > *jūji* refuse heap; *\*jiudà* (< *jibdà*) > *jūdà* musk; *\*jiurè* (< *jimrè*) > *jūrè* endure; *\*ciushè* (< *\*cikshè*) > *cūshè* stuff in (< *cikà* fill?); *\*jiunā* (< *\*jiknā*) > *jūnā* each other (< *jiki* body); *\*kikiu-kikiu* (< *\*kikiw-kikiw*) > *\*kikyū-kikyū* describes standing alert; *\*riushè* (< *\*ripshè*?) > *rūshè* demolish, cave in; *\*biudè* (< *\*bik-dè*?) > *būdè* open

Note the significant manner in which this *\*iu* > *ū* vowel change had an impact on the consonantal system. Before the operation of the vowel change, palatal consonants occurred only preceding front vowels and a(a), e.g., /sh/, /shē/, and /shā/ were possible, but *\*\*/shū/* and *\*\*/shō/* were not. The monophthongization rule resulted in examples (as illustrated above) of /sh/, /j/, and /c/ before /ū/.

Rule 2. *\*ui* > *i*. The *\*ui* diphthong probably arose earlier than *\*iu* as a result of the old *\*r* > *y/i* change, e.g., *\*mar* > *māi* 'oil'. It monophthongized to long /i/, preserving conditioned labialization of preceding velar consonants. Examples:

<i>*bùk<sup>w</sup>ui</i> (< <i>*bukui</i> < <i>*bukuy</i> < <i>*bukur</i> ) > <i>bùkwi</i>	in a bare, exposed state
<i>*g<sup>w</sup>uiwà</i> (< <i>*guiwa</i> < <i>*gurwa</i> ?) > <i>gwiwà</i>	knee
<i>*k<sup>w</sup>uiḡi</i> > <i>kwīḡi</i>	flesh on side of body
<i>*k<sup>w</sup>uita(a)</i> > <i>kwīta(a)</i>	fart
<i>*lug<sup>w</sup>uigūitā</i> > <i>lugwiḡwītā</i>	knead in order to soften
<i>*luḡ<sup>w</sup>ui</i> (< <i>*lukui</i> < <i>*lukuy</i> < <i>*lukur</i> ) > <i>luḡwi</i>	emphasizing finely ground or pounded
<i>*tuk<sup>w</sup>uici</i> > <i>tukwīci</i>	small gift, tip

ADN: The change has not completely affected the Sokoto dialect; thus words like *tukuici* are pronounced as such without the long *i*.

Like the corresponding /iu/ to /ū/ change, the /ui/ to /i/ change resulted in the appearance of previously non-occurring consonant vowel sequences. Originally, labialized velars, e.g., /kw/, occurred only preceding back-rounded vowels (where the labial element is normally not represented orthographically) or before /a(a)/, i.e., *kwū*, *kwō*, and *kwā* were possible but *\*\*/kwī/* and *\*\*/kwē/* were not. The change resulted in the appearance of /kw/, /g<sup>w</sup>/, and /k<sup>w</sup>/ before /i/, as illustrated above.

Related to the [i], when the /u/ is labialization on the synchronically und form on the right i [dāḡwiyà] 'gnaw [tùnkwiya] 'flea(

ADN: SH does dialects, where 'sink deeply in

Reduplicated words following syllable.

*\*cikwuykwūyā* → *kwikwiyò* puppy,

## 3. CHANGES AL

### 3.1. Monosyllat

Falling tone in Ha single syllable, e.g. egret', *zān* (= *zā nì* tone for which one these nouns have : 1992a). In Old Ha tone. (There were Subsequently, they

*māi* oil (cf. PC \**gū* place (= *guri* F

This historical c monosyllabic grac falling tone. Note 1 verb. Examples:

*ci* to eat / *cī* eati  
*sō* to want, to lov

The synchronic al vowel were altered The verbal nouns r bending rule. Post

[ci]v ⇒ *\*[ci]N* ( [jā]v ⇒ *\*[jā]N* (

Related to the historical \*/ui/ to /i/ rule is a synchronic pronunciation rule that alters short /u/ into [i], when the /u/ is followed by /y/ in the next syllable. The rule is accompanied by preservation of labialization on the preceding consonant. In the examples that follow, the form on the left is the synchronically underlying form, normally found in spelling (apart from tone and vowel length); the form on the right is the colloquial pronunciation, e.g., *àkuyà* → [àkwiyà] 'goat'; *dàguyà* → [dàgwiyà] 'gnaw at, eat much of (meat)'; *kùyangā* → [kwiyangā] 'slave girl'; *tùnkùyau* → [tùnkwiyau] 'flea(s)'; *wuyà* → [wiyà] 'neck'.

ADN: SH does not have labialized labials, like /mw/, as part of the phonological inventory. In WH dialects, where they occur, the /u.y/ to /i.y/ results in such examples as *dùlmuyà* → [dùlmwiyà] 'sink deeply into a liquid', *sùlmuyà* → [sùlmwiyà] 'fall or slip into', etc.

Reduplicated words illustrate the change of /u/ to /i/ conditioned by /y/ in the same as well as in the following syllable, e.g.,

\**cikwuykwùyā* → *cukwìkwiyā* crumple; \**gwùygwuyā* → *gwìgwiyā* gnaw; \**kwuykwuyò* → *kwìkwiyò* puppy, hyena pup, lion cub; \**luḡwuyḡwùyā* → *luḡwìḡwiyā* grind or pound finely

### 3. CHANGES AFFECTING TONE

#### 3.1. Monosyllabic H > F by tone bending

Falling tone in Hausa normally represents HL derived from a disyllabic sequence being realized on a single syllable, e.g., *kāḡ* 'don't' < *kadà*; *dābgī* = *dābùgī* 'anteater'; *bélbélà* < \**bélàbélà* 'cattle egret', *zān* (= *zā nì*) 'I.future'. There are, however, a certain number of monosyllabic nouns with falling tone for which one has no reason, synchronically or diachronically, to postulate a lost syllable. All of these nouns have a heavy syllable. The historical explanation seems to be the following (Newman 1992a). In Old Hausa, monosyllabic nouns, which were either CVV or CVC, were all monotonal with H tone. (There were thus like present-day monosyllabic verbs, which do not contrast for tone.) Subsequently, they underwent a rule of "tone bending" whereby H > F. Possible examples would include:

*mái* oil (cf. PC \**mar*); *sá* bovine (cf. PC \**hla*); *kái* head (cf. PC \**kā* or \**kan*); *wá* elder brother; *gú* place (= *gurī* H-H)

This historical change may account for the tonal alternation found synchronically between monosyllabic grade 0 verbs, which have H tone, and their corresponding verbal nouns, which have falling tone. Note that all of the verbal nouns have a long vowel regardless of the vowel length of the verb. Examples:

*ci* to eat / *cī* eating (< \**cī*)                      *jā* to pull / *jā* pulling (< \**jā*)  
*sō* to want, to love / *sō* wanting, love (< \**sō*)

The synchronic alternation may be due to the following historical scenario. Verbs with a short final vowel were altered into verbal nouns by vowel lengthening (a feature still found in other verb grades). The verbal nouns now being monosyllabic *nouns* with a long vowel were thus subject to the H > F tone bending rule. Postulated examples:

[*ci*]<sub>V</sub> ⇒ \**[cī]*<sub>N</sub> (category shift and vowel lengthening) > *cī* (phonological tone bending)  
 [*jā*]<sub>V</sub> ⇒ \**[jā]*<sub>N</sub> (category shift) > *jā* (phonological tone bending)

## 3.2. Low-tone raising (LTR)

In the Chadic family, vowel-length contrasts, where they occur, tend to be restricted to word-medial position. Final vowels are typically all short (with the possible exception of monosyllabic *Cā* words). Presumably, this was also the case in Old Hausa. Due to various morphological processes, final vowels were lengthened. The result was that final long vowels are now the norm (at least in the case of common nouns). This vowel lengthening had major tonal consequences. Before the change, words could presumably have ended in all four ditonal patterns, i.e., H-H, H-L, L-H, and L-L. Subsequent to the change, there was a conditioned tone shift (low-tone raising (LTR), namely, \*L-L > L-H if the final vowel was long. (Ideophones, which by their nature are phonologically aberrant, were not subject to the rule.)

<sup>o</sup>AN: Low-tone raising (LTR), which was first formulated by Leben (1971), is treated by him and others as a phonologically active rule in modern Hausa. While this may have been so until fairly recent historical times, there is no convincing evidence that LTR still has any synchronic viability; see Newman and Jaggar (1989a, 1989b); Schuh (1989c).

One can cite three phenomena as evidence for the historical operation of LTR.

(1) Phonotactic gap. Focusing on the final two syllables of polysyllabic words, one finds that H-L, L-H, and H-H occur but that L-L is conspicuously absent, except in the case of words with a short final vowel, like *màcè* 'woman', *dàgà* 'from', or with recent loanwords from English, like *sakandàrè* 'secondary school', *rèlùwè* 'railway'. (Ideophones, as would be expected, constitute an exception, e.g., *zòròrò* 'exceedingly tall', *buzù-buzù* 'very hairy'.) Because L-L is not uncommon in related Chadic languages, and because there is no reason to believe that it was absent in Hausa at an earlier period, it is reasonable to postulate that its loss in Hausa was due to a phonological change, the most likely being the proposed \*L-L > L-H change.

(2) Reduplicated nouns. In frozen reduplicated nouns of the form CVC(V)-CVCV (the (V) being deleted), the tone can be seen to have been copied exactly along with the segmentals. (Note: At the time of the reduplication, final vowels were probably still all short.) Examples:

*bálbélà* cattle egret (< \*bél(à)-bélà H-L - H-L)  
*marmarā* laterite (< \*mar(a)-mara H-H - H-H)

A number of reduplicated nouns now appear with the tone pattern L-L-H (but none with L-L-L), e.g.,

*gàngamō* turmeric; *shànshānī* flat centipede; *wàlwālā* cheerful disposition

The simplest explanation to account for the occurring tones is that the reduplicative process was L-L x 2 ⇒ L-(L) - L-L, whereupon the final L automatically raised to H when the final vowel became long, e.g.,

\*wālā L-L x 2 ⇒ wāl(à)-wālā L-L - L-L > wàlwālā L-L-L > wàlwālā L-L-H cheerful disposition  
 \*shānī L-L x 2 ⇒ shān(ì)-shānī L-L - L-L > \*shànshānī L-L-L > \*shànshānī > shànshānī L-L-H flat centipede

Note that one cannot postulate underlying L-H on the stem in such examples as the above in order to get the L-H on the last two syllables because LH (= R) on a single syllable becomes realized as high, i.e., \*wāl(a)-wālā LH-L-H would give the non-occurring \*\*wàlwālā H-L-H (< R-L-H). Consider the

following example, where  
*bàmbāmī* R-L-H > bā

(3) Feminine/feminative (§31:3.1) make use of a tone that is underlyingly toneless on the preceding syllable, e.g.

*jākī* + -ā ⇒ *jākā* ferret (f.); \*shāmo f. + -ā >

Many feminine words

*Bākatsiniyā* woman  
*gōđiyā* mare  
*tunkiayā* sheep

The best explanation for the tone on the stem, whereupon f

\*gōđè + -ā > \*gōđiyā  
 \*yèkò + -ā > \*yèkūwā  
 Bākatsinè + -ā > \*B

Regarding the last example, the transitional glide (-iy-), the -ā suffix surfaces

It should be emphasized that the intended to provide a feminine suffixes like this is a reason to believe that the historical rule. Similar to a distinct suffix complex, it has not have been produced

*gājēriyā* short (f.) < gājē  
*jākāđiyā* emissary (f.) < jākā  
 formation)

[Reference: Newman

following example, where this is the correct derivation: \*bāmi L-H x 2 ⇒ bām(i)-bāmi L-H - L-H > bāmbāmi R-L-H > bambāmi H-L-H 'upper part of deleb-palm'.

(3) Feminine/feminative formation. Feminine inflection and historical overt characterization (see §31:3.1) make use of a suffix -ā, which is often connected to the stem by an epenthetic glide. The suffix is underlyingly toneless; its tone is assigned by spreading the underlying tone of the immediately preceding syllable, e.g.,

jākī + -ā ⇒ jākā female donkey; bēbē + -ā ⇒ bēbiyā female mute; tsōhō + -ā ⇒ tsōhuwā old (f.); \*shāmo f. + -ā > shāmuwā stork; \*kūro f. + -ā > kūrwā soul; \*cini f. + -ā > cinyā thigh

Many feminine words with final -iyā and -uwā (whether frozen or inflectional) end in L-H tone, e.g.,

Bākatsiniyā	woman from Katsina	būtūwā	poor tobacco
gōḏiyā	mare	shūḏiyā	blue (f.) (cf. shūḏī m.)
tunkiayā	sheep	yēkūwā	proclamation

The best explanation for the tone of these words is that the suffixal -ā historically copied the low tone of the stem, whereupon final L-L raised to L-H, e.g.,

\*gōḏè + -ā > \*gōḏiyā (...L-L) > gōḏiyā (...L-H) mare  
 \*yēkò + -ā > \*yēkūwā (...L-L) > yēkūwā (...L-H) proclamation  
 Bākatsinè + -ā > \*Bākatsiniyā (...L-L) > Bākatsiniyā (...L-H) woman from Katsina

Regarding the last example, it is instructive to note that in western dialects that do not insert a transitional glide (-iy-) between the stem and the -ā suffix, a final L-L sequence is not generated and thus the -ā suffix surfaces with low tone, e.g., Bākatsinè + -ā → Bākatsinā 'woman from Katsina'.

It should be emphasized that the examples of feminine and feminative formation cited here are intended to provide evidence for the former operation of LTR. Synchronically, words with frozen feminative suffixes like gōḏiyā 'mare' and yēkūwā 'proclamation' are underlyingly H-L-H; there is no reason to believe that native speakers underlying have H-L-L plus an active rule that recapitulates the historical rule. Similarly, with active feminine formation, there is evidence that -iyā is emerging as a distinct suffix complete with intrinsic L-H tone, and thus it can now appear in contexts where it would not have been produced by the addition of -ā, e.g.,

gājēriyā short (f.) < gājērē (which with -ā added should have given \*\*gājēriyā with final H-H tone)  
 jākāḏiyā emissary (f.) < jākādā (which with -ā added should have given \*\*jākādā, without the glide formation)

[Reference: Newman (1977a)]

## 35. Ideophones

**I**DEOPHONES constitute a class of phonaesthetic words that, using Cole's semantic characterization, are "descriptive of sound, colour, smell, manner, appearance, state, action or intensity...[that is, they are words that are] vivid vocal images or representations of visual, auditory and other sensory or mental experiences" (Cole 1955: 370). Phonologically they are marked by distinct phonotactics and special intonational features. Semantically they differ from "prosaic", i.e., non-ideophonic, vocabulary in the high degree of expressiveness and specificity of meaning and restricted collocations of these words. In Hausa, ideophones are numerous and many of them are very commonly used, in part making up for the paucity of simple adjectives and adverbs. Syntactically, they function primarily as adjectives and adverbs, but one also finds ideophonic nouns.

°AN: This section is based on a database of over 500 ideophones that I have been able to verify with native speakers of standard Hausa. There are obviously many more in the language, some of which are less commonly used, others of which are restricted to particular dialects. Ideophones have a much more significant role in the language than do English onomatopoeic words, with which they should not be compared.

### 1. PHONOLOGY

#### 1.1. Distinctiveness

Ideophones generally employ the same inventory of consonants and vowels as non-ideophonic words, i.e., while they are phonologically aberrant in some respects, they are not wildly so. As a class, they do, however, display distinctive phonological properties, of which the following are the most prevalent.

##### 1.1.1. Consonant-final

Ideophones are commonly consonant-final, whereas prosaic words, exclusive of recent loanwords, are almost entirely vowel-final. The final consonants include obstruents as well as sonorants. Unlike prosaic words, which, apart from pronouns and other function words, are rarely monosyllabic, many of the consonant-final ideophones are CVC. (Note: The glosses are intended only to give an approximation of the meaning. It is not possible out of context and without elaborate description to capture the full essence of these words.) Examples:

<b>d̀ungum</b>	entirely, completely	<b>hàm-hàm</b>	describes eating greedily
<b>tàtul</b>	be full with a drink, overdrink	<b>tíkis</b>	shows intensity of tiredness
<b>tubur̄-tùbùr̄</b>	large and round (e.g., buttocks)	<b>tukuf</b>	very old
<b>tsaf</b>	neatly, completely	<b>tsit</b>	in complete silence,
<b>hushtsan-tsan</b>	cautiously, firmly, securely (tied)	<b>wulik</b>	shiny black or deep blue
<b>zìgidir̄</b>	stark naked		

°AN/ΔDN: When  
tukuf 'very old'  
e.g., kwáf 'tourne  
final /f/ in western

#### 1.1.2. Diphthongs

In the prosaic vocabulary with monophthongal lexemes, functions as a consonant **ai/ay**, as compared with

**d̀au** (i.e., /d̀aw/) emp  
still, pensively; cf. **fat**  
**fad̄au** (i.e., /fad̄aw/) (i.e., /wasay/) empha  
shininess), turbid; **nùk**  
**hànhai** (i.e., /hànhay/

#### 1.1.3. L-L long

Ideophones occur with prosaic lexicon (see §

**butsù-bùtsù** unti  
**balò-balò** larg  
**d̀òsòsò** emp  
**shèkèkè** con

#### 1.1.4. Vowel peculiar

A few ideophones have diphthong, e.g.,

**fes** very clean; **sol em**

#### 1.1.5. Tone in redup

segmentals. Some cla specification on the tw

**bagā-bàgà** (H-L)  
**rabē-ràbè** (H-L)  
**shāftabā-shārtàbà** (H-L)  
**zungurā-zùngurà** (H-L)  
**kàzāf̄-kazaf̄** (L-H)  
**màkò-makò** (L-H)  
**wùnì-wunì** (L-H)

#### 1.2. Canonical sha

Ideophones can be grou

°AN/ΔDN: When /f/ appears in final position in ideophones, it is usually pronounced as [p], e.g., **tukuf** 'very old' = [tukup]. By contrast, final /f/ in prosaic loanwords is typically pronounced [f], e.g., **kwáf** 'tournament cup' = [kwáf]. I have no information about the pronunciation of ideophone-final /f/ in western dialects where prevocalic /f/ is normally pronounced as [h] or [hw].

### 1.1.2. Diphthongs

In the prosaic vocabulary, the diphthongs [ai] and [au] generally behave as complex nuclei and pattern with monophthongal long vowels; in ideophones, they usually pattern with VC sequences where the C functions as a consonantal coda. Note, moreover, that in ideophones, **au/aw** is much more common than **ai/ay**, as compared with prosaic vocabulary where the opposite is the case.

**dàu** (i.e., /dâw/) emphasizes deepness of hue; **zau** (i.e., /zaw/) very hot; very sweet; **tsai** (i.e., /tsay/) still, pensively; cf. **fat** emphasizes whiteness, **kal** sparkling clean  
**fađau** (i.e., /fađaw/) very well, clearly; **wălâu** (i.e., /wălâw/) indicates showing open palm; **wasai** (i.e., /wasay/) emphasizes brightness of sky; cf. **kirin** emphasizes blackness, darkness (but without shininess), turbid; **nükûs** damp and mushy (of cloth, carpet, or soil)  
**hânhai** (i.e., /hânhay/) wide open (of mouth, door, etc.); cf. **kârkař** completely, being used up

### 1.1.3. L-L long

Ideophones occur with final L-L tone and a long final vowel, a phonotactically aberrant sequence in the prosaic lexicon (see §71:5.2.1), e.g.,

**butsû-bùtsû** untidy (hair, clothes, arrangement of teeth)  
**fałô-fàłô** large and round (of fruits, pimples) (sth with liquid in it)  
**dôsôsô** emphasizes ugliness of face or dullness of psn  
**shêřêřê** contemptuously

### 1.1.4. Vowel peculiarities

A few ideophones have /e/ and /o/ in closed syllables. One also finds an otherwise nonexistent /oi/ diphthong, e.g.,

**fes** very clean; **sol** emphasizes whiteness; **coi** (= **cwai**) very sweet

1.1.5. Tone in reduplication In prosaic words, reduplication normally copies tone along with the segmentals. Some classes of ideophones appear with a reduplicative pattern  $X^t-X^{-t}$  where the tone specification on the two segmentally identical components is not the same, e.g.,

**fağā-fàğā** (H-L) chunky; in large chunks (usu. of solid foods or fruits)  
**rařê-ràřê** (H-L) pendulous (breasts), hanging and dangling (e.g., cloth)  
**shařtabā-shàřtabā** (H-L) extremely long and sharp (pl.)  
**zungurā-zùngurà** (H-L) extremely long or tall (pl.)  
**kàzàř-kazař** (L-H) energetic nature (of a person or animal), vigor, restlessness  
**mařò-mařò** (L-H) miserliness  
**wùnì-wunì** (L-H) behaving or speaking in a shifty, suspicious manner

## 1.2. Canonical shapes

Ideophones can be grouped into regular phonological classes. Here are the most common.

## 1.2.1. CVC

Monosyllabic ideophones [approx. eighty items] typically consist of a CVC closed syllable (including CVy and CVw). These most commonly have H tone. A lesser number have L or F tone.

°AN: Out of a sample of some eighty CVC ideophones, seven have F tone, all of which describe a sound, eleven have L tone (in three cases with H as an alternative variant), and the rest have H tone.

H: **fau** (i.e., /faw/) emphasizes extremeness of thing or action; **kaf** emphasizes stealing all; **shař** emphasizes greenness, freshness; **tsai** (i.e., /tsay/) still, pensively

L: **đim** huge, of large volume; **gùm** (= **sùm**) emphasizes unpleasant odor; **wal** describes a sudden flash/movement of light; **wul** pass by very quickly (like a flash)

F: **cif** sound made to drive away birds or children; **đim** sound of hitting with a thud; **tik** (= **bif** = **tım** = **rım**?) sound of heavy object falling

Some of these CVC forms allow optional repetition, whereas with others the repetition/reduplication has become fixed.

(a) **cif** (**cif**) complete (of numbers or money); **kam** (**kam**) (pronounced [kaŋkam]) firmly, tightly; being adamant, insistent

(b) **ɓal-ɓal** sound of sth thick boiling; **ɗāř-ɗāř** palpitation of the heart (due to fear or anxiety); **kwal-kwal** smooth shaving of head.; **fāř-fāř** describes the sound of applauding; **tsan-tsan** cautiously, meticulously

One item—and there may be more—occurs optionally conjoined with itself, e.g.,

**rut dà rut**, e.g., **dàngantakà rut dà rut** an intimate relationship, cf. **àbōki rut** a very close friend

There are also a few monosyllabic ideophones with the shape CVV, all of which describe some kind of movement or sound. Examples (complete):

**ɗù** describes a grouping of people moving along in a line; **lù** describes a swinging motion (vertically or horizontally); **řì** describes people or animals moving together as a group; **sù** sound of slithering or sliding; **cā** (or **cā**) sound of splattering of boiling fat

°AN: Abraham (1962: 129) lists a CV ideophone **ca** with a short vowel used in such sentences as **sun yi masà ca** 'They thronged around him.' I have been unable to verify this.

1.2.2. CV<sub>i</sub>CV<sub>i</sub>C

In this disyllabic, consonant-final pattern [approx. seventy items], the first vowel is always short (**i**, **a**, or **u**) and the two vowels are identical. Four tone patterns occur: H-H (the most common), L-L (about eight instances), H-L (three instances), and L-H (four instances). Examples:

H-H: **fatau** emphasizes greenness (completely green or deep green); **rukut** (= **rut**) emphasizes closeness of relationship; **sarai** excellent; **sumul** very well (of health); washed clean, smooth; **tiris** intensity of tiredness

L-L: **gùnùs** describes an outburst of stench; **shirım** shady (of shrub or tree)

H-L: **riris** indicates intensity of crying; **kwatsəm** (= **kwarəm**) suddenly

L-H: **gālau** vacantly, with mouth wide open; **jùgum** being sad, dejected, despondent

°AN: The word **wu** vowels have to be **wuluk**. The front influence of the ideophone **sidik**.

At first sight, the 'pounded' would not seem. Since, however, we know is clear that **bùkwı** and **\*luřuy**, respectively

1.2.3. CV<sub>i</sub>CCV<sub>i</sub>C

This class [about two disyllabic words with exceptions, the tone p

L-H: **biřjik** in large mouth, door, etc.); **ki** being exhausted, being tall; **wāřwāř** (= **wāřw** of water (e.g., well, p H-H: **kandas** lackir L-L: **tsundùm** sour

## 1.2.4. CVVCVC

There is a small set preceding class in ha initial syllable is ope

**fetal** indicates ope complexion (for Eur arranged; **tātul** be

°AN: The ideop preceded by the along with the guess is that **jā wuř** and **zuř** ar

1.2.5. CV<sub>i</sub>C<sub>j</sub>V<sub>i</sub>C

This group [approx. vowels and identical another. The vowels others have all L to

H: **danana** cover watery (esp. food)



°AN: The word **wulik** (= **wul**) 'shiny jet black or dark blue' is an exception to the rule that the two vowels have to be identical. The earlier dictionaries of Abraham and Bargery both list the word as **wuluk**. The front vowel pronunciation in the second syllable is possibly due to the phonological influence of the coronal /l/, and possibly due to rhyming with the semantically almost identical ideophone **sifik**.

At first sight, the words **bùrwi** 'in a bare, exposed state' and **lukwi** 'emphasizing finely ground or pounded' would not seem to belong to this class because they end in a vowel rather than a consonant. Since, however, we know that all **C<sup>w</sup>i** sequences historically derive from \***Cui** < \***Cuy** (see §34:2.3), it is clear that **bùrwi** and **lukwi** comes from **CV<sub>i</sub>CV<sub>i</sub>C** forms with a final glide consonant, namely \***bùkuy** and \***lukuy**, respectively (which at a deeper historical level probably came from \***bùkur** and \***lukur**).

### 1.2.3. CV<sub>i</sub>CCV<sub>i</sub>C

This class [about twenty-five items] is similar to the preceding in being composed of consonant-final, disyllabic words with identical vowels. It differs in having a closed (heavy) initial syllable. With few exceptions, the tone pattern is L-H. Examples:

L-H: **bìrjik** in large numbers (scattered), plentifully, abundantly; **hànhai** (< /hànhay/) wide open (of mouth, door, etc.); **kirtif** describes thickness of a fluid, or liquid (esp. of food); **kàrkaf** completely, being exhausted, being used up; **mùrtuk** dark, turbid; **sàmbal** straight (e.g., lines, paths, roads); very tall; **wàrwař** (= **wàrwas** = **wànwàř**) fall flat on one's back; **zùndum** (= **tsùndum**) describes being full of water (e.g., well, pond)

H-H: **kandas** lacking in moisture or oil

L-L: **tsùndùm** sound of a medium-sized object falling into water (e.g., a stone)

### 1.2.4. CVVCVC

There is a small set of disyllabic consonant-final ideophones that is prosodically similar to the preceding class in having an initial heavy syllable and L-H tone (L-L in one example). In this class, the initial syllable is open and the two vowels are always different. Examples (complete):

**fètal** indicates openness of a space; **jàwuř** bright red; **jàzuř** emphasizes redness/lightness of complexion (for Europeans or light-skinned Africans); **màkil** very full (of people, water); **řèřas** well arranged; **tàtul** be full with a drink, overdrink; **řikàm** standing stiffly, motionless

°AN: The ideophones **jàwuř** and **jàzuř** are sometimes analyzed as monosyllabic forms **wuř** and **zuř** preceded by the color term **jā** 'red', but with tone lowering. Note, however, that **jā** can be used along with the disyllabic ideophones, e.g., **tā sàyi môtā jā jāwuř** 'She bought a bright red car.' My guess is that **jàwuř** and **jàzuř** represent the original ideophones and that the monosyllabic forms **wuř** and **zuř** are the result of backformations.

### 1.2.5. CV<sub>i</sub>C<sub>j</sub>V<sub>i</sub>C<sub>j</sub>V<sub>i</sub>

This group [approx. thirty items] consists of monotonal trisyllabic words containing identical short vowels and identical second and third consonants, i.e. the last two syllables are exact copies of one another. The vowels are either /a/ or /u/, never /i/. About two-thirds of the words have all H tone; the others have all L tone. Examples:

H: **danana** covered with oil; **fururu** white from dust; **řututu** in large numbers; **tsalala** very thin or watery (esp. food)

L: **dùkùkù** state of being ugly, dejected, or clumsy; **sàràrà** walking aimlessly; **sùkùkù** in a sad, despondent mood; **zàkàkà** appearance of sth very long (esp. snakes or worms)

### 1.2.6. CVV<sub>i</sub>C<sub>j</sub>VV<sub>i</sub>C<sub>j</sub>VV<sub>i</sub>

This small class of trisyllabic words is similar to the preceding in having identical vowels and matching second and third consonants. It is different in that the vowels are all long, typically the mid vowels /ē/ and /ō/ (with one example of /ā/). The tone pattern is all L. Examples (complete):

**bòḍòḍò** in an exposing manner; **bònònò** action thought to be secure but that turned out to be not secure; **bèlèlè** with mouth wide open (in laughter); **dòsòsò** emphasizes ugliness of face or dullness of psn; **gàlâlâ** unguarded, loosely, out in the open; **kèrèrè** standing disrespectfully before one's superior; **zòlòlò** (= **tsòlòlò**) long necked, tall and thin looking

### 1.2.7. CV<sub>i</sub>CC<sub>j</sub>V<sub>i</sub>C<sub>k</sub>C<sub>j</sub>V<sub>i</sub>C<sub>k</sub>

This class [approx. 20 items] includes trisyllabic words consisting of three closed syllables, the last two of which are identical, i.e., these words are formed by reduplication of the final syllable of the (usually) disyllabic base. The vowels are all identical (usually /a/, less often /u/, rarely /i/) but the consonants are distinct. The words have an all L tone pattern. These ideophones are derived from corresponding augmentative adjectives (see §11:1). Examples:

<b>bùḗḗḗḗ</b>	emphasizes swellings (e.g., insect bites, whip marks)
<b>ḗḗḗḗḗḗ</b>	describes the appearance of a solid, round, and fleshy thing
<b>jìḗḗḗḗ</b>	heavy (from wetness)
<b>kùḗḗḗḗ</b>	describes the touch of hard objects (e.g., stones, kolanuts)
<b>ḗḗḗḗḗḗ</b>	describes bare and huge appearance (e.g., of a head)
<b>sàḗḗḗḗ</b>	emphasizes the straight figure of tall and slender person

Although most of these words are trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic forms do occur, where, again, the final syllable of the base is reduplicated, e.g.,

**bùgùzùzùm** big, fat, untidy, ungainly (esp. woman), or animals (e.g., very hairy)

### 1.2.8. CVCCVC x 2)<sup>H-L</sup>

Plural counterparts to the above ideophones are formed by full reduplication of the base plus an H-L tone melody, e.g., (with glosses as above),

**bùḗḗḗḗ-bùḗḗḗḗ**; **ḗḗḗḗḗḗ-ḗḗḗḗḗḗ**; **jìḗḗḗḗ-jìḗḗḗḗ**; **buguzum-bùgùzùm**, etc.

### 1.2.9. CV<sub>i</sub>CV<sub>i</sub> x 2

These are fully reduplicated words built on a CVCV base containing identical short vowels [approx. twenty items]. (In two words the vowels do not match.) The repeated vowel is most often /a/, less often /u/, and never /i/ (except in the one u...i example). The tone is all H. Examples:

**fata-fata** helter-skelter; destroying, breaking up; **kwata-kwata** lack something completely; **rugu-rugu** shattered into pieces (e.g., glass, window, etc.); **wara-wara** spaced apart/irregular: **dushi-dushi** hazy, dim, not bright, semiblind (of eyes); **sako-sako** loosely

In two cases, ideophones of this class have equivalents belonging to the CV<sub>i</sub>C<sub>j</sub>V<sub>i</sub>C<sub>j</sub>V<sub>i</sub> class (§1.2.5):

**bud'u-bud'u** = bud'  
**cafa-cafa** = cafa'

1.2.10. Base x 2)  
Four classes of semi-  
tone [approx. thirty-  
ideophones is descr

1.2.10.1. (CVCVV :  
the second (produci

**fàcà-facà**  
**cùkù-cukù**  
**gìḗḗ-gidḗ**

When the final vow  
/e/ or /o/ respective

**jàlè-jalè** (< //jèlè-  
**màkò-makò** (< //n

The other two exar  
/w/. Here one can v  
/u/ change is due t

**wùkì-wukì** (< //wì  
**wùnì-wunì** (< //wì

1.2.10.2. (CVCVC  
heavy syllable in  
vowels in the word

**kàzàḗ-kazàḗ**  
**wàtsàl-watsal**  
**bùḍùm-budum**

A small number of  
Examples (comple

**baram-bàràḗ** p  
what to do; **gatsa**  
(shaking of) large

The following ex  
abstract/historical  
the diphthong \*C

**kikyù-kikyù** (< \*

**buđu-buđu = buđuđu** be covered all over with powdery substance; having poor sight  
**cafa-cafa = cafafa** in profusion

1.2.10. Base x 2)<sup>L-H</sup>

Four classes of semantically similar ideophones are characterized by a fully reduplicated structure and L-H tone [approx. thirty-five items]. They differ in terms of the segmental canonical shape. (The use of these ideophones is described below in §6.)

1.2.10.1. (CVCVV x 2). The largest subclass has a short vowel in the first syllable and a long vowel in the second (producing an iambic rhythm), with the two vowels usually identical, e.g.,

**facā-facā** reckless spending; getting deeply involved in trading; playing with (or in) water  
**cūkù-cūkù** trying to obtain something in an underhanded way  
**gidĩ-gidĩ** being a busybody, fidgeting

When the final vowel is /ē/ or /ō/, the first vowel is /a/, which at an abstract level could be thought of as /e/ or /o/ respectively, since Hausa does not allow short mid vowels in nonfinal position, e.g.,

**jâlè-jâlè** (< //jèlè-jelè//) going hither and thither  
**màkò-makò** (< //mòkò-mokò//) miserliness

The other two examples of non-identical vowels involve u...I sequences, where the /u/ is preceded by /w/. Here one can view the formation in abstract terms as having /i/ in the first syllable, where the /i/ to /u/ change is due to the absence of the sequence /wi/ in the Hausa phonological system, e.g.,

**wùkì-wukì** (< //wìkì-wikì//) fidgeting by children  
**wùnì-wunì** (< //wìnì-winì//) behaving or speaking in a shifty, suspicious manner

1.2.10.2. (CVCVC x 2). This class [approx. ten items] also has an iambic light-heavy rhythm, the heavy syllable in this case having a syllable-final coda consonant rather than a long vowel. The two vowels in the word are always identical, /a/ in all cases except one, which contains /u/. Examples:

**kàzàf-kazaf** energetic nature (of a person or animal), vigor, restlessness.  
**wàtsal-watsal** wriggling, squirming movement (of fish, snake, or boiling water)  
**bùdùm-budum** floundering about in water or work

A small number of ideophones with this same segmental shape uses a different tone pattern, namely H-L. Examples (complete):

**baram-bàràM** parting with animosity/disagreement; **cukun-cùkùn** be in a state of confusion about what to do; **gatsal-gàtsàl** chunks (of food) poorly cut; careless/indecent talk; **tubuř-tùbùř** describes (shaking of) large and round buttocks

The following example appears on the surface with a long vowel rather than with a consonant. From an abstract/historical perspective, however, one can view it as having an underlying structure CiCiw, where the diphthong \*Ciu < \*Ciw becomes /Cyū/ (see §34:2.3):

**kikyū-kikyū** (< \*kikiu-kikiu < \*kikiw-kikiw) stand alert

°AN: The process reflected in **kikyū** < \*kikiw is a counterpart to the one described earlier of **lukwī** < \*lukuy.

1.2.10.3. (CVCCVC x 2). In these few words, both syllables are closed, i.e., one has a heavy-heavy pattern. The vowels in the two syllables are identical. Examples (complete):

**ḡāngwāl-ḡāngwāl**

describes walking in an insecure way

**wāndār-wāndār**

zigzagging, swaying from side to side

**tīnjīm-tīnjīm**

moving around in water with a splashing sound

**būndūm-bundum** (more or less = **fūnjūm-funjum**)

floundering about noisily in water; floundering about attempting to do sth

1.2.10.4. (CVCCVV x 2). There are two words with a heavy-heavy pattern ending in long /ā/. In both cases, the initial vowel is nonmatching /i/:

**īndā-īndā**

talking indecisively, having disagreement about what decision to take

**zīrgā-zīrgā**

constantly going to and fro

1.2.11. CVCVV x 2)H-L

This large class [approx. seventy items] has an iambic light-heavy structure with an H-L tone pattern. The two vowels differ in length—the first is short and the second is long—but typically are segmentally identical, most often with /a/ or /u/, much rarer with /i/. Many of the ideophones in this class function as adjectives, a considerable number of which are intrinsically plural. Examples:

**ḡāgā-ḡāgā** chunky; in large chunks (usu. of solid foods or fruits); **dārā-dārā** bold and beautiful (of eyes or writing); **fālā-fālā** broad and thin (e.g., leaves, paper, ears); **gājā-gājā** messily, in a disgusting manner; **tsalā-tsalā** (pl.) long and skinny (esp. legs); **bukū-bukū** large and round (e.g., buttocks, fruits, onions); **buzū-buzū** long, unkempt hair; **durū-durū** in a confused manner, unable to make a decision quickly; **hulū-hulū** swollen, puffed up (e.g., eyelids, cheeks, pimples); **sumū-sumū** (pl.) despondent-looking, with protruding lips; **kiki-kiki** manner of response of a cornered psn; **kirī-kirī** openly, in broad daylight

ADN: In the Sokoto dialect, these words all have an HH-LF tone pattern, e.g., **tsalā-tsalā**, **sumū-sumū**, etc.

As with the words of the same pattern with L-H tone described above in §1.2.10.1, the main exceptions to the rule that the vowels be identical are words with final /ē/ and /ō/, where the expected (but not allowed) short /e/ and /o/ in the first syllable appears as /a/, e.g.,

**ḡāgē-ḡāgē** skimpy, too short (e.g., miniskirt); **kanē-kanē** being well established in a place, monopolizing or controlling others; **raḡē-raḡē** pendulous (breasts), hanging and dangling (cloth or other things); **zakē-zakē** unsuitably long, out of proportion; **batsō-batsō** (pl.) poorly made, ugly looking; **ḡalō-ḡalō** (pl.) large and round (e.g., fruits, pimples, or other things with liquid in them); **cakō-cakō** sharp and pointed (e.g., nails); unaligned teeth; **zagō-zagō** dense and rich (of eyebrows)

The word **horō-hō** vowels match, but This H-L class incl 'describes guilty le or unkempt, esp. **butsā-butsā** with animal) can be un

Two words, first syllable:

**ḡēmai-ḡēmai** ol

1.2.12. Polysyl

There exists a sm in a plus a nasal

**bāmbārākwāi** s **ḡākātān** idly, do **tāntārkwāi** bei contemptuously

1.2.13. Miscel

Finally, one has patterns, e.g.,

**ayyufufūi** the startled or frighte frightening sleep vehicle); **kāshar** describes the fall describes the fall disheveled state;

2. FUNCTION

Ideophones are They do not con ideophones func others modify n ideophonic ver part of speech.

2.1. Adverbi

Many ideophon or quantity of These ideophon can divide the or specify a nu

The word **horō-hòrò** 'unusually large opening' (esp. nostril) is morphologically regular, because the two vowels match, but is phonologically aberrant because one normally does not get nonfinal short /o/. This H-L class includes one example of a u...I sequence, where the u is preceded by /w/, e.g., **wukī-wùkī** 'describes guilty look'. For inexplicable reasons, the word **butsū-bùtsù** 'sth that appears as disorganized or unkempt, esp. hair or grasses; sth done in haste just for the sake of finishing it' also appears as **butsā-bùtsà** with non-identical vowels. The non-matching initial /i/ in **jinā-jìnà** 'bloody' (of person or animal) can be understood on etymological grounds, cf. **jinī** 'blood'.

Two words, with easily identifiable prosaic cognates, have the H-L pattern of this class but a heavy first syllable:

**gēmai-gēmài** old and bearded (cf. **gēmù** beard)      **tsōfai-tsòfài** very old (cf. **tsōhō** old)

### 1.2.12. Polysyllabic all L

There exists a small group of trisyllabic (in one case quadrisyllabic) words with all L tone ending in **ai** or in **a** plus a nasal consonant. Examples (complete):

**bāmbārākwaì** something unusual or unexpected state of thing(s); **bārkātài** in a disorderly mess; **ḡākātàn** idly, doing nothing; **ḡākwaçam** in a littered, disarranged manner; **tāntāḡwai** (= [Kts] **tāntāḡkwaì**) being at a total loss (e.g., at a crossroad); **wulākài** staring at s.o. rudely or contemptuously

### 1.2.13. Miscellaneous

Finally, one has an assortment of ideophones of different shapes that do not fall into any of the regular patterns, e.g.,

**ayyufūḡi** the sound of ululating; **dindindin** perpetually, permanently; **fīḡgigit** (= **fīḡgigi**) with a startled or frightened movement in most cases due to being awakened unexpectedly, or due to a frightening sleep; **ḡāḡandàn** (= **ḡāḡandàn**) emphasizes newness (esp. the quality of a shiny new vehicle); **kāshangararai** have a tired and dejected appearance; **ḡātātā** being talkative; **fīḡjā** describes the falling of a bulky person or tree; **tāntāḡwai** seeing clearly; being glossy or bright; **tijā** describes the falling down of a big and clumsy person or object; **wujigā-wūjigā** (= **wuḡgā-wūḡgā**) in a disheveled state; **wuḡjānjān** doing something relentlessly

## 2. FUNCTION AND USE

Ideophones are defined as a class primarily on the basis of their phonological and semantic properties. They do not constitute a distinct part of speech on a par with the other major word classes. Rather, some ideophones function to modify verbal actions or adjectives (and thus pattern syntactically with adverbs), others modify nouns (and thus function adjectivally), and others constitute nouns. (One even has some ideophonic verbs.) As with prosaic vocabulary, individual ideophones can function as more than one part of speech.

### 2.1. Adverbials

Many ideophones are essentially adverbial in function in that they serve to describe a manner, intensity, or quantity of an action or state or quality. They invariably follow the word or phrase that they modify. These ideophones can be separated into a considerable number of subcategories; but for convenience one can divide them into two main groups, namely, (a) those that modify the VP, and (b) those that intensify or specify a numeral or an adjective (or a semantically equivalent noun of quality).

## 2.1.1. VP modifiers

Included here is a mixed collection of ideophones describing manner, sound, etc. Examples (with the ideophone underlined):

<u>Audù</u> yā tāshì <u>farat</u>	Audu got up suddenly.
nā gan sù sunà yāwò <u>gàràrà</u>	I saw them roaming aimlessly.
sìnmāf̄ El-Dūniyā tā kōnè <u>kūrmus</u>	The El-Duniya cinema burned down to the ground.
kōgī yā cika <u>mākil</u>	The river is filled to its banks.
tā zaunà <u>fasha-fasha</u>	She sat all sprawled out.
yā rufè kōfāf̄ <u>ruf</u>	He closed the door tight.
an d'aurè jākīn <u>sako-sako</u> don yā wālā	They tied the donkey loosely so it could be at ease.
wani kūrègè yā wucè <u>sùmùmù</u>	A squirrel passed by silently.
nā gāji <u>tikis</u>	I'm completely exhausted.
sun tsayā <u>tsai</u> sunà kallō	They stood still watching.
jākatā tā cika <u>tsāmbam</u> dà kudī	My bag is stacked full with money.
fārāshì yā fādī <u>wānwař</u>	The price has tumbled. (lit. fallen flat on its back)

Ideophones most often occur at the end of the VP. They can however be moved to the front of a sentence for focus (where they occur without the use of the stabilizer). Examples:

<u>cāncak</u> Audù ya d'āukè àkwātin	It is completely that Audu took away the box.
<u>farat</u> ya tāshì	Suddenly he stood up.
<u>mākil</u> kōgīn ya cika	It is very full that the river is.

The general rule that answers to questions are in focus also applies to ideophones, e.g.,

<u>wānwař</u> ya fādī	Flat on his back he fell down.
cf. yā fādī <u>wānwař</u> ?	Did he fall down flat on his back?
<u>sumul</u> mukà sāmè sù	It's very well we found them.
cf. yà yà kukà sāmè sù?	How did you find them?

A few ideophones that are often used in narratives are found in a restricted context as far as fronting is concerned. These almost always occur at the beginning of a sentence (or clause) followed by *sai* 'and then' plus a clause in the preterite. The semantic import is to emphasize the immediacy of the ensuing action. Examples:

<u>kwatsām</u> sai mukà hàdū dà shì	Then suddenly we ran into him.
<u>wālàu</u> sai mukà ga haskè	Flash then suddenly we saw a flash of light.
munà zàune <u>kwarām</u> sai ya fitō	We were sitting there then suddenly he emerged.

## 2.1.2. Specifiers / Intensifiers

Certain ideophones serve to specify numerals or to intensify adjectives or nouns of quality, esp. ANSQs (see chap. 2). The word order is invariably quality word + ideophone. The semantic collocation is often quite fixed as in English 'snow white' = Hausa *fari fat* or 'brand new' = *sābō ful*. Examples:

<u>gudā</u> d'aya tak	exactly one	<u>kwānā</u> bìyāf̄ cuř	exactly five days
<u>gājērè</u> duřus	very short	<u>sābō</u> gāřandān	brand new (esp. a vehicle)
<u>zāfi</u> zau	red hot	<u>kauri</u> kīrtif	very thick (e.g., gruel)

*lāfiyā* (ka)lau  
*baŋi* wulik

The qualitative  
e.g.,

yā yi sukāfi coi  
mlyār tā yi gish

The ideophone a  
not so. First, i  
immediately afte

Audù gājērè nè  
mōtārsā bakā c  
d'an yārò nè tsi

Second, with pre  
e.g.,

sābōn kèkè ful  
d'an Rāramin yā

In appropriate c  
meaning, e.g.,

gārī yā yi (hask  
kō (d'aya) tak b  
bābū kō (d'aya)  
tukunyāf̄ tā yi (l  
sol nè  
e.g., in answer to

Because the ideop  
part of speech ca  
adjective or a ve

tsōhō tukuf  
cf. yā tsūfa tuk  
gārī yā yi duhū  
cf. gārī duk yā

The to

2.2. Adjective  
Many ideophon  
nouns. When us  
plus pronoun c

<b>lāfiyà (ka)lau</b>	very well, healthy	<b>kōrè shař</b>	bright green
<b>baři wulik</b>	shiny black		

The qualitative nouns that are intensified can be common nouns used in an adjectival/adverbial sense, e.g.,

<b>yā yi sukāfi coi</b>	It is extremely sweet. (where <b>sukāfi</b> = sugar)
<b>mtyār tā yi gishiri fau</b>	The soup is overly salty. (where <b>gishiri</b> = salt)

The ideophone and its head do not need to be adjacent. There are two common constructions where this is not so. First, in equational or identificational sentences, the stabilizer (**nē/cē**) usually appears immediately after the adjective and before the ideophone, e.g.,

<b>Audù gājērē nē duřus</b>	Audu is very short.
<b>mōtāřsà bakā cē wulik</b>	His car is jet black.
<b>đan yārò nē tsirit</b>	He's a tiny little boy.

Second, with prenominal adjectives, the adjective occurs before the noun but the ideophone follows, e.g.,

<b>sābon kèkè ful</b>	a brand new bicycle (= <b>kèkè sàbō ful</b> , but not <b>**sābon ful kèkè</b> )
<b>đan řàramin yārò tsirit</b>	a very small boy = <b>yārò đan řàrami tsirit</b>

In appropriate circumstances the head word can be deleted, leaving the ideophone to carry the full meaning, e.g.,

<b>gāri yā yi (haskē) wasai</b>	The sky is very bright.
<b>kō (đaya) tak bāi bā nì ba</b>	Even one he didn't give me.
<b>bābù kō (đaya) tak</b>	There isn't any, not even one.
<b>tukunyār tā yi (zāfi) zau</b>	The pot is burning hot.
<b>i, sol nē</b>	Yes, very white (light complexioned).
e.g., in answer to <b>shi nē fari sol?</b>	Is he very white?

Because the ideophones serve to emphasize a semantic sense and are not defined narrowly by traditional part of speech categories, one often finds that the same ideophone can be used to emphasize a noun or an adjective or a verb, e.g.,

<b>tsōhō tukuf</b>	a very old person,
cf. <b>yā tsūfa tukuf</b>	He has become very old. (lit. he has aged <b>tukuf</b> )
<b>gāri yā yi duhù dudum</b>	The town is very dark.
cf. <b>gāri duk yā rufè dudum dà hadarì</b>	The town is enveloped in darkness by the storm clouds.

## 2.2. Adjectivals

Many ideophones and ideophonic adjectives pattern with normal adjectives in functioning to modify nouns. When used attributively, all (or almost all) occur postnominally. They are often expanded by a **dà** plus pronoun construction. Examples:

sun kāmà wani mahàukàci zìgìdìf dà shì They caught a stark-naked madman.  
 wasu haḱòrankà gatsò-gàtsò dà sū teeth disproportionate as yours  
 yàrá 'yan dìbì-dìbì dà sū plump little children  
 nā ga yàrinyàfsà sàmbàlbàl dà ita I saw his tall and slender girl.  
 Àbù tā zubà minì nāmà dukù-dùkù à àbincinā

Abu poured large and round chunks of meat in my food.

Audù yā dāwò gidā fururu dà shì  
 Audu returned home white with dust. (e.g., during the harmattan)

One normally does not get ideophonic adjectives as predicates in equational sentences. Instead one tends to use a verbal sentence with the pro-verb *yi* 'do' or with some other verb like *zama* 'become'. Examples:

gèron gònàf Bala yā yi gabā-gabā The millet of Bello's farm is large, thick, and strong.  
 kunnuwànsà sun yi fatò-fatò His ears are large and broad.  
 rìgā tā zama dususu The gown has become faded  
 kwāfin fulawār yā yi digifgìf The balls of dough are firm.  
 kán Bala yā yi rāmbàsòsò Bala's bare head is huge and shiny.

### 2.3. Nominals

A good number of ideophones function as nouns, most often dynamic nouns denoting an action.

°AN: For scholars who are accustomed to thinking of ideophones as adverbial, one can liken Hausa ideophonic nouns to English words like mumbo-jumbo or hocus-pocus or ping-pong, which are clearly nouns, but which are phonologically and, to some extent, semantically distinctive.

These ideophonic nouns commonly occur in syntactic environments where one normally would find a verbal noun, e.g., after a continuous TAM or as object of a verb like *fiyà* or *cikà* 'do or be characterized by too much of' or the pro-verb *yi* 'do'; but they can fill other nominal roles as well. Those ending in /a(a)/ tend to be feminine (and thus take an -*f* linker where appropriate); those with other terminations are masculine. Examples:

balli-balli yanà dāmùnsà Palpitations of the heart are troubling him.  
 yā yi cùkù-cukù yā sàmi aikì He got a job through the back door.  
 (lit. he did *cùkù-cukù* he got the job)  
 yanà ta kìcì-kìcin yā sàmi kud'in yin aurè He is striving to get money to get married.  
 wannan màtār tā cikà kwàlò-kwalò This woman is a difficult, unreliable customer.  
 gwamnà yanà ta yi manà kùmbiyà-kumbiyà The governor was doing underhanded dealings with us.  
 bā nā sòn wàndāf-wandāf I dislike zigzagging.  
 an san shì kán facā-facāfsà He is well known for his reckless spending.  
 anà ta indā-indāf kō wā zā à bā sakatafè

They were wishy-washy about whom to make secretary.

yanà wani wùnì-wunì sai kà cé marāf gaskiyā  
 He was behaving in a certain shifty manner such that you would say he was dishonest.

In the following examples with the ideophone *bàmbàràkwài* 'something unusual or unexpected', one finds that the gender is not intrinsic but rather is determined by the referent, the gender being indicated by the form of the indefinite determiner *wani* (m.) / *wata* (f.):

nā ji wani bàmbàràkwài  
 màganāfsà wata bàmbàràkwài

2.3.1. Pseudonouns  
 Many adverbial ideophones syntactically seem to be listed as such in so far as their nominal properties are functioning in a nominal capacity there presumably b

janāf yā yi kēmēr  
 The gener  
 yā yi fùnjum yā fā  
 He fell in  
 tā kwántā tā yi ra  
 She lay d  
 Audù yā yi βèlèlè  
 Audu is l

an yi musù lilis  
 cf. sun daku lilis  
 yā yi tātul dà giyā  
 sātì yā yi cuř

2.3.2. Ideophonic nouns  
 Ideophones that no  
 which case they al

bùm d'in fād'wār  
dàs-dàs-dàs d'in t  
d'is-d'is-d'is d'insà  
sùlùlù d'in shigòv  
 cf. yā shigò sùlùlù

### 3. FIXED COLLOCATIONS

Many ideophones are semantically related to the phonological class of nouns with *fari* 'white' (ref. to feminine gender). *Rònè kùrmus* 'It is white' is a noun or the grade of white indicates "goes w

bada-bada :: m  
 e.g., màganà bad



nā ji wani bàmbàràkwài à jìkínà  
màganàf̄sà wata bàmbàràkwài cē

I felt a very strange feeling.  
His talk was something unexpected.

### 2.3.1. Pseudonominals

Many adverbial ideophones of manner can optionally occur following the pro-verb *yi*, e.g., *yā yi fārat* *yā tāshì* 'He went zoom and got up', cf. *yā tāshì fārat* 'He got up in a flash.' Because they fill what syntactically seems to be the direct object nominal slot, they would appear to be nouns (and in fact are listed as such in some dictionaries), but they are only marginally so since they do not display other nominal properties. Here are typical examples, showing the same ideophones following *yi* and functioning in a normal adverbial position. (In the examples the = indicates more or less equivalent, there presumably being semantic, pragmatic, and stylistic differences.)

janār yā yi kēmēmē yā kī jīn màganār = janār yā kī jīn màganār kēmēmē

The general flatly refused to listen to the matter.

yā yi fùnjum yā fādà ruwa = yā fādà ruwa fùnjum

He fell in the water with a splash.

tā kwántā tā yi fasha-fasha dà ita (à kán gadō) = tā kwántā fasha-fasha

She lay down sprawled out (on the bed).

Audù yā yi fièlèlè dà bàkìnsà = Audù yā būd'è bàkìnsà fièlèlè

Audu is laughing with his mouth drooping open like a fool.

an yi musù lilis

They were given a severe beating. (lit. one.comp do to.them lilis)

cf. sun daku lilis

They were beaten thoroughly.

yā yi tātul dà giyà

He is intoxicated, cf. cikínà yā cika tātul I'm bloated.

sāfi yā yi cuř

It's been a week exactly, cf. sāfi biyu cuř exactly two weeks

### 2.3.2. Ideophones in other nominal slots

Ideophones that normally function as adverbs indicating manner or sound can appear as head nouns, in which case they allow genitive possessors (formed with *ɗin*), e.g.,

búm ɗin fād'uwārsà yā bā ni tsòrō

The sound of its falling frightened me.

dàs-dàs-dàs ɗin táfiyārsà yā tāsē ni

His heavy walking woke me up.

ɗis-ɗis-ɗis ɗinsà

its dripping sound

sùlùlù ɗin shigōwārsà

the silence of his entering

cf. yā shigō sùlùlù

He entered silently.

## 3. FIXED COLLOCATIONS

Many ideophones are restricted in usage to co-occurrence with a single word or a very limited number of semantically related words. The presence of fixed collocational restrictions appears to be independent of the phonological or grammatical class of the ideophone. The ideophone *fat*, for example, occurs only with *fari* 'white' (or its feminine and plural counterparts) and nothing else, e.g., *farā fat* 'snow white' (ref. to feminine thing). Similarly, *kùrmus* occurs only with, and emphasizes, *kònè* 'burn', e.g., *yā kònè kùrmus* 'It burnt to ashes.' Because the collocation is semantic in nature, the gender/number of a noun or the grade of a verb is irrelevant. Here are some typical examples (where the double colon :: indicates "goes with"):

bada-bada :: màganà speech,

e.g., màganà bada-bada àlāmār rashìn lāfiyà cē Incomprehensible speech is a sign of an illness.

- βèlèlè :: bàkɪ** mouth  
 e.g., *Audù yā yi βèlèlè dà bàkinsà* Audu is laughing with his mouth drooping like a fool.  
 (lit. Audu did βèlèlè with his mouth)
- caɸ :: tsayà** stand, or **mɪkè** stretch out  
 e.g., *sàndán yā tsayà caɸ* The stick stood straight.
- caraf :: caɸè/caɸkè** catch  
 e.g., *yā caɸkè bɪfò caraf* He caught the pen adroitly.
- (ɸa)ɸaf :: ɸafè** or **makàlè** both meaning cling to, stick to  
 e.g., *yāròn yā makàlè wà uwaɸsà (ɸa)ɸaf* The boy clung to his mother's apron strings.
- ɸau :: zāfi** heat  
 e.g., *wutā mài zāfi ɸau* a blazing hot fire
- ɸakau :: nɪkà** grind or **dakà** pound  
 e.g., *gàrin yā nɪkù ɸakau* The flour is finely ground.
- ɸukus :: gājèrè** short  
 e.g., *Mūsā gājèrè nè ɸukus* Musa is very short.
- fatau :: kōfè** green  
 e.g., *mõtā kōfiyā fatau* a deep-green car
- ful :: sãbō** new  
 e.g., *kèkè sãbō ful* a brand-new bicycle
- gadā-gadā :: idò** eyes  
 e.g., *káì! wannàn yārin yār tanà dà kyāwàwan idānuwà gadā-gadā dà sū* Wow! This girl has bold and beautiful eyes. (lit. ...she has beautiful eyes bold-and-beautiful with them)
- Rat :: kārè** finish up  
 e.g., *àbincín yā kārè Rat, kō laumà ɸaya bà zā à sāmù ba* The food was finished up completely, even one mouthful one couldn't get.
- Rìkàm :: tsayà** stand  
 e.g., *kanār yā tsayà Rìkàm* The colonel stood there tall and motionless.
- kirtif :: kaurɪ** thickness  
 e.g., *kùndún yā yi kaurɪ kirtif* The gruel is made very thick.
- màkɪl :: cɪka** fill  
 e.g., *kàsuwà tã cɪka màkɪl dà mutànè* The market is crammed with people.
- ɸakau :: bũshè** dry up  
 e.g., *ɸāwon gyàɸā yā bũshè ɸakau* The peanut shells have dried up completely.
- ɸèɸas :: jèru** be well lined up  
 e.g., *'yan makaɸantā sun jèru ɸèɸas à bàkin tɪtɪ sunà jiràn zuwàn fɪɸtmiyà* The schoolchildren lined up in an orderly manner along the street waiting for the premier.
- ɸuf :: rufè** close  
 e.g., *yā rufè kōɸār ɸuf* He closed the door tightly.
- shaf :: mántā** forget or **shà'afà** slip one's mind  
 e.g., *nā mántā shaf cèwā yāu zán aikà dà sàkón nan* I completely forgot that I was going to send that message today.
- tukuf :: tsòhō** old  
 e.g., *mùtumín tsòhō nè tukuf* The man is very old; *yā tsúfa tukuf* He has aged strikingly.
- yalā-yalà :: gāshì** hair or **ciyāwà** grass  
 e.g., *wata yārin yā mài gāshì yalā-yalà* a girl with long, soft, smooth hair
- zau :: zāfi** heat or **zāRI** sweetness  
 e.g., *dùtsèn gūgà yā yi zāfi zau* The iron is red hot.

#### 4. SYNCHRONIC

Even though ideophones have “cognate” items, they are not necessarily clinging to sth in a regular derivational way. \*ɸaf ‘They jumped’ is identified with extra-regular derivational

\*AN: Although the recurring process of consonant-final reduplication,

In some instances some examples (with ideophone on the

- bàɸɸà**  
**baja-baja**  
**bus, būs**  
**buɸu-buɸu**  
**buzū-buzū**  
**cakō-cakò**  
**cukun-cùkùn**  
**cùnkus**  
**dàlálà**  
**dandan**  
**dòkòkò**  
**dushi-dushi**  
**(ɸa)ɸaf**  
**ɸagè-ɸàgè**  
**ɸis**  
**fururu**  
**kam-(kam)**  
**kalkal**  
**malā-màlà**  
**mùftuk**  
**ɸuf (rolled [ɸ])**  
**sàɸɸà**  
**sako-sako**  
**taltal**  
**tsaf**  
**tsai**  
**wara-wara**  
**wujigà-wùjigà**  
**zau**

## 4. SYNCHRONIC COGNATE FORMS

Even though ideophones are to some extent external to the regular prosaic lexicon, some of them do have "cognate" items elsewhere in the language. For example, **ɖaɖ** 'emphasizing leaping on and clinging to sth in a nimble fashion' can be related to the verb **ɖarè** 'leap on', e.g., **sun ɖarè bishiyàɖ ɖaɖ** 'They jumped up on the tree (like a monkey)'. That is, some ideophones can be morphologically identified with extant non-ideophonic words (mostly verbs) even though they cannot be related by any regular derivational process.

°AN: Although it is impossible to derive ideophones from their cognates by rule, there are some recurring processes, the most common of which are (a) dropping of final vowels (resulting in consonant-final ideophones), (b) perturbation of vowel length and tone, and (c) (usually full) reduplication.

In some instances the relation is fairly evident; in others, it is remote and strictly historical. Here are some examples (where <> indicates that the ideophone on the left is morphologically related to the non-ideophone on the right):

<b>bàɖàɖà</b>	years hence < &b>ɖàɖi next year
<b>baja-baja</b>	scattered around, disorganized < <b>bazà/bajè</b> spread out
<b>ɖus, ɖus</b>	describes breaking through of sth < <b>ɖusà</b> break through
<b>buɖu-buɖu</b>	be all covered with powdery substance < <b>buɖà/baɖà</b> spread powder, dust
<b>buzū-bùzù</b>	long, unkempt hair < <b>buzurwā</b> long-haired goat
<b>cakō-càkò</b>	sharp and pointed (e.g., nails) < <b>càkā</b> stab
<b>cukun-cùkùn</b>	be in a state of confusion < <b>cukunkùnē</b> be(come) entangled
<b>cùnkus</b>	full of people or things < <b>cunkùshē</b> be crowded into, <b>cùnkōsō</b> congestion
<b>dàlālā</b>	emphasizes sliminess (e.g., saliva, okra) < <b>dàlālì</b> sliminess, viscosity
<b>dandan</b>	firmly pressed < <b>dannè</b> press down
<b>dòkòrò</b>	stooping slightly and awkwardly < <b>dūkà</b> stoop down
<b>dushi-dushi</b>	hazy, dim, not bright, semiblind (of eyes) < <b>dushè</b> become dim
<b>(ɖa)ɖaf</b>	emphasizes clinging < <b>ɖafè</b> (cling to)
<b>ɖagē-ɖagè</b>	skimpy < <b>ɖagè</b> shrink
<b>ɖis</b>	sound of sth dripping < <b>ɖisa</b> drip
<b>fururu</b>	white from dust < <b>furfurā</b> gray hair (related to <b>fari</b> white?)
<b>kam-(kam)</b>	held firmly, tightly; being adamant, insistent < <b>kāmà</b> catch, hold
<b>kalkal</b>	glittering clean < <b>kalkalē</b> shave close, sweep clean
<b>malā-màlā</b>	describes minor flooding < <b>màlālā</b> flow out, flow over
<b>mùrtuk</b>	dark, turbid < <b>muɖtùkē</b> stir up dust, etc.
<b>ɖuf</b> (rolled [ɖ])	well closed or covered (e.g., door, bowl) < <b>rufè</b> (flap [ɖ]) close
<b>sad'ad'a</b>	stealthily < <b>sad'ad'ā</b> sneak in
<b>sako-sako</b>	loosely < <b>sakì</b> let go, release
<b>taltal</b>	smooth shaving of head < <b>taltalē</b> shave head clean, <b>tàllì</b> sheen
<b>tsaf</b>	neatly, completely clean < <b>tsaftà</b> cleanliness
<b>tsai</b>	still, pensively < <b>tsayà</b> stop, stand
<b>wara-wara</b>	spaced apart < <b>wārè</b> separate, secede
<b>wujigā-wùjigà</b>	in a disheveled state < <b>wujijigā</b> swing thing about
<b>zau</b>	very hot or sweet < <b>zāfi</b> heat, <b>zāki</b> sweetness

In a few instances of onomatopoeic words it appears that the ideophone is basic and that the verb is derived, i.e., the output could be considered an ideophonic verb, e.g.,

<b>zùndùm</b>	sound of heavy object falling into a body of water (e.g., well or pond)
◇ <b>zundùmā</b>	fall into water
<b>tsùndùm</b>	sound of a medium-sized object falling into water (e.g., a stone)
◇ <b>tsundùmā</b>	fall into water with a plop.

°AN: Note that these ideophones and their cognate verbs cannot normally be used together, thus **yā fāḍā ruwa tsùndùm** 'He fell in the water with a splash' and **yā tsundùmā ruwa** 'He plopped into the water' are OK, but **\*\*yā tsundùmā ruwa tsùndùm** is not. This restriction is relaxed in the case of fixed expressions, e.g., **kōmī ta fānjamā fānjam** 'Let's do it regardless of the consequences!' (example provided by Malami Buba).

## 5. INTONATION (KEY RAISING, REGISTER SHIFT)

Ideophones are generally characterized by expressive pronunciation. This includes extra forcefulness or loudness and often an intonational break (indicated here by a comma before the ideophone). Examples:

<b>àbīn dà ya bā nì d'anyē nè, shataf</b>	The thing that he gave me was fresh, <i>really so</i> .
<b>yā fāḍā ruwa, fūnjum</b>	He fell in the water, <i>splash</i> .

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of ideophones, which has commonly been noted from very early in Hausa studies, e.g., Prietze (1908), is their extra-high pitch.

°AN: Scholars have not, on the other hand, paid much attention to the pitch of L tones. Based on my observations, I would contend that the L tones are also pronounced distinctively, i.e., with an extra-low pitch. Nevertheless, because, as far as I am aware, this matter has not yet been studied systematically, I shall reluctantly ignore L tone for the rest of this discussion.

Moore (1968: 13), for example, says: "The ideophone occurring utterance finally is likely to have an extra high pitch which ignores the downward drift of the rest of the utterance...." This extra high tone can be described in terms of "register shift" or "key raising", indicated here by ↑. Examples (with the ideophone underlined>):

<b>farī ↑ <u>fat</u></b> snow white, <b>kōrè ↑ <u>shar</u></b> very green, <b>tā tāshì ↑ <u>fārat</u></b>	She got up suddenly.
<b>yā gāji ↑ <u>tufus</u></b> He became very tired; <b>tā sāmī karā ḍaya ↑ <u>tak</u></b>	She got exactly one stalk.

°AN: Inkelas, Leben, and Cobler (1987) incorrectly equate the key raising in ideophones with the key raising in Yes/No questions. With ideophones, the extra H tone affects the entire word, i.e., applies at the *beginning*; in yes/no questions, the key raising applies only to the *last* H tone, the first syllable of an H-H word, for example, being unaffected.

Whereas ideophones in phrases and in short sentences typically display key raising, this is not an absolute requirement. Rather, it is more accurate to say that ideophones may undergo key raising in situations where they are candidates for "expressive prominence." One can illustrate a number of environments where ideophones occur without key raising.

In Yes/No questions, where the final H tone undergoes key raising, this intonational marker overrides any possible register shift on the ideophone as such, e.g.,

**yā sàyi rigā ba**  
cf. **yā sàyi rigā**  
not **\*\*yā sàyi r**  
cf. **yā sàyi rigā**

°AN: For p  
When they

Answers to ques  
the truth value o

**ē, kāyān sun wā**  
**ē, nā ga ḍan tsā**

The following ex  
prominence, Ye  
ideophone is out

**ciwòn yā hanà**  
**ciwòn yā hanà**  
**ē, ciwòn yā han**

In sentences co  
prominence and

**rashìn ilimī nè**  
**wà ya bā kà ḍa**

In the preceding  
H-H ideophone  
As mention  
occur in them, h  
high produced b

**bài sàyi bàbūr**  
**Sulè dà Bellò b**  
**bài zama tsòhō**

Finally, with l  
ideophones is di  
characteristic of  
may be pronoun

**yāròn dà ya kù**  
The b  
**mùtumìn dà ya**  
The m  
**wani tsòhō tuk**

yā sàyi rìgā bakā wu ↑ lik ?	Did he buy a very black gown?
cf. yā sàyi rìgā ba ↑ k̄ā ?	Did he buy a black gown?
not ** yā sàyi rìgā bakā ↑ wu ↑ lik ?	Did he buy a very black gown?
cf. yā sàyi rìgā bakā ↑ wulik	He bought a very black gown.

°AN: For pragmatic reasons ideophones tend to be a bit odd in negative sentences or in questions. When they are produced in questions, however, the intonational realization is as indicated above.

Answers to questions often lack key raising on the ideophone, i.e., with the focus having switched to the truth value of the proposition, the ideophone no longer qualifies for expressive prominence, e.g.,

ē, kāyán sun wànkú fes	Yes, the loads were washed spanking clean.
ē, nā ga d'an tsākō tsigil	Yes, I saw a wee small chick.

The following examples illustrate the difference between sentences with ideophones having expressive prominence, Yes/No questions with obligatory key raising, and answers to questions in which the ideophone is out of focus and does not carry expressive prominence.

cīwòn yā hanà ta ↑ sakat	The illness prevented her completely.
cīwòn yā hanà ta sa ↑ kat ?	Did the illness prevent her completely?
ē, cīwòn yā hanà ta sakat	Yes, the illness prevented her completely.

In sentences containing focus (including Q-words) the ideophone does not qualify for expressive prominence and thus occurs with its normal tone.

rashìn iliml nē ya hanà ta sakat	It was lack of knowledge that prevented her totally.
wā ya bā kà d'anyē shatáf?	Who gave you a real fresh one?

In the preceding example, note that the floating L tone q-morpheme (see §60:1.2) has attached to the H-H ideophone *shataf* resulting in a final falling tone.

As mentioned in the note above, ideophones are not common in negative sentences. When they do occur in them, however, they generally lack expressive prominence and are pronounced without the extra high produced by key raising, e.g.,

bài sàyi bábūr sãbō fil ba	He didn't buy a brand new motorcycle.
Sulè dà Bellò bà sù gājì túbús ba	Sule and Bello didn't become exhausted.
bài zama tsōhō tukuf ba	He hasn't become very old.

Finally, with long, more complex sentences, it appears that the potential expressive energy of ideophones is dissipated with the result that they may be pronounced with normal nonraised intonation characteristic of end of sentences. Similarly, ideophones imbedded in the midst of a normal sentence may be pronounced without special prominence, e.g.,

yāròn dà ya kùbutà dàgà hannun 'yan sàndā gājērē nē dukus	The boy who escaped from the hands of the police was very short.
mùtumìn dà ya zō kófār fādà yanà sànye dà hùlā bakā wulik	The man who came to the palace entrance was wearing a very black cap.
wani tsōhō tukuf yā shigè nân	A very old man passed by here.

## 6. IDEOPHONIC NOUNS (SOUNDS AND MOVEMENTS)

In addition to the ideophones per se, Hausa has a class of words that are clearly nouns, but that phonologically and semantically are sound symbolic in nature. These expressive ideophonic nouns primarily denote sounds, movements, and related activities. They are formed by means of a suffix **-niyā**<sup>LLHH</sup> with a set L-L-H-H tone pattern, e.g., **fàcàlniyā** 'splashing around in water'. (There are some seventy-five or so nouns of this class, all of which are feminine.) These words are mostly dynamic action nouns that occur as the predicate in a continuous TAM or as the object of the pro-verb **yi** 'do' or some other function verb, e.g., **miyà tanà bálbálniyā** 'The soup is boiling/bubbling', **sunà ta hàtsàniyā** 'They keep on wrangling', **mun shā dāwàiniyā dà shì** 'We suffered putting up with him', cf. **hàyàniyā tā yi yawà** 'The hubbub is too much.' All of the words in this class are quadrisyllabic. The syllable preceding the suffix is always heavy, either CVC or CVV. The initial syllable is usually light, thereby producing an iambic rhythm. In most cases, the lexical base does not occur independently of the suffix, although some of these words do have cognate forms, typically ideophones. Examples:

**bálbálniyā** boiling rapidly, cf. id. **bálbál** palpitations; **didimniyā** noise of beating on a calabash, roof, etc. = id. **dìdim-dìdim**; **dāwàiniyā** being busy struggling with one's tasks; **gàgàniyā** struggling with s.o. or sth; **hàtsàniyā** wrangling, quarreling; **kàràuniyā** rattling = **kàràmmniyā**, cf. **kàrau** glass bangle, glassware, **kàrarrawā** bell); **mùtsùniyā** giggling, fidgeting by children = id. **mùtsù-mùtsù**; **rùgùmniyā** heavy rumbling (e.g., of thunder); confused babble and drumming, cf. id. **rùgùm**; **wàtsàlniyā** wriggling, squirming = id. **wàtsàl-watsal**

°AN: Many words in this class contain an abutting /m.n/ sequence, e.g., **kwàràmmniyā** 'noise, din'. This is phonologically aberrant because in SH /m/ followed by a coronal sonorant has regularly changed into /u/, e.g., **zamnà** > **zaunà** 'sit', **ɗamrè** > **ɗaurè** 'tie'.

◊HN: Originally the suffix was most likely just **-ne**<sup>LH</sup>, the resulting words all being feminine. The second syllable of the now-occurring **-niyā** suffix resulted from the addition of the feminative ending {-a} in accordance with the general historical process of overt characterization (see §31:4), e.g., **\*fàcàl-ne + a** > **fàcàlniyā** 'splashing in water'.

ΔDN: In WH, **-niyā** words with a nasal-final base commonly occur in reduplicated form with a suffix **-tū** and a fixed LL-LHH tone pattern. (Some of these words are also found in SH, but without the reduplication.) Descriptions suggest that the meaning of the **-niyā** and **-tū** formations are essentially the same. Examples include the following:

**fàgàm-fàgamtū** = **fàgàmmniyā** 'searching wildly and ineffectively'  
**gwàlàn-gwàlantū** (= SH **gwàlantū**) = **gwàlammniyā** 'speaking unintelligibly'  
**kàtsàm-kàtsamtū** = **kàtsàmmniyā** 'being scattered, disheveled'  
**kwàràmm-kwàramtū** (= SH **kwàrantū**) = **kwàràmmniyā** 'din'  
**sàgàm-sàgamtū** = **sàgàmmniyā** 'brusque gait'  
**sùgùm-sùgumtū** = **sùgùmmniyā** 'gait (coming and going) of a heavy psn'

6.1. Related reduplicated ideophones with the shape Base x 2)<sup>L-H</sup>

Many of the **-niyā** words have semantically equivalent ideophones with the shape Base x 2)<sup>L-H</sup> (where the disyllabic base has an iambic (light-heavy) rhythm) (see §1.2.10.1-2 above), e.g., **bùdùm-budum** (= **bùdùmmniyā**) 'floundering about in water or work'. The choice as to whether the **-niyā** derivative noun or the ideophone is preferred is lexically specific (examples in (a)). There are also semantically related reduplicated L-H ideophones that do not have corresponding **-niyā** forms (examples in (b)). In some of these, the initial syllable is closed (heavy) (see §1.2.10.3-4 above). Like the **-niyā** derivatives, all of the ideophones can function as dynamic action nouns, e.g.,

(a) **fàcàl-facal** (= f  
e.g., **yàrán sunà t**

The chick

**gìdì-gìdì**

e.g., **wannàn yār**

(= **gìdùniyā**, with

**gwàlàn-gwàlan** (=

e.g., **ɗan-yàye ya**

**jàlè-jalè** (= **jàlèn**

e.g., **'yan kàsuw**

**fìràmàfèn**

The busi

to build

**kìcì-kìcì** (= **kìcìni**

e.g., **inà kìcì-kìcì**

**wàcà-wacà** (= **wà**

e.g., **yanà ta wàc**

He squa

(b) **bàzàf-bazaf**

e.g., **kà dainà bà**

**cùkù-cukù**

e.g., **yà yi cùkù-c**

**dùrù-durù**

e.g., **yìn dùrù-du**

Madly s

**wàndàf-wandaf**

e.g., **bā nā sòn w**

**zìrgà-zìrgà**

e.g., **Audù yā faj**

[References: Gal  
(1968); Newman

- (a) **fàcàl-facal** (= fàcàlniyā) playing with, or splashing water all over  
 e.g., **yāràn sunà ta fàcàl-facal à gèfèn kùduddufi**  
 The children were splashing around in the pond.
- gidì-gidi** busybody, fidgeting; officiousness  
 e.g., **wannàn yāròn yā cikà gidì-gidi** This boy is so fidgety.  
 (= gidùniyā, with /ù/, but only with the meaning of 'officiousness')
- gwàlàn-gwalan** (= gwàlànmiyā) speaking unintelligibly, babbling by toddlers  
 e.g., **d'an-yâyē yanà gwàlàn-gwalan** The toddler is babbling.
- jàlè-jalè** (= jàlèniyā) going hither and thither  
 e.g., **'yan kàsúwàn sunà ta jàlè-jalè à hùkùmàf iliml wajen nēman kwangilař ginà makàřantun firàmàrèn**  
 The businessmen are going here and there to the ministry of education trying to get contracts to build the primary schools.
- kicì-kicì** (= kicìniyā) struggling,  
 e.g., **inà kicì-kicì in ciyař dà iyàlìnà** I am struggling to provide for my family.
- wacà-wacà** (= wacàniyā) squandering, extravagance  
 e.g., **yanà ta wacà-wacà dà kudī sai kà cè bàl san mařtabàřsù ba**  
 He squanders his money such that you would say he doesn't know the value of it.
- (b) **bàzàř-bazař** going about attempting sth in a disorganized way  
 e.g., **kà dainà bàzàř-bazař** Stop going around like that.
- cùkù-cukù** trying to obtain sth in an underhand way  
 e.g., **yā yi cùkù-cukù yā sàmi aikl** He got the job through the back door.
- dùrù-duřù** looking here and there searching for sth  
 e.g., **yin dùrù-duřù dab dà lókàcin tàfiyà makàřantà bá shi dà àmfàn**  
 Madly searching around just when it's time to go to school has no use.
- wàndàř-wandař** zigzagging, swaying from side to side  
 e.g., **bà nà sòn wàndàř-wandař** I hate zigzagging.
- ziřgà-ziřgà** constantly going to and fro  
 e.g., **Audù yā fayè ziřgà-ziřgà dà yawà** Audu is constantly moving back and forth.

[References: Galadanci (1971); Inkelas and Leben (1990); Inkelas, Leben, and Cobler (1987); Moore (1968); Newman (1968, 1989b, 1995); Prietze (1908); Williams (1970)]

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## 36. Idiomatic Phrasal Verbs

**I**DIOMATIC phrasal verbs are fixed verb-object collocations that have a special idiomatic meaning that is not immediately deducible from its parts. (In a few cases the item following the verb is something other than an object.) Here are a few illustrative examples from the hundred or so common idioms that exist:

**bā dà bākì** coax, sweet-talk (lit. give mouth); **bā dà fuskà** be receptive (by showing a smile) (lit. give face); **bad dà kāmā** disguise oneself (lit. lose appearance); **batà rāi** frown, have a grim face, be upset (lit. spoil life/mind); **ci àmānà** breach trust (lit. eat trust); **ci gāba** proceed, progress (lit. eat front); **ci wākē** become pregnant (lit. eat black-eyed peas); **hadà bākì** conspire (lit. combine mouth); **jā kunnē** warn or reprimand (lit. pull ear); **kai takārdā** die (humorous, provocative) (lit. take paper); **kāmā rafà** lobby (lit. catch foot); **kāwō hancì** approach, get close (lit. bring nose); **kurè àdakà** dress in one's best clothes (lit. constrict trunk/crate); **lāshi takòbì** pledge (lit. lick sword); **rainà rūrāf X** be contemptuous of someone (lit. despise dust.of X); **sā rāi** expect, anticipate (lit. put life/mind); **sàci jiki** sneak out (lit. steal body); **shā kùnū** frown (lit. drink porridge); **shìga ukù** be in a difficult situation, suffer (lit. enter three); **yankè Ràunā** lose hope, give up (lit. cut love); **zubà idò** wait in great anticipation (lit. pour eye)

Many phrasal verbs commonly occur with an indirect object that serves as the semantic object, e.g.,

<b>làbāřin yā batà minì rāi</b>	The news upset me. (lit. ...spoil to.me life)
<b>kadà kà cì masà fuskà!</b>	Don't humiliate him! (lit. ...eat to.him face)
<b>mun gamè masà kái</b>	We conspired against him. (lit. ...combine to.him head)
<b>yā kurà wà wàdà idò</b>	He stared at the dwarf. (lit. ...constrict to dwarf eye)
<b>nā shā musù kái</b>	I pestered them. (lit. ...drink to.them head)
<b>gwamnati tā shāfà wà àbòkan hāmāyà miyà à bākì</b>	
	The government falsely accused the opposition. (lit. ...smear to opposition soup on mouth)
<b>gilāshin mōtā yanà kashè wà fāsinjā idò</b>	
	The windshield is dazzling the eyes of the passengers. (lit. ... kill to passengers eye)

Because of their noncompositional meaning and the fact that in some cases, one cannot replace either of the components by a synonym—both characteristics of compounds—these idiomatic expressions have been described by some scholars, e.g., Grabna and Pawlak (1989), as compound verbs. Morphosyntactically, however, they behave like ordinary verb phrases and *not* like compounds, i.e., they do not create new, invariant *words*. To begin with, the verb in an idiomatic phrase is not invariant. It can, for example, undergo pluractional (plurac.) derivation and it can alter into another grade. In addition, in nonfinite contexts, a verb that would ordinarily be replaced by a corresponding verbal noun does so in idiomatic phrases as well, e.g.,



plurac: <b>mun jajjā kūnnen 'yā'yanmù</b>	We reprimanded our children. (< <b>jā kūnnē</b> reprimand)
plurac: <b>tā ciccī masā mutuncì</b>	She humiliated him repeatedly. (< <b>ci mutuncì</b> humiliate)
grade shift: <b>shùgàbā yā ciyāf dà shī gàba</b>	The leader promoted him.
(gr5 < <b>ci gàba</b> proceed, progress)	
grade shift: <b>kù karyō kùmallō!</b>	Have breakfast (and then come)!
(gr6 < <b>karyā kùmallō</b> have breakfast)	
grade shift: <b>sun lāsō takòbī</b>	They make a pledge (for some benefit here).
(gr6 < <b>lāshi takòbī</b> make a pledge)	
VN: <b>yanà cīn àmānà</b>	He is breaching trust.
(where <b>cīn</b> is the VN <b>cī</b> plus the <b>-n</b> linker) (< <b>ci àmānà</b> breach trust)	
(cf. <b>yanà cīn àbinci</b> He is eating food. vs. <b>yā ci àbinci</b> He ate food.)	
VN: <b>sunà sātāf jiki</b>	They were sneaking out. (< <b>sāci jiki</b> sneak out)

Second, one can separate the components of the phrasal verbs by inserting elements between them such as indirect objects (as illustrated earlier) or modal particles, e.g.,

<b>yā sà masā hannū à takārdār</b>	He signed the paper for him. (< <b>sā hannū</b> sign)
<b>kà iyā fa bàkinkà!</b>	Watch your mouth! (i.e., be careful in your speech)
(< <b>iyā bàki</b> watch one's speech (lit. be able mouth))	
<b>yā kure kò àdakārsà</b>	He is very well dressed.
(< <b>kure àdakà</b> dress up in one's best clothes)	

Third, the object can be separated from its verb by fronting, whether for the purpose of focus, topicalization, or relativization, e.g.,

<b>kùrāfkā ya rainà</b>	He is <i>contemptuous</i> of you. (lit. dust.of.your he despise)
(< <b>rainà kùraf X</b> be contemptuous of)	
<b>mutuncin jàma'à yakè cì</b>	It's <i>people</i> he is humiliating.
(< <b>ci mutuncì</b> humiliate)	
<b>àmānà kùwa, yā cī tà</b>	Trust, he has breached it.
(< <b>ci àmānà</b> breach trust)	
<b>dantsè kām, dōlè nē mù zāgè shi</b>	We must really work hard.
(< <b>zāgè dantsè</b> work might and main)	
<b>bàkin dà ya bāyāf bàì yì aikì ba</b>	His sweet-talk didn't work.
(lit. mouth.the that he gave away didn't work) (< <b>bā dà bàki</b> coax, sweet-talk)	
<b>inà nufin darē dà kakè rabàwā kullum</b>	I am referring to your constantly burning the midnight oil.
(< <b>rabà darē</b> burn the midnight oil)	

Fourth, a sentence with a phrasal verb can be reformulated into an equivalent or related sentence with the erstwhile object as subject, e.g.,

<b>yā fātā rāi</b> (lit. he spoiled life)	He became upset.
= <b>rānsà yā fāci</b> (lit. his life spoiled)	
<b>yanà bugà wayà</b>	He is making a phone call. (lit. he.cont beat wire)
cf. <b>wayà nà bugàwā</b>	The phone is ringing. (lit. wire cont beating)

## 37. Imperative

### 1. INTRODUCTION

COMMANDS in Hausa are expressed by means of two different constructions: the imperative, described in this chapter, and the subjunctive (sub), see §70:17. The imperative exists as a special verb formation for affirmative commands. This imperative form is not overtly marked for gender or number, e.g.,

<b>tàshi!</b>	Get up!	<b>kārantā!</b>	Read (it)!
<b>kāwō ruwā!</b>	Bring water!	<b>tāmbayè-shi!</b>	Ask him!

Although the imperative verb form is itself unmarked for number, it is understood to be in the singular. This can be seen in such items as reflexives and anaphoric pronouns that reflect the number of the understood subject, e.g.,

**tāfi àbinkà!** (You (m.)) go on your way! (lit. go thing.of.2m), **tāfi àbinkì!** (You (f.)) go on your way! (lit. go thing.of.2f)

not **\*\*tāfi àbinkù**, for which one must say **kù tāfi àbinkù!** You (pl.) (sub) go on your way!

**tāshi in tàimàkē kà / kì** Get up (m./f.) and let me help you (m./f)! (i.e., you've got to earn your own living)

not **\*\*tāshi in tàimàkē kù** **\*\*Get up (pl.) and let me help you (pl.)**, for which one must say **kù tāshì in tàimàkē kù** You (pl.) (sub) get up and let me help you (pl.)!

**rufè ta dà kánkà / kánkì** Open (m./f.) it by yourself (m./f)!

not **\*\*rufè ta dà kánkù** Open (pl.) it by yourselves (pl.)! for which one must say **kù rufè ta dà kánkù** You (pl.) (sub) open it by yourselves (pl.)!

The special imperative form is restricted to the second person. Commands in other persons necessarily use the subjunctive, e.g.,

<b>in hau wannàn dōkìn</b>	Let me mount this horse!	<b>mù jē-mu</b>	Let's go!
<b>kadà fa mù batà</b>	Let's not get lost!	<b>kadà tà tsayà</b>	She shouldn't stay!
<b>dōlè sù tàimàki jūnā</b>	They must help one another!		
<b>Allāh yà bā mù àlhērī</b>	May God be kind to us! (lit. give us kindness)		

In the second person singular, the subjunctive serves as a somewhat less abrupt, softer alternative to the imperative for expressing commands. Subjunctive commands are commonly preceded by expressions like **dōlè** or **tīlās** 'perforce, must' or **don Allāh** 'please' (lit. for the sake of God). If the intention is to express the gender and number of the addressee, then one has to use the subjunctive, e.g.,

**kà tāshì!** Ge  
**kì kāwō ruwā!** Bri  
**kù hàrbē sù!** Sh

In sequences of comm  
the subjunctive, e.g.,

**kāwō kujèrā kì zaun**  
**fi ta kà tāfi cān kà dī**

The special imperativ  
negative subjunctive.  
plus a normal finite f  
and number, e.g.,

**kadà kà tāshì!**  
**kadà kì kāwō ruwā!**  
**kadà kù tāmbayè sù!**

### 2. THE FORM OF

The essential feature  
no weak subject pr  
(usually L-H) that ov  
that already have L-  
'He went out'; **wātsu**  
**nāmā!** 'She will buy  
the syntactic form  
imperative verb fon  
manifest a change a

**2.1. Basic L-H p**  
Verbs belonging to  
the irregular verb za  
in which they occur

**tàimàki 'yan' uwar**  
**nān!** Spend the nig  
**ōuya v3a; tāshi!** (k  
killing them / the  
**wulākantař v5; n**  
**gaishē v5** (pre-pro  
**nannēmō v6; k**  
jinns for us! **sōyu!**  
**mahaukàc!** **inā ru**  
the corn for us! < g  
**iyāyenki!** Repent

<b>kà t̄shì!</b>	Get up (2m)!	<b>dòlè kà yi masà tàimako!</b>	You (2m) must help him!
<b>kì k̄wō ruwā!</b>	Bring water (2f)!	<b>don Allāh k̄ matsā!</b>	Please move aside (2f)!
<b>kù h̄r̄bē sù!</b>	Shoot them (2p)!	<b>tl̄l̄s kù biyā mù!</b>	You (2p) must pay us!

In sequences of commands, the first may be in the imperative but the others will typically make use of the subjunctive, e.g.,

<b>k̄wō kuj̄ērā k̄i zaunā!</b>	Bring a chair and sit down!
<b>fitā k̄ t̄fī c̄n k̄ d̄ub̄ā cikin ḡr̄ējī!</b>	Go out and go there and look in the garage!

The special imperative form is used only in the affirmative. Negative commands are expressed by the negative subjunctive. This is formed with the prohibitive particle **kadā** (= **k̄āf̄**) plus a subjunctive *wsp* plus a normal finite form of the verb. This subjunctive construction allows for the expression of gender and number, e.g.,

<b>kadā kà t̄shì!</b>	Don't (you m.) get up! (cf. <b>t̄shì!</b> Get up!)
<b>kadā k̄i k̄wō ruwā!</b>	Don't (you f.) bring water!
<b>kadā kù t̄mb̄ayē shì!</b>	Don't (you pl.) ask him!

## 2. THE FORM OF THE IMPERATIVE

The essential feature of the imperative is the absence of the PAC (person-aspect-complex), i.e., there is no weak subject pronoun before the verb and no overt TAM. The verb itself has a distinctive tone pattern (usually L-H) that overrides the tone of the verb found in normal non-imperative sentences. With verbs that already have L-H tone the imperative tone is superimposed vacuously, e.g., **fitā** 'Go out!' cf. **yā fitā** 'He went out'; **w̄atsu!** 'Clear off!' cf. **sun w̄atsu** 'They dispersed'; **s̄ayi n̄am̄ā!** 'Buy meat!' cf. **z̄ā t̄ā s̄ayi n̄am̄ā!** 'She will buy meat.' This imperative tone is subject to some variation depending on the grade and the syntactic form of the verb. Segmentally, the imperative in most grades is identical to the non-imperative verb form. However, grade 2 verbs without an object expressed and some grade 3 verbs manifest a change affecting the final vowel.

### 2.1. Basic L-H pattern

Verbs belonging to grades 2, 3 (disyllabic only), 3a, 3b, 4 (long-vowel variant), 5 (final -ā form), 6, 7, the irregular verb **zama**, and all verbs with the -aC pre-datative suffix (pds) manifest L-H in all positions in which they occur (subject to certain adjustments and alternatives to be described below), e.g.,

**t̄aim̄aki 'yan'uwankā!** Help your relatives! < **t̄aimakā** v2; **s̄auka!** Get down! < **s̄auka** v3; **kw̄āna à n̄ān!** Spend the night here! < **kw̄āna** v3a; **t̄ūba ga Allāh!** Repent to God! < **t̄ūba** v3a; **ḡūya!** Hide! < **ḡūya** v3a; **t̄āshì!** Get up! < **t̄āshì** v3b; **r̄ufē!** Close (it)! < **r̄ufē** v4; **k̄ārk̄āshē su / m̄āc̄iz̄ān!** Keep killing them / the snakes! < **k̄ārk̄āshē** v4; **w̄ul̄ākantār d̄ā s̄ū!** Treat them contemptuously! < **w̄ul̄ākantār** v5; **m̄āyā minì d̄ā shì!** Return it to/for me! < **m̄āyā** v5; **ḡāishē shì!** Greet him! < **ḡāishē** v5 (pre-pronoun form); **k̄ōmō!** Return here! < **k̄ōmō** v6; **n̄ānnēmō!** Seek (them) repeatedly! < **n̄ānnēmō** v6; **k̄āwō shì / b̄ārgō!** Bring it / a blanket! < **k̄āwō** v6; **n̄ānnēmō manā àlj̄ānnū!** Seek the j̄inns for us! **s̄ōyu!** Get fried! < **s̄ōyu** v7; **r̄ābu d̄ā shì!** Ignore him, leave him alone! < **r̄ābu** v7; **z̄āma mah̄āuk̄āci! in̄ā ruw̄ānā?** Become a madman! What do I care? < **zama** v\*; **ḡirbam manā d̄āw̄ā!** Reap the corn for us! < **ḡirbam** v2+pds; **fitam minì gidā!** Get out of my house! < **fitam** v3+pds; **t̄ūb̄ā w̄ā iȳāyenk̄i!** Repent to (i.e., seek the pardon of) your parents! < **t̄ūb̄ā** v3a+pds

The verb **barì** 'let, allow, leave (off)' behaves like a regular gr2 verb with final -i when followed by no object or, sometimes, when followed by a dynamic noun (phrase), e.g., **bàri!** 'Leave (it)!' **bàri zuwà can!** 'Stop going there!' **bàri kùkà!** 'Quit crying!' When followed by a simple NP direct object, it behaves like a clipped irregular verb, e.g., **bañ kuñin!** 'Leave the money!'

## 2.2. Grade 2 verbs

### 2.2.1. A-form with final -i

In declarative sentences, the A-form (i.e., non-object form) of gr2 verbs ends in -ā, e.g., **yā sayā** 'He bought it', **nī nē ya taimakā** 'It was me he helped.' In the imperative, however, the A-form appears with final short -i. (The final -i is also used with the irregular verbs **barì** 'let, allow' and **ganì** 'see, look'.) This vowel replacement is in addition to the L-H tone pattern, e.g.,

<b>sàyi!</b>	Buy (it)!	<b>dèbi!</b>	Dip out (sth)!
<b>tàimàki!</b>	Help!	<b>tàttàmbàyi!</b>	Ask (many/often)!
<b>zâbi!</b>	Choose!	<b>bàri!</b>	Leave (it)!
<b>kàrbi!</b>	Take (it)!	<b>gàni!</b>	Look! (= the more common <b>ga!</b> )

ΔHN: Historically, the underlying base form of gr2 verbs was (and probably still is!) identical to the present-day pre-object C-form, i.e., it ends in -i and has L-H tone (e.g., //zâbi// 'choose', //câkûmi// 'nab'). (The A-form, e.g., **zâbā, câkumā**, which is the standard dictionary citation form, is *not* the analytical underlying form.) It is also the case that \*-i is a common imperative suffix in Chadic, and there is evidence that this suffix did exist in Hausa at some point in the past. Consider, for example, the following imperative-based compounds: **kwànci-tâshi** 'slowly, day by day'; **shigi-dà-fici** 'restlessness, going in and out, immigration' (cf. **shiga** 'enter' and **fita** 'go out'). (It is of course well known that old linguistic forms tend to fossilize in compounds, idioms, and such.) The question then is what does the gr2 imperative with final -i reflect? Does an imperative like **kàrbi!** 'Take (it)!' contain the archaic imperative suffix \*-i, i.e., //karb-// + -i<sup>LH</sup>, or is it simply the bare stem //kàrbi//, which, for unknown reasons, has been retained in the imperative when no object is expressed even though it otherwise has been replaced synchronically by the A-form with final ā? In Newman (1973: 302), I opted for the first explanation, a position also adopted by Jaggar (1992a: 94n.). My present inclination, however, is toward the second choice, although I am not aware of any evidence that unequivocally supports one answer as opposed to the other.

### 2.2.2. B-form with pronoun objects

With gr2 verbs, the weak object pronoun attaches itself to the verb as an enclitic. When the L-H imperative tone pattern is assigned, it applies to the entire verb + pn complex rather than just to the verb stem per se, e.g.,

<b>sàyè-shi!</b>	Buy it!	<b>tàimàkè-mu!</b>	Help us!
<b>sàcè-ta!</b>	Steal it!	<b>tàttàmbàyè-su!</b>	Keep asking them!
<b>hàrbè-su!</b>	Shoot them!		

ΔDN: In Sokoto, the verbs **jirāyà** 'wait for' (= **jirā**) and **kirāyà** 'call' (= **kirā**) reduce the final syllable /-yē/ in the imperative to /-y/, which forms a diphthong with the preceding syllable, e.g., **jirài-mu** (< \*jirāy-mu) 'Wait for us!' **kirài-ta** (< \*kirāy-ta) 'Call her!'

When occurring with pronoun objects in the imperative, gr2 verbs have a minimal tone contrast with gr4 verbs. The former manifest the L-H imperative tone melody over the entire word including the

pronoun clitic, whereas gr4 verbs have their inherent H tone.

gr2 **sàyè-shi!** Buy it!  
gr2 **hàrbè-su!** Shoot them!

ΔDN: The clitic pronoun in the imperative of gr2 verbs in this idiolectal variety is -aG (or, less commonly, -a) 'Steal her!'; **tàimàki!** 'Help us!' with H-H gr0 tone 'precede'. (In the imperative sentence, some speakers use **dàu** 94n.), e.g., **dàu** 'Another man!' 'Help us!' This counter to the preceding direct object is heavy.

## 2.3. Monosyllabic verbs

Monosyllabic verbs (e.g., **kai** 'take', **ha** 'leave', **bañ** < **barì** 'leave, let') can be viewed as a segment of monosyllabic verbs with ā-final verbs (such as monoverbs for purposes of whether they are transitive).

### 2.3.1. A-form

In the A-context, monosyllabic verbs normally display the L-H tone for purposes of tone assignment and behave as if they were

**Ri!** Refuse! **jā!** Pay!  
**biyā!** = **biyā!** Pay!

ΔAN: There are some monosyllabic verbs in the underlying form that reduce from right to left anything to do with the appropriate tone automatically (ci)<sup>LH</sup> → ci)<sup>H</sup> objection to the

pronoun clitic, whereas the latter manifest L-H on the verb only while the strong object pronouns keep their inherent H tone, e.g.,

gr2 *sàyé-shi!* Buy it!      gr4 *sàyé shi!* Buy it up!  
 gr2 *hàrbè-su!* Shoot (at) them!      gr4 *hàrbè su!* Execute them!

ΔDN: The cliticization of the pronoun and the L-H melody are common features of pre-pronominal gr2 verbs in the imperative. The verb ending itself, however, displays considerable dialectal and idiolectal variation. Some speakers (esp. in some WH dialects) allow gr2 verbs to appear with final -aG (or, less commonly, with -aŋ) instead of the usual -ē, e.g., *sàyàs-su!* 'Buy them!'; *sàtāt-ta!* 'Steal her!'; *tàimàkàm-mu!* (= *tàimàkàŋ-mu!*) 'Help us!'; etc. This geminate option is also found with H-H gr0 verbs, e.g., *biyàt-ta!* 'Pay her!' < *biyā* 'pay'; *rigàm-mu!* 'Precede us!' < *rigā* 'precede'. (In the dialect of Ader (Caron 1991), this gr2 B-form variant is also found in non-imperative sentences, e.g., *yā bùgàt-ta* 'He hit her'.)

Some speakers (provenience?) have long -ā before the pronoun rather than -aC (Jaggar 1992a: 94n.), e.g., *dàukà-ta!* 'Take it!'; *sàkà-ni!* 'Release me!'; *tàmbàyà-su!* 'Ask them!'

Another morphological alternative, which is found in Kano, is to use a short -e before the pronoun, e.g., *sàyè-shi!* 'Buy it!'; *hàrbè-ta!* 'Shoot it!'; *aikè-su!* 'Send them!'; *tàimàkè-mu!* 'Help us!' This variant, the existence of which is well confirmed, is very surprising because it runs counter to the otherwise exceptionless generalization in the language that syllables immediately preceding direct object pronouns (whether in the imperative or in any other construction) are always heavy.

### 2.3. Monosyllabic and H-H gr0 verbs

Monosyllabic verbs—whether underlyingly gr0 monoverbs (e.g., *ci* 'eat', *shā* 'drink'), irregular verbs (e.g., *kai* 'take', *hau* 'mount'), or clipped forms of disyllabic verbs (e.g., *sau* < *sakì* 'let loose, release', *baŋ* < *barì* 'leave, let'), have special characteristics in the imperative. Although *sā* 'put' must normally be viewed as a segmentally reduced disyllabic gr1 verb, in the imperative, it patterns with other surface monosyllabic verbs. The same is true for *cē* 'say', a reduced, irregular gr4 verb. The disyllabic H-H ā-final verbs (such as *kirā* 'call'), which constitute a special subclass of gr0, generally pattern with the monoverbs for purposes of imperative rules. They exhibit alternative tonal shapes depending on whether they are treated as constituting one or two tonal domains.

#### 2.3.1. A-form

In the A-context, without an object, monosyllabic verbs display H tone. (The disyllabic gr0 verbs normally display the full L-H imperative pattern, i.e., they treat their two syllables as two tonal domains for purposes of tone assignment. They may also appear in the imperative with all H tone, i.e., they may behave as if they were monosyllabic with one tonal domain). Examples:

*ki!* Refuse!    *jā!* Pull!    *jē!* Go!    *hau!* Mount!    *ga!* See! (< *gani*)    *sā!* Put! (< *sā*)  
*biyā!* = *biyā!* Pay!    *jirā!* = *jirā!* Wait!

°AN: There are two alternative strategies for deriving the surface H tone on monosyllabic verbs from the underlying imperative L-H pattern. The first analysis assigns the L-H tone syllable by syllable from right to left. The H goes on the one available syllable and the L is discarded for lack of anything to dock onto, e.g., *ci*<sup>LH</sup> → *ci*<sup>H</sup> → /ci/ 'eat'. This is the analysis that I find most appropriate. The other analysis assigns the full L-H to the one available syllable, the LH rising tone automatically simplifying to H in accordance with the general LH to H rule (§71:1.2), e.g., *ci*<sup>LH</sup> → *ci*<sup>R</sup> → *ci*<sup>H</sup> → /ci/ 'eat'. This is the analysis adopted by Jaggar (1982). My main objection to this analysis is that it requires the postulation of two tones on a light monomoraic

syllable, e.g., \*ga)<sup>LH</sup>, \*ci)<sup>LH</sup>, something that is completely out of line with the overall workings of tone in Hausa.

Pluractional reduplicated monoverbs have H-H tone in the imperative, i.e., the imperative tone has to be assigned *before* the reduplication, e.g.,

**jajjā!** Pull many, often! < **jā!** Pull!                      **cicci!** Eat many, often! < **ci!** Eat!

°AN: The implication of this ordering is that inflection (i.e., imperative formation) applies before derivation (pluractional formation), i.e., //jā// + imp)<sup>LH</sup> → jā + plurac. → **jajjā**. If the order were reversed, one would get jā + plurac → **jajjā** + imp)<sup>LH</sup> → **\*\*jājā**, which is the wrong output.

### 2.3.2. C-form

In the C-context before direct objects (or before a locative goal, in the case of the verbs 'come' and go'), monosyllabic verbs normally have H tone. Again the H-H disyllabic ā-verbs have either L-H tone, the norm (if treated as consisting of two tone-bearing units), or H (if treated as consisting of one tone-bearing unit like a monoverb), e.g.,

(a) **ci kaṛās!** Eat the carrots!; **yi aikì!** Do work!; **shā ruwā!** Drink water!; **sō maḵwābcinkā!** Love your neighbor!; **san àbōkin gābankā!** Know your enemy!; **hau dōkin!** Mount the horse!; **d'au kwāli!** Take the carton!; **sā rīgār!** Put on the gown!; **zō wurin nān!** Come to this place!; **jē bākin kāsūwā!** Go to the edge of the market!; **ga mōtātā!** (= **gāni mōtātā!** with gr2-like pattern) See my car!

(b) **biyā manajā!** = **biyā manajā!** Pay the manager!; **kirā yārōn!** = **kirā yārōn!** Call the boy!; **jirā mālām!** = **jirā mālām!** Wait for the teacher!

### 2.3.3. B-form

In the B-context before a weak object pronoun, one normally gets cliticization of the pronoun, as happens with gr2 verbs. The L-H imperative tone pattern then applies to the resulting word, e.g.,

(a) **bì-mu!** Follow us! **yì-shi!** Do it! **jà-ta!** Pull it! **bà-ni!** Give me! **jājā-ta!** Keep on pulling it! **bìbì-su!** Follow them!

**bāf-mu!** Leave us! **gān-ta!** See (i.e., look at) her! **sān-su!** Know them!

(b) **d'au-su!** Lift them! **sāu-ta!** Let her go!

(c) **hau-shi!** Mount it! **kāi-ta cān** Take it there! **sā-ta** Put it on!

(d) **kirā-ta!** Call her! **biyā-shi!** Pay him! **jirā-mu!** Wait for us!

The verbs in rows (c) and (d) exhibit an alternative pattern in which they are treated as verbs with a strong object pronoun without cliticization. The verb itself carries the (L)-H imperative tone and the following pronoun shows up with its inherent H tone.

**hau shi! kai ta cān! sā ta!**

**kirā ta! biyā shi! jirā mu!**

**rīgā mu zuwā can!** Please precede us there! (but *not* **\*\*rīgā-mu zuwā can!**)

As a third alternative, the H-H ā-verbs build imperatives on the model of H-H gr6 verbs, i.e., L-H on the verb itself and L on the object pronoun, i.e., **biyā shi lādan aikìnsà!** 'Pay him his wages!' cf. **kāwō shi nān!** 'Bring him here!'

°AN: According to the L-H variant (alternative forms). The general consensus and it is the non-stronger illocutionary ADN: Some speakers imperative with water! (please, kwāli! 'Take the water!'). Other speakers for

### 2.3.4. D-form

In the D-context preceding the verb in the B-form, the variant indicates an imperative

**bì masà Bintà / bì mu us!** **jājā wà mutānē minì rīgār** Put on the **matà kud'īn / bāf mā some meat! sàì wà m likitā / kirā masà aikì!**

## 2.4. Grade 1 and

### 2.4.1. A-form and

In the A and B contexts, the general imperative manifest the general

**kāmā!** Catch (it)  
**kāfāntā!** Read! (<  
**rūfē!** Close (it)  
**bìncìkē!** Investigate

°AN: Note that though the immediate context as scholars might

### 2.4.2. D-form

In the D context, the personal pronoun or paradigm consisting of the i.o. marker is somewhat stronger than

**kāfāntā manà littār rūfē minì tīgā!**  
**bìncìkē musù mágā nēmō masà aikì!**

°AN: According to Jaggar (1982), the nonfused variant (e.g., **hau shi** 'Mount it!') is unmarked and the L-H variant (e.g., **hàu-shi**) has a special softening, hypothetical nuance. Speakers agree that the alternative forms are not semantically identical, but they do not all accept Jaggar's interpretation. The general consensus is that it is the fused variant (e.g., **hàu-shi**) that is the normal, unmarked case and it is the nonfused form (e.g., **hau shi**) that is semantically and pragmatically marked as having a stronger illocutionary force.

ΔDN: Some speakers are reported by Jaggar (1982) as also allowing an L-tone monosyllabic verb imperative with a softening nuance before a noun object (or locative goal), e.g., **shà ruwā!** 'Drink water!' (please, it will be good for you); **bār kuḏīn!** 'Leave the money!' (if you don't mind); **d'au kwālī!** 'Take the carton!' (if you want); **zò wurin nàn!** 'Come to this place!' (if/when it suits you). Other speakers feel that only the H-tone imperative can be used in this context.

### 2.3.4. D-form

In the D-context preceding an indirect object, one also gets both L and H tone on the verb. As with the verb in the B-form, many speakers feel that the L-tone variant is the unmarked form whereas the H-tone variant indicates an imperative that is semantically more insistent, e.g.,

**bì masà Bintà / bì masà Bintà** Follow Binta for him! **jà manà kūrā / jà manà kūrā** Pull the cart for us! **jajjā wà mutànén igiyār / jajjā wà mutànén igiyār** Pull the rope for the men! **sà minì rìgār / sà minì rìgār** Put on the gown for me! **kài musù kāyān / kai musù kāyān** Take the loads for them! **bār matà kuḏīn / bār matà kuḏīn** Leave the money for her! **sàm minì nāmà / sam minì nāmà** Get me some meat! **sài wà mālām tùmātīr / sai wà mālām tùmātīr** Buy tomatoes for the teacher! **kirà masà likità / kirā masà likità (= kirā masà likità!)** Call a doctor for him!

## 2.4. Grade 1 and grade 4 verbs

### 2.4.1. A-form and B-form

In the A and B contexts, i.e., when followed by no object or by a pronoun d.o., gr1 and gr4 verbs manifest the general L-H imperative tone, e.g.,

<b>kāmā!</b>	Catch (it)! (< <b>kāmā</b> v1)	<b>kāmā su!</b>	Catch them!
<b>kārāntā!</b>	Read! (< <b>kārāntā</b> v1)	<b>kārāntā shi!</b>	Read it!
<b>rūfē!</b>	Close (it)! (< <b>rūfē</b> v4)	<b>rūfē ta!</b>	Close (it)!
<b>bìncikē!</b>	Investigate! (< <b>bìncikē</b> v4)	<b>bìncikē su!</b>	Search them!

°AN: Note that the strong direct object pronouns always appear with their inherent H tone even though the immediately preceding tone of the verb is H, i.e., these pronouns do *not* have polar tone as scholars mistakenly thought for a long period of time (see §59:1.1.2).

### 2.4.2. D-form

In the D context, the imperative tone of gr1 and gr4 verbs depends on whether the indirect object is a personal pronoun or not (i.e., anything other than a personal pronoun). If the i.o. is represented by the paradigm consisting of **ma-** plus a low-tone pronoun, the verb is L-H. If the i.o. is a noun, in which case the i.o. marker is low-tone **wà**, the verb normally has L-L tone, although L-H is also possible with a somewhat stronger connotation. Note that the L-H / L-L variants are also used with gr6 verbs, e.g.,

<b>kārāntā manà littāfi!</b>	Read the book for us!
<b>rūfē minì tågà!</b>	Close the window for me!
<b>bìncikē musù maganār!</b>	Investigate the matter for them!
<b>nēmō masà aikì!</b>	Seek work for him!

<b>ràbà wà mutànen kudîn!</b> / <b>ràbā wà mutànen kudîn!</b>	Distribute the money to the people!
<b>mimmikà wà bàkî mintî!</b> / <b>mimmikā wà bàkî mintî!</b>	Offer the guests mints!
<b>kàshè wà yàrà fitilâ!</b> / <b>kàshē wà yàrà fitilâ!</b>	Put the light out for the children!
<b>gùtsùrò wà mālām tuwō!</b> / <b>gùtsùrō wà mālām tuwō!</b>	Break off some <i>tuwo</i> for the teacher!

### 2.4.3. C-form

In the C position before a nonpronoun direct object, gr1 verbs and the short final-vowel variant of gr4 have L-L tone. (The long final-vowel variant of gr4 appears with L-H tone.) Examples:

<b>kàmà bārāwò!</b> Catch the thief!	<b>dàfà ruwā!</b> Boil some water!	<b>kārāntà bābin nan!</b> Read that chapter!
<b>rìkè wannàn!</b> Grab this! (cf. <b>rìkē wannàn!</b> );	<b>bìncikè maganār!</b> Investigate the matter! (cf. <b>bìncikē maganār!</b> );	<b>kārkādè bārḡō!</b> Shake out the blanket!
	<b>rùfè tágá!</b> Close the window!	

### 2.5. Short-form grade 5 verbs

In the imperative, short-form gr5 verbs (see §74:9.1.1), e.g., **sai dà** 'sell' (= **sayār dà**), generally have L tone both on the verb and on the L-tone pseudoclititic **dà**, i.e., they behave in some sense like disyllabic gr1 verbs. Examples:

<b>sài dà nāmā!</b> Sell the meat! (cf. gr1 <b>sōyà nāmā!</b> Fry the meat!)	<b>bà dà kudîn!</b> Give away the money!
<b>fīd dà kāyā!</b> Take out the loads!	<b>zùb dà ruwān!</b> Pour out the water!
<b>kāu dà sū dàgà nān!</b> Move them away from here!	<b>tsài dà ita!</b> Stop it!

Alternatively, the short-form gr5's can be treated as discrete H-tone monosyllabic verbs followed by the particle **dà**, e.g.,

<b>sai dà nāmā!</b> Sell the meat!	<b>kā dà sū</b> Knock them down!
------------------------------------	----------------------------------

This variant with the H tone has a secondary status, by some speakers being rejected entirely. When it is allowed, it tends to add special emphasis and force to the imperative.

°AN: Jaggar (1982), who documents both the fused L-L and nonfused H-L variants, interprets the H-L form as basic and ascribes a weakening feature to the L-L variant. Again, I would suggest that he has reversed what is marked and what is unmarked. From what I have been able to determine, the L-L variant is the neutral, preferred form. Significantly, compounds containing short-form gr5 verbs in the imperative invariably appear with L-L tone, e.g., **ḡād-dà-kāma** 'disguise, camouflage' (lit. lose appearance); **fīd-dà-kāi** 'tithe given out at the end of Ramadan' (lit. take out head); **ḡai-dà-yāya** 'small basin or basket for presents' (lit. greet elder sibling).

The few short form gr5's with /l/ behave differently from the above. With these verbs, the variant with H on the verb was fully accepted as equivalent to the L-L form. Examples:

<b>bī dà yārān!</b> = <b>bì-dà yārān!</b>	Control the children!
<b>cī dà sū!</b> = <b>cì-dà sū!</b>	Feed them! (both considered inferior to the full <b>cīyār dà sū!</b> )

### 2.6. Polysyllabic grade 3 verbs

Disyllabic gr3 verbs appear with final -a and the expected L-H tone, e.g., **fīta** 'go out!' The situation with polysyllabic gr3's is more complicated. In the literature, one finds reference to an imperative

**hākūri!** 'Be patient!' with gr2 verbs. (Significantly, with the verb **zābūr** with L-H tone, but with the norm, as far as I have seen, the imperative pattern (a) option). The imperative is segmental or tonal

**hākūrā!** Be patient! Become a Muslim!; **hākūrā!** seriously on this work

°AN: There is a disyllabic gr3 imperative to get polysyllabic on the other hand, one the special imperative extension one s the norm.

2.7. Verbs go and come  
The verbs go and come

**jè-ka, jè-ki, jè-ku**

Most previous descriptions of the fact that imperative plural forms (which

The **jè-ka** form (with the i mu 'We went', whereas on the other hand, a

[References: Abraham



**hàkùri!** 'Be patient!' < **hàkurà**, containing what appears to be the same -i imperative marker one finds with gr2 verbs. (Significantly, examples of this formation are found *only* with this verb or occasionally with the verb **zàbùri!** 'Jump up!' < **zàbuřà**.) Alternatively, one finds examples of polysyllabic gr3's with L-H tone, but with final -a, e.g., **mùsùlùnta!** 'Become a Muslim!' **dùlmùya** 'Sink down!' The SH norm, as far as I have been able to determine, is to use the base form of the verb as is *without* the L-H imperative pattern (although expressing the command by use of the subjunctive was always the preferred option). The imperative is thus marked simply by the absence of the weak subject pronoun without any segmental or tonal marking, e.g.,

**hàkurà!** Be patient! cf. **yà hàkurà** He was patient; **kìshìngidà!** Rest on your elbow!; **mùsùluntà!** Become a Muslim!; **dògarà gà Allàh!** Depend on God!; **dùkufà sòsai à aikin nán nàkà!** Get down seriously on this work of yours!

<sup>o</sup>AN: There is a natural analogical explanation for the polysyllabic gr3 tone. If one interprets disyllabic gr3 imperatives like **fita!** 'Go out!' as having the L-H imperative tone, one would expect to get polysyllabic forms such as **dùlmùya** 'Sink down!' (which is sometimes found). If, on the other hand, one interprets gr3 imperatives like **fita!** 'Go out!' as reflecting the base form without the special imperative tone—whether this is or is not *correct*, analytically or historically—then by extension one should get polysyllabic imperatives like **dùlmuyà**, which is what is now becoming the norm.

### 2.7. Verbs go and come

The verbs *go* and *come* have special imperative forms:

**jè-ka, jè-ki, jè-ku** Go (m./f./pl.)! / Get going!    **yā-kà, yā-kì, yā-kù** Come here (m./f./pl.)!

Most previous descriptions limit the use of the special forms to the singular, which is consistent with the fact that imperatives in general occur only in the singular. Many modern-day speakers consider the plural forms (which probably represent an analogical extension) to be fully acceptable.

The **jè-ka** forms are easily analyzable synchronically as the verb **jē** 'go' + an ICP (intransitive copy pronoun), with the imposition of the regular L-H imperative tone pattern. (Cf. the completive **mun jē-mu** 'We went', where the verb and the following ICP manifest H-H tone.) The **yā-kà** forms with H-L tone, on the other hand, are anomalous archaisms whose structure and etymology are still unknown.

[References: Abraham (1959b); Jaggar (1982)]

## 38. Impersonal

### 1. FORM

IN addition to the eight pronominal categories found in most personal pronoun paradigms, the weak subject pronouns (wsp) include an impersonal 'one, they' that is unspecified for person and gender features, e.g., **an kāwō ruwā** 'One/They brought water' (i.e., water was brought by someone unknown or not worth mentioning); **bà zā à tàimàkē kà ba** 'One/They won't help you' (i.e., you won't get any help). This impersonal is found in all TAMs (see chap. 70). The impersonal has the form **an** (i.e., /'an/) in the heavy-syllable paradigm (used in the completive) and **a** (with variable tone) in the light-syllable paradigm (used in SH in all other TAMs), e.g., **anà** (continuous); **akàn** (habitual), **zā à** (future) **zā a** (allative), **á** (< a + à) (potential), **akà** (preterite), **akà** (rhetorical), **bà à... ba** (negative-completive), etc.

The impersonal—which for ease of reference is labeled as fourth person plural (4p)—can be grouped with the plural pronouns on both morphological and syntactic grounds. For example, apart from the second person feminine, the singular completive pronouns all have the shape CVV whereas the plural pronouns are all CVn, cf. **nā** 'I', **yā** 'he', **kun** 'you (pl.)', **sun** 'they', etc. The impersonal 'an' 'one/they' patterns with the CVn forms. Similarly, in the preterite, the impersonal appears with a marker -kà that is not found with the singular pronouns (again apart from the second person feminine), e.g., **mukà** 'we', **sukà** 'they', **akà** 'one/they', cf. **na** 'I', **ka** 'you (m.)', **ta** 'she'.

Perhaps even more significant in indicating the plurality of the impersonal pronouns is their behavior with reciprocals. In Hausa, as is probably the case in most languages, a reciprocal construction necessarily requires that the referent/antecedent be plural, e.g., **mun yàudàri jūnā** 'We deceived each other', **Bellò dà Mūsā zā sù yàudàri jūnā** 'Bello and Musa will deceive one another', but not **\*\*yā yàudàri jūnā** 'He deceived each other.' Sentences with an impersonal pronoun pattern with the plurals in permitting a reciprocal, e.g., **an yàudàri jūnā** 'They (impersonal) deceived each other.'

### 2. FUNCTION

#### 2.1. Normal uses of the impersonal

The impersonal wsp normally occurs in sentences without an underlying subject. It thus differs from all the other wsp's, which get their person/number/gender from the underlying subject, whether it is present in the surface sentence or not, e.g.,

[Mūsā] <sub>3m</sub> [yā] <sub>3m</sub> kāwō ruwā	Musa brought water.
[sun] <sub>3p</sub> kāwō ruwā	They brought water.
(where the underlying subject sū 'they' is not expressed)	
[yāriyāf] <sub>3f</sub> dà [ta] <sub>3f</sub> kāwō ruwā	the girl who brought water
(where the coreferential subject of the relative clause has been deleted)	
cf. [an] <sub>4p</sub> kāwō ruwā	One brought water. (where the subject slot is empty)

The impersonal occur

First it serves as is restricted to human **narkè** 'One/they (ina **sunà gyàrà môtàtà** "wsp semantically cor the thief", i.e., 'The t

Second, the imp **ruwā** 'It began to rai temporal clauses, e.g. **anà nan, anà nan** 'T of time).

Third, the imper e.g., **à-ci-bàlbàl** 'ar pill' (lit. one-feels-f ineffective vehicle/ec

#### 2.2. Oblique Imp

In addition to its no construction that I ha

°AN: Abdoulaye terms it the *emp* term because en sarcasm, indirec unpublished wor

The striking feature underlying subject an wsp. In the OIC, the deference or for oth

**Daudà anà shān wā** (Emotionally more r **Daudà [yanà]<sub>3m</sub> sh lallè, yārā zā à fāri** (lit. well, children f **lallè, yārā [zā sù]<sub>3</sub> an dāwō lāfiyā?** [ (Less direct and mo **mūgùn àlkālin nān** (lit. cruel judge.of **dagacin kāuyènmū** (lit. head.of villag **gwamnaṭin Amūrū** (lit. government.of **Audù haf an ci àbī**

The impersonal occurs in three main environments.

First it serves as an unspecified subject corresponding to English 'one/they'. Generally speaking, it is restricted to human referents, e.g., **an zaunà bá mǎganà** 'One just sat without talking' (not **\*\*an narkè** 'One/they (inanimate) melted'); **anà gyārà mōtātā** 'They (unspecified) are repairing my car', cf. **sunà gyārà mōtātā** 'They (anaphoric 3pl.) are repairing my car.' These sentences with the impersonal wsp semantically correspond to English agentless passives, e.g., **an kāmà bārāwōn** 'One has caught the thief', i.e., 'The thief has been caught.'

Second, the impersonal is used as the dummy subject of "weather" sentences, e.g., **an sōmà (yīn) ruwā** 'It began to rain'; **anà yayyafi tun sǎfè** 'It has been drizzling since morning', and of certain temporal clauses, e.g., **an yi watā biyāf tun dà mukà gan shì** 'It's been five months since we saw him', **anà nan, anà nan** 'Time passed' (lit. one is there, one is there) (used in narratives to indicate the passage of time).

Third, the impersonal commonly shows up (usually with the neutral zero TAM) in compound nouns, e.g., **à-ci-bàlbàl** 'an oil-burning lamp' (lit. one-eats-flickering), **à-ji-garau** 'type of antidepressant pill' (lit. one-feels-fine), **à-kōri-kūrā** 'delivery truck' (lit. one-drives out-carts), **à-ƙwammātā** 'old, ineffective vehicle/equipment' (lit. one-contents oneself with sth inferior).

## 2.2. Oblique Impersonal Construction

In addition to its normal use in sentences without a subject, the impersonal is also used in a special construction that I have termed the "oblique impersonal construction" (OIC).

°AN: Abdoulaye (1992: 90ff), one of the few scholars to discuss the existence of this construction, terms it the *empathic impersonal construction*. I have purposely chosen a fuzzier, less descriptive term because empathy is only one of the attitudes that this construction connotes, others being sarcasm, indirectness, and deference. (The description of the OIC presented here is a summary of unpublished work carried out by Mustapha Ahmad Isa and myself.)

The striking feature of this construction is the use of an impersonal wsp in sentences *that have* an underlying subject and that would therefore be expected to have an appropriate third (or second) person wsp. In the OIC, the impersonal wsp serves to avoid direct reference to someone out of politeness or deference or for other stylistic purposes (see below §2.2.8). Examples:

<b>Daudà anà shàn wàhalà</b>	Poor Dauda is having trouble.
(Emotionally more marked than the normal sentence,	
<b>Daudà [yanà]<sub>3m</sub> shàn wàhalà</b>	Dauda is having trouble.)
<b>lallè, yārā zā à fārà kārātū yāu</b>	Surely, today is the children's first day at school.
(lit. well, children fut 4p begin reading today) (More empathetic than the normal statement of fact,	
<b>lallè, yārā [zā sù]<sub>3pl</sub> fārà kārātū yāu</b>	Yes, children will begin school today.)
<b>an dāwō lāfiyà?</b>	Did you have a nice trip? (lit. 4p.comp return healthy)
(Less direct and more deferential than the equivalent normal sentence, [kà] <sub>2m</sub> dāwō lāfiyà?)	
<b>mūgùn àlkālin nà anà zāluncì</b>	This cruel judge is really a tyrant.
(lit. cruel judge.of this 4p.cont tyranny)	
<b>dagacìn Rauyènmù sai tākamā akè!</b>	How pretentious our village head is!
(lit. head.of village.of.us only swaggering 4p.Rcont)	
<b>gwamnatìn Amùrkà anà fāmā dà laifuffukà</b>	The U.S. government is overwhelmed by crime.
(lit. government.of America 4p.cont struggling with crimes)	
<b>Audù haƙ an ci àbincìn?</b>	Audu did you eat already?

## 2.2.1. Anomalous plurality

Prefixing the third person plural pronoun **su** to a noun or noun phrase normally creates *pseudoplurals*, i.e., the **su** indicates etc. or et al., e.g., **su Bālā sunà shān lēmō** 'Bala and the others are drinking cola', **yanà sō yà kashè su dāmīsà** 'He wants to kill leopards, etc.' In the OIC, however, one can prefix **su** to a subject noun *without* adding the normally expected semantic plurality, e.g.,

<b>àshē su Mālām bà à sàmū tàfiyà hajì ba</b>	Sorry to hear that Teacher couldn't go on the hadj.
cf. <b>àshē su Mālām bà sù sàmū tàfiyà hajì ba</b>	Oh, Teacher and the others couldn't go on the hadj.
<b>su Lādi dà Kānde anà kūkā</b>	Poor Ladi and Kande are crying.
(not **Ladi and Kande et al. are crying.)	
<b>su wancè an sàmū jūnā biyu</b>	So-and-so is pregnant.
(lit. 3p so-and-so 4p.comp get self two)	

## 2.2.2. Persons

The OIC is allowed with second and third person subjects, masculine and feminine and singular and plural. It is not possible in the first person whether singular or plural. Examples:

<b>Mūsā / Lādi / yārā kadà à kàrayà dai!</b>	Musa / Ladi / children, don't give up yet!
cf. <b>Mūsā kadà [kà]<sub>2m</sub> kàrayà dai / Lādi kadà [kì]<sub>2f</sub> kàrayà dai / yārā kadà [kù]<sub>2pl</sub> kàrayà dai</b>	
<b>àshē (su) Mūsā / Lādi / Mūsā dà Lādi anà fāmā dà cīwò</b>	
Sorry to hear that Musa / Ladi / Musa and Ladi are chronically ill.	
cf. <b>àshē Mūsā [yanà]<sub>2m</sub> fāmā dà cīwò / àshē Lādi [tanà]<sub>2f</sub> fāmā dà cīwò / àshē Mūsā dà Lādi [sunà]<sub>3p</sub> fāmā dà cīwò</b>	
not **nī / mū sai gòbe zā à zō	I / we will come but not until tomorrow.
cf. <b>nī sai gòbe [zān]<sub>1s</sub> zō</b>	I will come but not until tomorrow.
cf. <b>mū sai gòbe [zā mù]<sub>1p</sub> zō</b>	We will come but not until tomorrow.

## 2.2.3. Animacy

Generally speaking, the subjects of an OIC are animate (both human and, less often, nonhuman). Inanimate subjects are also possible, although they are less common. When the subject is nonhuman, the OIC always carries a humorous/poking fun connotation, e.g.,

(su) <b>Lādi an yi sābon kitsò</b>	Wow, Ladi has a new hairdo.
<b>bfēfā an sàmū sakèwā</b>	The mouse is relaxed. (perhaps the cat is not around anymore)
<b>ràgō an shā wukā</b>	Poor ram, it has been slaughtered. (lit. ram 4p.comp suffer knife)
<b>wai, kàtifā an fatattākē!</b>	What a wretched-looking mattress!
(lit. well, mattress 4p.comp has become shredded)	

## 2.2.4. Tense/aspect, negation, questions

With one exception, the OIC can be used in all TAMs, positive or negative, and declarative or interrogative, e.g.,

<b>su Audù an dāwō gidā</b>	Audu is back home. (comp)
<b>su likitā haf yānzū bà à isò asibitì ba?</b>	Has the doctor not reached the hospital yet? (Ncomp)
<b>đan kōlì bā à sòn rānā</b>	The petty trader abhors the hot sun. (Ncont)
<b>Bālā kuma zā à shā fāmā dà sanyì</b>	Poor Bala is going to have a hard time with the cold. (fut)
<b>àshē Mūsā akān fitō shān iskà?</b>	So Musa you often come out for a stroll?
	(or, So Musa often comes out for a stroll?) (hab)

tó Mūsá, à matsō à  
habà Lādidi kadà à

For inexplicable reason  
been used earlier in the  
but one can say Mūsá  
enjoy himself.'

## 2.2.5. Sequence

In a sequence of clauses  
same. Thus, if one uses  
potential). Similarly,

Lawàn an ci an shā

cf. Lawàn yā ci yā s  
not \*\*Lawàn yā ci g  
Mālām, à ci àbinci  
cf. Mālām, kà ci àb  
su d'álibai anà sò à  
cf. su d'álibai sunà s

## 2.2.6. Topic, focus

The OIC operates ea

Mūsá kām, an shā  
(more or less = Mūsá

However, given the  
responsibility) from  
by a specifier pronoun

su Abdù bà à ci jaf  
but not \*\*shī Abdù  
cf. shī Abdù bái ci j  
wai Mūsá an ci zāb  
but not \*\*Mūsá nè  
cf. Mūsá nè ya ci z  
su bòyi anà wankè  
but not \*\*bòyi nè g  
It is the po  
cf. bòyi nè (ya)kè v  
It is the ho

Interestingly, the in  
subject is focused,

\*\*lēmō nè yārā a  
Required is lēmō m

tô Mūsá, à matsô à kàrbā! All right Musa, come and get it! (sub)  
 habà Lādīdi kadà à tàfi à bař mù mànà! Oh come on Ladidi, don't leave us! (neg sub)

For inexplicable reasons, the OIC does not occur in the potential unless the impersonal wsp has already been used earlier in the sentence. Thus, one cannot say **\*\*Mūsá à ji dādī** 'Musa might enjoy himself', but one can say **Mūsá an sayô môtà kô à ji dādī** 'Musa bought (comp) a car so that he (pot) might enjoy himself.'

### 2.2.5. Sequence of clauses

In a sequence of clauses with the same subject, the person/number/gender of the wsp's have to be the same. Thus, if one uses the OIC in one clause, one has to use it in all (cf. the example above with the potential). Similarly, if one uses a regular wsp in one clause, this also has to be used in all, e.g.,

**Lawàn an ci an shā an yi gōdiyā** Poor Lawan ate, drank, and said thanks. (OIC)  
 cf. **Lawàn yā ci yā shā yā yi gōdiyā** Lawan ate, drank, and said thanks. (3m wsp's)  
 not **\*\*Lawàn yā ci an sha an yi gōdiyā**, nor **\*\*Lawàn an ci yā sha yā yi gōdiyā**  
**Mālām, à ci àbinci mànà kô à kòshi!** Come on Teacher, eat, so that you may be replete! (OIC),  
 cf. **Mālām, kà ci àbinci mànà kô ká kòshi!** Teacher, eat, so that you may be replete! (2m wsp's)  
**su d'ālibai anà sô à ji dādī** So the students want to have a good time. (OIC)  
 cf. **su d'ālibai sunà sô sù ji dādī** The students et al. want to have a good time. (3p wsp's)

### 2.2.6. Topic, focus, and relativization

The OIC operates easily with a topicalized subject, e.g.,

**Mūsá kām, an shā dōke-dōke** As for Musa, he received a beating.  
 (more or less = **Mūsá kām, yā shā dōke-dōke**)

However, given the oblique nature of this construction, which tries to divert attention (and responsibility) from the subject noun, the OIC cannot be used when the subject is in focus or is modified by a specifier pronoun.

**su Abdù bà à ci jařřábāwā ba** Poor Abdu didn't pass the exam.  
 but not **\*\*shī Abdù bà à ci jařřábāwā ba**  
 cf. **shī Abdù bāi ci jařřábāwā ba** He Abdu didn't pass the exam.  
**wai Mūsā an ci zābē** It is said that Musa won the election.  
 but not **\*\*Mūsā nè akà ci zābē** Amazingly it was *Musa* who won the election.  
 cf. **Mūsā nè ya ci zābē** It was *Musa* who won the election.  
**su bōyi anà wankè môtà cikin rānā** The poor house boy is washing the car in the sun.  
 but not **\*\*bōyi nè akè wankè môtà cikin rānā**  
 It is the poor house boy who is washing the car in the sun.  
 cf. **bōyi nè (ya)kè wankè môtà cikin rānā**  
 It is the house boy who is washing the car in the sun.

Interestingly, the incompatibility of the OIC and focus usually holds even if some noun other than the subject is focused, e.g.,

**\*\*lèmō nè yārā akè shā** It is an orange that the children are eating.  
 Required is **lèmō nè yārā sukè shā**

**\*\*littāfi nē Lādi akà sàya** It is a book that Ladi bought.  
Required is **littāfi nē Lādi ta sàya**

Since relativization puts the head in focus, it follows that the OIC is not allowed in relative clauses, e.g.,

**\*\*Bàlàn dà akà sàmu kuḏi** the Bala who got some money  
**\*\*jaṙṙabāwāf dà yārò akà ci** the exam that the boy passed

On the other hand, although question words are inherently focused, they are not incompatible with the OIC—at least with second person addressees, e.g.,

**Bellò, mè akè bōyè manà nē?** Oh Bello, what is it that you are hiding from us?  
**Jummai, yàushè akà dāwò nē?** Oh Jummai, when did you return?

### 2.2.7. Reflexives

In an OIC sentence that contains a reflexive, the reflexive agrees with the impersonal *wsp* and not with the subject *per se*. Thus it appears as *kái* ‘self’ rather than as *kánsà* ‘himself’, *kántà* ‘herself’, etc., e.g.,

**'yan yārā, à nēmi àbin kái!** Kids, get your own!  
(lit. young children, 4p get thing.of self)  
more or less = **'yan yārā, kù nēmi àbin kánkù** (lit. young children, 2p get thing.of yourselves)  
**su Audù an cùci kái** Poor Audu cheated himself.  
*not* **\*\*su Audù an cùci kánsà**  
**su Lādi da Bintà an cùci kái** Poor Ladi and Binta cheated themselves.  
*not* **\*\*su Lādi da Bintà an cùci kánsù**  
**(su) Sulè an sayà wà kái tàkàlmi** So poor Sule bought shoes for himself.  
*cf.* **Sulè yā sayà wà kánsà tàkàlmi** Sule bought shoes for himself.

### 2.2.8. Semantics and pragmatics of the OIC

The exact meaning and function of the OIC is not fully understood. However, compared with a normal, neutral sentence, a sentence with the OIC tends to connote empathy, sympathy, amazement, derision, or a light-hearted jocular attitude towards the referent. One context in which OIC is used is when referring to a new event, especially one that a person experiences for the first time, e.g.,

**(su) bēṙà an jē zàncè!** Wow, the young girl went out on a date!  
[Note: The word *bēṙà* refers to a young girl whose breasts have not yet developed. The jocular connotation in this remark can be seen in the fact that girls of that age do not have any experience in dating, thus are very likely to be excited on their first time out.]  
**(su) Lādi an yi sàbon kitsò** Wow, Ladi has a new hairdo.  
**(su) Audù an shiga jirgi, sai būdè bàki akè!**  
Oh, Audu has got on a plane (for the first time), see his gaping mouth!

A second situation where an OIC is used is in the context of an undesired or malefactive event. The function of the OIC is to refer indirectly and sympathetically to that event or to the person involved. In this way, the event is portrayed as something unimportant, ephemeral, and not worth being bothered by. Intonation expressing sympathy can accompany OIC sentences portraying this meaning. Examples:

**àshè (su) Lādi fāmā akè dà ciwò** Sorry to hear that Ladi is ill.

su o'ò **an fādà rījyā**  
**àshè (su) Mālām bà à**  
**d'àiłbai bā à sòn cín w**

A third function of the  
functions, and other de  
man referring to a new

**àshè (su) Audù an giri**  
Less direct than **àshè A**  
**àshè (su) Lādi an sām**  
Politer than **àshè Lādi**

A fourth reason for the  
and respect. (This wou  
avoidance is expected, f  
in rank or age addresse

**mālām, à tūrò mìn yā**  
**tò Mūsá, kadà à matsi**  
**Lādi, mènè nè bā à s**  
**bābā, an gamà àbinci**  
**à dāwò láfiyà!**

su ō'ò an fād'ā rījiyā                      So-and-so fell in the well (i.e., what a dummy!).  
 àshē (su) Mālām bà à sàmù tàfiyà hajì ba      Sorry to hear that Teacher could not go on the hadj.  
 d'ālibai bā à sòn cìn wùiyā                      Students hate hard work.

A third function of the OIC is to avoid direct reference to a person when talking about sex, death, body functions, and other delicate or taboo matters. Thus a woman referring to a newly circumcised boy, or a man referring to a newly pregnant young woman might use the OIC, e.g.,

àshē (su) Audù an girma                      So, Audu was circumcised. (lit. has grown up)  
 Less direct than àshē Audù yā girma  
 àshē (su) Lādi an sàmù jūnā biyu              So Ladi is pregnant.  
 Politer than àshē Lādi tā sàmù jūnā biyu

A fourth reason for the use of the OIC is the avoidance of a direct second person pronoun out of deference and respect. (This would seem to be one of the closest things there is to a pragmatic universal.) This avoidance is expected, for example, between a wife and her husband or when a person who is subordinate in rank or age addresses his or her superior. Examples:

mālām, à tūrō mìn yārò à wàje!              Husband, send in the kid when you go outside!  
 tó Músá, kadà à matsō nán dai!              All right Musa, don't move any closer!  
 Lādi, mènè nè bā à sò nē?                      Ladi, what is it that that you don't like?  
 bābà, an gamà àbinci?                      Mother, have you finished cooking?  
 à dāwō lāfiyà!                                      Come back safely!

## 39. Indirect Objects

THE term *indirect object* (i.o.) is used for a specific morphosyntactic structure that employs the indirect object marker (IOM). In SH this marker is underlyingly **ma-** before personal pronouns and **wà** elsewhere. In sentences with both direct and indirect objects, the word order is i.o. and then d.o., e.g., *yā gayà [wà mālām]<sub>i.o.</sub> [lābārī]<sub>d.o.</sub>* 'He told the teacher the news.' (Note: Although the IOM often translates in English as 'to' or 'for', etc., it is not classified as a preposition.) The Hausa indirect object does not exactly match the English indirect object, i.e., Hausa has sentences with the IOM that correspond to English sentences without an indirect object, e.g., *tá tunà [manà]<sub>i.o.</sub>* 'She will remind us.' Conversely, Hausa has sentences without the IOM that correspond to sentences that in English have an indirect object, e.g., *yā bā mù dalà biyu* 'He gave us two dollars' (where **mù** is a d.o. pronoun). In addition, Hausa, like English, can express thematic roles like benefactive and recipient by use of various prepositional phrases (formed, for example, with **gà(rē)** 'to, at' or **don** 'for') rather than by means of an i.o. construction, e.g., *yā yi kirà [gà]<sub>prep</sub> mutānē sù biyā hārāji* 'He called on the people to pay their taxes' (lit. he.comp did calling to people they.sub pay taxes); *yā yankà nāmà don kànsà* 'He cut the meat for himself' = *yā yankà wà kànsà nāmà* (lit. he.comp cut for himself meat).

### 1. FORM: NONPRONOMINAL INDIRECT OBJECTS

#### 1.1. Usual SH forms

In SH, the form of the IOM that is used when followed by anything other than a personal pronoun (or when it is followed by nothing) is **wà**. In most of Hausaland it has the form **mà**, which can substitute for **wà** in all the examples below. Examples:

<i>sun sayō wà Mūsā wàndō</i>	They bought trousers for Musa. (= [WH] <i>sun sayō mà Mūsā wàndō</i> )
<i>zān kai wà mālām littāfin</i>	I will take the book to the teacher.
<i>nā řubùtā wà káinā wásikā</i>	I wrote myself a letter.
<i>an yabà wà shi àlkāfin</i>	They praised him the judge.
<i>Amīrkā dà Rāshā sun yi wà jūnā kalūbāle</i>	
America and Russia challenged each other. (lit. ...did to each other challenge)	

ØHN: [i] The **wà** variant is probably derived historically from the preposition **gà**, the lenition to /w/ coming about as a result of the move from the strong position following the direct object—to a weak position immediately after the verb. The scenario would have been something like this: *an rarràbà gōfō gà mutānē* > \**an rarràbà gà mutānē gōfō* > *an rarràbā wà mutānē gōfō* 'They distributed kola nuts to the people.' The expression of a nominal dative object by a **gà** plus noun phrase to the right of the d.o. is still grammatical. Examples from older sources suggest that it was even more prevalent at an earlier date. In Westermann (1911), for example, which in other respects looks like normal modern Hausa (phonologically of the Katsina variety), the IOM before nouns is always **gà** (never **wà**) whereas the

pre-pronoun form noun i.o. Example the boundary of h [ii] The **mà** variant itself goes back to object pronoun suggestion by E of lenition, is w back directly to and L before nou between **wà** and forms. My inclin

Unlike true prepositic

*gà yārān dà mukà kī wānē nē zā kà nūnā*

An innovation charac e.g.,

*shī nē mùtumìn dà r = shī nē mùtumìn dà wà ka jī wà ciwò?*  
cf. *yā jī wà yārò ciwò*

°AN: A possible a long final vowel object is expres *gayà-wà*, which expected if LTR

Even though the no collocations, it takes

**cim mà**  
e.g., *yā cim mà būri im mà*  
e.g., *dà kyāf na im tāsam mà*  
e.g., *mun tāsam mà*

1.2. Dialectal for The IOM displays co (a) In addition to **mà** (These forms option H tone, see §71:6.2 long-vowel form is re in my notes):



pre-pronoun form is **ma**. If the d.o. is expressed, then it follows the pronoun i.o. but precedes the noun i.o. Examples (with original transcription): **ya nuna mini iyakan gōnansa** 'He showed me the boundary of his farm'; **ya kao kurđi ga bature** 'He brought money to the European.'

[ii] The **mà** variant has two possible sources. (a) It may be derived historically from **wà** (which itself goes back to \***gà**), the change from **wà** to **mà** being due to analogic pressure from the indirect object pronoun forms, all of which contain the marker **ma-** (e.g., **masà** 'to him', etc.). (The suggestion by Eulenberg (1974) that the direction of change was **mà** > **wà**, representing a process of lenition, is without foundation.) (b) Alternatively, **mà**, like the pronominal forms, might go back directly to a possessive marker \***ma** that originally had two tonal variants, H before pronouns and L before nouns (see Newman 1982). Given this second analysis, the phonological similarity between **wà** and **mà** is accidental because there would be no historical relation between the two forms. My inclination is to favor alternative (b), but the matter is far from settled.

Unlike true prepositions, **wà** can be stranded without a following object, e.g.,

**gà yàrán dà mukà kōyà wà**                      Here are the children whom we taught.  
**wàné nè zā kà nūnà wà hòtôn?**                Whom are you going to show the picture to?

An innovation characteristic of some Kano speakers is the lengthening of **wà** to **wà** when it is stranded, e.g.,

**shī nè mùtumin dà na gayà wà**                He is the man I told it to.  
 = **shī nè mùtumin dà na gayà wà**  
**wà ka jī wà cīwò?**                                Whom did you injure? = **wà ka jī wà cīwò?**  
 cf. **yā jī wà yārò cīwò**                            He injured the boy. (lit. he.comp feel to boy injury)

°AN: A possible explanation would be that the dangling **wà** cliticizes to the verb, which then takes a long final vowel as is typical of the A-form of most transitive verbs (i.e., the form used when no object is expressed), i.e., **gayà wà** → **gayà-wà**. Note, interestingly, that the resulting "word" **gayà-wà**, which ends in L-L tone and a long final vowel, does not raise to L-H as one would have expected if LTR (the rule of low-tone raising) were still an active synchronic rule (see §34:3.2).

Even though the nonpronominal IOM in Standard Hausa is normally **wà**, in a few fixed verbal collocations, it takes the form **mà**, e.g.,

**cim mà**    achieve, overtake  
 e.g., **yā cim mà bürinsà**                        He achieved his desires.  
**im mà**     control, overcome  
 e.g., **dà kyař na im mà dōkīnā**                It was with difficulty that I controlled my horse.  
**tāsam mà**    attack, set for, approach  
 e.g., **mun tāsam mà kasāř nan**                We headed toward that country.

### 1.2. Dialectal forms

The IOM displays considerable dialectal variation.

(a) In addition to **mà** (= SH **wà**), some WH dialects also have a long vowel falling-tone form **mā** or **wā**. (These forms optionally simplify to L-tone **mà** or **wà**, respectively, when preceded by a verb with final H tone, see §71:6.2.2). If the indirect object is not expressed, i.e., if the IOM is stranded, then this long-vowel form is required. Examples (where the choice of an IOM with initial /w/ or /m/ is as recorded in my notes):

Bintà cē ya gayà má                    It was Binta he told (it) to.  
yāròn dà ka aikō má / mà            the boy whom you sent (it) to

If the indirect object is expressed, the long-vowel form appears to be allowed only when preceded by a verb ending in an L tone or when there is no verb, i.e., when the pro-verb *yi* 'do' has been deleted, e.g.,

yā nēmà má Bukār aikì                He sought work for Bukar. = yā nēmà mà Bukār aikì  
yā má / wá Mūsā kyàutā                He did a good deed for Musa (or gave Musa a present).  
= yā yi wà Mūsā kyàutā

If the verb ends in an H tone, the use of the long vowel form is either rejected outright or considered clumsy and not preferred, e.g.,

tā kāwō mà sarkì zōbè                She brought the emir a ring. *not* \*\*tā kāwō mà sarkì zōbè  
yā sōkam mà Sāni àkuyà                He stabbed Sani's goat. (lit he.comp stab to Sani goat)  
*not* \*\*yā sōkam mà Sāni àkuyà

(b) In Sokoto, the normal non-pre-pronoun IOM is *mà* with a short vowel and L tone. If, however, the pro-verb *yi* is dropped then one has to use *wá* (which lowers to *wà* when preceded by a high tone), e.g.,

mun / munkà yi mà Abdù aikì            We (comp/pret) did the work for Abdu.  
(⇒) mun wà Abdù aikì / munkà wá Abdù aikì  
sun / sunkà yi mà maḵwàbcinā òàrnā            They did damage to my neighbor.  
(⇒) sun wà maḵwàbcinā òàrnā / sunkà wá maḵwàbcinā òàrnā

°AN/ØHN: Although I spoke above of *yi* 'deletion', this falling tone variant is perhaps better described in terms of a fusion of *yi* + *wà* → *wá*, in which the segmentals are reduced and altered, but the underlying H-L tone sequence and the two moras are preserved. If one thinks of *yi* historically as a palatalized manifestation of \**wi*, then the derivation \**wi* + *wà* → *wá* is even more straightforward and parallels the fusion that occurs with the verb *bá* 'give' (see below).

(c) In the dialect area of Katsina and Maradi, a common form used if the i.o. is not overtly expressed is *mà wā* (incorrectly transcribed *mà wà* by Abraham (1962)). Examples:

gà yāràn dà mukè kōyà mà wā            Here are the children that we are teaching.  
ita bà yārinyār dà na gayà mà wā ba cè            She is not the girl I told (it) to.  
dà wà dà wà ka řubūtō mà wā?            Who (pl.) (lit and who and who) did you write to?  
nī ka řubūtō mà wā nè?                    Is it me you wrote to?

°AN: Although we cannot be certain, *mà wā* most likely represents a redundant use of two IOMs in succession, i.e., *mà* + *wá*, with an idiosyncratic tone adjustment. I see nothing to support the proposal by Abdoulaye (1991) that *mà wā* consists of the IOM *mà* plus the verbal noun suffix *-wā*.

### 1.3. The verb 'give'

The irregular verb *bá* 'give' requires a thematic recipient. This verb and the marker *wà* normally fuse into a single word *bá* with falling tone (i.e., *bā* + *wà* → *bá*). By contrast, when the object of *bá* is a pronoun, it appears as a d.o. (with a weak object pronoun) rather than as an i.o., e.g.,

kù bá tsóhuwā lèṁō.  
cf. kù bá tà lèṁō!  
bài bá àbòkansà kōi  
cf. bài bá sù kōṁē b  
nī nè zā à bá lambà

The *bá* form with f  
common in SH, the l

kù bá = bai wà = bá

## 2. FORM: PERSO

So-called indirect of  
pronoun, e.g.,

1 s	mini / mìn (=
2 m	makà / mā /
2 f	mikì / makì
3 m	masà / mishì
3 f	matà

The first form in ea  
vowel, is the every  
dialectal forms indic  
takes place only afte

sun sayō manà wàn  
zān kai masà littáfi  
nā řubūtā mà wāsíl  
bài kōyà mìn ba  
'yan Amìrkà sun y

ØHN: Apart fro  
The allomorph  
/nV/ in Angas,  
comparison th  
erstwhile posse  
ΔDN: [i] The V  
tone rather thar  
to mà when pre  
rule, e.g., tā sa  
[ii] In the Gudd  
assimilates to  
floating H ton  
which cliticize  
yā kařàntansù  
the floating H  
Hausa, because

<b>kù bá tsòhuwá lèṁō!</b>	(You pl.) give the old woman a soft drink!
cf. <b>kù bá tà lèṁō!</b>	Give her a soft drink!
<b>bàì bá àbòkansà kōmē ba</b>	He didn't give his friends anything.
cf. <b>bàì bá sù kōmē ba</b>	He didn't give them anything.
<b>nī nè zā à bá lambà</b>	I am the one they are going to give the medal to.

The **bá** form with falling tone exists alongside a number of alternative variants. The first two are common in SH, the latter two less so: **bai wà**, **bā wà**, **bá wà**, **bái**, e.g.,

**kù bá = bai wà = bā wà = bá wà = bái tsòhuwá lèṁō!** (You pl.) give the old woman a soft drink!

## 2. FORM: PERSONAL PRONOUN INDIRECT OBJECTS

So-called indirect object pronouns consist of an IOM with the base form **ma-** plus a bound L-tone pronoun, e.g.,

1 s	<b>mini / mìn (= [mɨ̃]) / manì</b>	1 p	<b>manà / &lt;mamù&gt; / &lt;mumù&gt; / &lt;munà&gt;</b>
2 m	<b>makà / mā / &lt;mā&gt;</b>	2 p	<b>mukù / makù</b>
2 f	<b>mikì / makì</b>		
3 m	<b>masà / mishì / mās / mār / &lt;mai&gt;</b>	3 p	<b>musù / masù</b>
3 f	<b>matà</b>		

The first form in each row, with the /a/ of **ma-** undergoing anticipatory assimilation to the following vowel, is the everyday SH norm. The other variants, however, are all quite common, apart from the dialectal forms indicated in angle brackets (< >). Note that the vowel deletion in the first person singular takes place only after the vowel assimilation has affected the initial vowel. Examples:

<b>sun sayō manà wàndō</b>	They bought trousers for us.
<b>zán kai masà littāfin</b>	I will take the book to him.
<b>nā řubùtā mā wàsíkà</b>	I wrote you a letter.
<b>bàì kōyà mìn ba</b>	He didn't teach me.
<b>'yan Amīrkà sun yi musù lèken-àsīřī</b>	The Americans spied on them.

ØHN: Apart from the i.o., the first person plural pronoun has the shape **mu(n)**, with variable tone. The allomorph /na/ in the i.o. paradigm is matched by a first person plural with the shape /nV/ in Angas, a related West Chadic language, but found in the possessive paradigm. It is this comparison that strongly suggests the historical derivation of the Hausa i.o. pronouns from erstwhile possessives (see Newman 1982).

ADN: [i] The WH form **mai** 'to him', where the /i/ comes from the /y/ of the 3m pronoun **ya**, has H tone rather than falling tone as one might expect. The 2m form **mā** optionally (but usually) changes to **mā** when preceded by a verb with final H tone in accordance with a general WH tone absorption rule, e.g., **tā sayō mà kiff?** 'Did she buy you fish?'

[ii] In the Guddiri dialect, the vowel (but not the H tone!) of the i.o. marker **má-** is dropped. The /m/ assimilates to the position of the following abutting consonant and the tone is preserved as a floating H tone (or H tone on the nasal consonant). One thus ends up with the following forms, which cliticize to the preceding verb: **'nnì**, **'nkà**, **'nkì**, **'nsà**, **'ntà**, **'mmù**, **'nkù**, **'nsù**, for example, **yā kařàntansù** 'He read (it) to them.' If the verb ends in an L tone, the attachment of the suffix with the floating H produces a surface form that has a rising tone (!)—something totally atypical of Hausa, because, as a rule, rising tones automatically simplify to level H or L tones depending on the

tonal context. This rising tone results from the low tone on the long final vowel of the verb being followed by a high-tone syllabic nasal, e.g., *sún gáyǎńsà* [gáyǎnsà] 'They told it to him.' (Information on Guddiri indirect objects was obtained during a brief working session with Dauda Bagari, to whom I express my thanks. A fuller study is needed to verify and expand on the facts just presented.)

The category "indirect object pronoun" is restricted to the bound personal pronoun forms given in the paradigm above. If the i.o. is any other type of pronominal element, the *wà* marker is required, e.g., *yā gōgà wà [wannàn] mái* 'He rubbed oil on this one', *tā kauràcè wà [kōwā]* 'She avoids everyone', cf. *tā kauràcè masà* 'She avoids him.'

### 3. CLOSE BONDING OF VERB AND IOM

An IOM cannot be separated from the preceding verb by movement from its basic location, i.e., unlike a prepositional phrase, an entire i.o. phrase cannot be fronted under conditions of focus or relativization. Rather, any displacement affects only the indirect object noun, the bare marker *wà* or *ma-* plus a resumptive pronoun being left in situ, e.g.,

*Daudà nē mukà yabà wà = Daudà nē mukà yabà masà* It was Dauda we praised.

*not \*\*wà Daudà mukà yabà*

*nī (nè) takàn kauràcè wà* It's me she avoids. *not \*\*mini takàn kauràcè*

*wànè nè zà sù shaidà wà?* Whom will they inform? *not \*\*wà wànè nè zà sù shaidà?*

*yārin yà waddà ya gayà wà = yārin yà waddà ya gayà matà* a girl whom he told it to

*not \*\*yārin yà wà waddà ya gayà* a girl to whom he told it

The bonding between a verb and a following IOM is very tight. Not only can the IOM not be separated from the verb by movement, but it normally resists all insertions, including that of syntactically fairly free elements such as modal particles. The bonding is not absolute, however. Whereas native speakers tend to reject the insertion of disyllabic modal particles, some individuals do allow insertion of the light-syllable particle *fa* 'well, indeed' and, less readily, the monosyllabic heavy-syllable particles. Examples (with the modal particle underlined):

*nā gayà fa makà*

I indeed told you.

*yā yi fa wà Audù aikì*

He did indeed do the work for Audu.

*mun gōdè fa wà Allāh*

We indeed thank God.

*kā zubar fa minì dà má!*

Do pour out the oil for me!

*sun sayar fa wà Mūsā dōkì*

They indeed sold the horse to Musa.

*tā kāwō kō musù àbinci*

She moreover brought them food.

*nā gayà kām wà Hābibū*

I told (to) Habibu.

*Bintà ya nūnà fa wà hōtō*

It was Binta he showed the picture to.

but not *\*\*Bintà ya nūnà fa wà*

It was Binta he showed (it) to.

°AN: [i] Because *fa* is phonologically so light—it consists of a single CV syllable with a short vowel—it causes the least disruption in the linguistic flow, which would explain why this modal particle is the one that is accepted most readily between a verb and the i.o.

[ii] Various scholars have suggested that *wà* is underlyingly a bound inflectional suffix. (Proponents of this view are notoriously silent about the status of pronominal i.o.'s with *ma-*.) As explained fully in Newman (1991b), there are many problems with this analysis, the most obvious of which is the fact that the supposed clitic *wà* can appear alone without a verb stem host as a result

of the deletion  
'He is talking to  
preferable to as  
free formatives  
*gayà [wà yārò*  
*[yārò]* nor *\*\*y*  
following pron  
resumptive pro  
*phonologically*  
*phonological*  
mistaken claim

### 4. THE STRICT V

Only verbs can app  
infinitive phrases.  
even in syntactic env

*tanà tséfè (vb) wà*  
cf. *tanà tsifār (VN)*  
(*not \*\*tanà tsifār (V*  
*kà dingà kirā (vb)*  
cf. *kà dingà kirānsà*  
*an hanà mu hūdà (*  
cf. *an hanà mu hūd*  
*munà yi (vb) wà m*  
(*not \*\*munà yi (VN*  
cf. *aikì mukè yì (VN*

#### 4.1. yi deletion

An exception to the  
the continuous TA  
immediately followi

*munà yi masà aikì*  
cf. *munà yin aikì (-*  
*bà sà yi mukù gasè*  
They are r  
*gà yārin yār dà kè*  
Here is the

In noncontinuous T  
we did talk) cannot  
present. Examples:

*mukàn yi masà aikì*  
*sun yi wà mařwàb*  
They did

of the deletion of *yi* 'to do', e.g., *yanà yi wà bàbansà máganà* ( $\Rightarrow$ ) *yanà wà bàbansà máganà* 'He is talking to his father.' Rather than treat *wà* and *ma-* as verb suffixes, I would suggest that it is preferable to assume that indirect object phrases (with *wà* + NP or *ma-*pn) underlyingly constitute free formatives (comparable to, but not identical to, prepositions), i.e., one has structures like *yā gayà [wà yārò]<sub>i.o.</sub>* 'He told the boy' and *yā gayà [masà]<sub>i.o.</sub>* 'He told him', *not \*\*yā gayàwà [yārò]* nor *\*\*yā gayàma [sà]*. If the marker *wà*—but *not ma-*, which invariably attaches to the following pronoun—finds itself adjacent to the verb after all movement rules, the addition of resumptive pronouns, and the insertion of modal particles have taken place, then it will *phonologically* cliticize, i.e., *yā gayà wà yārò*  $\rightarrow$  /*yā gayà-wà yārò*/. Note that this phonological attachment of *wà* is a late rule and thus cannot be cited as evidence to bolster the mistaken claim that its fundamental morphosyntactic status is that of an affix.

#### 4. THE STRICT VERB REQUIREMENT

Only verbs can appear before an i.o. This includes verbs in tensed clauses as well as finite verbs in infinitive phrases. Verbal nouns, on the other hand, cannot be followed by an i.o. This is disallowed even in syntactic environments where a VN would normally be required in a verbal slot, e.g.,

<i>tanà tséfè</i> (vb) <i>wà kawařtà gāshì</i>	She is combing out the hair for her friend.
cf. <i>tanà tsifār</i> (VN) <i>gāshì</i>	She is combing out the hair.
( <i>not **tanà tsifār</i> (VN) <i>wà kawařtà gāshì</i> )	
<i>kà dingà kirā</i> (vb) <i>minì shì!</i>	Keep on calling him for me!
cf. <i>kà dingà kirānsà!</i> (VN)	Keep on calling him!
<i>an hanà mu hūďà</i> (vb) <i>masà gwāzā</i>	One prevented us from banking up the cocoyams for him.
cf. <i>an hanà mu hūďar</i> (VN) <i>gwāzā</i>	We were prevented from banking up the cocoyams.
<i>munà yi</i> (vb) <i>wà mālām aikì</i>	We are working for the teacher.
( <i>not **munà yi</i> (VN) <i>wà mālām aikì</i> )	
cf. <i>aikì mukè yi</i> (VN)	It's work we're doing.

##### 4.1. *yi* deletion

An exception to the rule that an i.o. must follow a verb results from deletion of the pro-verb *yi* 'do'. In the continuous TAMs, where *yi* is regularly deleted, the i.o. commonly ends up on the surface immediately following the PAC, e.g.,

<i>munà yi masà aikì</i> ( $\Rightarrow$ ) <i>munà masà aikì</i>	We are working for him.
cf. <i>munà yin aikì</i> ( $\Rightarrow$ ) <i>munà aikì</i>	We are working.
<i>bā sà yi mukù gaskiyā</i> ( $\Rightarrow$ ) <i>bā sà mukù gaskiyā</i>	
They are not being honest with you (pl.).	
<i>gà yārinỳar dà kè yi manà wākà</i> ( $\Rightarrow$ ) <i>gà yārinỳar dà kè manà wākà</i>	
Here is the girl who sings for us.	

In noncontinuous TAMs, deletion of *yi* is normally not possible, i.e., *mun yi máganà* 'We talked' (lit. we did talk) cannot be altered into *\*\*mun máganà*. The deletion *is* possible, however, if there is an i.o. present. Examples:

<i>mukàn yi masà aikì</i> ( $\Rightarrow$ ) <i>mukàn masà aikì</i>	We work for him. (habitual)
<i>sun yi wà makwàbcinā bārñā</i> ( $\Rightarrow$ ) <i>sun wà makwàbcinā bārñā</i>	
They did damage to my neighbor. (completive)	

## 5. PRE-I.O. VERB FORMS (THE D-FORM)

As described in the chapter on grades (chap. 74), verbs have four possible forms depending on the syntactic context: A with no following object; B with a personal pronoun d.o.; C with any other d.o., and D with an immediately following i.o. With one or two exceptions, to be discussed, the D-form is always the same whether the i.o. is a noun or a personal pronoun.

## 5.1. The D-form: Most verbs

Verbs belonging to grades 1, 4, 5, 5d, 6, and the  $\bar{a}$ -final gr0 verbs have pre-i.o. D-forms that are identical to the A-forms, e.g.,

tā <u>dafā</u> masà àbinci	She cooked him food. (v1), cf. <u>mè ta dafā?</u> What did she cook?
kà <u>rufè</u> manà kōfā!	Close the door for us! (v4), cf. <u>bàì rufè ba</u> He didn't close (it).
kà <u>gayā</u> minì dà shì!	Greet him for me! (v5) (A-form = <u>gayā</u> )
mun <u>zubdā</u> mukù shārā	We threw out the trash for you. (v5d) (A-form = <u>zubdā</u> )
zāì <u>kāwō</u> mikì bàfḡō	He will bring you (f.) a blanket. (v6) (A-form = <u>kāwō</u> )
nā <u>shā</u> musù kái	I pestered them. (lit. I drank to them head) (v0) (A-form = <u>shā</u> )
yā <u>biyā</u> minì bāshìnā	He paid my debt for me. (v0) (A-form = <u>biyā</u> )

## 5.2. The D-form: Grade 0 Ci verbs

Grade 0 verbs with final /-i/ differ from other verbs in having a D-form that is not always identical to the A-form. This class is also unusual in treating individual verbs differently and in exhibiting dialectal and idiolectal variation. One common system is for the pro-verb yi 'do' to keep its short vowel in the D-form, but for the verbs bi 'follow', ci 'eat', and ji 'feel', which have a short vowel in the A-form, to have a long vowel in the D-form.

yā <u>yi</u> masà aikì	He worked for him. (lit. did for.him work)
yā <u>yi</u> wà mālām aikì	He worked for the teacher.
tā <u>ji</u> matà ciwò	She injured her. (lit. she.comp feel to.her injury)
tā <u>ji</u> wà Lādì ciwò	She injured Ladi.
yanā <u>bi</u> minì sōjā	He is following the soldier for me.
kadā <u>kā</u> ci wà àminìnkà mutuncì!	Don't humiliate your best friend!

(lit. don't you eat to friend.of.you manhood) = the following preferred sentence without an i.o.:  
 kadā kā ci mutuncin àminìnkà! (lit. don't you eat manhood.of friend.of.you)

ΔDN: Some Hausa speakers have regularized the system and now use a long vowel in the D-form for all Ci verbs including yi, e.g., yā yi masà aikì 'He worked for him.' Some speakers (e.g., in the Maradi area) do have yi with a short vowel but only before a pronoun, e.g., yā yi wà Mūsā kyautā 'He did a good deed for Musa' vs. yā yi mishì kyautā 'He did him a good deed.' Some speakers (dialect uncertain) have a long vowel with all the Ci verbs with the exception of the verb ci when it occurs before a noun i.o., e.g., yā ci mǎ mǔtumìn mutuncì 'He humiliated the man' (lit. he.comp eat to man.the manhood).

The Ci verb ki 'hate, refuse' switches to the gr4 form kiyè before an i.o., e.g., yāu kāsūwā tā kiyè minì 'Today the market is not looking good' (lit. today market 3f.comp refuse to.me).

## 5.3. Clipped forms

A few verbs have idiosyncratic clipped forms that are used as an alternative to the normal grade form in

specific environ-  
 shape CVC or  
 clipped form-

nā dāf masà  
 I am  
 kù dāu wà lē  
 Tankò yā fāf  
 (lit. Tanko he  
 yā sai wà Mū  
 nā sam masà  
 sàu minì àku

5.4. The pr  
 Verbs belong  
 When used w  
 below §6) or  
 meaning. The  
 and -f before

sun girbam  
 cf. sun girbi  
 sun girbāf w  
 wà ya sōkam  
 (lit. who he.p  
 kunà nēmaf  
 kà fitam min  
 zākì yā zābu  
 yā aukam m  
 yaḡ bassam  
 cf. yaḡ bassā  
 (Ader dialect

◊HN/A  
 the pds  
 Frajzyn  
 Munkai  
 indicate  
 which v  
 final co  
 Newma  
 benefac  
 surface  
 propos  
 namely  
 historic  
 ◊HN/Δ  
 identica  
 short v

specific environments, e.g., *nā sai àbinci = nā sàyi àbinci* 'I bought food.' This short form has the shape CVC or CVV (where the VV is a diphthong derived from CV plus a glide). A common use of the clipped form—and for some verbs, the only use—is as a pre-datative D-form, e.g.,

*nā d'ar masà shèkàrū* (= *nā d'arà shi shèkàrū* with a d.o. rather than an i.o.)

I am slightly older than him. (< *d'arà* v1 exceed slightly)

*kù d'au wà lèbùrà kāyán!*

Lift the load for the laborer! (< *d'aukà* v2 lift)

*Tankò yā fař matà dà fadà*

Tanko ranted at her. (< *fādà* v1 fall on)

(lit. Tanko he.comp fell on.her with fighting)

*yā sai wà Mūsā hūlā*

He bought a cap for Musa. (< *sàyā* v2 buy)

*nā sam masà lèmō*

I'll give him a small amount of cola. (< *sāmù* v2 get)

*sàu minì àkuyātā!*

Let go of my goat! (< *sàkā* v2 release)

#### 5.4. The pre-datative suffix (pds)

Verbs belonging to grades 2, 3, and 7 (as well as certain dialectal forms) do not have a D-form as such. When used with an i.o., they either switch to another grade containing a derivational extension (see below §6) or else they add the pre-datative suffix *-aC*<sup>H</sup> (= pds), the choice depending on the intended meaning. The final consonant of the pds generally appears as /-m/ before the IOM *ma-* (with H or L tone) and /-ř/ before *wà*, e.g.,

*sun girbam manà dāwā*

They reaped the guinea-corn for us.

cf. *sun girbi dāwā*

They reaped the corn. (v2)

*sun girbař wà manòmī dāwā*

They reaped the guinea-corn for the farmer.

*wā ya sōkam makà rākumī?*

Who slaughtered your camel?

(lit. who he.pret stab+pds to.you camel) (< *sōkā* v2 stab)

*kunā nēmař wà yārōnā aikī?*

Are you seeking work for my boy? (< *nēmā* v2 seek)

*kà fitam minì gidā!*

Get out of my house! (< *fitā* v3 go out)

*zākī yā zābuřā wà dilā*

The lion sprang up at the jackal. (< *zābuřā* v3 jump up)

*yā aukam masà*

It happened to him (< *āuku* v7 happen)

*yař bassam min tuhwā* [dv]

He lost my clothes. (lit. he lost from.me clothes)

cf. *yař bassà tuhwàn Ābdū* [dv]

He lost Abdu's clothes.

(Ader dialect variant corresponding to SH gr.5)

◊HN/°AN: Pilszczikowa (1969) and Parsons (1971/72) identified the pre-i.o. verb form containing the pds with the gr5 "causative" (i.e. efferential), an analysis still adhered to by many scholars, e.g. Frajzyngier (1985). As indicated in Newman (1977b, 1983), with fuller discussion by Jaggar and Munkaila (1995), phonological, morphological, dialectal, semantic, and comparative evidence all indicate that the identification of the pds and the efferential suffix is incorrect. Unlike the gr5 *-ař*, which we know derives historically from *\*-as*, we have no solid indication of what was the original final consonant of the *-aC* ending used as the pds; but there is nothing to suggest that it was /s/. In Newman (1977b), I proposed that the original form of the pds was *\*-an*, based on similar-looking benefactive extensions found elsewhere in West Chadic. Jaggar and Munkaila propose that the surface /-ř/) represents /t/, being a pleonastic use of the 3f object pronoun. Neither of these proposals is convincing. In short, we can be pretty sure what the pre-datative *-aC* suffix is *not*, namely, it is not the gr5 extension; but we still have no clear evidence indicating what it historically derives from.

◊HN/ΔDN: There is good evidence that gr2 verbs formerly had a D-form ending in *-i(i)*, i.e. a form identical to the C-form (the underlying lexical form of the verb) with perhaps a long rather than a short vowel. This is in fact attested in early grammars, for example (tone and vowel length

unmarked): *ya fadi ma bature* 'He said to the white man' Migeod (1914: 47); *ya seyi ma wannan zobe* 'He bought for this one a ring', *ya seyi mata munduwa* 'He bought for her a bracelet' (Taylor 1923: 59). This D-form (with regular A-form tone but with a long final -i) is amply documented in Pilszczikowa (1969: 20-22, and elsewhere). Here are some examples (tone and vowel length are hers): *yā mārī masā yārò* 'He slapped his son' (lit. he.comp slap to.him boy), *yā sārī min itàcē* 'He cut off my tree' (lit. he.comp cut off to.me tree). The provenance of the examples, however, is puzzling. They are not normal Kano forms nor are they normal in Sokoto or in Niger (where they were said to have been found). Swets (1989), who did a careful study of the dialect of Dogondoutchi, the home of one of Pilszczikowa's assistants, found people who would reluctantly accept such forms (with a long final -i) but concluded that they were not natural parts of the grammar of that dialect. Munkaila (1990) accepts such forms more readily, but he is from Potiskum, a town to the east that is outside the limits of true Hausaland. The most reasonable interpretation of the evidence, then, is that Hausa *used* to allow gr2 verbs to operate a D-form, but that synchronically this has been lost in most dialects, apart from a few archaic retentions. Instead, gr2 verbs now adhere to a widespread Chadic pattern in requiring some derivational extension on pre-i.o. verbs. In Hausa, this verbal extension can be the pds, the applicative (now = gr1), the totality/separative/deprivative (= gr4), or the ventive (gr6), the choice depending primarily on the meaning intended and on dialectal preferences.

## 6. GRADE SHIFT

One strategy employed, especially by gr2 and gr3 verbs, is to switch grades before an i.o., that is, a verb that normally operates some grade, e.g., *mutù* gr3b 'die', appears before an i.o. in another grade, e.g., *macè* gr4. Sometimes this grade shift is obligatory, in other cases it is optional. Examples:

- rānā tā fādè masù à dājì* (v4) The sun set while they were still in the bush.  
(lit. sun it fell.malefactive gr4 to.them at woods) < *fādī* v3b fall
- kwān fitilā yā macè manā* (v4) The light bulb died on us. < *mutù* v3b die
- àbīn yā zamō (= zamè) masā alàkākàì* (v6 = v4) It has become a thorn in his flesh.  
< *zama* v\* become (= *àbīn yā zamam masā alàkākàì* (v\* with pds)
- sun kauràcè minì* (v4) They avoided me. (lit. migrated from.me) < *kaura* v3a migrate
- zā sù fadā masā lābārī* (v1) They will tell him the news. < *fādā* v2 tell
- nā zābā makā dōkì* (v1) = *nā zābam makā dōkì* (v2+pds) I chose a horse for you.  
cf. *nā zābè makā dōkì* (v4) I chose the horse that you wanted to choose.
- mù nēmā masā aikì kō?* (v1) = *mù nēmam masā aikì kō?* (v2+pds)  
Should we look for work for him?

In some instances, the grade shift before the i.o. has no direct semantic consequences. In many instances, however, sentences differ in meaning depending on whether there has been a grade shift or whether the verb appears with the pds. (Note: There is speaker variation in the interpretation of the following sentence pairs, but on the whole these can be taken as representative of the meaning differences.) Examples:

- |  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1.a. <i>nā ambatā wā Bālā mǎganār</i> (v1)       | I mentioned the matter to Bala.   |
| 1.b. <i>nā ambatār wā Bālā mǎganār</i> (v2+pds)  | I mentioned the matter for Bala.  |
| 2.a. <i>nā arā masā gārmā</i> (v1)               | I lent him a plough.              |
| 2.b. <i>nā aram masā gārmā</i> (v2+pds)          | I borrowed a plough for him.      |
| 3.a. <i>tā haifā mín 'yā'yā biyār</i> (v1)       | She bore five children for me.    |
| 3.b. <i>tā haifam minì 'yā'yā biyār</i> (v2+pds) | She bore my five children for me. |

- 4.a. *nā sōkà mā*  
(lit. I stabbed to)
- 4.b. *nā sōkam*
- 5.a. *zā mù yāfj*
- 5.b. *zā mù yafj*

## 7. INTRANSITIVE

Intransitive verb  
may, however,  
verbs, e.g.,

- yā tsèrè musù*  
*yā shigam minì*  
*yā kōmā wā aikì*  
*gārì yā wāyè m*  
*nā tūbam musù*  
*kadā kà kwánta*  
*durkūsā wā wā*  
Kneeli  
*sukā bullō wā g*  
They a

## 8. WORD OF

The basic word  
indirect object f  
noun or a pronc

- Mūsā yā kāwō*  
*Mūsā yā kāwō*  
*kadā kà gayā*  
*kù gayāf* [min]

ADN: In th  
indirect ob  
*wā/mā M*  
Ladi'; Gār  
occur imm  
is undoubt  
i.o. phrase  
a retention

With grade 5 v  
e.g., *yā tsayāf*  
and before the

*yā tsayāf* [ma



- 4.a. *nā sōkà masà wuƙā* (v1) I stabbed him with the knife.  
 (lit. I stabbed to.him the knife)  
 4.b. *nā sōkam masà dōkì* (v2+pds) I stabbed his horse.  
 5.a. *zā mù yafjè mukù kù shiga gidanmù* (v4) We will allow you to enter our house.  
 5.b. *zā mù yafdam mukù* (v2+pds) We will trust you.

## 7. INTRANSITIVE VERBS

Intransitive verbs by definition do not have direct objects. As has been shown in various examples, they may, however, take indirect objects, with the range of formatives and meanings found with transitive verbs, e.g.,

- yā tsèrè musù* He escaped from them. (v4), cf. *yā tsira* He escaped. (v3a)  
*yā shigam minì gidā* He entered my house. (v3+pds) (lit. he.comp enter to me the house)  
*yā kōmā wà aikìnsà* He returned to his work.  
*gàrì yā wāyè manà à Kanò* The day dawned on us in Kano.  
*nā tūbam musù* I sought their pardon. (v3a+pds) (lit. I repented to.them)  
*kadà kà kwántà wà mùtùm!* Don't prostrate yourself before a human being!  
*durkùsà wà wādā bā gajiyāwā ba cè*  
 Kneeling down before a dwarf is not falling short. (i.e., one does what one has to do)  
*sukà ùllō wà gārìn ta fuskā biyu, gabàs dà yamma*  
 They appeared in the town from two directions, east and west.

## 8. WORD ORDER

The basic word order in sentences with i.o.'s is V + i.o. + (d.o.), i.e., verb followed immediately by the indirect object followed by the direct object (if present). This word order is the same whether the i.o. is a noun or a pronoun, e.g.,

- Mūsā yā kāwō [wà tsōhuwā]<sub>i.o.</sub> ruwā* Musa brought the old woman water.  
*Mūsā yā kāwō [matà]<sub>i.o.</sub> ruwā* Musa brought her water.  
*kadà kà gayā [wà kanènkà]<sub>i.o.</sub>!* Don't tell your younger brother!  
*kù gayar [mini]<sub>i.o.</sub> dà shì!* Greet him for me!

ADN: In the Bauchi dialect, spoken in the far southeastern extent of the Hausa-speaking area, noun indirect objects (marked by *wà* or *mà*) occur *after* the d.o. (Gital 1987), e.g., *Zainàb tā kai àbinci wà/mà Mūsā* 'Zainab took food to Musa'; *Bālā yā aikà wàsiƙà wà/mà Lādì* 'Bala sent a letter to Ladi'; *Gambo yā yi tsiwà wà/mà sarki* 'Gambo was rude to the emir.' (Pronoun indirect objects occur immediately after the verb and before the direct object as in all other dialects.) This word order is undoubtedly an innovation due to interference from Chadic languages in the region, where noun i.o. phrases typically occur after the d.o. (see Newman 1982). It is very unlikely that this represents a retention of an old Chadic word-order pattern.

With grade 5 verbs, thematic direct objects are normally expressed as oblique object phrases with *dà*, e.g., *yā tsayar dà môtà* 'He stopped the car.' Pronoun indirect objects occur immediately after the verb and before the *dà* phrase, e.g.,

- yā tsayar [manà]<sub>i.o.</sub> dà môtà* He stopped the car for us.

sunà zubar [matà]<sub>1.0.</sub> dà mǎi      They are pouring out the oil for her (or spilling her oil).

When occurring with nonpronominal i.o.'s, gr5 verbs use four different structures. These are illustrated by the following sentences, all of which mean 'He stopped the car for the teacher.'

- |                               |                                  |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. yā tsayař wà dà mǎlám mǔtǎ | 2. yā tsayař wà dà mǎlám dà mǔtǎ |
| 3. yā tsayař wà mǎlám mǔtǎ    | 4. yā tsayař wà mǎlám dà mǔtǎ    |

In the first structure, the indirect object marker *wà* and the particle *dà* are "stacked" one after the other, followed by their respective objects. In SH, this is the preferred option. In the second structure, one gets *wà* and *dà* stacked after the verb followed by an oblique *dà* phrase after the i.o. noun. In the third option, *dà* is deleted, resulting in a structure that parallels normal transitive V + i.o. + d.o. sentences. Finally, the fourth structure exactly parallels the pronoun i.o. construction, i.e., one gets V + i.o. + the *dà* + NP phrase. Surprisingly, in SH this "straightforward" structure is the least preferred option. (These four alternatives are further exemplified in the section on grades (see §74:9.3.1).)

## 9. MEANING AND USE

Indirect objects in Hausa express a wide range of meanings, which in English are often marked by the use of different prepositions. The exact semantic interpretation in Hausa depends on the verb grade, the nature of the individual verb, and the general context, e.g.,

sun nēmam masà aikì	They sought work for him. (benefactive / for)
zāi sayō mīn yādì	He's going to buy me some cloth. (benefactive / for)
yakàn arà wà yārā kèkè	He lends the kids bicycles. (dative (recipient) / to)
sun k̄wacè manà kāyā	They stole the goods from us. (malefactive (deprivative) / from)
tā sōmè minì	She fainted on me. (malefactive / on)
an shīřbūnā masà mǎi	They applied/rubbed oil on him. (affected / on)
nā sōkà matà māshì	I stabbed a spear into her. (affected / into)
sun yi musù dāriyā	They laughed at them. (goal / at)

The i.o. commonly serves to express a possessive, especially, but not exclusively, when the verb contains the pds, e.g.,

yā bugam minì dā	He beat my son. (lit. he.comp beat.pds to.me son)
kadà kà shigam matà d'ākì!	Don't barge into her room! (lit. don't you enter.pds to.her room)
yā mākālè masà à mākōgwārō	It stuck in his throat. (lit. it.comp stuck.gr4 to.him in throat)
wà ya sácè minì zōbè?	Who stole my ring? (lit. who 3m.pret stole.gr4 from.me ring)

With a particular lexical class of verbs, termed dative verbs, the thematic object that semantically corresponds to and translates best as an English direct object is expressed syntactically by an indirect object. Examples:

nā amìncè mukù	I trust you.
sōjā sun bijirè masà	The soldiers betrayed him.
sun kauracè wà jūnā	They avoided each other.
Allāh yā tsinè wà bārāyì!	God damn the thieves!
sunà kuntatā minì	They are harassing me.

tā sàbà wà mijintā  
mǎlám yā tsawātā  
wannàn gwamnatin  
yanà bāutā wà Kas

Very common in Ha  
semantic object) plu

zān yi musù māgar  
sōjā yā yi wà matā  
(lit. soldier he.comp  
don Allāh kà yi mi

The pattern verb +  
noun and not the ve

an gallà masà mār  
zā mù shirgà wà ya  
yā shirgà minì kār

With idiomatic phr

yā cī minì àmānā  
yā dakà manā tsāv  
dōlè mù wāyaf wā  
(wāyaf...dà kái lit

With gr1 applicativ  
instrument, which e  
d.o., e.g.,

an sōkà (v1) masà  
= an sōkè (v2) shì  
yā gōgà (v1) wà m  
= yā gōgè (v4) mō  
nā tsōkànā (v1) m  
(lit. ...poke to him  
an d'ād'āfā (v1) wā  
an lullūbā matà m  
(cf. tā lullūbā (v3)

[References: Munk

<b>tā sáǎ̀ wà mijintà</b>	She disobeyed her husband.
<b>màlám yā tsáwàtá wà àlmàjifai</b>	The teacher scolded the pupils.
<b>wannàn gwamnatin tanà gallàzà wà mutàné</b>	This government is persecuting people.
<b>yanà báutá wà kasařsà tsákáni dà Allàh</b>	He serves his country well.

Very common in Hausa are sentences consisting of the pro-verb *yì* 'do' plus an i.o. (which represents the semantic object) plus a dynamic noun (which represents the action as such). Examples:

<b>zán yi musù màganà</b>	I'll talk to them. (lit. fut.I do to.them conversation)
<b>sòjà yā yi wà màtāř fyàǎ̀</b>	The soldier raped the woman.
(lit. soldier he.comp do to woman rape)	
<b>don Allàh kà yi minì tàimako!</b>	Please help me! (lit. for God you.sub do to.me aid)

The pattern verb + i.o. + dynamic noun, where the action in question is indicated by the direct object noun and not the verb, also applies to verbs indicating 'do a lot of sth' or 'do sth profusely', e.g.,

<b>an gallà masà mārì</b>	They slapped him hard. ( <b>mārì</b> slap(ping))
<b>zā mù shirgà wà yārò òukà</b>	We are going to beat the boy severely. ( <b>òukà</b> a beating)
<b>yā shirgà minì karyā</b>	He told me a whopping lie. ( <b>karyā</b> lie, lying)

With idiomatic phrasal verbs, the i.o. again serves as the semantic object, e.g.,

<b>yā ci minì àmānà</b>	He betrayed me. ( <b>ci...àmānà</b> lit. eat...trust)
<b>yā dakà manà tsāwā</b>	He scolded us. ( <b>dakà...tsāwā</b> lit. pound...thunder)
<b>dòlè mù wāyāř wà dà talakāwā kái</b>	We must enlighten the masses.
( <b>wāyāř...dà kái</b> lit. lighten...head)	

With gr1 applicative verbs, the semantic goal (or recipient) appears as a syntactic i.o. and the semantic instrument, which elsewhere might be expressed by a prepositional phrase, appears syntactically as the d.o., e.g.,

<b>an sòkà (v1) masà wuķā</b>	One stabbed a knife in him. (lit. ...stab to.him knife)
= <b>an sòkè (v2) shì dà wuķā</b> (lit. ...stab him with knife)	
<b>yā gōgà (v1) wà mōtā mái</b>	He rubbed oil on the car. (lit. ...rub to car oil)
= <b>yā gōgè (v4) mōtā dà mái</b> (lit. ...rub car with oil)	
<b>nā tsòkànā (v1) masà tsinkè à ido</b>	I poked him in the eye with a sliver.
(lit. ...poke to him sliver at eye)	
<b>an dāǎ̀řā (v1) wà sàniyā wutā</b>	The cow has been branded. (lit. ...brand to cow fire)
<b>an lullùbā matà mayāfi</b>	They covered her with a shawl. (lit. ...cover to her shawl)
(cf. <b>tā lullùbā (v3) dà mayāfi</b> )	She covered herself (intransitive) with a shawl.)

[References: Munkaila (1990); Newman (1982)]

## 40. Infinitives and Gerundives

### 1. INFINITIVE PHRASES

THE term *infinitive* is used to refer to a nonfinite verb phrase containing a finite verb stem. The structure of an infinitive phrase (IP) is [V OBJ]<sub>N</sub> (e.g., *sōyà kifi* 'to fry fish'), where V is a finite verb stem and OBJ is a direct and/or indirect object. In a sentence like *yā fārà gyārà mōtā* 'He began to repair the car', [[*gyārà*]<sub>V</sub> [*mōtā*]<sub>N</sub>]<sub>N</sub>, which follows the aspectual verb *fārà* 'begin', is an infinitive phrase. This sentence can be contrasted with a tensed sentence like *yā [gyārà]<sub>V</sub> [mōtā]<sub>N</sub>* 'He repaired the car', in which the finite verb phrase is preceded by the third person masculine completive PAC. Note that as far as the surface makeup is concerned, IPs and normal VPs are identical—as is also true of infinitives without 'to' in English; *syntactically*, however, they have to be distinguished.

A sentence with an infinitive can also be contrasted with a semantically similar sentence with a verbal noun, e.g., *yā fārà [[kōyon]<sub>VN</sub> [Hausa]<sub>N</sub>]* 'He began learning Hausa', where the aspectual verb *fārà* is followed by a nonfinite verbal noun phrase.

Because the verb in an infinitive phrase (unlike the verbal noun) is a finite verb form, it behaves just like a tensed finite verb in a normal verbal context. That is, it exhibits regular vowel length alternations depending on the nature of the following object (final vowel long before pronoun objects, short (for certain verb grades) before non-pronoun objects); it is followed immediately by a direct object (noun or pronoun) without use of a genitive linker; and it can be followed by an indirect object (which verbal nouns cannot), e.g.,

<i>yā fārà gyārà mōtā</i>	He began to repair the car. (IP with C-form of verb)
cf. <i>yā gyārà mōtā</i>	He repaired the car. (C-form of verb)
cf. <i>yā fārà gyāran mōtā</i>	He began repairing the car. (VN with linker -n)
<i>yā fārà gyārà ta</i>	He began to repair it. (IP with B-form of verb)
cf. <i>yā gyārà ta</i>	He repaired it. (B-form of verb)
<i>yā fārà gyārà manà mōtā</i>	He began to repair the car for us. (IP with D-form of verb)
cf. <i>yā gyārà manà mōtā</i>	He repaired the car for us. (D-form of verb)
<i>not **yā fārà gyārà manà mōtā</i>	He began repairing the car for us. (**VN before i.o.)

Semantically, IPs include constructions that in English would be expressed by gerunds or present participles as well as by infinitives. Many of these in fact have semantically equivalent gerundive/verbal noun structures. Notwithstanding the closeness in their semantics, infinitive phrases and verbal noun phrases are syntactically very different.

From an *external* point of view, infinitive phrases constitute NPs; thus they are able to occupy most syntactic roles that can be filled by normal NPs, like subject, direct object, complement, etc. Examples:

[*kāmà fārāwòn*] yanà c  
cf. *wā ya kāmà fārāwò*  
cf. *munà só mù kāmà*  
(lit. we.cont want we.su  
*bà tà iyà [gayà manà]*  
cf. *bà tà gayà manà ba*  
*yā sàyi àlkalāmì don*  
cf. *yā fubùtā wàstìkà*  
[*zubar dà ruwā à kán*

Pouring water  
*sun fārà [būdè rōfà]* b

They began to  
[*wāyaf musù dà kái*] g

It's enlighten  
*inà tàimakon bàbānā*

I am helping  
*littattāfai māsù [gund*

books that bo  
cf. *littattāfai māsù ky*

°AN: The standar  
statement by Tul  
occasion to ment  
became so establi  
position that a no  
cook food' is a v  
like a verb. By c  
'She is helping l  
linker before its  
the verb *gayà* 'te  
verbal noun ever  
*abinci* and *gayà*  
it is a "bare infi  
likes to do is coc

Like other NPs, infin

[*šōyè kāyan māsār*

[*shāfà hōdā*][p nē ta

[*rufè tágà*][p, bá sh

[*šōyè kāyan māsār*

As for ho

[*sakà yārōnkà à m*

As for enr

Unlike simple NPs,

by a relative clause

[kāmà òàràwòn] yanà dà wùyà	To catch the thief is difficult. [IP]
cf. wà ya kāmà òàràwòn?	Who caught the thief? [finite verb]
cf. munà só mù kāmà òàràwòn	We want to catch the thief.
(lit. we.cont want we.sub catch thief.the) [finite verb in subjunctive]	
bà tà iyà [gayà manà] ba	She wasn't able to tell us. [IP]
cf. bà tà gayà manà ba	She didn't tell us. [finite verb]
yā sayi àlkalàmi don [fubùtà wàsìkà]	He bought a pen in order to write a letter. [IP]
cf. yā fubùtà wàsìkà	He wrote a letter. [finite verb]
[zubar dà ruwà à kán hanyà] yanà dà ban haushi	
Pouring water on the road is annoying. [IP]	
sun fàrà [bùdè kòfà] bà tàre dà izini ba	
They began to open the door without permission. [IP]	
[wāyār musù dà kái] gwamnatì takè só tà yi	
It's enlightening them the government wants to do. [IP]	
inà tàimakon bàbanà wajen [wankè mōtà]	
I am helping my father in connection with washing the car. [IP]	
littattāfai māsù [gundumar dà mutānē]	
books that bore people (lit. books having bore people) [IP]	
cf. littattāfai māsù kyāu	good books (lit. books having goodness)

°AN: The standard, almost universally accepted, view is that Hausa does not have an infinitive. (The statement by Tuller (1986: 174) that "there are no infinitives in Hausa, as we have already had occasion to mention" represents the received viewpoint about Hausa.) It is not clear how this idea became so established, but it is incorrect. The analysis leads, for example, to the totally untenable position that a normal verb like *dafà* 'cook' in a sentence like *tā iyà dafà àbinci* 'She is able to cook food' is a verbal noun, even though it has no nominal features and behaves in all respects just like a verb. By contrast, *dāfuwā* in the sentence *tanà tàimakon innàrtà wajen dāfuwār àbinci* 'She is helping her mother with cooking the food' is a verbal noun and thus requires a genitive linker before its object. The analysis adopted by Tuller and others also requires, for example, that the verb *gayà* 'tell' in *yā ki gayà musù lābāfi* 'He refused to tell them the news' be interpreted as a verbal noun even though indirect objects are never preceded by verbal nouns. The phrases *dafà àbinci* and *gayà musù* are indeed nonfinite *phrases*, but the verb itself is not a verbal noun. Rather, it is a "bare infinitive," comparable to bare infinitives without 'to' in English, e.g., 'What she likes to do is cook food'; 'He had better tell them' (see Quirk et al. 1985).

Like other NPs, infinitive phrases can be focused or topicalized, e.g.,

[bōyè kāyan māsārūfi]IP sukà yi	It was hoarding basic foodstuffs that they did.
[shāfà hōdā]IP nē takè yī	It was putting on powder that she was doing.
[rufè tágà]IP, bá shakkà yanà dà kyāu	As for closing the window, no doubt it's good.
[bōyè kāyan māsārūfi]IP kām, gwamnatì zā tà hanà shi	
As for hoarding staple foods, the government is going to stop it.	
[sakà yārònkà à makarantā]IP dai, àbù nē dà ya wàjabà	
As for enrolling your boy in school, it is something that is obligatory.	

Unlike simple NPs, infinitive phrases do not permit premodification. They can, however, be followed by a relative clause modifier, e.g.,

- [[sāmar̄ dā wutar̄ lantār̄kī]IP dā gwamnati ta yi] yā yi àmfānī  
Providing (lit. provide) electricity that the government did was helpful.
- [[mayar̄ musū dā maf̄tānīn]IP dā ka yi] nē ya bā sū haushī  
It was your retaliation on them that made them angry.  
(lit. [[return to.them retaliation] that you did])
- sun yi zangā-zangā sabōdā [[sōkè zābēn]IP dā akā yi]  
They had a demonstration because the elections were cancelled.  
(lit. [[cancel election] that one did])

### 1.1. Object requirement for infinitives

Infinitives occur only in phrases with an expressed object, either direct or indirect, i.e., in the infinitive structure [V OBJ]<sub>N</sub> the OBJ *must* be present. If the OBJ is not overtly expressed, because it was either deleted or fronted, the N feature on the phrase attaches to the finite verb, thereby altering it into a corresponding weak verbal noun (formed with the suffix <sup>h</sup>wā). This can be shown schematically as follows: [V OBJ]<sub>N</sub> ⇒ [V Ø]<sub>N</sub> ⇒ [V]<sub>N</sub>. Examples:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| yā iyā [[kařāntā] <sub>V</sub> littāfin] <sub>N</sub>           | He is able to read the book. [IP]             |
| cf. littāfin dā ya iyā [kařāntāwā] <sub>N</sub>                 | the book that he is able to read [VN]         |
| yā hau katangā don [[jēfā] <sub>V</sub> duwātū] <sub>N</sub>    | He climbed on the fence to throw stones. [IP] |
| cf. yā hau katangā don [[jēfāwā] <sub>VN</sub>                  | He climbed on the fence to throw (them). [VN] |
| [[tsinkè] <sub>V</sub> igiyār̄ nān] <sub>N</sub> bá shi dā wūyā | Snapping this cord is not hard. [IP]          |
| cf. igiyār̄ nān bá ta dā wūyār̄ [tsinkèwā] <sub>N</sub>         | This cord is not hard to snap. [VN]           |
| tā hanā ni [[gayā] <sub>V</sub> musū] <sub>N</sub>              | She forbade me to tell (it) to them. [IP]     |
| cf. tā hanā ni [gayāwā] <sub>N</sub>                            | She forbade me to tell (it). [VN]             |

<sup>o</sup>AN: Scholars have long been puzzled why it is that in nonfinite environments, verbs in certain grades sometimes appear with the VN suffix <sup>h</sup>wā and sometimes without, e.g., *sunā cikā tūlū* 'They are filling a water pot', but *mē sukē cikāwā* 'What are they filling?' The simple rule that alters infinitives into verbal nouns, i.e., [V Ø]<sub>N</sub> ⇒ [V]<sub>N</sub>, provides the solution. In an infinite phrase with an overt object, e.g., [cikā tūlū]<sub>N</sub>, the syntactic noun feature governs the phrase as a whole, but it does not dominate the verb per se, which thus remains a verb. If there is no object, on the other hand, e.g., [[cikā]<sub>V</sub> Ø]<sub>N</sub> ⇒ [cikā]<sub>VN</sub>, one ends up with a verb that is immediately dominated by N, which is the structural definition of a verbal noun. The finite verb is thus obligatorily altered into a verbal noun by means of the suffix <sup>h</sup>wā. Note that the <sup>h</sup>wā suffix is added only to *verbs*. If the sentence already contains a verbal noun, then the absence of an object doesn't affect it and it still appears without <sup>h</sup>wā. For example, *sunā [[sāyē]<sub>N</sub> tūlū]<sub>N</sub>* 'They are buying a water pot' (with the verbal noun *sāyē* plus the linker -n), cf. *mē sukē [[sāyē]<sub>N</sub>]<sub>N</sub>* 'What are they buying?'; *yā dainā [[shān]<sub>N</sub> giyā]<sub>N</sub>* 'He quit drinking beer' (with the verbal noun *shā* plus the linker -n), cf. *giyā ya dainā [[shā]<sub>N</sub>]<sub>N</sub>* 'It's beer he quit drinking' (not *\*\*giyā ya dainā shāwā*).

Note that whereas infinitive phrases are masculine (see discussion of gender below), weak verbal nouns with <sup>h</sup>wā are all feminine:

- |  |                                      |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| [[rufē] <sub>V</sub> tāgā] <sub>m</sub> shī <sub>m</sub> nē <sub>m</sub> aikinkā | Closing the window is your job. [IP] |
| cf. [rufēwā] <sub>f</sub> itaf̄ cēf̄ aikinkā                                     | Closing (it) is your job. [VN]       |
| [[tsinkè] <sub>V</sub> igiyār̄ nān] <sub>m</sub> bá shi dā wūyā                  | Snapping this cord is not hard. [IP] |
| igiyār̄ nān bá ta dā wūyār̄ [tsinkèwā] <sub>f</sub>                              | This cord is not hard to snap. [VN]  |

Because infinitive  
will necessarily ap

kā iyā [dāwōwā]<sub>V</sub>  
not *\*\*kā iyā [dāwōwā]<sub>N</sub>*  
yā hanā mu [zaun]<sub>V</sub>  
not *\*\*yā hanā mu [zaun]<sub>N</sub>*  
cf. yā yi kōřarin [kōřar]<sub>V</sub>

### 1.2. The contin

Syntactically the t  
the nature of the  
subjunctive, futur  
other TAMs, name  
the allative, are ob  
this nonfinite VP  
grades (like gr6),  
infinitive phrases  
environment is al

tanā cīn ābinci  
cf. tā ci ābinci  
sunā sātār̄ wākē  
cf. sunā sātō wākē  
cf. zā sū sāci wākē  
bā nā řubūtā ma  
cf. bā nā řubūtāwā  
wā yakē kōyār̄ d  
cf. shī nē yakē k  
shī nē wāndā kē  
cf. shī nē wāndā

## 2. GERUNDIV

Gerundives (= pre  
in nonfinite envir  
overt object (and

zā sū sākē řubūtā  
*řirār̄ dā ya yi tā*  
*yā ři shāfāwā*  
*mutānē sun cikā*  
People t  
cf. *mutānē sun c*  
People t

If the gerundive  
gender), e.g.,

Because infinitive phrases require objects, it follows that intransitive verbs in nonfinite constructions will necessarily appear as verbal nouns unless followed by an indirect object, e.g.,

<b>kā iyà [dāwōwā]<sub>VN</sub> dà yámma?</b>	Can you return in the evening? [VN]
<i>not **kā iyà [dāwō]<sub>V</sub> dà yámma?</i>	
<b>yā hanà mu [zaunàwā]<sub>VN</sub></b>	He prevented us from sitting down. [VN].
<i>not **yā hanà mu [zaunà]<sub>V</sub></i>	
<b>cf. yā yi kòkàrin [[gujè]<sub>V</sub> manà]<sub>N</sub></b>	He made an effort to run from us. [IP]

### 1.2. The continuous TAMs

Syntactically the tense/aspect/mood categories (the TAMs) divide into two major classes with regard to the nature of the predicate. The "noncontinuous" TAMs, which include the completive, preterite, subjunctive, future, etc., occur with a finite VP, e.g., **sai tà dafà ruwā** 'She ought to boil water'. The other TAMs, namely, the continuous TAMs (general, relative, and negative), plus, in some WH dialects, the allative, are obligatorily followed by a nonfinite verb phrase. In some verb grades (like gr0 and gr2), this nonfinite VP must be a verbal noun (which necessarily takes a linker before objects). In other verb grades (like gr6), it is the infinitive phrase that constitutes the nonfinite VP. As indicated above, infinitive phrases require an overt object (direct or indirect), otherwise the underlying verb in a nonfinite environment is altered into a verbal noun. Examples:

<b>tanà cín àbinci</b>	She is eating food. (VN)
<i>cf. tā ci àbinci</i>	She ate food. (completive with finite verb)
<b>sunà sātār wākē</b>	They steal beans. (VN)
<i>cf. sunà sātō wākē</i>	They steal and bring back beans. [IP]
<i>cf. zā sù sàci wākē</i>	They will steal beans. (future with finite verb)
<b>bā nà fubùtā masà</b>	I am not writing (it) to him. [IP]
<i>cf. bā nà fubùtāwā</i>	I am not writing (it). (VN because no object follows)
<b>wà yakè kōyār dà Lārābci?</b>	Who is teaching Arabic? [IP]
<i>cf. shi nè yakè kōyār wā</i>	He is teaching (it). (VN because no object follows)
<b>shi nè wāndà kè kāwō ruwā</b>	He is the one who brings water. [IP]
<i>cf. shi nè wāndà kè kāwōwā</i>	He is the one who brings (it). (VN because no object follows)

## 2. GERUNDIVES

Gerundives (= present participials = "-ing" forms) are verbal nouns functioning as dynamic constituents in nonfinite environments. Unlike infinitives, a gerundive can stand on its own, i.e., it does not need an overt object (and in the case of weak verbal nouns may not be followed by an object). Examples:

<b>zā sù sākè fūbùtū?</b>	Will they be writing again? (lit. will they repeat writing) [VN]
<b>kīrār dà ya yi tā yi kyāu</b>	The smthing that he did was good. [VN]
<b>yā Ri shāfàwā</b>	He refused to wipe it. (lit. he.comp refuse wiping (it) [VN]
<b>mutànè sun cikà kàsuwā don sà yē dà sayār wā</b>	
People filled the market for buying and selling. [VNs]	
<i>cf. mutànè sun cikà kàsuwā don [sayār dà kāyansù]</i>	
People filled the market to sell their goods. [IP]	

If the gerundive is used in a phrase with an object, it requires a linker (which agrees with the VN in gender), e.g.,

[shān tābà] bá shi dà kyáu	Smoking (lit. drinking tobacco) is bad. (with the VN shá)
cf. kadà kà shā tābà!	Don't smoke! (with the finite gr0 verb shā)
sun gamà [awòn hatsi]	They finished weighing the grain. (with the VN awò)
cf. sun aunà hatsi	They weighed the grain (with the finite gr1 verb aunà)
[gyāran mōtā] zā sù yi	It's repairing the car they will do. (with the VN gyārā)
cf. gyārā mōtā zā sù yi	It's repairing the car they will do. (with the finite gr1 verb gyārā)
yā shìga don sātāf zōbèn	He came in to steal (lit. for stealing) the ring. (with the VN sātā)
cf. yā sàci zōbèn	He stole the ring. (with the finite gr2 verb sàci)

Because gerundives are verbal nouns, they may not be followed by an indirect object. (Indirect objects are only allowed after finite verb stems.) Thus one cannot, for example, say, **\*\*sun gamà [awòn minì hatsi]** (nor **\*\*...awò minì hatsi**) 'They finished weighing the grain for me', with the verbal noun **awò**. Instead one has to use an infinitive phrase with a finite verb, e.g., **sun gamà aunà minì hatsi** 'They finished weighing the grain for me' (lit. they.comp finish weigh for.me grain).

### 3. GENDER

Infinitive phrases are masculine. (The gender can be seen in sentences in which the infinitive phrase functions as a subject or is focused or takes a resumptive pronoun, etc.) Examples:

[sayāf dà mōtāf] <sub>m</sub> [yā] <sub>m</sub> fi sātāf kudī don à gyārà ta	Selling (lit. sell) the car is better than stealing money to repair it.
[kauracē manà] <sub>m</sub> [shī] <sub>m</sub> [nè] <sub>m</sub> àbìn dà sukà yi	It is avoiding us that they did. (lit. migrate from.us it (3m) is thing that they did)
[bōyè kāyan māsārūfī] <sub>m</sub> fa, gwamnati zā tà hanà [shī] <sub>m</sub>	As for hoarding staple goods, the government is going to stop it.
[kèrè mōtōci] <sub>m</sub> [zāi] <sub>m</sub> ingàntà tattalin ařziki	Manufacturing cars will help the economy.

By contrast, the gender situation with gerundives is more complex. If the gerundive verbal noun occurs without an object, it will manifest its intrinsic gender, e.g.,

[d'inkì] <sub>m</sub> [yā] <sub>m</sub> fi sākà wuyā	Embroidering is more difficult than weaving.
[sātā] <sub>f</sub> bá [ta] <sub>f</sub> dà kyáu	Stealing is not good.
[zubār wā] <sub>f</sub> [cè] <sub>f</sub> ya yi	It was pouring (it) away he did.

When the verbal noun is used in a phrase with an object, one finds some variation. If the head verbal noun is itself masculine, then the entire phrase will always be masculine.

[[řùbùtun] <sub>m</sub> [wàsìkà] <sub>m</sub> [yanà] <sub>m</sub> dà àmfàni	Writing letters is useful.
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If, on the other hand, the verbal noun is feminine, some speakers treat the phrase as feminine in keeping with the gender of the head word, whereas others treat the phrase as masculine so that it patterns with the masculine gender of infinitive phrases.

[[kìrār] <sub>f</sub> [mōtōci] <sub>f</sub> zā [tà] <sub>f</sub> ingàntà tattalin ařziki	Manufacturing cars will help the economy.
= [[kìrār] <sub>f</sub> [mōtōci] <sub>m</sub> [zāi] <sub>m</sub> ingàntà tattalin ařziki	

### 1. FORM

**D**ERIVED not associated with 'of cardinal direct language', although -an-, e.g., Lāfab

°AN: There is forming abstr Whether the an open que independent

### 2. MEANING

The essential m "essential charact convenient to sep really no clear-cu and (2) attributes

#### 2.1. Language

The "language" f

Ādafanci	Ad
Barbarci	Ka
Bausanci	Ba
Bibisanci	lan
Fafansanci	Fr
Fillanci	Fu
Filatanci	Fu
Gōbifanci	Gō
Jāmusanci	Ge
Kananci	Ki
Lāfabci	Ar
Tūfanci	Er
Yūnānanci	Ge



## 41. Languages and Attributes

### 1. FORM

**D**ERIVED nouns with the suffix **-anci**<sup>H</sup> indicate the language, style, behavior, or other attributes associated with a people or a place. What is apparently the same suffix is used also to indicate parts of cardinal directions. The suffix typically has the form **-anci** with all H tone, e.g., **Bòlanci** 'Bole language', although with a few words **-ci** is added directly to the base-final consonant without the initial **-an-**, e.g., **Lārabci** 'Arabic'.

°AN: There is a similar-looking suffix of the form **-(VN)cì** with an H-L tone pattern that is used in forming abstract nouns, e.g., **zumù** 'close friend' / **zumuncì** 'friendship, solidarity' (see §1:2.1). Whether the language suffix and the abstract suffix are related, etymologically or synchronically, is an open question. For purposes of this grammar, I have opted in favor of treating them as independent formatives rather than as tonal variants of a single morpheme.

### 2. MEANING

The essential meaning of this derivation (apart from the cardinal directions described below) is "essential characteristics of some peoples or groups." For reasons of convention and exposition, it is convenient to separate out two partially overlapping submeanings, with the understanding that there is really no clear-cut distinction between the two categories. I will label these meanings as (1) languages and (2) attributes.

#### 2.1. Languages

The "language" formation includes distinct languages as well as dialects and sociolects, e.g.,

<b>Ādařanci</b>	Ader dialect
<b>Barbarci</b>	Kanuri language (cf. <b>bābarbarè</b> a Kanuri psn)
<b>Bausanci</b>	Bauchi dialect
<b>Bibisanci</b>	language and delivery style associated with BBC radio broadcasts in Hausa
<b>Fařansanci</b>	French (< <b>Fařansa</b> France)
<b>Fillanci</b>	Fulani language (< <b>Fulāni</b> = <b>Filāni</b> Fulani people)
<b>Filātanci</b>	Fulani language (< <b>Filātāni</b> Fulani psn)
<b>Gōbīřanci</b>	Gobir dialect (< <b>Gōbīř</b> an emirate)
<b>Jāmusanci</b>	German (< <b>Jāmūs</b> Germany)
<b>Kananci</b>	Kano dialect
<b>Lārabci</b>	Arabic (cf. <b>Bālāřabè</b> an Arab)
<b>Tūřanci</b>	English (< <b>Tūřai</b> Europe)
<b>Yūnānanci</b>	Greek (< <b>Yūnān</b> Greece)

°AN/ΔDN: In SH, the town and state name Bauchi is pronounced /bauci/. In the Bauchi area, on the other hand, it is generally pronounced /baushi/, from which the dialect name /bausanɕi/ is derived by depalatalization of the /sh/.

°HN/ΔDN: The terms **Tūrai** (place), **bātūrè** (person), and **Tūfanci** (language) originally referred to non-Africans in general, at first to Arabs and later to Europeans. In Nigeria, **Tūfanci** has come to mean the English language. In Niger it means French.

Although the **-anci** language suffix is quite productive, there are, nevertheless, many language names that do not use it. A few use the bare noun without a suffix whereas some Arabic loanwords occur with a frozen suffix that was borrowed along with the words. Examples:

Hausa	Hausa language (not <b>**hausanci</b> )
Ingilshì	English
bùròkà	Pidgin English (< Eng. 'broken')
Àrābiyyà	Arabic (language or culture)
gār̀gāliyyà (= gālgāliyyà)	colloquial Arabic

Other language names are indicated by means of a phrase of the form **harshèn X** 'language of X' or **harshèn mutànen X** 'language of the people of X', e.g.,

harshèn Gwāri	Gwari language (not <b>gwāranɕi</b> 'unintelligible speech')
harshèn Efik	Efik language
harshèn Ibò	Igbo language
harshèn Tibi	Tiv language
harshèn mutànen Habashà	Amharic
harshèn mutànen Róm	Latin
harshèn mutànen Sin	Chinese

## 2.2. Attributes

Derived words with **-anci** indicating manner, style, characteristics, and attributes include the following:

<b>bīrnanci</b>	sophistication, being a city slicker (< <b>bīrni</b> city)
<b>dūniyanci</b>	secular, nonreligious, worldly lifestyle (< <b>dūniyà</b> world)
<b>fādanci</b>	sycophancy, obsequiousness (< <b>fādà</b> palace)
<b>fif'aunanci</b>	despotism, ruthless and cruel behavior (< <b>fif'aunà</b> Pharaoh)
<b>Filātanci</b>	modesty, shyness [also Fulani language] (< <b>Filātani</b> Fulani psn)
<b>ganganci</b>	recklessness (< <b>gangan</b> on purpose)
<b>gwāranɕi</b>	unintelligible speech (gibberish) (< <b>Gwāri</b> Gwari psn)
<b>Kananci</b>	Kano style (of fashion, speech, etc.) [also Kano dialect] (< <b>Kanò</b> Kano)
<b>kādīfanci</b>	the tenets of the Qadiriyya ( <b>kādīriyyà</b> ) sect
<b>kabilanci</b>	tribalism (< <b>kābilla</b> tribe)
<b>mālamanci</b>	language and/or mannerisms of traditional teachers (< <b>mālamī</b> teacher)
<b>marāyanci</b>	the cocksureness of urban people (< <b>marāyā</b> urban area)
<b>sābulanci</b>	wearing trousers in a way exposing part of the buttocks (< <b>sābùlè</b> slip off)

In two examples, the derivative is built on a plural rather than a singular stem:

<b>gidādanci</b>	stupidity, naiveté, being a dimwit < <b>gidādàwā</b> homebodies
------------------	---

**kafnukanci**

The following deriv

**ƙaranci**  
**yawanci**

2.3. Adjectival d  
The words for the fo  
-a(n)ɕi)<sup>H</sup>, e.g., ku  
ends in -ɕi and has  
not entirely clear w  
used as prenominal  
form or in the case  
western part (of Ka  
the final vowel and

**arēwaci**  
**gabashi**  
**kudanci**  
**yammaci**

The use of these ad  
**kudancin Afīkà** '...

**kañnukanci** quarrelsomeness, naughtiness < **kañnukà** dogs

The following derivatives indicate a quantity rather than a characteristic quality:

**ƙaranci** shortage (< **ƙàrami** small)  
**yawanci** majority, most (of) (< **yawà** quantity, many, much)

2.3. *Adjectival directionals*

The words for the four cardinal directions, which are adverbial in nature, have adjectival derivatives with **-a(n)ci**<sup>H</sup>, e.g., **kudanci** 'southern' < **kudù** 'south'. This suffix is like the attributive suffix in that it ends in **-ci** and has an all H tone melody, but it differs in that the /n/ shows up only in one case. (It is thus not entirely clear whether these forms should be grouped here or not.) These directionals are normally used as prenominal adjectives, in which case they require a linker, but they can stand alone in citation form or in the case of ellipsis, e.g., **yammaci ya kômà** (< **yammacin Kanò ya kômà**) 'It was the western part (of Kano) he returned to.' With the word **gabashi** (< **gabàs** 'east'), the suffix is reduced to the final vowel and the tone melody. Examples (complete):

**arèwaci** northern (< **arèwa** northern), e.g., **arèwacin Rāshà** northern Russia  
**gabashi** eastern (< **gabàs** east), e.g., **gabashin Kanò** eastern Kano  
**kudanci** southern (< **kudù** south), e.g., **kudancin Zāriyà** southern Zaria area  
**yammaci** western (< **yamma** west), e.g., **yammacin Tūfai** western Europe

The use of these adjectives can be contrasted with phrases of the form Noun L cardinal-direction, e.g., **kudancin Afīrkà** 'southern Africa' vs. **Afīrkà ta Kudù** 'South Africa' (lit. Africa of south).

## 42. Linguistic Play

THE term "linguistic play" is used as a cover term for manipulation of language for playful effect. There are two main categories: (1) play on words, and (2) language games.

### 1. PLAY ON WORDS

This process involves the juxtaposition of two phonologically similar words or phrases so as to create a humorous effect.

°AN: The account here is based entirely on unpublished work carried out at Indiana University by Mustapha Ahmad Isa.

In most cases, the real meaning of one word differs significantly from that of the other, but they are treated as oppositional. That is to say, one term, which constitutes the standard, and whose meaning portrays an element of genuineness, is contrasted with the other term, which is imbued with meanings that are either negative or have pejorative connotations. The play on words is thus expressed as an opposition between two items, one viewed as genuine and the other as bogus. For example, **makařantā** 'school', whose connotations are positive, is contrasted with **makařkatā** 'a place where one goes astray', a word with the same **ma-** prefix, the same **-ā** suffix and the same tone pattern, but which has negative connotations. Thus, if a very traditional person wanted to make an unfavorable comparison between **makařantař allō** 'Koranic school' and **makařantař bōkō** 'modern Western school', he could say something like **wannān bà makařantā ba cè, makařkatā cè** 'This is not a school but a deviant place (i.e., a place of going astray)'.<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes the "genuine" word does not have a readily available, straightforward phonological counterpart. In these cases, people sometimes create phrases that semantically relate to the genuine word and also phonologically (and tonally) rhyme with it. Thus **injin-iyā** 'engineer' is contrasted with **injin-miyā**, lit. engine.of-soup, as a means of mocking an engineer. Another source for the pejorative term is a dialect variety of the standard term that is used by uneducated, (usually) rural Hausa speakers and that therefore is stigmatized. An example of this is **mātō**, a rustic pronunciation of **mōtā** 'car, vehicle'. Examples:

<i>Standard</i>		<i>Pejorative</i>	
<b>makařantā</b>	school	<b>makařkatā</b>	place where one goes astray
<b>injin-iyā</b>	engineer	<b>injin-miyā</b>	soup-making machine
<b>daktā</b>	doctor	<b>daftān</b>	quack doctor
<b>mōtā</b>	car, automobile	<b>mātō</b>	an old (broken down) automobile
<b>sakandirē</b>	secondary school	<b>sākān-ni-īn-dirē</b>	drop me
			(lit. let go of me so that I drop)

haji hadj; hajiyā pi

The typical sentence rather a Z, where Y re

mōtā nakè só ln sàya  
àbōkīn nākā daktā n  
bà haji ya jē ba, hàji  
bà hajiyā ba cè, hàji

### 2. LANGUAGE GA

Hausa has a consider compared, they tend t

°AN: This section description of la Niger, namely F are not distinguish

The games can be g formation.

#### 2.1. Suffixation

The most common g syllable) of the norm "suffix" is added to a of the resultant game the right of some sp the process as suffix the vowel is a copy c

house  
grain  
mat  
Maimuna (name)  
oily

In the -bV game, m can be attached, e.g

son  
life

°AN: In this g they behave as

**haji** hadj; **hajiyā** pilgrim (f.)                      **hàjjiyà**                      turning round and round to become dizzy, messing about

The typical sentence structure for expressing the opposition is X is a Y, not a Z; or X is not a Y, but rather a Z, where Y refers to the genuine and Z to the nongenuine item, e.g.,

**mõtà nakè só in sàyā, bà mātò ba**                      It is a (good) car that I want to buy, not a crummy one.  
**àbòkìn nākà daktà nē kō kùwa daftàn?**                      Is that friend of yours a (true) doctor or just a quack?  
**bà haji ya jē ba, hàjjiyà ya jē**                      It is not the hadj that he did, just going and messing around.  
**bà hajiyā ba cè, hàjjiyà cè**                      She's not a real *hajiya*, just s.o. who went and messed around.

## 2. LANGUAGE GAMES

Hausa has a considerable number of language games. Like English pig Latin, with which they can be compared, they tend to be utilized for fun and amusement, primarily by young people.

°AN: This section is based on the thesis by Ousseina Alidou (1997), which provides a comparative description of language games in Hausa (northern and western dialects) and five other languages of Niger, namely Fulani, Gurmance, Kanuri, Tuareg, and Zarma-Songhai. In the examples, the two R's are not distinguished because the contrast does not exist in the dialects that were studied.)

The games can be grouped into three different categories depending on the basic principle of the formation.

### 2.1. Suffixation

The most common game pattern is to suffix a syllable (or polysyllabic sequence) after each CV (or each syllable) of the normal word except the last, e.g., **ràgō** 'ram' ⇒ **rabàgo** 'game form'. (Whether the "suffix" is added to a whole syllable or to a CV sequence varies from game to game. From the perspective of the resultant game form, the added element looks like an infix; however, since the affix is appended to the right of some specified constituent rather than being inserted within it, it is preferable to describe the process as suffixation.) In all suffixal games, the consonant of the suffix is fully specified whereas the vowel is a copy of the preceding vowel. Here are examples illustrating the straightforward -bV game:

	<i>Normal word</i>	<i>Game form</i>
house	<b>gidā</b>	<b>gibìda</b>
grain	<b>hatsi</b>	<b>habàtsi</b>
mat	<b>tàbarmā</b>	<b>tabàbabàrma</b>
Maimuna (name)	<b>Màimunà</b>	<b>Maibàimubùna</b>
oily	<b>maski</b>	<b>mabàski</b>

In the -bV game, monosyllabic words are reduplicated to provide a nonfinal syllable to which the -bV can be attached, e.g.,

son	<b>ḏā</b> (⇒ //ḏāḏā//)	<b>ḏabàḏā</b>
life	<b>rāi</b> (⇒ //rairai//)	<b>raibàirai</b>

°AN: In this game, diphthongs behave as complex vowels subject to copying. In some other games, they behave as sequences of a vowel plus a /y/ or /w/ coda.

This game is typical of Hausa affixation games in that vowel length and tone tend to be assigned by rule and thereby override underlying lexical specification. Thus, in the **-bV** game, (i) all monophthongal vowels become short, and (ii) an alternating H-L tone pattern (with H at the end) is imposed on the output game form, e.g., *hùlā* 'cap', with long-long and L-H  $\Rightarrow$  *hubùla* 'game form', with short-short-short and H-L-H.

Other suffixes that are used include (a) **-sV**, (b) **-grV** (with a normally unallowable consonant cluster!), (c) **-gVdV**, (d) **'VsrV**, and (e) **'VsVdV**. There are individual differences depending on whether the suffix is added to CV or to a syllable, whether final vowels are shortened, and in how tone is handled. The **-sV** game is unusual in allowing the suffix to be added to the final syllable of the word; but essentially, the overall principles of game formation are the same as with the **-bV** game. Examples:

	<i>Normal word</i>	<i>Game form</i>
(a) milk	<i>nōnō</i>	<i>nosōnosō</i>
stick	<i>sāndā</i>	<i>sansādasā</i>
calabash	<i>kwaryā</i>	<i>kwarsāyasā</i>
Bingel (name)	<i>bingèl</i>	<i>binsìgelsè</i>
(b) grain	<i>hatsì</i>	<i>hagràtsì</i>
word	<i>kalmà</i>	<i>kalgràma</i>
hand	<i>hannū</i>	<i>hangrànu</i>
camel	<i>rākumì</i>	<i>ragrākugrùmì</i>
(c) bird	<i>tsuntsū</i>	<i>tsùgùdùntsū</i>
small hoe	<i>kalmè</i>	<i>kagadalmè</i>
whip	<i>bùlālà</i>	<i>bùgùdùlagadalà</i>
bull	<i>sá</i>	<i>sàgàdàsá</i>
(d) house	<i>gidā</i>	<i>gi'isridā</i>
small bowl	<i>kaskō</i>	<i>ka'asraskō</i>
Huseina (name)	<i>Husènā</i>	<i>Hu'usrusè'èsrènā</i>
egg	<i>kwai</i>	<i>kwai'asràikwai</i>
(e) prayer	<i>sallà</i>	<i>sa'asadallà</i>
blanket	<i>bàrgō</i>	<i>bà'àsàdàrgō</i>
kindness	<i>mutuncì</i>	<i>mu'usudutu'usuduncì</i>
head	<i>kái</i>	<i>kai'asadakài</i>

### 2.2. Prefixation

One game prefixes **da-** to each syllable of the regular word. The **da-** + the following syllable form an iambic foot with L-H tone. If the normal syllable to which **da-** is prefixed is light (i.e., contains a simple short vowel), then it undergoes lengthening. Examples:

	<i>Normal word</i>	<i>Game form</i>
grain	<i>hatsì</i>	<i>dàhādàtsì</i>
hand	<i>hannū</i>	<i>dàhandànū</i>
camel	<i>rākumì</i>	<i>dàràdàkūdàmì</i>
egg	<i>kwai</i>	<i>dàkwai</i>

### 2.3. Syllable permutation

One game (of which there are various subvariants) transposes syllables, e.g., *zaurè* 'entrance room' becomes *rèzàu*. What is striking about this game is that the original tone melody (in this case H-L) is preserved even though the segmental components of the syllable are switched. With disyllabic words,

the application of the g  
common deformation i  
being to move the fin  
more complicated and

- (a) bowl
- hoe
- Sallau (name)
- (b) camel
- greeting
- shoes
- (c) help
- double-reed instrumen
- (d) pupil, beggar
- workplace

[Reference: Alidou (1

the application of the game is straightforward, i.e.,  $S_1 S_2 \Rightarrow S_2 S_1$ . With trisyllabic words, the most common deformation is to move the initial syllable to final position, the next common alternative being to move the final syllable to initial position. With quadrisyllabic and longer words, the rules get more complicated and the options more varied. Examples:

	<i>Normal word</i>	<i>Game form</i>
(a) bowl	tāsà	sātà
hoe	kalmè	mèkàl
Sallau (name)	sàllau	làusal
(b) camel	rākumī	kùmīrā
greeting	gaisuwā	suwāgai
shoes	tākālmī	kālmītā
(c) help	tāimakō	kōtāimā
double-reed instrument	'ālgaitā	tā'algāi
(d) pupil, beggar	'ālmājīrī	jīrī'ālmā
workplace	ma'aikatā	tāma'aikā

[Reference: Alidou (1997)]

## 43. Linker

THE genitive linker, henceforth referred to simply as the linker (L), is one of the most widely used, most important grammatical markers in the language. It serves, for example, 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, e.g., *gidā na Sulè* 'Sule's house' (lit. house of Sule); and it also serves to connect an adjective with a following NP, e.g., *sābon gidā* 'new house' (lit. new.of house). (For consistency, the linker will be glossed as 'of' regardless of its syntactic or semantic function.) Like the stabilizer (see chap. 66) and the definite article (see chap. 20), the linker reflects a widespread Afroasiatic *n / t / n* pattern in which the masculine singular and the plural go together as opposed to the feminine singular.

The linker has two main variants, a free particle *na(a) / ta(a)*, which has two grammatically conditioned allomorphs differing in vowel length, and a bound clitic *-n / -ř* (which is written connected to its host).

### 1. FREE LINKER

#### 1.1. Form

The free linker normally has the form *Ca*, with a short vowel. When prefixed to a personal pronoun, however, it appears as *Cā*, with a long vowel.

##### 1.1.1. Free linker with short vowel

The basic freestanding linker has the shape *na / ta / na* (m./f./pl.) with a short vowel and H tone. The *ta* allomorph is used if the head NP that governs agreement is feminine singular; the *na* allomorph is used if the head NP is masculine singular or is plural. The governing NP is the X in the X L Y construction. The gender and number of the Y item to the right are irrelevant in determining the form of the linker, e.g.,

[bākā] <sub>m</sub> <i>na mahārbi</i>	the hunter's bow	[bakunkunā] <sub>pl</sub> <i>na mahārbi</i>	the hunter's bows
[kibiyā] <sub>f</sub> <i>ta mahārbi</i>	the hunter's arrow	[kibiyōyī] <sub>p</sub> <i>na mahārbi</i>	the hunter's arrows

##### 1.1.2. Prefixal linker with long vowel (independent possessive pronouns)

When the linker combines with a personal pronoun to produce a self-standing independent possessive, e.g., *nāmū* 'ours', *tākū* 'yours (pl.)', it has the shape *nā / tā / nā* (m./f./pl.) with a long vowel. The tone is high except in the case of the first person singular possessive, where it is low, i.e., *nāwa / tāwa* 'mine' (m. or pl. / f.). (see §59:1.1.5 for full paradigm).

<sup>o</sup>AN: Unlike the other pronouns, all of which have low tone, the first person singular pronoun *-wa* has inherent high tone. The normally high-tone prefixes *nā-* and *tā-* thereupon dissimilate and become low. Strictly speaking, it is inexact to speak of the linker that is attached to the following pronoun as being "free". I do so only to distinguish this allomorph of the linker from the one that occurs as a clitic attached to the preceding word.

As with the corresponding form, the linker is required if the referent is masculine singular.

*fensīřin nān nāwa nē*  
*tāsā tā fi tāta kyāu*  
*inā nākū sukè?*

#### 1.2. Use

##### 1.2.1. Non-adjacent

The free linker is required when a noun is possessed by some other noun with the definite article, e.g.,

*littāfi gūdā nāwa*  
*gidan nān na Mūsā*  
*makarantāř tāsū*  
*tantēbūr đin ta wān*  
*āl'ādū irin na Hāusā*  
*řigā bařā ta Lawān*  
cf. *řigāř Lawān bařā*

##### 1.2.2. Headless possessive

The free linker is required when a noun is possessed by a personal pronoun, e.g.,

*zanēn Kānde dā nā*  
*lābārun dā dā nā yā*  
*ta Mūsā tā lālācē, ta*

In the case of pronouns, the linker is required when the pronoun is used as a possessive, e.g.,

*gā dōkinsā, inā nākū*  
*ta Daudā tā fi tākū*  
*nā ajiyē nāmū cikin*  
*wannān tāsā cē*

Possessives normally require a personal pronoun to stand in for the possessor. The linker serves to emphasize the possessor, e.g.,

*yā sēcē tāwa mōtār*  
*inā nākū kudřin?* (= mine)  
cf. the neutral *inā ke*  
*gā nāwa littāfin gū*

##### 1.2.3. Ordinal numbers

The free linker is required when an ordinal number is used as a possessive, e.g.,

*yāřō nā ukū*



As with the corresponding short-vowel linkers, **tā** is used if the referent is feminine singular; **nā** is used if the referent is masculine (sg.) or plural, e.g.,

<b>fensīrin nān nāwa nè</b>	This pencil (m.) is mine.
<b>tāsà tā fi tātà kyāu</b>	His (ref. to some f. thing) is better than hers (ref. to some f. thing).
<b>inā nākù sukè?</b>	Where are yours (ref. to some pl. things)?

## 1.2. Use

### 1.2.1. Non-adjacent possessor

The free linker is required in possessive constructions whenever the possessor is separated from the noun possessed by some constituent such as an adjective, numeral, demonstrative, or even bound definite article, e.g.,

<b>littāfi gūdā nāwa</b>	one book of mine
<b>gidan nān nā Mūsā</b>	this house of Musa's
<b>makařantāf tāsū</b>	the school of theirs
<b>tantēbūr đīn ta wannān đ'an kwangilā</b>	the large truck (in question) of this contractor
<b>āl'ādū irin nā Hausāwā</b>	customs like those of the Hausa people
<b>rīgā bakā ta Lawān</b>	Lawan's black gown (lit. gown black of Lawan)

cf. **rīgāř Lawān bakā**, a semantically equivalent phrase with the bound clitic

### 1.2.2. Headless possessor

The free linker is required whenever the genitive phrase does not contain an overt host, e.g.,

<b>zanēn Kānde dà nā Hādizā</b>	Kande's cloth and Hadiza's
<b>lābāřun dā dà nā yānu</b>	tales of old and of the present
<b>ta Mūsā tā lālācē, ta Bellō fā?</b>	Musa's has broken down, how about Bello's?

In the case of pronouns, the forms that occur without hosts are the independent possessives, e.g.,

<b>gā dōkinsā, inā nākā?</b>	Here is his horse (m.), where is yours?
<b>ta Daudā tā fi tākū kyāu</b>	Dauda's (f. thing) is better than yours.
<b>nā ajiyē nāmū cikin đ'ākī</b>	I put ours (m. or pl. thing(s)) away in the room.
<b>wannān tāsā cē</b>	This is his (f. thing).

Possessives normally follow the head noun. With pronoun possessors, the independent possessive pronoun can stand in front of the (normally definite) noun in an appositional relationship. This structure serves to emphasize the possessor.

<b>yā sēcē tāwa mōtāř</b>	He stole <i>my</i> car. (lit. he stole mine the car)
<b>inā nākā kudīn? (= inā kudīn nākā?)</b>	Where is <i>your</i> money?
cf. the neutral <b>inā kudīnkā?</b>	Where is your money? (with the bound linker)
<b>gā nāwa littāfin gūdā</b>	Here is <i>my</i> one book.

### 1.2.3. Ordinal numerals

The free linker is used in forming ordinal numerals, e.g.,

<b>yāřō nā ukū</b>	the third boy
--------------------	---------------

yāriyā ta farkō  
na huđu yā fi na biyu gudù

the first girl  
 The fourth (man) can run faster than the second.

#### 1.2.4. Alternative to the clitic

The nonpronominal free linker is used as an optional alternative to the bound linker in possessive and other N of N expressions. With simple possessives, one normally gets the bound form. Where the possessed noun is complex, e.g., a compound, or where the “of” relationship is not possessive in the narrow sense, the free form is more common. Examples:

dōkì na Daudà = dōkìn Daudà Dauda’s horse; gidan-saurō na Mařyàm = gidan-sauron Mařyàm Maryam’s mosquito net; hùkùmà ta Bici = hùkùmàř Bici the governing authority of Bichi; wani àbù na mùgùntà = wani àbin mùgùntà an evil thing (lit. some thing of evil); zòbè na azùřfà = zòbèn azùřfà a silver ring

#### 1.2.5. Loanwords

The free linker (with nouns) or the independent possessive pronouns may be used after loanwords (especially those that are not fully integrated). It is also normal with foreign words, as in the case of language mixing by bilinguals. Examples:

- (a) lāsìn nāsà (= lāsìn dīnsà = lāsinsà) his license; cèk na bankì a bank check  
 (b) *vice-chancellor* nāmù our vice-chancellor; *Madonna ta gàrinmù* the Madonna of our town; wani friend nàwa (= dīnā) yā zò dàgà Landàn A friend of mine came from London.

## 2. BOUND LINKER WITH ZERO VOWEL

### 2.1. Allomorphs (-n / -ř)

When the linker attaches to the preceding word as an enclitic, it has the toneless forms -ř and -n, e.g., hùla-ř Gařbà ‘Garba’s cap’; mòtā-ř Bālā ‘Bala’s car’; wāndo-n Yūsufù ‘Yusufu’s trousers’, bīřò-n Sāni ‘Sani’s ballpoint pen’. (In orthography, the bound enclitic linker is written together with its head noun; the hyphen has been added here for descriptive clarity.) The -ř is (historically) a rhotacized syllable-final manifestation of the /t/ of the feminine linker t(a). The enclitic form can be used when followed either by NPs or adverbs or by pronouns, e.g., hùla-ř Gařbà ‘Garba’s cap’, jirgi-n kasà ‘train’ (lit. ship-of on the ground), hùla-ř-sà ‘his cap’.

The choice of -ř as opposed to -n has both grammatical and phonological conditioning. The -ř form is used only if the preceding word is feminine *and* ends in the vowel -a (whether long or short). Otherwise, -n is used. That is, -n is used with all masculine and plural words, regardless of the final vowel, and with all words ending in vowels other than -a, regardless of the gender and number, e.g.,

kibiyā-ř yāřò	the boy’s arrow (kibiyā is f. and ends in -a)
màtā-ř Bellò	Bello’s wife (màtā is f. and ends in -a)
kwàmìtì-n dǎlibai	the students’ committee (kwàmìtì is m.)
bàka-n gizò	rainbow (lit. bow-of Gizo (trickster)) (bākā is m.)
watā-n Yūli	month of July (watā is m.)
takubbàn azùřfā	swords of silver (takubbā is pl.)
gwamnatì-n Ingilā	the government of England (gwamnatì is f. but ends in /i/)
gwaggò-n mù	our aunt (gwaggò is f. but ends in /o/)
màge-n-sà	his cat (màge is f. but ends in /e/)

°AN: Apart from apply to the def

By contrast, in the ca to phonological sha masculine and plural

f: gwamnatì ta Ingilā biyu the second cat m/pl: kwàmìtìn nān azùřfā swords of sil

The surface forms of governing -n and -ř assimilates to the p boundary, e.g., dōkì When followed by / house’. The -n also e.g., kāvùn Lādi [k

Although syllal (thereby producing automatic. With the consonant is very → [madatsarruwā] Daudà (→) [rìgadda mù (→) [makařanta nān/nan ‘this/that always written as s ‘that window’.

°AN: In the le (tone variable) of the feminine it probably ma the original / \*\*wařcan), c gemination al ADN: In many following con \*\*mòtā-ř M morphologize that copies justification s and exception

2.1.1. Gender e In compounds hav of the word to its plural referents an

°AN: Apart from tone, the rules describing the required allomorph of the bound enclitic linker also apply to the definite article, e.g., *hùlāf* 'the cap', *bākān* 'the bow', *gwamnatìn* 'the government'.

By contrast, in the case of the free linker, the form is determined by gender/number only without regard to phonological shape, i.e., all feminine nouns take *ta* (whether they end in *-a(a)* or not) and all masculine and plural nouns take *na*, e.g.,

f: *gwamnatù ta Ingilà* the government of England; *gwaggòn nán tāmù* this aunt of ours; *màge ta biyu* the second cat  
 m/pl: *kwàmítìn nán nāsù* this committee of theirs; *watà na ukù* the third month; *takubbà na azùrfā* swords of silver

The surface forms of the zero-vowel linkers are determined partially by the general phonological rules governing *-n* and *-ř* in coda position and partially by morpheme-specific rules. Thus *-n* automatically assimilates to the position of the following consonant, whether in the same word or across a word boundary, e.g., *dōkìn-kà* [dōkìŋkà] 'your horse', *dōkìn kanāř* [dōkìŋkanāř] 'the colonel's horse'. When followed by /m/, the assimilation produces a surface geminate, e.g., *gidan-mù* [gidammù] 'our house'. The *-n* also tends to assimilate completely to following liquids, depending on speech tempo, e.g., *kāwùn Lādì* [kāwùllādì] 'Ladi's uncle'.

Although syllable-final rolled /ř/ sporadically assimilates fully to following coronal consonants (thereby producing surface geminates, e.g., *sayāř-dà* = *sayad-dà* 'sell'), this change is far from being automatic. With the zero-vowel linker *-ř*, on the other hand, assimilation to the following abutting consonant is very common, whether that consonant is a coronal or not, e.g., *madatsa-ř-ruwā* → [madatsarruwā] 'dam' (lit. blocking place-of-water); *ya-ř-sà* (→) [ 'yassà] 'his daughter'; *řiga-ř Daudā* (→) [řìgaddaudā] 'Dauda's gown'; *řawa-ř-tā* (→) [řawattā] 'her female friend'; *makařanta-ř-mù* (→) [makařantammù] 'our school', *hùla-ř-kà* (→) [hùlakkà] 'your cap'. Before the demonstratives *nán/nan* 'this/that near you', the assimilation is obligatory and in earlier orthographic practice was always written as such, i.e., //bishiya-ř nán// → *bishiyàn nán* 'this tree', *tāgā-ř nan* → *tāgàn nan* 'that window'.

°AN: In the lexicalized demonstratives, *wannan* (tone variable) 'this one/that one (f.)', and *waccan* (tone variable) 'that one (f.)', the first member of the geminate pair represents the zero-vowel form of the feminine linker (cf. the corresponding masculine forms *wannan* and *waccan*). In these cases, it probably makes sense to bypass the *-ř* stage and derive the surface forms by direct assimilation of the original //t//, i.e., *wannan* < //wa-t-nan// (not \*\*wařnan), and *waccan* < //wa-t-can// (not \*\*wařcan), contrast *bishiyà-c cān* = *bishiyà-ř cān* 'that tree', with the /ř/ not undergoing gemination allowed.

ΔDN: In many WH dialects, the zero-vowel feminine linker *always* becomes a geminate with the following consonant, e.g., *hùlak-kà* 'your cap', not \*\**hùlař-kà*, *mōtā-m Mūsā* 'Musa's car', not \*\**mōtā-ř Mūsā*. In these dialects, one has to analyze the feminine linker as having become morphologized as *-G* (= geminate), i.e., the linker consists of a completely unspecified consonant that copies its features fully from the following consonant. In these dialects, there is no justification synchronically in postulating an underlying *-t* or *-ř* that is then subject to an automatic and exceptionless complete assimilation rule.

### 2.1.1. Gender conflict in the form of the linker with compounds

In compounds having the internal structure N + L + N, the internal linker naturally agrees with the gender of the word to its left (see §16:2.1), i.e., /-ř/ for feminine words ending in *-a*, and /-n/ for masculine and plural referents and for all words not ending in *-a*, e.g., [gida-n]<sub>m</sub> *saurō* 'mosquito net' (lit. house-of

mosquito); [Rafà-ř]f kàzā 'type of facial marks' (lit. foot-of chicken). Problems arise, however, when a linker is added to the end of a compound. If both the last word of the compound and the compound as a whole have the same gender, then the assignment is straightforward: the linker simply takes the required concordial form, e.g.,

[gida-n [saurō]m ]m + L + NP ⇒ gida-n-sauro-n yāròn the boy's mosquito net (with the linker -n)  
 [Rafà-ř [kàzā]f ]f + L + NP ⇒ Rafàř-kàza-ř yāròn the boy's facial marks (with the linker -ř)

If, however, the gender of the final word and the gender and number of the compound as such do not match, one gets gender conflict. When this occurs, some speakers opt for local agreement of the linker with the final word, e.g., in [[dùtsè-n]m [gügà-ř]f ]m Bālā 'Bala's pressing iron' (lit. stone-of pressing-of Bala), the linker before Bālā agrees with the feminine word gügà rather than with the masculine compound dùtsèn-gügà. (The gender of the compound can be seen when, for example, it functions as a subject controlling a weak subject pronoun, e.g., dùtsèn-gügàř Bālā yā (not \*\*tā) lālācē 'Bala's iron (3m) quit working.')

Other examples:

[[àbōki-n]m [gàba-ř]f ]m -sà his enemy (lit. friend-of enmity-of-him)  
 [[aikì-n]m [gàyya-ř]f ]m ùnguwa-ř-mù the communal work of our neighborhood  
 (lit. work-of crowd-of neighborhood-of-us)  
 [[bàki-n]m [fàra-ř]f ]m kākā-nā my grandfather's turban  
 (lit. mouth-of grasshopper-of grandfather-of-me)  
 [[habà-ř]f [kadà-n]m ]f Lādi Ladi's hat (that resembles a crocodile's mouth)  
 (lit. chin-of crocodile-of Ladi)

With other speakers, however, the form of the linker is determined by the gender of the compound as such, the result being that one commonly finds an -n linker attached on the surface to a compound-final feminine word, e.g.,

[[dùtsè-n]m [gügà]f ]m -n Bālā Bala's pressing iron  
 [[àbōki-n]m [gàba]f ]m -n -sà his enemy  
 [[aikì-n]m [gàyya]f ]m -n ùnguwa-ř-mù the communal work of our neighborhood  
 [[bàki-n]m [fàra]f ]m -n kākā-nā my grandfather's turban

With feminine compounds, the problem of adding an -ř to a final masculine noun seldom arises because -n is usually required on phonological grounds anyway, e.g., in the phrase [audùga-ř-rimi-n]f nà 'this kapok', the linker has to be -n whether agreement is determined locally or not because rimi ends in a vowel other than /a/. If the final word ends in -a, on the other hand, it is possible to get -ř attached to a masculine noun, although this is much less common than the use of -n attached to a feminine word, e.g.,

??[ [habà-ř]f [kadà]m ]f -ř Lādi Ladi's hat

The variation in the form of the linker resulting from gender conflict in compounds occurs only with the enclitic zero-vowel linkers -n / -ř. If the na / ta free form is used, agreement is with the compound as a whole, the gender of the final word not normally having any influence on the choice of the linker, e.g.,

[dùtsè-n-gügà]m na Bālā Bala's pressing iron  
 [àbōki-n-gàbā]m na dà former enemy (lit. enemy of formerly)  
 [bàki-n-fàrā]m na biyu second turban (i.e., turban of two)

[habà-ř-kadà]f ta  
 [audùga-ř-rimi]f ta

2.1.2. Enclitic shi  
 There are two except  
 linker takes the sho  
 (which is unique am

kibiyà-ta-a (= /kibi  
 hūlā-ta-a  
 bakā-na-a  
 mijì-na-a  
 màgē-na-a  
 takubbā-na-a  
 talàbijìn dī-na-a

°AN: I am convi  
 example, has th  
 analyses are con  
 linker is interpre  
 i.e., kibiyà-t-ā,  
 pronoun with a  
 /wa/ does have  
 Abraham analysis  
 to be Ø / i.e., un  
 person possessi  
 inconsistent with  
 ΔDN: [i] In SH,  
 where the pronou  
 WH one also ge  
 of a single voca  
 [ii] In SH, the  
 applying to the  
 sāniyā-tā 'my c  
 hand, optionally  
 like the free no  
 màgē-tā 'my ca  
 'your governme  
 possessor by the  
 bás dī-nā), but  
 school'.

Second, the short-vo  
 third person singula

màtā-ta-sà = màtā  
 friend

°AN: In standar  
 whereas the var

[haḃà-ř-kadà ]ř ta Lādì  
[audùga-ř-rĩm]ř ta zāmānì

Ladi's hat  
modern kapok (i.e., kapok of modern times)

### 2.1.2. Enclitic short vowel linkers

There are two exceptions to the general rule that the enclitic bound linker has a zero vowel. First, the linker takes the short vowel-form (**ta** / **na**) when it occurs with the first person singular pronoun /a/ (which is unique among the pronouns in being vowel-initial), e.g.,

**kibiyà-ta-a** (= /kibiyàtā/) my arrow (cf. **kibiyà-ř-sù** their arrow)  
**hùlā-ta-a** my cap, cf. **hùlā-ř yārò** the boy's cap  
**bākā-na-a** my bow, cf. **bāka-n-sà** his bow  
**mijì-na-a** my husband, cf. **mijì-n-tà** her husband  
**māgē-na-a** my cat, cf. **māge-n-sù** their cat (cf. **māge tàwa cè** The cat is mine.)  
**takubbà-na-a** my swords, cf. **takubbà-n-kù** your (pl.) swords  
**talàbijìn dī-na-a** my television, cf. **talàbijìn dī-n-kà** your television

°AN: I am convinced that the internal analysis presented here is the correct one, i.e., /kibiyàtā/, for example, has the structure **kibiyà-ta-a**, and /mijìnā/ has the structure **mijì-na-a**. Two other analyses are commonly found in the literature, the first not being as bad as the second. First, the linker is interpreted as /t/ or /n/ and the first person pronoun is represented with a long vowel /ā/, i.e., **kibiyà-t-ā** and **mijì-n-ā**. This analysis sets the first person apart as the only possessive pronoun with a long vowel and ignores the fact that in the independent pronouns, the first person /wa/ does have a short vowel, i.e., **tà-wa** / **nà-wa** 'mine' (f. / m. and pl.). Second—this is the old Abraham analysis (1959b: 20)—the linker is interpreted as /ta/ and /na/ and the pronoun is assumed to be Ø/ i.e., understood/unexpressed. The main problem here, apart from the fact that the first person possessives normally have a long -ā, is that the linker is left stranded, which is totally inconsistent with the way it functions throughout the language.

ADN: [i] In SH, the short-vowel linker forms **na** / **ta** are essentially limited to the first person, where the pronoun consists solely of the vowel /a/. (All the other personal pronouns are CV.) In WH one also gets the **na** / **ta** forms in the third person masculine because this pronoun also consists of a single vocalic element /i/ (< \*y), e.g., **dōkì-na-i** 'his horse'; **màtā-ta-i** 'his wife'.

[ii] In SH, the rules governing the choice of **ta** vs. **na** in the first person are the same as those applying to the choice of -ř vs. -n, i.e., **ta** is used only with feminine nouns ending in -a, e.g., **sāniyā-tā** 'my cow', but **gwaggò-nā** 'my aunt', **māgē-nā** 'my cat'. Some WH speakers, on the other hand, optionally treat these first person forms (as well as the third person possessives -nai and -tai) like the free nonclitic linkers in that they allow **ta** with feminine nouns not ending in -a, e.g., **māgē-tā** 'my cat', (but **māge-n-kà** 'your cat'), **gwamnatì-tai** 'his government' (but **gwamnatì-nkù** 'your government'). Use of -ta is allowed also when the feminine noun is connected to the possessor by the particle **ki** (= SH **dī**), e.g., [Maradi] **kāř ki-tā** 'my bus' (= [Skt] **bās dī-tā**, cf. [SH] **bās dī-nā**), but **kāř ki-n-sù** 'their bus'; **lākkwāl ki-tai** 'his school', but **lākkwāl ki-n-tà** 'her school'.

Second, the short-vowel form -ta- is optionally used with a-final feminine nouns when followed by a third person singular pronoun, e.g.,

**màtā-ta-sà** = **màta-ř-sà** his wife; **'yā-ta-sà** = **'ya-ř-sà** his daughter; **kawā-ta-tà** = **kawa-ř-tà** her friend

°AN: In standard orthography, such items as **màta-ř-sà** 'his wife' are written as one word (**matarsa**) whereas the variant **màtā-ta-sà** is represented as two words (**mata tasa**). Analytically there is no

difference: in both cases the linker and following pronoun are phonologically attached to the head noun.

This archaic usage is quite common with a few high-frequency nouns referring to closely related persons; otherwise the zero-vowel linker is preferred or required, e.g., *hùlā-ř-sà* 'his cap', not **\*\*hùlā-ta-sà**. One normally cannot use the corresponding masculine linker **-na-** in place of the zero-vowel **-n**, i.e., *mijì-tà* 'her husband' would not be expressed as **\*\*mijì-na-tà**. One does, however, run across examples of nonreduced **-na-** scattered here and there in written sources (literary license?), e.g., *àkū-na-sà* 'his parrot', cf. the more normal *àku-n-sà*.

### 2.1.3. Form of the noun to which the linker is attached

The enclitic bound linkers attach directly to vowel-final words. Changes in the vowel, e.g., vowel shortening, centralization of mid vowels, and diphthong simplification, follow automatically from the application of general phonological rules affecting vowels in closed syllables, e.g.,

<i>rìgā</i> + <b>-ř</b> → <i>rìgāř</i>	gown of	<i>dōkī</i> + <b>-n</b> → <i>dōkīn</i>	horse of
<i>màge</i> + <b>-n</b> → <i>màgen</i> [màgyan]	cat of	<i>zōmō</i> + <b>n</b> → <i>zōmon</i> [zōmən]	hare of
<i>mái</i> + <b>-n</b> → <i>mán</i>	oil of		

The vowel changes affecting underlying final /e(e)/ and /o(o)/ are not indicated in standard orthography, e.g., *magensa* 'his cat' (not **\*\*magyansa**), whereas the diphthong reductions are indicated, e.g., *man shanu* 'butter' (lit. oil of cattle) (not **\*\*main shanu**).

Whenever the syllable preceding the enclitic linker is open, as in the first person (or in the third person in some WH dialects), it always has a long vowel. If the final vowel of the head word is underlyingly short, it is lengthened, e.g.,

<i>kàrē</i> + <b>-na</b> + <b>-a</b> → <i>kàrēnā</i>	my dog	<i>hùlā</i> + <b>-ta</b> + <b>-a</b> → <i>hùlātā</i>	my gown
<i>àku</i> + <b>-na</b> + <b>a</b> → <i>àkūnā</i>	my parrot	<i>àyàbà</i> + <b>-ta</b> + <b>-a</b> → <i>àyàbātā</i>	my banana
<i>gōřd</i> + <b>-na</b> + <b>i</b> → <i>gōřdōnai</i>	his kolanuts	<i>hwādà</i> + <b>-ta</b> + <b>i</b> → <i>hwādātai</i>	his palace

The vowel length rule also applies before the enclitic short-vowel linkers found in the third person feminine forms **-tasà** / **-tatà** 'his / her' and the less common masculine counterparts, e.g.,

*mātā* + **-tasà** → *mātā-tasà* his wife; *hausa* + **-tatà** → *hausā-tatà* her language / her Hausa; *à tsakà* + **-tasà** → *à tsakà-tasà* in its center (= *à tsakà-řsà*); *àku* + **-nasà** → *àkū-nasà* his parrot

Note that the lengthening applies only to the enclitic linker and not to the free form, e.g., *gwàdò* 'blanket', *gwàdōnā* 'my blanket', but *gwàdò na Mūsā* 'Musa's blanket'.

<sup>o</sup>AN: Following Carnochan's (1951) discovery that words with a short final vowel lengthened in the first person, e.g., *cuku* 'cheese', but *cukū-nā* 'my cheese', it has generally been accepted that there was a special *morphological* rule limited to first person possessive pronouns. In a brief note, which has been overlooked by most Hausaists, Schuh (1977a: 74) proposed a better analysis. Without specifying the first person, one could postulate a general morphological rule requiring that final vowels before an enclitic linker be long/lengthened in all cases. If a zero-vowel form of the linker was used *and* it was followed by a consonant-initial pronoun, i.e., the **-n** or **-ř** occupied the coda position, the preceding vowel automatically shortened by the phonologically regular rule affecting vowels in closed syllables, e.g., *cuku* + **-L** + **-sà** ⇒ **\*cukū-n-sà** → /*cukunsà* / 'his cheese'; *hausa* + **-L** + **-sà** ⇒ **\*hausā-ř-sà** → *hausāřsà* 'his language'. In *phonological* environments

where the long  
+ **-a** ⇒ *cukū-*  
follow naturally  
'his palace' (WH)

### 2.1.4. Consonant-final

Some consonant-final words are determined as for lexemes of words insert /u(u)/ (see the next section). The vowel is standard with the given below plus pronounced with monosyllabic words

<i>àlhāmīs</i>	Thursday
<i>àlhānzīř</i>	wart hog
<i>glās</i>	glass
<i>lībīřs</i>	Satan
<i>kānānzīř</i>	kerosene
<i>līmām</i>	imam
<i>mūtūm</i>	man
<i>ōřs</i>	office
<i>řāsīt</i> (< /řāsīt//)	re
<i>sāmfūr</i>	sample(s)
<i>shāīdān</i>	Satan, ro
<i>shēbūr</i>	shovel
<i>takwās</i>	eight
<i>tēbūr</i>	table
<i>tūmātūr</i>	tomato
<i>hāřām</i>	prohibiti
<i>řāmūs</i>	dictionary

If the base word ends in a penultimate vowel, v (of)'. However, it goes to 'prohibition (of)'. If the penultimate vowel is 'dictionary (of)' is to

<sup>o</sup>AN: Although one could analyze it as a 'preserved when' for some words described as C respectively. This in the genitive—add /i/; rather than the dozen or so consonant-final

where the long vowel can appear on the surface (such as in the first person), it does, e.g., *cuku* + -L + -a ⇒ *cukū-na-a* → /*cukūnā*/. The cases of lengthening described above in the third person follow naturally from this analysis, e.g., *hwādā* 'palace' + -L + -i ⇒ *hwādā-ta-i* → /*hwādātai*/ 'his palace' (WH); *hausa* + -L + -tā ⇒ *hausā-ta-tā* → /*hausātātā*/ 'her language'.

2.1.4. Consonant-final words before the linker: Insertion of an epenthetic vowel

Some consonant-final words insert an epenthetic /i(i)/ before the linker, the surface length being determined as for lexical-final vowels. (Word-final coronals palatalize when /i(i)/ is inserted.) A couple of words insert /u(u)/ rather than /i(i)/. Words that do not add the vowel use a connector *ɗi* (described in the next section). The usual grammatical descriptions give the impression that use of the epenthetic vowel is standard with consonant-final words. In fact, it is uncommon, being restricted to the examples given below plus probably a few more words that have been overlooked. The inserted vowel is never used with monosyllabic words. Examples:

<i>àlhāmīs</i>	Thursday	<i>àlhāmīshì-n nan</i>	that Thursday (= <i>àlhāmīs ɗi-n nan</i> )
<i>àlhànzīr</i>	wart hog	<i>àlhànzīrì-n-sà</i>	his wart hog (= the preferred <i>àlhànzīr ɗinsà</i> )
<i>gīlās</i>	glass	<i>gīlāshì-n mōtā</i>	the car glass (windshield)
<i>ībilīs</i>	Satan	<i>ībilīshì-n yārō</i>	a devil of a boy
<i>kānānzīr</i>	kerosene	<i>kānānzīrī-nā</i>	my kerosene
<i>līmām</i>	imam	<i>līmāmì-n kīrīstā</i>	bishop (Christian)
<i>mùtùm</i>	man	<i>mùtùmì-n nān</i>	this man
<i>ōfis</i>	office	<i>ōfishì-n-mù</i>	our office
<i>fāsīt</i> (< / <i>fāsīt</i> /)	receipt	<i>fāsītì-n nan</i>	that receipt
<i>samfūr</i>	sample(s)	<i>samfūrì-n ɗan tīrēdā</i>	the trader's sample(s)
<i>shàid'ān</i>	Satan, rogue	<i>shàid'ānì-n nan</i>	that rogue
<i>shēbūr</i>	shovel	<i>shēbūrì-n lēbūrā</i>	the worker's shovel
<i>takwās</i>	eight	<i>takwāshì-n-sù</i>	eight of them (= the preferred <i>takwās ɗin-sù</i> )
<i>tēbūr</i>	table	<i>tēbūrì-nā</i>	my table
<i>tùmātīr</i>	tomato	<i>tùmātīrì-n nān</i>	these tomatoes
<i>hārām</i>	prohibition	<i>hārāmù-n nan</i>	that prohibition
<i>kāmùs</i>	dictionary	<i>kāmūsù-n mālām</i>	the teacher's dictionary (= <i>kāmūshì-n mālām</i> )

If the base word ends in a falling tone, the HL spreads over the last two syllables. The length of the penultimate vowel, which is now open, remains short in a few cases, e.g., *mùtùm* / *mùtùmì-n* 'man (of)'. However, it generally becomes long e.g., *gīlās* / *gīlāshì-n* 'glass (of)'; *hārām* / *hārāmù-n* 'prohibition (of)'. If the base word ends in low tone, the inserted vowel has high tone and the penultimate vowel is invariably short, e.g., *ōfis* / *ōfishì-n* 'office (of)'. The word *kāmùs*, gen. *kāmūsùn* 'dictionary (of)' is tonally exceptional.

°AN: Although one can speak of the inserted vowel as an epenthetic element, it is preferable to analyze it as a "latent" vowel that underlyingly belongs to the lexical stem. This latent vowel is preserved when the zero-vowel linker (or definite article) is attached, otherwise it is optionally (and for some words, usually) dropped. Words such as *tēbūr* 'table' and *fāsīt* 'receipt', which were described as C-final, would thus have the underlying lexical forms *tēbūr(ì)* and *fāsīt(ì)*, respectively. This analysis explains why such a small number of C-final words actually add a vowel in the genitive—namely, there is no such rule! Words that are truly C final (over 250 items) do not add /i/; rather they employ the connector *ɗi*. The only words that add /i/, i.e., appear to do so, are the dozen or so words that already have a lexical final vowel, albeit a latent one. Thus, a true consonant-final word like *māshīn* 'motorcycle' does not allow use of the presumed epenthetic

vowel, i.e., to express 'his 'motorcycle', one must say **màshìn d'insà** (or **màshìn nāsà**) not **\*\*màshìninsà**. Note, moreover, that this latent vowel analysis allows us to account for the length of the penultimate vowel when the syllable is opened. (In closed syllables all vowels are necessarily short.) The contrast between **mùtúm** / **mùtùmìn** 'man (of)', with a short vowel, and **gìlās** / **gìlāshìn** 'glass', with a long vowel, is due to the difference in vowel length in the presumed lexical entries **mùtùmì** vs. **gìlās(h)ì** and is not an artifact of the putative vowel-insertion rule.

The word **àbù** 'thing' has an irregular genitive form **àbi-n** (e.g., **àbi-nsà** 'his thing'). (There is also a corresponding feminine form **àba-ř**, which is much less commonly used.) In the genitive, the consonant final word **àshār** 'obscene language; curse' either uses the connective **đi** (see below), e.g., **àshār đin nān** 'this curse', or else switches to its equivalent feminine counterpart, e.g., **àshāřiyā-ř nān**. The word **màcè** 'woman, wife', can take a linker, e.g., **màcèn Sulè** 'Sule's wife', but it is usually replaced in the genitive by **màtā**, e.g., **màtāř Sulè**.

°AN: Some speakers totally reject phrases like **màcèn Sulè** 'Sule's wife', or, if they accept them, they view them as insulting and derogatory.

°HN: Originally the only nominal form for 'woman/wife' was probably **màtā**. The word **màcè** at that time would have been a derived adverbial-like form meaning 'female', cf. 'yā **màcè** 'female child'. (The derivational process would have been something akin to the one found in the pair **bākì** 'mouth' vs. **bakà** 'in the mouth', where one also finds shortening of both the final and the internal vowel.) Later the use of **màcè** would have spread into the nominal domain with the general meaning of 'woman'.

The word **rāna-ř** 'day of' is standardly clipped to **ran** (e.g., **ran kāsūwā** 'market day'). Other clipped genitives are generally restricted to compounds, e.g.,

**ban-đākì** toilet < **bāya-n đākì** back-of room; **kan-sallà** gifts given at Sallah time < **kāya-n sallà** goods-of holiday; **san-kurmì** the head of the prison < **sarki-n kurmì** chief-of wooded district; **gajen-hàkuri** impatience < **gàjere-n hàkuri** short-of patience

### 2.1.5. The connector **đi**-

Most consonant-final words do not attach the linker by means of a transitional vowel. Instead they employ a connector **đi**- (= **ki**- in some northwestern Hausa dialects). The **-n** linker is always used (i.e., one gets **đin** (or **kin**)) regardless of the gender of the head word because the connectors end in a vowel other than **-a**. C-final words that form the genitive with the inserted vowel (i.e., words with the latent final vowel described above) may allow use of the connector as an alternative depending on dialectal and idiolectal preference.

**inifàm đin yārā** children's uniforms; **téf đin Kànde** Kande's tape; **sandàl đin-sà** his sandals (= **sandàli-n-sà**); **tsit đin-tà** her reticence; **bòm đin nān** this bomb; **sweetheart đin-kà** your sweetheart; **tantèbùř đin-sà** his semitrailer truck, cf. **tèbùři-n-sà** his table (preferred over **?tèbùř đin-sà**)

In open syllables, the vowel of **đi**- (or **ki**-) is always long (as is true of all vowels before the linker), i.e., **bél đin-nā** 'my belt'. In closed syllables, one gets **đin** with a short vowel. This often reduces phonetically to /d/ followed by a syllabic nasal, i.e., /đn/. When **đi** occurs with the low-tone definite article, one gets **đin** (or **đn**) with a falling tone, e.g., **daimòn đin** 'the diamond in question'.

°AN: [i] Although I cite the connector as **đi**- with a short vowel, there is in fact no way to determine

the length of the  
the linker are long  
automatically sho  
properly, one alw  
vowel or an under  
[i:] My impressi  
monomorphemic  
bimorphemic word  
**đin**. For a detaile

The connector **đi** is al  
words like numerals,  
independent pronouns

**biyu-n-mù** = **biyu đin**  
this very day; **Bellò-n**  
**fàsfo đin-sà** his pass  
**nān** = **kòmfiyutā đin**  
strike-you-withdraw);  
psn we were referring

°AN: Normally th  
low tone definitè  
the latter than wit  
**ràgò-n** 'the ram  
**ràgo-n-sà** 'his ra

2.1.6. Word-final /  
With **n**-final loanwor  
lexical final consonar  
new development; wh

**lāsìn nē** It is a li  
**lillmān nē** It is lin  
**mishān nē** It is a r  
**mòngwamařān cē** I  
= **mòngwamařān tā**

°AN: In **mòngw**  
**mòngwamařān**,

### 2.2. Use

The enclitic linker ha  
uses of 'of' in English

#### 2.2.1. Possessives

The linker is used to  
certain constraints.)  
possession having to



the length of the underlying vowel. As indicated earlier, all vowels in open syllables followed by the linker are long, e.g., **ɗɪnā**, cf. **àkūnā** 'my parrot' (< àku), and all vowels in a closed syllable are automatically short, e.g., **ɗɪnsà**, cf. **jàkinsà** 'his donkey' (< jàki); so if one applies the rules properly, one always ends up with the right result whether one starts out with an underlying long vowel or an underlying short vowel.

[ii] My impression is that native Hausa speakers consider **ɗɪn** to be an unanalyzable monomorphemic word, i.e., a variant form of the linker (or definite article) rather than as a bimorphemic word containing the **-n** linker. In standard orthography it is written as a single word **ɗɪn**. For a detailed study of this connector, see Buba (1997b).

The connector **ɗɪ** is also used (in some cases optionally, in others obligatorily) with certain vowel-final words like numerals, temporal adverbs, proper names, recent loanwords, compound nouns, and independent pronouns, e.g.,

**biyu-n-mù** = **biyu ɗɪn-mù** two of us; **dùbba-n-sù** = **dùbbai ɗɪn-sù** thousands of them; **yāu ɗɪn nān** this very day; **Bellò-n-tà** = **Bellò ɗɪn-tà** her Bello; **Jānaiɾù ɗɪn-mù** our January; **fàsfò-n-sà** = **fàsfò ɗɪn-sà** his passport; **fuɾòfàgandà-ɾ-sù** = **fuɾòfàgandà ɗɪn-sù** their propaganda; **kòmfiyùtā-ɾ nān** = **kòmfiyùtā ɗɪn nān** this computer; **'yan-sàri-kà-nòkè ɗɪn-sù** their guerrillas (lit. sons-of-strike-you-withdraw); **fàɗi-kà-mutù ɗɪn-tà** her chinaware (lit. fall-you-die); **ita ɗɪn nān** she (that psn we were referring to) (lit. she **ɗɪ**.of that)

°AN: Normally the formation rules for the zero-vowel linkers **-n** / **-ɾ** and the segmentally identical low tone definite articles **-n** / **-ɾ** are the same. However, the use of **ɗɪ** is much more prevalent with the latter than with the former and in fact can be used with almost any noun or NP. Thus **ràgò ɗɪ-n** (= **ràgò-n**) 'the ram in question' is possible whereas **\*\*ràgò ɗɪn-sà** is not an appropriate substitute for **ràgò-n-sà** 'his ram'.

### 2.1.6. Word-final /n/

With **n**-final loanwords, some speakers allow the final /n/ to serve doubly as the linker as well as the lexical final consonant. (Alternatively, one could say that **n**-final words allow a zero linker.) This is a new development; whether it will catch on is yet to be determined. Examples:

<b>lāsìn nē</b>	It is a license.	<b>lāsì-n-sà</b> = <b>lāsìn ɗɪn-sà</b> = <b>lāsìn nāsà</b>	his license
<b>lilimàn nē</b>	It is liniment.	<b>lilimā-n-tà</b> = <b>lilimàn ɗɪn-tà</b> = <b>lilimàn nātà</b>	her liniment
<b>mishàn nē</b>	It is a mission.	<b>mishà-n-sù</b> = <b>mishàn ɗɪn-sù</b>	their mission
<b>mòngwamaɾàn cē</b>	It is a beret.	<b>mòngwamaɾà-n-sà</b> = <b>mòngwamaɾàn ɗɪn-sà</b>	
		= <b>mòngwamaɾàn tāsà</b>	his beret

°AN: In **mòngwamaɾà-n-sà** the interpretation of /n/ as a linker creates an anomaly because **mòngwamaɾàn**, a loanword derived from (Field Marshall) Montgomery, has feminine gender.

## 2.2. Use

The enclitic linker has a wide range of uses, comparable to, but probably even more extensive than, the uses of 'of' in English. Here are a number of its major functions.

### 2.2.1. Possessives

The linker is used to form possessives. (Noun possessors allow the free form as an alternative, subject to certain constraints.) There is no formal distinction between normal possession of things and inalienable possession having to do with kin terms or body parts, e.g.,

**dōkì-n Daudà** (= **dōkì na Daudà**) Dauda's horse; **màta-ř Sulè** Sule's wife; **dōgon hanci-n Bātūrè** the European's long nose; **'yā-ta-sà** his daughter; **gidàje-n-sù** their house; **gwamnatì-n-mù** our government; **fuskà-tā** my face; **gidan-sauro-n Mařyàm** (= **gidan-saurō na Mařyàm**) Maryam's mosquito net

### 2.2.2. Miscellaneous N of N

The linker serves to connect nouns in a range of N of N or N of Adverb constructions in which the genitive phrase modifies the head noun in some way, e.g.,

**àmfàni-n gōnā** agricultural products (lit. produce of farm); **dākì-n hayà** apartment, rented room (lit. room-of renting); **fili-n wàsā** playground (lit. field-of play); **gida-n siminù** cement house (lit. house-of cement); **gōga-n d'āzu** the hero of the moment; **hùkùmà-ř Bici** (= **hùkùmà ta Bici**) the governing authority of Bichi; **lèmo-n tǎnjǎřin** tangerine (lit. orange-of tangerine); **nauyi-n yāu-dà-kullum** everyday responsibilities (lit. weight-of today-and-always); **ruwa-n zāři** hot water (lit. water-of heat); **tāshà-ř jirgì** train station (lit. station-of vehicle); **wani àbi-n mùgùntā** = **wani àbù na mùgùntā** an evil thing (lit. some thing-of evil)

Semantically, the linker sometimes indicates 'for, toward, etc.' and sometimes 'from, against'; sometimes it indicates the goal or object, and sometimes the possessor, e.g.,

<b>māgàni-n karfi</b>	medicine to give strength, cf. <b>māgàni-n zàzzàbì</b> medicine against fever
<b>gida-n saurō</b>	mosquito net (lit. house-from/against mosquitoes)
<b>gudù-n gyāra-n dāgā</b>	a strategic retreat (lit. running-from fixing-of battle)
<b>gudù-n māsifā</b>	running from the tragedy
	(also 'a hell of a lot of running', with <b>māsifā</b> functioning as a modifier of <b>gudù</b> )
<b>lābāři-n-sà</b>	story about him or his story (that he was telling)

### 2.2.3. Part of

The linker is used to indicate 'part of' relationships, e.g.,

**hannu-n rìgā** the sleeve of the gown; **bāya-n gārì** the back of the town (or behind the town); **ba-n-dākì** toilet (< **bāya-n dākì** back of hut); **kafà-ř tēbùř** the leg of the table; **kōli-n dūtsè** the top of the mountain

### 2.2.4. Quantity of

The linker is used with numerals and other quantifiers to indicate 'X of them'. (The words **dukkàni-n** and **d'aukaci-n** 'all of, the entirety of' invariably occur with the linker attached.) Examples:

**biyu-n-kù** two of you; **takwàs d'in-sù** eight of them; **d'aya-ř-mù** one (f.) of us; **dùbban bāyi** thousands of slaves; **dukkà-n-mù** all of us; **d'aukaci-n d'ālibai** all of the students

### 2.2.5. Genitive prepositions

The use of the linker with body-part terms and some locative adverbs has become fixed in the formation of "genitive prepositions" (see §57:2), e.g.,

**bāyan** behind, after, cf. **bāyā** = **bāi** back; **gāban** in front of, cf. **gābā** front, chest; **kān** on (top of), cf. **kāi** head; **samàn** above, on top of, cf. **samā** sky; **wurin** (= **gún**) at, cf. **wurì** (= **gù**) place

### 2.2.6. Diminutive

The use of the linker morphemes **d'an / 'yā** / ('), namely, **d'ā / 'yā / ('**

**d'an rāgō** a small rat  
**zōmō** a wee small rat  
**d'an kāsuwā** a trade  
'answering'); **'yan k**

### 2.2.7. Compound

The enclitic linker compounds (including

**tāwadà-ř-Allāh** big  
**kara-n-hanci** bridge  
**kuda-n-zumā** bee  
(lit. gown-of-breast);  
flour (lit. daughter.of

### 2.2.8. Prenominal

The enclitic linker compounds of adjectives are juxtaposed

**gājere-n yārō** (not  
**fara-ř mōtā**  
**sābābbi-n gidāje**

### 2.2.9. Object genitive

The enclitic linker compounds of genitive pronouns and verb plus object; syn feminine VNs, it is possible. Examples:

**tanā sàye-n nāmā**  
**sun dainā shā-n giyā**  
**tanā ta zāgì-n-sà**  
**Bellò yanā kirā-nā**  
**munā kārba-ř-tā** (=

The linker can also

**kadā kà jì tsòro-n**  
(lit. don't you feel

## 2.2.6. Diminutives, persons of

The use of the linker has become fixed and frozen in the diminutive and occupational/ethnonymic morphemes **ɗan** / 'yaɸ / 'yan (m./f./pl.), which are built on the words for son/daughter/children, namely, **ɗá** / 'yā / ('yā)'yā, e.g.,

**ɗan rāgō** a small ram; **'yaɸ tunkiyā** a small lamb; **'yan tumāki** small lambs/sheep; **ɗan kàramin zōmō** a wee small rabbit; **'yaɸ kāsuwā** a small market (or a market women)  
**ɗan kāsuwā** a trader; **'yaɸ Kanō** a Kano woman; **'yan amshì** chorus/backup singers (< **amshì** 'answering'); **'yan kazagi** yes-men (lit. children of the small drum **kazagi**); **'yan Bosniyā** Bosnians

## 2.2.7. Compounds

The enclitic linker (but not the free form) serves to connect nouns in the very common N of N compounds (including those with **ɗan** / 'yaɸ / 'yan), e.g.,

**tàwadā-ɸ-Allāh** birthmark, dark pigmentation on skin. (lit. ink-of-God) (not **\*\*tàwadā-ta-Allāh**); **kara-n-hanci** bridge of the nose (lit. cornstalk-of-nose); **kwānō-n-sarki** head-pan (lit. pan-of-chief); **ɸuda-n-zumā** bee (lit. fly-of-honey); **mā-n-shānū** butter (lit. oil-of-cattle); **riḡa-ɸ-nōnō** brassiere (lit. gown-of-breast); **ɗan-adām** human being (lit. son.of-Adam); **'yaɸ-yāu** cake made of cassava flour (lit. daughter.of-today); **'yan-biyu** twins (lit. children.of-two)

## 2.2.8. Prenominal adjectives

The enclitic linker connects prenominal adjectives with a following noun. (By contrast, postnominal adjectives are juxtaposed to the noun without a linker.) Examples:

<b>gājēre-n yārō</b> (not <b>**gājēre na yārō</b> )	short boy (= <b>yārō gājēre</b> )
<b>fara-ɸ mōtā</b>	white car (= <b>mōtā farā</b> )
<b>sābābbi-n gidājē</b>	new houses (= <b>gidājē sàbābbi</b> )

## 2.2.9. Object genitives

The enclitic linker connects a verbal noun with its thematic object. Because of the linker, one gets genitive pronouns rather than direct object pronouns. (Semantically one has what can be translated as a verb plus object; syntactically one has a genitive construction.) With third person pronouns attached to feminine VNs, it is possible to use the short-vowel enclitic linker **-ta-** instead of the zero-vowel **-ɸ** form. Examples:

<b>tanà sàye-n nāmā</b>	She is buying meat.
<b>sun dainà shā-n giyā</b>	They quit drinking beer.
<b>tanà ta zāḡi-n-sā</b>	She keeps on insulting him.
<b>Bellò yanà kirā-nā</b> (< //kirā-na-a//)	Bello is calling me. (cf. <b>Bellò yā kirā ni</b> Bello called me.)
<b>munà kārba-ɸ-tà</b> (= <b>munà kārba-ta-tà</b> )	We are receiving it.

The linker can also introduce semantic objects of nonverbal dynamic nouns, e.g.,

<b>kadà kà ji tsōro-n dōdōn!</b> (lit. don't you feel fear.of goblin.the)	Don't be afraid of the goblin!
--	--------------------------------

2.2.10. Subject genitives

Because verbal nouns are nouns, it follows that an enclitic genitive linker phrase following a verbal noun can also be a semantic possessor or agent, e.g.,

<b>haḥbì-n wàzīrì yā buṙgè ni</b>	The vizier's shooting impressed me.
(cf. <b>haḥbì-n wàzīrì àbin kunyà nē</b> )	The shooting (assassination) of the vizier was shameful.
<b>rùbùtu-n-sà yā fi kyáu</b>	His writing is best.

◊HN: The ambiguity found in 'his shooting' (i.e., he was shot) and 'his shooting' (i.e., he did shooting) is due to the fact that Hausa has lost the formal distinction between a short genitive (inalienable possession), which would have been used for thematic objects of verbal nouns, and a long genitive (alienable possession), which would have been used for semantic agents. This distinction is alive and well in related West Chadic languages like Kanakuru (Newman1974) and Miya (Schuh1989a).

[Reference: Parsons (1961)]

44. LO

1. SOURCE OF U

**T**HE Standard Ha come from Eng probably make up no

°AN: The figure loanwords found project.

1.1. English

The introduction of beginning of the tw sizable number of ful rate, such that the n Almost all of the positions, items conr

**bankì** bank; **bizà** professor; **fensìf** p **māsìnjà** messenger (oz.); **fèzà** razorbla

There are a few borro verbal nouns (which

**càjā** to charge ( **canzà** to change **fācè** to patch **hà yā** to rent **jōnà** to splice **wānà** to wind (e.

There is one numer **biliyàn** 'billion' can

e following a verbal

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ooting' (i.e., he did  
een a short genitive  
f verbal nouns, and a  
mantic agents. This  
(Newman1974) and

## 44. Loanwords

### 1. SOURCE OF LOANWORDS

THE Standard Hausa lexicon contains a large number of loanwords. Of these, something over a half come from English and just under a half come from Arabic. Loanwords from other languages probably make up no more than five percent of the identifiable loanwords.

°AN: The figures above refer to Hausa as spoken in Nigeria. The percentages represent the number of loanwords found in a list of some 8,800 words in a lexical database assembled for the grammar project.

#### 1.1. English

The introduction of English loanwords began with the British takeover of northern Nigeria at the beginning of the twentieth century. By the time of Bargery's dictionary (1934), there was already a sizable number of fully integrated English loanwords. Since then, their number has increased at a rapid rate, such that the number of English loanwords (over 600) now exceeds that of Arabic loanwords. Almost all of the loanwords are nouns, mostly denoting material objects, governmental/military positions, items connected with Western education, calendar months, etc. Selected examples:

**banki** bank; **bizà** visa; **danjà** brakelight on car, danger; **Disambà** December; **fàřfēsà** = **fùřòfēsà** professor; **fensir** pencil; **hamà** hammer; **hōdà** powder; **kanar** colonel; **laità** cigarette lighter; **māsinjā** messenger; **mōngwamařān** beret (< (General) Montgomery); **ōzà** ounce (< abbreviation oz.); **řēzà** razorblade; **sakandāřē** secondary school; **tikitì** ticket

There are a few borrowed verbs, but these are in reality internal creations backformed from borrowed verbal nouns (which, fortuitously, are phonologically similar in Hausa and English), e.g.,

<b>càjā</b>	to charge (s.o. of a crime)	< <b>cājì</b>	charging, a charge
<b>canzà</b>	to change	< <b>canjì</b>	changing, change
<b>fācè</b>	to patch	< <b>fācì</b>	patching, a patch
<b>hāyā</b>	to rent	< <b>hayà</b>	renting (British Eng. hiring)
<b>jōnà</b>	to splice	< <b>jōnì</b>	splicing (joining)
<b>wānà</b>	to wind (e.g., a clock)	< <b>wānì</b>	winding

There is one numeral in common use borrowed from English, namely **miliyān** 'million' (although **biliyān** 'billion' can be expected) and one adjective, namely the color term **yalò** 'yellow'.

### 1.2. French

In Niger, which was a French colony, many French loans have been adopted instead of the English loanwords that one has in standard Nigerian Hausa. As with the English loanwords, most of the words borrowed from French are nouns denoting objects and occupations that were introduced during the colonial period. Examples:

**àbòkà** lawyer (Fr. avocat); **blyêf** beer (Fr. bière); **dimāshì** Sunday (Fr. dimanche); **dùbbán** wine (Fr. du vin); **gàs** butane gas (Fr. gaz); **gàtò** cake (Fr. gâteau); **kàdò** gift for children (Fr. cadeau); **kàré** quarter of a town (Fr. carré); **kàmyó** truck (Fr. camion); **kasò** prison (Fr. cachot); **làkìlé** key (Fr. la clé); **lùlèti** eyeglasses (Fr. lunettes); **luwùl** motor oil (Fr. l'huile); **màtálá** mattress (Fr. matelas); **mùshé** Mr., educated man (Fr. monsieur); **pàfmi** driver's license (Fr. permis); **pàsàjé** passenger (Fr. passager); **pìl** flashlight battery (Fr. pile); **shàpó** hat (Fr. chapeau); **tambùr** postage stamp (Fr. timbre(-poste))

°AN: Hausa does not have /p/ as a distinct phoneme. English words with /p/ tend to be borrowed into SH with /f/, which is the closest sound, e.g., pencil > **fensìr**. In WH dialects spoken in Niger, which have /hw/ or /h/ in place of SH /f/, the /f/ is not available to represent /p/ in loanwords. The dialectal /hw/ and /h/, on the other hand, are phonetically too distant from /p/ to serve as reasonable substitutes. As a result, such words as **pàfmi**, **pìl**, etc. are borrowed with the foreign /p/ phoneme.

### 1.3. Arabic

Arabic loanwords have entered the language over a long period of time beginning with the introduction of Islam over five hundred years ago and continuing to the present day. Semantically, the loanwords cover the areas of religion, warfare and horsemanship, government and law, mathematics (including numerals from twenty up), calendrical periods, science, business and trading (including trade goods), abstract ideas, etc. Examples:

**àlbàrùshì** gunpowder; **gahawà** (Turkish) coffee; **harāfi** letter of the alphabet; **làdán** muezzin; **Lārabā** Wednesday; **linzāmì** bridle; **lìshā = ìshā** fifth prayer of the day; **Mùharfām** first month of the year in the Muslim calendar; **mulkì** rule, government, control, power; **fìba** bank interest, usury; **fìdda** apostasy; rejection of one's religious beliefs; **safarā** itinerant trading; **sulhù** reconciliation, arbitration; peace; **sūrā** a chapter of the Koran; **tāmānin** eighty; **wāsìyyā** will, last testament

Most of the loans are nouns or numerals but the list also includes some verbs and some function words, e.g.,

- (a) **bayyanā** explain; reveal, display, expose (cf. **bàyyanā** appear (of sth stolen), be revealed); **fassārā** translate, explain; **Raddārā** predestine, determine, estimate; **tà'azzarā** become serious or difficult
- (b) **ammā** but; **hàttā** including, even (cf. **har** probably from same Ar. source via Kanuri); **illā** except; **làbuddā** definitely, for sure; **muddin** so long as, provided that; **wàtàkìlā** perhaps

### 1.4. Fulani

In spite of the political domination of Hausaland by Fulani rulers since early in the nineteenth century, the Fulani language has contributed only a small number of loanwords, some twenty or so. (These are often phonologically recognizable by geminate consonants and a short final vowel.) These loanwords have to do with kinship relations and with cattle. Surprisingly, there is an absence of Fulani loans dealing with government and administration. Examples:

**baffà** paternal uncle  
**dattjò** gentleman  
opposed to Fulani  
Usman dan Fodio);  
to a pagan; **kindir**  
ritual test of manhood  
**yallàbái** respectful

°AN: In Fulani  
have semantic

### 1.5. Kanuri

Kanuri loanwords  
into, the period of  
traditional titles at  
Kanuri is undoubtedly  
Arabic loanwords in

**alāfammā** psn w/ large town; **cifòmā** generally in front of **kāfūwā** prostitute; **saddlè**; **ùngòzòmā** emir)

◊HN: The etym  
diachronic pro  
borrowed into  
The root was t  
mute, so that v  
of overt char  
epenthetic glid

### 1.6. Tuareg

Tuareg loanwords  
extending over the  
of material culture

**akàlā** lead-rope of  
end of turban cloth  
common man; **tāf**

### 1.7. Other

A small number of  
e.g., **àdife** 'tie-dye  
seeds used for mak  
that themselves we  
'street'. At an earl

**baffà** paternal uncle (usu. pronounced and sometimes even spelled **bappà**); **bonè** serious difficulty; **dattijò** gentleman, a respected older person; **gwaggò** paternal aunt; **hábè** persons of Hausa as opposed to Fulani ancestry; **habbòjè** hay fever; **hubbārè** tomb of religious leader (esp. that of Shehu Usman dan Fodio); **kāfò** pejorative term referring to a non-Fulani indigenous person or more generally to a pagan; **kindirmò** sour milk with curd and cream, yogurt; **naggè** cow (= nonloan *sāniyā*); **shafò** ritual test of manhood among Fulani youths in which they must endure flogging without showing pain; **yallābāi** respectful term of address for a superior

°AN: In Fulani, **kāfò** and **hábè** are singular and plural counterparts of the same word. In Hausa, they have semantically diverged, the former being pejorative, the latter being neutral.

### 1.5. Kanuri

Kanuri loanwords date from the period of Kanuri political influence on Hausaland prior to, but continuing into, the period of Fulani domination. The loanwords, which are relatively few, include a number of traditional titles and occupations formed with the suffix **-mà(a)**. (The number of words borrowed from Kanuri is undoubtedly underestimated because many words of Arabic origin that are included in lists of Arabic loanwords in fact came into Hausa via Kanuri.) Examples:

**alārammà** psn who has memorized the Koran (may serve as a teacher in a Koranic school); **biñni** city, large town; **ciřòmà** traditional title (usu. held by son of an emir); **dandali** open area in a town center, generally in front of the chief's residence; **ingařmà** large stallion; **kaigamà** a traditional title; **kāřuwà** prostitute; **kāsuwà** market; **màngùl** type of salt; **mainà** prince; **řùbùtù** writing; **siřdì** saddle; **ungòzòmà** midwife; **yāřimà** a traditional title (usu. held by younger brother or son of an emir)

°HN: The etymology of the word **kāsuwà** 'market' provides a lovely illustration of the vagaries of diachronic processes. (I shall ignore tone for purposes of the discussion.) The Arabic root **\*suq** was borrowed into Kanuri with a replacement of /g/ for /q/ and the addition of a final vowel, i.e., **\*sugu**. The root was then given a Kanuri prefix, i.e., **\*kāsugu**. Intervocalic /g/ in many Kanuri dialects is mute, so that what Hausas heard and borrowed was **\*kāsū**. Subsequently Hausa underwent a process of overt characterization whereby feminine words added **-ā**, which, with the insertion of an epenthetic glide, resulted in the now-occurring form **kāsuwā**.

### 1.6. Tuareg

Tuareg loanwords are the result of intermittent contacts of an essentially commercial and social nature extending over the past few centuries. Semantically the words tend to group around animals and elements of material cultures characteristic of Tuareg desert life. Examples:

**akālà** lead-rope of camel; **alabè** leather purse or wallet; **amālè** large, strong male camel; **amāwālì** end of turban cloth used as mouth veil; **azūřfā** silver; **còkālì** spoon; **takòbì** sword; **talàkà** common man; **tāttabāřā** pigeon; **tòzālì** antimony

### 1.7. Other

A small number of recent loanwords have come in from Yoruba (or Nupe or other languages to the south), e.g., **adiře** 'tie-dyed cloth'; **adùdù** 'large lidded wicker basket'; **agadè** 'plantain(s)'; **agushi** 'melon seeds used for making soup'; **akāwu** 'clerk'; **aladè** 'pig'. These loanwords include a number of items that themselves were borrowed from English, e.g., **kwānò** 'pan'; **likitā** 'doctor'; **tashā** 'station'; **tītī** 'street'. At an earlier period, there were probably also linguistic influences from Mande languages to the

west; and even further back, there is evidence of borrowings from unidentified Niger-Congo languages (see Hoffmann 1970), the most striking being the word *nāmà* 'meat' (cf. Proto-Chadic \*Luw-).

## 2. INCORPORATION OF LOANWORDS

### 2.1. Phonological adjustment of loanwords

Words that were borrowed into Hausa were generally modified to fit into the pre-existing phonological system of the language. The adjustments involved such changes as segmental replacements, avoidance of some word-final consonants, elimination of consonant clusters by reduction, addition of epenthetic or final vowels, and reinterpretation of stress as tone. The following description is intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive. It deals only with loanwords from English, although the same processes are applicable to loanwords from other languages as well.

°AN: The incorporation of Arabic loanwords into Hausa has been studied extensively by many scholars over a long period of time (see references at end of this chapter). Among the more regular changes were the interpretation of Arabic emphatic consonants as glottalized (with emphatic T sometimes being represented by *ts* and sometimes by *ḏ*) and the following replacements: *q* by *k*, *th* and *dh* by *s* and *z* (or *d*) respectively, *x*, *H* (voiceless pharyngeal fricative), and *h* by /*h*/, and *ʔ* (glottal stop) and *ʕ* (ayn, i.e., voiced pharyngeal fricative) by /*ʔ*/.

#### 2.1.1. Segmental replacement of consonant phonemes

English words that contained consonants that were not part of the Hausa phonemic inventory (e.g., /*v*/ or /*th*/) were borrowed with the "closest" comparable native phoneme. Examples:

visa > *bizà*; television > *talàbijìn*  
throttle > *tótùr*; operation (< (operating) theater) > *tiyàtà*; (Catholic) father > *fàdà*

English /*p*/ and /*f*/ were both borrowed as Hausa /*f*/, which is typically pronounced as a bilabial fricative, as compared with the English labio-dental /*f*/ . Examples:

fridge > *fìr(i)jì*; foul (sports) > *fāwùl*  
paint > *fentì*; plank > *filankì*

Because the phoneme /*f*/ has the allophone [*h*] before back-rounded vowels, the result is loanwords that look quite different from their English sources, e.g.,

photo > *hòtò* (< /*f*òtò/); foreman > *hōmàn* (< /*f*ōmàn/); powder > *hōdà* (< /*f*ōdà/); polo > *hōlò* (< /*f*ōlò/)

Hausa has two rhotics, a retroflex flap, indicated /*r*/, historically the native sound, and a tap or roll, indicated /*ř*/ . The English /*r*/, which is a retroflex approximant, would appear to be phonetically closer to the Hausa flap; nevertheless, it is (almost) always borrowed with the tap/roll /*ř*/ . Examples:

carrots > *kařàs*; report > *fāhòtò*; cholera > *kwalāřà*; grease > *gìřis*; ruler (measuring device) > *řulà*; insurance > *inshōřà*; razor (blade) > *řēzà*

°AN: One possible explanation is that Hausas were first exposed to British dialects like Scottish English in which the R's are rolled.

At the time that English all words begin with a glottal stop /*ʔ*/ (which

accountant > *'àkantà*

2.1.2. Avoidance (With minor exceptions English words are typically systems. In the case of words were generally

mason > *mēsìn*; (Cup > *kwáf*; a safe *fāřāshì*)

In early English loanwords e.g.,

candle > *kyandīř*; appeal (legal) > *āřil*

Words with final /*sh*/ (The rules for determining

brush > *būřōshì*; bread > *būřōdì*; rail

°AN: In a few instances grenade > *gūř*

Some early loanwords, however, appear

(a) bayonet > *banā*  
barrack > *bāřikì*;  
(b) certificate > *sāřì*  
(bank) check > *cēk*

English words spelled 'automobile'; (winds Hausa, but rather refer to loanwords.

2.1.3. Elimination of Hausa does not have a syllable onset or coda



At the time that English words began to be borrowed, Hausa already had a phonotactic requirement that all words begin with a consonant. Vowel-initial English words were thus phonemized with a prothetic glottal stop /ʔ/ (which is not represented in standard orthography). Examples:

accountant > 'àkantà; acre > 'èkà; engine > 'injì; hour > 'awà; office > 'òfis

### 2.1.2. Avoidance of word-final consonants

With minor exceptions, words in the indigenous Hausa vocabulary all end in a vowel. By contrast English words are typically consonant-final, thereby presenting a phonotactic conflict between the two systems. In the case of words ending in a nasal, in /f/ (whether from original /f/ or /p/), or in /s/, the words were generally borrowed with the final consonant preserved, e.g.,

mason > mèsin; (Christian) mission > mishàn; frame > firám; neem (tree) > nìm; (tournament) cup > kwáf; a safe > séf; canvas (tennis shoes) > kambàs; compass > kamfàs (cf. price > fàfàshì)

In early English loanwords, final /l/ was replaced by /r/. More recent loanwords, however, retain the /l/, e.g.,

candle > kyandir; level > lèbùr; pencil > fensir; throttle > tótùr  
appeal (legal) > àfir; buckle > bókùl

Words with final /sh/, /c/, /j/, /g/, and /d/ invariably added an unstressed postthetic vowel, usually /i(i)/. (The rules for determining the length of the final vowel are unclear.) Examples:

brush > büròshì; church > còci; clutch > kulòci; college > kwalèji; judge > jòji; peg > fègì;  
bread > bufòdi; railway shed > shèdì; yard > yādì

°AN: In a few instances, English final /d/ appears in Hausa as /t/, e.g., parade > farāti = fāretì; grenade > gürnèt. In one strange case, final /d/ appears as /k/, namely salad > sàlák.

Some early loanwords with final /t/ and /k/ also were incorporated with a postthetic vowel. More recent words, however, appear with the consonant preserved in final position, e.g.,

(a) bayonet > banati; court > kòtù; packet > fakitì; plot (of land) > fulòtì  
barrack > bārikì; clerk > kilākì (modern) prostitute  
(b) certificate > sātifikèt; cricket (the sport) > kuḱkèt; jacket > jākèt  
(bank) check > cèk (= cakì); jack > jāk jack, bicycle stand

English words spelled with final *r* appear in Hausa without the consonant, e.g., motor > mōtā 'automobile'; (windshield) wiper > waifā, etc. This however, is not due to a phonological deletion in Hausa, but rather reflects the final *r*-less British English pronunciation that served as the source of the loanwords.

### 2.1.3. Elimination of consonant clusters

Hausa does not have true consonant clusters, i.e., sequences of two or more consonants functioning as a syllable onset or coda. (It does, however, have abutting consonants where the consonantal coda of one

syllable is followed by the onset consonant of the next, e.g., **han.tà** 'liver'.) Syllable-initial clusters in the source word were usually broken up by the insertion of a short epenthetic vowel, e.g.,

bread > **buřōdi**; plot (of land) > **fulōti**; (motor) scooter > **sùkùtâ**; spanner (American English 'wrench') > **sufânâ**; store > **sitô**; sweater > **sùwaitâ**; tractor > **târaktâ**

Two different processes operated to eliminate syllable-final clusters. With clusters composed of a nasal plus a stop (or affricate), a postthetic vowel was usually added, thereby splitting the cluster between two syllables. Examples:

bank > **banki** (i.e., /ban.ki/); bench > **benci**; cement > **siminti**; inch > **inci**; paint > **fenti**; regiment > **řajimanti**; (piston) ring > **řingi**; syringe > **řirinji**; tank > **tanki**; (arrest) warrant > **wafanti**

°AN: Interestingly, the final *ng* in English 'ring', which phonetically ends in a single consonant [ŋ], is interpreted as a cluster.

Other final clusters underwent simplification to a single consonant, e.g.,

communist > **kwamini**; (thermos) flask > **filâs**; kiosk > **kyâs**; yeast > **yis**; (bank) draft > **dirâf**; belt > **bêl**; diamond > **daimon**; stamp > **sitâm** = **sitampi**; an advance > **adibâs**; balance (financial) > **balâs**; ambulance > **ambulâs** = **ambulân**; carrots > **kařas**

#### 2.1.4. Tone assignment

Source words with initial stress generally appear with H-L-(L) tone, e.g.,

bank > **banki**; office > **ôfis**; petrol > **fêtûř**; shovel > **shêbûř**; visa > **bizâ**  
aspirin > **asfirin**; bricklayer > **birkilâ**; communist > **kwamini**; estimate > **istimân**

Three - (and four-) syllable words with stress on the second syllable appear with L-H-(H)-L tone, e.g.,

accountant > **akantâ**; allowance > **âlâwûs**; December > **Disambâ**; insurance > **inshôřâ**; pajamas > **fânjâmâ**; verandah > **bâřandâ**; battalion > **bâtâliyâ**; commissioner > **kwâmishinâ**

Originally disyllabic words that became trisyllabic because of the breakup of an initial consonant cluster by means of an epenthetic vowel usually appear with this L-H-L pattern, although H-H-L is also attested, e.g.,

(a) blotter > **bulôtâ**; clinic > **kilini**; slippers > **silifâ** = **silifâ**; sweater > **sùwaitâ**  
(b) driver > **dirêbâ**; flour > **fulâwâ**

Words with final stress typically take a falling tone on the last syllable, with all previous tones L. (The F is also found on all monosyllabic words and is typical of disyllabic words formed by epenthesis from monosyllabic sources with an initial consonant cluster.) Examples:

advance (down payment) > **adibâs**; appeal (legal) > **âfil**; (cement) block > **bulô**; grenade > **gûřnêt**; paper clip > **kilif**; reverse (esp. of a car) > **řibâs**; (university) degree > **digiri**  
belt > **bêl**; bus > **bâs**; (tournament) cup > **kwâf**

Words with final *-ine* in the preceding syllable actually does so or no

iodine > **aidin**; tan

#### 2.2. Phonological

To a great extent loan The loanwords did, h

°AN: A major es (1976, 1980b).

Perhaps the major ch of /' / and /h/. Prior 'addu'â 'prayer', 'uz into a fully fledged ph [h] predated the loanw alternative manner of resulted in the upgrad and /h/ as phonemes now being the requi phonemicization of /obstruents, e.g., fařki plural of **kârê**, bař strengthened, express dry and crunchy' (ide intervocalic position, clear contrast between to /r/. Finally, the i 'zero, null' (not \*\* allophonic relation 1 stops, that have not loanwords, e.g., fen 'guarding' (not \*\*gâ

English has had with final consonant ideophones and a few rolled /ř/ occurred w sonorants were not c allowed in loanword containing them addê **gêři** 'gauge', **façi** 'pa so, however, have k

**mishân** Christian n tube; **shât** shirt; řâ

Words with final *-ine* in English, which are pronounced /ɪn/ or /aɪn/, have an F on the last syllable with the preceding syllables all L, i.e., the final English syllable is treated as if it carried stress whether it actually does so or not, e.g.,

iodine > àidín; tangerine > tǎnjǎrín; Vaseline > bâsilín

## 2.2. Phonological impact of loanwords

To a great extent loanwords from whatever source were made to fit into the then pre-existing phonology. The loanwords did, however, alter the phonology of the language in a number of significant ways.

°AN: A major early study on this topic is Greenberg (1941). The issue is taken up again in Newman (1976, 1980b).

Perhaps the major change resulting from the introduction of Arabic loanwords was the phonemicization of /ʔ/ and /h/. Prior to the loanwords, [ʔ] existed as a phonetic feature of word onset. Loanwords like 'addu'â 'prayer', 'uzûfî 'excuse', and jâ'm'ıyyâ 'society, association', helped upgrade the initial [ʔ] into a fully fledged phoneme /ʔ/ and also introduced /ʔ/ in word medial position. Similarly, phonetic [h] predated the loanwords, but it existed only as an allophone of /f/ before rounded vowels and also as an alternative manner of word onset. The introduction of Arabic loanwords with initial and medial /ha/ resulted in the upgrading of [h] to a distinct phoneme /h/. A major consequence of the emergence of /ʔ/ and /h/ as phonemes is that words that formerly began with a vowel were now consonant initial, this now being the required canonical shape of all syllables. Another important development was the phonemicization of /r̄/. Originally, [r̄] existed in syllable-final position as a realization of coronal obstruents, e.g., faṛkâ 'wake up' < \*faḍkâ, or as a conditioned allophone of /r/, e.g., kaṛnukâ 'dogs', plural of kârē, baṛ 'let, leave', pre-object form of barî. It also occurred in initial position as a strengthened, expressive pronunciation of /r/, e.g., ṛafkâ 'hit, do a lot of', ṛamas 'emphasizing being dry and crunchy' (ideophone). Arabic words were all borrowed with the rolled /r̄/, in word initial and in intervocalic position, e.g., ṛa'âyi 'opinion, attitude, point of view', ḥaṛâjî 'tax(es)'. This resulted in a clear contrast between the two rhotics and strengthened the incipient phonemicization of /r̄/ as opposed to /r/. Finally, the introduction of Arabic loanwords with /s/ and /z/ before front vowels, e.g., sifṛî 'zero, null' (not \*\*shifṛî); zîná 'adultery' (not \*\*jîná), has served to undermine the originally allophonic relation between coronals and their corresponding palatals. (Coronals, both fricatives and stops, that have not undergone palatalization before front vowels are also characteristic of English loanwords, e.g., fentî 'paint' (not \*\*fencî); gâṛântî 'warranty, guarantee' (not \*\*gâṛancî); gâdî 'guarding' (not \*\*gâjî); lâsîsî 'license' (not \*\*lâshîshî); zîk 'zipper' (not \*\*jîk).

English has had a major impact on the phonological system by introducing large numbers of words with final consonants. Previously, almost all lexical items ended in a vowel, with the exception of ideophones and a few apocopated or clipped forms (e.g., mùtùm 'man' < mùtumî). The nasal /n/ and the rolled /r̄/ occurred word finally in their function as gender-sensitive articles, so although word-final sonorants were not common lexically they were not ruled out by the phonological system and were thus allowed in loanwords. Word-final obstruents, on the other hand, were prohibited. English loanwords containing them added a postthetic vowel in keeping with the phonotactic rules of the language, e.g., gējî 'gauge', fācî 'patch'. New loanwords from English that have come in over the past thirty years or so, however, have kept the final consonants, e.g.,

mishàn Christian mission; (h)òtál hotel, bar; ṛēhùl raffle; gwál goal (e.g., in soccer); tíf inner tube; shát shirt; fāmît a permit; cēk check; kílínik clinic

In terms of canonical word form, Hausa previously had just a handful of monosyllabic words, these being mostly verbs and function words. English loanwords have increased the number of monosyllabic nouns in the language (all of which have come in with falling tone). Examples:

**bám** bomb; **dím** low-beam headlight, **fím** film; **ják** bicycle stand; **kwáf** cup; **nás** nurse; **ním** neem tree; **téf** tape; **tí** tea, **tón** ton; **yís** yeast

The introduction of numerous words with syllable-final codas has also affected the vowel system. In native lexical items, the vowels /ē/ and /ō/ occur only in open syllables and, unless word finally, only long. When closed by a coda as a result of morphological formations, /ē/ and /ō/ automatically shorten and centralize to /a/ (sometimes to [ə]), e.g., [kàransà] 'his dog' < **kàrē** + **n** + **sà** lit. dog of his; [tantòná] 'dig up many or often' < **tón-tòná** pluractional of **tónà** 'dig up'; **kwás** 'course' < **kós** (early Eng. loanword). In recent times, English loanwords have been coming in with short /e/ and /o/ in closed syllables. (Whether they will stay as such with a resultant change in the phonological system or whether they will eventually be integrated with centralized /a/ or schwa remains to be seen.) Examples:

**bél** belt; **bencì** bench; **cèk** check; **jákèt** = **jákèt** jacket; **membà** member; **séf** safe (for valuables); **téf** tape (measuring or recording)  
**fòm** a form; **tàmfol** tarpaulin; **tón** ton

There are a few loanwords that have been borrowed with short /e/ and /o/ in open syllables, namely **elemantàfè** 'elementary school'; **ogànèzà** 'organizer'; cf. **bonè** 'trouble' [dv] (< Fulani).

English loanwords have also served to increase the number of common nouns with short final vowels. In the indigenous system, the major function of final vowel length was grammatical, e.g., distinguishing nouns from adverbs (e.g., **bāyā** 'back' vs. **bāya** 'on the back'; distinguishing common from proper nouns (e.g., **sarki** 'emir' vs. **Sarki** 'proper name'); marking syntactically determined allomorphs of verb forms, e.g., **yā bī tà** 'he followed her' vs. **yā bī yāfīnyà** 'he followed the girl'), etc. Many common noun loanwords, e.g., **àyàbà** 'banana' (< Yoruba), **gwaggò** 'aunt' (< Fulani), **cifòrà** 'prince' (< Kanuri), and presumed loanwords, e.g., **màge** 'cat' (< ?) end in a short final vowel. English loanwords have added significantly to the number of such items, e.g.,

**difèbà** driver, chauffeur; **büzāyè** bull's-eye; **shànshàn-bālè** gentian violet; **bandèjì** bandage;  
**tikitù** ticket; **daffò** depot, warehouse; **kòtù** court; **Jànaifù** January

The borrowed words with a short final vowel plus those with a final consonant have also resulted in an increase in the number of nouns with final L-L tone, a previously very atypical class, e.g.,

**asfīn** aspirin; **faskilā** first class (e.g., on a plane or train); **lèbùrā** laborer; **mangwārò** mango (fruit or tree); **òdàlè** orderly (military), **signà** signal, sign; **tòcìlàn** flashlight

Historically, words with a long final vowel that ended in L-L tone raised the final vowel to H, e.g., \*Cà(a)Cā > Cà(a)Cā (where /a/ represents any vowel).

<sup>o</sup>AN: Leben (1971) has described this as a synchronic rule in the language, a position rejected by Newman and Jaggar (1989a).

The result of the tonal shift is that if the final vowel was long, the loanword borrowed with a long vowel. This pattern attracts items from English, which are "undesired" patterns.

**asambùlè** assembly (sometimes → **elè**); **mājìstàfè** magistrature

**2.3. Gender of Nouns borrowed into Hausa**  
Three criteria have been identified that shall limit my discussion of gender in other languages as well.

**2.3.1. Natural gender**  
The first criterion is natural gender, denoting females and males in occupations that may be identified.

(a) Masculine: **bifè** foreman; **fādā** m. Catholic foreman; **janār** m. nursing sister  
(b) Feminine: **hedn** nursing sister  
(c) Epicene: **ēditā** m./f. m. **milōniyā** m./f. m.

**2.3.2. Analogy**  
The second approach is analogy of words in the language.

(a) Masculine: **āyā** Vespa m. motor scooter; **wàndò** m. trousers; **kùkà** m. modern balm; **Māfīs** m. slip-on shoes, sandals; **fètùf** m. gasoline  
(b) Feminine: **amb** ball (cf. **tamaulā** f. **fankèkè** f. face powder; **gàzèt** f. gazette (cf. **kòtù** f. authority); **kòtù** f. cigarette (cf. **tàf** **tàrhò** f. telephone)

The result of the tone change was a phonotactic gap in the language, i.e., whereas final L-L was possible if the final vowel was short, there were no words left with L-L and a long final vowel. Recent English loanwords borrowed with L-L and a long final vowel have started to fill the vacuum (which is also attracting items from internal sources as well), but there is also evidence of a tone shift away from this "undesired" pattern, e.g.,

**asambulè** assembly (at school) (sometimes → **àsambulè**); **elemantàrè** elementary school (sometimes → **elèmantarè**); **fīrāmàrè** primary school (sometimes → **fīrāmarè**); **lōtārè** lottery; **mājistārè** magistrate; **rēlūwè** railroad (< **rēlūwài**); **sakandārè** secondary school

### 2.3. Gender of loanwords

Nouns borrowed into Hausa from other languages necessarily have to be assigned grammatical gender. Three criteria have been employed in making this assignment. (For purposes of the description here, I shall limit my discussion to English loanwords. The same principles can be applied to loanwords from other languages as well.)

#### 2.3.1. Natural gender

The first criterion is natural gender. Loanwords denoting males are assigned masculine gender; those denoting females are assigned feminine gender. Words denoting people belonging to groups or having occupations that might likely be filled by either men or women are epicene. Examples:

- (a) Masculine: **bīrgēdiyā** m. brigadier; **bīrkilā** m. bricklayer; **bōyi** m. house boy, cook steward; **fādā** m. Catholic father, priest; **fastò** m. pastor; **hafsā** m. army officer; **hēlùmā** m. headman, foreman; **janār** m. general (military); **laftanān** m. lieutenant; **sūfètò** m. inspector of police  
 (b) Feminine: **hedigél** f. head girl (in school); **kilākì** f. modern prostitute (< Eng. clerk); **sistā** f. nursing sister  
 (c) Epicene: **ēditā** m./f. editor; **Kīristā** m./f. Christian; **lauyā** m./f. lawyer; **likitā** m./f. doctor; **milōniyā** m./f. millionaire; **nās** m./f. nurse

#### 2.3.2. Analogy

The second approach is gender assignment by association with some previously existing word or class of words in the language. Examples:

- (a) Masculine: **āyān** m. a pressing iron (cf. **dūtsèn gūgā** m. iron, lit. stone of rubbing); **basfā** (< Vespa) m. motor scooter (cf. **kèkè** m. bicycle); **fānjāmā** m. loose-fitting trousers, pajamas (cf. **wāndō** m. trousers); **gām** m. or **gùlú** m. glue, paste (cf. **līkì** m. gluing substance); **indipendā** m. independence (cf. **mulkin kái** m. self-government); **kēji** m. birdcage (cf. **gidā** m. house, enclosure); **kūkā** m. modern stove (cf. **muṛhū** m. cooking place); **māntālētā** m. Mentholatum (cf. **mái** m. oil, balm); **Māris** m. March (and all other names of months) (cf. **watā** m. month); **sillifā** m. slippers, slip-on shoes, sandals (cf. **tākālmī** m. shoe(s)); **sūfā** m. premium grade (super) gasoline (cf. **mān fētūr** m. gasoline); **tūfōzā** m. trousers (Western style) (cf. **wāndō** m. trousers)  
 (b) Feminine: **ambulās** f. ambulance (cf. **mōtā** f. car); **āyis** f. ice (cf. **kankarā** f. sleet, hail); **bāl** f. ball (cf. **tamaulā** f. rag-ball); **banatī** bayonet (cf. **wukā** f. knife); **bās** bus (cf. **mōtā** f. car); **fankèkè** f. face powder (cf. **hōdā** f. powder); **fīrāmàrè** primary school (cf. **makařantā** f. school), **gāzēt** f. gazette (cf. **takārdā** f. paper); **gwamnatī** f. government (cf. **hukūmā** f. governing authority); **kōtū** f. court (cf. **shāri'ā** f. court); **kwalēji** f. college (cf. **makařantā** f. school); **sigāfi** f. cigarette (cf. **tābā** f. tobacco, cigarette); **singilētī** f. undershirt, singlet (cf. **tagūwā** f. shirt); **tārhō** f. telephone (cf. **wayā** f. wire, telephone); **tāsī** f. taxi (cf. **mōtā** f. car); **tōcilān** f. flashlight

(cf. *fiṭilà* f. lamp); *walàt* f. wallet (cf. *jàkà* f. leather sack); *wan-wè* f. one-way street (cf. *hanyà* f. road)

### 2.3.3. Phonological patterning

In the absence of semantic criteria for assignment, either direct or by analogy/association, the default assignment of gender seems to have been on the basis of phonological shape. Words ending in *-ā* were treated as feminine, whereas all others were treated as masculine. Examples:

(a) Masculine: *àdīrēshì* m. address; *àidīn* m. iodine; *bāwùl* m. valve; *bīrkì* m. brakes; *cingām* m. chewing gum; *daffò* m. depot, warehouse; *dūrò* m. storage drum (for water, gasoline, etc.); *famfò* m. water faucet, pump; *fārfēsū* m. pepper stew (cf. *miyà* f. soup, sauce); *fenshò* m. pension; *hòtò* m. photograph, picture; *jàk* m. bicycle stand; *kābējì* m. cabbage; *kaṛàs* m. carrot(s); *sìlì* m. ceiling; *tāyè* m. necktie; *tikitì* m. ticket; *ulù* or *wùl* m. wool, wool thread

(b) Feminine: *bārandà* f. balcony, verandah; *bātāliyà* f. battalion; *bulà* f. washing blue; *dastà* f. blackboard eraser, rag for cleaning car; *ēkà* f. acre; *fārfelà* f. propeller, car engine fan, blade of a fan; *gwaibà* f. guava; *kalà* f. color (cf. the nonloanword *launì* m. color); *kwalaṛà* f. cholera; *mītà* f. electric meter; *mòtā* f. automobile; *ṛītāyà* f. retirement; *shakàsòbà* f. shock absorber; *tābà* f. tobacco, cigarette; *waifà* f. windshield wiper

[References: [Arabic]: Baldi (1988, 1995); El-Shazly (1987); Goerner, Salman, and Armitage (1966); Greenberg (1947); Hiskett (1965); [English]: Ikara (1975); Leben (1996); L. Muhammad (1968); Salim (1981); [French]: Gouffé (1971); [Kanuri]: Greenberg (1960b); [Tuareg]: Gouffé (1974)]

## 1. MAI

**T**HIS formative the plural (*mā*) with a following N of; the doer or em goodness); *ākuyà* 'repairman' (lit. characterized by *g* *māi*. In literal glo 'doer of'.)

ØHN: The plur pronoun *-su*. *mā*- (whatever i.e., \**mā* + y( distinctly *ma* however, *mā* feminine sing

An altern the verb *yi* 'do this analysis below), which rather than e distinctly fun its plural cou

MAI has two mai position, and (2) continuous verbal

### 1.1. Modifiers

The formative MA gerundives and depending on the following word adjectives in Haus

y street (cf. **hanyà** f.

association, the default  
ords ending in **-ā** were

. brakes; **cingám** m.  
oline, etc.); **famfò** m.  
pension; **hòtò** m.  
ot(s); **silì** m. ceiling;

washing blue; **dastà** f.  
ine fan, blade of a fan;  
cholera; **mità** f.  
absorber; **tábà** f.

and Armitage (1966);  
hammad (1968); Salim  
974)]

## 45. MAI and MARAS

### 1. MAI

**T**HIS formative, for which I shall use **MAI** with capital letters to stand for both the singular (**mài**) and the plural (**màsu**), is an extremely common, high-frequency word in the language. It always occurs with a following NP. In the dictionary of Bargery (1934: 748) it is glossed as “the owner or possessor of; the doer or embodiment of”, e.g., **kèkè mài kyáu** ‘a good bicycle’ (lit. bicycle characterized by goodness); **akuyà mài kàhō d’aya** ‘a one-horned goat’ (lit. goat having horn one); **mài gyārā** ‘repairman’ (lit. doer of repairing); **sōjōji màsu ban tsòrō** ‘frightening soldiers’ (lit. soldiers characterized by giving fright). (There is no simple English word that serves conveniently to translate **mài**. In literal glosses, I will, therefore, indicate it conventionally as either ‘charac. by’, ‘having’, or ‘doer of’.)

ØHN: The plural form **màsu** is presumably composed of a marker **mà-** plus the third person plural pronoun **-su**. This suggests that the singular **mài** etymologically consists of the same formative **mà-** (whatever its origin) plus a clipped allomorph **-y** of the third person masculine pronoun **-ya**, i.e., **\*mà + y(a) > \*mày > mài**. Assuming that this is correct, **mài** originally would have been a distinctly masculine marker and it ought to have had a feminine counterpart. Synchronically, however, **mài** is neutral with regard to gender, being used with both masculine singular and feminine singular NPs.

An alternative possibility would be to derive **mài** historically from a short-form agentive of the verb **yì** ‘do’ (see §7:1.6.3), i.e., **ma- + yì > mayì** ‘doer of’ > **\*mày > mài**. The attraction of this analysis is that it treats **MAI** in a parallel fashion to its negative counterpart **MARAS** (see below), which morphologically is clearly an agentive form. Its major drawback, apart from the low rather than expected falling tone—which could be explained by its grammaticalization into a distinctly functional morpheme—is that it fails to capture the relation between the singular **mài** and its plural counterpart **màsu**.

**MAI** has two main functions: (1) to form adjectival modifier phrases, which occur in post-nominal position, and (2) to derive nominal expressions. It also has a third, poorly understood, function in continuous verbal sentences.

#### 1.1. Modifiers

The formative **MAI** combines with nouns of quality (especially abstract nouns) or other NPs (including gerundives and infinitive phrases) to produce modifier expressions. The exact translation varies depending on the construction, but the function of **MAI** is to associate the qualities or attributes of the following word or phrase to the head noun. These expressions compensate for the paucity of true adjectives in Hausa. Note that **MAI** agrees with the head noun in number but not in gender. Examples:

àlkālì màì rōwà a stingy judge (lit. judge charac.by stinginess) (= maròwàcin àlkālì with the adj. maròwàcì stingy); dōkì màì fadà a vicious horse (lit. horse charac.by fighting) (= mafadàcin dōkì with the adj. mafadàcì vicious); yārò màì hankālì a sensible boy; jāfīdà màì farin jīnì popular newspaper; kwālì màì òfan nauyi a somewhat heavy carton; Janàf Garbà màì rītāyà retired General Garba (lit. General Garba charac. by retirement); wani mùtùm màì sūnā Bellò a man called Bello (lit. ...having name Bello); yārin yà màì kīrār kàlàngū a slender girl with good hips (lit. ...having construction of an hourglass drum); littattāfai màì gundumār dà mutānē boring books (lit. ...charac.by bore people); kōfà màì kallon kudù door that faces south; tēburōfī màì sūwārī strong tables; sāniyā màì shèkarà bìyu a two-year-old cow (lit. ...having year two); mōtā màì bōdìn kātākō a truck with a wooden body; watā màì zuwà next month (lit. ...charac. by coming); kābā màì kùmburi rheumatism accompanied by swelling; àbinci màì yawà a lot of food (lit. food having abundance)

In addition to serving as attributive modifiers, MAI phrases can be used also as predicate adjectives, e.g.,

shì màì fāfā'ā nē	He is cheerful.
kàren nān bà màì cizò ba nē	This dog doesn't bite. (lit. ...neg doer of biting neg)
bàkin màì gaskiyā nē	The strangers are honest. (lit. ...charac. by truth)

### 1.2. Derivative noun phrases

MAI formations without a preceding noun constitute semantically close-knit NPs. The constructions sometimes translate as English '-er' or '-man' words, sometimes as 'one who...' phrases. Examples:

màì tàfiyā traveler, passerby; màì màganà speaker; màì sàna'ā tradesman; màì gyārā repairman; màì idò òfaya one-eyed man; màì shì one who has it; màì yiwuwā it is possible (lit. doable); màì kulà dà mànyan màkàfāntū one who looks after secondary schools; màì kāmā dà nī one who looks like me (lit. one having similarity with me); màì sūnānā my namesake (lit. one having my name); màì kōyār manà dà Hausa the one who teaches us Hausa; màì bàkin kifi Citroën car (lit. having mouth of a fish); màì sūwārī supporters of the president; màì fā'āyin rikau conservatives, reactionaries (lit. ones having ideas of well held); màì hannū dà shūnī rich people (lit. ones having hands with indigo dye)

Some MAI phrases have become so fixed that they now must be considered as noun compounds or near compounds. These often do not have plural counterparts. Included in this category are some personal names. Examples:

màì gādì watchman; màì garì chief of a town; màì òfàkì wife; màì gidā (usu. spelled as one word) householder, Mr.; bindigà màì ruwā machine gun (lit. gun charac.by (spraying) water); màì girmā his excellency; Màiriga traditional name for a child born in a caul (lit. having gown/covering); Màitamā nickname for any person named Yūsufū (lit. doer of ore)

### 1.3. Continuity in past

In written Hausa, and in the language of broadcasters, such as from the BBC, one comes across examples of MAI in third person singular continuous sentences occurring after the TAM and before the verb or verbal noun. It is not clear exactly when the MAI is appropriate and exactly what it means, but it tends to be used for past events prior to some other event or to conceptualize the event as a state rather than as an action. All of the following examples would remain grammatical if màì were omitted.

yanà màì òfaukò k...  
 lunà màì kùkà lòk...  
 yanà màì gòdiyà g...  
 He was gr...

°AN: This cons...  
 description by...  
 for purposes of...

## 2. MARAS

The semantic oppos...  
 in...', e.g.,

sòjà maràs láfiyà...  
 yārin yà maràs k...  
 gārā maràsā hank...

The singular maràs...  
 which are quite com...  
 following consonant...

marāk kunyā = y...  
 Etymologically...

the prefix ma- and...  
 singular, however...  
 morphological shape...  
 invariant for gender...

MARAS functi...

òfàkì maràt tágà...  
 kèkèken-òfinkì marà...  
 àbinci maràf kyáu...  
 sòjòjin nān maràs...

If the head noun is e...

kà kauracé wà Ø n...  
 (where mutānē 'pe...



<b>yanà m̀ai d'aukò kāyan l̀ambù</b>	He was carrying the garden produce here.
<b>tanà m̀ai kùkà l̀okàcin dà takè shigòwà</b>	She was crying as she was entering.
<b>yanà m̀ai gòdiyà gà dukkàn wadàndà sukà bā shì had̀in kái</b>	He was grateful to all who had given him support.

°AN: This construction, which is found scattered throughout written sources, still awaits a detailed description by Hausa grammarians. It is mentioned here, even though I have little to say about it, for purposes of documentation and as a stimulus for further research.

## 2. MARAS

The semantic opposite of MAI is MARAS (sg. **maràs**, pl. **maràsà**), which indicates 'the one(s) lacking in...', e.g.,

<b>sòjà maràs l̀afiyà</b>	an unhealthy soldier (lit. soldier lacking health)
<b>yàrin yà maràs kunyà</b>	a shameless girl (lit. girl lacking shame)
<b>yàrà maràsà hankàli</b>	boys without sense (lit. boys lacking sense)

The singular **maràs** has a number of phonological variants depending on dialect and idiolect, all of which are quite common. These are: **maràs**, **maràf**, **maràG** (where G indicates a geminate with the following consonant), and **marà**, e.g., **yàrin yà maràs kunyà** = **yàrin yà maràf kunyà** = **yàrin yà maràk kunyà** = **yàrin yà marà kunyà** 'a shameless girl'. The plural has the one form **maràsà**.

Etymologically, **maràs** and **maràsà** are grammaticalized agentive nouns (§7:1.6.3) formed with the prefix **ma-** and the verb **rasà** 'to lack'. The plural still has the regular form of an agentive. The singular, however, has become phonologically reduced and does not appear with the regular morphological shape, which would be **\*\*maràshi(n)**. Note also that **maràs** (and equivalent variants) is invariant for gender whereas regular agentives have distinct feminine variants.

MARAS functions to produce modifier phrases, either attributive or predicative, e.g.,

<b>d'ak̀i maràt t̀agà</b>	a room without (lit. lacking) windows
<b>k̀èken-d'ink̀i marà àmfàni</b>	a useless sewing machine (lit. sewing machine lacking use)
<b>àbinci maràf kyàu</b>	bad food (lit. food lacking goodness)
<b>sòjòjin ǹan maràsà Imàni ǹe</b>	These soldiers are merciless. (lit. ...lacking mercy)

If the head noun is clearly understood from the context, it can be left unexpressed, e.g.,

<b>kà kauràcè wà Ø maràsà tàusàyi</b>	You should avoid unsympathetic people.
(where <b>mutàne</b> 'people' is not expressed).	

## 46. Modal Particles

### 1. INTRODUCTION

THE term *modal particle* (MP) encompasses a small, closed set of intensifying, specifying, restricting, focusing, connecting particles which indicate ‘well, indeed, in fact, also, however, on the other hand, etc.’ They serve to express a personal attitude, state of mind, emphasis or contrast, corrective, conversational flow, or other pragmatic or discourse functions. They are often essentially untranslatable, their linguistic contribution being expressed in English by stress, intonation, or non-verbal gestures. (Their pragmatic significance in sprucing up a sentence is reflected in the Hausa term for these words, namely *gishirin Hausa*, lit. ‘salt of the language’.) Except in cases where they function as conjuncts (see below), the MPs appear after the word, phrase, or clause to which they apply, e.g., *nī fa*, *bā nā sōnsā* ‘As for me, I don’t like him’; *kadā kà mântā fa!* ‘Don’t forget now!’

°AN: The term *modal particles* as applied to Hausa goes back at least to 1972, when it was used in a London seminar paper presented by Parsons. (This is included in Parsons 1981: 15–20.) The term was already familiar to Hausa linguists by 1976 when Parsons presented a lecture at Hamburg University (never published) entitled “Modal particles in Hausa”. For lack of a better term, Kraft (1963, vol. 2, pp. 29ff.) had earlier called them simply “inserts”.

### 2. INVENTORY

There are six phonologically small words that are generally recognized as constituting the class of modal particles, namely *fa*, *dai*, *kūwa*, *kuma*, *mā*, and *kām*.

#### 2.1. fa

The MP *fa*, which one could conventionally gloss as ‘indeed’, has a very broad, nonspecific emphatic function, serving to focus attention on the constituent in question. As with some of the other MPs, *fa* is a conversational marker that is used more commonly in direct speech than in narratives. Examples:

<i>nī fa</i> , <i>nā gāji</i>	I indeed, I’m worn out.
<i>dā ganin hakā fa</i> , <i>sai tsòrō ya kāmā shi</i> (lit. ...fear caught him)	On seeing that, well, he became afraid.
<i>yā fa shiga jařřàbà mùtùmin nān</i>	He really set about testing this man.

°AN: Because tone is not marked in standard orthography, there is a potential confusion between the high-tone modal particle *fa* and the common low-tone question marker *fā* ‘how about?’; e.g., *kai fā*, *kā gāji?* ‘How about you, are you tired?’; *tā fa sāmī tikitī*, *shī fā?* ‘She indeed got a ticket, how about him?’

#### 2.2. dai

The MP *dai* ‘just, on

*nī dai* *bā nā sōnsā*  
*ammā dai* *bà kà ky*  
*tsàyā dai!*

*bà Yūsi* *ba dai*, *wān*  
It wasn’t Y

*Don Allāh* *kā bā nī*  
Please give

The MP *dai* commo  
but, only’, e.g.,

*in dai* *kun kasā kūn*  
*kudī gārē shi* *sai dī*

#### 2.3. kuma

The word *kuma* ‘(ar  
patterns with them  
however, in having  
as a connecting elem  
full clauses). Exam

*shī bā yā sōnā*, *nī k*  
*yā kuma* *cē*, *bā wā*  
*gā shi kuma*

*nā yi muřnā kuma*  
*yā jē Kanō kuma* *y*  
*uwar gidā ta yi ma*

The senior  
*d’ākin nān nākā yā*

This room  
*yā bā tā àbinci dà*

He gave h

#### 2.4. mā

The high-frequency  
more particlelike in  
usage.

*nī mā* *nā gan shi*  
*shin yāyā mā zān*  
*wannān shi mā ya*  
*wata rānā*, *zāi tàfi*  
*yānzū mā* *anā yī*  
*yā bā nī āgōgo*, *gā*

2.2. **dai**

The MP **dai** 'just, only' serves as a limiter/restrictor or as a contrastive or corrective marker. It can also be used to soften the abruptness of a statement. Examples:

<b>nī dai</b> bā nà sònsà	I (for one) don't like him (but others might).
àmmā <b>dai</b> bà kà kyàutā masà ba	But really you haven't been kind to him.
tsàyā <b>dai</b> !	Hang on just a moment!
bà Yūsi ba <b>dai</b> , wānsà <b>dai</b> yā mutù	It wasn't Yusi, but rather his elder brother who died.
Don Allāh kà bā nī dalà hàmsin. Ai, á bā kà àshīřin <b>dai</b>	Please give me fifty dollars. Well, you'll be given just twenty.

The MP **dai** commonly accompanies the conditional **in** 'if' and the conjunction/preposition **sai** 'except, but, only', e.g.,

<b>in dai</b> kun kasà kùnnē, kwá ji	If you would only listen, you would hear.
kudī gārē shì <b>sai dai</b> mūnì	He's rich but ugly.

2.3. **kuma**

The word **kuma** '(and) also, too, likewise' is conventionally grouped with the other MPs because it patterns with them to some extent both syntactically and semantically. It differs from the others, however, in having one fairly well defined adverbial meaning 'also', and in its straightforward function as a connecting element (where it compensates for the lack of a conjunction 'and' between sentences and full clauses). Examples:

shī bā yà sōnā, nī <b>kuma</b> bā nà sònsà	He doesn't like me and I also don't like him.
yā <b>kuma</b> cé, bā wandà zái fita à ràyē	He also said, no one is going to get out alive.
gà shi <b>kuma</b>	Here it is furthermore.
nā yi muřnà <b>kuma</b> nā gōdè mukù	I am happy and also I thank you.
yā jē Kanò <b>kuma</b> yā jē Sakkwato	He went to Kano and also to Sokoto.
uwařgidā ta yi matà kyàutā, sarkī <b>kuma</b> ya řārā yi wà Hasàn kyàutā	The senior wife gave her presents, and the emir likewise gave Hassan more presents.
ďākìn nān nākà yā fayē Runci <b>kuma</b> iskà bā tà shēkuwā	This room of yours is too small and also the air isn't breathable.
yā bā tà àbinci dà sùtuřà dà <b>kuma</b> kudī mài yawà	He gave her food and clothing and also a lot of money.

2.4. **mā**

The high-frequency MP **mā** 'too, also, even, still' semantically partially overlaps with **kuma**, but is more particlelike in its assertive nature, its sometimes semantic vagueness, and in its range of syntactic usage.

nī <b>mā</b> nā gan shì	I also saw him.
shin yàyà mā zān zānà hòtón?	How did you say I should draw the diagram?
wannān shī <b>mā</b> yanà dà ban dàriyā	This one's funny too.
wata rānā, zái tàfi dà kú <b>mā</b>	One of these days, he will take you away too.
yānzū <b>mā</b> anà yī	It is still being done.
yā bā nī àgōgo, gà <b>mā</b> àgōgōn	He gave me a watch, and here is the watch.

à cikin yàrán mā, àkwai 'yā'yan sarkī huđu

And among the children there were four children of the king.

tā yī minī 'yař māganā, bà mā ta tāshīn hankālī ba

She made a small remark to me, and not an offensive one either.

The MP mā commonly follows the counterfactual conditional marker dā, especially when the consequent clause is not expressed, e.g.,

dā mā inā dà mōtā

If only I had a car.

cf. dā inā dà mōtā, dà zān tàimākē kà

If I had a car I would help you.

dā mā kun zō jiyā

If only you had come here yesterday.

It also occurs frequently in 'especially' phrases formed with the discontinuous marker tun bà...bā, where its meaning or pragmatic function is difficult to discern.

yārā sunā dà ban shā'awā, tun bà (mā) řanānā bá

Children are enjoyable, especially young ones.

inā sō in ziyārci garūruwā dà yawā tun bà (mā) Kanō bá

I want to visit many towns, especially Kano.

An important use of mā is with the time adverb dā 'formerly, in olden times'. In this case, however, the addition of mā affects the meaning to the point where one could almost think of dā mā as a fixed adverbial compound meaning 'previously, from the start, all along, etc.' Examples:

dā mā inā sōnsā

I have always liked him. (i.e., from the start)

cf. dā inā sōnsā

Formerly I liked him. (but now I don't)

dā mā zān zō makařantā

Even before [some event] I was coming to school.

cf. dā can zān zō makařantā, àmmā bá kuđī

A long time ago, I was going to go to school, but there was no money.

dā mā Hausāwā sun iyā kāsuwancī

From way back Hausas were good at trading.

dā mā nā san hakā zā à yī

I knew all along that this would happen.

dā mā an cē ganī gā wani yā řsa tsōron Allāh

It has been said, seeing another's fate is enough to evoke the fear of God.

Another fixed combination is cē mā (with the verb cē 'say'), which connotes 'suppose, imagine, let's say, etc.', e.g.,

cē mā munā iyāwā...

Suppose we could do it...

cē mā kyā iyā shigā, tō, inā àmfānīnsā?

Let's say that you (f.) could get in, OK, what use would it be?

## 2.5. kùwa

The MP kùwa is used to affirm or contrast something, and thus it sometimes corresponds to English 'moreover' or 'however'. It is perhaps the most commonly used MP. In speech and in writing, it is often shortened to kò (sometimes pronounced kò). (In the examples I shall regularize usage and transcribe all occurrences of the short form as kò.) Examples:

yāròn nan kùwa yā iyā

That boy, however, can do it.

Mūsā kùwa yā zō

Ita cē ta yī shì kùwa

zā sù zō kò gòbe

'yā đ'aya kafai gāre

He had only

marriage)

Bālā tun watān jiyā

Bala returned

Inā àmfānin wannān

This is of n

ØHN: The change in language in the 'sewable'; shāwā derive kò from kā \*kāwa. Both kā not widely attested.

The variant appears to be a monosyllabic form. Although kò and variants are beginning to appear in some environments. T

The MP kùwa (= kò) influence of question some speakers, the a

Tūrāwā nā cīn đan wannān kakē sō kō wannān māganīn ba

## 2.6. kām

The status of the kām is essentially equivalent to kò in extensive texts and appears only three times when questioned, nā way. Examples:

nī zān tāfi kām shī kām bāi yārda mōtā kām, wāccan wannān yārō kām

## 3. MULTIPLE M

Sentences readily o

- Mūsá kùwa yā zō Musa has certainly come.  
 ita cè ta yī shì kùwa It was she who did it in fact.  
 zā sù zō kò gòbe They will really come tomorrow.  
 'yā ɗaya kaɗai gàrè shì, an kùwa yi matà aurè  
 He had only one daughter, and she moreover was married. (lit. ...one moreover did to her marriage)  
 Bālā tun watàn jiyà yā kōmà gidā; nī kò, sai watàn gòbe  
 Bala returned home last month; me, however, not until next month.  
 inā àmfānin wannàn? àkwai kùwa!  
 This is of no use. (lit. where (is) value.of this?) But it is! (lit. there is however)

ØHN: The change kùwa > \*kùw > kò is not historically systematic, but there is a parallel in the language in the case of verbal nouns of grade 7 verbs, e.g., ɗínkuwā (→) \*ɗínkuw → ɗínkò 'be sewable'; shàwuwā (→) \*shàwuw → shàwò 'be drinkable'. An alternative analysis would be to derive kò from kàu by simple monophthongization, where kàu would represent a clipped form of \*kàwa. Both kàu and kàwa are reported to occur as dialect variants equivalent to kùwa but they are not widely attested.

The variant kò with the short vowel, which some SH speakers now use to the exclusion of kò, appears to be a recent innovation, formed by analogy with the short vowel found with other monosyllabic function words, e.g., fa (MP), fà (question marker), dà 'with', wà (i.o marker). Although kò and kò are etymologically short forms of kùwa, there is some indication that the two variants are beginning to split, i.e., it appears that they are no longer totally interchangeable in all environments. This is a matter that needs further study.

The MP kùwa (= kò) is used following the word kō 'or' to form alternative questions. (Due to the influence of question formation, the vowel /a/ in sentence final position undergoes lengthening and, for some speakers, the addition of a falling tone.) Examples:

- Tùràwā nà cín ɗanyen kwai, kō kùwā? Do Europeans eat raw eggs, or not?  
 wannàn kakè sò kō kò wannàn? Do you want this one or that one?  
 wannàn magānin banzā nè kō kò? Is this medicine useless or what?

2.6. kàm

The status of the particle kàm is far from clear. Some scholars contend that it is a dialect variant essentially equivalent to kùwa; others equate it with dai; others view it as a separate topic restricter. In extensive texts analyzed by Kraft (1963), which included both written and tape-recorded sources, kàm appears only three times (compared with over a hundred occurrences of kùwa and dai). On the other hand, when questioned, native speakers of SH seem comfortable with kàm and do not view it as aberrant in any way. Examples:

- nī zān tàfi kàm I will definitely go.  
 shī kàm bàì yàɗda ba He for one doesn't agree.  
 mòtā kàm, wàccan tà fi tàwa kyáu On the subject of cars, that one is prettier than mine.  
 wannàn yàrò kàm bà yà jī This boy is really naughty. (lit. doesn't listen)

3. MULTIPLE MODAL PARTICLES

Sentences readily occur with more than one modal particle, e.g.,

in kò sarkī mā yā ci, duk ɗaya nè                      If however the king wins, it's all the same.  
 kai fa, zā kà biyā kō kūwā?                      Hey you, are you going to pay or not?  
 Bellò yā dai sàci kwai kuma                      Bello in fact stole eggs again.  
 wáutā nè kām wai kà kī biyàn hārājīn dà wuri fa

It is foolish that you would refuse to pay the taxes early.

ammā nī dai, sai in cē wàtàkīllā mā sunā dà māgānin sàndan nān  
 But as for me, then I said perhaps they have a solution for this stick (i.e., this beating).  
 zān nūnā fa matā kūwa takārdāf wani lōkàc  
 I will indeed show her the letter moreover sometime.

It is even possible to string a number of modal particles in succession one after the other, e.g.,

sū dai kām, sunā mārīnā                      As for them, they were slapping me.  
 nī mā fa, dá kāmāf hakà na gani                      I too had earlier got essentially the same impression.  
 dá mā dai, bà kyānwā tā ci kà ba                      In fact, it was never the case that the cat ate you  
 Audù fa dai kām, yakān mākārā                      As for Audu, yes indeed he comes late.  
 kō kūwa mā dai, kà bá Audù wuKāf yā yankè àbīn dà kānsā  
 Or else, why not simply give Audu the knife so that he can cut off the thing himself.

The following sentence, though clearly a tour de force, is considered to be grammatical:

nī kò kām dai mā fa, zān tafi kūwā?                      Do I really feel like going though?

#### 4. SYNTACTIC POSITION OF OCCURRENCE

What characterizes MPs as opposed to items belonging to other word classes is the considerable syntactic freedom regarding where they can be used, and the fact that in many (but not all) cases, the exact placement of the particle has very little effect on the meaning. Consider the following:

Sulè mā bàì fadā wà màtařsā ba                      Sule too didn't tell his wife.  
 Sulè bàì mā fadā wà màtařsā ba                      Sule didn't even tell his wife.  
 Sulè bàì fadā wà mā màtařsā ba                      Sule didn't even tell his wife.  
 Sulè bàì fadā wà màtařsā mā ba                      Sule didn't tell even his wife.  
 Sulè bàì fadā wà màtařsā ba mā                      Sule didn't tell his wife even.

MPs cannot, however, occur just anywhere. There are some syntactic positions where MPs typically occur and others where they may not occur. (The following outline is intended to be illustrative, not exhaustive.)

##### 4.1. Verbal sentences

In verbal sentences, MPs commonly occur (a) between the subject and the person-aspect-complex (PAC), and (b) between the PAC (with optional diminutive ɗan 'a little') and the VERB (where the VERB can be a finite verb or a verbal noun), e.g.,

(a) Mūsā dai yā san Abdù                      Musa indeed knows Abdu.  
 àbòkansù mā sunā sàuràren řēdiyò                      Their friends too are listening to the radio.  
 (b) Mūsā yā dai san Abdù                      Musa truly knows Abdu.  
 àbòkansù sunā mā sàuràren řēdiyò                      Their friends too are listening to the radio.

yanā fa sòntà  
 kù ɗan dai jūrè kàɗa  
 (lit. you (pl.) little MP)

In HAVE sentences, the

yanā kuma dà wani à  
 inā kūwa dà rái  
 bá ta kò dà niyyāf fit

Whether an MP can occur  
 they are bonded. Insert  
 the habitual, but not w

wani mùtùm zā fa yā  
 (cf. wani mùtùm zāi à  
 zā dai ta gidā  
 mùtùmīn yā kò kàn  
 not \*\*su kuma -nā s  
 not \*\*yāròn dà su fa  
 not \*\*Hādīzā bà kò t  
 not \*\*Mūsūlmī bà m

The prohibitive mark  
 separate word that rea

kadā fa kà tabā shī!  
 ...kadā dai in sà mū  
 tàmbāyi duk àbīn dà  
 Ask whatever

°AN: The market  
 kà tabā shī. My  
 this needs to be

MPs can also be inserted  
 an idiomatic meaning

sun shā mā giyā  
 mun káwō fa màkàn  
 yā já kò kúnnettā, à  
 (< já kúnnettā wam (lit  
 yā ga kuma irīn ká  
 tá tàmbāyi kūwa m

Because direct object  
 like \*\*yā tàmbāyē  
 ruled out.

yanà fa sòntà He does love her.  
 kù d'an dai jūrè kàd'an, kù ga tàwa dàbāfār Be patient a little bit more and hear my plan.  
 (lit. you (pl.) little MP forbear a little...)

In HAVE sentences, the MP occurs naturally between the PAC and the dà + NP phrase, e.g.,

yanà kuma dà wani àku He also had another parrot.  
 inà kùwa dà rái I am moreover still alive. (lit. ...with life)  
 bá ta kò dà niyyār fitā She had no intention of going out.

Whether an MP can or cannot be inserted between the components of the PAC depends on how tightly they are bonded. Insertion is allowed with the future and allative markers and, for some speakers, with the habitual, but not with the other TAMs, including formations with the initial negative marker, e.g.,

wani mùtùm zā fa yà sàyi dōkin Some man will indeed buy the horse. (fut)  
 (cf. wani mùtùm zāi sàyi dōkin with the common contraction of zā 'fut' + yà 'he')  
 zā dai ta gidā She going home. (allat)  
 mùtumìn yā kò kàn sàyi àlbasà The man buys onions. (hab)  
 not \*\*su kuma -nā sàyensù They are buying them. (cont)  
 not \*\*yāròn dà su fa -kà kāmà the boy that they caught (pret)  
 not \*\*Hādizà bà kò tà fita ba Hadiza did not however go out. (Ncomp)  
 not \*\*Mùsùlmī bā mā sà cín nāmàn àladè Muslims don't eat pork. (Ncont)

The prohibitive marker **kadà**, which serves inter alia to form negative imperatives, is structurally a separate word that readily welcomes an MP, e.g.,

kadà fa kà tabà shi! Don't dare touch it!  
 ...kadà dai in sà musù cùtā ...lest I actually cause them harm  
 tàmbàyi duk àbìn dà kakè bùkātā, (don) kadà kùwa kù rùd'è!  
 Ask whatever you need, lest you get confused!

°AN: The marker **kadà** is commonly shortened to **kāf**, e.g., **kadà kà tabà shi** 'Don't touch it' = **kāf kà tabà shi**. My impression is that the short form is less preferred when followed by an MP; but this needs to be verified.

MPs can also be inserted between a transitive (or efferential) verb and its NP d.o. (even when they have an idiomatic meaning). The verb appears in its pre-noun d.o. C-form. Examples:

sun shā mā giyà They even drank beer.  
 mun kāwō fa màkàmai We indeed brought weapons.  
 yā jā kò kùnnentà, àmmā bà tà yāfda ba He really warned her but to no avail.  
 (< jā kùnnē warn (lit. pull ear))  
 yā ga kuma irìn káyàyyākìn dà kè ciki He saw also the kind of goods that were inside.  
 tā tàmbàyi kùwa màtār She moreover asked the woman.

Because direct object pronouns are clitics, they cannot be separated from the verb by an MP. Sentences like \*\*yā tàmbàye kùwa tà 'He asked her' or \*\*mun kāwō fa sù 'We brought them' are thus totally ruled out.

The MP is allowed only between a finite verb and its NP d.o. It cannot be inserted between a verbal noun and its object (which structurally form a genitive relationship). Such sentences as \*\*yanà shân mā giyà 'He is even drinking beer' or \*\*tā dingà tāmbyār kūwa mātā 'She moreover kept on asking the woman' are ungrammatical.

Grade 5 verbs, which require the particle dā before an object, and sociative verbs, which also use dā (either the same particle or a homophonous preposition) permit insertion of the MP either before or after the dā, although the position after is preferred, e.g.,

yā sayār <u>dā</u> <u>dai</u> mōtā	He sold the car. (gr5)
tā kōyār <u>fa</u> <u>dā</u> d'ālibai	She taught the students. (gr5)
sun sādu <u>dā</u> <u>dai</u> sarki	They met the chief. (soc)
sun gaisā <u>kuma</u> <u>dā</u> jūnā	They also greeted each other. (soc)
kì lūra <u>fa</u> <u>dā</u> kawārkì	Look after your friend. (soc)

°AN: True prepositions other than dā also allow insertion of an MP between the preposition and its object, e.g., à dai wannàn hālì dā takè ciki 'in this situation that she is in'.

#### 4.2. Indirect objects

MPs are allowed between the i.o. marker wā and its object (although examples are not frequent), e.g.,

Sulè bāi fadā <u>wā</u> <u>mā</u> mātārsā ba	Sule didn't even tell his wife.
yā rübütā <u>wā</u> <u>kuma</u> Audu wāsikā	He also wrote a letter to Audu.
kā kaucè <u>wā</u> <u>dai</u> mahaukacin nān!	Avoid this madman!

An MP cannot, however, be inserted between the i.o. marker ma- and its pronoun object, e.g., matā 'to her', because they constitute indivisible words.

It has been claimed, e.g., by Parsons (1963: 172) and many people following him, that absolutely nothing can separate a verb from a following indirect object, including an MP. This assertion turns out to be inexact (Newman 1991b; Jaggar and Munkaila 1995) (see discussion in §39:3). Whereas MPs do not normally occur between a verb and an i.o., a variety of native speakers do accept some instances of monosyllabic MPs (particularly fa) in the position between a verb and an i.o., e.g.,

ya zābuřō <u>fa</u> masā	He jumped up on him.
nā mayār <u>fa</u> masā kuđinsā	I really did return the money to him.
Harū yā nūnā <u>fa</u> wā yārin yā hōtō	Haru showed the girl the picture.
yā rübütā <u>dai</u> wā Mamman wāsikā	He did write a letter to Mamman.

#### 4.3. Question words

Sentence-initial Q-words occur comfortably with MPs, e.g.,

wānē nē <u>kūwa</u> ya fi karfi?	Who is the strongest?
wācè mātā <u>kām</u> kukā zō <u>dā</u> ita?	Which woman did you come with?
yāyā <u>kuma</u> zā kā biyā kuđin makařantā?	How also are you going to pay the school fees?
yāushè <u>fa</u> sukā tāshì?	When in fact did they leave?
don mē <u>dai</u> sukā rufè hanyā?	How is it that they closed the road?
inā <u>fa</u> zān yārda?	There's no way I would agree to that!

(lit. where fa fut.I agree)

#### 4.4. Existential and present

àkwai dai shinkāfā  
àkwai tā dai  
bābū kūwa wata dāb  
àkwai fa  
bābū fa  
gā kuma zāft  
gā shi nān kūwa

#### 4.5. Topicalization

Bellō kūwa, gā dai  
As for Bellō  
Bintā dai, nā jì tā ta  
nī mā, zān shìgā tak  
kyautā dai, 'yam-m  
mū fa, bā zā mū sām

°AN: When occ  
tāusāyintā 'Oh

#### 4.6. Complement

dōlè nē fa mū gyārā  
It is necess  
wautā nē kām wai k  
It is foolish  
yā kāmātā kūwa yā  
It is desirab  
yanā dā muhimman  
It is import

#### 4.7. Within an NP

rīgā fa farā kūwa k  
abūbuwā dai na adē  
One position where  
lōkacin kūwa dā su  
būlālār mā dā muk  
rīgār fa dā yakè dā  
àku dai dā sarki ya



4.4. Existential and presentational sentences

Existential and presentational sentences allow an MP before or after the predicate, e.g.,

àkwai <u>dai</u> shìnkāfā = àkwai shìnkāfā <u>dai</u>	There is rice.
àkwai <u>tà</u> dai	There is some. (lit. it) (but not **àkwai dai tà, because tà is a clitic pronoun)
bābù <u>kùwa</u> wata dàbārā	There is no other solution.
àkwai <u>fa</u>	There is.
bābù <u>fa</u>	There is not.
gà <u>kuma</u> zāfi	Here is also heat.
gà shi nán <u>kùwa</u>	Here he is however.

4.5. Topicalization

One important function of MPs is to set off topicalized NPs (§72:2), e.g.,

Bellò <u>kùwa</u> , gà dai àlāmā zā à zābē shì	As for Bello, there is indeed indication that they will choose him.
Bintā <u>dai</u> , nā jī tà tanā minshāfī à dākì	As for Binta, I heard her snoring in the room.
nī <u>mā</u> , zān shìga takaā	I too, I will enter the competition.
kyautā dai, 'yam-mātā sun fi sōn 'yan-kunne	As for presents, young women prefer earrings.
mū fa, bà zā mù sāmī kōmē ba	As for us, we're not going to get anything.

°AN: When occurring with topics, the exclamation ai patterns with the MPs, e.g., **Kānde ai, inà** tàusāyintā 'Oh Kande, I feel sorry for her.'

4.6. Complementation

Another function of MPs is to set off and qualify a complement-taking expression, e.g.,

dōlè nē fa mù gyārā halinmù	It is necessary that we better ourselves.
wautā nē kām wai kà fi biyān hàrājīn dà wuri fa	It is foolish that you refuse to pay the taxes early.
yā kāmātā kùwa yāran nān sù yi aurē bana	It is desirable really that these children get married this year.
yanā dà muhimmancī kùwa mù gamā aikin ban dà dadēwā	It is important that we finish the work without delay.

4.7. Within an NP

MPs are permitted within an NP after the head noun and before modifiers, e.g.,

rīgā <u>fa</u> farā <u>kùwa</u> kyakkyāwār gāske	a white and moreover very beautiful gown
abūbuwā <u>dai</u> na adō	things for adornment

One position where MPs occur naturally is between a head noun and a relative clause, e.g.,

lōkacin <u>kùwa</u> dà sukā zō	the time moreover that they came
būlalār <u>mā</u> dà mukè tsòrō	a whip also that we are fearing
rīgār <u>fa</u> dà yakè dà ita	the gown that he indeed has
àku <u>dai</u> dà sarki ya nafā wazīrī	a parrot that the chief appointed as vizier

Another place where MPs occur readily is after the conjunction in a phrase with conjoined NPs or modifiers, e.g.,

<b>gērō dà kuma dāwà</b>	millet and also guinea corn
<b>Balā dà dai Mūsā</b>	Bala and Musa
<b>gājērē àmmā kò dà karfi</b>	short but however strong (lit. with strength)

A few prehead specifiers like the isolator **ɗaya** (lit. 'one') and independent possessive pronouns can be separated from the head by an MP, e.g.,

<b>ɗaya dai yāròn zāi zō gòbe</b>	The other boy will come tomorrow.
<b>duk dai cikin wannàn hālì</b>	all (people) in this situation
<b>tāwa fa bùdurwār tā tāfi Rauyè</b>	My sweetheart (lit. mine fa friend) went to the village.

Within an NP one cannot, however, insert an MP between a determiner and the head. Nor can one use an MP between a prenominal adjective or diminutive (both of which contain a linker) and the head. Thus, such phrases as the following are all unacceptable: **\*\*wani fa mùtùm** 'some fa man'; **\*\*kōwàcè dai yārinyà** 'every dai girl'; **\*\*wannàn kuma mōtā** 'this kuma car'; **\*\*'yař dai riğā** 'small dai gown'; **\*\*ɗan kām zākī** 'small kām lion'; **\*\*dōgon fa mùtumin** 'tall fa man'.

°AN: Inkelas (1988) contends that it is possible to insert **fa** between an adjective and a head noun under certain circumstances. She claims (p. 381) that the following sentence, for example (given in standard orthography), is acceptable: **sabon fa littafi ya yi tsada** 'The new book is expensive.' I have not been able to find a native Hausa speaker whose judgments coincide with the claims of this paper. The general rule seems to be that MPs are disallowed inside genitive X.L N constructions whether the X is an adjective, e.g., **sābo.n** (\*\*MP) **littāfi** 'new book', a verbal noun, e.g., **nēma.n** (\*\*MP) **aikī** 'seeking work', or a common noun, e.g., **māta.ř** (\*\*MP) **mālām** 'teacher's wife'.

#### 4.8. Adverbials and exclamations

MPs occur comfortably after sentence initial adverbials, exclamations, and such, e.g.,

<b>wàshègàrì dai yā jē fādà</b>	The next day he went to the palace.
<b>lallē kūwa yanà dà àbin hannū</b>	Definitely he is rich.
<b>dà farkō dai inà sò kù shārè ɗākin</b>	To begin with I want you to sweep the room.
<b>ā'ā, ai kò gāskiyārsà</b>	No, well however he's right.
<b>hakà kuma shùgābā yā yi mǎganà à kántà</b>	Thus also the president spoke about it.
<b>wàllāhì kūwa kā yi láift</b>	By God you have made a mistake.

[Reference: The definitive study of modal particles, on which this chapter has drawn heavily, is the master's thesis of Schmaling (1991).]

**T**HERE are two st  
and -ēCēniyā)  
'mutual slapping' (<  
The derived nouns ar  
lexical membership.

#### 1. MUTUALITY-1

This semiproductive  
base. (In terms of pr  
/yy/, i.e., **bùgayyà** 'c  
rather than [bùgayyà

**àlkayyà**  
**bâyayyà**  
**dauratayyà**  
**gābzayyà**  
**hùjjatayyà**  
**jâyayyà**  
**kārbayyà**  
**riyayyà**  
**riřbayyà**  
Irregular: **zantākayyà**

The form **auratayyà**  
base //aurat-// cont  
verbal noun from th  
generally nonoccurr

A few mutualit  
analogical creations

**hālayyà** living  
**cinikayyà** mutua  
(e.g., **àkwai cinikayyà**

Although -ayyà ty  
frozen with a set me

## 47. Mutuality

THERE are two suffixes that are used to form nouns indicating mutuality or reciprocity: **-ayyā**<sup>LHL</sup> and **-ēCēniyā**<sup>LHHLH</sup>, e.g., **sàrayyā** 'mutual slashing, accusing' (< **sārè** 'slash'); **màrērēniyā** 'mutual slapping' (< **màrà** 'slap'). With a few exceptions, the derivatives are formed from verbal stems. The derived nouns are all feminine. The two suffixes have overlapping, but not identical, meanings and lexical membership.

### 1. MUTUALITY-1: **-ayyā**<sup>LHL</sup>

This semiproductive derivational class is formed by adding a tone-integrating suffix **-ayyā**<sup>LHL</sup> to the base. (In terms of pronunciation the short /a/ is phonetically raised in the environment of the following /yy/, i.e., **bùgayyā** 'exchange of blows', for example, sounds something like [bùgeyyā], or [bùgeiyā] rather than [bùgayyā].) Monoverbs insert an epenthetic /y/ before the suffix, e.g.,

<b>àikayyā</b>	mutual sending of messages < <b>àikā</b> send
<b>bàyayyā</b>	mutual giving < <b>bā</b> give
<b>dàuratayyā</b>	being side by side, close to each other < <b>dàuratà</b> be close by
<b>gàbzayyā</b>	struggle or fight that involves hitting < <b>gàbzā</b> hit
<b>hùjjātayyā</b>	laying down mutual conditions < <b>hùjjātā</b> set conditions
<b>jàyayyā</b>	controversy, dispute, discord < <b>jā</b> pull
<b>kàrbayyā</b>	mutual relieving (e.g., two carriers of a load) < <b>kàrbā</b> receive
<b>riyayyā</b>	hatred < <b>ri</b> refuse, hate
<b>ribḏayyā</b>	severely hitting each other < <b>ribḏā</b> hit
Irregular: <b>zàntakayyā</b>	mutual conversation (< base <b>*/zantak-//</b> < <b>zāntā</b> converse)

The form **àuratayyā** 'marriage relationship, intermarriage' (= **àurayyā**) is built on an abstract verbal base **//aurat-//** containing the verbalizing suffix **-TA** derived from **aurē** 'marriage', which itself is a verbal noun from the verb **àurā** 'marry'. Similarly, **bàfkātayyā** 'mutual congratulations' is built on a generally nonoccurring verbal base **//bāfkāt-//**, derived from the Arabic loanword **bāfkā** 'blessing'.

A few mutuality forms are built directly on nouns rather than verbs. These are clearly recent analogical creations as indicated by the fact that they are not cited in the major dictionaries.

<b>hàlayyā</b>	living conditions, behavior or attitude (of people) < <b>hālī</b> character, condition
<b>cìnikayyā</b>	mutual trading < <b>cìniki</b> trade
(e.g., <b>àkwai cìnikayyā tsākānin Amīrkā dà Jāpān</b> There is trade between America and Japan.)	

Although **-ayyā** typically connotes mutuality or reciprocity, in some words it has become lexically frozen with a set meaning where the interactive element is minimal or nonexistent. The word **biyayyā**

'obedience, loyalty' (< *bi* 'follow'), for instance, denotes something that is always unidirectional, from a subordinate to a superior. Similarly, *sàyyà* 'a purchase' (< *sàya* 'buy') does not mean mutual buying by two or more persons, but rather an individual's unidirectional purchase. Other examples of mutuality forms with essentially fixed meanings include *fiyyà* (less common than the equivalent *fifikò*) 'superiority' (< *fi* 'exceed'); *tàyyà* 'federation, confederation, partnership' (< *tàrà* 'collect together'); *sàkayyà* 'reward or punishment' (< *sàkà* 'pay back in kind'); *tsàyyà* 'perseverance' (< *tsayà* 'stop, stand').

## 2. MUTUALITY-2: -ēCēniyā)<sup>LHHLH</sup>

This variant is formed by adding the suffix -ēCēniyā)<sup>LHHLH</sup>, with a fixed L-H-H-L-H tone pattern, where the C represents a copy of the base-final consonant. The -ē of the suffix conditions automatic palatalization. Examples:

<i>gājējēniyā</i>	several persons alternately inheriting from each other collaterally < <i>gādā</i> inherit
<i>gūrmùjējēniyā</i> (= <i>gūrmùzayyā</i> )	struggling together (e.g., wrestling) < <i>gūrmuzā</i> overpower
<i>jìbgēgēniyā</i> (= <i>jìbgayyā</i> )	beating of one another by two or more persons < <i>jìbgā</i> beat
<i>mārērēniyā</i>	mutual slapping < <i>mārā</i> slap
<i>rùngùmēmēniyā</i>	mutual embracing < <i>rùngumā</i> embrace
<i>yārjējēniyā</i>	mutual consent, agreement < <i>yārda</i> agree

ØHN: Originally, the suffix probably had the shape -ēCēne)<sup>LHHL</sup>, although the derived words were all grammatically feminine. The -iyā ending would have appeared later when grammatically feminine words in the language underwent overt characterization (see §31:4), e.g., \*[jìbgēgēnè]f + -ā 'feminative marker' > *jìbgēgēniyā* 'mutual beating'.

### 2.1. Variant with gemination

The -ēCēniyā suffix has a variant form -aCCēniyā (with a geminate consonant). This is preferred in some dialects. (The exact geographical distribution is not known.) The tone and prosodic structure of the two variants are identical, e.g.,

<i>bùgaggēniyā</i> = <i>bùgēgēniyā</i>	exchanging blows
<i>mārarrēniyā</i> = <i>mārērēniyā</i>	mutual slapping of one another
<i>ràntsattsēniyā</i> = <i>ràntsētsēniyā</i>	competing in swearing

The surface form -aCCēniyā comes from -eCCēniyā (< -ēCēniyā) with centralization of the short /e/ to /a/ in closed syllables. This is shown by the fact that in the geminate variant, the stem-final consonant that occurs before the surface /a/ still shows the effects of the conditioned palatalization rule, e.g.,

<i>gàbjajjēniyā</i> (< <i>gàbjejjēniyā</i> ) (not ** <i>gàbzajjēniyā</i> ) = <i>gàbjējēniyā</i>	struggle or fight that involves hitting (cf. <i>gàbzayyā</i> )
<i>tùrmùshashshēniyā</i> (not ** <i>tùrmùsashshēniyā</i> ) = <i>tùrmùshēshēniyā</i>	struggling on ground by two or more persons

## 3. COMPARISON OF MUTUALITY-1 AND MUTUALITY-2

Some stems occur with both suffixes with essentially identical meanings, e.g.,

*bùgayyā* = *bùgēgēniyā*  
*jìbgayyā* = *jìbgēgēniyā*  
*kàrbayyā* = *kàrbēbēniyā*  
*kìrbayyā* = *kìrbēbēniyā*  
*yàrayyā* = *yàrērēniyā*

Some words occur with both suffixes. (The only exceptions in the dictionaries give with the -ēCēniyā suffix. Similarly, denominals would appear to be the same.)

(a) -ayyā only:  
*sòyayyā*  
*àuràtayyā*  
*cinikayyā*  
*sànyayyā*  
 (b) -ēCēniyā (= -aCCēniyā)  
*dàukēkēniyā*  
*ràntsētsēniyā*  
*tùnkùd'ēd'ēniyā*

Semantically, the two forms that one finds with the same connotation. With -aCCēniyā words with the -ēCēniyā activity in a competition would thus not be expected as the examples in (b).

*cùd'ayyā*  
 cf. *cùd'ēd'ēniyā*  
*gilmayyā*  
 cf. *gilmēmēniyā*  
*àlkayyā*  
 cf. *àikēkēniyā*

<b>bùgayyà</b> = <b>bùgégèniyā</b>	hitting each other
<b>jìbgayyà</b> = <b>jìbgégèniyā</b>	hitting each other
<b>kàrbayyà</b> = <b>kàrbèbèniyā</b>	taking turns in work or carrying load
<b>kìrbayyà</b> = <b>kìrbèbèniyā</b>	pounding on one another
<b>yàkayyà</b> = <b>yàkèkèniyā</b>	battling each other, mutual warfare

Some words occur with only one suffix or the other. Monoverbs, for example, occur only with the **-ayyā** suffix. (The only exception, if it in fact is one, is **bàyèyèniyā** (?) = **bàyayyà** (< **bā** 'give'), which the dictionaries give with the meaning of 'bickering, mutual recriminations', but which is now not known.) Similarly, denominal verb stems with the **-TA** suffix appear to be limited to **-ayyā**. Other restrictions would appear to be lexically or semantically determined, e.g.,

(a) **-ayyā** only:

<b>sòyayyà</b>	love, mutual affection ( <i>not</i> = <b>**sòyèyèniyā</b> )
<b>àuràtayyà</b>	intermarriage
<b>cìnikayyà</b>	mutual trading
<b>sànayyà</b>	mutual acquaintance

(b) **-èCèniyā** (= **-aCCèniyā**) only:

<b>dàukèkèniyā</b>	carrying one another competitively ( <i>not</i> = <b>**dàukayyà</b> )
<b>ràntsètsèniyā</b>	competing in swearing to testify to one's truthfulness
<b>tùnkùd'èd'èniyā</b>	repeated pushing away of each other

Semantically, the two mutuality derivations differ somewhat. In the first place, it is only with **-ayyā** forms that one finds such words as **biyayyà** 'obedience' and **sàyayyà** 'purchase(s)' without the mutuality connotation. With **-èCèniyā** forms, the mutual, interactive meaning is always prominent. Moreover, words with the **-èCèniyā** suffix often entail the notion of competition, i.e., they connote mutual activity in a competitive mood. A word like **tàrayyà** 'federation', which implies mutual cooperation, would thus not be expected to have a corresponding **\*\*tàrèrèniyā** form. Consider the following, as well as the examples in (b) above:

<b>cùd'ayyà</b>	mutual interaction, intimacy, washing one another's backs
cf. <b>cùd'èd'èniyā</b>	rubbing up against and pushing one other
<b>gilmayyà</b>	constantly passing across something
cf. <b>gilmèniyā</b>	passing each other competitively
<b>àikayyà</b>	mutual commissioning
cf. <b>àikèkèniyā</b>	sending one another repetitively

## 48. Names (Proper Nouns)

**T**O quote Quirk et al. (1985: 288): "Proper nouns are basically names of specific people..., places..., months..., days..., festivals..., magazines..., and so forth." This section focuses on personal names and place names, with a brief listing of names for days of the week and months of the year.

In Hausa, proper nouns differ from common nouns not only semantically/lexically but also phonologically, particularly with regard to final vowel length. Whereas common nouns (apart from many loanwords) normally end in a long final vowel, proper nouns very often have a short final vowel, the pattern varying from one subclass of proper nouns to another. (Transcription note: The tap/rolled rhotic is normally transcribed in this grammar with a tilde, i.e., *ř*. With proper names, initial *ř* is transcribed as simply capital **R** without the diacritic, e.g., **Rāshà** = /*řāshà*/ 'Russia'.)

### 1. PERSONAL NAMES

Personal names can be classified into two main categories, which one can call (1) birth names (**sūnan yankā**), i.e., primary given names, and (2) everyday names (**sūnan rānā**), i.e., descriptive names, titles, nicknames, etc.

#### 1.1. Birth names (**sūnan yankā**)

A week after a child is born he/she is given an "Islamic name" (derived from Arabic) at an official naming ceremony. At the ceremony, prayers are offered and a ram is slaughtered, thus the designation **sūnan yankā**, lit. name of slaughtering.

°AN: This description applies to the overwhelming major of Hausas who are Muslim. As far as I am aware, the naming pattern for Hausas who are Christian or adherents of traditional religion has not been studied in detail.

The label "Islamic name" includes **Mūhammadù** (Muhammad), the names of members of the Prophet Muhammad's family, e.g., **Hādīzatù** (one of the Prophet's wives) or **Zāinabù** (one of the Prophet's daughters), and other people involved in the emergence of Islam. It also includes the names of major figures in the Old and New Testaments like **Sāratù** (Sarah) and **Īsā** (Jesus).

A number of male Islamic names are derived from the ninety-nine names and epithets of God preceded by the formative **Ābdùl** 'servant of' (where the final /l/ often forms a geminate with the following consonant). Examples include: **Ābdùllāhì**, **Ābdùlhāmìd**, **Ābdùlkādīř**, **Ābdùřřāhīm**, **Ābdùssālāmù**.

The most common Islamic male name is **Mūhammadù**, often used in combination with other names serving to extol attributes of the Prophet, e.g., **Mūhammadù Kābīřù** (Muhammad the Great), **Mūhammadù Āmīnù** (Muhammad the Faithful), etc. The name **Mūhammadù** is also commonly accompanied by a second name indicating a chronological order of the children in a family named Muhammad, e.g.,

**Mūhammadù Āuwalù**  
**Mūhammadù Sāni**  
**Mūhammadù Sālisù**  
**Mūhammadù Rābī'ù**  
**Mūhammadù Hāmisù**  
**Mūhammadù Sādisù**  
**Mūhammadù Sābī'ù**  
**Mūhammadù Sāminù**  
**Mūhammadù Tāsi'ù**  
**Mūhammadù Ashīřù**

Persons with two names, names, (b) by **Mūhamm**

Other common male female names include **Ā'**

As a general rule, p is an exception). Name vowel is usually short. (vowel length is illustrated English equivalent, this

Male names: **Ādāmù** (second-born twin); **Īsā** (Muhammad); **Mūsā** (Jacob); **Yūsufù** (Joseph)  
 Female names: **Ā'ishat**  
**Mařyamù** (Mary); **Rā**

°AN: Hausa spelling orthographic form /**Āmād**/, Mahmudu of names with med = Awwal, etc.

#### 1.2. Gender

Some names are limited whereas **Bintā**, **Hādīzā** name is not immediately in low-tone /ù/. The specifically (a) the well-**-iyyā** (with an associat

(a) **Fādīmatù**, **Hādīzā**  
 (b) **Fāuziyyā** (< Ar. *fā*  
 (probably < Abyssinia  
**Maradhiyyah** (< *rihd*  
 Sa'ad place name), Sh

<b>Mùhammadù Àuwalù</b>	Muhammad the first
<b>Mùhammadù Sāni</b>	Muhammad the second
<b>Mùhammadù Sālisù</b>	Muhammad the third
<b>Mùhammadù Rābi'ù</b>	Muhammad the fourth
<b>Mùhammadù Hāmisù</b>	Muhammad the fifth
<b>Mùhammadù Sādisù</b>	Muhammad the sixth
<b>Mùhammadù Sābi'ù</b>	Muhammad the seventh
<b>Mùhammadù Sāminù</b>	Muhammad the eighth
<b>Mùhammadù Tāsi'ù</b>	Muhammad the ninth
<b>Mùhammadù Ashīrù</b>	Muhammad the tenth

Persons with two names, like **Mùhammadù Àminù** or **Mùhammadù Sāni**, may be known (a) by both names, (b) by **Mùhammadù** (or one of its variants), or (c) by the second name.

Other common male names are **Àli** (son in law of the Prophet) and **Ìbrāhīm** (Abraham). Common female names include **Ā'ishatù** (one of the Prophet's wives) and **Hāuwa** (Eve).

As a general rule, proper names ending in L tone have a short final vowel. (The name **Daudà** 'David' is an exception). Names ending in H tone have a long vowel if the vowel is *-ā/*; otherwise the final vowel is usually short. (The name **Hāuwa** 'Eve' is an exception). (The correlation between tone and final vowel length is illustrated in the doublet **Àminà** = **Àmīnā**.) Examples: (Where the name has a common English equivalent, this is provided.)

Male names: **Ādāmu** (Adam); **Fārukù** = **Fārūkù**; **Hāfīzù**; **Hāllù**; **Hasàn** (first-born twin); **Hūsainì** (second-born twin); **Īsā** (Jesus); **Isiyākù** (Isaac); **Ìsmā'īlù**; **Jībīrīlù** (Gabriel); **Mùhammadù** (Muhammad); **Mūsā** (Moses); **Nuhù** (Noah); **Sulēmānù** (Solomon); **Tānīmù**; **Yākubù** = **Yākubù** (Jacob); **Yūsufù** (Joseph); **Zūbai'rù**

Female names: **Ā'ishatù**; **Fādīmatù**; **Hādīzatù**; **Hāfsatù**; **Hālmā**; **Hānsatù**; **Hāuwa** (Eve); **Ma'fīyamù** (Mary); **Rāhīlā** (Rachael); **Rakīyā**; **Rukāyyatù**; **Sāratù** (Sarah); **Zāinabù**

°AN: Hausa spelling is normally narrowly phonemic. Some proper names, however, have special orthographic forms that deviate from the phonology, e.g., Mustapha = /**Mustāfā**/, Ahmad = /**Āmād**/, Mahmudu = /**Māmūdù**/, Mohammed = /**Mùhammadù**/, Muhtari = /**Mùktāri**/. The spelling of names with medial /**auwa**/ varies according to individual preference, e.g., Hauwa = Hawwa, Auwal = Awwal, etc.

### 1.2. Gender

Some names are limited to one sex. For example, **Daudà**, **Hāfūnā**, and **Yūsufù** are strictly male names whereas **Bintā**, **Hādīzā**, and **Ma'fīyām** are names for females. Generally speaking the sex referent of the name is not immediately evident from the form, cf. **Mùhammadù** m. and **Zāinabù** f., both of which end in low-tone /**ù**/. The major exceptions are Arabic-derived names with overt feminine suffixes, specifically (a) the well-recognized optional suffix **-atù** and (b) the lexically more restricted frozen suffix **-iyyā** (with an associated L-H-H melody). Examples:

- (a) **Fādīmatù**, **Hādīzatù**, **Hānatù**, **Rukāyyatù**, **Sā'adatù**, **Sālāmatù**, **Wāsilatù**, **Zāhāratù**  
 (b) **Fāuziyyā** (< Ar. *fauz* success, victory, achievement, triumph), **Hābāsiyyā** (= **Hābāshiyyā**) (probably < Abyssinia (*Habasha*)), **Māfākisiyyā** (probably < Marakesh), **Mā'āliyyā** (< Ar. *Maradhiyyah* (< *ridha* fidelity), **Sā'ādiyyā** (< Ar. *Sa'adiyyah* wet nurse of the Prophet Muhammad (< Sa'ad place name), **Shāmsiyyā** (< Ar. *shams* sun(light))

Ā'ishatù ⇒	Ā'ì = Aishà (= Asshà) = Shatù (= Shàtu)		
Ābdùllāhì ⇒	Abdù (= Audù)		
Ābūbakār ⇒	Ābū = Hābū = Būbà = Bukār		
Bālārabè ⇒	Bālā (but Bālā is not used as short for the corresponding feminine name Bālārabā, whose short form is Lārai)		
Bilkiṣù = Bilkiṣù (f.) ⇒	Bilki	Fādīmatù ⇒	Fātimà = Fāti
Hādīzà ⇒	Dīje = Dīzà (= Dījā)	Harūnà ⇒	Harū
Hūsainì ⇒	Sāinō	Inūsà and Inuwà ⇒	Inū
Jibīrilù = Jibīrīn ⇒	Jibò	Maṛyām = Maṛyamà (f.) ⇒	Màiro
Mùhammadù ⇒	Mùhammàn = Mammàn	Māmūdù ⇒	Mūdī
Mustāfā ⇒	Ālmu = Mūd'ce	Sulēmānù ⇒	Sulè = Mānù
Ūsūmānù ⇒	Mānī = Mānù	Yūsufù ⇒	Yūst
Zāinabù ⇒	Ābù (with long initial ā)		

The commonly occurring names **Abdù** and **Audù** (with H-L tone) serve as short forms for all names beginning with **Ābdùl** (lit. servant of...), e.g., **Ābdùlkādīr**, **Ābdùlsālāmù**, etc.

°AN: The **Audù** pronunciation reflects the operation in some dialects of Klingenberg's Law, which changes syllable-final labials to /u/. Interestingly, even people who say **Audù** preserve the syllable-final /b/ in the longer **Ābdùl** names like **Ābdùllāhì**.

#### 1.4. Plurals of names

One often thinks of names as referring to unique individuals. In appropriate contexts, however, proper names can be pluralized, like in English "There are five Tamaras in my class." Only three plural markers are employed. By far the most common plural formative used with proper names is **-ōCi**. The **-ai** suffix comes in a distant second (mainly with longer names), and the **-unà** suffix (limited to disyllabic names) is the least common. (Many of the names forming plurals with **-ai** or **-unà** allowed **-ōCi** as an alternative.) Examples:

Ālmu pl. Almōmī	Āsābe pl. Asabōbī
Hamīdù pl. Hamīdōdī	Kumbulā pl. Kumbulōlī
Mū'āzù pl. Mu'āzōjī	Shēkārā pl. Shēkarōjī
Bālārabè pl. Bālārābai	Bāshīr pl. Bāshīrai
Hābībā pl. Hābībai	Mùhammadù pl. Mùhāmmādai
Dālhā pl. Dālhunà	Kānde pl. Kandunà
Lāmī pl. Lāmunà	

°AN: I have seen no mention of plurals of proper nouns in the Hausa linguistic literature, so the description here is based strictly on my own preliminary investigations with a small number of speakers. What I am reporting is probably accurate in general, but one needs to keep in mind that the details have not been verified by careful checking in the field.

#### 1.5. Everyday names: Morphophonological shape

All names apart from the true Islamic names can be grouped together as "everyday names" or "additional names". In Hausa these are called **sūnan rānā** (lit. name.of day) or **laṛābī**. (The term **laṛābī** is sometimes translated as 'nickname'; but these names are less casual and ephemeral than the term 'nickname' connotes.)

These everyday names often have the appearance of the basic name. They can be derived in various circumstances promptly.

Some everyday names are **Lēkò**, **Sambò**, **Tankò**, the more common plural forms.

#### 1.5.1. Vowel shortening

Many names are derived from longer names indicated as such.

**Angò** (cf. **angò** 'groceries'), **Azūmī** (f.) (cf. **azūmī** 'stranger'), **Bāko** (cf. **bākò** 'stranger'), **Dōgo** (cf. **dōgò** 'tall'), **Gājere** (cf. **gājere** 'tall').

°HN: At an early stage the vowel of common nouns or adverbs that failed to undergo shortening. Synchronically, this is the case with many names.

A few names preserve the original vowel of common nouns or adverbs that failed to undergo shortening. Synchronically, this is the case with many names.

#### 1.5.2. Suffix -au

Some names contain the suffix **-au** (cf. **-au** 'pin down but that general underlying verb (or, n...)

**Gàgarau** (cf. **gàgarà** 'to be angry'), **Hàkùrau** (cf. **hàkùrà** 'to be angry'), **Kòsau** (cf. **kòsà** 'to be angry'), **Māntau** (cf. **māntà** 'to be angry').

#### 1.5.3. The genitive

A small number of proper nouns are formed with **-a** and **ta** for female names. Examples:

**Na-Allāh** m. / **Ta-Allāh** f. (lit. of Allah), **Namakà** m. (lit. of M...), **Tasallā** f. (lit. of the...), **Tasidī** f. (lit. of Sidī...).



These everyday names are based on a variety of factors such as the time or occasion of a birth, the appearance of the baby, or some conventional connection between the additional name and the Islamic name. They can be described both in terms of their morphophonological makeup and in terms of the circumstances prompting their use.

Some everyday names are morphologically simple and basic, e.g., **Dèlu** (f.), **Gambo**, **Kànde** (f.) **Lèkò**, **Sambò**, **Tankò**; but most are morphologically derived in one way or another. Here are some of the more common processes.

### 1.5.1. Vowel shortening of common nouns

Many names are derived from common nouns by shortening the final vowel. Examples (with feminine names indicated as such):

<b>Angò</b> (cf. <b>angò</b> groom)	<b>Kàka</b> (usu. f.) (cf. <b>kākā</b> harvest season)
<b>Azùmi</b> (f.) (cf. <b>azùmī</b> (month of) fasting)	<b>Magàji</b> (cf. <b>magàji</b> heir)
<b>Bàko</b> (cf. <b>bākō</b> stranger, guest)	<b>Màsoro</b> (f.) (cf. <b>màsōrō</b> small peppercorn)
<b>Dōgo</b> (cf. <b>dōgō</b> tall)	<b>Sābo</b> (cf. <b>sābō</b> new)
<b>Gàjere</b> (cf. <b>gàjērē</b> short)	<b>Yàlwa</b> (usu. f.) (cf. <b>yàlwā</b> abundance)

ØHN: At an earlier period, final vowels in Hausa were intrinsically short. Subsequently the final vowel of common nouns (and adjectives) underwent morphologically conditioned lengthening (see Greenberg 1978). This lengthening did not, however, apply to certain word classes like proper nouns or adverbs. Thus, from a historical perspective, such proper nouns as **Sābo** represent words that failed to undergo lengthening rather than words that actively undergo a process of shortening. Synchronically, however, the shortening rule is probably fully operative.

A few names preserve the long final vowel of the common noun, e.g., **Wādā** (cf. **wādā** 'wealth'), **Màimakō** (cf. **màimakō** 'substitution'), and in one case the proper name has a long vowel whereas the corresponding item (in this case an adjective) has a short vowel, e.g., **Bàbbā** (cf. **bàbba** 'big').

### 1.5.2. Suffix -au

Some names contain the derivational suffix **-au**<sup>LH</sup> (see chap. 10), a suffix that is semantically hard to pin down but that generally indicates being characterized by properties or qualities or attributes of the underlying verb (or, rarely, noun). These are mostly masculine names, e.g.,

<b>Gàgarau</b> (cf. <b>gàgarà</b> be difficult)	<b>Sàdau</b> (m./f.) (cf. <b>sàdu</b> get together)
<b>Hàkùrau</b> (cf. <b>hàkùrà</b> be patient)	<b>Sàllau</b> (cf. <b>sallà</b> prayer, festival)
<b>Kòsau</b> (cf. <b>kòsà</b> be well fed)	<b>Shèkàrau</b> (cf. <b>shèkarà</b> spend the year)
<b>Màntau</b> (cf. <b>mántā</b> forget)	<b>Tùnav</b> (cf. <b>tunà</b> remember)

### 1.5.3. The genitive **na/ta** + N

A small number of phrasal names are built using the independent forms of the linker: **na** for male names and **ta** for female names. (As names, these phrases are sometimes written as one word, sometimes not.)

Examples:

<b>Na-Allàh</b> m. / <b>Ta-Allàh</b> f. (lit. of God)
<b>Namakà</b> m. (lit. of Mecca)
<b>Tasallà</b> f. (lit. of the festival), cf. the corresponding masculine names <b>Sàllau</b> and <b>Masàllàci</b> )
<b>Tastì</b> f. (lit. of <b>Sìdì</b> , where <b>Sìdì</b> is a masculine name)

1.5.4. The formative **mài** + N

Some names have the form of phrases consisting of **mài** 'possessor of, being characterized by' plus a common noun (see chap. 45). These names are mostly masculine. A few names with final H tone -a and a light penultimate syllable have a long final vowel; all other names of this type have a short final vowel. As proper names, these phrases are usually written as one word. Examples:

<b>Màid'ākì</b> f. (cf. <b>ḏ'ākì</b> room)	<b>Màigado</b> f. (cf. <b>gadō</b> throne)
<b>Màigàri</b> (cf. <b>gàri</b> town)	<b>Màikud'ì</b> (cf. <b>kud'ì</b> money)
<b>Màiriga</b> (cf. <b>rīgā</b> gown, caul)	<b>Màitamā</b> (cf. <b>tamā</b> iron ore)
<b>Màiwadā</b> (cf. <b>wadā</b> wealth)	

1.5.5. Compounds with **ḏan**

As indicated above in §1.2, a number of feminine names, especially day names, have masculine counterparts built with the formative **ḏan** 'lit. son of', e.g.,

**Danjūmā** (cf. **Jummai** f.); **Danlādì** (cf. **Lādì** f.); **Dantālā** (cf. **Tālātù** f.)

The feminine counterpart of **ḏan**, namely **'yaḏ**, occurs much less frequently in proper names; however, there are a few examples:

**'Yaḏ Fulāni** f. (cf. **Fulāni** Fulani); **'Yaḏ Sakkwato** f. (cf. **Sakkwato** Sokoto);  
**'Yaḏ Ja** (with short final vowel) f. (cf. **Jātau** name for a light-skinned male < **jā** red)

In addition to the compounds with **ḏan** and **'yaḏ** illustrated above, one also finds names with **ḏan** and **'yaḏ** operating in their role as diminutive markers, e.g.,

<b>Dan Àutā</b>	Little <b>àutā</b> 'youngest child'	<b>Danyārò</b>	Little <b>yārò</b> 'boy'
<b>'Yaḏ Bātūriyā</b>	Little <b>Bātūriyā</b> 'European female'	<b>'Yaḏ Gwaggò</b>	Little <b>gwaggò</b> 'aunt'

The feminine **'yaḏ** may accompany a birth name, especially in the short form, e.g.,

**'Yaḏ Husè** Little **Husè** (< **Husàinā**)      **'Yaḏ Sà'āde** Little **Sà'āde** (< **Sà'adatù**)

## 1.5.6. Verb-based compounds

Some names are compounds of the form V + NP (where the V is a monoverb that appears with low tone and a long vowel) or à (impersonal subjunctive wsp) + VP. Examples:

<b>Bìsallā</b> lit. follow prayer	<b>Cìgàri</b> lit. conquer town
<b>Cìtumù</b> m./f. lit. eat roasted millet head	<b>Kìgijì</b> m./f. lit. refuse home
<b>Shàgàri</b> lit. drink flour	<b>Sògijì</b> m./f. lit. love home
<b>Àbārtā</b> f. lit. one should leave her (alone)	<b>Àjēfas</b> lit. one should throw (it) out
<b>Àmānta</b> f. lit. one should forget	

## 1.6. Everyday names: Semantic/pragmatic characteristics

Birth names (**sūnan yankā**), like first names in English, are typically given in honor of and in remembrance of a deceased relative. The everyday names, on the other hand, normally relate to real-world phenomena like the time or circumstances of a birth or the physical appearance of the baby. Some of

these are given to a individual's life. Here

## 1.6.1. Day names

There are specific names names occur in feminine illustrated earlier.) Exa

**Jummai / Danjūmā**  
**Àsàbe / Dan Àsàbe**  
**Lādì / Danlādì**  
**Àltine / Dan Àltine**  
**Tālātù / Dantālā**  
**Bālāfabā / Bālāfabè**  
**Lāmì / Danlāmì**

In addition to the name with particular days for 'Adam' or **Hāuwa** 'Eve' named **Bātūriyā**, indic the word **tālātā** also m

1.6.2. Names relat  
Names may also be as

**Azūmi / Dan Azūmi** (= **Gānu** m. (< **ganì** see) (= **Magāwatā** lit. one **Kāka / Dan Kāka**  
**Kōsau** m. (< **kōsā** be **Mārka / Dan Mārka** (= **Anā-ruwa** lit. it is **Gāllau** m.  
**Shānōnd** (f./m.) (lit. **Yāywa** (f./m.)

1.6.3. Names relat  
Names may refer to the has had or to other eve

**Barau** (< **barì** leave)  
**Bōyì** (< **bōyè** hide)  
**Gāmbò**  
**Kyāuta**  
**Māyau** (< **māyā** repl  
**Sambò**  
**Talle / Dantalle**  
**Tankò**

these are given to a baby shortly after birth, whereas others are acquired at some later time in an individual's life. Here are selected categories.

### 1.6.1. Day names

There are specific names associated with the day of the week on which someone is born. Most of these names occur in feminine / masculine pairs. (Optional short forms for many of these names have been illustrated earlier.) Examples (f. / m.):

<b>Jummai / Danjūmà</b>	child born on Friday	(cf. <b>Jumma'ā</b> Friday)
<b>Àsàbe / Dan Àsàbe</b>	child born on Saturday	(cf. <b>Àsabār</b> Saturday)
<b>Lādì / Danlādì</b>	child born on Sunday	(cf. <b>Lahādì</b> Sunday)
<b>Àltìne / Dan Àltìne</b>	child born on Monday	(cf. <b>Lìtùnìn</b> Monday)
<b>Tàlàtù / Dantàlà</b>	child born on Tuesday	(cf. <b>Tàlàtā</b> Tuesday)
<b>Bàlàrābà / Bālārābè</b>	child born on Wednesday	(cf. <b>Lārābā</b> Wednesday)
<b>Lāmì / Danlāmì</b>	child born on Thursday	(cf. <b>Àlhāmìs</b> Thursday)

In addition to the names built on the words for the days of the week, there are other names associated with particular days for semantic reasons. For example, a child born on Friday could be named **Àdāmu** 'Adam' or **Hāuwa** 'Eve' because this is the first day of the week. Or, a girl born on Tuesday could be named **Bātūrīyā**, indicating that she is to be wealthy like a European girl. (This is based on the fact that the word **tàlàtā** also means '3,000 cowries', which in olden days represented a large sum.)

### 1.6.2. Names relating to other times

Names may also be associated with other temporal periods. Examples (f. / m.):

<b>Azūmi / Dan Azūmi (= Lābāran)</b>	child born during the month of Ramadan
<b>Gānuu m. (&lt; ganì see)</b>	child born at new moon
(= <b>Magāwatā</b> lit. one who sees moon)	
<b>Kāka / Dan Kāka</b>	child born at harvesttime
<b>Kōsau m. (&lt; kōsā be well-fed)</b>	child born at harvesttime
<b>Mārka / Dan Mārka</b>	child born at height of the rainy season
(= <b>Anā-ruwa</b> lit. it is raining)	
<b>Sāllau m.</b>	child born during a festival
<b>Shānōnò (f./m.) (lit. drink milk)</b>	child (usually Fulani) born when a calf was being delivered
<b>Yālwa (f./m.)</b>	child born during a bumper harvest

### 1.6.3. Names relating to birth sequence and related events

Names may refer to the sequence of a birth in relation to previous births (or miscarriages) that the mother has had or to other events associated with the birth, e.g.,

<b>Bārau (&lt; barì leave)</b>	name for boy born after many of mother's babies have died in infancy
<b>Bōyì (&lt; bōyè hide)</b>	child born late after mother had given up hope of conceiving
<b>Gāmbò</b>	boy born after twins
<b>Kyāuta</b>	child born after years of childlessness (cf. <b>kyāutā</b> gift (from God))
<b>Māyau (&lt; mājā replace)</b>	child born after death of father
<b>Sambò</b>	a second son
<b>Talle / Dantalle</b>	child being brought up by s.o. else because the mother has died
<b>Tankò</b>	son born after a succession of girls

A child born after a number of previous children have died young or who has been born to parents who have been childless for some time, due to miscarriage or the inability to conceive, may be given names like the following with hope that the child will survive. The purpose of such a name as *Àjefas* m. (lit. one should throw (him) out), for example, is to indicate that it is not a good child and thus God should not want to take him. Examples:

<i>Àbařshì</i> m. / <i>Àbařtà</i> f.	(lit. one should leave him /her)
<i>Àjùji</i> f.	(lit. in the rubbish heap)
<i>Bàwà</i> m. / <i>Bàíwa</i> f.	(lit. slave (of God))
<i>Dànganà</i> m./f.	(lit. resignation)
<i>Dògarà</i> m./f.	(lit. dependence (on God))
<i>Màntau</i> m. (lit. forgetfulness) / <i>Àmánta</i> f.	(lit. one should forget (her))

In the case of twins, special birth names are assigned:

<i>Hasàn</i> m. / <i>Hasànà</i> f.	first-born twin
<i>Hùsainì</i> m. / <i>Husàinà</i> (= <i>Usàinà</i> ) f.	second-born twin

#### 1.6.4. Names relating to physical features

Names may refer to physical or other characteristics of a child (cf. the English nicknames Red and Shorty), e.g.,

<i>Gàjèrè</i>	name for a short boy (cf. <i>gàjèrè</i> short)
<i>Hàkùrau</i>	name for a patient psn (cf. <i>hàkùri</i> patience)
<i>Jàtau</i>	name for light-skinned boy (cf. <i>jà</i> red)
<i>Màsòro</i> f.	name for a small woman (cf. <i>màsòrò</i> small peppercorn)
<i>Sambali</i> m. / <i>Sambalà</i> f.	name for a tall and good looking psn (cf. <i>sambali</i> tall, well formed)

#### 1.6.5. Names derived from titles, occupations, kin terms, etc.

Titles, occupations, and kin terms may be employed as proper names, usually with shortening of the final vowel of the corresponding common noun, e.g.,

<i>Angò</i>	groom	<i>Dillàli</i>	broker
<i>Magàji</i> m. / <i>Magàjìyà</i> f.	heir	<i>Mainà</i>	prince
<i>Sarki</i>	chief	<i>Telà</i>	tailor
<i>Wàli</i>	head judge	<i>Zàbìyà</i> f.	singer
<i>Abbà</i>	father	<i>Gwaggò</i> f.	aunt
<i>Kàwù</i>	uncle	<i>Uwa</i> f.	mother

<sup>o</sup>AN/<sup>ADN</sup>: In some, especially WH, areas, the word *magàjìyà* is used for a madam who is the head of the prostitutes. As a result, the feminine name *Magàjìyà* is avoided, although the masculine counterpart is still fully acceptable.

#### 1.6.6. Names indicating ethnicity or place of origin

Ethnonyms formed with the prefix *bà-* or the proclitic *ḍan / 'yař* function as everyday names, e.g.,

<i>Bàgòbìri</i> m. / <i>Bàgòbìrà</i> f.	psn from Gobir (or of Gobir ancestry)
<i>Danfage</i> m. / <i>'Yařfage</i> f.	psn from Fage quarter (in Kano)

*Danfilàni* m. / *'Yařfilàni* f.  
*Danbàřno* m. / *'Yařbàřno* f.

#### 1.6.7. Names with religious connotations

Some names are regarded as certain renowned persons.

##### Everyday name

*Gàgàrau* (lit. unconquered)  
*Gìnsau* (lit. abundance)  
*Mài-Kanò* (lit. post)  
*Mài-tùràrè* (lit. post)  
*Mài-gado* f. (lit. post)  
*Màlami* (lit. scholar)  
*Sandà*

#### 1.7. Nicknames

Young, generally unattractive characters or sportsmen often accompany a person's name.

*Àmìnú Dìjangò* <  
*Kàbřù Fèlè* <  
*Àmìnú Kìlà* <  
*Bellò Chansin* <

<sup>o</sup>AN: The name is used in spite of the religious connotation.

Other nicknames are formed from common nouns, the

*Bàrãwò* thief; *Jàl*

<sup>o</sup> Although *guy* name sometimes persists for known individuals.

*Alh. Mùdi Sipkìn*  
*Alh. Hálì Tàzán*  
*Audù Sùkãwùt* <  
*Alh. Gařbà Tãgèt*  
*Alh. Bùhãri Zòřò*

#### 1.8. Hypocoristic names

Hypocoristic (hereduplication in

<b>Danfilàni</b> m. / <b>'Yařfilàni</b> f.	Fulani psn
<b>Danbàřno</b> m. / <b>'Yařbàřno</b> f.	psn from Borno (or of Borno ancestry)

### 1.6.7. Names with fixed associations

Some names are regularly connected with specific Islamic names because of historical associations with certain renowned persons, e.g.,

<i>Everyday name</i>	<i>Associated birth name</i>
<b>Gàgàrau</b> (lit. unconquerable)	<b>Àbūbakār</b>
<b>Ginsau</b> (lit. abundance)	<b>Harūnà</b>
<b>Mài-Kanò</b> (lit. possessing Kano)	<b>Àbdūllāhī</b>
<b>Mài-tūrāre</b> (lit. possessing perfume)	<b>Àbūbakār</b>
<b>Mài-gado</b> f. (lit. possessing throne/bed)	<b>Bilkisū</b>
<b>Mālāmi</b> (lit. scholar)	<b>(Shēhū) Ûsumānū</b>
<b>Sandà</b>	<b>Ûmmařū</b>

### 1.7. Nicknames

Young, generally urban, males sometimes acquire nicknames (or "guy names") based on Western movie characters or sports stars or other English-related words or activities. These guy names usually accompany a person's real name(s). Examples:

<b>Àminū Dījangò</b> <	Django (character in earlier Westerns)
<b>Kābīřū Fēlē</b> <	Pele (a soccer star)
<b>Àminū Kīlā</b> <	killer
<b>Bellò Chansin</b> <	Chang Seng (a Chinese actor)

°AN: The names that young men adopt clearly reflect the dominant icons of the time. Notice that in spite of the religious disapproval of guy names they are still prevalent.

Other nicknames are joking names or playful names used among close friends or members of a club or group. These names are often facetious or sarcastic in nature. Interestingly, although they are based on common nouns, they have a long final vowel, e.g.,

**Barāwò** thief; **Jāhīlī** ignoramus; **Ministā** (government) minister; **Māyè** witch; **Sūfā** super

Although guy names and joking names are usually acquired by men and boys when they are young, they sometimes persist throughout life and thus one finds some older people (including a number of well-known individuals) who have retained these names as surnames. Examples:

<b>Alh. Mūdī Sipīkin</b> (a famous Hausa poet) <	spic and span
<b>Alh. Hālī Tāzān</b> (a well-known advocate in Sokoto for children's (beggars') rights) <	Tarzan
<b>Audū Sikāwūt</b> <	scout
<b>Alh. Gařbā Tāgèt</b> <	Target brand cigarettes
<b>Alh. Būhāřī Zōřò</b> <	Zorro

### 1.8. Hypocoristics

Hypocoristic (henceforth HC) formation involves modification of a given name by affixation or reduplication in order to indicate attitudinal information about the affection of the speaker toward the

person referred to. (In other languages, HC forms are referred to variously as pet names, terms of fondness and endearment, diminutives, effeminate diminutives, and familiarity markers.) Hypocoristics are used mainly by adults or older children in addressing or referring to younger children. The HC form may portray both the affection of the speaker as well as the diminutive nature of the referent. For example, *Sâlêle* connotes 'my dear little Sale'. (Although we have a fairly good understanding of the morphology of HC formation (Newman and Ahmad 1992), the pragmatic use of Hausa HCs in their cultural context remains to be studied.)

There are some seven different HC formations of greater or lesser productivity. Most apply to male as well as female names. Where names have short forms, the hypocoristics are usually built on these rather than on the full variants.

### 1.8.1. Suffixal reduplication $-(CV)LHH$

In these HCs, the final syllable is copied, a long-short pattern is imposed on the identical vowels in the last two syllables, and a L-H-H melody is assigned to the resulting HC form. Examples:

<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>	<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>
Àlhajì	Àlhàjji	Mùd'de	Mùd'dêde
Àmadù	Àmàdūdu	Sâlè	Sâlêle
Bintù f.	Bìntūtu f.	Ûbâlè	Ûbâlêle
Lādì f.	Làdidi f.	Yārò	Yârôro

If the final vowel of the regular name is  $-a(a)$ , it reduplicates as  $-êCe$  rather than  $-âCa$ , e.g.,

<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>	<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>
Bàlā	Bâlêle	Ìlā	Ìlêle

These forms normally have a fixed L-H-H tone melody. Two names, both of which are disyllabic with a light initial syllable, do not use the melody but rather simply add an H-tone reduplicative suffix while preserving the base tone:

<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>	<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>
Inū	Inūnu	Kulù f.	Kulùlu f.

### 1.8.2. Suffix $-(ti)LHH$

This formation involves addition of a tone-integrating suffix  $-(ti)$  with a L-H-H melody. As with the previous class, the penultimate vowel (in all cases /a/) undergoes lengthening. Note that the suffixal /t/ preceding the high front vowel does not palatalize to /c/. Examples:

<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>	<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>
Abbà	Àbbàti	Ummà f.	Ûmmàti f.
Bàba	Bàbàti	Yàlwa m./f.	Yàlwàti (f. only)
Garbà	Gàrbàti		

### 1.8.3. Suffix $-alô)^H = -alā)^H$

This formation involves the addition of an all H suffix  $-alô$  or, less often,  $-alā$ . With the one i-final name, the suffix appears as  $-ilô$ . With the noun *Mammadù*, the stem-final consonant serves as part of the suffix in place of the /l/. Examples:

*Regular name*  
Bintà f.  
Kànde f.  
Mammadù  
Jummai f.

1.8.4. Suffix  $-($   
This formation in  
tones of the regula

*Regular name*  
Bàba  
Yà'u  
Àli

1.8.5. Suffix  $-($   
This formation in  
the vowel precedi  
light and short if

*Regular name*  
Bàba  
Bàwà  
Gàmbo

The HC form of  
Curiously, this is  
where the suffixa

1.8.6. Suffix  $-($   
Some three name  
ndi). Although t  
which is L-H if t

*Regular name*  
Bàba  
Kàka m./f.

1.8.7. Suffix  $-($   
This HC class c  
identified with t  
Kano man/Kano

*Regular name*  
Bìntūtu f.  
Dàdù f.  
Hànsatù f.

<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>	<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>
Bintà f.	Bintalō f.	Mammàn	Mammalō
Kànde f.	Kandalā f.	Ā'ì f.	Ā'ilō f.
Mammadù	Mammadō = Mammadā		
Jummai f.	Jummalō (= Jummālā) f. (with aberrant tone)		

1.8.4. Suffix (-lle)<sup>H</sup>

This formation involves the addition of an H-tone suffix **-lle** whose tone does not override the basic tones of the regular names. Two examples are slightly irregular.

<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>	<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>
Bāba	Bāballe	Hajiyā f.	Hajiyalle f.
Yā'ù	Yā'ülle		
Āli	Ālilli	Kābīf	Kābille

## 1.8.5. Suffix -(:)le

This formation involves the suffixation of **-le** with an assortment of unpredictable tones. The length of the vowel preceding **-le** is generally determined by weight polarity, i.e., long if the preceding syllable is light and short if the preceding syllable is heavy; but there are a few exceptions. Examples:

<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>	<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>
Bāba	Bābalè	Kāka m./f.	Kākalè m.
Bāwà	Bāwale	Uwa f.	Uwàle f.
Gāmbo	Gambalè	Baffā	Baffàle

The HC form of the name **Āli** is **Ālèle** with the stem-final vowel assimilating to the /ē/ of the suffix. Curiously, this is exactly the opposite of what happens with the **-lle** formation (namely, **Āli** / **Ālilli**) where the suffixal vowel assimilates to the stem-final vowel.

1.8.6. Suffix **-ndi**

Some three names have HC variants with a suffix **-ndi**. (With the **n**-final name, //nndi// simplifies to **ndi**). Although the sample is too small to be sure, it appears that there is an associated tone melody, which is L-H if the first syllable is heavy and all H if the first syllable is light. Examples (complete):

<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>	<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>
Bāba	Bābāndi	Lawàn	Lawāndi
Kāka m./f.	Kākāndi (m. only)		

1.8.7. Suffix (-ùwā)<sup>LH</sup>

This HC class consists almost exclusively of feminine names ending in **-u**. The L-H suffix **-ùwā** can be identified with the feminine suffix used elsewhere in the language, e.g., **Bàkanò** m. / **Bàkanùwā** f. 'a Kano man/Kano woman'; **dùkùkù** m. / **dùkùkùwā** f. 'glum, hesitant'.

<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>	<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>
Bintūtu f.	Bintūtùwā f.	Kulù	Kulùwā f.
Dūdù f.	Dūdùwā f.	Shatù f.	Shatùwā f.
Hānsatù f.	Hānsatùwā f.	Ùmmāfūru m.	Ùmmāfūrùwā m.

Two regular names with final L-H tone employ a suffix **-uwà** with H-L tone and a *short* final vowel, e.g.,

<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>	<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>
Kulùlu f.	Kulùluwà f.	Kyàllu f.	Kyàlluwà f.

A variant of the same suffix (-iyà(a)) appears with three names ending in **-le** (with variable tone):

<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>	<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant</i>
Alèle (< //Alìle//) m.	Alìiyà m.	Uwàle f.	Uwàliyà f.
Ùbàlè m.	Ùbàliyà m.		

1.8.8. Double hypocoristics

In a certain number of cases (some already illustrated), hypocoristics are built on names that are themselves already HC forms. The tone pattern of the doubly marked forms is determined by the rightmost formative. Examples:

<i>Regular name</i>	<i>HC variant-1</i>	<i>HC variant-2</i>
Iyà f.	Ìyâte f.	Ìyàléle f.
Ùbà	Ùbàlè	Ùbàléle
Bintù f.	Bìntùtu f.	Bìntùtùwà f.
Kulù f.	Kulùtu f.	Kulùluwà f.
Ùmmařù	Ùmmařùřu	Ùmmařùřuwà
Uwa f.	Uwàle f.	Uwàliyà f.

1.9. Surnames

Traditionally, Hausas did not have surnames comparable to English family names. A person would be known by his birth name plus his everyday name (e.g., **Hasàn Dantlāmì**) or some other descriptor like an occupation, e.g., **Hasàn Mài Tùrārè** (Hassan the perfume seller); **Àlhajì Mūsà Mài Tāyà** (Alhaji Musa the tire dealer); **Audù MaKèrì** (Audu the blacksmith—cf. all the Smiths in English!). Alternatively a man could be indicated as X (son) of Y, e.g., **Abdùn Bāwà** (Abdu (son) of Bawa); and a woman as X (wife) of Y, e.g., **Kulùn Shèkarè** (Kulu (wife) of Shekare).

Under English (and French) influence, especially as applied in Western-style schools, Hausas have adopted a first-name last-name system. In some cases, the additional name or the occupation has become set as the person's last name, e.g., **Yūsuf Dūnà** (Yusuf the swarthy); **Audù Mākānikè** (Audu the mechanic); **Hajiyā Lādi Mài Shinkāfā** (Hajiya Ladi the rice seller). In other cases, boys have taken their father's first name as their last name, without the genitive linker, e.g., **Abdù Bāwà** or **Ismāil Jūnaidù**. Alternatively—and this was particularly prevalent when the system was first introduced—a person's hometown or district serves as a last name, e.g., **Àmīnù Kanò**, **Ìsā Kaita**, **Àbūbakār Tafāwà Balēwà**. Modern women tend to take one of their husband's names as a last name, e.g., a woman named **Hādīzā** who is the wife of someone named **Mūsà Dantālā Gōbīř**, could be called **Hādīzā Mūsā** or **Hādīzā Dantālā** or **Hādīzā Gōbīř**, or she might keep the last name she had acquired earlier, like one of her father's names, e.g., **Hādīzā Jūnaidù**.

1.10. Titles

Titles are used to designate professions, military ranks, religious and political positions, social roles (including kinship relationships), etc. Titles occur in front of the names, e.g., **Cif Joseph Johnson** (Chief Joseph Johnson), **Janār Yākubù Gowon** (General Yakubu Gowon); **Yāya Jummai** (elder sister Jummai), **Fūrōfēsà Mùhammadù Jinjù** (Professor Muhammadu Jinju). A person who has done the hadj

has the title **Àlhajì** (Alhaji Dr. Abubakar) without any other title Mr./Mrs.

A personal name, **mài girmā Gwāmnā Shèhù Galādancì** (V. Kano).

As a general rule. Otherwise, an appropriate level.

Because of the quality alone as we do in English and/or the everyday name **Lawàn Dantlādi Yālv** only, but it will be the common alternative name **Àlhajì/Hajiyā, Mālān**

When used as titles common nouns.

1.10.1. Tone change. Some words, esp. disyllabic words are all English.

**Kānār Sāni Bellò Mānjā Hasàn Sānātā Sālisù Bici**

°AN: Initial (L)-initial titles is an indigenism de-stressing.

Here is a list of common

**bīřgēdiyā** brigadier (not change); **kanār** (change); **kyaftūn** (which occurs only a

°AN: When used **doktā**. The com

1.10.2. Vowel shift. Some titles, again m

**Wāzīřī Bellò Jūnān Gwāmnā Frederick**



has the title **Àlhajì** (f. **Hajìyā**). This title precedes all other titles, e.g., **Àlhajì Dr. Àbùbakār Imām** (Alhaji Dr. Abubakar Imam). (In written Hausa, Alhaji is commonly abbreviated as Alh.) An adult person without any other title will normally be addressed as **Mālām** (m.) / **Mālāmā** (f.), which corresponds to Mr./Mrs.

A personal name, with or without a title, can be preceded by an honorific or other descriptor, e.g., **màì girmā Gwàmnà Audù Bāko** (His excellency Governor Audu Ba'ko); **matàimàkin shùgàbā Àlhajì Shèhù Galādancì** (Vice-Chancellor Alhaji Shehu Galadanci); **marigāyì Àminù Kanò** (the late Aminu Kano).

As a general rule, only young people may be called or referred to by name without using a title. Otherwise, an appropriate title normally accompanies a name, even among people of the same social level.

Because of the questionable status of the surname, it is not normal to use a title with the surname alone as we do in English (e.g., Mr. Smith, Dr. Jones). Rather, a first name—either the birth name and/or the everyday name, whichever the person is known by—will accompany the surname, e.g., **Dr. Lawàn 'Danlādì Yàlwa, Mālām Àminù Kanò**. In a familiar context, the title can accompany one name only, but it will be the person's customary name, not the surname, e.g., **Dr. Lawàn** or **Mālām Àminù**. A common alternative means of addressing someone is simply to use the title alone without a name, e.g., **Àlhaji/Hajìyā, Mālām/Mālāmā, Fūròfèsà** (Professor), **Sājā** (Sergeant), **Kāwù** (Uncle), etc.

When used as titles, some words are phonologically marked as compared with their use as simple common nouns.

#### 1.10.1. Tone change H-L → L-L

Some words, esp. disyllabic words, typically lower the tone to L-L when functioning as titles. These words are all English loanwords, e.g.,

<b>Kānār Sāni Bellò</b>	Colonel Sani Bello (< <b>kanār</b> , e.g., <b>shì kanār nē</b> 'He's a colonel.')
<b>Mānjā Hasān</b>	Major Hassan (< <b>manjā</b> = <b>manjò</b> 'major')
<b>Sānatà Sālisù Bici</b>	Senator Salisu Bichi (< <b>sanatà</b> 'senator')

°AN: Initial (L)-L is also a common feature of compounds. The question is whether the lowering in titles is an indigenous process related to compound lowering or whether it is a reflection of English de-stressing.

Here is a list of common words that undergo the tone change to all L when functioning as titles:

**bīfgēdiyā** brigadier; **doktā** doctor; **janār** general (but *not* **manjò-janār** 'major general', which does not change); **kanār** colonel; **kōfūr** corporal (but *not* **lāskōfūr** 'lance corporal', which does not change); **kyaftin** captain; **manjā** / **manjò** major (but *not* **sāmanjā** 'sergeant major'); **mistā** Mr. (which occurs only as a title); **sājā** sergeant; **sanatā** senator; **sistā** nursing sister

°AN: When used as a title, either for M.D.s or for Ph.D.s, the word for 'doctor' is the loanword **doktā**. The common noun for 'medical doctor', on the other hand, is the much older loanword **likitā**.

#### 1.10.2. Vowel shortening

Some titles, again mostly loanwords, shorten the final vowel, with or without the tone change, e.g.,

<b>Wāzīrì Bellò Jūnaidù</b>	Vizier Bello Junaidu (< <b>wāzīrī</b> 'a vizier')
<b>Gwāmnà Frederick Luggā</b>	Governor Frederick Luggard (< <b>gwamnà</b> 'a governor')

<b>Sistà Màìro Gùsau</b>	Nursing Sister Mairo Gusau (< <b>sistà</b> nursing sister)
<b>Shèhù Ùsumānù</b>	Sheikh Usuman Dan Fodio (< <b>shèhù</b> sheik, pious person)
<b>Ànnabì Mūsā</b>	The Prophet Moses (< <b>ànnabì</b> a prophet)

(The form **Ànnabì** by itself is a proper name referring to the Prophet Muhammad.)

### 1.10.3. Lack of final vowel

A few early Arabic loanwords have a latent final vowel, which may or may not be expressed. When these common nouns are used as titles, they invariably occur without the final vowel, e.g.,

<b>Lādān Sāni 'Danbāřno</b> < <b>lādān(î)</b>	muezzin
<b>Līmān Rābi'ù Bātūrè</b> < <b>līmām(î)</b>	imam
<b>Mālām Yāfubù Mūsā</b> < <b>mālām(î)</b>	teacher
<b>Shāřù Āminù Dàurā</b> (= <b>Shāřif Āminù Dàurā</b> ) < <b>shāřifī</b>	a holy man, psn who traces his descent from the Prophet Muhammad

### 1.10.4. No change

Such words as the following retain the same shape whether used as simple common nouns or as titles:

**ālkālī** judge; **fāřfēsā** = **fūrōfēsā** professor; **gimbiyā** princess; **gwaggò** aunt; **hajiya** woman who has done the hadj; **kāwù** = **kāwu** maternal uncle; **mādāki** traditional Kano title (e.g., **Mādāki Kwairangā**); **mālāmā** woman teacher, Mrs.; **manajā** manager; **sarki** king, emir (e.g., **Sarki Sānūsi** Emir Sanusi); **sārauniyā** queen; **shūgābā** president

°AN: As a title **Sarki** 'king, emir', has restricted usage. In most cases one indicates king or emir of some place with the name in apposition, e.g., **Sarkin Gwāmbè**, **Mālām Ābubakār** 'The Emir of Gombe, Malam Abubakar'. Similarly **shūgābā** 'president' functions less readily as a title than it does, for example, in English, thus **shūgāban Rasā**, **Ālhaji Shèhù Shāgāri** 'The head of state, Alhaji Shehu Shagari' would be more common than simply **Shūgābā (Shèhù) Shāgāri** 'President (Shehu) Shagari'.

### 1.10.5. Titles vs. compounds

Although titles and their accompanying names form a unit, semantically and phonologically, they are not as closely bound as lexical compounds. This is shown by the fact that unlike compounds, titles plus names can be broken up by the insertion of a modal particle, e.g.,

<b>Gwaggò kò Āsābe tā zō nēmankà</b>	Indeed Aunt Asabe ( <b>Gwaggò Āsābe</b> ) came looking for you.
<b>Mālām fa Audù nē ya āikē shì</b>	It was Mr. Audu, mind you, who commissioned him.

Interestingly, the modal particle insertion blocks the tone-lowering rule but allows the vowel shortening, e.g.,

**Gwamnà fa Audù Bāko nē yakè jāvābì** Governor Audu Ba'ko indeed is giving a speech.  
< **gwamnà** (H-L with long final vowel) a governor, cf. **Gwamnà Audù Bāko**

## 2. PLACE NAMES

In describing names of countries, states, emirates, cities and towns, quarters within towns, rivers, oceans, etc., one needs to distinguish between places within Hausaland (or places long familiar to Hausa

people), which one can designate is historically to be feminine. The most common noun indicating a place name is **gàrin Tsanyāwā** (literally 'feminine', but **kògin** 'place')

Place names with **gàrin** (we know); others are

### 2.1. Unanalyzable

Many of the old, historical place names. Most of these are unanalyzable common nouns.

ØHN: Names with **gàrin** reflect pre-Hausaland names moved into the Hausaland internal phonology. **Jāhùn** < \***Jāhūn**

Here are examples of unanalyzable place names. (Interestingly, the p

**Bici**; **Biròm**; **Bābū**; **Kaita**; **Marāfi**; **M**; **\*Zagzāg** = **Zāriyā**; **Bādumè** Badume R

### 2.2. Analyzable

Many place names are analyzable, e.g., **anthroponyms** (e.g., **camp**), **physical** (e.g., 'silk cotton tree'), **associated with the** **Birnin Kudù** 'south' different formations

#### 2.2.1. Common

Some place names are common with the place (at p cf. **rōgò** 'cassava'). Some of the related common nouns (cassava (3m) is good) is identical to the p

**Dùtsè** stone, mountain; **Kibiyā** a bo

people), which one can refer to as native place names, versus foreign places outside Hausaland, where the designation is historically recent. Regardless of the etymological nature of the place name, they all tend to be feminine. The major exception is when a proper noun is used in a phrase along with a masculine common noun indicating 'town of' or 'river of'. Thus the town **Tsanyāwā**, for example, is feminine, but **gàrin Tsanyāwā** (lit. town.of Tsanyawa), is masculine; similarly, **Bàdumè**, the name of a river, is feminine, but **kògin Bàdumè** (lit. river.of Badume) is masculine.

Place names within Hausaland are of two types. Some are morphologically unanalyzable (as far as we know); others are morphologically complex and often overtly descriptive.

### 2.1. Unanalyzable names

Many of the old, historically traditional places in Hausaland like **Kàtsinà** and **Mārù** have unanalyzable names. Most of these end in a short final vowel, **Kanò** and **Dàurā** being striking exceptions. A number of the unanalyzable names also end in consonants, an additional characteristic that sets them apart from common nouns.

ØHN: Names with final consonants, such as **Jāhùn**, **Katāgùm**, **Gòbīr**, and **Gumàl** could possibly reflect pre-Hausa (Niger-Congo?) names that were already in existence when the Hausa people moved into their present area a millennium ago. Alternatively, they could be due to sporadic internal phonological developments resulting in the loss of final short (low-tone?) vowels, e.g., **Jāhùn** < \***Jāhùnì**, **Katāgùm** < \***Katāgùmù**, and **Gumàl** < \***Gumàlì**, etc.

Here are examples of some native towns and emirates (unglossed) and geographical features (glossed). (Interestingly, the place names with an initial rhotic have the flap /r/.)

**Bici**; **Bīròm**; **Bābūrā**; **Dāmagāram**; **Funtuwā**; **Gòbīr**; **Gūsau**; **Gwandu**; **Jèga**; **Jibiyā**; **Kāzaure**; **Kaita**; **Marādi**; **Mārù**; **Miryā**; **Rano**; **Ringim**; **Sakkwato**; **Sòba**; **Tākùm**; **Tāwa**; **Zazzāu** (< \***Zagzāg**) = **Zāriyā**  
**Bàdumè** Badume River; **Dàla** Dala Hill; **Wàtāri** Watari River; **Wùdil** Wudil River (and town)

### 2.2. Analyzable names

Many place names are related to and or built on personal names or common nouns. These include anthroponyms (e.g., **Mūsāwā** 'Musa's community'), ethnonyms (e.g., **Zangòn Barèbari** 'the Kanuri camp'), physical or qualitative characteristics of a place (e.g., **Yāshi** 'river sand'), flora (e.g., **Rimì** 'silk cotton tree'), fauna (e.g., **Tsaunin Kūrā** 'the hyena's mountain'), occupation or other activities associated with the place (e.g., **Majēmā** 'tannery'), and positional or directional description (e.g., **Bīrnin Kudù** 'south city'), etc. These places are derived from non-place names by means of a number of different formations, of which the following are the most prevalent.

#### 2.2.1. Common noun names

Some place names are identical to a common noun representing a physical feature or thing associated with the place (at present not always evident), but with a short final vowel, e.g., **Rōgò** (name of a town), cf. **rōgò** 'cassava'. Note that names of towns and town quarters are all feminine regardless of the gender of the related common noun, e.g., **Rōgò tā yi kyāu** 'Rogo town (3f) is good', cf. **rōgò yā yi kyāu** 'The cassava (3m) is good'. Examples: (The gloss represents the meaning of the related common noun, which is identical to the place name except that it has a long final vowel.)

**Dùtsè** stone, mountain; **Gamji** gutta percha tree; **Gèzà** shrub; **Gwadabè** road; **Kanyà** ebony tree; **Kibiyā** a bow; **Kūrā** hyena; **Lāfiyā** health; **Yālwa** abundance; **Yāshi** river sand

The place name is most often built on a singular common noun, but names built on plurals also exist, e.g.,

**Dògàrai** (a quarter in Kano) emir's bodyguards (pl. of **dògarì**); **Gàrki** (a town) shields (pl. of **gàrkuwà**); **Gìgìnyu** (a quarter in Kano) deleb palms (pl. of **gìgìnyà**)

Note that these place names are also feminine singular in spite of their plural form, e.g., **Gìgìnyu cè** 'It's Gìgìnyu quarter', cf. **gìgìnyū nè** 'They're deleb-palms.'

### 2.2.2. Derivatives with the suffix -āwā

The suffix -āwā forms plural of ethnonyms built from ethnic, occupational, or place names (see §24:3), e.g., **Hāusāwā** 'Hausa people' (cf. **Bāhaushè** 'a Hausa person'), **Katsināwā** 'Katsina people', (cf. **Bākatsinè** 'a Katsina person'). It can also be used with personal names to indicate someone's followers or adherents, e.g., **Sanūsāwā** 'supporters of Sanusi'. This same suffix, with the long final vowel retained, also occurs commonly with a variety of common and proper nouns in forming place names, e.g., **Mālamāwā**, lit. community of teachers, **Tākalmāwā**, lit. community of shoe(maker)s. Again we find that when these words are used as place names referring to towns or quarters, they are feminine singular even though the suffix as an ethnonymic formative is always plural, e.g., **Kanāwā cè** 'It's the town Kanawa', cf. **Kanāwā nè** 'They're Kano people'. Examples:

<b>Amaryāwā</b> cf. <b>amaryā</b>	bride	<b>Manōmāwā</b> cf. <b>manōmī</b>	farmer
<b>Gabasāwā</b> cf. <b>gabàs</b>	east	<b>Nā'ibāwā</b> cf. <b>nā'ibī</b>	deputy
<b>Gāgarāwā</b> cf. <b>gāgarà</b>	be difficult	<b>Tamburāwā</b> cf. <b>tamburà</b>	ceremonial drums
<b>Gōbīrāwā</b> cf. <b>Gōbīr</b>	Gobir emirate	<b>Tsanyāwā</b> cf. <b>tsanyà</b>	cricket
<b>Haṛūnāwā</b> cf. <b>Haṛūnà</b>	Haruna	<b>Yaṛīmāwā</b> cf. <b>Yaṛīmà</b>	prince, emir's son

### 2.2.3. Derivatives with locational ma-

Common locational nouns are formed productively from verbs by means of a prefix **ma-** plus a suffix -ā<sup>H</sup> or less often -ī<sup>H</sup>, e.g., **makaṛāntā** 'school' (< **kaṛāntā** 'read'); **masauki** 'lodging place' (< **sàuka** 'alight, stop for the night') (see §7:2). Not surprisingly, one finds a number of place names (of towns and quarters) having the **ma-** locational form. What is surprising is that the length of the final vowel is unpredictable. Whereas most such place names end in a long final vowel, some have a short final vowel. Examples:

<b>Mahūta</b> cf. <b>hūtā</b>	rest	<b>Malumfāshi</b> cf. <b>lumfāsā</b>	take a breath
<b>Malaḃā</b> cf. <b>laḃè</b>	hide in waiting	<b>Makwarāri</b> cf. <b>kwārārà</b>	flow swiftly

### 2.2.4. Compounds with ḃan / 'yan

A number of place names have the form **ḃan** 'man of' or **'yan** 'people of' plus a noun. In some cases this noun is a personal name, in others it is a common noun that typically serves to indicate a professional activity. The compound generally ends in a short final vowel regardless of the normal vowel length of the noun. Note that the place names are all feminine in spite of the masculine and plural formatives. Examples:

<b>Dan Hasàn</b> cf. <b>Hasàn</b>	personal name	<b>'Yan Àlèwà</b> cf. <b>àlèwà</b>	halvah
<b>'Yan Mammàn</b> cf. <b>Mammàn</b>	personal name	<b>Dan Sūri</b> cf. <b>sūri</b>	termite hill
<b>Dan Amarya</b> cf. <b>amaryā</b>	bride	<b>'Yan Tumāki</b> cf. <b>tumāki</b>	sheep

2.2.5. Adjective  
Some place names a long final vowel of t is marked by a short

**Dōgon Tafkī** lit. t  
**Sābon Gidā** lit. ne  
**Dōgon Dūtsi** (indic

2.2.6. Noun of  
Place names that ha  
Most preserve the t

**Bārikīn Lādī** lit. t  
**Bīrīnin Kudū** lit. c  
**Dūtsèn Mā** lit. mc  
**Gàrun Gabàs** lit.  
**Gidan Àlḃālī** lit. l  
**Kafin Hausa** lit. s  
**Kurmin Gōrò** lit

2.3. Foreign na  
Names of places ou  
loanwords that hav  
the Islamic world a

**Àlḃāhīra** (=Àlḃāh  
**Rūm** Mediterranean  
**Ìṣḃandāriyā** Alex  
**Shām** (=Sīriyā) !

Other place names  
extent. Some of t  
Hausa alphabet, e.  
the name Nigeria  
consonant typicall  
which has a long t

**Afīrkā** Africa; A  
**Bosniyā** Bosnia;  
**Ìkko** (=Légàs) I  
**Kyanadā** Canada  
**Nejā** Niger State  
Leone; **Wāgādug**

3. TEMPORAL

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## 2.2.5. Adjective + noun compounds

Some place names are overtly descriptive, having the form adjective + linker + noun. Most preserve the long final vowel of the common noun, but in a few cases, the place name is treated as a unitary name and is marked by a short final vowel, e.g.,

<b>Dōgon Tafkì</b> lit. long lake	<b>Jař Kasā</b> lit. red soil
<b>Sābon Gidā</b> lit. new home	<b>Bābban Dòdo</b> lit. big bogeyman
<b>Dōgon Dūtsì</b> (indicated as Dogondoutchi on maps) lit. high outcrop/mountain	

## 2.2.6. Noun of noun compounds

Place names that have the structure noun + linker + noun (or adverb) also tend to be overtly descriptive. Most preserve the underlying vowel length of the second noun, e.g.,

<b>Bārikìn Lādi</b> lit. barracks.of Ladi	<b>Mararrabař Jòs</b> lit. junction.of Jos
<b>Bīrñin Kudù</b> lit. city.of the south	<b>Rijiyāř Giginyā</b> lit. well.of deleb-palm
<b>Dūtsèn Mā</b> lit. mountain.of Ma	<b>Sōron Dinkì</b> (quarters) lit. hall.of sewing
<b>Gāřun Gabàs</b> lit. town wall.of east	<b>Tudùn Wādā</b> (quarters) lit. hill.of wealth
<b>Gidan Ālřālì</b> lit. house.of judge	<b>Ūnguwař Filānì</b> lit. quarter.of Fulani
<b>Kafin Hausa</b> lit. stockade.of Hausa	<b>Zangòn Barèbarì</b> (quarters) lit. camp.of Kanuri
<b>Kurmin Gōřò</b> lit. plantation.of kolanut	

## 2.3. Foreign names

Names of places outside of Hausaland (e.g., in southern Nigeria or elsewhere in the world) are normally loanwords that have been adjusted to Hausa phonology in one way or the other. Names of some places in the Islamic world are old loanwords from Arabic that are now fully integrated as Hausa words, e.g.,

**Alkāhira** (=Ālřāhira) (now usu. **Kairò**) Cairo; **Bāgādāzā** Baghdad; **Bāhāř Māliyā** Red Sea; **Bāhāř Rūm** Mediterranean Sea, lit. sea of Rome; **Dūtsèn Āřfā** Mount Arafat; **Habashā** Ethiopia; **Īskandāriyā** Alexandria; **Lūbayyā** El Obeid (Sudan); **Masāř / Misirā** Egypt; **Pālāsđinū** Palestine; **Shām** (= Sīriyā) Syria; **Tařābulūs** Tripoli

Other place names are more recent borrowings from English, having been nativized to a greater or lesser extent. Some of these modern names are spelled using the letter *p*, which normally is not part of the Hausa alphabet, e.g., **Jāpān**, **Pāshā** (Persia), **Pākistān**. With some English-based names, even including the name Nigeria (!), the form of the Hausa name is still in flux. Place names that do not end in a consonant typically have a short final vowel, but, interestingly, not **Nājēriyā** = **Nījēriyā** = **Nāijēriyā**, which has a long final vowel. Examples:

**Afirkā** Africa; **Amirka** / **Amūřkā** America; **Ānācā** Onitsha; **Bādūn** Ibadan; **Bāřno** Borno; **Bosniyā** Bosnia; **Cādì** Chad; **Fāřansā** France; **Fātākwal** Port Harcourt; **Filātò** Plateau State; **Īkko** (= **Lēgās**) Lagos; **Ingilā** England; **Īsřā'illā** Israel; **Jāmūs** Germany; **Kāmāřu** Cameroon; **Kyanadā** Canada; **Lakwajā** Lokoja; **Landān** London; **Māidugūřì** Maiduguri; **Māřòkò** Morocco; **Nējā** Niger State (but cf. **Kōgin Kwārā** Niger River); **Pāřis** Paris; **Rāshā** Russia; **Sāliyò** Sierra Leone; **Wāgādugū** Ouagadougou; **Yāmāi** Niamey; **Yūgandā** Uganda

## 3. TEMPORAL NAMES

The days of the week are borrowed from Arabic (with one alternative name from English).

Sunday	<b>Lahàdì</b>	Thursday	<b>Àlhàmìs</b>
Monday	<b>Lìttinìn / Lìtinìn</b>	Friday	<b>Jumma' à</b>
Tuesday	<b>Tàlàtà</b>	Saturday	<b>Àsabàř (= Sāfi)</b>
Wednesday	<b>Làřàbà</b>		

The months of the Islamic calendar are borrowed from Arabic:

1st month	<b>Mùhàřřàm</b>	7th month	<b>Rajàb</b>
2nd month	<b>Safàř</b>	8th month	<b>Shà' àbàn</b>
3rd month	<b>Ràbì' ù Lawwàl</b>	9th month	<b>Ràmàlàn / Ràmàdàn</b>
4th month	<b>Ràbì' ù Làhìř</b>	10th month	<b>Shàwwàl</b>
5th month	<b>Jimàdà Lawwàl</b>	11th month	<b>Zùlkidà</b>
6th month	<b>Jimàdà Làhìř</b>	12th month	<b>Zulhajjì</b>

The months of the Western calendar are borrowed from English:

January	<b>Jànaiřù</b>	July	<b>Yùlì</b>
February	<b>Fàbřaiřù</b>	August	<b>Àgustà</b>
March	<b>Māřìs</b>	September	<b>Sàtumbà</b>
April	<b>Àfřilù</b>	October	<b>Òktòbà</b>
May	<b>Māyù</b>	November	<b>Nùwambà</b>
June	<b>Yùni</b>	December	<b>Dìsambà</b>

[References: [Personal names] Abraham (1959b); Daba (1987); Newman and Ahmad (1992); Salim (1981); Yahaya and Sani (1979); [Place names] Bross (1995); Gouffé (1967); Kirk-Greene (1964); [Both] R. M. Newman (1990)]

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Table 5: Negative

Marker
(1) bà(a)...ba
(2) bà
(3) bābù / bá
(4) bā...ba
(5) kadà / kār

### 1. NEGATIVE V (bà(a)...ba)

Verb phrases of the  
of the discontinuou  
person-aspect-com  
subject, this occurs

yārinỳà bà tà dāw  
mālāmai bà sù jì  
bà zā mù biyā sù  
bà zā ka kāsuwā b  
dà nī dà kai bà m

The length of the v  
represent current-d  
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'They will likely n  
but also long in the  
(4) sometimes shor  
fast.' (In examples  
notes.)

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## 49. Negation

HAUSA effects negation by the employment of five overt negative (neg) markers. Four of the negs (the "BA negs") make use of variants of the same marker. The other neg (*kadà*) uses a totally different marker. Two of the BA negs are discontinuous in structure. See table 5.

Table 5: Negative markers

Marker	Goes with
(1) <i>bà(a)...ba</i>	TAMs other than the continuous and subjunctive
(2) <i>bā</i>	negative continuous TAM
(3) <i>bābù / bá</i>	existential; HAVE sentences, etc.
(4) <i>bā...ba</i>	equational (nonverbal) sentences, NPs, etc.
(5) <i>kadà / kār</i>	subjunctive

### 1. NEGATIVE WITH TAMs OTHER THAN THE CONTINUOUS AND SUBJUNCTIVE (*bà(a)...ba*)

Verb phrases of tensed sentences in TAMs other than the continuous and subjunctive are negated by use of the discontinuous marker *bà(a)...ba*. The initial neg marker occurs immediately before the PAC, the person-aspect-complex that consists of the weak subject pronoun and the TAM. If there is an overt subject, this occurs before the neg marker, e.g.,

<i>yāriyā bà tà dāwō ba</i>	The girl didn't return. (lit. girl neg she return neg)
<i>mālāmai bà sù ji kōmē ba</i>	The teachers didn't hear anything.
<i>bà zā mù biyā sù ba</i>	We will not pay them.
<i>bà zā ka kāsūwā ba?</i>	Will you not go to the market?
<i>dà nī dà kai bà má zaunā tàre cikin àmānā ba</i>	You and I will not live together peacefully.

The length of the vowel in the initial *bà(a)* is subject to variation. In SH, the following would seem to represent current-day usage. The neg *bà(a)* is (1) always short in the negative completive, e.g., *bà sù dāwō ba* 'They didn't return'; (2) usually short in the potential and the allative, e.g., *bà sá dāwō ba* 'They will likely not return', *bà zā ka kāsūwā ba?* 'Will you not go to the market?'; (3) normally short but also long in the future, e.g., *bà zā mù biyā sù ba = bà zā mù biyā sù ba* 'We will not pay them'; and (4) sometimes short but usually long in the habitual, e.g., *bà sukān yi azūmī ba* 'They don't normally fast.' (In examples in this entry and elsewhere, I transcribe the length of *bà(a)* as it is recorded in my notes.)

In the neg completive, the first and third person masculine wsp's generally drop their final vowels and contract with the initial *bà*, e.g., *bà + nì* → *bàn* 'I didn't', *bà + yà* → *bài* 'he didn't'.

°AN: The length of the *bà(a)* can be accounted for in terms of a difference between free forms and clitics. (This linguistic factor is generally not recognized because of the orthographic rules (generally adhered to in this grammar) that specify that the initial *bà(a)* be written as a separate word except in the case of the CVC fused forms, e.g., *bà sù...ba* 'neg they...neg', cf. *bàn...ba* 'neg.I...neg'.) If the *bà(a)* phonologically attaches itself to the following element, then it is short; if it is a free-standing item, it is long, e.g., *bàtà zō ba* 'She didn't come', *bà takàn zō ba* 'She doesn't normally come', *bàzàtà zō ba* = *bà zàtà zō ba* 'She won't come' (orthographically *ba za ta zo ba*). Support for this analysis comes from the fact that if an element, like *kuma* 'also', is inserted between the neg and the following PAC, *bà* is necessarily long even in TAMs where it is commonly short, e.g., *bà zā tà hàḍu dà kawàyeḅn ba*, *bà kuma zā tà tàfi sìnimà ba* 'She is not going to meet her friends, (and) she is also not going to go to the movies', cf. *bà zā tà tàfi sìnimà ba* 'She is not going to go to the movies.' This analysis also explains why the initial nonclitic *bà* in equational/identificational sentences is invariably long, e.g., *bà ràgō ba nè* 'It's not a ram.'

The second *ba* typically occurs at the end of the basic VP, i.e., after such core arguments as locative goals and direct and indirect objects, but before adverbial clauses, e.g.,

*màtà tasà bà tà shiryà manà kàlàcì dà rùbabbèn nāmà ba*  
His wife wouldn't prepare us a meal with rotten meat.  
*bà zā mù kārà masà àbinci ba sabòdà shī malàlàcì nè*  
We will not bring him more food because he is a slacker.  
*bà nakàn jē hòtál-hòtál ba sai dai sìnimà* I don't usually go to bars, only to the movies.

Simple adverbs (e.g., of time, place, or instrument) usually fall within the scope of the second *ba*, e.g.,

*bà mukàn fita dà tsakaḅ rāna ba* We don't normally go out at midday.  
*Lāmi bà tà ci àbinci à kāsuwā ba* Lami didn't eat food at the market.  
*bà yá yankà ràgō dà wufā irin wannàn ba*  
He's not likely to slaughter a ram with a knife such as this.

ΔDN: In some northern dialects, the second neg occurs earlier in the sentence before direct objects, e.g., *bà mù kāmà ba bàràwòn* = [SH] *bà mù kāmà bàràwòn ba* 'We didn't catch the thief.'

Some temporal adverbs or adverb phrases like *gòbe* 'tomorrow', *jiyà dà yamma* 'yesterday afternoon', or *ran kāsuwā* 'market day' can occur either before or after the *ba* with essentially the same meaning. The inherently negative adverb *tùkùna* 'not yet', on the other hand, occurs more frequently after the *ba*. Examples:

*bàn jē makaḅantā jiyà ba* = *bàn jē makaḅantā ba jiyà* I didn't go to school yesterday.  
*mākānikè bà zái gyàrà mòtār gòbe ba* = *mākānikè bà zái gyàrà mòtār ba gòbe*  
The mechanic won't repair the car tomorrow.  
*bàkīn bà sù dāwō ba tùkùna*, cf. ?*bàkīn bà sù dāwō tùkùna ba*  
The guests haven't returned yet.

°AN: The word *tùkùna* 'not yet' has variant forms, which for some speakers are syntactically limited to final position after *ba*, e.g., 'Ladi hasn't sat down yet' = (1) *Lādi bà tà zaunà ba tùkùn*, not \*\**Lādi bà tà zaunà tùkùn ba*; (2) *Lādi bà tà zaunà ba tùkùnna*, not \*\**Lādi bà tà zaunà tùkùnna ba*, cf. (3) *Lādi bà tà zaunà ba tùkùna* = ?*Lādi bà tà zaunà tùkùna ba*.

In a sentence containing a negated VP, the negation can occur either before or after the VP, although some speakers prefer the latter. Examples:

*bàn san kō wà ya y*  
I don't know  
*bài gayà minì kō n*  
He didn't tell

A complement clause is possible, depending on the context.

*bàn ji dàḍi ba dà k*  
I am not happy  
*bài yi kirà gā mutà*  
He didn't come  
*bài kāmàtà ba Tan*  
It's not appropriate  
*bà dōlè ba nè mù ji*  
It's not required

The negated VP does not occur in the complement clause, e.g.,

*idan bà mù yi saurt*  
If we don't  
*inà nēman yāròn dē*  
I am looking for  
*kōwànè kuḅtù dà bà*  
Any recruit

If two negative sentences are coordinated, the second one is dropped.

*bàn ga yāròn dà bà*  
(< \**bàn ga yāròn dà bà*)  
*bà sù biyā yāròn dà*

◊HN: In Tera, there are many instances of the form *dam ba ba* 'He went out (neg)'.  
to out neg).

There is no problem with the negation in the complement clause, nor of the final negation.

*[yārinyār dà ba tà h*  
The girl who



In a sentence containing an indirect question, the second **ba** may occur at the end of the entire sentence, although some speakers, especially of WH dialects, prefer to have the **ba** earlier, right after the matrix clause. Examples:

**bàn san kô wà ya yi hakà ba = bàn sanì ba kô wà ya yi hakà**

I don't know who did that.

**bàì gayà minì kô nawà zán biyá ba = bàì gayà minì ba kô nawà zán biyá**

He didn't tell me how much I should pay.

A complement clause typically occurs after the **ba**, although sentences with the **ba** at the very end are possible, depending, inter alia, on the length of the complement, e.g.,

**bàn ji dādī ba dà kukà shā giyá = bàn ji dādī dà kukà shā giyá ba**

I am not happy that you (pl.) drank beer.

**bàì yi kirà gá mutānē ba dà sù zō dandāli = ?bàì yi kirà gá mutānē dà sù zō dandāli ba**

He didn't call upon the people to come to the town square.

**bàì kāmātā ba Tankò yà biyā hàfājì = bàì kāmātā Tankò yà biyā hàfājì ba**

It's not appropriate that Tanko pay taxes.'

**bà dōlè ba nè mù jē filin wāsā = bà dōlè nè mù jē filin wāsā ba**

It's not required that we go to the playground.

The negated VP does not have to be in a main clause; it can also be in an embedded or subordinate clause, e.g.,

**idan bà mù yi saurì ba, sai mù kwántā cikin jējì**

If we don't hurry we're going to have to spend the night in the forest.

**inà nēman yāròn dà bàì cìkà fōm ba**

I am looking for the boy who didn't fill out the form.

**kōwānè kuřtù dà bàì ji ùmārni ba zāi shiga ukù**

Any recruit who doesn't take orders is going to be in a jam.

If two negative sentences co-occur in such a way that the second **ba** should occur twice in succession, one of them is dropped by a process of morphological haplology, i.e., the one **ba** does double duty, e.g.,

**bàn ga yāròn dà bàì taimàki Lādi ba I didn't see the boy who didn't help Ladi.**

(< \*[bàn ga yāròn dà [bàì taimàki Lādi ba] ba])

**bà sù biyā yāròn dà bàì gamà aikin ba They didn't pay the boy who didn't finish the work.**

◊HN: In Tera, on the other hand, a distantly related Chadic language (Newman 1970), two juxtaposed instances of the final neg marker (**ba**) are perfectly acceptable, e.g., [**nə gwa njib nəke [nə vi nə dam ba] ba**] 'He didn't find the man who didn't come out' (lit. he.neg find man who is he.neg enter to out neg neg).

There is no problem, however, with a final **ba** being immediately followed by an initial **bà(a)** in the next clause, nor of the final **ba** being followed by the morpheme **ba** functioning as a question marker, e.g.,

[yāriyār dà **bà** tà hanà mu barci ba] [**bà** tà zō ba]

The girl who did not prevent us from sleeping did not come.

[yāròn dà bàj tàimàki Lādì ba] [bà zài sàmi lādā ba]

The boy who didn't help Ladi will not get a reward.

[idan bà kù kasà kúnnē ba] [bà zā kù ji lābāfī ba]

If you (pl.) don't pay attention, you won't hear the news.

shī nè [dīfēbàn dà bà zō ba] [bà]? Is he (not) the driver that didn't come?

If two negative sentences are conjoined, each comes with its own neg marking, e.g.,

bà kàrbā ba (kuma) bà j kařantā ba

He didn't accept it (and) he didn't read it.

bà tà shàrē d'ākì ba, bà tà yi wankā ba, (kuma) bà tà tàfi makafantā ba

She didn't sweep the room, she didn't bathe, (and) she didn't go to school.

bà zā sù shā giyā ba (kuma) bà zā sù yi rawā ba

They are not going to drink beer and they are not going to dance.

If, on the other hand, two VPs are negated, there is only one neg marker, which encompasses the entire sentence. The first TAM will take the neg form whereas a subsequent TAM will take the corresponding affirmative TAM or the default neutral form, e.g.,

bà mù ci mun shā ba

We didn't eat and drink.

bà j kàrbā yā kařantā ba

He did not accept it and read it.

bà tà shàrē d'ākì tà yi wankā tà tàfi makafantā ba

She didn't sweep the room, bathe, (and) go to school.

bà sù kō tsayā sun hadā shāwafā ba

They didn't even stop and consult one another. (lit....combine advice)

bà zā sù shā giyā sù yi rawā ba

They are not going to drink beer and dance.

bà yā zō yā biyā bāshìn dà akē bīnsā ba

He will probably not come and pay the loan.

ADN: An alternative for dialects that tend to have the second ba earlier in the sentence is to place the ba after the first of the conjoined VPs, i.e., bà mù ci ba mun shā 'We didn't eat and drink.'

In sentences with the aspectual verb rigā (= rigā = rigāyā) 'have already done', which requires a subsequent clause with the same TAM, one negates only the TAM in the matrix clause, e.g.,

bàn rigā nā gan shì ba

I haven't already seen him.

(cf. nā rigā nā gan shì)

I have already seen him.)

## 2. NEGATIVE IN THE CONTINUOUS (bā)

The single negative bā accompanies the long-vowel, L-tone pronouns in the negative-continuous paradigm (see §70:10), e.g., bā nā 'I am not...', bā mǎ 'we are not...', etc. These forms negate continuous verbal sentences as well as locative and stative sentences. Examples:

bā tà sōyā kàzā

She is not frying chicken.

Bellò bā yā dāwōwā

Bello is not returning.

bankì bā yā nān à wannàn tītì

The bank is not here on this street.

sōjōjì bā sǎ rīkē dà bindigōginsù

The soldiers are not holding their guns.

ADN: [i] In some V paradigm (with sh tà, bā mù, bā kù, [ii] The neg conti HAVE sentences, ØHN: Caron (1990) situation and that an adverbial elem ne was strengthened extremely unlikely with or without a a single neg mar Chadic languages prohibitive, nega

## 3. NEGATIVE OF

The neg form bābù counterpart of àkwai serves as an alternative (b) it serves as a ne counterpart to affirma

(a) bābù There isn't bābù mǎi = bā mǎi bābù 'yan tǎwāyè à There aren't (b) Lādì bā ta dà lāfī cf. Lādì tanā dà lāfī bā ni dà lāsīn I dor

ADN: In spoken interrogative ver that not all speak ØHN: A historica

If the object of the ne independent form. OB however, an independ is also attested, e.g.,

bābù sù cikin kāsūw = ?bā sù cikin kāsūw àkwai mótā dà zā m

ADN: In the Sol belong to the str

ΔDN: [i] In some WH dialects, the single negative **bā** occurs in the continuous with the light wsp paradigm (with short vowel and L tone), e.g., **bā ni** (= **bān**), **bā kà**, **bā kì**, **bā shì** (= **bā yà** = **bāi**), **bā tà**, **bā mù**, **bā kù**, **bā sù**, **bā à**.

[ii] The neg continuous serves in many dialects as an alternative means of expressing negative HAVE sentences, e.g., **bā tà dà bīzà** (= **bā ta dà bīzà**) 'She doesn't have a visa.'

ØHN: Caron (1990a) has suggested that the single initial **bā** represents the historically original situation and that the discontinuous neg **bā(a)...ba** resulted from reinforcement of the single **bā** by an adverbial element, i.e., the development was parallel to what happened in French, where the neg *ne* was strengthened to *ne...pas*. From a comparative Chadic perspective, this hypothesis seems extremely unlikely. The typical pattern in Chadic is to have the negative at the end of the sentence, with or without a preverbal neg marker, and Proto-Chadic can almost certainly be reconstructed with a single neg marker at the end (Newman n.d.). The initial neg markers that are found in various Chadic languages have derived independently from a number of different sources, like the prohibitive, negative existential, etc.

### 3. NEGATIVE OF EXISTENTIAL AND HAVE SENTENCES (**bābù** / **bā**)

The neg form **bābù** '(no) there isn't, there aren't' negates existential sentences. It is the negative counterpart of **àkwai** 'there is/are' (and related forms). The short variant **bā** has two functions. It (a) serves as an alternative neg marker (= **bābù**) for existential sentences with a complement expressed, and (b) it serves as a negative formative for HAVE sentences. In this latter usage, it is the negative counterpart to affirmative sentences in the continuous, e.g.,

(a) **bābù** There isn't any. (not **\*\*bā**), cf. **àkwai (ruwā)**? Is there any (water)?

**bābù mái** = **bā mái** There isn't any oil.

**bābù 'yan tāwāyè à k̄auyèn n̄an** = **bā 'yan tāwāyè à k̄auyèn n̄an**

There aren't any rebels in this village.

(b) **Lādi bā ta dà lāfiyā** Ladi is not well. (lit. Ladi neg she with health)

cf. **Lādi tanà dà lāfiyā** Ladi is well.

**bā ni dà lāsìn** I don't have a license, cf. **inà dà lāsìn** I have a license.

ΔDN: In spoken Hausa, **bābù** is sometimes used as an alternative to **ā'ā** 'no' as an answer to interrogative verbal sentences, e.g., **yā isō?** 'Has he arrived?' **bābù** 'No.' This is colloquial speech that not all speakers accept.

ØHN: A historical note on the etymology of **bābù** is presented in §26:1.2.

If the object of the negative existential is a pronoun, **bābù** is strongly preferred. The pronoun will be an independent form. Object pronouns after **bā** are attested but are not liked by SH speakers. If they are used, however, an independent pronoun is strongly preferred, although the H-tone strong object pronoun set is also attested, e.g.,

**bābù sū cikin k̄asuwā** There aren't any of them in the market.

= **?bā sū cikin k̄asuwā** = **??bā su cikin k̄asuwā**

**àkwai mōtā dà zā mù shìga? bābù ita** Is there a car we can enter? No there isn't (it).

ΔDN: In the Sokoto dialect, the short form **bā** is not used. The pronouns that occur after **bābù** belong to the strong object paradigm, e.g., **bābù ta** 'There isn't it.'

When, however, **bà** functions as the negative of HAVE constructions, it requires a pronoun belonging to the H-tone short-vowel paradigm, e.g.,

mutànen nan bá su dà hankàli      Those men don't have any sense.  
bá ta dà mòtá      She doesn't have a car.

#### 4. NEGATIVE OF EQUATIONAL SENTENCES, NPS, ADVERBS (**bà...ba**)

The discontinuous neg **bà...ba** serves to negate items other than those in the PAC found in tensed sentences, e.g., equational predicates, NPs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositional phrases, and full sentences. This allomorph is also used for negative focus.

##### 4.1. Predicate negation

Equational and identificational sentences with the structure (X) Y stabilizer (where the STAB is **nē** or **cē** (with polar tone)), negate the predicate (Y) by enveloping it in **bà...ba**, e.g.,

Balā **bà** àlkāli **ba** **nē**      Bala is not a judge.  
kud'insà **bà** dalà gōmà **ba** **nē**      Its price is not ten dollars.  
ita **bà** 'yātā **ba** **cē**      She is not my daughter.  
**bà** kāsā **ba** **cē**      It is not a puff adder.

The second **ba** and the stabilizer may optionally be inverted. Some dialects and some speakers like this option better than others.

Balā **bà** àlkāli **nē** **ba**      Bala is not a judge.      ita **bà** 'yātā **cē** **ba**      She is not my daughter.

Complement-taking expressions like **filàs** 'perforce' allow the second **ba** either after the CTE or after the complement, e.g.,

**bà** tabbàs **ba** **nē** Audù yà zō dà yamma = **bà** tabbàs **nē** Audù yà zō dà yamma **ba**

It is not certain that Audu will come in the evening.

**bà** dōlè **ba** **nē** à gārē shì dà yà kammàlà aikìn yāu  
= **bà** dōlè **nē** à gārē shì dà yà kammàlà aikìn yāu **ba**

It is not required that he finish the work today.

##### 4.2. Adverbs, prepositional phrases, NPs

The **bà...ba** formative serves to negate adverbs and prepositional phrases in situ. The implication is often a contrastive 'but not' although the conjunction **ammā** 'but' is not required. Examples:

tanà ganl (ammā) **bà** sòsai **ba**      She sees (but) not clearly.

Audù yā tafi kāsuwā (ammā) **bà** dà sáfe **ba**

Audu went to the market (but) not in the morning.

zā kà kařàntà wāřàř (ammā) **bà** à zàune **ba**

You will read the song (but) not in a sitting position.

nā san shùgāban Rasā sanin-shānū, **bà** na hàřlřkà **ba**

I know the president casually (lit. knowledge of cattle), not very well.

zān kammàlà aikìn nān **bà** dà jumāwā **ba**

I'll finish the work soon. (lit. not with passing time)

yā tāshì **bà** tǎre dà san

He left without

ta yà yà zā kà iyà hayè

How would you

Contrastive '(but) not'

Mūsā **nē** zā sù zābā, **bà**

bàrēwā **cē** ka kashè, **bà**

řwai **nē** yārā sukè sày

Hādřzà **cē** ta ci lambā

tā fi sōn bakař mōtā, **bà**

yārā nàgāřtǎttū zā sù

°AN: Semantically

formative (with fir

e.g., tanā sōn lēm

##### 4.3. Sentence nega

A sentence as a whole c

of the entire sentence t

can be negated. Examp

**bà** wai mutānen nān s

It is not the c

cf. mutānen nān bā sū

**bà** rashìn nāmā (nē) z

cf. rashìn nāmā bā zā

**bà** Lādi tanā dà kudř

cf. Lādi bā ta dà kudř

**bà** àkwai lābāřl bā **nē**

**bà** ita **cē** 'yātā **ba**

In sentence negation,

reportive particle wai

**bà** (wai nā **cē**) Lādi t

**bà** (wai) ita **cē** 'yātā

cf. bā wai ita **cē** 'yātā

The full sentence that

end is reduced to a sin

**bà** (wai) Lādi bā ta d

**bà** (wai) bābū lābāřl

**bà** (wai nā **cē**) bā zā

< \***[bà...[bà** zā mù tǎ

yā tāshì bà tǎre dà sanìná ba

He left without my knowledge. (lit. neg together with knowledge.my neg)

ta yà yà zā kà iyà hayèwā dà sū bà tǎre dà wani yā ci wani ba?

How would you be able to take them across (the river) without one (of them) eating the other?

Contrastive '(but) not' phrases enveloped in bà...ba can also consist of NPs and adjectives, e.g.,

Mūsā nè zā sù zǎbā, bà Hařūnā ba

It is Musa they are going to elect, not Haruna.

bārēwā cè ka kashè, bà gādā ba

It was an antelope you killed, not a duiker.

kwai nē yārā sukè sà yē, bà gōřò ba

It's eggs the children are buying, not kolanuts.

Hādizā cè ta ci lambā, bà Kānde ba

It's Hadiza who won the prize, not Kande.

tā fi sōn baķař mōtā, bà farā ba

She prefers black cars, not white.

yārā nàgāřtǎttū zā sù sāmù, bà malālǎtā ba

The good children will get (it), not the lazy.

°AN: Semantically contrastive 'especially' phrases are formed using the discontinuous bà...bā formative (with final falling tone) even though we do not think of these in English as negatives, e.g., tanā sōn lēmō tun bā mā Fanta bā 'She likes soft drinks, especially Fanta' (see §5:11).

### 4.3. Sentence negation

A sentence as a whole can be negated by bà...ba. The semantic interpretation is that it is the truth value of the entire sentence that is being negated, i.e., 'It is not (the case) that ...'. A full range of sentences can be negated. Examples:

bà wai mutānen nān sun bā tā dāřiyā ba nè; ā'ā, tunzūrā ta sukā yi

It is not the case that these men made her laugh; no, irritating her they did.

cf. mutānen nān bā sū bā tā dāřiyā ba

These men didn't make her laugh. (VP negation)

bà rashìn nāmā (nē) zāi kashè mùtúm ba

It is not that lack of meat will kill a person.

cf. rashìn nāmā bā zāi kashè mùtúm ba

Lack of meat will not kill a person. (VP negation)

bà Lādi tanā dà kuđī ba nè

It is not that Ladi has money.

cf. Lādi bā ta dà kuđī

Ladi doesn't have money. (predicate negation)

bà ākwai lābāřī ba nè

It is not that there is news.

bà ita cè 'yātā ba

It is not that she is my daughter.

In sentence negation, one commonly uses a "commentary" phrase after the first bà (introduced by the reportive particle wai), a strategy that some speakers strongly prefer, e.g.,

bà (wai nā cē) Lādi tanā dà kuđī ba nè

It is not (hearsay that I said) that Ladi has money.

bà (wai) ita cè 'yātā ba

It is not (hearsay) that she is my daughter.

cf. bā wai ita cè 'yātā

There is no doubt (but that) she is my daughter.

The full sentence that is negated can itself be in the negative. In this case any repeated //ba ba// at the end is reduced to a single ba, e.g.,

bà (wai) Lādi bā ta dà kuđī ba (nē)

It is not that Ladi has no money.

bà (wai) bābù lābāřī ba (nē)

It is not that there is no news.

bà (wai nā cē) bā zā mù tǎfi ba nè

It is not that we are not going.

<\*[bà...[bà zā mù tǎfi ba] ba] nè

## 4.4. Negation and focus

In tensed affirmative sentences, a focused item is fronted, optionally followed by the stabilizer (STAB). Completive and continuous TAMs are replaced by the corresponding Rel forms (pret and Rcont), e.g.,

- |                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| a. Audù yā tàfi kàsuwā       | Audu has gone to the market. (neutral)              |
| b. Audù (nē) ya tàfi kàsuwā  | It is <i>Audu</i> who went to the market. (focused) |
| a. sunā gyārà mōtārmù        | They are repairing our car. (neutral)               |
| b. mōtārmù (cē) sukè gyārāwā | It is <i>our car</i> they are repairing. (focused)  |

“Negative focus” (i.e., focus of a negative constituent) can be achieved by surrounding the entire affirmative sentence by *bā...ba*. Although in this structure the second *ba* does not occur until the end of the sentence as a whole, semantically the negative focus is on the fronted item. Examples:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| bā Tàlātù (cē) ta zāgē shì ba            | It is <i>not Talatu</i> who insulted him.                      |
| bā 'yan'uwānā (nē) sukè bā dà tàimākō ba | It is <i>not my brothers</i> who are helping.                  |
| bā ßàràwò sukà kāmā ba                   | It's <i>not a thief</i> they caught.                           |
| bā dà saurī sukà tahō ba                 | It is <i>not fast</i> that they came.                          |
| bā kàsuwā Audù ya tàfi ba                | It is <i>not to market</i> that Audu went.                     |
| bā dà sàfē Aishà ta tàfi kàsuwā ba       | It is <i>not in the morning</i> that Aisha went to the market. |
| bā kèkè Bālā ya sayà wà 'yā'yansà ba     | It is <i>not a bicycle</i> that Bala bought for his children.  |

Alternatively, one can move the second *ba* up immediately after the focused constituent. If this is done, the stabilizer is strongly preferred, e.g.,

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| bā Tàlātù ba cē ta zāgē shì             | It is <i>not Talatu</i> who insulted him.                     |
| bā ßàràwò ba nè sukà kāmā               | It's <i>not a thief</i> they caught.                          |
| bā kèkè ba nè Bālā ya sayà wà 'yā'yansà | It is <i>not a bicycle</i> that Bala bought for his children. |

5. PROHIBITIVE MARKER USED IN THE SUBJUNCTIVE (*kadà/kāf̄*)

The prohibitive marker *kadà* (= *kāf̄*) serves to negate sentences with a subjunctive TAM. When serving to form negative commands, the prohibitive generally translates as ‘don’t’. In other contexts it often translates as ‘should not’ or, if it occurs with *don* ‘in order to’ (whether overt or implied), as ‘lest’.

°AN/°HN: Strictly speaking, *kadà* is not a true negative marker on a par with the BA forms. Rather it is an adverbial that is semantically negative, i.e., one should think of it as the counterpart to such adverbs as *dōlē* ‘must’, *tīlās* ‘perforce’, etc. In other Chadic languages, like Bole, *kadà*-type words commonly co-occur with a true negative marker, e.g., (with tone not marked), (*kobo*) *ka pete sa!* ‘Don’t go out!’ (lit. (prohibitive) you go out neg).

The very common form short form *kāf̄* is the result of final vowel apocoptation accompanied by rhotacism of the resulting syllable-final /d/. The original L tone on the second syllable of *kadà* is preserved and combines with the preceding H to produce a fall, i.e., *kádà* → \**kád`* → *kāf̄*.

- |   |                                       |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| <i>kadà</i> kì bā shì kōmē! = <i>kāf̄</i> kì bā shì kōmē!               | Don’t (you (f.)) give him anything!   |
| <i>kadà</i> / <i>kāf̄</i> mù tàimākē sù!                                | Let’s not help them!                  |
| <i>tāfi</i> dà laimà <i>don kadà</i> / <i>kāf̄</i> ruwā yà bā kà kāshī! | Take an umbrella lest you get soaked! |

When occurring immediately after the subject, *kāf̄* simplifies to H-L. (In standard exposition, I shall transcribe *kāf̄* as *kāf̄*.)

*kāf̄* kà dāwō = *kāf̄*-kà  
...*ßàràyi* *kāf̄* sù shìgà  
*kāf̄* mù zaunā hakà =

If something intervenes between the subject and the verb, *kāf̄* is blocked and the tone is H-L.

*kāf̄* fa kà dāwō!  
...*kāf̄* *ßàràyi* sù shìgà

The final -f̄ of *kāf̄* (with weak subject pronoun, *fa*) is H-L.

*kāf̄*-kà dāwō! = *kak*-kà  
*an* rufē *řōfà* *kāf̄*-tā f̄!

ΔDN: In some West African languages, the morpheme *kāf̄* is used to represent a fall, e.g., //kaG kà dāwō//. In some dialects, one also finds *kāf̄* from a fall by tone, e.g., *ßàràyi* sù shìgà ‘return!’

Syntactically the prohibitive marker *kāf̄* (sometimes even requiring a subject) can be used in negative imperative sentences *kadà* can be used in negative imperative sentences.

[*kadà*] [*yārā*] sù cikà  
(= *yārā* *kadà* sù...), c  
*nā* *rōkē* kà [*kadà*] [L  
(= *nā* *rōkē* kà Ladi k  
*kadà* Audù mālāmin  
mun rufē *řōfà* (don)  
*nā* *böyè* kudīnā (don  
*kadà* mùtumin nan d  
That man w

[References: Bature (1987: 100)]

When occurring immediately before the wsp, the F-tone **kāf** and the L-tone pronoun often combine and simplify to H-L. (In standard orthography, the two elements are written as separate words; for clarity of exposition, I shall transcribe the fused forms here with a hyphen.) Examples:

**kāf kà dāwō = kaḥ-kà dāwō** Don't return!  
 ...**ḥarāyī kāf sù shiga** = ...**ḥarāyī kaḥ-sù shiga** ...lest thieves enter  
**kāf mù zaunà hakà = kaḥ-mù zaunà hakà** We shouldn't just sit like this.

If something intervenes between **kāf** and the pronoun, like a noun subject or a modal particle, the fusion is blocked and the tone simplification does not take place, e.g.,

**kāf fa kà dāwō!** Now don't you return! (*not \*\*kāf fa kà dāwō*)  
 ...**kāf ḥarāyī sù shiga** ...lest thieves enter (*not \*\*...kāf ḥarāyī sù shiga*)

The final **-ḥ** of **kāf** (with F or H tone) commonly assimilates fully to the initial consonant of the abutting weak subject pronoun, e.g.,

**kaḥ-kà dāwō! = kak-kà dāwō!** Don't return!  
**an rufè rōfà kaḥ-tà fita = ...kat-tà fita** They closed the door so she wouldn't go out.

ΔDN: In some WH dialects this assimilation has become obligatory, such that one has to represent the morpheme with underlying final **-G** (= geminate) rather than with a **-d** or **-ḥ** that assimilates, e.g., //kaG kà dāwō// → **kak-kà dāwō** 'Don't return!' In some (all?) dialects with the **kaG** representation, the gemination takes place whether the following item is a pronoun or not. In these dialects, one also commonly finds that the H tone on the **kaG/kaḥ** morpheme (which in SH derives from a fall by tonal simplification) has become lexicalized and always appears as such, e.g., **kaḥ ḥarāyī sù shiga** 'lest thieves enter'; **kaḥ hwa kà dāwō!** (= [SH] **kāf fa kà dāwō!**) 'Now don't you return!'

Syntactically the prohibitive differs strikingly from the various **BA** formatives in being allowed (sometimes even required) before the subject rather than immediately before the PAC. Examples: (In all sentences **kadà** can be replaced by **kāf**.)

[**kadà**] [**yārā**] sù cikà sūrūtù The children shouldn't chatter so.  
 (= **yārā kadà sù...**), cf. [**yārā**] [**bà**] sù yī sūrūtù ba The children didn't chatter excessively.  
**nā rōkè kà [kadà] [Lādi] tà sābā masà** I implore you not to let Ladi disobey him.  
 (= **nā rōkè kà Lādi kadà tà...**)  
**kadà Audù mālāmin makaḥantaḥmù yà tāfi** Audu our school teacher shouldn't leave.  
**mun rufè rōfà (don) kadà māge tà fita** We closed the door lest the cat go out.  
**nā bōyè kudīnā (don) kadà ḥarāwō yà sēcè mīn** I hid my money lest a thief steal it from me.  
**kadà mùtumin nan dà ya sēcè mīn rīgā shēkaranjiyà yà zō**  
 That man who stole my robe two days ago shouldn't come.

[References: Bature (1985); Caron (1990b); Hill (1976); Newman (1971a)]

## 50. Noun Derivation by Affixation: An Overview

**H**AUSA has a rich system of nominal derivation. Some derivations are endocentric, e.g., nouns derived from other nouns, others are exocentric, e.g., nouns derived from verbs. Most of the derivations employ suffixes, some employ prefixes, some employ both. The derivations are used to express such categories as abstracts, agentives, language names, activities, resultatives, etc. A full discussion of each formation is given in the separate chapter provided for that construction. Presented here is an inventory of the derivational formations, along with a few illustrative examples, for the purpose of providing a general overview.

### 1. ABSTRACT NOUNS

Abstract nouns (chap. 1) are derived from common nouns by means of a set of related suffixes **-(n)ci**<sup>HL</sup>, **-(n)tā** (variable tone), and **-(n)takā**<sup>LHL</sup>.

**ādalcī** fairness, justice (< **ādālī** just, honest (psn)); **kāsuwancī** trading (< **kāsuwā** market)  
**kuturtā** leprosy (< **kuturū** leper); **sābuntā** newness (< **sābō** new)  
**tāgwāitakā** twinship (< **tagwai** twins); **dāngāntakā** relationship (< **dangī** kin, relatives)

### 2. LANGUAGES/ATTRIBUTES

Names of languages or dialects are formed by adding a suffix **-(an)ci**<sup>H</sup> (with all H tone) to a noun typically indicating a place or ethnic group (chap. 41). The same suffix is used to indicate attributes associated with the base noun. What is probably the same suffix also serves to form nouns indicating a directional part.

(a) **Lāfabcī** Arabic; **Gōbīrāncī** Gobir dialect; **Bībīsanccī** Hausa language and delivery style associated with BBC broadcasts

(b) **fādāncī** sycophancy, obsequiousness (< **fādā** palace); **mālamāncī** language and/or mannerisms of traditional teachers (< **mālām** teacher); **kudāncī** southern part (< **kudū** south)

### 3. AGENT/LOCATION/INSTRUMENT

Nouns indicating agents, locations, or instruments are formed from verbs using a common prefix **ma-** (chap. 7). The three derivations make use of distinct final vowels and tone.

#### 3.1. Agent: **ma-...-ī**

These derivatives potentially have three different forms for number and gender. The masculine forms end in **-ī** with an H-(L)-L-H tone pattern; the feminine forms end in **-iyā** with an H-H-L-H tone pattern; and

the plural forms end

**mahāift** / **mahaift**

**maròkī** / **marókīy**

**matsòràcī** / **matsò**

#### 3.2. Location: **m-**

Most nouns of loca

**majēmā** tanm

**masaukī** lodg

#### 3.3. Instrument:

Nouns of instrume

**magirbī** harvesti

### 4. ETHNONYM

Ethnonyms (chap.

of a prefix **bā-**, con

suffix **-āwā** (with

indicating a comm

(a) **Bākatsinè** / **Ka**

**dùkàwā** leather v

people

(b) **Gōbīfāwā** a q

(< **tamburā** cere

### 5. ABSTRACT

This is a nonprod

CVVC- or CVCC-

abstract nouns de

**dācī** bitterness, e

extent); **kaift** sh

### 6. MUTUALITY

Nouns indicating

with overlapping

#### 6.1. Subtype m

This formation ut



the plural forms end in *-ā* with the same H-(L)-L-H tone pattern found in the masculine singular.

<b>mahàifī</b> / <b>mahaifiyā</b> / <b>mahàifā</b>	parent (< <b>hàifā</b> give birth to)
<b>maròkī</b> / <b>maròkiyā</b> / <b>maròkā</b>	praise-singer, beggar (< <b>ròkā</b> beg for)
<b>matsòràcī</b> / <b>matsòraciyā</b> / <b>matsòràtā</b>	coward (< <b>tsòratā</b> be afraid)

### 3.2. Location: **ma-...-ā** / **ma-...-ī**

Most nouns of location end in *-ā*; a lesser number end in *-ī*. They have an all H tone pattern.

<b>majēmā</b>	tannery; <b>makařantā</b> school
<b>masaukī</b>	lodging place, overnight quarters, guest room/house

### 3.3. Instrument: **ma-...-ī**

Nouns of instrument all end in *-ī*. They have an all H tone pattern.

**magirbī** harvesting tool; **masassaķī** adze, carpenter's tool; **murfī** (< **marufī**) bottle top, cover

## 4. ETHNONYMS

Ethnonyms (chap. 24), which include some occupational groups, are formed from place names by means of a prefix **bā-**, commonly, but not obligatorily, accompanied by a masculine singular suffix *-ē*<sup>HL</sup>. The suffix *-āwā* (with variable tone, L-H or all H) serves to form (a) plural ethnonyms and related terms indicating a community of people, and (b) names of towns and quarters.

- (a) **Bākatsinè** / **Katsināwā** psn / people from Katsina; **Bàhaushè** / **Hàusāwā** Hausa(s); **bàdūkù** / **dùkàwā** leather worker(s); **ànnabī** / **annabāwā** prophet(s); **talàkà** / **talakāwā** commoner(s), poor people  
 (b) **Gòbifāwā** a quarter in Kano (< **Gòbif** an emirate); **Tamburāwā** name of town/village (< **tamburà** ceremonial drums); **Tsanyāwā** name of town/village (< **tsanyā** cricket)

## 5. ABSTRACT NOUNS OF SENSORY QUALITY (ANSQ)

This is a nonproductive derivation built by adding a suffix *-ī*<sup>H</sup> to bases (all of which have the form CVVC- or CVCC-) that do not normally occur in nonderived words. The words of this class are all abstract nouns denoting sensory qualities (chap. 2).

**ďācī** bitterness, e.g., medicine, neem bark, quinine; **fādī** breadth, width (diameter, surface area, extent); **kaifī** sharpness (of an edge); **santsī** slipperiness, glossiness (e.g., silk cloth)

## 6. MUTUALITY

Nouns indicating mutuality (chap. 47) are derived from verbs by means of two fairly productive suffixes with overlapping meaning.

### 6.1. Subtype mutuality-1: **-ayyā**<sup>LHL</sup>

This formation utilizes a suffix *-ayyā* with a set L-H-L tone pattern.

<b>ribḏayyà</b>	severely hitting one other (< <b>ribḏà</b> beat)
<b>hùjjàtayyà</b>	laying down mutual conditions (< <b>hujjātā</b> lay down conditions)
<b>ḥiyayyà</b>	hatred (< <b>ḥi</b> hate)

### 6.2. Subtype mutuality-2: -ēCēniyā)LHHLH

This formation utilizes a suffix -ēCēniyā (where C is a copy of the base-final consonant) with an associated L-H-H-L-H tone pattern. (There is a variant in which the copied C is geminated.)

<b>bùgēgēniyā (= bùgaggēniyā)</b>	exchanging blows (< <b>bugà</b> hit)
<b>cùḏḏēniyā</b>	rubbing up against and pushing one other (< <b>cùḏā</b> knead)
<b>kàrbēbēniyā (= kàrbayyà)</b>	taking turns in work or carrying load (< <b>kàrbā</b> receive)
<b>rùngùmēmēniyā</b>	mutual embracing (< <b>rùngumā</b> embrace)

## 7. SOUNDS AND MOVEMENT

Ideophonic nouns indicating sounds and movement are formed by means of a suffix -niyā)LLHH with a fixed L-L-H-H tone pattern (see §35:6). The words of this class are typically quadrisyllabic with an alternating light-heavy prosodic structure. This is a nonproductive derivation in that many of the words are frozen, i.e., the bases are not found as independently occurring words. Examples:

<b>ḏàwàiniyā</b>	being busy struggling with one's tasks
<b>hàtsàniyā</b>	wrangling, quarrelling
<b>mùtsùniyā</b>	giggling, fidgeting by children
<b>wàtsàniyā</b>	wriggling, squirming

### 7.1. Related ideophones

Semantically similar words—in some cases alternative variants—are formed by full reduplication with an associated L-H tone pattern (see §35:6.1).

<b>fàcàl-facal (= fàcàlniyā)</b>	playing with, or splashing water all over
<b>wàndàf-wandāf</b>	zigzagging, swaying from side to side
<b>zìrgà-zìrgā</b>	constantly going to and fro

## 8. SYSTEMS/ERAS

A number of Arabic loanwords indicating political systems, eras, and such (chap. 68) contain a frozen suffix -iyyā)LHL.

<b>fàṭimiyyā</b>	the Fatimid dynasty
<b>islāmiyyā</b>	Islamic tenets or calendar
<b>mùlùkiyyā</b>	monarchical system of government

## 9. ASSOCIATED CHARACTERISTICS

There are numerous nouns derived from verbs by means of the suffix -au)LH with a fixed L-H tone pattern (chap. 10). It is impossible to give a consistent meaning for the suffix; about all that one can say is that

nouns with -au)LH den  
with the semantic propo

**àikàtau** verb (< **aikàt**  
very forgetful psn (< m  
(< **barì** leave); **HàRū**

## 10. GAMES AND A

A limited number of no  
-e)H with a fixed all H  
a synchronic level.

**cake** a game similar to  
(< **lērā** peek); **jāgule**  
jumping game (< **tsall**  
(< **wuḏgā** throw)

nouns with **-au**)<sup>LH</sup> denote people or things that have characteristics associated in one way or another with the semantic properties of the source verb. This suffix is commonly found with proper names.

**àikàtau** verb (< **aikàtā** to work); **càsau** threshing grain for payment (< **càsā** thresh); **màntau** very forgetful psn (< **mántā** forget); **tùnkùyau** flea (< **tùnkuyā** butt, gore); **Bàrau** proper name (< **barī** leave); **Hàkùrau** proper name (< **hàkurā** be patient)

## 10. GAMES AND ACTIVITIES

A limited number of nouns indicating games and activities are derived from verbs by means of a suffix **-e**)<sup>H</sup> with a fixed all H tone pattern (chap. 30). The derivation does not appear to operate productively at a synchronic level.

**cake** a game similar to darts (< **cakā** stab); **lêke** cheating by looking at s.o.'s work in a sneaky way (< **lêkā** peek); **jāgule** making a mess of sth (esp. by children) (< **jāgūlā** spoil, mess up); **tsallake** jumping game (< **tsallākā** jump/cross over); **wuŕge** throwing things from one place to another (< **wuŕgā** throw)

## 51. Noun Phrase: Structure and Word Order

**N**OUN phrases (NP) consist of a head noun with optional prenominal and/or postnominal elements, e.g., [**wani sábon**]<sub>pre</sub> [**littáfi**]<sub>Head</sub> [**mài kyáu**]<sub>post</sub> 'a new good book', lit. [some new] [book] [possessing goodness].

### 1. THE HEAD

The head of an NP typically consists of a simple noun (singular or plural), conjoined nouns, nouns in a genitive X of Y relationship, compound nouns, etc. (For purposes of this chapter, we will essentially ignore NPs with pronoun heads.) Examples:

<b>tēbūr</b>	table	<b>tēbuřōfi</b>	tables
<b>cōkālì dà wukā</b>	spoon and knife	<b>mazā dà mātā</b>	men and women
<b>fallen tākārdā</b>	sheet of paper	<b>gīndin bishiyà</b>	base of the tree
<b>mashà-ruwā</b>	rainbow (lit. drinker of water)		
<b>bāř-ni-dā-mūgù</b>	pimples/acne in adolescents (lit. leave-me-with-ugliness)		

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 larger 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 prenominal and postnominal position.

### 2. PRENOMINAL ELEMENTS

There are two primary constituents that occur in pre-head position, namely, (1) specifiers, and (2) adjectival modifiers, which occur in that order.

<b>wani mahàukàcin kàrē</b>	some crazy dog (specifier + adj + N)
<b>wànnan bàbbař kasā</b>	that large country (specifier + adj + N)

#### 2.1. Specifiers

The category specifier includes determiners, pronouns, and the quantifier **duk** 'all, every' (see §53:2). A determiner can co-occur with the other two categories. Examples:

<b>wannàn dōkì</b>	this horse (det + N)
<b>wàcè hanyà</b>	which road? (det + N)
<b>kōwànè mùtùm</b>	every man (det + N)

**mū Hāusàwā**  
**ita sàrauniyā**  
**sū àbòkanmù**  
**duk talakāwā**  
**shì wannàn mālāmi**  
**duk wađ'annān d'ālibai**

There are three other elements in this person plural pronoun structure.

**su Tankò** Tanko and the horse.

The second is the "isolated" noun necessarily containing a head.

**đaya littāfi**  
**đaya hūlāř**

The third pre-head element is the head. Again we find that the head

**nāwa dōkin**  
**tāsà riğāř**  
**nāmù gidājèn**

°AN: Although the head is probably preferable to the possessive pronoun 'horse', **tāsà, riğāř**

#### 2.2. Adjectives

The prenominal modifier obligatorily agrees in number with the head, and the diminutive marker **đan** together, although in plural

**shūd'ān riğunā**  
**duk dōgwāyen karfāř**  
**zungurēriyař tsóhuwa**  
**đan kàramin yārò**  
**'yař gājēriyař àkuyà**

### 3. POSTNOMINAL

Most NP specification is done by the use of specifiers/determiners.

**dawākin nān biyu nān**

<b>mū Hāusāwā</b>	we Hausas (pn + N)
<b>ita sàrauniyā</b>	she the queen (pn + N)
<b>sū àbòkanmù</b>	they our friends (pn + N)
<b>duk talakāwā</b>	all common people (all + N)
<b>shī wannān mālāmī</b>	he this teacher (pn + det + N)
<b>duk wadānnān d'ālibai</b>	all these students (all + det + N)

There are three other elements (apart from adjectives) that can precede the head. The first is the third person plural pronoun **su** used to form pseudoplurals indicating 'et al.' or 'etc.', e.g.,

**su Tankò** Tanko and the others; **su bàrēwā** gazelles and similar animals

The second is the "isolator" **d'aya**, which is the numeral 'one' used in the sense of 'the other'. The head noun necessarily contains a definite article, e.g.,

<b>d'aya littāfin</b>	the other book (cf. <b>littāfi d'aya</b> one book)
<b>d'aya hūlāf</b>	the other cap (cf. <b>hūlā d'aya</b> one cap)

The third pre-head element that occurs readily in surface structure is a long-form independent possessive. Again we find that the head must have a definite article, e.g.,

<b>nāwa dōkīn</b>	the horse of mine (lit. mine horse.the), cf. <b>dōkīnā</b> my horse
<b>tāsā rīgār</b>	the gown of his (lit. his gown.the), cf. <b>rīgārsā</b> his gown
<b>nāmù gidājèn</b>	the houses of ours (lit. ours houses.the), cf. <b>gidājènmù</b> our houses

<sup>o</sup>AN: Although the above examples could be viewed at a shallow level as pronominal modifiers, it is probably preferable to analyze them syntactically as appositional structures with an independent possessive pronoun juxtaposed to a noun, e.g., **nāwa dōkīn** would be interpreted as 'mine, the horse', **tāsā, rīgār** as 'his, the gown', etc.

## 2.2. Adjectives

The pronominal modifier is typically a simple attributive adjective. It obligatorily contains a linker and obligatorily agrees in number and gender with the head noun. This adjective may be preceded by the diminutive marker **d'an** / **'yañ** / **'yan** (m./f./pl.). In principle any number of adjectives can be strung together, although in practice, three seems to be the maximum.

<b>shūd'dan rīgūnā</b>	blue gowns (adj + N)
<b>duk dōgwāyen karfāfan sōjōl</b>	all the tall, strong soldiers (all + adj + adj + N)
<b>zungurēriyañ tsōhuwañ farañ mōtā</b>	a very long old white car (adj + adj + adj + N)
<b>d'an kàramin yārò</b>	a wee small boy (dim + adj + N)
<b>'yañ gājēriyañ àkuyā</b>	a little short goat (dim + adj + N)

## 3. POSTNOMINAL ELEMENTS

Most NP specification and modification occur after the head noun. The noun can be followed by a number of specifiers/determiners as well as by a range of modifiers, e.g.,

**dawākin nān biyu nāmù** these two horses of ours (lit. horses.of this two ours)

**mōtār̀kà s̄abuwā dà akà s̄acè** your new car that was stolen (lit. car.of.you new that one.pret steal)

### 3.1. Postnominal specifiers

The postnominal specifiers/determiners include the following: (1) definite article, (2) demonstrative determiner, (3) possessive, and (4) numeral (or other quantifier).

#### 3.1.1. Definite article

Hausa has no indefinite article corresponding to English 'a/an'; thus the word **yār̀ò**, for example, means 'boy' or 'a boy'. The so-called definite article (chap. 20), which indicates an item previously referred to in the discourse (or context inferable), normally occurs right after the head. It has the form  $\text{̀n} / \text{̀f} / \text{̀n}$  (m./f./pl.), which either attaches directly to the noun or to the connector **đi-**, e.g.,

<b>tùlún</b>	the water pot (< <b>tùlù</b> + $\text{̀n}$ )	<b>rìgār̀</b>	the gown (< <b>rìgā</b> + $\text{̀f}$ )
<b>kasāshén</b>	the countries (< <b>kasāshē</b> + $\text{̀n}$ )	<b>cèk đīn</b>	the check (< <b>cèk đī-</b> + $\text{̀n}$ )

The definite article can also occur at the end of the entire NP as well, e.g.,

**dōgwāyen yār̀án dà mukà gayà musùn** the tall boys that we told  
(lit. tall.of boys.the that we.pret tell to.them.the)

#### 3.1.2. Demonstrative determiners

All determiners can occur in pre-head position. The demonstrative determiners 'this/that/those, etc.' have variant forms that occur in postnominal position. These postnominal forms, namely, **nán** 'this', **nan** 'that near you', **cán** 'that there', and **can** 'that yonder' (which etymologically were adverbs meaning 'here/there/etc.') attach directly to a noun plus a linker or, in appropriate contexts, to a noun plus the connective **đi-** plus a linker. (The orthographic convention is to write **nán** and the other forms as separate words, even though they cliticize to their hosts.) The demonstratives themselves are invariant for gender and number, these features being reflected in the form of the linker, e.g.,

**dōkìn nán** this horse; **rìgār̀ nan** that gown (near you); **gidàjen càn** those houses (there); **cèk đīn nán** this check

A noun can be specified by both a prenominal determiner and a postnominal definite article, e.g.,

<b>wancàn gidán</b>	that very house (lit. that house.the)
<b>wadānnán bār̀ayīn</b>	these very thieves (lit. these thieves.the)
<b>kōwacè yār̀inyār̀</b>	every girl (known from the discourse) (lit. every girl.the)
<b>wani yār̀òn</b>	another boy (lit. some boy.the)

#### 3.1.3. Possessives

Apart from the special formation with the prenominal independent possessives (see §2.1 above), possession is indicated by a post-head noun or clitic pronoun preceded by the linker, e.g.,

**dōkìnsà** his horse; **kasāshenmù** our countries; **cèk đintà** her check; **rìgār̀ Sulè** Sule's gown

Possessives can occur with a postnominal definite article or demonstrative. If the possessive is not attached to the head noun, it appears as a long form, i.e., **nā-/tā-** plus pronoun or **na/ta** plus noun, e.g.,

**dōkìn nán nāsà**

If the definite article (with possessor rather than to question'.

3.1.4. Numerals and Cardinal numbers and optional use of various u

**naiřà dubū** 1,000 naira pencil; **sōjōjī dà yawà** oodles of people; 'yamr

With possessed nouns, th

**mātansà huđu** his four

One can reverse the order independent possessive) numeral order. Example:

**mātā huđu nāsà**  
**mōtōcī shidà nāmù**

Nouns with a numeral as its host), e.g., **mōtōcī** sl

If the NP contains both acceptable, e.g.,

**mātā huđu đīn nán =**

Ordinal numbers conne

**bābī na ukù** the third

If the NP with an ordi

**đākìn nán na đaya** t

By contrast, the definit immediately after the h

3.2. Postnominal Nouns allow a large subject to semantic adjectives, (2) the wo

**dōkīn nān nāsà** this his horse (i.e., this horse of his); **rīgār ta Sulè** the gown of Sule's

If the definite article (with **ɗi-**) follows the possessive, it is generally interpreted as applying to the possessor rather than to the possessed head noun, e.g., **rīgār Sulè ɗīn** 'the gown of the very Sule in question'.

### 3.1.4. Numerals and other quantifiers

Cardinal numbers and other quantifiers (including ideophones) directly follow the head noun, with optional use of various unit measure terms (see §53:1.7), e.g.,

**nairà dubū** 1,000 nairas; **'yan makařantà tálàtin** thirty students; **fensīr (gùdā) ɗaya** one (unit) pencil; **sōjōji dà yawà** lots of soldiers; **mangwārò nawà?** how many mangoes? **mutàné tinjim** oodles of people; **'yammātā dukà** all the girls (= **duk 'yammātā**)

With possessed nouns, the typical order is N + possessor + numeral, e.g.,

**mātansà huɗu** his four wives (lit. wives.his four); **mōtōcinmù shidà** our six cars (lit. cars.our six)

One can reverse the order and have the numeral before the possessive (in which case one has to use an independent possessive). This is less common and is more highly marked than the possessive plus numeral order. Examples:

**mātā huɗu nāsà** his four wives (lit. wives four his)  
**mōtōci shidà nāmù** our six cars (lit. cars six ours)

Nouns with a numeral and a definite article occur in that order (with the d.a. requiring the connector **ɗi-** as its host), e.g., **mōtōci shidà ɗīn** 'the six cars (in question)'.

If the NP contains both a numeral and a postnominal demonstrative, both alternative orders are equally acceptable, e.g.,

**mātā huɗu ɗīn nān** = **mātan nān (gùdā) huɗu** these four women

Ordinal numbers connect to the head noun by means of a free linker, e.g.,

**bābì na ukù** the third chapter; **bàbban yākīn dūniyà na biyu** Second World War

If the NP with an ordinal number contains other determiners, the ordinal phrase usually occurs last, e.g.,

**ɗākīn nān na ɗaya** this first room; **mātātā ta ukù** my third wife

By contrast, the definite article form **ɗīn** typically occurs at the end of the entire NP rather than immediately after the head, e.g., **sukùwā ta huɗu ɗīn** 'the fourth race'.

### 3.2. Postnominal modifiers

Nouns allow a large number of postnominal modifiers of different types, most of which can co-occur, subject to semantic appropriateness and length limitations. The modifiers include the following: (1) adjectives, (2) the words indicating 'different (kinds)', (3) genitival nouns, (4) the MAI construction

(and its negative counterparts), (5) the **mafi** construction, (6) prepositional phrases, (7) stative phrases, (8) relative clauses, (9) the construction with **wai**.

### 3.2.1. Adjectives

Postnominal adjectives are immediately juxtaposed to the head without the use of a linker or other particle, e.g., **yārō kàrami** 'a small boy' (lit. boy small). They nevertheless must agree with the head in gender and number. All adjectives that can occur in pre-head position can also occur following the head. (Where semantically appropriate, they can be preceded by the diminutive marker **ɗan** / 'yaŋ' / 'yan.) In addition, there are some phonologically heavy adjectives (i.e., those that are fully reduplicated, multi-word, etc.) that occur only in post-head position, e.g.,

<b>kwāli bābba</b> = <b>bābban kwāli</b>	large carton
<b>nāmà sòyayyē</b> = <b>sòyayyen nāmà</b>	fried meat
<b>tumāki 'yan kanānā</b> = <b>'yan kanānān tumāki</b>	wee small lambs
<b>hakōrā gatsō-gatsō</b>	disproportionately large teeth
<b>'yammātā santalā-santalā</b>	shapely girls
<b>rīgā ruwan-hōdā</b>	a pink gown (lit. gown color.of-powder)

Postnominal adjectives typically follow the various specifiers, e.g.,

<b>kwālin nān bābba</b>	this large carton
<b>hakōrankā gatsō-gatsō</b>	your disproportionately large teeth
<b>birai biyu kātā</b>	two huge monkeys

### 3.2.2. The words indicating 'different (kinds)'

The expressions **dābam** (**dābam**) 'different' and **irī irī** 'different kinds' (< **irī** 'kind' (lit. seed)) serve as exclusively postnominal modifiers. Although their English equivalents are generally labeled as adjectives, these words do not pattern neatly with Hausa adjectives and are better set apart as a special class on their own. Examples:

<b>littāfi dābam</b>	a different book	<b>wurārē dābam dābam</b>	different places
<b>ābinci irī irī</b>	different kinds of food	<b>mōtōci irī irī</b>	different kinds of cars

### 3.2.3. Genitival nouns

In N of N constructions, the second N typically serves as a possessor, e.g., **gidan Mūsā** 'Musa's house'. However, if the second noun is an inanimate noun indicating a quality or activity, it can serve as a modifier, corresponding semantically, though not syntactically, to an adjective, e.g.,

<b>ruwan zāfi</b>	hot water (lit. water of heat)
<b>marōkan banzā</b>	stupid beggars (lit. beggars.of uselessness)
<b>mahājjātan wōfi</b>	foolish pilgrims (lit. pilgrims.of foolishness)
<b>ɗākin kārātū</b>	reading room (lit. room.of reading)
<b>māgānin tārī</b>	cough medicine (lit. medicine of cough)

### 3.2.4. The MAI construction (and its negative counterparts)

In lieu of true adjectives, one commonly uses a postnominal modifier phrase of the form **māi** (pl. **māsu**) 'having' or **marās** (pl. **marāsā**) 'lacking' plus a noun (often, but not exclusively, signifying a quality) (see chap. 4), e.g.,

**ālkāli māi rōwā**  
**riŋyā māi zurfi**  
**mōtā māi tsādā**  
**tēbūfōfi māsu kwārī**  
**kaŋās marās dādī**  
**yārā marāsā hankālī**

The MAI phrase can also be used with a verb, usually N + adj + MAI

**sābuwāf mōtā māi tsādā**  
**ɗanyen kaŋās marās**

3.2.5. The comparative  
Corresponding to the comparative (or superlative)

**gidan ābinci māfi tsādā**  
**mōtā māfi tsādā**  
**'yan kwallon rāgā māfi tsādā**

As with the MAI phrase

**mōtā farā māfi tsādā**

3.2.6. Prepositional phrases  
Nouns may be modified

**wani tēbūr à ɗākinā**  
**kūjērū don mānya**  
**bākōn dāgā Kanō**  
**ɗālibi à jāmi'ā**  
**hafsā gāba dà ni**

3.2.7. Stative phrases  
Stative phrases of the past particles, can function

**yārinyā ɗāure dà za**  
**bangō shāfe dà fentū**  
**sōjā riŋe dà bindigā**

If another modifier or phrase is introduced by **dā kē**

**yārinyā kyākkyāwā**  
**bangō māi tsawō (d)**



<b>àlkàli màì rōwà</b>	a stingy judge (lit. judge having stinginess)
<b>rījīyā màì zurfi</b>	a deep well (lit. well having depth)
<b>mōtā màì tsādā</b>	an expensive car (lit. car having expensiveness)
<b>tēbuřōfi màsu kwāri</b>	strong tables (lit. tables having strength of construction)
<b>kařās maràs dādī</b>	bad-tasting carrots (lit. carrots lacking pleasantness)
<b>yārā marāsā hankàli</b>	senseless children (lit. children lacking sense)

The MAI phrase can accompany a simple adjective. If the adjective is used postnominally, the order is usually N + adj + MAI phrase, e.g.,

<b>sābuwař mōtā màì tsādā = mōtā sābuwā màì tsādā</b>	an expensive new car
<b>d'anyen kařās maràs dādī = kařās d'anyē maràs dādī</b>	raw bad-tasting carrots

### 3.2.5. The comparative modifier construction

Corresponding to the MAI phrases is a postnominal phrase having the structure of a short-form agentive (see §7:1.6.3), namely, **mafi** (pl. **mafiyā**) 'lit. the one exceeding' plus an object. This forms a comparative (or superlative) modifier, e.g.,

<b>gidan àbinci mafi tsabtā</b>	the cleanest restaurant
<b>mōtā mafi tsādā</b>	the most expensive car
<b>'yan kwallon rāgā mafiyā kyāu</b>	the best basketball players

As with the MAI phrases, these phrases typically follow simple postnominal adjectives, e.g.,

<b>mōtā farā mafi tsādā</b>	the most expensive white car
-----------------------------	------------------------------

### 3.2.6. Prepositional phrases

Nouns may be modified by a post-head prepositional phrase. Examples:

<b>wani tēbūr à d'ākīnā</b>	a table in my room
<b>kùjērū don mánya-mánya</b>	chairs for important people
<b>bàkón dàgà Kanò</b>	the visitor from Kano
<b>d'ālibi à jāmī'ā</b>	a university student (lit. student at university)
<b>hafsà gāba dà ni</b>	an officer ahead of me (in rank)

### 3.2.7. Stative phrases

Stative phrases of the form stative + **dà** 'with' + NP', which sometimes translate as English adjectival past particles, can function as postnominal modifiers, e.g.,

<b>yāriyā d'āure dà zanì</b>	a girl dressed in a wrapper
<b>bangō shāfe dà fentī</b>	a wall covered with paint
<b>sōjà riķe dà bindigā</b>	a soldier armed with a gun

If another modifier occurs immediately after the head, the phrase is often expressed as a relative clause introduced by **dà kē** 'that is', e.g.,

<b>yāriyā kyākkyāwā (dà kē) d'āure dà zanì</b>	a beautiful girl (who is) dressed in a wrapper
<b>bangō màì tsawō (dà kē) shāfe dà fentī</b>	a tall wall (that is) covered with paint

## 3.2.8. Relative clauses

All relative clauses (RCs) occurs postnominally (see chap. 64), e.g.,

**mùtumìn [dà mukà sàmi làbāfīnsà jiyà]** the man [whom we heard the news of yesterday]

A relative clause typically follows all other modifiers, e.g.,

**yārò gājērē mài dàbāfā [dà na sanì]** a short clever boy that I know (N adj mài-phrase RC)  
**jìminā mafī tsawō [dà na tabà ganì]** the tallest ostrich I have ever seen (N mafī-phrase RC)  
**wukā cikin kwabàd [wáddà nakè bùkātā]** a knife in the cupboard that I need (N pp RC)

## 3.2.9. The wai construction

There are alternative means in Hausa of expressing a phrase like ‘a boy named/called Musa’. One is to use a relative clause, e.g., **yārò dà akè kirà Mūsā** (lit. boy that one.Rcont1 calling Musa). Another is to modify the common noun by a phrase of the form **wai** ‘it is said’ + an independent pronoun + the name, e.g., **yārò wai shī Mūsā**. In colloquial speech, the pronoun can be omitted. Examples:

**wata màcè wai (ita) Lādi** a woman named Ladi  
**tsōhon gwamnā wai (shī) Audù Bāko** a former governor named Audu Baƙo  
**ƙasā wai (ita) Bosniyà** a country called Bosnia

°AN: The word **wai** (pronounced [wei]), which, in the reduplicated form **waiwai** exists as a common noun meaning ‘rumor or hearsay’, also serves as a function word optionally introducing complement clauses, e.g., **yā kāmātā (wai) Tankò yà biyā hàfājī** ‘It is fitting that Tanko pay taxes.’

The **wai** phrase is a late modifier that typically follows all other modifiers other than RCs, where the order can sometimes be reversed, e.g.,

**yārinyà kyàkkāwā wai ita Hādīzà** a beautiful girl named Hadiza  
**littāfī mài farin jīnī wai (shī) Shaihu Umār** a popular book called *Shaihu Umar*  
**mālāmī à makaƙantaƙsù wai shī Dr. Nuhù** a teacher at their school named Dr. Nuhu  
**wani wàsā dà mukè sò wai shī marwà** a game that we like called *marwa*  
**wata dālībā dà ta sàmi lambà wai ita Bīntà** a student who won the prize named Binta  
**= wata dālībā wai ita Bīntà wáddà ta sàmi lambà** a student named Binta who won the prize

[References: Furniss (1991); Galadanci (1969)]

## 52. Nou

FOR syntactic purposes dynamic and dynam

## 1. NONDYNAMIC

The term *nondynamic* is used for nouns indicate persons, **zōbè** ‘ring’, **zurfi** ‘depth’ nouns, e.g., **takòbi** ‘sweet

## 1.1. Concrete nouns

The concrete nouns are divided into proper nouns, which include ‘Germany’, and (b) common nouns. The concrete nouns

(3) noncount nouns.

Count nouns are characterized by **dāya** ‘one goat’, **dawāk**

Collectives are noncount nouns in concord depending on whether

**[jāma’āf]**<sub>sg</sub> **tanà nēma** **sīyāsā** ‘The people are a

Noncount nouns in Hausa do not take singular concord, a

Afroasiatic feature—as in Hausa, used in the sense of ‘kilogram’

noncount nouns, one has **gallōn** (lit. oil gallon two) (not

or is not a noncount noun). The determined differences, e.g.,

term is ‘a cube of sugar’;

## 1.2. Abstract nouns

Abstract nouns signify concepts; they fall into three major

nouns with the suffixes **-wā** ‘foolishness’, **màkwāb**

of yesterday]

adj **mái**-phrase RC)  
(N **mafi**-phrase RC)  
(N pp RC)

ed Musa'. One is to use  
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named Binta  
won the prize

## 52. Noun Subcategorization

FOR syntactic purposes, a major division in nouns (whether derived or nonderived) is between non-dynamic and dynamic.

### 1. NONDYNAMIC

The term *nondynamic* is defined negatively to apply to all nouns other than the dynamic nouns. These nouns indicate persons, places, things, qualities, ideas, etc., e.g., **yāriyà** 'girl', **makafantā** 'school', **zòbè** 'ring', **zurfi** 'depth', **àddinì** 'religion'. Nondynamic nouns can be subdivided into (1) concrete nouns, e.g., **takòbì** 'sword', and (2) abstract nouns, e.g., **kaifi** 'sharpness'.

#### 1.1. Concrete nouns

The concrete nouns are defined as nondynamic, not abstract nouns. They can be further divided into (a) proper nouns, which includes both personal names, e.g., **Mūsā** 'Musa' and place names, e.g., **Jāmùs** 'Germany', and (b) common nouns, e.g., **kèkè** 'bicycle', **ruwā** 'water'.

The concrete nouns can also be classified as to whether they are (1) count nouns, (2) collectives, or (3) noncount nouns.

Count nouns are characterized by the potentiality for pluralization and enumeration, e.g., **àkuyà** 'one goat', **dawāki (ukù)** '(three) horses', **mùtùm na ukù** 'the third man'.

Collectives are nouns referring to a group or assemblage. They allow either singular or plural concord depending on whether the focus is on the group as a whole or on the individual members, e.g., **[jāma'ār]<sub>sg</sub> tanà nēman tàimako** 'The populace is seeking aid'; **[jāma'ār]<sub>pl</sub> sunà gařdamà à kán siyāsà** 'The people are arguing about politics'; **tārō [yā]<sub>sg</sub> / [sun]<sub>pl</sub> wātsè** 'The crowd dispersed.'

Noncount nouns include various masses and liquids, e.g., **mái** 'oil', **yāshì** 'sand'. Most of these take singular concord, although **ruwā** 'water' is sometimes treated as a plural—a common Chadic and Afroasiatic feature—as is the word **kuđi** 'money'. Some noncount nouns have plural forms, which are used in the sense of "kinds of", e.g., **kuđàđè** 'monies of different kinds'. To specify quantities of noncount nouns, one has to use an appropriate measure term, e.g., **mái galàn biyu** 'two gallons of oil' (lit. oil gallon two) (not **\*\*mái biyu**); **shinkāfā mūdù** 'one bowl of rice'. On the whole, what is or is not a noncount noun is essentially the same as in English. There are, however, a few culturally determined differences, e.g., **sukāfi** 'sugar' is usually a count noun because the unmarked reading of the term is 'a cube of sugar'; similarly **buřōđi** 'bread' can be a count noun meaning 'a loaf of bread'.

#### 1.2. Abstract nouns

Abstract nouns signify static, usually inherent or permanent qualities or attributes. Morphologically, they fall into three major categories: (a) simple, e.g., **rōwà** 'miserliness', **fari** 'whiteness'; (b) derived nouns with the suffixes {-CI}, {-TA}, and {-TAKA} (see chap. 1), e.g., **talauçì** 'poverty', **wáutā** 'foolishness', **mākwařtakà** 'neighborliness'; and (c) abstract nouns of sensory quality (see chap. 2),

e.g., *zurfi* 'depth', *tsāmi* 'sourness'. Note that when color terms function as abstract nouns, they take the unmarked masculine form, whereas when they function as adjectives they reflect the gender of the head noun, e.g., [*tūtā*]<sub>f</sub> [*shūdīyā*]<sub>f</sub> 'blue flag' (lit. flag blue), but [*tūtā*]<sub>f</sub> *māi launin* [*shūdī*]<sub>m</sub> 'blue flag' (lit. flag having color.of blueness). Instead of using adjectives, attributive and predicative descriptions are often expressed employing abstract nouns of quality, e.g., *àlḵālī māi rōwā* 'a miserly judge' (lit. judge possessing miserliness); *rījīyā tanā dà zurfi* 'The well is deep' (lit. the well is with depth). The expression of comparatives and superlatives, which has the structure X exceeds Y (with regard to) Z requires that Z be an abstract noun, e.g., *Mūsā yā fi Daudā Rarfi* 'Musa is stronger than Dauda' (lit. Musa exceeds Dauda strength); *mōtātā tā fi takā sàbuntā* 'My car is newer than yours' (lit. car.my exceeds yours newness), cf. the noncomparative, which uses the related true adjective, *mōtātā sābuwā cē* 'My car is new.' One should note that the same word can belong to more than one category, thus *baḵī*, for example, is an abstract noun when it denotes 'blackness' but a concrete common noun when it denotes 'consonant'. This is in addition to its role as an adjective meaning 'black' (in which case it has a corresponding feminine form *baḵā*).

## 2. DYNAMIC

*Dynamic* nouns serve to indicate actions or activities, e.g., *aikī* 'work', *ḍawāiniyā* 'suffering with', *kāḍe-kāḍe* 'drumming', *māganā* 'talk(ing)', *rūbūtū* 'writing', *wāsā* 'play(ing)'. They commonly function in phrasal VPs as the object of the pro-verb *yī* 'do' to express what in English would be indicated by a simple intransitive verb, e.g., *yā yī māganā* 'He talked' (lit. he did talking), *zā sū yī wāsā* 'They will play' (lit. will do playing). They also occur readily as the object of aspectual verbs, another environment in which they commute with nonfinite verb phrases, e.g., *yā fārā rūbūtū* 'He began writing', *kū yī ta aikī!* 'You (pl.) keep on working!' *mun shā ḍawāiniyā dà shī* 'We suffered putting up with him / we suffered together in doing sth.' In the continuous TAMs, where *yī(n)*, the verbal noun corresponding to *yī*, is commonly deleted, dynamic nouns often occur immediately after the TAM, e.g., *sunā kāḍe-kāḍe* 'They are drumming' (< *sunā yīn kāḍe-kāḍe*), *bā sà kūkā* 'They are not crying' (< *bā sà yīn kūkā*).

Some dynamic nouns are simple nonderived words, e.g., *sū* 'fishing', *māganā* 'talking', *wāsā* 'playing'; others are gerundivelike verbal nouns, e.g., *sāyē* 'buying' (< *sāyā* 'buy'), *gaisuwā* 'greetings' (< *gaisā* 'greet'), *gōdiyā* 'thanks' (< *gōḍē* 'thank'), *gyārā* 'repairing' (< *gyārā* 'repair'), *yābō* 'praise/praising' (< *yābā* 'praise'), *būshe-būshe* 'playing music' (< *būsā* 'blow').

It is important to stress that not all verb-derived nouns are dynamic, i.e., the dynamic/nondynamic distinction applies to verb-derived nouns as well as to basic nouns. Here are examples of some concrete nondynamic verb-derived nouns, which are referred to as "deverbal nouns" (see chap. 22): *gutsurē* 'fragment, piece broken off' (< *gutsurē* 'break a piece off'), *mulmulē* 'a kneaded ball' (< *mulmulā* 'knead'), *ràirayī* 'fine sand' (< *ràirayā* 'sift'), *wankī* 'the wash/laundry' (< *wankē* 'wash, launder').

As would be expected, many verb-derived nouns exist as both dynamic and nondynamic nouns, e.g., *ginī* 'a building or the activity of building' (< *ginā* 'build'); *ḍaurī* 'a knot, an arrest, or the action of tying up' (< *ḍaurē* 'tie'); *sanī* 'knowledge or knowing' (< *sanī* 'know'); *aurē* 'a marriage or marrying' (< *aurā* 'marry'); *shīgā* 'an outfit or entering' (< *shīga* 'enter'); *yābē* 'plaster or plastering' (< *yābā* 'to plaster').

ADN: According to Malami Buba (personal communication), the Sokoto dialect makes a distinction between *ginī* 'a building' and *gīnī* 'the activity of building', both from *ginā* 'build'. If this represents a general pattern—which needs to be investigated—it would be quite unusual, because Hausa (unlike some other Chadic languages) does not normally make use of word-internal vowel lengthening for derivational purposes.

## 1. NUMERALS

### 1.1. Cardinal numbers

The basic cardinal numerals (variants.):

1 *ḍaya*, 2 *biyu*,  
6 *shidā* <*shiddā*>

As contrasted with short vowel; two ex

Cardinal num

e.g., *mangwārō* (g

indicate 'one', e.g.,

The numbers fi

basic numeral from

'drinking'.) The w

11 (*gōmā*) *shā ḍa*

The numbers eight

one, respectively. T

two alternative wor

18 *āshifin bá biy*

19 *āshifin bá ḍa*

The numbers twent

20 *āshifin*, 30

60 *sittin*, 70 *sā*

OHN: Before t

W multiples of t

U 'twenty', gōm

formation wa

Another

a base, e.g.,

## 53. Numerals and Other Quantifiers

### 1. NUMERALS

#### 1.1. Cardinal numbers

The basic cardinal numbers from one to ten are as follows. (Items in < > indicate common dialect variants.):

1 *ɗaya*, 2 *biyu*, 3 *ukù* <*ukkù*>, 4 *huɗu*, 5 *biyaɗ* <*biyat*, *biyal*>, 6 *shidà* <*shiddà*>, 7 *bakwàì*, 8 *takwàs* <*takwàɗ*>, 9 *taɗà*, 10 *gōmà*

As contrasted with common nouns, note that these numerals do not end in a long vowel. Most end in a short vowel; two end in a consonant, and one ends in a diphthong /ai/, presumably derived from \*ay.

Cardinal numbers are optionally preceded by the word *gùdā* 'unit' (originally meaning 'lump'), e.g., *mangwàɗò (gùdā) biyu* 'two mangoes'. Note that *gùdā* by itself often serves in place of *ɗaya* to indicate 'one', e.g., *bifò gùdā = bifò gùdā ɗaya = bifò ɗaya* 'one ballpoint pen'.

The numbers from eleven to nineteen are made up of *gōmà* 'ten'+ the connecting particle *shá* + a basic numeral from one to nine. (Etymologically, *shá* is probably related to the verbal noun *shá* 'drinking'.) The word *gōmà* is optionally omitted, e.g.,

11 (*gōmà*) *shá ɗaya*, 12 (*gōmà*) *shá biyu*, 13 (*gōmà*) *shá ukù*, 14 (*gōmà*) *shá huɗu*, etc.

The numbers eighteen and nineteen have an alternative expression built on twenty (*àshifin*) less two and one, respectively. The 'less' phrase, which makes use of the negative existential marker *bābù* / *bá*, has two alternative word orders, with *bá* before and *bābù* after the lower numerals, e.g.,

18 *àshifin bá biyu = àshifin biyu bābù (= (gōmà) shá takwàs)*

19 *àshifin bá ɗaya = àshifin ɗaya bābù (= (gōmà) shá taɗa)*

The numbers twenty through ninety are loanwords from Arabic:

20 *àshifin*, 30 *talàtin*, 40 *àɗbà'in*, 50 *hàmsin*,

60 *sittin*, 70 *sàbà'in*, 80 *tàmànin*, 90 *càsà'in (= tis'in)*

ØHN: Before the introduction of the Arabic loanwords, twenty through ninety were expressed by multiples of ten using the form *gòmiyā* (related to the current form *gōmà* 'ten'), e.g., *gòmiyā biyu* 'twenty', *gòmiyā huɗu* 'forty', etc. At the time of Bargery (1934), over half a century ago, this formation was reported to still be used in some dialects; whether this is still so, I cannot say.

Another archaic system, now essentially defunct, used the word *hāuyā* 'score (i.e., twenty)' as a base, e.g., *hāuyā ukù dà gōmà* 'seventy' (i.e., three score and ten). (According to Bargery

(1934), from whom this information is taken, the initial syllable of *hāuyā* was falling when used alone, but high when used in multiples.)

Numbers between the decades are indicated by a decade numeral + *dā* 'and/with' + a basic numeral, e.g.,

29 *āshīrin dā taṛā*, 38 *tālātin dā takwās*, 43 *ārbā'in dā ukū*, 56 *hāmsin dā shidā*

A hundred is *dāri* (pl. *dārūruwā*), a thousand is *dubū* (pl. *dūbbai*), and a million is *miliyān* (borrowed from English) (pl. *miliyōyi*). Multiples are indicated by immediately juxtaposing a following lower number, e.g.,

200 *dāri biyu*, 500 *dāri biyaṛ*, 7,000 *dubū bakwāi*, 20,000 *dubū āshīrin*,  
600,000 *dubū dāri shidā*, 3,000,000 *miliyān ukū*

Intermediate numbers are formed using the connector *dā*, e.g.,

238 *dāri biyu dā tālātin dā takwās*  
515 *dāri biyaṛ dā (gōmā) shā biyaṛ*  
7,482 *dubū bakwāi dā dāri huḍu dā tamānin dā biyu*  
3,001,250 *miliyān ukū dā dubū ḍaya dā dāri biyu dā hāmsin*

Note the possibility of ambiguity as seen in the following example:

23,000 or 20,003 *dubū āshīrin dā ukū* (= *dubū āshīrin dā gūdā ukū* in the second meaning only)

Apart from *dubū*, there are two other words for 'thousand': *zambār*, an equivalent, but less common equivalent of *dubū* used only in multiples, and *alif* (borrowed from Arabic), the normal substitute for *dubū* in calendar dates. Examples:

7,400 *zambār bakwāi dā dāri huḍu* = *dubū bakwāi dā dāri huḍu*  
20,000 *zambār āshīrin* = *dubū āshīrin*  
1960 (the year) *(shèkarāf) alif dā dāri taṛā dā sittin*

In addition to the multiples of a hundred and a thousand formed according to the above patterns, there are equivalent lexical items borrowed from Arabic (esp. found in written sources). These "esoteric/prestige" forms are also used in the spoken language with greater or lesser frequency depending on the background and degree of Islamic education of the speaker and on the individual item. Examples:

100 (in combinations only) *minyā* (= *miyyā*), 200 *mètan*, 400 *ārbāminiyā*,  
500 *hāmsā(a)miniyā*  
2,000 *ālfyan*, 3,000 *tālātā*, 4,000 *ārbā*, 5,000 *hamsā*, 6,000 *sittā*, 7,000 *saba'ā*,  
8,000 *tāmāniyā*

When forming combinations with these numerals, one tends to use *alif* (instead of *dubū*) for 1,000 and the connective *wā* 'and' instead of *dā*.

1,100 *alif wā miniyā*, 1,200 *alif wā mètān*, 1,400 *alif wā ārbāminiyā*  
but 1,300 *alif dā dāri ukū*, 2,500 *ālfyan dā dāri biyaṛ*, 6,600 *sittā dā dāri shidā*

The numbers 1,800  
manner using *gai*

1,800 *alif dā c*  
1,900 *alif dā c*

Numbers less than  
*ushīfī* 'a tenth', h  
half', e.g., *rabin*

Other fraction  
'three-fourths (lit  
(lit. 100 over 100  
Percentages  
100), *sittin dā bi*

1.2. *Enumerat*  
Attributive numera  
'unit', especially

*kujērā gūdā ḍa*  
*biyu* those two  
Musa unit five);

With nouns refer  
degree of definit

*dālibai sū biyaṛ*

1.3. *Distribut*  
Repetition of nu

*biyaṛ biyaṛ* fiv  
cf. *zā sū bā kū* f  
*nawā nawā?* h  
e.g., *bāḡō nawā*  
*gōmā gōmā* ter  
*nairā nairā* a r  
e.g., *kuḍ'in wan*

The repeated for  
a little bit', e.g.,

When they unde  
reduced forms,

*dāi dāi* = *dāi*  
*bibbiyu* (<*bibbiy*  
*huḥḥuḍu* = *hu*

With phrasal numbers, only the last element is repeated, e.g.,

*tàlâtìn dà biyaḥ biyaḥ* 35 each (< *tàlâtìn dà biyaḥ* 35); *dubū dà ɗàrì ukù ukù* 1,300 each

#### 1.4. Nouns with numerals (and other quantifiers)

With many nouns, it is normal to use the singular form with numerals and other quantifiers even when the noun has a corresponding plural form, e.g.,

[*kàtífà*]<sub>sg</sub> *huɗu* four mattresses (cf. pl. *kàtífù*); [*bám*]<sub>sg</sub> *ɗàrì* 100 bombs (cf. pl. *bàmàbàmai*); [*kifì*]<sub>sg</sub> *mètan* 200 fish (cf. pl. *kifàyē*); [*nairà*]<sub>sg</sub> *dubū* 1,000 nairas (cf. pl. *nairōfì*); [*hùlā*]<sub>sg</sub> *nawà?* how many caps? (cf. pl. *hùlunà*); [*kadà*]<sub>sg</sub> *dà yawà* many crocodiles (cf. pl. *kadàndani*)

°AN: Jaggar (personal communication) points out that the use of the individuating unit term *gùdā* normally requires that the head noun be plural, e.g., [*akāwunà*]<sub>pl</sub> *gùdā huɗu* 'four clerks' = [*àkàwu*]<sub>sg</sub> *huɗu*, but *not* ??*àkàwu gùdā huɗu*. An interesting question is whether this restriction applies to nouns that do not have overt morphological plurals. As indicated below in §1.7, *gùdā* is allowed with singular nouns functioning as unit measure terms.

Common words with phonologically simple plural forms, on the other hand, tend to use the plural with numerals, as do compounds built with *ɗan-* / *yaḥ-* / *'yan-* (m./f./pl.) 'psn of' and certain derived nouns (such as agentives), e.g.,

[*mātā*]<sub>pl</sub> *gōmā* 10 women (cf. sg. *màcè*); [*àbòkai*]<sub>pl</sub> (*gùdā*) *ukù* 3 friends (cf. sg. *àbòkì*); [*birai*]<sub>pl</sub> *kàɗan* a few moneys (cf. sg. *birì*); [*'yan-sàndā*]<sub>pl</sub> *hàmsin* 50 policemen (cf. sg. *ɗan-sàndā*); [*masàná*]<sub>pl</sub> *bakwài* 7 scholars (cf. sg. *masàní*)

◊ HN: My impression is that modern SH speakers use plural nouns with numerals more than was apparently the case half a century ago when such scholars as Abraham were describing the language. This may be a natural drift or it may be due to the influence of English.

#### 1.5. Numerals with pronouns

Plural personal pronouns can occur with numerals, e.g., *mū ukù* 'we 3, the 3 of us'. Singular pronouns occur with *kaɗai* 'only, alone', e.g., *kai kaɗai* 'you only', but not normally with *ɗaya* itself. In such examples as *mū ukù* 'we 3', it is not clear whether the numeral is functioning as a modifier of the pronoun or whether the numeral is functioning in a pronominal manner preceded by a personal pronoun specifier. Examples:

<i>kū bakwài ɗin nàn, bà zā à kàrbē kù ba</i>	You these seven, they're not going to take you.
<i>mū shidà mukà ci jaḥḥàbawā</i>	It was we six who passed the exam.
<i>tā gayà musù sū huɗu</i>	She told the four of them. (lit. she told them they four)

#### 1.6. Word order with attributive quantifiers

The basic word order with quantifiers (apart from *duk* 'all') is noun (with associated definite article or demonstrative) + quantifier, e.g.,

*nairà dubū* 1,000 nairas; *'yan-makaḥantā tàlâtìn* 30 students; *sōjàn gwamnatì mètan dà hàmsin* 250 government soldiers; *mutàné nawà?* how many people?; *bērā* (= *bēràyē*) *dà yawàn gàske*

... lot of rats; ...  
... *gùdā biyaḥ* =

... numeral *ɗaya* ...  
... other', e.g.,

... *yāròn* the ot

... With normal postno

... *tansà (gùdā) huɗu*

... *áran sarki (gùdā)*

... One can reverse the e

... independent possessi

... *mātā huɗu nāsà*

... *yārā gōmā na sarki*

... With pronominal adj

... *mahàukàtan kaḥnu*

... *jàjàyen motòci biya*

... *kyawàwan 'yammā*

... With postnominal ad

... *kaḥnukà huɗu mah*

... *motòci biyaḥ jàjàyē*

... *'yammātā ukù mās*

... Similarly, numerals

... *motòci ukùn dà mu*

... *awàkì biyaḥ ɗin nà*

... *mutàné takwàs dà*

#### 1.7. Unit measur

Non-count nouns li

modified directly by

like *bùhù* 'sack', da

One structure is noun

four). Here are some

*bùhù* : *dāv*

*damì* : *gēr*

*dùfò* : *kàn*

*gwangwanì* : *far*

a real lot of rats; **awākīn gùdā gōmā shā biyu** the 12 goats (cf. **awākī shā biyu** 12 goats); **kūkōkin nān gùdā biyař** = **wad'annān kūkōki (gùdā) biyař** these five baobab trees

The numeral **d'aya** 'one' can occur before the head noun (plus definite article), in which case it indicates 'the other', e.g.,

**d'aya yārōn** the other boy, cf. **yārō d'aya** one boy; **d'aya yārinyāř** the other girl

With normal postnominal possessives, the basic order is N + possessor + quantifier, e.g.,

**mātansā (gùdā) huđu** his four wives (lit. wives.his (unit) four)  
**yāran sarki (gùdā) gōmā** the chief's ten followers (lit. children.of chief (unit) ten)

One can reverse the order and have the numeral before the possessive, in which case one has to use an independent possessive. This is less common and more highly marked than the order shown above, e.g.,

**mātā huđu nāsā** his four wives (lit. wives four his)  
**yārā gōmā na sarki** the chief's ten followers (lit. children ten of chief)

With prenominal adjectives, the word order is adj N + num, e.g.,

**mahāukātan kařnukā huđu** four mad dogs (lit. mad dogs four)  
**jājāyen motōci biyař** five red cars  
**kyāwāwan 'yammātā gùdā ukù** three attractive girls

With postnominal adjectives (or adjectival phrases), the order is N + num followed by the adjective, e.g.,

**kařnukā huđu mahāukātā** four mad dogs (lit. dogs four mad)  
**mōtōci biyař jājāyē** five red cars  
**'yammātā ukù māsū kyān ganl** three good-looking girls

Similarly, numerals precede relative clauses, which are postnominal, e.g.,

**mōtōci ukùn dà mukè sō** the three cars that we want  
**awākī biyař d'in nān dà wānē ya bā mù** these five goats that so-and-so gave us  
**mutānē takwās dà sukā rasā rāyukānsù** eight men who lost their lives

### 1.7. Unit measures with non-count nouns

Non-count nouns like water, grain, sand, etc., denote an undifferentiated mass and thus cannot be modified directly by a numeral. To express quantity one must use a "unit measure" noun, in the singular, like **būhū** 'sack', **damì** 'bundle', **kwalabā** 'bottle', **tāfi** 'handful'. There are two alternative formations. One structure is noun + unit measure + numeral, e.g. **māi galān huđu** 'four gallons of oil' (lit. oil gallon four). Here are some selected examples of unit measure nouns in this structure:

**būhū** : **dāwā būhū gōmā** ten sacks of guinea-corn (lit. guinea-corn sack ten )  
**damì** : **gērō damì biyař** five bundles of millet  
**dūrō** : **kānānzīř dūrō gōmā** ten drums of kerosene  
**gwāngwanl** : **farāř-kaśā gwāngwanl biyu** two cans of whitewash



kái :	itacé kái huđu	four bundles of firewood (lit. wood head four)
kwalabá :	mán-já kwalabá shidà	six bottles of palm oil
lūdàyi :	furá lūdàyi biyu	two scoops (ladlefuls) of fura
mõtá :	itacé mõtá biyař	five truckfuls of firewood
müdù :	masāřā müdù tařà	nine measuring bowls of sweet corn
turmī :	shaddā turmī ukù	three rolls of brocade cloth

In some cases the association between the non-count noun and the unit measure noun has become so fixed that the former can be deleted, e.g.

fallē :	takāřdā fallē đaya =	fallē đaya	a single sheet of paper
jařkà :	fētūr jařkà huđu =	jařkà huđu	four jerry-cans of gasoline
tifā :	yāřhi tifā takwās =	tifā takwās	eight dump truck loads of sand

A few older unit measure terms have acquired a specialized meaning, e.g. *kwaryā* 'calabash' = 100 kolanuts (e.g. *gōřd kwaryā biyu* '200 kolanuts'); *jàkà* 'bag' = 100 pounds in the old Nigerian currency.

Another means of expressing quantities with noncount nouns is to connect the measure term plus the noncount noun in a linking construction followed by the numeral, e.g.,

*bùhun dāwà gōmà* ten sacks of guinea-corn (lit. sack.of guinea-corn ten) = *dāwà bùhù gōmà* (lit. guinea-corn sack ten); *kán itacé gūdā huđu* four bundles of firewood; *fallen takāřdā đaya* one sheet of paper; *gwanwanī na farāř-Rasā biyu* two cans of whitewash; *kwalabař mán-jā gūdā shidà* six bottles of palm-oil; *müdùn masāřā tařà* nine measuring bowls of sweet corn

With this structure, the phrases are often ambiguous. For example, in addition to meaning 'six bottles of palm-oil', *kwalabař mán-jā gūdā shidà* could also mean 'six palm-oil bottles'. Similarly, *tifāř yāřhi takwās* can mean either 'eight dump-truck-loads of sand' or 'eight sand trucks'.

An additional means of expressing quantities with non-count nouns is by a structure of the form unit-measure + numeral + linker + noncount N. In this case, the unit-measure noun may be in the plural, which indicates that what is being quantified is the container and not the content, e.g.,

<i>bùhù tálàtīn na šhīnkāřā</i>	thirty sacks of rice (lit. sack 30 of rice)
<i>galàn shidà na mán gyàđā</i>	six gallons of peanut oil
<i>jařkà huđu (= jařkani huđu) na fētūr</i>	four jerry-cans of gasoline
<i>lūdàyi biyu (= lūdàyà biyu) na furā</i>	two ladlefuls of <i>fura</i>

### 1.8. Numerals as equational predicates

In addition to their common use as noun modifiers in an NP, numerals also function as predicates in equational sentences (normally with the stabilizer omitted), e.g. [mātansà] [huđu] 'His wives (are) four' (i.e. he has four wives). (The same surface form could mean 'his four wives' in a sentence like [mātansà huđu] sun yi yāřī 'His four wives have gone off in a huff.') The equational construction with numerals is especially common with the word *đaya* 'one' (usually with a stabilizer), characterized by an extended meaning, e.g.,

[sōjōjinmù] [gūdā hāmsin]	Our soldiers are fifty. (i.e., we have fifty soldiers)
duk đaya nē	It's all the same. (lit. all one STAB)
kānsù đaya nē gā yīnsà	They are unanimous that it should be done.
(lit. themselves one STAB at doing.of.it)	

### Coodination

(or more) NPs

shā biyu dà

shidà dà bīřd

ge dà kafnukà

ge biyař dà was

nen awāki ukù

joined nouns ca

ns, e.g.,

awāki dà tumāki]

arwarō dà zōbbē]

asà dà takubbà]

amāřrai dà yáran

get a reading of t

morphologically in

article. The following

asāřāřē dà [dawāki

arwarō dà [zōbbā

awāki dà [tumākin

awākin dà tumāki g

When the appropriat

e.g.,

yan-kunne dà đan-

(a) four earrings and

(b) an earring and 4

talunà dà tukwānē

(a) six water pots and

(b) (some) water pot

The ambiguity can b

nouns disagree in pl

đan-kunne dà kum

tùlù dà tukwānē sh

If the intention is to

repeated numeral mu

awāki dà tumāki g

'yan-kunne dà 'yan

1.9. Coordination and numerals

Two (or more) NPs containing a numeral can be conjoined, e.g.,

àyàbà shá biyu dà mangwārò huđu	twelve bananas and four mangoes
littáfi shidà dà bířò shidà	six books and six ballpoint pens
màge dà kařnukà biyař	a cat and five dogs
màge biyař dà wasu kařnukà	five cats and some dogs
jājāyen awāki ukù dà bařāřen jākunà	three red goats and (some) black donkeys

Conjoined nouns can be modified by a single numeral, thereby indicating the total number of the two nouns, e.g.,

[awāki dà tumāki] gōmà	ten goats and sheep
[warwarò dà zòbè] àshīřin	twenty bracelets and rings
[māsū dà takubbà] hāmsin dà biyu	fifty-two spears and swords
[almājīřai dà yāran makařantā] d'āri	hundred pupils and students

To get a reading of the number in toto, the two nouns have to be semantically related, they have to match morphologically in terms of singularity/plurality, and neither can contain a determiner or definite article. The following conjoined nouns thus do not qualify for a combined number reading, e.g.,

wukārē dà [dawāki takwàs]	knives and eight horses (not ** eight knives and horses)
warwarò dà [zòbbā àshīřin]	a bracelet (or some bracelets) and twenty rings
awāki dà [tumākin gōmà]	goats and the ten sheep
awākin dà tumāki gōmà	the goats and ten sheep

When the appropriate conditions are met for a total sum reading, a surface sentence may be ambiguous, e.g.,

đan-kunne dà đan-wuyà huđu	
(a) four earrings and necklaces, i.e., [đan-kunne dà đan-wuyà huđu	
(b) an earring and 4 necklaces, i.e., đan-kunne dà [đan-wuyà huđu]	
tūlunà dà tukwānē shidà	
(a) six water pots and cooking pots, i.e., [tūlunà dà tukwānē] shidà	
(b) (some) water pots and six cooking pots, i.e., tūlunà dà tukwānē shidà	

The ambiguity can be avoided by inserting **kuma** 'also' before the second conjunct or by having the two nouns disagree in plurality, e.g.,

đan-kunne dà kuma đan-wuyà huđu	an earring and also four necklaces
tūlū dà tukwānē shidà	a water pot and six cooking pots

If the intention is to have the number refer individually to the two nouns, the distributive form with the repeated numeral must be used, e.g.,

awāki dà tumāki gōmà gōmà	ten goats and ten sheep
'yan-kunne dà 'yan-wuyà huđu	four earrings and four necklaces

With nouns that semantically occur together as a paired set, the numeral is understood to specify the number of pairs rather than the number of individual objects, e.g.,

<b>turmi dà tabaryā takwàs</b>	eight mortar and pestle sets (not **a mortar and eight pestles)
<b>shakwarā dà jamfā gùdā shidà</b>	six gown and jumper sets
<b>kwàri dà bàkà tàlâtin</b>	thirty bow and arrow sets

If the numeral occurs after the first conjunct, then normally only one reading is possible, e.g., **awāki ukù dà tumākī** 'three goats and (some) sheep'. In very clear contexts, however, an elliptical reading is possible, i.e., 'three goats and (three) sheep' where the assumed underlying **ukù** after **tumākī** 'sheep' has been deleted. This ellipsis is more normal in disjoined clauses with **kō** 'or', e.g.,

**yā cé zāi bá nì faifai biyāf kō kāsèt** (< **yā cé zāi bá nì faifai biyāf kō kāsèt biyāf**)  
He said he would give me five records or (five) cassettes

### 1.10. Ordinals

Ordinal numbers are indicated by means of the short-vowel linker (na or ta depending on the gender and number of the preceding (or understood) noun) plus a cardinal number, e.g.,

**dōkì na biyāf** the fifth horse; **na gōmà** the tenth (e.g., a bank, which is m.); **mōtā ta ukù** the third car; **ta shidà** the sixth (e.g., an owl, which is f.)

'First' can be expressed either as **nā ta d'aya** (lit. 'of one') or more commonly as **na / ta farkō** (= **na / ta fārī**) (lit. of beginning from **fārā** 'begin'). 'Last' is expressed as **na / ta kārshē** (< **kārāsā** 'end, finish'). 'Middle' is **na / ta tsakiyā**. Examples:

**shirinmù na farkō** our first (radio or TV) program; **d'ālibai na fārī** the first students; **laccà ta kārshē** the last lecture; **yārin'yā ta tsakiyā** the middle girl

°AN: The nouns **farkō** 'beginning' and **kārshē** 'end' are not limited to use as ordinal modifiers, e.g., **farkon wāsā** 'the beginning of the game', **farkontā** 'its beginning', **dà farkon zuwānsā** 'when he first arrived' (lit. with beginning.of coming.of.him); **kārshen watā** 'the end of the month', **dàgà kārshē** 'in the end'. When serving as modifiers, these words are sometimes connected to the preceding noun by a zero-vowel bound linker rather than **na / ta**, e.g., **karōn farkō** 'the first incident', **kōkarin kārshē** 'the last attempt' (cf. **kōkarinmù na kārshē** 'our last attempt').

With dates, one normally uses the zero-vowel linker instead of the short vowel form, e.g.,

**rānāf gōmà gā watān Mārīs** March 10th (lit. day.of ten at month.of March) (= **rānā ta gōmà...**)  
**shèkarār alif dà d'ārī ta fā** 1900 (lit. year.of thousand and hundred nine)

Hausa uses ordinal numbers in some constructions where English might use a cardinal, e.g.,

**shāfī na tàlâtin** page 30 (lit. thirtieth page); **bābī na farkō** volume 1 (i.e., first volume); **d'ākī na hāmsin dà biyu** room 52 (lit. fifty-second room)

The examples above could also have an ordinal reading, e.g., 'the 52nd room', but this would not be the normal interpretation.

### 1.11. Times/mu

The notion of time followed by a num

**sàu d'aya** once; **sàu dà yawà** mar

°HN: The w grammaticaliz and by its ph clipped shape notes the con

An alternative, but construction (see

**tā zāgē shi zāgì u jirgin samà yā tā**

To express 'the se ordinal constructio

**sau** (= **sāwū**) na b

### 1.12. Modifying

Numerals can be r ideophone, e.g.,

**lēmō d'aya tak al awā biyu cūf yānzū (gōmà) shi**

Second, the nume **wajen = kāmāf** 'more than', e.g.,

**yānā nan wajeñl sōjōji kusan d'ār an kashē mutāñ sun kāmā bārāy**

### 1.13. Numerals

When numerals f feminine, e.g.,

**hāmsin cè gōmā tā fi takwī d'aya bà tā kai b**

### 1.11. Times/multiples

The notion of times, as in 'once', 'twice', 'three times', etc. is expressed by **sàu** 'time(s)' immediately followed by a numeral or other quantifier, e.g.,

**sàu d'aya** once; **sàu huđu** four times; **sàu dubū** a thousand times; **sàu nawà?** how many times?  
**sàu dà yawà** many times

ØHN: The word **sàu** is etymologically the same as the word **sau/sāwū** 'foot(print)'. The grammaticalization process is indicated by the semantic and functional properties of **sàu** 'times' and by its phonological distinctiveness vis-à-vis its source noun, namely, its low tone and its clipped shape, i.e., it is always **sàu** and never **\*\*sāwū** (but see below). (Skinner (1996: 230–31) notes the connection between 'foot' and 'times' in other Chadic languages as well.)

An alternative, but less common, way of expressing 'times' is by means of a cognate accusative construction (see §13:1.2), e.g.,

**tā zāgē shì zāgì ukù** She insulted him three times. (lit. she insulted him insulting three)  
**jirgin samà yā tāshì tāshì shidà** The plane took off six times. (lit. ...arose rising six)

To express 'the second time, fourth time, etc.', as opposed to 'twice, four times, etc.', one uses a normal ordinal construction with the H-tone nominal form **sau/sāwū**, e.g.,

**sau (= sāwū) na biyu** second time; **sau (= sāwū) na huđu** fourth time

### 1.12. Modifying/emphasizing numerals

Numerals can be modified in two ways. First, the quantity term can be specified by a following adverb or ideophone, e.g.,

**lēmō d'aya tak akà bā ni** They gave me precisely one orange.  
**awà biyu cūf** exactly two hours  
**yānzū (gōmà) shā biyu daidai** It is now exactly twelve o'clock.

Second, the numeral or the NP containing the numeral can be preceded by a prepositional qualifier, like **wajen = kāmāf** 'about, approximately', **kusan** 'close to, almost', **hař** 'as much as, to the extent of', 'more than', e.g.,

**yānā nan wajeñkāmāf mīl gōmà dàgà gārinmū** It's there about ten miles from our town.  
**sōjōji kusan d'ari sukà bullō** Nearly a hundred soldiers appeared.  
**an kashè mutānē hař gūdā tātātin** They killed up to thirty people.  
**sun kāmā bārāyi fiye dà hāmsin** They caught more than fifty thieves.

### 1.13. Numerals as nouns

When numerals function as nouns naming a particular number, they have intrinsic gender and are all feminine, e.g.,

**hāmsin cè** It's fifty.  
**gōmà tā fi takwàs** Ten is more than eight.  
**d'aya bā tà kai biyu ba** One is not as much as two.



When modifying a numeral, DUK always goes in front, e.g.,

**duk(à) gōmà** all ten; **duk(à) biyu** both (lit. all two); **duk biyunsù** both of them

The phrase **duk ɗaya** ('all one') means 'all the same', e.g., **duk ɗaya gārē ni** 'It's all the same to me.'

With a noun modified by a relative clause, DUK in post-head position occurs at the end of the noun phrase, e.g.,

**mutànèn dà na sanì dukà** all the people I know (= **duk mutànèn dà na sanì**)  
**wuràrèn dà zā mù tàfi dukà** all the places that we will go to (= **duk wuràrèn dà zā mù tàfi**)

When a relative clause modifies a noun used in a generic sense (which in Hausa takes a singular rather than a plural form), DUK goes in pre-head position. (Semantically these sentences are very similar to sentences using the universals **kōwàné / kōwàcè** (m./f.) 'every'.) The pre-head **duk** is also commonly used in such phrases as **duk àbìn dà** 'everything that (= whatever)' (lit. all thing.the that), **duk lōkàcìn dà** 'whenever' (lit. all time.the that), **duk wani X** 'whatever' (lit. all some X). Examples:

<b>zā sù kwàcè duk mōtār dà akà shigō dà ita</b>	They will confiscate all cars that are imported.
cf. <b>zā sù kwàcè kōwàcè mōtār dà akà shigō dà ita</b>	They will confiscate every car that is imported.
<b>dilā yā ga duk àbìn dà hānkākā ya yi</b>	Jackal watched everything that Crow did.
<b>duk lōkàcìn dà kūrā ta kāwō àbinci...</b>	Whenever the hyena brought food...
<b>duk wani aikì (dà) mùtùm ya yi...</b>	Whatever work a man does...

### 2.2. Pronoun

In addition to modifying an NP, DUK can stand on its own as a pronominal element.

<b>dukà sun mutù</b>	All (of them) died.
<b>duk zā sù shìga jirgì</b>	All (e.g., the pilgrims) are going to enter the plane.
<b>duk kun ci jařřàbàwāř</b>	All (of you) passed the exam.
<b>yā sayāř dà dukà</b>	He sold all (of them).

The phrase **duk dà hakà** lit. 'all with thus' means 'nevertheless' or 'all the same', e.g.,

**duk dà hakà nā fi sòn wannàn** All the same, I prefer this one.  
**sun yi iyā řōřarinsù, àmmā duk dà hakà bà sù ci ba**  
 They did their best but nevertheless they failed.

As is the case with numerals, DUK can co-occur with plural personal pronouns, e.g.,

**mū dukà mun yāřda** We all agree; **kū dukà sai kù yi hàřuri** You all should be patient; **zān hàřbē sù (sū) dukà** I will shoot them all.

When used in a genitive phrase of the type 'all of Y', DUK is most often represented by **dukkà** (with geminate **kk**) plus the linker **-n**. With pronouns, a possible, but less common, alternative is **duk** plus **ɗin** plus the pronoun, e.g.,

**dukkàn birai** all of the monkeys; **dukkànsù = duk ɗinsù** all of them

°AN: [i] The standard grammars and dictionaries all give **dukàn** as an equivalent (and often a first) alternative to **dukkàn** with the geminate /kk/. Modern-day SH speakers tend to reject **dukàn**. It is not clear whether the early sources were in error in ascribing a preference for **dukàn**, whether that form reflects dialectal or sociolectal usage, or whether the language has undergone change over time.

[ii] In many cases there is very little semantic difference between an NP consisting of the determiner 'all' plus a noun and an 'all' (pronoun)-of-noun phrase, e.g., **yā kashè duk birai** 'He killed all the monkeys' = **yā kashè dukkàn birai** 'He killed all of the monkeys'. (For me, the difference in English is equally unclear.)

An alternative to using DUK is to use the full nominal form **dukkànin** 'the totality of', a form that is semantically more emphatic/specific, e.g.,

**dukkànin fāsinjōji** all of the passengers; **dukkàninmù** all of us

°AN: Instead of viewing **dukkàn** as an emphatic, geminated form of the quantifier **dukàn**, as done, for example, by Abraham (1962: 230), it might be more appropriate to analyze it as a clipped form of the noun **dukkànin**.

These phrases are comparable to similar X of Y (pl.) structures with other quantity nouns, e.g.,

<b>d'aukacin mōtōcīn</b>	the entirety of the cars	<b>ilāhīfin jāma'ā</b>	all (the whole) of the people
<b>gālibin mutānē</b>	the greater number of the men	<b>akasāfin sōjōji</b>	the majority of the soldiers
<b>yawancinsù</b>	most of them	<b>rabin 'yan jāfīdū</b>	half of the reporters

### 2.3. Adverbial

The allomorph **duk** (with its variants **dū** and **duG**) functions in verbal sentences as an adverb indicating 'entirely, completely'. It normally appears after the subject but before the PAC (person-aspect-complex); but it can also be used at the beginning of the sentence, e.g.,

<b>duk yā lālācē</b>	It spoiled entirely.
cf. <b>duk sun lālācē</b>	They all spoiled. = They spoiled entirely.
<b>duk bān dāmu ba</b>	I'm not bothered at all.
<b>duk nā gāji</b> (= <b>dū nā gāji</b> = <b>dun nā gāji</b> )	I'm tired out completely. = <b>nā gāji duk</b>
<b>dukkàninmù duk mun gāji</b>	All of us are tired completely.
<b>wurīn duk yā harmūtsē</b>	The place became completely muddled.
(lit. the place completely it became muddled)	
<b>bēran dāji, duk tsòrō yā kāmā shi</b>	As for the field mouse, he became entirely frightened.
(lit. ...entirely fear it caught him)	
<b>nā ga Audù, kāsà duk yā yi furfurā</b>	I saw Audu with his hair turned completely gray.
(lit. ...his head completely it did gray), cf. the following with the determiner 'all':	
<b>nā ga Audù, duk kāsà yā yi furfurā</b>	I saw Audu with his hair all gray
(lit. ...all his head it did gray)	

### 3. OTHER QUANTIFIERS

Whereas numerals are restricted to count nouns, other quantifiers and quantifier phrases can be used both with count nouns and with noncount nouns, e.g., **yawà** means 'many' or 'much', e.g., **mutānē dà yawà**

many people', **gishin**  
adverbial and nominal  
aw, a trivial amount  
examples:

**ni kadai** you only;  
**mōtōcī nawà?** how many

nominal quantifiers,  
'much', modify nouns  
**mafi** 'exceeding'. Ex.

**mutānē dà dāmā** a  
**yawà** many times; **n**  
number of soldiers

Both **dāmā** and **yawà**  
truth', e.g., **kuɗi dà**  
moderate/adequate and  
a lot' (lit. a superabundant  
As with numerals, other

**yanā nēman** [dà yawà  
[mafi yawà] mutānē  
[dà yawà] dàgà cikiri  
Many of the  
['yan kàd'an] (dàgà  
A few among

'many people', **gishiri dà yawà** 'a lot of salt'. Syntactically the quantifiers fall into two main groups: adverbial and nominal. Adverbial quantifiers, e.g., **kaɗai** 'only'; **kaɗan** 'few, a little amount', **kaɗilàn** 'few, a trivial amount', **nawà (nawà)?** 'how many, how much (each)', directly follow the head noun. Examples:

**kai kaɗai** you only; **màgàni kaɗan** a little bit of medicine; **d'álìbai kaɗilàn** just a few students; **mòtóci nawà?** how many cars? **kudì nawà nawà?** how much money each?

Nominal quantifiers, e.g., **dāmā** 'quite a lot, many', **dāma dāma** 'a moderate amount'; **yawà** 'many, much', modify nouns by means of phrases formed with **dà** 'with' or **mài** (sg.) / **màsu** (pl.) 'having', or **mafi** 'exceeding'. Examples:

**mutànē dà dāmā** a lot of people; **ruwan samà dà dāma dāma** a moderate amount of rain; **sàu dà yawà** many times; **mātā dà yawà = mātā màsu yawà** many women; **sòjòji mafi yawà** the largest number of soldiers

Both **dāmā** and **yawà** can be strengthened by means of a phrase consisting of a bound linker + **gàske** 'in truth', e.g., **kudì dà yawàn gàske** 'a truly large amount of money'; **kudì dà dāman gàske** 'a truly moderate/adequate amount of money'. One can also use **yawà** in the phrase **màsu d'imbin yawà** 'a hell of a lot' (lit. a superabundance of quantity), e.g., **mutànē màsu d'imbin yawà** 'oodles of people'.

As with numerals, other quantifiers can be used pronominally, e.g.,

<b>yanà nēman [dà yawà]</b>	He is seeking lots.
<b>[mafi yawàn] mutànē sunà gōyon bāyansà</b>	Most of the people are supporting him.
<b>[dà yawà] dàgà cikin d'álìbai mātā sun ci jaɗɗàbāwā</b>	
	Many of the female students passed the exam.
<b>[yan kaɗ'an] (dàgà cikinsù) sun zaunà haɗ tsakaɗ darē</b>	
	A few among them remained until midnight.



## 54. Phonology

### 1. PHONOLOGICAL INVENTORY

#### 1.1. Consonants

The thirty-two consonant phonemes of Standard Hausa (SH) are presented in table 6, with illustrative examples in table 7. The consonants are indicated in standard orthography, with a few exceptions to be mentioned below.

Table 6: Hausa consonants

		lab.	cor.	pal.	vel.	lab-vel.	pal-vel.	laryn.
obst	vl	(f, fy)	t	c	k	kw	ky	
	vd	b	d	j	g	gw	gy	
	gl	ɓ	ɗ	'y	ƙ	ƙw	ƙy	'
	vl	f, fy	s	sh				h
	vd		z	(j)				
	gl		ts					
son		m	n					
			l					
			r					
			ř					
				y		w		

Table 7: Examples of consonants

' : 'àbù	thing	b: bàkɪ	mouth
ɓ: ɓērā	rat	c: cāca	gambling
d: daɸ	poison	ɗ: ɗākɪ	room
f: farɪ	white	fy: fyàɗē	rape
g: gādā	duiker	gw: gwānɪ	expert
gy: gyālè	shawl	h: haɓà	chin
j: jā	red	k: kadā	crocodile
kw: kwàɗō	frog	ky: kyaurō	arrow shaft
ƙ: ƙafā	foot	ƙw: ƙwai	egg
ƙy: ƙyāllɪ	shininess	l: lākā	mud

ma: máí  
r: rāná  
s: samà  
t: tágà  
w: watà  
'y: 'yā'yā

The letters c and j respectively. The dig

ΔDN/°AN: In N the original developed into pronunciation v remarkable coin what is now N influence in the approximates th phonetic differer imply.

Hausa has no contrast norm), [f], [p], or [h] represents an approxi city, which normally commonly pronounce [pɛpɛ] 'phonograph r is considerable idioh phoneme /f/ is often j 'cook'; WH fud'u = S

°AN: For reasons /k/, i.e., treat it grounds, howeve ΔDN: The prefer extends througho /f/ is generally pr 'fall' (= SH fādɪ pronounced as a phonological/ortl

The glottalized series laryngealized, someti generally pronounced semivowel, which is historically very rece WH d'iyā 'daughter'.

<b>m:</b> máí	oil	<b>n:</b> nàsò	dampness
<b>r:</b> rānā	sun, day	<b>ř:</b> řahà	chatting
<b>s:</b> samà	sky	<b>sh:</b> shānū	cattle
<b>t:</b> tāgā	window	<b>ts:</b> tsakā	gecko
<b>w:</b> watà	moon, month	<b>y:</b> yàbò	praise
<b>'y:</b> 'yā'yā	children	<b>z:</b> zāfi	heat

The letters **c** and **j** represent the affricates [tʃ] (as in Eng. 'church') and [dʒ] (as in Eng. 'judge') respectively. The digraph **sh** represents the palatal fricative [ʃ] (as in Eng. 'shush').

ΔDN/°AN: In Niger, the phoneme /j/ is pronounced [ʒ] as in French 'Jacques' [ʒak]. This is probably the original pronunciation of this phoneme, i.e., historically it was a fricative and only later developed into an affricate in some dialects. Apparently the correlation of the [dʒ] vs. [ʒ] pronunciation with the distinction between anglophone Nigeria and francophone Niger is a very remarkable coincidence but nothing more. (Nineteenth-century descriptions of Hausa speakers from what is now Niger indicated the [ʒ] pronunciation at a time that predated French presence and influence in the area.) It should be pointed out that although the SH pronunciation of /j/ approximates the corresponding English phoneme, the stop component is much weaker, i.e., the phonetic difference between /j/ in the two dialects is much less than our discrete transcriptions imply.

Hausa has no contrast between /f/ and /p/. The phoneme indicated as /f/ is pronounced variably as [ɸ] (the norm), [f], [p], or [h], depending on dialect/idiolect and phonological environment. The orthographic /f/ represents an approximation of the usual SH fricative pronunciation. In this regard, the speech of Kano city, which normally is taken to be SH, is not typical. In Kano, /f/ before unrounded vowels is commonly pronounced as [p], e.g., /fita/ [pìta] 'go out', /fāwà/ [pāwà] 'butchery', /faifai/ [peipei] or [pēpē] 'phonograph record', /lōfè/ [lōpè] 'smoking pipe', /lafà/ [lapà] 'die down (e.g., of fire)'; but there is considerable idiolectal and lexical variation. Before the back-rounded vowels u(u) and o(o), the phoneme /f/ is often pronounced (and, if so, written) as [h], e.g., dāfuwā = dāhuwā 'cooking', cf. dafā 'cook'; WH fud'u = SH hu'du 'four'; tahō 'come this way', cf. tāfi 'go'.

°AN: For reasons of pattern symmetry, I personally would prefer to place /f/ in the row with /t/ and /k/, i.e., treat it structurally as the voiceless counterpart of the bilabial stop /b/. On phonetic grounds, however, it is customary to include it along with the other fricatives.

ΔDN: The preference for [p] is certainly a Kano City phenomenon (Salim 1980). How widely this extends throughout Kano State and beyond is yet to be determined. In WH dialects spoken in Niger, /f/ is generally pronounced (and written) as **hw** before /a(a)/ and **h** before other vowels, e.g., **hwāđi** 'fall' (= SH fāđi), **tāhi** 'go' (= SH tāfi). In these **hw/h** dialects, /f/ in syllable-final position is pronounced as a voiceless bilabial stop [p], although it is spelled with **b** because **p** is not part of the phonological/orthographic system, e.g., **shibka** 'plant, sow' (= SH shūkà < \*shifkà).

The glottalized series includes both laryngealized stops and ejectives. The "hooked" letters **ḃ** and **ḋ** are laryngealized, sometimes implosive, stops and the hooked letter **Ḗ** is an ejective stop. The digraph **ts** is generally pronounced as an ejective sibilant [s']. The symbol /'y/ represents a glottalized palatal semivowel, which is limited to a few very high frequency words like 'yā'yā 'children'. It is a historically very recent phoneme, having developed from the sequence /điy/ via /đy/, cf. SH 'yā with WH điyā 'daughter'.

ole 6, with illustrative  
a few exceptions to be

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<b>ky</b>	'
	<b>h</b>

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°AN: For details on the phonetics of the glottalized consonants, see Carnochan (1952), Lindau (1984), and Lindsey, Hayward, and Haruna (1992).

ΔDN: WH (including the Katsina dialect) also has an ejective [c'] as part of its glottalized consonant series. This affricate exists as an allophone of /ts/ before front vowels, e.g., WH *dūc'* 'stone' = SH *dūtsè*, and also as a contrastive phoneme before /a(a)/, e.g., *c'āda* 'expensiveness' = SH *tsādā*, cf. WH and SH *tsayā* 'stop'.

◊HN: Synchronically, the ejective *ts* can be viewed as the glottalized member of the *s*, *z*, *ts* triad in the same way that *ʀ* is the glottalized member of the *k*, *g*, *ʀ* triad. Although we lack solid information about the history of this phoneme, my hunch is that it will not turn out to be a glottalized /s/, but rather will be found to be derived from an ejective /t/ or /c/ or from a possibly nonglottalized alveolar affricate /ts/.

The palatalized labial /fy/ is lexically infrequent and is often replaced by its plain counterpart, e.g., *fyācè* = *fācè* 'blow one's nose'. The palatalized and labialized velars, on the other hand, are quite common. Before the vowel /a(a)/, they contrast with their plain counterparts, e.g., *gādā* 'duiker', *gwādā* 'test, try!' *gyādā* 'peanuts'. Before the back-rounded vowels, the velars are all redundantly labialized; before front vowels they are redundantly palatalized. These features are not shown in standard orthography, i.e., *dōgō* 'tall' = [dōgwō], cf. the pl. *dōgwāyē*, *gēfē* 'side' = [gyēfē], cf. the pl. *gyāffā*. There are also examples of labialized velars followed by /i(i)/, e.g., *gwībā* 'sediment', *kwikwiyò* 'puppy'. Their appearance is due to the historically recent change of /u/ to /i/, especially in connection with the assimilation of /u/ to /i/ before /y/, plus the monophthongization of the \*/ui/ diphthong to /i/, i.e., *gwībā* < \**gwuibā*, *kwikwiyò* < \**kwuikwuyò*.

ΔDN: Some WH dialects also have labialized coronals and labials as part of their consonant inventory, the number and extent depending on the particular dialect. These additional labialized consonants are sometimes lexically specified, e.g., SH *tāri* = [dv] *twāri* 'cough'; and sometimes due to phonological processes, e.g., SH *mā* = [dv] *mwā* 'we (potential future)' (< *mu* + *ā*), SH *dōyi* = [dv] *dwai* (< \**dōy*) 'stench'.

In word-final position /n/ is pronounced [ŋ], e.g., *cān* 'there' = [cāŋ]. SH speakers also normally pronounce final /m/ as [ŋ], thereby resulting in a merger of the two phonemic nasals, e.g., *mālām* 'teacher' = [mālām] or [mālāŋ]. This merger does not however, extend to ideophones, where the contrast between word-final /m/ and /n/ is preserved, e.g., *yā d'aurè tam* [tam] 'He tied (it) very tight' vs. *baŋi kirin* [kirin] 'jet black'.

### 1.1.1. The two R's

The symbol *ř* is used to distinguish the apical tap or roll from the retroflex flap *r*. (Proper names are written with initial capital R without the tilde, e.g., *Rāhīlā* 'Rachel' = /*řāhīlā*/.) This distinction is *not* indicated in standard orthography. The two rhotics contrast in initial, intervocalic, and (with restrictions) syllable-final position within a word, e.g., *řahā* 'pleasant chatting', *rāni* 'dry season'; *tařā* 'nine', *tāřā* 'collect'; *māřkā* 'height of the rainy season', *sarki* 'emir'. There are very few minimal pairs, but some do exist, e.g., *bařā* 'begging', *bařā* 'servant'; *kōřè* 'dark green', *kōřè* 'drive away'; *fařkō* 'recover, revive', *farkō* 'beginning'. There is no contrast in word-final position: in that environment one gets only *ř*, e.g., *āřhāř* 'obscene language', *tēbūr* 'table'. In syllable-initial position, flap *r* is the norm, except with loanwords. In syllable-final position within a word, the flap *r* is the norm when the following abutting consonant is *ts*, e.g., *sartsè* 'splinter'. By contrast, in syllable-final position preceding the coronals *d*, *d'*, and *n*, only *ř* occurs, e.g., *kařdaji* 'a thorny mimosa', *muřdè* 'twist', *dāřni* 'cornstalk fence'. Occasionally, rules implementing the restrictions

... in morphophonem  
... *bař* pre-object form  
... syllable-final positio  
... flap and the roll.

ΔDN: In WH diale  
... word. This applies

... *falkā* 'wake up'; *z*

... however, when the  
... HN: The flap /r/

... rhotacism of alveo  
... \**řařakā*, cf. *fařk*

... e.g., *jinjirniyā* 'f

... and English, e.g.,  
... expressive pronun

... *řamas* 'emphasize

... between the two r

... the apostrophe / ' / i  
... plural'. It is not emp

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... Orthographic h is

... pseudo-allophone of /r/

◊HN: Glottal stop

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1.1.2. Glides/semiv

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fig. 4. (Long vowels

result in morphophonemic alternations between the two rhotics, e.g., *barì* 'leave, let' (citation form), but *bař* pre-object form; *jinjiri* 'infant', but *jinjirniyā* 'female infant'; *kārē* 'dog', but *kařnukā* 'dogs'. In syllable-final position, many speakers, especially in WH dialects, commonly substitute /l/ for both the flap and the roll.

ADN: In WH dialects, /l/ is regularly found in place of the rhotics in syllable-final position within a word. This applies both to *ř* and, less commonly, to *r*, e.g., *gāřmā* = WH *gālmā* 'hoe'; *fařkā* = WH *falkā* 'wake up'; *zarbē* = WH *zalbē* 'heron'. The substitution of /l/ for *ř* does not take place, however, when the abutting consonant is *d*, *d'*, or *n*, e.g., *muřnā* = WH *muřnā*, not *\*\*mulnā*.

OHN: The flap /r/ is the native Hausa R. The rolled /ř/ has come into the language (a) through rhotacism of alveolar obstruents in syllable-final position, e.g., *fařkā* 'wake up' (< *\*fařkā* < *\*fāřakā*), cf. *fāřkā* 'paramour'; (b) from the rolled allophone of /r/ required in certain positions, e.g., *jinjirniyā* 'female infant' < *jinjiri* 'infant'; (c) via loanwords, primarily from Arabic, Kanuri, and English, e.g., *řū'ūyā* 'vision, dream', *řāřālī* 'referee', and (d) from the phonemicization of expressive pronunciation used with ideophones and intensive forms, e.g., *řagařgāzā* 'shatter', *řamas* 'emphasizes dryness' (Newman 1980b). In some dialects, e.g., that of Ader, the contrast between the two rhotics has been lost, only /ř/ being retained.

The apostrophe / ' / is used in standard orthography to indicate glottal stop, e.g., *sā'ā* 'luck, jam' 'plural'. It is not employed orthographically in word-initial position (a convention followed in this work), i.e., orthographic *abu* 'thing' = [ʔābù], orthographic *amma* 'but' = [ʔāmmā].

Orthographic *h* is used both for the independent phoneme /h/, e.g., */hatsi/* 'grain' and for the pseudo-allophone of /f/, e.g., *tahō* 'come here' (< *tāfi* 'go' + *-ō* 'ventive marker').

OHN: Glottal stop and /h/ are historically recent phonemes in Hausa, having developed in a similar manner (Newman 1976a). Phonetically, they both probably existed in the language for a long time, in the case of [ʔ] as a phonetic marker of vowel-initial words and, with short vowels, of prepausal position, and in the case of [h] as an allophone of /f/ as well as being an alternative means of attack for vowel-initial words. The phonemicization of / ' / and /h/ resulted from a combination of language internal sound changes that were reinforced and stimulated by their introduction in medial and initial position in Arabic loanwords (see §44:2.2), e.g., *'āddu'ā* 'prayer', *sābā'in* 'seventy', *'azūmī* 'fasting', *hājā* 'merchandise', *hāmsin* 'fifty', *jāhīlī* 'ignorant psn', *shāhādā* 'martyrdom'.

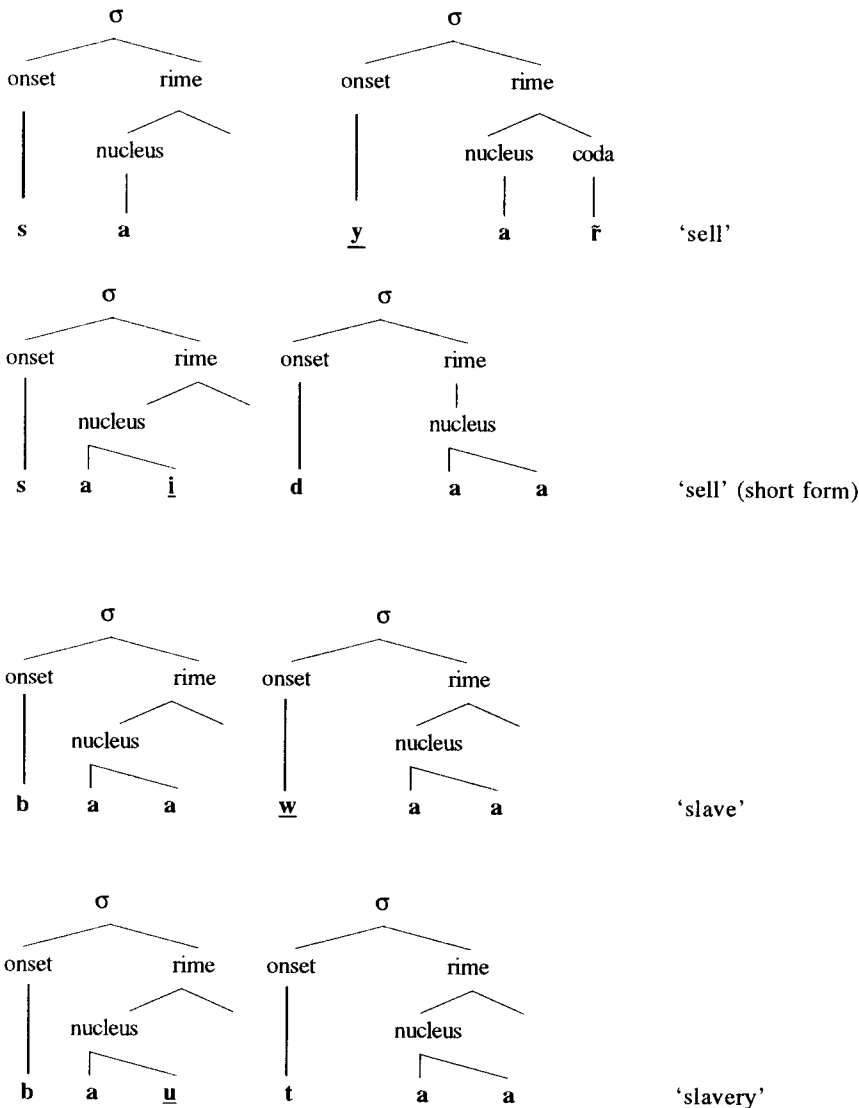
### 1.1.2. Glides/semivowels

The semivowels /y/ and /w/ occur only in syllable onset position (or when they form the first part of a geminate sequence, e.g., *niyyā* 'intention', *kuwwā* 'shouting').

AN: The sequence *awwa* (which is much less common than the corresponding *ayya* sequence) is often treated by native speakers as /auwa/, as reflected in their orthographic preference, e.g., *Hauwa* 'proper name', *yauwa* 'bravo', *sauwaka* 'bring relief'. (Note that these same people often prefer the spelling *gayya* 'communal work', *sakayya* 'recompense', etc.) It is not clear whether this practice reflects real phonological intuition or whether it is a question of orthographic aesthetics.

If the glides are shifted into the coda because of vowel apocope or morphological processes, they automatically alter into their corresponding vowels /i/ and /u/ and attach to the nucleus along with the preceding vowel. (See discussion of diphthongs in §1.2.3 below.) This is illustrated in the diagrams in fig. 4. (Long vowels here are indicated by double letters; tone is not marked.)

Figure 4: Glides and their corresponding vowels



Examples (with syllable division indicated by .):

mà.rá.yà	orphan	mà.rai.nì.yā	female orphan (< //mà.ray.nì.yā//)
ga.yà	tell	gai.su.wā	greeting
sà.yi	buy (pre-noun form)	sai	buy (optional clipped form)
bā.wā	slave	bāu.tā	slavery
ɓà.rā.wò	thief	ɓà.rau.nì.yā	female thief
a.wò	weighing	au.nà	weigh

1.1.3. Geminate

Geminates in Hausa, be geminated. (With [gàsaššee] 'roasted' flap /r/ does occur, [madatsarruwā] < ma (lit. love.of life); but expected suggests the yārò 'boy'; taurā (pl. of nōnò 'breast', distinct from the tap/ whereas the former si

In morphologica 'rings', pl. of zōbè, derived adjective from Geminates also comr gidammù 'our house

Lexically, howe only geminate nasal 'small soup pot', gā 'four days hence', sh

ØHN: One can o words. Thus gar (lamp or fire)' c probably comes plural of zōbè). monomorphemic morphological o source is not ide like Bole, where Hausa could be

Nonsonorant gemina e.g., hajji 'the hadj' (< Ful.), naggè 'cow'

At an analytical across a syllable b C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>.C<sub>3</sub>VV, where as long "hefty" cons the C is a copy of the not the whole gemin 'grass hut(s)', cf. h involving insertion consonants, e.g.,

Sàllau / Salgràlau hannū / dàhandànū

## 1.1.3. Geminates

Geminates in Hausa, which occur only in medial position, are extremely prevalent. All consonants can be geminated. (With consonants represented by a digraph, only the first letter is written doubled, e.g., [gàsasšsee] 'roasted' is indicated **gàsasshē**, [kwakwkwàfā] 'tamp' is indicated **kwakkwàfā**.) Geminate flap /r/ does occur, e.g., **kùrurrùmi** 'broken-necked' (< historically reduplicated word \***kùrumrùmi**); [madatsarruwā] < **madatsā-ruwā** 'dam' (lit. blocking place.of-water); [sārrāi] < **sōn rāi** 'selfishness' (lit. love.of life); but its absence in some common plural forms where it would be morphologically expected suggests that at an earlier stage it was probably disallowed, e.g., **yārā** (not \*\***yārrā**) pl. of **yārō** 'boy'; **tāurā** (not \*\***tārrā**) pl. of **taurē** 'castrated goat', cf. **kwāfā** pl. of **kōrē** 'green' and **nōnnā** pl. of **nōnō** 'breast', which belong to the same plural class. Phonetically, the geminate flap **rr** is quite distinct from the tap/roll **r̄r̄**. The latter increases the number of taps, i.e., it becomes a discernible trill, whereas the former simply increases the temporal period of the retroflex flap gesture.

In morphologically derived forms, geminates of all consonants are extremely common, e.g., **zōbbā** 'rings', pl. of **zōbē**, **hahhau** 'mount many or often', pluractional verb stem of **hau**; **fāfādā** 'broad', derived adjective from **fādī** 'breadth'; **zābābē** 'chosen', adjectival past participle of **zābā** 'choose'. Geminates also commonly arise from complete assimilation of abutting consonants, e.g., **gidan-mū** → **gidammū** 'our house', **mōtāf-sā** → **mōtāssā** 'his car'.

Lexically, however, geminates are not so common. In underived native words, one tends to find only geminate nasals, liquids, and /yy/, e.g., **kunnā** 'light (lamp or fire)', **gammō** 'head pad', **tallē** 'small soup pot', **gāyyā** 'communal work'. Others, however, do occur, e.g., **tukkū** 'bird's crop', **cittā** 'four days hence', **shaddā** 'brocade', **rāggā** 'rags', **kābbā** 'syphilis', **cāssā** 'bow-leggedness'.

ØHN: One can often identify the geminates as being secondary even in the so-called underived native words. Thus **gammō** 'head pad' comes from **ganwō** (still extant in some WH dialects); **kunnā** 'light (lamp or fire)' contains a suffix **-nā**; and **rāggā** 'rags' (like similar words with initial falling tone) probably comes from an old reduplicated plural (i.e., < \* **rāgāgā**) (cf. the extant **zōbbā** 'rings', plural of **zōbē**). This suggests that at an earlier period there were probably no geminates in monomorphemic words. All geminates now in the language would thus have come from internal morphological or phonological (assimilatory) processes or from loanwords (for some of which the source is not identifiable). If this is so, it would set Hausa apart from its sister Chadic languages, like Bole, where gemination is quite common. At the same time, the re-acquisition of geminates in Hausa could be taken as indication of a Chadic drift/predisposition favoring geminates.

Nonsonorant geminates do, however, occur readily in loanwords, especially from Arabic and Fulani, e.g., **hajjī** 'the hadj' (< Ar.), **jabbā** 'sleeveless robe' (< Ar.), **baffā** (usually pronounced [bappā]) 'uncle' (< Ful.), **naggē** 'cow' (< Ful.).

At an analytical level, geminates can be viewed as a sequence of identical consonants abutting across a syllable boundary, i.e., **jabbā** 'sleeveless robe', for example, has the canonical form C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>.C<sub>3</sub>VV, where C<sub>2</sub> and C<sub>3</sub> happen to be identical. (Phonetically, however, geminates tend to appear as long "hefty" consonants (Carnochan 1957).) Nouns using the **-ōCi** plural suffix, for example—where the C is a copy of the preceding consonant—copy only one segment of the identical abutting pair and not the whole geminate as a unit, e.g., **jabbā** / **jabbōbī** 'robe(s)' (not \*\***jabbōbbī**); **bukkā** / **bukkōkī** 'grass hut(s)', cf. **haḥkā** / **haḥkōkī** 'business affair(s)', **kafā** / **kafōfī** 'hole(s)'. In language games involving insertions or permutations, geminates behave exactly like non-identical abutting consonants, e.g.,

<b>Sällau</b> / <b>Salgrālau</b>	proper name / <i>game form</i>	cf. <b>kalmā</b> / <b>kalgrāma</b>	word / <i>game form</i>
<b>hannū</b> / <b>dāhandānū</b>	hand / <i>game form</i>	cf. <b>'armē</b> / <b>dā'ardāmē</b>	marriage / <i>game form</i>

l.ray.ni.yā//)

form)

kissà / dàkisdàsà	intrigue / game form	cf. Màngū / dàmandàgū	proper name / game form
sallà / lāsàl	prayer / game form	cf. tafkì / kitàf	lake / game form
bukkà / kàbùk	hut / game form	cf. kalmè / mèkàl	hoe / game form

Note, however, that various instances of geminate C<sub>x</sub>.C<sub>x</sub> exist where C<sub>x</sub> otherwise does not occur as a coda, i.e., where abutting sequences of C<sub>x</sub>.C<sub>y</sub> are not possible. As indicated above, all consonants occur as geminates. This includes **hh**, " (glottal stop), **cc**, and **kk**, for example, even though **h**, **'**, **c**, and **k** do not occur as the first member of a non-identical abutting pair.

1.2. Vowels

Hausa has twelve vowels (which appear to be the same for all dialects): five monophthongal short vowels, five monophthongal long vowels, and two diphthongs. These are presented in table 8 and exemplified in table 9.

Table 8: Hausa vowels

Short	Long	Diphthongs																		
<table border="1" style="width: 100%;"> <tr><td style="text-align: center;">i</td><td style="text-align: center;">e</td><td style="text-align: center;">o</td><td style="text-align: center;">u</td></tr> <tr><td colspan="4" style="text-align: center;">a</td></tr> </table>	i	e	o	u	a				<table border="1" style="width: 100%;"> <tr><td style="text-align: center;">ī</td><td style="text-align: center;">ē</td><td style="text-align: center;">ō</td><td style="text-align: center;">ū</td></tr> <tr><td colspan="4" style="text-align: center;">ā</td></tr> </table>	ī	ē	ō	ū	ā				<table border="1" style="width: 100%;"> <tr><td style="text-align: center;">ai</td><td style="text-align: center;">au</td></tr> </table>	ai	au
i	e	o	u																	
a																				
ī	ē	ō	ū																	
ā																				
ai	au																			

Table 9: Examples of vowels

a: kadà	don't	ā: fātā	hoping
e: məcè	woman	ē: bēbē	deaf mute
i: minì	to me	ī: kīshì	jealousy
o: gwàdò	heavy blanket	ō: zōmō	rabbit
u: mutù	die	ū: tūrù	stocks
		ai: faifai	mat, record
		au: tautàu	spider

Long /ā/, as in fātū 'skins', is similar to the vowel in Eng. 'father'. Short /a/, on the other hand, is difficult to specify precisely because it ranges over the entire phonetic vowel space below and between [e] and [o]. The allophones of /a/ show considerable variability depending on the speaker and the tempo and are subject to strong influence from neighboring phonemes. For example, when followed by /y/ or when preceded by /'y/, /y/, or a palatalized consonant, /a/ raises and is pronounced as [e], e.g. sàyā [sèyā] 'buy'; gyàd'ā [gyèd'ā] 'peanuts'; 'yan-sàndā [ 'yensàndā] or ['ensàndā] 'policemen'; yàbō [yèbō] 'praise'. In some cases, the /a/ following /y/ raises all the way to [i], e.g. yanà [yenà] or [yinà] 'he.continuous'. When followed by /n/ + /y/, the /a/ fronts and/or adds an anticipatory glide, e.g. tsanyà [s'enyà] 'cricket'; kanyà [ka'nyà] 'ebony tree'. In other closed syllables, /a/ is pronounced as a low vowel similar to that in American English 'box' or 'taco', e.g. fařkà [fařkà] 'wake up'. In open syllables, /a/ often raises to the schwa-like sound in English 'cut', e.g. kàrē [kàrē] 'dog', dàfà [dàfà] 'cook'. The schwa pronunciation does not usually apply if the /a/ is preceded by / ' / or /h/, e.g. afà [ʔafà] 'throw in the mouth'; hanà [hanà] 'prevent' (but habà 'now there!' is usually [həbà]).

The vowels /e(e)/ and /o(o)/, are normally pronounced like the vowels in Eng. 'bait' and 'boat', but without the offglide. In final position, they occur both long and short, e.g., shāfē 'wiping', shāfe 'wiped' (stative), dōgō 'tall', Dōgo (nickname for a tall person). In word-medial position they are

underlyingly always  
 member of morpho  
 respectively, and ce  
 merge with short /a/  
 'side', pl. gyàffà (y  
 gəfəfə); tōnà 'dig  
 'soldier' (< sābon...  
 preceded by /h/, sho  
 cf. [tsōhɔn sɔjə] 'a f  
 represents short /e/  
 medial position, e.g.  
 word-final vowels w  
 various spellings. F  
 tion in Nigeria but  
 syllables generally p  
 for [ɔ] e.g., fensif [f  
 short /e/ and /o/ in  
 'tomorrow', but gò  
 mangwàrè ba] 'not  
 [tadəkàde] 'drum  
 similar to the vowel  
 similar to the initial  
 Eng. 'boot', wherea  
 Phonemically,  
 word finally, e.g.,  
 'you (pl.)'; but the  
 example, when pr  
 coronal—the vowel  
 /f/, e.g., tunklyà  
 'lower bucket in a v  
 'gowns', with the b  
 one knows that the  
 condition palataliz  
 spelled) with /c/ f  
 pronunciations, e.  
 sullē = sillē 'top  
 /ū/).

The realization  
 glide, whether in th  
 neck, \*gùiguyà [g  
 consonant, with th  
 'goat'; dàguyà [d  
 sth'; \*//zuguigùit  
 'sink'; \*//cimui  
 clumsy manner'. In  
 //Cuy// sequence  
 representation, e.g.

underlyingly always long and occur only in open syllables. If the syllable becomes closed, due to any number of morphophonological processes, the vowels /ē/ and /ō/ automatically shorten to /e/ and /o/, respectively, and centralize toward [a] (or [ə]). For most SH speakers, the short mid vowels thereby merge with short /a/, e.g., **kārē** 'dog', cf. [kārənsà] 'his dog' (< \*kārē-nsà < kārē-nsà); **gēfē** [gyēfē] 'side', pl. **gyāffā** (with preservation of the conditioned palatalization on the /gy/) (< \*gyēffā < \*gēfāfā); **tōnā** 'dig up', plurac. **tantōnā** (< \*tontōnā < \*tōntōnā); **sābō** 'new', cf. [sābən sōjā] 'new soldier' (< sābon... < \*sābōn...); **dōmin** 'for sake of' = **don** [dən] (optional short form). When preceded by /h/, short /o/ in a closed syllable shifts toward [ə] but does not become [a], e.g., **tsōhō** 'old', cf. [tsōhən sōjā] 'a former soldier' < **tsōhon**.... Standard orthography is not totally consistent in how it represents short /e/ and /o/. On the whole, it follows pronunciation in representing the vowels in word-medial position, e.g., **tantōnā** (< \*tōn-tōnā) 'dig up many', but follows underlying form in representing word-final vowels with a linker attached, e.g., **kārensà** (< \*kārē-nsà) 'his dog'. CVC words appear with various spellings. For example, the word pronounced [dən] 'for sake of' (< **dōmin**) is usually spelled **don** in Nigeria but **dan** in Niger. Recent loanwords from English with short /e/ and /o/ in closed syllables generally preserve the front and back qualities of the vowels and do not shift all the way to [a] or [ə] e.g., **fensīř** [fensīř] 'pencil', **bōs** [bōs] = [bās] 'bus'. Depending upon speech tempo, word-final short /e/ and /o/ in open syllables also tend to centralize when not phrase final, e.g., **gōbe** [gōbe] 'tomorrow', but **gōbe nē** [gōbə nē] 'It's tomorrow'; **mangwārō** 'mango', **bā mangwārō ba** [bā mangwārō ba] 'not a mango'. Note the pronunciation of reduplicated frequentatives: **kāde-kāde** [kādəkāde] 'drummings', **cāmfe-cāmfe** [cāmfēcāmfe] 'superstitions'. Long /l/, as in **fitō** 'whistling', is similar to the vowel in English 'feet' (but without the offglide) whereas short /i/, as in **fitō** 'ferrying', is similar to the initial vowel in Eng. 'fitting'. Long /ū/, as in **kūkā** 'baobab', is similar to the vowel in Eng. 'boot', whereas short /u/, in **kūkā** 'you (pl.) preterite', is similar to the vowel in Eng. 'cook'.

Phonemically, the two short high vowels do contrast with one another, both word medially and word finally, e.g., **gidā** 'house', vs. **gūdā** 'lump, unit', **bisā** 'on' vs. **busā** 'haft', **kī** 'you (f.)' vs. **kū** 'you (pl.)'; but there are restrictions on their occurrence and considerable phonetic variability. For example, when preceded by a coronal consonant—and even more so when also followed by a coronal—the vowel /u/ tends to be pronounced toward the front, even overlapping with allophones of /i/, e.g., **tunkiyā** [tunkiyā] 'sheep' (cf. pl. [tumākī]; **tsullūmā** [tsullūmā] 'fall in water'; **zurā** [zurā] 'lower bucket in a well'; **akwātunā** [akwātunā] 'boxes' (with the plural suffix **-unā**), cf. **rigunā** [rigunā] 'gowns', with the back-rounded [u] surfacing because of the preceding /g/. In some cases, the only way one knows that the vowel is underlyingly (historically?) /u/ and not /i/ is the fact that it does not condition palatalization, e.g., **//tunyā//** phonetically [tnyā] 'cactus', cf. **//tinyā//**, phonetically (and spelled) with /c/ [cinyā] 'thigh'. Not surprisingly, a number of words now appear with alternative pronunciations, e.g., **dūddūke** = **diddike** 'crouched', **dunshē** = **dinshē** 'single bunch of bananas', **sullē** = **sillē** 'top section of cornstalk', **aibū** = **aibi** 'fault, blemish' (but **abū** 'thing' requires the final /ū/).

The realization of /u/ as a front vowel is strongly conditioned by an immediately following /y/ glide, whether in the same syllable (i.e., constituting a **uy** (= **ui**) diphthong) or not, e.g., **wuyā** [wiyā] 'neck', **\*gūiguyā** [gwīgwiyā] 'gnaw'. The underlying /u/ conditions labialization on the preceding consonant, with the result that a sequence such as **//kuya//** appears as [kwiyā], e.g., **ākuyā** [ākwiyā] 'goat'; **dāguyā** [dāgwiyā] 'gnaw'; **tūnkūyau** [tūnkwiyau] 'flea'; **tsūnguyā** [tsūngwiyā] 'pinch off sth'; **\*//zugūgūtā//** [zugwīgūtā] 'exaggerate' (cf. **zūgūgū** 'exaggeration'); **//dūlmuyā//** [dūlmwiyā] 'sink'; **\*//cūmūmūyā//** [cumwīmwiyā] [dv] 'crumple'; **\*//dūmūmūyā//** [dūmwīmwiyā] [dv] 'eat in a clumsy manner'. In a number of cases, the surface **CwI** has achieved phonemic status and the underlying **//Cuy//** sequence no longer exists synchronically. This change in status is reflected in orthographic representation, e.g., **kwīfī** 'side' (< \*kūifī), **gwtwā** 'knee' (< \*gūiwā).



Fronting of /u/ also results from optional anticipatory assimilation to a high front vowel in the following syllable, e.g., /bùkɪ/ (→) [bikɪ] 'celebration', fushɪ (→) [fishɪ] 'anger'. The matter of the short high vowels is further complicated by the fact that /i/ sometimes phonetically moves toward [u] if followed by a labialized consonant or by /u/ in the following syllable, e.g., //cikwikwiyē// 'entangle' → [cukwikwiyē]; //cikunkùnē// → [cukunkùnē] 'entangle'.

°AN/°HN: Parsons (1970) proposed that medial *i* and *u* are synchronically not in contrast and Schuh (1984) went further and extended this idea historically. I think that they are both mistaken. I would suggest that (a) although the contrast is in the process of being lost (i.e., much of the original contrast has been shifted to the preceding consonant), it still exists synchronically, and (b) it certainly was there at an earlier period (Newman 1979b).

°HN: In many cases, the /u/ → [i] shift has become lexicalized, e.g., \*buyu > /biyu/ 'two', cf. the cognate form **bolu** found in Bole and related languages.

### 1.2.1. Vowel length

All five basic vowels have long and short counterparts. The long vowels generally have typical IPA values whereas the corresponding short vowels are more lax and centralized. The vowel length distinction is not noted in standard orthography, e.g., /dagá/ 'charm bangle' and /dāgā/ 'battle line' are both written as **daga**. The length contrast is only found in open syllables; in closed syllables all vowels are short. In nonfinal position, vowel length functions lexically, e.g., fitò 'whistling' vs. fitò 'ferrying'; fāsà 'postpone' vs. fāsà 'smash'; dānā 'borrow temporarily' vs. dānā 'set bow, cock trigger'; dūkà 'beating' vs. dukà 'all'. Medial vowel length is generally stable (apart from automatic shortening in closed syllables) and not subject to morphological alternations. The exceptions consist of a few loanwords from Arabic, e.g., wājibi 'necessity' vs. wājibà 'be incumbent on', bayāni 'explanation' vs. bayyānā 'explain', and a few noun/adverb pairs, e.g., bàki 'mouth' vs. bakà 'in/on the mouth'; dākì 'room' vs. dākà 'in the room'; mātā 'wife' vs. mაცè 'woman, female'.

In final position, the function of vowel length is to a great extent morphological and grammatical, e.g., hannū 'hand' vs. à hannu 'in the hand'; sarki 'emir' vs. Sarki (proper name); fitā 'going out' vs. fita 'go out'; bugà 'beat (pre-pronoun form)' vs. bugà 'beat (pre-noun form)'; shi 'him (direct object pn)' vs. shi 'he, him' (independent pn). Excluding loanwords, common nouns tend to end in a long final vowel whereas the length of the final vowel of verbs depends on the verb's grade and its syntactic position (see chap. 74).

°HN: The present balanced vowel system derives historically from a skewed 2-3/3-5 system in which the number of contrasts varied depending on the position within the word. In final position, all five vowels occurred, but, probably, without a length contrast. The rule seems to have been that all final vowels were short, apart from monosyllabic nouns and verbs ending in /ā/, which had a long vowel. On the whole, the old Hausa final vowels have carried over into the present-day language in their original form. In word-initial position—and pre-Hausa did have vowel-initial words—only short /a/ and /i/ were used. (If [u] occurred, it would have been a conditioned variant of /i/.) In word-medial position, the language had three vowels (/i(i)/, /a(a)/, and /u(u)/, all of which could occur long or short. Medial /ē/ and /ō/, which are now quite common, historically resulted from the lowering of /i/ and /ū/, respectively, generally due to assimilation to the height of a mid vowel in the following syllable (Newman 1979b).

Before the phonemicization of initial / ' / and /h/, Hausa had vowel-initial words beginning with /a/ and /i/, and to a lesser extent /u/. (It did not have /e(e)/ or /o(o)/ in word-initial position.) All these initial vowels were short only. As a result, words that now begin with / ' / are invariably followed by a

short vowel (excluding \*ùbā) 'father' (cf. 'āyā with initial /h/, again 'chin' (cf. hātūmī 'seal there are no native wo /u(u)/, but in these ca word, e.g., hūlā (< \*fū

In prepausal posi vowels being pronoun distinguish the long ar the duration of the tw of view, there is a ph [gàba?] 'in front', cf. / [gudù?] 'run' vs. /gud

### 1.2.2. Half-long vowels

As just indicated, the phonetic glottal closure position (R. M. New words and morphemes glottal closure, contra and [a:] represents a r

tā jā [ta: ja:?] She pu tābà sukà sātō [ta:bà They stole cigarettes. zōbēnā [zo:bē:na:?] yā fādī à kā [ya: fādī He fell headlong in th

These underlyingly lo because phonetically following classes of 1. Monoverbs (i.e., C hau 'mount', kau 'm 2. Pseudomonoverbs 3. Grade 6 verbs (whi and bring', jāwō 'pul 4. Expressives of co hūlō 'the hell with th 5. The bound first pe 6. The adverbial form

°AN: [i] With sc vowels. (Hausa short, even tho exists, it does s account, shorte

short vowel (excluding recent loanwords), e.g., 'ārā (< \*ārā) 'borrow', 'idō (< \*idō) 'eye', 'ūbā (< \*ūbā) 'father' (cf. 'āyā 'verse of the Koran' and 'idī 'Muslim religious festival' < Ar.). Similarly, words with initial /h/, again apart from loanwords, are invariably followed by short /a/, e.g., habā (< \*abā) 'chin' (cf. hātīmī 'seal, official stamp' < Ar.). Apart from those dialects where /f/ is pronounced as [h], there are no native words beginning with hi(i). One does get native words with initial h followed by /u(u)/, but in these cases the [h] is an allophone of /f/ and not a reflex of an originally vowel-initial word, e.g., hūlā (< \*fūlā) 'cap', huđ'u (< fuđ'u) 'four'.

In prepausal position, the qualitative difference between the vowels is much less clear, the short vowels being pronounced essentially like their long counterparts. There are two phonetic cues that distinguish the long and short vowels in prepausal position. First, there is a difference (albeit small) in the duration of the two phonemic lengths. Second, and probably more important from a perceptual point of view, there is a phonetic glottal closure after short vowels, but not after long vowels e.g., /gāba/ [gāba?] 'in front', cf. /gābā/ [gābā] 'chest'; Sābo (proper name) [sābo?], cf. sābō [sābō] 'new', /gudū/ [gudū?] 'run' vs. /gudū/ [gudū] 'running'.

### 1.2.2. Half-long vowels with glottal stop

As just indicated, the general rule in the language is that short vowels in prepausal position have phonetic glottal closure whereas long vowels do not. There is, however, a third contrast in prepausal position (R. M. Newman and van Heuven 1981), namely "half-long" vowels. Some specified sets of words and morphemes with long final vowels (including diphthongs!) are characterized by prepausal glottal closure, contrary to the general expectation. Examples (where [a·] represents a half-long vowel and [a:] represents a regular long vowel):

tā jā [ta: ja·?] She pulled (it). cf. bà tà jā ba [bà tà ja: ba?] She didn't pull (it).

tābā sukā sātō [ta:bà: sukā sa:to·?] It was cigarettes they stole. cf. sun sātō tābā [sun sa:to: ta:bà:]

They stole cigarettes.

zōbēnā [zo:bè:na·?] my ring, cf. zōbēnā nē [zo:bè:na: nè:] It's my ring.

yā fādī à kā [ya: fādī à ka·?] He fell headlong. cf. yā fādī à kā cikin rāmī [ya: fādī à ka: cikin ramī:]

He fell headlong in the hole.

These underlyingly long vowels with prepausal glottal closure have been termed "indeterminate vowels" because phonetically they are identical neither to long vowels nor to short vowels. They are found in the following classes of words, all of which have level high tone(s) only:

1. Monoverbs (i.e., CVV verbs), e.g., jā 'pull', shā 'drink', zō 'come', sō 'want', jē 'go', kai 'take', hau 'mount', kau 'move aside'
2. Pseudomonoverbs (i.e., monotonal CVCā verbs), e.g., biyā 'pay', kirā 'call', jirā 'wait for'
3. Grade 6 verbs (which contain the H tone -(w)ō ventive suffix), e.g., kōmō 'return here', sātō 'steal and bring', jāwō 'pull here', etc.
4. Expressives of contempt (which contain the H tone -ō suffix), e.g., mātō 'the hell with the car!'; hūlō 'the hell with the cap!'; etc.
5. The bound first person possessive forms -nā (< na + a) and -tā (< ta + a) 'my' (m./f.)
6. The adverbial form kā 'on the head' (< kái 'head')

°AN: [i] With some speakers the prepausal half-long vowels seem to be merging with the short vowels. (Hausa assistants from Kano consistently transcribed these half-long prepausal vowels as short, even though they transcribed them as long in nonfinal position.) Even where the contrast exists, it does so only in a statistical sense, i.e., when large numbers of examples are taken into account, shortened vowels as a class can be differentiated from an equivalent number of short

vowels. If one looks at any particular token, on the other hand, the half-long vowel may be indistinguishable from a short vowel.

[ii] That **kai** and **hau**, for example, pattern with monovocalic verbs like **shā** and **jē** in adding a final glottal stop is further evidence in support of the analysis of Hausa [ai] and [au] as true vocalic diphthongs (/ai/ and /au/) rather than as VC /ay/ and /au/ sequences.

ØHN: Voigt (1983) proposed that the prepausal glottal closure with indeterminate vowels derived from an etymological word-final consonant (such as glottal stop), i.e., **jā**, for example, would have come from \***jāC**, **kōmō** < \***kōmōC**, etc. There are at least three things wrong with this analysis. (1) It requires postulating overheavy CVVC syllables, which synchronically are excluded in Hausa and which historically probably weren't allowed either. (2) It ignores the fact that /ē/ and /ō/, which regularly centralize in closed syllables, do not centralize before the prepausal glottal stop. (3) There is no comparative evidence to support the idea that the etymons of the items in question ever had a final consonant (Newman 1975; Schuh 1977). A more plausible analysis is that the prepausal glottal closure is simply an intonational/prosodic phenomenon—why found in this restricted set of words still being a mystery—and that this glottal stop is no more indicative of a lost consonant than the prepausal glottal stop found at the end of short vowels.

To summarize, in open, but not prepausal, syllables, Hausa has a two-way length contrast: short vs. long. In closed syllable, there is only one length: all vowels are short. In open syllables in prepausal position, there is a three-way length contrast: short /a/ (with glottal closure), long /ā/ (without glottal closure), and (in restricted contexts) half-long /a-/ (with glottal closure).

### 1.2.3. Diphthongs

Synchronically there are two diphthongs /ai/ and /au/, which function as long vocalic nuclei, e.g., **māi** 'oil', **kaifi** 'sharpness', **sāu** 'times', **ḡaunā** 'buffalo'. ("Nasal diphthongs" as a special category are discussed below in §2.1.1.) The /ai/ diphthong is pronounced [ai] (or sometimes [əi]) when occurring in a monosyllabic word with a falling tone or when preceded by / ' / or /h/, e.g., **māi** [māi] 'oil', **aikà** [ʔaikà] 'send'. Elsewhere it is pronounced as [ei] or even monophthongizes to [ē], thereby phonetically merging with long /ē/, e.g., /**naiřā**/ [neĩřā] = [nēřā] 'naira', **māi-gidā** [mèigidā] = [mègidā] 'householder'. In the English loanwords **dirēbā** 'driver' and **ogānēzā** 'organizer' the /ai/ in the source has been lexicalized as /ē/ and does not normally have a diphthongal pronunciation. The back diphthong /au/ varies in the [au] to [ao] to [ou] range. It usually remains distinct from /ō/, e.g., **zaunā** [zaonā] 'sit' (not \*\*[zōnā]), although there are some exceptions where the monophthongization takes place, e.g., **wàtāu** = **wàtō** 'that is to say', **sāu** = **sō** 'times', **bōcā** 'voucher', **hōdā** (< //fōdā//) 'powder', **tūrōzā** 'trousers'. With both diphthongs, the transition glides are phonetically shorter in duration and cover a narrower range than comparable diphthongs in many other languages.

°AN: The traditional phonological analysis has been to treat the diphthongs as vowel-consonant sequences, e.g., [ai] = /ay/ and [au] = /aw/, where the glide occupies the coda position in the syllable, see Klingenberg (1927/28) and Greenberg (1941). This interpretation is still widely accepted among Hausa linguists. This earlier analysis allows easy representation of alternations resulting from (morpho)phonological processes, especially apocopation, e.g., **ḡaya** 'one', cf. **ḡay-ḡay** [ḡeidei] 'one by one'; **sāyi** 'buy', cf. **say** [sei] (clipped form of same word); **rawā** 'dancing', cf. **raw-dā** [rau-dā] 'shake'; **nāwa** 'mine' = **naw** [nau] (dialect variant). (In some instances, however, the /ay/ analysis adds an unnecessary complication, cf. the proper name **Ā'ishā** with the short form **Aishā**, which appears with an /ai/ diphthong resulting from the loss of the intervocalic glottal stop.) The approach adopted here, i.e., diphthongs as complex nuclei, is one I have proposed earlier (Newman and Salim 1981) and that has been supported on comparative

grounds by Schuh  
most often pattern  
the rule shortening  
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also applies to d  
alternations illust  
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historical depth f  
\*kwuiḡi (< \*kwui  
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archaic plural rig

### 3. Tone

Hausa has two contrast  
grave accent), e.g., **rān**  
large gourd'. It also h  
(bimoraic) syllables,  
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ring tone.

For a full discussi

### 2. SYLLABLE STR

Three syllable types  
consonantal onset plu  
syllable is made up of  
vowel or a diphthong  
consonantal onset plus  
few instances, a sylla  
'ḡugūlu 'vulture'; ḡḡ  
zuwā 'I am coming.'

All syllables beg  
begin phonemically w  
/ḡaskè/. The existenc  
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grounds by Schuh (1989b). Its advantage is that it accounts for the fact that the diphthongs in Hausa most often pattern with monophthongal long vowel rather than with -VC sequences. For example, the rule shortening a long VV in syllables closed by a coda consonant applies to diphthongs as well as to monophthongs, e.g., *sáa* 'bull', vs. *sán* 'the bull', cf. *mái* 'oil' vs. *mán* 'the oil'. Similarly, the phonetic rule that adds a glottal closure to certain high tone long vowels in prepausal position also applies to diphthongs, e.g., [yā ja-ʔ] 'He pulled', cf. [yā hauʔ] 'He ascended.' Regarding the alternations illustrated above, note that the transformation of the glide into a component of a vocalic nucleus implicit in this analysis follows automatically from the shift of the syllable-initial glide into the rime of the preceding syllable (which would be required under either approach) and thus does not require any complicated rule changing one phoneme into another.

ØHN: In the not so distant past, there were two other diphthongs: \*/ui/ (probably derived at a deeper historical depth from \*/ur/), which monophthongized to /i/, e.g., \**gwuiwā* > *gwiwā* 'knee', \**kwuiḃi* (< \**kwurḃi*?) > *kwibì* 'side of the body, trunk'; and \*/iu/ (normally derived from \*i + a velar or labial obstruent), which monophthongized to /ū/, e.g., \**ciurà* (< \**tibrà*) > *cūrà* 'knead', \**shiukà* (< \**sifkà*) > *shūkà* 'to sow'. In one example that we know of, \*/iu/ appears to have monophthongized to /i/, e.g., \**riujiyā* (< \**rigzi* + the feminative suffix) > *rijiyā* 'well' (cf. the archaic plural *rigōji*).

### 1.3. Tone

Hausa has two contrastive level tones, H(igh) (unmarked in transcription) and L(ow) (indicated by a grave accent), e.g., *rānā* 'sun, day', *dāgà* 'from', *tāgà* 'window', *bāra* 'last year', *gōrā* 'bamboo', *gōrā* 'large gourd'. It also has a F(alling) contour (indicated by a circumflex), which occurs only on heavy (bimoraic) syllables, e.g., *mántā* 'forget', *kômōwā* 'returning'. (In the transcription convention adopted here, the circumflex on an open vowel indicates falling tone *and* length.) The language has no rising tone.

For a full discussion of tonal phenomena, see the separate chapter on tone (chap. 71).

## 2. SYLLABLE STRUCTURE AND PHONOTACTIC CONSTRAINTS

Three syllable types occur in the language: CV, CVV, and CVC. A CV syllable is made up of a consonantal onset plus a simple nucleus consisting of a short vowel, e.g., *wa.tā* 'moon'. A CVV syllable is made up of a consonantal onset plus a long nucleus consisting of a long monophthongal vowel or a diphthong, e.g., *nā.mā* 'meat', *kai.fi* 'sharpness'. A CVC syllable is made up of a consonantal onset plus a simple short vowel nucleus plus a consonantal coda, e.g., *fus.kā* 'face'. In a few instances, a syllabic nasal serves as the vocalic nucleus in place of a vowel, e.g., 'ṅ.gùlu = 'ùṅgùlu 'vulture'; *ḃṅ* = *ḃṅ* 'the one in question'; 'ṅ.nà [orthographically *ina*] 'I.cont', e.g., 'ṅ.nà *zuwā* 'I am coming.'

All syllables begin with a consonant. Words that appear orthographically with an initial vowel begin phonemically with a glottal stop, e.g., orthographic *aure* 'marriage' = /ʔaurē/; *aske* 'shave' = /ʔaskè/. The existence of the glottal stop shows up when, for example, a word like *askè* undergoes CVG-prefixation to form a related pluractional verb, e.g., /ʔaʔʔaskè/ 'shave many or repeatedly'.

ØHN: This restriction against vowel-initial words is *not* an inherited Afroasiatic feature. Unlike many Afroasiatic languages, which require that all syllables (and thus all words) begin with a consonant, Hausa originally had true vowel-initial words. The phonotactic requirement that now applies in the language is due to a historically shallow change whereby a prothetic, originally sub-phonemic, consonant, /ʔ/ or /h/, was added to vowel-initial words, e.g., \**askì* > 'askì 'shaving', \**aḃà* > *haḃà* 'chin' (see §34:1.2).

True consonant clusters are not allowed, i.e., there are no complex onsets or codas. The consonants written with digraphs, e.g., /ts/, /kw/, /gy/, are unit phonemes and do not run counter to the generalization. A sequence of two consonants may, however, abut across a syllable boundary, e.g., *fus.kà* 'face', *sar.ki* 'chief'.

### 2.1. Coda consonants

All consonants occur as onsets. With the exception of the rare phoneme /fy/, which occurs only word initially, there is no restriction as to whether the onset is word initial or word medial (i.e., intervocalic). Excluding geminates, which are permissible with a full range of consonants, only a small number of consonants occur in coda position. (Apart from ideophones and recent loans, very few words end in consonants, thus the specification of possible codas refers only to word-internal consonants.) Words of the shape CVC.CV(V) with a medial coda followed by an abutting consonant are quite common, e.g., *gàm.su* 'be satisfied', *gwan.ki* 'roan antelope', *fař.kà* 'wake up', *sar.ki* 'emir', *kal.mà* 'word', *fus.kà* 'face', *fiz.gè* 'snatch'. The inventory of consonants that can serve as a coda, however, is limited. The consonants /h/ and /ʔ/ and the velars and palatals do not occur as codas, nor do any of the palatalized or labialized consonants. With the exception of word-final /t/, found primarily in loanwords and ideophones, the coronal stops (t, ɗ, d) do not constitute possible codas. The fricatives /s/ and /z/, on the other hand, do occupy coda position. (See below for a discussion of the /s/ vs. /z/ contrast.) All of the sonorants (/m/, /n/, /r/, /ř/, and /l/) function comfortably as codas. The glides /y/ and /w/ may enter coda position, but when they do so they automatically attach to the nucleus and alter into /i/ and /u/, respectively.

In WH, the labial obstruents occur frequently in coda position, e.g., *àfku* 'happen', *abdùgà* 'cotton'. In SH, on the other hand, labials historically weakened to /u/ by Klingenberg's Law (see §34:1.5), thereby eliminating many of these codas, e.g., *àuku* 'happen', *audùgà* 'cotton'. SH does, however, still have /f/ and /b/ codas for a number of reasons. First, the sound law appears to have been phonologically conditioned and lexically irregular, e.g., *kaftà* 'dig up ground', *gabjèjè* 'huge'. Second, new labial codas have been created as a result of vowel syncope, e.g., *kubcè* 'escape' (= *kufùcè*), *dàbgi* 'anteater' (= *dàbùgi*). Third, there continues to be dialect borrowing from WH, not to mention borrowings from other languages, especially Arabic, e.g., *Abdù* = *Audù* (proper name), *kàftàni* 'caftan'. Fourth, base-final labial obstruents are preserved in codas when certain morphological suffixes are added, e.g., *d'ālībcè* 'become a student' < *d'ālībi* 'student', *hasàftà* 'give a small present to s.o.' < *hasàfti* 'gift', *la'ifcè* 'impotence' < *la'iffi* 'impotent'. Note that the labial codas in the preceding words are generally pronounced [p] and that any contrast between the fricative /f/ and the stop /b/ is marginal at best. Standard spelling is inconsistent, but, where possible, it follows etymology, i.e., [d'ālīpcè] 'become a student' is spelled *d'alībce* because of *d'ālībi* 'student', whereas [hasàptà] 'give a small present' is spelled *hasafta* because of *hasàfti* 'gift'. By contrast [tsaptà] 'cleanliness', whose etymology is unknown, sometimes appears spelled as *tsafta* and sometimes as *tsabta*.

In general there is no phonation contrast in coda position, i.e., the opposition between voiced, voiceless, and glottalized is neutralized. In word-final position, where obstruents are uncommon apart from ideophones and recent loanwords, they are all voiceless, e.g., *bīyat* 'five' [dv] (< \**bīyaf*); *fāsīt* = *fāsīfī* 'receipt'; *tīf* 'tube', *kamas* (< //*kamaz*//) = *kazam* 'emphasizes rising suddenly'; *dūrōs* 'drawers/underpants'. A few words, e.g., *bīrgéd* [bīrgét] 'brigade'; the name of a quarter in Kano', *gùlób* [gùlóp] 'bulb for a flashlight or car light' (< Eng. 'globe') are spelled with a final d or b; but this is essentially orthographic and does not reflect pronunciation except in the case of people who are bilingual in English.

Word-medial obstruents in coda position take the same phonation feature as the following abutting consonant, e.g., *fuskà* 'face' (both voiceless) (not \*\**fusgà* nor \*\**fuzkà*), *càzbi* 'prayer beads' (both voiced), *abdùgà* 'cotton' [WH] (both voiced). A word like /*cabdī*/ 'expression of great surprise' is

spelled **cabdī** because **ḥ** is never written in coda position, but the glottalization extends across both consonants. The spelling of words like [tsaptà] 'cleanliness' (both voiceless) poses a problem because /p/ is not part of the Hausa alphabet. As a result one finds both **tsafta**, reflecting the fact that both consonants are voiceless, and **tsabta**, capturing the fact that they are both stops.

<sup>o</sup>AN: Possible exceptions to the rule that the phonation feature extends phonetically across both abutting obstruents are provided by derived words with the suffixes **-tā** and **-ci**, e.g., **annabtā** = **annabci** 'prophethood; divine message revealed to a prophet' (cf. **annabi** 'prophet'); **Lārabci** 'Arabic language' (cf. **Lārabāwā** 'Arabs'). Careful instrumental work is necessary to confirm that the /b/ is indeed voiced or whether this is just an etymological spelling.

ØHN: The synchronic rule that two abutting obstruents must both be voiceless or both be voiced is easiest to express by making the first consonant dependent on the second, assimilation in Hausa normally being anticipatory. Historically, however, there may be some cases where the opposite was the case. Many verbs contain a remnant suffix that appears as **-kà** or **-gà** (see §76:3). It is possible—although far from certain—that they originally were variants of the same suffix. If the preceding abutting consonant was voiced, then **-gà** would appear, e.g., **fizgà** 'tug', otherwise the suffix would surface as **-kà**, e.g., **haskà** 'light', **faṙkà** (< **faḍkà** < **faḍakà**) 'wake up'.

### 2.1.1. Nasal diphthongs

The nasal /n/ commonly occurs in syllable-final position, where it is always homorganic with the following abutting consonant (i.e., it could be represented as an unspecified nasal N), e.g., **māntā** [māntā] 'forget', **dīnkī** [dīŋkī] 'sewing', **fūnfūnā** [fūmfūnā] 'food mold', [bākansà] 'his bow', [bākammù] 'our bow', [bàkaŋkà] 'your bow' all from **bākā** 'bow' + **n** linker + pronoun. At first sight, a CVN syllable would appear to have the structure CVC, where the /n/ would be the coda consonant, i.e., **kundī** 'notebook, thesis', for example, could be considered parallel to **maskō** 'mallet'. However, the /n/ behaves in many respects as if it were part of a complex nucleus, i.e., /an/ and /in/ and /un/ could be considered to constitute "nasal diphthongs" comparable to the oral diphthong /ai/ and /au/. The presumed structural contrast between nasal diphthongs and CVC syllables, and their similarity to oral diphthongs, is shown in the initial syllable of the examples in fig. 5 (next page) (where long vowels are indicated by double letters).

The motivation for treating /VN/ sequences as nasal diphthongs is provided by their morphophonological behavior in such constructions as the following:

(1) Disyllabic H-H nouns with a long/complex nucleus in the initial syllable form plurals with the suffix **-âyē**<sup>HLH</sup>. Those with an initial CVC syllable with a coda use the affix **-ā-ē**<sup>HLH</sup>, the internal **-ā-** being inserted after the coda consonant. Words with CVN in the initial syllable pattern with those having the long nucleus (CVV) rather than those with the coda consonant (CVC), e.g.,

long monophthong: **kīfi** / **kīfâyē** fish; **sūnā** / **sūnâyē** name  
 (long) diphthong: **maisō** / **maisâyē** fallow field; **gaulā** / **gaulâyē** simpleton  
 nasal diphthong: **shingē** / **shingâyē** fence; **tandū** / **tandâyē** small hide vessel  
 cf. vowel plus coda: **bīfni** / **bīrânē** city; **kaskō** / **kasâkē** small earthen bowl

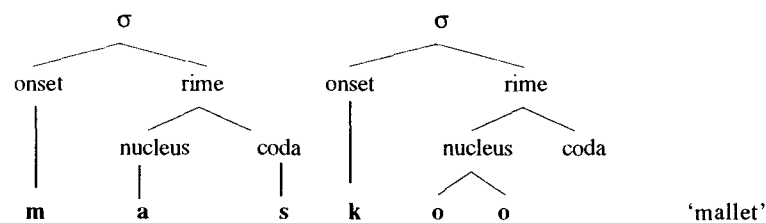
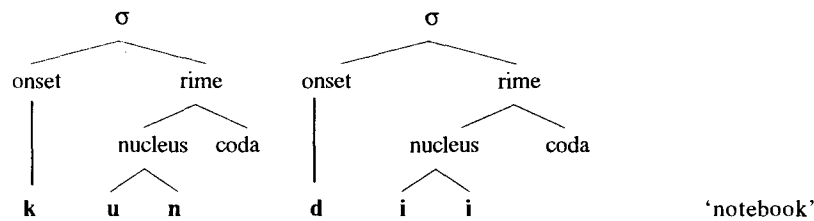
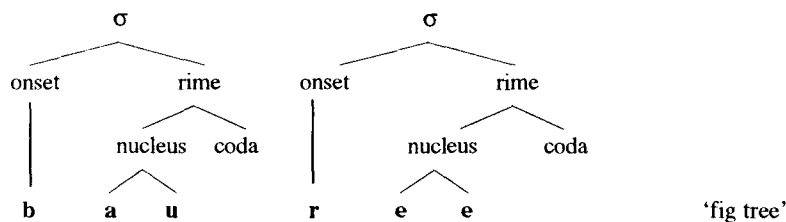
(2) In almost all morphological processes, vowel-initial suffixes replace the final nucleus (monophthong or diphthong) of the stem, e.g., **tāgā** 'window', pl. **tāg-ōgi**; **kamfai** 'underpants', **kamf-ō** (**matā**)! 'the hell with the underpants!'; **Sānūsi** (name), **Sanūs-āwā** 'adherents of Sanusi'; **Jummai** (name), **Jummalō** 'dear little Jummai'. Final consonants, on the other hand, are preserved, e.g., **tēbūf** 'table', pl. **tēbūf-ōfi**; **Jāmūs** 'Germany', **Jāmus-āwā** 'Germans'. Words with final -VN typically treat the ending as a complex vocalic nucleus and drop it when suffixes are added, e.g.,

tangařan chinaware, dishes, pl. tangař-àÿē (not \*\*tangařanàÿē); tambùlàn drinking glass, pl. tambul-à; miliyàn million, pl. miliy-òÿi; Àlāsàn (name), Alàs-àwā clan members of Alhasan Dantata; ambulàn envelope, ambul-ò (matà) Who gives a hoot about the envelope!; hàmsin fifty, hams-ò (matà) So what about fifty!; Mammàn (name), Mamm-alò dear little Mamma

(3) In some lexically specific instances, earlier existing consonants that have changed into vocalic elements are "recovered" in plural formations, e.g., ɓaunā 'buffalo' < historical \*ɓaknā, pl. ɓakānē (now usually ɓaunàÿē); jūjī 'refuse heap' < historical \*jibjī (still extant in WH), pl. jibàÿē (now usu. jūjāÿē). Not surprisingly, this same process occurs also with nasal diphthongs, i.e., words with nasal diphthongs sometimes recover a historically prior full consonant /m/ in plural formations, e.g.,

kuncì (< \*kumtī) cheek, pl. kumàtū (now usually kuncunà)  
 gwankī (< gwamkī) roan antelope, pl. [WH] gwamàkkā (SH now gwankàÿē)

Figure 5: Nasal diphthongs



\*AN: In his analysis (1992: 26) noted my structural non-nasalization of the consonant n might trace in a lengthened

3. SYLLABLE WEIGHT

The basic division in type with a simple rime complex rime (i.e., have syllables may not coda consonant. Such processes, are automatically complex nucleus, i.e., (of-him) → rānsā 'hence' → rānsā 'stuff repeated' Syllable weight morphology.

3.1. Falling tone

Only heavy syllables units, e.g., yārā 'child' Note that the restriction not only in CVV syllables 'huge (pl.)', zik 'zip'

3.2. Canonical shape

(a) Different pronouns subject pronouns, in characterized by a light pronouns are characterized

(b) (strong H tone)

- subjunctive:
- completive:
- disjunctive:

\*AN: The feminine syllable to two syllable weight

(c) Abstract nouns of have a heavy first syllable (e) Verb + noun syllable, even if the

°AN: In his analysis of an early twentieth-century Hausa text written in Arabic script, Piłaszewicz (1992: 26) noted the common omission of syllable-final /n/. Consistent with (and independent of) my structural notion of nasal diphthongs, he suggests that in syllable-final position "the nasalization of the preceding vowel may have [phonetically] taken place. In such a case the consonant *n* might be pronounced very lightly and, therefore, it could be left unmarked or leave its trace in a lengthened vowel in the writing."

### 3. SYLLABLE WEIGHT

The basic division in a syllable is between the onset and everything else (= the rime). The CV syllable type with a simple rime consisting of a short vowel is light. The CVV and CVC syllable types with a complex rime (i.e., have a rime that contains either a long nucleus or a nucleus plus a coda) are heavy. Syllables may not contain both a long nucleus (whether monophthongal or diphthongal) and a final coda consonant. Such over-heavy CVVC syllables, which commonly result from morphological processes, are automatically pared down by nucleus reduction rules that delete the second component of a complex nucleus, i.e., CV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>C (where V<sub>1</sub> and V<sub>2</sub> may be identical) → CV<sub>1</sub>C, e.g., //rāi-n-sā// (lit. life-of-him) → rānsā 'his life'; //fār-kō// → farkō 'beginning' (cf. fārā 'begin'); //cūs-cūsā// → cūccūsā 'stuff repeatedly'.

Syllable weight plays an essential role in a number of different areas of phonology and morphology.

#### 3.1. Falling tone

Only heavy syllables can carry falling tones, which require that the host consist of two tone-bearing units, e.g., yārā 'children', māi 'oil', jānyē 'pull away'. There are no falling tones on light syllables. Note that the restriction refers to syllable weight and not to vowel length; thus falling tones are allowed not only in CVV syllables but also in CVC syllables, including those with an obstruent coda, e.g., káttā 'huge (pl.)', zík 'zipper'.

#### 3.2. Canonical shape

(a) Different pronoun paradigms are generally marked by a fixed weight pattern. For example, direct object pronouns, indirect object pronouns, and the weak subject pronouns in most TAMs are characterized by a light syllable, whereas the completive *wsp*'s and the disjunctive (independent) pronouns are characterized by a heavy syllable. Examples (1, 2m, 2f, 3m, 3f, 1p, 2p, 3p, (4p)):

d.o. (strong H tone set):	ni, ka, ki, shī, ta, mu, ku, su
i.o.	nì, kà, kì, sà, tà, nà, kù, sù
subjunctive:	nà, kà, kì, yà, tà, mù, kù, sù, à
completive:	nā, ká, kin, yā, tā, mun, kun, sun, an
disjunctive:	nī, kai, kē, shī, ita, mú, kú, sū

°AN: The feminine disjunctive pronoun *ita* 'she' illustrates the metrical equivalence of a heavy syllable to two light syllables, an equivalence commonly found in languages with distinctive syllable weight (Newman 1972b).

(b) Abstract nouns of sensory quality (chap. 2), a group of semantically related nouns ending in -i, all have a heavy first syllable, e.g., zāft 'heat', nauyi 'heaviness', karfi 'strength'.

(c) Verb + noun compounds in which the first element is monosyllabic invariably have a heavy first syllable, even if the verb would normally have a short vowel, e.g., shā-zumāmī 'sugar ant' (lit. drink-



honey); *cì-rāni* 'dry-season work' (lit. eat-dry season < *ci* 'to eat'); *bì-bango* 'water dripping along the wall' (lit. follow-wall < *bi* 'to follow'); *kàs-dafi* 'a poison antidote' (lit. kill-poison).

### 3.3. Rhythmic weight polarity

In certain morphological constructions, the length of a vowel formative is determined by the weight of the preceding syllable to produce either a heavy–light or a light–heavy rhythmic pattern.

(a) With the verbalizing suffix *-a(a)ta*, the /a(a)/ is short if the preceding syllable is heavy, and long if the preceding syllable is light, e.g., *tsōrātā* 'frighten' < *tsōrō* 'fear'; *kāunatā* 'love s.o.' < *kāunā* 'love'; *dānyātā* 'moisten' < *dānyē* 'fresh, moist'; cf. *fūsātā* 'be angry' < *fushi* 'anger'; *wādātā* 'be enriched, contented' < *wādā* 'wealth, contentment'. (The length of the final vowel of these verbs also varies, but this is determined grammatically by grade assignment and not phonologically by weight polarity.)

(b) The length of the vowel *-a(a)* in the reduplicative *-a(a)Ca* suffix that derives verbs from sensory quality nouns is fully determined by weight polarity, e.g., *zāfāfā* 'make hot' < *zāfi* 'heat', *kaifāfā* 'sharpen' < *kaifti* 'sharpness'; cf. *dūmāmā* 'warm up' < *dūmī* 'warmth'.

(c) The length of the final vowel (usually *-a(a)*) of each component of reduplicated LL-HL nouns is determined by weight polarity, i.e., it is short if the preceding syllable is heavy and long if the preceding syllable is light, e.g., *bōkō-bōkō* 'fraud' < *bōkō* 'fraud'; *kāusā-kāusā* 'a small plant with coarse leaves like sandpaper' < *kāushi* 'roughness'; *hantā-hantā* 'talking through one's nose' < *hanci* 'nose'; cf. *ramā-ramā* 'jute' < *ramā* 'hemp'.

### 3.4. Syllable weight and tone

In various morphological constructions, one finds a correlation, albeit imperfect, between syllable weight and tone.

(a) Basic disyllabic intransitive verbs ending in *-a* (the grade 3 verbs) typically have L-H tone and a light first syllable, e.g., *tūma* 'jump', *shiga* 'enter', *tsira* 'germinate, sprout'. Grade 3a verbs, which have a heavy first syllable, have H-H tone, e.g., *girma* 'grow up', *kaura* 'migrate', *tsira* 'escape'.

(b) Plurals of ethnonyms are formed by means of a suffix *-āwā*. Those that are built on disyllabic stems with a heavy first syllable often have an L-L-H tone pattern (although in some cases all H is possible). Ethnonyms with a light first syllable invariably have all H tones, e.g., *Hāusāwā* 'Hausa people', *Gwārāwā* 'Gwari people', *dūkāwā* 'leather workers'; cf. *Badāwā* 'Bade people', *Kanāwā* 'Kano people'.

(c) Hypocoristic names formed by reduplication of the final syllable have L-H-H tone if the initial syllable is heavy. If the initial syllable is light, the word has an initial H tone, the other tones being unpredictable, e.g., *Āudūdu* 'Little Audu' < *Audū* (masc. name); *Lādīdi* 'Little Ladi' < *Lādī* (fem. name); *Mūdēdē* 'Little Mustapha' < *Mūdē* (masc. name, short for Mustapha); cf. *Inūnu* 'Little Inusa' < *Inū* (masc. name, short for Inusa); *Kulūlu* 'Little Kulu' < *Kulū* (fem. name).

## 4. WORD STRUCTURE

Because all syllables begin with a consonant, it follows that all Hausa words necessarily begin with a consonant. Although CVC is a normal syllable type in the language, it is very uncommon at the end of a word, i.e., most words end in a vowel. Even sonorants, which naturally occur in word-medial position as codas, are lexically uncommon in word-final position. Consonants do, however, occur word finally. They are found, for example, in (a) ideophones, ideophonic adjectives, and exclamations, which by nature are extrasystemic, e.g. *wulik* 'emphasizing blackness', *jūgum* 'indicating silence', *santal-santāl* 'svelte, handsome (pl.)', *ka* 'expression of annoyance'; (b) some adverbs and function words, e.g., *ainūn* 'very much', *tun* 'since'; (c) grade 5 "effential" verbs with the suffix *-as/-aŋ*, e.g., *zubaŋ* 'pour out' (< *zuba* 'pour'); and (d) allomorphy

resulting from clipping or vowel apocope, e.g., **baŋ** pre-object form of **barì** 'let, allow', **kāf** = **kadà** 'don't, lest', **mìn** = **mini** 'to me', **mùtóm** < **mùtumì** 'man', **mālām** 'teacher, Mr.', cf. **mālāmì** 'teacher'. Most consonant-final nouns are recent loanwords from Arabic or English (or French in Niger), e.g., **hāfām** 'forbidden according to Islamic laws and precepts' (< Ar.), **kāmùs** 'dictionary' (< Ar.), **kaŋàs** 'carrot(s)' (< Eng.), **kōfūr** 'corporal' (< Eng.), **bél** 'belt' (< Eng.), **téf** 'tape' (< Eng.), **bik** 'ball-point pen' (< Fr.), **kāf** 'bus' (< Fr.), **lākwāl** 'school' (< Fr.). It should be emphasized that because of the massive influx of loanwords in this century, C-final words are now far from negligible in Hausa, a fact that is bound to have an impact on the future phonological development of the language.

ØHN: The restriction against word-final obstruents seems to be very old. The near absence of word-final nasals is due to a historically more recent phonological loss affecting both final /n/ and /m/ (Schuh 1976), e.g., \***guzan** > **guzà** 'water monitor', \***kadam** > **kadà** 'crocodile'.

#### 4.1. Number of syllables

Most words in the language (excluding recent loanwords from English (or French)) tend to be disyllabic, trisyllabic, or even quadrisyllabic. The norm for basic monomorphemic words is disyllabic. Longer words tend to be derived or inflected forms or else loanwords from Arabic.

Hausa does have some monosyllabic words, but these tend to be restricted to particular lexical classes. They are typical, for example, in the case of personal pronouns, connectors, modal particles, and other function words, e.g., **mū** 'we', **dà** 'and/with', **fa** 'indeed', **mè** 'what?' They are also common with ideophones, where they tend to contain a final consonant or a diphthong, e.g., **fat** 'very white', **zau** 'very hot, very tasty'. On the other hand, there are only some twelve or so monosyllabic verbs. Some of these belong to the class of H-tone gr0 monoverbs, which have mostly the shape **Ci** or **Cā**, e.g., **bi** 'follow', **jā** 'pull'. Some are clipped or apocopated verbs, e.g., **sau** 'release' (< //sàki//), **ga** 'see' (pre noun form of **gani**), **kàs** 'kill' (compound form of **kashè**). Finally, there are a few defective disyllabic verbs, e.g., **sá** 'put, cause', **cé** 'say'.

There are very few native monosyllabic nouns and only one monosyllabic adjective in the language. These all have a heavy syllable, usually containing a coda consonant or a diphthong. They have either falling (most common) or high tone, e.g., **sū** 'fishing'; **yáu** 'today', **yau** 'saliva', **kwai** 'egg', **fā** 'rock slab'. Some of these historically derived from monosyllabic words, e.g., **mái** 'oil' (< \***mar**); others are the result of word shortening, e.g., **sau** 'foot' (< **sāwū**), **jā** 'red' (< \***jāja**), **kyáu** 'goodness' (< //kyāwò// = //kyāwū//). In recent times, loanwords have added greatly to the inventory of monosyllabic words. Like native words, these typically have a heavy syllable and falling tone, e.g., **bām** 'bomb', **tí** 'tea', **shát** 'shirt', **píl** 'battery' (Fr.), **shú** 'cabbage' (Fr.).

#### 4.2. Final vowel length

Most native common nouns and adjectives have a long final vowel, e.g., **watà** 'month', **kārè** 'dog', **gafiyà** 'bandicoot', **durùmì** 'fig tree', **fari** 'white', as do most loanwords from Arabic, e.g., **hātīmì** 'seal', **bāyānì** 'explanation'. Loanwords from other languages (e.g., English, Yoruba, Fulani, Kanuri), on the other hand, often end in a short final vowel, e.g., **faskilà** 'first class' (Eng.), **gwamnatì** 'government' (Eng.), **àgàdè** 'plantain(s)' (Yor.), **gwaggò** 'paternal aunt' (Ful.), **ciròmà** 'traditional title' (Kan.). Noun plurals invariably have a long final vowel regardless of the final vowel length of the singular, e.g., **wātānì** 'months', **gwamnatōci** 'governments'. Two exceptions to this generalization are reduplicated frequentatives, which function sometimes as plurals, e.g., **cāmfe-cāmfe** 'superstitions' (< sg. **camfi**) and fully reduplicated plurals of loanwords, e.g., **jōjì-jōjì** 'judges' (< sg. **jōjì**).

Islamic or Biblical personal names generally have a short final vowel unless they end in H-tone /ā/, in which case the vowel is long, e.g., **Ādāmu** m., **Hālīmā** f., **Haŋūnā** m., **Maŋyamā** f., **Mūhammadū** m., **Mūhtārī** m., **Rūfā'i** m., **Sāfatū** f., cf. **Hasānā** f., **Īsā** m., **Jamīlā** f., **Muŋtālā** m., **Mūsā** m., **Rāhīlā**

f., *Yàhàyà* m., *Yàhūzā* m. The name *Daudā* m., with L-tone long /ā/, is an exception. Short forms of names typically end in a short vowel if the tone is L. If the tone is H, one often gets a long vowel (unless the vowel is /e/); but this length is individually determined and not predictable, e.g., *Jibò* short for *Jibīrīlū* m., *Sulè* short for *Sulēmānū* m., *Ābū* short for *Zāinabū* f., *Ādō* short for *Ādāmu* m., *Bālā* short for *Bālārabè*, *Fātū* short for *Fātimā*, *Hābū* short for *Ābūbakār*, *Hānne* short for *Hānnatū* f., *Hāusu* short for *Hāfsatū* f., *Īdī* short for *Īdīrīsū* m., *Māiřo* short for *Māiřamū* f., *Mūd'de* short for *Mustāfā* m., *Zāra* short for *Zāhārā'ū* f. With proper names derived from common nouns, the final vowel is almost always short, regardless of the tone, e.g., *Sābo* / *Sābuwā* m./f., cf. *sābō* / *sābuwā* 'new' m./f.; *Gōshi* f., cf. *gōshī* 'forehead'; *Bāwā* m., cf. *bāwā* 'slave'. An exception is *Wādā* m., cf. *wādā* 'wealth'. An even more striking exception is the pair *Bābbā* m., cf. *bābba* 'big', where the name has a long vowel as opposed to the underlying form (an adjective) that has a short vowel.

Adverbs as a class have short final vowels, e.g., *jiyā* 'yesterday', *nēsā* 'far', *zāune* 'seated'. Numerals, apart from *dāri* 'hundred' and *dubū* 'thousand', end either in a short final vowel or, in the case of higher numbers borrowed from Arabic, in a consonant, e.g., *huđu* 'four', *āřbā* 'in forty'.

As would be expected with a highly marked phonaesthetic class, ideophones display a range of shapes, ending in long vowels and short vowels as well as consonants, e.g., *zōřōřō* 'exceedingly tall', *kaca-kaca* 'in disarray', *tsīřit* 'very tiny'.

With verbs, the length of the final vowel is not an inherent lexical property of the root but rather depends on the grade and the specific syntactic use. The only significant generalizations that hold are that the exclusively intransitive grades (3 and 7) end in a short final vowel (e.g., *řita* gr3 'go out', *fāřl* gr3b 'fall', *gyāru* gr7 'be well repaired') and that verb forms before a personal pronoun direct object have a long final vowel (e.g., *yā kāmā ta* 'He caught her', *yā bi tā* 'He followed her', *yā nēmē tā* 'He sought her.').

## 5. PHONOTACTIC CO-OCCURRENCE RESTRICTIONS

### 5.1. Sonorants

In normal CVCV sequences, /l/ and /n/, and /l/ and /r/ cannot co-occur. The restriction does not, however, apply to the plural suffix *-unā*, or to the *-n* linker, e.g., *tūlū* 'water pot', pl. *tūlunā*, *tūluntā* 'her water pot' (lit. water pot.of.her). The /l/r restriction applies only to the flap /r/. It does not affect the rolled ř, i.e., words with the sequence /ř/ - /l/ and /l/ - /ř/ occur, e.g., *lūřa* 'look after', *řūlā* 'ruler (for measuring length)'. In the case of flap /r/ and /n/, there is a unidirectional restriction: /r/ - /n/ occurs readily, e.g., *řinā* 'dye', *řāni* 'dry season', but /n/ - /r/ does not, the word *narkē* 'melt' being an exception.

### 5.2. Glottalized consonants

There are two main restrictions that affect the glottalized consonants.

(a) One cannot have two different glottalized consonants in the same word, i.e., /b/, /d/, /ts/, /k/, and /y/ (and dialectal /c'/) do not co-occur in the same word, whether in immediate sequence or separated by other elements. (The Arabic loanword *dāřikā* 'religious sect' is an exception.) (Remember that the digraph *ts* represents an ejective consonant and belongs in the same class with the "hooked" letters.) One can, however, have successive instances of the same glottalized consonant, e.g., *řābē* 'quarrel', *dāřumā* 'drive away', *tsātsā* 'rust', *kūkūtā* 'try hard', *'yā'yā* 'sons and daughters'.

(b) Generally speaking, glottalized consonants and their nonglottalized counterparts cannot co-occur in the same word, i.e., sequences of /b/ - /b/ or /k/ - /k/ do not occur in either order. On the other hand, whereas the sequence /d/ - /d/ does not occur, /d/ - /d/ is quite normal, e.g., *dādī* 'pleasantness', *dādē* 'last long'. Similarly, /ts/ - /s/ does not occur, although there are a few examples of /s/ - /ts/ with an intervening consonant, e.g., *santsi*, 'slipperiness', *sartsē* 'splinter'.

°AN/OHN: It is reasons of pattern triad (voiceless, the ejective count an implosive ( uncommon in the from an ejective the modern lang

Words do occur that omnyè sg.), řārřarrak strength'). These ex glottalized segments vowels /l/ and /u/ e monivowel counterparts like *biyaf* 'five' and

°AN: [i] As point is systematically before /w/. [ii] The syllable 'rumbling of sto as a vowel, i.e. restriction. Note word like /tsuw than with a gem

The second restricti eg., *yīřā* 'cover te 'heaviness', *sāwū* The third restri sequences /yi/ and / Mayū 'May', Yūni not the same for the is more complicated words, e.g., *biyu* 'Because the latter assimilation from \* When one turns to permitted before u *biyu* 'be bought', g 'follow'.

The fourth rest first syllable, a high are possible, but *řāřmā* 'dispute'; de 's verbal nouns of pronounced [nūkuw

°AN/ØHN: It is not entirely clear what qualifies as the true counterpart of /ts/. Synchronically, reasons of pattern symmetry suggest that /ts/ is the glottalized member of the /s, /z/, /ts/ fricative triad (voiceless, voiced, glottalized). Historically, however, /ts/ could just as likely be viewed as the ejective counterpart of the palatal /c/. (This would avoid having to postulate a contrast between an implosive (ɗ) and an ejective (ts) at the same position of articulation, something that is uncommon in the languages of the world.) Alternatively, /ts/ could be viewed as having developed from an ejective \*/t'/ or from a non-ejective affricate \*/ts/, neither of which has been preserved in the modern language.

Words do occur that contain both /k/ and /k/ when the /k/ is part of a suffix, e.g., **kauyukā** 'villages' (< **kauyē** sg.), **kārarraki** 'complaints' (< **kārā** sg.), **karkō** 'durability' (< \***kār-** '?' + suffix **-kō**), cf. **kwāri** 'strength'. These examples suggest that the phonotactic restriction regarding the co-occurrence of glottalized segments may be a property of lexical roots rather than full words. 5.3. *High vowels* The vowels /i/ and /u/ exhibit special phonotactic restrictions in relation to one another and to their semivowel counterparts. The first is that /i/ before /y/ and /u/ before /w/ are always short; thus, words like **biyaŋ** 'five' and **zuwā** 'coming' are normal whereas \*\***biyaŋ** and \*\***zuwā** are impossible.

°AN: [i] As pointed out by Gouffé (1965: 195n), the usually reliable dictionary of Abraham (1962) is systematically wrong in this regard: Abraham invariably transcribes long /i/ before /y/ and /ū/ before /w/.

[ii] The syllable-final glide in words like **niyyā** 'intention', **kuwwā** 'shouting', and **tsuwwā** 'rumbling of stomach' has to be interpreted as the first part of a geminate. If the glide were analyzed as a vowel, i.e., \*\*/niyā/, \*\*/kūwā/, and \*\*/tsūwā/, one would get a violation of the length restriction. Note that what is involved here is a question of phonological analysis. Phonetically, a word like /tsuwwā/ could possibly be pronounced sometimes as [tsūwā] with a long vowel rather than with a geminate [ww].

The second restriction is that in nonfinal position /i/ after /y/ and /u/ after /w/ are also necessarily short, e.g., **yifā** 'cover temporarily', **wutā** 'fire'. In final position, the long vowels occur, e.g., **nauyi** 'heaviness', **sāwū** 'foot(print)'.

The third restriction, which runs counter to universal tendencies, is the fact that whereas the sequences /yi/ and /wu/ occur, \*\*/yu/ and \*\*/wi/ normally do not, apart from a few loanwords, e.g., **Māyū** 'May', **Yūni** 'June', **tāswirā** 'map', **ḏāwtsū** 'peacock', **wilī** 'wheel'. The restriction, however, is not the same for the two glides. Whereas it holds fully in the case of /w/, the situation with regard to /y/ is more complicated. Although /yu/ is lexically uncommon, it does occur in a small number of native words, e.g., **biyu** 'two', **yumbū** 'pottery clay', **yunkūrā** 'strain, make an effort', **yunwā** 'hunger'. Because the latter three all have /u/ or /w/ in the next syllable, they could historically represent assimilation from \*yi, but synchronically one can hardly treat the initial syllable as anything but /yu/. When one turns to derived words, however, the phonotactic restriction breaks down because /y/ is permitted before u-initial suffixes, e.g., **lāyukā**, pl. of **lāyī** 'line, lane'; **māyū**, pl. of **māyē** 'sorcerer'; **sāyu** 'be bought', gr7 of **sāyā** 'buy'; **biyuwā** 'traversable, can be followed', gr7 verbal noun of **bi** / **biyā** 'follow'.

The fourth restriction relates to vowel sequences. In trisyllabic words with a short high vowel in the first syllable, a high vowel in the next syllable will necessarily be identical, i.e., CiCiCV and CuCuCV are possible, but \*\*CiCuCV and \*\*CuCiCV are not, e.g., **binikē** 'investigate', **jiminā** 'ostrich', **rigimā** 'dispute'; **durūmi** 'fig tree', **gūndurā** 'become fed up', **tūkūna** '(not) yet'. The only exceptions are verbal nouns of gr7 verbs with the ending **-uwā**, e.g., **nitsuwā** 'reflection', **nīkuwā** (sometimes pronounced [nūkuwā]) 'grindable'.

## 6. (MORPHO)PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND ALTERNATIONS

Hausa morphology reflects a number of phonological processes. Some of these processes are essentially historical in nature, although their existence is still evident in morphological alternations, whereas others still function as synchronic rules, although not necessarily in a totally productive, exceptionless manner. Some of the changes concern syllable-final coda consonants, others relate to the influence of vowels on syllable-initial consonants.

## 6.1. Syllable-final nasals

## 6.1.1. Assimilation to position

In prevocalic position, there are two distinct nasals: the bilabial /m/ and the coronal /n/. When occurring in syllable-final position followed immediately by another consonant, whether within the same word or across word boundaries, /n/ always undergoes anticipatory assimilation to the position of articulation of that abutting consonant. (As indicated above in §2.1.1, this weak, unspecified /N/ behaves in many respects as if it were attached to the nucleus, thereby creating a "nasal diphthong," rather than occupying the coda slot.) For determining the homorganic nasal rule, note that /w/ counts as a velar and not as a bilabial, e.g., /kanwā/ 'potash' → [kaŋwā] not \*[kamwā]. Similarly, glottal stop and /h/ also condition the velar [ŋ].

<b>gidankù</b>	your (pl.) house →	[gidankù], cf. [gidansù] their house, [gidammù] our house
<b>ginginā</b>	build many →	[ginginā], cf. <b>ginā</b> build
<b>hanyà</b>	road →	[hanyà] road
<b>nā san Audù</b>	I know Audu →	[nā saŋ'audù], cf. [nā sam bellò] I know Bello.
<b>sun bi</b>	They followed →	[sum bi]
	cf. [sun tayà] They made an offer.	
	cf. [suŋ kàru] They benefited.	

Note that the nasal assimilation is a late rule that follows other processes, such as the rule changing /f/ to /h/ before back rounded vowels, e.g., **lanfō** → [lamfō] = **lanhō** → [laŋhō] 'new foliage on lopped trees', **fūnfūnā** → [fūmfūnā] = **hūnhūnā** → [hūŋhūnā] 'food mold'.

In SH, but not in WH dialects, /m/ codas also undergo place assimilation. (This is reflected orthographically by the use of **n** rather than **m**.) Examples:

// <b>kamkāmā</b> //	[kaŋkāmā], orthographically <b>kankama</b> catch many, cf. <b>kāmā</b> catch
// <b>kāzāmtā</b> //	[kàzāntā] filthiness, cf. <b>kāzāmi</b> filthy
<b>yā sam</b> [saŋ] <b>wà Kānde nāmā</b>	He gave Kande a piece of meat. cf. <b>sāmā</b> provide for

Although syllable-final /m/ in SH normally becomes homorganic with the following consonant, in derivations, some speakers preserve etymological /m/ in specific lexical items, e.g., **jārūmtakā** (= **jārūntakā**) 'bravery' < **jārūmi** 'brave man'; **hārāmtā** (= **hārāntā**) 'be unlawful' < **hārām** 'unlawful according to Islam'.

°AN: In SH some people have a contrast between **gamjì** (epithet for the Sardauna of Sokoto) (a dialect borrowing from WH) with the /m/ preserved, and **ganjì** 'gutta percha [hardwood] tree', which reflects the normal assimilation rule. Both are pronounced **gamjì** in WH, where the connection between the epithet emphasizing the Sardauna's strength and the tree with its very hard wood is transparent.

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vdā// → fiddā

wan lāfiyā// → kv

## 6.1.2. Full assimilation of /n/ to liquids

When followed immediately by /l/, /r/, or /r̄/, the nasal /n/ undergoes full anticipatory assimilation to that abutting consonant. Examples:

**Dan Lādi** proper name (lit. son of Sunday) → [dallādi]

**watān Rāmālān** the month of Ramadan → [watārāmālān]

**\*kūrumrumi** > **\*kūrunrumi** → **kūrurumi** broken-necked pot (frozen reduplicated noun)

**sōn rāi** selfishness (lit. loving of life) → [sōrrāi] → [sārrāi] (vowel adjustment)

ØHN: This assimilation rule is probably the historical explanation for at least some of the geminate /ll/'s found in the lexicon (e.g., **tallē** 'small soup pot' < \***tanlē**?), although the presumed original nasal can be verified only by comparative evidence. The change \*/nl/ to /ll/ can, however, be identified in the case of recent loanwords, e.g., **sallāyè** (< \***sanlāyè**) 'Sunlight (brand of soap)', **Hwāndā bellè** (< \***benlè**) 'Honda Bentley' (type of car).

Generally speaking the geminate pronunciation across a word boundary is not reflected in orthography, i.e., the final /n/ is written as such. An exception is the clipped form /kwal/ < **kwāna** 'spend the night', used in such phrases as //kwan lāfiyā// → **kwal lāfiyā** 'Rest well!'

## 6.2. Rhotacism

Historically, syllable-final coronal obstruents changed to rolled /r̄/ (see §34:1.5.3). (In some dialects, the resulting /r̄/ now appears as /l/.) This rule continues to operate in the language as an active process. Examples:

**kaṛkaḍā** beat repeatedly < \***kaḍkaḍā**, cf. **kaḍā** beat; **maḥmaṣā** push, pester repeatedly, cf. **maṣā** push, pester; **kaṛkaṣhē** kill many < **kashē** kill; **huḥhuḍu** four each, cf. **huḍu** four; **'yaṣā** = **'yāṣā** his daughter; **faṛka** wake up = **fāḍakā**; **ḥāḥnā** damage, destruction < **ḥātā** to damage; **faṛkē** trader (< \***fatkē**), cf. pl. **fatākē**; **giṛgiḣè** (< \***gizgiḣè**) raincloud, cf. pl. **giḣāgiḣai**; **maḥmaza** very quickly, cf. **maza** quickly

The rhotacism also applies (or has historically applied) to some instances of coronal obstruents in word-final position. This, however, is *not* an automatic process, the surface realization depending on the dialect and the lexical item in question, e.g.,

**kāṛ** = **kaḍ(ā)** do not! **kyāṛ** = **kyat** difficulty; **biyāṛ** = [dv] **biyat** five; **māṛ** = **mās** to him < **masā**; **zubaṛ** = [dv] **zubaṣ** pour out; **marāṛ** = **marās** lacking (cf. pl. **marāsā**) < **rasā** to lack

## 6.3. Gemination

Surface gemination is the output of both phonological processes of assimilation (described here) and morphologically conditioned gemination (described along with the relevant morphological categories). (Note: With digraphs the orthographic convention is to represent geminates by doubling the first letter only, e.g., geminate **ts** is written **tts**, not **\*\*tsts**.)

As a phonological process, gemination is simply the result of total assimilation affecting abutting consonants (sometimes obligatory, sometimes optional), e.g.,

//fit-shē// → <b>fisshē</b>	take out (gr5 B-form)
//fit dā// → <b>fiddā</b>	take out (gr5 short-form)
//kwan lāfiyā// → <b>kwal lāfiyā</b>	Rest well!

//gidanmù// → gidammù                      our house  
 duk dà hakà (→) dud dà hakà                      nevertheless (lit. all with thus)

The rolled /r/ is particularly prone to full assimilation (i.e., geminate formation), especially when abutting with a coronal consonant, e.g.,

ařziki (→) [azziki]	wealth	sayāř dà (→) [sayaddà]	sell
hař zuwà (→) [hazzuwà]	up until	hař Lahàdi (→) [hallahàdi]	until Sunday
fuskàřkà (→) [fuskàkkà]	your face	rìgāř Sāni (→) [rìgassāni]	Sani's gown
rawāř-dāji (→) [rawaddāji]	military maneuvers	madatsāř-ruwā → [madatsarruwā]	dam

Gemination is extremely common in reduplicative constructions, as found, for example, in pluractional verbs or adjectives derived from sensory quality nouns. With coda coronals, gemination and rhotacism occur as alternative options.

daddākā (< //dakdākā//) plurac. of dakā pound; kakkāfā (< //kafkàfā//) plurac. of kafā affix; fiffita (= fīřfita) (< //fitfita//) plurac. of fita go out; mammàtsā (= mařmàtsā) (< //matsmàtsā//) plurac. of matsā push aside, pester; gwāggwābā very thick, adj. < gwābī thickness; zāzzāfā very hot, adj. < zāfī heat; kàkkāusā very rough, adj. < kaushī roughness

#### 6.4. Palatalization

Palatalization is significant both as an active process and as the historical result of the process.

##### 6.4.1. Palatalization as an active process

6.4.1.1. When followed by a front vowel, either i(i) or e(e), the alveolars s, z, and t palatalize to sh, j, and c, respectively, e.g.,

gāshe stative form of gasā roast; Bāhaushè Hausa person < Hausa Hausa; fāsashè adj. past participle of fāsā break (with -aCCē suffix); kàji pl. of kàzā hen; cīji imperative of cīzā bite; sàcè pre-pronoun B-form of gr2 verb sātā steal; mōtōci pl. of mōtā car (with -ōCI suffix)

At a historically earlier period, the palatalization was probably an automatic phonological rule. Now, however, although palatalization regularly accompanies morphological formations involving the addition of a front vowel, it does not apply across the board. Nonpalatalizing alveolars (s, z, and t) followed by a front vowel are in fact quite common in the language. One reason is the heavy influx of loanwords from English and Arabic, e.g.,

sītāř starch (Eng.); lāsīsī license (Eng.); tēbūr table (Eng.); tēlā tailor (Eng.); gāzēt gazette (Eng.); zīk zipper (Eng.); Sīdī proper name (Ar.); sīyāsā politics (Ar.); zāřř eucalyptus oil (Ar.); lafāzi pronunciation, speech (Ar.); zīnāřř gold (Ar.), zīndīřř heretic, apostate, blasphemer (Ar.)

Another reason is the occurrence of vowel changes that have taken place subsequent to the operation of the palatalization rule, namely the sporadic monophthongization of /ai/ to /ē/, and the ongoing shift of short /u/ to /i/ in various environments, e.g., between coronals or when there is a front vowel in the following syllable. Examples:

kōsē < kōsai	fried beancake	tēbā < tāibā	cooked cassava flour
sīllē < sullē	top section of cornstalk	tīkātīkī < *tukātukī	calf, shin

tunyā < tunyā      poison  
 Zānabū < Zāinabū

short /e/ normally changes to /a/ change, resulting

shēshēkā (< //shēshēkā//)      the stolen cow  
 [dv] (not \*\*zānnā)      the stolen cow

The sonorants n, l, r, and c' (an ejective affricate) occur regularly than in the case of WH c'īlā 'tapeworm'.

6.4.1.2. The voiced stop occurs regularly than in the case of WH c'īlā 'tapeworm'.

pl. of hole  
 agre

In fact, one could argue that palatalization are the only rule affecting the contrast is a result of the /d/ → /j/ change:

°HN: The /d/ → /j/ change: the contrast is a result of the /d/ → /j/ change:

pl. of hanji (< \*hanzi)

°AN: Many scholars recognize the "exceptions" to the rule.

When not preceded by a front vowel, e.g., cādī, than head-pad

Morphologically derived between. In the first which contains a

<b>tinyà</b> < <b>tunyà</b> poisonous cactus-like plant	<b>tirjè</b> < <b>turjè</b> refuse to budge, balk
<b>Zènábu</b> < <b>Zàinabu</b> proper name	<b>zirà</b> < <b>zurà</b> lower bucket into well

Short /e/ normally changes to /a/ in closed syllables. The palatalization rule takes place before the /e/ → /a/ change, resulting in surface palatals followed by /a/, e.g.,

<b>shasshèkà</b> (< //shèsshèkà// < //sèssèkà//) (not <b>**sasshèkà</b> ) winnow repeatedly	< <b>shèkà</b> winnow
<b>jānnā</b> [dv] (not <b>**zānnā</b> ) rows of reaped corn	< sg. <b>jēnè</b> (//zēnè//)
<b>sàttaccān</b> the stolen one (< //sàttattè `n//), cf. pl. <b>sàttātūn</b> (< //sàttātū `n//)	

The sonorants **n**, **l**, **r**, and **ř** do not undergo palatalization, nor does **ɖ**. The ejective sibilant **ts** palatalizes to **c'** (an ejective affricate) in WH dialects, but not in SH, e.g., SH **dútsè** = WH **dútc'ì** 'stone', SH **tsllā** = WH **c'ílā** 'tapeworm'.

6.4.1.2. The voiced stop **d** also palatalizes to **j**, with resultant neutralization of the **z/d** contrast, but less regularly than in the case of /s/, /z/, and /t/. Examples:

<b>gadàjè</b>	pl. of <b>gadō</b> bed
<b>hūjì</b>	hole (noun from <b>hūdà</b> bore)
<b>yařjè</b>	agree to, gr4 of <b>yàřda</b> agree

In fact, one could argue that *nonpalatalization* is the norm for /d/ and the words that undergo palatalization are the exception. The non-automatic /d/ → /j/ change thus should not be grouped with the rule affecting the other alveolar obstruents as is normally done.

◊HN: The /d/ → /j/ rule is historically more recent than the /z/ → /j/ rule, i.e., the neutralization of the contrast is a recent phenomenon. At an earlier period, /z/ and /d/ before front vowels would have been distinct, the former appearing phonetically as [ž] or [j], the latter as [d] or [dy].

The /d/ → /j/ change is systematically blocked by a preceding /n/, e.g.,

<b>gìndì</b> (not <b>**gìnjì</b> )	base	<b>kundì</b>	pad of paper, thesis
<b>landè</b>	type of cloth;	<b>yandì</b>	type of fig tree
cf. <b>hanjì</b> (< <b>*hanzì</b> )	intestines		

◊AN: Many scholars, including Parsons, considered non-palatalizing forms like **gìndì** 'base' to be "exceptions" to the presumed palatalization rule. These forms are in fact quite regular as long as one recognizes the conditioning effect of the preceding nasal.

Even when not preceded by a nasal, many nonderived words still preserve nonpalatalized /d/ before a front vowel, e.g., **càdì** miser; **dilā** jackal; **dimùn** undoubtedly; **gìdì-gidì** being a busybody; **gōdè** thank, **gòdiyā** thanks; **kudì** black-bordered, red, cotton fabric; **tānadi** thrift, foresight; **tařdè** head-pad

Morphologically derived/inflected forms can be divided into two classes, with a few words falling in-between. In the first group (a), the /d/ does not (or normally does not) palatalize; in the second group (b), which contains a number of common, high frequency words, the palatalization normally takes place, e.g.,



(a) **bāfādè** courtier, ethnonym from **fādà** chief's residence; **baṛādè** (= **baṛàjè** ?), pl. of **baṛdè** mounted attendant of chief; **bidōdī**, pl. of **bidà** thatching needle; **Hamīdōdī**, pl. of **Hamīdū** (proper name); **jàkādīyā** female emissary, f. of **jàkādà** emissary; **jidè** / **jidi**, B and C forms of gr2 verb **jidā** transport; **marīdī** snatcher, agentive of **rīdā** snatch at; **rédè** grind all, gr4 of **rèdā** grind, separate grain from bran; **shaddōdī**, pl. of both **sháddā** cesspit and **shaddà** brocade fabric; **yārdaddè** trustworthy, adjectival past participle of **yāṛda** agree (but **yāṛjè** agree to, gr4 of **yāṛda**)

(b) **gadōji**, pl. of **gadā** bridge; **gājè**/ **gàji**, B and C forms of gr2 verb **gādā** inherit; **gidàjè**, pl. of **gidā** home; **gūdāji**, pl. of **gūdā** unit; **gūdajjè** a runaway, adjectival past participle of **gudū** run; **gwājī** experiment, test, deverbal noun of **gwadà** measure, test; **kadōji** = **kadōdī**, pl. of **kadà** crocodile; **kudàjè**, pl. of **kudā** a fly (itself originally a plural of **kujè**)

6.4.1.3. The semivowel **w** regularly palatalizes to **y**, e.g.,

**ḅarāwò** thief, pl. **ḅarāyi** (with **-i** suffix); **kāsūwā** market, pl. **kāsūwōyi** (with **-ōCi** suffix); **kawā** woman's female friend, pl. **kawāyè** (with **-āCè** suffix.); **rawā** dancing, pl. **rāye-rāye** (with **-e** suffix and reduplication)

The only exceptions in which **/w/** remains before a front vowel are recent loanwords like **wējī** 'wedge' and **wīlī** 'wheel', and the ideophonic word **wī-wī** 'marijuana'. The word **wuyà** 'neck' is pronounced [wiyà], but the phonetic fronting of the high vowel (conditioned by the neighboring **/y/**) does not affect the initial **/w/**.

6.4.1.4. Viewed in the context of the palatalization rule affecting alveolar obstruents, the **w** → **y** change seems totally ad hoc, but this is not so. The fact is that the velars **k**, **g**, **ƙ** also undergo regular palatalization before front vowels. (Remember that **/w/** in Hausa constitutes a velar rather than a bilabial.) Although scholars have known this for some time, the change has tended to be neglected because the palatalization of velars, unlike the palatalization of alveolars, is not reflected in orthography or in standard linguistic transcription. Examples:

**kifī** [kyifī] fish; **gēmù** [gyēmù] beard; **baƙi** [baƙyi] black, cf. pl. **baƙàƙè** [baƙàƙyè]; **dàkè** [dàkyè] type of ink; **bègè** [bègyè] yearning, longing; **hànkàki** [hànkàkyi] crows, pl. of **hànkàkà**

As is the case with palatalized alveolars, palatalization of velars applies before the change of **/e/** to **/a/** that takes place in closed syllables, e.g.,

**ràkè + nsà** → [ràkyènsà] → [ràkyansà] his sugar cane  
**gèffā** → [gyèffā] → [gyàffā] sides (pl. of **gèfè** [gyèfè])  
**baƙàƙè-n mōtōci** → [baƙàƙyèn]... → [baƙàƙyan] black cars

The palatalization is not retained, however, when a final front vowel is replaced by a morphological suffix beginning with **/a/**. In this respect, palatalization does not behave identically with labialization (see below §6.5), e.g.,

**gwanki** [gwanƙyi] roan antelope, pl. **gwankàyè** (not **\*\*[gwanƙyàyè]**)  
**shingè** [shingyè] fence, pl. **shingàyè** (not **\*\*[shingyàyè]**)  
 cf. **bangō** [banƙwō] wall, pl. **bangwàyè**

The palatalization also applies to labialized velars (whether distinctive/phonemic or redundant). Thus

**gw**, for example, becom

**àgwàgwā**  
**lgwā**  
**ɗan tsàkō** [tsàkwō]  
**bàkō** [bàkwō]

The palatalization rule (synchronic) /Cui/ syll does **luƙwīƙwiyā** 'grou

6.4.2. Sporadic ant In a few cases, an alve counterpart in the foll

**gùjajjè** = **gùdajjè**  
**màcaccè** = **màtacce**

6.4.3. Depalataliz Because the palataliz words with the palatali in the derived form re

**gāshì** (< //gāsì//)  
**dùƙushi** (< //dùƙust//)  
**mijì** (< //mizì//)  
**ƙunci** (< //ƙuntì//)

The depalatalization palatal, e.g.,

**canzà** change < ca  
**àlhāzai** pilgrims <

The plural **hankitōci** into /t/, but then und With the breakd palatals, derived form e.g.,

**ajì** class,  
**ƙunci** cheek,

6.5. Labializatio Velar consonants an dialects, labials an indicated in orthogra place whether the c

gw, for example, becomes /gy/ (orthographic g), e.g.,

àgwàgwā	duck, pl. àgwàgī [àgwàgyī] (< //àgwàgwī//)
igwā	cannon, pl. igōgī [igwōgyī] (< //igwōgwī//)
ɗan tsākō [tsàkwō]	baby chick, pl. 'yan tsākī [tsàkyī]
bākō [bàkwō]	stranger, guest, pl. bākī [bàkyī]

The palatalization rule does not apply to **CwI** sequences representing underlying (historical, if not synchronic) /Cui/ syllables, e.g., gwībī 'viscousness' (< //gwībī//) does not palatalize to \*\*g<sup>y</sup>ībī; nor does lu<sup>k</sup>wī<sup>k</sup>wīyā 'ground or pound finely' (< //lu<sup>k</sup>wī<sup>k</sup>ūyā//) palatalize to \*\*lu<sup>k</sup>yī<sup>k</sup>yīyā.

#### 6.4.2. Sporadic anticipatory palatalization

In a few cases, an alveolar consonant occurring before a nonfront vowel assimilates to its derived palatal counterpart in the following syllable, e.g.,

gùjajjē = gùdajjē	a runaway (past participle of gudù run away)
màcaccē = màtacce	dead (past participle of verb base //mat-// die (cf. mutù die))

#### 6.4.3. Depalatalization

Because the palatalization rule was presumably fully regular at an earlier historical stage, one now finds words with the palatalized consonant in the underlying lexical form and the nonpalatalized counterpart in the derived form representing the earlier lexical base, e.g.,

gāshī (< //gāsī//)	hair, cf. gārgāsā (< *gāsgāsā) hairy
dùkushī (< //dùkusi//)	colt, cf. dùkusā female colt
mijī (< //mizī//)	husband, cf. pl. mazā males
kunci (< //kunti//)	constriction, cf. kuntātā restrict, pester

The depalatalization also shows up in words backformed from loanwords that have an etymological palatal, e.g.,

canzà change < canjī changing (Eng.); fātu be patched < fācī a patch, patching (Eng.)
àlhāzai pilgrims < àlhajī a pilgrim (Ar.)

The plural hankitōcī from hankici 'handkerchiefs' is interesting in that the stem-final /c/ backforms into /t/, but then undergoes palatalization as part of the -ōcī plural formative.

With the breakdown in the originally allophonic relationship between alveolars and corresponding palatals, derived forms are now being created without the "depalatalization" before non-front vowels, e.g.,

ajī	class, pl. ajūjūwā = azūzuwā; hancī nose, pl. hancunā = hantunā
kunci	cheek, side of face, pl. kuncunā (cf. the archaic pl. kumātū)

#### 6.5. Labialization

Velar consonants are automatically labialized when followed by a back-rounded vowel. (In some WH dialects, labials and alveolars undergo labialization as well.) This redundant labialization is not indicated in orthography, e.g., the word for 'ram' is spelled rāgō, not \*\*ragwo. The labialization takes place whether the conditioning vowel is lexical or morphological. Examples:

**kūrā** [kwūrā] hyena; **gōrā** [gwōrā] large calabash; **kōfā** [kwōfā] doorway; **dōgō** [dōgwō] tall; **dankō** [danƙwō] stickiness (< **dānkā** grip); **tāgōgi** [tāgwōgyi] windows (< **tāgā** window); **saukō** [saukwō] come down toward here (< **sauka** alight, descend)

If the final back-rounded vowel is morphologically replaced by a suffix beginning with /a(a)/, the labialization is sometimes retained, sometimes not, depending on dialect or idiolect or on the individual word, e.g.,

[dōgwō] tall, pl. **dōgāyē** = **dōgwāyē**; [zugwū] roll of native cloth, pl. **zugāgē**  
 [zaŋkwō] bird's crest, roof corner point, pl. **zankāyē** = **zankwāyē**

The weak subject pronoun **ku** (phonetically [kwu]) 'you (pl.)' appears with initial /kw/ when it is attached to the TAM marker /-ā/ used in the negative continuous and in the potential, e.g., **bā kwā tāfiyā** 'You are not going'; **kwā tāfi?** 'Will you possibly go?' (cf. **kunā tāfiyā** 'You are going.').

In closed syllables, /ō/ automatically shortens to /o/ and usually centralizes to /a/ as well. When this happens, the labialization is invariably retained, e.g.,

<b>bākō-n</b> [bākwān]	the stranger (not *[bākān])
<b>dōgō-n mūtūm</b> [dōgwān mūtūm]	tall man (not *[dōgān mūtūm])
<b>kōkō-n gwīwā</b> [kwōkwān gwīwā]	kneecap (lit. small calabash-of knee)
<b>sunā cikō-n</b> [cikwān] <b>rāmī</b>	They're filling up the hole.

6.6. Alternation of /f/ and /h/

Historically the phoneme /f/ was pronounced [h] when followed by the back-rounded vowels /ū/ and /ō/, e.g., /tsōfō/ 'old' = [tsōhō]; /fōrā/ 'discipline' = [hōrā]; /fūtā/ 'rest' = [hūtā]; /mafūci/ 'fan' = [mahūci] (cf. the alternative form [mafici] with the [f] intact). When followed by short /u/, the /f/ to [h] rule was less general and subject to greater individual and dialectal variation, e.g., /fudu/ 'four' = [fudu] or [hudu]; /fūmfūnā/ 'food mold' = [fūmfūnā] or [hūnhūnā]; /haifū/ 'give birth' = [haifū] or [haihū] (cf. **hāifā** 'give birth to'); but /furā/ 'millet balls' = [furā] only. This realization rule was clearly operative until very recently as evidenced by its application to English loanwords, e.g., 'photo' > **hōtō**; 'polo' > **hōlō** (with **p** first replaced by **f**, which then altered into **h**); 'powder' > **hōdā**; 'raffle' > **rēhūl**. There is one example of the change applying before /au/ (the pronunciation of which tends toward [ou]), namely, **mahauci** / **mahautā** 'butcher / butchering place' < **fāwā** 'butchery'. The present orthographic (and transcription) convention is to use the symbol **h** whenever it is pronounced as such whether it represents a conditioned variant of /f/ (historical or synchronic) or not.

ØHN: As mentioned earlier, old Hausa did not have a distinct /h/ phoneme. This entered the language as a development from word-initial zero (e.g., \***abā** > **habā** 'chin'), from the adoption of loanwords, especially from Arabic (e.g., **hūsūfi** 'eclipse'), and from the phonemicization of the [h] that previously existed as an allophone of /f/.

Vestiges of the originally /f/ → [h] allophonic rule show up in the alternation between /f/ and /h/ in morphological processes. These processes work in two directions.

6.6.1. f → h

With a few specific lexical items, **f** → **h** functions as a synchronically active morphophonemic rule. (The rule does not affect /f/ if it has been strengthened by gemination.) Consider the following examples in which a nonrounded vowel in the stem is replaced by a rounded vowel in the derived form.

**tsōfi** go + -ō ver  
**tsōfi** throw + -ō  
**tsōfi** to patch + -  
**tsōfi** cook + -u  
 cf. **dāfaffē** cooked  
 Although Hausaists  
 high-frequency pairs  
 exception of the few  
 beginning with a ba  
 Examples taken from  
**tsōfi** lean on, pre  
**tsōfi** head toward  
**tsōfi** squeeze + -  
**tsōfi** set up + -u  
**tsōfi** bateleur ea  
**tsōfi** small hole  
**tsōfi** foot, leg +  
**tsōfi** [dv] grass bas  
 cf. [SH] **sanhō** + -u  
 6.2. Recovered  
 a few examples, t  
 This process is com  
**tsōfi** yelling, sho  
**tsōfi** old, pl. tsōfi  
 The alternative plura  
 place even though it  
 become lexicalized a  
 6.7. Vowel assim  
 Anticipatory assim  
 grammatical morphe  
 The pre-pronom  
 pronoun, e.g.,  
**tsōfi**  
**tsōfi** (→) **mini** to  
**tsōfi** to you (pl.),  
 The ma- instrument  
 (especially short /u/  
 e.g.,  
**tsōfi**  
**tsōfi** (→) **mug**  
 (→) **muzurāri** fun

<b>tàfi</b>	go + -ò ventive →	<b>tahò</b>	come here
<b>jèfà</b>	throw + -ò ventive →	<b>jèhò</b>	throw this way
<b>mafè</b>	to patch + -ò VN formative →	<b>mahò</b>	a patch on a cloth
<b>dafà</b>	cook + -u sustentative →	<b>dàhu</b>	be well cooked

(cf. **dàfaffè** cooked + -ù plural → **dàfàffù** (not **\*\*dàfàhhù**))

Although Hausaists tend to think of **f** → **h** as an active, productive rule because of its occurrence in high-frequency pairs like **tàfi/tahò** 'go/come', it turns out that it is actually quite limited. With the exception of the few examples above, modern SH speakers do *not* change /f/ to /h/ in derived forms beginning with a back-rounded vowel. Rather, the /f/ remains as such. The following are typical examples taken from a list of over fifty words with base-final /f/:

<b>dáfà</b>	lean on, press on + -ò ventive →	<b>dáfò</b>	lean on for
<b>nùfà</b>	head toward + -ò ventive →	<b>nufò</b>	head toward this way
<b>tsáfà</b>	squeeze + -u sustentative →	<b>tsàfu</b>	be squeezed
<b>kafà</b>	set up + -u sustentative + -wà verbal noun →	<b>kàfuwà</b>	establishment
<b>gaggáfà</b>	bateleur eagle + -ù pl. →	<b>gàggàfù</b>	eagles
<b>kafà</b>	small hole + -òCì pl. →	<b>kafòfi</b>	holes
<b>kafà</b>	foot, leg + -àCù/-àCuwà pl. →	<b>kafàfù / kafàfuwà</b>	feet, legs
<b>samfò</b> [dv]	grass basket + -unà pl. →	<b>samfunà</b>	grass baskets

(cf. [SH] **sanhò** + -unà → **sanhunà**)

#### 6.6.2. Recovered /f/

In a few examples, the original /f/ in words now ending in /hò/ or /hù/ is recovered in derived forms. (This process is comparable to the depalatalization described earlier in §6.4.3.) Examples:

<b>ihù</b>	yelling, shout, pl. <b>ifàce-ifàce</b>	<b>màkàhò</b>	blind man, pl. <b>màkàfi</b>
<b>tsòhò</b>	old, pl. <b>tsòfàffi</b>	<b>murhù</b>	hearth, fireplace, pl. <b>muràfà = muràfù</b> (!)

The alternative plural form **muràfù** is remarkable in that the switch back to the etymological /f/ takes place even though it is followed by /ù/. With some modern SH speakers, the [h] in the singular has now become lexicalized as /h/ with **murhunà** as the preferred plural.

#### 6.7. Vowel assimilation

Anticipatory assimilation of /a/ to the vowel in a following syllable is a property of a few specific grammatical morphemes. It is not a general phonological process.

The pre-pronominal indirect object marker **ma-** usually assimilates to the vowel of the following pronoun, e.g.,

<b>manì</b> (→)	<b>minì</b> to me,	<b>makì</b> (→)	<b>mikì</b> to you (f.),	<b>mashì</b> →	<b>mishì</b> to him (= <b>masà</b> ),	<b>makù</b> (→)
<b>mukù</b>	to you (pl.),	<b>masù</b> (→)	<b>musù</b> to them			

The **ma-** instrument prefix is commonly pronounced /mu/ if the following syllable contains /u/ (especially short /u/). The assimilation is, however, lexically specific and does not apply in all cases, e.g.,

<b>magurji</b> (→)	<b>mugurji</b> stone for rubbing/scraping off;	<b>mahùji</b> (→)	<b>muhùji</b> boring tool;	<b>mazurāri</b>
(→)	<b>muzurāri</b> funnel			

cf. *mabūdī* not → **\*\*mubūdī** opener; *matūkī* not → **\*\*mutūkī** stirring stick

Short /u/ sometimes assimilates to /i/ if there is a front vowel in a following syllable. Again the changes are word specific and do not constitute general phonological processes. Examples:

*būki* (→) **bīki** celebration (pl. *bukūkuwà*); *duddugè* (→) **diddigè** heel (pl. *dùgàdùgai*)  
**\*guddùgī** → **giddigī** a cripple (pl. *gùddùgai*); **\*tukàtuki** → **tikàtiki** calf, shin (pl. *tùkàtukai*)

°AN: Note that the vowel fronting does not feed the palatalization rule, even in cases where /i/ synchronically has effectively replaced /u/, e.g., the word for 'calf' is **tikàtiki**, not **\*\*cikàciki**.

6.8. Metathesis

Metathesis does not function as an active process in any synchronic phonological or morphological rules. It does, however, show up lexically in a number of idiolectal variants and in one regular historical change affecting some non-SH dialects.

(a) Switch of consonants in adjacent syllables, e.g.,

*bincikē* = [dv] **binkicē** investigate; *dākumà* = **dāmuḳà** clutch at, grab; *gàbàruwā* = **bàgàruwā** Egyptian mimosa; *nauyi* = [dv] **yauni** heaviness; *tāwadà* = [dv] **tādawà** ink

In one case the metathesis affects the onset and coda consonants in the same syllable: *àwàftakī* = **àràutakī** 'tongs, pincers, pliers'.

(b) Metathesis of abutting consonants (with automatic adjustment of the glides /y/ and /w/ and their vocalic counterparts /i/ and /u/ depending upon their position in the syllable), e.g.,

*kwàsḟā* = **kwàḟsā** eggshell; *Bà'azbinè* = [dv] **Bà'abzinè** psn from Asben; *báiwā* = [dv] **báuyā** (= *bòyā*) female slave; *gauràyā* = [dv] **garwàyā** mix up, stir; *sáiwā* = [dv] **sáuyā** root

(c) Systematic historical metathesis of abutting **\*/m.r/** to **/r.m/** in certain WH dialects. (The metathesis is not immediately evident if one looks at Standard Hausa because SH has undergone a subsequent weakening of syllable-final /m/ to /u/ when followed by /n/ and /r/). Examples:

<i>amrè</i> (= SH <i>aurè</i> ) >	<b>armè</b>	marriage
<i>ɗamrè</i> (= SH <i>ɗaurè</i> ) >	<b>ɗarmè</b>	tie
<i>kyamrō</i> (= SH <i>kyaurō</i> ) >	<b>kyarmō</b>	arrow shaft
<i>gàmrākā</i> (= SH <i>gàurākā</i> ) >	<b>gàrmākā</b>	crownbird
<i>samri</i> (= SH <i>sauri</i> ) >	<b>sarmi</b>	speed

(d) Switch from **a...i** to **i...a** in adjacent syllables, e.g.,

*barì* = **birà** let, leave; *sakì* = **shikà** let loose; *sanì* = **shinà** know

Note that the tone and vowel length remain in place and do not accompany the transposition in vowel quality, i.e., *barì* → **birà**, not **\*\*bìrà** or **\*\*bìra**. Note also that palatalization of the coronal /s/ applies to the occurring surface structure after the metathesis has taken place.

The deverbal noun *kisà* 'killing, murder', which is synchronically related to *kashè* 'to kill', is a metathesized form of a final -i H-L verbal noun form **\*kas(h)ī**, which still exists in Sokoto, e.g., *kashìn kái* = **kisàn kái** 'murder'.

The word *kidà* 'child' is derived from... metathesized variants... on a special, n...

9. Clipping, apocopation

9.1. Clipping

The term *clipping* is the shortening of a word. Clipping results in the formation of... *Ras*, not **\*\*Rás**;

- (a) clipped verbs: *ɗa* (subject form) < *ganɗi*
- ɗa* provide for; *sa*
- (b) clipped adverbs: [ ]
- (c) clipped N + linker
- ayan* back of, e.g.,
- e.g., *san kurmi* title
- (d) clipped conjunctive
- ɗin* or *kàmin* before
- (e) others: *jim* < *jimi*
- sa*; *sau* < *sāwū* for

Clipping is particularly... *ɗa*; *Dije* < *Hādiz*

9.2. Apocopation

The term *apocopation* is the dropping of a vowel, especially with some words are in the process to include the following

*ɗa* < *kadà* don't, [H] *nau* / *tau* < *nā* (Note that *ɗa* < *tāusayī* m... *wanzām* < *wānzām*

ΔDN: WH has (m. or pl. / f., respectively). However, that t

The word *kid'â* 'drumming' is a metathesized variant of the verbal noun form *kadî* 'spinning', which is derived from the verb *kad'â* 'spin, drum, churn, etc.' Unlike the case of *barî* = *birâ*, etc., the metathesized variants here are not semantically equivalent, but rather have lexically diverged, each taking on a special, narrow meaning from the range of meanings covered by the source verb.

### 6.9. Clipping, apocoptation, contraction

There are three partially overlapping processes of word shortening. I use the following terminology to keep the three processes distinct.

#### 6.9.1. Clipping

The term *clipping* is used to describe lexicalized, sometimes grammatically conditioned, short forms where the shortening cannot be considered as simply a fast-speech variant. Generally speaking, clipping results in the deletion of the tone along with the deleted segment(s), e.g., *kasà* 'on the ground' (⇒) *kas*, not *\*\*kâs*; *sanî* 'know' ⇒ *san* pre-object form, not *\*\*sân*; cf. *ìdan* 'if' (⇒) *in*. Examples:

- (a) clipped verbs: *ḏaḏ* < *ḏarâ* exceed slightly; *ḏau* < *ḏaukâ* lift, take; *faḏ* < *fādâ* fall on; *ga* (pre-object form) < *ganî* see; *kas* < *kashè* kill; *kwan* < *kwāna* spend the night; *sam* give a little to < *sāmâ* provide for; *sau* < *sākâ* release; *zam* < *zama* become
- (b) clipped adverbs: [WH] *bis* < *bisà* up above; *kas* < *kasà* on the ground; *tùkùn* < *tùkùna* (not) yet
- (c) clipped N + linker: *ran* < *rānaḏ* day of, e.g., *ran kâsuwâ* market day; *bân* (esp. in compounds) < *bāyan* back of, e.g., *bân-ḏākî* toilet (lit. back.of-room); *san* (esp. in compounds) < *sarkin* chief.of, e.g., *san kurmî* title for head of the Kano city market and prison
- (d) clipped conjunctions/prepositions: *don* < *dòmin* in order to; *ì* < *yâ* like; *in* < *ìdan* if; *kàn* < *kâfin* or *kâmin* before
- (e) others: *jim* < *jimâwâ* used in *jim* (= *jimâwâ*) *kad'an* after a little while; *mâ* / *má* < *makâ* to you (m.); *sau* < *sāwū* foot(print); *yau* < *yāwū* saliva; *yō* < *yiwō* do and come

Clipping is particularly common in creating short forms of proper names, e.g., *Haḏū* < *Haḏūnâ*; *Inū* < *Inūsâ*; *Dije* < *Hādizâ*

#### 6.9.2. Apocoptation

The term *apocoptation* is used for the optional dropping of final vowels where the tone is retained, e.g., *kadâ* (⇒) *kâḏ* 'don't', *Hâlîlù* (⇒) *Hâlîl* (proper name). The consonant in the last syllable, which after the vowel dropping becomes word final, is typically a sonorant or a glide (although obstruents do occur, especially with some proper names). With some of the items, the apocoptation is so common that the words are in the process of becoming established as lexically clipped forms. Examples of apocoptation include the following:

*kâḏ* < *kadâ* don't, lest

[WH] *nau* / *tau* < *nâwa* / *tâwa* mine (m. or pl. / f.)

(Note that LH on a single syllable becomes H.)

*tâusai* < *tâusâyî* mercy; *gwâigwai* < *gwâigwayî* evil spirit; *kâbûs* < *kâbûshî* large white squash;

*wânzâm* < *wânzâmî* barber; *gawâi* < *gawâyî* charcoal

ADN: WH has monosyllabic third person masculine possessive pronoun forms, namely, *-nai* / *-tai* (m. or pl. / f.), e.g., *dôkînai* 'his horse', *rîgâtai* 'his gown' (cf. SH *dôkînsâ* and *rîgârsâ*, respectively). These are presumably derived from the linker *na-* / *ta-* plus the pronoun *yâ*. Note, however, that the L tone is not preserved, i.e., the forms have high rather than falling tone.

## 6.9.3. Contraction

The term *contraction* is used for apocopation that accompanies the cliticization or phonological attachment of specific items across underlying word (or morpheme) boundaries. The reduced item is either a light-syllable CV pronoun or else the verb *yi* 'do'. When the contraction takes place, the tones are usually (but not always) preserved. Examples:

*zân* < *zā* *nì* future I; *zâi* < *zā* *yà* future he (cf. *zā* *tà* future she)

e.g., *zân* *rufè* *ta* I'm going to close it.

*bân* < *bà* *nì* neg I; *bâi* < *bà* *yà* neg he (cf. *bà* *tà* neg she)

*mîn* < *mì*.*nì* to me, *mâs* / *mâf* < *ma*.*sà* to him

*rânkâi* *dadè* < *rânkà* *yà* *dadè* May your life be lengthened. (greeting to a superior)

*sun* *dòkàs* < *dòkè* *shì* They beat him; *sun* *màrán* < *màrè* *nì* They slapped me.

*yai* < *ya* *yi* he did; *tai* < *ta* *yi* she did; etc.

*mukài* < *mukà* *yi* we did, *sukài* < *sukà* *yi* they did; etc.

e.g., *gà* *àbîn* *dà* *mukài* Here is what we did.

[References: Abraham (1959a); Gouffé (1965); Greenberg (1941); Klingenheben (1927/28); Lindau, Norlin, and Svantesson (1990); Newman (1972b, 1992b); Newman and Salim (1981); Parsons (1970); Salim (1981); Sani (1983)]

## 55. Plu

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## 55. Pluractional Verbs

**V**ERBS connoting plurality of action, for which I have adopted the term *pluractional*, are derived from corresponding nonpluractional verb stems by reduplication, e.g., **tuntūnā** 'remind many or often' < **tunā** 'remind'. In traditional Hausa grammars, this derivation was called *intensive*, a label that misses the semantic essence of these verb forms.

°AN: The term *intensive* was used, for example, by Abraham (1934: 98ff.) and by most scholars after him. The term *pluractional* was first used in Newman (1980a: 13n; 1989a) and has since gained widespread acceptance by Hausaists as well as by linguists working on other Chadic languages, where this feature is also very common. Interestingly, earlier scholars had already recognized that the essential semantic component of these forms was plurality and not intensification, thus Westermann (1911: 36), for example, labeled this class the "Pluralform des Verbum" [the plural form of the verb].

The pluractional formation functions as a very productive synchronic derivation applying to simple as well as derived verbs, and to verbs in all grades. One also finds many verbs that historically were pluractionals but that have become frozen as lexically reduplicative forms, i.e., the original simple stem has now been lost, e.g., **gūrgurā** 'gnaw' < presumed earlier, but unattested \***gūrā**.

### 1. ACTIVE PLURACTIONALS

Pluractional verbs (abbreviated as plurac.) indicate multiple, iterative, frequentative, distributive, or extensive action. They often occur with plural NPs functioning as subjects of intransitive verbs or as objects of transitive verbs. Note, however, that the co-occurrence between the plural noun and the pluractional verb is semantic and/or pragmatic in nature and is not grammatically determined, i.e., this is not a case of ergative-type agreement. Examples:

<b>mutānē sun fīfita</b>	The men went out (one by one or going in and out).
cf. the simple sentence <b>mutānē sun fita</b>	The men went out.
<b>sun ūuḅḅullō</b>	They suddenly appeared (in numbers or all over the place).
<b>ai yanā karairāyāwā</b>	Oh he is breaking (them) up into many pieces.
<b>yanā mimmīke à kân gadō</b>	He is sprawled out all over the bed.
<b>tā hāhhāifi 'yā'yā</b>	She gave birth (repeatedly or to numerous children).
<b>yā kaḱkāshē birai</b>	He killed (lots of) monkeys (all over the place or one after the other).

Occasionally, the pluractional verb takes on a semantically specialized meaning as compared with the simple stem, e.g.,



**ninninkā** multiply, cf. **ninkā** fold; **rarrābē** differentiate, distinguish, cf. **rabā** divide; **taitāyā** encourage along a tired or sick psn or animal, cf. **tayā** [WH] assist; **tattāunā** discuss, talk over, cf. **taunā** chew

Pluractional verbs have corresponding verbal nouns belonging to the same inflectional and derivational classes that one finds with simple stems (see §77:3), e.g.,

- sunā buḅḅullōwā** They were appearing. (in numbers or all over the place)  
 cf. **sunā bullōwā** They were appearing.  
**munā ta nannēmansū** We kept on looking for them.  
 cf. **munā ta nēmansū** We were looking for them. (cf. the verb **nēmā** / **nānnēmā** look for)  
**yanā sāsāyēn (= sāsassayār) abūbuwā dā yawā**  
 He was scurrying around buying lots of things.  
 cf. **yā sāsāyi abūbuwā dā yawā**  
 He scurried around and bought a lot of things. (finite plurac. verb)  
 cf. **yanā sāyēn abūbuwā dā yawā**  
 He was buying lots of things. (non-plurac. VN)  
**sun fārā ciccīn lāshe-lāshe dā tādē-tādē**  
 They started eating the (many) snacks.  
 cf. **munā sō sū ciccī lāshe-lāshe dā tādē-tādē**  
 We want them to eat the snacks. (finite plurac. verb)  
 cf. **sun fārā cīn ābinci** They started eating the food. (non-plurac. VN)

Pluractional stems can also serve as the input to other derivations, such as statives and adjectival past participles, e.g.,

- mimmīke** be all stretched out (plurac. stative) (< **mimmīkē** stretch out (by many people or all over the place)); cf. **mīke** be stretched out (stative) (< **mīkē** stretch out)  
**ninninkakkē** multiplied (plurac. adj. past participle) < **ninninkā** multiply  
 cf. **ninkakkē** folded (adj. past participle) < **ninkā** fold

### 1.1. Basic form: Prefixal reduplication

Synchronically, most pluractionals are formed by a reduplicative prefix, of which there are two variants, C<sub>1</sub>VG- and C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>-.

#### 1.1.1. C<sub>1</sub>VG-

The most common variant is C<sub>1</sub>VG-, where G forms a geminate with the following consonant. If the reduplicated vowel is underlyingly long, it automatically undergoes the shortening and adjustment rules that affect closed syllables. Examples: (The plurac. verb is to the right of the slash mark. The gloss is given only for the simple verb unless the plurac. verb has a special reading. Note that with geminates of consonants transcribed with digraphs, only the first letter is repeated, i.e., **ssh** represents the geminate /shsh/.)

- bugā / bubbūgā** beat; **dannē / daddānnē** press down, oppress; **daṛnācē** (< **dāṛnī** fence) / **daddaṛnācē** fence in; **gyāru / gyāgyāru** be well repaired; **kirā / kikkirā** call; **jēfā / jajjēfā** throw at; **kāwō / kakkāwō** bring; **kaṛāntā / kakkaṛāntā** read; **sayaṛ / sassayaṛ** sell; **tākā** step on / **tattākā** trample; **tōkārē / tattōkārē** prop against, block; **wāgē / wawwāgē** open mouth widely

°AN: Historically, Synchronically, he not replicate the l for example, com **kakkāmā** 'catch' /nk/ → /kk/, for language, which w all pluractional v

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Examples:

bi / bibbi follow; ci

#### 1.1.2. C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>-

If the second consona C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>- prefix as an position of the follow it is not shown in the /i/. Coronal obstruent

**balgātā / balbalgātā** be spun, beaten, frig kill; **kirā / kirkirā** begin; **tayā / taitayā**

All verbs that form p versa, e.g.,

**fita / firfita = fiffita**  
**kirā / kirkirā = kikk ask**

#### 1.1.3. Tone

Pluractional formatio one builds a pluractio is required for verbs

C<sub>1</sub>VG- + bi)<sup>H</sup>  
 C<sub>1</sub>VG- + tsōrātā)<sup>LHL</sup>  
 C<sub>1</sub>VG- + dāgurā)<sup>LHL</sup>  
 C<sub>1</sub>VG- + tsōrātā)<sup>LHL</sup>  
 C<sub>1</sub>VG- + girma)<sup>H</sup>

°AN: Historically, the C<sub>1</sub>VG- prefix undoubtedly derived from C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>- plus complete assimilation. Synchronically, however, the C<sub>1</sub>VG- variant has full and direct morphological status, i.e., one does not replicate the historical development and utilize an assimilation rule. The pluractional **kakkāwō**, for example, comes directly from C<sub>1</sub>VG- + **kāwō**, not from an intermediate **\*\*kawkāwō**; similarly **kakkāmā** 'catch many' comes from C<sub>1</sub>VG- + **kāmā**, not from the coexisting **kankāmā**. Note that /nk/ → /kk/, for example, does not exist as a synchronically active assimilation rule in the language, which would be required if one were to postulate C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>- as the synchronic formative for all pluractional verbs.

The normal orthographic convention in Hausa, which is employed in the transcription system adopted here, is not to write word-initial glottal stop. The phonological status of the glottal stop shows up clearly in plurac. formation, e.g., the plurac. verb corresponding to **àikā** 'send' (actually /'àikā/) is 'à''aikā with the C<sub>1</sub>VG- prefix.

Monoverbs, i.e., CV(V) verbs, form pluractionals by C<sub>1</sub>VG- prefixation. With these verbs, one clearly could not postulate C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>- prefixation with assimilation since these verbs do not contain a C<sub>2</sub>. Examples:

**bi** / **bibbi** follow; **ci** / **cicci** eat; **shā** / **shasshā** drink; **jē** / **jajjē** (< /jejjē/) go

### 1.1.2. C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>-

If the second consonant of the stem is a sonorant (nasal, liquid, or /y/) or any coronal, one may attach a C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>- prefix as an alternative to C<sub>1</sub>VG-. Reduplicated C<sub>2</sub> nasals automatically assimilate to the position of the following consonant. (This change is shown orthographically in the case of /n/ and /m/; it is not shown in the case of [ŋ].) The syllable-final glide /y/ alters into the corresponding high vowel /i/. Coronal obstruents undergo rhotacism and appear as rolled /r̄/. Examples:

**balgātā** / **balbalgātā** chip off; **fizgè** / **firfizgè** snatch; **gādā** / **gārgādā** inherit; **kādu** / **kārkādu** be spun, beaten, frightened; **kāmā** / **kankāmā** [kaŋkāmā] catch; **kashè** (base //kas-//) / **kařkashè** kill; **kirā** / **kirkirā** call; **mutù** / **muřmutù** die; **ninkā** fold / **ninninkā** multiply; **sōmā** / **sansōmā** begin; **tayā** / **taitayā** offer, help; **tunā** / **tuntunā** remind

All verbs that form pluractionals by C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>- reduplication also allow the C<sub>1</sub>VG- formation, but not vice versa, e.g.,

**fita** / **firfita** = **fiffita** go out; **gasā** / **gārgasā** = **gaggasā** roast; **kāmā** / **kankāmā** = **kakkāmā** catch; **kirā** / **kirkirā** = **kikkirā** call; **sāyā** / **sāisayā** = **sāssayā** buy; **tāmbayā** / **tāntāmbayā** = **tāttāmbayā** ask

### 1.1.3. Tone

Pluractional formation does not affect tone per se, i.e., it is not part of the derivational process. Instead, one builds a pluractional stem by reduplication at the segmental level and then one assigns the tone that is required for verbs of that grade and syllabic shape, e.g.,

C <sub>1</sub> VG- + <b>bi</b> ) <sup>H</sup>	follow ⇒	<b>bibbi</b> ) <sup>H</sup>	(v0)
C <sub>1</sub> VG- + <b>tsōratā</b> ) <sup>HLH</sup>	frighten ⇒	<b>tsattsōratā</b> ) <sup>HLH</sup>	(v1)
C <sub>1</sub> VG- + <b>dāgurā</b> ) <sup>LHL</sup>	gnaw at ⇒	<b>dāddāgurā</b> ) <sup>LHL</sup>	(v2)
C <sub>1</sub> VG- + <b>tsōratā</b> ) <sup>LHL</sup>	be afraid ⇒	<b>tsattsōratā</b> ) <sup>LHL</sup>	(v3)
C <sub>1</sub> VG- + <b>girma</b> ) <sup>H</sup>	grow up ⇒	<b>giggrma</b> ) <sup>H</sup>	(v3a)

C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> - + mutù) <sup>HL</sup>	die ⇒	muřmutù) <sup>HL</sup>	(v3b)
C <sub>1</sub> VG- + dařnàcē) <sup>HLH</sup>	fence in ⇒	daddařnàcē) <sup>HLH</sup>	(v4)
C <sub>1</sub> VG- + sayar) <sup>H</sup>	sell ⇒	sassayar) <sup>H</sup>	(v5)
C <sub>1</sub> VG- + kàwō) <sup>H</sup>	bring ⇒	kakkàwō) <sup>H</sup>	(v6)
C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> - + kàd'ū) <sup>LH</sup>	be spun, beaten ⇒	kàřkàd'ū) <sup>LH</sup>	(v7)

Disyllabic gr1, gr2, and gr4 verbs at first sight look as if they change tone when they go from two syllable simple stems to three syllable pluractional stems. In fact there is no tone change; rather, it is just a question of tone assignment, which does not happen until after the pluractional formation (like other derivational formations) has determined the number of syllables in the stem, e.g.,

C <sub>1</sub> VG- + bugà beat ⇒	bubbùgà (v1) because H-L-(H) is the tone assigned to the citation form (the A-form) of all gr1 verbs, whether derived or basic (cf. kařàntà v1 read)
C <sub>1</sub> VG- + sayà buy ⇒	sàssayà (v2) because L-H-(L) is the tone assigned to the citation form (the A-form) of all gr2 verbs, whether derived or basic (cf. tàmbayà v2 ask)
C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> - + kashè kill ⇒	kařkàshè (v4) because H-L-(H) is the tone assigned to the citation form (the A-form) of all gr4 verbs, whether derived or basic (cf. bincikè v4 investigate)

The pluractionals of the special nyē-final gr4 verbs built on monoverbs, e.g., shányē 'drink up' (< shā 'drink') exhibit two different tone patterns. In one pattern, the pluractional output is interpreted as a straightforward trisyllabic verb and thus is assigned H-L-H tone like any other trisyllabic gr4 verb, i.e., shasshanyē)<sup>HLH</sup> → shasshànyē. In the other pattern, the nonpluractional verb with the falling tone is treated as if it were trisyllabic and the corresponding pluractional is then assigned the regular quadrisyllabic H-H-L-H tone, i.e., shasshanyē)<sup>HHLH</sup> → shasshànyē. Further examples:

C <sub>1</sub> VG- + jányē) <sup>HLH</sup>	pull away (< jā pull) ⇒	jajjányē) <sup>HLH</sup> or jajjányē) <sup>HHLH</sup>
C <sub>1</sub> VG- + cinyē) <sup>HLH</sup>	eat up (< cī eat) ⇒	ciccinyē) <sup>HLH</sup> or ciccinyē) <sup>HHLH</sup>

Grade 3 verbs are an exception to the general rule that pluractional formation does not require its own tone specification. Normal trisyllabic gr3 verbs have L-H-L tone, e.g., zàbuřà 'jump up', dùlmuyà 'sink'. The quadrisyllabic pluractionals based on these trisyllabic gr3 stems are tonally regular, e.g., zàzzàbuřà)<sup>LHL</sup>, dùddùlmuyà)<sup>LHL</sup>. Trisyllabic pluractionals derived from disyllabic gr3 verbs, however, do not always appear with L-H-L tone, as one might expect, but rather with L-L-H tone, e.g.,

cika / ciccika get filled; điga / đlđđiga drip; sàuka / sàssàuka get down

Trisyllabic gr3 pluractionals with the expected L-H-L tone (e.g., fiřfità) are cited in the literature and are recognized as an alternative pronunciation, but they do not constitute the norm in modern-day SH.

ØHN: Historically, intransitive verbs ending in -a (= gr3) were all disyllabic with a light initial syllable. They all had an L-H tone pattern. The present-day trisyllabic gr3 verbs with L-H-L were originally not members of the same class. (They probably ended in the vowel schwa rather than -a.) Although all grade 3 verbs, whether disyllabic or polysyllabic, can be treated synchronically as belonging to the same grade on the basis of their shared intransitivity and final short -a, historically they were distinct. That is, the specification of a single L-H-(L) tone pattern for all grade 3 verbs (identical to the tone pattern for gr2 (A form)) is a strictly synchronic phenomenon that masks the fact that historically there were two tonally distinct classes: the "true" gr3, which

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mutà ⇒	farau
kařà ⇒	hàbà
nyà ⇒	hadle
kuraf dà ⇒	hařu
ità ⇒	rikir
kařà ⇒	tafař

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kalàmè ⇒	*kal.la
awwàfà ⇒	*saw.w

was L-H, whether simple or pluractional (e.g., *fita* 'go out', plurac. *fīfita*), and another verb class, which was L-H-L (e.g., *dūlmuyà* 'sink', plurac. *dūddūlmuyà*).

### 1.2. Alternative archaic form: Antepenultimate reduplication

Instead of attaching the C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>- (or C<sub>1</sub>VG-) word-initially, some trisyllabic verbs derive pluractionals by infixing a reduplicative -CVC- in antepenultimate position. (This is an archaic method that is restricted to specific lexemes.) What is copied in this infixal formation is the second syllable plus the initial C of the third syllable, e.g., *dā.gu.rā* 'gnaw' ⇒ *dā.gūr.gu.rā*. In this formation, the choice of VC (where the C is a copy of the final consonant of the stem) vs. VG (where G forms a geminate with the following abutting consonant) is not free; rather CVC- is employed if it is phonologically allowed. Tone assignment is the same as for prefixal reduplication, i.e., it is fully determined by the tone pattern of the grade in question. Verbs that allow this formation almost all allow, and often prefer, the synchronically now productive prefixal form as well (illustrated in the first two examples), e.g.,

<i>maḵālē</i> ⇒	<i>maḵaḵālē</i> (= <i>mammaḵālē</i> )	get lodged
<i>rikidā</i> ⇒	<i>rikiḵidā</i> (= <i>rirrikidā</i> )	metamorphose
<i>fārautā</i> ⇒	<i>faraurātā</i>	hunt
<i>hābakā</i> ⇒	<i>hābābbakā</i>	swell
<i>hadīyā</i> ⇒	<i>hadīdīyā</i> (< //hadīyḏīyā//)	swallow
<i>haḵuraḥ dā</i> ⇒	<i>haḵurḵuraḥ dā</i>	enjoin patience on
<i>rikitā</i> ⇒	<i>rikiḵitā</i>	tangle, confuse someone
<i>tafāsā</i> ⇒	<i>tafaḥfāsā</i>	boil sth (tr.)

◊HN: Although I am describing the prefixal and infixal reduplications as being distinct processes—and synchronically I believe that this is true—historically the rule was basically the same, namely, antepenultimate reduplication. With disyllabic verbs, antepenultimate attachment would have turned out to be prefixal and with trisyllabic verbs antepenultimate attachment would have turned out to be infixal, but the rule was really the same, compare the formation *gasā* 'roast' ⇒ *gaḥ.gasā* with *tafāsā* 'boil' ⇒ *ta.fāḥ.fāsā*.

In Newman (1989a), the formation of pluractionals was described, not as -CVC- infixation but rather as suffixal -CVCV reduplication (with dropping of the base-final vowel as is normal with suffixation), i.e., *dā.gu.rā* 'gnaw' ⇒ *dāgūr.gurā*. I now believe that the earlier analysis was erroneous and that the one adopted here is correct.

The trisyllabic stems that allow infixal reduplication generally have an open initial syllable. There are, however, a few verbs—borrowed from Arabic—in which the initial syllable is closed by the first part of a geminate consonant. In the corresponding pluractional, the initial syllable occurs without the geminate, e.g.,

<i>hallākā</i> ⇒	<i>halallākā</i>	destroy	<i>hallaḥā</i> ⇒	<i>halāllaḥā</i>	appear, attend
<i>kallāmē</i> ⇒	<i>kalallāmē</i>	sweet-talk s.o.	<i>sawwārā</i> ⇒	<i>sawarwārā</i>	ponder

The most likely explanation for the loss of the initial geminate is metrical/rhythmic. The favored foot structure for quadrisyllabic infixal pluractionals is iambic, i.e., light-heavy, e.g., *tafaḥ.fāsā* 'boil much, often'. The geminate reduction achieves this favored pattern by altering what would be a heavy initial syllable into a light one. It also avoids a sequence of geminates. Examples:

<i>kallāmē</i> ⇒	* <i>kal.lam.lāmē</i> →	*// <i>kallallāmē</i> // →	<i>kalallāmē</i>
<i>sawwārā</i> ⇒	* <i>saw.waḥ.wārā</i> →	*// <i>sawwarwārā</i> // →	<i>sawarwārā</i>

Historically, pluractional formation by antepenultimate -CVC- infixation was the norm for polysyllabic verbs. Nowadays, most polysyllabic verbs use the CVC- prefix, generally in the CVG- form. Note that a geminate normally appears rather than a copied C<sub>2</sub> even when the C<sub>2</sub> of the stem is a nasal or liquid, which would easily allow C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>- prefixation, i.e., the choice of the form is morphologically rather than phonologically determined. Examples:

markadō ⇒	<u>m</u> ammarkadō	grind into puree or pulp
(not ** <u>m</u> armmarkadō by C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> - prefixation nor **marka <u>ḥ</u> kadō by CVC infixation)		
bangàjē ⇒	<u>b</u> abbangàjē	push aside rudely (not ** <u>b</u> ambangàjē)
dankàrā ⇒	<u>d</u> addankàrā	compress (not ** <u>d</u> andankàrā)
fandàrē ⇒	<u>f</u> affandàrē	deviate (not ** <u>f</u> amfandàrē)
nakàltā ⇒	<u>n</u> annakàltā	explain
ràtāyu ⇒	<u>r</u> arràtāyu	be hung up well
ṛubùtā ⇒	<u>ṛ</u> urṛubùtā	write

Some CVCCV verbs with a syllable-final rhotic or glide also form pluractionals by the antepenultimate infixation method. What they do is build on a trisyllabic base created by inserting an epenthetic vowel between the abutting consonants, e.g.,

girma (base //girima//) ⇒	<u>g</u> irirma	grow up
hàifā (base //hayafa//) ⇒	<u>h</u> àyàyyafā	give birth
karyā (base //karaya//) ⇒	<u>k</u> arairayā	break
sarkè (base //sarake//) ⇒	<u>s</u> ararrakè	intertwine
tartsè (base //taratse//) ⇒	<u>t</u> ararratse	smash

### 1.3. Difference in meaning between the two formations

The alternative pluractionals formed by the prefixal and infixal methods are usually equivalent in meaning. In a few cases, however, the two variants have semantically diverged:

**hàifā** give birth: (a) **hàhhaifā** give birth many times or to many children (e.g., **mātan wazīrī sun hàhhaifī yārā dà yawà** The vizier's wives bore many children.) (b) **hàyàyyafā** engender, proliferate (e.g., [with gr5] **tāřzōmař d'ālibai tā hayayyafāř dà zàngà-zàngà dà dāma à wuràrē dāban-dāban** The student rebellion precipitated demonstrations all over.)

**ḥirgā** (< \***ḥidgā**) count: (a) **ḥiḥḥirgā** count several times (b) **ḥididdigā** calculate

°AN: Normally \***ḥidgā** would be expected to be realized as \*\***ḥirgā** with the rolled/tap ṛ. The occurring form **ḥirgā** with the flap is inexplicable.

Prefixal pluractional reduplication is synchronically very productive and potentially available to all verbs. As such, it can be used even with pluractionals formed by infixal reduplication, thereby producing semantically strengthened *hyperpluractionals*, e.g.,

makālā ⇒	<u>m</u> aḥaḥkālā ⇒	<u>m</u> ammaḥaḥkālā	lodge, stick in
zabākā ⇒	<u>z</u> aḥaḥbākā ⇒	<u>z</u> azzahaḥbākā	boil, cook
girdā ⇒	<u>g</u> iḥiḥridā ⇒	<u>g</u> iggiriḥridā	uproot
tartsè ⇒	<u>t</u> ararratse ⇒	<u>t</u> attararratse	smash

## 2. FROZEN PLUR

The term frozen pluractionals but now the pluractional semantics (see §62:4.1). E

abbākā grill,  
amfārē fall o  
annandē coil

References: Al-Hass  
(75)]

## 2. FROZEN PLURACTIONALS

The term *frozen pluractional* is used for reduplicated verbs that historically must have been active pluractionals but now lack the nonreduplicated counterparts and generally have undergone bleaching of the pluractional semantics. These are described in detail in the section on lexically frozen reduplicated verbs (see §62:4.1). Here are a few examples:

<b>babbākā</b>	grill, burn (< *bakā)	<b>kwankwāsā</b>	tap with knuckles (< *kwāsā)
<b>famfārē</b>	fall out (tooth) (< *farē)	<b>lāllāsā</b>	soothe, coax (< *lāsā)
<b>kanannāḏē</b>	coil up (< *kanāḏē)	<b>yagalgālā</b>	tear to pieces (< *yagālā)

[References: Al-Hassan (1983); Frajzyngier (1965); Gouffé (1975b); Newman (1989a, 1990b); Pawlak (1975)]

## 56. Plurals

HAUSA is well known for the complexity of its plural formation. This is a morphological feature shared with many other Chadic languages (see Newman 1990b). Plurals of nouns and adjectives are generally formed by means of a suffix or an infix-suffix combination, e.g., *jàkì* / *jāk-unà* 'donkey(s)', *fiffikè* / *fík-à-fík-ai* 'wing(s)'. They are indicated less commonly, by full reduplication, e.g., *jōjì* / *jōjì-jōjì* 'judge(s)'. In this chapter, the slash / serves to separate singulars and their corresponding plurals. The English gloss will normally be given in the singular only. (Plural pronouns and demonstratives are presented elsewhere (chaps. 54 and 21), as are "pluractional" verbs (chap. 55).)

Almost all of the plural suffixes are vowel initial (generally -V or -VCV) and almost all are tone-integrating, i.e., they have an associated tone melody that overrides the tone of the singular stem. These suffixes are added to the lexical base rather than to the full stem. In most cases this base is the singular word minus its final vowel and tone (sometimes with minor adjustments affecting epenthetic vowels), e.g., *rīgā* 'gown', base //rīg-//, pl. *rīgunà*. There are, however, deviations from the straightforward pattern of forming bases from stems by simple subtraction. In some cases the segmental shape of the base used in the plural reflects a historically earlier shape of the word rather than the synchronically occurring form, e.g., *kyaurō* 'tall reed', base //kyamr-//, pl. *kyamàrē*. In some cases the base is formed by removing the feminative suffix (see §31:4), e.g., *tufāniyā* 'screen on doorway', base //tufān-//, pl. *tufānū*. The alternation between palatal consonants and their nonpalatal counterparts commonly appears in plural formation, showing up either in the singular or in the plural, e.g., *mōtā* / *mōtōci* 'car' (where the /c/ in the plural is a palatalized copy of the /t/ in the singular); *algāshi* / *algāsai* 'green' (where the /sh/ in the singular and the /s/ in the plural are variants of the "same" consonant).

Affixes are sometimes accompanied by internal "expansion" achieved sometimes by vowel insertion (see later) and sometimes by gemination or partial reduplication, e.g., the plural of *cikì* 'belly', which uses the -unā<sup>HL</sup> plural suffix, is *ci-k-kunà* or *ci-kun-kunà*. With particular words or particular constructions, the expansion is optional; in other cases it is obligatory. The gemination found in plurals affects either the penultimate or the last consonant of the word depending on the specific formation and on dialectal preferences. The partial reduplication copies the CVC of the last two syllables of the plural stem (i.e., the base plus the suffix), e.g., //kwān-// 'pan' + -ukà → *kwānukà* ⇒ \**kwānuknukà*, which, after assimilation of the abutting /kn/ sequence, is realized as *kwānunnukà*. The resulting syllable-internal vowel automatically shortens and, where appropriate, centralizes, and the resulting syllable-final consonant undergoes various phonological deformations, e.g., *gājērē* 'short' ⇒ \**gà-jēr-jērū* → *gàjājērū* 'short'.

<sup>o</sup>AN: My former view (as reflected in earlier writings) was that such reduplicated plurals as *cikunkunà* 'bellies' and *kwānunnukà* 'pans' should be analyzed in terms of two-syllable reduplication to the right, with dropping of the stem-final vowel, as is normal in Hausa derivation and inflection, i.e., \**cikun(à)kunà* and \**kwānuk(à)nukà*, respectively. I am now convinced that infixal -CVC- reduplication in antepenultimate position, i.e., *ci-kun-kunà* is indeed the right analysis, both for plural nouns and for pluractional verbs (see §55:1.2). Although internal

reduplication is less and in fact is attested as a form of suffixal analysis. Final vowels are dropped. Thus, a stem with a high tone on the antepenultimate syllable has three plurals with the same tone: there are plurals with the same tone as the latter plurals allow. *kāyàyyaki* (< \**kāy* 'large hoe' + -anI.

There are numerous different plurals, completely predictable from the singular. For examples, plurals of nouns having the canonical H-L tone. One also finds plurals of ethnonymic nouns formed by reduplication (which does not include the final syllable).

Plural formation is highly variable. As documented in the literature, e.g., *kwabò* / *kwàbbai* 'hoe' or *wàhàlce* or *wahalōli* 'man', there is a manifest uncertainty and variation in the plural formation rules for many nouns. Such variation is such that the accompanying plural is not always inclusive (unless it is otherwise specified) as they exclude the possibility of other plurals.

The major plural classes are:

Table 10: Plurals

Major Class
1: -OXI <sup>H</sup>
2: -ai <sup>LH</sup>
3: -aXe <sup>HLH</sup>
4: -(a)Xa <sup>HLH</sup>
5: -aXu <sup>HLH</sup>
6: -uXa <sup>HL</sup>
7: -aXI <sup>LH</sup>
8: (...)aXi <sup>HLHH</sup>
9: -U/-I <sup>LH</sup>
10: -Vα ⇒ -Vβ
11: -āwā <sup>LLH ~ HHH</sup>
12: x 2 (Redup.)
13: -e <sup>LH</sup> x 2 (Redup.)
14: x 2 <sup>H-L</sup> (Redup.)
15: -I x 2 <sup>H-H</sup> (Redup.)

reduplication is less common universally than prefixal or suffixal reduplication, it is not unknown and in fact is attested in West Chadic languages. Let me just mention two inadequacies in the earlier suffixal analysis. First, tone in Hausa is very stable and tends to be preserved when vowels are dropped. Thus, a structure of the type \*cikun(à)kuna would be expected to surface with a falling tone on the antepenultimate syllable, i.e., \*\*cikunkuna, which is not what one finds. Second, there are plurals with internal -CVC- reduplication that parallel plurals with vowel insertion. These latter plurals allow one to see clearly that the expansion is in antepenultimate position; compare **kāyāyyakī** (< \*kāyakī), pl. of **kāyā** 'load' + **-akī**, with **gāfēmanī** (< \*gāfmanī), pl. of **gāfmā** 'large hoe' + **-anī**.

There are numerous different plural formations. Although the particular plural type used is not completely predictable from the form of any particular singular word, there are significant regularities. For examples, plurals of the form  $-āCē$ <sup>HLH</sup>, e.g., **wurī** / **wurārē** 'place', are found exclusively with nouns having the canonical shape CVCVV and all H tone, whereas plurals using the affix  $-ā-ā$ <sup>HLH</sup>, e.g., **sīrdī** / **sīrādā** 'saddle' generally correlate with triconsonantal singulars of the form CVCCVV and H-L tone. One also finds plural types accompanying particular derivational formations, e.g., ethnonymic nouns formed with the prefix **bā-** generally form their plurals by suffixing  $-āwā$  to the base (which does not include the prefix), e.g., **Bākatsinē** / **Katsināwā** 'Katsina person'.

Plural formation is an area where there appears to be a great amount of dialectal and idiolectal variation. As documented in the major dictionaries, many words allow a number of alternative plurals, e.g., **kwabō** / **kwābbai** or **kwābbunā** 'penny, kobo', **idō** / **idānū** or **idāndunā** 'eye', **wāhalā** / **wāhalce-wāhalce** or **wāhalōlī** or **wāhalhālū** 'trouble', etc. Salim (1981) has reported that individual speakers manifest uncertainty and day-to-day variation in the forms of plurals they use with specific words. The plural formation rules provided here are thus designed to describe the operation of the basic SH rules as such. The accompanying examples are intended simply to exemplify the rules; they are not intended to be inclusive (unless it is explicitly stated that the lexical membership constitutes a closed set), nor do they exclude the possibility that the words cited might take other, perhaps even more common, plurals.

The major plural classes, each accompanied by one illustrative example, are outlined in table 10.

Table 10: Plurals

Major Class	Example (sg.)	Example (pl.)	gloss
1: $-OXI$ <sup>H</sup>	<b>tāgā</b>	<b>tāgōgī</b>	window
2: $-ai$ <sup>LH</sup>	<b>dālīlī</b>	<b>dālīlai</b>	reason
3: $-aXe$ <sup>HLH</sup>	<b>damō</b>	<b>damāmē</b>	land monitor
4: $-(a)Xa$ <sup>HLH</sup>	<b>sīrdī</b>	<b>sīrādā</b>	saddle
5: $-aXu$ <sup>HLH</sup>	<b>gurgū</b>	<b>gurāgū</b>	cripple
6: $-uXa$ <sup>HL</sup>	<b>hūlā</b>	<b>hūlunā</b>	cap
7: $-aXI$ <sup>LH</sup>	<b>fūrē</b>	<b>fūrānī</b>	flower
8: $(...)-aXi$ <sup>HLHH</sup>	<b>guntū</b>	<b>guntāttakī</b>	stub
9: $-U/-I$ <sup>LH</sup>	<b>kujērā</b>	<b>kujērū</b>	chair
10: $-Vα \Rightarrow -Vβ$	<b>kwādō</b>	<b>kwādī</b>	frog
11: $-āwā$ <sup>LLH ~ HHH</sup>	<b>bādūkū</b>	<b>dūkāwā</b>	leather worker
12: $x \ 2$ (Redup.)	<b>jōjī</b>	<b>jōjī-jōjī</b>	judge
13: $-e$ <sup>LH</sup> $x \ 2$ (Redup)	<b>tsirō</b>	<b>tsire-tsire</b>	a shoot, sprout
14: $x \ 2$ <sup>H-L</sup> (Redup)	<b>mākēkē</b>	<b>mākā-mākā</b>	expansive
15: $-i \ x \ 2$ <sup>H-H</sup> (Redup)	<b>mīnīnī</b>	<b>minī-minī</b>	tiny



The plural formations are organized into fifteen major classes, which encompass major types, which in turn include various subtypes. In the descriptions, the symbol X represents a consonantal "slot" that may be filled inter alia by a specific suffixal consonant or a base final consonant. The symbol C represents a copy of the preceding consonant. Affixes with a single parenthesis mark on the right followed by a superscript tone are tone-integrating, i.e., the specified tone spreads across the entire word from right to left. For example, the suffix  $-ai)^{LH}$  added to the singular form *madōgarī* 'prop, support' gives the plural form *madōgarai* with an L-H tone pattern.

### 1. CLASS 1: $-OXI)^{H}$

This class contains two types: the highly productive  $-ōCi$  suffix and the archaic  $-ō-I$  and  $-ā-I$  affixes. The base is always simple without any expansion.

#### 1.1. Plural type $-ōCi)^{H}$

*Form:* This plural type, often noted in the literature simply as  $-ōCi$  without the vowel length indicated, consists of a suffix  $-ōCi$  (where C represents a copy of the base-final consonant) and an all high tone pattern. The copied C automatically undergoes palatalization rules because of the following  $-I$ , e.g., *tāsā* / *tāsōshī* 'bowl'. In the case of geminates, which behave as identical abutting consonants across a syllable boundary, only a single consonant is copied, e.g., *fannī* / *fannōni* (not *\*\*fannonni*) 'category'. Words with a feminative suffix (e.g.,  $-iyā$  or  $-uwā$ ), which commonly occur with this plural type, preserve the suffix in the lexical base, e.g., *tātsūniyā* / *tātsūniyōyi* 'folktale'.

*Comment:* This is the largest, most productive plural type in the language. Originally it seems to have been limited to disyllabic feminine nouns with H-L tone and then was extended to longer feminine words containing the feminative suffix. Nowadays it occurs with words of both genders and words having a variety of shapes. It is not, however, used with adjectives. It is the typical plural type found with Arabic loanwords ending in  $-ā$ . (Arabic loanwords ending in  $-I$ , on the other hand, generally employ the  $-ai$  plural suffix.) It is the most common plural formative employed with recent loanwords from English. (Out of a list of some 175 common nouns borrowed from English, about 100 words, both masculine and feminine, use the  $-ōCi$  plural whereas the remaining 75 nouns were scattered among all the other plural forms.) Examples:

*gulā* f. / *gulōli* drum stick; *tāgā* f. / *tāgōgi* window; *gēzā* / f. *gēzōji* shrub with white flowers; *battā* / f. *battōci* small receptacle; *rāguwā* f. / *rāguwōyi* crab; tongs, pincers; *rāgā* f. / *rāgōgi* net; *gyalē* m. / *gyalōli* shawl, head veil; *dilā* m. / *dilōli* jackal; *dāmisā* m. or f. / *dāmisōshī* leopard; *sānā'ā* f. / *sanā'ō'i* occupation; *bindigā* f. / *bindigōgi* gun; *tāmbayā* f. / *tāmbayōyi* question; *almārā* f. / *almārōri* fable, fantasy, fiction; *fassařā* f. / *fassařōri* translation, explanation; *hukūmā* f. / *hukūmōmi* governmental body, agency, authority; *fensīř* m. / *fensīřōri* pencil; *ōfis* m. / *ōfisōshī* office; *kamfāni* m. / *kamfanōni* company, business; *kwāmīř* m. / *kwāmīřōci* committee

#### 1.2. Plural type $-ō-I)^{H}$ / $-ā-I)^{H}$

A small number of old native words have archaic plurals that are formed not by copying the final consonant but rather by using the base-final consonant in the C slot. That is, instead of suffixing  $-ōCi$  with a copied C, they add  $-ō-I$  with the base-final consonant between the two vowels. The canonical shape for words utilizing this formation was originally CVCCVV. The surface forms of the now-occurring singulars deviate markedly from this ideal form because of the addition of feminative suffixes and various phonological deformations. These plurals are rare in modern SH and coexist alongside plurals with the productive  $-ōCi$  suffix. Examples (complete):

<b>jījīyā</b> f. (base //ziyz-//) /	<b>jīyōjī</b>	vein, blood vessel (= <b>jījīyōyī</b> )
<b>rījīyā</b> f. (base //riyz-//) /	<b>riyōjī</b>	well (= <b>rījīyōyī</b> )
<b>tsarkiyā</b> f. (base //tsark-//) /	<b>tsarōkī</b>	bow string (= <b>tsarkiyōyī</b> )
<b>zūciyā</b> f. (base //zukt-//) /	<b>zūkōci</b>	heart (= <b>zūciyōyī</b> )

◊HN: The words **jījīyā** and **rījīyā** also have plural variants **jigōjī** and **rigōjī**, respectively, suggesting that the historically earlier forms of these words were \***zigzī** and \***rigzī**. If so, the forms **jīyōjī** and **riyōjī** are neologisms built on reinterpreted underlying bases and not reflexes of the true ancestor form of the words. The plural **zūkōci** given above is cited in the dictionaries, but is rare. More usual is **zūkātā**, with an alternative internal formation, or the straightforward **zūciyōyī**.

The following three words take plurals with **-ā-I**. In all cases the consonant preceding the /ā/ is a bilabial.

<b>ākuyā</b> f (base //’awk-//) /	<b>awākī</b>	goat
<b>dōkī</b> m. (base //dawk-//) /	<b>dawākī</b>	horse
<b>tunkiyā</b> f (base //tumk-//) /	<b>tumākī</b>	sheep

The word **ākuyā** ‘goat’ (pronounced and sometimes spelled **ākwiyā**) has undergone irregular metathesis and tone change. It derives from a Chadic root \***awki**. In the word **dōkī** the /ō/ comes from the /au/ diphthong, which itself came from an /aw/ rime. The replacement of the original syllable-final /m/ by /n/ in the singular **tunkiyā** is due to a historically recent nasal assimilation rule in SH.

◊HN: Parsons (1970) has suggested that the **-ā-I** vowel pattern was the historically original form and that the **-ō-I** pattern (which includes the now productive **-ōCI** suffix) resulted from a phonological change. This seems right, but I have yet to identify the phonological and/or morphological factor(s) responsible for such a change.

Although the **-ō-I** and **-ā-I** plurals are now limited to the examples provided above, there is indication that at one time, they were not so restricted. The evidence is provided by the existence of words that are now singular but that have the shape of **-ō-I** and **-ā-I** plurals, e.g.,

<b>hayākī</b> m.	smoke
<b>hakōri</b> m.	tooth (cf. <b>haurè</b> tusk)
<b>karōfi</b> m.	dye-pit area (< * <b>karfè</b> ?)
<b>kiyāshī</b> m./pl.	type of small ant (pl. now <b>-ai</b> or <b>-ū</b> )
<b>zabōri</b> m.	strings at top of bucket [dv] (< * <b>zabrè</b> ?)

◊HN: At an earlier stage, the **-ōCI** and **-ō-I** / **-ā-I** plurals probably had a corresponding suffix with a fully specified consonant, i.e., \***-ōki**. This is reflected in some archaic plurals given in older dictionaries and grammars, e.g., **yārò** / **yārōki** ‘child’ (pl. now **yārā**); **tsūmmā** / **tsūmmōki** ‘rag’; **zākī** / **zākōki** ‘lion’. (Note: **zākōki** is now interpreted as an **-ōCI** plural because of the accidental identity of the base-final and suffixal consonants; but historically this analysis is probably wrong, because **-ōCI** plurals were originally restricted to feminine nouns.)

## 2. CLASS 2: **-ai**)<sup>LH</sup>

This class includes the major plural formative **-ai** with L-H tone and a few minor subclasses employing the same suffix in other formations.

ØHN: The *-ai* suffix possibly derives from a longer suffix of the form *\*-aye*<sup>LH</sup> (where *E* represents either /i/ or /e/ and vowel length is not indicated). Synchronically the phonological element indicated as /ai/ functions as a vocalic diphthong; diachronically, however, the /ai/ diphthong probably derived from /a/ plus a consonantal glide /y/. This would make *-ai* the only *-VC* plural suffix in the language, which is hardly likely. Because *-VCV* is the typical shape of plural suffixes—and in fact is the favored shape for most suffixes in the language—the derivational sequence *-ai* < *\*ay* < *\*aye* seems highly likely. Given this reconstruction, the suffix can be compared with the now-occurring *-āyē*<sup>HLH</sup> suffix, e.g., *kifī* / *kifāyē* 'fish'. Significantly, the *-āyē*<sup>HLH</sup> suffix is restricted almost exclusively to disyllabic singular stems whereas the *-ai* suffix typically occurs with polysyllabic stems.

### 2.1. Plural type *-ai*<sup>LH</sup>

*Form:* This plural type consists of a suffix *-ai* and an overall L-H tone pattern. Many of the singulars taking this plural suffix end in *-i*, which conditions palatalization of preceding coronal consonants. One normally undoes the palatalization in the plural form, e.g., *ālmakāshī* / *ālmakāsai* 'scissors'.

ΔDN: In WH, polysyllabic plurals with *-ai* generally geminate the final consonant before the suffix, e.g., SH *mālāmai* = [WH] *mālāmmāi* 'teachers'.

*Comment:* This is the standard plural formation for polysyllabic words, especially those ending in vowels other than *-ā*. The suffix *-ai* is the second most common plural formation in the language (following *-oCi*). It is the standard plural choice for the many Arabic loanwords that end in *-i*.

*ālhajī* m. / *ālhāzai* psn who has done the hadj; *ālmūbazzāfī* m. / *ālmūbazzāfai* spendthrift; *dāllī* m. / *dāllīai* reason; *dālibī* m. / *dālibai* student; *bōkitī* m. / *bōkitai* bucket; *kāfīfī* m. / *kāfīfai* infidel; *kānāfī* m. / *kānāfai* canary; *kyarkēcī* m. / *kyarkētai* wild dog; *wākīlī* m. / *wākītai* representative; *būnsurū* m. / *būnsūrai* he-goat; *dūkūkū* m./adj. / *dūkūkai* glumly hesitant; *mādugū* m. / *mādūgai* caravan leader; *ālābē* m. / *ālābai* leather purse or wallet; *mākānikē* m. / *mākānikai* mechanic; *sānkacē* m. / *sānkātai* reaped corn laid down in a row so that the heads can be cut off; *kādārkō* m. / *kādārkai* small bridge; *kōfatō* m. / *kōfātai* hoof; *kwāzazzabō* m. / *kwāzazzābai* gorge; *tsōlōlō* m./adj / *tsōlōlai* tall and skinny

The following items, which take *-ai* plurals, are slightly irregular in that their singulars are disyllabic:

<i>dābgī</i> m. (< <i>dābugī</i> ) /	<i>dābūgai</i>	anteater
<i>jākī</i> m. /	<i>jākai</i> (= <i>jākunā</i> )	donkey
<i>fāsīt</i> m. (< <i>fāsīdī</i> ) /	<i>fāsīd'ai</i>	receipt
<i>mālām</i> m. (< <i>mālāmī</i> ) /	<i>mālāmai</i>	teacher

Plurals formed with the *-ai* do not normally undergo stem expansion by internal reduplication. The word *littāfī* m. / *littāttāfai* 'book' is at exception. (The penultimate short /ā/ in the plural is anomalous.)

The *-ai* suffix also occurs with some polysyllabic *a*-final singulars. Apart from nouns of location formed with *ma...ā*, these are mostly words that are either identifiable as loanwords or else can be presumed to be loanwords because of phonologically marked characteristics (such as final L-L tone), e.g.,

*ādādā* m. / *ādādai* rectangular house or shed; *āllūrā* f. / *āllūrāi* needle; *fārīllā* f. / *fārīllai* obligatory religious duty; *kārūwā* f. / *kārūwai* prostitute; *tāntabārā* f. / *tāntabārāi* pigeon; *mākātā* f. / *mākātai* hooked stick

plural suffix is used  
affix form their plu  
...I. (Locational n  
words, allow both  
(see §11:1.2)  
form plurals by  
plural generally add

m. / *māgōgai* g  
(*rufī*) / *mūrfai* co  
house; *masallāci* r  
a dam, a place  
m / *cākūrkūf*  
haired, disheveled  
er, pond)

m. / *bādūkai* 'lea

### Gemination

plural suffix is fou  
ated above), in almo  
right first syllable  
nants undergoes ge  
the suffix is added.

m. / *dāmmāi*  
e / *gābbai*  
m. / *kyāmmāi*  
m. / *rābbai*  
m. / *tābbai*  
m. / *tāddai*

### Nasal insertion

following words are  
resulting plural is ei

m. / *ābōkānai* (=

m. / *kāfnai*  
change of r to f pre  
= *kāwū* m. / *kāwū*  
= *shāihū* m. / *shāihū*

AN/ØHN: In some  
been lost in the sin  
(T). In other cases,  
loanwords *kāwū* an  
to believe that *ābō*

H (where E represents phonological element er, the /ai/ diphthong i the only -VC plural pical shape of plural age—the derivational on, the suffix can be h'. Significantly, the whereas the -ai suffix

Many of the singulars onal consonants. One ai 'scissors'.

consonant before the

ally those ending in ation in the language t end in -i.

i spendthrift; **dālīlī** t; **kāfirī** m. / **kāfirai** **wākīlī** m. / **wākīlai** nly hesitant; **mādugū** **nikē** m. / **mākānikai** heads can be cut off; **ò** m. / **kwāzāzābai**

ulars are disyllabic:

duplication. The word al is anomalous.) om nouns of location words or else can be h as final L-L tone),

**fāfillā** f. / **fāfillai** **fai** pigeon; **mākatā**

The -ai plural suffix is used with a number of derived noun classes. Nouns of instrument derived using the **ma...I** affix form their plurals regularly by means of this suffix, as do those locational nouns that appear with **ma...I**. (Locational nouns formed with **ma...ā** use either this suffix or the plural suffix -ū, or, with some words, allow both alternatives.) Quadrisyllabic (and quinquisyllabic) type C augmentative adjectives (see §11:1.2) regularly use this plural. Most ethnonyms, which are derived by means of a prefix **bā-**, form plurals by dropping the prefix and adding a suffix -āwā. The few that preserve the prefix in the plural generally add the suffix -ai. Examples:

**magōgi** m. / **māgōgai** grater; brush; eraser; **masassabi** m. / **māsāsābai** harvesting tool; **murfi** m. (< \***marufi**) / **mūrfai** cover, lid; **masauki** m. / **māsāukai** lodging place, overnight quarters, guest room/house; **masallāci** m. / **māsāllātai** mosque; **mafakā** f. / **māfākai** shelter; **madatsā** f. / **mādātsai** a dam, a place for a dam; **mabuḅḅugā** f. / **mābūḅḅugai** spring of water **cākūrūkūfi** m. / **cākūrūkūrai** short and slight (psn or animal); **dūgūzūzūmī** m. / **dūgūzūzūmai** shaggy-haired, disheveled (psn or animal); **wāngāngāmī** m. / **wāngāngāmai** extensive or broad (e.g., container, pond) **bādūkū** m. / **bādūkai** leather worker; **bāhagō** m. / **bāhāgwai** left-handed person

### 2.1.1. Gemination

The -ai plural suffix is found with about twelve disyllabic words (apart from the pseudodisyllabic words illustrated above), in almost all cases as an alternative to some other plural formation. These words all have a light first syllable and almost all have H-L tone. In forming plurals with -ai, the base-final consonants undergoes gemination. This ensures that one has a minimum of two moras in the base to which the suffix is added. Examples (complete):

<b>damī</b> m. / <b>dāmmai</b>	bundle	<b>dubū</b> f. / <b>dūbbai</b>	thousand
<b>gabā</b> f. / <b>gābbai</b>	joint, limb	<b>kwabō</b> m. / <b>kwābbai</b>	penny
<b>kyamī</b> m. / <b>kyāmmai</b>	fan-palm beam	<b>rabī</b> m. / <b>rābbai</b>	half
<b>rābō</b> m. / <b>rābbai</b>	share, division	<b>samā</b> f. / <b>sāmmai</b>	sky, heavens
<b>tabō</b> m. / <b>tābbai</b>	scar	<b>tsirō</b> m. / <b>tsirrai</b>	sprout, shoot
<b>tudū</b> m. / <b>tūddai</b>	hill		

### 2.1.2. Nasal insertion

The following words are exceptional in adding /n/ (in one case, /nn/) to the base before adding the suffix. The resulting plural is either disyllabic with a heavy initial syllable or polysyllabic. Examples:

<b>ābōki</b> m. / <b>ābōkānai</b> (= <b>ābōkai</b> )	friend
<b>fā</b> m. / <b>fānnai</b>	flat rock
<b>kārē</b> m. / <b>kārñai</b>	dog
(The change of r to r̄ preceding /n/ is automatic.)	
<b>kāwu</b> = <b>kāwū</b> m. / <b>kāwūnai</b> ([WH] <b>kāwūnnai</b> )	maternal uncle
<b>shaihi</b> = <b>shaihū</b> m. / <b>shāihūnai</b> or <b>shāihūnai</b> ([WH] <b>shāihūnnai</b> )	learned pious psn

°AN/°HN: In some of the above cases, the added /n/ is probably an original root consonant that has been lost in the singular, e.g., **kārē** < \***kārñē** (a dialectal form attested in older sources), **fā** < \***fān** (?). In other cases, however, the /n/ is probably a plural formative. We know, for example, that the loanwords **kāwū** and **shaihū** did not have a final /n/ in the source languages, and we have no reason to believe that **ābōki** ever contained an additional nasal consonant either.

2.2. Plural type *-ā-...-ai*<sup>LH</sup>

*Form:* This plural pattern has a reduplicated quadrisyllabic structure  $C_1VC_2\bar{a}C_1VCai$  and an iambic light-heavy light-heavy rhythmic pattern. The plurals contain an internal *-ā-* in addition to the suffix *-ai*. The associated L-H tone melody spreads across the entire word, e.g., *birbiri* / *birābirai* 'type of bat'. The plural is built on a CVC base that can be found by looking at the *-CVC(V)* at the end of the singular stem. Again one finds final consonants undergoing "depalatalization" when the affixes with the low vowels are added.

*Comments:* Three groups of singular nouns employ this plural type. The first two typically have a reduplicative CVC-CVCV structure; the third is made up of CVC loanwords.

(a) The first group consists of reduplicated trisyllabic nouns that have the set shape CVC-CVCè with H-L tone. (One example has final *-ò* instead of *-è*.) A few are deverbal nouns; most are frozen reduplicated nouns (see §62:3.3). (In many cases, the C at the end of the first syllable has undergone gemination or other syllable-final adjustments that disguise the originally reduplicated nature of the word, e.g., *tsittsigè* 'tree stump, root of tooth' (< \**tsig-tsigè*), pl. *tsigàtsigai*.) Examples:

<i>gìrgijè</i> m.	(base //giz-//) /	<i>gìzàgìzai</i>	rain cloud
<i>gungumè</i> m.	(base //gum-//) /	<i>gùmàgùmai</i>	log
<i>kwikwiyò</i> m.	(base //kwi-//) /	<i>kwiyàkwiyai</i>	puppy
<i>shishikè</i> m.	(base //shik-//) /	<i>shikàshikai</i>	forked post, pillar
Irregular: <i>kankarè</i> m.	(base //kar-//) /	<i>kàràkàrai</i>	a scraping
<i>kuskurè</i> m.	(base //kur-//) /	<i>kùràkùrai</i>	mistake

\*AN: [i] The /s/ in the first syllable of *kuskurè* 'mistake' is totally inexplicable. Given the pl. *kùràkùrai*, one would have expected the corresponding singular to be *kurkurè*. This form is in fact cited by Bargery as equivalent to *kuskurè*, but it is not current in SH. (The nonreduplicated form *kurè*, on the other hand, is still encountered, although *kuskurè* is more common.) [ii] The plural noun *bùràgùzai* 'fragments, crumbs' appears to employ this plural formative even though the CVCCVCè singular from which it is derived, namely, *burgujè* (used in WH only), does not have a reduplicated structure.

CVCCVCè words indicating objects that occur in pairs, which have alternative singulars of the form CVCàCVCi, regularly use this plural type, e.g., *fiffikè* = *fikàfikì* 'wing', pl. *fikàfikai*. (In some cases, the CVCCVCè variant is no longer used.) Examples:

<i>diddigè</i> = <i>digàdigì</i> m.	(base //dug-//) /	<i>dùgàdùgai</i>	heel
(* <i>kumkumè</i> ) > <i>kumàkumì</i> m.	/	<i>kùmàkùmai</i>	type of corset (made in two halves)
<i>mummukè</i> = <i>mukàmukì</i> m.	/	<i>mùmàmùmai</i>	jaw, mandible
(* <i>tiktikè</i> ) > <i>tikàtikì</i> m.	/	<i>tikàtikai</i>	calf of leg
<i>zuzzugè</i> = <i>zugàzugì</i> m.	/	<i>zùgàzùgai</i>	bellows

(b) The second group consists in reduplicated words of the form CVC-CVCV other than those cited above. Most of these have all H tone. A number of these words appear in the singular with a nasal consonant at the end of the first syllable in place of the expected reduplicated  $C_2$  (a phenomenon found with other nouns and verbs with a frozen reduplicated structure), e.g., *janjalò* 'pebble' (< \**jaljalò*), pl. *jàlàjàlai* (not \*\**janàjàlai* nor \*\**janàjànai*). Examples:

<i>faifai</i> m. (< * <i>faifayi</i> )	(base //fay-//) /	<i>fàyàfàyai</i>	round mat, phonograph record
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janjalō m.	(base //jal-//) /	jālājālai	pebble
jinjiri m.	(base //jir-//) /	jirājirai	baby
kwalkwāl m.	(base //kwāl-//) /	kwālākwalai	battle helmet
kwařkwadā f.	(base //kwad-//) /	kwadākwađai	top of horse's head
kwařkwařō m.	(base //kwař-//) /	kwařākwařai	spindle
kwařkwařā f.	(base //kwař-//) /	kwařākwařai	concubine, slave girl
Irregular: jaujē m.	(base //jaw-//) /	jāwājāwai	type of drum
kūlūlū m.	(base //kul-//) /	kūlākūlai (= kūlūlai)	cyst; locust bean bobbles

(c) Some monosyllabic CVC words recently borrowed from English, all of which have falling tone, also use this plural type, e.g.,

bāl f. / bālābālai ball; bām m. / bāmābāmai bomb; fām m. / fāmāfāmai = fāmāfāmai pound (money unit); kwās m. / kwāsākwasai course; mil m. / milāmilai mile  
Irregular: fim m. / filāfilai = fināfinai film, movie

°AN: The plural *filāfilai* would presumably be derived from a putative singular \**filim*. The plural *fināfinai* is anomalous. Although both of these plural forms are attested, it is not clear how common either of them is nowadays.

### 2.3. Plural type -aiCai)HLH

*Form:* This plural type consists of a suffix -aiCai and an H-L-H tone pattern.

*Comments:* This plural formation is rarely used by modern-day SH speakers. (Historically, it is probably related to the -āCē)HLH plural type described below (§3.1).) Scattered examples are found in older dictionaries and grammars and written texts. It is not clear the extent to which this formation is still used in other dialects. The words reported as forming plurals in this manner are primarily disyllabic items with all H tone plus a few H-L bases with a feminative ending (which is dropped in this formation). Examples:

hatsi m. / hatsaitsai	grain/guinea-corn	kumfā m. / kumfāifai	foam
shingē m. / shingāigai	fence	wākē m. / wākāikai	black-eyed peas
bisā f. / bisāisai	pack animal	kasā f. / kasāisai	country, province
wutsiyā f. (base //wutsi-//) / wutsaitsai	tail		

## 3. CLASS 3: -AXE)HLH

This class contains three related plural formations that are characterized by the vowel sequence ā...ē and an H-L-H tone melody. With a few exceptions, the resulting plural forms are always trisyllabic.

°HN: Apart from this class, there are no plural suffixes in the language ending in the vowel /ē/. Moreover, there are no plurals at all ending in the corresponding mid vowel /ō/. Rather, one finds that plurals end either in one of the "primary" vowels /i/, /ā/, /ū/ or in the diphthong /ai/ (but not /au/!). This suggests that the final /ē/ of this plural class is historically secondary, most likely resulting from monophthongization of /ai/, e.g., *gulbi* 'stream', pl. *gulābē* < \**gulābai*, etc.

### 3.1. Plural type -āCē)HLH

*Form:* This type consists of a tone-integrating suffix -āCē)HLH, where C is a copy of the preceding consonant, the copied C, of course, being subject to palatalization before the final ē.

*Comments:* This is a very large plural class. It includes most disyllabic words (adjectives as well as nouns) whose singular form has H-H tone and a light first syllable, e.g.,

<b>damō</b> m. / <b>damàmē</b>	land monitor	<b>farī</b> m. / <b>faràrē</b>	white
<b>gidā</b> m. / <b>gidàjē</b>	house	<b>kasā</b> f. / <b>kasàshē</b>	country, nation, province

Irregular: **uwā** f. mother / **iyâyē** parents (= [dv] **uwâyē**)

ØHN: The dialectal form **uwâyē** is regular. The SH form **iyâyē** possibly has the following derivation: **uwā** ⇒ **uwâyē** → **uyâyē** (by anticipatory assimilation of **w** to **y** in the next syllable → **iyâyē** (by a change of **u** to **i** before **y**). Alternatively, **iyâyē** could be the morphological plural not of **uwā** but rather of **iyā**, another term for ‘mother’, which is usually used as a term of address.

°AN: In Newman (1972b), I proposed that this plural formative did not involve partial suffixal reduplication, as it appears but rather involves the imposition of the vocalization pattern **-ā-ē**<sup>HLH</sup> on a prepared stem in which the second consonant had been doubled, i.e., **damō** ⇒ //**damm-**// ⇒ **damàmē** ‘land monitor’. Having led people astray for a quarter of a century—this analysis proved to be popular—I now feel compelled to offer a retraction: there is no evidence, synchronic nor diachronic, to indicate that this plural formative is anything other than a reduplicative **-āCē** suffix.

Older dictionaries include a few exceptions where the singular has the “wrong” tone or syllable weight. Only the first of these, where the erstwhile plural is now treated as a singular, is accepted comfortably by modern SH speakers.

<b>icè</b> m. / <b>itacē</b>	(now treated as a singular)	tree, (fire)wood
<b>bikā</b> m. / <b>bikàkē</b>		baboon
<b>tāfā</b> f. / <b>tafàfē</b>		grass armling
<b>wāgā</b> f. / <b>wāgàgē</b>		basket with handle

### 3.2. Plural type **-âyē**<sup>HLH</sup>

*Form:* In this type the suffix contains a fixed /y/ consonant instead of a copy of the preceding consonant, e.g., **rīmī** / **rīmâyē** ‘silk cotton tree’. Words with a feminative suffix use a base without the ending in forming the plural, e.g., **munduwā** f. (base //**mund-**//), pl. **mundâyē** ‘brass bracelet, anklet’.

*Comments:* This is also a large plural class. Most of the singulars using this variant have the following characteristics: they are disyllabic, have H-H tone, and have a heavy first syllable. The rime of the heavy syllable consists of (a) a long vowel or a diphthong, (b) a vowel plus a nasal consonant (where the nasal consonant can be considered to be part of a “nasal diphthong” belonging to the nucleus (see §54:2.1.1)), or (c) a vowel plus the first part of a geminate (the occurring geminates being //l/, //nn/, //mm/, and, one case, //kk/.) In a few cases, one finds a vowel plus /r/. The class does not include singulars of the form **CāCā**, with the exception of the reduplicated word **wāwā** m. / **wāwâyē** ‘fool’.

- (a) **bāmī** m. / **bāmâyē** novice; **dūlū** m. / **dūlâyē** type of basket; **kifī** m. / **kifâyē** fish; **sūnā** m. / **sūnâyē** name; **ḡaurē** m. / **ḡaurâyē** fig tree; **maisō** m. / **maisâyē** unworked farm
- (b) **dumbū** m. / **dumbâyē** worn-out hoe; dimwit; **gwankī** m. / **gwankâyē** roan antelope; **shingē** m. / **shingâyē** fence; **wundī** m. / **wundâyē** large grass mat; **gwangwan** m. (base //**gwangw-**// with the nasal diphthong dropped) / **gwangwâyē** tin can
- (c) **kyallē** m. / **kyallâyē** piece of cloth; **sulluwā** f. (base //**sull-**//) / **sullâyē** type of bangle; **gammō** m. / **gammâyē** head pad (for carrying loads); **hannū** m. / **hannâyē** hand; **tukkū** m. / **tukk(w)âyē** braid of hair; bird’s crest
- (d) **buřtū** m. / **buřtâyē** ground hornbill; **gwafzō** m. / **gwafzâyē** psn of great energy

ception (with light f)

ØHN: The word rag  
in WH with the co  
proper canonical st

three apocoped mono

ai m. (base //kwāy-/

(= sawū) m. /

adj. (base //jāj-//)

ve trisyllabic words u

of them do not, e.g.,

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angwanī m. / gw

gafan m. (base //tar

ankurū m. / ku

ngūlu f. / un

ΔDN: Not surprisi

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In addition to the five t

have singulars with a

initial L tone, one of w

gō m. / angwâyē

dū m. / mūdâyē

icked; nōnō m. / nōn

/sūrâyē anthill; w

wanâyē expert

ØHN: Many of the

e.g., nōnâyē = nōn

Do these -âyē plu

-âyē plural was me

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have no solid evid

3. Plural type **-ā**

*Form:* In this type the

, i.e., **-ā** is insert

regular H-L-H tone pat

forming this plural typ

Exception (with light first syllable): **ragō** m. / **ragwâyē** coward, slacker

◊HN: The word **ragō** historically derives from \***raggō** with a geminate consonant, a form still found in WH with the corresponding plural **ragg(w)âyē**, i.e., the SH singular did originally have the proper canonical shape for this plural type.

Three apocopated monosyllabic words with H tone use this plural formation:

<b>kwai</b> m. (base //kwây-/ /	<b>kwâyâyē</b> (= [dv] kwayâkwai)	egg
<b>sau</b> (= sâwū) m. /	<b>sâyâyē</b>	foot(print)
<b>jā</b> adj. (base //jāj-/ /	<b>jājâyē</b>	red

Five trisyllabic words use this plural formation. Three of them have the expected all H tone pattern; two of them do not, e.g.,

<b>kūlumī</b> m. /	<b>kūlumâyē</b> (= kûlûmai)	stingy (psn)
<b>gwangwanī</b> m. /	<b>gwangwanâyē</b> (= gwangwâyē < alternative sg. gwangwan)	tin can
<b>tangaŕan</b> m. (base //tangaŕ-/ /	<b>tangaŕâyē</b>	chinaware, dishes
<b>kūnkurū</b> m. /	<b>kūnkurâyē</b>	tortoise
<b>ūngūlu</b> f. /	<b>ūngūlâyē</b>	vulture

ΔDN: Not surprisingly, because **-âyē**<sup>HLH</sup> plurals as a rule have a fixed trisyllabic shape, these longer forms exhibit variation in the assignment of the tone melody. For example, some speakers allow an H-L-L-H tone pattern for the plural forms **gwangwanâyē** and **tangaŕâyē**. In addition, some people pronounce the plurals of 'tortoise' and 'vulture' with an L-H tone melody, i.e., **kūnkūrâyē** and **ūngūlâyē**, respectively.

In addition to the five trisyllabic words just indicated, some dozen disyllabic words using the **-âyē** plural have singulars with a "wrong" canonical shape. Most have H-L tone instead of being all H; two have initial L tone, one of which, in addition, has a light first syllable. Examples:

**angō** m. / **angwâyē** bridegroom; **gwāmī** m. / **gwāmâyē** knock-kneed; **kōŕē** m. / **kōŕâyē** green; **mūdū** m. / **mūdâyē** measuring bowl of a standard size used in selling grain; **mūgū** m. / **mūgâyē** wicked; **nōnō** m. / **nōnâyē** breast; **shūdī** m. / **shūdâyē** blue; **sōkō** m. / **sōkâyē** dimwitted psn; **sūrī** m. / **sūrâyē** anthill; **wundī** m. / **wundâyē** type of gown; **wōŕī** m. / **wōŕâyē** silly psn; **gwānī** m. / **gwanâyē** expert

◊HN: Many of the above words have alternative plurals formed according to the class 4 pattern, e.g., **nōnâyē** = **nōnnā** 'breast', **shūdâyē** = **shūdā** 'blue'. The historical question is the following: Do these **-âyē** plurals with phonologically "wrong" singulars represent an earlier stage when the **-âyē** plural was more general and phonologically not as restricted as it is today, or do they represent an expansion of the **-âyē** plural into new domains? My guess is that the answer is the former, but I have no solid evidence to support this hypothesis.

### 3.3. Plural type **-ā-ē**<sup>HLH</sup>

*Form:* In this type the consonantal slot of the suffix is filled by the final (i.e., third) consonant of the base, i.e., **-ā-** is inserted between the second and third consonants and **/ē/** is attached at the end. The regular H-L-H tone pattern is used, e.g., **gulbī** / **gulâbē** 'stream'. Feminative suffixes are dropped in forming this plural type.



*Comments:* The canonical shape for singular employing this plural type is CVCCVV with all H tone, i.e., disyllabic with a closed first syllable (see examples in (a)). Excluded from this type are words where the C<sub>2</sub> is a nasal or the first part of a geminate because these append the suffix *-âyê*. A few singulars of this class are trisyllabic (CVCVCVV), but the short vowel in the second syllable is clearly epenthetic in nature (see (b)). Trisyllabic words with a feminative suffix, which also contain an epenthetic medial vowel, drop the suffix in forming the plural (see (c)). Examples: (Notes: [i] In standard orthography, initial /ʔ/ is not represented. It is transcribed here to reflect the canonical shape. [ii] Palatalized and labialized consonants, e.g., *ky* and *kw*, are written as such in standard orthography. They are indicated here by raised letters, e.g., *k<sup>y</sup>* and *k<sup>w</sup>*, to make it clear they fit into the canonical shape as unit phonemes.

- (a) *'askā* f. / *'asākē* straight razor; *biṛnī* m. / *biṛānē* city, large town; *ḥurmā* f. / *ḥurāmē* rat trap; *kulkī* m. / *kulākē* club, cudgel; *kurfō* m. / *kurāfē* whip, lash
- (b) *gishirī* m. / *gishārē* salt (archaic plural); *guzumā* f. / *guzāmē* old cow or old woman; *kuturū* m. / *kutārē* leper; *k<sup>w</sup>al(a)bā* f. / *k<sup>w</sup>alābē* bottle
- (c) *'amaryā* f. (base // *'amr-* //) / *'amārē* bride; *buzurwā* f. (base // *buzr-* //) / *buzārē* long-haired goat; *daḥ<sup>w</sup>alwā* f. (base // *daḥ<sup>w</sup>l-* //) / *daḥ<sup>w</sup>ālē* large hen; beautiful, well-built girl; *magaryā* f. (base // *magr-* //) / *magārē* jujube tree; *tabaryā* f. (base // *taḥr-* //) / *tabārē* pestle; *tukunyā* f. (base // *tuk<sup>w</sup>n-* //) / *tuk<sup>w</sup>ānē* cooking pot

Some singulars taking this plural type synchronically have the shape CVCCVV, where the vowel in the first syllable is either a long monophthong or a diphthong, i.e., they look as if they ought to form their plurals with *-âyê*, e.g., *ḥaunā* / *ḥakānē* 'buffalo'. This morphological aberration is due to the historical weakening in syllable-final position of the original C<sub>2</sub> (according to Klingenberg's Law), which is recovered in the base used in the plural. Nowadays, many of these words use the more transparent *-âyê* plural suffix formation.

<i>ḥaunā</i> f. (base // <i>ḥak<sup>(w)</sup>n-</i> //) /	<i>ḥak<sup>(w)</sup>ānē</i> (= <i>ḥaunâyê</i> )	buffalo
<i>būzū</i> m. (base // <i>bugz-</i> //) /	<i>bugājē</i> (= <i>būzâyê</i> )	Tuareg
<i>faṛkē/falkē</i> m. (base // <i>fatk-</i> //)	<i>fatākē</i>	itinerant trader
<i>jūjī</i> m. (base // <i>zibz-</i> //) /	<i>jibājē</i> (= <i>jūjâyê</i> )	refuse heap
<i>k<sup>y</sup>aurō</i> m. (base // <i>k<sup>y</sup>amr-</i> //) /	<i>k<sup>y</sup>amārē</i>	tall grass, arrow shaft
<i>kaimī</i> m. (base // <i>kaym-</i> //) /	<i>kayāmē</i>	spur
<i>k<sup>y</sup>aurē</i> m. (base // <i>k<sup>y</sup>amr-</i> //) /	<i>k<sup>y</sup>amārē</i> (= <i>k<sup>y</sup>aurâyê</i> )	door
<i>taushī</i> m. (base // <i>tafs-</i> //) /	<i>tafāshē</i>	type of drum
<i>g<sup>w</sup>aurō</i> m. (base // <i>g<sup>w</sup>ag<sup>w</sup>r-</i> // or // <i>g<sup>w</sup>abr-</i> //) /	<i>g<sup>w</sup>ag<sup>w</sup>ārē</i> = <i>g<sup>w</sup>abārē</i> (= <i>g<sup>w</sup>aurâyê</i> )	unmarried man

ØHN: The historically original form of the singular for 'unmarried man' was probably \**g<sup>w</sup>ag<sup>w</sup>rō*. The syllable final /*g<sup>w</sup>*/ changed to /*b*/, resulting in the form *g<sup>w</sup>abrō*, still present in WH. In SH, /*b*/ in coda position followed by an abutting coronal sonorant weakened to /*u*/, resulting in the now-occurring form *g<sup>w</sup>aurō*. The alternative plural forms illustrate synchronic uncertainty on the part of native speakers as to which consonant to recover in constructing the plural base. The now most common SH strategy is to avoid the problem altogether by suffixing *-âyê* to the surface CVCCVV singular form, i.e., *g<sup>w</sup>aurâyê*.

The pair *mūtūm* m. / *mutānē* 'person/people' is irregular and represents an old suppletion. The word *mutānē* appears to be a normal plural of this subtype, but its corresponding singular lacks the requisite shape.

## 4. CLASS 4: -(A)

This class contains four

## 4.1. Plural type -G

*Form:* These plurals are assigned a tone pattern is assigned *gāggā* 'pagan chief'. Before the suffixal *-ā*, the plural is always closed. Phonological rules, such as palatalization or labialization, are usually not applied to the consonants. *gyāffā* 'side' (< *gyēffā*)

*Comments:* The words in this class are usually adjectives. The typical monophthongal vowel in these plurals, e.g., *kēsō* / *kyābbā*

*bābē* m. / *bābbā*  
*ḥabē* m. / *ḥābbā*  
*ḥōrō* m. / *ḥwāffā*  
*ḥārū* m. / *ḥūrrā*  
*ḥōnō* m. / *nōnnā* (= *nōnnā*)  
*shūdī* m. / *shūdā*  
*tsāvō* m. / *tsāwvā*

ØHN: Historically, the vowel *ā* was the vowel initial of the short meso-syllable (see 1972b), I suggest it has to be wrong. The syncope rule in the ADN: In some WH this plural class.

Two words with meso-

*ḥārē* m. / *tāurā* c

ADN: Abraham and his descendants are not familiar

There are a few words in modern SH spoken in the *ḥādai* 'hill'. Attes

4. CLASS 4: -(A)XA)<sup>HLH</sup>

This class contains four related plural formations characterized by final -ā and an H-L-H tone melody.

4.1. Plural type -Gā)<sup>HLH</sup>

*Form:* These plurals are built by geminating the base-final consonant and adding the suffix -ā. The H-L-H tone pattern is assigned to the disyllabic plural form resulting in a falling-high sequence, e.g., **gāgò** / **gāggā** 'pagan chief'. Base forms ending in a palatalized consonant preceding a front vowel depalatalize before the suffixal -ā, e.g., **sāshè** m. / **sāssā** 'section, part, segment'. Because the initial syllable of the plural is always closed, long vowels in the base automatically shorten in according with general phonological rules, and, in the case of /e/ and /o/, normally centralize to /a/. As a result, redundant palatalization or labialization of initial consonants often comes to the fore, e.g., **gēfè** [g<sup>y</sup>ēfè] / pl. **gyáfā** 'side' (< **gyéffā** < **gyéeffā**; **kōrè** [k<sup>w</sup>ōrè] / pl. **kwārfā** 'green'. Plurals with initial coronal consonants are usually written (and sometimes pronounced) with the /o/ retained e.g., **zōbè** / **zōbbā** = **zābbā**.

*Comments:* The words that take this plural all end in a vowel other than /a/ and are masculine nouns or adjectives. The typical shape of the singular is CVVCVV)<sup>HL</sup>, i.e., disyllabic with a long monophthongal vowel in the first syllable and H-L tone. Many of these words allow alternative suffixal plurals, e.g., **kēsò** / **kyássā** = **kēsunà** 'old worn-out mat', **kātò** / **kāttā** = **kātti** 'huge'. Examples:

<b>bābè</b> m. / <b>bābbā</b>	locust	<b>gāgò</b> m. / <b>gāggā</b>	pagan chief
<b>gēbè</b> m. / <b>gyābbā</b>	water channel	<b>gībì</b> m. / <b>gībbā</b> (or <b>gyābbā</b> )	tooth gap
<b>gōrò</b> m. / <b>gwārfā</b>	kolanut	<b>kōrè</b> m. / <b>kwārfā</b> (= <b>kōrfā</b> )	green
<b>kūrù</b> m. / <b>kūrrā</b>	pony	<b>mūdù</b> m. / <b>mūddā</b>	corn measure
<b>nōnò</b> m. / <b>nōnnā</b> (= <b>nānnā</b> )	breast	<b>rēshè</b> m. / <b>rāssā</b>	branch
<b>shūdā</b> m. / <b>shūdā</b>	blue	<b>tūshè</b> m. / <b>tūssā</b>	base
<b>tsāwò</b> m. / <b>tsāwwā</b>	doorway covering	<b>zōbè</b> m. / <b>zōbbā</b> (= <b>zābbā</b> )	ring

ØHN: Historically this plural formation involved -aCā)<sup>HLH</sup> reduplication, i.e., originally this suffix was vowel initial as is the case with all other plural suffixes. The present forms are due to syncope of the short medial /a/, i.e., **zōbè** 'ring' ⇒ \***zōbābā** → **zōbbā**. In an earlier work (Newman 1972b), I suggested that the reduplicated suffix was \*-āCā)<sup>HLH</sup>, with a long penultimate vowel. This has to be wrong. The principle of syllable-weight polarity and the phonetic naturalness of the syncope rule indicate clearly that the historically lost vowel had to have been short.

ΔDN: In some WH dialects where a falling-high tonal sequence simplifies to L-H (see §71:6.2.1), this plural class appears as L-H, e.g., **rāssā** 'branches', **shūdā** 'blue' (pl.), etc.

Two words with medial flap /r/ have slightly irregular plurals without the gemination, i.e.,

**taurè** m. / **taurā** castrated he-goat; **yārò** m. / **yārā** boy

ΔDN: Abraham's (1962) dictionary contains a few more examples, with which current SH speakers are not familiar, e.g., **mōrì** / **mōrā** 'stable', **kūrù** / **kūrā** (= **kūrrā**) 'pony'.

There are a few words with a light first syllable listed in the dictionaries as utilizing this plural type. Modern SH speakers generally prefer other plural types, if any, with these words, e.g., **tudù** m. / **tūddā** = **tūddai** 'hill'. Attested examples (complete):

<b>dajè</b> m. / <b>dázzā</b>	handsome	<b>dakè</b> m. / <b>dákkā</b>	bullock
<b>damì</b> m. / <b>dámmā</b>	bundle of grain or grass	<b>kagò</b> m. / <b>kággā</b>	round thatched house
<b>tabò</b> m. / <b>tábbā</b>	scar	<b>tudù</b> m. / <b>túddā</b>	hill
Irregular: <b>gabò</b> m. / <b>gúbbā</b> tooth			

°AN/°HN: These words with light syllable roots attach the geminate suffix -Gā directly, i.e., they form plurals by analogy with the more usual forms like **kātò** / **káttā**. They do not go through the historical reduplication followed by syncope processes, i.e., they never would have added the original \*-aCā suffix with the short penultimate vowel.

#### 4.2. Plural Type -āCā)HLH

*Form:* This plural type consists of a suffix -āCā (where C is a copy of the preceding consonant) and an H-L-H tone pattern. The suffix is added to the base, which does not include the CVC- prefix found on the corresponding singular forms. The plurals are all trisyllabic with all three syllables heavy.

*Comments:* This form is essentially restricted to plurals of the derived class of adjectives known as DASQ (derived adjectives of sensory quality) (see §2:2). Examples:

<b>kàkkausā</b> adj. (base //kaus-//) / <b>kausāsā</b>	very rough
<b>mùmmūnā</b> adj. (base //mūn-//) / <b>mūnānā</b>	ugly, evil
<b>zùzzurfā</b> adj. (base //zurf-//) / <b>zurfāfā</b>	very deep

The diminutive word **sīrīrī** (= **sīrīrī**) 'thin' uses this DASQ plural form as one of its plurals even though it does not have a corresponding singular DASQ, i.e., **sīrīrī** (= **sīrīrī**) adj. (base //sīr-//) / **sīrārā** (= **sīrī-sīrī** = **sīrīrai**) 'thin'. The very common irregular word **àbù** 'thing' has an archaic plural form built on this pattern in addition to its more usual plurals: **àbù** / **abābā** (= **abūbuwā**) 'thing'.

#### 4.3. Plural type -ā-ā)HLH

*Form:* In this type, the consonantal slot of the suffix is filled by the third consonant of the base, i.e., /ā/ is inserted between the second and third consonants and /ā/ is added at the end. The regular H-L-H tone pattern of this class is used, e.g., **garkè** / **garākā** 'herd, flock'. (In WH, the final consonant is usually geminated, e.g., **garàkkā**.) In the single example that occurs with a feminative suffix, it is dropped in forming the plural. Base forms ending in a palatalized consonant preceding a front vowel depalatalize before the -ā, e.g., **kurshè** / **kurāsā** 'bundle of grass'. As with the -āCā plurals (§3.3 above), some bases recover a C<sub>2</sub> that was historically present, but which in the singular form has undergone syllable-final weakening or assimilation, e.g., **dantsè** (base //damts-//) / **damātsā** 'forearm'.

*Comments:* The canonical shape for singulars employing this plural type is CVCCVV with H-L tone. Some singulars are CVVCVV, where the vowel in the first syllable is either a long monophthong or a diphthong. This is invariably due to the weakening of the historically original C<sub>2</sub>. Almost all of the words taking this plural are masculine. Examples:

(a) <b>burjì</b> m. / <b>burāzā</b>	gravel, hillock	<b>farçè</b> m. / <b>farātā</b>	finger nail
<b>garkè</b> m. / <b>garākā</b>	herd, flock	<b>harshè</b> m. / <b>harāsā</b>	tongue, language
<b>kuřtù</b> m. / <b>kuřātā</b>	recruit (in police or army)	<b>sīřdì</b> m. / <b>sīřādā</b>	saddle
<b>turkè</b> m. / <b>turākā</b>	tethering post	<b>zāřtò</b> m. / <b>zāřātā</b>	saw, file
<b>kirjì</b> m. / <b>kirāzā</b>	chest (exceptional singular with L-H tone)		
(b) <b>dantsè</b> m. (base //damts-//) / <b>damātsā</b>	forearm		
<b>gunkì</b> m. (base //gumk-//) / <b>gumākā</b>	idol, statue		
<b>kwībì</b> m. (base //kuyb-//) / <b>kwiyābā</b>	side of the body		

**Rauyè** m. (base //kaw  
**runjì** m. (base //rum  
**taikì** m. (base //tayk-  
**zūciyā** f. (base //zukt-  
Irregular: **gèzā** f. (ba

4.4. Plural type -ā  
*Form:* In this plural ty  
*Comments:* This is the  
corresponding femini

**mahāřbi** / **mahāřbā**  
hairdresser; **manòm**

This plural formati  
originally a plural its

#### 5. CLASS 5: -A)

This class contains t  
an H-L-H tone meloc

5.1. Plural type -  
*Form:* This plural ty  
For many present-d  
dictionaries and olde  
the words. These are  
*Comments:* As with  
disyllabic words tha  
base recovers the e  
generally either hav  
surfacing as part of

(a) **gurbì** m. /  
**gurgù** m. /  
**kurmì** m. /  
**murhù** m. /  
**turkè** m. /  
**kūřfī** m. /  
(b) **dūtsè** m. (base  
**gībì** m. (base //giy  
**kuncì** m. (base //k  
**kwībì** m. (base //k  
**mīkì** m. (base //mī  
**mūgù** m./adj. (bas  
**tūshiyā** f. (base //t  
**kurādā** f. (base //k  
Irregular: **lūdāyī** n

bullock  
round thatched house  
hill

-Gā directly, i.e., they  
do not go through the  
would have added the

ending consonant) and an  
VC- prefix found on the  
bles heavy.

jectives known as DASQ

its plurals even though  
//sīr-/ / sīrāfā (= sīrī-  
haic plural form built on  
g'.

nant of the base, i.e., /ā/  
. The regular H-L-H tone  
nal consonant is usually  
e suffix, it is dropped in  
front vowel depalatalize  
urals (§3.3 above), some  
has undergone syllable-  
arm'.  
CVCCVV with H-L tone.  
long monophthong or a  
al C2. Almost all of the

finger nail  
tongue, language  
saddle  
saw, file

<b>ḥauyè</b> m. (base //ḥawy-/) /	<b>ḥawāyyā</b> [dv]	rural area
<b>runjī</b> m. (base //rumd-/) /	<b>rumādā</b>	slave settlement
<b>taikī</b> m. (base //tayk-/) /	<b>tayākā</b>	hide bag used on pack animals
<b>zūciyā</b> f. (base //zukt-/) /	<b>zūkātā</b>	heart, mind
Irregular: <b>gēzā</b> f. (base //girz-/) /	<b>girāzā</b>	mane

#### 4.4. Plural type -ā)<sup>HLH</sup>

*Form:* In this plural type, all that is left of the suffix is the vowel -ā and the H-L-H tone pattern.

*Comments:* This is the regular plural formation for agent nouns and adjectives formed with **ma...I**, or the corresponding feminine **ma...iyā**.

**mahārbī** / **mahārbā** hunter; **mahāukāci** / **mahāukātā** crazy, madman, idiot; **makitsiyā** f. / **makitsā** hairdresser; **manōmī** / **manōmā** farmer; **matsōraciyā** f. / **matsōrātā** coward(ly)

This plural formation is also used with the word **haRōri** 'tooth' / **haRōrā**. Note that the singular was originally a plural itself (type 1.2), built on a form \***haR(w)rè** 'tooth'.

### 5. CLASS 5: -AXU)<sup>HLH</sup>

This class contains two subtypes. They are both characterized by the vowel sequence -ā-ū and (usually) an H-L-H tone melody.

#### 5.1. Plural type -ā-ū)<sup>HLH</sup>

*Form:* This plural type is similar to the -āC3ā)<sup>HLH</sup> type except that the final vowel is -ū rather than -ā. For many present-day SH speakers, the tone for all plural words of this type is regularly H-L-H. The dictionaries and older grammars give H-H-H as a lexically determined alternative for some, but not all, of the words. These are listed in the examples by (= HHH). (In a few cases, H-H-H is the only tone listed.)

*Comments:* As with the -āC3ā)<sup>HLH</sup> type, the singulars taking this plural type are typically H-L disyllabic words that synchronically have the shape CVCCVV or else they are CVVCCV forms where the base recovers the erstwhile coda of the initial syllable. The base for words that take this -ū suffix generally either have /u/ as the initial vowel or else have //y// as the coda of the first syllable (the //y// surfacing as part of the long vowel /ū/). Words using this plural type are almost all masculine. Examples:

(a) <b>gurbī</b> m. /	<b>gurābū</b> (= HHH)	hollow place
<b>gurgū</b> m. /	<b>gurāgū</b>	lame (psn)
<b>kurmī</b> m. /	<b>kurāmū</b>	copse, jungle
<b>murhū</b> m. /	<b>murāfū</b> (= HHH)	cooking place;
<b>turkē</b> m. /	<b>turākū</b> (= HHH)	tethering post
<b>kūrffī</b> m. /	<b>kurāfū</b>	lair (singular with L-H tone!)
(b) <b>dūtsē</b> m. (base //duwts-/) /	<b>duwātsū</b>	stone, rock
<b>gībī</b> m. (base //giyb-/) /	<b>giyābū</b> (= HHH)	tooth gap
<b>kuncī</b> m. (base //kumt-/) /	<b>kumātū</b>	cheek
<b>kwiḥī</b> m. (base //kuyḥ-/) /	<b>kwiyāḥū</b> (= HHH)	side of the body
<b>mtkī</b> m. (base //miyk-/) /	<b>miyākū</b> (= HHH)	ulcer
<b>mūgū</b> m./adj. (base //muyg-/) /	<b>miyāgū</b> (< m <sup>w</sup> iyāgū)	evil (psn or thing)
<b>tūshiyā</b> f. (base //tukws-/) /	<b>tukwāsū</b> [dv]	stubble of corn (= SH <b>tūshiyōyī</b> )
<b>kurādā</b> f. (base //kurd-/) /	<b>kurādū</b>	small axe
Irregular: <b>lūdāyī</b> m. (base //luwd-/) /	<b>luwādū</b>	ladle

°AN/°HN: Some scholars, notably Jungraithmayr and Ibrizimow (1994), have proposed that *idô* 'eye' derives from a stem containing /n/ as a third consonant, i.e., // 'd-n //. The plural *idânû* would then be a straightforward instantiation of the  $-\bar{a}C_3\bar{u}$ )<sup>HLH</sup> formative. Although this analysis seems reasonable at first sight and perhaps *could* be right, it is not really very likely. It is questionable on internal grounds—the proposed singular does not fit the canonical shape of this plural class—as well as externally—it is not supported by comparative Chadic evidence. A more likely interpretation is that *idô* is a reflex of a monoconsonantal root \*(i)dV and that the *-nû* in *idânû* is an archaic plural suffix still evidenced in such forms as *kânû* 'headlines', pl. of *kai* 'head' and *hannû* 'hand', now a singular but originally a plural consisting of \*(h)am + *-nû*.

### 5.2. Plural type $-\bar{a}C\bar{u}$ )<sup>HLH</sup>

*Form:* This plural subtype is formed by adding the suffix  $-\bar{a}C\bar{u}$ )<sup>HLH</sup>, where the C is a copy of the final consonant of the base. One word, which contains a feminative suffix that is dropped, has all H tone in the plural.

*Comment:* This archaic formation is only used with a small number of basic body part terms. The singulars are all CVCVV with a light initial syllable and H-L tone. Examples (complete):

<i>gabâ</i> f. /	<i>gabâbû</i> (= <i>gabḅunâ</i> )	joint, limb
<i>kafâ</i> f. /	<i>kafâfû</i>	foot
<i>tsuwè</i> m. /	<i>tsuwâwû</i>	testicle
<i>gwiwâ</i> f. (base //guy-//)	<i>gwiwâyû</i> (with all H tone) (= <i>gwiwôyî</i> )	knee

The now masculine singular word *ḏuwâwû* 'buttocks' originally must have been a plural of this class.

## 6. CLASS 6: -UXA)<sup>HL</sup>

Grouped here are five related plural formations including *-unâ* and *-ukâ*, among others, which contain a number of different subtypes and various surface manifestations. (Curiously, there are no adjectives in this class.) The common characteristics of the class are the vowel sequence u...â and the set H-L tone melody. Words with base-final palatals generally depalatalize before the plural suffix, e.g., *zâncè* m. / *zantukâ* 'conversation'. The specific plural types in the class have a number of subvariants that make use of identical processes of gemination and internal reduplication.

### 6.1. Plural type *-unâ*)<sup>HL</sup>

*Form:* This plural type takes the suffix *-unâ* with the H-L tone pattern, e.g., *hulâ* / *hulunâ* 'cap'.

*Comments:* The singulars are typically disyllabic words with a heavy first syllable and L-H or H-L tone. The choice of *-unâ* vs. the *-ukâ* suffix is partially predictable depending on the nature of the stem-final consonant (see discussion in §6.2). Both masculine and feminine L-H words use this plural type. With few exceptions, the H-L words are all masculine, because singular feminine words normally use the class 1 *-ôCi* plural. A few trisyllabic words, mostly recent loans, also use this plural type.

*gàngâ* f. / *gàngunâ* drum; *kògî* m. / *kògunâ* river; *râgô* m. / *râgunâ* ram; *kwândô* m. / *kwandunâ* basket; *gòrâ* f. / *gòrunâ* gourd; *tùlû* m. / *tùlunâ* water pot; *bencî* m. / *bencunâ* bench; *famfô* m. / *famfunâ* faucet; *kèsô* m. / *kèsunâ* worn-out mat; *lařđî* m. / *lařđunâ* province; *yankî* m. / *yankunâ* piece of sth., section; *hantâ* f. / *hantunâ* liver (= *hantôci*); *âgôgô* m. / *âgôgunâ* clock, watch; *âkâwu* m. / *âkâwunâ* clerk; *âkwâtî* m. / *âkwâtunâ* box; *kâlângû* m. / *kalangunâ* hourglass drum  
Irregular: *kâi* m. (base //kâw-// < \*kây-) / *kâwunâ* head; *sarkî* m. (base //sarâk-//) / *sarâkunâ* chief, emir

°HN: The H-H wo explanation is that the first two syllable form *sârauntyâ* 'holder under an en sense of 'king' or ΔDN: In the Tiber personal commu standard H-L patt *akwâtunâ* = [SH] has also been not *Hausa* course (C speaker. Surprisir and not with those

Disyllabic words taking the stem in antepenult *cikî* / *cikkunâ* = *cikun* lexically specific and alternatives.

The formation rule e.g., *cikî* ⇒ //cikun position of the CVC morphological constituent the plural suffix.) Exa

*bakâ* m. / *bakunkunâ*  
*buhû* m. / *buhunhun*  
*cikî* m. / *cikkunâ* = *ci*  
*damî* m. / *dammunâ*  
*gwaddô* m. / *gwaddun*  
*jikî* m. / *jikkunâ* (= *ji*  
*kwabô* m. / *kwabbun*

ΔDN: The gemination between the first and thereby producing

### 6.2. Plural type *-ukâ*

The plural suffix *-ukâ* variant is probably a subvariant is partially predictable  
*Form:* This plural type is used for 'room'. (In WH, the singular is *ukâ*)  
*Comments:* The singulars (most often an open syllable) use *-ukâ* except for those that do not use *-ukâ*, a few consonants take either

ØHN: The H-H word *sarkī* appears to have the “wrong” tone to take this suffix. The historical explanation is that it is derived from a stem \**sārāki*. (The change of L-H to H, with the collapse of the first two syllables into one, is totally regular.) The initial L tone is preserved in the feminine form *sārauniyā* ‘queen’, and the lost medial /ā/ can be seen in such forms as *bāsarākè* ‘office holder under an emir’. The singular form *sārāki* does in fact still exist, although not in the literal sense of ‘king’ or ‘emir’, e.g., *kāi*, *Lawàn sārāki* ‘Hey, Lawan big shot!’

ΔDN: In the Tibiri dialect (Gouffé 1967/68: 42n), as well as in the dialect of Sokoto (Malami Buba, personal communication), this plural type appears with an H-L-H tone pattern rather than the standard H-L pattern, i.e., *rāgùnā* = [SH] *rāgùnā* ‘rams’, *tūlùnā* = [SH] *tūlùnā* ‘waterpots’, *akwātùnā* = [SH] *akwātùnā* ‘boxes’, *dammùnā* = [SH] *dammùnā* ‘bundles’. This pronunciation has also been noted by McIntyre (1992) for the speaker on the tape accompanying the *Spoken Hausa* course (Cowan and Schuh 1976), who is supposed to be—but in fact may not be—an SH speaker. Surprisingly the H-L-H tone pattern occurs only with plurals formed with the *-unā* suffix and not with those formed with the closely related *-ukā* suffix.

Disyllabic words taking the *-unā* suffix that have a light first syllable generally undergo expansion of the stem in antepenultimate position, either by gemination or by internal -CVC- reduplication, e.g., *cikī* / *cikkunā* = *cikunkunā* ‘belly’. The choice of gemination as opposed to reduplication seems to be lexically specific and variable depending on dialectal or idiolectal preference. Some words allow both as alternatives.

The formation rule works on an intermediate plural stem made up of the lexical base plus the suffix, e.g., *cikī* ⇒ // *cikunā* //. One then either geminates the C<sub>2</sub> or else inserts a copy in antepenultimate position of the CVC of the final two syllables. (Note, interestingly, that what is reduplicated is not a morphological constituent: the reduplicated CVC copies the final C of the base plus the *-un* portion of the plural suffix.) Examples:

<i>bākā</i> m. / <i>bakunkunā</i>	bow
<i>būhū</i> m. / <i>buhunhunā</i>	sack
<i>cikī</i> m. / <i>cikkunā</i> = <i>cikunkunā</i>	belly
<i>damī</i> m. / <i>dammunā</i>	bundle
<i>gwàdò</i> m. / <i>gwaddunā</i>	type of blanket
<i>jikī</i> m. / <i>jikkunā</i> (= <i>jikunā</i> )	body
<i>kwabò</i> m. / <i>kwabbunā</i>	penny, plastic chip

ΔDN: The gemination of the C<sub>2</sub> in the plural produces syllable weight polarity (heavy-light) between the first two syllables. In some WH dialects, the /n/ of the suffix is geminated instead, thereby producing a light-heavy alternation, e.g., [SH] *cikkunā* = [WH] *cikunnā*.

### 6.2. Plural type *-ukā*<sup>HL</sup>

The plural suffix *-ukā* has a close relation to the suffix *-uwā* (§6.3). Historically the /w/ in the *-uwā* variant is probably derived from /k/ by intervocalic lenition. Synchronically, the choice between the variants is partially predictable and partially lexically or dialectally determined.

*Form*: This plural type takes the suffix *-ukā* with the H-L tone pattern, e.g., *zaurè* / *zaurukā* ‘entrance room’. (In WH, the suffix *-ukkā* with a geminate /kk/ is common.)

*Comments*: The singulars are typically disyllabic words with H-L or L-H tone and a heavy first syllable (most often an open syllable). Most of the words are masculine. Words with base-final *y*, *n*, *ɾ*, and *f* (but see note) use *-ukā* exclusively as opposed to the related *-unā* suffix, whereas words with base-final velars do not use *-ukā*, a dissimilatory process apparently being operative. Words with other base-final consonants take either *-ukā* or *-unā*, the choice being lexically specific. Examples:

**Rauyè** m. / **Rauyukà** village; **râi** m. (base //rây-//) / **râyukà** life, soul; **tsânî** m. / **tsânuukà** ladder; **dârñî** m. / **darñukà** cornstalk fence; **gârè** f. / **gârufukà** type of gown; **râfi** m. / **râfukà** stream  
**kwaurî** m. / **kwaurukà** shin, calf; **râmî** m. / **râmukà** pit, trench; **wîlî** m. / **wilukà** wheel

°AN: Although there are some words with base-final /f/ that use the -unā suffix, e.g., **mâl(à)fā** / **malfunà** (= **malèfanî** [older form]) 'brimmed hat', **fàsô** / **fasfunà** [< Eng.] 'passport', **kôfî** / **kôfunà** [< Eng.] 'cup', originally they all probably required the -ukā suffix. One can understand on phonological grounds why there might be an incompatibility between, for example, base-final /n/ and the -unā suffix; but there seems to be no reason why /f/ should belong to this curious, unnatural class.

Many plurals using the -ukā suffix require or allow internal -CVC- reduplication. The /k/ of the internal -CVC- automatically geminates with the following consonant, e.g., **kwânò** / **kwânukà** ⇒ /**kwânuknukà**/ → **kwânunnukà** 'pan'. Examples:

<b>bâshî</b> m. / <b>bâsussukà</b>	loan, credit	<b>cûtâ</b> f. / <b>cûtuttukà</b>	ailment, disease
<b>dâjî</b> m. / <b>dâzuzzukà</b>	bush, forest	<b>lâifi</b> m. / <b>laifuffukà</b>	crime, wrongdoing
<b>tsaunî</b> m. / <b>tsaununnukà</b>	mountain	<b>zâncê</b> m. / <b>zantuktukà</b> (= <b>zantukà</b> )	conversation

Irregular (singular with light first syllable): **sulè** m. / **sulullukà** shilling

The -ukā suffix with internal reduplication also occurs with a few trisyllabic words as well (all of which are loanwords from Arabic), e.g.,

<b>hadâfi</b> m. / <b>hadâfufukà</b>	danger; accident
<b>kabâfi</b> m. / <b>kabâfufukà</b>	grave
<b>sha'anî</b> m. / <b>sha'anunnukà</b>	matter, affair

### 6.3. Plural type -uwā)HL

**Form:** This plural type takes the suffix -uwā with the H-L tone pattern. In simple inflections, it is always accompanied either by internal -CVC- reduplication—the most usual case—or by gemination. The reduplicated -Cuw- element appears phonologically as /Cū/, e.g., **hakūkuwà** < /**hakuwkuwà**/ 'grasses'.  
**Comments:** The singulars are typically disyllabic words with a light first syllable and H-L or L-H tone. This contrasts with the -ukā plurals, which typically go with singulars with a heavy first syllable.  
**Examples:**

<b>ajî</b> m. / <b>azūzuwà</b> (= <b>ajūjuwà</b> )	class, section	<b>bâtū</b> m. / <b>batūtuwà</b>	conversation, matter
<b>faḵò</b> m. / <b>fakūkuwà</b>	hard ground	<b>gârî</b> m. / <b>garūruwà</b>	town, city
<b>hakî</b> m. / <b>hakūkuwà</b>	grass	<b>kâshî</b> m. / <b>kasūsuwà</b>	bone

ΔDN: In WH, -ukā with internal reduplication is commonly used instead of -uwā, especially with roots ending in a liquid or other coronal consonant, e.g., **gârî** / **garurrukà** 'town'. This dialectal formation appears to be spreading into SH.

Four words, all with base-final /n/, add the -uwā suffix without reduplication. In two of them, the /n/ undergoes gemination; in the other two, the /n/ is already geminate in the synchronically occurring singular form. Examples (complete):

<b>kanè</b> m. / <b>kannuwà</b>	younger brother	<b>zanè</b> m. / <b>zannuwà</b>	wrapper, body cloth
---------------------------------	-----------------	---------------------------------	---------------------

**hannū** m. / **hannuwà**

The other instances of the cases, the base to which the plural synchronically). (above.) Examples:

**hâcê** m. (originally pl. of

**Rafâfû** (plural of **Rafâ** f.)

**Rirârê** m. or pl. / **Rirârû**

### 6.4. Plural type -u-â

**Form:** In this type the consonant is followed by a set consonant (sometimes vacuously) as in **gâturà** 'axe'.

◊HN: Wolff (1992) notes that the plural class (and certain other classes, for example, we) are considered, I am given the comparative plural markers is

When the resulting plural consonant is often geminate here is to create a two-syllable word evidences a heavy first syllable.  
**Comments:** The typical

(a) **côkâlî** m. / **côkulâ** fence; **fuṛtûmî** m. / **fuṛtûmâ** // **tambul-//** / **tambulâ** covering face

(b) **daṛâsî** m. / **daṛussâ** **shaṛudâ**) agreement, sheepskin; **âl'amâfi** n

This plural formation is used for words of which have a "latent

**bâtîr** (= **bâtîrî**) m. / **bâtîrâ** valve; **têbûr** (= **têbûrî**)

A few words using the plural are effected after the vowel and the base-final consonant

**hannū m. / hannuwà** hand      **kūnnē m. / kunnuwà** ear

The other instances of the **-uwā** suffix being used without reduplication are “plurals of plurals.” In these cases, the base to which the suffix is added is already a plural form (which may or may not be treated as a plural synchronically). (Note that this was probably also the case with the latter two examples listed above.) Examples:

**itācē m. (originally pl. of icè) / itātuwà** tree, wood  
**ƙafāfū (plural of ƙafā f.) / ƙafāfuwà** foot  
**ƙirārē m. or pl. / ƙirāruwà** twigs, kindling

#### 6.4. Plural type **-u-ā**<sup>HL</sup>

*Form:* In this type the consonantal slot of the suffix is filled by the final consonant of the base rather than by a set consonant /n/ or /k/ or /w/, i.e., /u/ simply replaces the penultimate vowel of the singular (sometimes vacuously) and /ā/ is added at the end. The regular H-L tone pattern is used, e.g., **gātari / gāturā** ‘axe’.

ØHN: Wolff (1992) has proposed that the **-u-ā** vocalization pattern constitutes the essence of this plural class (and certain others) and that the /n/ and /k/ that one finds in the **-unā** and **-ukā** suffixes, for example, were originally demonstratives. Although the hypothesis deserves some consideration, I am far from convinced that it accurately describes what historically was the case. Given the comparative Chadic evidence, I think that the straightforward identification of /n/ and /k/ as plural markers is much more likely (see Newman 1990b).

When the resulting plural contains a sequence of light syllables (excluding the final syllable), the final consonant is often geminated, especially in WH, e.g., **hařafi / hařuffā** ‘letter of alphabet’. The goal here is to create a two-syllable foot structure with syllable weight polarity, contrast **gāturā**, in which the word evidences a heavy-light rhythm, with **hařuffā**, which has a light-heavy rhythm.

*Comments:* The typical singular is polysyllabic ending in -i. All are masculine. Examples:

- (a) **cōkālī m. / cōkulā** spoon; **dāgūmī m. / dāgumā** charm; **dāmfaṃī m. / dāmfumā** temporary fence; **fuřtūmī m. / fuřtumā** bullock; **kallābī m. / kallubā** woman’s head-tie; **tambūlān m. (base //tambul-//) / tambulā** (= **tambulōlī**) drinking glass; **amāwālī m. / amāwulā** part of turban for covering face
- (b) **dařāsī m. / dařussā** lesson; **hařafi m. / hařuffā** letter of alphabet; **šařādī m. / šařudfā** (= **šařudfā**) agreement, condition; **takōbī m. / takubbā** (= **takubā**) sword; **agalāmī m. / agalummā** sheepskin; **āl’amāfī m. / al’amuřfā** (= **al’amuřfā**) matter, issue

This plural formation is used also with a few disyllabic English loanwords of the shape CVVCVC, some of which have a “latent” final -i. Examples:

**bātūr** (= **bātīrī**) m. / **bātuřā** (= **bātīrōrī**) battery; **bābūr m. / bābuřā** motorcycle; **bāwūl m. / bāwulā** valve; **tēbūr** (= **tēbūrī**) m. / **tēbuřā** (= **tēbuřōrī**) table

A few words using the **-u-ā** affix obligatorily undergo internal -CVC- reduplication. The reduplication is effected *after* the vowel replacement. Plurals that are characterized by this reduplication never geminate the base-final consonant. Examples:



**kabāri** m. / **kabuṛbuṛà** grave; **māgani** m. / **māgungunà** medicine, remedy; **naḳali** m. / **naḳulḳulà** instruction; **shagali** m. / **shagulgulà** celebration

In one example using this plural formation, the singular noun, which in fact is an erstwhile plural, is already reduplicated. Nevertheless, one has to redo the -CVC- reduplication in order to get the correct /u/ vowel in the antepenultimate syllable: **haḳarḳari** m. / **haḳurḳurà** (not **\*\*haḳarḳurà**) 'rib(s)'.  
 There are a small number of disyllabic native words that use the -u-ā affix rather than -unā or -ukā. These are H-L nouns with the shape CVCCVV. With one exception, they are all masculine. In the plural, one usually geminates the base-final consonant, e.g.,

**garkè** m. / **garukkà** herd, flock; **hargi** m. / **haruggà** sword fastener; **harshè** m. / **harussà** tongue, language; **sartsè** m. / **saruttsà** splinter; **tafkì** m. / **tafukà** lake; **cūnà** f. (base //ciwn-//) / **ciwunnà** gusset joining sleeve to gown

In SH, the plural of the word **aikì** (base //’ayk-//) geminates the /y/ rather than the final /k/, i.e., **aikì** m. / **ayyukà** (= WH **ayukkà**) 'work'.

### 6.5. Plural type -uCCā)<sup>HL</sup>

*Form:* This type consists of a suffix -uCCā, where CC is a geminated copy of the preceding consonant.

*Comments:* This is an archaic plural type recorded in the dictionaries and attested in written sources and in other dialects. In SH, the examples listed below generally take other plural forms:

<b>àbù</b> m. /	<b>abubbà</b> (usu. <b>abūbuwà</b> )	thing
<b>ḏari</b> /	<b>ḏarurrà</b> (usu. <b>ḏarūruwà</b> )	hundred
<b>gabà</b> f. /	<b>gabubbà</b> (usu. <b>gabōōi</b> )	limb
<b>ḳāshī</b> m. /	<b>ḳasussà</b> (usu. <b>ḳasūsuwà</b> )	bone

### 6.6. Plural type -ā)<sup>HL</sup>

Some five polysyllabic words utilize the final -ā vowel and the H-L tone pattern of this class, but without inserting the /u/. These are all masculine.

<b>dābaibāyi</b> m. / <b>dabaibayà</b>	hobbling rope	<b>lifidi</b> m. / <b>lifidà</b>	cavalry quilting
<b>lūdāyi</b> m. / <b>lūdayà</b>	ladle	<b>tākalmī</b> m. / <b>tākalmà</b>	shoe
<b>tūbālī</b> m. / <b>tūbalà</b>	brick		

## 7. CLASS 7: -AXI)<sup>LH</sup>

Grouped here are four different plural types with varied surface manifestations. The common shared characteristics are the final vowel sequence a-I (where I represents a high vowel, usually -i, but in one case -ū) and the set L-H tone melody.

### 7.1. Plural type -anni)<sup>LH</sup>

*Form:* These plurals make use of a suffix -anni and an L-H tone pattern.

*Comments:* The singulars are typically disyllabic nouns ending in a nonhigh vowel, generally /a(a)/ or /o(o)/ and a tone pattern other than all H. The large majority of the words are masculine. There is one monosyllabic word that takes this plural and four polysyllabic words. The latter include a compound noun, a loanword from English, and two older loans with a feminative suffix.

**baffà** m. / **baffānni** pat  
**gwadò** m. / **gwadānni**  
**mākwānni** week; **ūbā**  
 month, moon; **fā** m. / **fā**  
**fāhōtānni** report; **shū**  
 neighborhood, quarter  
 Irregular: **kākā** m./f. / **kī**  
 horn

ΔDN: In some WH  
 choice of the final  
 Here are some xam  
**fārantinnè** 'plate,  
 'couch, throne'; n  
**tākārdinnè** 'paper

### 7.2. Plural type -aC

*Form:* The suffix in this  
 specified consonant. So  
 by deleting the medial  
*Comments:* This type i  
 (The plural of **tsōhō** is

**sābō** m. / **sābābbi**  
**tsōhō** m. / **tsōfāffi**

### 7.3. Plural Type -a

*Form:* This plural type  
 surface variants: (a) -ā  
 -kū appears as /ai/ in  
 Some words allow bot  
 lexically/idiologically  
 forms as listed in the  
 common words, both c  
 be conditioned by son  
*Comments:* The singul  
 tone. Three of the wo  
 added. Examples (com

(a) **mārā** f. / **mārākū**  
 mate; **zānā** f. / **zānākū**  
 tree; **rāriyā** f. / **rārāi**  
 (b) **gōnā** f. (< \***gwānā**

### 7.4. Plural Type

*Form:* In this type the  
 vowel -ā- is inserted

**nakāli m. / nakulikulā**

s an erstwhile plural, is  
er to get the correct /u/  
**kurā**) 'rib(s)'.  
ther than -unā or -ukā.  
nasculine. In the plural,

m. / **harussā** tongue,  
//ciwn-//) / **ciwunnā**

e final /k/, i.e., **aikī** m.

y preceding consonant.

d in written sources and  
ms:

tern of this class, but

cavalry quilting  
shoe

s. The common shared  
l, usually -i, but in one

wel, generally /a(a)/ or  
nasculine. There is one  
er include a compound

**baffā** m. / **baffānni** paternal uncle; **dōdō** m. / **dōdānni** monster, goblin; **fūrē** m. / **fūrānni** flower;  
**gwàdō** m. / **gwàdānni** type of blanket; **gwàfā** f. / **gwàfānni** forked end of a stick; **mākō** m. /  
**mākwanī** week; **ùbā** / **ùbānni** father; **wāsā** m. / **wāsānni** play, game, joke; **watā** m. / **watānni**  
month, moon; **fā** m. / **fānni** flat rock; **kāsuwā** f. / **kāsuwānni** (usu. **kāsuwōyi**) market; **fāhōtō** m. /  
**fāhōtānni** report; **shūgābā** m. / **shūgābānni** leader, head; **ūnguwā** f. / **ūnguwānni** hamlet,  
neighborhood, quarter  
Irregular: **kākā** m./f. / **kākāni** (= **kākānni**) grandparent; **kāhō** m. / **kāhōni** (= less common **kāhwānni**)  
horn

ΔDN: In some WH dialects there is a plural suffix reported variously as -innē, -innai, or -inni. The  
choice of the final vowel depends on the specific subdialect. The tone pattern in all cases is L-H-L.  
Here are some examples (illustrating the -innē variant): **āgōgo** m. / **āgōginnē** 'clock'; **fārantī** m. /  
**fārantinnē** 'plate, tray'; **kālāngū** m. / **kālānginnē** 'hourglass drum'; **kāragā** f. / **kāraginnē**  
'couch, throne'; **makařantā** f. / **makařantinnē** (not **\*\*makařancinnē**) 'school', **takārdā** f. /  
**takārdinnē** 'paper'.

### 7.2. Plural type -aCCi.)<sup>LH</sup>

*Form:* The suffix in this type contains a geminated copy of the preceding consonant rather than a fully  
specified consonant. Some speakers, esp. in WH dialects, have truncated variants of these plurals formed  
by deleting the medial **Ca** syllable.

*Comments:* This type is restricted to two very common adjectives (= adjectival nouns) with H-H tone.  
(The plural of **tsōhō** is built on a base containing /f/ instead of the surface **h**.)

**sābō** m. / **sābābbi** = **sābbi** new  
**tsōhō** m. / **tsōfāffi** = **tsōffi** (= [WH] **tswahhi** (with H-H tone)) old (psn)

### 7.3. Plural Type -a(i)kU)<sup>LH</sup>

*Form:* This plural type employs an L-H suffix ending in /k/ plus a high vowel. The suffix has three  
surface variants: (a) -aikū or -ākū, and (b) -aki. Eight words use the suffix -kū. The vowel preceding the  
-kū appears as /ai/ in some words and /a/ in others. (Some speakers monophthongize the /ai/ to /ē/.)  
Some words allow both /ai/ or /a/, others seem to be fixed with one or the other. The choice seems to be  
lexically/idiologically specific and not synchronically predictable. In the examples below, I give the  
forms as listed in the dictionaries and as preferred by my assistants. The variant -aki is used with two  
common words, both of which have (or had) an initial labialized consonant. (The final -i thus seems to  
be conditioned by some kind of dissimilatory principle.)

*Comments:* The singulars taking this plural are typically feminine words of the shape **CāCā** with all H  
tone. Three of the words contain a feminative ending -iyā, which is dropped when the plural suffix is  
added. Examples (complete):

- (a) **mārā** f. / **mārākū** calabash scoop; **rānā** f. / **rānākū** (= **rānākū**) day; **tsārā** m./f. / **tsārākū** age-  
mate; **zānā** f. / **zānākū** reed mat; **zāzā** f. / **zāzākū** low-lying grassy land; **cēfiyā** f. / **cēfākū** fig  
tree; **rāriyā** f. / **rārākū** under-wall drainage hole, sieve; **tsāmiyā** f. / **tsāmākū** tamarind  
(b) **gōnā** f. (< **\*gwānā**) / **gōnākū** farm; **kwānā** m. / **kwānākū** day (24-hour period)

### 7.4. Plural Type -ā-ī)<sup>LH</sup>

*Form:* In this type the consonantal slot of the suffix is filled by the final consonant of the base, i.e., the  
vowel -ā- is inserted between the second and third consonants and /i/ is attached at the end.

*Comments:* This is a frozen one-member class consisting of the word **sauryāi** 'youth', pl. **sāmāri**. Synchronically, it is probably best treated as an irregular suppletive plural. Viewed historically, the formation pattern can be seen if one assumes a base without the **-āyi** singular suffix but including the former syllable-final /m/, which has changed into /u/ in accordance with Klingenberg's Law, i.e., **sauryāi** m. (base //samr-/ + **-ā-i**)<sup>LH</sup> ⇒ **sāmāri** 'youth, young man'.

### 8. CLASS 8: (...)-AXI)<sup>HLHH</sup>

Four related plural types are characterized by internal expansion (vowel insertion or internal reduplication) and the imposition of an H-L-H-H tone pattern. The resulting plurals are always quadrasyllabic.

#### 8.1. Plural type -èC<sub>3</sub>ani)<sup>HLHH</sup>

*Form:* This type is formed by inserting /ē/ after the second consonant of the base and suffixing **-ani** after the third (base-final) consonant, e.g., **garkā** / **garèkani** 'fenced in garden'.

*Comments:* This is a small class of some ten words consisting of mostly feminine triconsonantal nouns of the form CaCCV. (The middle **-a-** in **mālāfā** is epenthetic.) The C<sub>2</sub> is always a liquid. With the exception of **farcè** 'fingernail', whose more usual plural is **farātā**, and the loanword **jaṛkā** 'jerry-can', the singulars all end in H-tone /-ā/. Most of the words displaying this plural have alternative plurals in other classes. Examples:

<b>farcè</b> m. / <b>farètani</b>	fingernail	<b>fàrkā</b> m./f. / <b>farèkani</b>	illicit sexual partner
<b>farsā</b> f. / <b>farèsani</b>	split kolanut	<b>garkā</b> f. / <b>garèkani</b>	fenced in garden
<b>gārmā</b> f. / <b>garèmani</b>	large hoe	<b>garwā</b> f. / <b>garèwani</b>	four-gallon can
<b>jaṛkā</b> f. / <b>jaṛèkani</b>	jerry-can	<b>karma(a)</b> m./f. / <b>karèmani</b>	foot soldier
<b>kwārgā</b> f. / <b>kwarègani</b>	hole in rock [Kts]	<b>sālkā</b> f. / <b>salèkani</b> (= <b>salkunà</b> )	hide water bag
<b>mālāfā</b> f. (base //malf-/)	<b>malèfāni</b> (= <b>mālāfū</b> = <b>malfunà</b> )		wide-brimmed straw hat

#### 8.2. Plural type -èC<sub>3</sub>aC<sub>4</sub>i)<sup>HLHH</sup>

*Form:* This type is formed by inserting /ē/ after the second consonant of the base and adding **-a-i**, after the third consonant, with the fourth consonant of the base serving in the suffixal slot between the vowels, e.g., **māmalā** / **malèmani** 'mound of *tuwo*'.

*Comments:* This is a small class of some eight items. The base on which the plural is built has to have four consonants. Some of the singulars are reduplicated words having the structure CaC-CaCV. A few are CaCVV stems that create reduplicated bases to acquire the requisite number of consonants. A couple are nonreduplicated words with four consonants (one of which has a feminine suffix that is dropped). Examples (complete):

<b>Bābadè</b> m. (base //badbad-/)	<b>Badèbadi</b> (= <b>Badāwā</b> )	Bade psn
<b>Bābarbarè</b> m. (base //barbar-/)	<b>Barèbari</b>	Kanuri psn
<b>Bāzazzāgī</b> m. (base //zagzag-/)	<b>Zagèzagī</b>	Zaria psn
<b>māmalā</b> f. (base //malmal-/)	<b>malèmani</b>	mound of <i>tuwo</i>
<b>māmarā</b> f. (base //marmar-/)	<b>marèmari</b>	laterite [Kts]
<b>radā</b> f. (base //radrad-/)	<b>radèradī</b>	whispering, rumor
<b>faṛtanyā</b> f. (base //faṛtan-/)	<b>faṛètani</b>	hoe
<b>taṛwadā</b> f. (base //taṛwad-/)	<b>taṛèwadī</b>	mudfish

8.2.1. Dual type -è  
Reduplicated CVCCV  
that are structurally the  
**fiffikè** (pl. **fikāfikai**) 'items', synchronically  
thus control singular

#### 8.3. Plural type -C

*Form:* These words ad  
melody extends over th  
the antepenultimate re  
**\*guntaktaki** → **guni**  
*Comments:* The singu  
word, which contains  
formation include a m

**aurè** m. / **auràrraki**  
**gāwāwwaki** corpse;  
**kāyā** m. / **kāyāyyaki**  
**kāràrraki** screaming  
m. / **sūnānnaki** nam

°AN: [i] In plural  
to the **-ani** suffix  
position. The for  
ceremony' is cl  
reduplicative -CV  
as involving inte  
to analyze such  
reduplication.  
[ii] Examples lik  
'farms' (type 7.3  
the distinctive t

#### 8.4. Plural type -

*Form:* These words ad  
suffixal vowels is pro  
the resulting quadrisy  
'small fragment'. Th  
required rhotacism, a  
coronal obstruent, it  
*Comments:* The sing  
consonants. The femi

**amaryā** f. (base //  
**gaṛdamā** f. /  
**gutsurè** m. /  
**kaṛanyā** f. (base //

8.2.1. Dual type -àC<sub>3</sub>VC<sub>4</sub>ī<sup>HLHH</sup>

Reduplicated CVCCVCè words denoting items that occur in pairs (see §62:3.3), have alternative forms that are structurally the same as the above plurals but with internal -ā- rather than -ē-, e.g., **fikàfikī** = **fiffikè** (pl. **fikàfikai**) 'wing'. Although such words as **fikàfikī** are plural in shape (and refer to a pair of items), synchronically they are generally treated as singular—Hausa does not have a dual category—and thus control singular concord.

8.3. Plural type -CVC-...-akī<sup>HLHH</sup>

*Form:* These words add the suffix -akī plus undergo internal -CVC- reduplication. The H-L-H-H tone melody extends over the resulting quadrisyllabic plural form. The k.C abutting sequence that results from the antepenultimate reduplication invariably produces a surface geminate, e.g., **guntū** ⇒ \***guntakī** ⇒ \***guntaktakī** → **guntàttakī** 'fragment'.

*Comments:* The singulars are (almost) all disyllabic with level H tone and a heavy initial syllable. (One word, which contains the feminative ending, is trisyllabic in the citation form.) The words taking this formation include a number of deverbal nouns. Examples:

- aurē** m. / **auràrrakī** marriage; **bēfā** m. / **bēfāffrakī** mouse; **ganyē** m. / **ganyāyyakī** leaf; **gāwā** f. / **gāwāwwakī** corpse; **gōyō** m. / **gōyāyyakī** baby on the back; **guntū** m. / **guntàttakī** stub, fragment; **kāyā** m. / **kāyāyyakī** goods, load, thing; **kurciyā** f. (base //kurt-//) / **kurtàttakī** dove; **kārā** f. / **kāràrrakī** screaming, complaint, legal suit; **mārā** f. / **māràrrakī** (= **mārākū**) calabash scoop; **sūnā** m. / **sūnànnakī** naming ceremony; **tsārā** m./f. / **tsāràrrakī** (= **tsāràikū**) age-mate, thing of same size

°AN: [i] In plurals of the type **garkā** / **garèkani** 'fenced-in garden', it seems evident that in addition to the -anī suffix, there has been an insertion—in this case a long vowel—in antepenultimate position. The formation of the above plurals with the -akī suffix, e.g., **sūnā** / **sūnànnakī** 'naming ceremony' is clearly parallel (including the tone), the only difference being that there is reduplicative -CVC- insertion in place of -ē insertion. Once one accepts the analysis of **sūnànnakī** as involving internal -CVC- reduplication, which to me is very compelling, then it becomes natural to analyze such plurals as **cikunkunā** 'bellies' as also involving antepenultimate -CVC- reduplication.

[ii] Examples like **sūnànnakī** obviously use the same -akī suffix found in such plurals as **gònakī** 'farms' (type 7.3). They are grouped here under class 8 on the basis of the quadrisyllabic shape and the distinctive tone pattern.

8.4. Plural type -CVC-...-a-ī<sup>HLHH</sup>

*Form:* These words add the affix -a-ī plus undergo internal -CVC- reduplication. The C slot between the suffixal vowels is provided by the final consonant of the base. The H-L-H-H tone melody extends over the resulting quadrisyllabic plural form, e.g., **gutsurè** ⇒ \***gutsari** ⇒ \***gutsartsari** → /**gutsàttsari**/ 'small fragment'. The syllable-final C resulting from the reduplication undergoes phonologically required rhotacism, assimilation, and gemination rules. If the stem-final C preceding the suffixal -ī is a coronal obstruent, it undergoes regular palatalization.

*Comments:* The singulars taking this suffix are either polysyllabic or disyllabic with at least three base consonants. The feminative ending is dropped before the plural affix is added. Examples:

<b>amaryā</b> f. (base //amr-//) /	<b>amàrmari</b>	bride
<b>gārdamā</b> f. /	<b>gārdāndamī</b>	dispute, argument
<b>gutsurè</b> m. /	<b>gutsàttsari</b>	small fragment
<b>kafanyā</b> f. (base //kafan-//) /	<b>kafāndāni</b>	shea tree or nut

kuncì m. (base //kumt-//) /	kumàrfmacì (< //kumàtmatì//) (now usu. kuncunà) cheek
karyā f. /	kàràirayì (= [kàrèrayì]) lie
kurjì m. /	kuràrrajì pimple, rash
numfāshì m. /	numfārfashì breath
shāwārā f. /	shāwārfawāfī advice, counsel
tukunyā f. (base //tukwn-//) /	tukwānkwanì pot
Irregular: nāfilā f. /	nāfilfīlī supererogatory prayer
sāfā f. (base *//sāfam-//) /	sāfāmfamì socks, gloves
tsakuwā f. (base *//tsakwn-//) /	tsakwānkwanì small stone, gravel
dūtsē m. (base //duwts-//) /	duwārfwatsū stone

9. CLASS 9: -U/-I)<sup>LH</sup>

Grouped together here are two plural types characterized by a suffix consisting simply of a high vowel (-ū or -i) and an accompanying L-H tone melody.

9.1. Plural type -ū)<sup>LH</sup>

*Form:* This plural type consists of a suffix -ū and an L-H melody spread over the word. Quadrisyllabic singulars containing the -iyā feminative suffix drop the suffix before the -ū is added, e.g., *tufāniyā / tūfānū* 'screen on doorway'. Trisyllabic singulars with final -yā, on the other hand, retained the suffix as part of the base to which the -ū is added, e.g., *kaḏanyā f. / kaḏānyū* 'shea-nut tree or fruit'.

*Comments:* The singulars in this class are typically polysyllabic words ending in /ā/ or, less often, /ē/. This class is much larger than the one taking the sister -i suffix and the singular forms are phonologically less restricted in terms of tone and syllable weight. A number of words that take the -i plural also allow -ū as an alternative.

- (a) *āl'adā f. / āl'ādū* custom, habit, tradition; *āwazā f. / āwazū* rib cage; *būkātā f. / būkātū* need; *cinnākā m / cinnākū (= cinnākī)* black biting ant; *fatalā f. / fātālū* woman's head-tie; *kātangā f. / kātàngū (= kātàngī)* large potsherd; *katangā f. / kātàngū* wall; *kujērā f. / kūjērū* chair, stool; *tāttabārā f. / tāttabārū* pigeon
- (b) *giginyā f. / gīginyū* deleb-palm; *fatanyā f. / fātānyū* hoe; *kawanyā f. / kàwānyū* metal ring; *tsumangiyā f. / tsùmàngū* stick, cane; *zangārniyā f. / zàngārñū* head of corn

In addition to its use with nonderived words, this plural type is commonly used with nouns of location formed with *ma...ā* (see §7:2). (Some words of this class form plurals with the -ai suffix; some allow either -ū or -ai as equal alternatives.) Examples:

- ma'aikatā f. / mǎ'āikātū* factory, place of work; *mafarautā f. / mǎfārautū* hunting ground;
- makērā f. / makèrū* blacksmith shop, smithy, forge; *marinā f. / mārīnū* dyeing place, dye-pit

In SH, -ū is the regular plural formative with adjectival past participles.

- būḏāḏḏē / būḏāḏḏū* opened; *cākūḏāḏḏē / cākūḏāḏḏū* entangled, mixed, confused; *dākakkē / dākakkū* pounded; *ḏaurarrē / ḏaurarrū* tied, imprisoned; *gāsasshē / gāsàsū* roasted

ADN: In WH dialects, plurals of adjectival past particles make use of the suffix -i (§9.2) instead of -ū, e.g., *būḏāḏḏē / būḏāḏḏī* 'opened'; *ḏaurarrē / ḏaurarrī* 'tied'; *gāsasshē / gāsàsī* 'grilled'; *zāmnannē / zāmnānī* 'settled'.

few words with the -ū

ajērē adj. (m.) /

aganā f. /

gari adj. (m.) /

gimā f. /

halā f. /

here are a just few disyl

anyē m. / ḏānyū raw

bgā f. / tsābgū (usu.

2. Plural type -ī)<sup>L</sup>

*Form:* This plural type c

minative suffix is drop

*Comment:* The singular

ultimate syllable, a

minative suffix, whi

sonant of words tak

range and unnatural c

y /i/) There are some

a) *ḏārāwō m. / ḏārāyī*

*ayāunī* small farm; *ī*

*mākāfī* blind psn; *tā*

b) *gābāruwā f. / gābā*

*ḏōnī* small clay corn

*mfāfī* milkseed shru

plurals *kāttī* 'huge

(a) HLH type (§4.1).

historically postulated

*kātō* (pl. *kāttā*) / *kāttū*

*ḏāfīyā* (base //gōḏ-//)

10. CLASS 10: -V

grouped together here

these four types have

shape of their singular

factors, partially on th

10.1. Plural type -

ten disyllabic H-L wo

replace the final non

A few words with the -*ū* suffix undergo internal antepenultimate -CVC- reduplication as well, e.g.,

<i>gājērē</i> adj. (m.) /	<i>gājājērū = gājārjērū</i>	short (= <i>gājērū</i> )
<i>māganā</i> f. /	<i>māgāngānū</i>	speech
<i>nagāri</i> adj. (m.) /	<i>nāgārgārū</i>	good
<i>rīgimā</i> f. /	<i>rīgīngīmū</i>	quarrel, dispute
<i>wāhalā</i> f. /	<i>wāhālhālū</i>	trouble

There are a just few disyllabic words that take the -*ū* suffix, all of which have a heavy initial syllable, e.g.,

*ḏānyē* m. / *ḏānyū* raw, unripe; *shaidā* m./f. / *shaidū* witness, evidence; *shēgē* m. / *shēgū* bastard; *tsabgā* f. / *tsabgū* (usu. *tsabgōi*) cane, rod

### 9.2. Plural type -i)<sup>LH</sup>

*Form:* This plural type consists of a suffix -I and an L-H melody spread over the word. In most cases, the feminine suffix is dropped before the -I is added.

*Comment:* The singulars are typically polysyllabic words that have an initial L tone, a heavy penultimate syllable, and final /ā/ or /ō/, e.g., *kābēwā* / *kābēyi* 'pumpkin'. Some singulars with a feminine suffix, which is dropped in the plural, have a base-final front vowel. The base-final consonant of words taking this plural type tends to be either a velar, a nasal, /r/, /f/, or /w/ (again a strange and unnatural class of consonants). (Note that /w/ automatically palatalizes to /y/ when followed by /i/.) There are some thirty words attested with this plural type. Examples:

- (a) *ḥārāwō* m. / *ḥārāyi* thief; *cinnākā* m. / *cinnāki* (= *cinnākū*) black biting ant; *gāyaunā* f. / *gāyauni* small farm; *kātangā* f. / *kātangi* (= *kātangū*) large potsherd; *mākāhō* (base //mākāf-//) m. / *mākāfi* blind psn; *tābarmā* f. / *tābarmi* mat; *tāurārō* m. = *tāurārūwā* f. / *tāurāri* star
- (b) *gābāruwā* f. / *gābāri* acacia tree; *gārāmbuwā* f. / *gārāmbi* children's grass armband; *rāhōniyā* f. / *rāhōni* small clay corn bin; *tūfāniyā* f. / *tūfāni* mat doorway screen (= *tūfānū*); *tūmfāfiyā* f. / *tūmfāfi* milkseed shrub

The plurals *kāttī* 'huge' and *gwāḏḏī* 'mares' are formed by adding the suffix -I to a plural stem of the -Gā)<sup>HLH</sup> type (§4.1). In the former case this -Gā plural is synchronically attested; in the latter, it is historically postulated.

<i>kātō</i> (pl. <i>kāttā</i> ) / <i>kāttī</i> (not ** <i>kāccī</i> )	huge
<i>gōḏfiyā</i> (base //gōḏ-//) (presumed pl. * <i>gwāḏḏā</i> ) / <i>gwāḏḏī</i>	mare

## 10. CLASS 10: -V<sub>α</sub> ⇒ -V<sub>β</sub>

Grouped together here are four small plural types characterized by final vowel replacement or ablaut. These four types have been treated as variants of a single class partially on the basis of the canonical shape of their singulars, partially on the basis of tone, partially on the basis of presumed historical factors, partially on the basis of convention, and partially on the basis of linguistic intuition.

### 10.1. Plural type -V ⇒ (-ū)<sup>H</sup>

Ten disyllabic H-L words with the shape CāCV (where the underlying final vowel is /i/, /ē/, or /ā/) replace the final nonback, nonrounded vowel of the stem by the high back-rounded vowel -ū. The

*incunā*) cheek

imply of a high vowel

ie word. Quadrisyllabic added, e.g., *tufāniyā* / d, retained the suffix as ' or fruit'.

/ā/ or, less often, /ē/. ie singular forms are f words that take the -I

*itā* f. / *būkātū* need; head-tie; *kātangā* f. / *tjērū* chair, stool;

*wānyū* metal ring;

with nouns of location -ai suffix; some allow

hunting ground; sing place, dye-pit

infused; *dākakkē* / ū roasted

ffix -I (§9.2) instead of *hē* / *gāsāsshī* 'grilled';

singulars generally have H-L tone—one word has L-H as an alternative. The plurals all have H-H tone. Examples (complete):

<b>fātà</b> f. / <b>fātū</b>	skin, hide	<b>lāyà</b> f. / <b>lāyū</b>	amulet
<b>māshì</b> m. / <b>māsū</b>	spear	<b>māyè</b> m. / <b>māyū</b>	witch
<b>nāmà</b> m. / <b>nāmū</b>	animal	<b>rāmì</b> m. / <b>rāmū</b>	hole
<b>sāyè</b> m. / <b>sāyū</b>	root [WH]	<b>yātsà</b> m. / <b>yātsū</b>	finger
<b>yāyà</b> (usu. <b>yāya</b> ) m. or f. / <b>yāyū</b> older sibling			

◊HN: [i] The singulars were originally restricted to words ending in /ā/ or /ɪ/. The final /è/ in **māyè** and **sāyè** is a reflex of an earlier \*-ɪ, the vowel lowering probably being due to dissimilation to the preceding /y/ semivowel.

[ii] The irregular surface pair **sānyā** f. (base //sāni-// + the feminine suffix) / **shānū** (with inexplicable initial **sh** instead of **s**) 'cow / cattle' could reflect this plural type, but this is not certain.

Two singular words with a different canonical shape, namely with a light first syllable and all H tone, undergo CVC- reduplication in addition to the suffix:

<b>farī</b> m. / <b>farfarū</b>	(1) vowel in Arabic script, (2) used in <b>makèrin farī</b> / <b>makèran farfarū</b> silversmith (cf. <b>farī</b> / <b>fararè</b> white (with the -āCē) <sup>HLH</sup> suffix)
<b>baḳī</b> m. / <b>babbaḳū</b>	(1) consonant in Arabic script, (2) used in <b>makèrin baḳī</b> / <b>makèran babbaḳū</b> blacksmith (cf. <b>baḳī</b> / <b>baḳàḳē</b> black (with the -āCē) <sup>HLH</sup> suffix)

◊AN: Although these two examples have been included here on the basis of the final -ū and H-H tone, it is not certain that they truly belong (or historically belonged?) to this plural class.

### 10.2. Plural type -V ⇒ (-ɪ)<sup>H</sup>

These plurals are formed by replacing stem-final /ō/ or, less often, /ā/, i.e., a non-front vowel, by the high front vowel -ɪ, which has H tone. Because these plurals make use of a suffix -ɪ, they look on the surface as if they could be grouped with those in class 9, which consists primarily of trisyllabic words, e.g., **tàurārò** / **tàuràri** 'star'. Such a grouping has the disadvantage of separating these -ɪ plurals from what I feel are its sister plurals, namely the disyllabic plurals that end in -ū, -ai, and -ā and which also seem to reflect a vowel ablaut process. I have thus included these -ɪ plurals in class 10. Since, apart from one problematic case, the singulars all have L-H tone, the plurals also appear with L-H. With one exception (which may not properly belong to this class), all of the singulars have the canonical shape CāCā or CāCō. In two cases, alternative singulars exist with and without the feminine suffix, and in one case only the stem with the feminine suffix occurs. This plural type is limited to some ten basic disyllabic words. Examples (complete):

<b>bākō</b> m. / <b>bāḳi</b>	stranger, guest	<b>fārā</b> f. / <b>fāri</b>	locust, grasshopper
<b>kwàdō</b> m. / <b>kwàḳi</b>	frog	<b>kāzā</b> f. / <b>kāji</b>	hen
<b>kwārō</b> m. / <b>kwāri</b>	insect, bug	<b>bāwà</b> m. / <b>bāyi</b>	slave (sg. irregular tone)
<b>màzō</b> m. / <b>māji</b>	antelope		
<b>tsākō</b> m. = <b>tsākuwā</b> f. / <b>tsāḳi</b>	chick		
<b>zābō</b> m. = <b>zābuwā</b> f. / <b>zābi</b>	guinea-fowl		
Irregular: <b>gārkuwā</b> (< *gārḳō) / <b>gārḳi</b> shield			

◊AN: [i] It is hard to integrating (as I have (type 10.1) all deriv 10.2) derive from sin (rām-) + -ū)<sup>H</sup> ⇒ rā kwàḳi (L-H). The ex however, support the [ii] I have included b Another possibility v the final -ɪ instead of

The words that now end preceding long /ā/ (Newn image of the -ɪ ⇒ -ū ab

### 10.3. Plural type -V

In this type, the final vowel -ai. The plurals all have to a small number of bas feminine suffix on thes

**birī** m. / **birai**  
**wutsiyā** f. (< \*wutsi) / v

◊HN: This is an arc the plural forms gi formative, or **birai** very common -ai)<sup>L</sup> may very well hav

The plural of the word l Because this is the on reasonable to hypothesi variant, and that the cha the form of the final di tone, parallel to **birai** a

### 10.4. Plural type -ɪ

These plurals replace th which the singular alre the accompanying plur restricted to a small nu

**aḳnè** m. / **aḳnā**  
**kūsù** m. / **kūsā** (= k  
**mijī** m. / **mazā**

◊HN: [i] Althoug morphologically

°AN: [i] It is hard to determine whether the suffixes in class 10 should be treated as tone non-integrating (as I have done) or as tone-integrating. This is because the plurals with H-H surface tone (type 10.1) all derive from singulars with initial H-tone, whereas the plurals with L-H tone (type 10.2) derive from singulars with initial L-tone, e.g., (*rām-*)<sup>H</sup> + (-*ū*)<sup>H</sup> ⇒ *rāmū* (H-H) 'holes', or (*rām-*) + (-*ū*)<sup>H</sup> ⇒ *rāmū* (all H); (*kwàd-*)<sup>L</sup> + (-*ī*)<sup>H</sup> ⇒ *kwàdī* (L-H) 'frog', or (*kwàd-*) + (-*ī*)<sup>LH</sup> ⇒ *kwàdī* (L-H). The example *bāwà* m. / *bāyi* 'slave' (not \**bāyi* with an L-H tone melody) does, however, support the analysis of the tone as being non-integrating.

[ii] I have included *bāwà* m. / *bāyi* 'slave' as a tonally irregular member of this plural type 10.2. Another possibility would be to assign this example to type 10.1 on the basis of the tone and treat the final -i instead of the expected -ū as the unexplained deviance.

The words that now end in -ō originally ended in \*-ū, the vowel lowering being conditioned by the preceding long /ā/ (Newman 1990a). The original \*-ū ⇒ -i plural formation (now -ō ⇒ -i) is the mirror image of the -i ⇒ -ū ablaut change.

### 10.3. Plural type -V ⇒ (-ai)<sup>H</sup>

In this type, the final vowel of the stem, which is (or was) a high vowel, is replaced by the diphthong -ai. The plurals all have H-H tone. This is an archaic plural formation that synchronically applies only to a small number of basic disyllabic nouns, all of which have a light first syllable and H-L tone. The feminine suffix on these words is dropped when the plural is added. Examples (complete):

<i>birì</i> m. / <i>birai</i>	monkey	<i>cinyà</i> f. (< * <i>cini</i> ) / <i>cinai</i>	thigh
<i>wutsiyà</i> f. (< * <i>wutsi</i> ) / <i>wutsai</i>	tail	<i>zumù</i> m. / <i>zumai</i>	close friend, relation

°HN: This is an archaic plural formation that many modern Hausa speakers no longer use. Instead of the plural forms given above, one generally finds *cinyōyi* and *wutsiyōyi*, with the productive -ōCī formative, or *birai* and *zūmai* with the tone pattern of the common -ai)<sup>LH</sup> suffix. Historically the very common -ai)<sup>LH</sup> plural formative and the (-ai)<sup>H</sup> ablaut ending could possibly be related, but they may very well have distinct origins.

The plural of the word *kibiyà* 'arrow' (< \**kibi*) is *kibau*. (The regular *kibiyōyi* is also very common.) Because this is the only example in the entire language of -au appearing as a plural suffix, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the original plural was *kibai*, a form that is in fact attested as a dialectal variant, and that the change from *kibai* to *kibau* was the result of a sporadic (and unexplained) change in the form of the final diphthong. Present-day SH speakers tend to pronounce the word as *kibau*, with L-H tone, parallel to *birai* and *zūmai*.

### 10.4. Plural type -V ⇒ -ā)<sup>H</sup>

These plurals replace the final vowel of the stem by -ā and impose an all H tone pattern. In the cases in which the singular already ends in -ā, the tone pattern serves as the distinctive marker of plurality. Like the accompanying plural types in this class, this is an archaic plural formation that synchronically is restricted to a small number of basic disyllabic nouns. Examples:

<i>aṛnè</i> m. / <i>aṛnā</i>	pagan	<i>ḍiyā</i> f. daughter / <i>ḍiya</i>	children [WH]
<i>kūsù</i> m. / <i>kūsā</i> (= <i>kūsàyé</i> )	rat	<i>mâtā</i> f. / <i>mātā</i>	wife
<i>mijì</i> m. / <i>mazā</i>	husband / men, males		

°HN: [i] Although the plural *mâtā*, synchronically serves as the plural of *màcè* 'woman', morphologically it derives from *mâtā* by the application of this formation rule.



[ii] The i/a alternation reflected in the initial vowel of *mijì* / *mazā* could be a retention of an old morphological feature found elsewhere in Chadic; but it is probably just a case of *mijì* being derived from \**mazì* by a sporadic vowel assimilation rule.

Additional examples of this formation are found in WH. In SH, these plural forms have been reinterpreted as singulars, which now have their own plurals. Examples:

<i>dumè</i> m. [WH] / <i>dumā</i>	gourd (sg. in SH, with pl. <i>dumāmē</i> )
<i>gijì</i> m. [WH] / <i>gidā</i>	house (sg. in SH, with pl. <i>gidājē</i> )
<i>karè</i> m. [WH] / <i>karā</i>	cornstalk (sg. in SH, with pl. <i>karārē</i> )
<i>kujè</i> m. [WH] / <i>ƙudā</i>	fly (sg. in SH, with pl. <i>ƙudājē</i> )

The word *ruwā* 'water', which is usually treated as a singular in SH, also reflects this H-H ā-final plural form.

△HN: On the basis of comparative evidence, one can hypothesize that the original plural suffix may have been \*-an)<sup>H</sup>, i.e., one would have had singular/plural pairs like *dumè* / \**duman*. (Note that the historical loss of final nasals in Hausa was regular (Schuh 1976).) The existence of plural suffixes of the form -Vn is well attested in related Chadic languages, cf., for example, the following citations from Kanakuru (Newman 1974: 83–84), where one also finds a fixed H-H tone melody: *ɓili* / *ɓilan* 'horn', *miyò* / *mishan* 'co-wife', *kom* / *komen* 'mouse', *dawà* / *dawin* 'granary'. If this analysis is correct, then from a historical perspective, this plural type with the tone-integrating suffix \*-an)<sup>H</sup> should not be grouped with H-tone -ū, -i, and -ai ablaut-type suffixes.

### 11. CLASS 11: -āwā)<sup>LH</sup> ~ HH

*Form*: These plurals use a suffix -āwā with two different tone melodies. There is an L-H pattern that only occurs with lexically specific trisyllabic plurals having a heavy initial syllable. (There is also one reduplicated quadrisyllabic form.) All other plurals with the -āwā suffix, namely, quadrisyllabic (or longer) words, trisyllabic words with a light initial syllable, or trisyllabic words with a heavy initial syllable but not lexically specified for the L-H pattern, have all H tone.

*Comments*: This is the standard plural formation for ethnonymic nouns formed with the prefix *bā-* (examples in (a)). (Note that the *bā-* prefix is dropped before the suffix is added.) It is also used with a small number of non-ethnonymic nouns referring to categories of people, some of which have other plurals (examples in (b)). Examples:

(a) [i] <i>Bāhaushè</i> / <i>Hāusāwā</i>	Hausa
<i>Bātūrè</i> / <i>Tūrāwā</i> = <i>Tūrāwā</i>	European
<i>bādūkù</i> / <i>dùkàwā</i>	leather worker
<i>bàgidājè</i> / <i>gidādāwā</i>	rustic, homebody
[ii] <i>bà'askarè</i> / <i>askarāwā</i>	soldier
<i>Bàbólè</i> / <i>Bōlāwā</i>	Bole psn
<i>Bàkanò</i> / <i>Kanāwā</i>	Kano psn
<i>Bāyařabè</i> / <i>Yařabāwā</i>	Yoruba psn
<i>bàzawārā</i> / <i>zawarāwā</i>	widow, divorcee
(b) [i] <i>dattijò</i> m. / <i>dàttāwā</i> (= <i>dàttìjai</i> )	gentleman
<i>kūrì</i> m. / <i>kūrāwā</i>	young pupil
<i>gārdì</i> m. / <i>gārdāwā</i>	advanced Koranic student, snake charmer
<i>Gwāri</i> (= <i>Bāgwāri</i> ) m. / <i>Gwārāwā</i>	Gwari psn

[ii] *ānnabì* m. / *annabāwā*  
*dōgarì* m. / *dōgarāwā*  
*kilākì* f. / *kilākāwā*  
*Mūsā* m. / *Mūsāwā*  
*talākà* m. / *talākāwā*  
*yārì* m. / *yārāwā*

△AN: Although -āwā is a derivational suffix is found commonly, name) (< *amaryā* 'village') (< *tsanyā* 'toponyms with -āwā') *Mūsāwā* pl. 'suppo

### 12. CLASS 12: x 2

*Form*: These plurals are and final vowel.

*Comments*: This is not device is used for distrib e.g., *shafal* / *shafal-shafal* not commonplace, being of these. Many words li more native, plural form *kwās* 'course', now con

*bōyi* m. / *bōyi-bōyi*  
*cōci* m. / *cōci-cōci*  
*en'è* f. / *en'è-en'è*  
*jōji* m. / *jōji-jōji*  
*kanāf* m. / *kanāf-kani*  
*nās* m. or f. / *nās-nās*  
*sikèt* m. / *sikèt-sikèt*

△DN: Pluralization loanwords from F gets other forms, 'battery'. It is po along with English

The only native word 'yā 'daughter'. This in the surface, but rather plural form 'yā 'child such as compounds as they still are in WH, contraction of the dī reduplication.

[ii] ànnabì m. / annabāwā	prophet
dōgarì m. / dōgarāwā	emir's bodyguard
kilākì f. / kilākāwā	modern-day prostitute
Mūsā m. / Mūsāwā	followers of Musa
talākà m. / talākāwā	poor psn, commoner
yārì m. / yārāwā	chief jailer

°AN: Although -āwā can be described synchronically as a plural inflectional suffix, it is essentially a derivational suffix indicating a community or a class of people belonging to a common group. It is found commonly, for example, in the names of towns or quarters, e.g., **Amaryāwā** (a village name) (< **amaryā** 'bride'), **Yāfīmāwā** (a town name) (< **yāfīmā** 'prince'), **Tsanyāwā** (name of a village) (< **tsanyā** 'cricket'), **Daurāwā** (name of a quarter in Kano) (< the town **Daurā**). Note that toponyms with -āwā are feminine singular rather than plural, cf. **Mūsāwā** f. (a town name) vs. **Mūsāwā** pl. 'supporters/followers of Musa'.

## 12. CLASS 12: x 2 (REDUP)

*Form:* These plurals are formed by complete reduplication of the full singular form, including the tone and final vowel.

*Comments:* This is not a traditional plural formation pattern in Hausa. Full reduplication as a native device is used for distributives, e.g., **gàrì gārì** 'from town to town', and for pluralization of ideophones, e.g., **shafal / shafal-shafal** 'weightless, very light'. With common nouns, however, this formation is not commonplace, being used only with quite recent loanwords from English, and only a small number of these. Many words listed in earlier works as forming plurals by full reduplication now use some other, more native, plural formation, e.g., **àkàwu / àkàwu-àkàwu** 'clerk', now usually **akāwunā**; **kwás / kwás-kwás** 'course', now commonly **kwásàkwásai**. Examples:

bòyi m. / bòyi-bòyi	houseboy, cook-steward
cōcì m. / cōcì-cōcì	church
en'è f. / en'è-en'è	native authority (N.A.)
jōjì m. / jōjì-jōjì	judge
kanāf m. / kanāf-kanāf	colonel
nás m. or f. / nás-nás	nurse
sikét m. / sikét-sikét	skirt

°DN: Pluralization by full reduplication is apparently not used in the francophone Hausa areas with loanwords from French. To the extent that plurals are used at all for recently borrowed words, one gets other forms, e.g., **bìk / bikkōkì** (not **\*\*bìk-bìk**) 'ballpoint pen', **pìl / pillunā** (not **\*\*pìl-pìl**) 'battery'. It is possible that the fully reduplicated plurals found in SH came into Nigerian Hausa along with English loanwords borrowed via Yoruba or Pidgin English.

The only native word that looks to be a fully reduplicated plural is 'yā'yā 'children', pl. of **dfā** 'son' and 'yā 'daughter'. This in fact is not a reduplicated form of the singular word 'yā 'daughter', as it appears on the surface, but rather is a doubling (serving an overt characterization function) of the homophonous plural form 'yā 'children'. (The nonreduplicated plural form 'yā is still used in certain constructions such as compounds and diminutives.) Historically the singular and plural words were tonally distinct as they still are in WH, i.e., **dfiyā** 'daughter' had L-H tone whereas the plural **dfiyā** had H-H tone. With the contraction of the **dfiy-** sequence into /'y/, the tonal contrast was lost, thereby stimulating the secondary reduplication.

13. CLASS 13: -e)<sup>LH</sup> x 2 (REDUP)

*Form:* These plurals (sometimes termed “pseudoplurals of diversity”) add short -e to the base, impose an L-H tone melody, and then undergo full reduplication, e.g., *tādī / tādē-tādē* ‘conversation/chatting’. (Note that the tone is assigned to the stem before the reduplication.) In many cases one uses an expanded base made up of the nominal root plus -(a)c- or -anc-, which is the same as the -ant verbalizer suffix (with the palatal /c/ conditioned by the front vowel), e.g., *zamba / zambāce-zambāce* ‘fraud, swindling’.

*Comments:* This morphological construction is the same as that used in forming frequentatives from verbs (see chap. 29), i.e., most words of this shape function as noncount dynamic nouns, e.g., *sunā būshe-būshe* ‘They are playing music’ (< *būsā* ‘to blow’). A few, however, constitute plurals of nondynamic common nouns, e.g., *tārīhī / tārīhe-tārīhe* ‘history’. When functioning as frequentatives, these reduplicated forms are often treated syntactically as singulars. In the examples below, however, the forms constitute normal plural nouns with plural concord just like common nouns containing any of the other plural affixes (including suffixes that occur as alternative forms with these same words). Examples:

*cīwò* m. / *cīwāce-cīwāce* illness; *dābārā* f. / *dābārce-dābārce* (= *dābārū*) trick, plan; *dāshē / dāshe-dāshe* seedling; *ginī* m. / *gīne-gīne* building; *habaicī* m. / *hābāice-hābāice* innuendo; *irī* m. / *ire-ire* kind, type; *kwanā* f. / *kwāne-kwāne* corner, curve; *shirī* m. / *shīrye-shīrye* radio/TV program (cf. *shiryā* ‘prepare’); *tāllā* m. / *tāllāce-tāllāce* hawking goods for sale, advertisement; *tsirō* m. / *tsīre-tsīre* (= *tsirrai*) a sprout; *wāhalā* f. / *wāhāice-wāhāice* (= *wahālōlī*) trouble

14. CLASS 14: x 2)<sup>H-L</sup> (REDUP)

This class consists of fully reduplicated ideophonic plurals in which the tone specification of the two segmentally identical halves is not the same. There are two subtypes.

14.1. Plural type -ā x 2)<sup>H-L</sup> (Redup)

*Form:* This plural type suffixes the vowel -ā to the base and then undergoes full reduplication and the imposition of an H-L tone melody, e.g., *fīrdī* = *fīrdēdē* (base //fīrd-/ /) / *fīrdā-fīrdā* ‘huge’ (e.g., a horse).

*Comments:* This is the regular plural formation for “type A” and “type B” augmentative adjectives (see §11:1), i.e., those formed by -I)<sup>H</sup> or -ēCē)<sup>HL</sup>, respectively. Examples:

<i>bundumī</i> = <i>bundumēmē / bundumā-bùndùmā</i>	fat-bellied
<i>bangwalī</i> = <i>bangwalēlē / bangwalā-bāngwālā</i>	large and round (e.g., kolanut)
<i>mākēkē / mākā-mākā</i>	expansive
<i>tabdēdē / tabdā-tābdā</i>	huge
<i>tankamēmē / tankamā-tānkāmā</i>	massive (e.g., mountain)

14.2. Plural type x 2)<sup>H-L</sup> (Redup)

*Form:* This plural type is marked by a fully reduplicated stem over which an H-L tone melody is imposed. The canonical shape for the stem is CVCVV, where the vowels in both syllables are often, but not always, identical in quality.

*Comments:* This form characterizes a phonologically fixed class of ideophonic adjectives (see §35:1.2.11), most of which are inherently plural and do not have corresponding singular counterparts. (What we really have here is a canonical shape characteristic of a specific class of plural words rather than a plural formative as such.) The syntactic plurality of these forms is shown by the fact that they

normally occur with plural plurality/multiplicity is :

*dībī-dībī* adj. plu  
*kwadā-kwadā* adj. lar  
*zakē-zakē* adj. uns

## 15. CLASS 15: CīC

*Form:* These plural form overall tone pattern is H

*Comment:* These plurals are characterized by three k singulars. Examples:

(a) *mīnīnī* adj. / mīnī  
*sīfīfī* adj. / sīfī-  
 gīfī  
 yīfī-

## 16. MISCELLANEOUS

The following are plurals because the formation irregularities involved are problematic. Example:

*idō* m.  
*kāi* m. head  
*sā* m. ox, *sāniyā* f. cow

◊HN: The plural unexplained palatal ablaut plural (type which /n/ is inde consonant remain

*kāramī, kārkanē* adj.  
*kwaryā* f.  
*lēbē* m.  
*tsūmmā* m.  
*tufā* f.  
*bābba* adj.

◊HN: [i] The plural from \*Rōrāyē f appears to reflect singular word, p

normally occur with plural nouns. When they occur with singular nouns, as is possible, semantic plurality/multiplicity is still connoted. Examples:

<b>dibi-dibi</b> adj.	plump (of small things)	<b>fatō-fatò</b> adj.	large and broad (e.g., leaves, ears)
<b>kwadā-kwadā</b> adj.	large (esp. kolanuts)	<b>tsalā-tsalā</b> adj.	long and skinny (esp. legs)
<b>zakē-zakē</b> adj.	unsuitably long, out of proportion		

### 15. CLASS 15: CiCi x 2)<sup>H-H</sup>

*Form:* These plural forms consist of CiCi light-heavy stems that are completely reduplicated. The overall tone pattern is H-H.

*Comment:* These plurals correspond to partially reduplicated diminutive adjectives (see §11:3) characterized by three long vowels. Some of these items occur only in the plural without corresponding singulars. Examples:

(a) <b>mīnī</b> adj. /	<b>minī-minī</b>	small (of food items)
<b>sīrī</b> adj. /	<b>siṛi-siṛi</b>	very thin, skinny
	<b>gidī-gidī</b>	narrow, skimpy (pl. only)
	<b>yisī-yisī</b>	tiny, of teeth (pl. only)

### 16. MISCELLANEOUS

The following are plurals that have not been assigned to any of the general classes described, either because the formations are lexically restricted to the occasional word, because there are small irregularities involved, because suppletion is involved, or because the morphological analysis is problematic. Examples:

<b>idò</b> m.	<b>idānū</b>	eye
<b>kāi</b> m. head	<b>kānū</b>	headlines (cf. <b>kāwunā</b> heads)
<b>sā</b> m. ox, <b>sāniyā</b> f. cow	<b>shānū</b>	bovines

ØHN: The plural **shānū** 'bovines' could represent **sā** plus an archaic plural suffix **-nū** (with unexplained palatalization of the initial /s/); but it could equally reflect the operation of the **ī ⇒ ū** ablaut plural (type 10.1) on a stem **\*sāni** (synchronically occurring with the feminative ending) in which /n/ is indeed part of the lexical item. (In either analysis, the palatalization of the initial consonant remains unexplained.)

<b>kāramī, kankanè</b> adj.	<b>kanānā</b> (= <b>kānkānā</b> = <b>kānkānānā</b> )	little, small
<b>kwaryā</b> f.	<b>kōrai</b>	calabash
<b>lēbè</b> m.	<b>lēbātū</b> (usu. <b>lābbā</b> )	lip
<b>tsūmmā</b> m.	<b>tsummōkarā</b>	rag
<b>tufā</b> f.	<b>tufāfi</b>	clothes
<b>bābba</b> adj.	<b>mānyā</b> (= <b>mānyā-mānyā</b> )	big, adult

ØHN: [i] The plural suffix **-tū** in **lēbātū** is totally inexplicable. The plural **kōrai** probably derives from **\*kōrāyē** from a base **\*/kōr-//** without the **-yā** feminative suffix. The only other word that appears to reflect the plural pattern seen in **tufāfi** is **kirārī** 'praise epithet', now a masculine singular word, presumably derived from **kirā** 'calling' (Russell Schuh, personal communication).

[ii] In the suppletive pair **bàbba / mányā**, it is not the plural form that is strange. The F-H final-ā shape is plural-like (cf. class 4) and the word has likely cognates in other Chadic languages, cf. Kanakuru **manjò** 'old', Karekare **mayuwa** 'big'. It is the singular with its geminate obstruent and its short final vowel that is out of place and in need of a proper historical explanation.

wá m. elder brother, yá f. elder sister, yàya = yāyā elder sibling / yayyē (= yāyū) elder siblings  
yārinyà f. / 'yammātā girl

The word **yārā** 'children' can refer either to boys (sg. **yārò**) or to boys and girls (sg. **yārinyà**). The word **'yammātā** refers strictly to girls (lit. little women). It is a fused form made up of the diminutive marker **'yan** plus **mātā** 'women'.

The plural of the kinship terms **ḏā** 'son' and **'yā** 'daughter' is **'yā'yā**. When used with a linker as a diminutive marker or an '-er/-man' compound formative, **ḏan** and **'yař** employ a nonreduplicated plural form **'yan**.

ḏā m. son, 'yā f. daughter / 'yā'yā children  
ḏan m., 'yař f. / 'yan small (diminutive)  
e.g., 'yař gājēriyař yārinyà a wee short girl / 'yan gājājjērun yārā wee short children  
cf. 'yā'yān kanār the colonel's children  
ḏā m., 'yā f. / 'yan compound formative  
e.g., ḏan sàndā policeman / 'yan sàndā policemen

ADN: In WH, the feminine and plural words for 'daughter/children' have the forms **ḏiyā** and **ḏiyā**, respectively. The diminutive forms, on the other hand, are identical to those in SH. Thus in WH one can contrast **ḏiyā mātā** 'female children' vs. **'yammātā** 'girls' (lit. little women).

## 17. ASSOCIATIVE PLURAL su

The pronominals 'who?' and 'so-and-so' prepose a clitic **su** to indicate plurality. This **su** is identical to the third person plural pronoun, e.g., **tā kāmā su** 'She caught them.' (In the following examples, I have followed standard orthography in writing **su** as a separate word; from a linguistic perspective it would be preferable to attach it to the following word by means of a hyphen.) Examples:

wà(nē nè)	who?	su wà(nē nè)	who? (pl.)
wāyē	who?	su wāyē	who? (pl.)
wānè	so-and-so (m.)	su wānè	so-and-sos (pl.)
wancè	so-and-so (f.)	su wancè	so-and-sos (pl.)

\*AN: Semantically, there is a distinction between **su wānè** 'so-and-sos' (= John Does) and **su wancè** 'so-and-sos' (= Jane Does). Grammatically however, they both take normal plural concord because Hausa does not distinguish gender in the plural.

Another use of the associative plural **su** is to indicate 'and others of the same ilk' (i.e., 'et al.' and 'etc.'). e.g.,

su Mūsā sun dāwō dà sāfē	Musa and the others returned in the morning.
su Mařyām dà Jummai sunà sôn rawā	Maryam and Jummai et al. like to dance.
munà nēman su bārēwā	We are looking for gazelles, etc.

## 18. HOMOPHONOUS

Plural affixes are added to nouns and tone. Because distinct segmental bases, resulting

*singular*  
ḏāgì digger, ḏāgì felix  
kàntù store, kàntù bk  
kwarì valley, kwārì q  
kògì river, kògò a ca  
kōmì dugout canoe, k  
kātangā large potsherd

Although the form of the plural is based on phonological processes, it is minimally distinct from the singular.

a. gōrā cane (base /  
b. gōrā large gourd  
a. tūrū a drum (base /  
b. tūrū log/stocks ( /  
a. hantā liver (base /  
b. hancì nose (base /

## 19. ALTERNATIVE PLURALS

The choice of the plural form is based on the singular. Words of the singular class are expected to have -āCē plural forms. As more plural types. As being dialectally, idiomatic forms into three groups. The following are alternatives.

dilā	dilālē
ḏērā	ḏērāy
ḏāgūmì	ḏāgū
guntū	guntā
hannū	hannī
kōrē	kōrāy
kwabò	kwab
kwās	kwās
ḏawanyā	ḏawā
harshē	haru
jīgāwā	jīgāy
lēbē	lēbā

## 18. HOMOPHONOUS PLURALS

Plural affixes are added to a lexical base, which in most cases is the singular word minus its final vowel and tone. Because distinct words with different tones and different final vowels may have the same segmental bases, resulting plural forms are sometimes homophonous, e.g.,

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural (of both singulars)</i>
<b>dāgì</b> digger, <b>dāgì</b> feline paw	<b>dāgunà</b>
<b>kàntì</b> store, <b>kantù</b> block of salt or sesame	<b>kantunà</b>
<b>kwarì</b> valley, <b>kwàrì</b> quiver	<b>kwarūruwà</b>
<b>kògì</b> river, <b>kògò</b> a cavity	<b>kògunà</b>
<b>kōmì</b> dugout canoe, <b>kōmā</b> small fishing net	<b>kōmāyē</b>
<b>kàtangà</b> large potsherd, <b>katangā</b> wall	<b>kàtangū</b>

Although the form of the plural overrides distinctions in the singular, the *choice* of the plural type is based on phonological properties of the singular word as such, and thus one often gets distinct plurals of minimally distinct words even though the intermediate base forms are identical, e.g.,

a. <b>gōrà</b> cane (base //gōr-//)	<b>gōrōrì</b>
b. <b>gōrà</b> large gourd (base //gōr-//)	<b>gōrunà</b>
a. <b>tūrū</b> a drum (base //tūr-//)	<b>tūrāyē</b>
b. <b>tūrū</b> log/stocks (base //tūr-//)	<b>tūrunà</b>
a. <b>hantà</b> liver (base //hant-//)	<b>hantōci</b>
b. <b>hancì</b> nose (base //hant-//)	<b>hantunà (= hancunà)</b>

## 19. ALTERNATIVE PLURALS

The choice of the plural type to be used is only partially predictable from the form and class of the singular. Words of the form CVCVV with H-H tone and a light first syllable almost all have corresponding -āCē plurals; similarly, disyllabic feminine words ending in -ā with H-L tone can be expected to have -ōCi plurals. In other cases, however, the form of the singular is consistent with two or more plural types. As a result, individual lexical items are attested with alternative plurals, the choice being dialectally, idiolectally, or idiosyncratically determined. The alternative plurals can be separated into three groups. The first group includes those that could be considered essentially equivalent alternatives.

<b>dilā</b>	<b>dilālē = dilōli</b>	jackal
<b>beṛā</b>	<b>beṛāyē = beṛārṛaki</b>	rat
<b>dāgūmì</b>	<b>dāgumà = dāgūmai</b>	leather amulet
<b>guntū</b>	<b>guntāyē = guntāttaki</b>	stub
<b>hannū</b>	<b>hannāyē = hannuwà</b>	arm
<b>kōṛè</b>	<b>kōṛāyē = kōṛṛā</b>	green
<b>kwabò</b>	<b>kwabbunà = kwābbai</b>	penny, kobo
<b>kwās</b>	<b>kwās-kwās = kwāsàkwāsai</b>	course
<b>kawanyā</b>	<b>kawanyōyi = kàwànyū</b>	small ring
<b>harshè</b>	<b>harussà = harsunà</b>	tongue, language
<b>jìgāwā</b>	<b>jìgāyi = jìgāwū</b>	sandy soil
<b>lēḅè</b>	<b>lāḅḅā = lēḅunà</b>	lip

shìgìfà	shìgìfū = shìgìfai = shìgìfōfi	room with arched roof
tařdè	tařdā = tařdunā	head ring for carrying loads
tāwadā	tāwadū = tawadōji	ink
tēbūr	tēburā = tēburōfi	table
tsabgā	tsābgū = tsābgōgi	cane, switch
tudū	tūddā = tūddai = tuddunā	hill
wāhalā	wāhālhalū = wāhalce-wāhalce = wāhalōli	trouble

In the following examples, the alternative plurals relate to alternative forms of the singular:

hoe (i) fařtanyā / fařètani (= fařtanyū)	(ii) fatanyā / fātanyū
pot (i) tukunya (H-H-L) / tukwānkwanī	(ii) tukunya (H-H-H) / tukwānē

The second group includes alternatives where one of the choices (given first below) is "archaic" in relation to a newer plural belonging to a more productive, overt class. (The dividing line between this group and the previous is not clear-cut and discrete.) These alternatives are particularly common in the case of words having undergone Klingenberg's Law, such that the archaic plural requires that one recover a historically lost consonant.

būzū	bugājē = būzāyē	sheepskin mat; Tuareg
ḡaunā	ḡakānē = ḡaunāyē	buffalo
cūnā	ciwunnā [Kts] = cūnōni	gusset
gōđiyā	gwāđđī = gōđiyōyi	mare
gwaurō	gwagwārē = gwaurāyē	unmarried psn
kwībī	kwiyāḡā = kwībunā	fat on side of body
rījiyā	riyōji (= rigōji) = rījiyōyi	well
zūciyā	zūkātā = zūciyōyi	heart

The third group includes a small number of cases where different plurals of the same singular item have different (but related) meanings.

baři	black / [i] bařākē	black (pl.); [ii] babbařū	(a) consonants in Arabic script; (b) used in mařèran babbařū
mařèran babbařū	blacksmiths (pl. of mařèrin baři)		
đūtsè	stone, mountain / [i] duwātsū	stones, mountains; [ii] duwāřwatsū	small stones, gravel
faři	white / [i] fařārē	white (pl.); [ii] farfarū	(a) vowels in Arabic script; (b) used in mařèran farfarū
mařèran farfarū	silversmiths (pl. of mařèrin faři)		
kuncī	cheek / [i] kuncunā	cheeks, sides of the face; [ii] kumātū	fleshy part of the cheek (sg. or pl.)
kařā	foot, leg / [i] kařāfū	one's own feet/legs; [ii] kařāfuwā	feet of an animal when used as food
magājiyā	(a) female heir (counterpart of magāji m.); (b) head of the prostitutes; (c) [Skt] elder sister / [i] magāḡā	heirs (m. or f.), but not the other two meanings; [ii] magājiyōyi	pl. of all three meanings
sūnā	name; naming ceremony / [i] sūnāyē	names; [ii] sūnānnaki	naming ceremonies

## 20. DOUBLE PLURALS

A common feature of Hausa is to have "double plurals," i.e., plurals built not on the singular but on a plural stem. Sometimes, the double plurals simply constitute alternative plural forms and do not differ in meaning from the morphologically simpler plurals; but in many cases people feel that the double plurals are more marked and connote extra plurality. Examples:

ḡawākai	horses
ḡafuwaiwayā	butts
ḡařāfuwā	feet
ḡařāttī	hugs
ḡařāruwā	twigs
ḡamazē	men
ḡamāyē	women
ḡařānnaki	bovines

## 21. ERSTWHILE PLURALS

There has been a historical process in Hausa where, in some cases, the original plural form has been replaced by a newer plural form. In some instances we are not aware of the original singular form, but in some instances the singular is still attested. This process includes a number of cases where the original plural form is indeterminate whether it is a plural or a singular, and is often interpreted as singular. Examples:

ḡumā m.	gourd
ḡadā m.	house
ḡařāřkari m.	rib(s)
ḡařōri m.	tooth
ḡannū m.	arm
ḡayāki m.	smoke
ḡācē m.	tree
ḡarā m.	corn
ḡařāuki m.	slender
ḡařōfi m.	dye
ḡařāri m.	prayer
ḡařiyāshi m./pl.	type
ḡānnē m.	ear,
ḡařādā f.	cholesterol
ḡadā m.	fly,
ḡūsūlmi m./pl.	a Muslim
ḡawā m./pl.	water
ḡakālmi m.	shop
ḡařāḡai m./pl.	pepper
ḡammā m.	rag
ḡařāfi m.	cloth
ḡařāwāshi m.	crack
ḡařōri m.	strip

A few feminine singular nouns have double plurals because this canonical plural suffix (see §4.1), it is a historical explanation.

l roof  
rying loads

<b>dàwàkai</b>	horses < <b>dawàkɪ</b> pl. of <b>dòkɪ</b> m.
<b>ɗuwaiwayà</b>	buttocks < <b>ɗuwàiwai</b> pl. of <b>ɗuwai</b> m. [dv]
<b>ƙafàfuwà</b>	feet < <b>ƙafàfù</b> pl. of <b>ƙafà</b> f.
<b>ƙàttɪ</b>	huge < <b>ƙàttà</b> pl. of <b>ƙàtò</b> m.
<b>ƙiràruwà</b>	twigs, kindling < <b>ƙiràrè</b> pl. (sg. not attested)
<b>mazàjè</b>	men < <b>mazà</b> pl. of <b>mijì</b> m.
<b>màtàyè</b>	women < <b>màtā</b> pl of <b>màtā</b> f. wife (also pl. of <b>màcè</b> f. woman, female)
<b>shànànnakɪ</b>	bovines < <b>shànù</b> pl. of <b>sá</b> m. ox, bull and/or <b>sāniyā</b> f. cow

ie singular:

## 21. ERSTWHILE PLURALS

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plural requires that one

There has been a historical drift in Hausa whereby plural forms have come to be treated as singulars. In some cases, the original singular has to be postulated on internal or comparative grounds. In these instances we are not always sure that the form in question was originally a plural. In other cases, the singular is still attested as an alternative form or as a dialect variant. Most of the reinterpreted singulars, including a number of words ending in *-ā*, are masculine. With certain items, there is some degree of indeterminacy whether they are grammatically sg. or pl. Once these erstwhile plurals are indeed reinterpreted as singulars, they are available for pluralization using the full range of plural formatives. Examples:

uareg

<b>dumā</b> m.	gourd, formerly pl. of <b>dumè</b> (still used in [WH]) (current SH pl. <b>dumàmè</b> )
<b>gidā</b> m.	house, home, formerly pl. of <b>gijì</b> (still used in [WH]) (current SH pl. <b>gidàjè</b> )
<b>hàƙàrkàri</b> m.	rib(s) < ? (current SH pl. <b>hàƙàrkàrai</b> )
<b>hàƙòrɪ</b> m.	tooth, formerly pl. of * <b>hàƙrè</b> , cf. <b>haurè</b> tusk (current SH pl. <b>hàƙòrà</b> )
<b>hannū</b> m.	arm < * <b>ham-nu</b> ? (current SH pl. <b>hannuwà</b> )
<b>hayàkɪ</b> m.	smoke < ?
<b>itácè</b> m.	tree, wood, formerly pl. of <b>icè</b> wood (current SH pl. <b>itātuwà</b> )
<b>karā</b> m.	cornstalk, formerly pl. of <b>karè</b> (still used in [WH]) (current SH pl. <b>karàrè</b> )
<b>ƙàràukɪ</b> m.	slender post for fence < ?
<b>karófi</b> m.	dye-pit area < * <b>karfè</b> ?
<b>ƙiràri</b> m.	praise epithet, formerly pl. of <b>ƙirà</b> calling ?
<b>ƙiyàshɪ</b> m./pl.	type of small ant < ? (current SH pl. <b>ƙiyàsai</b> )
<b>ƙúnnè</b> m.	ear, formerly pl. of * <b>kum</b> -? (current SH pl. <b>kunnuwà</b> )
<b>ƙuràdā</b> f.	chopper, small axe < ? (current SH pl. <b>ƙuràdū</b> )
<b>ƙudā</b> m.	fly, formerly pl. of <b>ƙujè</b> (still used in [WH]) (current SH pl. <b>ƙudàjè</b> )
<b>Mùsùlmɪ</b> m./pl.	a Muslim (current SH pl. <b>Mùsùlmai</b> )
<b>ruwā</b> m./pl.	water, rain (current (restricted) SH pl. <b>ruwàyè</b> )
<b>tàkàlmɪ</b> m	shoe, formerly pl. of <b>tàkalmè</b> (still used. in [WH]) (current SH pl. <b>tàkalmà</b> )
<b>tàttàsai</b> m./pl.	pepper(s) < ?
<b>tsummā</b> m.	rag < ? (current (rare) SH pl. <b>tsummòkarà</b> )
<b>tufāfi</b> m.	clothing, formerly pl. of <b>tufā</b> garment
<b>washèwashɪ</b> m.	cracks on bottom of cooking pot < ?
<b>zabōri</b> m.	string(s) at top of bucket < * <b>zabrè</b> ?

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ed in **makèran farfarū**

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; (c) [Skt] elder sister /  
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A few feminine singulars have the shape **CāGGā** (where the GG represents geminate consonants). Because this canonical pattern is extremely rare except in the case of plurals formed with the **-Gā**<sup>HLH</sup> suffix (see §4.1), it is likely that these words are erstwhile plurals, although there may be some other historical explanation. Examples (complete):



cássà f. bow-leggedness; rábbā f. syphilis; řwállā f. tears; rággā f. rags, ragged garment (current SH pl. raggōgt); sháddā f. pit latrine (current SH pl. shaddōdt)

## 22. SINGULAR FORMS WITH PLURAL MEANING AND CONCORD

### 22.1. Words without morphological plurals

In spite of the large number of plural formations available, many nouns do not have an overt morphological plural form. (In some cases, the dictionaries list a plural, but it is seldom used.) Rather, like the English word *sheep*, the plurality is indicated by plural concord, e.g., *mangwārō gōmā dīn sun ruḃè* 'The ten mangoes (they) have become rotten'; cf. *mangwārō yā ruḃè* 'The mango (it) has become rotten' or 'The mangoes (as a collection) have become rotten.' Nouns without corresponding morphological plurals include, but are not restricted to, the following. (The gloss is given in the singular only but is to be read as 'pineapple(s)', etc.)

àbārbā f. pineapple; àgàdè f. plantain; àlbasà f. onion; alminjīř m. mousetrap; amālè m. large, strong male camel; awarwarō m. bracelet; fařwà f. quail; bāhò m. bathtub, large basin; badò m. water lily; bikā m. baboon; būlālā f. a whip; dànda m. piebald horse; dinyā f. goose; fatsa f. fishhook; gābā f. (river) bank; gāwō m. winterthorn; gadā f. duiker; gizāgō m. adze; hazbiyā f. stye; jállō m. gourd water bottle; kāmè m. arrests; kārkarā f. rural area; kilishi m. soft oriental rug/bedspread; kwālekwāle m. canoe; lābulè m. curtain; lāgwānt m. wick; lōfè m. smoking pipe; mākārā f. beer; sāfi m. thimble; sāfiyā f. morning; sārēwà f. flute; shā-rāfa f. calf of leg, shin; slll m. ceiling; sumbā f. a kiss; tōshiyā f. bribe; tsère m. race, contest; yālō m. native yellow tomato; zāitūn m. olive; olive tree

### 22.2. Singulars with numerals

Even if a word has a distinct plural, the singular form is often preferred if the word is modified by a numeral or other quantifier, e.g.,

gidā (= gidājē) biyu	two houses
mōtā (= mōtōct) dà yawà	a lot of cars
incī (not **incunā) gōmā	ten inches
lābā nawà nawà nē?	how many pounds each?

Some common words, on the other hand, primarily with human referents, generally prefer the plural form even with a numeral, e.g., *yārā* (not \*\*yārò) *tālātin* 'thirty children', *mātā* (not \*\*mātā) *huḃu* 'four wives'.

### 22.3. Collectives

Collectives and certain noncount nouns allow the use of the singular form with both singular and plural concord. If such words have overt morphological plurals, they usually connote individuated members of a group. Examples:

sōjā yā/sun dāwō	The army returned. (cf. pl. sōjōjī soldiers)
ruwā yā/sun d'āukē	The rain has let up.
jāma'ā tanā/sunā sàurārē	The people are listening.
kāyā yā/sun yi minī nauyi	The loads are too heavy for me. (cf. pl. kāyāyyaki)

### Generic nouns

Generic nouns are used in many contexts. Although plurals are so common, morphological plurals are not used for the plural. Examples:

... bōkò dà [Bàtūr]

Western know

... kàcin dàmunā [m]

During the we

... working.

... ndā]sg tanā dà sa

... ]sg yanā kāwō c

... bā wāsā dà [mac

... yā sārār [tābarmā

... he is able to weave

...

... dai [gyàdā]sg. Hà

As for peanut

References: Newman (

## 22.4. Generic nouns

When nouns are used in a generic sense, they typically occur in the singular with singular concord, although plurals are sometimes allowed (except, of course, in the case of noncount nouns that do not have morphological plurals). This is unlike the situation in English, where generic nouns are normally in the plural. Examples:

**ilmin bōkò dà [Bàtūrè]<sub>sg</sub> ya kai Kasar Hausa (=...dà [Tūrāwā]<sub>pl</sub> sukà kai...)**

Western knowledge which Europeans (lit. a European) brought to Hausaland

**à lōkacin dāmuna [manōm]<sub>sg</sub> yanà shān wāhalā sabōdā kullum yanà gōnā yanà aikì**

During the wet season farmers (lit. a farmer) suffer because everyday they are in the farm working.

**[Hondā]<sub>sg</sub> tanà dà sauḡin tūrāwā**

Hondas (lit. Honda) are easy to drive.

**[Rudā]<sub>sg</sub> yanà kāwō cūḡā**

Flies (lit. a fly) bring disease.

**yā sābā wāsā dà [macī]<sub>sg</sub>**

He is accustomed to playing with snakes (lit. snake).

**yā iyā sārār [tābarmā]<sub>sg</sub>**

He is an expert at weaving mats.

(lit. he is able to weave mat)

= He is an expert at mat weaving.

= He is able to weave the mats.)

**ita dai [gyāḡā]<sub>sg</sub>, Hausāwā sunà nōmā ta sōsai**

As for peanuts (lit. peanut), Hausas really farm them (lit. it).

[References: Newman (1972b); Parsons (1981); Wolff (1992)]

## 57. Prepositions

PREPOSITIONAL phrases (pp) consist of a preposition (prep.) plus an NP or an adverb, e.g., **dà wukā m̀ai kaifi** 'with a sharp knife', **kàrkashin tēbūfinsà** 'under his table', **dàgà nán** 'from here'. The so-called prepositions in Hausa fall into two main groups: basic (e.g., **à** 'at') and genitive (e.g., **gàban** 'in front of' < **gàba** 'front'). A few words, e.g., **don** 'for', and **kàmaɓ** 'like', which are described below with the genitive prepositions, are transitional between the two categories. Two important morphemes that correspond to prepositions in English are not classified as prepositions in Hausa but rather are treated as grammatical particles. These are (1) the indirect object marker (IOM) 'to, for, from', which has the pre-pronoun form **ma-** and the pre-noun form **wà** (with the alternative variants **mà**, **wá**, etc.) (see chap. 39), and (2) the linker 'of', which has the nonbound form **ta** with feminine head nouns and **na** with non-feminine head nouns (see chap. 43).

### 1. BASIC PREPOSITIONS

Hausa has a small set of basic, unitary prepositions, many of which also function as conjunctions. Phonologically, many of these are distinctive in terms of the short final vowel and L tone. With the exception of **gàrè**, which is followed by an L-tone weak object pronoun (e.g., **gàrè tà** 'by her'), basic prepositions that allow pronoun objects require the independent set (e.g., **dàgà ita** 'from her', **illā kai** 'except you'). Morphologically/lexically the basic prepositions are a heterogeneous lot. Here is a list of the most common ones:

**à** at, in, on; **dà** with; **dàgà** from; **bisà** on, about; **fàcē** except; **gà/gàrè** by, in, near, in connection with, in relation to; **haɓ** up to, until; **hàttā** including; **iyā** as far as; **illā** except; **kāfin** (= **kāfin**) before; **sabòdà** because of, on account of; **sai** except, until; **ta** via, by means of, by way of; **tun** since; **wāɓ** like; **yà** (= **ì**) like, among; **zuwà** to

One can identify **à**, **dà**, **dàgà**, **gà**, **yà** as the 'true' prepositions par excellence; otherwise, the prepositions do not lend themselves to a useful subclassification.

The prep. **à** 'at, in, on' is a very high frequency, semantically varied word that is used in a wide range of contexts. Its complement is normally a locational noun or noun phrase, a temporal noun (phrase), or an adverb of location or state, e.g., **zā à sāmù à kàsuwāf Kanò** 'One will find (it) at Kano market'; **à lōkacin bā mā nán** 'At that time we weren't here'; **sun yi wannan à àsīfē** 'They did this in secret' (where **àsīfē** is an adverbial stative derived from the noun **àsīfi** 'secret'). It is commonly used along with a genitive prep. (see below), e.g., **kù sá su (à) cikin àkwàtù!** 'Put them in the box!' (lit. you (pl.) put them (at) inside.of box). (In general, when prepositions of the two types co-occur, the order is always basic prep. plus genitive prep.) The prep. **à** translates as 'by' in such sentences as **nā zō à mōtā/kafā** 'I came by car /by foot.' With body-part terms, Hausa commonly uses an intransitive verb followed by a prepositional phrase with **à** where English would use a transitive verb, e.g., **nā guɓɗè à**

**nyàn-hannù** 'I sprained r  
usually (and for some sp  
**akafantā yakè** 'It's at s  
The prep. **bisà** 'on top  
**thau bisà kân dōkì** 'He  
rself'; **à Rānāf Kiyām**  
**yuwāfāsà ta dūniyā** 'On  
regarding the things that he  
There is a related form  
normally occurs in senten  
number 2, one may not d  
over their heads.'

The prep. **dà** 'with', v  
one of the most common v  
manner, etc., e.g., **mun**  
laughed (it) with a knif  
used as the second membe  
**ya dà** 'behind (in rank  
be different from)', **dab d**  
**o**, **daurà dà** 'right next  
below, junior to', **gàba d**  
from', **sàbilì dà** 'on accot

\*AN: [i] In Abraham  
also Kraft (1970).

[ii] In the word **sabò**  
\***sabābì dà** 'the reas

Whereas 'with' is indicat  
by means of the negative  
journey without provision  
'Give me coffee without i

The prep. **dàgà** deno  
**dàgà yāu** 'from today o  
occurs preceding another  
constructions with **sai** to  
**dàgà nī sai kai (kawāi)**

The presumably nati  
**sun shigō fàcē shì** 'All  
nothing he wants except  
e.g., **bā wandà ya iyā s**

The prep. **gà/gàrè**  
grammatically condition  
e.g., **yā wàjabà (à) gārì**  
prayers'; **yā yi kirā gē**  
**gyàruwā gārè shì / gā**  
**Mūsā karfi gārè shì** 'M  
and **gārè** (in addition to

**wuyàn-hannū** 'I sprained my wrist' (lit. I sprained (intr.) at wrist). When following a continuous TAM, à is usually (and for some speakers, obligatorily) deleted, e.g., **yanà makařantà** 'He's at school', cf. **à makařantà yakè** 'It's at school he is.'

The prep. **bisà** 'on top of, regarding' is often preceded by **à** 'at' and/or followed by **kán** 'on', e.g., **yà hau bisà kán dōkì** 'He climbed up on the horse'; **řa'ayin Bintà bisà kántà** 'Binta's opinion of herself'; **à Rānař Kiyāmā kōwā yà ji hukuncin dà akà yankè masà à bisà abūbuwàn dà ya yi à rāyuarřà ta dūniyā** 'On Judgment Day, everyone should hear the sentence that is passed on him regarding the things that he did during his life on earth.'

There is a related form **bisà** 'regarding, according to', with L-L tone and a long final vowel, that normally occurs in sentence-initial phrases, e.g., **bisà dōkà ta biyu an hanà X** 'According to decree number 2, one may not do X'; **bisà àl'ādāřmū mātā sunā lulluři** 'According to our custom women cover their heads.'

The prep. **dà** 'with', which is the same as the conjunction **dà** 'and', is a heavily worked item. It is one of the most common words in the language, serving to form phrases of accompaniment, instrument, manner, etc., e.g., **mun yi gāddamā dà ři** 'I had a quarrel with him', **yā yankà dà wuķā** 'He slaughtered (it) with a knife', **kā bugā ři dà řarfi** 'Hit it with force.' The **dà** morpheme is commonly used as the second member of complex prepositions formed with locative, stative, or other adverbs, e.g., **bāya dà** 'behind (in rank or social position)', **ban dà** 'apart from; besides, without' (cf. **řā bamban dà** 'be different from'), **dab dà** (= **gab dà**) 'right near to', **danganè dà** (= **dàngāne dà**) 'regarding, relating to', **daurà dà** 'right next to, adjacent to', **duk dà** 'in spite of, despite', **kusa dà** 'close to', **řasà dà** 'below, junior to', **gāba dà** 'ahead of (in rank or social position)', **gāme dà** 'concerning', **nēsà dà** 'far from', **sābīlī dà** 'on account of, because of', **samà dà** 'above (in rank or social position)'.

°AN: [i] In Abraham's dictionary (1962), the extensive entry for **dà** goes on for three pages, see also Kraft (1970).

[ii] In the word **sabòdà** 'because' (= [Skt] **sabāddā**), which is historically derived from \***sabāb dà** < \***sabābī dà** 'the reason that', the **dà** has become fused synchronically with the stem.

Whereas 'with' is indicated by the true prep. **dà**, the corresponding negative 'without' is expressed either by means of the negative existential marker **bā** 'there is not', e.g., **yā yi tāfiyā bā gūzuri** 'He left on his journey without provisions', or else by means of the phrase **ban dà**, e.g., **kī bā nī kōfi ban dà madařā!** 'Give me coffee without milk!'

The prep. **dàgà** denotes 'from' both in locative and temporal senses, e.g., **dàgà Kanò** 'from Kano', **dàgà yāu** 'from today onward', **dàgà bāya** 'afterward' (lit. from back). As with **à**, **dàgà** commonly occurs preceding another prep., e.g., **dàgà cikin dāki** 'from in the room'. A special use of **dàgà** is in constructions with **sai** to indicate 'in addition to, only, apart from', e.g., **bā wandà ya san māganāř dàgà nī sai kai (kawāi)** 'No one knows about it except (only) you and I.'

The presumably native word **řacē**, like the Arabic loanword **illā**, means 'except', e.g., **duk yāřān sun shigō řacē ři** 'All the children entered except him'; **bā ābīn dà yakè sō illā wannān** 'There is nothing he wants except this.' In everyday language, 'except' is usually expressed by **sai** (see below), e.g., **bā wandà ya iyā sai mū** 'There is no one who can do it except us.'

The prep. **gà/gārē** 'by, in relation to, etc.' is unique in that it is the only preposition that has grammatically conditioned allomorphs: **gārē** when followed by a personal pronoun and **gà** elsewhere, e.g., **yā wājabā (à) gārē ři / gà Mūsulmī yā yi sallā** 'It is incumbent on him / on a Muslim to do his prayers'; **yā yi kirā gārē sū / gà sōjōjī...** 'He called on them / on the soldiers ...'; **mōtāř bā tà gyāruwā gārē ři / gà Bellò** 'This car cannot be repaired (i.e., is not repairable) by him / by Bello'; **Mūsā řarfi gārē ři** 'Musa is strong' (lit. Musa strength in relation to him). One difference between **gà** and **gārē** (in addition to the type of object they take) is that **gārē** commonly co-occurs with a basic prep.

like à but *gà* does not, e.g., *yanà dà muhimmanɔ̀ à gārè mù Audù yà bař nán* 'It is important for us that Audu leave here'; *nā sàmi làbārì dàgà gārè tà* 'I got the news from her', not *\*\*nā sàmi làbārì dàgà gā Hādizà* 'I got the news from Hadiza.'

An important function of *gà/gārè* is to express semantic indirect objects *after* a direct object, especially when the object of the prep. is heavy and thus an i.o. construction before the d.o. would be clumsy, e.g., *yā fàdì làbārì gā mutàné n dà sukè gōyon bāyansà* 'He told the news to the men who were supporting him', cf. *yā fadà wà mutàné làbārì* 'He told the men news.' Like other prepositions, *gà/gārè* covers an extremely wide semantic range and thus its core meaning is extremely difficult to characterize. (In general, because the basic prepositions are so few in number, they all are semantically broad and far reaching.) Here are a few additional examples to illustrate its use:

<i>mènè nè àmfànin kògin Kwàrà gā Nàjèrìyà?</i>	What is the value of the River Niger for Nigeria?
<i>àkwai ilimì gā Sàni</i>	Sani has knowledge. (lit. there is knowledge at Sani)
<i>yāu rānař gōmà gā watà</i>	Today is the tenth of the month.
<i>Bàrau, rāriyāř-hannu gārè shì</i>	Barau, money slips through his fingers.
(lit. Barau, sieve.of-hand at him)	

The word *hař* 'up to, including', which is extremely common both as a conjunction and as a preposition, connotes action moving forward toward something or some time or some place, e.g., *an yi hanyà dàgà Kanò hař Daurà* 'A road has been built all the way from Kano to Daura'; *tun jiyà akè yín ruwà hař yāu dà sàfè* 'Since yesterday it has been raining going into this morning'; *dàlibai dà yawà sun ci jařrābāwā hař mù mā* 'Many students passed the exam, including us also.' It commonly occurs followed by another basic prep., e.g., *àbín yā kai mù hař gā sarki* 'The affair has led us right up to the chief'; *Audù yā zò hař dà đan'uwansà* 'Audu has come with his brother as well' (lit. Audu has come including with his brother); *tā iyà harsunà dà dāmā hař dà Japananɔ̀* 'She speaks a lot of languages even including Japanese'; *sun yi tàfiyà hař zuwà Masār* 'They traveled (to many places) including to Egypt.'

The word *iyā* (= *iyākā*) 'up to, as far as', which etymologically is presumably related to *iyākā* 'frontier, limit', is used in such sentences as *ruwà yā kàwō masà iyā wuyà* 'Water came up all the way to his neck', or *yā yi aikin iyā yinsà* 'He did the work to the extent of his ability.'

The temporal prep. 'before' has the tonally variant forms *kàfin* = *kāfin*, both of which are quite common, e.g., *kāfin karfè biyu* 'before two o'clock'. (Some dialects use *kàmin* = *kāmin*.) When followed by the phrase *nán dà...* 'here/now and...', it indicates 'between' in a temporal sense, e.g., *kāfin nán dà karfè biyu* 'between now and two o'clock'. (When used as a subordinating conjunction, in which case the following TAM must be the subjunctive, it also has a contracted form *kàn*, e.g., *kāfin / kàn kà dāwō* 'before you return'.)

The word *sabòdà* 'because of' (with dialect variants *sabàddà* and *sàbillì dà*) functions as a preposition as well as a conjunction, e.g., *sabòdà rashin ruwà* 'because of lack of water' (prep.), *sabòdà zuwànkà nakè yín wannàn* 'because of your coming, I am doing this' (prep.), cf. *sabòdà shì mài kudì nè* 'because he is rich' (conj.). Etymologically it represents a fusion of the Arabic loanword *sabab* 'reason' plus the common prep. *dà*. In standard orthography, it is now written as one word.

The word *sai* 'except, not until', which functions both as a preposition and as a conjunction, is another extremely common, versatile lexeme. In its basic meaning, it usually occurs with an explicit or implied negative, e.g., *bā wandà zai hau dōkin nán sai shì* 'There is no one who can ride this horse except him'; *an hanà mu fitā sai bāyan àzahār* 'They prevented us from going out until the afternoon' (lit. ...until after the ± 2 p.m. prayer). By contrast, *fàcè*, which also translates as 'except', occurs readily in the affirmative, e.g., *kōwā yanà sòn rōgò fàcè Bellò* 'Everyone likes cassava except Bello.' A

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striking feature of *sai* is its common usage in elliptical constructions (both in writing and in speaking), e.g.,

**dà sukà wucè [...] sai Kàdūna** When they passed by [they kept on going] until Kaduna.

**tsakanin mutānen nān [...] sai zūmūntā**

Between these men [nothing existed] except friendship.

**gyāran iyākūwāndishān [...] sai gōbe**

Repairing the air conditioning [won't get done] until tomorrow.

**kōmē akā bā kà [...] sai gōdiyā**

Whatever you get you should be thankful. (lit. anything one.pret gives you [don't do anything] except thanks)

°AN: The multifunctional word *sai*, which occupies some four pages in Abraham's dictionary (1962), has been the subject of a number of specialized studies, e.g., Lukas (1955), Kraft (1970), Meyers (1974).

The word *ta* 'via, by means of' is the only preposition in the language that consists of a single H tone light syllable, e.g., *yā fitō ta tāgār* 'He came out through the window', *mun biyō ta bāyan ganuwār* 'We followed via behind the city wall.' In addition to its basic prepositional usage, *ta* also occurs with the pro-verb *yi* to form a phrasal aspectual verb indicating 'keep on doing', e.g., *sun yi ta zāgīnsā* 'They kept on insulting him.'

As a preposition, *tun* denotes 'since' in a temporal sense, e.g., *tun yāushè?* 'since when?'; *tun mākōn dà ya wucè* 'since last week'; *yanā nān tun jiyā* 'He has been here since yesterday.' It commonly occurs followed by another prep. e.g., *tun kàfin Bābbař Sallā* 'since before Id el Kabir'. Sometimes *tun* connotes a beginning reference point in a locative sense, e.g., *nā ga jērin mutānē tun dàgā Bātā hař (zuwā) Daulā* 'I saw a line of people (beginning) from Bata [shoe store] (all the way) to Daulā'; *tun à Kanō na bā shi shāwārā yā gyārā birkin mōtār* 'Back in Kano (lit. since at Kano) I advised him that he should repair the car brakes.'

The prep. *wār* 'like' is limited to the fixed phrase *wār hakā* (lit. like thus), which accompanies temporal terms to indicate 'at the same time', e.g., *gōbe wār hakā* 'tomorrow at this time', *bāra wār hakā* 'last year at this time', etc.

The basic prep. *yā* (= *i* = <*yi*> = <*wā*>) indicates 'like, among', e.g., *mutānē yā mū* 'people like us'; *kujērā i wannān* 'a chair like this one'. In an expression formed with identical pronouns, the preposition often takes the form *yè*, e.g., *kū yè kū* 'people of your status', *mū yè mū* 'people of our class' (= *yā mū yā mū*). This prep. (usually in the /i/ form) is commonly used in such temporal expressions as *rānā i ta yāu* 'a week from today' (lit. day like of today). It is also used (usually in the /yā/ form) in such phrases as *yā zuwā yānu* (or *yā zuwā yāu*) 'up till now', e.g., *dàgā watān Māris yā zuwā yānu* 'from March to the present'.

Finally, *zuwā*, which is the verbal noun of the verb *zō* 'come', e.g., *inā zuwā* 'I'm coming, I'm on the way', functions as a preposition meaning 'to, toward' in both locative and temporal senses, e.g., *kōgin nān yā biyō zuwā Kanō* 'This river flows toward Kano' (lit. river.of here it.comp follow toward Kano); *dàgā sāfiyā zuwā darē* 'from morning to night'. It is commonly accompanied by the basic prep. *gā/gārē*, e.g., *zuwā gā editā* 'to the Editor' (a common opening salutation in a letter); *yā tàfi zuwā gārē sù* 'He went to them.'

A locative goal of a motion verb does not require an overt prep. because the notion of 'to' is included in the meaning of the verb, e.g., *sun zō Ø ofis* 'They came to the office', cf. *sun zō dàgā ofis* 'They came from the office'; *zā tà kōmā Ø makārantā* 'She will return to school.'

## 1.1. Complex prepositions

There are a number of two-word prepositions comparable to English 'together with', 'close to', 'far from', etc. These are typically composed of an adverb (or occasionally a noun) plus the basic prep. *dà* 'with' (sometimes = *gà* in other dialects). The adverb is commonly an adverbial derived from a noun, e.g., *nēsà* 'far' < *nīsā* 'distance', or a stative derived from a verb, e.g., *hàḏe* 'combined' < *hadà* 'combine'. In a few cases, the adverb does not exist except when used as part of the complex prep., e.g., *dab dà* 'right next to'. Here are some common examples:

*ařewa dà* north of; *ban dà* apart from; *dab dà* = *gab dà* right next to; *danganè dà* = *dàngàne dà* regarding, relating to (cf. *dangī* kin, relatives, *dàngantà* be related to); *daurà(a) dà* right next to, adjacent to (cf. *daurà(a) dà daurà(a)* side by side, right next to one another); *duk dà* in spite of, despite (cf. *duk* all); *fiye dà* more than (cf. *fi* exceed); *gàme dà* concerning, having to do with (cf. *gamà* join, connect); *hagu dà* left of; *kusa dà* (= *kusa gà*) close to; *kasà dà* below (cf. *kasà* on the ground < *kasā* earth, ground); *nēsà dà* far from (cf. *nēsà* far < *nīsā* distance); *samà dà* above in rank or position (cf. *samà* sky); *tàre dà* together with, [in negative] without (cf. *tàru* meet, assemble)

## 2. GENITIVE PREPOSITIONS

What I am calling genitive prepositions are words composed of a noun or adverb plus a zero-vowel linker -*n* /-*ř* (usually -*n*). These are quite numerous in the language. The genitive prepositions are commonly preceded by a basic prep. like *à* 'at', *dàgà* 'from', or *ta* 'via', e.g., *à/dàgà/ta cikin gàri* '(at)/from/via in the town'. Many of the genitive prepositions are built on body part terms, but other nouns and adverbs also serve as the source. Examples:

<i>bàkin</i>	at the edge/side of, in exchange for, as equivalent to (< <i>bàki</i> mouth)
e.g., <i>nā gan shì à bàkin hanyà</i>	I saw him on the side of the road.
e.g., <i>nā bā dà sàbulù à bàkin madařā</i>	I gave some soap in exchange for some milk.
<i>bāyan</i>	after, behind (< <i>bāya</i> at the back) (= <i>bān</i> with inexplicable falling tone)
<i>cikin</i>	inside of (< <i>ciki</i> the inside, cf. <i>ciki</i> belly)
<i>dòmin</i>	for the sake of, because of (< * <i>dòmi</i> (?)) (= <i>don</i> )
<i>gàrin</i>	while, in the process of (< <i>gàri</i> town (?))
<i>gòshin</i>	just prior to (< <i>gòshi</i> forehead),
e.g., <i>gòshin àzahār</i>	just before the afternoon prayer
<i>gurin</i>	variant of <i>wurin</i> (see below) (< <i>guri</i> = <i>gú</i> place) (= <i>gún</i> )
<i>jìkin</i>	against, embedded in (< <i>jiki</i> body)
<i>kàmař</i>	like (< <i>kāmā</i> similarity, likeness)
<i>kān</i>	on top of (< <i>kāi</i> head)
<i>řàřkashin</i>	under (< <i>řàřkashi</i> the underneath)
<i>kasàn</i>	below, at the bottom of (< <i>kasà</i> on the ground < <i>kasā</i> ground, earth)
e.g., <i>kasàn shāfi</i>	at the bottom of the page
<i>madàdin</i>	in place of/instead of (< Ar. loanword <i>madādī</i> representative)
e.g., <i>Mūsā yā zō à madàdin Audù</i>	Musa came instead of Audu.
<i>màimakon</i>	instead of (< <i>màimakō</i> replacement)
<i>samàn</i>	above, over (< <i>samà</i> above, sky)
<i>tàmkař</i>	like (= <i>kàmař</i> ) (< * <i>tàmkā</i> , which does not normally occur as an independent noun)
e.g., <i>kàre tàmkař wannàn</i>	a dog like this one
<i>tsàkànin</i>	between (< <i>tsàkàni</i> in between)

e.g., *yā shìgà tsàkànin dà*  
*wajen* in relation to (sp)  
 with, at (< *wajē*)  
 e.g., *yā yi wajen Bici*  
 e.g., *yā gōgè wajen kide*  
 e.g., *dàgà nan dařajār w*  
 (lit. the value of the vizier)  
*wajen* outside of (  
*wurin* in relation  
 e.g., *yanà wurin mālām*  
 e.g., *sunà wurin aiki* T  
 Irregular: *gèfin* on the

Genitive prepositions th  
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*dòminkù* = *dòmin kù*  
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*ni* (not \*\**dōnā*) *kō don*

ADN: [i] In Skt, *do*  
 me, for you, for him  
 [ii] In the Guddiri c  
 source word *dòmin*  
 word), e.g., *don bà*

Because most genitive  
 surface sequence can of  
*akantà* = 'on her/it' or  
 prep. is built on an a  
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## 3. PREPOSITION S

Basic prepositions (an  
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 prepositional phrase is

*yā cikà bùhù dà gyād*  
 ⇒ *dà mè ya cikà bùh*

- e.g., *yā shīga tsākānin dā dà mahāifi* He came between the father and his son.  
**wajen** in relation to (space, time, or action); to, toward; about, approximately; at, with respect to, with, at (< *wajē* place)  
 e.g., *yā yi wajen Bici* He went towards Bichi.  
 e.g., *yā gōgè wajen kid'e-kid'e* He is an expert at drumming.  
 e.g., *dàgà nan da'ajār wazīfī ta ragu wajen Sarki* From then on the vizier lost the Emir's favor. (lit. the value of the vizier decreased with the Emir)  
**wājen** outside of (< *wāje* outside)  
**wurin** in relation to; around, near, at place of (< *wuri* place)  
 e.g., *yanà wurin mālām* It is with the teacher.  
 e.g., *sunà wurin aikì* They are at work.  
 Irregular: *gēfin* on the eve of (presumably < *gēfē* edge)

Genitive prepositions that allow pronoun objects normally use the bound possessive set, e.g., *gābānā* 'in front of me', *kānsù* 'on them', *cikintā* 'in it'. The prepositions *kāmař* 'like' and *dōmin* 'for, on account of' can be followed either by a bound possessive or by an independent pronoun, the latter being considered somewhat stronger, e.g., *kāmātā = kāmař nī* 'like me', *kāmařmù = kāmař mū* 'like us'; *dōminkù = dōmin kù* 'on account of you (pl.)', *dōmintā = dōmin ita* 'on account of her'. The commonly used short form *don* (< *dōmin*) only allows an independent pronoun, e.g., *kā yi hakà nē don* (not *\*\*dōnā*) *kō don sū* (not *\*\*donsù*)? 'Did you do it for me or for them?'

ΔDN: [i] In Skt, *don* is followed by a weak object pronoun, e.g., *don nì, don kā, don shì*, etc. 'for me, for you, for him', etc.

[ii] In the Guddiri dialect, *don* has developed another idiosyncratic property as compared with the source word *dōmin*—namely, it has polar tone (i.e., its tone is opposite that of the following word), e.g., *don bāba* 'for father', but *dōn Allāh* 'for God's sake'.

Because most genitive prepositions are identical in shape to the genitive of the source word, the same surface sequence can often have two readings, e.g., *jikinsā* = 'against, embedded in him' or 'his body'; *kāntā* = 'on her/it' or 'her/its head', etc. (The latter is also the reflexive pronoun 'herself'.) When the prep. is built on an adverbial form, its surface output may be distinct from a nominal genitive construction, e.g., *kasānsù* 'below them', but *kasāfsù* 'their country, earth'.

Some of the adverb-based genitive prepositions have corresponding phrasal prepositions with *dā*. The two preposition types are semantically close in meaning but usually not identical, e.g.,

<b>gāban</b>	in front of, before, cf.	<b>gāba dà</b>	senior to, in front of in rank or position
<b>kusan</b>	close, almost, cf.	<b>kusa dà</b>	close to (physically)
<b>kasān</b>	below, at the bottom of, cf.	<b>kasà dà</b>	junior to, below in rank or position
<b>samān</b>	above, over, cf.	<b>samà dà</b>	senior to, above in rank or position

### 3. PREPOSITION STRANDING

Basic prepositions (and complex prepositions containing a basic prep.) may not be stranded, i.e., one cannot end a phrase with *à* or *gà* or *sai*, etc. In questions, focus, relative clauses, etc., either the entire prepositional phrase is moved or else a resumptive pronoun is required, e.g.,

<i>yā cikà bühū dà gyàdā</i>	He filled the sack with peanuts.
⇒ <i>dà mè ya cikà bühū?</i>	With what did he fill the sack?



<i>not</i> **mè ya cikà bùhù dà	What did he fill the sack with?
zā mù kùbutà ta wata dàbāfā	We will escape by means of a certain stratagem.
⇒ ta yāyā zā mù kùbutà?	How (lit. via how) can we escape?
sunà mǎganà dà yārò	They are talking with the boy.
⇒ yāròn dà sukè mǎganà dà shī	the boy that they are talking with (lit. ...with him)
<i>not</i> **yāròn dà sukè mǎganà dà	the boy that they are talking with
sun tāsò dàgà gabàs	They started out from the east.
⇒ dàgà gabàs sukà tāsò	It was from the east they started out.
<i>not</i> **gabàs sukà tāsò dàgà	It was the east they started out from.

By contrast, the indirect object marker *wà*, which is not classified as a preposition, readily allows stranding, e.g., *nā gayà wà Mūsā* 'I told it to Musa' ⇒ *Mūsā nè na gayà wà* 'It was Musa I told (it) to.'

Exceptions to the general rule are colloquial expressions with *dà* like the following:

- baḥkà dà* Greetings! (elliptical for such greetings as *baḥkà dà hūtawā* Greetings on resting, *baḥkà dà zuwā* Greetings on arriving, *baḥkà dà yamma* Good afternoon, etc.)
- kō kwabò bán dà* Even a penny I don't have. (i.e., I am flat broke.) (colloquial for *kō kwabò bán dà shī* with the resumptive pronoun *shī* 'him/it')

ADN: In some dialects—and even for some SH speakers—stranding of the preposition *dà* in HAVE sentences is becoming the norm in casual speech, e.g., *kanà dà hūlā? I, inà dà* 'Do you have a cap? Yes I do' (lit. I.cont with).

Genitive prepositions, on the other hand, behave differently. They can make use of a resumptive genitive pronoun, but it is not required, i.e., gapping is allowed. If the erstwhile preposition (e.g., *kān* 'on') is stranded, it will appear in its nominal or adverbial form without the linker (e.g., *kāi* 'top' or *kā* 'atop'). Examples:

<i>gà tēbūrīn dà ya sá kudī à kánsà</i>	Here is the table that he put the money on. (lit. ...on it)
= <i>gà tēbūrīn dà ya sá kudī à kái</i> (= à <i>kā</i> )	Here is the table that he put the money atop.
<i>Bellò nè sukà zābā à mǎimakonsà</i> = <i>Bellò nè sukà zābā à mǎimakō</i>	
It was Bello they chose instead (of him).	

[Reference: Parsons (1961)]

## 58. Pro-V

### MAIN VERB

THE grade 0 monoverb (thereof), e.g.,

*abn dà ya yi*  
*yi kujèrā*  
*mù yi shèkarā biyu à*  
*afī yā yi arēwa*

the verb also operates a g

*yiwō itacē*  
*yiwu*

nonfinite environment (direct object). If there is but see below for *yin* de

*yakè yí?*  
*fārà yínsà*  
*yā yín kōmē*

### PRO-VERB

this high-frequency lexical constructions—namely,

2.1. Dummy verb 'e  
 As a dummy verb, *yi* occurs in such categories as dynamic noun indicate

*sun yi mǎganà*  
*bà tà yi barci ba*  
*sun fārà yín dàriyā*  
*sun dainà yín sūrūtù*

## 58. Pro-Verb yi

### 1. MAIN VERB

THE grade 0 monoverb *yi* is a main verb meaning 'do' or 'make' (or some semantic extension thereof), e.g.,

<i>gà àbín dà ya yi</i>	Here is the thing that he did.
<i>sun yi kujèrà</i>	They made a chair.
<i>zā mù yi shèkarà biyu à Kanò</i>	We will stay (lit. do) two years in Kano.
<i>àyàfī yā yi arèwa</i>	The caravan headed (lit. did) north.

The verb also operates a gr6 form *yiwō* (sometimes contracted to *yō* or *wō*) and a gr7 form *yiwu*, e.g.,

<i>yā yiwō itàcē</i>	He collected (lit. did) firewood and brought it back.
<i>yā yiwu</i>	It is doable/possible.

In nonfinite environments, *yi* is automatically replaced by the VN *yī* (except when followed by an indirect object). If there is a direct object immediately after *yī*, the VN obligatorily attaches the linker *-n* (but see below for *yīn* deletion), e.g.,

<i>mè yakè yī?</i>	What is he doing?
<i>yā fārà yīnsà</i>	He began doing it.
<i>bā yà yīn kōmē</i>	He isn't doing anything.

### 2. PRO-VERB

This high-frequency lexical item also functions widely and commonly as a "pro-verb" in two important constructions—namely, as a dummy 'do' verb, and as an anaphoric replacement verb.

#### 2.1. Dummy verb 'do'

As a dummy verb, *yi* occurs as a more or less semantically empty carrier with direct objects belonging to such categories as dynamic noun, abstract quality noun, adverb, and ideophone. Sentences with a dynamic noun indicate what in English would be expressed by an intransitive action verb, e.g.,

<i>sun yi màganà</i>	They talked. (lit. do talking)
<i>bà tà yi barci ba</i>	She didn't sleep. (lit. not do sleep)
<i>sun fārà yīn dàriyā</i>	They began to laugh. (lit. begin doing laughter)
<i>sun dainà yīn sùfūtù</i>	They have stopped chattering. (lit. cease doing chattering)

Sentences with qualitative nouns as objects sometimes translate as simple copular sentences, e.g.,

àbinci yā yi kyāu	The food was good. (lit. do goodness)
mun yi muñnà	We are pleased. (lit. do pleasure)
nāmà yā yi wārl	The meat reeks. (lit. do stench)
yā yi manà zāfl	It was tough going for us. (lit. do to.us heat)

Sometimes, especially with indirect objects, the connotation is not just 'is' but 'is too much', e.g.,

dākìn nán yā yi sanyl	This room is too cold. (lit. do coldness)
kyát dīn yā yi mikì zākl?	Is the cake too sweet for you? (lit. do to.you (f.) sweetness)
bùhùn yā yi minì nauyl	The sack is too heavy for me. (lit. do to.me heaviness)
ìdan hùlāf tā yi makà kàd'an, zān kāvō wata	
If the cap is too small (lit. do to.you (m.) little), I'll bring another.	

The dummy *yi* plus an adverb or ideophone of manner often occurs in conjoined sentences where the core semantics is expressed in the second clause, e.g.,

kù yi maza kù dāwō!	Return quickly! (lit. you (pl.) do quickly you return)
yā yi fařat yā tāshì	He got up suddenly. (lit. he did <i>rush</i> he got up)
tā yi wup tā kāmā shi	She grabbed him in a flash. (lit. she did <i>wup</i> she caught him)

### 2.2. Anaphoric replacement verb

When a verb or VP is fronted for purposes of topicalization or focus—in which case it appears as a corresponding infinitive phrase (IP) or verbal noun (VN)—the original verb slot is filled by the pro-verb *yi*. This function of *yi* is similar to that of English 'do', e.g.,

shārè dākìn, yā kāmātà sù yi	As for sweeping the room (IP), they ought to do (it).
sāyè dà sayāřwā, bā shakkā zā sù yi	Buying and selling (VN), no doubt they will do (it).
sāřāř tābarmā ta yi	It was weaving a mat (VN) she did.
gyārà mōtāř mukà yi	Repairing the car (IP) we did.

The pro-verb *yi* combines with the deictic pro-form *hakà* 'thus' as a replacement for an entire VP or clause, e.g.,

Kānde tā zaunà à kán kujèrā, Tàlātù mā tā yi hakà	Kande sat on a chair, and so also did Talatu.
Bellò yā tabà kunnensà, Daudà kuma yā yi hakà	Bello touched his ear, and Dauda also did so.

### 3. yi DELETION

A general feature of the language is the optional (but usual) deletion of *yi* in nonfinite predicates, e.g., *yanà yīn aikl* ( $\Rightarrow$ ) *yanà aikl* 'He is working' (lit. he is (doing) work), *nā ga mazàjè sunà yīn wānnan himmà* ( $\Rightarrow$ ) *nā ga mazàjè sunà wānnan himmà* 'I saw men making that effort.'

<sup>o</sup>AN: [i] A convention that is followed here is to speak of *yi* deletion. As the above examples show, if *yi* is not deleted, it undergoes nominalization and, if an object follows, adds the linker *-n*. Viewing things at a very surface level, one thus might speak of *yīn* deletion. Because the deletion

affects *yi*, *yī*, and *yīn*, however, there are analytical advantages in treating *yi* deletion as happening at a deeper, more abstract level before the nominalization takes place.

[ii] Generally speaking, sentences with and without the *yi* deletion mean the same thing. According to Jaggar (1992a: 103n), however, some speakers do make a distinction such that the presence of *yi* implies habitual action.

This deletion rule occurs with all continuous TAMs and when *yi* is preceded by an aspectual verb, e.g.,

<b>ɗàlìbai kullum sunà (yīn) m̀aganà̄r kudī</b>	The students are always talking about money.
<b>tanà̄ (yi) musù tsāwā?</b>	Is she scolding them? (lit. do to.them scolding)
<b>su wà sukè (yīn) k̀okawà?</b>	Who are wrestling?
<b>bā yà (yīn) barcī</b>	He doesn't sleep.
<b>kàfīn kù k̀arè (yīn) t̀unà̄nin wannàn...</b>	Before you finish thinking about this...
<b>yā kī (yi) minì t̀aimakō</b>	He refused to help me. (lit. do to.me help)
<b>aikì nē yakè (yī)</b>	It's work he is doing.

There are some nonfinite environments, however, where the deletion cannot take place. First, deletion is not allowed if the continuous or the negative continuous PACs would be left stranded, e.g.,

<b>tanà̄ yī</b>	She is doing (it). <i>not</i> ⇒ <b>**tanà̄</b>
cf. <b>tanà̄ (yīn) kitsò</b>	She is doing hairdressing. (deletion allowed)
<b>bā sà yī</b>	They aren't doing (it). <i>not</i> ⇒ <b>**bā sà</b>
cf. <b>bā sà (yīn) gaddamà</b>	They aren't arguing. (deletion allowed)

By contrast, the relative continuous TAM, formed with the marker **kè**, can be stranded in final position and thus permits *yi* deletion. The deletion is not allowed, however, if the sentence lacks an underlying object, e.g.,

<b>ɗinkì (nē) takè yī</b>	It's embroidery she is doing. ⇒ <b>ɗinkì (nē) takè</b>
<b>mènē nē yakè yī?</b>	What is he doing? ⇒ <b>mènē nē yakè?</b>
cf. <b>Jummai (cè) takè yī</b>	Jummai is doing (it). <i>not</i> ⇒ <b>**Jummai (cè) takè</b>
<b>wànē nē yakè yī?</b>	Who is doing (it)? <i>not</i> ⇒ <b>**wànē nē yakè?</b>

In finite environments, i.e., when following a TAM other than the continuous, deletion of *yi* is normally not allowed, e.g., **sun yī m̀aganà̄** 'They spoke' (lit. did talk) cannot be changed into **\*\*sun m̀aganà̄**. When followed by an indirect object, on the other hand, *yī* can be deleted, although this is less common than the deletion in nonfinite environments, e.g.,

<b>sun (yi) masà m̀aganà̄</b>	They talked to him.
<b>sū nē mutànēn dà sukà (yi) wà Mūsā aikì</b>	They are the men who worked for Musa.

popular sentences, e.g.,

heat)

'is too much', e.g.,

to you (f.) sweetness)  
to me heaviness)

sentences where the core

you return)

got up)

wup she caught him)

which case it appears as a  
is filled by the pro-verb

ght to do (it).

will do (it).

ent for an entire VP or

so also did Talatu.

and Dauda also did so.

finite predicates, e.g.,

**zàjē sunà yīn wannan**

above examples show,

vs, adds the linker -n.

. Because the deletion

## 59. Pronouns

PRONOUNS are of two main types: (1) personal pronouns, and (2) non-personal pronouns. The former are marked for person, number, and—in the singular only—gender, e.g., *ita* 'she' (3 sg. f.), *mū* 'we' (1 pl.). The latter may be marked for number and gender, but not for person; like nouns they are inherently third person. These non-personal pronouns include, inter alia, demonstratives, e.g., *wannàn* (m.) 'this one'; interrogatives, e.g., *mè?* 'what?'; and universals, e.g., *kōmē* 'everything'.

### 1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns fall into two distinct classes: (a) non-subject pronouns, i.e., all pronouns other than the "weak subject pronouns", and (b) the weak subject pronouns (wsp's). (These latter occur in the person-aspect-complex (PAC) that functions in the tense-aspect system (see §70:1).)

#### 1.1. Non-subject pronouns

The non-subject pronoun sets contain eight pronouns, with gender distinguished only in the second and third persons singular. The gender feature does not apply to the plural pronouns. The first person singular may be specified semantically for gender but the form itself is invariant, e.g., *nī nè* 'It's me' (a male speaking), *nī cè* 'It's me' (a female speaking). The pronoun categories are: 1st person sg. (1s), 2nd person sg. masculine (2m), 2nd person sg. feminine (2f), 3rd person sg. masculine (3m), 3rd person sg. feminine (3f), 1st person pl. (1p), 2nd person pl. (2p), and 3rd person pl. (3p).

There are some eight different pronoun sets, the members of each set having a common tone and syllable weight. Paradigms for all of the sets are presented in table 11. The following conventions have been adopted: Alternative forms current in SH are separated by /. The variant listed first can be considered the norm. Variants generally used outside the core SH area but that are familiar to SH speakers are given in angle brackets < >. Other dialect forms are presented in notes and discussion.

Table 11: Non-subject pronouns

	<i>independent</i>	<i>strong object</i>	<i>weak object</i>	<i>indirect object</i>
1s	<i>nī</i>	<i>nī</i>	<i>nì</i>	<i>minì / mīn / manì</i>
2m	<i>kai</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>kà</i>	<i>makà / mā / má</i>
2f	<i>kē</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>kì</i>	<i>miki</i>
3m	<i>shī</i>	<i>shī</i>	<i>shì</i>	<i>masà / mishì / mās / mǎf</i>
3f	<i>ita</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>tà</i>	<i>matà</i>
1p	<i>mū</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>mù</i>	<i>manà &lt;mamù&gt; &lt;munà&gt;</i>
2p	<i>kū</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>kù</i>	<i>mukù</i>
3p	<i>sū</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>sù</i>	<i>musù</i>

<i>free possessive</i>
<i>m/pl.</i>
<i>nàwa</i>
<i>nàkà</i>
<i>nàkì</i>
<i>nàsà / nàshì</i>
<i>nàtà</i>
<i>nāmù</i>
<i>nākù</i>
<i>nàsù</i>

<i>reflexive</i>
<i>káinā</i>
<i>kánkà</i>
<i>kánkì</i>
<i>kánsà / káns</i>
<i>kántà</i>
<i>kánmù</i>
<i>kánkù</i>
<i>kánsù</i>

individual paradigm

### 1. Independent

<i>nī</i>
<i>kai</i>
<i>kē</i>
<i>shī</i>
<i>ita</i>

syntactically noun  
 an *ita*, which is  
 ans are monosylla  
 of these pronouns  
 object or predicate  
 ? 'Are you his  
 mplements of the  
 what account is  
 member of a conjoin  
 ed or topicalize  
 ; *bà zà mù mǎn*  
 self want to leave

	free possessive		bound genitive	
	m./pl.	f.	m./pl.	f.
1s	nàwa	tàwa	-nà	-tā
2m	nākà	nākà	-nkà	-řkà
2f	nākì	tākì	-nkì	-řkì
3m	nàsà / nāshì	tàsà / tāshì	-nsà / -nshì / (-nasà) <-nai>	-řsà / -řshì / -tasà <-tai>
3f	nātà	tātà	-ntà / (-natà)	-řtā / -tatā
1p	nāmù	tāmù	-nmù	-řmù
2p	nākù	tākù	-nkù	-řkù
3p	nāsù	tāsù	-nsù	-řsù

	reflexive	reciprocal
1s	kāinā	
2m	kānkà	
2f	kānkì	
3m	kānsà / kānshì	
3f	kāntà	
1p	kānmù	jūnanmù
2p	kānkù	jūnankù
3p	kānsù	jūnansù

Each individual paradigm will now be repeated and discussed in turn.

1.1.1. Independent pronouns

1s	nī	1p	mū
2m	kai	2p	kū
2f	kē		
3m	shī	3p	sū
3f	ita		

The syntactically nounlike independent pronouns have H tone and are bimoraic. Except for the 3f pronoun ita, which is unique in being disyllabic—but still having two moras—the independent pronouns are monosyllabic with a long vowel. In the 2m pronoun kai, this long vowel is diphthongal. Uses of these pronouns include the following:

1. Subject or predicate of nonverbal equational sentences, e.g., nī mālāmī nē 'I am a teacher', kē cè mātārsà? 'Are you his wife?'; àlřālī nē shī 'A judge he is', dà nī kai nē 'If I were you.' They occur also as complements of the quasi-rhetorical interrogative wānē? 'who?' used in such expressions as wānē ita? 'Of what account is she?' (or 'She's not up to it').
2. Member of a conjoined phrase, e.g., (dà) nī dà yārò 'I and the boy', (dà) mū dà sū 'we and they'.
3. Focused or topicalized element, e.g., mū nē mukà řōyè zōbèn 'We are the ones who hid the ring'; kai dai, bà zā mù mātā dà kai ba 'As for you, we will not forget you'; nī kāinā inà sò in bař wurīn 'I myself want to leave the place.'

ersonal pronouns. The  
g., ita 'she' (3 sg. f.),  
on; like nouns they are  
stratives, e.g., wannān  
everything'.

i.e., all pronouns other  
hese latter occur in the  
:1).)

only in the second and  
uns. The first person  
e.g., nī nē 'It's me' (a  
1st person sg. (1s), 2nd  
ie (3m), 3rd person sg.

ng a common tone and  
ving conventions have  
l first can be considered  
SH speakers are given

ct
manī
mā
ī / mās / mār
ū <munā>

4. Direct object when not immediately following the verb, e.g., *mù shiryà matà sū* 'Let's prepare them for her' (*matà* is an i.o.), cf. *mù shiryà su* 'Let's prepare them'; *yā nēmi kò ita* 'He moreover sought her' (*kò* is a modal particle meaning 'moreover'), cf. *yā nēmē tà* 'He sought her.'
5. Object of "basic prepositions" (see §57:1) like *dà* 'with', *dàgà* 'from', *sai* 'except, but only', and *yā* 'like', e.g., *yanà d'auke dà sū* 'He is laden with them'; *dàgà ni sai kai* 'After me it's your turn' (lit. from me except/only you), *mùtúm yà shi* 'a man like him'.
6. Object of the gr5 particle *dà*, which is homophonous with the preposition *dà*, e.g., *zā sù tsòrataf dà kù* 'They will frighten you away.'
7. Complements of certain function words like *gāra/gwàmmà* 'It would be better', the existential marker *dà* 'there is/are' (probably the same as the preposition *dà* 'with'), and the negative existential markers *bābù* and *bā* 'there is/are not', e.g., *gāra ita* 'Better her (than s.o. else)'; *I, dà shi* 'Yes, there is it/one'; *bābù sū* 'There aren't any of them'; *bā mū cikin 'yan tākařā* 'We aren't among the candidates' (lit. There isn't we...).

°AN: According to some descriptions (e.g., Furniss 1991a), the pronoun set following the monosyllabic variant *bā* is the strong H-tone d.o. set, e.g., *bā su* 'There aren't any of them.' While this may be the case for some speakers, the norm—as was already noted by Abraham (1962: 47) a half-century ago—is to use an independent pronoun after *bā*. Even more preferable, however, is to avoid the problem of which pronoun to choose after *bā* by using the long form *bābù*, where only the independent pronoun is allowed.

8. Determiner/specifier of a following animate noun, e.g., *shi Mūsā zāi tàimākē ni dà mōtā* 'He Musa will give me ride'; *sū Hāusāwā sunà dà iyālī māsū yawā* 'They the Hausa have large families'; *an yabā wā shi àlkālin* 'They praised him the judge.'

### 1.1.2. Strong object pronouns

1s	ni	1p	mu
2m	ka	2p	ku
2f	ki		
3m	shi	3p	su
3f	ta		

There are two different sets of object pronoun distinguished only by tone. The pronouns share the same segmental shapes (all being inherently CV) and the rule that requires that they must be preceded by a heavy syllable. The set labeled strong object pronoun is characterized by a fixed H tone. Following conventional usage, it is referred to as an "object" set, although it actually has other functions as well. Here are its main uses:

1. It occurs as the direct object of gr1, gr4, and gr5d verbs when immediately following the verb, e.g., *sun dakà shi* 'They pounded it'; *kāmā ni!* 'Catch me!'; *tā gajartā shi* 'She shortened it'; *kadà kà kashē mu* 'Don't kill us'; *mù jānyē su* 'Let's pull them away'; *mun kařāncē su* 'We read them all'; *yā hiddā ta [WH]* 'He took it/her out.' (As indicated above, if the object is separated from the verb, an independent pronoun is required.) It occurs also as the d.o. of gr5 verbs in the infrequent usage without the *dà* particle, e.g., *yā ciyař su* 'He fed them' (cf. the more usual *yā ciyař dà sū*, with the independent pronoun following *dà*, or *yā cīshē sù*, with the weak object pronoun following the verbal suffix *-shē*).

°AN/°HN: Most descriptions of Hausa postulate a single set of direct object pronouns with polar tone, i.e., H after L and L after H. The H-tone pronoun seen in *kadà kà kashē mu* 'Don't kill us!'

(gr4), for example, is a...  
*hāřbē mù* 'He shot up...'  
 the many construction...  
 preceding H tone. Hi...  
 tone, e.g., (strong) \*tā

occurs as the object o...  
 is seated on a chair';  
 discussion with them face...  
 functions as an option...  
 'I came', *mù jē mu*...  
 though the preceding...  
 (lysis.)

°HN: In many Chadi...  
 copies the person, ge...  
 "intransitive copy pr...  
 a few typical exampl...  
 verbs: *nā pòrò-no* 'I...  
 vestige of this const...  
 and *jē*.

It serves as a pre-head...  
 -and-sos', *su wā sukā*

### 1.3. Weak object

1s	ni
2m	kā
2f	kì
3m	shì
3f	tà

The weak object pronou...  
 written as separate wor...  
 will be connected by me...  
 object set in not having...  
 the verb *before* the L-H...  
 the surface with H ton...  
 customary usage, the w...  
 referred to throughout...  
 underlyingly toneless...  
 perhaps even by tonal

°AN: Previous sch...  
 surface tone of the...  
 that this same pri...  
 example, after gr

(gr4), for example, is assumed to have the same underlying tone as the surface L-tone pronoun in *yā hāf̄bē mù* 'He shot us' (gr2). This long-accepted analysis is wrong, as clearly shown, inter alia, by the many constructions (seen in some of the examples above) in which the H-tone set occurs after a preceding H tone. Historically, the two sets probably differed in their vowels as well as in their tone, e.g., (strong) \*tá '3f' vs. (weak) \*tò '3f' (Newman 1979b).

2. It occurs as the object of the presentational particle *gā*, e.g., *gā ta cān zàune à kán kujèrā* 'There she is seated on a chair'; *yā kāmātā mù yī mùhāwārā dà sū gā mu, gā su* 'We ought to have a discussion with them face to face' (lit. here we are, here they are).
3. It functions as an optional "intransitive copy pronoun" (ICP) after the verbs 'come' and 'go', e.g., *nā zō nī* 'I came', *mù jē mu gidā* 'Let's go home.' (Note that the pronoun appears with its inherent H tone even though the preceding verb has H tone and not with L tone as would be expected from the polarity analysis.)

ØHN: In many Chadic languages, intransitive verbs may (or must) be followed by a pronoun that copies the person, gender, and number of the subject, the pronoun now generally referred to as an "intransitive copy pronoun" (ICP) (Frajzyngier 1977; Newman 1971b, 1974; Tuller 1997). Here are a few typical examples from Kanakuru, where the construction is obligatory with all intransitive verbs: *nā pòrò-no* 'I went out' (lit I go out-I), *wù gòmò-wu* 'They met.' Hausa has preserved just a vestige of this construction, this being stylistically restricted and limited only to the two verbs *zō* and *jē*.

4. It serves as a pre-head pluralizing marker (3p only), e.g., *su Bellò* 'Bello and the others', *su wānè* 'so-and-sos', *su wā sukà ri tāshì?* 'Who (pl.) refused to get up?'

### 1.1.3. Weak object pronouns

1s	nì	1p	mù
2m	kà	2p	kù
2f	kì		
3m	shì	3p	sù
3f	tà		

The weak object pronoun set consists of clitic pronouns. In standard orthography, these pronouns are written as separate words, a practice followed in this grammar. In the examples below, however, they will be connected by means of a hyphen to emphasize their bound nature. This set differs from the strong object set in not having inherent H tone. (With certain verb classes, the weak object pronouns fuse with the verb *before* the L-H imperative tone pattern is imposed (see §37:2) and thus the pronouns appear on the surface with H tone, e.g., *mārè-shi!* (gr2) 'Slap him!'; *bì-ni!* (gr0) 'Follow me!') Following customary usage, the weak object pronouns are presented in the paradigm with L tone and they will be referred to throughout as L-tone pronouns. Analytically, however, the set could possibly be treated as underlyingly toneless, with the surface low being assigned either by default, by incorporation, or perhaps even by tonal polarity.

°AN: Previous scholars were not necessarily wrong in appealing to polarity to account for the surface tone of the weak object pronouns that one finds after gr2 verbs. The mistake was in thinking that this same principle could be applied to the H-tone strong object pronouns that one finds, for example, after gr1 verbs.



This set has the following uses:

1. It occurs as the direct object of all verb forms other than those using the strong object pronouns. These verb classes include gr0, gr2, gr5 (final -ē form), gr6, and certain irregular verbs, e.g., *yakān bī-mù* (gr0) 'He habitually follows us'; *bà mù kirā-kù ba* (gr0) 'We didn't call you'; *tā màrē-shì* (gr2) 'She will slap him'; *à gaishē-tà* (gr5) 'Greet her!'; *kāwō-sù!* (gr6) 'Bring them!'; *nā gan-kà* (irreg.) 'I saw you.'
2. It occurs as the object of the existential morpheme *àkwai* 'there is/are', the preposition *gārē* 'to, in connection with', and the particle *ungo* 'here it is, take it', e.g., *àkwai-sù cikin kwāli* 'There are some (lit. them) in the carton', *sunà gārē-nì* 'They are by/with me'; *ungō-tà!* 'Take it!' (Notice that the final vowel of *ungo* automatically lengthens before the object pronoun.)

Unlike the phonologically similar indirect object pronouns (see following), which have common apocopated variants, the direct object pronouns normally retain the final vowels in all persons. In casual speech, however, the 1s and 3m pronouns *nì* and *shì* can be reduced to *-n̄* and *-š̄* respectively when occurring as the object of a gr2 verb. If the final /i/ is apocopated, the underlying /s/ of the 3m form does not palatalize to /sh/. It either is pronounced as /s/ or else undergoes rhotacism and appears as /r̄/. The L tone of the pronoun is realized as a fall on the preceding syllable. The final -ē characteristic of the gr2 pre-pronoun form reduces to /a/ in the resulting closed syllable, e.g.,

<i>yā b̀̀g̀̀n̄</i> < <i>yā b̀̀g̀̀ē-n̄</i>	He beat me.
<i>nā b̀̀g̀̀s̄</i> (= <i>nā b̀̀g̀̀āf̄</i> ) < <i>nā b̀̀g̀̀ē-shì</i>	I beat him.
<i>yā g̀̀āf̄g̀̀āf̄ān̄</i> < <i>yā g̀̀āf̄g̀̀āf̄ē-n̄</i>	He warned me.
<i>sun t̀̀āmb̀̀ỳ̀āỳ̀s̄</i> (= <i>sun t̀̀āmb̀̀ỳ̀āỳ̀āf̄</i> ) < <i>sun t̀̀āmb̀̀ỳ̀āỳ̀ē-shì</i>	They asked him.

ΔDN: Abraham (1959b: 104) describes this construction with the reduced object pronoun as being a Sokoto dialect form. Whether it was or was not dialectally limited in Abraham's time, nowadays it is a well-established variant in SH, including the final -s/-r̄ alternation.

In modern-day Sokoto speech, this construction differs from the cited examples in two respects (Malami Buba, personal communication). First, the tone of the pronoun is deleted along with the vowel, so that one ends up with a final H rather than falling tone. Second, the 3m pronoun normally appears as /i/ (< /y/) rather than /s/, e.g., *yā b̀̀g̀̀n̄* 'He beat me'; *nā b̀̀g̀̀ai* 'I beat him'; *yā g̀̀āf̄g̀̀āf̄ān̄* 'He warned me', *yā g̀̀āf̄g̀̀āf̄ai* 'He warned him.'

1.1.4. Indirect objects

1s	<i>minì / m̄n / manì</i>	1p	<i>manà</i> < <i>mamù</i> > < <i>munà</i> >
2m	<i>makà / mā / má</i>	2p	<i>mukù</i>
2f	<i>mikì</i>		
3m	<i>masà / mishì / m̄s / m̄āf̄</i>	3p	<i>musù</i>
3f	<i>matà</i>		

The so-called i.o. pronouns that immediately follow the verb are made up of an indirect object marker //ma-// and a set of bound L-tone pronouns, e.g., *mun gayà matà l̀̀āb̀̀āf̄l̄* 'We told her the news.' In SH the vowel of *ma-* usually assimilates to that of the attached pronoun, although in careful speech it can be pronounced as such, e.g., //manì// (→) *minì*, //makù// (→) *mukù*. The 3m pronoun appears either as -sà (the usual written form) or as -shì, this latter variant almost always conditioning assimilation of the preceding *ma-*, i.e., //mashì// → *mishì*. In the 1s (*minì*) and 3m (*masà*) forms, the final vowel is commonly deleted. Note that the vowel assimilation in the first person has to be ordered before the vowel apocope, i.e., *manì* → *minì* and only then to *m̄n*. (The form \*\**m̄ān* does not normally occur.) In

speech, *m̄n* reduces...  
 final /s/ resulting from...  
 3m variants are...  
 variation. The *kà-le-*...  
 possible derivat...  
 ening to *mā* to pres...  
 of the intervocalic /k...  
 Details on the use of...  
 PAN/ØHN: The i.o. fo...  
 The original i.o. pro...  
 CV with (default) L...  
 whose thematic reci...  
 pronoun, e.g., *tā bā*...  
 Another possibl...  
 weak object pronoun...  
 new specific verbs...  
*yār̀̀n̄* 'Send the bo...  
 (1993: 116) suggest...  
 This may be right...  
 erstwhile weak obje...  
 ADN/ØHN: The SH...  
 form. The two WH...  
 regularization wor...  
 anomalous) pronou...  
 vowel of the marke...  
 /mu-/ in *mukù* and...  
 plural pronouns (ra...  
 the first person plu...  
 share the same ma...  
 5. Free possessi...  
 m./pl. refere...  
*nàwa*  
*nākà*  
*nāki*  
*nāsà / nās*  
*nātà*  
*nāmù*  
*nākù*  
*nāsù*  
 free-standing pos...  
 a long vowel p...  
 object pronoun...  
 in having the s...  
 masculine and...  
 following pron...

rapid speech, *mîn* reduces even further to [m̩], i.e., *m* followed by a syllabic nasal with falling tone. The final /s/ resulting from the change *masà* → *màs* commonly undergoes rhotacism to /r/, i.e., *mār̩*. All four 3m variants are extremely common, the choice being a matter of subdialectal, ideolectal, and free variation. The *kà*-less variants of the 2m pronoun with high and the falling tone suggest two different possible derivations: (a) *makà* → \**ma* (by dropping the *kà*) followed by compensatory lengthening to *mā* to preserve the needed second mora; or (b) *makà* → *maØà* → *mā* by weakening and loss of the intervocalic /k/ followed by fusion of the two short vowels to a long vowel with falling tone.

Details on the use of these pronouns is found in §39:9.

°AN/°HN: The i.o. forms with *ma-* derive historically from possessive pronouns (Newman 1982). The original i.o. pronouns were most likely identical to the present-day weak object pronouns, i.e., CV with (default) L tone. The presumably original situation is still found with the verb *bā* 'give to', whose thematic recipient is indicated synchronically by what looks like a d.o. rather than an i.o. pronoun, e.g., *tā bā nì zōbè* 'She gave me a ring', not \*\**tā bā minì zōbè*.

Another possible example of the expression of an indirect object by an immediately following weak object pronoun is a rare construction used only with first person indirect objects, only with a few specific verbs, and only (primarily?) in the imperative, e.g., *tūrō-n yāròn!* (= *tūrō minì yāròn*) 'Send the boy to me!'; *rikyá-n wannàn!* (= *rikē minì wannàn*). Wolff (1993: 116) suggests that the final -*n* (< *nì*) represents an extreme phonological reduction of *minì*. This may be right. However, one has to consider the possibility that the -*n* found here is an erstwhile weak object pronoun that is suffixed directly to the verb in an archaic fashion.

ΔDN/°HN: The SH first person plural variant *manà* is the original archaic (possessive) pronoun form. The two WH dialect variants, namely, *mamù* and *munà*, result from processes of analogical regularization working in two different ways. In *mamù*, the archaic (and synchronically anomalous) pronoun -*nà* is replaced by the usual first person plural form -*mù*. (Interestingly, the vowel of the marker *ma-* normally fails to assimilate to the following /u/.) In the case of *munà*, the /mu-/ in *mukù* and *musù* is taken to be the underlying form of the indirect object marker used with plural pronouns (rather than being due to low-level assimilation) and thus it has been extended to the first person plural by a process of paradigmatic regularization so that all of the plural i.o. forms share the same marker.

1.1.5. Free possessives

	<i>m.pl. reference</i>	<i>f. reference</i>
1s	<i>nāwa</i>	<i>tāwa</i>
2m	<i>nākà</i>	<i>tākà</i>
2f	<i>nākì</i>	<i>tākì</i>
3m	<i>nāsà / nāshì</i>	<i>tāsà / tāshì</i>
3f	<i>nātà</i>	<i>tātà</i>
1p	<i>nāmù</i>	<i>tāmù</i>
2p	<i>nākù</i>	<i>tākù</i>
3p	<i>nāsù</i>	<i>tāsù</i>

The free-standing possessive pronouns 'mine', 'yours', 'ours', etc., are composed of a genitive linker with a long vowel plus a genitive personal pronoun. These pronouns are essentially the same as the weak object pronouns with the exception of the first person -*wa*. This first person pronoun is like the others in having the shape CV with a short vowel but unlike the others in having H tone. The linker is *nā* with masculine and plural referents and *tā* with feminine referents. The tone of *nā/tā* is polar to that of the following pronoun, e.g., *nāwa yā fī nākà gudù* 'Mine (e.g., a horse (m.)) is faster than yours'; *gā*

**hùlā d'aya, inā tāsà?** 'Here is one cap (f.), where is his?'; **mōtōcīn nan nāmù nē** 'Those cars (pl.) are ours.'

ΔDN: In WH the first person pronouns are **nau** and **tau**. These are derived by (a) apocopation of the final vowel, (b) automatic shortening of the over-heavy syllable, (c) incorporation of the coda /w/ into the nucleus, and (d) change of LH tone on the single syllable to H, e.g. **nāwá** → **nāw** → **nàw** → **nàú** → **náu**.

In addition to the "independent" uses of these pronouns, they are also used as attributive post-head possessors when another modifier, like a demonstrative, definite article, ideophone, or numeral, intervenes between the possessed noun and the possessor, e.g., **mōtāf nān tāmù** 'This car of ours' (lit. car.of this ours), cf. **mōtā-řmù** 'our car'; **āminīn nāwa** 'the confidant (m.) of mine' (lit. confidant.the mine); **kawāf tāwa** 'the friend (f.) of mine' (lit. friend.the mine); **māge 'yař tsirit tāwa** 'my very tiny cat' (lit. cat small wee mine), cf. **māgē-nā** 'my cat'; **yārā biyu nātā** 'her two children' (= **yāra-ntā biyu**). The free possessives are sometimes used attributively with loanwords or with foreign words, e.g., **ambùlān nātā** 'her envelope'; **fuřōfagandā tāsù** 'their propaganda'; *dissertation* **nāwa** 'my dissertation'.

The free possessives are also used prenominaly in an appositional structure for contrastive emphasis or greater specificity, e.g., **tāmù rijiyāf** 'the well of ours' (lit. ours well.the); **nāwa dōkīn** 'my horse in question' (lit. mine horse.the), **nāsù tārōn** 'their meeting' (lit. theirs meeting.the). Note that when the free possessive is used prenominaly, the noun usually takes the definite article.

### 1.1.6. Bound genitive pronouns

	<i>m./pl.</i>	<i>f.</i>
1s	-nā	-tā
2m	-nkā	-řkā
2f	-nkī	-řkī
3m	-nsà / -nshì / (-nasà) <-nai>	-řsà / -řshì / -tasà <-tai>
3f	-ntā / (-natā)	-řtā / -tatā
1p	-nmù	-řmù
2p	-nkù	-řkù
3p	-nsù	-řsù

1.1.6.1. The bound genitives are composed of a usually vowel-less genitive linker, /n/ or /ř/ plus a genitive pronoun, e.g., **jàkāřmù** 'our sack' (< //jākā// 'sack' + řmù//. (Underlying long final vowels naturally shorten when the genitive forms are attached because of the phonological rule that automatically shortens vowels in closed syllables.) In Parsons' terminology, these bound genitive pronouns are referred to as "zero form possessives." In standard orthography, the head noun (or other head) and the linker plus the pronoun are written as one word—at least when the genitive is functioning as a possessive, e.g., **d'ākī-nsà** room-of.his = orthographic **d'akinsa** 'his room'. In this section I shall insert a hyphen before the linker for purposes of clarity; elsewhere in the grammar I follow the accepted orthographic word division.

The genitive pronouns with the feminine linker /ř/, which represents rhotacized //t//, are used only when suffixed to feminine words ending in -a(a). That is to say, the choice has both grammatical and phonological requirements, e.g., **mōtā-řmù** 'our car' (f.), **'ya-řkā** 'your daughter' (f.), cf. **kilāki-nsà** 'his harlot' (f.), **bāka-nsù** 'their bow' (m.). The choice of the linker depends on the gender and number of

the head to which it is attached. **mōtā-řsà** 'his car', **mōtā-řmù** 'our car'. In speech, the /ř/ usually appears as [ř], e.g., **kawā-řtā** = [kawāřtā] 'our window'.

ΔDN: In WH dialects the initial consonant of the genitive pronoun **mōtā-řmù** 'our car' is interpreted morphologically as a consonant that is rhotacized. Many WH dialects like **ākuyā-ttā** 'her

The genitive pronouns are used with plural words, and with the definite article. **nāwa** 'her husband (m.)', **waggō-nsà** 'his aunt', **řpā-řmù** 'upper (m.)', **bāl ři-nā** 'horse' (assimilates to the position of the linker, often reflected in writing).

The third person masculine form is with its vowel intact, e.g., **řatārsā** (variant of **řatārsā**). This variant is most commonly used with the definite article, e.g., **řatārsā-tasà** 'his daughter' (in the sense of 'the daughter of it'). Some forms are seldom encountered in written sources, but they are used in spoken sources, but they are not written.

With the exception of the absolute possessives, the genitive pronouns are used with the linker -a// 'It is my sack'.

ΔDN: In WH, the genitive pronouns are used with the linker, e.g., **d'ākī-nsà** 'his room', whereas the pronoun is used with the linker, e.g., **d'ākī-nsà** 'his room'.

In the first person singular, the linker -a, which combines with the pronoun to form **řatā-tā** 'my daughter', **řatā-tā** 'my ball'.

For reasons that are not clear, the genitive pronouns are used with the linker -a, which combines with the pronoun to form **řatā-tā** 'my daughter', **řatā-tā** 'my ball'. For reasons that are not clear, the genitive pronouns are used with the linker -a, which combines with the pronoun to form **řatā-tā** 'my daughter', **řatā-tā** 'my ball'.

the head to which it is attached and not on the gender or number of the following genitive pronoun, e.g., **mōtā-ḥsà** 'his car', **mōtā-ḥtā** 'her car'; **bàka-nkà** 'your (m.) bow', **bàka-nkì** 'your (f.) bow'. In normal speech, the /ḥ/ usually assimilates to an abutting coronal consonant, e.g., **mōtā-ḥsù** = [mōtāssù] 'their car', **kawa-ḥtā** = [kawattā] 'her friend', and commonly to other consonants as well, e.g., **tāgā-ḥmù** = [tāgāmmù] 'our window'.

ΔDN: In WH dialects, the feminine linker always assimilates to and becomes a geminate with the initial consonant of the following possessor, noun or pronoun, e.g., **hūla-kkà** 'your (m.) cap', **mōtā-mmù** 'our car', **ākuyā-ttā** 'her goat', **rīgas Sāni** 'Sani's gown'. Thus the linker has to be interpreted morphologically as having the form -G, where the G indicates an underspecified consonant that is realized as a geminate with the following consonant.

Many WH dialects have a fairly strict phonotactic aversion to word-final L-L. As a result, words like **ākuyā-ttā** 'her goat' appear as **ākuyā-tta** with final L-H. Where this occurs, it is a general phonological feature and not a property of possessive pronouns per se.

The genitive pronouns with the linker /n/ are used in all other environments, i.e., with masculine and plural words, and with all words ending in vowels other than -a(a), including feminine words, e.g., **mijì-ntà** 'her husband (m.)', **gida-nmù** [gidammù] 'our house (m.)', **shānu-nkà** [shānuḅkà] 'your cattle (pl.)', **gwaggò-nsà** 'his aunt (f.)', **gwamnatì-nmù** [gwamnatimmù] 'our government (f.)', **zìk dī-ntà** 'her zipper (m.)', **bál dī-nkù** [dīḅkù] 'your ball (f.)'. (As illustrated, the syllable-final /n/ automatically assimilates to the position of the following abutting consonant. In the case of [m], but not [ḅ], this is often reflected in writing, especially in older works).

The third person bound possessive has an alternative (archaic?) form in which the linker appears with its vowel intact, e.g., **mātā-tasà** (= **māta-ḥsà**) 'his wife' (normally spelled **mata tasa** vs. **matarsa**). This variant is generally restricted to feminine nouns with a third person singular possessor. It is most commonly used with phonologically short (mono- or disyllabic), high-frequency words, e.g., **'yā-tasà** 'his daughter', **fuskā-tatà** 'her face', **rīgā-tatà** 'her blouse', **jīmā-tasà** 'his tanning (or tanning of it)'. Some speakers consider a phrase like **mōtā-tasù** 'their car' as grammatical but it is seldom encountered in normal usage. Similarly, masculine nouns with -nasà and -natà (e.g., **ākū-nasà** 'his parrot', **mijì-natà** 'her husband') are deemed grammatical and examples are occasionally found in written sources, but they are far from common.

With the exception of the first person singular, the pronouns per se are identical to those used in the absolute possessives, e.g., **jākaḥ-sà cē** 'It is his sack', **tā-sà cē** 'It is his'; but **jākātā cē** (where **tā** = //tā-a//) 'It is my sack', **tā-wa cē** 'It is mine.'

ΔDN: In WH, one also gets a difference between the bound pronoun and the free possessive in the third person masculine singular. The bound 3m pronoun is normally -i attached to the **na/ta** form of the linker, e.g., **dōkīnai** 'his horse', **ākūnai** 'his parrot', **mātātai** 'his wife', **kujērātai** 'his chair', whereas the pronoun used with the absolute possessives is -shì, e.g., **nāshì / tāshì** 'his (m./f.)'.

In the first person singular, the linker takes the form **na-/ta-** (rather than -n/-ḥ). The pronoun itself is H-tone -a, which combines with the linker to produce the genitive forms **-nā/-tā**, e.g., **hūlā-tā** 'my cap', **'yā-tā** 'my daughter', **mijì-nā** 'my husband', **shānū-nā** 'my cattle', **gwaggò-nā** 'my aunt', **bál dī-nā** 'my ball'.

For reasons that we do not understand, the first person bound genitive pronouns end in an "indeterminate vowel" (see §54:1.2.2), i.e., a vowel that normally appears as long, but that adds a glottal closure and becomes half-long in prepausal position, e.g., [**wannān gidānā nē**] 'This is my house' vs. [**gā gidāna-ʔ**] 'Here is my house'; [**bài gyārā mōtātā ba**] 'He didn't repair my car' vs. [**yā gyārā mōtātā-ʔ**] 'He repaired my car.'

ΔDN: According to Malami Buba (personal communication), this prepausal rule does not apply in the Sokoto dialect. Rather, the first person genitive pronoun remains long in all positions.

For many speakers, prepausal half-long vowels remain distinct from short vowels; for other speakers, however, the half-long vowel vowels are in the process of merging with the short vowels. For the speakers with the phonological merger, the language will have added a new morphophonemic rule to produce the alternation between the long and short vowel allomorphs of the first person pronouns, e.g., **gidānā nè** 'It's my house' (with long /nā/) vs. **gà gidāna** 'Here's my house' (with short /na/). In this grammar, the vowel of the -nā/-tā endings (as well as that of all other items with "indeterminate vowels") are transcribed as long, regardless of the position in the sentence, with the understanding that the vowel of these morphemes is subject to a prepausal phonetic implementation rule requiring glottal closure accompanied by reduction in duration.

Such forms as **gidānā** 'my house' have been segmented in various ways by different scholars: (1) **gidā + Ø + nā** {house + first psn pn, with linker absent}. (This analysis requires that there be a distinct first person feminine pronoun -tā, a form that exists nowhere else in the language.) (2) **gidā + nā + Ø** {house + linker containing a long vowel, with missing pronoun understood}. (This analysis requires that the bound linker, which has a short vowel or no vowel in all other persons, be long in the first person.) (3) **gidā + n + ā** {house + linker + first psn pn with a long vowel}. (This analysis requires that the vowel of the first person pronoun be long, unlike that of all the other persons and unlike the first person free possessive, where it is short.) The correct segmentation—at least from a historical perspective—is (4) **gidā + na + a** {house + short-vowel linker + short-vowel first psn pn}, with a morpheme break falling in the middle of the long vowel. The first person singular pronoun /a/ probably represents a historical reduction of \*wa when preceded by a short vowel, i.e., **\*gidā-na-wa > gidā-na-a (= gidānā)** 'my house', **\*rīgā-ta-wa > rīgā-ta-a (= rīgātā)** 'my robe', cf. **tāwa** 'mine', where the /w/ after the long vowel has been retained.

1.1.6.2. As a general morphophonological rule, the bound possessives require that the preceding vowel be long. If the final vowel of a noun is lexically short, it necessarily undergoes lengthening in a possessive construction, e.g., **ākū-nā** 'my parrot' < //ākū//; **à tsakā-tasā** 'in its center' < //tsakā//; **fādā-tai** [dv] 'his palace' < //fādā//.

1.1.6.3. The bound genitive pronouns have the following uses:

1. Attributive possessives, e.g., **gida-nmù** 'our house', **hūlā-tā** 'my cap', **māgāni-ntā** 'its medicine' (i.e., medicine against it)', **hařbi-nsā** 'his shooting (that he did)', **isa-řmù** 'our arrival'; **kā-ntā** 'her head, herself'.

°AN: Hausa does not have the formal distinction between alienable and inalienable possession that is so common throughout Chad. (Schuh (1974a) has suggested, probably correctly, that the insult phrase **uwākā!** 'Screw you!' (lit. mother.your), with the linker absent, is a historical reflex of an old inalienable possessive formation.) With body parts, the inalienable relation is often expressed by means of an oblique prepositional/adverbial phrase rather than with a direct possessive, e.g., **nā kūjè à hannu** 'I scraped my hand' (lit. I was scraped at hand), rather than **nā kūjè hannūnā**; **tā karyè à kafā** 'She broke her leg' (lit. she broke at leg), cf. **tā karyè gōrāřtā** 'She (purposely) broke her staff', **gōrāřtā tā karyè** 'Her staff broke.'

2. Objects of verbal nouns, e.g., **tanā zāgī-nā** 'She is insulting me', **bā sù fārā yī-nsā ba** 'They didn't start to do it', **munā hařbi-nsā** 'We are shooting it.' Note that genitive pronouns with verbal nouns (apart from weak verbal nouns) can function either as thematic objects or as (possessive) subjects. Thus

ba-nsā, for example, d

Objects of "genitive p  
partitive possessives,

## 7. Reflexives

	kāinā
	kānkā
	kānkī
	kānsā / kāns
	kāntā

reflexive pronouns a  
'self' = 'my head'; k  
omatically reduces to  
regular or plural. Refl  
(basic) mun cūci  
shed the work.' For

## 8. Reciprocals

	jūnanmù
	jūnankù
	jūnansù

reciprocal pronoun  
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kākē jūnanmù 'W  
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## 2. Weak subject

### 2.1. Introduction

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**hafbi-nsà**, for example, could mean either 'shooting him' or 'his shooting' (i.e., the shooting that he did).

- 3. Objects of "genitive prepositions," e.g., **ká-ntà** 'on her', **bāyā-nā** 'behind me', **ciki-nsù** 'in them'.
- 4. Partitive possessives, e.g., **biyu-nsù** 'two of them', **biyař di-nkù** 'five of you', **dukkà-nmù** 'all of us'.

1.1.7. Reflexives

1s	<b>káinā</b>	1p	<b>kánmù</b>
2m	<b>kánkà</b>	2p	<b>kánkù</b>
2f	<b>kánkì</b>		
3m	<b>kánsà / kánshì</b>	3p	<b>kánsù</b>
3f	<b>kántà</b>		

The reflexive pronouns are composed of the word **kái** 'head' plus a bound genitive pronoun, e.g., **káinā** 'myself' = 'my head'; **kánkù** 'yourself (f.)' = 'your (f.) head'. (In closed syllables, the /ai/ diphthong automatically reduces to /a/.) The singular form of the word **kái** 'head' is used with all reflexives, whether singular or plural. Reflexive pronouns have two functions, which we can call "basic" and "emphatic," e.g., (basic) **mun cùci ká-nmù** 'We harmed ourselves'; (emphatic) **nī kái-nā nā gamà aikìn** 'I myself finished the work.' For a full discussion of reflexives, see §63:1.

1.1.8. Reciprocals

1p	<b>jūnanmù</b>	(= <b>jūnā</b> )
2p	<b>jūnankù</b>	(= <b>jūnā</b> )
3p	<b>jūnansù</b>	(= <b>jūnā</b> )

The reciprocal pronouns are composed of the word **jūnā** 'self' plus a bound possessive pronoun. Whereas English uses the same phrase, e.g., 'each other' or 'one another', regardless of the person of the antecedent, Hausa has different forms that can be used in the first, second, and third persons, e.g., **mun tsallākē jūnanmù** 'We jumped over each other'; **kù tàimàki jūnankù** 'You (pl.) should help one another', **Bellò dà Tankò bà zā sù cùci jūnansù ba** 'Bello and Tanko will not cheat one another.' The grammatical use of the reciprocals is described in §63:2.

1.2. Weak subject pronouns

1.2.1. Introduction

The so-called subject pronouns of traditional Hausa grammars, which are referred to variously as "tense/aspect pronouns," "person-aspect pronouns," "subject agreement markers," or "preverbal pronouns," are made up of a pronominal element plus a marker of tense/aspect/mood (TAM). The tradition in Hausa studies has been to refer to the entire person + TAM complex as a "pronoun" even though in many (but not all) cases the two elements are clearly segmentable. For example, the form **tanā** 'she [continuous]' (as in **tanā fitā** 'She is leaving') is composed of the 3f pronoun **ta** + the continuous marker **-nā**. To be able to refer when needed either to the entire element or to its constituent parts, I have adopted the following terminology. The pronominal element per se (e.g., **ta** 'she' or **mu** 'we') is called a "weak subject pronoun" (wsp). (It is called "weak" because phonologically it tends to attach itself to the TAM marker and because syntactically it functions not as the subject per se but rather as an agreement marker, often accompanying an overt noun subject.) The marker of tense, aspect, and mood (e.g., **nā**

'continuous' or *zā* 'future') is called a TAM. The combination of the *wsp* and the TAM is called the "person-aspect-complex" (PAC). This PAC, which corresponds to INFL in theoretical syntax, is required in tensed sentences even when a noun subject is present, e.g., *yārinyā [zā tà] sōyà nāmā* 'The girl will fry the meat' (lit. girl [fut she] fry meat), not *\*\*yārinyā sōyà nāmā*.

### 1.2.2. The impersonal

In addition to the eight person/number/gender categories found in the non-subject pronouns, the weak subject pronouns include an impersonal 'one, they' (*//a//* or *//an//* depending on the TAM), which is unspecified for person and gender features, e.g., *an kāwō ruwā* 'One/they brought water' (i.e., water was brought by someone unknown or not worth mentioning). The impersonal can be grouped with the plural pronouns on both morphological and syntactic grounds. It is listed in the paradigms under the plural pronouns and, for ease of reference, is indicated as fourth person plural (4p). (Detailed discussion of the use of the impersonal is provided in a separate unit, see chap. 38.)

### 1.2.3. Heavy and light *wsp* paradigms

The pronouns in the various PACs appear on the surface in a number of different guises; but fundamentally there are only two major *wsp* paradigms: (1) First, there is a set of heavy-syllable pronouns with inherent H tone (sometimes referred to as the *sun* pronouns). In SH, this set occurs only in the completive, where it constitutes a portmanteau form incorporating both person and TAM features, e.g., *sun* 'they (completive)', *tā* 'she (completive)'. (In other dialects, these pronouns are also used in the preterite and in the potential.) (2) All of the other PACs make use of a set of inherently toneless, light-syllable pronouns, which in most (but not all) cases occur attached to an overt TAM, e.g., *su-kàn* 'they (habitual)', *ta-nā* 'she (continuous)', *zā kī* 'you (2f) (future)', *mù* 'we (subjunctive)'.

	(1) "heavy" <i>wsp</i> 's	(2) "light" <i>wsp</i> 's
1s	<i>nā</i>	<i>nī / in [n] / na</i>
2m	<i>kā</i>	<i>ka</i>
2f	<i>kin</i>	<i>ki</i>
3m	<i>yā</i>	<i>ya &lt;shi&gt;</i>
3f	<i>tā</i>	<i>ta</i>
1p	<i>mun</i>	<i>mu</i>
2p	<i>kun</i>	<i>ku</i>
3p	<i>sun</i>	<i>su</i>
4p	<i>an</i>	<i>a</i>

The pronouns in the light set can be grouped into (a) a subset used when the TAM is phonologically zero (occurring in the subjunctive, the neutral, and negative completive), e.g., *tā ∅* 'she.subjunctive'; (b) a subset used after the TAM (occurring in the future, allative, and negative-HAVE), e.g., *zā tà* 'she future', and (c) a subset prefixed to the TAM (occurring everywhere else), e.g., *tanā* 'she.continuous'. When occurring without an overt TAM or with a phonologically zero TAM, the light *wsp*'s have default L tone. The post-TAM *wsp*'s all manifest polar tone, i.e., L after H and H after L. The pre-TAM *wsp*'s, all of which have H tone, were also polar originally, although synchronically, the singular preterite pronouns (apart from 2f) no longer preserve polarity on the surface, e.g., *ta* 'she.preterite' < *\*ta-(kà)*, cf. *mukā* 'we.preterite'.

The full paradigms for the various PACs are presented in the unit on tense/aspect/mood (TAM) along with a detailed discussion of their meaning and use (see chap. 70).

## NON-PERSONAL

personal pronouns, contact properties that pronouns pattern syntactically. Particular grade is determined by non-personal pronoun

gan shi ba  
ga kōmē ba  
bàn ga hòtò ba  
zābē tà  
zābi wancàn  
yā zābi motà

Similarly, the form of the pronoun depends upon whether it occurs with the nouns,

gayà manà  
gayà wà kōwā dà kō  
gayà wà wàndà ya  
yā gayà wà àlRāl

non-personal pronouns (see chap. 21) (e.g., wà 'who?')

References: Gouffé (19)

## 2. NON-PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns, like *kà* 'you, your', *mù* 'us, our', *shì* 'him', have special morphological and syntactic properties that set them apart as a morphosyntactic class. By contrast, the non-personal pronouns pattern syntactically with ordinary nouns. For example, the form of the verb within a particular grade is determined by whether a direct object is a personal pronoun or not (see §74:1). Here, the non-personal pronouns group with the nouns, e.g.,

<i>bàn gan shì ba</i>	I didn't see him/it. (personal pronoun)
<i>bàn ga kōmē ba</i>	I didn't see anything. (non-personal pronoun)
cf. <i>bàn ga hòtō ba</i>	I didn't see the picture. (noun)
<i>yā zàbē tà</i>	He chose her/it. (personal pronoun)
<i>yā zàbì wancàn</i>	He chose that one. (non-personal pronoun)
cf. <i>yā zàbì mōtà</i>	He chose a car. (noun)

Similarly, the form of the indirect object marker (whether *ma-* (+ pronoun) or *wà* (+ noun)) differs depending upon whether it is followed by a personal pronoun or not. Again, the non-personal pronouns pattern with the nouns, e.g.,

<i>yā gayà manà</i>	He told us. (personal pronoun)
<i>yā gayà wà kōwā dà kōwā</i>	He told everyone. (lit. everyone and everyone) (non-personal pronoun)
<i>yā gayà wà wándà ya biyā shì</i>	He told the one who paid him. (non-personal pronoun)
cf. <i>yā gayà wà àlkāli</i>	He told the judge. (noun)

The non-personal pronouns can be divided roughly into three categories: (1) demonstratives and relatives (see chap. 21), e.g., *wannàn* 'this one', *wadāndà* 'the ones who'; (2) interrogatives (see §60:1), e.g., *wà* 'who?'; and (3) universals (see chap. 73), e.g., *kōmē* 'everything', *duk(à)* 'all'.

[References: Gouffé (1978); Kraft (1974)]



## 60. Questions

QUESTIONS are of two types: direct and indirect. The direct questions subdivide into (1) Q-word questions and (2) Yes/No questions.

### 1. Q-WORD QUESTIONS

#### 1.1. Inventory

Q-word questions make use of the following interrogative words: *wà* 'who?'; *mè* 'what?'; *wàné* 'which?'; *wànnè* 'which one?'; *inā* 'where?'; *yàushè/yàushē* 'when?'; *yàyà* 'how?'; *nawà* 'how many, how much?'; *don mè* (= *sabòdà mè*) 'why?'. The Q-words are not marked for case, thus *wà*, for example, also indicates 'whom?' and 'whose?' in addition to 'who?'. The 'who', 'what', and 'which' interrogatives have distinct forms for masculine, feminine, and plural referents (see below).

#### 1.1.1. Who?

*wà* (= *wàné nè*) m., *wàcè cè* f., *su wà* (= *su wàné nè*) pl.  
*wàyé* m., *su wàyé* pl.

The simple form *wà* is used if the gender and number of the person questioned is either masculine singular or unknown/unspecified/unimportant, e.g., *wà ya tsayà?* 'Who stopped?' To specifically indicate that the referent is plural one uses *su wà* (with the third person plural pronoun *su*), e.g., *su wà sukà tsayà?* 'Who (pl.) stopped?' The plural, with individuating connotations, is sometimes indicated by conjoining *wà* with itself, e.g., (*dà*) *wà dà wà* '(and) who and who?' Examples:

<i>wà dà wà sukà zô?</i>	Who (pl.) (i.e., who and who else) came?
<i>dà wà dà wà akà kāmà?</i>	Whom (pl.) did they catch?
<i>su wà dà wà zā kù zāḡā?</i>	Whom (pl.) are you going to choose?

°AN: In SH, sentences with a Q-word typically have a sentence final L-tone q-morpheme (see §1.2). When added to a word with final H tone, the result is a sentence-final fall, e.g., *wà ya zô +`* = [*wà ya zô*] 'Who came?' In keeping with standard practice among Hausaists, this final fall is not represented in the transcription of examples like the above although from a linguistic point of view it ought to be.

The long forms *wàné nè*, *wàcè cè*, and *su wàné nè* consist of *wà* (or *su wà*) plus a repetition of the stabilizer. (The orthographic convention is to write the first occurrence of the stabilizer attached to *wà* and the second separate.) If the gender of the questioned referent is explicitly known to be feminine, one must use the long form *wàcè cè* (with f. concord), e.g., *wàcè cè ta tsayà?* 'Who (i.e., which female) stopped?'; *kē wàcè cè?* 'Who (f.) are you (f.)?' With masculine and plural referents, the long forms are

optional in verbal sentences. They are generally required in equational sentences and when the interrogative stands alone, e.g.,

wà(nē nè) ka zābā?	Whom did you choose?
su wà(nē nè) sukà jē haḥbī?	Who (pl.) went hunting?
wānē nè mālāmīn?	Who is the teacher?
wānē nè?	Who (is it)?

The variant wāyē, like its equivalent wà, takes masculine singular concord and is used if the gender and number of the person questioned is either masculine singular or is unknown or unspecified, e.g., wāyē nè dāřektā? 'Who is the director?' It can be pluralized (i.e., su wāyē), but it does not have a corresponding feminine form.

ADN: The form wāyē, which has generally been neglected in pedagogical grammars and practical dictionaries, is a common alternative among Kano speakers. There is no information available regarding its dialectal distribution.

The word wà (like its alternative forms) is syntactically invariant, i.e., it can represent a subject, direct object, indirect object, object of preposition, possessive, etc., e.g.,

wà ya sàcè mīn awarwarō?	Who (subject) stole my bracelet from me?
wānē nè sukà haḥbē?	Whom (d.o.) did they execute?
su wà kakè gyārà wà?	Whom (pl.) (i.o.) are you repairing (it) for?
dà wà ka yi tāfiyà?	With whom (obj. of prep.) did you travel?
màtař wà ta haihù?	Whose (possessive) wife gave birth?
na wānē nè ya gujè makà?	Whose [m. referent understood] (possessive) ran away from you?

Questioned indirect objects optionally employ a resumptive pronoun in the original position. Objects of prepositions that cannot be stranded obligatorily use a resumptive pronoun, e.g.,

wàcè cè kikà gayà wà (= ...gayà matà)?	Whom did you tell (it) to?
su wānē nè ka yi aikì dà sū?	Whom (pl.) did you do the work with?
wà ta kàřbi rāncen kudī dāgà gārē shi?	Whom did she get a loan from?

1.1.1.1. The interrogative form wānē (with a single bound stabilizer) followed by an NP or independent pronoun is used in a special contemptuous rhetorical expression whose best translation varies depending on the context. In this special usage, wānē is invariant for gender and number, e.g.,

wānē Daudà?	Who the hell is Dauda?
wānē mùtùm?	Of what account is a human being? (i.e., this is beyond human ability; only God could do this)
wānē màtā mài zaman kántà?	Of what worth is an unattached, unmarried woman?
wānē sàrauniyař kyāu?	Of what account is the beauty queen?
wānē 'yan-sàndā?	This is beyond the expertise of policemen.
wānē fādāwan sarkī?	Who do the chief's courtiers think they are?
wānē nī?	Who am I (to attempt such a thing)?
wānē ita?	Of what account is she? (i.e., she is not up to it)
wānē kai / kē?	Who the hell do you (m./f.) think you are (to try this)?

Note that with the final L-tone question marker added (see below §1.2), words with final high tone are normally pronounced with falling tone, e.g., [wàṅē kái], [wàṅē kê], [wàṅē itá], etc.

### 1.1.2. What?

mè (= mènē nè) m., mēcē cè f. (rare), su mènē nè pl.  
mèyé m.

The variants for the neutral/masculine word for ‘what?’ **mè** (= mènē nè) = **mèyé** parallel the ‘who?’ forms **wà** (= wàṅē nè) = **wàyé**, e.g., **mè** (= mènē nè) = **mèyé ya fādī** ‘What fell?’ The corresponding feminine form exists but is rarely used except in idiomatic or figurative constructions. The overt plural formed with **su** is much less common than in the expression **su wà(nē nè)** ‘who?’; instead one normally uses the conjoint phrase (**dà**) **mè dà mè** (lit. (and) what and what?). Examples:

mè(nē nè) ka zāḅā?           What did you choose?  
mè(nē nè) ya fashè?        What broke?  
mènē nè wannàn?         What is this?  
dà mè dà mè sukà kwācè?

What (things) did they confiscate?

mēcē cè ita dà zā tà hanà ka tàfiyā gidā?

Who (lit. what) the hell is she that she will prevent you from going home?

∅HN: The historically original form of ‘what?’ was **mī**, which is still used in WH but with variable tone. The change to **mè** probably began as anticipatory assimilation to a following mid vowel, presumably that of the stabilizer, i.e., **\*mīnēnē** → **mènēnē**. Subsequently, the pronunciation **mè** was extended to all environments. Note that the original form of the stabilizer was **nā/tā**, which is also still found in WH. The change from **mī** to **mè** thus must have been subsequent to the **nā/tā** to **nē/cē** change. Using the masculine form for illustration, the derivational sequence can be presented as **\*mīnānā** > **\*mīnēnē** > **mènēnē** (and thence, by back formation, to **mè**).

### 1.1.3. Which? / Which one?

which?: wàṅē m., wàcè f., wàḍànnè pl.  
which one(s)?: wànnē m., wàccē f., wàḍànnē pl.

The interrogative determiners immediately precede their head nouns (with which they agree in number/gender). If the stabilizer is used, which is possible, it occurs after the NP, e.g.,

wàṅē yārò nē ya ci gāsā?           Which boy won the competition?  
wàṅē irin lēmō ka fī sō?           Which type of soft drink do you prefer?  
wàcè mōtā cē ta fi tsādā?         Which car is more expensive?  
wàḍànnè hūlunà kakè sayāfwā?     Which caps are you selling?

The interrogative pronominal forms optionally occur with the stabilizer **nē/cē**. They often appear followed by a prepositional phrase indicating ‘among them’, etc., or by a genitive pronoun. They can also appear as sentences by themselves, in which case they will end in falling tone because of the addition of the L-tone q-morpheme. Examples:

wànné/wàd'anné (nè) ya/sukà fi kyáu?	Which one/ones is/are best?
wàccé (cè) zā kà zāfā?	Which one are you going to choose?
wàd'anné cikinsù bà malâlâtā ba nè?	Which ones among them are not slackers?
wànnensù ya yi sātār kud'ín?	Which one of them stole the money?
wànné / wàccé / wàd'anné?	Which one(s)?

#### 1.1.4. Where?

The general word for 'where?' is *inā*, e.g.,

*inā yāròn?* Where is the boy? *inā ta tàfi?* Where did she go? *inā ka gan sù?* Where did you see them?

In addition to its general meaning of 'where?' *inā* also functions as a Q-word in a few other contexts.

First, *inā* is used in asking someone's name, e.g., *inā sūnan yāròn?* 'What (lit. where) is the boy's name?' (= *yâyā sūnan yāròn?* lit. how is the boy's name).

Second, it is used in standard greetings, e.g., *inā lābārī?* 'How are things?' (lit. where is news); *inā gājijā?* 'How are you?' (lit. where is tiredness); *inā kwānā* 'Good morning' (lit. where is sleeping); *inā wunī* 'Good afternoon' (lit. where is spending day); *inā gidā* 'How's the family?' (lit. where is house(hold)). It is also used in the expression *inā ruwankā?* 'What business is it of yours?' (lit. where is your water)

Third, it is used—with intonational prominence—as an exclamatory question *inā?! (= anā?!)* 'Who could do that? No way! Impossible!'

Fourth, it appears in a special construction having the form *inā X inā Y*, which semantically indicates incompatibility between the X and the Y, e.g.,

<i>inā nī inā Bālā?</i> (lit. where am I where is Bala?)	Bala is not my equal / I have no business with Bala.
<i>inā kū inā gidan giyā?</i> (i.e., it is not fitting for you (e.g., as a Muslim nondrinker) to go to a bar)	What business do you (pl.) have going to a bar?
<i>inā mātā inā cín àbinci à hanyā?</i>	It is not fitting for women to eat on the street.
<i>inā kai inā bōlā-gajā?</i>	A wooden truck is not your type of vehicle.

°AN: This *inā X inā Y* construction has been described in detail by Attouman (1987). There is another essentially equivalent construction indicating incompatibility that has the structure *bā X bā Y* (lit. there is not X there is not Y), e.g., *bā nī bā Bālā* 'I have no business with Bala' (see §26:1.2.3).

#### 1.1.5. When?

The general word for 'when?' is *yàushè* or *yàushē*. The two different pronunciations—*yàushè* with a short final vowel and L-L tone and *yàushē* with a long final vowel and L-H tone—are both common in SH, but the latter appears to be in the ascendancy. (In examples, the two different variants are used indiscriminately.) Examples:

<i>yàushē (nè) sukà dāwō?</i>	When did they return?
<i>yàushè (nè) zā à sākè būfè makāfantā?</i>	When will school open again?

Common paraphrases for *yàushē* are *wàné lōkàc?* 'what (lit. which) time?' and *karfè nawà?* 'what clock time?' (lit. o'clock how many), e.g.,

wàné lókàci (nè) yārā sukè yīn kārātunsù?

When (lit. what time) do the children do their studies?

karfè nawà zā kà jē banki?

When (i.e., at what time) are you going to go to the bank?

### 1.1.6. How?

The general word for 'how?' is **yàyà**. It is often preceded by the preposition **ta** 'via' to indicate 'how?' in the sense of 'by what means?', e.g.,

yàyà likità ya baī shì yà shā tābà?

How is it that the doctor let him smoke?

yàyà kikè jī?

How are you feeling?

ta yàyà kukà sàmi wurin shìgā?

How did you find a way to get in?

Like the word **inā** 'where?' **yàyà** can be used when asking about someone's name and in greetings, e.g., **yàyà sūnankà?** 'What's your name?' (= **inā sūnankà?**); **yàyà gidā?** 'How's the family?' (= **inā gidā?**); **yàyà lābārī?** 'How's news?' (= **inā lābārī?**) (but *not* **\*\*yàyà kwānā?** 'Good morning', for which one must use **inā kwānā?**).

In spoken Hausa, **kākà** 'how?' is sometimes used in place of **yàyà**. In the written language, **yàyà** is the more common variant.

### 1.1.7. How many? How much?

The general word for 'how many, how much?' is the interrogative quantifier **nawà**, which follows the head noun, e.g.,

(mutānē) nawà akà kāmā?

How many (men) did they arrest?

kudī nawà zā kà sāmù?

How much money are you going to get?

sàu nawà in tāfi in dāwō?

How many times should I go and come back?

The repeated form **nawà nawà** indicates the distributive 'how many or how much each?', e.g.,

kwai nawà nawà nē?

How much are the eggs each?

dalà nawà nawà nē zā kà bā sù?

How many dollars each are you going to give them?

### 1.1.8. Why?

The interrogative 'why?' is expressed not by a single Q-word but rather by a prepositional phrase with **mè** 'what?'; either **don mè** (pronounced [dommè]) (= **dòmin mè**) 'for what?' or **sabòdà mè** 'because of what?'; e.g.,

don mè kakè kauracē manà?

Why are you avoiding us?

bà kà zō ba; sabòdà mè?

You didn't come; why not?

°AN: The orthographic convention is to write **don me** as two words with an unassimilated /n/, thereby reflecting the etymology. Synchronically, it would probably make more sense to write it as a single word **domme**.

Another way to express 'why?' is by means of the phrasal expression **mè ya sà** lit. 'what caused?'; e.g.,

mè ya sà sōjà sukà wāshè gārīn?

Why did the soldiers sack the town?

### 1.2 The q-morpheme

Sentences containing a Q-word add a “q-morpheme” / ː/ at the end. 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. Examples:

<b>wà zái fítá</b> + ː → <b>wà zái fítá?</b>	Who will go out? (length and tone added)
<b>yàushè ta haihù</b> + ː → <b>yàushè ta haihù?</b>	When did she give birth? (length added)
<b>mè sukà sayā</b> + ː → <b>mè sukà sayā?</b>	What did they sell? (tone added)
<b>kuḍin wannàn nawà nē</b> + ː → <b>kuḍin wannàn nawà nē?</b>	How much does it cost? (tone added)
<b>inā ka ga yāròn</b> + ː → <b>inā ka ga yāròn?</b>	Where did you see the boy? (vacuous addition)

The q-morpheme attaches to the last word in the sentence, whatever that word might be, e.g.,

<b>wà yakè rawā</b> + ː → <b>wà yakè rawā?</b>	Who is dancing?
<b>wà yakè rawā yānzú</b> + ː → <b>wà yakè rawā yānzú?</b>	Who is dancing now?

°AN: It should be emphasized that the falling tone that is found at the end of Q-word sentences is due to the q-morpheme and not to intonational effects (Newman and Newman 1981). (Unlike Yes/No sentences, which utilize special question intonation, Q-word sentences use what is essentially declarative sentence intonation.) Because there are other recognized morphemes in the language, like the verbal noun formative with monoverbs, which consist only of length and/or tone, e.g., **bi** ‘follow’, but **bī** ‘following’, there seems to be no reason not to recognize the q-morpheme at the morphemic level. Nevertheless, most scholars treat the final vowel lengthening and falling tone found in questions as being intonational features associated with the question mark and thus fail to indicate them in normal transcriptions. Thus **wà ya fítá?** ‘Who went out?’ for example, is normally transcribed with a short final vowel and H tone (cf. **Bellò nē ya fítá** ‘It was Bello who went out’) rather than as **wà ya fítá?** with the occurring long final vowel and falling tone. A practical reason for sticking with the standard convention is that dialects differ as to when (and if) they add the L tone. Therefore, throughout the grammar as a whole, I have gone ahead and followed the usual transcription convention, i.e., I have not indicated the length and L tone associated with the q-morpheme. In this chapter, however, I have done so when it seemed necessary to illustrate the nature of question formation.

◊HN: Historically, the q-morpheme (or morphemes?) had segmental shape, of which the tone and vowel length are the only vestiges in modern-day Hausa. The most probable shape for the morpheme was \*à, which is still preserved in some Chadic languages.

### 1.3. Word order

In tensed sentences, a Q-word or an NP containing a Q-word normally moves to the front of the sentence into focus position. The general TAMs are obligatorily replaced by the corresponding Rel forms, e.g.,

<b>wà sukà kāmà?</b>	Whom did they catch? (preterite)
cf. <b>sun kāmà janār</b>	They captured the general. (completive)
<b>mè Jummai takè dakàwā?</b>	What is Jummai pounding? (Rel-continuous1)
cf. <b>Jummai tanà dakàwā</b>	Jummai is pounding (it). (continuous)
<b>su wànnè nē ya gayà wà?</b>	Whom (pl.) did he tell it to?

<b>wànnè dàgà cikinsù ya mutù?</b>	Which among them died?
<b>yàushè yàròn zài dāwò dàgà bankì?</b>	When will the boy return from the bank?
<b>wàcè irin mōtā ka fi sò?</b>	Which kind of car do you prefer?
<b>inā likitā zài sāmè tà?</b>	Where will the doctor find her?
<b>inā d'ālibai sukè à lōkàcìn?</b>	Where were the students at the time?
<b>mutànè nawà sukè wār̀wātse cikin jējì?</b>	How many men are scattered in the bush?
<b>littāfī nawà zā kà bāyāf?</b>	How many books are you going to give away?

Instead of fronting a questioned direct object and leaving the verb in its original position, it is possible in some circumstances to front an infinitival VP consisting of the a verb plus a Q-word or a verbal noun (participial/gerundive) phrase including the Q-word. (All of my examples involve complementation.) The original position of the VP is then filled by the pro-verb *yī* 'do' (occasionally followed by a resumptive pronoun).

<b>rūsà mènè nè tīlās (nē) Audù yà yī?</b>	Demolishing what is it necessary for Audu do?
<b>kāmà mènè nè ya kāmātà Tankò yà yī à wannàn kògì?</b>	Catching what does it behoove Tanko to do in this river?
<b>d'aurè wànè nè mài yīwuwā (nè) sarkī yà yī?</b>	Imprisoning whom is it possible/likely that the emir might do?

A Q-word can be left in situ, but if so it is generally interpreted as a semantically marked echo question, e.g.,

<b>an kashè wā?</b>	They killed <i>who</i> ?
<b>tā sàyi mē?</b>	<i>What</i> did you say she bought? (lit. she bought what?)
<b>à cè mē?</b>	One should say <i>what</i> ?

°AN: The marked nature of the Q-word in situ even applies to double questions. For example, **wā ya sàyi mē?** 'Who bought what?' is not semantically comparable to the corresponding English sentence, but rather carries the connotation, 'What did you say who bought?' with echo focus on 'What?'

A Q-word functioning as the object of **dā**, whether functioning in HAVE sentences or as a sociative marker, must leave a resumptive pronoun in its place. A questioned i.o. may (and commonly does) use a resumptive pronoun, but it is not obligatory since the i.o. marker **wā** can occur without an overt object, e.g.,

<b>mè kukè dà shī?</b>	What do you have?
(cf. <b>kunà dà mē?</b> You have <i>what</i> ?)	
<b>mènè nè yār̀ò yakè dà shī à jākāf?</b>	What does the boy have in the sack?
cf. <b>yār̀ò yanà dà kwàdō à jākāf?</b>	The boy has a frog in the sack.
<b>su wànè nè kīkè kulāwā dà sū?</b>	Whom (pl.) are you (f.) looking after?
cf. <b>munà kulāwā dà sū</b>	We are looking after them.
<b>wàcè cè zài kōyà wà Tūfāncī? (= wàcè cè zài kōyà matà Tūfāncī?)</b>	Whom (f.) is he going to teach English to?
<b>wà sukà nūnà wà takārdāf? (= wà sukà nūnà masà takārdāf?)</b>	To whom did they show the letter?

Grade 5 efferential verbs do not normally require a resumptive pronoun. Because the particle **dà** that accompanies gr5 verbs is inserted only if the verb is followed on the surface by a thematic direct object, i.e., it is inserted by a late rule, it does not appear when the d.o. is questioned except in the uncommon cases where a pronoun is left behind, e.g.,

<b>wà dà wà kukà tsòrataf?</b>	Whom did you (pl.) frighten off?
<b>mè zā tà sayāf?</b>	What is she going to sell?
cf. <b>zā tà sayāf dà awarwarō</b>	She is going to sell a bracelet.
cf. <b>mènè nè zā tà sayāf dà shī dà fāhūsā?</b>	What is she going to sell at a bargain price?

A Q-word in subject position carries focus and thus conditions the switch from a general to a Rel TAM, e.g.,

<b>wāyè ya cīnyè minì kyát?</b>	Who ate up all my cake? (pret)
cf. <b>yā cīnyè minì kyát</b>	He ate up my cake. (comp)
<b>wàccè cè (ta)kè sàuràren fēdiyò?</b>	Which one (f.) is listening to the radio? (Rcont1)
cf. <b>tanà sàuràren fēdiyò</b>	She is listening to the radio. (cont)
<b>wàd'annè d'ālibai zā sù tàimàki mālāmīnsù?</b>	Which students are going to help their teacher? (fut)
cf. <b>d'āliban nān sá tàimàki mālāmīnsù</b>	These students will likely help their teacher. (pot)

Because Q-words are in focus, they may optionally be followed by the stabilizer **nē/cē** (with polar tone), e.g.,

<b>inā nè likità zāi sāmē tà?</b>	Where will the doctor find her?
<b>wàcè mōtā cē zā kà gyārà?</b>	Which car are you going to repair?
<b>wàccè cè dàgà cikīnsù ta mutù?</b>	Which among them died?
<b>wāyè nē ya cīnyè minì kyát?</b>	Who ate up all my cake?
<b>wàd'annè d'ālibai nè zā sù tàimàki mālāmīnsù?</b>	Which students are going to help their teacher?

If the nominal object of a preposition is (or contains) a Q-word, one can front either the entire phrase or else just the object. If the preposition left behind is a basic preposition that does not allow stranding, then a resumptive pronoun has to be inserted, e.g.,

<b>dà wà kukà jē sīnīmà? = wàcè cè kukà jē sīnīmà dà ita?</b>	With whom did you go to the movies? (= Whom did you go to the movies with her?)
<b>dà mè akè cikà kushīn irīn wannān? = mè akè cikà kushīn irīn wannān dà shī?</b>	With what does one stuff this kind of cushion?
<b>à cikīn wànè kògò fàrāwòn ya fōyè kufīn? = wànè kògò fàrāwòn ya fōyè kufīn à ciki?</b>	Which hollow did the thief hide the money in?

As illustrated in the examples above, normal prepositional phrases with **dà** can be fronted. However, when functioning in the predicate of HAVE sentences or when serving as a component of a sociative verb (indicated here with a hyphen), the prepositional particle **dà** cannot be moved from its original location, e.g.,

<b>mè kakè dà shī?</b> (lit. what you are with it) = <b>kanà dà mè?</b> (lit. you are with what) What do you have?
but <i>not</i> <b>**dà mè kakè?</b> (lit. with what you are)



**mè ka tunà-dà shī? = (?) k̄a tunà-dà mè?**                      What did you remember?  
 but normally *not* \*\*dà mè ka tunà?

Although fronting is the norm, adverbial Q-words can remain in regular declarative sentence position with only a slightly strengthened nuance. With normal word order, the general rather than the Rel TAM is used). Examples:

**yanà ìnā? (= ìnā yakè?)**    Where is he?  
**sunà fitōwā dāgà ìnā? (= dāgà ìnā sukè fitōwā?)**              They are coming out from where?  
**yā tàfi yàushē? (= yàushē ya tàfi?)**                              When did he go?  
**an bā kà dalà nawà? (= dalà nawà akà bā kà?)**                      How many dollars did they give you?

Q-words in simple equational sentences normally occur in initial subject position. When, however, the other argument in the sentence is an independent pronoun, the Q-word usually occurs in the predicate. The interrogative **nawà (nawà)** 'how many/much (each)?' is equally allowed at the front or at the end of the sentence. Examples:

**wāyé nē mālāmīn nan nākù?**    Who is that teacher of yours?  
**wācē cè sàrauniyāf kyáu?**    Who is the beauty queen?  
**wāfānnè dawākīn nē nākà?**    Which of the horses are yours?  
**wānnē nē àlkālīn?**    Which one is the judge?  
**mènē nē wannàn?**    What is this?  
**kē wācē cè?**    Who are you (f.)?  
**sū dīn nān su wānē nē?**    Who are they?  
**nawà nē kudīn kèkēn? = kudīn kèkēn nawà nē?**  
     How much is the bicycle? (= The price of the bicycle is how much?)  
**nawà nawà nē gōfōn? = gōfōn nawà nawà nē?**  
     How much are the kolanuts each? (= The kolanuts are how much each?)

A personal pronoun in a questioned equational sentence can be repeated at the end for emphasis. In this position, it will appear with falling tone because of the q-morpheme, e.g.,

**kai wānē nē kái?**    Who are *you* (m.)?  
**kū su wānē nē kú?**    Who are *you* (pl.)?  
**shī wāyē shī?**    Who is *he*?

In existential sentences, Q-words commonly occur in predicate position. Fronting is possible but it is marked, e.g.,

**dà sōjà nawà?**    How many soldiers are there?  
**àkwai mè? = mènē nē kè àkwai?**                                      What is there?

## 2. YES/NO QUESTIONS

Yes/No (Y/N) questions preserve normal word order, e.g., **Bintà t̄a tàfi k̄asuwā?** 'Did Binta go to the market?'; cf. **Bintà t̄a tàfi k̄asuwā** 'Binta went to the market'; **manajà bàì biyā kù bā?** 'Did the manager not pay you?'; cf. **manajà bàì biyā kù ba** 'The manager didn't pay you.' (Note that negative questions are answered "logically," i.e., the answer to the previous question is either 'Yes, he didn't pay

us' or 'No, he paid us.')

The question, as opposed to the declarative statement, is overtly marked in one or more of four 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.

### 2.1. The q-morpheme

As indicated earlier (§1.2), the q-morpheme has two component parts: final vowel lengthening and a floating low tone. Y/N questions, like Q-word questions, invariably employ the first part, i.e., final vowel lengthening. Whether the L tone is added or not is subject to dialectal and idiolectal variation. The SH norm nowadays, as far as I can determine, is *not* to have the L tone (i.e., not to have the surface fall) unless some special expressiveness is intended, e.g.,

<b>zài fítā</b>	He will go out.
<b>zài fítā?</b>	Will he go out? (= for some speakers <b>zài fítā?</b> )
<b>sun ga Sābo</b>	They saw Sabo.
<b>sun ga Sābō?</b>	Did they see Sabo? (= for some speakers <b>sun ga Sābō?</b> )

°AN: Because of the final vowel lengthening of the q-morpheme, the distinction between such pairs as **sābō** 'new' and **Sābo** (proper name) is neutralized in final position in questions. Compare the declarative sentences **sun ga sābō** 'They saw a new one' and **sun ga Sābo** 'They saw Sabo (proper name)' with the question **sun ga sābō?** (= **sun ga sābō?**) 'Did they see a new one / Sabo?'

### 2.2. Question intonation

There is a considerable amount of variability regarding the nature of the intonation used in Y/N questions. Although the matter is yet to be investigated in detail the variation seems to be dialectal, sociolectal, and even idiolectal. All speakers replace the downward slope (downdrift) characteristic of declarative sentences by an essentially level, somewhat raised grid, but there are numerous differences that appear at the end of the sentence.

Here I shall limit myself to a description of two intonational patterns for Y/N questions, what I call the "classic" pattern and the "final raising" pattern.

#### 2.2.1. The "classic" pattern

The main feature of the "classic" pattern (described in standard grammars) is key raising (= register shift) before the last H tone of the sentence (indicated in the examples by ↑). The key raising raises the pitch of the H tone and also of any succeeding L tones. (A final H-L sequence, for examples, surfaces as something that sounds like an extra high pitch followed by a high or mid.) If the final syllable has falling tone (= HL), either lexically or because of the addition of the L tone component of the q-morpheme (for those speakers who have it), one gets a raised H with a small fall to the raised L level. This is shown schematically in the following examples:

7	<b>nā</b>		
6			
5	<b>sun</b>	<b>yi</b>	<b>mā</b>
4	<b>sà</b>		
3			

**sun sàyi ↑ nāmā?**

Did they buy meat?

7  
6  
5     zā             dā     wō                     bē  
4     gò  
3             sù

zā sù dāwō gò ↑ bē?

Will they return tomorrow?

7     bó  
6  
5             bi     yā     Sā  
4  
3     mù

mù biyā Sā ↑ bó?

Should we pay Sabo? (with L tone of q-morpheme)

7     bá  
6  
5                                     zō  
4     bà tà  
3

bà tà zō ↑ bá?

Did she not come? (with L tone of q-morpheme)

7     nār  
6  
5     bi     rai     sun             ga     gō  
4                                     shì  
3

birai sun shìga gō ↑ nār?

Did monkeys enter the farm?

### 2.2.2. The final raising pattern

In the raising pattern, the tone of the last syllable is raised to a level higher than that of the immediately preceding syllable. (The L tone of the q-morpheme is not added. If the final syllable has L or F tone (= HL), that tone becomes H. If the preceding syllable was H, the new H will be even higher, e.g.,

7  
6     bā  
5     zā             kā     wō  
4     à     yā  
3             kà

zā kà kāwō àyà ↑ bā? (&lt; àyàbà) Are you going to bring bananas?

7 \_\_\_\_\_ **mā** \_\_\_\_\_  
 6 \_\_\_\_\_  
 5 **sun** \_\_\_\_\_ **yi** \_\_\_\_\_ **nā** \_\_\_\_\_  
 4 \_\_\_\_\_ **sà** \_\_\_\_\_  
 3 \_\_\_\_\_

**sun sàyi nā ↑ mā?** (< **nāmà**)? Did they buy meat?

7 \_\_\_\_\_ **mai** \_\_\_\_\_  
 6 \_\_\_\_\_  
 5 **tā** \_\_\_\_\_ **zu** \_\_\_\_\_ **bō** \_\_\_\_\_  
 4 \_\_\_\_\_  
 3 \_\_\_\_\_

**tā zubō ↑ mai?** (< **mái**) ? Did she pour in oil?

7 \_\_\_\_\_ **naŋ** \_\_\_\_\_  
 6 \_\_\_\_\_  
 5 **birai** \_\_\_\_\_ **sun** \_\_\_\_\_ **ga** \_\_\_\_\_ **gō** \_\_\_\_\_  
 4 \_\_\_\_\_ **shì** \_\_\_\_\_  
 3 \_\_\_\_\_

**birai sun shìga gō ↑ naŋ?** (< **gōnaŋ**) Did the monkeys enter the farm?

### 2.3. Sentence-final interrogative tags

Various grammatical morphemes can be used as sentence-final interrogative tags in Yes/No sentences. These all have a slightly difference nuance. To begin with, one has the negative marker **ba** and the conjunction **kō** 'or'. Because of the addition of the q-morpheme, **ba** necessarily appears with a long final vowel and, for many speakers, also a falling tone; **kō**, on the other hand, usually remains H, although a fall is possible. They are both preceded by key raising (↑), i.e., they are pronounced on a pitch higher than that of a preceding H tone. Examples:

<b>kā ji bā?</b>	So you've understood?
<b>yā àuri Aishà bā?</b>	He married Aisha did he not?
<b>zā kà dāwō dà wuri kō?</b>	Are you going to return soon?
<b>an nađà shi sarkì kō?</b>	Did they install him as chief?
<b>shán giyà hàfāmùn nē kō?</b>	Drinking of alcohol is forbidden isn't it?

The tag **kō** can be thought of as a grammaticalized reduction from an elliptical negative sentence or from the clausal tag **kō bā hakà bā?** 'or is it not thus?' (This clausal tag marks a question where the expectation is that there will be an affirmative answer.) Examples:

**gòbe zā kà gyàrà môtàr kō?** Are you going to repair the car tomorrow?

cf. *gòbè zā kà gyārà môtār kō bà zā kà gyārà môtār bā?*

Are you going to repair the car tomorrow or are you not going to repair the car?

*gòbè zā kà gyārà môtār kō bà hakà bā?*

Are you going to repair the car tomorrow or not?

As described in §66:2.3, the stabilizer *nē* can be used as a reinforcement marker at the end of a sentence. In an interrogative sentence, it takes on the function of a question tag. When preceded by an H tone, *nē*, which underlyingly has polar tone, will appear with L tone. When preceded by a L tone, *nē* will either appear as H (without the q-morpheme L) or as falling (with the q-morpheme L), e.g.,

*zā kà káwō lè̄mō nē?*

Are you going to bring a soft drink?

*zā kà káwō Fantà nē? (= ... né?)*

Are you going to bring Fanta?

*yā àuri Aishà nē? (= ... né?)*

Did he marry Aisha?

The modal particle *kūwa* 'indeed' also functions as an interrogative tag, in which case it appears with a long final vowel and optional falling tone, e.g.,

*yā tàfi kùwā?*

Has he in fact already gone?

*kā sàmi Audù à gidā kùwā?*

Did you in fact find Audu at home?

The same particle *kūwa* (or its variant *kò*) commonly follows *kō* 'or' in forming alternative questions, e.g.,

*yā káwō sù, kō kùwá?*

Did he bring them or not?

*wannàn mágànin banzā nē, kō kò?*

Is this useless medicine or what?

The particle *fà* 'how about?' functions exclusively as a question tag. It serves in place of the q-morpheme and thus does not normally undergo vowel lengthening. It commonly occurs with NPs rather than full sentences, e.g.,

*zân bā kà naiřà dubū. Mūsā fà?*

I'll give you 1,000 nairas. How about Musa?

*kanà sôn mangwàřò? I. gwaibà fà?*

Do you like mangoes? Yes. How about guavas?

*mālām zái zō. kai fà?*

The teacher will come. How about you?

## 2.4. Sentence-initial interrogative words

### 2.4.1. *kō*

A common interrogative marker used in sentence-initial position in Yes/No sentences is *kō* 'or', e.g.,

*kō zuwàn gwamnà gidānā zái bā kù màmakì? (= zuwàn gwamnà gidānā zái bā kù màmakì kō?)*

Will the governor's coming to my house surprise you?

*kō Mūsā nà nan?*

Is Musa there?

*kō yā sá ku kun shārè duk đākìn?*

Did he make you sweep the entire room?

This usage as an interrogative marker is obviously an extension of the use of *kō* as a disjunctive 'or' in alternative questions, e.g.,

*kō kìn yārda kō bà kì yārda bā?*

Do you agree or do you not agree?

*kō zā kà tashì kō (kò) zā kà zaunà à gidā?*

Are you going to get up or are you going to stay at home?

A sentence with a propositional complement can be questioned with the help of *kō*, e.g.,

<b>kō yā kāmātà (wai) Tàní tà biyā hàràjì?</b>	Is it fitting that Tani should pay taxes?
<b>kō wājìbi nè Mùsùlmi sù yi aikìn hajì?</b>	Is it obligatory for Muslims to do the hadj?

Alternatively, it is possible to treat the sentence as consisting of two clauses both subject to questioning in which case one can add a question mark after the complement-taking expression (CTE) and also insert *kō* before the complement. (Note: The question mark at the end of the CTE will be realized as vowel lengthening, intonational raising, and, for people who use the L-tone of the q-morpheme, a final fall on H-final words.)

<b>yā kāmātà? kō tà biyā hàràjìn?</b>	Is it fitting that Tani should pay taxes?
<b>tílàs né? kō yà yi azùmí?</b>	Is it necessary that he should fast?
<b>bà àbin kunyà ba nè? kō (wai) à kwāna à gidan sùrùkai?</b>	Is it not shameful that a person should sleep overnight at one's in-laws?

### 2.4.2. anyà

The particle *anyà* (which can be followed by a modal particle) introduces questions where there is a serious doubt, e.g.,

<b>anyà kò bàì yi wà yāròn nauyí bá?</b>	Is it not too heavy for that youth?
<b>anyà hakà né?</b>	Is that really so?

### 2.4.3. shîn

The particle *shîn* with questions seeks confirmation. It can be used with Q-words or preceding the initial question marker *kō* in Yes/No questions, e.g.,

<b>shîn yàyà mā zân zānà hòtôn?</b>	How did you say I should draw the diagram?
<b>shîn kō kâ sàmi Audù à gidá kùwá?</b>	(By the way) did you in fact find Audu at home?
<b>shîn kō kâ san an kārà manà àlbāshí watàn nân?</b>	Did you know that our salary was raised this month?

## 3. INDIRECT QUESTIONS

Indirect questions are normally formed by *kō* plus a clause with a Q-word. The Q-word clause requires a Rel TAM, e.g.,

<b>bàn san kō mè (= kō mènē nè) ya dāmē shì ba</b>	I don't know what bothered him.
<b>anà ta indà-indāf kō wà zā à bá sakatarè</b>	They were arguing about whom to pick as secretary.
<b>bàn san kō wà ya yi hakà ba</b>	I don't know who did it.
<b>kadà kà tàmbàyē nì kō don mè na fì ziyāf-tārsà</b>	Don't asked me why I refused to visit him.
<b>bàì gayà minì kō nawà zân biyā ba</b>	He didn't tell me how much I should pay.
<b>bàì kùla dà kō nawà sukà mutù ba</b>	He didn't care how many died.
<b>yā tàmbàyē sù kō ta yàyà zái sàmi izìní yà shigō</b>	He asked them how he could get permission to come in.

Indirect questions do not themselves have the essential phonological features associated with direct questions, namely, final vowel lengthening and final L tone, e.g.,

tàmbàyè shi kō wà ya fita!  
cf. wà ya fitá?

Ask him who went out!  
Who went out?

If indirect questions appear with normal question intonation features, it is only because they are embedded in direct questions, e.g.,

shín ká san kō wà ya fitá?

Do you know who went out?

In some instances an indirect question is possible without the *kō*, although some speakers find examples like the following without *kō* to be only marginally acceptable.

Audù fa, mun san wà zái àurā

As for Audu, we know who he will marry.

cf. the more usual Audù fa, mun san kō wà zái àurā

bà à san dàgà wànè wuri ya zō ba

One didn't know from which direction he came.

One can express the semantic equivalent (more or less) of an indirect question by means of a relative clause construction headed by a noun or a relative pronoun, e.g.,

bàn san wàndà ya yi hakà ba

I don't know who (i.e., the one who) did it.

= bàn san kō wà ya yi hakà ba

kā gānè yáddà 'yan-lèkèn-àsīrī sukè yī?

Do you understand how spies operate?

= kā gānè kō ta yà yà 'yan-lèkèn-àsīrī sukè yī?

bàn san àbīn dà ya dāmē shì ba

I don't know what (lit. the thing that) bothered him.

kà nūnà manà indà ka sāmē shì!

Show us where you found it!

bà sù tabbataf dà lōkàcīn dà had'arīn ya fàru ba

They weren't sure when (lit. the time that) the accident occurred.

An indirect question introduced by *kō* that does not contain a Q-word constitutes a 'whether' clause, e.g.,

nā tàmbayà kō sun yi aikìn

I asked whether they did the work.

bàn san kō zái zō ba

I don't know whether he will come.

kā san kō dà saurā?

Do you know whether there is any left?

wàd'annè yārā Hāllimà ta tàmbayà kō sun sàci kuđīn?

Which children did Halima ask whether they stole the money?

[References: D. Muhammad (1968); Newman and Newman (1981)]

## 61. Reason and Purpose

### 1. REASON ('BECAUSE')

**B**ECAUSE clauses and phrases are indicated by **sabòdà** (= **sàbilì dà**) or **dòmin/don** plus a full sentence or an NP. Tensed sentences take a general TAM (like the completive or continuous) rather than a Rel TAM counterpart (e.g., preterite or Rel-continuous). The 'because' clauses and phrases are allowed either before or after the main sentence, e.g.,

**bàn amincé dà shì ba dòmin kùwa nā san hālinsà**

I don't trust him because I know what he is like.

**sunà nēmansà sabòdà shì mālāminsù nē**

They were looking for him because he was their teacher.

**tā yi fushì sabòdà bàì bā tà kōmē ba**

She was angry because he didn't give her anything.

**dòmin tanà kùkà bà jì dādī ba**

Because she was crying I was unhappy.

**zān bā shì kyàutā sabòdà yā tàimākē nì**

I'm going to give him a gift because he helped me.

**= sabòdà yā tàimākē nì zān bā shì kyàutā**

Because he helped me I'll give him a gift.

**munà mufnà sabòdà mun sāmì aikì**

We were happy because we got the job.

**= sabòdà mun sāmì aikì munà mufnà**

Because we got the job we were happy.

**mun shā wāhatā sabòdà rashìn ruwā**

We suffered because of lack of water.

**an bā shì aikì sabòdà (= don) kārfinàs**

He was given the job because of his strength.

°AN: As far as I am aware **sabòdà** and **dòmin/don** generally mean the same thing. I suspect, however, that there are pragmatic/stylistic differences in their use, but this remains to be studied.

Reason clauses and phrases are negated by means of the discontinuous marker **bà...ba**. This normally connotes negative contrastive focus.

**bà dòmin gwànl nē ba mukà bā shì hēlùmà...**

It wasn't because he is an expert that we made him headman (but for some other reason).

**munà gōyon bāyankà bà sabòdà kanà dà kudī ba nē...**

We are supporting you not because you're rich (but for some other reason).

**yā yi hakà bà don kētā ba sai don rashìn tūnānl**

He did that not because of maliciousness but rather because of lack of forethought.

°AN: Because **don** is simply a short form of **dòmin**, one might expect them to be interchangeable. This, however, is not always the case. In the above example, for instance, it would be considered clumsy to say ...\*\*sai dòmin rashìn tūnānl.



## 2. REASON ('SINCE')

The function word **tun** 'since' serves to indicate both time and reason, e.g., **munà nán zàune tun jiyà / tun dà ya shìga bankì** 'We have been sitting here since yesterday / since he went into the bank'; **tun dà yakè yā bā nì cék, sai in tàfi bankì** 'Since/because he gave me a check, I should go to the bank.' The temporal uses of **tun** are treated in §69:7; the various uses of **tun** in constructions indicating reason are described here.

## 2.1. Basic formation

Reason clauses indicating 'since', 'inasmuch as', 'given that', 'in view of the fact that', etc., are indicated by **tun dà yakè** (lit. since that 3m.Rcont2) plus a full clause. The reason clause usually occurs before the matrix sentence, but it can occur after. Both the subordinate clause and the main clause normally use a general rather than a Rel TAM. Examples:

- tun dà yakè tanà barci, zā mù zaunà à wàje hař sai tā tāshì**  
Since she is sleeping we will sit outside until she gets up.
- tun dà yakè sun sāmì aikì à Bauci, zā sù tàfi can**  
Given that they found work in Bauchi, they will go there.
- tun dà yakè Lāfai ùngòzòmà cē, zā tà fāhimci àbìn dà kè dāmūnā**  
Since Larai is a midwife, she will understand what is troubling me.
- tun dà yakè bāi zō ba, bā zān ci gāba dà jirā ba**  
Since he hasn't come I won't wait any longer.
- tun dà yakè bā sù gamā dà saurì ba, mun yi fushì**  
In view of the fact that they didn't finish quickly, we were angry.
- an zābi yārin yār tun dà yakè (ita) kyākkyāwā cē**  
They chose the girl since she was pretty.

## 2.2. Reduction of tun dà yakè

The **tun dà yakè** phrase is typically reduced. This is done in one of two ways. First, the PAC **yakè** can be omitted, leaving **tun dà**, which is the same surface form as the temporal 'since'. The meanings of the clauses remain distinct, however, because the reason 'since' is followed by a general TAM whereas the temporal 'since' requires a Rel TAM, e.g.,

- tun dà [an]<sub>comp</sub> kirā sù, sun bař aikinsù**  
Since (given that) they were called, they stopped their work.
- cf. **tun dà [akà]<sub>pret</sub> kirā sù, sukà bař aikinsù**  
Since (the time that) they were called, they stopped work.
- tun dà yā yi wannàn, mun ji dādī**  
Given that he did this, we were pleased.
- cf. **tun dà ya yi wannàn, mukà ji dādī**  
Since (the time that) he did this, we were pleased.
- tun dà tanà kükā, mun bā ta àlèwà don tà dainà**  
Since (in view of the fact that) she was crying we gave her candy so that she would stop.
- tun dà bāi gamā kārātū ba, bā zāi fita wāsā ba**  
Inasmuch as he didn't finish his studies, he won't go out to play.
- àlhamdù lillāhì tun dà sun gānè**  
Thank God that (i.e., since it is the case that) they have understood.

A second, very common reason reading and no

- dà yakè kanà nán, zā**  
Seeing that y
- dà yakè mākānikè bā**  
Since the me
- dà yakè yārin yār sa**  
Since the gir
- dà yakè zā ka kāsūw**  
Since you ar

## 2.3. Subject fronting

The normal word order e.g., [**tun dà yakè**] [**y**] subject from its regul element. The topical (indicated in the exam of an equational sent

- [**yārin yār**] (**dai**) [(**tun**)  
[**mākānikè**] **dīn**, [(**tun**)  
The mechan
- [**yayyenmū**], [(**tun**)  
Our senior
- [**barāwōn**], [(**tun**) **dā**  
The thief, g

If **tun** is omitted and the subject is masculine (interpreted as) a noun

- Audù dà yakè kàrer**  
(1) Adu, w  
or (2) Adu
- shì dà yakè dōgō nè**  
(1) He who  
or (2) He, s
- barāwōn dà yakè tī**  
(1) The thie  
or (2) The

If the fronted noun is between a 'since' clause and a weak subject pronoun

- yārin yār dà yakè ta**  
cf. **yārin yār dà yakè**

A second, very common, option is to omit the word **tun**, leaving just **dà yakè**. (This can have only a reason reading and not temporal one.) Examples:

**dà yakè kanà nán, zán fita shán iskà**

Seeing that you are here, I'm going to go out for some fresh air.

**dà yakè màkànikè bàì gamà dà saurì ba, sai mù kwāna à nán**

Since the mechanic didn't finish quickly, we will spend the night here.

**dà yakè yārinnyār santalēliyā cè, zā tà zama sàrauniyār kyáu**

Since the girl is slim, she will become the beauty queen.

**dà yakè zā ka kāsuwā, don Allāh kà sayō mīn mán-jā**

Since you are going to the market, please buy me some palm oil.

### 2.3. Subject fronting (topicalization)

The normal word order in the adverbial phrase is **tun dà yakè** 'since' followed by the embedded sentence, e.g., [**tun dà yakè**] [**yārinnyār tanà barci**] '[since] [the girl is sleeping]'. One can, however, extract the subject from its regular position and move it to the front of the sentence as a topic or prementioned element. The topicalization is generally marked by a modal particle or by an intonational break (indicated in the examples by a comma), but it is also possible without. If the fronted item is the subject of an equational sentence, an independent pronoun is optionally left in its place, e.g.,

[**yārinnyār**] (dai) [(**tun**) **dà yakè**] **tanà barci**... The girl, since she is sleeping...

[**màkànikè**] d'ín, [(**tun**) **dà yakè**] **bàì gamà dà saurì ba, yā yārda mù kwāna à nán**

The mechanic, since he didn't finish quickly, he agreed that we could spend the night here.

[**yayyenmù**], [(**tun**) **dà yakè**] (**sū**) **likitōci nē, sunà jīn dādī**

Our senior brothers, since they are doctors, they are enjoying themselves.

[**ḅārāwòn**], [(**tun**) **dà yakè**] (**shī**) **tittikēkē nē yā firgītā ku**

The thief, given that he is huge, he'll likely startle you.

If **tun** is omitted *and* the sentence with the fronted subject flows without an intonational break *and* the subject is masculine singular, one ends up with a surface construction that is identical to (and usually interpreted as) a noun followed by a relative clause, e.g.,

**Audù dà yakè kàren-mōtā nē zāi fī mù sanì**

(1) Audu, who is a bus conductor, will know better than us.

or (2) Audu, given that he is a bus conductor, will know better than us.

**shī dà yakè dōgō nē yā iyā wāsān kwallon-kwàndō**

(1) He who is tall is able to play basketball.

or (2) He, since he is tall, is able to play basketball.

**ḅārāwòn dà yakè tittikēkē nē yā firgītā ku**

(1) The thief, who is huge, will likely startle you.

or (2) The thief, given that he is huge, will likely startle you.

If the fronted noun is not third person masculine singular, there shouldn't be any interpretive confusion between a 'since' clause and a relative clause, insofar as **ya** in (**tun**) **dà yakè** is invariant whereas the weak subject pronoun in a relative clause agrees with the antecedent head noun, e.g.,

**yārinnyār dà yakè tanà barci**...

The girl, since she is sleeping...

cf. **yārinnyār dà takè tanà barci**...

The girl who is sleeping...

<b>kē dà yakè gwānā cè...</b>	Since you (fem.) are an expert...
cf. <b>kē dà kīkè gwānā...</b>	You (fem.) who are an expert...
<b>mū dà yakè munà sàuràron fēdiyò...</b>	Since we are listening to the radio...
<b>yayyenmù dà yakè likitōcti nè, sunà jīn dādī</b>	
Since our senior brothers are doctors, they are enjoying themselves.	

Instead of keeping the causal/reason **dà yakè** as a fixed form, some speakers produce sentences in which the *wsp* is inflected for person, gender, and number *as if* it were being controlled by the preceding NP. Note that these constructions with the gender/number agreement generally have the same surface form as relative clauses. Examples:

<b>kē dà kīkè gwānā cè</b>	
(1) Since you (fem.) are an expert...	
or (2) You who are an expert... (first interpretation)	
<b>yārān dà sukè bà fitinānnū ba nè, sun zō</b>	
(1) Since the children are not troublesome, they came.	
or (2) The children who are not troublesome... (first interpretation)	
<b>Lārāi dà takè ùngōzòmà cē, zā tà fāhīmci àbīn dà kè dāmūnā</b>	
(1) Since Larai is a midwife, she will understand what is troubling me.	
or (2) Larai, who is a midwife... (first interpretation)	
<b>mū dà mukè munà sàuràron fēdiyò, bā mà jīn kūkan kūrā</b>	
Since we were listening to the radio, we didn't hear the cry of the hyena.	
cf. <b>mū dà mukè sàuràron fēdiyò, bā mà jīn kūkan kūrā</b>	
We who were listening to the radio...	

The above examples illustrate surface proximity overriding constituency in concord assignment. When presented for inspection out of context, the first interpretation of the above sentences was invariably that of a relative clause; but in producing 'since' clauses, such "mistakes" with overt pronominal agreement were in fact made.

### 3. PURPOSE ('IN ORDER TO')

Purpose clauses are indicated by **dōmin/don** '(in order) to, so that' plus a clause in the subjunctive. (As with many contractions in English, in everyday language, the short form **don** is more common than **dōmin**.) Examples:

<b>tā zō don tà sàyi yādī</b>	She came in order to buy cloth.
<b>mun kirāwō shì don yà gyārà manà firjì</b>	We called him to (come) repair the fridge.

°AN: According to Bagari (1987), **sabòdà** can serve in place of **dōmin/don** in purpose clauses. This is probably very much less common than the use of **dōmin/don** for **sabòdà** in reason clauses.

If the subject of the main clause and the purpose clause are the same, the conjunction can be deleted. This is sometimes also possible when they are not the same, but the exact rules governing the deletion are not clear, e.g.,

<b>mun bazà kāyā à inuwà (don) mù yi cìniki</b>	
We spread our wares in the shade (in order) to do business.	

**yā kāwō nāmà (don)**  
He brought for  
**yā fādā (don) yà tsōri**  
**zā sù yi kārātū sòsai (don)**  
**nā kāwō mukù àbinci**

The purpose clause, as just', e.g.,

**Ròkari yakè yī wai (don)**  
**yā kafà musù idò wai**  
He kept his e  
**bàì kyàutu ba kà wul**  
It is not nice

Negative purpose clauses and a negative subjunctive correspond to English

**kà tàfi dà laimà (don)**  
**mù yi sauri (don) kac**  
Let's be quick  
**Hajiyā tanà kai tà m**  
Hajiya would

Instead of using a subject and a dynamic verb, the full-form **dōmin**.

**sun shiga don magan**  
**yā hau bishiyà don h**  
He climbed

In certain constructions the purposive expression is deleted of **yīn** or, if

**tā tàfi (don) cín àbinci**  
**sun zō nán (don) nēr**  
(lit. they came here (in order) to  
**sun fita (don) (yīn) w**  
**nā zō gaishē kà**  
**tā zō dūbà láfiyārkù**  
(lit. she came (to) in

[References: Bagari (1987)]

yā kāwō nāmà (don) màtafàsà tà yi masà miyà

He brought food so that his wife could make stew for him.

yā fàdā (don) yà tsōrātā mu

He said (that) to frighten us.

zā sù yi kàràtù sòsai (dòmin) sù ci jàfàbàwā

They will study hard in order to pass the exam.

nā kāwō mukù àbinci (don) kù ji dādī

I brought you food so that you would be happy.

The purpose clause, usually with **don**, can be preceded by the adverbial particle **wai** to indicate 'merely, just', e.g.,

řòkari yakè yī wai (don) yà sāmù

He's putting in an effort just so as to get it.

yā kafā musù idò wai (don) yà ga àbìn dà sukè nuff

He kept his eyes on them just to see what they were up to.

bài kyàutu ba kà wulàkàntà talakāwā wai (don) kà nūnà kà fi sù àbin-hannu

It is not nice to treat the poor so harshly just to show that you are wealthier than they are.

Negative purpose clauses are indicated by **dòmin** (= **don**), which may be deleted as indicated above, plus a negative subjunctive clause formed with the prohibitive marker **kadà** (= **kāf**). The clauses often correspond to English 'lest' clauses. Examples:

kà tàfi dà laimà (don) kadà ruwā yà bā kà kāsī

Take an umbrella lest you get soaked.

mù yi saurī (don) kadà wani yà kwācè

Let's be quick so that no one grabs it. *or* Let's go quickly lest someone grabs (it).

Hajiyā tanà kai tà makāntā wai don kāf à bař tà tà tàfi ita kadai tà hàdu dà Gide

Hajiya would take her to school so that she was not left to go alone to meet up with Gide.

Instead of using a subjunctive clause, it is possible to express 'purpose' by means of a phrase consisting of **don** plus a dynamic noun (which includes verbal nouns). Note that one normally uses **don** rather than the full-form **dòmin**. Examples:

sun shìga don máganà

They entered in order to talk. (lit. they entered for speech)

yā hau bishiyà don hāngen nēsà

He climbed the tree to look in the distance. (lit. he climbed tree for looking afar)

In certain constructions, especially when the main clause contains a motion verb, **don** can be omitted. The purposive expression that follows can be a verbal noun phrase, a dynamic noun resulting from the deletion of **yīn** or, if **don** is omitted, an infinitive phrase (IP), e.g.,

tā tàfi (don) cīn àbinci

She has gone to eat (food). (lit. she went (for) eating.of food)

sun zō nán (don) nēman zīnāfiyā

They came here to look for gold.

(lit. they came here (for) seeking.of gold)

sun fita (don) (yīn) wāsā

They went out to play. (lit. they went out (for) (doing) playing)

nā zō gaishē kà

I've come to say hello to you. (lit. I came (to) greet you) (IP)

tā zō dūbà lāfiyāřkù

She's come to see how you (pl.) are.

(lit. she came (to) inspect health.of.you) (IP)

[References: Bagari (1987); Koops (1991)]

## 62. Reduplication

**R**EDUPLICATION (redup) can be viewed from two perspectives: (1) function and degree of productivity, and (2) nature of the (morpho)phonological process.

### 1. FUNCTION AND DEGREE OF PRODUCTIVITY

The term *reduplication* serves to describe both (a) active functional processes (productive or partially productive) and (b) the results (synchronically frozen) of such reduplicative processes.

#### 1.1. Active reduplication

Active reduplication refers to word formation rules in which reduplication functions as a synchronically recognizable derivational or inflectional process. The derivations/inflections themselves may be more or less productive, but the operation of the process as a process is evident. Reduplication as an active process is usually comparable in function to normal affixation processes, e.g., **àkàwu** 'clerk', pl. **àkàwu-àkàwu** (redup), cf. **àgògo** 'clock', pl. **agògunà** (suffix). Reduplication may serve as a derivational/inflectional formative in its own right, as in **àkàwu-àkàwu**. In other cases, however, it accompanies affixation, e.g., **littàfi** 'book', pl. **littàttàfai** (partial redup plus suffix **-ai**)<sup>LH</sup>. Where reduplication is used for synchronically functional purposes, it has been described under the appropriate derivational or inflectional headings. Formations involving reduplication include the following:

- (1) Pluralization of nouns (chap. 56), e.g., **jòji-jòji** pl. < **jòji** 'judge'; **damàmè** pl. < **damò** 'monitor'; **bàmàbàmai** pl. < **bàm** 'bomb'; **shāwārfwāri** pl. < **shāwāfā** 'advice'.
- (2) Attenuation of adjectives and adverbs (§4:2.3, §5:4.2), e.g., **fari-fari** 'whitish' < **fari** 'white'; **dà dāma-dāma** 'moderate quantity, fairly good' < **dà dāmā** 'quite a lot'.
- (3) Intensification of adverbs (§5:4.1), e.g., **sassāfē** 'very early in the morning' < **sāfē** 'early in the morning'; **māfmaza** (= **maza maza**) 'very quickly' < **maza** 'quickly'.
- (4) Formation of pluractional verbs (chap. 55), e.g., **kirkirā** 'call many/often' < **kirā** 'call'; **makalkālē** (= **mammakālē**) 'get all lodged in' < **makālē** 'get lodged in'.
- (5) Formation of sensory quality verbs and adjectives (chap. 2), e.g., **zurfāfā** 'heat up', **zùzzurfā** / pl. **zurfāfā** 'very hot' < **zurfi** 'heat'; **fādādā** 'widen', **fāffādā** / pl. **fādādā** 'very wide' < **fādī** 'breadth, width'.
- (6) Formation of augmentative adjectives (chap. 11), e.g., **gandamēmè** / pl. **gandamā-gāndāmā** 'long and strong' (e.g., knife, sword, horse), cf. **gandami** 'essentially same meaning'; **sambalélè** / pl. **sambalā-sāmbalā** 'tall and well-formed', cf. **sambali** 'essentially same meaning'.
- (7) Formation of adjectival past participles (chap. 3), e.g., **shāfaffē** 'wiped' < **shāfā** 'wipe'; **gāgararrē** 'rebellious' < **gāgarā** 'be impossible for'.
- (8) Formation of frequentatives (chap. 29), e.g., **būshe-būshe** 'blowing (of musical instruments)' < **būsā** 'blow'; **būge-būge** 'beatings' < **bugā** 'beat'.

- (9) Formation of h
- Sàlèlè** 'Little Sale'
- (10) Formation of
- < **huḍu** 'four'.

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#### 1.2. Frozen (ve

Frozen reduplicati  
synchronic point o

- (1) Reduplicated  
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°AN: Many r  
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- (2) Reduplicated  
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### 2. NATURE O

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- (1) Full redup (e  
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carefully' < **sān**
- (2) Full redup w  
redup, including  
**shūdī** 'blue'; d

- (9) Formation of hypocoristic names (§48:1.8), e.g., **Làdidi** 'Little Ladi' < **Làdì** (a female name); **Sàlèlè** 'Little Sale' < **Sàlè** (a male name).  
 (10) Formation of distributives (§53:1.3), e.g., **btbiyu** 'two each' < **biyu** 'two'; **huḥḥuḥu** 'four each' < **huḥu** 'four'.

°AN: I am limiting the term *reduplication* to processes that apply within a word. I do not use the term for successive occurrences of the same word, as in English 'very very tall', which I am calling 'repetition'. I thus consider the specific examples of distributives indicated above to involve reduplication whereas such examples as **watà watà** 'monthly' < **watà** 'month' or **sulè sulè** 'a shilling each' < **sulè** 'shilling' are viewed as repetition. Even though there are obviously some borderline cases, I feel that the distinction between reduplication and repetition is a valid one.

### 1.2. Frozen (vestigial) reduplication

Frozen reduplication refers to words that phonologically have a reduplicated structure, but which from a synchronic point of view constitute essentially unanalyzable simple lexical items. These include:

- (1) Reduplicated nouns and adjectives, e.g., **kwàlekwa** 'canoe'; **bilbilò** 'swallow' (bird); **jàrtrì** 'infant'; **kifffiyà** 'turtle'; **fiffikè** (< \*fik-fikè) 'wing'; **tsòlòlò** 'tall and skinny'; **zàngà-zàngà** 'riot, demonstration'.

°AN: Many reduplicated words with the LL-HL pattern, such as **jìnà-jìnà** 'a red-juiced weed' (cf. **jìnì** 'blood') can be related to simple nonderived words in the language. However, because the semantic relationship between the reduplicated and nonreduplicated items is extremely tenuous and because the formation is (totally?) unproductive, I have chosen to include these items among the frozen reduplicated forms.

- (2) Reduplicated verbs, e.g., **sansànà** 'smell'; **yagalgalà** 'tear to pieces'; **gàgarà** 'be impossible for'; **sad'ad'á** 'go stealthily'.  
 (3) Reduplicated ideophones, e.g., **cakò-cakò** 'sharp and pointed'; **zòmòmò** 'describes pouting, protruding ones lip'; **wàndàf-wandàf** 'zigzagging, swaying from side to side'; **kaca-kaca** 'in a mess'.

## 2. NATURE OF THE (MORPHO)PHONOLOGICAL PROCESS

From the point of view of form, reduplication covers a considerable variety of processes. At one extreme is total and exact reduplication of the simple stem including consonants, vowels, and tone. At the other extreme is partial reduplication in which the only element that is copied is a single consonant, everything else in the added material being fully specified. These various processes are described in turn. (Note the terminology adopted here: reduplicand = the constituent or string that is copied; duple = the copy.) (For purposes of clarity of exposition, I have inserted a hyphen between the reduplicated elements in examples. In standard orthography, reduplicated items are usually written either as two separate words (in the case of full reduplication) or as single words (in the case of partial reduplication).)

- (1) Full redup (exact copy). In this process, the underlying stem is repeated twice exactly as is, i.e., the full stem serves as the reduplicand, e.g., **jòjì-jòjì** 'judges' < **jòjì** 'judge'; **sànnu-sànnu** 'very slowly and carefully' < **sànnu** 'slowly and carefully'.  
 (2) Full redup with morphologically specified vowel shortening. The basic process here is also full redup, including tone, but the final vowel of each component is shortened, e.g., **shūdī-shūdī** 'bluish' < **shūdī** 'blue'; **dōgo-dōgo** 'medium height/not very tall' < **dōgō** 'tall'.

(3) Full redup with a prespecified tone pattern and final vowel. The process here is full redup operating on a prepared stem containing a tone-integrating suffix, e.g., **bùge-bùge** 'beatings' (< //bug-// + -e)<sup>LH</sup> x 2) < **bugà** 'beat'; **càmfe-càmfe** 'superstitions' < **camfì** 'superstition'.

(4) Full redup with tone pattern imposed on the output. The process here is exact redup of the segmentals but not of the tone. A set tone pattern extends over the resulting reduplicated word, e.g., **santalā-santalā** (H-L) 'svelte (pl.)'; **rukū-rukū** (H-L) 'large (pl.) of round things'; **bàdām-badam** (L-H) 'floundering about'; **zànga-zànga** (LL-HL) 'demonstration'; **dùrù-durù** 'dim-sighted person' (LL-HL).

(5) Full redup with loss of the final vowel in the first element. The basic process here is also full redup, but it is accompanied by a secondary (usually optional) loss of the stem-final vowel in the first element, resulting in surface partial redup (with adjustments in the syllable-final consonants), e.g., **huř-huřu** (< **huřu-huřu**) 'four each' < **huřu** 'four'; **wur-wuri** (< **wuri wuri**) 'very early' < **wuri** 'early'.

(6) Rightward redup of the final two syllables of the stem (including tone). The process is accompanied by loss of the final vowel in the reduplicand with concomitant adjustments in the resulting syllable-final consonant. This process is essentially limited to remnant/frozen reduplicated nouns. If the stem consists of two syllables only, then the process appears on the surface to be full redup, but the behavior of longer stems shows clearly that the redup applies at the level of the syllable (or foot) rather than at the level of the word. At the time the redup took place, all word-final vowels were short. Examples (with the duple being underlined): **awarwarō** 'bracelet' (< \*awaro-waro); **gāggāfā** 'type of axe' (< \*gāfā-gāfā); **bùduddùgi** 'type of edible frog' (< \*bùdùg'-dùgi < \*bùdùgi-dùgi). (Note: LH on a single syllable simplifies to H.)

(7) Rightward redup of the final syllable of the stem (not including tone). In this process, which is limited to remnant/frozen nouns or to ideophones, only the segmentals of the final syllable (CVV or CVC) are reduplicated. The tone appears to be a property of the resultant reduplicate as a whole, e.g., **jàrìrì** (L-H-L) 'infant'; **tsòlòlò** (L-H-L) 'tall and skinny'; **zòmòmò** (all L) 'describes pouting, protruding one's lip'; **ḡàngwàḡwàl** (all L) 'describes the appearance of a solid, round, and fleshy thing'.

(8) -aCCē suffixal redup with tone specification on the output. This process, which is found only with adjectival past participles, involves the addition of a suffix -aCCē (in the masculine singular) where the CC represents a geminated copy of the stem-final consonant of the related verb. The resultant word appears with a set L-H-H tone pattern, e.g., **shàfaffē** 'wiped' < **shāfā** 'wipe'; **kòmàdāfāfē** 'buckled, bent' < **kòmādfē** 'buckle'.

ØHN: Historically, this formative may have involved two-syllable redup to the right, including tone, of stems containing a tone-integrating suffix -ē)<sup>LH</sup>. The present surface forms would be due to the subsequent loss of the penultimate vowel of the reduplicated word plus obligatory gemination of the thereby produced abutting consonants, e.g., **shàfaffē** < \*shāfashfē < \*shāfē-sh(ā)fē; **kòmàdāfāfē** < \*kòmādamfē < \*kòmādfē-m(ā)dfē. Note that this historical derivation, while not unreasonable, is still clearly speculative and in need of confirmation.

(9) CVC or CVG antepenultimate redup (toneless). The basic process here is leftward copying of the CVC of the final two syllables of the stem that serves as the reduplicand. The second C is either copied or, more often, replaced by an unspecified consonant (G) that forms a geminate with the following abutting consonant. The duple, which is toneless, appears either as an infix or as a prefix depending on the number of syllables in the stem. The reduplicated word as a whole gets its tone by morphological assignment, e.g., **maḡalḡalē** 'become lodged' (plurac. of **maḡalē**) has H-H-L-H tone because this is the pattern for polysyllabic gr4 verbs; **babbākā** 'roast' (< \*baka) is H-L-H because this is the pattern for trisyllabic gr1 verbs; **cikunkunā** 'bellies' (pl. of **cikī**) (< \*cikunā) and **sulullukā** 'shillings' (pl. of **sulē**) (< \*sulukukā < \*sulukā) are H-H-H-L because of the patterns produced by the H-L tone-integrating plural suffixes -unā)<sup>HL</sup> and -ukā)<sup>HL</sup>.

(10) CVC- or CVG- prefix stem excluding tone. (consonant.) In the case of tone, e.g., **zùzzurfā** 'verbs, tone is assigned to many or often' (< **kafār** (11) Cā- prefixal reduplication, the initial duple itself is toneless; **dādārā** (gr1) 'cut with

### 2.1. Pseudoreduplication

Hausa has a variety of preceding syllable, e.g. reduplication. It is probably than reduplicated elements consonants are phonolo-

-āCē)<sup>HLH</sup> plural suffix: rabbits < **zōmō** sg. + s -ōCī)<sup>H</sup> plural suffix: 1 (base //tsark-//) sg. + -āCā)<sup>HLH</sup> plural suffix: **zùzzurfā** < //zurf-// + -aCa(a) verbalizing su widen/become wide < 1 -ēCē)<sup>HL</sup> augmentative

## 3. REDUPLICATION

Frozen reduplicated nouns exists in the language, best. These reduplicate processes. With these exception of the partial reduplicated nouns the lexicon, but not about

The fully frozen reduplicated day word is the result. There are over 250 verbs reduplication, and a h

### 3.1. Two-syllable

The typical frozen reduplicated C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V (where the bracketed 'bracelet'. The fundamental (including the tone).

- (10) CVC- or CVG- prefixal redup. The basic process here is leftward copying of the initial CVC of the stem excluding tone. (The coda C normally appears as a geminate G rather than as a fully copied consonant.) In the case of derived adjectives of sensory quality (DASQ), the CVC- comes with a preset L tone, e.g., *zùzzurfā* 'very deep' (< *zurfi* 'heat'); *fāffādā* = *fārfādā* 'very broad, wide' (< *fādī* 'breadth'); *sāssantsā* = *sānsantsā* 'very smooth, slippery' (< *santsi* 'smoothness'). In the case of pluractional verbs, tone is assigned to the resultant word as a whole on the basis of the grade, e.g., *kakkarāntā* 'read many or often' (< *karāntā* 'read'); *tāttāmbayā* = *tāntāmbayā* 'ask many or often' (< *tāmbayā* 'ask').
- (11) Cā- prefixal redup (toneless). In this process, which is limited to verbs with frozen/remnant reduplication, the initial consonant of the verb stem is copied but the vowel /ā/ is fully specified. The duple itself is toneless; the tone of the reduplicated word as a whole is provided by the verb grade, e.g., *dādārā* (gr1) 'cut with sth blunt'; *rārūmā* (gr2) 'grab, snatch'; *gāgarā* (gr3) 'be impossible'.

### 2.1. Pseudoreduplication

Hausa has a variety of "reduplicative" -VCV formatives, in which the C copies the consonant of the preceding syllable, e.g., *wurī* 'place', pl. *wurārē*. In most studies, these are included as types of partial reduplication. It is probably more accurate, however, to describe them as being simply suffixes (rather than reduplicated elements), where the vowels (and usually the tone) are fully specified but the consonants are phonologically underspecified. Examples of these -VCV suffixes are the following:

-āCē)<sup>HLH</sup> plural suffix: *dam-āmē* monitor lizards < *damō* sg. + suffix -āCē)<sup>HLH</sup>, cf. *zōmāyē* rabbits < *zōmō* sg. + suffix -āyē)<sup>HLH</sup>

-ōCī)<sup>H</sup> plural suffix: *tāg-ōgī* windows < *tāgā* sg. + suffix -ōCī)<sup>H</sup>, cf. *tsarōkī* bow strings < *tsarkīyā* (base //tsark-//) sg. + affix -ō-ī)<sup>H</sup>

-āCā)<sup>HLH</sup> plural suffix of DASQs [derived adjectives of sensory quality]: *zurfāfā* very deep (pl. of *zùzzurfā*) < //zurf-// + -āCā)<sup>HLH</sup>, cf. *fusākā* faces < *fuskā* sg. + affix -ā-ā)<sup>HLH</sup>

-aCa(a) verbalizing suffix for DVSQs [derived verbs of sensory quality]: *fādādā* / *fādādā* widen/become wide < *fādī* width + suffix -aCa(a)

-ēCē)<sup>HL</sup> augmentative suffix: *fandamēmē* huge < *fandamī* huge + suffix -ēCē)<sup>HL</sup>

## 3. REDUPLICATED NOUNS (LEXICALLY FROZEN)

Frozen reduplicated nouns are items that are reduplicated in form, but for which no simple stem now exists in the language, or if there is a simple stem, with which the relation is synchronically tenuous at best. These reduplicated nouns are the historical vestiges of presumed, but no longer active, derivational processes. With these items, one cannot associate any meaning to the formation as such (with the exception of the partially-frozen LL-HL class described below in §3.5). A description of these frozen reduplicated nouns thus tells us something important about the morphophonological structure of the lexicon, but not about its semantic structure.

The fully frozen reduplicated nouns divide into three subclasses depending on whether the present-day word is the result of (1) two-syllable reduplication, (2) CV reduplication, or (3) full reduplication. There are over 250 words resulting from two-syllable reduplication, some 50 words exhibiting CV reduplication, and a handful of nouns exhibiting full reduplication.

### 3.1. Two-syllable reduplication to the right

The typical frozen reduplicated noun reflecting two-syllable reduplication has the form ( )C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V (where the length of the V is variable), e.g., *bālbēlā* 'cattle egret'; *awārwařō* 'thin metal bracelet'. The fundamental process is rightward reduplication of the final two syllables of the stem (including the tone). This is followed by deletion of the original stem-final vowel. (Note that at the



presumed time that the process took place, final vowels were all short—the word-final lengthening came later.) The essential point to keep in mind in looking at frozen reduplicated nouns is that the reduplicated syllables (i.e., the morphologically secondary syllables) are the ones that tend to reflect the original shape whereas the original source syllables are the ones that have undergone phonological reduction and deformation. Examples (with the duple underlined>):

<b>fura + fura</b> ⇒ <b>furafura</b> ⇒ <b>furfura</b> → /furfurā/	gray hair
<b>bèlā + bèlā</b> ⇒ <b>bèlābèlā</b> ⇒ <b>bèl' bèlā</b> → /bálbèlā/	cattle egret
<b>awafo + wafo</b> ⇒ <b>awafowafo</b> ⇒ <b>awařwafo</b> → /awařwafo/	thin metal bracelet

ΔDN: In Sokoto the tone melody F-H-L has simplified in many cases to L-H-L, e.g., SH /bálbèlā/ → [Skt] bálbèlā.

### 3.1.1. Segmental adjustments

Because of the vowel deletion rule, e.g., \*furafura ⇒ **furfura**, the two syllables that were originally true copies of one another do not appear identical on the surface. The original reduplication process is further disguised because of various phonological changes affecting the vowel and the coda consonant in the antepenultimate CVC closed syllable. Two sets of changes (§3.1.1.1 and §3.1.1.2) reflect general phonological processes that still operate synchronically in the language with greater or lesser regularity. The third (§3.1.1.3) is a strictly historical change.

3.1.1.1. All long vowels in closed syllables shorten and, if originally /ē/ or /ō/, centralize to /a/, e.g.,

<b>kúkkúkì</b> < *kúk(ì)kúkì	gum tree
<b>bálbèlā</b> < *bél(à)bèlā	cattle egret
<b>dáddòkà</b> < *dòk(à)dòkà	waterbuck

3.1.1.2. The coda consonant in the closed syllable is subject to assimilation to point of articulation (in the case of nasals), rhotacism (in the case of coronal obstruents), or gemination (in the case of labials and velars, or in the case of /r/ before another coronal), e.g.,

<b>gwángwāmā</b> (= [gwáŋgwāmā]) < *gwámgwāmā	canna plant		
<b>fùmfùnā</b> (= [hùŋhùnā]) < *fùnfùna	mold on food		
<b>kwářkwatā</b> < *kwátkwatā	lice	<b>yařyādī</b> < *yařyādī	a twiner
<b>kwářkwāsā</b> < *kwaskwāsā	driver ant	<b>bářbajè</b> < *bářbazè	biting ant
<b>káfaffagō</b> < *káfagfago	fig tree	<b>shininnikī</b> < *siniknikī	dilatoriness
<b>dóddurū</b> < *dórdurū	small stream	<b>dářd'òrī</b> < *d'ard'òrī	a creeper

When the semivowel /w/ occurred in coda position, it either formed a geminate with the following consonant or else attached to the nucleus and was realized as the second part of the /au/ diphthong. The corresponding semivowel /y/, on the other hand, rarely was geminated. Examples:

<b>tsáttsewà</b> = tsáutsēwà < *tsáwtsēwà	a swift, swallow
<b>kásassawā</b> = kásausawā < *kásawsawā	type of long spear
cf. <b>daidayā</b> (not **daddayā) < *daydayā	large millipede

3.1.1.3. In some dozen cases where the stem-final consonant was /r/ or /l/ (or /s/ in two instances), the coda consonant dissimilated to a nasal, e.g., \*jal-jalo > **janjalō** 'pebble'. (That this is in fact a

reduplicated word can be seen from the historical change with the replacement by the form **fálfalā** (not \*\*fálfalā).

(a) **bámbarō** (< \*bámbarō) = **famfarō** destitute (cf. **kàràkàràl**); **kijinjiri** = **kùdundurī** (1) = **kùdundurī** putting aside one of the (cf. **zànzarō** dauber was) (b) **gwangwalā** = **gwangwalā** mid pebble (for breaking) (c) **kwànkwasò** = **kwànkwasò** rea

3.1.2. Tone class  
Frozen reduplicated nouns with two syllables. (The initial syllable is always H, the final is always L.)

3.1.2.1. (H-H-H). Vowels in closed syllables are short. Examples, e.g.,

<b>birbiri</b>	B
<b>gwařgwādā</b>	r
<b>kùduddufī</b>	b

3.1.2.2. (F-H-L). Vowels in closed syllables are short. The HL on the CVC syllable is always on the first syllable. Examples are trisyllabic, e.g.,

<b>bářbajè</b>	b
<b>kwářkwāsā</b>	d
<b>řyářřyāřī</b>	s

3.1.2.3. (H-L-H). Vowels in closed syllables are short. The HL on the CVC syllable, which is always on the first syllable, is always on the first syllable. Examples, over half

<b>bambāmī</b>	u
<b>jinjiri</b>	b
<b>magařgāřā</b>	s

Because of the anomalous nature of the word **jinjiri** that the word **jinjiri** is not a reduplicated word. \*jirjiri > \*jinjiri >

reduplicated word can be seen from the form of the plural, e.g., **janjalō**, pl. **jalājālai**.) This is a strictly historical change without a synchronic counterpart. Even historically it is not clear what conditioned the replacement by the nasal since this change was not automatic; contrast **janjalō** 'pebble' < \***jal-jalo** with **fālfālā** (not \*\***fānfālā**) 'a type of basket' < \***fāl-fāla**. Examples (complete):

- (a) **bāmbārō** (< \***bānbaro** < \***bārbaro**) puffiness, swelling; **dāndarī** coccyx; **dandarī** bare; **famfarō** destitute land; **jinjiri** baby (cf. pl. **jirājirai**); **kankarē** scrapings of *tuwo* from pot (cf. pl. **kārākārai**); **kijinjiri** type of palm tree; **kūdundurā** knife for women to cut meat, okra etc.; **kūdunduri** (1) = **kūdundurā** (2) type of tall grass; **kūnkurū** tortoise; **kānkārā** flint; **kūnkūrū** putting aside one of a hundred cowries; **shanshērā** beans without pods, unhusked peanuts or rice; **zānzārō** dauber wasp
- (b) **gwangwalā** midrib of a raffia palm branch; **gwangwalē** flower of custard apple tree; **janjalō** pebble (for breaking antimony); **kwanrōli** (< \***kōnrōli** < \***kōlōli**) summit
- (c) **kwānkwasō** rear lumbar region; **kyānkwasō** cockroach

### 3.1.2. Tone classes

Frozen reduplicated nouns fall into six main tone classes defined in terms of the tones of the final three syllables. (The initial tone of quadrisyllabic words can be either H or L.)

3.1.2.1. (H-H-H). Words with an H-H-H tone pattern derive directly from stems with final H-H, e.g., **marmarā** 'laterite' < \***mara-mara**. This is the most common tone pattern; there are a good hundred examples, e.g.,

<b>birbiri</b>	Bruce's fruit pigeon	<b>gaggāfā</b>	bateleur eagle
<b>gwaṛgwādā</b>	male lizard	<b>kankanā</b>	water-melon
<b>kūduddufi</b>	borrow-pit	<b>maṛwakkwafi</b>	woodpecker

3.1.2.2. (F-H-L). Words with an F-H-L (falling-high-low) tone pattern derive from stems with final H-L. The HL on the CVC syllable, which results from the vowel syncope, is realized as a fall, e.g., **gwāngwāmā** 'canna plant' < \***gwāmā-gwāmā**. There are approximately thirty examples, all of which are trisyllabic, e.g.,

<b>bārbajè</b>	biting ant	<b>gāggāfā</b>	type of axe
<b>kwāṛkwāsà</b>	driver ant	<b>kānkānā</b>	measles
<b>kyārkyārì</b>	starling	<b>tsātsēwà</b>	swift, swallow

3.1.2.3. (H-L-H). Words with the H-L-H tone pattern derive from stems with final L-H. The LH on the CVC syllable, which resulted from the vowel syncope, is realized as H in accordance with the general LH to H rule (see §71:1.2), e.g., **tsattsàgi** 'a shrub' < \***tsāg-tsāgi** < \***tsāgi-tsāgi**. There are some fifty examples, over half of which are quadrisyllabic, e.g.,

<b>bambāmi</b>	upper part of deleb-palm	<b>būduddūgi</b>	type of edible frog
<b>jinjiri</b>	baby	<b>kyāfirfitā</b>	sand fly
<b>magaṛgārā</b>	self-sown guinea corn	<b>yaṛyādī</b>	climbing vine

Because of the anomalous nasal replacement and the tone simplification, it is not immediately evident that the word **jinjiri** 'baby', for example, reflects reduplication, but it does. The derivation is \***jiri-jiri** > \***jirjiri** > \***jirjiri** > **jinjiri**.

3.1.2.4. (L-L-H). Words with the L-L-H tone pattern probably derive from stems that originally had final L-L. Subsequently, when final vowels were lengthened—originally they were all short—the word-final L-L changed to L-H in accordance with a historical rule of low-tone raising (\*L-L > L-H) that applied to long final vowels (see §34:3.2). There are some fifty examples, e.g.,

<b>fàffètsi</b>	a shrub	< *fètsfètsi	< *fètsi-fètsi
<b>fùmfùná</b>	food mold	< *fùmfùná	< *fùná-fùná
<b>gàngàmò</b>	turmeric	< *gàngàmò	< *gàmò-gàmò
<b>hàfàfàmi</b>	uproar	< *hàfàmfi	< *hàfàmi-fàmi
<b>sàsàgò</b>	small saw	< *sàsàgò	< *sàgò-sàgò
<b>wàlwàlá</b>	cheerful disposition	< *wàlwàlá	< *wàlá-wàlá

The tone patterns above appear to have been derived by a reduplication process in which the final two syllable of the stem were copied exactly including the tone. The next two tone classes, both of which have under twenty examples each, do not lend themselves easily to such an analysis. They derive either from two-syllable reduplication where the output received a set tone melody, or else (less likely) from prefixal CVC- reduplication where the CVC- had inherent L tone.

3.1.2.5. (L-H-L). Some fifteen frozen reduplicated nouns have the tone pattern L-H-L. (Two words also contain the feminative suffix.) A few seem to have come from F-H-L words that subsequently underwent tone simplification, e.g., **kàrkàrà** = **kàrkàrà** 'thorny acacia'. (As indicated in a note above, this F-L-H to L-H-L change is well attested in the Sokoto dialect.) The others may derive from words that originally had a set LL-HL melody similar to what one finds today in such reduplicative words as **gòrà-gòrà** 'type of grass' (cf. **gòrà** 'bamboo, cane') (see §3.5 below). A word like **kàrkàzà** 'industrious psn', for example, would thus come from \*kàz(à)-kàzà. Alternatively, these L-H-L nouns may derive from H-L stems to which an L-tone CVC- prefix was added, i.e., **kàrkàzà** < \*kàzkàzà. Examples:

**bàbbāwà** pagan (cf. **bāwà** slave); **gwàf̄gwādà** male lizard; **kyànk̄yasò** roach; **kànkanè** small; **bùbbùrùwà** (< \*bùr̄bùrù + (w)ā) white pelican; **fàf̄f̄jìyā** (< \*fàzf̄zì + (y)ā) open area in front of a compound

3.1.2.6. (L-H-H). A dozen frozen reduplicated nouns have the tone pattern L-H-H. All of these have a heavy first syllable in the stem. As with the preceding class, there are two possible sources. Either they come from reduplicated words with a set LL-HH melody, e.g., **sànsani** war camp < \*sàni-sani<sup>LL-HH</sup>, or else they come from H-H stems to which an L-tone CVC- prefix was added, i.e., **sànsani** < \*sàn-sani. Examples (complete):

<b>bàmbarō</b>	puffiness, swelling	<b>dàddawā</b>	locust bean cake
<b>dìddigā</b>	crumbs	<b>dìndimi</b>	night blindness
<b>gàf̄gāzā</b>	cichlid perch	<b>gwàf̄gwadō</b>	proportion
<b>kàkkaḥai</b>	inflammation of finger or toe	<b>kàrkārā</b>	inhabited area near city
<b>kùnkurū</b>	tortoise	<b>nànnahō</b>	a weed
<b>sànsani</b>	war camp	<b>zànzarō</b>	dauber wasp

### 3.2. One-syllable reduplication to the right

#### 3.2.1. S<sub>1</sub>-S<sub>2</sub>-S<sub>2</sub>)<sup>LHL</sup>

Some fifty or so words have the reduplicated shape cv(v)CVVCVV, where the second and third syllables are segmentally identical. These words have a set L-H-L tone pattern, e.g., **jàr̄r̄r̄i** 'infant'. The copied

syllables all contain : for inexplicable reas typically either the sa vowels that follow, b in one instance one fi

This class of wo items. It also includes can function as adject

Words of this cl **tsòlòlai** 'tall and ski inflectional rules (se Examples (in the unm

**bòròrò** bird's crop; stupid (psn) (n. or adj) **dùsùsù** bran from w (n. or adj.); **gàbùbù** look all right; psn wit pack animals; **hùlùlù** blank/inexpressive fa beer; **kùrùrù** bird's spinal deformity; **kàl** the body, tumor; **kùl** **màr̄r̄i** white oryx; honeycomb; anything **zùgùgù** exaggeratin

#### 3.2.2. S<sub>1</sub>-S<sub>1</sub>-S<sub>1</sub>)<sup>H</sup>

Two trisyllabic noun:

**shāshāshā** fo  
**sùsùsù** ni

#### 3.2.3. One-syllab

There are a small nun and final -yā or -wā. These words do not f Examples (complete

**càkwaikwaiwā** st  
**hàgùguwā** e:  
**hàntniyā** n:  
**kàlùluwā** sv  
**kùruruwā** sh

#### 3.3. CVC plus su

Some fifteen nouns than -è.) (There is no

syllables all contain a long monophthongal vowel. Four of the five long vowels occur in these words; for inexplicable reasons, /ē/, which is normally a common vowel, does not. The initial vowel is typically either the same as the following vowel or else /a/. The initial vowel is usually long, like the vowels that follow, but it is sometimes short. In two instances there is an initial /ū/ followed by /ā/ and in one instance one finds /ai/ followed by /ā/.

This class of words includes an assortment of common nouns referring to plants, birds, and other items. It also includes a number of semantically expressive words describing appearance, most of which can function as adjectives as well as nouns.

Words of this class that can undergo pluralization use the -ai suffix, e.g., *jārīrai* 'infants', *tsòlòlò* / *tsòlòlai* 'tall and skinny' (sg./pl.). Corresponding feminines are formed according to the regular feminine inflectional rules (see §31:3.1), e.g., *jārīriyā* 'female infant', *tsòlòlùwā* 'tall and skinny' (f.). Examples (in the unmarked masculine form):

*bòròrò* bird's crop; *bùshàshà* luxurious living, having a good time; *bùzùzù* dung beetle; *dàrīrī* stupid (psn) (n. or adj.); *dòsòsò* ugly looking (of psn's face) (usu. adj.); *dù(u)kùkù* glumly hesitant; *dùsùsù* bran from wetted ground corn (cf. *dùsā* bran), carbuncle; *dùzùzù* psn with unkempt body hair (n. or adj.); *gàbùbù* senseless psn (n. or adj.) (cf. *gàbò* simpleton); *gàràrà* blind psn whose eyes look all right; psn with poor eyesight; *gàtùtù* slow-witted psn (n. or adj.); *gùràrà* hide pannier for pack animals; *hùlùlù* immoral (re. psn's behavior); *jārīrī* infant; *jòlòlò* tall, lanky psn with blank/inexpressive face (e.g., psn with muscular dystrophy or other disability); *kàcàcà* cheap type of beer; *kùrùrù* bird's crop; *kùtùtù* pulp of gourd; *kwàtsàtsà* tactless; *kàfàfà* affectation; *kàzàzà* spinal deformity; *kàibàbà* thorny leaf-stem of doum-palm; *kìrīrī* coccyx; *kùdùdù* internal lump in the body, tumor; *kùlùlù* cyst; bobbles of locust bean tree; *làbùbù* flabby, soggy; *màkòkò* goiter; *màrīrī* white oryx; *màrùrù* a boil on the buttocks or thigh; *sàrùrù* nincompoop; *sòfòfùwā* empty honeycomb; anything puffed out; *tsòlòlò* tall and skinny; *zòlòlò* tall with a long neck, e.g., a camel; *zùgùgù* exaggerating

### 3.2.2. S<sub>1</sub>-S<sub>1</sub>-S<sub>1</sub>)HLH

Two trisyllabic nouns/adjectives have all three syllables identical and H-L-H tone:

*shàshàshà* foolish, stupid psn (n. or adj.)  
*sùsùsù* nincompoop, silly psn (n. or adj.)

### 3.2.3. One-syllable reduplication to the right plus feminative suffix -yā / -wā

There are a small number of quadrisyllabic feminine words with the second and third syllables identical and final -yā or -wā. The initial vowel is usually short. These words all have an L-H-H-L tone pattern. These words do not form plurals. Unlike the reduplicated words above, none of these items are adjectival. Examples (complete):

<i>càkwaikwaiwā</i>	starling; chatterbox	<i>dànīniyā</i>	dilly-dallying
<i>hàgùguwā</i>	experiencing difficulties	<i>hàjījiyā</i>	giddiness
<i>hànīniyā</i>	neighing	<i>kìffīfiyā</i>	turtle
<i>kālùluwā</i>	swelling, esp. in the armpits	<i>kìcīciyā</i>	auger-beetle
<i>kùrùruwā</i>	shouting, calling loudly (esp. by women)		

### 3.3. CVC plus suffix -ē

Some fifteen nouns have the canonical shape C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>-C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>ē with H-H-L tone. (Two end in -ò rather than -ē.) (There is no way to know whether one historically added a CVC- prefix to a CVCē stem with the

suffixal vowel already attached or whether one doubled the CVC to the right to create a reduplicated base to which one added the H-L -ē suffix.) Many of the members of this class are words for things that exist in pairs, most of which have an equivalent H-L-H-H form with final -I. The standard plural for this class has the canonical shape C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>āC<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>ai with L-H tone. One thus has three possible forms, e.g., *fiffikè*, *fikâfikī*, pl. *fikâfikai* 'wing(s)'. Examples (complete):

<i>filfilò</i>	windmill toy	<i>gîrgijè</i>	rain cloud
<i>gungumè</i>	log	<i>jijjigè</i>	forked post, beam
<i>kankamè</i> [dv]	palm frond	<i>kwîkwiyò</i> (base //kuy-//	puppy, cub
<i>shishsikè</i>	forked post, pillar	<i>tsittsigè</i>	stump (tree, tooth)
<i>diddigè</i> = <i>digâdigī</i>	heel	( <i>filfilè</i> [archaic]) > <i>filâfilit</i>	paddle
(* <i>kumkumè</i> ) > <i>kumâkumī</i>	type of corset	<i>mummuḳè</i> = <i>muḳâmuḳī</i>	jaw, mandible
(* <i>tiktikè</i> ) > <i>tikâtiki</i>	calf of leg	<i>zuzzugè</i> = <i>zugâzugī</i>	bellows

ØHN: According to Parsons (1975: 427–28), words of the H-L-H-H I-final pattern were originally duals, i.e., *fikâfikī* would have denoted 'a pair of wings' as opposed to *fiffikè*, which would have indicated 'a single wing'. For most speakers nowadays the two forms have fallen together and are essentially equivalent in meaning.

### 3.4. Full reduplication

#### 3.4.1. x 2 with short final vowels

A small number of disyllabic words have the fully reduplicated structure CV(V)CV-CV(V)CV where the final vowels of both parts are short. The tone is reduplicated as well as the segmentals. (Some of these items are written as single words.) Many of these words denote small creatures. Examples:

<i>dôli-dôli</i>	a myriapod	<i>gizò-gizò</i>	spider
<i>kôkî-kôkî</i>	praying mantis	<i>kwâlek wâle</i>	canoe
<i>mûnu-mûnu</i>	large black scorpion	<i>tâlôtâlo</i>	turkey
<i>dage-dage</i> (usu. <i>miyâf dage-dage</i> )	stew with oil, tomatoes, peppers, and a lot of meat		

Some nouns of this shape are loanwords from Arabic. Interestingly, they too, are characterized by the short final vowel even though borrowings from Arabic normally end in a long final vowel. (In one case, the tones are not identical.) Examples:

(â) *hudâhudâ* Senegal hoopoe; *lu'ù-lu'ù* pearl; *na'â-na'â* mint (the plant or the flavoring)

#### 3.4.2. x 2 (consonant final)

A few reduplicated words are consonant final. The tone of the two parts is sometimes an exact copy, sometimes heterotonic. Examples:

<i>bâlâm-balam</i>	balloon	<i>mâlùm-mâlum</i>	large gown with circular embroidery design
<i>řishin-řishin</i>	rumor	<i>nyâm-nyam</i>	cannibal
<i>řel-řel</i>	milk that has been dishonestly watered down by the seller (< Fulani)		

### 3.5. Full (disyllabic) reduplication with LL-HL tone melody

There is a small set of fully reduplicated nouns whose meaning is related in a tangential way to some base word (usually a noun), e.g., *bâbâ-bâbâ* 'a type of wild indigo' < *bâbâ* 'indigo'. Unlike the fully frozen vestiges, many of these reduplicated words do have corresponding nonreduplicated words extant in the

language. However, the lexically specific and generally determined meaning of the derivative is related to the masculine or feminine. Similarly, *ř* for grain, is masculine 'guinea-corn', which is feminine. The typical form of the melody. (There is one of the final vowel of determined by syllable in (a)); if the initial s of jute', cf. *lângâ-lan*

(a) *âyâ-âyâ* f. type of person, cf. *duru-duru* m./f. corn sweeping tireless, energetic, *daruwâ* f. partially ripe *wasâ* m. food made *wûtâ-wûtâ* f. a red-fl (b) *âikâ-âikâ* f. a bl *bângâ-bângâ* f. blo wall?); *bôkò-bôkò* m. spear (= *dâddâgâ*); crowd *d'âtâ-d'âtâ* f. *d'ângal* id. character *gôrâ* bamboo, cane; small plant with coar the morning, cf. *řânâ* persons holding sth c

ΔDN: In some polarity, as in e.g., [WH] *lâng* 'demonstration,

Some words of this

*řimfâ-řimfâ* f. a str *řwâzô* energy, effe *sângâ-sângâ* f. a c

Although this deriva adjectivally or adve

*Lâdî tâ bâ nî wata*

language. However, the derivation is not productive and the meanings of the individual items are lexically specific and unpredictable. The gender of the derived words, which is also lexically specific, is generally determined not by the gender of the source noun but rather by semantic association between the meaning of the derived word and some other word. For example, *jìnà-jìnà* 'a red-juiced weed', which is related to the masculine word *jini* 'blood', is feminine because *ciyāwā*, the generic term for weed, is feminine. Similarly, *Ràsà-Ràsà* 'grain sweepings' is normally masculine because *hatsi*, the generic term for grain, is masculine. If, however, *Ràsà-Ràsà* were used to refer to a specific type of grain, like *dāwā* 'guinea-corn', which is feminine, then it too would be feminine.

The typical form of words of this class is CV(C)CA-CV(C)CA with an associated LL-HL tone melody. (There is one example with final /u/ and one with final /o/, in both cases this being a retention of the final vowel of the source stem.) In SH, the length of the final vowel of each component is determined by syllable weight polarity. If the initial syllable is light, then the vowel is long (examples in (a)); if the initial syllable is heavy, then the vowel is short (examples in (b)), e.g., *rāmā-ramā* 'type of jute', cf. *làngà-langà* 'baling wire'. Examples:

- (a) *ayà-ayà* f. type of wild tiger-nut grass and fruit, cf. *ayā* tiger-nut; *dūrū-durū* n./adj. dim-sighted person, cf. *duru-duru* id. seeing poorly; *jìnà-jìnà* f. a red-juiced weed, cf. *jini* blood; *Ràsà-Ràsà* m./f. corn sweepings (gender depending on grain referred to), cf. *Rasā* earth, soil; *mazà-mazà* m./f. tireless, energetic, dauntless person, cf. *mazā* males; *rāmā-ramā* f. jute, cf. *ramā* hemp; *rùwà-ruwà* f. partially ripe, soft, undried, tenderly cooked (e.g., corn or peanuts), cf. *ruwā* water; *wasà-wasà* m. food made from coarse bean flour, cf. *wasa-wasa* id. emphasizes coarseness of sand or grain; *wutà-wutà* f. a red-flowered weed, cf. *wutā* fire
- (b) *àikà-aikà* f. a blunder, cf. *aikì* work; *bàbà-bàbà* m. type of wild indigo, cf. *bābā* indigo; *bàngà-bàngà* f. blocking of a way (cf. 'yan *bangà* thugs (originally guards for politicians)) (< *bangō* wall?); *bòkò-bòkò* m. fraud, cf. *bòkò* fraud, Western education; *dàgà-dàgà* f. iron band at end of spear (= *dáddàgà*); *dàmfa-dàmfa* adv. in profusion, cf. *dàmfam* id. emphasizes largeness of a crowd *d'atà-d'atà* f. a bitter grass (= *d'atànniyā*), cf. *d'aci* bitterness; *d'àngà-d'àngà* adj. skimpy, cf. *d'àngal* id. characterizes cloth or skirt that is skimpy and too short; *gòrà-gòrà* f. type of grass, cf. *gòrà* bamboo, cane; *hantà-hantà* f. talking through one's nose, cf. *hanci* nose; *kàusà-kàusà* f. a small plant with coarse leaves like sandpaper, cf. *kaushi* roughness; *rānà-rānà* m./f. sth done late in the morning, cf. *rānā* sun, day; *tābà-tābà* f. a type of shrub, cf. *tābā* tobacco; *taikà-taikà* m. four persons holding sth or s.o. with each one holding one side, cf. *taikì* large hide bag

ADN: In some dialects, the length of the vowel in the first component is determined by weight polarity, as in SH, but the word-final vowel is invariably long, as is typical of common nouns, e.g., [WH] *làngà-langà* = [SH] *làngà-langà* 'baling wire'; [WH] *zàngà-zàngà* = [SH] *zàngà-zàngà* 'demonstration, protest march'.

Some words of this pattern do not have synchronically extant source nouns, e.g.,

- jìmfà-jìmfà* f. a strong grass used in making screens; *Ràzà-Ràzà* m./f. [Kts] energetic person (cf. *kwàzō* energy, effort); *kwìbà-kwìbà* f. pneumonia; *làngà-langà* m. long thin metal baling strips; *sàngà-sàngà* f. a common shrub; *zàngà-zàngà* f. demonstration, protest march

Although this derivation serves primarily to create common nouns, some words of this class can be used adjectivally or adverbially, e.g.,

*Lādi tā bā nì wata gyàd'ā rùwà-ruwà*

Ladi gave me some fresh peanuts.

nā ga wani dūrū-durūn yārò  
 tā sá wani síkét d'àngà-d'àngà  
 kái, wà zái àuri màzà-mazār màcè?  
 yā yi hantà-hantār máganà  
 yanà máganà hantà-hantà  
 aikì rànà-rànà bā yà dad'èwà  
 nā zò rànà-rànà  
 mutànè sunà fitòwà dàmfa-damfà

I saw a dim-sighted boy.  
 She put on a skimpy skirt.  
 Oh, who would marry a masculine woman?  
 He has made a nasal utterance.  
 He is talking through his nose.  
 Late morning work doesn't last.  
 I came late in the morning.  
 People are coming out in profusion.

#### 4. REDUPLICATED VERBS (LEXICALLY FROZEN)

Frozen reduplicated verbs are lexical items that are reduplicated in form, but for which no simple stem now exists in the language. There are two main classes of frozen reduplicates. The first class consists of erstwhile pluractional verbs, i.e., verbs that have the form (and often elements of the meaning) of synchronically produced pluractionals but without corresponding simple verb stems. The other class consists of reduplicated verbs that cannot be generated by a synchronically extant derivational process.

##### 4.1. Frozen pluractionals

The term *frozen pluractional* is used for reduplicated verbs that historically were active pluractionals (see chap. 55) but that synchronically are not derived from a nonreduplicated counterpart, e.g., **faǎǎkē** 'uproot' (< reconstructed \***ǎkē**, which no longer exists); **gíǎǎzā** 'shake' (< reconstructed \***gizā**); **dabaibàyē** 'hobble; tangle something up' (< reconstructed \***dabàyē**). With many verbs, the original pluractional (= plurac.) semantics is still recognizable in the meaning; in other cases, the verb has become semantically bleached and it is only the form that attests to its origin as a pluractional.

In most cases, the simple stem from which the frozen pluractional was historically formed has been lost. In a few cases, however, the simple stem still exists, but the two forms have diverged (phonologically and/or semantically) such that their relation no longer could be considered to have any synchronic reality, e.g.,

**faǎǎdō** (< \***ǎdō**) recover (e.g., from unconsciousness or illness) cf. **faǎkà** wake up (from the same base //**ǎd-**// plus a remnant suffix **-kà**)  
**sakwaǎkwàcē** (< \***sakwàtē**) become slack, cf. **sassaucē** become loose, slack, which itself is a frozen pluractional  
**taǎwaǎkwàshē** (< \***taǎkwàshē**) become weighed down by age, cf. **taushē** (< \*//**taǎkw-**//?) press down on  
**gyangyàǎǎ** (< \***gyaǎǎ**) nod from drowsiness, cf. **gyaǎǎ** nod (head), take a nap (This latter has an active plurac. **gyaggyàǎǎ** or **gyaǎǎgyàǎǎ**.)  
**yayyàǎǎ** (< \***yafà**) sprinkle water, cf. **yáfà** scatter seeds, sprinkle water; throw (e.g., cloth) over one's shoulder (This latter has an active plurac. **yayyàǎǎ**.)

##### 4.1.1. Basic formation

Frozen pluractionals all exhibit CVC reduplication in antepenultimate position, e.g., \***d'a.na** ⇒ **d'an.d'a.na** 'taste', \***ya.ga.la** ⇒ **ya.gal.ga.la** 'tear to shreds'. The CVC is a copy of the CV of the penultimate syllable plus the initial C of the final syllable. Unlike active pluractionals (see §55:1.1), trisyllabic frozen pluractional stems do not exhibit prefixal reduplication. The frozen forms also differ from the active pluractionals in other ways. Synchronically, essentially all verbs allow C<sub>1</sub>VG attachment (where the G forms a geminate with the following consonant), whatever the segmental shape of the stem, e.g., **kāmā** ⇒ **kakkāmā** (= **kankāmā**) 'catch many', **sàyā** ⇒ **sàssayā** (= **sàisayā**) 'buy many, often'. In the frozen form, on the other hand, the basic attachment is C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub> (e.g., **mulmùlā**

'knead') (examples in nature and that of the appearance of the morphological process the nucleus, thereby p e.g., **cukwkwiyē** (< which is an active plu following consonant, below). This nasal unc \***lāmlāmā**) 'soothe, c (< \***baǎǎbàǎ**) 'sprink immediately following assimilation to coron with some exceptions 'speed off'.) If the C<sub>2</sub> \***bakbākā**) 'grill, bur

(a) **fùrfurà** barter; y.  
 (b) **sansànā** smell; !  
 (c) **faǎǎdō** recover coil up; **gíǎǎzā** sha  
**tùmùrmusà** wallow  
 (d) **faǎǎkē** uproot; **takwakkwàbē**

##### 4.1.2. Anomalous

A curious feature of frozen reduplicated nouns (i.e., 'flow/roll down' (not built on disyllabic base) historically by derivation are a few examples of examples as not reflexive consonant. It is probably glottalized, but never

(a) **bambàré** break **d'and'asā** used in **d'angàrà** descend, f  
**gangàrà** descend, f  
**kái**) nod (head), tak  
**kwankwàsā** knock  
 scrape lightly; **kwàǎ**  
 take off, flee  
 (b) **janjàbā** dump s  
 into sediment

##### 4.1.3. Short vowel

The penultimate vowel

'knead') (examples in (a) below). The C<sub>2</sub> is subject to phonological deformations depending upon its nature and that of the following abutting consonant so that it sometimes may appear as a geminate, but the appearance of the geminate is phonologically conditioned rather than being part of the morphological process per se. If the copied C<sub>2</sub> is /y/, it automatically alters into /i/ and attaches itself to the nucleus, thereby partly disguising the essentially regular nature of the morphological formation, e.g., **cukwkwiyē** (< \***cikuikūyē** < \***cikuykūyē**) 'entangle', **sāisayā** 'shear wool' (not \*\***sāssayā**, which is an active plurac. of **sāyā** 'buy'). If the C<sub>2</sub> is a nasal, it assimilates to the position of the following consonant, e.g., **[kɪŋkimà]** (< \***kɪmkimà**) 'carry heavy thing with hands' (examples in (b) below). This nasal undergoes further full assimilation to a following liquid, e.g., **lállāmà** (< \***lānlāmà** < \***lāmlāmà**) 'soothe, coax'. If the C<sub>2</sub> is a coronal obstruent it undergoes rhotacism to /r/, e.g., **baṛbādā** (< \***badbādā**) 'sprinkle (e.g., spices)' (examples in (c) below). The resulting /r/ fully assimilates to an immediately following coronal consonant, e.g., **lallāsā** (< \***laflāsā** < \***laslāsā**) 'beat up'. (Full assimilation to coronal consonants also applies to flap /r/, e.g., **tattārā** (< \***tartārā**) 'collect', and, with some exceptions, /l/, e.g., **duddūlā** (< \***duldūlā**) 'fill bottle by immersion', cf. **taltālā** = **tattālā** 'speed off'.) If the C<sub>2</sub> is a labial or velar obstruent, one gets only a surface geminate, e.g., **babbākā** (< \***bakbākā**) 'grill, burn' (examples in (d) below). Examples:

- (a) **fūrfurā** barter; **yagalgalā** tear to pieces; **dabaibayē** hobble; tangle something up  
 (b) **sansānā** smell; **tsantsāmē** wash lightly; **tagangānē** [tagangānē] sit with legs apart  
 (c) **faṛfaḏō** recover (e.g., from unconsciousness or illness); **gārgadā** warn, chastise; **kanannādē** coil up; **gīrgizā** shake; **faḡaḡgāzā** smash up; **sakwaḡkwācē** (< \***sakwatkwātē**) become slack; **tūmūmusā** wallow in the dirt  
 (d) **baḃḃākē** uproot; **ciccibā** lift heavy load; **fatattākā** tear into pieces; rout; **kwakkwāfā** tap, tamp; **takwakkwābē** become worn out; become too weak or old; **tsātsagā** peck (by fowl)

#### 4.1.2. Anomalous nasal

A curious feature of frozen pluractionals that is not found in active pluractionals—but is found in frozen reduplicated nouns (§3.1.1)—is C<sub>1</sub>Vn reduplication instead of the expected C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>, e.g., **gangārā** 'flow/roll down' (not \*\***gargārā**). There are some twenty or so words in this class, all trisyllabic words built on disyllabic bases. Some of the examples below may be fallacious, i.e., they may not be derived historically by derivational reduplication, but most of them probably are pluractionals in origin. There are a few examples where /b/ is the stem-final consonant and one with /R/. If one excludes these examples as not reflecting the same formation, then all of the examples have a coronal as the stem-final consonant. It is probably significant that the stem-final obstruents are either voiceless (namely /s/) or glottalized, but never voiced. Examples:

- (a) **ḃambārē** break off (e.g., maize grains from husk); **dandātsā** beat, break into small fragments; **ḏandāsā** used in **ḏandāsā adō** be well dressed; **famfārā** gallop, flee; **famfārē** fall out (tooth); **gangārā** descend, flow/roll down; **gūngutsā** defame; **gyangyādā** nod from drowsiness (cf. **gyadā** (kái) nod (head), take a nap); **gyangyārē** fall down unconscious, dead; **kanfārā** make sth very well; **kwankwāsā** knock at door, tap with knuckles; **kyankyāshē** hatch (eggs); **kānkārā** [= Kts **kārkārā**] scrape lightly; **kwākwadā** drink a lot of liquid fast; **kwākwātsā** smash into fragments; **tantālā** take off, flee  
 (b) **janjābā** dump sth unpleasant on s.o.; **tūntubā** ask (question); inquire of (psn); **dandākā** grind into sediment

#### 4.1.3. Short vowel

The penultimate vowel of frozen pluractionals is invariably short, i.e., there is a metrical opposition



between the heavy antepenultimate syllable and the light penultimate syllable, e.g., *giř.gì.zā* 'shake', *ya.gal.gà.lā* 'tear to pieces'. This is not the case with active pluractionals, which preserve the vowel length of the basic stem, e.g., *kan.kā.mā* 'catch many', *jaj.jè.fā* 'throw many or often'. As a result of the restriction, one finds a small number of frozen pluractionals with a short penultimate vowel that correspond to present-day simple stems with a long vowel, e.g.,

<i>dāid'ayā</i>	strip off epidermis	<i>d'āyā</i>	strip off bark, fiber
<i>diddīkā</i> (= <i>duddūkā</i> )	crouch down	<i>dūrā</i>	stoop
<i>kwāikwayā</i>	imitate	<i>kōyā</i> (< * <i>kwāyā</i> ?)	learn
<i>řirřirā</i>	invent, start	<i>řērā</i> (VN <i>řirā</i> )	manufacture
<i>tattārā</i>	collect things	<i>tārā</i>	collect (plurac. <i>tattārā</i> )
<i>yayyāfā</i>	sprinkle water	<i>yāfā</i>	scatter, sprinkle, throw cloth over one's shoulders (plurac. <i>yayyāfā</i> )

cf. also *caḅalḅālē* be(come) muddy, slushy = *cāḅulē*

#### 4.1.4. Geminate /ll/

Excluding Arabic loanwords like *bayyānā* 'explain' and *zayyānā* 'adorn', trisyllabic verbs with medial geminates are rare. There are, however, some dozen or so verbs of the shape CVllVCVV with medial geminate /ll/, e.g., *fallāsā* 'disclose a secret'. A possible explanation is that they derived historically from frozen quadrisyllabic pluractionals by a process of haplology affecting the liquid in adjacent syllables, i.e., *fallāsā* < \**falallāsā* (< \**falaslāsā*). Examples:

*dallārā* dazzle with bright light; *fallāsā* disclose a secret to cause s.o. shame; *gāllabā* worry, pester, harass; *gāllāzā* persecute, harass, torture; *kāllāmē* try to sweet-talk s.o.; *kāllāfā* be very keen about, obsessed with; (with i.o.) accuse falsely; *sullūbē* slip away, escape; *tāllabā* support, help; *tāllafā* provide for, give relief to; *tsāllākē* jump over; *tsillūmā* fall, jump, throw in water (cf. ideophone *tsilum* sound of plopping in water)

#### 4.2. Frozen reduplicates: C<sub>α</sub>-C<sub>α</sub>-C- and C-C<sub>β</sub>-C<sub>β</sub>-

There are a number of open syllable trisyllabic verbs in which either the first and second or the second and third consonants are identical.

##### 4.2.1 Pattern 1: C<sub>α</sub>āC<sub>α</sub>VCV(V)

In pattern 1, the first two consonants are identical. The initial syllable has the shape Cā with a long /ā/. The examples with /ē/ and /ō/ probably come by sporadic change from Cyā and Cwā respectively, e.g., *řērāsā* (< \**řyāřāsā*) 'dry sth (e.g., leaves)', *dōdānā* (< \**dwādānā*) 'touch with stick, set fire to'. The second syllable, which has the same onset consonant as the first syllable, contains a short vowel (either /a/ or /u/, but seldom /i/), thereby producing a heavy-light rhythmic alternation. (The final vowel is variable and is determined by the verb grade and the syntactic environment.) There are some forty verbs of this type. Examples:

<i>dādārā</i>	cut with sth blunt	<i>dādārā</i>	brand with fire
<i>fāfarā</i>	chase, pursue, drive away	<i>gāgarā</i>	be impossible
<i>gwāgwiya</i> (< * <i>gwāg<sup>w</sup>uyā</i> /)	gnaw at	<i>kākabā</i>	pester
<i>řwāřkulā</i>	reach out for, scrape out	<i>lālūbā</i>	grope
<i>māmāyā</i>	attack silently	<i>māmūlā</i>	eat (without teeth)
<i>řārūmā</i>	grab, snatch	<i>wāwūrā</i>	snatch, grab

4.2.2. Pattern 2: CV  
In pattern 2, the second (one case). The initial s producing a light-heavy grade and the syntact semantically relate in s

<i>dālālā</i>	dribble
<i>hārārā</i>	give a d
<i>labābā</i>	approac
<i>riḅāḅā</i>	drink la
<i>saḍāḍā</i>	go stea
<i>taḅāḅē</i>	establis
<i>tsiyāyā</i>	pour ou

[References: Gouffé (

## 4.2.2. Pattern 2: CVCβāCβV(V)

In pattern 2, the second and third consonants are identical. The second syllable has the shape Cā (Cū in one case). The initial syllable, which begins with a different consonant, contains a short vowel, thereby producing a light-heavy rhythmic alternation. (The final vowel is variable and is determined by the verb grade and the syntactic environment.) There are some forty verbs of this type, many of which semantically relate in some way to flowing of a liquid. Examples:

<b>dālālā</b>	dribble (saliva)	<b>fiyāyē</b>	become mildewed, moldy
<b>hārārā</b>	give a disapproving side glance	<b>kwarārā</b>	pour through a narrow channel
<b>laḅāḅā</b>	approach stealthily, sneak up	<b>mālālā</b>	flow or spread over
<b>riḅāḅā</b>	drink large amount of	<b>sādūdā</b>	give up, give in
<b>safādā</b>	go stealthily	<b>sulālā</b>	warm up (a liquid); sneak/slide into
<b>taḵākē</b>	establish mastery over	<b>tārārā</b>	drip
<b>tsiyāyā</b>	pour out in a thin stream	<b>zūrārā</b>	trickle down

[References: Gouffé (1975b); Newman (1986a, 1989a, 1989b, 1990b)]

## 63. Reflexives and Reciprocals

### 1. REFLEXIVES

REFLEXIVES are indicated by the word **kái** 'head', normally accompanied by a bound genitive pronoun, which consists of the masculine linker **-n** plus a possessive pronoun; see table 12.

Table 12: Reflexive pronouns

1 s	<b>káinā</b>	myself	1 p	<b>kánmù</b>	ourselves
2m	<b>kánkà</b>	yourself (m.)	2p	<b>kánkù</b>	yourselves
2f	<b>kánkì</b>	yourself (f.)			
3m	<b>kánsà / kánshì</b>	himself	3p	<b>kánsù</b>	themselves
3f	<b>kántà</b>	herself			
			4p	<b>kái</b>	oneself

Reflexive pronouns have two functions: "basic" and "emphatic."

#### 1.1. Basic reflexives

In its basic function, a reflexive pronoun indicates an NP that is coreferential with the subject or other appropriate argument in the sentence. The reflexive can appear in most positions in which an ordinary NP can occur, e.g., as a thematic direct object (either a real d.o. of a transitive verb, a genitive object of a verbal noun, or an oblique object of **dà** used with a gr5 efferential verb), an indirect object, a genitive complement, or an object of a preposition. (The reflexive cannot, however, appear in subject position.) Examples:

**mun; cùci kánmù;**  
**Bàlā; yā zàrgi kánsà;**  
 cf. **Bàlā; yā zàrgē shì;**  
**yārā sun sàuràri kánsù à fàkòdà**  
**zā tà kulà dà kántà**  
**don mè kakè yàbon kánkà?**  
**nā jāvō wà káinā wàhalà**  
**sun bātā gidàjen kánsù**  
**bà tà bā dà kyāt gà kōwā ba sai kántà**  
**sun bā dà mākì mài yawà gà kánsù**  
**mun ji řa'ayin Fàtī bisà kántà**  
**mun ji řa'ayin Fàtī bisà kánmù**  
**kā yi fentì dà kánkà?**

We harmed ourselves.  
 Bala accused himself.  
 Bala accused him (s.o. else).  
 The children listened to themselves on the recorder.  
 She will take care of herself.  
 Why are you praising yourself?  
 I brought the trouble on myself.  
 They ruined their own houses.  
 She didn't give cake to anyone except herself.  
 They gave themselves high grades.  
 We heard Fati's opinion of herself.  
 We heard Fati's opinion of ourselves.  
 Did you do the painting by yourself?

**mun sayā wà kánmù**  
**Mūsā yā yi wà Audù n**  
 (where 'himse

Like other NPs, reflexi

**kánmù mukà cùtā**  
**kántà nē ta jāvō wà w**  
**dà kánsù (nē) sukà yi**  
**dà káinā (nē) zān gyā**

Basic reflexives cannot  
 ourselves we harmed.'

As is typical of a  
 subject, e.g.,

**bā nā; só Bintā tà mǎ**  
**Mařyām; tā amincē I**  
 cf. **Mařyām tā amincē**  
**Bellò; yā gānē Mūsā;**  
 Bello underst  
**Zāinabù; tā tabbātā I**  
 Zainabu is ca  
 cf. **Zāinabù; tā tabbā**  
 Zainabu is ca

In addition to the eig  
 subject pronouns hav  
**kāvō ruwā** 'One bro  
 using the bare **kái** wit

**akàn cùci kái à kasai**  
 cf. **mutānē sukàn cùc**  
**yā kāmātā à taimāki**  
**à nēmi àbin kái**

The bare **kái** can also  
 features are irrelevant

**Audù yā tāmàyì Bì**  
 cf. **Audù yā tāmàyì**  
 cf. **Audù yā tāmàyì**  
**kùlā dà kái cikin tār**  
**Rungiyā hadà-kái**  
**taimakon kái dà kái**  
**dōgarō dà kái**  
**yābon-kái**  
**girman-kái**

**mun sayā wà kánmù dà môtócin gwànjón** We sold the auction cars to ourselves.  
**Mūsā yā yi wà Audù màganà game dà kánsà** Musa talked to Audu about himself.  
 (where 'himself' can refer to Musa or to Audu)

Like other NPs, reflexive pronouns and phrases can be focused by fronting, e.g.,

**kánmù mukà cùtā** It was *ourselves* we harmed.  
**kántà nē ta jāwō wà wàhalà** It was *herself* she brought trouble on.  
**dà kánsù (nē) sukà yi aikì** They did the work *by themselves*.  
**dà káinā (nè) zán gyàrà ta** I will repair it *by myself*.

Basic reflexives cannot, however, be topicalized, i.e., one cannot say **\*\*kánmù kám mun cùtā** 'As for ourselves we harmed.'

As is typical of languages in general, the reflexive must be in the same clause as its coreferential subject, e.g.,

**bā nā; sō Bintà tà màrē nì;** (not **\*\*...māri káinā**) I don't want Binta to slap me.  
**Māryām; tā amincē Balā yā dōkē tà;** (not **\*\*...dōki kántà**) Maryam believed Bala hit her.  
 cf. **Māryām tā amincē Lādi; tā dōki kántà;** Maryam believed Ladi hit herself (i.e., Ladi).  
**Bellò; yā gānē Mūsā; yā gutschurē tuwón don kánsà;**  
 Bello understood that Musa got the *tuwo* for himself (i.e., Musa).  
**Zàinabù; tā tabbātā Bintà; tā ginà wà kántà; gidā**  
 Zainabu is convinced that Binta built herself (i.e., Binta) a house.  
 cf. **Zàinabù; tā tabbātā Bintà; tā ginà matà; gidā**  
 Zainabu is convinced that Binta built her (i.e., Zainabu) a house.

In addition to the eight categories of person/number/gender found in the non-subject pronouns, weak subject pronouns have a ninth category, the so-called fourth person impersonal pronoun /a/, e.g., **an káwō ruwā** 'One brought water.' Reflexives of sentences with the impersonal wsp are expressed by using the bare **kái** without a possessive pronoun attached, e.g.,

**akàn cùci kái à kasař nàn** One habitually harms oneself in this country.  
 cf. **mutānē sukàn cùci kánsù à kasař nàn** People habitually harm themselves in this country.  
**yā kámātā à tàimàki kái** One should help oneself. (lit. it befits that one help self)  
**à nēmi àbin kái** One should get one's own.

The bare **kái** can also be used in other sentences, phrases, and compounds where the person/number features are irrelevant, e.g.,

**Audù yā tàmbayi Bintà hanyār kārē kái** Audu asked Binta how to save oneself.  
 cf. **Audù yā tàmbayi Bintà hanyār kārē kánsà** Audu asked Binta how to save himself.  
 cf. **Audù yā tàmbayi Bintà hanyār kārē kántà** Audu asked Binta how to save herself.  
**kùlā dà kái cikin tārō yanà dà kyáu** Behaving oneself in a meeting is good.  
**kungiyar hadà-kái** a cooperative society  
**tàimakon kái dà kái** self-help (lit. helping oneself with oneself)  
**dògarō dà kái** self-reliance  
**yàbon-kái** self-praise, conceit  
**girman-kái** pride

## 1.1.1. Inclusive reflexives

As a general rule, the reflexive pronoun and its antecedent must be coreferential. However, a singular subject can take a plural reflexive if the subject is included in the referential group. (I translate these examples with plural reflexives (in quotation marks) even though the English may be ungrammatical.) Examples:

<b>Lādi; tā sòki kánsù<sub>i+x</sub></b>	Ladi criticized "themselves".
(i.e., she criticized herself and the others in her group), cf. <b>Lādi tā sòkē sù</b>	Ladi criticized them.
<b>à wannàn karò dai, kā<sub>i</sub> tàimàki kánkù<sub>i+x</sub></b>	On this occasion, you (sg.) helped "yourselves".
<b>à yáu dai, nā<sub>i</sub> bā wà kánmù<sub>i+x</sub> kunyà</b>	Today I embarrassed "ourselves".
<b>nā<sub>i</sub> sò kánmù<sub>i+x</sub> cikin fim d'in nà</b>	I like "ourselves" in this movie.

°AN: In English, the non-coreferential object in this last example would be expressed with an object pronoun, e.g., 'I like us in this movie.' Note that in certain circumstances, English can use an object pronoun even when the subject and object *are* coreferential, e.g., 'I like me in this movie.'

## 1.1.2. Nonreflexive coreferential pronouns

With mental/sensation verbs, object pronouns can optionally be used instead of reflexives even when the subject and object are coreferential. Verbs of this class include: **gani** 'see', **kállà** 'look at', **dùbà** 'look at', **hàngà** 'espy', **sò** 'want, like', **d'aukà** 'consider', **sanì** 'know', **ji** 'feel, hear', **sàuràrà** 'listen', **tafà** 'touch', **sámù** 'find', **zàtà** 'think, imagine', **gānè** 'recognize'. Examples:

<b>Talā tā gan tà (= ga kántà) à madūbìn</b>	Tala saw herself in the mirror.
(The sentence with <b>tà</b> can also mean 'Tala saw her (s.o. else) in the mirror.')	
<b>Sāni yā jī shì (= jī kánsà) yanà máganà à řēdiyò</b>	Sani heard himself talking on the radio.
<b>tā sāmē tā (= sāmī kántà) à wani hált</b>	She found herself in a certain situation.
<b>in nā kállē nì (= kállī káinā), kūkā nakè (yī)</b>	When I look at me/myself, I cry.
(lit. if I observe me (observe myself) crying I.Rcont1 (doing))	
<b>yārān sun sò sù (= sò kánsù) à wānnan hòtòn</b>	The children loved themselves in that photo.
cf. <b>yārān sunà sòn kánsù</b>	The children like themselves.
(not = <b>yārān sunà sònsù</b> , which means 'The children like them.')	

ΔDN: Speakers differ considerably regarding how comfortable they are with coreferential non-reflexive pronouns. SH speakers do allow them whereas other speakers, e.g., Malami Buba, a native WH speaker, invariably interpreted such sentences as **Sāni yā jī shì yanà máganà à řēdiyò** as meaning 'Sani heard him (someone else) talking on the radio.'

In some sentences, the d.o. pronoun is required (or strongly preferred) over the reflexive, e.g.,

<b>nā san nì (not **san káinā) dà shàunī</b>	I know myself with regard to procrastination.
<b>dà Mārka ta farfàkà dàgà barct, sai ta gan tà (not **ga kántà) à d'aure</b>	
When Marka woke up, she found (lit. saw) herself tied up.	
<b>don Allāh kun gan kù (not **ga kánkù) dà wata máganà marāř dādī</b>	
For God's sake, (you (pl.)) look at you with this bad talk.	
<b>dùbè ka!</b> Look at yourself! (lit. look at you), cf. <b>dùbī kánkà!</b> Look at your head!	

With the preposition **don** 'for the benefit of' (and probably some others as well) a coreferential non-reflexive pronoun is allowed as an alternative to a reflexive form, e.g.,

**nā sàyi mòtāř don nī** (

The normal semantic is **dòkinsà** 'He rode his reflexives but these are **dòkin kánsà** 'his own

**mālām yā kafāntà lit** cf. **mālām yā kafāntà** (This is understood to **yārān sun d'auki hòtu d'ālibān sun gyārā mī nā<sub>i</sub> fārā ginà gidan k**

To indicate clearly the object construction, e

**d'ālibān sun gyārā mī**  
The students

With inalienably possessive terms, e.g.,

**Bintā tā yānkī d'an-y**  
Binta cut her  
**mātān sunà lūrā dà**  
The women  
**kā sòki kafāřkà?** (not  
**Audù yā ga bābāřsà**  
**nā sá shī bāyānā** I j  
(not **bāyān káinā**, wh  
**tā sòkà allūrā à jīkin**

A common means of independent possessive + a reflexive. Example

**d'ālibān sun gyārā mī**  
(lit. ...cars.of.them of  
**Audù yā ginà gidans**  
**zā kà káwò tākà ta k**  
**nā sayāř masà dà kò**  
**sai mù ajiyè nāmù n**

This construction with inalienably possessed

**nā sàyi mōtār don nī (= don káinā)**

I bought the car for me (for myself).

The normal semantic interpretation of a third person possessive pronoun is coreferential, i.e., **yā hau dōkìnsà** 'He rode his (not someone else's) horse.' Coreferential possessors may be expressed by reflexives but these are highly marked. They translate best into English as possessives with 'own', e.g., **dōkìn kánsà** 'his own horse' (lit. horse of himself). Examples:

**mālām yā kařàntà littāfin kánsà**

The teacher read his own book.

cf. **mālām yā kařàntà littāfinsà**

The teacher read his book.

(This is understood to be his own book unless someone else's book was the topic of the discourse.)

**yārān sun d'auki hōtunān kánsù (= hōtunānsù)**

The children took their own pictures.

**d'ālibān sun gyārà mōtōcin kánsù (= mōtōcinsù)**

The students repaired their (own) cars.

**nā; fārà ginà gidan kánmù;+x (= gidanmù) à bīrīn**

I started building our own house in the city.

To indicate clearly that the possessor is not coreferential with the subject, one often uses an indirect object construction, e.g.,

**d'ālibān sun gyārà musù mōtōci(nsù)**

The students repaired their (other people's) cars (for them).

With inalienably possessed nouns, i.e., kin terms, body parts, and such, the use of the reflexive possessor is generally disallowed. This restriction also extends to genitive prepositions built with body part terms, e.g.,

**Bintā tā yānki d'an-yātsāntà dà wukā** (not **\*\*d'an-yātsān kántà**)

Binta cut her finger with a knife.

**mātān sunā lūrā dà 'yā'yansù** (not **\*\*'yā'yan kánsù**)

The women are looking after their (own) children.

**kā sōki rafārkà?** (not **\*\*rafār kánkà**)

Did you stab your own foot?

**Audù yā ga bābāřsà** (not **\*\*bābār kánsà**)

Audu saw his (own) mother.

**nā sá shi bāyānā** I put it behind me.

(not **bāyan káinā**, which would mean 'behind my head')

**tā sōkà àllūrā à jikintà** (not **\*\*jikin kántà**)

She stabbed the needle into herself.

A common means of emphasizing coreferential possession is by using a regular possessive phrase (or an independent possessive pronoun) along with a genitive phrase made up of the short vowel linker **na / ta** + a reflexive. Examples:

**d'ālibān sun gyārà mōtōcinsù na kánsù**

The students repaired their own cars.

(lit. ...cars.of.them of themselves) **Bintā tā ga hōtontà na kántà** Binta saw her own picture.

**Audù yā ginà gidansà na kánsà**

Audu built his very own house.

**zā kà káwō tākà ta kánkà?**

Are you going to bring your very own?

**nā sayāř masà dà kōmfyūtā d'īnā ta káinā**

I sold him my own computer.

**sai mù ajiyè nāmù na kánmù**

We should put away our own.

This construction with a regular possessive followed by a possessive reflexive is also available with inalienably possessed nouns, e.g.,

Làmì tã hàifi d'antà na kántà  
nā sòki Rafàtá ta káinā  
mun káwō fã'àyinmù na kánmù

Lami gave birth to her own son.  
I stabbed my own foot.  
We brought our own opinion.

### 1.1.3. "Pseudoemphatic" reflexives

Pseudoemphatic reflexives consist of a prepositional phrase composed of *dà* 'with/by' plus a reflexive pronoun coreferential with the subject. (The construction is comparable to an English 'by' phrase like *nā yi aikì dà káinā* 'I did the work (by) myself.'). These phrases indicate that the person(s) referred to by the reflexive did the action in question and not someone else. These structures are labeled *pseudoemphatic* because structurally they constitute basic coreferential reflexives functioning as the object of a preposition, whereas semantically they approach the meaning of emphatic reflexives, e.g., *nī káinā nā yi aikì* 'I myself did work' (see below §1.2). The neutral position for pseudoemphatic reflexives is at the end of the VP after objects and locative goals.

d'álìbai sunà shàrè d'ákuṅàṅn dà kánsù  
Mūsā yā gyàrà fēdiyòṅn dà kánsà  
Shatù tá dafà àbinci dà kántà  
nā jē Kanò dà káinā  
munà sàuràrò dà kánmù  
wannàn mahàukàcì yā shìga rìjìyā dà kánsà

The students are sweeping the rooms by themselves.  
Musa repaired the radio by himself.  
Shatu will likely cook the food by herself.  
I went to Kano by myself.  
We were listening by ourselves.

This madman entered the well by himself.

Intransitive sentences with a non-agential subject also allow pseudoemphatic reflexive phrases, e.g.,

gìlāshìṅn yā fashè dà kánsà  
gìnin yā rùshè dà kánsà  
wutà tã mutù dà kántà

The glass broke by itself.  
The building collapsed by itself.  
The fire died out on its own.

The pseudoemphatic reflexive phrase is not allowed with grade 7 passive sentences because they have an understood, but unexpressed, agent, e.g.,

\*\*gìlāshìṅn yā fàsu dà kánsà  
\*\*mòtār tã gyàru dà kántà  
cf. mòtār tã gyàru

The glass was broken itself.  
The car was repaired by itself.  
The car has been well repaired (by someone).

The 'by' phrase optionally can be (and often is) fronted to a position immediately following the subject. This adds extra emphasis. With the completive, continuous, and potential, this movement conditions a shift from a general to a corresponding Rel TAM, namely, preterite, Rel-continuous, and future, respectively, e.g.,

d'álìbai [dà kánsù] [sukè]<sub>Rcont1</sub> shàrè d'ákuṅàṅn  
The students (by) themselves are sweeping the rooms.  
cf. d'álìbai [sunà]<sub>cont</sub> shàrè d'ákuṅàṅn [dà kánsù]  
The students are sweeping the rooms (by) themselves.

Mūsā [dà kánsà] [yā]<sub>pret</sub> gyàrà fēdiyòṅn Musa (by) himself repaired the radio.  
cf. Mūsā [yā]<sub>comp</sub> gyàrà fēdiyòṅn [dà kánsà] Musa repaired the radio (by) himself.  
Shatù [dà kántà] [zã tà]<sub>fut</sub> dafà àbinci Shatu (by) herself will cook the food.  
Shatù [tã]<sub>pot</sub> dafà àbinci [dà kántà] Shatu will likely cook the food (by) herself.

°AN: In surface structure movement is provided (pseudoemphatic reflexive) are generally with pseudoemphatic *dà* phrase after the reflexives (to be *dà kánsà yā rásu*

A pseudoemphatic reflexive looks just like a real one.

d'álìbai sunà shàrè d'ákuṅàṅn  
The students  
Málàm Bálá yā bā wá  
Malam Bala  
Jummai ita dà kántà  
Jummai herself  
Shatù zã tà dafà àbinci  
gàra kà tũkà mòtār k  
Bellò shì dà kánsà zã

1.2. Emphatic reflexives  
An emphatic reflexive is used when the subject is some other person or thing, sometimes connotes 'singly' or 'exclusively', cf. *ita dà kántà káinā* 'They are telling themselves', cf. *ita dà kántà káinā* 'They are telling themselves'.  
Emphatic reflexives are juxtaposed reflexive phrases.

káfn [shì kánsà] yā  
Before he himself  
[nī káinā] bā nã só ìn  
[ita kántà] tauràruwì  
tã jáwō wàhalá gá [it

°AN: All (or almost all) the emphatic reflexives 'herself' (lit. she herself), is the pseudoemphatic reflexive semantically appropriate.

Emphatic reflexives are preferred. One means 'by herself' (lit. she herself). The other means 'by herself' (lit. she herself).  
kánsà 'Bello himself'

°AN: In surface structure, the subject plus the *dà* phrase forms a constituent. The evidence for the movement is provided by two factors. First, Rel TAMs (which are required with the pseudoemphatic reflexive) are generally conditioned by focus movement to the left of the PAC. Second, sentences with pseudoemphatic reflexives after the subject invariably have corresponding sentences with the *dà* phrase after the VP; see examples above. By contrast, this is not the case with real emphatic reflexives (to be described below), e.g., **Bellò kánsà yā rāsu** 'Bello himself died', but not **\*\*Bellò dà kánsà yā rāsu** nor **\*\*Bellò yā rāsu dà kánsà**.

A pseudoemphatic reflexive can be strengthened by using an independent pronoun (in which case it looks just like a real emphatic pronoun), e.g.,

**d'álìbai sunà shārè d'árun sū dà kánsù**

The students are sweeping the rooms themselves. (lit. ...they by themselves)

**Málám Balā yā bā wà d'álìbai mākì shī dà kánsà**

Malam Bala gave the grades to the students himself.

**Jummai ita dà kántà zā tà yāgà takāfdār**

Jummai herself will tear up the paper.

**Shatù zā tà dafà àbinci ita dà kántà**

Shatu will cook the food (by) herself.

**gāra kà tūrà mōtār kai dà kánkà**

It is better if you drive the car (you) yourself.

**Bellò shī dà kánsà zái taimākā**

Bello himself will help.

### 1.2. Emphatic reflexives

An emphatic reflexive serves to focus attention on the head NP (noun or pronoun) or to contrast it with some other person or thing, e.g., **Bellò shī kánsà yā d'áuki àkwàtì** 'Bello himself lifted up the box.' It sometimes connotes 'as well, also' as opposed to the pseudoemphatic reflexive, which tends to connote 'singly' or 'exclusively', e.g., **ita kántà tā yánki nāmā** 'She herself (as well as the others) cut off some meat', cf. **ita dà kántà ta yánki nāmā** 'She herself cut off some meat (on her own)'; **sunà gayà minì nì káinā** 'They are telling me (as well)', cf. **sunà gayà minì nì káinā** 'They are telling me, me only.'

Emphatic reflexive pronouns are formed by an independent pronoun followed by an immediately juxtaposed reflexive pronoun, e.g., **kū kánkù** 'you yourselves'. Examples:

**kàfin [shī kánsà] yā yārda dólè yā tàmbàyi wánsà**

Before he himself agrees he should ask his older brother.

**[nì káinā] bā nà só in bār wurin**

I myself don't want to leave the place.

**[ita kántà] taurārūwā cè**

She herself is a star.

**tā jāwō wāhalà gā [ita kántà]**

She brought trouble on she herself.

°AN: All (or almost all) grammars, e.g., Abraham (1959b), Kraft and Kirk-Greene (1973), describe the emphatic reflexive as consisting of X + *dà* + the reflexive pronoun, e.g., **ita dà kántà** 'she herself' (lit. she with herself). This is not accurate. The direct juxtaposition, e.g., **ita kántà** 'she herself', is the means of expressing 'she herself', whereas the construction with *dà* (the pseudoemphatic reflexive described above) is restricted to action sentences in which a 'by' phrase is semantically appropriate.

Emphatic reflexives with nouns are indicated in two ways, with speakers differing as to which they prefer. One means is to follow a noun by an emphatic reflexive phrase consisting of an independent pronoun plus its corresponding reflexive pronoun, e.g., **Bellò shī kánsà** 'Bello himself' (lit. Bello he himself). The other means is simply to add a reflexive pronoun immediately after the noun, e.g., **Bellò kánsà** 'Bello himself'.



Jummai (ita) kántà zā tà yāgà takàrdār Jummai herself will tear up the paper.

d'álìbai (sū) kánsù sun san anà taimakā musù

The students themselves know that they are being helped.

'yan sàndā (sū) kánsù sukān yi irin wannān òàrnāf

Policemen themselves do this kind of damage.

Nouns followed by an emphatic reflexive phrase containing the independent pronoun often undergo transposition, e.g.,

[yārò] [shī kánsà] = [shī kánsà] [yāròn] yanà taimakon iyâyensà

The boy (he) himself is helping his parents. (lit. boy he himself = he himself the boy)

[gwamnatì] [ita kántà] = [ita kántà] [gwamnatì] zā tà bataf dà kudì dà yawā

The government itself is going to spend a lot of money.

yā sá [Kānde] [ita kántà] tā kōmā gidā

He caused Kande herself to return home.

= yā sá [ita kántà] [Kānde] tā kōmā gidā

He caused she herself Kande to return home.

Bound pronominal clitics cannot be modified directly by a reflexive pronoun. They thus use the nominal strategy of employing an emphatic reflexive phrase in apposition, e.g.,

mun hàrbē-shì [shī kánsà]

We shot him himself. (lit. him he himself)

sunā gayā minì [nī káinā]

They are telling me myself. (lit. me I myself)

nás tā yi jinyāfsù [sū kánsù]

The nurse took care of them themselves.

Pseudoemphatic reflexives with *dà* usually presuppose agential control, i.e., that some action has been done by the subject in question. They thus cannot be used to modify an object or the subject of a non-action sentence, such as an equational sentence. Emphatic reflexives, on the other hand, can modify an NP in almost any function, e.g.,

munā kallon wannān yārinā ita kántà

We were looking at this girl herself.

nī káinā òan sarkì nē I myself am a prince. (not \*\*nī dà káinā òan sarkì nē)

yā kāmātā à gāyyāci Mūsā shī kánsā

One should invite Musa himself.

not \*\*yā kāmātā à gāyyāci Mūsā shī dà kánsā

Málām Bálā yā bā wà d'álìbai [sū kánsù] mākì

Malam Bala gave the grades to the students themselves.

An emphatic reflexive strengthens its head but does not automatically put it in focus. It thus does not create a Rel environment that requires a Rel as opposed to a general TAM. A fronted pseudo reflexive 'by' phrase, on the other hand, does condition a TAM shift. Examples:

sū kánsù [sun]<sub>comp</sub> zō

They themselves came.

cf. sū dà kánsù [sukà]<sub>pret</sub> zō

They came by themselves.

(lit. they by themselves came)

mū kánmù [munà]<sub>cont</sub> sàuràrō

We ourselves are listening.

cf. mū dà kánmù [mukè]<sub>Rcont 1</sub> sàuràrō

We are listening by ourselves.

d'álìbai sū kánsù [sunà]<sub>cont</sub> shārè d'ākunān

The students themselves are sweeping the rooms.

cf. d'álìbai sū dà kánsù [sukè]<sub>Rcont 1</sub> shārè d'ākunān

The students are sweeping the rooms by themselves.

Mūsā shī kánsā [yā]<sub>co</sub>  
cf. Mūsā dà kánsā [ya]

Although the use of an involves fronting plus t to a Rel TAM), e.g.,

sū kánsù nē [sukà]<sub>pret</sub>

It was they th

Mūsā kánsā nē [yakè]

Emphatic reflexive phr modal particle, e.g.,

[sū kánsù] (mā), [sun]

As for themse

Since basic reflexives semantic functions, the

yā bugāf dà [kánsā] [

(lit. he beat himself by

Shatù [ita kántà] tā jā

yā gayā min [tāfihin l

(lit. history of himself

mutānē sunā taimako

The people a

## 2. RECIPROCALLS

Reciprocals are indicat linker -n plus a posses

1p	jūnanmù
2p	jūnankù
3p	jūnansù
4p	jūnā

ØHN: The word j (Jaggar, personal proposal that is \*/jɪk'// + nā > LH to H tone sim 'pregnant', e.g., 'body' for reflex

Whereas English uses distinct forms in the f

Mūsā **shī kánsà** [yā]<sub>comp</sub> **gyàrà fēdiyòn**  
 cf. Mūsā **dà kánsà** [ya]<sub>pret</sub> **gyàrà fēdiyòn**

Musa himself repaired the radio.  
 Musa repaired the radio by himself.

Although the use of an emphatic reflexive does not automatically entail focus, optional focus, which involves fronting plus the use of the stabilizer, is permitted (which then naturally conditions the switch to a Rel TAM), e.g.,

**sū kánsù nē** [sukà]<sub>pret</sub> **gōyi bāyan m̀aganàrsà**

It was they themselves who supported his statement.

Mūsā **kánsà nē** [yakè]<sub>Rcont2</sub> **̀b̀oye**

Musa himself (as well) is hidden.

Emphatic reflexive phrases can be topicalized, i.e., they can be set off intonationally or by the use of a modal particle, e.g.,

[**sū kánsù**] (**m̀a**), [**sun**]<sub>comp</sub> **gōyi bāyan m̀aganàrsà**

As for themselves, they (as well) supported his statement.

Since basic reflexives and emphatic reflexives or pseudoemphatic reflexives serve quite different semantic functions, they can co-occur in the same sentence, e.g.,

yā **bugar̀ dà** [kánsà] [**dà kánsà**]

(lit. he beat himself by himself)

He himself got himself drunk.

**Shatù** [**ita kántà**] **tā jawò wà** [**kántà**] **wàhalà**

yā **gayà mín** [**tār̀thin kánsà**] [**dà kánsà**]

(lit. history of himself by himself)

Shatu herself brought the trouble on herself.

He himself told me his autobiography.

**mutànē sunà t̀aimakon** [kánsù] [**dà kánsù**]

The people are helping themselves by themselves.

## 2. RECIPROCALLS

Reciprocals are indicated by the word **jūnā** 'other', optionally including a bound genitive pronoun (i.e., linker -n plus a possessive pronoun).

1p	<b>jūnanm̀ù</b>	each other (we)
2p	<b>jūnank̀ù</b>	each other (you, pl.)
3p	<b>jūnans̀ù</b>	each other (they)
4p	<b>jūnā</b>	each other (they, impersonal)

ØHN: The word **jūnā** etymologically comes from **jiki** 'body' + a suffix -**nā** of unknown origin. (Jaggar, personal communication, has suggested that -**nā** may be an erstwhile plural marker, a proposal that is not unreasonable, but which I am not prepared to endorse.) The derivation is \*/**jik** // + **nā** > \*/**jūnā** (by Klíngenheben's Law) > \*/**jūnā** (by monophthongization) > **jūnā** (by LH to H tone simplification). The 'body' meaning of **jūnā** is still preserved in the phrase **jūnā biyu** 'pregnant', e.g., **tanà dà jūnā biyu** 'She is pregnant', lit. she has two bodies. The use of 'head' and 'body' for reflexives and reciprocals, respectively, is widespread throughout the Chadic family.

Whereas English uses 'each other' or 'one another' regardless of the person of the antecedent, Hausa has distinct forms in the first, second, and third persons, e.g., **mun tsallàkē jūnanm̀ù** 'We jumped over each

other'; **kù tàimàki jūnankù** 'You (pl.) should help one another'; **Bellò dà Tankò bà zā sù cūci jūnansù** **ba** 'Bello and Tanko will not cheat one another.'

The first, second, and third persons also allow use of the bare reciprocal **jūnā** instead of the **jūnan** + pronoun forms, i.e.,

**mun tsallākē jūnanmù = mun tsallākē jūnā** We jumped over each other.

**Bellò dà Tankò sun cūci jūnansù = Bellò dà Tankò sun cūci jūnā**

Bello and Tanko cheated one another.

The alternative examples above are probably not exactly equivalent in meaning. Although the matter remains to be studied carefully, it appears that in some cases the **jūnan** + pronoun variants are more specific, i.e., they refer to identifiable groups or individuals, often limited to two, whereas the **jūnā** variant is more general. Thus **kù tàimàki jūnankù** might mean 'You (two) should help each other', whereas **kù tàimàki jūnā** might mean 'You people (number unspecified) should help one another.'

In all but the most simple sentences, the bare **jūnā** is either required or strongly preferred over the form with the possessive pronouns, which is considered clumsy if not unacceptable, e.g.,

**Amīrkà dà Rāshà sun yi wà jūnā lèken-àstfī hař na tsawon wajen shèkàrū hàmsin**

America and Russia spied on each other for some fifty years.

**Audù yā tàmbàyi Mūsā hanyār tàimakon jūnā**

Audu asked Musa about a means of helping each other.

Reciprocal possessives are usually, but not necessarily, expressed by the bare **jūnā**, e.g.,

**mātān sun ga 'yā'yan jūnā**

The women saw each other's children.

**màlāmān sunà kařàntà littàttāfan jūnā**

The teachers are reading each other's books.

**yārān sun d'auki hōtunān jūnā**

The children took pictures of one another.

cf. **Bellò dà Tankò sun d'auki hōtunān jūnansù**

Bello and Tanko took each other's picture (in turn).

The bare **jūnā** form is required with the impersonal 4p subject, which, although often glossed as 'one', behaves as a plural, e.g.,

**an yàudàri jūnā**

They (impersonal) deceived each other.

cf. **sun yàudàri jūnansù**

They (3p) deceived each other.

**anà cūtař jūnā à nān kařāř**

One (impersonal) cheats each other in this country.

**an bā wà jūnā kunyà**

They (impersonal) embarrassed each other.

°AN: The impersonal weak subject pronoun in the completive patterns morphologically with the plural pronouns in having a final -n. Compare **an** 'one' with **mun**, **kun**, **sun** 'we, you (pl.), they', as opposed to **yā/tā** 'he/she'. It is primarily on this basis that various scholars (including myself) have labeled the impersonal wsp as fourth person plural. Its behavior with reciprocals provides supporting syntactic evidence that it should be treated as a plural.

The reciprocal normally requires a plural subject. As in English, the Hausa reciprocal **jūnā** can be used with the universal pronoun **kōwā** 'everyone', even though grammatically it takes singular concord, e.g.,

**kōwā [yā]3m san jūnā nān**

Everyone knows each other here.

The bare **jūnā** form of the person feature is ir

**sōn jūnā**  
**duwàtsū mahāihāyan**  
**abūbuwà makūsantā**

In a complex sentence,

**màlāmai sunà sō yār:**  
The teachers  
[**Kānde dà Jummai**];  
Kande and Ju

Contrast the following preferred order):

**Kānde dà Jummai** su  
1. [Kande and Jummai  
2. [Kande and Jummai

ADN: In the dialect outside of its clari e.g.,

**Kānde dà Jummai**  
1. Kande and Jummai  
2. Kande and Jummai (individually). (lo When the in to be in the plur Jummai know th

[References: Jaggari (

The bare **jūnā** form occurs also in other constructions, like nominalizations and modifier phrases, where the person feature is irrelevant, e.g.,

<b>sôn jūnā</b>	mutual love
<b>duwàtsū mahàihàyan jūnā</b>	stones superimposed on one another
<b>abūbuwà makùsàntā dā jūnā</b>	things closely connected to each other

In a complex sentence, the reciprocal can refer only to an antecedent within its clause, e.g.,

**màlàmai sunà sô yārā sù tàimàki jūnā**

The teachers want the children to help one another.

[**Kànde dā Jummai**]; **sun san (cēwā)** [**Bālā dā Tankò**]; **sun cūci jūnā**;

Kande and Jummai know (that) Bala and Tanko cheated each other.

Contrast the following sentence with a d.o. pronoun (which has two possible readings, given in preferred order):

**Kànde dā Jummai sun san (cēwā) Bālā dā Tankò sun cūcē sù**

1. [Kande and Jummai]<sub>i</sub> know (that) [Bala and Tanko]<sub>j</sub> cheated them<sub>i</sub> (i.e., Kande and Jummai).
2. [Kande and Jummai]<sub>i</sub> know (that) [Bala and Tanko]<sub>j</sub> cheated them<sub>k</sub> (some other people).

ΔDN: In the dialect described by Alidou (1992), the full form **jūnansù** can have an antecedent that is outside of its clause. In this case the semantic interpretation is on 'each of' rather than 'each other', e.g.,

**Kànde dā Jummai sun san (cēwā) Bālā dā Tankò sun cūci jūnansù**

1. Kande and Jummai know (that) Bala and Tanko cheated each other. (normal reciprocal)
2. Kande and Jummai know (that) Bala and Tanko cheated each of them (i.e., Kande and Jummai individually). (long-distance reference)

When the intended antecedent is outside the clause, the subject within the clause does not have to be in the plural, e.g., **Kànde dā Jummai sun san (cēwā) Bālā yā cūci jūnansù** 'Kande and Jummai know that Bala cheated each of them.'

[References: Jaggar (1998); Yalwa (1992)]

## 64. Relative Clauses

### 1. BASIC FORMATION

RELATIVE clauses (= RCs) occur after the NP (noun or pronoun) that they modify. They have the structure **dà** 'relativizer' + an embedded S (which generally preserves normal word order). The TAM in the RC must be a Rel form (see below). In place of the bare relativizer, it is also possible to use a relative pronoun or adverb that contains **dà** as an integral constituent (see §3). Examples:

[yāròn] [dà [na gani]]	[the boy] [whom [I saw]]
[d'ākìn] [dà [àkwai yārā]]	[a room] [where [there are children]]
[mùtumìn] [dà [mutàṅē (su)kè gudù sabòdà tsananin jàfā'insà]]	[the man] [whom [people are avoiding because of his ill-will]]

The relativizer **dà**, which one can gloss as 'that' or 'who' or 'which', etc., depending on the context, is invariant, i.e., it is the same regardless of the head noun's number, gender, animacy, or syntactic function. Examples:

yāriyār dà ta ràsu	the girl who died
tùlún dà Jummai ta sàyā	the water pot that Jummai bought
gwamnàn dà akà yabà masà	the governor whom they praised
yārā dà kè jàjjèrè à hanyà	children who were lined up on the road
d'àlibàn dà zā sù gamà aikinsù	the students who will finish their work

It is possible to have a modal particle between the head noun and the RC, e.g.,

lòkàcìn (kùwa) dà sukà zò	the time (moreover) that they came
wàndón (mā) dà na sàyā	the trousers (too) that I bought

A relative clause can contain an NP that itself is modified by an RC, e.g.,

yāròn [dà ya yi kùkà dà mālāmār [dà ta kòrē shì dàgà makařantā]]	the boy who complained about the teacher who suspended him from school
bishiyār [dà Mūsā ya sārè dà gatarín [dà na bā shì arò]]	the tree that Musa cut down with the axe that I lent him
màtār [dà ta nūnà mín àlřalín [dà ya d'aurè shēgèn [dà ya zàgi mijintà]]]	the woman who showed me the judge who sentenced the bastard who insulted her husband

### 2. DEFINITE ARTICLE

Semantically definite nouns are marked with the definite article **dà**. The initial /d/ of the relativizer **dà** is produced by the L-tone article. The initial /d/ of the relativizer 'the window that' is produced by the L-tone article. The initial /d/ of the relativizer 'the window that' is produced by the L-tone article. The initial /d/ of the relativizer 'the window that' is produced by the L-tone article.

wàndón dà ka sàyā =  
tunkiyār dà ta mutù =  
lòkàcìn dà sukà zò =

ΔDN: In SH, the definite article is produced by the L-tone article. The initial /d/ of the relativizer 'the window that' is produced by the L-tone article. The initial /d/ of the relativizer 'the window that' is produced by the L-tone article. The initial /d/ of the relativizer 'the window that' is produced by the L-tone article.

Instead of affixing the definite article to the head noun, it is possible to use a modal particle before the relativizer **dà**.

mutàṅē takwàs d'ín dà  
Audù d'ín dà na sanì (= software d'ín dà na sà)

The d.a. is not obligatory. The process per se. The head noun is marked with a pronominal suffix.

mālāmín mù dà ya ci  
àbòkinsà dà ka sanì  
mòtātā dà akà řwacè  
kàntín nán dà mukà f  
dùtsèn càn dà zā mù l  
bàřawòn nan dà ya ts  
wani yārò dà ya ři tã  
wata hanyà dà sukè b  
tàimakò dà akà bā m  
malàlãcì dà bā yà ři

Because of their nature, pronouns, normally occur with the definite article.

kōwā dà kukà gani

## 2. DEFINITE ARTICLE

Semantically definite nouns modified by an RC typically contain the definite article (d.a.)  $\text{̀n} / \text{̀f}$ , e.g.,  $\text{yārò-n dà na ganì}$  'the boy whom I saw',  $\text{rigunà-n dà mukè sò}$  'the gowns that we want',  $\text{àkuyà-f dà ta gujè manà}$  'the goat that ran from us'. In normal speech, the feminine d.a.  $\text{̀f}$  typically assimilates to the initial /d/ of the relativizer, e.g.,  $\text{yārinyà-f dà}$  'the girl who' is pronounced [yārinyàddà],  $\text{tāgà-f dà}$  'the window that' is pronounced [tāgàddà]. When added to a word with final H tone, the addition of the L-tone article produces an F, e.g.,  $\text{wàndō}$  'trousers' +  $\text{̀n} \rightarrow \text{wàndôn}$  'the trousers'. In RCs, the tonal phrase consisting of the word-final F and the L-tone  $\text{dà}$  usually simplifies to H-L, e.g.,

$\text{wàndôn dà ka sàyā} =$	$\text{wàndon dà ka sàyā}$	the trousers that you bought
$\text{tunkiyāf dà ta mutù} =$	$\text{tunkiyāf dà ta mutù}$	the sheep that died
$\text{lòkàcìn dà sukà zō} =$	$\text{lòkàcìn dà sukà zō}$	when (the time that) they came

ΔDN: In SH, the tone simplification rule is optional for most speakers. It appears that in some WH dialects, at least, the rule has become obligatory.

°AN: Note that the tone simplification rule depends on the immediate juxtaposition of the word-final F and the  $\text{dà}$ . If anything intervenes, for example, a modal particle, then the noun appears with its F tone intact, e.g.,  $\text{wàndôn dai dà ka sàyā}$  'the trousers really that you bought', not  $\text{**wàndon dai dà...}$ ;  $\text{tunkiyāf kò dà ta mutù}$  'the sheep however that died', not  $\text{**tunkiyāf kò dà...}$ ;  $\text{lòkàcìn fa dà sukà zō}$  'when (the time that) indeed they came', not  $\text{**lòkàcìn fa dà...}$

Instead of affixing the d.a. directly, some words make use of the connector  $\text{d̄I-}$ . These will thus appear before the relativizer  $\text{dà}$  as  $\text{d̄in}$  (or  $\text{d̄in}$  with the tone simplification), e.g.,

$\text{mutānē takwàs d̄in dà sukà rasà rāyukànsù}$	the eight men who perished
$\text{Audù d̄in dà na sanì (= Audùn dà na sanì)}$	the Audu whom I know
$\text{software d̄in dà na sāmù}$	the software that I got

The d.a. is not obligatory in RCs, i.e., it belongs to the head noun and is not part of the relativization process per se. The head noun can occur equally well with a possessive pronoun, with a demonstrative, with a pronominal specific-indefinite determiner, or with nothing, e.g.,

$\text{mālāminmù dà ya ci lambà}$	our teacher who won a prize
$\text{àbōkinsà dà ka sanì}$	his friend whom you know
$\text{mōtātā dà akà kwācè}$	my car that they snatched
$\text{kàntin nān dà mukà fi sò}$	this store that we prefer
$\text{dūtsèn cān dà zā mù hau}$	that mountain that we're going to climb
$\text{bārāwòn nan dà ya tsērè manà}$	that thief who escaped from us
$\text{wani yārò dà ya kī tāshì}$	a boy who refused to get up
$\text{wata hanyà dà sukè bì}$	some road that they follow
$\text{tāimakō dà akà bā mù}$	help which they gave us
$\text{malālācī dà bā yà yīn kōmē}$	a slacker who doesn't do anything

Because of their nature, certain heads, e.g., universals, nouns with postnominal adjectives, and pronouns, normally occur without the d.a., e.g.,

$\text{kōwā dà kukà ganì}$	everyone whom you saw
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kômē dà kikè sò	everything that you want
yārò fari dà ya kirā kà	a/the light-skinned boy who called you
môtà bakā dà ka sàyā	a/the black car that you bought
cf. bakāf môtār dà ka sàyā	the black car that you bought
mū dà mukè gòyon bāyansà	we who are backing him
ita dà mukà fī sò	she whom we prefer
cf. ita dīn dà kākā ta sá tà kōmà wajen mijìntà	
she (the very one) whom grandmother caused to return to her husband	

In addition to suffixing the d.a. to the head noun, it can also appear at the end of the RC, i.e., at the end of the entire NP, e.g.,

yārò- <u>n</u> dà na gayà masà- <u>n</u>	the boy I told it to
(= yārò- <u>n</u> dà na gayà masà dī- <u>n</u> )	
bārāwò- <u>n</u> dà ya sàcè sù- <u>n</u>	the thief that stole them
mutàné- <u>n</u> dà sukà zaunà- <u>n</u>	the men who sat down
d'álìbá- <u>n</u> dà sukà shigò dī- <u>n</u>	the students who came in
Hàlīmā- <u>ř</u> dà bà tà zò bá- <u>n</u>	the Halima who didn't come

°AN: The ř variant of the d.a. is used only if it is attached to a feminine noun ending in -a(a). In the example above, although the final d.a. refers back to the feminine noun *Hàlīmā*, the n form is required because it is attached on the surface to the negative marker *bà*.

### 3. THE RELATIVIZER AND RELATIVE PRONOUNS/ADVERBS

Instead of using the simple relativizer *dà*, relative clauses can be introduced by a relative pronoun that agrees in number and gender with the head noun, namely, *wándà* (m.), *wáddà* (f.) *wad'andà* (pl.). The singular forms commonly—and in some dialects, obligatorily—simplify tonally to H-L, i.e., *wandà* (m.), *waddà* (f.) (with a segmental variant *waccè*). Less common, although still quite normal, is a tonal change to all L, i.e., *wàndà*, *wàddà* (= *waccè*), *wad'andà*. Examples (using the F-L variant):

[mùtùm] <sub>m</sub> [wándà] <sub>m</sub> na ganí	a/the man whom I saw
[tsòhon gwamnà] <sub>m</sub> [wándà] <sub>m</sub> ya jē Jāmùs	the former governor who went to Germany
[yārò fari] <sub>m</sub> [wándà] <sub>m</sub> ya kirā kà	the light-skinned boy who called you
[d'ákin] <sub>m</sub> wándà [dòlè nē [kà] <sub>sub</sub> yi barci à ciki	the room which you must sleep in
[yārinyà] <sub>f</sub> [wáddà] <sub>f</sub> ta fādī	the girl who fell
[zákanyà] <sub>f</sub> [wáddà] <sub>f</sub> sukà kāmà	a lioness that they caught
[birai] [wad'andà] <sub>pl</sub> mukà kashè	monkeys that we killed
[wasu málàmai] <sub>pl</sub> [wad'andà] <sub>pl</sub> sukà Ri yājin aiki	some teachers who refused to go on strike

°AN: The relative pronouns are complex items composed of the morpheme *wa-* (probably related to *wà* 'who') + the d.a. + the relativizer *dà*, e.g., *wa* + n + *dà* → *wándà* 'the one that', e.g., *wándà ya ci jařřabáwà* 'the one who passed the exam' (see chap. 21). In a phrase like *yārò wándà na ganí* (= *yāròn dà na ganí*) 'the boy I saw', the *wándà* is strictly speaking in apposition with the head noun, i.e., 'boy the.one.that I saw'. One can speculate that originally this would have been relatively uncommon and that the normal relative clause would have had the structure N(d.a.) + *dà* + S. The relative "pronouns" are in the process of becoming grammaticalized as relative markers so that the structures noun *wándà*... and noun n *dà*... will soon be nothing more than long and short variants of the same thing. (Future linguists will probably analyze the structure {noun n *dà*} (e.g.,

*yāròn dà*) as a  
which etymolog

In simple sentences,  
pronoun (e.g., *mùtùm*)  
from the head noun,  
*yārā biyu sifārā dà*  
'with them whom we  
*akwai wani dutsè à*  
everywhere one heard  
simply used *dà* instead  
that was being relativ  
with the masculine pr  
Relative clauses  
'Where?') and *yáddà*  
tonal variants.) Exar

*indà zā kà sār*  
*san indà sukà bir*  
*indà = wurin dà* 't  
*nyà yáddà sukà y*  
the RC lacks an ov  
g.

*wad'andà sukà*  
Among tho  
*wauré wándà ya*  
*kāmà wáddà ta*  
*dubā indà zā s*  
*wan yáddà sukà*  
etc.

... does not have  
...?' has the corre  
... *mè* 'what?'—  
... if the noun h  
... can use the "pe  
...  
... *ya fashè n*  
... *àbín dà zā s*  
...  
... the absence of a  
... (*ř* or *ř'*) 'ti  
...  
...  
... The nom  
... commonly ma

**yāròn dà**) as a phonologically reduced form of the variant {noun **wándà**} (e.g., **yārò wándà**), which etymologically it is not.)

In simple sentences, RCs with the structure NP + d.a. + **dà** (e.g., **mùtùmìn dà...**) and NP + relative pronoun (e.g., **mùtùm wándà...**) are essentially equivalent. The further the relative clause is separated from the head noun, the more likely that the relative pronoun will be preferred over the simple **dà**, e.g., **yārā biyu sifārā dà sū wafàndà mukà sanì** 'two very thin boys whom we know' (lit. boys two thin with them whom we know) (= the less preferred **yārā biyu sifārā dà sū dà mukà sanì**). In the sentence **àkwai wani dütsè à wata kasā wándà kō'inā anā jìn lābāfīnsā** 'There is a stone in a country which everywhere one hears about it (the stone)', the masculine relative pronoun **wándà** is required. If one simply used **dà** instead, the interpretation would be that it was the adjacent noun **kasā** 'country' (fem.) that was being relativized and that the speaker had made a grammatical mistake by saying **lābāfīn-sā**, with the masculine pronoun **sā**, instead of **lābāfīn-tā** with the feminine pronoun **-tā** to agree with **kasā**.

Relative clauses can also be introduced by the relative adverbs **indā** 'where, place that' (< **inā** 'where?') and **yāddā** 'how, manner that' (< **yāyā** 'how?'). (These relative adverbs also have H-L and L-L tonal variants.) Examples:

<b>kànti indā zā kà sāmī kōmē dà kōmē</b>	a store where you can get everything
<b>nā san indā sukà binnè shi</b>	I know where they buried it.
( <b>indā</b> = <b>wurīn dà</b> 'the place that')	
<b>hanyā yāddā sukà yi</b>	the way they did it

If the RC lacks an overt noun head, then the use of a relative pronoun or relative adverb is obligatory, e.g.,

**cikin wafàndà sukà yi jařřabāwā bā wándà ya ci**

Among those who took the exam, no one passed.

<b>an d'aurè wándà ya zāgi mijintā</b>	They imprisoned the one who insulted her husband.
<b>sun kāmā wāddā ta tsērè masā</b>	They captured the one (f.) who escaped from him.
<b>mun dūbā indā zā sū ginā bankī</b>	We looked where they are going to build a bank.
<b>bān san yāddā sukà sēcè kōmfyūtā ba</b>	I don't know how they stole the computer.

Hausa does not have a special relative pronoun for inanimates. Thus, whereas the question word **wā** 'who?' has the corresponding relative form **wándà** '(the one) who', a comparable form does not exist to match **mè** 'what?'—i.e., there is no comparable form **\*\*mindā** or some such. Instead, one may use **wándà** if the noun head is expressed, e.g., **dākinmū wándà sukà ginā** 'our room that they built', or else one can use the "pseudo -relative pronoun" **ābīn-dā** (= **ābin-dā**) 'what', lit. the thing that, e.g.,

<b>ābīn dà ya fashè nāwa nè</b>	What broke was mine.
<b>kā sán ābīn dà zā sū yi?</b>	Do you know what they are going to do?

In the absence of a relative adverb corresponding to **yāushè?** 'when?', one uses either the full noun **lōkàcī** (or **sā'ā**) 'time', or else the "pseudo -relative adverb" **sān-dā** (= **san-dā**), e.g.,

<b>bān san lōkàcīn dà (= sán-dā) ya isō ba</b>	I don't know when he arrived.
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°AN: The noun **sā'ā** is normally feminine. When it functions in RCs, however, it is just as commonly masculine. One thus gets the following forms (ignoring tone variants): **sā'an dà** =



- likitàn dà na gayà [wà Ø] = likitàn dà na gayà [masà]**  
the doctor I told it to
- kwālin dà mukà sá yādī à [ciki Ø] = kwālin dà mukà sá yādī à [cikinsà]**  
the carton that we put the cloth in
- yārān dà yakè zàune à [bāya Ø] = yārān dà yakè zàune à [bāyansù]**  
the children that he was sitting behind
- ɗ'ālibān dà sukè [àkwai Ø] à makařantā = ɗ'ālibān dà sukè [àkwai sù] à makařantā**  
the students that there are at school
- māsu bā dà taimakon āgājīn dà [bābù Ø] = māsu bā dà taimakon āgājīn dà [bābù sù]**  
aid workers which there weren't

If the NP is a possessor or the object of a true preposition, then the resumptive pronoun is obligatory, e.g.,

- mùtumīn dà ruwā ya rūshè gidansā** the man whose house the rain destroyed  
(lit. man.the that rain it.pret destroyed house.his)
- ilīmīn dà mātān sukè dà shī** the knowledge that the women have  
(lit. knowledge.the that women.the they.Rcont2 with it)

ΔDN: In very colloquial Hausa, some people allow the preposition **dà** to be stranded, e.g., **ilīmīn dà mātān sukè dà Ø** 'the knowledge that the women are with'. I have no solid evidence how widespread this practice is, but it appears to be quite prevalent in some WH dialects.

When objects of prepositions are relativized, the prepositions (like the similar i.o. marker) typically remain in their original position. Thus, unlike English, which allows both 'the knife he cut the rope with' and 'the knife with which he cut the rope', Hausa allows only the former, e.g., **wukār dà ya yankà igiyā dà ita** (lit. knife.the that he cut rope with it). The prepositions **ta** 'via' and **dàgà** 'from', however, are different: they are necessarily fronted and accompany the relative adverb, e.g.,

- wata hanyà ta yāddà mukà kāmà su** a means by which we caught them  
**tāgār ta indà sukà shīgà** the window via (through) which they entered  
**gārīn dàgà indà ya tāsō** the town from which he started

## 7. DEEPLY EMBEDDED NPS

The underlying NP that is coreferential with the head of an RC need not be in the clause immediately following the relativizer **dà**, but rather can be more deeply imbedded. If the deeply imbedded NP is an object, there is a tendency to use a resumptive pronoun although it is not always required, e.g.,

- jārūmīn dà mukà ji làbārī cēwā Ø yā yi kòkarin kashè sarki sabòdà karfīnsā**  
the warrior that we heard had tried killing the king because of his might
- mutānēn dà kākāřmù ta fādā manā cēwā āljanī yā sá Ø sun haukàcē**  
the people that our grandmother told us a spirit had made them go crazy
- yārōn dà Lādī ta cē Ø yā dāɗɗā matā rāi sabòdà māganār dà ya fādā**  
the boy who Ladi said has made her happy because of what he said
- sāniyār dà mahautā sukà cē Fulāni sun tātсар wà Ø nōnò kàfīn sù sayar musù dà ita**  
the cow that the butchers claimed the Fulani people milked before selling (it) to them

**gārīn dà mukà ji à cil**  
the town that  
**kudīn dà àlkāli ya cē**  
the money (i.  
Hafizu drew  
**mùtumīn dà ɗ'ālibai s**  
the man who

If the relativized noun is the object of a true preposition, there is no surface interference with the preposition. Intransitive complements are also possible. Fitting that, should' ty. one sometimes finds. shouldn't be allowed)

- 1a. **yārinyār dà [ya]**  
the girl who  
< [yā]<sub>m</sub> kasàncē yār  
= 1b. **yārinyār dà [tu]**  
2a. **abūbuwān dà [ya]**  
< [yā]<sub>m</sub> kāmātā à yi  
= 2b. **abūbuwān dà**

°AN: This "agree like 'Everyone \*\*have) a chance

## 8. CONJOINED F

An NP can be modified by a coreferential NP is su

**littāfin dà ya bā nī**  
the book th  
**kārēn dà yakè yīn l**  
the dog tha  
**mùtumīn dà ya yi r**  
the man wh  
**yārinyār dà ta bātā**  
the girl tha  
**yārōn dà yakè jīn s**  
the boy wh

In the following exa

**yārinyār dà Mūsā**  
**ābōkīnā dà na zīya**  
my friend

**gàrín dà mukà ji à cikin làbāfín dà kàkafmù ta fadà manà céwā ràiràyí yā binnè shi**

the town that we heard in the story told to us by our grandmother that (desert) sand had buried

**kudín dà àlkāllí yā cè bārāwòn dà yā sácè hòton gwamnàn dà Hāfízù yā zānà záí biyā Ø**

the money (i.e., fine) that the judge said the thief who stole the portrait of the governor that Hafizu drew will pay

**mùtumìn dà fàlibai sukà san céwā mālāmāfìsù tanà só Ø (= sònsà)**

the man who(m) the students know that their teacher likes

If the relativized noun comes out of a propositional complement (see §15:2), one sometimes gets surface interference with the choice of the weak subject pronoun (wsp) that follows the relativizer. Intransitive complement-taking verbs like *kasàncè* 'happen that, be the case that' and *kāmātà* 'be fitting that, should' typically occur with a fixed third person masculine wsp; however, in casual speech, one sometimes finds agreement between the wsp and the nearby head noun (which strictly speaking shouldn't be allowed). Examples:

1a. **yārin yār dà [yā]<sub>m</sub> kasàncè Ø 'yař mahàucì cè**

the girl who it happens is the butcher's daughter

< [yā]<sub>m</sub> kasàncè yārin yār 'yař mahàucì cè It happens that the girl is the butcher's daughter.

= 1b. **yārin yār dà [tā]<sub>f</sub> kasàncè Ø 'yař mahàucì cè**

2a. **abūbuwàn dà [yā]<sub>m</sub> kāmātà à yì Ø** the things that it is right that one do

< [yā]<sub>m</sub> kāmātà à yì abūbuwàn One ought to do the things.

= 2b. **abūbuwàn dà [sukà]<sub>pl</sub> kāmātà à yì**

°AN: This "agreement by proximity" is similar to what happens in colloquial English in sentences like 'Everyone who attempted these exams have a chance of passing', cf. 'Everyone has (not \*\*have) a chance of passing.'

## 8. CONJOINED RELATIVE CLAUSES

An NP can be modified by conjoined relative clauses. In the following examples, the underlying coreferential NP is subject of both clauses:

**littāfín dà yā bā nì shà'awà àmmā (kuma) yakè dà tsādā**

the book that interests me but is expensive

**kārèn dà yakè yīn haushì kullum sàu ukù sànnan yà tsarè hanyà**

the dog that barks everyday three times and then blocks the way

**mùtumìn dà yā yì minì àlkawāfì àmmā yā řì cikāwā**

the man who made a promise to me but did not fulfill (it)

**yārin yār dà ta bātā wà Audù ráí àmmā ta kyautātā wà Mūsā**

the girl that was rude to Audu but was nice to Musa

**yāròn dà yakè jīn sanyì àmmā yā řì tàfiyà gidā sabòdā řin-jī**

the boy who was cold but refused to go home because of stubbornness

In the following examples, the underlying coreferential NP is object in both clauses:

**yārin yār dà Mūsā yakè só kuma Audù yakè řì** the girl whom Musa likes and Audu hates

**àbòkinā dà na zìyārtā àmmā bàn sāmē shì à gidā ba**

my friend that I visited but did not find at home

**fitin dà gwamnafi ta ginà bàra waccan àmmā ruwan samà ya lālātā bāyan shèkarà d'aya kawāi**  
 the road that the government built two years ago but was destroyed by rain after only one year

In the following examples, the underlying coreferential NP is subject in one of the clauses and object in the other:

**yāròn dà ya fi zuwà ajì kuma mukà gujè wà à hanyà**  
 the boy who refused to come to class and we avoided on the way  
**àgògòn dà ya bā nì shà'awà àmmā na kāsà sàyā sabòdà rashìn kudfi**  
 the watch that appealed to me but I could not buy because of lack of money  
**kyàutāf dà ta farantā wà Lādì rāi àmmā Zàinabù ta kùshè ta**  
 the gift that made Ladi happy but which Zainabu belittled  
**mùtumin dà na bā shì aron bàfgònā àmmā duk dà hakà yakè jìn sanyì**  
 the man whom I lent my blanket to but who still felt cold

9. RELATIVE CLAUSE EXTRAPOSITION

Normally a relative clause immediately follows the NP that it is modifying. Extraposition to the right is, however, possible, although we lack a detailed understanding of the limitations on its occurrence. A few examples are presented here to document the phenomenon.

**wata [wàsikà] tā zò jiyà [wáddà àbòkīnā ya fubùtā]**  
 A letter came yesterday which my friend wrote.  
 cf. **wata [wàsikà] [wáddà àbòkīnā ya fubùtā] tā zò jiyà**  
 A letter which my friend wrote came yesterday.  
**[mangwārò] yā isa Kanò [wándà Audù ya aikò]**  
 The mangoes arrived in Kano which Audu sent.  
**maròkì zāi yì wà [mùtùm] zàmbò [wándà ya bā shì kudfi]?**  
 Would a professional beggar ridicule someone who gave him money?  
 (lit. beggar fut.he do to man ridicule who he gave him money)  
**kār kà yì wà [mahàifinkà] rashìn kunyà [wándà shì ya hàifè kà]!**  
 Don't show your father disrespect who he was the one who gave birth to you!

10. EXTENDED RELATIVE CLAUSES

The normal relative clause is a direct NP modifier with the structure [dà + (S)], e.g., **d'álìbān [dà (sukà ci jàf'fàbāwā)]** 'the students who passed the examination'. What I am calling an extended RC has the structure [dà {(wsp) kè} S)] where the S is syntactically a complement clause rather than a directly embedded sentence, e.g., **d'álìbān [dà {yakè (sun ci jàf'fàbāwā)}]** 'the students [who {it is the case that (they passed the examamination)}]'. The TAM after the relativizer **dà** is Rcont2, i.e., the Rel continuous form that occurs when the PAC is not followed by a VP. The TAM in the complement S takes the general rather than the Rel form because its clause is not controlled by the relativizer **dà**. Examples:

**àlkālīn dà yakè yā kāmātā yà rabà shì ràbon Allāh**  
 the judge who it is appropriate that he divide it fairly  
**cīn nāmān àladè kām shì nè àbīn dà yakè yā hàfamtā**  
 As for eating pork, it is what is forbidden.  
**irīn àbīncīn dà yakè yārā bā sà cí** the kind of food that (it is) children don't eat

This so-called extend verbal sentence like

**tsòhuwār dà takè gā**  
 the old woman  
 (lit. woman)  
**Tankòn dà yakè gā**  
 the Tanko  
 (lit. Tanko. expensive)  
**d'ākīn dà yakè dōlè**  
 the room w  
**yārān dà sukè fitīnè**  
**kè dà kīkè gwānā (c**  
**yārīnyār dà takè 'y**  
**makarantār dà takī**  
**Jòs dà takè bābù zā**

Negative equational structure, e.g.,

**shì [dà (yakè) bā da**  
**àkwai mutānè dà y**  
 There are n  
**Lāfai [dà (takè) bā**  
 Larai who i

RCs introduced by t are similar to extenc clauses. Examples:

**yārīnyār dà ya kasī**  
**mùtùm wándà ya k**  
**ruwān dà ya kasānc**  
 water whic  
**wani mair māgānl w**  
 a doctor wl

11. RESTRICTIV

Relative clauses in F

**inā sābuwār rīgār c**  
**an kāmā wani yārò**  
 They caught  
**mālāmīn dà (= māl**  
 The teacher

This so-called extended RC structure is particularly common when what is embedded is a nontensed non-verbal sentence like a presentational or equational sentence. Examples:

**tsôhuwâr dà takè gâ ta nan râi gâ Allâh**

the old woman who is still here (but) really old  
(lit. woman.the that she.Rcont2 there is her here life with God)

**Tankôn dà yakè gâ shi yanâ tâkamâ dà sâbon kambàs mài tsâdâ**

the Tanko who is there showing off his new expensive sneakers  
(lit. Tanko.the that it.Rcont2 here is he he.cont strutting with new.L sneakers having expensive)

**dâkin dà yakè dôlè (nè) (wai) Lawân yâ yi barci à cikinsâ**

the room which it is necessary that Lawan sleep in it.

**yârân dà sukè fitinannû (nè) sun zô**

The children that are troublesome came.

**kè dà kikè gwânâ (cè) kin fi mù sanì**

You (f.) who are an expert know more than we do.

**yârinyâr dà takè 'yařsâ (cè)**

the girl who was his daughter.

**makarantâr dà takè àkwai d'âlîbai dà yawâ**

the school where there are many students

**Jôs dà takè bâbù zâfi**

Jos where there isn't any heat

Negative equational sentences can form direct RCs or can be expressed by means of an extended RC structure, e.g.,

**shî [dâ (yakè) bâ dagaci ba (nè)] yâ sâbâ**

He who is not a district head is used to it.

**àkwai mutânè dà yawâ [wad'andâ (sukè) bâ Hàusâwâ ba]**

There are many people who are not Hausas.

**Lârai [dâ (takè) bâ ùngôzômâ ba (cè)] bà tà fâhimtâ ba**

Larai who is not a midwife didn't understand.

RCs introduced by the complement-taking expression *yâ kasàncè* 'it so happens that, it is the case that' are similar to extended RCs in serving to introduce clauses that do not embed easily as direct relative clauses. Examples:

**yârinyâr dà ya kasàncè 'yař mahauçi cè**

the girl who it happens is the butcher's daughter

**mùtùm wândâ ya kasàncè d'an-fasâ-kwâuri nè**

a man who it is the case that he is a smuggler

**ruwân dà ya kasàncè dà àkwai à wurîn**

water which it happens that there is some at the place

**wani mài mágani wândâ ya kasàncè bâbù kâmařsâ**

a doctor who it so happens there was no one like him

## 11. RESTRICTIVE VS. NONRESTRICTIVE

Relative clauses in Hausa are most commonly restrictive, e.g.,

**inâ sâbuwâr rîgâr dà kîkâ sâyâ?**

Where is the new gown that you bought?

**an kâmâ wani yârò dà yakè nēman jēfâ bôm à kâsuwâ**

They caught a boy who was about to throw a bomb in the market.

**mâlâmin dà (= mâlâmi wândâ) ya řubûtâ takârdû biyâr mâshâhūrî nè**

The teacher who wrote five papers is famous.

One also, however, has nonrestrictive RCs. These nonrestrictive RCs are typically characterized by (a) a relative pronoun or adverb (often—for some speakers always—the L-L variant) rather than the bare relativizer *dà* and (b) an intonational pause between the head and the pronoun and, where appropriate, at the end of the RC as well.

°AN: Until recently, the distinction between restrictive and nonrestrictive RCs in Hausa has received very little explicit attention by linguists. It has generally been ignored in pedagogical grammars. The best treatment of the question is by Jaggar (1998), building, inter alia, on an earlier paper by Rufa'i (1983).

**malàmìn, wàndà ya fubùtā tàkàrdū biyař, màshàhūrì nē**

The teacher, who (it so happens) has written five papers, is famous.

**hùlař nān, wàddà Binta ta bā nì kyàutā, tā kēcē**

This cap, which Binta gave me as a present, has ripped.

**sun tahō dà su gōrō, dà àlēwā, dà biskīt, wàndà zā à rarràbā**

They brought kolanuts, candy, and biscuits, which will be handed out.

**inā dà wasu dawāki fīrdā-fīrdā, wàd'andā bā nā sayāřwā kō nawā kuđīn**

I have some super horses, which I wouldn't sell at any price.

[References: Jaggar (1998); McConvell (1977); Parsons (1981: esp. pp. 46–54); Schachter (1973); Tuller (1986)]

## 65. Se

**I**N Hausa, there are  
sentences and non  
sentences and nonver  
tensed nonverbal, (c)

Table 13: Sentence ty

tensed	
nontensed	

### 1. TENSED SENE

Tensed sentences ma  
(wsp) and a marker o  
predicate, e.g., yāri  
Tensed sentences can

#### 1.1. Verbal sente

Verbal sentences (se  
functioning as VERE  
nominalized verb, e  
[kòyon]ᵛₙ Hausa ‘

#### 1.2. Tensed nonv

Nonverbal sentences  
There are four main  
(a) HAVE senten  
composed of the pre  
girl she.cont with r  
sense).

(b) Locative sen  
a locative adverb or  
bankìn yanà [kusa

(c) Stative sente

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 d, where appropriate, at

ive RCs in Hausa has  
 ignored in pedagogical  
 inter alia, on an earlier

4); Schachter (1973);

## 65. Sentence Types

IN Hausa, there are two major divisions in characterizing sentence types. The first is between tensed sentences and nontensed sentences. The second, which cross-cuts the first, is between verbal sentences and nonverbal sentences. The two variables produce four sentence types: (a) tensed verbal, (b) tensed nonverbal, (c) nontensed verbal, and (d) nontensed non-verbal. See table 13:

Table 13: Sentence types

	<i>verbal</i>	<i>nonverbal</i>
<i>tensed</i>	(a) <b>Bellò yā fādī</b> Bello fell down.	(b) <b>Mūsā yanà dà mōta</b> Musa has (lit. is with) a car.
<i>nontensed</i>	(c) <b>zàunā!</b> Sit down!	(d) <b>Bintà dōguwā cè</b> Binta is tall.

### 1. TENSED SENTENCES

Tensed sentences make use of a person-aspect-complex (PAC), consisting of a weak subject pronoun (*wsp*) and a marker of tense/aspect/mood (TAM), that occurs between the subject (if expressed) and the predicate, e.g., **yāriyà [takàn]PAC dafà àbinci** 'The girl cooks food' (lit. girl she.hab cook food). Tensed sentences can be divided into (1) verbal sentences and (2) nonverbal sentences.

#### 1.1. Verbal sentences

Verbal sentences (see chap. 78) contain an underlying VP with a VERB as the head, where the item functioning as VERB may appear on the surface either as a finite verb or else as a verbal noun, i.e., a nominalized verb, e.g., **sun [tàfi]V kàsuwā** 'They went to market' (lit they.comp go market), **munà [kòyon]VN Hausa** 'We are learning Hausa' (lit. we.cont learning.of Hausa).

#### 1.2. Tensed nonverbal sentences

Nonverbal sentences are defined as those in which the predicate does not contain a VERB as its head. There are four main subtypes of tensed nonverbal sentences.

(a) HAVE sentences (see chap. 33) are formed with a continuous or Neg-HAVE PAC plus a predicate composed of the preposition **dà** 'with' and an NP, e.g., **yāriyà tanà [dà zòbè]** 'The girl has a ring' (lit. girl she.cont with ring); **yāròn bá shi [dà hankàll]** 'The boy has no sense' (lit. boy.the neg he with sense).

(b) Locative sentences (see §70:7.2) are made up of a continuous PAC plus a predicate consisting of a locative adverb or prepositional phrase, e.g., **sunà [can bāyan gàrì]** 'They are there behind the town'; **bankìn yanà [kusa dà kàsuwā]** 'The bank is close to the market.'

(c) Stative sentences (see chap. 67), which also require a continuous PAC, have a "stative" (= verb-

derived adverb of state) as the head of the predicate, e.g., *wà yakè [zàune]?* 'Who is seated?'; *tanà [sànye dà zanè]* 'She is wearing a wrapper' (where 'wearing' refers to a state, not an action).

(d) Allative sentences are made up of an allative PAC (see §70:13) plus a predicate consisting of a locative adverb or NP, e.g., *zâ mu [kâsuwâ]* 'We're going to market' (lit. allat we market); *[inâ] zâ ka?* 'Where are you off to?' (lit. where allat you); *Lâdi zâ ta [gidan rawarâ]* 'Ladi is going to her friend's house' (lit. Ladi allat she house.of friend.of.her).

ØHN: Historically, the present-day allative sentences were presumably verbal sentences with *zâ* 'go' as the main verb. The *zâ* plus the following pronoun—which was an ICP (intransitive copy pronoun) and not a postverbal subject pronoun—have been grammaticalized as a PAC, so that synchronically we are left with a special type of nonverbal sentence.

## 2. NONTENSED SENTENCES

Nontensed sentences are characterized by the absence of the PAC. These sentences can be divided into (1) imperative (verbal sentences) and (2) nonverbal sentences.

### 2.1. Imperative (verbal) sentences

The imperative (see chap. 37), which is only used in the singular affirmative, employs a bare verb (usually with a distinctive tone pattern) without a preceding subject or PAC, e.g., *kâwô minî ruwâ!* 'Bring me water!'; *tâshi!* 'Get up!'; cf. the continuous tensed sentence *yârâ sunâ kâwô minî ruwâ* 'The children are bringing me water' or the subjunctive tensed sentence *kû tâshi!* 'You (pl.) get up!'

### 2.2. Nonverbal sentences

In nontensed nonverbal sentences, the head of the predicate is something other than a VERB and there is no PAC. These sentences include (but are not limited to) the following subtypes:

(a) Equational and identificational sentences (see chap. 23) have the structure (X) Y STAB, where the stabilizer is a gender-sensitive particle, and *not* a verb, e.g., *Mūsâ mālâmi nè* 'Musa is a teacher'; *wannân bà kāsâ ba cè* 'This is not a puff-adder'; *Bellò hāzîkî nè* 'Bello is intelligent'; *bâ jîrgî ba nè* 'It's not a plane.'

(b) Existential sentences (see §26:1) have the structure *âkwai* 'there is/are' (or other equivalent forms) plus an NP (which can be omitted). The negative of *âkwai* is *bâ* or *bâbù*, e.g., *âkwai kudî?* 'Is there any money?'; *bâbù* 'There isn't any.'

(c) Presentational sentences (see §26:2) have the structure *gâ* 'here is/are' plus an NP, e.g., *gâ dôkî* 'Here is a horse'; *gâ 'yan tâkarâ* 'Here are the candidates.'

ØHN: Historically, presentational sentences with *gâ* were almost certainly verbal sentences with the pre-noun imperative verb form of *ganî* 'see', cf. *yâ ga dôkî* 'He saw a horse'; *yâ ganî* 'He saw (it)'. The synchronic means of expressing the command 'See (i.e., look at) the horse!' would be *ganî dôkî!*

(d) Qualitative sentences (see §26:3) have the structure X Y *gârê* + pronoun, where Y is an abstract quality noun, e.g., *Bellò hāzîfancî gârê shî* 'Bello is intelligent', lit. Bello quick-intelligence at him.

(e) 'Rather' sentences (see §26:4) have the structure *gâra* (or an equivalent form) 'rather' plus an NP, often accompanied by a prepositional phrase formed with *dâ* 'with, than', e.g., *gâra kai dà shî* 'Better you than him.'

(f) Exclamatory sentences (see chap. 25) are typically one-word sentences with an exclamation as the head, e.g., *shîrgî!* 'What a huge thing!'; *wāyyô!* 'Oh mercy on me!'

## 66. Sta

### 1. FORM

THE stabilizer (S' plural and cè wh tone of the immediat

*dôkî nè* It's a hor  
*mái nè* It's oil.  
*jâkî nè* It's a do

ØHN: The *nè/cè* forms are identi (The /c/ is a pal pattern of gende ΔDN: In WH, th vowel represent

The tonal polarity sh alternative word ord

*tèbùrî nè = tèbùrî*  
*Audù bà yârò ba nè*

### 2. FUNCTION

The stabilizer has th as a focus marker (s

2.1. Equational  
Equational sentenc are nonverbal senten predicate nominal o

*Haladù wâkîlînmù*  
*yârinyâr dà ta batâ*  
*mâtarsâ dôguwâ cè*  
*môtôcîn kônânnù n*

## 66. Stabilizer *nē* / *cē*

### 1. FORM

THE stabilizer (STAB) takes the form *nē* when agreeing with items that are masculine singular or plural and *cē* when agreeing with items that are feminine singular. The tone is polar to that of the tone of the immediately preceding syllable:

<i>dōkì nē</i>	It's a horse.	<i>àkuyà cē</i>	It's a goat.	<i>awāki nē</i>	They're goats.
<i>mái nē</i>	It's oil.	<i>bás cē</i>	It's a bus.	<i>bás-bás nē</i>	They're buses.
<i>jàki nē</i>	It's a donkey.	<i>rìgā cē</i>	It's a gown.	<i>jākunà nē</i>	They're donkeys.

ØHN: The *nē/cē/nē* 'masculine/feminine/plural' pattern, where the plural and the masculine singular forms are identical, is the same as that evidenced in the genitive linker (*na/ta/na*); see chap. 43. (The /c/ is a palatalized manifestation of /t/.) This is presumably a retention of an old Afroasiatic pattern of gender and number, see Greenberg (1960a), Newman (1980a).

ΔDN: In WH, the stabilizer appears as *nā/tā/nā*, also with polar tone. The variant with the /ā/ vowel represents the historically original shape.

The tonal polarity shows up clearly with words that have alternative forms or with structures that have alternative word orders, e.g.,

<i>tēbūrì nē</i> = <i>tēbūr nē</i>	It's a table.
<i>Audù bà yārò ba nē</i> = <i>Audù bà yārò nē ba</i>	Audu is not a lad.

### 2. FUNCTION

The stabilizer has three main functions: (1) as an equational/identificational marker (see chap. 23), (2) as a focus marker (see chap. 28), and (3) as a clause-level reinforcement marker (see below, §2.3).

#### 2.1. *Equational sentences*

Equational sentences, which translate as English copular sentences, do not contain a verb. Rather, they are nonverbal sentences with the basic structure X (neg) Y (neg) STAB, where X is the subject and Y is a predicate nominal or adjective.

<i>Haladù wàkìlìnmù nē</i>	Haladu is our representative.
<i>yāriyār dà ta batà kawař Talātù cē</i>	The girl who got lost is Talatu's friend.
<i>màtařsà dōguwā cē</i>	His wife is tall.
<i>mōtōcìn kònànnù nē?</i>	Are the cars burnt up?



derived adverb of state) as the head of the predicate, e.g., *wà yakè [zàune]?* 'Who is seated?'; *tanà [sànye dà zanè]* 'She is wearing a wrapper' (where 'wearing' refers to a state, not an action).

(d) Allative sentences are made up of an allative PAC (see §70:13) plus a predicate consisting of a locative adverb or NP, e.g., *zà mu [kàsuwā]* 'We're going to market' (lit. allat we market); *[inā] zà ka?* 'Where are you off to?' (lit. where allat you); *Lādi zà ta [gidan kawārtā]* 'Ladi is going to her friend's house' (lit. Ladi allat she house.of friend.of.her).

ØHN: Historically, the present-day allative sentences were presumably verbal sentences with *zà* 'go' as the main verb. The *zà* plus the following pronoun—which was an ICP (intransitive copy pronoun) and not a postverbal subject pronoun—have been grammaticalized as a PAC, so that synchronically we are left with a special type of nonverbal sentence.

## 2. NONTENSED SENTENCES

Nontensed sentences are characterized by the absence of the PAC. These sentences can be divided into (1) imperative (verbal sentences) and (2) nonverbal sentences.

### 2.1. Imperative (verbal) sentences

The imperative (see chap. 37), which is only used in the singular affirmative, employs a bare verb (usually with a distinctive tone pattern) without a preceding subject or PAC, e.g., *kāwō minì ruwā!* 'Bring me water!'; *tāshi!* 'Get up!'; cf. the continuous tensed sentence *yārā sunā kāwō minì ruwā* 'The children are bringing me water' or the subjunctive tensed sentence *kū tāshì!* 'You (pl.) get up!'

### 2.2. Nonverbal sentences

In nontensed nonverbal sentences, the head of the predicate is something other than a VERB and there is no PAC. These sentences include (but are not limited to) the following subtypes:

(a) Equational and identificational sentences (see chap. 23) have the structure (X) Y STAB, where the stabilizer is a gender-sensitive particle, and *not* a verb, e.g., *Mūsā mālāmī nè* 'Musa is a teacher'; *wannān bà kāsā ba cè* 'This is not a puff-adder'; *Bellò hāzīkī nè* 'Bello is intelligent'; *bà jirgī ba nè* 'It's not a plane.'

(b) Existential sentences (see §26:1) have the structure *àkwai* 'there is/are' (or other equivalent forms) plus an NP (which can be omitted). The negative of *àkwai* is *bā* or *bābù*, e.g., *àkwai kudī?* 'Is there any money?'; *bābù* 'There isn't any.'

(c) Presentational sentences (see §26:2) have the structure *gà* 'here is/are' plus an NP, e.g., *gà dōkì* 'Here is a horse'; *gà 'yan tākařā* 'Here are the candidates.'

ØHN: Historically, presentational sentences with *gà* were almost certainly verbal sentences with the pre-noun imperative verb form of *gani* 'see', cf. *yā ga dōkì* 'He saw a horse'; *yā gani* 'He saw (it).' The synchronic means of expressing the command 'See (i.e., look at) the horse!' would be *gani dōkì!*

(d) Qualitative sentences (see §26:3) have the structure X Y *gārē* + pronoun, where Y is an abstract quality noun, e.g., *Bellò hāzīřancì gārē shì* 'Bello is intelligent', lit. Bello quick-intelligence at him.

(e) 'Rather' sentences (see §26:4) have the structure *gāra* (or an equivalent form) 'rather' plus an NP, often accompanied by a prepositional phrase formed with *dà* 'with, than', e.g., *gāra kai dà shì* 'Better you than him.'

(f) Exclamatory sentences (see chap. 25) are typically one-word sentences with an exclamation as the head, e.g., *shīřgì!* 'What a huge thing!'; *wāyyō!* 'Oh mercy on me!'

## 66. Sta

### 1. FORM

THE stabilizer (ST plural and *cè* when tone of the immediate

*dōkì nè* It's a horse  
*mái nè* It's oil.  
*jākì nè* It's a don!

ØHN: The *nè/cè/* forms are identical. (The /c/ is a palatal pattern of gender. ΔDN: In WH, the vowel represents

The tonal polarity and alternative word order

*tēbūrī nè = tēbūrī n*  
*Audù bà yārò ba nè*

### 2. FUNCTION

The stabilizer has three as a focus marker (see

2.1. Equational sentences, are nonverbal sentences, predicate nominal or

*Haladù wākīlīnmù n*  
*yārīnyār dà ta batà*  
*màtařsà dōguwā cè*  
*mōtōcīn kōnānnù nè*

shī bà mahàukàci ba nè  
 jàkař nà n bà tãwa ba cè  
 mutànen nà n bà wãwãyè ba nè  
 Mūsã dà Shèhù bà àbòkai ba nè

He is not crazy.  
 This bag is not mine.  
 These people are not stupid.  
 Musa and Shehu are not friends.

If the subject is not expressed, then one gets an identificational sentence, which corresponds to English 'it's (a) / they're ....' e.g.,

gwàdò nè It's a blanket. Kanò cè It's Kano. nī nè It's me (m.). gājērā cè She's / it's short.  
 bà lè mō ba nè It's not a soft drink. bà mū ba nè It's not us.  
 àljànū nè They're spirits. řònànnū nè They're burnt.

## 2.2. Focus marker

Focus is accomplished by moving a focused constituent to the front of the sentence into the focus slot. The focused element is followed by the STAB, which can optionally be deleted. Question words inherently carry focus, e.g.,

Hàdizà (cè) na ganī bà Kànde ba  
 inā (nè) ka sàmè shì?  
 nawà (nè) zā kà biyā?  
 Bellò (nè) ya san wándà ya fōyè shi

It was *Hadiza* I saw not Kande.  
 Where did you find him?  
 How much will you pay?  
 Bello knows who hid it.

Equational sentences with focus require that the STAB appear immediately after the focused element, e.g.,

Audù nè mālāmī  
 cf. Audù mālāmī nè Audu is a teacher.  
 Bintà cè wulàřàntacciyā  
 mū nè māsū rawā  
 wàccè cè gōđiyāř līmān?

It is *Audu* who is a teacher.  
 It is *Binta* who is shameless.  
 It is *we* who are the dancers.  
 Which one is the imam's mare?

## 2.3. Reinforcement marker

The stabilizer also functions as a sentence-level or clause-level reinforcing element. (In this function, it always appears as *nè* because sentences and clauses are intrinsically masculine.) The STAB sometimes occurs at the very end of the sentence, and sometimes at the end of the core sentence but before adverbial adjuncts or complements. The exact semantic contribution of the STAB is not clear. Sometimes it appears to add a degree of insistence to the truth value of the clause or sentence, e.g., *nā sanī nè* 'I do know (it)' (cf. *nā sanī* 'I know (it)'). Other times, it appears to demarcate the core sentence from subsequent modifiers or adjuncts. Finally, in some instances, it seems to be little more than a pragmatic pause filler comparable to 'you know' in colloquial English. In the following examples (mostly taken from Ahmad and Botne (1992), but with tone and vowel length added), I have noted the presence of the STAB, but I have made no attempt in the translation to represent its semantic import.

kākànnin kākànninsù sun zō nè dàgà arèwa Their ancestors came STAB from the north.  
 madīnkin hannū yanà yīn d'inkīnsà nè dà hannu The hand tailor does his sewing STAB by hand.  
 an sāmī sūnan wannān řasā nè dàgà sūnan Kògin Kwāřà, wātò Kògin Nèjā

One got the name of this country STAB from the name of the River Kwara, that is to say, the River Niger.

inā só nè nà fadā n  
 I want STAB  
 an shiryā wannān  
 One has p

In interrogative sen  
 nè because of the a

zā kù zaunā nè?  
 kanā só kà hãr bē s  
 af, yàushè ta sàuka

## 3. kè nan

An alternative to th  
 made up of the relat  
 nakè gayà mukù l  
 Sentences with the  
 difficult to describe  
 sentence 'It's a Y',  
 response to an asse  
 sentence, kè nan c

jì-ta-jì-ta kè nan  
 rashìn àbinci kè n  
 mutānè marāsā In  
 cf. mutānè nè mar  
 àbincinmù kè nan  
 hālin yārā kè nan  
 cf. hālin yārā nè  
 yàushè zān dāwō k  
 wātàu sun kōmā s

The kè nan phrase

shèkarà ukù kè na  
 yāu watà gōmà kè  
 It's now t  
 yāu shèkarāřsà àř  
 He's been  
 sàu huđu kè nan i  
 It's four ti

The kè nan phrase

ukù dà biyu biyāř  
 ukù à tārā dà biyāř

**inà sò nē nà fadà mukù àbìn dà na yi à rānāf Sallā Bābba dà ta wucè**

I want STAB to tell you what happened at the *Id* festival that just passed.

**an shiryà wannàn d'an littāfi nē mùsamàn don màsu kòyon Hausa**

One has prepared this little book STAB especially for those learning Hausa.

In interrogative sentences, a stabilizer at the end serves as a question tag. (It often has the surface form **nē** because of the addition of an L-tone q-morpheme (see §60:1.2). Examples:

**zā kù zaunà nē?**

Are you going to stay?

**kanà sò kà hārbē shì nē?**

Do you really want to shoot it?

**af, yàushè ta sàuka nē?**

Oh, when did she deliver?

### 3. **kè nan**

An alternative to the stabilizer is the fixed phrase **kè nan** (invariable for number and gender), which is made up of the relative continuous marker **kè** plus the locative **nan** 'there, in existence', e.g., **àbìn dà nakè gayà mukù kè nan** 'It's what I was telling you', **bàbbaṛ màtsalà kè nan** 'It's a big problem.' Sentences with the stabilizer and with **kè nan** are not identical in meaning, but the exact difference is difficult to describe. A simple sentence with the stabilizer is often a neutral factual identificational sentence 'It's a Y', whereas the sentence with **kè nan** generally connotes 'That's the way Y is', often in response to an assertion by some other participant in the discourse. When used at the end of a verbal sentence, **kè nan** commonly adds a notion of finality. Examples:

**jì-ta-jì-ta kè nan**

That's just a rumor. (referring back to sth discussed earlier)

**rashìn àbinci kè nan**

It's lack of food. (which caused the event).

**mutàné maràsā Imānì kè nan**

They're merciless people. (which explains their actions)

cf. **mutàné nē maràsā Imānì**

They're merciless people. (statement of fact)

**àbincinmù kè nan**

It's our (kind of) food. cf. **àbincinmù nē** It's our food.

**hālin yārā kè nan**

That's just the way kids are.

cf. **hālin yārā nē**

It's childish behavior.

**yàushè zān dāwō kè nan?**

When should I come back then?

**wàtàu sun kōmà sun sākè wàsā kè nan**

So, they returned and played some more.

The **kè nan** phrase is used to express temporal cleft sentences, often denoting time spans, e.g.,

**shèkarà ukù kè nan yanà kīwò**

He has been herding animals for three years.

**yāu watà gōmà kè nan anà tūhumār wannàn mūtumìn dà láifin kisàn kái**

It's now ten months that they have been suspecting this man of murder.

**yāu shèkarāfsà àshīřin kè nan à wannàn wuri**

He's been at this place for twenty years. (lit. today year.of.his twenty **kè nan** at this place)

**sàu huđu kè nan inà ganin zāzzābīn-rānā à rāyuwātā**

It's four times that I have seen an eclipse in my lifetime.

The **kè nan** phrase is used in expressing arithmetical calculations, e.g.,

**ukù dà biyu biyāf kè nan**

3 and 2 is 5.

**ukù à tārā dà biyāf takwàs kè nan**

3 and 5 (lit. 3 one adds with 5) is 8.

The sequence **shī kè nan** (lit. it is there) has become fixed as an essentially one-word expression meaning 'That's that!'; e.g.,

<b>shī kè nan, sai na kōmā gidā</b>	That was that, then I left and went back home.
<b>shī kè nan, an gamā</b>	That's that, it's finished.
<b>shī kè nan</b>	OK.

[References: McConvell (1973); Parsons (1963); Schachter (1966)]

**S**UBJECT to ser  
 resulting from  
**tsùgùne** 'kneeling  
 contrasted with use  
 the chair', vs. **yanā**  
**tanā d'āure** 'The g  
 statives commonly  
 of state, comparabl  
 than stative-like, e.

°AN: Parsons  
 state"). He w  
 about these w

1. FORM

Statives are forme  
 base.

°AN/°HN: Sy  
 vocalic suffix  
 adverbial cou  
**yābe** 'plaster  
 derived adver  
 'forehead' (s

In most cases the  
 base may be simpl  
 verbalizer -TA. No  
 is short, short fin  
 palatalization of  
 epenthetic /y/ betw  
 alternative stative  
 i.e., **tāfiye**. The s  
 //mat-//, which is  
 spreads from righ  
 citation form, stat

## 67. Statives

**S**UBJECT to semantic plausibility, all verbs have a related adverbial form that denotes the state resulting from the completion of an action, e.g., *yâbe* 'plastered' [stative], cf. *yâbâ* 'to plaster'; *tsùgùne* 'kneeling (position, not action)' [stative], cf. *tsugùnâ* 'kneel'. Use of these statives can be contrasted with use of cognate verbs, e.g., *yanâ zàune à kân kujèrà* 'He is sitting (i.e., is seated) on the chair', vs. *yanâ zaunâwâ à kân kujèrà* 'He is (in the process of) sitting down on the chair'; *àkuyâ tanâ d'ature* 'The goat is tied up', vs. *àkuyâ tâ d'auru* 'The goat has been well tied up.' Although statives commonly translate into English as past or present participles, in Hausa they pattern as adverbs of state, comparable to place or manner adverbs. Some stative forms are semantically more mannerlike than stative-like, e.g., *sâce* 'furtively', cf. *sâtâ* 'steal'.

°AN: Parsons (1981: 30ff.) referred to statives by the acronym VANS ("verbal adverbial nouns of state"). He was right about the deverbal, adverbial, and stative features; however, there is little about these words that justifies labeling them as nouns.

### 1. FORM

Statives are formed in a totally regular fashion by adding the tone-integrating suffix *-e*<sup>LH</sup> to the lexical base.

°AN/°HN: Synchronically, one has to treat statives as being formed by the addition of a distinct vocalic suffix. At a deeper level—historical or synchronic—it is possible that they reflect the adverbial counterpart with a short final-vowel to L-H verbal nouns ending in *-ê* (§77:3.3.3), e.g., *yâbe* 'plastered' vs. *yâbê* 'plastering', *bâkâce* 'winnowed' vs. *bâkâcê* 'winnowing', cf. noun-derived adverbs like *ruwa* 'in the water' vs. *ruwâ* 'water', *gòshî* 'on the forehead' vs. *gòshî* 'forehead' (see §5:3.1).

In most cases the stative is derived from a synchronically extant verb. I call these "class 1 statives." The base may be simple or pluractional and it may be nonderived or may contain a suffix like the productive verbalizer *-TA*. Note that the suffix is added to the base and not to any specific grade form. The *-e* suffix is short, short final vowels being typical of adverbs. Like other suffixal front vowels, *-e* conditions palatalization of preceding consonants, e.g., *gasâ* 'roast', *gâshe* 'roasted'. Monoverbs insert an epenthetic /y/ between the base and the final *-e*, e.g., *ji* 'hear', *jîye* 'heard'. The verb *tâfi* 'go' has two alternative stative forms, one built on the simple base, i.e., *tâfe*, the other on a base containing /iy/, i.e., *tâfiye*. The stative *mâce* 'dead' does not derive directly from *mutù* 'die' but rather from a base //mat-/, which is found in the gr4 verb *macê* and other derived forms. The L-H tone pattern of the suffix spreads from right to left over the entire word regardless of the number of syllables. Examples: (Note: In citation form, statives are usually preceded by the optional preposition *à* 'at'.)

(à) cìke	filled, cf. cìkà fill
(à) giccìye	cross-wise, cf. giccìyā lay across
(à) gòye	carried on the back cf. gòyà carry on the back
(à) gùje	on the run, cf. gudù run
(à) jáye	pulled back, cf. jā pull
(à) jìye	listening, cf. jì hear
(à) rìke	held, cf. rìkè hold
(à) sàne	aware, cf. sanì know
(à) tàgàngàne	sitting with legs apart, cf. tagàngànē sit with legs apart
(à) tsàye	standing, cf. tsayà stand
(à) wàrwàtse	scattered, cf. wàrwàtsē scatter

Some statives, which I am calling “class 2 statives,” are built on underlying noun rather than verb roots, e.g., à kànan̄ce ‘in the Kano style’. These generally occur with the preposition à and connote manner rather than state. When occurring with these nonverb roots, the stative suffix is commonly attached to an expanded base containing the formative -(n)t- (where the t appears as the palatal /c/, e.g., kànan̄ce < //kano-nt + e//. Examples:

(à) àsiřce	secretly, cf. àsiřì secret
(à) fillànce	in Fulani language; in a shy manner, cf. Fillanci Fulani language, shyness e.g., yā yi màganà à fillànce = yā yi màganà dà Fillanci He spoke in Fulani.
(à) hàbàice	by innuendo, cf. hàbaicì innuendo
(à) hàgùn̄ce	gauche, clumsy, cf. hagu left
(à) hàusànce	in Hausa; in a clear manner, cf. Hausa Hausa language
(à) siyāsànce	politically, cf. siyāsà politics
(à) tsànàke	carefully, cf. tsànàki care
(à) wàsànce	playfully, cf. wàsà play (n.), a game
(à) zàurànce	in code/pig Latin, cf. zaurè entrance room, cf. zauranci pig Latin

°AN: The -(n)t- formative is used productively as a verbalizer deriving verbs from nouns, e.g., farì ‘whiteness’, faràntà ‘whiten, gladden’ (see chap. 79). It is thus reasonable to propose that the purpose of the -(n)t- formative seen in the above statives is to create verb bases—whether they actually occur as verbs or not. One would then be able to say that stative formation almost always involves the creation of an adverb from a verb.

## 2. FUNCTION

The stative has two primary functions: (a) nonverbal predicate in “stative sentences” and (b) adverbial modifier. It also enters into a few other constructions.

### 2.1. Predicates in “stative sentences”

Stative sentences, which are tensed, nonverbal sentences, consist of a continuous TAM followed by a class 1 stative (optionally preceded by the preposition à). As with verbal sentences in the continuous, the semantic reading can be present or past (or even future) depending on the context. Examples:

sunà tafe shèkarà dà shèkarū	They have been on the way for years.
malâlâci yanà mimmîke à kân gadò	The lazy guy is sprawled out on the bed.
tanà nannàde cikin lèdà	It was wrapped in plastic.

bā mà zàune  
kwâlâyèn bā sà jèrè  
tanà nan bòye bāyan  
gidán yanà (à) kàrkà  
(cf. kàrkàtā twist out)

°AN: In informal  
For some speakers  
1992a: 59n).

When the stative occurs  
continuous form -kè  
short vowel, e.g.,

wà yakè(e) làbe à d’ā  
Jummai cè takè(e) k  
kwâlâyèn dà sukè(e)

If, however, the stative

wà yakè à làbe à d’ā  
Jummai cè takè à kw  
kwâlâyèn dà sukè à j

ØHN: One can hy  
(obligatorily pre  
phonological fusi  
the long kè does

If the wsp is omitted, t  
preposition à is there  
specifically to do with

wà kè (à) làbe à d’ā  
Jummai cè kè (à) kw  
kwâlâyèn dà kè (à) jè

Statives built on und  
complement, e.g.,

yanà gùje  
bā mà zàune  
mutànèn dà kè bòye

Statives of lexically tr  
affected patient. In t  
understood. These stat  
subject (see §2.1.1 fo

**bā mà zàune**  
**kwālâyên bā sà jère**  
**tanà nan fòye bāyan katangā**  
**gidán yanà (à) kàrkàce**  
 (cf. **kàrkàtá** twist out of shape)

We were not seated.  
 The cardboard boxes are not lined up.  
 She is there hidden behind the fence.  
 The house is out of kilter.

°AN: In informal speech, such sentences as the above normally appear without the preposition **à**. For some speakers, **à** can be included, thereby indicating a greater degree of specificity (see Jaggar 1992a: 59n).

When the stative occurs in a Rel environment (focus, relativization, etc.), some speakers use the Rel-continuous1 form **-kè** with the long vowel, whereas others use the Rel-continuous2 form **-kè** with the short vowel, e.g.,

**wà yakè(e) làbe à dākì?**  
**Jummai cè takè(e) kwànce**  
**kwālâyên dà sukè(e) jère**

Who is crouched secretly in the room?  
 It is Jummai who is lying down.  
 cardboard boxes that are in a row

If, however, the stative is preceded by **à**, then only the short vowel Rcont2 **kè** form can be used, e.g.,

**wà yakè à làbe à dākì?**  
**Jummai cè takè à kwànce**  
**kwālâyên dà sukè à jère**

Who is crouched secretly in the room?  
 It is Jummai who is lying down.  
 cardboard boxes that are in a row

ØHN: One can hypothesize that the required structure was originally \*wsp.kè (with short **kè**) + **à** (obligatorily present) + stative, e.g., **wà yakè à làbe...**, and that the long **kè** represents a phonological fusion of \***kè-à**, e.g., \***wà yakè-à làbe...** > **wà yakè làbe**. This would explain why the long **kè** does not occur when **à** is present.

If the **wsp** is omitted, then the free form **kè** with the long vowel is required for all speakers whether the preposition **à** is there or not. (This is a general property of the Rel-continuous marker and has nothing specifically to do with the stative construction.) Examples:

**wà kè (à) làbe à dākì?**  
**Jummai cè kè (à) kwànce**  
**kwālâyên dà kè (à) jère**

Who is crouched secretly in the room?  
 It is Jummai who is lying down.  
 cardboard boxes that are in a row

Statives built on underlying intransitive verbs are necessarily “intransitive” and may not take a complement, e.g.,

**yanà gùje**  
**bā mà zàune**  
**mutànên dà kè fòye**

He was on the run.  
 We were not seated.  
 The men who were hiding. (state, not action)

Statives of lexically transitive verbs may also be “inactive/intransitive,” with the subject serving as the affected patient. In these sentences, there is no underlying agent overtly expressed nor is one understood. These statives often enter into corresponding sociative sentences with an experiencer as subject (see §2.1.1 following).

zanè yanà d'àure gà jikintà (lit. wrapper it.cont tied at body.of.her)	The wrapper is tied around her.
cf. Hādizà tanà d'àure dà zanè	Hadiza has on a wrapper.
cf. zanè yā d'āuru	The wrapper was tied on well (by someone). (passive gr7)
kāyā sunà lābce à kán jākī	The goods are loaded up on the donkey.
cf. jākī yanà lābce dà kāyā	The donkey is laden with goods.
jinjiri yanà gòye	The baby is being carried on its mother's back.
(lit. baby is in the state of being tied on)	
cf. Kānde tanà gòye dà jinjiri	Kānde has a baby on her back.

### 2.1.1. Sociatives

Statives of some transitive verbs can be semantically "active/transitive" in the sense that they can take a sociative complement representing the thematic patient or objec. Syntactically, the complement appears as the object of the preposition *dà* 'with'. Examples:

yanà sanye dà rīgā mài kyáu	He is wearing a good gown.
(i.e., he is clothed (state) with a good gown) (< sanyā put on)	
cf. yanà sá rīgā mài kyáu	He is putting on a good gown.
(with the gr1 verb sá (= sanyā))	
wādānnè askafāwā (nè) sukè riķe dà māsū?	
Which soldiers were holding (i.e., had in their grasp) spears?	
cf. sunà riķè māsū	
They were grabbing spears. (with the gr4 verb riķè)	
sunà biye dà shī	They are following him.
(cf. the semantically similar verbal sentence sunà bīnsà)	
ukū tanà fiye dà biyu	Three is more than two. (< fi exceed)
sunà kāmè dà hannun jūnā	They were holding hands.
(lit. they were held with hands.of each other)	
cf. sunà kāmā hannun jūnā	They were grasping each other's hands.
(with the gr1 verb kāmā)	
bā mǎ sàne dà sātār	We were not aware of the theft.
cf. bà mù san àbīn dà ya fāru ba	We didn't know what happened. (with the gr* verb sanì)

### 2.1.2. Focus

Stative predicates can be moved to the front of the sentence for focus. In such cases, they optionally (and commonly) occur preceded by the preposition *à*. The required TAM is Rcont2 with the short vowel -kè, e.g.,

(à) zàune mukè	Seated we were.
(à) sanye dà bābbař rīgā yakè	Dressed in a big gown he is.
(à) gòye yakè	On the back he is.
(à) gòye dà jinjiri takè	With a baby on the back she is.
(à) shirye nakè	It's ready I am.

°AN: At an abstract formal level, the simplest analysis would be to postulate all stative constructions as containing an underlying preposition *à*, which is deleted in specific environments, sometimes obligatorily, sometimes optionally, e.g., *munà zàune* 'We are seated' < *munà à zàune*. A serious drawback to this analysis at the synchronic level is that it conflicts with

the express intuit  
who understand t

If the stative is follow  
position is strongly d

mimmìķe à kán gadd  
not \*\*à mimmìķe à k

Sentences with stative  
the sentence in the to  
stative is still optiona

mālāmai kām, (à) zà  
cf. mālāmai kām, su  
cf. mālāmai nè sukè  
Hādizà, à d'āure dà z  
bārāwòn, lābe à d'āk

With active/transitive  
This requires that a re

hūlā nakè sanye dà i  
< inà sanye dà hūlā  
sarkī nè sukè biye dà  
< sunà biye dà sarkī

One cannot, however  
following, for exampl  
behave identically wi

### 2.2. Modifiers

In addition to serving  
as modifiers. First, th

yā fīta à gùje  
gà shi cān yanà tāfiy  
kū tāshì tsāye!  
kū zō minì dà shī kō  
tūlū yā cika cike (dà  
kadà kà d'āukè nì à  
yā gayà mīn à takāi  
yā dūbē nì à kàikāi  
bà zā mù tāfi à sāce

Second, statives (usu

nā ga 'yan sādā ts



the express intuition of native speakers, including those with linguistic training and sophistication who understand the linguistic attraction of the analysis.

If the stative is followed by a prepositional phrase with *à*, the initial *à* that normally occurs in the focus position is strongly disliked, e.g.,

**mimmìkè à kán gadō yakè** He is sprawled out on the bed  
not **\*\*à mimmìkè à kán gadō yakè**; but **à mimmìkè kán gadō yakè** with the second *à* deleted is fine.

Sentences with stative focus can contain a topicalized NP as well. This topic goes at the beginning of the sentence in the topic slot. When the focused stative is not sentence initial, the *à* preceding the stative is still optional but it tends to be preferred, e.g.,

**mālāmai kām, (à) zàune sukè** As for the teachers, *seated* they were.  
cf. **mālāmai kām, sunà zàune** As for the teachers, they were seated.  
cf. **mālāmai nè sukè zàune** *The teachers* were seated.  
**Hādīzà, à dāure dà zanè takè** As for Hadīza, *wearing a wrapper* she was.  
**ḅarāwōn, lāḅe à dākī yakè** As for the thief, *crouched/hidden in the room* he was.

With active/transitive statives, the object of *dā* can be focused instead of the stative phrase as a whole. This requires that a resumptive pronoun be left in its original place, e.g.,

**hūlā nakè sanye dà ita** It is a *cap* that I am wearing. (lit. cap I am wearing with it)  
< **inā sanye dà hūlā** I am wearing a cap.  
**sarkī nè sukè biye dà shī** It was the *chief* they were following.  
< **sunā biye dà sarkī** They were following the chief.

One cannot, however, separate *dā* from the stative and focus the *dā* + NP phrase. A sentence like the following, for example, is ungrammatical: **\*\*dā sarkī sukè biye**. In this respect, active statives do not behave identically with sociative verbs (see §75:4).

## 2.2. Modifiers

In addition to serving as the head of the predicate in nonverbal stative sentences, statives also function as modifiers. First, they act to modify verbs and VPs, e.g.,

**yā fīta à gūje** He went out on the run.  
**gā shī cān yanà tàfiyà à dūddūke** There he is going along bent over in a crouching manner.  
**kū tāshì tsāye!** Get on with it! (lit. you (pl.) rise standing)  
**kū zō minì dà shī kō à rāye kō à mace** Bring him to me dead or alive. (lit. either alive or dead)  
**tūlū yā cika cike (dā ruwā)** The water pot filled full (with water).  
**kadā kà dāukē nì à hāgūnce** Don't get me wrong. (lit. don't you take me left-handedly)  
**yā gayà mīn à tàkàice** He told me briefly.  
**yā dūḅē nì à kàikàice** He look at me askance.  
**bà zā mù tàfi à sàce ba, sai dà sanìnkà** We will not go on the sly, only with your knowledge.

Second, statives (usu. without the *à*) enter into postnominal modifying phrases, e.g.,

**nā ga 'yan sàndā tsàitsāye bākin tītī** I saw the police posted along the street.

**mun zaunà kusa dà bangō shàfe dà fentù** We sat next to a wall covered with paint.  
**yanà kallon wata yāriyà d'āure dà sābon zanè mài kyāu**  
 He was looking at a girl wearing (lit. tied with) a beautiful new wrapper.

The word **tāre** 'together' is in origin a stative form of the verb **tārà** 'collect'; synchronically, however, it has been lexicalized as a distinct word and does not behave like other statives. It does not, for example, allow the use of the preposition **à**, e.g., **mù tàfi tāre** 'Let's go together', not **\*\*mù tàfi à tāre**. Similarly, the grammaticalized phrase **fiye dà** 'more than', which is derived from **fi** 'exceed', is normally used without the preposition **à**, e.g., **munà bükātār bindigōgi fiye dà hakà** 'We need more guns than this' (lit. we.cont need.of guns exceeding thus).

Statives without the **à** occur immediately after specific nouns in a number of fixed adverbial phrases, e.g.,

<b>kái tsàye</b>	immediately, determinedly (lit. head standing),
e.g., <b>zá ni wurin dāraktà kái tsàye</b>	I am going directly to the director.
<b>idò rùfe</b>	obliviously (lit. eyes closed),
e.g., <b>sunà d'agà muryà à aji idò rùfe</b>	They were raising their voices in the class unawares.
<b>rái bāce</b>	in despair, angrily (lit. life ruined)
<b>rái kwance</b>	contentedly (lit. life lying down)
<b>bàki bùde</b>	mouth agape (lit. mouth opened)

Statives, like other adverbs, sometimes occur as the second member of a genitival compound or phrase, e.g.,

<b>fitsārin-kwance</b>	bed wetting (lit. urine.of lying down)
<b>ḅarāwòn-zàune</b>	a fence (i.e., dealer in stolen goods) (lit. thief.of sitting)
<b>kauyukàn rābe dà bīrni</b>	villages skirting the city

Some stative forms occur along with **dà** 'with' in morphologically complex prepositions (indicated here with a hyphen but written as two words in standard orthography). Examples:

<b>tāre-dà</b>	together with
e.g., <b>mun jē Landàn tāre-dà ita</b>	I went to London (together) with her.
cf. <b>ni dà ita mun jē Landàn tāre</b>	She and I went to London together.
<b>gāme-dà</b>	concerning
e.g., <b>mè akà yi gāme-dà mātšalār?</b>	What has one done concerning the problem?
<b>dàngāne-dà</b>	regarding (= <b>danganè dà</b> with the deverbal noun <b>danganè</b> )
e.g., <b>gwamnatì tā kafà dōkà dàngāne-dà shān kwāyā</b>	

The government has issued a decree regarding the use of drugs.

68. Sys

THE Hausa ending feminine "nisba" temporal periods or rei or so words, is essential Arabic loanwords to w

<b>arābiyyà</b>	Ara
<b>ḅarāfiyyà</b>	the
(= <b>āzahār</b> )	
<b>dīflòmāsiyyà</b>	dip
<b>dīmòkūrafīyyà</b>	dem
<b>fāṭmiyyà</b>	the
<b>hijriyyà</b>	the
<b>islāmīyyà</b>	Islā
<b>jāhīliyyà</b>	the
	("th
<b>jam'iyyà</b>	pol

°AN: [i] The Haus not present in the [ii] With a term li attached or wheth Tijjāni.

Although the suffix w political leaders to inc scientific fields.

<b>jūgōrafīyyà</b>	ge
<b>ḅahāfiyyà</b>	the
	Bu
<b>Sānūsīyyà</b>	the
	Er

°AN: The exam above. In fact, th founded in Nort

## 68. Systems and Eras (Suffix -*iyā*)

THE Hausa ending *-iyā*<sup>LHL</sup> (which has a set L-H-L tone pattern) is an Arabic-derived suffix (the feminine “nisba” suffix) indicating abstract notions relating to governmental or religious systems, temporal periods or reigns, ethnic or linguistic qualities, etc. The suffix, which is found with some forty or so words, is essentially (but not entirely) nonproductive, having come into Hausa along with the Arabic loanwords to which they were attached. Examples:

<b>àrābiyyà</b>	Arabic language	<b>kìmiyyà</b>	science, chemistry
<b>àzàhàrīyyà</b> (= <i>àzahār</i> )	the early afternoon prayer	<b>kādīrīyyà</b>	Islamic mystical sect (Qadiriyya) founded by Sheik Abdulkadir Jilani
<b>diflòmāsiyyà</b>	diplomacy (< Eng.?)	<b>màlīkiyyà</b>	Maliki school of Islamic law
<b>dīmòkūrādīyyà</b>	democracy	<b>māsīhiyyà</b>	Christian calendar/era
<b>fātūmiyyà</b>	the Fatimid dynasty	<b>mùlùkiyyà</b>	monarchy
<b>hìjlīyyà</b>	the Muslim calendar	<b>sànādiyyà</b>	cause, reason
<b>islāmīyyà</b>	Islamic tenets or calendar	<b>tà’āziyyà</b>	condolences
<b>jāhīliyyà</b>	the pre-Islamic period (“the period of ignorance”)	<b>tārbiyyà</b>	good upbringing, religious character training
<b>jām’iyyà</b>	political party	<b>tījāniyyà</b>	Islamic mystical sect (Tijaniyya) founded by Ahmad Tijjani

°AN: [i] The Hausa word **kìmiyyà** = **kìmiyyà** appears to contain the *-iyā* suffix even though it is not present in the source Arabic loanword **kīmiyā** ‘chemistry’.

[ii] With a term like **tījāniyyà**, it is not clear whether the word was borrowed as such with the suffix attached or whether it is an internal creation built by adding the *-iyā* suffix to the proper name **Tījāni**.

Although the suffix was (and still is) essentially frozen, it has been extended to names of recent Hausa political leaders to indicate reigns. It has also been used in the creation of new vocabulary for names of scientific fields.

<b>jùgòràfiyyà</b>	geography [This recent neologism is a loan blend.]
<b>Bùhàrīyyà</b>	the period or the difficulties experienced during the regime of General Muhammad Buhari, a former Nigerian military head of state (1983–85)
<b>Sànùsiyyà</b>	the reign or the kind of government of Alhaji Muhammadu Sanusi, a former Emir of Kano (1953–63)

°AN: The example **Sànùsiyyà** was given to me as a neologism with the modern definition cited above. In fact, the term *Sanusiyya* predates this usage as an Arabic-derived name for the Sufi order founded in North Africa by Muhammad ibn Ali al-Sanusi (1787–1859).

## 69. Temporal Clauses

THIS chapter describes various means by which Hausa indicates what in English would be expressed by subordinate temporal clauses.

### 1. WHEN

#### 1.1. Clause with *dà* 'when / (time) that'

'When' clauses are typically indicated by a restrictive relative clause in the preterite that has as its head a temporal noun meaning 'time' (generally *lōkàcīn* or *yàyi* or *sā'ā*). (When followed by a relative clause *sā'ān dà* commonly contracts to *sāndā* (with tone simplification = *sandā*.)

°AN: As a noun meaning 'time, hour', *sā'ā* is feminine. When used grammatically as a subordinating conjunction 'when', it either employs the masculine linker -n (see above) or it adds the feminine linker -r̄, which invariably forms a geminate with the following /d/, e.g., *sā'ād dà = sād̄dā = saddā*.

The temporal expression can occur before or after the matrix sentence. If it occurs before, a main sentence in the past will use the preterite (often preceded by *sai*) rather than the completive. Examples:

*bā mǎ gidá [lōkàcīn dà sukà zō]*

We weren't at home when they came. (lit. ...[time.the that they.pret come])

*kīshīn Ābū yā fārā [lōkàcīn dà ta ga mijīntā tǎre dà Rābī]*

Abu's jealousy began when she saw her husband with Rabi.

*[yàyīn dà ta shigō dākīn], bà tà ji kōmē ba*

When she entered the room, she didn't hear anything.

*[sāndā mukà dāwō], (sai) [mukà]<sub>pret</sub> gayà musù lābārī*

When we returned, we told them the news.

= *[mun]<sub>comp</sub> gayà musù lābārī [sāndā mukà dāwō]*

We told them the news when we returned.

The 'when' clause may be introduced simply by *dà* (presumably due to deletion of the head noun). With completed actions in the past, *dà* is followed by the preterite. Examples:

*[dà kukà Rī gaisàwā dà jūnā], na yi māmākī*

When you refused to greet each other, I was surprised.

*[dà ya ga zākī], bàì gudù ba, sai ya yi tsàye*

When he saw the lion, he didn't run away, (but) stood his ground.

*[dà akà hàifē nì], iyàyēnā bā sà zamā tǎre*

When I was born, my parents were not living together.

As is generally true in the subordinate clause and the main clause

*[dà sarkī ya ji hakà], (sarkī) ÷ [dà ya ji hakà], sarkī*  
 into a rage, but only 'W  
 cf. *Hādīzà tā bār maka*  
 ≠ *tā bār makafantā kē*

°AN: In an appropriate context, it can refer to someone else, *makafantā kāfīn* someone other than

If a sentence contains a subordinate clause, e.g.,

*[dà mukà dāwō gidā n]*  
 When we got  
*[dà mukà dāwō gidā]*  
 When we got

To indicate 'only when'

*sai [dà sukà kārāsà ai]*  
 It was only at  
*sai [dà akà bā nì àlbā]*  
 It was only at  
*bà sù mayār masà dà*  
 They didn't

If the 'time' noun is feminine, the relative clause may translate best as 'when'

*[lōkàcīn dà nakè kārī]*  
 (lit. [time.the that I.R.])

1.2. Clause with *id*  
 The 'when' expression is used for events that have not yet occurred, followed by the completive

*in mun gamà cīn àbī*  
*idan kǎ zō gōbe, zān*  
*in mutānensā sun is*

The conditional construction

As is generally true in Hausa with regard to pronominal reference, if the thematic subject of a 'when' clause and the main clause are the same, the noun subject must appear first, e.g.,

- [dà sarki ya ji hakà], (sai) ya hàsalà                      When the chief heard this, he flew into a rage.  
 ≠ [dà ya ji hakà], sarki ya hàsalà, which cannot mean \*\*When he (the chief) heard this, the chief flew into a rage, but only 'When he (someone else) heard this, the chief flew into a rage.'  
 cf. Hādizà tā baƙ makafantā kâfin tà yi aurē              Hadiza left school before she got married.  
 ≠ tā baƙ makafantā kâfin Hādizà tà yi aurē              She (not Hadiza) left school before Hadiza got married.

°AN: In an appropriate context the 'she' in Hādizà tā baƙ makafantā kâfin tà yi aurē could refer to someone else, but the first reading would always be that it referred to Hadiza. In tā baƙ makafantā kâfin Hādizà tà yi aurē, on the other hand, the 'she' who left school can only be someone other than Hadiza.

If a sentence contains more than two verbs, sai is almost always used to set off the verb in the main clause, e.g.,

- [dà mukà dāwō gidā mukà ci àbinci], sai mukà kwántā  
 When we got home and ate, we went to bed.  
 [dà mukà dāwō gidā] sai mukà ci àbinci (sā'ān nan) mukà kwántā  
 When we got home, we ate (and then) went to bed.

To indicate 'only when' or 'only after' or '(not) until', one uses sai before the dà clause, e.g.,

- sai [dà sukà kārāsà aikin tūkūn] mukà biyā sù  
 It was only after they finished the work that we paid them.  
 sai [dà akà bā ni àlbāshī] na fārà yīn cēfānē  
 It was only after I had been paid that I started buying groceries.  
 bā sù mayar masà dà mōtā ba sai [dà akà kai sù gaban àlkāli]  
 They didn't return the car to him until after they were taken before the judge.

If the 'time' noun is followed by a relative clause in the relative continuous (rather than the preterite), it may translate best as 'while' rather than 'when', e.g.,

- [lōkacin dà nakè kārātū] yanà barci                      When/while I was reading, he was sleeping.  
 (lit. [time.the that I.Rcont1 reading]...)

### 1.2. Clause with idan 'if/when'

The 'when' expressions above all refer to past events that already took place. To indicate temporal events that have not yet happened, Hausa uses a conditional construction with idan (= in) 'if/when' followed by the completive TAM (see §17:1). Examples:

- in mun gamà cin àbinci, sai mù fita yāwō                      When (lit. if) we finish eating, let's go for a walk.  
 idan kà zō gōbe, zān bā kà littāfin                      When you come tomorrow, I'll give you the book.  
 in mutānensà sun isō, kadà kà gayà musù kōmē              When his men arrive, don't tell them anything.

The conditional construction is also used to express habitual 'when(ever)' clauses, e.g.,

in nā ji kishirwā sai in tāfi rāfi	When I am thirsty, I go to a stream.
in sun yi tsallē bā sà jīn zāfi	When they jump, it doesn't hurt them.
takàn gan shì in tā jē kàsuwā	She sees him whenever she goes to market.

## 2. CLOSE TEMPORAL SUCCESSION

There are a number of different ways of indicating that one event closely follows some other event.

### 2.1. Clause formed with *dà* (*zāraṛ*)

The expression *dà zāraṛ* (or *dà zāraṛ cēwā* or *dà cēwā* (lit. with saying)) plus a clause in the completive denotes 'as soon as' referring to non-past events. If the temporal clause occurs first, (which is mostly commonly the case) it tends to be followed by *sai* plus a clause in the neutral TAM or by a clause in the future, e.g.,

<i>dà zāraṛ</i> [kun] <sub>comp</sub> dāwō, zā mù tāshi	As soon as you return, we will leave.
<i>dà zāraṛ mālām</i> [yā] <sub>comp</sub> fita dākì, sai yārā [sù] <sub>pret</sub> shìga tādì	As soon as the teacher leaves the room, the children start talking.
<i>dà zāraṛ cēwā</i> [mun] <sub>comp</sub> yi mǎganà, sai [sù] <sub>neut</sub> bātà fuskà	As soon as we speak, they frown.
<i>dà cēwā</i> [kin] <sub>comp</sub> ji kūkan yārò, maza kì jē kì dūbà àbìn dà ya sàmē shì	As soon as you hear a child crying, you should hurry to see what's the matter with it.

The 'as soon as' clause can be (and often is) introduced by *dà* alone, e.g.,

<i>dà rānā</i> [tā] <sub>comp</sub> fādì dōlè nē kù shā ruwā nan dà nan	As soon as the sun sets you must break your fast at once.
<i>zái fi kyáu kà biyā hārājì dà lōkàcin biyà</i> [yā] <sub>comp</sub> isō	It would be better to pay the taxes as soon as the time to pay has arrived.
<i>dà an yi makà d'an láifit kàd'an, sai kà cé à kashè mùtúm</i>	As soon as one commits the slightest offense against you, you order his execution.

Note that when one uses the bare *dà* in (a) 'as soon as' or (b) 'when' clauses, the only thing that distinguishes them on the surface is the choice of the TAM, namely completive vs. preterite, e.g.,

(a) <i>dà</i> [yā] <sub>comp</sub> tsayà sai sù yi ta bugùnsà	As soon as he stops they keep on beating him.
(b) <i>dà</i> [ya] <sub>pret</sub> tsayà (sai) sukà yi ta bugùnsà	When he stopped they kept on beating him.
(a) <i>dà hafsàn hafsòshì</i> [yā] <sub>comp</sub> gayà musù àbìn dà zā sù yi, bá mǎganà (or mǎganà tā kārè)	As soon as the chief of staff tells them what to do, there is no argument.
(b) <i>dà hafsàn hafsòshì</i> [ya] <sub>pret</sub> gayà musù àbìn dà zā sù yi, bá mǎganà (or mǎganà tā kārè)	When the chief of staff told them what to do, there was no argument.

### 2.2. Clause formed with *kō dà*

To express 'as soon as' in the past, one uses *kō dà* plus a clause in the preterite. The main clause, often preceded by *sai*, also tends to be in the preterite, e.g.,

<i>kō dà ta sàmi kuḏi, sai ta sàyi jàn-bàki</i>	As soon as she got money, she bought lipstick.
<i>kō dà akà làlàbē shì dà bàtun sàrautà, nan dà nan sai ya yārda</i>	As soon as he was approached about succeeding to the throne, he immediately accepted.

*kō dà na gan shì, sai*  
As soon as I

When followed by a c

*kō dà zā tà ziyàfci gi*  
Even when :

2.3. Clause plus k  
To indicate that an ev  
place, one can use a  
statement (normally i  
second clause is intro

*yā zō kè nan sai ya t*  
*tā shigō d'ākin kè na*  
*nā zō bākin kōgì kè*  
*inà zuwà bākin kōgì*  
*munà fitōwā kè nan*  
*sunà rābuwā kè nan*  
(lit. they.cont separa  
*yanà shirìn fārà wā*  
He was jus

Completive sentenc  
with *kō dà*, e.g.,

*yā gamà cín àbinci*  
cf. *kō dà ya gamà c*

2.4. Clause plus  
Another means of e  
clause with a nonfin  
introduced by *sai*. T  
possessor, or an inf

*fitāfmù kè dà wùy*  
(lit. exiting.of.us (V  
*shìgā tasà kè dà w*  
(lit. entering his (VI  
*gamà gyārà wayōy*  
One had j  
(lit. finish repair wi

2.5. Phrase forn  
The notion of 'as s  
*dàgà* 'from') plus  
typically followed l

**kō dà na gan shì, sai na ga yā dācè nà tausà yā masà**

As soon as I saw him, then I realized that it was appropriate that I should sympathize with him.

When followed by a clause in the future, **kō dà** indicates 'even when', e.g.,

**kō dà zā tà zìyārci gidā, sai dà ta nēmi izinin mijintà**

Even when she was going to visit home, she had to seek permission from her husband.

### 2.3. Clause plus **kè nan**

To indicate that an event had just happened or was in the process of happening when another event took place, one can use a construction consisting of a sequence of full clauses. The first clause is a simple statement (normally in the completive or the continuous) plus the particle **kè nan** (lit. 'is there'). The second clause is introduced by **sai**. If it is tensed, it will be in the preterite. Examples:

**yā zō kè nan sai ya tārāf tā tāfi**

When he came he found that she had already gone.

**tā shigō d'ākin kè nan, sai akà fārā ruwā**

She had just entered the room when it started to rain.

**nā zō bākin kōgī kè nan sai sukà gan ni**

As soon as I reached the riverbank, they saw me.

**inà zuwā bākin kōgī kè nan sai sukà gan ni**

I was just reaching the riverbank when they saw me.

**munà fitōwā kè nan sai bōm ya fashè**

We were just coming out when the bomb exploded.

**sunà ràbuwā kè nan sai gā Abdū**

They were about to separate when Abdu arrived.

(lit. they.cont separating **kè nan** until here was Abdu)

**yanà shirin fārā wākà kè nan sai gā 'yan sàndā sunà nēmansà**

He was just getting ready to sing when here came the police looking for him.

Completive sentences with a **kè nan** clause are semantically similar to 'as soon as' sentences formed with **kō dà**, e.g.,

**yā gamà cīn àbinci kè nan sai ya yi barci**

He finished eating and then immediately when to sleep.

cf. **kō dà ya gamà cīn àbinci sai ya yi barci**

As soon as he finished eating he went to sleep.

### 2.4. Clause plus **kè dà wù yā**

Another means of expressing the idea of events immediately following one another is to have an initial clause with a nonfinite verb phrase + **kè dà wù yā** (lit. 'is with difficulty') followed by a preterite clause introduced by **sai**. The nonfinite verb can be either a verbal noun (VN), often accompanied by a subject possessor, or an infinitive phrase (IP), e.g.,

**fitāfmù kè dà wù yā sai bōm ya fashè**

We had barely got out when the bomb exploded.

(lit. exiting.of.us (VN) is with difficulty then bomb it exploded)

**shigā tasà kè dà wù yā sai ya gan mù**

He had just entered when he saw us.

(lit. entering his (VN) is with difficulty then he saw us)

**gamà gyārā wayōyin janāfētòn kè dà wù yā sai injin ya kāmā wutā**

One had just finished repairing the generator wires when the engine caught fire.

(lit. finish repair wires.of generator (IP) is with difficulty then engine it caught fire)

### 2.5. Phrase formed with **dà** plus verbal noun or infinitive

The notion of 'as soon as' can also be expressed by a prepositional phrase consisting of **dà** 'with' (or **dàgà** 'from') plus a nonfinite verb phrase, either a verbal noun phrase or an infinitive phrase. This is typically followed by a preterite clause introduced by **sai**, e.g.,

dà hangō shì sai àku ya būshè dà dāriyā	On catching sight of him the parrot burst out laughing. (IP)
dà jīnsà sai mukà yi fushi	On hearing it we became angry. (VN)
dà isōwařsà sai sarki ya yi tsallē	On his arrival the chief jumped up. (VN)
dà ajiyè kāyā sai ya gan sù	As soon as he put down his load he saw them. (IP)
dàgà gamà jařřabāwā sai ta tāshì	As soon she finished the exam, she got up and left. (IP)

### 3. WHILE, AS

#### 3.1. Conjoined clauses

To indicate that one action happened while another one was ongoing, one can conjoin two full clauses, one of which is in the continuous. No conjunction is required between the clauses, although *sai* 'except, then' is commonly employed with past events. There are two possible orders, with somewhat different semantics: (a) a continuous clause plus a preterite clause (often with *sai*), and (b) a main clause (various types being allowed) plus a continuous clause. The best translation for the (b) construction is often that of an English subordinate participial phrase.

(a) inà kārātū, mutānē sukà shigō	As I was reading, people came in.
sunà cikin cīn àbinci, kūrāyēn sukà fař musù	
While they were eating food, the hyenas attacked them.	
Mūsā nà ta shūke-shūke, (sai) Bālā ya shānyē furāř	
While Musa was busy planting, Bala drank up the <i>fura</i> .	
yanà nan kán aikinsà, sai akà zō masà dà làbāřin rāsuwař mahāifinsà	
While he was there working away at his job, the news of his father's death reached him.	
(b) nā gan shì yanà dūkàn dōkì	I saw him beating a horse.
yanà wāsā Bīřnin Rūm yanà kōnēwā	He was fiddling while Rome was burning.
bā yà shān ruwā yanà cīn àbinci	He doesn't drink water while eating.
gà cùnkōson mutānē sunà jirān kàntōmā	
There was a crowd of people waiting for the government administrator.	

#### 3.2. Clause formed with *tun*

One can also express 'while' by using the subordinating conjunction *tun* 'since, while' followed by a (usually nonverbal) clause in the continuous. The implication is that the action or event is still going on. Examples:

kà faďà musù tun sunà nān	Tell them while they're here.
tun tanà kārāmā akà yi matà aurē	She married while she was still very young.
(lit. since she.cont small one.pret did to.her marriage)	
yanà kīwōn garkè tun yanà řan shēkarà gōmā	
He has been tending flocks since he was ten years old.	

### 4. UNTIL / NOT UNTIL / UP UNTIL

The conjunctions *hař* and *sai* followed by a tensed sentence form clauses that correspond to 'until' clauses in English. The difference between the two conjunctions is that *hař* pushes the action forward, sometimes with an implied causal relation between the events, whereas *sai*, which often occurs with an expressed or implied negative, focuses on the stopping point. The conjunction *hař* is usually followed by the completive or neutral TAM. When the event described is clearly in the past, the clause with *sai* (or

*sai* *dà*) is usually in the past tense with the sense of 'up until'.

sun ajiyè àbīn hař sun  
kù ci gāba hař kù kai f  
bān yi barci ba sai dà  
bā zān yāřda ba sai nā  
zāi bař tà à gōnāř hař  
mun yi aikl hař mun g  
mun yi aikl sai (dà) m

### 5. AFTER

Clauses indicating 'after' are formed with *bāyan* *dà* (with tone 5) followed by a parallel relative clause. The two clauses have the same meaning and equally a

bāyan sun tāfi mukà l  
After they left  
bāyan nā kařantà tak  
takāřdā...  
After I read t  
an tāshì wāsā bāyan  
The games e

If the first clause does

bāyan kun gamà kw  
not \*\*bāyan dà kukā  
bāyan kun kōmā Ra  
cf. bāyan dà kukā k  
After you re  
Audù zāi shiryā kōm  
Audu will st  
cf. Audù yā shiryā k  
Audu straight

### 6. BEFORE

6.1. The conjunction  
'Before' clauses are formed with the subjunctive is required. The conjunction *hař* has the following con

kāřin à hàifē kà nā  
kāřin sù cē àkul, hař  
Before they



**sai dà**) is usually in the preterite. The two conjunctions may be used together (the order being **hañ sai**) with the sense of 'up until', e.g.,

**sun ajiyè àbîn hañ sun bùkàcè shì**

They have put the thing away until they need it.

**kù ci gába hañ kù kai rauyèn!**

Keep on going until you reach the town!

**bàn yi barci ba sai dà gàri ya wáyè**

I didn't fall asleep until daybreak.

**bà zán yàfda ba sai nā gwadā tükùna**

I won't agree until I try it first.

**zái bañ tà à gōnāñ hañ sai tā būshè**

He will leave it in the farm up until it dries.

**mun yi aikì hañ mun gāji**

We worked until (with the result that) we became tired.

**mun yi aikì sai (dà) mukà gāji**

We worked until we became tired (then we stopped).

## 5. AFTER

Clauses indicating 'after' are formed by either **bāyan** plus a sentence in the completive or **bāyân dà** (= **bāyan dà** (with tone simplification)) plus a sentence in the preterite. (The clause with **dà** is structurally parallel relative clause type 'when' expressions). Apparently the two formations are identical in meaning and equally acceptable. Examples:

**bāyan sun tàfi mukà kwántā = bāyan dà sukà tàfi mukà kwántā**

After they left, we went to bed.

**bāyan nā kařàntà takàrdā sai na dunrùlè na jéfà à kwàndon shāra = bāyan dà na kařàntà takàrdā...**

After I read the letter I crumpled it up and threw it in the wastebasket.

**an tashì wàsā bāyan fad'ā yā ßarkè à flin = ...bāyan dà fad'ā ya ßarkè à flin**

The games ended after the fight broke out at the stadium.

If the first clause does not have a past reading, only **bāyan** plus the completive is allowed, e.g.,

**bāyan kun gamà kwá iyà tàfiyà gidā** After you finish you may go home.

not **\*\*bāyan dà kukà gamà kwá iyà tàfiyà gidā**

**bāyan kun kōmà rauyè mè zā kù yi?** After you return to the village, what will you do?

cf. **bāyan dà kukà kōmà rauyè mè kukà yi?**

After you returned to the village, what did you do?

**Audù zái shiryà kōmè dà kōmè bāyan mun ci àbinci**

Audu will straighten up everything after we eat.

cf. **Audù yā shiryà kōmè dà kōmè bāyan dà mukà ci àbinci**

Audu straightened up everything after we ate.

## 6. BEFORE

### 6.1. The conjunction **kàfin** 'before'

'Before' clauses are formed with the conjunction **kàfin** 'before' plus a sentence in the subjunctive. The subjunctive is required regardless of the semantic/temporal reading of the clause. The conjunction itself has the following common variant pronunciations: **kàfin** = **kàfin** = **kàmin** = **kàmin**. Examples:

**kàfin à hàifè kà nā fāra zuwà Kàtsinà** Before you were born I had already started going to Katsina.

**kàfin sù cé àkul, hañ mā mun aikō dà māsijnà**

Before they said a word, we had already dispatched a messenger.

- zā kà iyà kārāsà aikin kàfin kà tashì?** Will you be able to finish the work before you leave?  
**yā baƙ kasār kàfin 'yan sàndà sù kāmà shi** He left the country before the police caught him.  
**kàfin in gan kà nà ji làbāfinkà** Before I saw you I had heard of you.  
**kàfin Hādizà tà yi aurē, tā baƙ makaƙantā**  
 Before Hadiza got married, she had already left school.  
 cf. **kàfin Hādizà tà yi aurē, sai tà baƙ makaƙantā**  
 Before Hadiza gets married, she should leave school.

Note that **kàfin** (like **bāyan** 'after') also functions as a preposition that forms temporal phrases, e.g.,

- kàfin isōwaƙsà sai mukà shiryà masà wurin zamā**  
 Before his arrival we prepared him a place to stay.  
 cf. **kàfin yà isō mukà shiryà masà wurin zamā** Before he arrived...

### 6.2. Construction with **tun** 'since'

An alternative way of expressing 'before' is by means of a 'since' clause formed with the conjunction **tun** (optionally followed by the modal particle **mā**) plus a sentence in the negative completive. Sentences with this construction are essentially equivalent to corresponding sentences formed with **kàfin**. The ones with **tun** are, however, a bit more insistent and perhaps could be better translated as 'even before', e.g.,

- tun bāi zō ba (sai) mukà gamà aikì (= kàfin yà zō mun gamà aikì)**  
 Before he even came (lit. since he hadn't come) we had finished working.  
**tanà tare dà nì tun (mā) bà à yi yāƙì ba (= tanà tare dà nì kàfin à yi yāƙì)**  
 She was with me before the war broke out.  
**tun bà à ginà gidān ba yakè d'òkin shigā**  
 Even before the house was built, he has been anxious to enter it.  
 cf. **kàfin à ginà gidān yanà d'òkin shigā**  
 Before the house was built he was anxious to get in it (but perhaps not now).

In affirmative clauses, **tun** and **kàfin** can be used together to express 'since/even before', e.g.,

- tun kàfin à hàifi Lādi nakè zuwà gidān** Even before Ladi was born, I had been going to the house.

## 7. SINCE (TEMPORAL)

As in English, 'since' (**tun**) in Hausa has both reason (see §61:2) and temporal readings (e.g., **tun jiyà** 'since yesterday'). Temporal 'since' (or 'ever since') clauses are indicated by **tun dà** plus an embedded sentence with a Rel TAM, usually the preterite, e.g.,

- an yi watà biyaƙ tun dà mukà gan shì** It's been five months since we saw him.  
**tun dà mukà isō, bà mù gan shì ba** Since we arrived, we haven't seen him.  
**tun dà ya ci sàrautà, ya rikà yankan mutānē**  
 Ever since he came to power, he has been steadily murdering people.  
**tun dà darì ya wucè, sai sukà yi ta kērà bindigōƙi**  
 Ever since the cold season ended, they have been manufacturing weapons.  
**tun dà nakè, bàn tabà yì ba**  
 I've never in all my life done so. (lit. since I was, I neg touch doing it neg)

°AN: Jaggār (persc  
 lōkàcīn dà 'since  
 Historically, this s  
 become grammatic

[References: Jaggār (1'

°AN: Jaggar (personal communication) has suggested that **tun dà** is an elliptical reduction of **tun lōkàcīn dà** 'since the time that' (where **lōkàcīn** could be replaced by some other temporal noun). Historically, this strikes me as probably correct; but synchronically I would think that **tun-dà** has become grammaticalized as a fixed expression in its own right.

[References: Jaggar (1992a, esp. 73–75, 108–9); Parsons (1981, pp. 510–30)]

## 70. Tense/Aspect/Mood (TAM)

IN Hausa, tense, aspect, and mood (TAM) are components of a single conjugational system. They do not serve as independent cross-cutting categories. With a few TAMs, the corresponding negative constitutes a distinct conjugational category; with others, one simply negates the affirmative TAM as such. Two of the conjugational categories, namely, “allative” and “negative-HAVE”, are borderline pseudo-TAMs that are usually not included in descriptions of the Hausa TAM system.

### 1. THE PERSON-ASPECT-COMPLEX (PAC)

Tense and aspect categories (excluding the imperative, which is not treated as a TAM) are indicated not by changes in the form of the verb per se, but rather by a preverbal pronoun-aspect-complex (PAC), e.g., **lēbuřōřī** [sù]<sub>PAC</sub> **řaukà** ‘The laborers should lift (it)’, cf. **lēbuřōřī nē** [sukà]<sub>PAC</sub> **řaukà** ‘It was the laborers who lifted (it).’ This PAC, which corresponds to INFL in modern theoretical formulations, is made up of two components: a weak subject pronoun (wsp), whose particular shape depends on the conjugational category, and a marker of tense/aspect/mood (TAM). (There are two sets of wsp’s: one characterized by a heavy syllable and H tone, which in SH is used in the completive only, and one characterized by a light syllable and variable tone, which is used in all other TAMs.) In the future and the allative, the TAM marker occurs before the wsp. Elsewhere, the order is wsp + TAM, e.g., **Tàlātù** [zā tà] **dafà àbinci** ‘Talatù [fut she] will cook food’; cf. **Tàlātù** [tanà] **dafà àbinci** ‘Talatù [she.cont] is cooking food.’ The accepted orthographic convention is to write wsp + TAM as one word (e.g., **tanà**) but TAM + wsp as two words (e.g., **zā ta**), unless they are phonologically contracted (e.g., **zái** ‘fut.3m’ < **zā yà**). All conjugational categories require use of an overt PAC whether an NP subject is expressed or not, e.g., **lēbuřōřī zā sù zuba yàshi à wurin** ‘The laborers will dump sand at the place.’ (lit. laborers fut they pour sand in place.the).

#### 1.1. Optional omission of the wsp

Some PACs allow omission of the wsp in certain appropriate environments. Examples:

<b>yàrò</b> [yanà] <sub>cont</sub> <b>gyàrà kèkè</b> = <b>yàrò</b> [Ø nà] <b>gyàrà kèkè</b>	The boy is repairing a bicycle.
<b>yàrinyàř</b> dà [takè] <sub>Rcont1</sub> <b>rawā</b> = <b>yàrinyàř</b> dà [Ø kè] <b>rawā</b>	the girl who is dancing
<b>wà</b> [yakà] <sub>rhet</sub> <b>iyà?</b> = <b>wà</b> [Ø kà] <b>iyà?</b>	Who could possibly be able?
<b>màtāř</b> dà [takè] <sub>Rcont2</sub> dà 'yan-kunne = <b>màtāř</b> dà [Ø kè] dà 'yan-kunne	
the woman who has earrings	
<b>mutànen nàn</b> [sukàn] <sub>hab</sub> <b>shāřè tītī ran Lahàdī</b> = <b>mutànen nàn</b> [Ø kàn] <b>shāřè tītī ran Lahàdī</b>	
These men sweep the street every Sunday.	

The wsp drop depends on a number of intersecting factors with regard to what goes before and what goes after it.

(1) The omission of segmentable TAMs, namely, **nà** (this latter for some speakers)

**yàrinyà** [Ø nà] **dafà ruwā**  
**yàrinyàř** dà [Ø kè] **dafà**  
**yàròn** dà [Ø kè] dà **bīřò**  
**wà** [Ø kà] **ganè makà?**  
**mài kitsò** [Ø kàn] **zò nār**  
 cf. **mài kitsò** **bà takàn**  
 not \*\***mài kitsò** **bà** [Ø]

The other TAMs require **dafà ruwā** for **Hàdizà** and **dàriyā** for **mùtumìn** [I]

(2) The possibility of what goes before and what follows. First, wsp omission is possible in a clause with a reduced subject

(a) **yàrinyà** [Ø nà] (= **tanà**)  
 cf. **tanà** **dafà ruwā** S  
**shī** [Ø kè] (= **yakè**) **jīřār**  
 not \*\*[Ø kè] **jīřār** **kàřè**  
**su wà** dà **wà** [Ø kè] (= s)  
**mùtumìn nàn** dà 'yan  
 That man whom I  
 (ii) **gwamnatìn** dà [Ø kè]  
 (= **yakè**) dà **bīřò**

In appropriate environments

**mù** dà [Ø kè] (= **mukè**)  
**kai** [Ø kè] (= **kakè**) dà

In some conjoined sentences

**Bùbà** (ya)nà can run  
 Buba is the

The subject needs to be placed immediately before the TAM elements like modal

**Bùbà** fa [Ø nà] (= **yan**)  
**àku** dai [Ø nà] dà **hàř**  
**Mùsà** nē [Ø kè] (= **ya**)

(1) The omission is possible only in the affirmative and only with certain morphologically segmentable TAMs, namely, the continuous TAMs (general and relative), the rhetorical, and the habitual (this latter for some speakers in some dialects only). Examples:

<b>yārinỳà Ø nà dafà ruwā</b>	The girl is boiling water. [cont]
<b>yārinỳār dà Ø kè dafà ruwā</b>	the girl who is boiling water [Rcont1]
<b>yāròn dà Ø kè dà bīfò</b>	the boy who has a ballpoint pen [Rcont2]
<b>wà Ø kà ganè makà?</b>	Who in the world would spare you a glance? [rhet]
<b>mài kitsò Ø kàn zō nán ran Lahàdi</b>	The hairdresser comes here on Sundays. [hab]
cf. <b>mài kitsò bà takàn zō nán ran Lahàdi ba</b>	The hairdresser does not come here on Sundays.
<b>not **mài kitsò bà Ø kàn zō nán ran Lahàdi ba</b>	

The other TAMs require that the wsp always be present, i.e., one cannot, for example, say **\*\*Hādizà Ø dafà ruwā** for **Hādizà [tā]<sub>comp</sub> dafà ruwā** 'Hadiza boiled water'; nor can one say **\*\*mùtumìn bà Ø dāriyā** for **mùtumìn [bā yà]<sub>Ncont</sub> dāriyā** 'The man is not laughing.'

(2) The possibility of wsp drop (in the case of the above TAMs) is syntactically conditioned both by what goes before and what goes after the PAC.

First, wsp omission requires (a) that its subject NP be overtly expressed or (b) that it be in a relative clause with a reduced subject, e.g.,

(a) <b>yārinỳà Ø nà (= tanà) dafà ruwā</b>	The girl is boiling water.
cf. <b>tanà dafà ruwā</b> She is boiling water. <b>not **Ø nà dafà ruwā</b> **is boiling water.	
<b>shī Ø kè (= yakè) jīfār kārè</b>	He is throwing (sth) at the dog.
<b>not **Ø kè jīfār kārè</b>	
<b>su wà dà wà Ø kè (= sukè) sàuràron rēdiyò?</b>	Who (pl.) are listening to the radio?
<b>mùtumìn nan dà 'yam-mātā sukà fi sò Ø nà (= yanà) barin Rasāf</b>	
That man whom the young women prefer is leaving the country.	
(ii) <b>gwamnatìn dà Ø kè (= takè) cī yànzū</b>	the government that is ruling nowyāròn dà Ø kè
<b>(= yakè) dà bīfò</b>	the boy who has a pen

In appropriate environments, wsp omission is also possible in first and second persons, e.g.,

<b>mū dà Ø kè (= mukè) nēman tàimakō</b>	we who are seeking help
<b>kai Ø kè (= kakè) dà wannàn?</b>	Do you have this?

In some conjoined sentences where each has an overt subject, each can drop the wsp, e.g.,

**Būbà (ya)nà can rùmfa Balki (ta)nà masà aski**  
Buba is there in the shed and Balki is cutting his hair.

The subject needs to be overtly present in order to permit wsp drop, but it does not have to occur immediately before the PAC. It can, for example, be separated from the PAC by phonologically small elements like modal particles or the stabilizer, e.g.,

<b>Būbà fa Ø nà (= yanà) wankè mōtārsà</b>	Buba is indeed washing his car.
<b>àku dai Ø nà dà hàzākà</b>	The parrot indeed is clever. (lit. has cleverness)
<b>Mūsà nè Ø kè (= yakè) nēman mātā</b>	It is Musa who is chasing women.

In conjoined sentences where the underlying subject of both clauses is the same, the subject is only expressed once in the first clause. Whether the scope of the subject is sufficient to allow wsp drop in the second clause depends on the length and complexity of the first clause. Examples:

**Bellò (ya)kàn tãshì wajen kãfè bakwài yakàn yi wankã**

Bello gets up at seven o'clock and bathes.

not \*\*Bellò yakàn tãshì wajen kãfè bakwài Ø kàn yi wankã

**Gãmbò (ya)nã awã biyu à gidan Sãbo, yanã fãmã dà wãshìn wukã**

Gambo was two hours at Sabo's house struggling to sharpen the knife.

not ??Gãmbò (ya)nã awã biyu à gidan Sãbo, Ø nã fãmã dà wãshìn wukã

**Gãmbò Ø nã can Ø nã (= yanã) fãmã dà wãshìn wukã**

Gambo is there struggling to sharpen the knife.

**mõtã Ø nã nan Ø nã (= tanã) bã ni wãhalã**

The car is there (i.e., exists) and is giving me trouble.

**d'ãlibai Ø nã nan Ø nã (= sunã) kãrãtũ**

The students are there studying.

°AN: Although I have not been able to check this out in detail, it appears that the wsp deletion in the second clause is possible only if it is deleted in the first clause, i.e., **Bintã Ø nã nan Ø nã kãrãtũ** 'Binta was there reading' = **Bintã tanã nan tanã kãrãtũ**, but not **\*\*Bintã tanã nan Ø nã kãrãtũ**.

Complements do not allow wsp deletion unless they have their own overt subjects, e.g.,

**mãlãmai (su)nã tsãmmãnìn sunã dà Ikò dà yawã**

The teachers think they have a lot of authority.

not **\*\*mãlãmai (su)nã tsãmmãnìn Ø nã dà Ikò dà yawã**

cf. **d'ãlibai (su)nã tsãmmãnìn mãlãmai (su)nã dà Ikò dà yawã**

Students think that teachers have a lot of authority.

Although a focused subject strictly speaking occupies the focus slot rather than the subject slot, it still permits wsp drop, e.g., **Bellò nã Ø kè shìgã sōjã** 'Bello is entering the army.' By contrast, a topicalized NP is structurally outside the main sentence—it occupies what I like to think of as the "front porch"—and thus does not support wsp deletion, e.g.,

**Bellò kuma lallē, yanã sò mù yi tàfiyã tàrē**

As for Bello also in fact, he wants to travel with us.

not **\*\*Bellò kuma lallē, Ø nã sò mù yi tàfiyã tàrē**

**Bintã, takàn tãshì dà wuri**

As for Binta, she gets up early.

not **\*\*Bintã, Ø kàn tãshì dà wuri**

cf. **Bintã (ta)kàn tãshì dà wuri**

Binta gets up early.

(c) As far as the morphosyntactic environment to the right is concerned, the rule is that wsp drop is possible only if the PAC is followed by an overt VP or locative predicate, e.g.,

**d'inkì nã telã Ø kè (= yakè) yì = d'inkì nã telã yakè** (with optional deletion of the VN yì )

It is sewing that the tailor is doing. not **\*\*d'inkì nã telã Ø kè**

**Audù nã Ø kè (= yakè) nãn**

Audu is here.

cf. **Audù à nãn yakè**  
**ãmã mutãnèn kè (= sukè)**  
cf. **mutãnèn à zãune s**

(3) A special case is th

**Allãh Ø ji Ransã! = A**  
**Allãh (yã) bã dà sã'ã**

## 2. THE GENERAL

The conjugational TAM  
of three rubrics that c  
negative.

(a) The general c  
category that occurs in  
[tanã]<sub>cont</sub> shãn tí 'Sh

All TAM sets except t  
(b) The (so-calle  
and/or required in wh  
which the verb is pr  
expressions (which in

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label *relative fo*  
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The rhetorical only  
which obligatorily re  
does not occur in Rel  
in non-Rel environm  
the general future. F  
counterpart. Exampl

wã [yakã]<sub>rhet</sub> iyã?  
mutãnèn dà [sukè]<sub>]</sub>  
cf. mutãnèn [sunã]<sub>]</sub>  
mõtãf dà [sukè]<sub>Rc</sub>  
bãyan dà [kukã]<sub>pre</sub>  
= bãyan [kun]<sub>comp</sub>  
su wã [sukã]<sub>pret ga</sub>  
cf. [sun]<sub>comp</sub> ga Y  
à nãn nã mutãnē [M  
Hãdizã ita cẽ [muk  
Sãlè à zãune [yakè  
wãndã [zãí]<sub>fut</sub> bã  
cf. mãlãm [yã]<sub>pot</sub>

cf. **Audù à nân yakè**  
**inā mutānēn kè (= sukè) zàune?**  
 cf. **mutānēn à zàune sukè**

Audu it's here he is. *not* **\*\*Audù à nân Ø kè**  
 Where are the men seated?  
 The men, seated they are. *not* **\*\*mutānēn à zàune Ø kè**

(3) A special case is the deletion of the subjunctive wsp **yà** in expressions with **Allàh**, e.g.,

**Allàh Ø ji Ransà!** = **Allàh yà ji Ransà!**      May God have mercy on him!  
**Allàh (yà) bā dà sá'á!**                              May God bring good luck!

## 2. THE GENERAL / RELATIVE / NEGATIVE TRICHOTOMY

The conjugational TAM categories of tense/aspect/mood that occur in the PAC can be classified in terms of three rubrics that cut across the continuous/noncontinuous dichotomy: (a) general, (b) relative, and (c) negative.

(a) The general category is defined as everything that is not relative and not negative, i.e., it is the category that occurs in normal affirmative clauses, e.g., [**sun**]<sub>comp</sub> **tàfi kàsuwā** 'They went to market'; [**tanā**]<sub>cont</sub> **shān tí** 'She is drinking tea'; **dōlè [kù]**<sub>sub</sub> **biyā kuḍin tikiti** 'You must pay for the ticket.' All TAM sets except the rhetorical have a general form.

(b) The (so-called) relative category covers the affirmative TAMs that are grammatically allowed and/or required in what will be referred to as Rel environments. Rel environments are defined as those in which the verb is preceded by (1) the relativizer **dà** 'that', (2) a question word or whoever-type expressions (which inherently carry focus), or (3) any other focused element.

°AN: In this grammar, I have followed the long-established convention in Hausa studies of using the label *relative* for this category. Jaggar (work in progress) has recently suggested switching to *focus*, an innovation that in my opinion does not provide sufficient analytical or mnemonic advantages to justify the change.

The rhetorical only occurs in Rel environments. The relative-continuous<sup>1</sup> and relative-continuous<sup>2</sup>, which obligatorily replace the general continuous, also occur only in Rel environments. The completive does not occur in Rel environments: its Rel counterpart is the preterite (which is allowed both in Rel and in non-Rel environments). The potential also does not occur in Rel environments: its Rel counterpart is the general future. Finally, the subjunctive neither occurs in Rel environments nor does it have a Rel counterpart. Examples:

<b>wà [yakà]</b> <sub>rhet</sub> <b>iyà?</b>	Who could possibly do it? (Rel)
<b>mutānēn dà [sukè]</b> <sub>Rcont1</sub> <b>tāfiyā kàsuwā</b>	the men who are going to market (Rel)
cf. <b>mutānēn [sunā]</b> <sub>cont</sub> <b>tāfiyā kàsuwā</b>	The men are going to market. (Gen)
<b>mōtāf dà [sukè]</b> <sub>Rcont2</sub> <b>dà ita</b>	the car that they have (Rel)
<b>bāyan dà [kukà]</b> <sub>pret</sub> <b>tāfi...</b>	after you left... (Rel)
= <b>bāyan [kun]</b> <sub>comp</sub> <b>tāfi...</b>	after you left... (Gen)
<b>su wà [sukà]</b> <sub>pret</sub> <b>gani?</b>	Whom did they see? (Rel)
cf. [ <b>sun</b> ] <sub>comp</sub> <b>ga Yūsufù</b>	They saw Yusuf. (Gen)
<b>à nân nē mutānē [kè]</b> <sub>Rcont1</sub> <b>tāruwā kullum</b>	It is here people gather everyday. (Rel)
<b>Hādizā ita cè [mukè]</b> <sub>Rcont1</sub> <b>nēmā</b>	It is <i>Hadiza</i> we are looking for. (Rel)
<b>Sālè à zàune [yakè]</b> <sub>Rcont2</sub>	Sale <i>is seated</i> . (lit. Sale at seated he-Rcont2) (Rel)
<b>wānda [zāi]</b> <sub>fut</sub> <b>bā kà tàimakō</b>	the one who will help you (Rel)
cf. <b>mālām [yá]</b> <sub>pot</sub> <b>bā kà tàimakō</b>	The teacher will probably help you. (Gen)

(c) The negative category covers all sentences in the negative, whether in general or in relative contexts, e.g., *bà sù tàfi kàsuwā ba* 'They didn't go to market'; *kumbòn dà bà sù ganl ba* 'the satellite they didn't see'. Some TAMs use the general form in the negative with an appropriate negative marker, e.g., *bà [zā tà]<sub>fut</sub> dāwō ba* 'She will not return', cf. *[zā tà]<sub>fut</sub> dāwō* 'She will return.' Others use a distinctive TAM that is not identical to the corresponding general form, e.g., *bà [sù]<sub>Neg-comp</sub> fādī ba* 'They didn't fall', cf. *[sun]<sub>comp</sub> fādī* 'They fell'; *[bā shi]<sub>Neg-HAVE</sub> dà wukā* 'He doesn't have a knife', cf. *[yanā]<sub>cont</sub> dà wukā* 'He has a knife.'

In some TAMs, e.g., the future, the same form is used in all three categories. In others, e.g., the continuous, the general, relative and negative have three distinct forms. Some TAMs are restricted in that they only occur in some categories and not others. This is summarized in table 14, where each paradigm is represented by the third person plural, e.g., *sunā* 'they.cont'. Empty cells are left blank.

Table 14: TAM overview

	<i>General</i>	<i>Relative</i>	<i>Negative</i>
<i>Completive</i>	Completive <i>sun</i>		Neg-completive <i>bà sù...ba</i>
<i>Preterite</i>	Preterite <i>sukā</i>	Preterite <i>sukā</i>	Neg-completive <i>bà sù...ba</i>
<i>Continuous (verbal)</i>	Continuous <i>sunā</i>	Rel-continuous1 <i>sukè</i>	Neg-continuous <i>bā sà</i>
<i>Continuous (nonverbal)</i>	Continuous <i>sunā</i>	Rel-continuous2 <i>sukè</i>	Neg-continuous <i>bā sà</i> or Neg-HAVE <i>bā su</i>
<i>Subjunctive</i>	Subjunctive <i>sù</i>		Subjunctive <i>kadā sù</i>
<i>Habitual</i>	Habitual <i>sukān</i>	Habitual <i>sukān</i>	Habitual <i>bà sukān...ba</i> or Neg-continuous <i>bā sà</i>
<i>Future</i>	Future <i>zā sù</i>	Future <i>zā sù</i>	Future <i>bà zā sù...ba</i>
<i>Potential</i>	Potential <i>s(w)ā</i>		Potential <i>bà s(w)ā...ba</i>
<i>Rhetorical</i>		Rhetorical <i>sukā</i>	
<i>Allative</i>	Allative <i>zā su</i>	Allative <i>zā su</i>	Allative <i>bà zā su...ba</i>

### 3. THE CONTINUOUS / NONCONTINUOUS DICHOTOMY

Syntactically the TAM categories divide into two major classes with regard to the nature of the elements in the predicate: (a) the "continuous" tense/aspects, namely, the continuous TAMs (general, negative, and relative) plus, in some WH dialects, the allative; and (b) the "noncontinuous" tense/aspects, which include the completive, negative completive, preterite, subjunctive, neutral, habitual, future, potential, and rhetorical.

(a) The "continuous" TAMs occur in nonverbal HAVE sentences, in adverbial (locative or stative) sentences, and in verbal sentences with a nonfinite VP (either a verbal noun (VN) or an infinitive phrase (IP)) (see §40:1), e.g., [cont]: *munā dà kudī* 'We have money' (lit. we.cont with money); [Ncont] *gidansā bā yā nēsā dà masallācī* 'His house is not far from the mosque'; [cont]: *tanā [shān]<sub>VN</sub> tī* 'She

is drinking tea'; [Rcc] *[dāwōwā]<sub>VN</sub>?* 'Are you

(b) The "noncontinuous" as head, e.g., [hab]: *tal* 'peanuts'; [pret]: *mutā [dāwō]<sub>V</sub>* 'Don't return the "noncontinuous" [gyāran]<sub>VN</sub> fuskā [yā

We now turn to a

### 4. COMPLETIVE

The general completive of heavy-syllable, H-1 person and tense/aspect paradigm, i.e., the *wsj* in the completive are [yā] *tāfi Bicī* 'Musa v

Table 15: Completive

1s	<i>nā</i>
2m	<i>kā</i>
2f	<i>kin</i>
3m	<i>yā</i>
3f	<i>tā</i>

ØHN/°AN: Some segmented the *f* vowel) as allomorphs. Historically, the *f* was redeployed for *t* in parts of the paradigm which is widespread rather derives from impersonal *an*, added to the paradigm impersonal form

The completive, which were completed or had locus is the moment perfect. Examples:

*Mūsā yā kōmā gidā yārā sun ga mačjī jiyā an yi ruwā sōs*



is drinking tea'; [Rcont1]: wà yakè [rufè tágàr]IP 'Who is closing the window?'; [Ncont]: bā kà [dāwōwā]VN? 'Are you not returning?'

(b) The "noncontinuous" TAMs occur only in verbal sentences with a finite VP containing a finite V as head, e.g., [hab]: takàn [shā]V tí 'She drinks tea'; [fut]: zā sù [aunà]V gyàd'ā 'They will weigh the peanuts'; [pret]: mutānēn dà sukà [gyārà]V mōtātā 'the men who repaired my car'; [sub]: kadà kà [dāwō]V 'Don't return.' TAM-less PACs, which result from the deletion of a repeated TAM, pattern with the "noncontinuous" TAMs in requiring that they be followed by a finite verb, e.g., [yanà]cont [gyāran]VN fuskà [yà Ø] kuma [tsēfè]V gāshìn kái 'He is shaving and combing his hair.'

We now turn to a presentation of the individual TAMs.

#### 4. COMPLETIVE

The general completive paradigm is presented in table 15. The completive (= perfective, past) consists of heavy-syllable, H-tone pronouns, which function as portmanteau wsp + TAM forms that incorporate person and tense/aspect marking into single items. Because of the morphological nature of this paradigm, i.e., the wsp and the TAM are fused items that cannot be separated from one another, the wsp's in the completive are always obligatory whether the sentence has an overt NP subject or not, e.g., Mūsā [yā] tàfi Bici 'Musa went/has gone to Bichi' (not \*\*Mūsā tàfi Bici).

Table 15: Completive

1s	nā	1p	mun
2m	kā	2p	kun
2f	kin		
3m	yā	3p	sun
3f	tā		
		4p	an

ØHN/°AN: Some scholars, e.g., Gregersen (1967) and Schubert (1971–72), have analytically segmented the forms by treating the initial CV as the pronoun and the -n and -a (forming a long vowel) as allomorphs of the completive TAM, i.e., sun = su-n; tā = ta-a, etc. This is fallacious. Historically, the now-occurring completive paradigm was a noncliticized direct object set that was redeployed for use as a preverbal subject pronoun. In this set, the length and final nasal are intrinsic parts of the pronominal forms. The final -n in the plural pronouns was originally a plural marker, which is widespread in Chadic. The final -n in the feminine kin is not related to the plural ending but rather derives from \*m, an archaic Afroasiatic marker found in the second person feminine. The impersonal an, which patterns with the plurals, was most likely a later analogical creation, being added to the paradigm after the erstwhile object pronouns—which would not have included an impersonal form—were shifted into the weak subject position (see Newman and Schuh 1974).

The completive, which is only used in non-Rel, affirmative sentences, primarily expresses actions that were completed or had achieved a resultative state prior to the time locus. To the extent that the time locus is the moment of speaking, then the completive corresponds to the English past tense or present perfect. Examples:

Mūsā yā kōmà gidā  
yārā sun ga macijjīn?  
jiyà an yi ruwā sōsai

Musa returned/has returned home.  
Did the children see the snake?  
Yesterday it rained a lot.

**kā dāwō?** So you have returned?  
**mun zō bākin kōgī kè nan, sai sukà gan mù** As soon as we reached the riverbank, they saw us.  
 (lit. we [comp] came to the riverbank is-that, then they [pret] saw us)

If the time locus is in the past, then the completive translates as a past perfect, e.g.,

**dà sàfè dà akà tarad dà sū, kōwānnē yā kùmburà**  
 In the morning when they were assembled, every one of them had swollen up.

If the time locus is in the future, then the completive serves as a future perfect (or sometimes a future or habitual).

**bād'i wār hakà mun yi girbì** Next year at this time we will have harvested.  
**rānā yì ta yāu nā zama shùgàbā** A week from today I will have become president.  
**dà sun bā mù kudīn, sun fid dà hannū gārē mù**  
 As soon as they give us the money, then they will be out of our grasp. (i.e., we won't have any claim on them anymore)

**kāfin mù kai Kanò mutānē sun shìga d'akà** Before we reach Kano, people will have gone to bed.  
 (lit. before we [sub] reach Kano people they [comp] enter in room)

°AN: The subordinating conjunction **kāfin** 'before' requires that the following clause be in the subjunctive regardless of the temporal semantics of the event. The same sentence could also mean 'Before we reached Kano, people had (already) gone to bed.'

The completive can also be used for an imminent/intended event in the future, particularly with motion verbs, e.g.,

**tó, nā tafi kè nan** Well, I'm going. / Well, I'm off now.

With expressions of sensation or state the completive often has a present reading, although the actual interpretation depends on the specific sentence and the overall context. Essentially timeless, generic events, such as expressed in proverbs, make use of the completive. Examples:

**nā san sù** I know/knew them.  
**dà yakè mun san kinà zuwà...** Since we knew that you were coming...  
**kā jì kō?** Do you understand? / Did you hear?  
**miyār tā yi gishiri** The sauce is too salty.  
**nā tūba** I repent.  
**kwālin yā d'auru** The package is/has been well tied up.  
**kōgin Binuwai yā fārō dàgà Kasaf Kàmāfu** The River Benue originates in Cameroon.  
**dā yā fi nì karfi, àmmā yānzū dai nā fi shì**  
 Formerly he was stronger than me, but now I am stronger than him.  
**bā à yābon gwānin rawā sai yā zaunà**  
 One doesn't praise the skill of a dancer until he has sat down. (proverb)  
**ganī yā kōri jì** Seeing is believing. (proverb)  
 (lit. seeing it.comp drive away hearing)

The present reading is also typical of various aspectual and complement-taking verbs, e.g.,

**yā kyātu mù tàimàl**  
**yā kāmātà kà biyā h**  
**yā hāramtā gā Mùsi**  
**ma'āikātā sun kusa**  
**kā iyā gyārāwā?**

In conditional clause depends primarily on

**zā à bā shì lambà in**  
**in sun zō, zā mù tafi**  
**in Allāh yā yārda**  
**dā an tāmbyē ni d**  
**dā nā tafi jiya dà k**  
 If I had go  
**kō Hasān yā gāji, !**  
 Even if He  
**kō an yi min āzabā**  
**idan mayākā sun k**  
 Whenever

## 5. PRETERITE

The paradigm of the H-tone pronoun pl

Table 16: Preterite

1s	na
2m	ka
2f	kikà
3m	ya
3f	ta

◊HN: Historic (or \*kə) is re the new gene to narrative u °AN/◊HN: Sy were high by (using the 3f with the follc ΔDN: In a wi geminate, i.e. zanèn dà ki dialects (spe munkà, kun

yā kyàutu mù tàimàkē sù	It is good that we help them.
yā kāmātà kà biyā hàřāřì	It behooves you to pay the taxes.
yā hàřamtà gā Mùsùlmī sù ci nāmàn àladè	It is forbidden for Muslims to eat pork.
ma'àikàtà sun kusa gamàwā	The workers are close to finishing.
kā iyā gyāràwā?	Can you (do you know how to) repair (it)?

In conditional clauses (regular, counterfactual, or concessive), the semantic reading of the completive depends primarily on the TAM in the main clause, e.g.,

zā à bā shì lambà in yā ci jařřàbàwā	They will give him a medal if he passes the exam.
in sun zō, zā mù tàfi kàsuwā	If they come, we will go to market.
in Allāh yā yārđa	God willing. (lit. if God he.comp agree)
dā an tàmbàye nì dā nā yārđa	If they had asked me I would have agreed.
dā nā tàfi jiyà dā kògìn yā kètāru	
If I had gone yesterday, the river would have been crossable.	
kō Hasàn yā gāji, yā kārāsà aikìnsà	
Even if Hassan is tired, he will (likely) finish the work.	
kō an yi mìn àzàbà bā zān yārđa ba	Even if I were tortured, I would not agree.
ìdan mayākā sun kai wà gārì harì, sai sù kāmà bāyi	
Whenever the warriors would attack the town, they would capture slaves.	

## 5. PRETERITE (REL-COMPLETIVE)

The paradigm of the preterite is presented in table 16. Some of the forms consist of a light syllable (CV) H-tone pronoun plus the marker **-kà**; others have simply the H-tone pronoun by itself, e.g.,

Table 16: Preterite

1s	na	1p	mukà
2m	ka	2p	kukà
2f	kikà		
3m	ya	3p	sukà
3f	ta		
		4p	akà

ØHN: Historically this paradigm was used as the normal, unmarked completive set. (The marker **\*kà** (or **\*kà**) is reconstructible for Proto-Chadic (Newman and Schuh 1974: 7).) With the introduction of the new general completive (the heavy syllable set), this paradigm has been functionally restricted to narrative uses or to the marked Rel environments.

°AN/ØHN: Synchronically, the **Ca** pronouns have to be specified as H. Historically, however, they were high by polarity because they were also followed by **kà**, which underwent loss. The pathway (using the 3f as an example) was as follows: **\*takà** > **\*tak** > **\*taG** (where G represents a geminate with the following consonant) > **ta**.

ΔDN: In a wide range of WH dialects, the singular pronouns (including the 2f) still have the final geminate, i.e., **naG/niG**, **kaG**, **kiG**, **yaG**, **taG**, e.g., **wàzìřì yak kashè** 'It was the vizier he killed'; **zanèn dà kis sàyā** 'the wrapper that you (f.) bought'. A geographically more restricted group of dialects (specifically in Sokoto, Dogondoutchi, etc.) have plural forms of the shape **CVnkà**, i.e., **munkà**, **kunkà**, **sunkà**, **ankà**, e.g., **wàzìřì sunkà kashè** 'It was the vizier they killed'; **zanèn dà**

**munkà d'aukà** 'the wrapper that we took'. The geminate -G is also used with the interrogatives 'who?' and 'what?' without an overt wsp, e.g., **wa-b bi sarki?** 'Who followed the chief?'; **mi-k karyè?** 'What broke?'

The label preterite (= relative perfective, relative completive, perfective-2, focus perfective, narrative, historicus, etc.) has been chosen as the designation for this TAM because it is a distinct TAM that semantically denotes discrete events in the past. The label is admittedly inadequate and infelicitous because one important function of the preterite is to replace the general completive in Rel environments—which is why it is referred to in most grammatical descriptions as the relative-completive or relative-perfective. Nevertheless, preterite seems preferable to "Rel-completive" because this TAM *can* occur in narratives and in other non-Rel environments. Here are some of its uses:

First, the preterite functions as a syntactically required Rel form that replaces the general completive in Rel environments (e.g., focus, relative clauses, etc.). Examples:

<b>shì nè bārāwòn dà mukà hàngā</b>	He is the thief that we sighted.
<b>birìn dà ya sácè manà gyàdā</b>	the monkey that stole peanuts from us
<b>dà mukà gābācè sù sai sukà gudù</b>	When we approached them, they fled.
<b>kō'nā ka dūbā bà zā kà sāmē shì ba</b>	Wherever you look, you won't find it.
<b>yāushē kukà gamà?</b>	When did you finish?
<b>nāwā nè ya fi kyāu</b>	<i>Mine</i> is best.
<b>bāwān Allāh akā kōrē</b>	It was a simple person they chased away.
<b>bā bārēwā cè ka kashè ba, gādā cè</b>	It wasn't a gazelle you killed, it was a duiker.

It needs to be emphasized that not all subordinate clauses constitute Rel environments. Some qualify as general environments and in these cases one gets the completive as opposed to the preterite, e.g.,

**bāyan [mun]<sub>comp</sub> gaisà dà shì na bayyānā masà nufinmù**

After we exchanged greetings I explained our intentions to him.

<b>dà [kun]<sub>comp</sub> gan sù, kù kāmā su</b>	As soon as you see them, arrest them.
<b>dà [kin]<sub>comp</sub> zō gòbè nā gayà miki lābārī</b>	As soon as you come tomorrow, I'll tell you the news.
<b>dà zāraŋ yārā [sun]<sub>comp</sub> dāwō, zā sù kwāntā</b>	The moment the children return, they will lie down.

The alternation between the preterite and the completive shows up clearly in clauses preceded by subordinating conjunctions that occur both with and without the relativizer **dà**, sometimes with a difference in meaning, e.g.,

<b>kō dà [mukà]<sub>pret</sub> jē, bà mù gan shì ba</b>	Even when we went, we didn't see him.
<b>kō [mun]<sub>comp</sub> jē, bà zā mù gan shì ba</b>	Even if we went, we wouldn't see him.
<b>bāyān dà [kukà]<sub>pret</sub> gamà zā kù iyā fitā</b>	After you (pl.) have finished you can go out.
<b>= (more or less) bāyan [kun]<sub>comp</sub> gamà kwā iyā fitā</b>	After you (pl.) finish you'll be able to go out.

Adverbs of time may occur at the front of the sentence without focus. In such cases, the choice of the completive or preterite may be the only overt indication of whether focus is intended or not, e.g.,

<b>jiyā [sun]<sub>comp</sub> sanaŋ dà mū</b>	Yesterday they informed us.
<b>jiyā [sukà]<sub>pret</sub> sanaŋ dà mū</b>	<i>Yesterday</i> they informed us.

The preterite rather than the completive is used in narratives, even in non-Rel environments, e.g.,

**Mūsā ya tāshì ya shì**  
Musa [the he  
**wasu sāmārī sukà ha**  
Three young

A series of simple c  
completive. Example

**pret: nāmōmin dājī** ;  
The animals  
**pret: sukā yi shirī, sū**  
They made  
**pret: sarki yā aikā a**  
The emir h  
**comp: sarki yā aikā a**  
The emir h  
**comp: yā ci àbinci** ;  
He ate food  
**comp: an ki cín kārī**  
One refusee

Semantically the pre  
being comparable, i  
preterite is thus co  
simultaneous with,  
possible to find the

**[sun]<sub>comp</sub> yi wata**  
They had  
**sai [ta]<sub>pret</sub> ga mutā**  
Then she s  
**wani mādugū [yan**  
A trader w  
**[tā]<sub>comp</sub> zō kē nan**  
As soon a  
**[munā]<sub>cont</sub> fitōwā**  
We had ju  
**shigarsū [kē]<sub>Rcon</sub>**  
They had  
**[sunā]<sub>cont</sub> cikin c**  
As they v  
**dà [mukà]<sub>pret</sub> tīnī**  
**wani mùtūm [zāi]**  
A man w

The completive a  
essentially the sam

Mūsā ya tāshì ya shigè, bàì cé masà kōmē ba

Musa [the hero of the narrative] got up, went past, [and] didn't say anything to him.

wasu sāmārì sukà hadà kái sù yì rōkārì sù ci fībà kō ta yāyā

Three young men combined to try and make profit by whatever means.

A series of simple conjoined (or *paratactic*) sentences tend to be all in the preterite or all in the completive. Examples:

pret: nāmōmin dājì sukà gāji dà kisà, sukà kai kārā gūn zākì sarkinsù

The animals in the forest got tired of the killings (so) they complained to the lion, their king.

pret: sukà yì shirì, sukà shiga masallāci, sukà dūfā

They made their preparations, they entered the mosque and they stooped down.

pret: sarkì ya aikà akà kirā shì

The emir had him called. (lit. chief he.pret send one.pret call him)

comp: sarkì yā aikà an kirā shì

The emir had him called. (non-narrative)

comp: yā ci àbinci yā wankè hannunsà yā gōgè à rīgārsà yā kuma yì hamdalà dàgà fārshē

He ate food and washed his hands and wiped them on his gown and then expressed appreciation.

comp: an rì cīn kārē, an kōmō an ci kwkwiyò

One refused to eat a dog, (but) one returned and ate a puppy. (proverb)

Semantically the preterite is temporally more punctual and specific than the completive, the difference being comparable, in some respects, to the difference between a simple past and a present perfect. The preterite is thus commonly used when one wants to indicate an action directly subsequent to, simultaneous with, or even prior to some other action. In semantically appropriate contexts, it is possible to find the preterite and the completive co-occurring in the same sentence. Examples:

[sun]<sub>comp</sub> yì wata gaddamār gāske, dàgà nan sai wata tsōhuwā [ta]<sub>pret</sub> kirāwō 'yan-sāndā

They had a serious dispute whereupon an old woman called the police.

sai [ta]<sub>pret</sub> ga mutānē [sun]<sub>comp</sub> ci adō [sun]<sub>comp</sub> hau dawāki

Then she saw that the people had gotten all dressed up and had mounted the horses.

wani mādugū [yanà]<sub>cont</sub> dāwōwā dàgà Gwānjā [ya]<sub>pret</sub> isō Kwārā [ya]<sub>pret</sub> shiga jirgi

A trader was returning from Gonja and he reached the River Niger and entered a boat.

[tā]<sub>comp</sub> zō kē nan, sai [akà]<sub>pret</sub> fārā ruwā

As soon as she came, it began to rain.

[munà]<sub>cont</sub> fitōwā kē nan sai bōm [ya]<sub>pret</sub> fashè

We had just come out (or we were just coming out) when the bomb exploded.

shigārsù [kè]<sub>Rcont2</sub> dà wūyā, sai [sukà]<sub>pret</sub> zaunà

They had barely entered when they sat down. (i.e., their entering was difficult, then they sat)

[sunà]<sub>cont</sub> cikin cīn àbinci kūrāyēn [sukà]<sub>pret</sub> far musù

As they were eating food, the hyenas attacked them.

dà [mukà]<sub>pret</sub> tinkārē sù sai [sukà]<sub>pret</sub> gudù When we approached them, they fled.

wani mùtūm [zāi]<sub>fut</sub> yì tàfiyā [ya]<sub>pret</sub> d'aukō kudinsà [ya]<sub>pret</sub> cikà tukunyā

A man was about to travel and then he took his money and filled a pot.

The completive and the preterite both occur in the protasis of regular conditional sentences with essentially the same (but not identical) meanings (see note in §17:1.1), e.g.,

in yārā sun/sukà dāwō zān bā sù kwabò kwabò

If the children come back, I'll give them a penny each.

in an/akà fārā ruwā, zā mù shìga d'ākìn If it starts to rain, we'll go in the room.

In counterfactual conditionals, only the completive is used; the preterite is not allowed, e.g.,

dà [yā]<sub>comp</sub> shìga tākāfā dà yā ci zābē not \*\*dà [ya]<sub>pret</sub> shìga...dà ya ci...

If he had been a candidate, he would have won the election.

dà [sun]<sub>comp</sub> zō dà [nā]<sub>comp</sub> biyā sù not \*\*dà [sukà]<sub>pret</sub> zō dà [na]<sub>pret</sub> biyā sù

Had they come I would have paid them.

°AN: The above counterfactual, unfulfilled examples support the idea that the preterite is temporally more punctual and event-factual than the completive.

### 6. NEGATIVE-COMPLETIVE

The negative-completive paradigm is presented in table 17. The forms consist of (a) the initial short *bà* of the discontinuous *bà...ba* negative marker, plus (b) a light syllable *wsp* with default L tone, plus (c) a neutral phonologically zero TAM, e.g., *bà tà Ø dāwō ba* 'She didn't return.' In the 1s and 3m persons, the final vowel of the pronoun normally drops and the consonant attaches to the vowel of the negative marker, e.g., *bà nì* → *bàn* 'I didn't', *bà yà* → *bày* → *bài* 'he didn't'. Except for these contractions, the negative marker and the *wsp* are represented orthographically as separate words; linguistically, however, they are phonologically fused and ideally should be written as single items, with or without a hyphen (e.g., *bà-tà* or *bàtà* 'she didn't').

Table 17: Negative-completive

1s	bàn...ba / (bà nì...ba)	1p	bà mù...ba
2m	bà kà...ba	2p	bà kù...ba
2f	bà kì...ba		
3m	bài...ba / (bà yà...ba)	3p	bà sù...ba
3f	bà tà...ba		
		4p	bà à...ba

The negative-completive serves as the negative counterpart both of the completive and of the preterite, e.g.,

Mūsā bāi tāfi Bici ba  
 bà sù tabà zuwā Jāmùs ba  
 bà mù san sù ba  
 bāi kai nì Karfi ba  
 bāi kyāutu kà fōyè su hakà ba  
 in bà kà yi Rōkarī ba ká fādī  
 dà sun tāmbyē nì dà bàn yāfda ba  
 tsōfāffin dà bà sù iyā ba  
 nāwa nè bāi narkè ba  
 wānē nè bāi sāmī rābonsà ba?

Musa didn't go / hasn't gone to Bichi.  
 They have never been to Germany.  
 We don't know them.  
 He is not as strong as I.  
 It is not good that you hide them like that.  
 If you don't try you are likely to fail.  
 Had they asked me I wouldn't have agreed.  
 the old people who aren't able  
 Mine didn't melt.  
 Who didn't get his share?

°AN: The term... relation with th... semantically. Fr... negative-aorist, innovation wo... unfamiliar and

In sequences of conj... with rigā/rigāyā 'c... clauses typically use... scope of the negatio... Examples:

[bà mù]<sub>Ncomp</sub> fīta  
 [bāi]<sub>Ncomp</sub> rigāyā  
 Lāmī bà tà]<sub>Ncomp</sub>  
 su wā [bà sù]<sub>Ncomp</sub>  
 Who (pl.)

The completive TA... can, however, have

bà [Mūsā [yā]<sub>comp</sub>]  
 cf. Mūsā [bāi]<sub>Neg.</sub>

The following exar... (as well as the sub...

[bāi]<sub>Neg-comp</sub> kō  
 [ya]<sub>pret</sub> shìga gid  
 He didn't... turned an

### 7. CONTINUOU

The paradigm of t... in table 18. It con:

Table 18: Contin

1s	inà
2m	kani
2f	kinā
3m	yani
3f	tanā

°AN: The term *negative-completive* leaves much to be desired because this TAM has no special relation with the completive (as opposed to the preterite), morphologically, grammatically, or semantically. From a linguistic point of view, a three-term system like *completive*, *preterite*, and *negative-aorist*, for example, would be preferable; but practically speaking, such a terminological innovation would be unlikely to catch on with Hausa linguists and would make the grammar unfamiliar and less easy to use for the general reader.

In sequences of conjoined negative sentences (as well as sequences forming the paratactic construction with *rigā/riḡāyā* 'do already'), the negative-completive appears only in the first clause. Subsequent clauses typically use the completive (or preterite, if called for). Both clauses, however, fall within the scope of the negation as shown by the fact that the second *ba* appears at the very end of the sentence. Examples:

[bà mù]Ncomp fīta [mun]comp ganī ba We didn't go out and see.  
 [bài]Ncomp riḡāyā [yā]comp gan nī ba He hasn't already seen me.  
 Lāmī bà tà]Ncomp kārbi littāfi [tā]comp kařàntā ba Lami didn't receive the book and read it.  
 su wà [bà sù]Ncomp sàmi tikitì [sukà]pret ga wàsā ba?  
 Who (pl.) didn't get a ticket and see the show?

The completive TAM cannot be negated as such, i.e., one has to switch to the negative-completive. One can, however, have a negative equational sentence containing a sentence in the completive, e.g.,

bà [Mūsā [yā]comp tãfi] ba (nè) It is not the case that Musa went.  
 cf. Mūsā [bài]Neg-comp tãfi ba Musa didn't go.

The following example illustrates the use of the completive, the preterite, and the negative-completive (as well as the subjunctive) all in the same sentence.

[bài]Neg-comp kō tsayā ba [yā]sub jī kō lãbãřin [yā]comp Rãrè, sai [ya]pret yi tsàki [ya]pret jūyā  
 [ya]pret shìga gidā  
 He didn't stop to hear whether the story had finished, he just went 'tsk' [a sucking noise],  
 turned around, and went in the house.

## 7. CONTINUOUS

The paradigm of the continuous (= continuative, imperfect(ive), incompletive, progressive) is presented in table 18. It consists of a light-syllable *wsp* (which gets H tone by polarity) plus the TAM marker *-nà*.

Table 18: *Continuous*

1s	inà [rínà]	1p	munà
2m	kanà	2p	kunà
2f	kinà		
3m	yanà <shinà>	3p	sunà
3f	tanà		
		4p	anà

The first person singular form is spelled **ina** in standard orthography, but it is actually pronounced [ɪnà] with a high-tone syllabic [ɪ] in the first syllable (this being a phonological reduction of a historically fuller form \*nínà). The third person masculine is typically pronounced [yenà] or [yínà] with raising and fronting of the initial vowel. The dialectal 3m form **shinà** is not the norm in SH, but it is well recognized. In sentences with an overt NP subject, the third person wsp is commonly deleted, e.g., **mutānē [(su)nà] jirānmù** 'The men are waiting for us.' In conjoined sentences, the repeated **nà** is deleted and the bare wsp with default L tone appears, e.g., [yanà] **wankè fuskà [yà Ø] gōgè hakōrā [yà Ø] kuma tājè gāshì** 'He is washing his face, brushing his teeth, and combing his hair.'

The continuous and its Rel and negative counterparts occur in both verbal and nonverbal sentence types (see chap. 65).

### 7.1. Verbal

Verbal sentences are defined as those in which the head of the predicate, which either is or is derived from a lexical verb, fills the verb slot. Note that a sentence is treated as "verbal" for syntactic classificatory purposes even if the VERB following the continuous TAM is actually a nominalized verb (= verbal noun). Verbal sentences that employ verbal nouns in the continuous generally have comparable sentences with finite verbs in noncontinuous TAMs or with a different verb grade or with an indirect object. Thus [yanà]<sub>cont</sub> [gyāran]<sub>VN</sub> **mōtā** 'He is repairing the car' is treated here as a verbal sentence with **gyāran mōtā** as the (nominalized) VP even though **gyāran** 'repairing' (with the linker -n) is strictly speaking a verbal noun and not a verb. One can compare this sentence to corresponding sentences with surface finite verbs such as [yā]<sub>comp</sub> [gyārā]<sub>V</sub> **mōtā** 'He repaired the car' or [yanà]<sub>cont</sub> [gyārā]<sub>V</sub> **masà mōtā** 'He is repairing the car for him.' In verbal sentences, the continuous generally indicates ongoing action or durativity, without specific reference to time. It thus commonly corresponds to the English present, past, and future progressives. Examples:

<b>sunà gyārà mōtātā</b>	They are repairing my car.
<b>kunà kōyon Hausa?</b>	Are you (pl.) learning Hausa?
<b>dà na gan shì yanà fità dàgà wāncan ofis</b>	When I saw him he was leaving that office.
<b>in kā dāwō gōbe, zā kà sāmē mù munà tattāunāwā</b>	
If you return tomorrow, you will find us talking it over.	
<b>inà zuwà!</b>	I'm coming! (i.e., I'm about to get up and come, or I'll be back in a few minutes)
<b>yanà nēman mutuwā</b>	It's about to wear out. (lit. it is seeking dying)
<b>tanà sōn karyèwā</b>	It's about to break. (lit. it is wanting breaking)
<b>inà mutuwāf sōn saurāyin nān</b>	I am crazy about this boy. (lit. dying.for love.of this youth)

The progressive reading is commonly strengthened by means of the iterative particle **ta**, e.g.,

<b>mātā tasà (ta)nà ta zāgīnsà</b>	His wife keeps on insulting him.
<b>sunà ta kàd'e-kàd'e dà bùshe-bùshe</b>	They kept on drumming and making music.

Continuous sentences with a (usually dynamic) noun as head of the predicate are treated syntactically as verbal sentences containing the pro-verb **yì** 'do', which, when it occurs, appears as the verbal noun **yì** plus the -n linker, e.g.,

<b>sunà máganà</b>	The are talking. (lit. they.cont conversation)
= (more or less) <b>sunà yín máganà</b> (lit. they.cont doing.of conversation)	
cf. <b>sun yì máganà</b> (not ** <b>sun máganà</b> )	They talked.
<b>tanà wāsà = tanà yín wāsà</b>	She is playing.

**bà nà zō nà ga [kanà]**

I don't want  
see you.cont

°AN: The presum  
purposes of focus  
**tanà yì** 'As for p

Sometimes the contin  
with the habitual, e.g

'yā'yā sunà gādař i  
**rānā tanà fitōwā dàg**  
**dà dāminā ruwā (yā**

Some sentences are a  
or habitual, e.g.,

**Bellò nà gyāran àgō**  
**yāddà takè girkì bā**

ΔDN: Some WF  
TAM to indicate  
after him'; **mač**  
listening to the  
to influence fro

Sequences of conjo  
Alternatively, one c  
subsequent clauses.  
by a finite verb rath

(a) [yanà]<sub>cont</sub> **d'ink**  
He embroi  
[tanà]<sub>cont</sub> **wārkā**, [  
She was s

(b) [yanà]<sub>cont</sub> **d'ink**  
He embro  
[tanà]<sub>cont</sub> **wankè** ;  
She was v

### 7.2. Nonverbal

The continuous is  
prepositional phras  
As with verbal sen  
the context. Exam

**Tālātù (ta)nà dà z**



**bà ná zò ná ga [kanà] (yín) irìn wannàn àbù ba**

I don't want to come and see that you are doing this kind of thing. (lit. neg I.pot come I.neut see you.cont (doing.L) type.L this thing neg)

°AN: The presumed underlying *yì* (or *yí*), commonly shows up when the dynamic noun is fronted for purposes of focus or topicalization, e.g., **màganà sukè (yí)** 'It's talking they're doing'; **wàsá dai, tanà yí** 'As for playing, she is doing (it).'

Sometimes the continuous indicates normal, customary action, in which case it is semantically overlaps with the habitual, e.g.,

**'yá'yá sunà gàdař iyàyensù**

Children inherit from their parents.

**rānā tanā fitōwā dàgā gabàs nē**

The sun rises in the east.

**dà dàminā ruwā (ya)nā bāřnā dà yawā**

During the wet season rain causes much damage.

Some sentences are ambiguous on the surface as to whether the semantic reading should be progressive or habitual, e.g.,

**Bellò nà gyāran àgōgo**

(1) Bello is repairing the clock. *or* (2) Bello repairs clocks.

**yáddà takè girkì bá kyāu**

(1) How she is cooking is not good. *or* (2) How she cooks is not good.

ΔDN: Some WH dialects optionally insert the preposition *gà* 'at' or *kán* 'on' after the continuous TAM to indicate progressive, ongoing action, e.g., **Bintā tanā (gà) lūrā dà shī** 'Binta is looking after him'; **macīji yanā (gà) mōtsāwā** 'The snake is moving'; **shinā (kán) saurārāř řēdiyō** 'He is listening to the radio'; **dalmā tanā (kán) narkēwā** 'The lead is melting.' (The use of *gà* may be due to influence from Zarma, but this is not certain.)

Sequences of conjoined sentences in the continuous allow repetition of the full PAC each time. Alternatively, one can use the continuous marker *-nā* in the first clause only, deleting it from the PAC in subsequent clauses. If the second option is chosen, the neutral TAM with the bare wsp must be followed by a finite verb rather than a verbal noun or dynamic noun. Examples:

(a) **[yanā]<sub>cont</sub> d'inkìn hùlā [yanā]<sub>cont</sub> káiwā kàsuwā**

He embroiders caps and takes (them) to the market.

**[tanā]<sub>cont</sub> wākā, [tanā]<sub>cont</sub> rawā, [tanā]<sub>cont</sub> kidā duk à lōkàcī gūdā**

She was singing, she was dancing, she was drumming all at the same time.

(b) **[yanā]<sub>cont</sub> d'inkìn hùlā [yā Ø]<sub>neut</sub> (kuma) kai kàsuwā**

He embroiders caps and (also) takes (them) to the market.

**[tanā]<sub>cont</sub> wankè zanèntā [tā Ø]<sub>neut</sub> (kuma) gōgè shi**

She was washing her wrapper and (also) ironing it.

## 7.2. Nonverbal

The continuous is used in various nonverbal sentences in which the predicate is an adverb or a prepositional phrase. The three main predicate subtypes are HAVE (lit. 'with' X), locative, and stative. As with verbal sentences, the reading is often present, but it can equally be past or future depending on the context. Examples:

**Tālātù (ta)nā dà zōbè**

Talatu has a ring. (lit. Talatu (she).cont with ring) [HAVE]

<b>àbinci (ya)nà dà dādī</b>	The food is good. (lit. with pleasantness) [HAVE]
<b>gidanmù yanà kusa dà nākù</b>	Our house is near yours. [locative]
<b>munà Kanò à lōkàcīn</b>	We were at Kano at the time. [locative]
<b>gòbe wāf hakà sunà nān</b>	Tomorrow at this time they will be here. [locative]
<b>sunà zàune à gīndin bishiyà</b>	They are/were seated at the base of the tree. [stative]
<b>kinà sànye dà sābon zanè?</b>	Are you wearing a new wrapper? [stative]
<i>cf. kinà sanya sābon zanè?</i>	Are you putting on a new wrapper? (where <i>sanya</i> is a verb)

The continuous is also used with predicate nouns and adjectives in certain 'while/since/when' clauses, including some where one might expect a relative-continuous, e.g.,

<b>kà kashè wutā tun <u>tanà</u> Ràramā!</b>	Kill the fire while it is small!
<b>tun <u>yanà</u> jinjiri yanà kyàmaf kyankyasò</b> (lit. he.cont abhorrence.of roaches)	Since he was a baby he has abhorred roaches.
<b>lōkàcīn dà <u>yanà</u> yārò iyàyensà sukà mutù</b>	While he was a boy his parents died.

### 8. RELATIVE-CONTINUOUS1

The Rel(ative)-continuous1 paradigm is presented in table 19. It consists of a light-syllable wsp (which gets H tone by polarity) plus the TAM marker **-kè**.

Table 19: Rel-continuous1

1s	<b>nakè</b> <nikè>	1p	<b>mukè</b>
2m	<b>kakè</b>	2p	<b>kukè</b>
2f	<b>kikè</b>		
3m	<b>yakè</b> <shikè>	3p	<b>sukè</b>
3f	<b>takè</b>		
		4p	<b>akè</b>

There are two Rel-continuous paradigms that substitute for the general continuous in Rel environments. One contains **kè** with a long vowel, and one contains **kè** with a short vowel.

°AN/ΔDN: Because the distinction between the two Rel-continuous paradigms is marked only by vowel length (in a morpheme with low tone where length is less noticeable), it was overlooked by Hausa scholars until the 1970s (see R. M. Newman 1976). Even now scholars tend to minimize the distinction by presenting a single Rel-continuous paradigm indicated **takè(e)**, **sukè(e)**, etc. In WH, on the other hand, the distinction is marked segmentally and thus is clearer (Gouffé 1966/67). The Rel-continuous1 paradigm uses a marker **-kà**, i.e., **nikà**, **kakà**, **kikà**, **shikà**, **takà**, **mukà**, **kukà**, **sukà**, **akà**, whereas the marker for the Rel-continuous2 is **-kè** (as in SH), i.e., **nikè**, **kakè**, **kikè**, **shikè**, **takè**, **mukè**, **kukè**, **sukè**, **akè**. Presumably, the WH contrast represents the original distinction and it is SH that has innovated by undergoing a vowel shift from **\*-kà** to **-kè**, with inexplicable lengthening.

The Rel-continuous1, with the long vowel **-kè**, is used in two main environments. First it is used in Rel contexts as a replacement for the general continuous in "verbal sentences"—which are defined as those that contain an underlying lexical VERB whether the verb appears as such or not. As with the general continuous, the wsp with the Rel-continuous1 can be omitted in appropriate contexts. Examples:

**hatsin dà akè dakà**  
**yāròn dà (ya)kè shi**  
**mè kakè kařantāwī**  
**su wà (su)kè já dà l**  
**Hondà cè mukè só**  
**Lādi cè (ta)kè dafà**  
**mū nè sukè nēma**  
**baccī sukè (yī)**  
**kōyāyā kakè yī, sh**  
However y

Second, the Rel-co locative phrase has internal structure of prepositions such as

**wà yakè cikin dāki**  
**don mè sōjōjī (su)l**  
**mīrō mīn àbīn dà**  
**nī nè nakè gābank**

In addition, the Rel followed either by this environment **mùtumīn dà yakè** section.

### 9. RELATIVE-C

The Rel(ative)-cont gets H tone by polarity who has a ballpoint keeping with the phonologically identical 'ballpoint pen', cf.

Table 20: Rel-com

1s	<b>nakè</b>
2m	<b>kakè</b>
2f	<b>kikè</b>
3m	<b>yakè</b>
3f	<b>takè</b>

The Rel-continuous rather than the Re

<b>hatsîn dà akè dakàwā</b>	the corn that is being pounded
<b>yāròn dà (ya)kè shìgā makařantā</b>	the boy who was entering school
<b>mè kakè kařantāwā?</b>	What are you reading?
<b>su wā (su)kè já dà bāya?</b>	Who (i.e., which people) are retreating?
<b>Hondā cē mukè sō</b>	It's a Honda we want.
<b>Lādi cē (ta)kè dafā dōyā</b>	It is Ladi who is cooking yams.
<b>mū nè sukè nēmā</b>	It is us they are looking for.
<b>baccī sukè (yī)</b>	It's sleeping they're doing.
<b>kōyàyà kakè yī, shēgèn nān zāi bā kà wàhalà</b>	
However you are doing it, this bastard will give you a hard time.	

Second, the Rel-continuous1 occurs in nonverbal sentences when it is immediately followed by a locative phrase headed by a genitive preposition. (Note: "Genitive prepositions" (§57:2) have the internal structure of a noun plus a linker, e.g., **kān** 'on' < **kāi** 'head' plus **-n** 'of', as opposed to basic prepositions such as **à** 'at'.) Examples:

<b>wā yakè cikin d'ākī?</b>	Who is in the room?
<b>don mè sōjōjī (su)kè bāyan gārī?</b>	Why are the soldiers behind the city?
<b>mīkō mīn àbīn dà yakè kān tēbūr!</b>	Hand me the thing that is on the table!
<b>nī nè nakè gābankā</b>	I am ahead of you.

In addition, the Rel-continuous1 is sometimes used, with considerable variation among speakers, when followed either by a locative other than one beginning with a genitive preposition or by a stative. In this environment the Rel-continuous1 functions as an alternative to the Rel-continuous2, e.g., **mùtumìn dà yakè(e) zàune** 'the man who is seated'. This is exemplified in fuller detail in the following section.

## 9. RELATIVE-CONTINUOUS2

The Rel(ative)-continuous2 paradigm is presented in table 20. It consists of a light-syllable *wsp* (which gets H tone by polarity) plus the short vowel TAM marker **-kè**, e.g., **yāròn dà yakè dà bīřò** 'the boy who has a ballpoint pen'. If the *wsp* is omitted, then the vowel of **kè** is automatically lengthened, in keeping with the requirement that all self-standing TAMs must be bimoraic. The resulting **/kè/** is phonologically identical to the Rel-continuous1 marker, e.g., **yāròn dà kè dà bīřò** 'the boy who has a ballpoint pen', cf. **yāròn dà kè kāwō mīnì littāfin** 'the boy who is bringing me the book'.

Table 20: Rel-continuous2

1s	<b>nakè</b> <nikè>	1p	<b>mukè</b>
2m	<b>kakè</b>	2p	<b>kukè</b>
2f	<b>kikè</b>		
3m	<b>yakè</b> <shikè>	3p	<b>sukè</b>
3f	<b>takè</b>		
		4p	<b>akè</b>

The Rel-continuous2 paradigm corresponds to the general continuous in certain nonverbal sentences. It, rather than the Rel-continuous1, occurs in Rel environments when the PAC is followed by a true basic

preposition (such as the **dà** of HAVE predicates) or when it occurs phrase final. (The examples will be given mostly with the wsp present in order to show the contrast between the short vowel Rel-continuous2 **sukè** forms and the long-vowel Rel-continuous1 **sukè** forms, a contrast that is neutralized when **kè** stands by itself.)

<b>zòbèn dà kikè dà shì</b>	the ring that you have (lit. you are with it)
<b>Sàlè nè yakè dà zòbèn</b>	<i>Sale</i> has the ring.
<b>àku nè yakè dà wàyō</b>	It is the <i>parrot</i> that is clever.
<b>mutānèn dà sukè gà Mūsā</b>	the men who are with (i.e., backers of) Musa
<b>'yam-mātā dà sukè dàgà can</b>	girls who are from there (= 'yam-mātā dà kè dàgà can)
<b>mè yakè à gindin bishiyā?</b>	What is at the base of the tree?
<b>bā à mace takè ba</b>	It's not that she is dead.
<b>à zàune sukè</b>	They are seated.
<b>dà mūgùn hali yakè</b>	He is mean. (lit. with evil disposition he is)
<b>à kán kèkè yakè</b>	On the bicycle he is.
cf. <b>shì nè yakè kán kèkè</b>	<i>He</i> was on the bicycle.

(Rcont1 before the genitive preposition)

Although the norm is to use the Rel-continuous2 before statives and locatives, some speakers use the Rel-continuous1 in these environments. If, however, the stative or locative is preceded by the optional preposition **à**, or if the stative or locative has been fronted leaving the PAC stranded, then only the Rel-continuous2 variant is allowed, e.g.,

<b>littāfin dà yakè(e) cān</b>	the book that is there
but only <b>littāfin dà yakè à cān</b>	
<b>yārān dà sukè(e) gidansā</b>	the children that are at his house
but only <b>yārān dà sukè à gidansā</b>	
<b>màkauniyār dà takè(e) kwānce</b>	the blind woman who is lying down
but only <b>màkauniyār dà takè à kwānce</b>	
<b>kwālayèn dà sukè(e) jèrè</b>	cardboard boxes that are lined up in a row
but only <b>à jèrè sukè</b> lined up they are	

The Rel-continuous2 occurs in the fixed phrases (**tun**) **dà yakè** 'since' and **kō dà yakè** 'although'.

<b>tun dà yakè shì bà dīrēbā ba nè bàì sanì ba</b>	Since he is not a driver, he doesn't know.
<b>kō dà yakè inà rashin lāfiyā, àmmā nā jē tārōn</b>	Although I was sick, I still went to the meeting.

The Rel-continuous2 is used also in forming extended relative clauses with nontensed embedded sentences, i.e., equational, existential, and presentational sentences, e.g.,

<b>mùtumìn dà yakè shì sarki nè</b>	the man who is chief
<b>sanyín dà yakè àkwai à Jòs</b>	the cold that there is in Jos
<b>tùlún dà yakè nākà yā fashè</b>	The water pot that is yours got smashed.
cf. <b>tùlún nan nākà nè</b>	That water pot is yours.
<b>dālībān dà sukè bá sū à makārantā</b>	the students who aren't there at school
(lit. student that 3pl.Rcont2 there is not them at school)	
<b>yayyenmù dà sukè likitōcì sunà jìn dādī</b>	
Our older brothers who are doctors are enjoying themselves	

### 9.1. The WH aG j

In many WH dialects (the WH marker **à** (consonant) serves as

**sūnānai am Mūsā**  
**Bellò (nā) Ø ad dà r**  
**rìgad dà Ø ar rìnan**  
**shì (nà) Ø ag gārì =**

ØHN: Information enters the morph **dà shì** 'I have underlying con unspecified con it probably deri assimilation rule the preterite, e. sōyā 'the yam t

Syntactically, aG is marker **kè**, i.e., in r

**shì ad dà pìl**  
**shì am mālāmī**  
**wandà ab baŋī**

## 10. NEGATIVE-

The neg(ative)-con marker **bā** followed (Again, standard o separate words, ev complex made up palatalization and + -ā → **kyā** and **ku** since /mw/ and /sv + -ā → //swā// → < **bā nā**, **bāi** < b the negative-comp

Table 21: Negativ

1s	<b>bā n</b>
2m	<b>bā k</b>
2f	<b>bā k</b>
3m	<b>bā y</b>
3f	<b>bā t</b>

## 9.1. The WH aG form

In many WH dialects, a high-tone particle aG (where G forms a geminate with the following abutting consonant) serves as the Rel-continuous2 marker when there is no overt weak subject pronoun, e.g.,

sūnānai <b>a</b> m Mūsā	His name is Musa, cf. Mūsā <b>a</b> s sūnānai	Musa is his name.
Bellò (nā) Ø <b>a</b> d dà ràgō = Bellò (nā) yakè dà ràgō		Bello has a ram.
rìgad dà Ø <b>a</b> r rinannā = rìgad dà takè rinannā		the gown that is dyed
shī (nā) Ø <b>a</b> g gàrī = shī (nā) shikè gàrī		He is in town.

ØHN: Information on aG is found in Gouffé (1966/67) and Matsushita (1995). Abraham (1962) enters the morpheme as /ad/, stating that it automatically assimilates to what follows, e.g., **nī ad dà shī** 'I have it.' There is no justification, analytical nor historical, for choosing /d/ as the underlying consonant. Synchronically, one has to represent the morpheme as aG with a totally unspecified consonant that acquires its features from the following abutting consonant. Historically it probably derived not from ad but rather from \*ak, the syllable-final /k/ being subject to a general assimilation rule. (The development of final /k/ into a geminate /G/ has also taken place in WH in the preterite, e.g., niG < \*ni-k < \*ni-kà), e.g., dōyàd dà nīc cī 'the yam that I ate' vs. dōyàd dà nīs sōyā 'the yam that I fried', cf. dōyàd dà munkà sōyā 'the yam that we fried'.)

Syntactically, aG is used in essentially the same environments as the SH freestanding Rel-continuous2 marker kè, i.e., in relative clauses or when there is focus, e.g.,

shī ad dà pīl	He has (is with) a battery. (= SH shī kè dà bātūr)
shī am mālāmī	He is a teacher.
wandà ab bakī	the one that is black

## 10. NEGATIVE-CONTINUOUS

The neg(ative)-continuous paradigm is presented in table 21. The forms consist of a single negative marker bā followed by a pronoun containing the TAM -ā, e.g., [bā tà] zuwà 'She is not coming.' (Again, standard orthography dictates that the negative marker and the pronoun should be written as separate words, even though, in my opinion, hyphenated forms like bā-tā would be preferable.) The complex made up of the negative marker plus the PAC exhibits a fixed H-L tone pattern. The palatalization and labialization on the 2f and 2p forms derive from their underlying high vowels, i.e., ki + -ā → kyā and ku + -ā → kwā. The 1p and 3p pronouns lack the labialization on the initial consonant since /mw/ and /sw/ are not part of the SH phonological inventory, e.g., mu + -ā → //mwā// → mà, su + -ā → //swā// → sà. The 1s and 3m pronouns have contracted forms without the final vowel, i.e., bān < bā nā, bāi < bā yā. In SH, these contractions are less common than the comparable contractions in the negative-completive.

Table 21: Negative-continuous

1s	bā nā <bān>	1p	bā mà <bā mwā>
2m	bā kà	2p	bā kwā
2f	bā kyā		
3m	bā yā <bāi>	3p	bā sà <bā swā>
3f	bā tà		
		4p	bā à

In SH, the negative-continuous serves as the negative counterpart of the continuous (general or relative). The only exception is the HAVE construction, where a special negative-HAVE paradigm is used (see §11 below), e.g.,

<b>bā sà gyáran mōtā</b>	They are not repairing the car. / They do not repair cars.
<b>bā m à máganār kudī</b>	We were not talking about money.
<b>rānā bā tà fitōwā dàgà yamma</b>	The sun does not rise in the west.
<b>bā kyà sànye dà sábon zanè?</b>	Were you not dressed in a new wrapper?
<b>gòbe wāf hakà bā sà nán</b>	Tomorrow at this time they won't be here.
<b>Wùdil bā tà nēsà dà Kanò</b>	Wudil is not far from Kano.
<b>almājirín dà bā yà kārātū</b>	the pupil who is not reading
<b>su wānè nè bā sà já dà bāya?</b>	Who are not pulling back?
<b>bacci bā nà yī sai gyàngyadī</b>	I'm not sleeping, just nodding.
<b>màkauniyā wáddà bā tà rìke dà gōrà</b>	a blind woman who is not holding a staff

In conjoined sentences with identical subjects expressing non-co-occurrence or nonsimultaneity of events, negation is overtly marked in one clause only. The other clauses will be in the affirmative continuous. Examples:

<b>bā à máganà anà sallā</b>	One doesn't talk and pray (at the same time).
<b>Lādin dà bā tà hīfa tanà kārātū</b>	the Ladi who doesn't chat while she is studying
<b>[bā à]Neg-cont gudù [anà]cont waiwayē</b>	
One does not run and turn around (at the same time). (Proverb indicating 'Get on with it!')	
<b>don mè sukè būsà algaità bā sà kid'án kàlàngū?</b>	
Why are they playing the <i>algaita</i> ('double-reed instrument') (but) not playing the drums?	

ØHN: Synchronically the negative-continuous functions as the negative of the continuous (general or relative) and sometimes the habitual as well. Historically, however, it was probably the negative counterpart of the potential, which is also formed with a TAM marker -à. Assuming that the negative-continuous was historically the regular counterpart of the potential, the PAC originally would have had falling rather than L tone. The present L tone on the PAC is undoubtedly due to simplification of the whole tonal phrase including the preceding negative marker. Exactly what the original tone of the negative marker was, we do not know for certain. One hypothesis that appeals to me is that the single negative marker originally had falling tone; but whether it was H or F it seems clear that the change to the tone one finds at present involved contour simplification, i.e., (using 3f) \*bā tā > bā-tà or bā tā > bā-tā.

ΔDN: Some WH dialects have variant negative-continuous paradigms without the erstwhile -à TAM suffix but preserving the long vowel of the pronoun, e.g., **bā nā**, **bā kà**, **bā kī**, **bā yà**, **bā tà**, **bā mù**, **bā kù**, **bā sù**, **bā à**. Other WH dialects use the normal light-syllable wsp with default L tone, e.g., **bā nì** (= **bán**), **bā kà**, **bā kī**, **bā yà** (= **bái**), **bā tà**, **bā mù**, **bā kù**, **bā sù**, **bā à**.

## 11. NEGATIVE-HAVE

Affirmative HAVE sentences make use of the continuous and Rel-continuous<sup>2</sup> paradigms. The corresponding negative sentences have their own distinct paradigm, negative-HAVE, which serves in place of the normal negative-continuous. This paradigm is presented in table 22. The forms consist of the falling-tone negative marker **bā** plus a H-tone CV pronoun, e.g., **bā ta** 'not she'. In the 1st and 3m persons, there are optional contracted forms: **bā ni** → **bán**; **bā ya** → **bái**. Note that in the contractions the underlying H tone on the pronoun is lost, i.e., the surface tone is falling (= HL),

because it is not possible

Table 22: Negative-HAVE

1 s	<b>bā ni / bán</b>
2m	<b>bā ka</b>
2f	<b>bā ki</b>
3m	<b>bā shi / bá</b>
3f	<b>bā ta</b>

The negative-HAVE paradigm sentence, e.g.,

**bā mu dà ruwā**  
cf. **munà dà ruwā**  
**Talātù bā ta dà zòbè**  
**bán dà lāsin**  
**yáran nán bā su dà ha**  
**àbinci bā shi dà dādī**  
**zòbèn dà bā ki dà shi**  
**wānè nè bā shi dà lain**

°AN: The **bā** in existential **bā**, e.g., is not us) among Synchronically, followed by an in vowel H-tone pr alternative 3m for the existential **bā** \*\***bā ya** 'There is impersonal form t object of the exist ΔDN: In some WH regular verbal sen **bā tà cín nāmà**). the SH future, e.g.

An alternative means **bā** plus the H tone C although exact details

**[bā yà]Neg-cont dà f**  
**Talātù [bā tà]Neg-co**  
**[bā mǎ]Neg-cont dà f**  
**yàron dà [bā yà]Neg**  
the boy who

because it is not possible for a tone to dock onto a syllable that already contains two tones.

Table 22: Negative-HAVE

1 s	<b>bá ni / bán</b>	1 p	<b>bá mu</b>
2m	<b>bá ka</b>	2 p	<b>bá ku</b>
2f	<b>bá ki</b>		
3m	<b>bá shi / bá ya / báí</b>	3 p	<b>bá su</b>
3f	<b>bá ta</b>		
		4 p	<b>bá a</b>

The negative-HAVE paradigm is followed by a *dà* + NP phrase, just like a corresponding affirmative sentence, e.g.,

<b>bá mu dà ruwá</b>	We don't have water. (lit. neg we with water)
cf. <b>munà dà ruwá</b>	We have water.
<b>Tàlàtù bá ta dà zòbè</b>	Talatu doesn't have a ring.
<b>bán dà lāsìn</b>	I don't have a license.
<b>yāran nān bá su dà hankàlì</b>	These boys have no sense. (lit. ...are not with sense)
<b>àbinci bá shi dà dādī</b>	The food is not tasty. (lit. ...is not with niceness)
<b>zòbèn dà bá ki dà shì</b>	the ring that you don't have
<b>wàné nè bá shi dà laimà?</b>	Who doesn't have an umbrella?

<sup>o</sup>AN: The *bá* in the negative-HAVE construction is commonly identified with the negative existential *bá*, e.g., **bá kudī** 'There is no money', **bá mū à cikin 'yan tākārā** 'We are not (lit. there is not us) among the candidates.' This may be so etymologically, although it is far from certain. Synchronically, the two negatives need to be distinguished. First, the existential *bá* is usually followed by an independent pronoun whereas the negative-HAVE paradigm uses the same light-vowel H-tone pronoun set found with the allative. Second, the negative-HAVE paradigm includes an alternative 3m form **bá ya** (with the weak subject pronoun /ya/) that is never found as the object of the existential *bá*, e.g., **bá ya dà kōmē** 'He doesn't have anything' = **bá shi dà kōmē** (but not **\*\*bá ya** 'There is not him', only **bá shi**). In addition, the negative-HAVE paradigm includes the impersonal form **bá a**, with the 4p weak subject pronoun. This pronoun cannot be interpreted as an object of the existential *bá* because the impersonal never serves as an object pronoun of any type. <sup>ADN</sup>: In some WH dialects, the negative-HAVE paradigm is used as the negative counterpart of regular verbal sentences in the continuous, e.g., **bá ta cín nāmà** 'She is not eating the meat' (cf. SH **bá tà cín nāmà**). This is paralleled by the use of the allative (with the same F-H pattern) instead of the SH future, e.g., **zā ta cín nāmà** 'She will eat meat' (cf. SH **zā tà ci nāmà**).

An alternative means of negating HAVE sentences is to use the normal Neg-continuous PAC rather than *bá* plus the H tone CV pronoun. This alternative is quite widespread outside of the core Kano area, although exact details of its dialectal distribution are unknown. Examples:

<b>[bā yà]</b> <sub>Neg-cont</sub> <b>dà fensīr</b> = <b>bá shi dà fensīr</b>	He doesn't have a pencil.
<b>Tàlàtù [bā tà]</b> <sub>Neg-cont</sub> <b>dà zòbè</b> = <b>Tàlàtù bá ta dà zòbè</b>	Talatu doesn't have a ring.
<b>[bā mà]</b> <sub>Neg-cont</sub> <b>dà karfī</b> = <b>bá mu dà karfī</b>	We are not strong.
<b>yāròn dà [bā yà]</b> <sub>Neg-cont</sub> <b>dà hankàlì</b> = <b>yāròn dà bá shi dà hankàlì</b>	the boy who doesn't have sense

ΔDN: Dialects with other negative-continuous forms (e.g., **bā mù** rather than **bā mà** 'neg we') may use these variants in negative constructions, e.g., [WH] **bā mù dà ƙarhī** 'We are not strong.'

## 12. FUTURE

The future PAC paradigm is presented in table 23. It is made up of a TAM **zā** (etymologically derived from a verb 'to go') followed by a wsp with default L tone. Note that the order TAM + wsp is the reverse of the order in other PACs. The 1s and 3m contracted forms **zân** and **zâi** are much more common than the non-contracted forms **zā ni** and **zā yà**. The standard orthography dictates that the **zā** + wsp sequences should be written as two words, except in the case of the contractions. The main reason given for this rule—which does not strike me as persuasive—is that the two elements of the PAC can be separated by a modal particle, e.g., **zā kò sù dāwō** 'They however will return.' (lit. fut however they return), whereas this is not possible with other PACs, e.g., **\*\*yāushè su kò kà dāwō** (lit. when they however pret return). The future uses the same PAC paradigm in the affirmative and in the negative.

Table 23: Future

	Future	Future (neg)
1s	<b>zân / zā ni</b>	<b>bà(a) zân...ba / bà(a) zā ni...ba</b>
2m	<b>zā kà</b>	<b>bà(a) zā kà...ba</b>
2f	<b>zā kì</b>	<b>bà(a) zā kì...ba</b>
3m	<b>zâi / zā yà</b>	<b>bà(a) zâi...ba / bà(a) zā yà...ba</b>
3f	<b>zā tà</b>	<b>bà(a) zā tà...ba</b>
1p	<b>zā mù</b>	<b>bà(a) zā mù...ba</b>
2p	<b>zā kù</b>	<b>bà(a) zā kù...ba</b>
3p	<b>zā sù</b>	<b>bà(a) zā sù...ba</b>
4p	<b>zā à</b>	<b>bà(a) zā à...ba</b>

The future TAM expresses future and/or intentional actions or events. It occurs both in general as well as in Rel environments, and in the affirmative as well as in the negative. The negative marker used in the future is **bà(a)...ba**. Examples:

**mutànen zā sù dāwō nân gāba**  
**ƙawarƙà zā tà kōmà gidā ran Tàlātà**  
**wà zâi shìgà rījyaŕ nân?**  
**zā kà ji màganātā, kō kùwa?**  
**in nā gamā zā sù biyā ni dalà hāmsin**  
**bà zā mù yārda ba kō kàdān**  
**haŕ gōbe hanyār bà zā tà biyu ba**

Even tomorrow the road won't be passable.

**gà gidān dà zân sayā**

Here is the house that I am going to buy.

**jiyā zân tàfi ofis sai zāzzāfi ta kāmà ni**

Yesterday I was about to go to the office when I came down with a fever.

The men will return before long.

Her friend will return home on Tuesday.

Who will enter this well?

Are you going to listen to me, or what?

If I finish they will pay me \$50.

We will not agree at all.

°AN: The length of the vowel in the initial **bà(a)** is in free variation. Most descriptions of Hausa specify the initial negative marker solely as **bà** with a short vowel. It is unclear whether the variant

with the long v  
scholars, and,  
variant has bec

In conjoined senten  
appears in the PAC  
the bare wsp with d

[zā tà]<sub>fut</sub> wankè kv  
She will v  
bà [zā mù]<sub>fut</sub> jē sù  
We are nc  
[zân]<sub>fut</sub> gyārà fusl  
I'm going  
cf. [zân]<sub>fut</sub> gyārà l  
I'm going

## 13. ALLATIVE

The allative (allat) descriptions of Ha  
the future, which is  
it functions as the  
(expressed or impl  
allowed in genera  
contains a formativ  
H tone, e.g., **zā m**  
optional contracte  
underlying H tone:  
contains two tones

Table 24: Allative

	Allat
1s	<b>zā ni</b>
2m	<b>zā k</b>
2f	<b>zā k</b>
3m	<b>zā sh</b>
3f	<b>zā t</b>
1p	<b>zā n</b>
2p	<b>zā k</b>
3p	<b>zā s</b>
4p	<b>zā a</b>

The allative uses  
Examples:



with the long vowel represents a recent innovation or whether it is an old feature missed by earlier scholars, and, if the former, how widespread (dialectally and sociolinguistically) the long-vowel variant has become.

In conjoined sentences with a tightly knit sequence of future tense clauses, the overt TAM *zā* normally appears in the PAC in the first clause only; in subsequent clauses one uses the neutral PAC that consists of the bare *wsp* with default L tone. Examples:

[*zā tà*]<sub>fut</sub> *wankè kwānukà* [*Ø tà*]<sub>neut</sub> *ajè su* [*Ø tà*]<sub>neut</sub> (*kuma*) *kōmà dākì* [*Ø tà*]<sub>neut</sub> *kwántà*  
She will wash the dishes, put them away, (then) return to her room, and lie down.

*bà* [*zā mù*]<sub>fut</sub> *jē sīnimā* [*Ø mù*]<sub>neut</sub> *batař dà kudī ba*  
We are not going to go to the movies and waste our money.

[*zān*]<sub>fut</sub> *gyārà fuskà sànnan* [*Ø in*]<sub>neut</sub> *sá rīgā mài kyáu*  
I'm going to shave and then put on a good gown.

cf. [*zān*]<sub>fut</sub> *gyārà fuskà sànnan kuma* [*zān*]<sub>fut</sub> *sá rīgā mài kyáu*  
I'm going to shave and then I am also going put on a good gown.

### 13. ALLATIVE

The allative (*allat*) indicates imminent or future motion toward a place. It is not normally included in descriptions of Hausa TAMs. It is done so here both on formal grounds—the paradigm is comparable to the future, which is always included among the TAMs—and on functional grounds—in some WH dialects it functions as the normal future. In SH, the allative is restricted to sentences with a locative goal (expressed or implied). This is a structurally specific, but very high frequency formation. The allative is allowed in general, Rel, and negative contexts. The allative paradigm is presented in table 24. It contains a formative *zā* (etymologically related to the future marker *zā*) followed by a CV pronoun with H tone, e.g., *zā mu kāsūwā* 'We are going to market.' In the 1s and 3m persons, some dialects allow the optional contracted forms: *zān* < *zā ni* and *zāi* < *zā ya*. As with the parallel negative-HAVE forms, the underlying H tones on the pronoun are lost because a third tone cannot dock onto a syllable that already contains two tones, thus the contracted forms surface with falling (= HL) tone.

Table 24: Allative

	Allative	Allative (Neg)
1s	<i>zā ni</i> < <i>zān</i> >	<i>bà zā ni...ba</i> <... <i>zān</i> ...>
2m	<i>zā ka</i>	<i>bà zā ka...ba</i>
2f	<i>zā ki</i>	<i>bà zā ki...ba</i>
3m	<i>zā shi</i> < <i>zā ya</i> > / < <i>zāi</i> >	<i>bà zā shi...ba</i> <... <i>zā ya</i> ...> / <... <i>zāi</i> ...>
3f	<i>zā ta</i>	<i>bà zā ta...ba</i>
1p	<i>zā mu</i>	<i>bà zā mu...ba</i>
2p	<i>zā ku</i>	<i>bà zā ku...ba</i>
3p	<i>zā su</i>	<i>bà zā su...ba</i>
4p	<i>zā a</i>	<i>bà zā a...ba</i>

The allative uses the same paradigm in the affirmative and in the negative (marked by *bà...ba*). Examples:

Bellò zà shi bankì	Bello is going to the bank.
zà ni gòbe	I'm going tomorrow (place understood).
ita cè zà ta disfensàrè	She is the one who is going to the clinic.
zà mu kàsuwā sai hadarì ya tāsō	We were heading off to the market when a storm arose.
inā zà ka?	Where are you off to?
kàntín dà zà mu shì nè Kingsway	The shop that we're going to go to is Kingsway.
bà zà su makafantā ba	They are not going to school.
zài (< zà ya) Kanò gòbe [dv]	He's going to Kano tomorrow.
(= [SH] zà shi Kanò gòbe)	

ADN: In some WH dialects, one normally uses the allative in place of the future. The VP in such cases patterns with the continuous (rather than with the future) in obeying the nonfinite verb rules, i.e., it has to contain a verbal noun or an infinitive phrase, e.g.,

[zà ta]<sub>allat</sub> [shán]V<sub>N</sub> shāyì She will drink tea. = [SH] [zā tà]<sub>fut</sub> [shā]V shāyì

[zà ya]<sub>allat</sub> [dāwōwā]V<sub>N</sub> He will return. = [SH] [zái]<sub>fut</sub> [dāwō]V

[zà mu]<sub>allat</sub> [cín]V<sub>N</sub> nāmā We will eat meat. = [SH] [zā mù]<sub>fut</sub> [ci]V nāmā

[zán]<sub>allat</sub> (< zà ni) [jirān]V<sub>N</sub> mālām I will wait for the teacher.

= [SH] [zán]<sub>fut</sub> (< zā nì) [jirā]V mālām I will wait for the teacher.

In the negative, however, the future rather than the allative is usually preferred, i.e., the normal negative of zà ta shán shāyì would be bà zā tà shā shāyì ba 'She will drink tea', not \*\*bà zà ta shán shāyì ba.

There are surface examples that make it look as if WH dialects sometimes use a nonfinite verb with the future, e.g., [WH] zán [nad'èwā]V<sub>N</sub> = zán [nad'è]V 'I will coil up'; zài [shán]V<sub>N</sub> shāyì = zài [shā]V shāyì 'He will drink tea.' The explanation is that in the contracted forms, the allative and the future have phonologically fallen together, e.g., the allatives zà ni and zà ya (with the underlying HL-H sequence) contract to zán and zái, respectively, as do the futures zā nì and zā yà (with the underlying H-L sequence). A sentence like [zán][nad'èwā] is thus *not* an example of a future followed by a verbal noun, which would be abnormal, but rather is a grammatically regular example (in this dialect) of an allative plus a verbal noun.

ØHN: The allative zà like the future marker zā is clearly a variant of the verb zō (and its various forms) 'come/go'. The allative pronoun is probably an erstwhile intransitive copy pronoun (ICP) that has become grammaticalized, with obligatory deletion of the presumed original pre-TAM weak subject pronoun, e.g., zà mu kàsuwā 'We will go to market' < \*mù zà-mu kàsuwā; cf. the still occurring mù jē-mu! 'Let's go!'). It is possible that the pronoun used in the future could also be an old ICP, but the identity here is less certain.

## 14. POTENTIAL

The potential (= future-2, predictive, ingressive, indefinite future, restricted future) consists of a light-syllable wsp (which gets H tone by polarity) plus the TAM -à, e.g., yá shā wùyā 'He is likely to have trouble.' The vowel of the pronoun plus the long vowel of the TAM simplify to a single long /ā/ and the H + L sequence coalesces into a fall, e.g., ya + -à → /yā/. (Reminder: The circumflex accent, e.g., á, indicates falling tone *and* length.) With the 2f and 2p pronouns, the underlying high vowels show up as palatalization and labialization of the preceding consonant respectively, i.e., ki + -à → /kyá/; ku + -à → /kwá/. SH does not have labialized consonants other than velars. With dialects that do, the 1p and 3p pronouns appear as mwá and swá respectively; in SH they appear as má and sá. The potential is allowed in general and negative contexts (marked by bà...ba), but not in Rel environments.

Table 25: Potential

	Potential
1 s	ná
2 m	ká
2 f	kyá
3 m	yá
3 f	tá
1 p	má <mw
2 p	kwá
3 p	sá <swá
4 p	á

ADN: In some WH dialects (length) has become singular forms such dialects add the fa the completive as simple light syll. Hausa does not h (from the light-sy

The category termed h will possibly take pla "conditional future" or the normal future in commitment, e.g.,

watàkìlā makad'ā sá  
kògín bà yá kètaru b  
kàntín mù zō, yá gam:  
bà má kāmā bārāwō  
d'ālibā tá kai makā  
cf. d'ālibā zā tà kai n

One often encounters

kō birì yā karyè yā l  
Even if a m  
(You can't  
kōmē nisan darē, gā  
However lo  
kōwā ya had'iyè tab:  
Whoever sv

The potential is comr  
functions as an equi

Table 25: Potential

	Potential	Potential (neg)
1s	ná	bà ná...ba
2m	ká	bà ká...ba
2f	kyá	bà kyá...ba
3m	yá	bà yá...ba
3f	tá	bà tá...ba
1p	má <mwá>	bà má...ba <mwá>
2p	kwá	bà kwá...ba
3p	sá <swá>	bà sá...ba <swá>
4p	á	bà á...ba

ADN: In some WH dialects, the suffix *-à* as such has been eliminated and the falling tone (with length) has become the marker of the potential paradigm. (The impetus would presumably have been singular forms such as *yá* and *tá*, where the existence of *-à* as a distinct entity is hidden.) Different dialects add the falling tone to different pronoun sets. One pattern uses the heavy pronouns found in the completive as the input, e.g., *ná, ká, kyá, yá, tá, mún, kún, sún, án*. The other pattern uses simple light syllable wsp's as the input, e.g., *ní, ká, kî, yá, tá, mú, kú, sú, á*. (Note: Because Hausa does not have extra-long vowels, *tá* (from the heavy syllable wsp paradigm) plus *-à* and *ta* (from the light-syllable wsp paradigm) plus *-à* end up identically as *tá*.)

The category termed here as the "potential", which is short for potential-future, indicates an action that will possibly take place in the future (God willing). On semantic grounds, it might better be called the "conditional future" or "modal future." I have adopted potential as a label of convenience. It differs from the normal future in having a lesser degree of certainty and a lesser element of intentionality or commitment, e.g.,

<i>wàtàkìlā makàdā sá dāwō</i>	Perhaps the drummers will come back.
<i>kògìn bà yá kètàru ba</i>	The river will probably not be passable.
<i>kàfìn mù zō, yá gamà</i>	Before we come he'll probably have finished.
<i>bà má kāmà fàràwòn ba</i>	We will probably not catch the thief.
<i>ɗàlibā tá kai makà</i>	The student may bring (it) to you.
cf. <i>ɗàlibā zā tà kai makà</i>	The student will (intends to) bring it to you. (fut)

One often encounters the potential in proverbs, e.g.,

<i>kō birì yā karyè yā hau rùmbū</i>	Even if a monkey breaks (his leg), he will climb up into the corn bin. (You can't stop the inevitable.)
<i>kōmē nīsan darē, gārī yā wāyè</i>	However long the night, day will dawn. (Every cloud has a silver lining.)
<i>kōwā ya haɗīyè tabaryā, yā kwāna tsāye</i>	Whoever swallows a pestle will sleep standing up. (Evil recoils on the doer.)

The potential is commonly used in the consequence clause (apodosis) of conditional sentences, where it functions as an equivalent alternative to the future (in normal conditionals) or the completive or

negative-completive (in counterfactual conditionals). Examples:

**in sun zō, [má]<sub>pot</sub> (= [zā mù]<sub>fut</sub>) tàfi kàsuwā** If they come we will go to the market.  
**dà an tàmbàyē nì, dà [ná]<sub>pot</sub> (= [nā]<sub>comp</sub>) yārda** Had I been asked I would have agreed.  
**dà an tàmbàyē nì, dà bà [ná]<sub>pot</sub> (= [bàn]<sub>Ncomp</sub>) yārda ba**  
 Had I been asked I would not have agreed.

It is also used in the conditional clause (protasis) in future counterfactual conditionals, e.g.,

**dà [á]<sub>pot</sub> (= [zā à]<sub>fut</sub>) tàmbàyē nì dà [ná]<sub>pot</sub> (= [nā]<sub>comp</sub>) yārda** Were I to be asked, I'd agree.

The potential also can function as a mixture of a conditional and a threat, i.e., it serves as an admonition to warn someone of the consequences of an action or event, e.g.,

**má gàmù!** We shall meet! (i.e., you will pay the price)  
**ká jíkè** (If you go out in the rain) you'll get soaked.  
**ká ga tsiyā** You shall see disrespect. (i.e., I will humiliate you.)  
**jařřábawā nà zuwà, ká gani**  
 Exams are coming up, you will see! (i.e., you will suffer if you don't study.)

A common use of the potential is as a reply to a greeting to a third party, e.g., **à gayar minì dà màì-gidā** 'Please greet your husband for me', to which the response is **yā jì** 'I will convey the greeting to him' (lit. he will hear (it)).

As with the future, sequences of conjoined clauses in the potential express the TAM only once. Subsequent clauses appear with a neutral PAC consisting of the bare *wsp*.

**jè-ka, [má]<sub>pot</sub> zō [mù Ø]<sub>neut</sub> gan shì**  
 Go, we may eventually come and see him.  
**bà [ná]<sub>pot</sub> zō [nà Ø]<sub>neut</sub> ga kanà irin wannan àbù ba**  
 I should not like to come and see that you are doing this kind of thing.

The potential does not occur in Rel environments; instead, one has to use the normal future (or some other alternative).

**wà [zái]<sub>fut</sub> tàimàkè mù?** Who will help us? not **\*\*wà [yá]<sub>pot</sub> tàimàkè mù?**  
**sābō (nè) [zān]<sub>fut</sub> sāmù** It's a new one I'm going to get. not **\*\*sābō (nè) [ná]<sub>pot</sub> sāmù**  
**lòkàcìn dà [zā mù]<sub>fut</sub> ci àbinci** the time when we will eat  
 not **\*\*lòkàcìn dà [má]<sub>pot</sub> ci àbinci**  
**bà nī nè [zān]<sub>fut</sub> kāwō mā kuđī ba** I'm not the one who is going to bring you money.  
 not **\*\*bà nī nè [ná]<sub>pot</sub> kāwō mā kuđī ba**  
**(céwar) Shatù tà àuri Bālā (nè) [ya]<sub>pret</sub> yìwu** That Shatu might marry Bala is possible.  
 cf. **[yá]<sub>pot</sub> yìwu Shatù tà àuri Bālā** It is possible that Shatu might marry Bala

15. RHETORICAL

The rhetorical (also referred to as rhetorical future or relative future) consists of a light-syllable *wsp* (which gets H tone by polarity) plus the TAM marker **-kà**. If the subject is expressed, the *wsp* is typically deleted.

Table 26: Rhetorical

1s	nikà
2m	kakà
2f	kikà
3m	yakà <st
3f	takà

The rhetorical is an in... we therefore know v... compounds, and such, and—our linguistic Syntactically, it is res in the affirmative onl

ØHN: Historically indicated above, by Gregersen (19... them synchronic continuous pairing relationship to th if a sentence in th the potential with

The rhetorical implies often best translated commonly used in compounds. The follo

**inā nakà sakà?**  
**nī kađai kà iyà hakà**  
**wà kà ganè makà?**

Who in the v...  
**wà kà jà wà kái irin**  
 Who would...  
**duk mùtumin dà kà**  
 Whoever wo...  
**gāra à ragè rikicìn**  
 One should

**inuwār giginyà, na n**  
 (lit. shade.of deleb-pa...  
**wà kà shāfà wà tsūli**  
 (lit. who will wipe or...  
**na-bāya-kà-shā-kall**  
 (lit. that of back will...  
**hālin Rākà-nikà-yi**  
 (lit. condition of how

Table 26: Rhetorical

1s	nikà	1p	mukà
2m	kakà	2p	kukà
2f	kikà		
3m	yakà <shikà>	3p	sukà
3f	takà		
		4p	akà

The rhetorical is an infrequently encountered TAM that has not been adequately studied and about which we therefore know very little. It is used primarily in set expressions, idioms, epithets, proverbs, compounds, and such, but not exclusively so. As far as one can determine, the rhetorical is pan-dialectal and—our linguistic ignorance notwithstanding—still alive and well in the current language. Syntactically, it is restricted to Rel environments, i.e., questions, focus, and relative clauses. It occurs in the affirmative only.

ØHN: Historically, the rhetorical is almost certainly the Rel counterpart to the potential, which, as indicated above, is excluded from Rel environments. (This relation was suggested many years ago by Gregersen (1967: 50).) Over time, however, the two have diverged such that one cannot consider them synchronically as syntactic counterparts of one another comparable to the continuous/Rel-continuous pairing. Semantically/stylistically, the rhetorical is a highly marked TAM, whose relationship to the potential is probably not recognized by native speakers. Note, for example, that if a sentence in the potential is put into a Rel environment, native speakers automatically replace the potential with the regular future and not with the rhetorical.

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. It is also found in fixed expressions and compounds. The following examples illustrate the semantic range and content of this TAM.

<b>inā nakà sakà?</b>	Where on earth could I put (it)?
<b>nī kad'ai kà iyà hakà</b>	Only I could do this.
<b>wà kà ganè makà?</b>	
Who in the world would spare you a glance?	
<b>wà kà jā wà kái irin wannàn wàhalà?</b>	
Who would bring this kind of trouble on himself?	
<b>duk mùtùmìn dà kà ci wannàn àbinci yá shā wàhalà</b>	
Whoever would dare to eat this food will be in trouble.	
<b>gāra à ragè rikicìn dà kà iyà tāshì nān gāba</b>	
One should lessen the disturbances that are likely to rise up in the near future.	
<b>inuwar̄ gigin̄yà, na nēsà kà shā tà</b>	You neglect your family and favor strangers.
(lit. shade.of deleb-palm, it's the one at some distance who will drink (i.e., enjoy) it) [fixed saying]	
<b>wà kà shāfà wà tsūliyā bārkōnō?</b>	Who would bring trouble on himself?
(lit. who will wipe on anus pepper?) [fixed saying]	
<b>na-bāya-kā-shā-kallō</b>	type of embroidery on back of gown
(lit. that of back will undergo (lit. drink) looking) [compound noun]	
<b>hālin kākà-nikà-yi</b>	dilemma, hard times, in a catch-22 situation
(lit. condition of how-I could-do?) [compound expression]	

Although the rhetorical is stylistically restricted and limited in usage, structurally it is quite regular. As the above examples show, it favors (almost requires) the deletion of the wsp when there is an overt subject in the sentence, i.e., ??wà yakà iyà? = wà kà iyà? 'Who could possibly do it?' As with other PACs with an overt TAM, conjoined rhetorical sentences delete the marker kà in all clauses except the first. When the kà is deleted, the bare wsp appears in the neutral form with default L tone.

wáddà [kà]<sub>rhet</sub> iyà tāsówa [tà Ø]<sub>neut</sub> tǎyař manà dà hankàll  
 the one that could rise up and arouse us  
 wà [kà]<sub>rhet</sub> iyà tǎshì [yà Ø]<sub>neut</sub> bā dà jawābì gā tārôn?  
 Who would dare get up and give a speech to the crowd?

16. HABITUAL

The habitual consists of a light syllable wsp (which gets H tone by polarity) plus the TAM marker -kàn, e.g., sukàn shā tí dà kǎrfè huđu 'They have their tea at four o'clock.' The habitual occurs in general and Rel environments. In principle, it is allowed in the negative, although many speakers switch to the negative-continuous. There is free variation in the length of the initial bà(a) of the negative, but in SH, the long vowel variant now seems to be the norm.

Table 27: Habitual

	Habitual	Habitual (neg)
1s	nakàn / nikàn	bà nakàn...ba / bà nikàn...ba
2m	kakàn	bà kakàn...ba
2f	kikàn	bà kikàn...ba
3m	yakàn	bà yakàn...ba
3f	takàn	bà takàn...ba
1p	mukàn	bà mukàn...ba
2p	kukàn	bà kukàn...ba
3p	sukàn	bà sukàn...ba
4p	akàn	bà akàn...ba

The habitual denotes customary action, without explicit reference to time. It often expresses an ongoing habit, where it is best translated by the English present tense, 'I do so and so.' It can, however, also refer to past time as indicated by English 'used to'. Examples:

à Kasar Jàpàn akàn ci d'anyen kiff  
 akàn kashe fitilǎrmù dà kǎrfè tarà  
 wà yakàn shāre d'ákin?  
 takàn jē cōci lōkaci lōkaci  
 gā mahàukàcin dà yakàn yi fitò  
 dá can, nakàn yi aikl na awà gōmà shā biyu kōwàcè rānā  
 Back then, I used to work twelve hours a day.

In Japan one eats raw fish.  
 One turns off our light at nine o'clock.  
 Who sweeps the room?  
 She goes to church from time to time.  
 Here is the madman who whistles.

The habitual, like other PACs with an overt TAM, allows omission of the wsp (in the affirmative).

mài kitsò (ta)kàn zō nān ran Lahàdi                      The hairdresser comes here on Sundays.

In sequences of clause

[nakàn]<sub>hab</sub> tǎshì waje  
 shiga môtà don tàfiyi  
 I get up arou  
 (lit. I.hab arise about s  
 mài hàkuri shi [(ya)k  
 The patient r

Although the habitual  
 express negative habit  
 dialects (e.g., Sokoto)

bà sukàn shā giyà ba  
 shi yāròn bā yakàn z  
 This boy do

17. SUBJUNCTIVE

The subjunctive parac

Table 28: Subjunctive

	Subjunctive
1s	ìn / nà
2m	kà
2f	kì
3m	yà <shì
3f	tà
1p	mù
2p	kù
3p	sù
4p	à

The subjunctive TAM  
 pronoun is written o  
 historically from \*n  
 pronoun yà elides v  
 extended!' (greeting  
 (or an equivalent ph  
 subjunctive does no  
 obligation, etc. In  
 expressing comman  
 addressee, which is  
 [tǎshi]<sub>imp</sub> 'Get up!  
 ones in the subju  
 necessity, preferenc

In sequences of clauses in conjoined sentences, the habitual marker is only expressed once, e.g.,

[nakàn]<sub>hab</sub> tãshì wajen kãrfè bakwài [nà Ø]<sub>neut</sub> gyārà fuskà [nà Ø]<sub>neut</sub> karyà kùmallò [nà Ø]<sub>neut</sub> shiga mòtã don tàfiyà òfis

I get up around seven o'clock, shave, have breakfast, and get in my car to go to the office.  
(lit. I.hab arise about seven o'clock, I Ø repair face, I Ø break hunger, I Ø enter car for going office).

mài hàkuri shì [(ya)kàn]<sub>hab</sub> dafà dùtsè (hãf) [yà Ø]<sub>neut</sub> shã ròmò

The patient man cooks a stone and drinks broth. (i.e., with patience you can do/get anything)

Although the habitual paradigm *can* be negated directly using **bà(a)...ba**, many SH speakers prefer to express negative habitual actions by use of the negative-continuous rather than with the habitual. Some dialects (e.g., Sokoto) go further and do not allow the habitual in the negative at all. Examples:

bà sukàn shã giyà ba = bã sã shãn giyà They don't drink beer.

shì yāròn bà yakàn zò makařantã ba = shì yāròn bã yà zuwà makařantã

This boy doesn't attend school.

## 17. SUBJUNCTIVE

The subjunctive paradigm (table 28) consists of a set of bare light-syllable pronouns with default L tone.

Table 28: Subjunctive

	Subjunctive	Negative Subjunctive
1s	in / nà	kadà in / kadà nà
2m	kà	kadà kà
2f	kì	kadà kì
3m	yà <shì>	kadà yà / kadà <shì>
3f	tà	kadà tà
1p	mù	kadà mù
2p	kù	kadà kù
3p	sù	kadà sù
4p	à	kadà à

The subjunctive TAM itself is phonologically zero, e.g., **kù [Ø] yi hàkuri** 'You (pl.) be patient.' The 1s pronoun is written orthographically as **in**, but it is pronounced [ɲ̃] with an L-tone syllabic nasal (derived historically from \*ñ). In Kano, **nà** is commonly used in place of **in**. In certain fixed expressions, the 3m pronoun **yà** elides with the preceding word, e.g., **ránkà yà dadè = [ránkài dadè]** 'May your life be extended!' (greeting to a superior). The subjunctive is negated by means of the prohibitive marker **kadà** (or an equivalent phonologically reduced form), e.g., **kadà sù [Ø] dāwō** 'They should not return.' The subjunctive does not occur in Rel environments. The subjunctive expresses wishes, desires, purpose, obligation, etc. In the second person, it serves as a somewhat softer alternative to the imperative for expressing commands. It also allows the speaker to specifically identify the number and gender of the addressee, which is impossible with the bare imperative, e.g., **kù tãshì** 'Get up! (you (pl.))'; cf. **[tãshì]<sub>imp</sub>** 'Get up!' In sequences of commands, the first one is often in the imperative with subsequent ones in the subjunctive. The subjunctive is frequently preceded by a modal adverbial indicating necessity, preference, etc., such as **sai** 'must', **gãra** 'ought', **dòlè** 'perforce'. Examples:

kì dāwō dà wuri!	You (f.) come back early!
fita kà yi wàsā!	Go out and (you) play!
mù hadà kánmù!	Let's cooperate!
Allàh yà bā mù hàkuri!	My God give us patience!
nufinsà yà kòrè sù	His intention was to chase them away.
gàrà à kàrà kuḍin àlbáshín	One ought to increase the salary.
dòlè ma'áikàtá sù kómà aikin	The workers must return to work.

Subjunctive sentences commonly occur in purposive 'in order to' clauses (often following the conjunction **dōmin/don** 'in order to'), or as embedded objects or complements of sentences expressing volition or opinion (where the subjunctive often corresponds to an infinitive in English), e.g.,

bàì kō tsayà ba yà jì kō làbāřin yà kārè	He didn't even stop to hear if the story was finished.
kadà fa kà mántà kà dāwō dà kwalabār	Don't forget to return the bottle.
inà só kù yàrà kù tàimàkè nì	I want you children to help me.
yà kāmàtá kà sá yārònkà à makarantá	It behooves you to put your child in school.
wà záì hanà kátòn yà kwacè mafi kyáu?	Who will prevent the hulk from grabbing (lit. that he should grab) the best one?

tà bugà mín wayà bà don kómè ba sai don tà dāmè nì

She telephoned me for no reason except to bother me.

munà fàfùtùkà mù gamà aikinmù dà sauri

We are straining every nerve to finish our work quickly.

yà tunà musù sù yì shirì

He reminded them to make preparations. (lit. he reminded to.them (that) they should do preparation)

bàì kyàutu mùtúm yà zàgì na gàba dà shì ba

It is not appropriate for a person to insult someone senior to him.

yà fi sauki kà bi waccàn hanyār

It is easier to follow that road. (lit. it exceeds ease (that) you follow that road)

Sentences introduced by the subordinating conjunction 'before' (**kāfin** = **kāmìn**, both of which have L-L or L-H tone depending on dialect or idelect) require the subjunctive regardless of the specific temporal interpretation.

yà zaunà hakà mintù gómà kāfin yà bā dà amsà

He sat like that for ten minutes before he replied.

zà kà shā wàhalà kāfin kà kai kauyèn

You're going to suffer a lot before you reach the village.

The subjunctive is negated by means of a semantically negative prohibitive marker **kadà** 'don't/should not/lest'. Structurally, it behaves more like an adverb such as **dòlè** 'perforce' than a true negative marker, i.e., **kadà kù tàfi!** 'Don't go! You musn't go!' is structurally parallel to **dòlè kù tàfi** 'You must go.' The marker **kadà** is often followed by a modal particle for emphasis, e.g., **kadà fa kù bař mù!** 'Now don't you (pl.) leave us!' Unlike true negative markers, which occur after an overt subject and immediately preceding the PAC, e.g., [**Bintà**]<sub>sbj</sub> [**bà**]<sub>neg</sub> [**zà tà**]<sub>PAC</sub> **amsà ba** 'Binta will not answer', **kadà** usually occurs before the subject, separated from the subjunctive PAC, e.g., [**kadà**]<sub>neg</sub> [**Bintà**]<sub>sbj</sub> [**tà**]<sub>PAC</sub> **amsà** 'Binta should not answer.'

Subjunctive sentence (the affirmative.) Exam

kadà kà yi masà tsiw  
kadà sù sàkè shì  
kadà Kànde tà dāwō  
kadà fa kà mántà kà  
(lit. prohibit now you

The **kadà** construction express 'lest' and in o

an d'aurè shi tam (do  
bà sù kulà dà kō sù ci  
sai mù zubà bařin-m  
We should p

The prohibitive marker **manà** 'We hid (it) lest rhotacism of the final now treat **kāř** + the f = **kař-kà zō** 'Don't c **kař-kà zō** = **kak-kà**

ΔDN: In some W pronoun or a nou **kaG** (with F or I **dāwō** 'Musa sho

## 18. NEUTRAL (U)

A pronoun paradigm i (but in the affirmative

The subjunctive Analytically speaking **Mūsá** [yà] **dāwō** 'Mu **Mūsá** [yá] **dāwō** 'Mu PAC appear different constructions—is the

As a result, the s *morphosyntactically* I am calling this func between (1) a PAC wi **tà** 'she (sub)' and (2)

°AN: This contr synchronically system. Wolff (



Subjunctive sentences with **kadà** express negative commands. (The imperative per se is restricted to the affirmative.) Examples:

<b>kadà kà yi masà tsiwà!</b>	Don't badger him!
<b>kadà sù sàkè shì</b>	They shouldn't release him.
<b>kadà Kànde tà dāwō</b>	Kande should not return.
<b>kadà fa kà mántā kà dāwō dà kwalabāf</b>	Now don't forget to return the bottle!
(lit. prohibit now you (sub) forget you (sub) return with bottle)	

The **kadà** construction also functions as the negative subjunctive in purposive 'in order to' clauses to express 'lest' and in other embedded or complement clauses that indicate prohibition or irrealis, e.g.,

<b>an d'aurè shi tam (don) kadà yà tsèrè</b>	They tied him up tightly so he wouldn't escape.
<b>bà sù kulà dà kō sù ci kō kadà sù ci ba</b>	They didn't care whether they should win or not.
<b>sai mù zubà bakin-mái yànzū (don) kadà injì yà lālācè</b>	
We should put in some engine oil now lest the engine get ruined.	

The prohibitive marker **kadà** has a common apocopated form **kāf**, e.g., **mun ɓōyè kāf ɓàrāwò yà sàcè manà** 'We hid (it) lest the thief steal (it) from us.' (The form **kāf** derives from loss of the final vowel, rhotacism of the final /d/ to /r/, and fusion of the H + L tone sequence into a surface fall.) Many speakers now treat **kāf** + the following wsp as a phonological word that tonally simplifies to H-L, e.g., **kāf kà zō** = **kāf-kà zō** 'Don't come!' The final -f commonly assimilates fully to the following consonant, e.g., **kāf-kà zō** = **kak-kà zō**. (This assimilation/gemination is independent of the tone rule.)

ΔDN: In some WH dialects, the assimilation has become obligatory whether the following word is a pronoun or a noun, i.e., the underlying form of the marker for these speakers has to be considered **kaG** (with F or H tone), where **G** represents an unspecified geminate, e.g., **kām/kam Mūsā yà dāwō** 'Musa should not return.'

## 18. NEUTRAL (UNMARKED FORM)

A pronoun paradigm identical to the one used in the subjunctive also serves as a neutral unmarked form (but in the affirmative only).

The subjunctive is a distinct TAM with clearly defined syntactic and semantic properties. Analytically speaking, it enters in the formation of the PAC just like any other TAM. For example, in **Mūsā [yà] dāwō** 'Musa should return', **yà** represents the PAC [3m + sub], in the same way that **yá** in **Mūsā [yá] dāwō** 'Musa will likely return', represents the PAC [3m + pot]. What makes the subjunctive PAC appear different on the surface from other TAMs—and which results in confusion with other constructions—is the fact that the subjunctive TAM *phonologically* has zero shape.

As a result, the subjunctive looks on the surface exactly the same as PACs with bare wsp's that occur *morphosyntactically* without a TAM, and which most scholars, incorrectly, have labeled as subjunctive. I am calling this functionally distinct TAM-less PAC the "neutral" form. The analytical contrast here is between (1) a PAC with a TAM that happens to be phonologically zero, e.g., {3f + sub} = **tà** + /Ø/ → **tà** 'she (sub)' and (2) a PAC that lacks a TAM, e.g., {3f + ( )} = **tà** → **tà** 'she (neut)'.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>o</sup>AN: This contrast may at first sight seem like a sleight of hand, but it is very real, both synchronically and historically, and it is essential to a proper understanding of the Hausa TAM system. Wolff (1993: 416ff) deserves credit for the important observation that the so-called

subjunctive paradigm synchronically incorporates two grammatically distinct, although phonologically identical, categories. My treatment differs from his in that he treats the non-subjunctive category as a full-fledged TAM, the "aorist," on a par with the other TAMs, whereas I see it as an unmarked neutral pronoun form lacking a TAM.

ØHN: In many West Chadic languages, the subjunctive—but not the neutral form (sometimes termed "Grundaspekt")—is distinctively characterized by a change in the verb stem (Newman and Schuh 1974), and thus it is possible to keep the two apart, even though, on the surface, they both lack overt TAMs. In present-day Hausa, on the other hand, verb stems themselves are not inflected for tense/aspect/mood (with the exception of the imperative), and thus the true subjunctive and the neutral form have fallen together. They can, nevertheless, still be distinguished synchronically by their different meanings and functions and the fact that only the subjunctive and not the neutral form can be negated using *kaɗà*.

The neutral form is found in a number of different constructions in which grammatical specification of tense/aspect is not essential since it is deducible from the sentential or pragmatic context. Examples include the following:

(1) Neutral TAM-less PACs appear (as bare *wsp*'s) in the consequent clause of conditional sentences as an alternative to the future or the potential (see §17:1). The bare pronouns are optionally, but commonly, preceded by *sai* 'then'.

<i>in sun zō, (sai) in tafi kàsuwā</i>	If/when they come, I'll go to market.
cf. <i>in sun zō, zān/nā tafi kàsuwā</i>	If they come, I intend to/will probably go to market.
<i>in an sá masà kāyā dà yawà, sai yà gāji</i>	If he's given too heavy a load, he'll tire.
<i>kō kā sàmi làyì sai kà ga bá shi dà kyáu</i>	

Even if you get a [telephone] line, you find it is no good.

Note that the order of clauses in conditional sentences cannot be reversed if the neutral form is used. That is, whereas *zān tafi kàsuwā in sun zō* 'I will go to market if they come' is a grammatical alternative for the more common *in sun zō, zān tafi kàsuwā*, the sentence *sai in tafi kàsuwā (in sun zō)* 'I will go to market if they come' (with *sai* obligatorily present) can exist only as an alternative to *in sun zō, (sai) in tafi kàsuwā* as the answer to a question like *mè zā kà yi in sun zō?* 'What will you do if they come?' Note, moreover, that since the TAM-less form (unlike the subjunctive) does not occur in the negative, negative apodosis clauses must use the future or some other suitable TAM, e.g., *in sun zō, sai mù gayà musù* 'When they come we will tell them', but not *\*\*in sun zō, kaɗà mù gayà musù* 'When they come, we will not tell them.' Rather, one needs *in sun zō, bà zā mù gayà musù ba* 'If they come we will not tell them.' The sentence *in sun zō, kaɗà mù gayà musù* 'If they come, let's not tell them' is grammatical, but only when the second clause is understood to be in the subjunctive, which, unlike the TAM-less construction, *may* be negated.

(2) The expression of an action temporally dependent on and closely connected to the time indicated in another clause is commonly accomplished by means of a neutral PAC not carrying its own TAM, e.g.,

<i>san dà sukà zō, sai in tafi kàsuwā</i>	When they come, I'll go to market.
<i>kāfin yà zō nān, sai in gamā</i>	Before he comes here, I'll finish.
<i>bāyan bà kà gamā aikin ba sànnan kà cè zā kà tafi?</i>	

(How is that) after you haven't finished the work then you say you're going to go?

*dàgà wannàn zaurèn, sai à isa wata kātūwaf bāfā*  
After this room, then one reaches a certain large stable.

(3) As indicated in desc separable TAMs allow (i When the TAM is delete tone. (Note that when a finite verb form rather t

[tanà]<sub>cont</sub> d'inkin hūlā  
She sews caps  
with the mone  
[tā + /Ø/]<sub>sub</sub> :  
(cf. the following witho  
sayār wā (don  
[mā]<sub>pot</sub> tafi gidā mū l  
We will likely  
[sunà]<sub>cont</sub> fārāwā dà v  
They begin w  
zanè tā kuma gōgè (sf  
The girl is go  
don mè yārā [sukè]<sub>R</sub>  
Why are the c  
wàcè cè [takè]<sub>R</sub>cont1  
Who (f.) is se  
ran Jumma' à mutānē  
On Fridays p

The preceding example second. One or the oth empty PAC.

°AN: Conjoined s shift to the subj [sukān]<sub>hab</sub> tāru [ fact, no such shift where the habitual not in the subjunc in a TAM-less PAC one anticipated n deletion of a ten clauses without a pronoun has L tor led to postulate a phenomenon and belonging to the polarity; if it is no Note that one have a different r sequence of under don 'so that', e.g.

(3) As indicated in descriptions of the individual tense/aspect/mood categories, paradigms with overt separable TAMs allow (in some cases require) the deletion of the repeated TAM in conjoined sentences. When the TAM is deleted, all that remains in the PAC is the bare *wsp*, which automatically takes default L tone. (Note that when a repeated continuous TAM is omitted, the resulting neutral PAC is followed by a finite verb form rather than a verbal noun or infinitive.) Examples:

[tanà]<sub>cont</sub> d'inkìn hùlā tà kai kàsuwā tà sayā (don) tà yi cêfānē dà kuđin

She sews caps and takes them to the market and sells them in order to do her grocery shopping with the money. (< [ta nã]<sub>cont</sub> d'inkìn hùlā [ta nã]<sub>cont</sub> kai kàsuwā [ta nã]<sub>cont</sub> sayā (don) [tà + /Ø/]<sub>sub</sub> yi cêfānē dà kuđin)

(cf. the following without the deletions: [tanà]<sub>cont</sub> d'inkìn hùlā [tanà]<sub>cont</sub> káiwā kàsuwā [tanà]<sub>cont</sub> sayārwā (don) [tà + Ø]<sub>sub</sub> yi cêfānē dà kuđin)

[má]<sub>pot</sub> tàfi gidā mù káwō littāfin

We will likely go home and bring the book.

[sunà]<sub>cont</sub> fārāwā dà wannàn sù yi wannàn sù kārē dà wannàn

They begin with this one and do this one and finish with this one. yārinyā [zā tà]<sub>fut</sub> wankē zanē tà kuma gōgē (shi)

The girl is going to wash her wrapper and also iron it.

don mē yārā [sukè]<sub>Rcont1</sub> masā ba'ā sù yi ta jifānsā dà dūtsē?

Why are the children mocking him and throwing stones at him?

wācē cē [takè]<sub>Rcont1</sub> d'inkìn hùlā tà kai kàsuwā?

Who (f.) is sewing the caps and taking them to market?

ran Jumma'ā mutānē [Ø kàn]<sub>hab</sub> jē masallāci [sù Ø]<sub>neut</sub> sàurāri huđubā

On Fridays people go to the mosque and listen to the sermon.

The preceding example illustrates deletion of the *wsp* from the first PAC and deletion of the TAM from the second. One or the other, however, must appear, i.e., one cannot delete both items, leaving a completely empty PAC.

<sup>o</sup>AN: Conjoined sentences in the future, habitual, etc., are usually described as involving a category shift to the subjunctive in clauses other than the first, e.g., [sukàn]<sub>hab</sub> tàru [sukàn]<sub>hab</sub> shā tí ⇒ [sukàn]<sub>hab</sub> tàru [sù]<sub>sub</sub> shā tí 'They meet and drink tea.' This is a mistaken analysis. There is, in fact, no such shift. Rather, the structure is [sukàn]<sub>hab</sub> tàru [sù ( )] shā tí where the empty ( ) shows where the habitual TAM has been deleted. According to the analysis adopted here, the pronoun *sù* is *not* in the subjunctive, i.e., there has been no tense/aspect shift, but rather is a bare *wsp* occurring in a TAM-less PAC (i.e., the neutral unmarked form). (The analysis presented here is similar to the one anticipated many years ago by Gregersen (1967) in that it views the derivation as involving *deletion* of a tense/aspect element. Gregersen's error was in equating the subjunctive with *all* clauses without an overt aspectual particle.) Previous scholars were misled by the fact that the bare pronoun has L tone as opposed to the H that one finds, for example, in the habitual, and thus were led to postulate a "tense/aspect shift." In fact, the surface tone on the pronoun is a minor low-level phenomenon and is not a property of the subjunctive per se. The general tone rule is that if a *wsp* belonging to the light-syllable CV paradigm is followed by an L-tone TAM, it takes H tone by polarity; if it is not, it takes L tone by default, e.g., *su* + *kàn* → /súkàn/, but *su* + Ø → /sù/.

Note that one *can* have a true subjunctive after a matrix clause. Such a sentence, however, would have a different meaning—reflecting the semantic attributes of the subjunctive—from one with a sequence of underlying habituals. It would, moreover, allow the insertion of the purposive marker *don* 'so that', e.g., [sukàn]<sub>hab</sub> tàru (don) [sù]<sub>sub</sub> shā tí 'They meet in order to drink tea.'

(4) In a sequence of sentences with an essentially timeless sense, the neutral TAM, often preceded by *sai*, can optionally be used in place of the explicit habitual TAM, e.g.,

**dalà tà hau tà sauka** (The value of) the dollar rises and falls.  
 (Less cumbersome than **dalà [takàn]<sub>hab</sub> hau [takàn]<sub>hab</sub> sauka**)  
**in an kāwō àbinci, à ci sánnan à shā** When food is brought one eats and then one drinks.  
**wani sá'ì sai yà zō nán, wani sá'ì sai mù jē gidansà**  
 Sometimes he comes here, sometimes we go to his place.

(5) One means of indicating reported speech is by use of the clause **in ji X** 'according to X' (lit. I hear X) after the statement, e.g.,

**zā à rufè flin-jirgin-samà in ji kàkàkin gwamnati**  
 According to the government's spokesman, one is going to close the airport.  
 (lit. fut 4p close airport I hear spokesman.of government)  
**'yan tawāyè sunà gudù in ji Gaskiya**  
*Gaskiya* (the newspaper) reports that the rebels are running away.  
**Bellò yā shìga sōjà in ji Mūsā** Bello has joined the army, says Musa.

(6) The neutral form with the bare TAM-less pronouns, especially the impersonal, is commonly used in compounds, where exact specification of tense/aspect/mood is not needed, e.g.,

**à-ci-bàlbàl** oil lamp (lit. one burns **bàlbàl** ('sound/sight of flickering'))  
**à-kòri-kūrā** delivery truck (lit. one banishes hand-pushed cart)  
**mù-hà'fù-à-bankì** type of cap (lit. we meet at bank)

Finally, it needs to be pointed out that although the fundamental distinction between the subjunctive and the homophonous neutral form is essential to an understanding of the Hausa TAM system, there are individual cases where it is not immediately evident which form is being used. For example, the bare *wsp*'s used in clauses introduced by **màimakon** 'instead of' could be instantiations of neutral TAM-less PACs, but they could also represent a required use of the subjunctive, such as one finds after the subordinating conjunction **kàfìn** 'before'. Examples:

**yā kirā nì màimakon [yà]<sub>neut</sub> or sub barì [nà]<sub>sub</sub> kirā shì**  
 He called me instead of letting me call him.

**zā tà jē kànti [tà]<sub>neut</sub> bata'ɗà dà ku'fìn dukà màimakon [tà]<sub>neut</sub> or sub ādà'na wasu à bankì**  
 She is off to the store and is going to spend all of the money instead of saving some in the bank.

[References: Gouffé (1963/66, 1966/67, 1967/68); Gregersen (1967); Mohammed (1991); Newman and Schuh (1974); Schubert (1971–72); Schuh (1993)]

# 71. Tone

## 1. TONAL INVENTORIES

**H**AUSA has three tones: **à** 'quickly', **ma** 'wife'; **fuskà** 'circumflex accent, e.g. **kômôwā** 'returning'.

°AN: It has long vowels without tone marks on other languages, is unmarked

### 1.1. Falling tone

Falling tone occurs on a mora, carry only sing open vowel indicates falling tone requirement necessarily have to be 'sides', **kàttā** 'huge' (The falling tone on HL-H) 'children'. The

°AN: The fact that status of a distinct complex prenasal decomposable, b

(a) In words shortened HL (= F) on a single

**kadà** H-L = **Kàbirù** L-H-L = **mabiyā** H-H-L-H **dàbùgì** [dv] H-L-H

(b) When the L-tone tone (i.e., H-L → HL

# 71. Tone and Intonation

## 1. TONAL INVENTORY

**H**AUSA has three surface tones: high (H), which has no accent mark, e.g., *shā* 'drink', *maza* 'quickly', *makařantā* 'school'; low (L), which is marked by a grave accent, e.g., *dà* 'with, and', *mātā* 'wife'; *fuskà* 'face', *àkwàtì* 'box', *fikàfikai* 'wings'; and falling (F), which is marked by a circumflex accent, e.g., *dâ* 'formerly', *tî* 'tea', *mântā* 'forget', *îmâm* 'imam', *kilif* 'paper clip', *kômôwā* 'returning'. The language has no rising tone.

°AN: It has long been the transcription convention among Hausaists to leave high-tone vowels without tone marks rather than to use an acute accent, as is commonly done by Africanists working on other language groups. This convention does not entail any claim about which Hausa tone, if any, is unmarked from a theoretical phonological point of view.

### 1.1. Falling tone

Falling tone occurs only on heavy, bimoraic syllables. Light syllables, which consist of only one mora, carry only single level tones. (In the transcription convention adopted here, the circumflex on an open vowel indicates falling tone *and* length, i.e., /*shâa*/ 'drinking' is transcribed as *shâ*.) Note that the falling tone requirement is specified in terms of the need for a heavy *syllable*; a falling tone does not necessarily have to be on a long vowel, nor even on a syllable closed with a sonorant coda, e.g., *gyâffâ* 'sides', *kâttâ* 'huge (pl.)'.

The falling tone can be decomposed into a sequence of H + L on a single syllable, e.g., *yârâ* (F-H = HL-H) 'children'. Three processes suffice to demonstrate the validity of this analysis.

°AN: The fact that the falling tone can be decomposed into H + L does not imply that it lacks the status of a distinct phonemic toneme. The situation is no different from that of languages that have complex prenasalized consonants like /*mb*/ or affricates like /*dz*/, all of which are phonetically decomposable, but which, nevertheless, may exist at some level as unit phonemes.

(a) In words shortened by the loss of a vowel, an original H-L tone sequence on two syllables becomes HL (= F) on a single syllable, e.g.,

<b>kadà</b> H-L =	<b>kâř</b> HL = F	don't
<b>Kâbirû</b> L-H-L =	<b>Kâbir</b> L-HL = L-F	proper name
<b>mabiyiyâ</b> H-H-L-H =	<b>mabiyiyyâ</b> H-HL-H = H-F-H	female follower
<b>dâbùgî</b> [dv] H-L-H =	<b>dâbgî</b> HL-H = F-H	anteater

(b) When the L-tone definite article  $\text{̀n} / \text{̀ř}$  is attached to a word ending in H tone, the result is a falling tone (i.e., H-L → HL = F), e.g.,

wàndō	trousers	+ `n →	wàndón	L-F	the trousers
rīgā	gown	+ `ř →	rīgāř	L-F	the gown
tāgōgī	windows	+ `n →	tāgōgīn	H-H-F	the windows

(c) In assigning tone to the stabilizer (*nē* (m. or pl.) / *cē* (f.)), whose tone is always polar to that of the preceding syllable, words with a final F tone behave as if they ended in L (i.e., F = HL), e.g.,

*hāřām nē* L-F H It's prohibited; *nān nē* F H It's here; *gōnāř cē* H-F H It's the farm.  
 cf. *zōbē nē* H-L H It's a ring; *mōtā cē* H-L H It's a car; *gwādō nē* L-L H It's a blanket.  
 cf. *rīgā cē* L-H L It's a gown; *nan nē* H L It's there (by you); *kēke nē* L-H L  
 = *kēkē nē* L-L H It's a bicycle.

ØHN°AN: Although the falling tone can structurally be analyzed as a combination of H + L on a single syllable, there are, nevertheless, areas in which one needs to think of it as a unitary contour. For example, the many intra- and interdialectal contour simplification rules (discussed elsewhere) are explicable only if one views falling tone psycholinguistically as a disfavored element in Hausa. Significantly, in drumming, a falling tone is always played as a single tone with a contour and not as a sequence of H + L (Ames, Gregersen, and Neugebauer 1971). Finally, it appears that at least some synchronic falling tones on monosyllabic words derive historically not from H-L sequences, but rather from original words with level H tone by a phonetic process of tone bending (Newman 1992a, 1995).

### 1.1.1. Falling tone simplification

With certain grammatical morphemes, a sequence involving a falling tone is simplified to a sequence of level (but opposite) tones.

The sequence F-L commonly changes to H-L when a noun with a definite article is followed by the relativizer *dā* 'that'. This change is optional in SH; it is obligatory in some other dialects, e.g.,

<i>gidān dā mukā ganī</i> (→) <i>gidan dā mukā ganī</i>	the house that we saw
(but <i>gidān</i> 'the house' by itself does not simplify to ** <i>gidan</i> )	
<i>rīgāř dā mukā sàyā</i> (→) <i>rīgāř dā mukā sàyā</i>	the gown that we bought

This simplification is particularly common with the morphologically complex relative pronouns and adverbs in which the *dā* is an incorporated element.

<i>wāndā</i> = <i>wandā</i>	the one (m.) who
<i>wāddā</i> = <i>waddā</i>	the one (f.) who
<i>sāndā</i> (< <i>sā'ān dā</i> ) = <i>sandā</i>	(the time) when
<i>īndā</i> = <i>indā</i> where (e.g., <i>nā san īndā</i> / <i>īndā yakè òyè</i> )	I know where it is hidden.)

Some speakers, especially outside the core SH area, apply the F-L → H-L simplification rule to the prohibitive marker *kāř* (< *kadā*) plus the following low-tone wsp, e.g.,

<i>kāř kà dāwō</i> (→) <i>kař kà dāwō!</i>	Don't return!
<i>kāř mù ßatā</i> (→) <i>kař mù ßatā</i>	Lest we get lost.

The change F-H → L-H is also found, but it is more limited (but see below for dialectal changes). In SH, it is essentially restricted to the definite demonstratives and to the lexicalized adverb 'then', e.g.,

*wānnan* (→) *wānnan*  
*wāccan* (→) *wāccan*

1.2. Absence of rise  
 Hausa does not have a sometimes develop in automatically simplify

Rule 1: LH → L / H (is H). Examples: (Note phonologically automa

*gawayī* H-L-H (→) \*  
*mukā yi* H-L-H (→) \*  
*mùřaddāřī* L-H-L-H

Rule 2: LH → H / e (conditions for Rule 1)

*tāusāyi* L-L-H (→) \*  
*řimillā* L-H-L (→) \*  
 \**kāwa* L-H (→) \**kā*  
*kwādāyi* L-L-H = \**k*  
*đōyi* L-H (→) \**đōy*  
*tāwa* L-H (→) \**tāw*  
 \**đāwūkā* > \**đāūkā* |  
 \**nān* LH → *nān* H  
 cf. *nān* F (= HL)

°AN: [i] The LH (1971). Until re simplification of Newman (1995) [ii] For a long ti with H-L tone i explanation is th surface H-L is a rule.

## 2. FUNCTION OF

Tone functions bot comparable to that c number of lexical it

*kai* you (m.), *kāi* trouble; *gōrā* staff separating, *rāinā*

wánnan (→) wànnan that, near you (m. or f.); wáncan (→) wàncan that yonder (m.)  
 wáccan (→) wàccan that yonder (f.); sánnan (< sá'án nan that time) (→) sànnan then

1.2. Absence of rising tone

Hausa does not have a rising tone corresponding to its falling tone. LH tones on a single syllable, which sometimes develop in intermediate structure as a result of synchronic processes or historical changes, automatically simplify to H or to L depending on the context. There are two conditioned rules:

Rule 1: LH → L / H\_\_\_\_\_ (i.e., LH on a single syllable simplifies to L if the preceding tone in the word is H). Examples: (Note: The change of syllable final /y/ to /i/ and the depalatalization of /sh/ to /s/ are phonologically automatic and have nothing to do with the tone rule per se.)

<b>gawàyi</b> H-L-H (→) * <b>gawàý'</b> H-LH → <b>gawài</b> H-L	charcoal
<b>mukà yi</b> H-L-H (→) * <b>mukàý'</b> H-LH → <b>mukài</b> H-L	we did
<b>mùkaddàshi</b> L-H-L-H (→) * <b>mùkaddàs'</b> L-H-LH → <b>mùkaddàs</b> L-H-L	deputy, regent

Rule 2: LH → H / elsewhere (i.e., LH on a single syllable simplifies to H except when meeting the conditions for Rule 1). Examples (with the resultant H tone marked for clarity):

<b>tàusàyi</b> L-L-H (→) * <b>tàusàý'</b> L-LH → <b>tàusái</b> L-H	pity [dv]
<b>jimillà</b> L-H-L (→) * <b>jiml'à</b> LH-L → <b>jiml'à</b> H-L	total
* <b>kàwa</b> L-H (→) * <b>kàw'</b> LH → <b>káu</b> H	move away
<b>kwàdàyi</b> L-L-H = * <b>kwàdàý'</b> L-LH → <b>kwàd'ai</b> L-H	lust [dv]
<b>dòyi</b> L-H (→) * <b>dòy'</b> LH → <b>d'wái</b> H	stench [dv]
<b>tàwa</b> L-H (→) * <b>tàw'</b> LH → <b>táu</b> H	mine [dv]
* <b>d'awúkà</b> > * <b>d'aukà</b> LH-L → <b>d'aukà</b> H-L	take, carry
* <b>nàn'</b> LH → <b>nán</b> H	there by you
cf. <b>nán</b> F (= HL)	here by me

°AN: [i] The LH to H rule (Rule 2 above) was discovered independently by Parsons (1955) and Leben (1971). Until recently it was thought that this was an unconditioned rule. The observation that the simplification of the LH contour was subject to phonological conditioning was first pointed out in Newman (1995).

[ii] For a long time, the verb **d'aukà** 'take' puzzled Hausaists because it looked like a grade 1 verb with H-L tone in its citation form, but behaved like a grade 2 verb in its pre-object forms. The explanation is that **d'aukà** derives from a regular *trisyllabic* gr2 verb with L-H-L tone and that the surface H-L is a phonological accident due to vowel syncope and the LH to H tonal simplification rule.

2. FUNCTION OF TONE

Tone functions both lexically and grammatically. Although tone does not have a functional load comparable to that of many West African languages like Igbo or Yoruba, it does serve to distinguish a number of lexical items from one another, e.g.,

**kai** you (m.), **kái** head; **sū** they, **sú** fishing; **kūkà** baobab tree, **kūkā** crying; **wuyà** neck, **wùyā** trouble; **gōrā** staff, bamboo, **gōrā** large gourd; **bāba** dad, **bābā** mom, aunt; **wārī** stench; **wāri** separating, **rāinā** look after a baby, **rainā** despise, have contempt for

Grammatically, tone serves a number of important functions, for example, in inflecting nouns for plurality, in creating different verb grades, in forming verbal nouns (and deverbal nouns), in deriving adverbs from nouns, and in the marking of tense/aspect/mood. The grammatical use of tone is sometimes done by tone alone and sometimes in conjunction with changes in vowel length. Examples:

**mātā** wife, **mātā** wives, women; **dafā** to cook, **dāfā** cook! (imperative); **hārbē** shoot (at) (gr2 pre-pronoun form), **hārbē** shoot dead, execute (gr4 form); **shā** drink, **shā** drinking; **ma'aikatā** workplace, factory, **ma'aikatā** workers; **idō** eye, **ido** in the eye; **kasā** earth, ground, **kasā** on the ground; **tā** she (completive), **tā** she (potential)

### 3. TONE DOMAIN, TONE MELODIES, TONE ASSIGNMENT

#### 3.1. Tone-bearing unit

The primary tone-bearing unit is the syllable. Normally, there is one tone per syllable and one syllable per tone, e.g., **kujērā** 'chair' has three syllables **ku.jē.rā** and three tones H-L-H, **santalēliyā** 'svelte' has five syllables **san.ta.lē.li.yā** and five tones H-H-H-L-H. If a word has more tones than syllables, then two tones can dock on the same syllable if that syllable has the necessary weight (i.e., two moras) to carry the two tones, e.g., **shānyē** 'drink up', which has three tones (H-L-H) but only two syllables **shan.yē**, carries both the H and the L on the first syllable, which is realized as F. Similarly, the word **daukā**, which has three tones (L-H-L) but only two syllables **dau.kā**, carries both the L and the H on the first syllable, the non-occurring rising tone being realized as H.

#### 3.2. Tone melodies

Whereas syllables carry individual tones, morphemes and words have associated tone patterns or melodies, e.g., **sūnāyē**<sup>HLH</sup> 'names' is realized as **sūnāyē** with H-L-H tone; **dulmuya**<sup>LHL</sup> 'sink' is realized as **dūlmuyā** with L-H-L. The tones of the melody are assigned to the syllables from right to left. If there are more syllables than tones, one keeps on spreading the tone in a leftward fashion, e.g., **makařantū**<sup>LH</sup> → **mākāřantū** 'schools'; **řididdigā**<sup>HLH</sup> → **řididdigā** 'calculate'. If there are more tones than syllables, then one assigns the tones from right to left until one has run out of syllables, whereupon one assigns the remaining tone to the initial syllable (assuming that it is a bimoraic syllable that can carry two tones), e.g.,

<b>zobbā</b> <sup>HLH</sup> → <b>zōb.bā</b>	rings (with HL on the initial syllable)
<b>mantā</b> <sup>HLH</sup> → <b>mān.tā</b>	forget (with HL on the initial syllable)
<b>ci</b> <sup>LH</sup> → <b>ci</b>	eat! (with only the H assigned to <b>ci</b> since the L cannot also be attached to the light monomoraic syllable)

°AN: Jaggar (1982) has suggested that at an intermediate level, both the L and the H be assigned to the imperative form **ci**, with LH being realized as H in accordance with the tone rules described above (§1.2). Although such an analysis would generate the right surface form in this particular case, it strikes me as counterintuitive. My objection to Jaggar's proposal is that it runs counter to the overall functioning of the tone system which supports the contention that a monomoraic tone-bearing unit in Hausa cannot carry more than one tone.

#### 3.3. Tone-integrating suffixes

Most suffixes have an associated tone melody that overrides the tones of the base to which the suffix is attached, e.g., **řigā** + **-unā**<sup>HL</sup> → **řigunā**<sup>HL</sup> 'gowns', where the H-L melody spreads across the entire word. These are referred to as "tone-integrating" suffixes.

°AN: The distinction presented in Neww

A tone-integrating suffix melody T. For example rightmost )<sup>T</sup> overrides like that found with a replacement of the ste

**řita**<sup>LH</sup> go out + **-ō**)<sup>H</sup>  
**řibřa**<sup>HL</sup> beat + **-ayy**  
**(ba-)**<sup>L</sup> ethnonymic pr  
 ⇒ **(ba-)**<sup>L</sup> (**Katsin-ē**)<sup>H</sup>

If more than one suffi

**daka**<sup>HL</sup> pound + **-ak**  
 ⇒ **dakakkū**<sup>LH</sup> → c

In one instance, the i  
 tone pattern alone ser

**tāřhi**)<sup>HL</sup> get up + **∅**  
**hāřbā**<sup>HL</sup> shoot + **-ō**  
**hāřbo**<sup>LH</sup> → **hāřbō**

A few suffixes are no  
 tone. The feminine s  
 but it does not overri

**gajērē**<sup>LHH</sup> short +  
**řakādā**<sup>LHL</sup> emissar

Similarly, the weak

**kařantā**<sup>HLH</sup> read +  
 phonologically docks  
**-ō**)<sup>H</sup> ventive) + **(-wā**

Some affixes by the  
 integrating because  
 fall within the dom  
 suffix **-ā**) cannot be

**(ba-)**<sup>L</sup> ethnonymic  
**(CVG-)**<sup>L</sup> sensory qu  
**(jāki)**<sup>LH</sup> donkey +



°AN: The distinction between suffixes that are tone-integrating and those that are not was first presented in Newman (1986b), where the concept is discussed in full.

A tone-integrating suffix is indicated by a single righthand parenthesis marker ) with an attached tone melody T. For example the plural marker -ai)<sup>LH</sup> is a tone-integrating suffix. The convention is that the rightmost )<sup>T</sup> overrides any earlier instance of )<sup>T</sup> and keeps spreading until it reaches a new tonal domain, like that found with a tonally specified prefix. This operation is shown in the following examples. (The replacement of the stem-final vowel, which regularly accompanies affixation, doesn't concern us here.)

**fi**tā)<sup>LH</sup> go out + -ō)<sup>H</sup> ventive ⇒ **fi**t-ō)<sup>H</sup> → **fi**tō come out  
**ri**bā)<sup>HL</sup> beat + -ayyā)<sup>LHL</sup> mutuality ⇒ **ri**bā-ayyā)<sup>LHL</sup> → **ri**bāyyā severely hitting one another  
**(ba-)**<sup>L</sup> ethnonymic prefix + **Katsina)**<sup>LHL</sup> Katsina + -ē)<sup>HL</sup> ethnonymic suffix  
⇒ **(ba-)**<sup>L</sup> **(Katsin-ē)**<sup>HL</sup> → **Bākatsinē** a man from Katsina

If more than one suffix is added, the tone of the rightmost tone-integrating suffix will prevail, e.g.,

**dak**a)<sup>HL</sup> pound + -akkē)<sup>LHH</sup> past participle + -u)<sup>LH</sup> plural ⇒ **dakakkē)**<sup>LHH</sup> + -ū)<sup>LH</sup>  
⇒ **dakakkū)**<sup>LH</sup> → **dākakkū** pounded (pl.)

In one instance, the imperative, the tone-integrating suffix is sometimes segmentally zero, i.e., the L-H tone pattern alone serves as the grammatical marker, e.g.,

**tā**shi)<sup>HL</sup> get up + Ø)<sup>LH</sup> imperative ⇒ **tā**shi)<sup>LH</sup> → **tā**shi! Get up!  
**hā**r̄bā)<sup>HL</sup> shoot + -ō)<sup>H</sup> ventive ⇒ **hā**r̄bō)<sup>H</sup> shoot (this way or for us) + Ø)<sup>LH</sup> imperative ⇒  
**hā**r̄bō)<sup>LH</sup> → **hā**r̄bō! Shoot (this way or for us)!

A few suffixes are not tone integrating. These are indicated by double parentheses ( )<sup>T</sup> with an attached tone. The feminine suffix (-iyā)<sup>LH</sup>, for example, manifests its intrinsic L-H tone when added to a stem, but it does not override the stem's original tone, e.g.,

**gāj**ērē)<sup>LHH</sup> short + (-iyā)<sup>LH</sup> ⇒ **(gājērē)(-iyā)** → **gājērīyā** short (f.)  
**jakādā)**<sup>LHL</sup> emissary + (-iyā)<sup>LH</sup> ⇒ **(jakādā)(-iyā)** → **jakādīyā** emissary (f.)

Similarly, the weak verbal noun formative (-wā)<sup>LH</sup> is non-integrating, e.g.,

**ka**r̄antā)<sup>HLH</sup> read + (-wā)<sup>LH</sup> ⇒ **(ka**r̄antā)(-wā) → **ka**r̄antāwā reading (where the L of the suffix phonologically docks onto the preceding syllable to produce a fall)**fi**tō)<sup>H</sup> come out (< **fi**tā)<sup>LH</sup> go out + -ō)<sup>H</sup> ventive) + (-wā)<sup>LH</sup> ⇒ **(fi**tō)(-wā) → **fi**tōwā coming out

Some affixes by their nature are necessarily non-integrating. Prefixes, for example, cannot be tone integrating because tone assignment operates from right to left. (They either have their own tone or they fall within the domain of a tone-integrating suffix.) In addition, toneless elements (like the feminine suffix -ā) cannot be integrating because they lack an underlying tone specification, e.g.,

**(ba-)**<sup>L</sup> ethnonymic prefix + **Kanō)**<sup>HL</sup> ⇒ **Bākanō** man from Kano  
**(CVG-)**<sup>L</sup> sensory quality adjective prefix + **zurfā)**<sup>H</sup> deep ⇒ **zūzzurfā** very deep  
**(jākī)**<sup>LH</sup> donkey + -ā) feminine ⇒ **(jāk-ā)**<sup>LH</sup> → **jākā** she-ass

ØHN: The non-integrating, but tonally specified, feminine suffix (-iyā)<sup>LH</sup> derives historically from the toneless suffix -ā by morphologization of what were originally phonetic glide and surface tone variants. It is this origin as a toneless morpheme that explains why (-iyā)<sup>LH</sup>, unlike most derivational and inflectional suffixes, is non-integrating.

3.4. Tonal polarity

A small number of morphemes are specified as having polar tone, i.e., their tones are always opposite that of an adjacent tone. Tonal polarity occurs both leftward and rightward depending on the individual morpheme. (The ÷ sign has been employed to indicate the direction of dependency.) The stabilizer ÷nē / ÷cē, for example, always has a tone that is opposite that of the preceding syllable. The possessive markers nā÷ / tā÷, on the other hand, take a tone opposite to that of a following pronoun. Weak subject pronouns belonging to the light paradigm (see §59:1.2.3) are polar to the adjacent TAM markers, whichever side they occur on, e.g.,

rīgā + (÷cē) → rīgā cē	It's a gown.
but mōtā + (÷cē) → mōtā cē	It's a car.
(nā÷) + -kà → nākà	yours
but (nā÷) + -wa → nāwa	mine
(ta÷) + kàn fita → takàn fita	She goes out. (habitual)
but zā (÷ta) fita → zā tà fita	She will go out. (future)

°AN: The most commonly cited example of tonal polarity in Hausa turns out not to be so. On the basis of such examples as sun kāmà ta 'They caught her' vs. sun mārē tà 'They slapped her', scholars have traditionally described the direct object pronouns as having polar tone. This is incorrect. There is not one set with polar tone, but rather two distinct object sets, each with its own tone specification. The first is a strong direct object set, which always has high tone regardless of the tone of the preceding syllable, e.g., sun kāmà ta 'They caught her', kāmà ta! 'Catch her!'; sun bincikē ta 'They investigated her.' The other is a weak object clitic set, which normally appears with low tone (which one could argue is due to polarity, although I would think that default or tonal incorporation is a better analysis), but which in certain contexts has high tone, e.g., sun mārē tà 'They slapped her', mārē-ta! 'Slap her!'

ΔDN: The Guddiri dialect has a few morphemes with polar tone in addition to the ones found in SH (Bagari 1982). (In SH, these morphemes both have H tone.) These are (a) the diminutive marker ðan÷ (m.) /'yař÷ (f.) /'yan÷ (pl.), and the preposition ðon÷ 'for, for the sake of'. Examples:

- (a) ðan ràgō 'small ram'; 'yař kàzā 'chick'; ðan rauyè 'small village'; ðan yārò 'small boy'; yā ðan mārē shì 'He slapped him a little'; yā ðan mōtsà 'He moved a little.'
- (b) ðon wà? 'for whom?'; ðon Kānde 'for the sake of Kande'; ðon kōwā 'for everyone'; ðon Allāh 'for the sake of God'

It should be emphasized that polarity is understood to refer to a situation where a morpheme appears as H or L under fixed conditions and where there is no synchronic basis for choosing one tone rather than the other as basic. Polarity thus has to be distinguished from tonal dissimilation, which describes a synchronic state of affairs in which one of the two occurring tones can be specified as basic and the other derived by rule.

ØHN: Viewed diachronically, polarity (almost) always begins as dissimilation. Thus the L tone variant of the Guddiri diminutive (ðan÷) (e.g., ðan yārò 'small boy'), described in the note above, certainly began as dissimilation of an underlying H-tone morpheme (which still exists as such in

SH). The synchronic sense of what the that polarity beco

3.5. Toneless morp

Items without an inhe incorporation, or defa (a) Some inherently spreading of the prece

\*add<sup>HL</sup> + -ā → ad (where the H tone of \*gishri<sup>HH</sup> → gish(i (where the H tone of

(b) Some toneless mo of the tone melody af

duguzunzumi<sup>LHLH</sup> shaggy-hair mārē<sup>LH</sup> + Ø<sup>LH</sup> 'in cf. kāmā<sup>HL</sup> + Ø<sup>LH</sup>

(c) Weak subject pro zero form) are assign

kadà [kà Ø]<sub>sub</sub> fita! ran jumma'ā mutà On Fridays

4. TONE PRESE

4.1. Creation an

If a vowel undergoes (The apocope is con tone then attaches to a light syllable. T required. If the float L-H-H 'jinn' (opt. a If a floating L attach min<sup>HL</sup> → min<sup>F</sup> doesn't have a risi intermediate LH wi Examples:

kadà H-L = kār F masà H-L = mās F mütumì L-H-L =

SH). The synchronic question one always has to ask is whether native speakers still have some sense of what the "real" underlying tone is or whether that information has been lost with the result that polarity becomes the underlying representation (as must be the case with the SH stabilizer).

### 3.5. Toneless morphemes

Items without an inherent tone specification get their surface tone in one of three ways: spreading, incorporation, or default.

(a) Some inherently toneless morphemes and all epenthetic vowels get their tones by rightward spreading of the preceding tone, e.g.,

\*adð<sup>HL</sup> + -ā) → ad(u)wà → aduwà desert date tree

(where the H tone of the initial syllable spreads to the surface epenthetic /u/ of the second syllable)

\*gishri<sup>HH</sup> → gish(i)ri → gishiri salt

(where the H tone of the initial syllable spreads to the epenthetic /i/ of the surface second syllable)

(b) Some toneless morphemes are incorporated into the stem and get their tone from normal assignment of the tone melody after the fusion of the affix, e.g.,

duguzunzumi<sup>LHLH</sup> + -ā → duguzunzumā<sup>LHLH</sup> → dūgūzunzūmā

shaggy-haired, unkempt (f.)

mārē<sup>LH</sup> + Ø<sup>LH</sup> 'imperative' + -ta → mārē-ta<sup>LH</sup> → mārè-ta!

Slap her!

cf. kāmā<sup>HL</sup> + Ø<sup>LH</sup> 'imperative' + (ta)<sup>H</sup> → (kāmā)<sup>LH</sup> (ta)<sup>H</sup> → kāmā ta!

Catch her!

(c) Weak subject pronouns that occur without an overt TAM marker (as in the subjunctive or the neutral zero form) are assigned L tone by default, e.g.,

kadà [kà Ø]<sub>sub</sub> fita! Don't you go out!

ran jumma'ā mutānē sukān jē masallāci [sū ()]<sub>neut</sub> sàurāri huɗubā

On Fridays people go to the mosque and listen to the sermon.

## 4. TONE PRESERVATION / FLOATING TONES

### 4.1. Creation and attachment of floating tones

If a vowel undergoes apocope or syncope (this latter being less common), the tone typically remains. (The apocope is common with specific morphemes and with certain contractions.) The resulting floating tone then attaches to the preceding syllable, subject to the proviso that two tones cannot be attached to a light syllable. The vowel dropping may be optional, but the attachment of the floating tone is required. If the floating tone is attached to an identical tone, the process operates vacuously, e.g., **àljanì** L-H-H 'jinn' (opt. apocope) → **àljan** L-HH (→ L-H); **bà yà** L-L 'neg 3m (he didn't)' → **bài** LL (→ L). If a floating L attaches to a preceding H, it produces a surface F, i.e., HL → F, e.g., **mìnì** H-L 'to me' (→) **mìn** HL → **mìn** F. A floating H attached to a preceding L cannot produce a rising tone because Hausa doesn't have a rising contour. As provided for in the rising tone elimination rules (§1.2 above), the intermediate LH will surface either as L (if preceded by an H in the same word) or, more often, as H. Examples:

kadà H-L = kār F

don't

masà H-L = mās F

to him

mùtumì L-H-L = mùtúm L-F

man

shārīfī L-H-L = shārīf L-F            holy man tracing descent from the Prophet  
 zā yā H-L = zā-y`HL → zāi F            he (future)  
 yā mārē nī H L-H-L = yā mārē-n` H L-HL → yā mārān H L-F He slapped me.  
 yā sākē tà H L-H-L = yā sàù` tà H LH-L (where /k/ has weakened to /u/) → yā sau tà  
     H H-L    He released her. (i.e., divorced her)  
 tā sàyi L-H nāmà = tā sàyi` LH nāmà → tā sai H nāmà    She bought meat.

In many cases the H-L underlying a surface F tone is synchronically recoverable (as illustrated above). In other cases, e.g., with the internal geminate plural formation, the F is the historical result of vowel deletion followed by tonal reattachment, but the presumed earlier form cannot be postulated to have any synchronic reality, e.g.,

zōbbā    rings F-H (< HL-H) < \*zōbābā H-L-H (reconstructed form), pl. of zōbē  
 rāsā    branches F-H (< HL-H) < \*rāsāsā H-L-H (reconstructed form), pl. of rēshē

#### 4.2. Underlying floating tones

Floating tones in Hausa generally emerge in intermediate structure from the loss of a vowel. One can, however, cite three common grammatical morphemes that contain a floating L tone as part of the underlying representation. These are (a) the verbal noun marker -wā, (b) the definite article -n / -f / -n (m./f./pl.), and (c) the postnominal demonstrative -nan 'that near you' (and its distal counterpart -can). The markers -wā and nan/can have H tone, while the floating tone attaches to the immediately preceding syllable. If the stem to which these morphemes is added ends in L tone, then the floating tone attaches vacuously; if the stem-final tone is H, then the result of the attachment is a surface fall, e.g.,

(a) rufē close + -wā →	rufēwā	closing (vacuous L-tone attachment)
kařāntā read + -wā →	kařāntāwā	reading
dāwō return + -wā →	dāwōwā	returning
(b) watā month + -n →	watān	the month (vacuous L-tone attachment)
hūlā cap + -f →	hūlāf	the cap
manōmā farmers + -n →	manōmān	the farmers
(c) jihār + -can →	jihār can	that state far away (vacuous L-tone attachment)
hūlār + -nan →	hūlār nan	that cap near you
zōmon + -nan →	zōmōn nan	that hare near you

ADN: In SH the potential TAM is formed by adding the suffix -ā to a pronoun belonging to the light paradigm, e.g., ku + -ā → kwā 'you (pl.).pot'. In some WH dialects, it is indicated by adding a floating L tone to a heavy pronoun, e.g., kun + -ā → kún 'you (pl.).pot'.

#### 4.3. Clipping vs. apocopation.

In a small number of words, the final vowel is morphologically *clipped* rather than phonologically apocopated. That is, the short form without the final vowel is grammatically required or lexically chosen, but not phonologically determined. In such cases, the tone is generally deleted along with the vowel, e.g.,

fař (not **fāř) = fāřā	fall onto
e.g., yā fař matā dà fařā	He fell upon her with fighting. (i.e., he attacked her)
řas (not **řās) = řasā	on the ground
tùkùn (not **tùkun < **tùkùn) = tùkùnā	not yet

The deletion of whole is common with short certain tone patterns, the Examples:

maràs (= marār) < n  
 Hařū < Hařūnā

### 5. CANONICAL PA

#### 5.1. Monosyllabic

The tone of nonderivative occur both with L ton e.g., kō 'or', ta 'via (introduces doubt que as H or as L depending body cloth', whereas potential pronoun fo composed of an H-to have H tone, e.g., fe or, less often, F ton falling'.

The gr0 monove and cē 'say', with F grade 1 and grade 4 syllable, have F to sixty—have H tone, pocket' [dv]; kwai 'foot(print)'; yau = jīm, which is used ir derived from sau 'f'

ØHN: Synchron preserved, e.g., tone appear to or "tone slipp monosyllabic 'shirt', tōn 'ton from disyllabic

#### 5.2. Disyllabic

Nonderived disyllab jiyā 'yesterday'; g

The most com L-H-H, e.g.,

durūmī    fig t  
 jēmāgē    bat

The deletion of whole syllables or syllable rimes, which applies to certain grammatical forms and which is common with short forms of proper names, also entails the deletion of the associated tone. (With certain tone patterns, the output is the same whether one views the process as clipping or apocopation.) Examples:

<b>maràs</b> (= <b>maràf̄</b> ) < <b>maràshin</b>	lacking in	<b>ran</b> < <b>rānaf̄</b>	the day of
<b>Hafū</b> < <b>Hafūnà</b>	proper name	<b>Inū</b> < <b>Inūsà</b>	proper name

5. CANONICAL PATTERNS

5.1. *Monosyllabic words*

The tone of nonderived monosyllabic words depends to a great extent on the word class. Function words occur both with L tone, e.g., **dà** 'with, and', **mè?** 'what?', **bã** (initial negative marker), and with H tone, e.g., **kō** 'or', **ta** 'via', **ba** (final negative marker). They rarely occur with F tone apart from **shīn** (introduces doubt questions), **bã** (negative existential marker), and **zã** (allative marker). Pronouns occur as H or as L depending on the syntactic category, e.g., possessive pronouns are L, e.g., **zanèn-tà** 'her body cloth', whereas the strong direct object pronouns are H, e.g., **yã kãmà ta** 'He caught her.' (The potential pronoun forms with F tone, e.g., **tã dāwō** 'She will likely return', are bimorphemic, being composed of an H-tone wsp (e.g., **ta**) plus the L-tone TAM -ã.) Monosyllabic ideophones most often have H tone, e.g., **fes** 'emphasizes cleanliness', **kam** 'emphasizes being tied tightly'; but some have L or, less often, F tone, e.g., **sùm** 'describes an outburst of a bad smell', **bif** 'sound of heavy object falling'.

The gr0 monoverbs, i.e., CV(V) verbs, e.g., **ci** 'eat', **shã** 'drink', all have H tone. The verbs **sã** 'put' and **cê** 'say', with F tone, are reduced disyllabic verbs (at least historically) that one can treat as irregular grade 1 and grade 4 verbs, respectively. Most monosyllabic nouns, all of which consist of a heavy syllable, have F tone, e.g., **wã** 'elder brother', **kãi** 'head', **wúl** 'wool'. A few—about six out of sixty—have H tone, namely, **dã** / 'yã 'son/daughter'; **fã** 'flat rock', **hus** 'lint at the bottom of the pocket' [dv]; **kwaì** (< \*kwāyì) 'egg', **nai** 'nine pence' (in old Nigerian currency), **sau** (= **sāwū**) 'foot(print)'; **yau** = **yāwū** 'saliva'. None have L tone except for two grammaticalized items, namely, **jim**, which is used in **jim kãdãn** = **jimãwã kãdãn** 'after a while, shortly', and **sàu** 'times' (presumably derived from **sau** 'foot'), e.g., **sàu gōmà** 'ten times'.

ØHN: Synchronically, F tone often derives from the loss of a vowel with L tone, where the tone is preserved, e.g., **zãn** 'I will' < **zã nì**. Historically, on the other hand, the monosyllabic nouns with F tone appear to come either from (a) old monosyllabic H-tone words by a process of "tone bending" or "tone slippage" (Newman 1992a), i.e., **mãi** 'oil' < \***mai** (< Proto-Chadic \***mar**), or (b) monosyllabic loanwords—mostly from English—of which there are large numbers, e.g., **shãt** 'shirt', **tôn** 'ton'. The occurring monosyllabic words with H tone appear to be recent developments from disyllabic H-H words, some of which still exist as alternatives, e.g., **yau** < **yāwū** 'saliva'.

5.2. *Disyllabic and polysyllabic words*

Non-derived disyllabic words have three normal tone patterns: H-L, L-H, and H-H, e.g., **hantã** 'liver', **jiyã** 'yesterday'; **gãrì** 'town', **sãndã** 'stick'; **zōmō** 'rabbit', **darē** 'night'.

The most common tone patterns for non-derived trisyllabic nouns are H-L-H, H-H-L, L-H-L, and L-H-H, e.g.,

<b>durùmì</b>	fig tree	<b>dúkìyã</b>	wealth
<b>jēmāgè</b>	bat	<b>kibiyã</b>	arrow

<b>mākāhò</b>	blind man	<b>kātangà</b>	large piece of broken pot
<b>jìminā</b>	ostrich	<b>màràkí</b>	calf

The tone pattern L-L-H is very common with noun plurals, e.g., **gònàkí** 'farms', **màlàmai** 'teachers', and also with frozen reduplicated nouns, e.g., **gàngamò** 'turmeric', **kwàřkwàřhí** 'dandruff'. It is less common with basic lexical items, but it does occasionally occur, e.g., **tàfàsā** 'a senna plant', **tàkàlmí** 'shoe, pair of shoes' (originally a plural). Polysyllabic nouns with an all H pattern tend to be (a) plurals with the -òCí suffix, e.g., **tāgōgí** 'windows' (< **tāgà**), **iskōkí** 'spirits' (< **iskà**); (b) basic disyllabic nouns with an epenthetic vowel, e.g., **kuturū** 'leper' (< \***kutru**), **gishirí** 'salt' (< \***gishri**); (c) basic disyllabic nouns with a feminative suffix added, e.g., **tsāmiyā** 'tamarind' (< \***tsāme** + **-iyā**), **bēguwā** 'porcupine' (< \***bēgo** + **-uwā**); and (d) frozen reduplicated nouns, e.g., **birbirí** 'Bruce's fruit pigeon', **gaggāfā** 'bateleur eagle'.

### 5.2.1. L-L tone

Apart from ideophones, words ending in L-L tone, whether disyllabic L-L words or polysyllabic L-L-L or (H/L)-H-L-L words, are relatively uncommon and mostly represent identifiable or presumed loanwords. (There are approximately eighty such words.) Most L-L final nouns end in a short final vowel, or, less often, in the consonant /n/. Examples:

<b>àdùdù</b>	large lidded woven basket	<b>kùzà</b>	tin
<b>asfirin</b>	aspirin	<b>lillimàn</b>	liniment
<b>cifòmà</b>	traditional title (prince)	<b>mangwāřò</b>	mango (fruit or tree)
<b>fuřsùnà</b>	prisoner	<b>shèlà</b>	proclamation
<b>gyàlè</b>	shawl, veil	<b>tambùlàn</b>	drinking glass

AN: It is possible to get a sentence consisting of all L-tone words, but this is clearly a tour de force: **gà àlālà dà àyàbà à àkwàtì** 'There's *alala* (a type of bean food) and bananas in the box.'

Ideophones, which often exhibit partial or full reduplication, commonly end in L-L tone. The final vowel, if there is one, can be long, e.g.,

<b>cakō-cakò</b>	sharp and pointed (e.g., nails); unaligned teeth
<b>dàfàs</b>	heavily (e.g., of a fat person sitting on the floor)
<b>dàlàlà</b>	in a slimy manner, viscously (e.g., saliva, okra)
<b>hulū-hùlù</b>	swollen, puffed up (e.g., eyelids, cheeks, pimples)
<b>řèřèřè</b>	standing disrespectfully before one's superior

Apart from ideophones, there are only a very few lexical L-L words with a long final vowel. These are **yàyà** = **kàkà?** 'how?'; **bisà** 'in accordance with'; **tàkwàřàkwàřà** (= **kwàřà-kwàřà**) 'stilts'; and **wàtò** (= **wàtàu**) 'that is to say'; plus the following polysyllabic English loanwords: **asambùlè** 'assembly at school'; **disfansàřè** 'dispensary'; **elemantàřè** 'elementary school'; **firàmàřè** 'primary school'; **lòtàřè** 'lottery'; **mājistàřè** 'magistrate'; **řèlùwè** (= **řèlùwài**) 'railroad'; and **sakandàřè** 'secondary school'.

### 5.2.2. Falling tone

Falling tone in nonderived disyllabic and polysyllabic words typically occurs on the last syllable. (There are some hundred words with final F, mostly loanwords from English and Arabic.) Here the F represents either (a) a truncated H-L disyllabic sequence or (b) an approximation, especially in the case of English loanwords, of the stress/intonation in the source language, e.g.,

(a) **bàmbús** (= **bàmbù:**  
**làdàn** (= **làdànì**)  
**lìmàn** (= **lìmàmì**)  
(b) **àfil**  
**bàsifin**  
**cìngám**  
**filás**

Falling tone in initial abstract nouns (e.g., **w** grade 4 forms of certa (e.g., **yáuwā** 'bravo!') **báutā** 'worship', **már** A handful of nonderiv vowel. The presumed

**bámmi**  
**dábgi**  
**dùllù**  
**gáuji**  
**gyábji / gyázbí**  
**kúnnè**  
**mányā**  
**yámmā**

## 6. DIALECT FEAT

The following is a br SH. In the absence impossible to specify by referring to the n extent of its spread. feature in question is a local peculiarity.

### 6.1. Replacemen

Word-final L-L is a §34:3.2), ordinary below). Words endin loanwords—but the final L-L.

#### 6.1.1. Final L-L

SH has a certain nur **bègìlà** 'bugle'. (F syllables.) In Katsin that they have in ci other phrase bound

(a) <b>bàmbùs</b> (= <b>bàmbùshì</b> )	type of perfume	<b>mùtùm</b> (< <b>mùtumì</b> )	man, person
<b>làdán</b> (= <b>làdānì</b> )	muezzin	<b>shàřif</b> (= <b>shàřifì</b> )	holy man
<b>līmán</b> (= <b>līmāmì</b> )	imam	<b>zàitùn</b> (= <b>zàitùnì</b> )	olive (tree)
(b) <b>àfil</b>	legal appeal	<b>kařansháf</b>	crankshaft
<b>bàsìlìn</b>	vaseline	<b>kùnì</b>	quinine
<b>cìngám</b>	chewing gum	<b>řàfàlì</b>	referee
<b>filás</b>	thermos, flask	<b>zà'áfàřán</b>	saffron

Falling tone in initial position is found in derived words such as noun plurals (e.g., **sàssà** 'sections'), abstract nouns (e.g., **wàutā** 'foolishness'), frozen reduplicated nouns (e.g., **bélbélà** 'cattle egret'), and grade 4 forms of certain monoverbs (e.g., **shányē** 'drink up'). It is also found in a few exclamations (e.g., **yāuwā** 'bravo!') and in a dozen gr1 verbs, many of which contain the -TA verbalizing suffix (e.g., **bāutā** 'worship', **māntā** 'forget', **sháidā** 'testify'). (These verbs all behave *as if* they were trisyllabic.) A handful of nonderived nouns have F tone, where it probably signifies the historical loss of a low-tone vowel. The presumed lost segment is sometimes identifiable, but not always. Examples (complete):

<b>bāmmì</b>	palm wine
<b>dābgì</b>	anteater (< <b>dābùgì</b> [dv])
<b>dùllù</b>	wild fig tree
<b>gāuji</b>	fool, jester (< <b>gāwùji</b> )
<b>gyābji / gyāzbi</b>	a rodent (< <b>gyābùji</b> )
<b>kūnnē</b>	ear
<b>mānyā</b>	large (pl.)
<b>yāmmā</b>	afternoon, evening

## 6. DIALECT FEATURES OF WESTERN HAUSA

The following is a brief sketch of specific tonal properties of WH dialects that are not characteristic of SH. In the absence of careful dialectological studies that set out tonal isoglosses in detail, it is impossible to specify exactly where these features are found. I shall thus simply identify the differences by referring to the name of one major dialect center where it occurs, without any implication as to the extent of its spread. Thus the indication <Katsina>, for example, means that we know that the tonal feature in question is typical of Katsina, but we do not know if it extends throughout WH or whether it is a local peculiarity.

### 6.1. Replacement of final L-L

Word-final L-L is a disfavored tone sequence in Hausa. As a result of a historical L-tone change (see §34:3.2), ordinary words ending in L-L and a long final vowel are practically non-existent (but see below). Words ending in L-L and a short final vowel are also relatively uncommon—many of them are loanwords—but they are not inconsequential. One finds two different processes in WH for dealing with final L-L.

#### 6.1.1. Final L-L (short) corresponds to L-H / \_\_\_ # <Katsina>

SH has a certain number of L-L words with a short final vowel, e.g., **mācē** 'woman', **àyàbà** 'banana(s)', **bēgilā** 'bugle'. (For convenience, I refer to these items as L-L words regardless of the number of syllables.) In Katsina (and Sokoto) such L-L words normally appear as L-H, i.e., this is the tone pattern that they have in citation form, when occurring in sentence final position, or when followed by some other phrase boundary. Examples:

<b>Kano</b>	<b>Kts</b>	
gwàdò	gwàdo	blanket
àdùdù	àdùdu	basket
màcè	màce	woman (= [Skt] màcce)
kùzà	kùza	tin
kāfūwà	kāfūwa	prostitute
gòbe Lahàdi	gòbe Lahàdi	Tomorrow is Sunday.
bā nà shān mangwāfò	bā nà shān mangwāfò	I don't eat mangoes.
Bintà tā sàyi àdùdù	Bintà tā sàyi àdùdu	Binta bought a basket.
gyàlè wandà ta arò	gyàlè wandà ta arò	a shawl that she borrowed
wata shèlà waddà akà yi	wata shèlà waddà akà yi	an announcement that was made

The L-H pattern is found in place of L-L not only in simple stems but also in words containing a low-tone bound possessive pronoun, e.g.,

<b>Kano</b>	<b>Kts</b>	
dōkintà	dōkinta	her horse
mōtāfka	mōtākka	your car
jīdālīnsù	jīdālīnsu	their struggle

When a linker is added to an erstwhile L-L word with a short final vowel, the tone invariably becomes L-H, e.g., //gwàdò// 'blanket', but gwàdon yārò 'the boy's blanket'. Because this tone change precedes the general L-L to L-H substitution, possessive pronouns attached to these words appear on the surface with their underlying L tone, e.g., //gwàdò + nkà// → gwàdonkà (not \*\*gwàdònkà); //àdùdù + ntà// → àdùdùntà 'her basket' (not \*\*àdùdùntà).

In non sentence-final position, L-L words preserve the L-L pattern and do not change to L-H (subject to further specification provided below), e.g.,

<b>kùzà tā fi dalmà dāfajà</b>	Tin is more valuable than lead.
<b>bà tà sayò gwàdò ba</b>	She didn't buy a blanket.
<b>kà bā ni àdùdù kò tǎbarmā</b>	Give me a basket or a mat.

When followed by the stabilizer (nē/cē), L-L words appear both with L-H and with L-L. (The tone of the stabilizer itself is polar.) If the erstwhile L-L word and the stabilizer occur at the end of the sentence, then the L-H pattern surfaces. If, on the other hand, the L-L word preceding the stabilizer occurs earlier in the sentence, it normally keeps its L-L tone. The sequence L-H is also possible, but in that case some degree of prominence is added, e.g.,

<b>àdùdu nē</b>	It's a basket.
<b>màce cē</b>	It's a girl.
<b>màcè cē ta hàifā</b>	It's a girl she gave birth to.
<b>wannàn gyàlè nē mài cāda</b>	This is an expensive shawl.
<b>kùzà cē akè sāmù a Jihār Filàtò = kùza cē akè sāmù...</b>	

One gets tin in Plateau State. = It is tin one gets in Plateau State.

Trisyllabic nouns with a heavy penultimate syllable that in SH have H-L-L tone (and a short final vowel) are invariably H-L-H in Katsina regardless of the position in the sentence, i.e., the H-L-H output of the tone raising has become lexicalized as the underlying form, e.g.,

**Kano**      **Kts**  
akàlā      akàlā  
fankèkè      fankèkè

6.1.2. Final L-L (SH has a half a dozen final L-L that end in environments, e.g.,

**Kano**  
disfansārè  
elemantārè  
lōtārè  
sakandārè  
ambùlàn  
tambùlàn

ΔDN: [i] Another syllables ending to document in [ii] In Katsina the when not in pr position. These tākìlā / tākìlā second class', c

Although final L-L ideophones (which ideophonic adjective batsō-bàtsò (pl.) 'foods or fruits). In S

**Kano**  
buzū-bùzù  
darā-dārā  
falā-fālā  
tsalā-tsālā

6.2. Falling tones Although falling tones drift throughout the tones. I shall descr

°AN: Actually describing he monophthong various morph attachment of



<u>Kano</u>	<u>Kts</u>	
akàlà	akàla	lead rope for camel, e.g., <b>bà akàla ba cè</b> 'It's not a lead rope.'
fankèkè	fankèke	face powder, e.g., <b>fankèke dà tùràrè</b> 'face powder and perfume'

6.1.2. Final L-L (heavy) > L-F / \_\_\_# <Sokoto>

SH has a half a dozen L-L English loanwords with a long final vowel and about ten common items with final L-L that end in a consonant. In Sokoto these words are pronounced with final L-F in all environments, e.g.,

<u>Kano</u>	<u>Skt</u>	
disfansàfè	disfansàfé	dispensary, clinic
elemantàfè	elemantàfé	elementary school
lótàfè	lótàfé	lottery
sakandàfè	sakandàfé	secondary school
ambùlàn	ambùlán	ambulance
tambùlàn	tambùlán	drinking glass

ADN: [i] Another L-L avoidance strategy attested with a small group of words of four or more syllables ending in /ə/ is to use an (H-)L-H-H-L pattern, e.g., **disfansàfè**, **elemantàfè**. I am unable to document in which regions this variant is spoken.

[ii] In Katsina there is a set of three L-L words that appear with a short final vowel (as found in SH) when not in prepausal position, but with a long final vowel, and thus ...L-F tone, in prepausal position. These words are **fākilà** / **fākílà** 'first class'; **sikinkilà** / **sikinkílà** 'second class'; and **tākílà** / **tākílà** 'third class' (referring to travel status). For example, **bà sikinkilà ba nè** 'It's not second class', cf. **nā fī sōn sikinkílà** 'I prefer second class.'

Although final L-L with long final vowels is rare with prosaic words, it does appear commonly in ideophones (which by their nature are phonologically aberrant). For example, there is a large class of ideophonic adjectives (often plural) with the set reduplicated pattern CVCVV x 2 with H-H L-L tone, e.g., **batsō-bàtsò** (pl.) 'poorly made, ugly looking', **ḡagā-ḡagà** 'chunky; in large chunks' (usu. of solid foods or fruits). In Sokoto, these words follow the tone rule and appear as H-H L-F, e.g.,

<u>Kano</u>	<u>Skt</u>	
buzū-bùzù	buzū-bùzú	long and unkempt (of hair)
darā-dàrà	darā-dàrá	bold and beautiful (of eyes or writing)
falā-fàlà	hwalā-hwàlá	broad and thin (e.g., leaves, paper, ears)
tsalā-tsàlà	tswalā-tswàlá	long and skinny (esp. legs)

6.2. Falling tone simplification

Although falling tone in Hausa is actually quite common, there nevertheless seems to be an ongoing drift throughout the Hausa dialect continuum to eliminate the contour tone in favor of sequences of level tones. I shall describe two such cases.

°AN: Actually, there are two contradictory tendencies constantly at work. One, which we are describing here, is the elimination of contours by tone simplification rules (comparable to monophthongization rules). The other is the creation of new instances of contours as a result of various morphophonological processes (such as the loss of segments with low tone or the attachment of morphemes containing or consisting of a floating tone) and through the introduction

of loanwords where the F corresponds to falling intonation in the source word. This phonological cycle of creation and loss followed by further creation and loss is comparable to the morpho-syntactic and lexical cycles described by Hodge (1970) and Newman (1991b).

### 6.2.1. F-H simplification <Sokoto>

The tone sequence F-H is rarely found in Sokoto. This has been eliminated in two different ways.

Nouns that contain an F-H tone sequence in SH appear in Sokoto with L-H, i.e., F-H → L-H, e.g.,

SH	Skt		SH	Skt	
màitā	màitā	witchcraft	báiwā	bòyā (< bàuyā)	female slave
ràsā	ràsā	branches	yārá	yārá	children
bàlbèlā	bàlbèlā	cattle egret	bārbajè	bārbajè	biting ant

This F-H → LH rule does *not* apply to F-H words consisting of a falling-tone monosyllabic stem plus a high-tone possessive pronoun, e.g.,

máinā my oil; káinai his head; sánā my bull; ráinai his life; sónā loving me

Disyllabic verbs in SH with F-H tone, like kwántā 'lie down', pattern with trisyllabic H-L-H verbs (grades 1 and 4) such as kafántā 'read' and bincikē 'investigate'. In Sokoto, these have regularly simplified to H-L and behave as normal disyllabic gr1 and gr4 verbs, e.g.,

SH	Skt		SH	Skt	
kwántā	kwantā	lie down	sháidā	shaidā	give evidence
cínyē	cinyè	eat up	shányē	shanyè	drink up
ďaukē	ďaukè	let up (e.g., rain)	ískē	iskè	come upon, find

### 6.2.2 Monosyllabic F → L rule <Maradi>

In the dialect of Maradi, there is a simplification rule that operates on falling tones preceded by H, namely, F → L / H\_\_ if and only if the F is on a monosyllabic word. The basic process is the change of ...H-F (= H-HL) into ...H-L, the initial component of the fall being subject to tonal absorption. The rule is optional but is generally applied. Here are selected examples showing the F-tone word in isolation, when preceded by L, and when preceded by H:

sá bull:	(a) yanà bugùn sá	He is beating the bull.	(b) kàramin sà	small bull
mái oil:	(a) gishiri dà mái	salt and oil	(b) gishiri kō mòi	salt or oil
nán here:	(a) kù tsayà nán	Stop here!	(b) kù zō nán	Come here!
yáu today:	(a) yā gamà yáu	He finished today.	(b) yā dāwō yàu	He returned today.
má to you:	(a) nā gayà má	I told you.	(b) nā aikō mǎ	I sent (it) to you.
sá put:	(a) bà mù sá su ba	We didn't put them.	(b) mun sà su	We put them.
já pulling:	(a) yanà já	He is pulling.	(b) yā zanki já	He kept on pulling.
cé say:	(a) sai kà cé	As you say.	(b) kà cé	You said.

°AN: In SH, the verb cé also becomes cè, but in a very restricted environment, namely, when preceded by an H-tone light-syllable weak subject pronoun, e.g., wáddà ta cè 'the one who said', cf. zā tà cè 'she will say', tā cè 'she said'. Other monosyllabic words with falling tone do not exhibit a tone change.

Two groups of mono- (from French) like p (not \*\*yā káwō pìl); is said that they will

## 7. THE RULE OF

Hausa has almost n explanation offered for the final vowel is lost following him as a s the rule, however, is with a contrary view functioning in the la such a rule operated described not here,

## 8. TONE / SEGM

Cross-linguistically, (Hyman and Schuh

The Hausa dip variant," e.g.,

1. high variant: [
2. low variant: [

To some extent the consonants, one no

1. laimà = [leimà]
2. aikì = ['aikì]

After labial conson tone is the condition [ei] variant of the diphthong is pron

	H
/mai/	[mei]
/bai/	[bei]
/fai/	[feifei]

The following pair dà yājì [mei dà y] reduplicated adver

Two groups of monosyllabic words are not affected by the tone change: (a) relatively recent loanwords (from French) like *pîl* 'flashlight battery', *bîk* 'ballpoint pen', e.g., *yâ kâwô pîl* 'He brought a battery' (not *\*\*yâ kâwô pîl*); (b) grammatical formatives in the person-aspect-complex, e.g., *wai sùn dâwô* 'It is said that they will likely return' (not *\*\*wai sùn dâwô*).

### 7. THE RULE OF LOW-TONE RAISING (LTR)

Hausa has almost no lexical items ending in L-L tone where the final vowel is long. The likely explanation offered for this phonotactic gap is a rule of low-tone raising (LTR), namely L-L > L-H if the final vowel is long. This change was first proposed by Leben (1971) and accepted by many scholars following him as a synchronically active rule of the present-day language. The synchronic viability of the rule, however, is highly questionable; see Newman and Jaggard (1989a, 1989b) and Schuh (1989c), with a contrary view presented by Leben (1996). There is in fact no convincing evidence of LTR actually functioning in the language at the present time. There is good reason, on the other hand, to believe that such a rule operated in the past as a historical rule of considerable importance. Its operation is thus described not here, but in the chapter on historical sound changes (see §34:3.2).

### 8. TONE / SEGMENT INTERACTION

Cross-linguistically, one finds that segments commonly affect tone but that tone rarely affects segments (Hyman and Schuh 1974). Hausa displays an example of the rare case.

The Hausa diphthong /ai/ has two quite distinct pronunciations, a "high variant" and a "low variant," e.g.,

- 1. high variant: [ei], [ei], even [ē] (I shall transcribe this variant as [ei].)
- 2. low variant: [əi], [oi], [ai] (I shall transcribe this variant as [ai].)

To some extent the phonetic difference is conditioned by the preceding consonant, e.g., after coronal consonants, one normally gets [ei] whereas after glottal stop and /h/ one gets [ai], e.g.,

- 1. *laimà* = [leimà] umbrella      *tšaikò* = [s'eikò] roof frame
- 2. *aikì* = ['aikì] work      *haihù* = [haihù] give birth

After labial consonants, however, both pronunciations of the diphthong occur, and here one finds that tone is the conditioning factor. If the /Cai/ syllable has level tone, either H or L, then one gets the high [ei] variant of the diphthong; if, on the other hand, the /Cai/ syllable has falling tone, then the diphthong is pronounced with the low [ai] variant. Examples:

	H		L		F	
/mai/	[mei]	return	[mèi]	owner of	[mâi]	oil
/bai/	[bei]	give	[bèi]	3m neg complete	[bâi]	back [dv]
/fai/	[feifei]	(music) record	[fèilû]	peppermint	[fâi]	openly

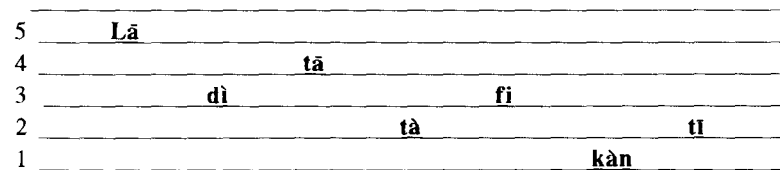
The following pair nicely illustrates the dependency of the diphthongal pronunciation on the tone: *mai dà yājì* [mei dà yājì] 'return the spices' vs. *mâi dà yājì* [mâi dà yājì] 'oil and spices'. Note also the reduplicated adverb *bàibâi* [bèibâi] 'inside out, back to front' (lit. back.back).

### 9. INTONATION

In addition to tone, which functions at the syllabic or morphemic or lexical level, Hausa also has a variety of intonational patterns that function at the phrasal or sentential level. These patterns can generally be described in terms of how they influence the pitch of the tones. (For intonational purposes, the falling tone can be treated as HL on a single syllable.) Unlike the tones, which constitute discrete phonemic units, the intonational patterns are continuous and variable, covering a wide phonetic range, the realization of which depends on dialectal characteristics, sex/age differences, style and register, and idiolectal preferences. Nevertheless, one can provide a rough outline of significant intonational features even if one understands that this is a very approximate picture of the actual speech situation. Four major intonation patterns will be described: (1) neutral/declarative, (2) interrogative, (3) sympathetic address, and (4) vocative.

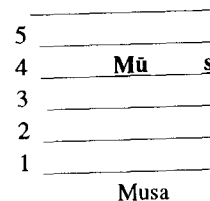
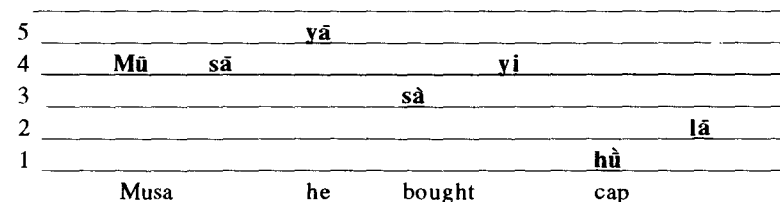
#### 9.1. Neutral/declarative

Neutral/declarative intonation is characterized by an overall downward slope that causes tones later in the sentence to have a lower pitch than equivalent tones earlier in the sentence. (For convenience I am using "sentence" as the intonational unit even though strictly speaking it is the "intonational phrase." A short sentence will normally consist of one intonational phrase, but a longer sentence could consist of more, each new phrase resetting the intonation grid.) The downward slope can be formulated as a basic downdrift rule that specifies that each H tone after an L is a step lower than the preceding H. Thus a tonal sequence H-L-H-L-H-L-H, for example, as in the sentence *Lādi tā tafi kanti* 'Ladi (she) went to the store', is realized (schematically) as 5-3-4-2-3-1-2 (with 5 representing the highest pitch), e.g.,



A sequence of level tones has a slight declination, but this is minor except at the end of a sentence where a final L tends to fall off a bit. (Note that the final L in a sentence tends toward the 1 level even if there are not enough downsteps to get there.)

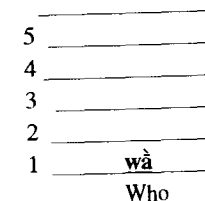
The overall declarative pattern is subject to an important modification at the beginning of the sentence. Initial H tones begin at pitch 4 (not 5). In a sequence of H-H-L... (where, in a tensed sentence, for example, the second H is either the weak subject pronoun or the initial syllable of the verb) the second H raises to 5, which then sets the intonational grid. Compare the sentences *Mūsā yā sayi hūlā* 'Musa bought a cap' and *Mūsā yā arà masà fensif* 'Musa lent him a pencil.'



Musa

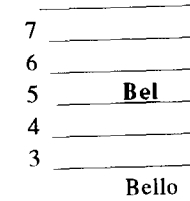
#### 9.2. Interrogative

Q-word questions use a rising intonational phrase. A sentence-final H tone (see §60:1.2). Example

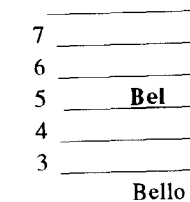


Who

Yes/No questions use a rising intonational phrase (↑), i.e., pitch raising ends in an H tone, i.e., tone or not (this is a question, is it a car?'): Examples (Bello's car?):



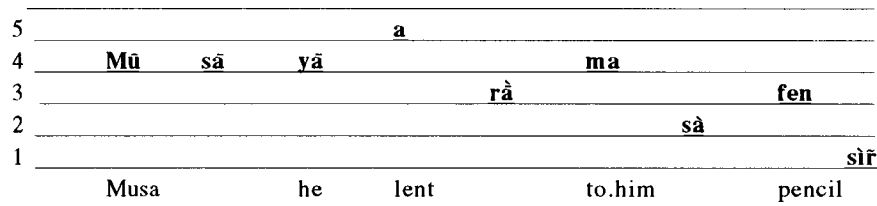
Bello



Bello

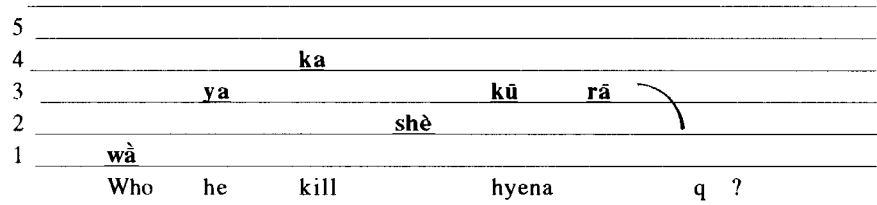
#### 9.3. Sympathetic

What I am calling spirit either of syn

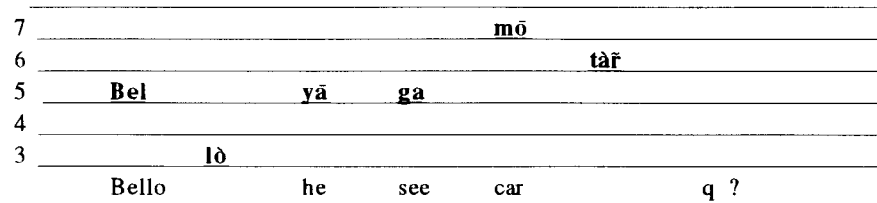
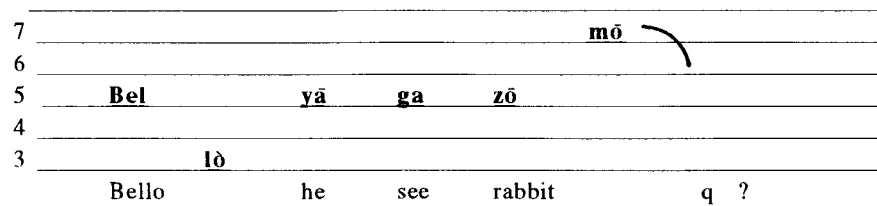


9.2. Interrogative

Q-word questions use the basic declarative intonation contour, but, sometimes, with a slightly higher pitch. A sentence-final H tone is realized as a fall because of the addition of the L-tone q-morpheme (see §60:1.2). Example (*wà ya kashè kūrā* 'Who killed the hyena?'):



Yes/No questions are characterized by suspension of downdrift (in longer sentences, only in the final intonational phrase) and an overall higher pitch. They are also characterized by key raising (indicated ↑), i.e., pitch raising that affects the last H tone of the sentence and any following lows. If the sentence ends in an H tone, it may or may not become a fall depending on whether the q-morpheme carries L tone or not (this being subject to dialectal variation). (See §60:2.2 for fuller exemplification.) Examples (*Bellò yā ga zō↑mō*? 'Did Bello see a rabbit?'; *Bellò yā ga ↑mōtār*? 'Did Bello see the car?'):



9.3. Sympathetic address

What I am calling sympathetic address is an intonational contour that is used to address someone in a spirit either of sympathy or of exasperation. The name of the person addressed is often preceded by *tó*

'all right' or **habà** 'come on now'. The marker of sympathetic address is a floating L tone, which is realized as a falling tone on words with final H tone. (The falling tone results in phonetic lengthening of the vowel; words with final L tone do not normally lengthen the vowel.) There is also a slight pause (indicated by a comma) after the name. Examples:

tó Músá, à matsó à kàrbā	OK Musa (//Músā//), do come closer and get it.
habà Kàndé, kin san ìndà yakè	Come on Kande (//Kànde//), you know where it is.
habà Bálá, bà kà kyáutā ba	Now now Bala (//Bálā//), you weren't very nice.
tó Lādi, zān tàimākē kì	That's all right Ladi (//Lādi//), I'll help you.

#### 9.4. Vocative

The vocative used in calling someone is characterized by a raised pitch, lesser downdrift, if any, and lengthening of final short vowels. Examples:

Músā ! [5 5], cf. Mūsā [4 4]	Mustāfā ! [5 3 5], cf. Mustāfā [4 2 3]
Gāmbō ! [3 5], cf. Gāmbō [1 3]	Bintā ! [5 4], cf. Bintā [4 1]

[References: (Tone): Leben (1971); Newman (1986b, 1995); Wängler (1963); (Intonation): Hunter (1979); Inkelas, Leben, and Cobler (1987); Lindau (1986); Meyers (1976), Miller and Tench (1980, 1982); D. Muhammad (1968); Newman and Newman (1981)]

## 72. Top

### 1. INTRODUCTION

**T**OPICALIZATION is a marker of prominence. The difference is shown in

SENTENCE → «Topic  
S' → {Focus  
S → Subject

Figure 6: Topicalization

Topic

«hawan dōkì dai»

riding.of horse indeed

As for riding

Topicalization involves the main sentence mal

«Bellò kām»Topic [Y

«waccàn kūrāf», Au

cf. Audù yā tabā wac

«Mūsā dai», ainihin

The topic stands out "porch"—set off from a comma). It is thus sentence and condition hyena that Audu touch almost any kind, e.g.

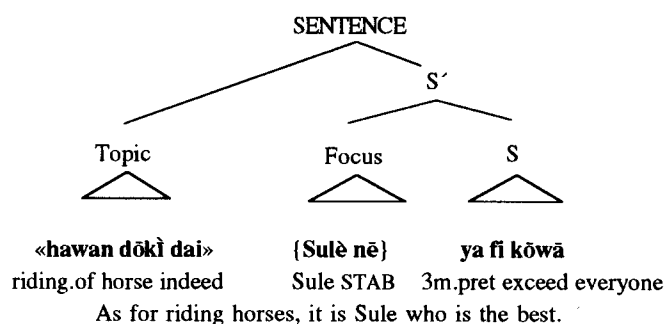
## 72. Topicalization

### 1. INTRODUCTION

**T**OPICALIZATION and focus (see chap. 28) both involve fronting a constituent in order to give it prominence. They differ, however, in semantic characterization and in syntactic structure. The difference is shown in the following phrase structure representation and tree diagram (fig. 6).

SENTENCE → «Topic» S' (where S' is the "Comment")  
 S' → {Focus} S (where S is the sentence from which the Focus is extracted)  
 S → Subject PAC Predicate (etc.)

Figure 6: Topicalization and focus



Topicalization involves the prementioning of some NP (usually discourse-old information) about which the main sentence makes a comment. The TAM utilizes a general form such as the completive. Examples:

«Bellò kàm» <sub>Topic</sub> [yā dāwō jiyà] <sub>Comment</sub>	As for Bello, he returned yesterday.
«waccàn kūrâr», Audù [yā] <sub>comp</sub> tabà (ta)	That hyena, Audu touched (it).
cf. Audù yā tabà waccàn kūrâr	Audu touched that hyena.
«Mūsā dai», ainhin sōjà nē	As for Musa, he is a true soldier.

The topic stands outside the main sentence—it constitutes what I informally like to call a “front porch”—set off from the main sentence by a particle and/or by intonation (sometimes indicated here by a comma). It is thus unlike a focused element, which is also fronted but which remains in the main sentence and conditions the shift to a Rel TAM, e.g., **waccàn kūrâr** (cē) **Audù [ya]<sub>pret</sub> tabà** ‘It was that hyena that Audu touched.’ Because the comment S' is structurally distinct from the topic, it can be of almost any kind, e.g.,

Affirmative statement: «yāròn kò», Kànde tã màrē shì	As for the boy, Kande slapped him.
Negative statement: «Kàtsinà kùwa», ha ha ha, bà tà kai Kanò yawàn mutànē ba	As for Katsina, (laughter), it isn't as populous as Kano.
Yes/No question: «bārāwòn», yā kùbutà?	The thief, did he escape?
Q-word question: «kwai dīn nàndai», yàushè akà dafā?	These eggs, when did one cook them?
Imperative: «àbòkankà fa», gàyycè su!	Your friends, invite them!
Existential: «kudī kàm», dà àkwai	As for money, there is some.
Negative existential: «ruwā», ai bābù à kògì	As for water, oh there isn't any in the river.
Negative equational: «zōmō dai», shī bà mālāminmù ba nè	As for the hare, he is not our teacher.

It is important to note that topics, unlike focused elements, cannot be negated. Sentences like the following are thus ungrammatical:

**«bà Sulè ba kàm», yakàn sàyi kwai	**As for not Sule, he buys eggs.
cf. «Sulè kàm», yakàn sàyi kwai	As for Sule, he buys eggs.
**«bà sinimà ba dai» bā yà sò	**As for not movies, he doesn't like them.
cf. «sinimà dai» bā yà sò	As for the movies, he doesn't like them.
cf. «rashin lāfiyà», bá dādī	Lack of health, it's not pleasant.

## 2. FORM AND STRUCTURE

The topic appears in sentence-initial position. It is set off from the main sentence by either (a) intonation or (b) the insertion of a modal particle like *dai* 'indeed', *fa* 'well', *kàm* 'really', *kùwa* (= *kò(o)*) 'moreover', etc. (or a succession of such particles).

Topic intonation, which is similar to that used in questions, consists of final vowel lengthening, a slight suspension of normal downdrift, and some degree of pause (indicated in the examples by ...), e.g.,

[Audù...], yanà cín nāmà kullum	As for Audu, he eats meat every day.
cf. Audù yanà cín nāmà kullum	Audu eats meat every day.
[Kandē...], mun fi sòntà	As for Kande, we like her the most.
cf. mun fi sòn Kànde	We like Kande the most.
[gōrò...], yā yi minì d'āci	As for kolanuts, they're too bitter for me.
cf. bà nakàn ci gōrò ba	I don't chew kolanuts.

°AN: This section has benefited greatly from ideas and materials contained in an unpublished paper by Mahamane L. Abdoulaye (1993).

If a modal particle is inserted, the topic appears without the vowel lengthening. A pause is allowed after the modal particle but it is not required, e.g.,

àku dai (...), bàn yārda dà shī ba = àkū ..., bàn yārda dà shī ba	As for the parrot, I don't agree with him.
Audù dai (...), yanà cín nāmà kullum	As for Audu, he eats meat every day.
Kànde fa (...), mun fi sòntà	As for Kande, we like her the most.
gōrò kùwa (...), yā yi minì d'āci	Kolanuts moreover, they're too bitter for me.
gwàdò mā (...), zān sayà makà = gwàdō..., zān sayà makà	The blanket also, I'll buy (it) for you.

tsuntsū kàm (...)  
The bi  
yàya fa dai kàn

The topic can fu

Audù dai, wàllē  
Kànde, tó, mun  
waccàn kūrār, i

## 3. MULTIPLE

It is possible to  
clumsy, as are t

«Audù fa», «hù  
«àkuyār kùwa»

## 4. ROLE OF

The topic can r  
object of prepos  
in the main clau  
etc., as if topica  
choose to analyz

1. sbj.: yārònkà
2. d.o. (genitive)
3. d.o. (finite): M
- cf. {Mūsā nè} r
4. i.o.: Audù, sa
5. obj. of prepo
6. possessive: M  
Musa :
7. possessive: n
- cf. littāfīnā, yā
8. VP (infinitive  
As for
9. VP (infinitive  
As for
10. locative: Ka
11. manner adv  
As he

4.1. Deletion  
With animate to  
with inanimate t



tsuntsù kàm (...), mahārbī yanà kāmà wà wàzīfī

The bird, well, the hunter is catching it for the vizier.

yàya fa dai kàm (...), bàn gayà matà ba

My elder sister indeed certainly, I didn't tell her.

The topic can further be separated from the main sentence by exclamatory or expressive material, e.g.,

Audù dai, wàllāhī yanà cīn nāmà kullum

As for Audu, truly he eats meat every day.

Kānde, tó, mun fi sōntà

Kande, OK, we like her the most.

waccàn kūrāf, inā! bà zān tabà ta ba

That hyena, no way! I wouldn't touch it.

### 3. MULTIPLE TOPICS

It is possible to have more than one topic in a single sentence, although out of context they seem clumsy, as are the English translations. Examples:

«Audù fa», «hùlā kām», yā sayā

As for Audu, regarding this cap, he bought (it).

«ākuyār kūwa», «sanyī dai», yā gamà dà ita

The goat, well the cold, it finished it off.

### 4. ROLE OF THE TOPIC

The topic can represent essentially any thematic role in the sentence, such as subject, direct object, object of preposition, etc. (In the discussion that follows, I shall refer to a topic that matches a subject in the main clause as a "topicalized subject," one that matches an indirect object as a "topicalized i.o.," etc., as if topicalization were accomplished by a movement transformation, even though one might well choose to analyze or generate such sentences in other ways.) Examples:

1. sbj.: yārònkà dai, yā shārè gidán jiyà?

Your boy, did he sweep the house yesterday?

2. d.o. (genitive): nāmà, yāròn yanà cī kullum

Meat, the boy eats (it) every day.

3. d.o. (finite): Mūsā dai, nā gan shì à sintmà

Musa, I saw him at the movies.

cf. {Mūsā nè} na gani à sintmà

It was Musa I saw at the movies. (focus)

4. i.o.: Audù, sai mù aikà masà gōfò

Audu, we should send him kolanuts.

5. obj. of preposition: mōtā, bá ni dà ita

A car, I don't have one.

6. possessive: Mūsā mā, Aishà tā ga kaninsà jiyà

Musa also, Aisha saw his younger brother yesterday.

7. possessive: nāwa, littāfin yā kēcè tūni

Mine, the book got torn some time ago.

cf. littāfīnā, yā kēcè tūni

As for my book, it got torn some time ago.

8. VP (infinitive): kāmā bērā, mǎgēn tā yi

As for catching the rat (lit. catch rat), the cat did (it).

9. VP (infinitive): durkūsā wà mālām, Zāinabū tā yi shī

As for kneeling down before the teacher, Zainabu did it.

10. locative: Kanò, Mustāfā yanà can

As for Kano, Mustapha is there.

11. manner adverbial: yaddà akà kōyà masà kām, yāròn yanà aikì (hakàn)

As he was taught, the boy is working (thus).

#### 4.1. Deletion or pronominalization of underlying topic

With animate topics, the underlying syntactic position is almost always filled by a resumptive pronoun; with inanimate topics, both pronominalization and deletion are allowed. (This situation is different from

that of focus, where deletion is the norm.) Whether one gets pronominalization or deletion also depends on the specific syntactic role of the topicalized constituent.

With a subject topic, the original nominal is deleted, see ex. 1 above. The sentence will, of course, retain the weak subject pronoun (wsp) that is part of the PAC (person-aspect-complex). Complex non-personal subject topics can optionally be replaced by an anaphoric non-personal pronoun, like *wannàn* 'this', e.g., *yaddà Sulè yakè zāgìn 'yā'yansà, (wannàn) yanà bā nì māmākì* 'The way Sule insults his children, (this) surprises me'. With a d.o. topic (whether of a finite verb or of a verbal noun) one can either delete the main clause object or else replace it with a resumptive pronoun. The former is the norm if the noun is inanimate (see ex. 2), the latter is the norm if the noun is animate (see ex. 3). With an i.o. topic, one normally uses a resumptive pronoun (see ex. 4), although some speakers allow deletion, e.g., *Bintà kàm, Jummai tā shāfā matà hōdā* 'Binta, Jummai applied powder on her.' Because there is a general rule that prepositions cannot be stranded, prepositional object topics require the use of a resumptive pronoun, e.g., *gōnāf, Audù yanà kāwō zōmō dàgà ita* 'The farm, Audu is bringing a hare from it' (see also ex. 5). Similarly, possessor noun topics also require use of a resumptive pronoun (see ex. 6), although possessive pronoun topics do not (see ex. 7). When the topic represents the verb phrase (see below), the dummy pro-verb *yì* 'do' is left in its place, followed optionally by the 3m object pronoun (see ex. 8/9). A topicalized locative predicate is typically replaced by 'here' or 'there', etc. (see ex. 10). A manner adverbial allows deletion or replacement by the pro-adverb *hakà(n)* (see ex. 11).

An alternative, which is employed for extra emphasis or confirmation, is to repeat the topicalized element in its original position, e.g.,

<i>mái dai, yāu bá mái</i>	As for gasoline, today there isn't any gasoline.
cf. <i>mái dai, yāu bá shì</i>	As for gasoline, today there isn't any.
<i>Kanò, Mustāfā yanà Kanò</i>	As for Kano, Mustapha is in Kano.
cf. <i>Kanò, Mustāfā yanà can</i>	As for Kano, Mustapha is there.
<i>wukā fa, inà dà wukā mài kaifi</i>	As for a knife, I have a sharp knife.
<i>gōfò kàm, zān aikà mā gōfò hař Jāpān</i>	
As for kolanuts, I will send you kolanuts all the way to Japan.	
<i>cāfā, yāròn bài yi barci ba hař zàkaràn yā fārà cāfā</i>	
As for crowing, the boy had not slept up to the time that the rooster began crowing.	

Topicalized elements can come from the main sentence or they can be drawn out of a lower clause, e.g.,

« <i>Mařyām</i> », <i>munà tsāmmānì Mūsā yanà sōntà</i>	As for Maryam, we think that Musa loves her.
« <i>fensīfōfī kàm</i> », <i>nā bā kà kudī don kà sàyā</i>	
As for pencils, I gave you money in order to buy (some).	
« <i>àllūfār</i> », <i>jārīrān sunà ta kūkā tun dà akà yī musù</i>	
As for the shot (injection), the babies have been crying since they were given (it).	
« <i>Mūsā</i> », <i>bà kà san kō wācē cē zāi àurā ba?</i>	
As for Musa, do you not know who he will marry?	
« <i>àlhāzai dai</i> », <i>yā fi kyāu sù tàfi dūtsèn Àřfā</i>	
As for the pilgrims, it is much better for them to go to Mount Arafat.	
« <i>àbincin rāna fa</i> », <i>yā kāmātā Asshà tà kai wà mijīntà</i>	
As for lunch, it is fitting that Assha should take it to her husband.	

Unlike the case with focused elements, it is possible in appropriate circumstances to have a topic that does not have a clear syntactic role in the sentence that follows. Examples (not all of which all speakers are comfortable with):

*hājā kò, bà zā mù s*  
As for merc  
*makarantā dai, Bel*  
As for schc  
*kāyan itātuwà kàm,*  
As for fruit  
*kartà kò, nā fi sòn v*  
As far as c:

## 5. PART OF SPE

NPs or adverbials ca  
(phrase), or an infir

*māsu tàimakon āgī*  
The relief  
*ita kàm, gwamma t*  
*nāwa, littāfin yā kē*  
*hařbinsà dai, yā bu*  
*rufè tīgā, bá shakl*

Verbs qua verbs ca  
verbal nouns (VN)  
and the original dir

[*gyārā*]VN, *mutān*  
cf. *mutānē sá gyār*  
[*tālgē*]VN, *Kānde*  
cf. *Kānde takān ta*  
[*zubār wā*]VN, *tani*  
cf. *tanà zubar dà s*  
[*gūgā*]VN, *yā yi w*  
cf. *yā gōgè mōtār*  
[*shāfā hōdā*]IP, *dē*  
As for us  
cf. *dā mā mātā su*  
[*yankè masà huk*  
As far as  
cf. *àlkāli yā rigā*

Regarding topicali  
it by *yī*. (In the ex  
they are essentiall

«*kūkā*», *ai yakān*  
cf. «*kūkā*», *ai yal*  
As for c:

- hājà kò, bà zā mù sàmi gàrì kàmař Kanò ba**  
 As for merchandise, we won't find a town like Kano.
- makařantā dai, Bellò bā yà yīn kōmē sai wàsā**  
 As for school, Bello doesn't do anything except play.
- kāyan itātuwà kām, Lawàn yanà shān mangwàřò kullum**  
 As for fruit, Lawan eats mangoes every day.
- kařtà kò, nā fi sōn wàsā irīn na chess**  
 As far as cards are concerned, I prefer games like chess.

5. PART OF SPEECH

NPs or adverbials can serve as topics. The NP can be a simple noun (phrase), a pronoun, a verbal noun (phrase), or an infinitive phrase, e.g.,

- màsù tàimakon āgàji fa, zā kà sāmē sù à asibitù**  
 The relief workers, you'll find them at the hospital. (NP)
- ita kām, gwamma tà ci gāba** As for her, she ought to continue. (pn)
- nāwa, littāfin yā kēcè tūni** Mine, the book got torn some time ago. (pn)
- hařbinsā dai, yā buřgè mu** As for his shooting, it impressed us. (VP)
- rufè tǎgà, bā shakkà yanà dà kyāu** As for closing the window, no doubt it's good. (IP)

Verbs qua verbs cannot function as topics. Rather, they have to be replaced by their corresponding verbal nouns (VN) or infinitive phrases (IP). The original verb slot is then filled by the pro-verb *yī* 'do' and the original direct object, if not fronted along with the verb, is altered into an indirect object, e.g.,

- [gyārā]VN, mutānē sá yī wà dākin** Repairing, men will do it to the room.  
 cf. **mutānē sá gyārā dākin** Men will repair the room.
- [tālgē]VN, Kānde takān yī wà tuwō** Pouring in (flour), Kande does it to the *tuwo*.  
 cf. **Kānde takān tālgā tuwō** Kande makes the *tuwo*.
- [zubār wā]VN, tanà (yī) wà shārā** Throwing out, she was doing it to the trash.  
 cf. **tanà zubar dà shārā** She was throwing out the trash.
- [gūgà]VN, yā yī wà mōtār** Polishing, he did it to the car.  
 cf. **yā gōgè mōtār dà mái** He polished the car with oil.
- [shāfā hōdā]IP, dá mā mātā sunà yī** As for using powder, women have done so for a long time.  
 cf. **dá mā mātā sunà shāfā hōdā** Women have been using powder for a long time.
- [yankè masà hukuncī]IP kùwa, àlkāli yā rigā yā yī** As far as sentencing him is concerned, the judge has already done (it).  
 cf. **àlkāli yā rigā yā yankè masà hukuncī** The judge has already sentenced him.

Regarding topicalized verbs, it is possible to repeat the verb in its original position rather than replace it by *yī*. (In the examples below, I translate the sentences with and without *yī* differently, but in Hausa they are essentially equivalent.)

- <kūkā>, ai yakān kōkà wani lōkàcī** As for crying, he cries sometimes.  
 cf. **<kūkā>, ai yakān yī wani lōkàcī = kūkā, ai yakān yī shì wani lōkàcī**  
 As for crying, he does it sometimes.

«wāshī», **maḳèrā sun wāsà wuḳàkén**

As for sharpening, the blacksmiths sharpened the knives.

cf. «wāshī», **maḳèrā sun yi wà wuḳàkén**

As for sharpening, the blacksmiths did it to the knives.

«shìgā», **wai yā shìgā ban dà kō sàlāmù àlaikùm**

Entering, well he entered without even (saying) *salamu alaikum*.

## 6. SPECIAL TOPIC CONSTRUCTIONS

There are two set constructions that occur as sentence-initial topics: (a) **àbinkà dà NP**, and (b) **NP dà pn**.

### 6.1. The construction **àbinkà dà NP**

This idiomatic but common topic construction consists of **àbinkà** 'your (m.) thing' plus **dà** 'with' plus an NP. The meaning of the construction is 'You know how it is with X....' Examples:

**àbinkà dà kāyan zāluncì, anà cí àmmā bā à hamdalà**

You know how it is with the fruits of oppression, one enjoys them but without gratitude.

**àbinkà dà d'an kauyè, dà shìgā bīnī sai fārà Kwambò**

You know how it is with villagers, no sooner do they get to the city than they start putting on airs.

**àbinkà dà sàmàrtakà irìn ta dá, sàmàrī bā sà sāmùn wàlwàlā**

You know how it was with youth in the olden days, young people weren't able to enjoy themselves.

**àbinkà dà zarāfin kākā, mutānē sunà fāmā dà aikì**

You know how it is in the harvest season, people are busy with work.

**àbinkà dà rāyuwā irìn ta Kanò, kōwā nēman kuḏī ya sà à gāba**

You know how it is with life in Kano, everyone's first priority is getting money.

### 6.2. The construction **NP (possessive) dà pronoun**

This topic construction consists of a noun (usually plus a bound possessive pronoun) followed by **dà** 'with' plus a coreferential independent pronoun. (Some speakers prefer the construction in the form **N dà pn** without the possessive.) The meaning, which usually connotes criticism or disapproval, is illustrated in the following examples:

«yārōnā dà nī» (= (?) «yārò dà nī») **mè zān yi dà rawānī?**

As young as I am (lit. my boy with me) what would I do with a turban?

«tsòhuwāfà dà ita» (= (?) «tsòhuwā dà ita») **mè zā tà yi dà cōgè?**

Old woman that she is (lit. her age with her) what would she do with high-heeled shoes? (i.e., it is foolish for an old woman like her to think of wearing high-heeled shoes)

«bàbbankà dà kai» (= (?) «bàbba dà kai») **bàì dācè kà rikà wāsā dà yārā ba**

A grown up like you (lit. your adult with you) it is not fitting for you to play with kids.

## 7. TOPIC AND FOCUS

Because topicalization and focus are distinct processes with their own semantics and syntactic positions, it follows naturally that they can co-occur in the same sentence. The order is always topic then focus. Examples:

«bārāwòn», { **Audù** }

As for the tl

cf. { **bārāwòn (nē)** } **A**

It was a *thi*

cf. «bārāwòn», **Aud**

As for the

«shùgàban sāsī», **b**

As for chair

«sōjà», { **bāyan gān** }

As for the

«wadānnān mārāyū

These orph

«zinārīyā kām», { **w** }

As for the g

«àbinkà dà mātā »,

You know

The topic and the fo

«ita kām», { **ita cè** }

As for her,

«sāyen sābon gidā »,

As for buyi

[References: Jaggar

«*ɓàràwòn*», { *Audù* (*nē*) } *ya kashè shi*

As for the thief, it was *Audu* who killed him. (Topic and Focus)

cf. { *ɓàràwòn* (*nē*) } *Audù ya kashè*

It was a *thief* *Audu* killed. (without the resumptive pronoun) (Focus only)

cf. «*ɓàràwòn*», *Audù yā kashè shi*

As for the thief, *Audu* killed him. (Topic only)

«*shùgàban sàshì*», *bà* { *Dr. Smith* } *mukè só ba*

As for chair of department, *it's not Dr. Smith* we want.

«*sōjà*», { *bāyan gānuwā* } *sukè*

As for the soldiers, it's *behind the ramparts* they are.

«*wad'annán màràyū*», { *wānē nē* } *zāi ciyař dà sū?*

These orphans, *who* will feed them?

«*zīnāriyā kām*», { *wajen wani d'an tīrēdā* } *mukà sāmù?*

As for the gold, *it was from a certain trader* that we got it.

«*àbinkà dà mātā* », { *sūrūtù* } *sukè ta yī*

You know how it is with women, they're always making a *racket*.

The topic and the focus can have the same referent, e.g.,

«*ita kām*», { *ita cè* } *ta màrē nì*

As for her, *she* (was the one who) slapped me.

«*sāyen sābon gidā* (*dai*)», { *shī nē* } *ya fi minì kyáu*

As for buying a new house, *that* is (what is) much better for me.

[References: Jaggar (1976, 1978); Junaidu (1987)]

## 73. Universals and Generic Relatives (kō- forms)

### 1. FORM

THE universals ('everyone', 'everything', etc.) and related generic relatives ('whoever', 'whatever', etc.) are formed by prefixing *kō-* to a question word (Q-word). (Although *dukà* 'all' semantically qualifies as a universal, it does not pattern with the universal *kō-* forms discussed here. It is described in the chapter on numerals and other quantifiers (see §53:2).) The full set of forms (with details and variants to be discussed below) is presented in table 29:

Table 29: *Universals*

Gloss	Universal Forms	Question Words
everyone, whoever	<i>kōwā</i>	<i>wā</i> who?
everything, whatever	<i>kōmē</i>	<i>mē</i> what?
everywhere, wherever	<i>kō'lnā</i>	<i>lnā</i> where?
always, whenever	<i>kōyāushē = kōyāushè</i>	<i>yāushē = yāushè</i> when?
each, whichever one(s)	<i>kōwānnē, kōwāccē, kōwāfānnē</i>	<i>wānnē, wāccē, wāfānnē</i> whichever?
every, whichever	<i>kōwānē, kōwācē, kōwāfānnē</i>	<i>wānē, wācē, wāfānnē</i> which?
however much/many	<i>kō nawā</i>	<i>nawā</i> how much/many?
in every, whatever way	<i>kō(ta)yāyā</i>	<i>yāyā</i> how?

°AN: Orthographically, *ko nawa* and *ko yaya* (= *kō RàRà* < *RàRà* 'how?') are written as two words; all the others are written as single words.

The words *kōwā* 'everyone' and *kōmē* 'everything' are different from the other *kō-* forms in that they have a special tone pattern (H-H) that does not preserve the lexical L tone of the corresponding Q-words *wā* and *mē* with which they are formed.

ΔDN/ΔHN: In the dialect of Ader (Caron 1991), the words for 'who?' and 'what?' are *wā* and *mī* with H tone. These fossilized universal forms would suggest (but do not necessarily prove) that H is the original/archaic tone for these two Q-words and that the SH low tone represents an innovation.

Nowadays, some speakers pronounce—and write—*kōmē* as *kōmai*, with a final diphthong, even further distancing the lexicalized universal word from its Q-word source.

## 2. MEANING/F

The *kō-* words ha

### 2.1. Universal

The first use of th 'every (thing)', e singular concord.

*kōwā yā kāmā t*  
*kōwā yā ci jaffā*  
*mun iskè kōmē*  
*kōmē na dūniyā*  
*yā dūbā kō'lnā*  
*wānnān yārō yā*  
*yā kāmātā kōwā*  
*yanā sō yā sàyi*  
*zān shìga maka*

I will  
 It is g

### 2.1.1. Negati

Morphologicall  
 lexical items st  
 various negativ  
 or 'nowhere', e

*bān ga kōwā b*  
 (lit. 'I didn't se  
*bā kōmē cikin*  
 (lit. there is n  
*bā kōmē*  
*bā mā bùkātāi*  
*bā zā mù jē k*  
*kadā kōwā yā*  
*kadā kōmē yā*

Excluding pro  
 sentences in th  
 sentence with  
*àbīn dà* 'the

*bā wāddā ta*  
 (lit. there is n  
*bā àbīn dà yā*  
 (lit. there is

## 2. MEANING/FUNCTION

The *kō-* words have two main meanings/uses: universal pro-forms and universal generic relatives.

### 2.1. Universal pro-forms

The first use of the *kō-* words is as universal pro-forms or universal determiners indicating 'everyone', 'every (thing)', etc. The items that do not have distinct masculine/feminine/plural forms take masculine singular concord. Examples:

<b>kōwā yà kāmà bàkìnsà</b>	Everyone should keep his mouth shut.
<b>kōwā yā cì jàǎràbāwā</b>	Everyone passed the exam.
<b>mun iskè kōmē à bàrkàtài</b>	We found everything in a mess.
<b>kōmē na òniyà yanà dà iyàkà</b>	Everything in the world (lit. of the world) has a limit.
<b>yā òubà kō'lnā àmmā bāi sāmē shi ba</b>	He looked everywhere but he didn't find him.
<b>wannān yārò yanà kārātū kōyāushē</b>	This boy studies all the time.
<b>yā kāmātā kōwānnenkū yā jē Kanò</b>	It is appropriate that each one of you should go to Kano.
<b>yanà sò yā sàyi wannān kuǎintā kō nawà</b>	He wants to buy this at any price.
<b>zān shìgà makāfantā ìn sāmì òigìrì kō(ta)yàyà</b>	I will get into school and get a degree in whatever way (no matter how).
<b>yanà dà kyāu kōwacè kāsā à Afīrkà tà sāmì 'yancintā</b>	It is good that every country in Africa should get its independence.

#### 2.1.1. Negation

Morphologically, these universal words do not have negative counterparts, i.e., Hausa does not have lexical items such as 'nothing', 'nowhere', etc. Rather, the universals occur in the positive form in various negative syntactic contexts, in which case they generally translate best as 'no one' or 'nothing' or 'nowhere', etc. Examples:

<b>bān gā kōwā bā</b> (lit. 'I didn't see everyone', but this is not the semantic interpretation)	I didn't see anyone. <i>or</i> I saw no one.
<b>bā kōmē cikin tukunyā</b> (lit. there is not everything/anything...)	There is nothing in the cooking pot.
<b>bā kōmē</b>	It doesn't matter. (lit. there is not anything)
<b>bā mà búkātār kōmē</b>	We don't need anything.
<b>bā zā mù jē kō'lnā bā</b>	We aren't going anywhere.
<b>kadà kōwā yā fìta d'ākin!</b>	Nobody may leave the room!
<b>kadà kōmē yā batà!</b>	Let nothing get lost!

Excluding prohibitive sentences (introduced by *kadà*), the universals cannot serve as subjects of sentences in the negative to express 'no one' or 'nothing'. Instead one must use a negative existential sentence with a relative clause headed by a relative pronoun or the pseudorelative non-personal pronoun *àbīn dà* 'the thing that', e.g.,

<b>bā wāddà ta san amsà</b> (lit. there is not who 3f.pret know answer)	No one (f.) knows the answer.
<b>bā àbīn dà ya fàru</b> (lit. there is not thing,the that 3m.pret happen)	Nothing happened.

o- forms)

ever', 'whatever',  
'all' semantically  
. It is described in  
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en as two words;

forms in that they  
ponding Q-words

wā and mī with  
ve) that H is the  
innovation.

ng, even further

**cikin waɗàndà sukà yi jařřàbàwà bá wàndà ya ci**

Among those who took the exam, no one passed. (lit. ...there isn't who 3m.pret pass)

This structure can also be used as an alternative for negative sentences with the **kō-** form functioning in syntactic roles other than subject, e.g.,

**bá wàndà na ganì**

I didn't see anyone.

**bá àbìn dà mukè bùrātà**

There is nothing that we need.

**bá ìndà zá mu**

There is nowhere that we will be going to.

To express the idea of 'not everyone,' etc., as opposed to 'no one,' etc., one uses the equational/sentential negative marker **bà...ba**, e.g.,

**bà kōwā kè sòn wannàn jàřřidà ba**

Not everyone likes this newspaper.

**sunà gyàran tītī àmmā bà kō'ìnā ba**

They are fixing the streets, but not everywhere.

## 2.2. Generic relatives

The **kō-** words also function as universal generic relatives, where they correspond to English 'whoever, whatever', etc.

<sup>o</sup>AN: Quirk et al. (1985: 1056ff.) refer to constructions with these types of forms as "nominal relative clauses." Bagari (1987: 77) labels them simply as "Wh-ever sentences."

In this usage, the universal forms typically occur in sentence-initial or clause-initial position. The **kō-** word is immediately followed by a sentence with a Rel TAM (like the preterite) without use of the relativizer **dà** 'that', e.g.,

**kōwā ya yi hakà wāwā nè**

Whoever (= anyone who) does this is a fool.

**kōmē zā kà yi kà yī shì dà nishādī**

Whatever you are going to do, do it in good spirits.

**kōwānnē ka bā ni zān kàrbā**

Whichever one you give me I'll accept.

**kō'ìnā ka shūkà, sai kà tsarè wurīn**

Wherever you plant, you must protect the place.

**kō'ìnā ka būya banzā nè**

Wherever you hide is useless.

**kō nawà ka tayà bà zān kàrbā ba**

No matter how much you offer, I won't accept.

**kōyàushè kikà ga dāmā, kī bugà minī wayà**

Whenever (any time) you (f.) feel like it, give me a call.

The generic relative **kōmē** 'whatever' can be followed by an NP rather than by a clause (in which case it often translates as 'however'). This is particularly common in proverbs, e.g.,

**kōmē tsawon wuyà, kái nè bisà**

Whatever the length of the neck, the head is on top.

**kōmē dādīn kidā, kurūm yā fī shì**

However pleasant the music, quiet is better. (i.e., silence is golden)

**kōmē nisan jīfà, řasà zái fādō**

Whatever the distance of one's throw, it will fall to the ground.

When followed by a clause, the generic relatives 'whoever' and 'whatever' can be expressed in two ways. First, it is possible to use the universal pro-forms **kōwā** and **kōmē**. Alternatively, one can use **kō** plus

**wā** 'who?' and variants more commonly done in

**kōwā ya yi hakì**  
**kōmē sukè yi n**  
Whate

The two alternative possibilities.

(a) **kōwā ya zō**  
Whoe

(b) **kō wā ya zō**  
No m

(a) **kōmē akà t**  
Whate

(b) **kō mē akà**  
No m

(you)

**kōwā ya rainà**

Anyo

The variant with

**kō wàyé mukì**  
**dōlè nè kō wā**

It is

**kō su wānē nè**  
Who

**kō mēnē nè z**  
Wha

Hausa does not use either **don mē** or the latter phrase **maħàukàcī nè**

## 3. PHRASES

The **kō-** forms H-H words **kō** insert such ite

**kō mā wàyé**  
**kō řa nawà k**



wà 'who?' and mè 'what?' in the forms they have as Q-words. Examples: (To distinguish the two variants more clearly, I shall write *kō* plus the Q-word as separate words, even though this is not normally done in standard orthography.)

*kōwā ya yi hakà wāwā nè* = *kō wā ya yi hakà wāwā nè*      Whoever does this is a fool.

*kōmē sukè yī makà, kadà kà dāmu* = *kō mè sukè yī makà, kadà kà dāmu*

Whatever they are doing to you, don't worry.

The two alternatives are not entirely identical in meaning. The H-H universal variant tends to be totally nonspecified/generic, whereas the variant with the Q-word indicates indefiniteness from a subset of possibilities. Consider the following examples:

(a) *kōwā ya zō kà cè nā fita*

Whoever comes (i.e., if anyone comes), tell him I went out.

(b) *kō wā ya zō kà cè nā fita*

No matter who comes (but I am assuming that someone will come), tell him I went out.

(a) *kōmē akà bā kà sai gōdiyā*

Whatever you get (i.e., anything that you might get) you should be thankful.

(b) *kō mè akà bā kà sai gōdiyā*

No matter what you get (but you expect to get something, and the choices may be known to you) you should be thankful.

*kōwā ya rainà gājērē bāi tākà kùnāmā ba* (not *\*\*kō wā ya rainà...*)

Anyone who disparages small things/people has never stepped on a scorpion. (proverb)

The variant with the Q-word (as opposed to the set H-H forms) allows the question word in all of its manifestations, e.g., 'who?' = *wā* or *wānē nè* or *wācè cè* or *wāyé*, etc. Examples:

*kō wāyé mukà gāyyatà zāi zō*

Whoever we invite will come.

*dōlè nē kō wānē nè shī yà jirā sai nā gamà dà wannān aikìn*

It is necessary that whoever he is he should wait until I have finished with the work.

*kō su wānē nè sukè nēman shìnkāfā, à bā sù mùdù bībiyu*

Whoever (pl.) is seeking rice, give them two bowls each.

*kō mēnē nè zā kà yī, kadà kà yī shī à gūr̀gùje*

Whatever you are going to do, don't do it in haste.

Hausa does not have a separate lexeme for 'why?'; rather, one uses a phrase containing *mè* 'what?'; either *don mè* (lit. for what?) = *sabōdà mè* (lit. because of what?) or *mè ya sá* (lit. what caused?). This latter phrase can be used with *kō* to form a generic relative, e.g., *kō mè (nē nè) ya sá ka shiga rijiyā mahàukàci nè kai* 'Whatever the reason you climbed in the well, you were crazy.'

### 3. PHRASAL NATURE OF *kō*- FORMS

The *kō*-forms are generally presented as morphologically complex *words*. However, apart from the fixed H-H words *kōwā* and *kōmē*, the *kō*-forms can be seen to be phrasal in nature in that it is possible to insert such items as modal particles between *kō* and the Q-word components, e.g.,

*kō mā wāyé ya zō...*

Whoever also comes...

*kō fa nawā ka bā nì...*

However much you give me...

Particularly interesting is that prepositions, which syntactically one would expect to occur before the *kō-* forms, are found inserted in the middle, e.g.,

<i>kō dà wàcè cè</i>	with whomever (f.)
<i>kō dà mè</i>	with whatever
<i>kō dà yàushē</i> (= <i>kōyàushē</i> )	anytime/always
<i>kō ta yâyâ</i>	by whatever means
= <i>kō ta hālin yâyâ</i> (lit. <i>kō-</i> via character.of how)	
<i>kō ta wàcè</i> = <i>ta kōwàcè</i>	through whichever
e.g., <i>kō ta wàcè kōfâ</i> = <i>ta kōwàcè kōfâ</i>	by whatever door
cf. ?? <i>kō à lnā</i> (= the more common <i>à kō'lnā</i> )	at wherever

[References: Bagari (1987); Jaggar (1992a, esp. pp. 118–23); Parsons (1981, esp. pp. 589ff.)]

## 1. GENERA

**V**ERBS in indicated phonological vowel, or, in *gyàru* gr7 'be characterization

Lexical v appropriatenes 'sell', *sayō* gr2 'be afraid' gr2 (tsōratar gr5 (tsōratar the derivation are not sema combinations *jānyē* gr4 'pu *bādu* gr5d [dv and return'.

Within e recognized fo verb is intrans or moved, e.g. (it); *mōtā* c followed by *tāmbâyē* mū before any o *māganār* (gr form is used news'; *kadā* contexts, the many verbs d pre-dative su

The acco form, a pract with the anal

## 74. Verb Grades

### 1. GENERAL DISCUSSION

**V**ERBS in Hausa occur in a number of morphological classes referred to as *grades*. (These are indicated throughout the grammar either as gr1, gr2, etc., or v1, v2, etc.) Each grade has a distinct phonological specification, defined in terms of tone pattern and “termination,” which is either a final vowel, or, in a few cases, final -aC, e.g., **dafà** gr1 ‘cook’, **zàgà** gr2 ‘insult’, **kómò** gr6 ‘return here’, **gyàru** gr7 ‘be well repaired’, **sayā** gr5 ‘sell’. Certain grades have an associated grammatical/semantic characterization; others do not.

Lexical verb bases occur in (“operate”) numerous grades depending upon semantic and grammatical appropriateness. The verb **sàyā** gr2 ‘buy’, for example, can also appear as **sayè** gr4 ‘buy up’, **sayā** gr5 ‘sell’, **sayō** gr6 ‘buy and bring’, and **sàyu** gr7 ‘be well bought’. Similarly, the denominal verb **tsòratà** gr2 ‘be afraid of’ (< **tsòrō** ‘fright’) also operates gr1 (**tsòratā** ‘frighten’), gr3 (**tsòratà** ‘be afraid’), and gr5 (**tsòrataf** ‘frighten off’). Although different verb grades are normally mutually exclusive, because the derivational formation usually consists solely of a final vowel and an associated tone pattern, they are not semantically or syntactically incompatible. Thus, when morphophonologically feasible, combinations of grades do sometimes occur, e.g., **janyō** gr4 + gr6 ‘pull all this way’ < **jā** gr0 ‘pull’ (cf. **jānyè** gr4 ‘pull all/away’, **jāwō** gr6 ‘pull this way’); **maidō** gr5d [dv] + gr6 ‘return something here’, **bādu** gr5d [dv] + gr7 ‘be given away’, **halbik(k)ē** (unnumbered ventive grade [dv]) + gr4 ‘shoot down and return’.

Within each grade, the verb form varies depending on the syntactic context. There are four recognized forms. The A-form is used if the verb occurs without a following object, either because the verb is intransitive and thus has no object, or because the verb is transitive but has had its object deleted or moved, e.g., **kwalabā tā fashè** (gr4-A) ‘The bottle broke’; **sarki yā hanà** (gr1-A) ‘The chief forbade (it)’; **mōtā cē sukā sàyā** (gr2-A) ‘It was a car they bought.’ The B-form is used when immediately followed by a personal pronoun direct object, e.g., **kadà kà bi tà** (gr0-B) ‘Don’t follow her’; **tā tāmbyāyē mù** (gr2-B) ‘She asked us’; **mun fiddā su** (gr5d-B) ‘We took them out.’ The C-form is used before any other direct object, such as a simple noun or non-personal pronoun, e.g., **nā bincikè māganār** (gr4-C) ‘I investigated the matter’; **zā sù kāwō wasu** ‘They will bring some’ (gr6-C). The D-form is used preceding an indirect object, e.g. **tā gayà wà rawarṭà làbārī** (gr1-D) ‘She told her friend the news’; **kadà kà cī minì àmānà** (gr0-D) ‘Don’t let me down’ (lit. eat from.me trust). Unlike the A/B/C contexts, the pre-indirect object environment presents a number of complexities, including the fact that many verbs do not have D-forms. Rather, they either “borrow” a D-form from another grade or else add a pre-dative suffix (pds). This will be discussed in due course.

The accepted convention in Hausa dictionaries and grammars is to use the A-form as the citation form, a practice generally followed in this work. This citation form should *not*, however, be confused with the analytical underlying form, which, in the case of multiform verbs, is the C-form.

°AN: The analytical and historical justification for treating the C-form as the underlying base form is spelled out in Newman (1973).

In the scheme developed by Parsons (1960b), which serves as the point of reference for all treatments of the Hausa verbal system, there are seven grades, numbered and ordered 1 through 7. The grade labeled as grade 0 and the grades having letters added to the numbers (e.g., grade 3a) represent subsequent additions and modifications by other scholars. Table 30 presents the terminations and tone patterns for all grades. The grade tones given are those of finite verbs as they occur in non-imperative sentences: (As described in §37:2.1, the imperative imposes its own pattern that overrides normal tone assignments.) In the table, a notation like H-L-(H) indicates that a two-syllable verb has H-L tone whereas a three-syllable verb has H-L-H tone. Otherwise, tones are assigned and spread from right to left, e.g., the grade 6 verb **kakkařantō** 'read all and come' with an H-tone melody has H on each of the four syllables, whereas the grade 1 verb **řagařgāzā** 'shatter' with H-L-H tone surfaces as H-H-L-H. The indication (pds) in the D column means that the grade does not have a D-form as such but rather utilizes the pre-dative suffix before indirect objects. The [dā] included in the grade 5 row is a particle that accompanies these verbs; it is not a part of the verb per se. The H-tone pattern is a property of the verb only and not of the particle, which has inherent L tone. Alternatives noted with different grades will be explained later when that grade is discussed.

Table 30: Verb grade system

	A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
Grade 0	-i H -ā/-ō H	-i H -ā/-ō H	-i H -ā/-ō H	-i(i) H -ā/-ō H
Grade 1	-ā H-L-(H)	-ā H-L-(H)	-a H-L-(L)	-ā H-L-(H)
Grade 2	-ā L-H-(L)	-ē 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	-ē H-L-(H)  -nyē H-L-(H)	-ē H-L-(H)  -nyē H-L-(H)	-e H-L-(L) -ē H-L-(H) -nye H-L-(L) -nyē H-L-(H)	-ē H-L-(H)  -nyē H-L-(H)
Grade 5	-ař H	-ař [dā] H -shē H -∅ [dā] H	-ař [dā] H  -∅ [dā] H	-ař [dā] H
Grade 5d	-dā H-L	-dā H-L	-dā H-L	-dā H-L
Grade 6	-ō H	-ō H	-ō H	-ō H
Grade 7	-u L-H			(pds)

We begin with a quick overview of the grade system as a whole, and then discuss each grade one by one in fuller detail.

### 1.1. Primary grades

The basic H-tone monosyllabic verbs, which typically end in /i/, e.g., *ci* 'eat' or /ā/, e.g., *jā* 'pull', and the small group of H-tone CiCā verbs, e.g., *kirā* 'call', have been incorporated into the grade system as

the zero grade (g "applicatives" (of transitive and intransitive) historically were Before indirect objects e.g., *sun nēmam sought work.* 'Grade out'. Gr3a consists that have a heavy of H-L disyllabic Grades 0, 1, 2, and semantic/grammatical (at least) one primary in that some verb attested.

°AN: Parsons tertiary. There and the nonprimary the secondary

### 1.2. Secondary

Grade 4 ("totality") totally done or malefactive/deprivative. The variant with /i/ Grade 5 ("efferent") transitive grade that serves to transitivize gr3 'go out'). See *zubař dā giyā* 'He a direct object pronoun *gayāř dā sū* 'I grade termination dialectal form, in v out.' Grade 6 ("verb buy and bring back done, or the potential grades have correspond

### 1.3. Irregular v

In addition to the v are verbs that, in t although some of t v\*, even though so grade.) Verbs in th 'become', *hau* 'mc

the zero grade (gr0). Grade 1 contains basic a(a)-final verbs, e.g., **ɗafā** 'cook', as well as derived "applicatives" (often required with an indirect object), e.g., **ɗafā** 'tell to'. This grade includes both transitive and intransitive verbs. Grade 2, an exclusively transitive grade, includes basic verbs, which historically were i-final, e.g., **sà yā** 'buy' (C-form **sà yi**), as well as derived verbs with a partitive sense. Before indirect objects, gr2 verbs, like those of grades 3 and 7, add the H-tone inflectional pds -aC)<sup>H</sup>, e.g., **sun nēmam masà aikì** 'They sought work for him' (gr2+pds), cf. **sun nēmi aikì** (gr2-C) 'They sought work.' Grade 3 is an exclusively intransitive grade containing a-final basic verbs, e.g., **fi ta** 'go out'. Gr3a consists of a small number of disyllabic intransitive verbs that also have short final -a, but that have a heavy initial syllable and H-H tone, e.g., **ƙaura** 'migrate'. Gr3b consists of a small number of H-L disyllabic intransitive verbs ending in the short vowels -i, -u, and -a, e.g., **gudù** 'run away'. Grades 0, 1, 2, and 3 (including 3a and 3b) are primary grades. The other grades, which have a distinct semantic/grammatical characterization, are considered secondary. In principle, all verbs should operate (at least) one primary grade from which the secondary grades are derived. In fact, the system is defective in that some verbs only operate secondary grades, the presumed primary grade verb no longer being attested.

°AN: Parsons treats grades 1, 2, and 3 as primary, grades 4 and 5 as secondary, and grades 6 and 7 as tertiary. There are clear analytical advantages, however, in making a first cut between the primary and the nonprimary grades (all of which I call secondary) and then making whatever subdivisions of the secondary grades that are necessary.

1.2. Secondary grades

Grade 4 ("totality/finality"), which contains both transitive and intransitive verbs, indicates an action totally done or affecting all the objects, e.g., **sayè** 'buy up'. It sometimes also has a malefactive/deprivative sense, especially when used with an indirect object, e.g., **ƙwàcè** 'take from'. The variant with /nyè/ is limited to a small number of monosyllabic gr0 stems, e.g., **shányè** 'drink up'. Grade 5 ("efferential"), traditionally termed *causative*, is an exclusively (or almost exclusively?) transitive grade that indicates action directed away from the speaker, e.g., **zubař** 'pour out'. It also serves to transitivize inherently intransitive verbs with an actor subject, e.g., **fi tař** 'take out' (cf. **fi ta** gr3 'go out'). Semantic direct objects of gr5 verbs require the use of the oblique marker **dà**, e.g., **yā zubař dà giyà** 'He poured out the beer', **yā sayar dà ita** 'He sold it.' The B-form with -shè, followed by a direct object pronoun, occurs as an alternative to the citation form plus **dà**, e.g., **nā gaishè sù = nā gayar dà sū** 'I greeted them.' Some gr5 verbs have a short form used before a direct object, in which the grade termination is omitted, e.g., **yā zub dà ita** 'He poured it out' (= **yā zubař dà ita**). Grade 5d is a dialectal form, in which the oblique marker **dà** is fused to the verb stem, e.g., **yā zudà ta** 'He poured it out.' Grade 6 ("ventive") indicates action in the direction of or for the benefit of the speaker, e.g., **sayō** 'buy and bring back'. Grade 7 ("sustentative") indicates an agentless passive, middle voice, action well done, or the potentiality of sustaining action, e.g., **dāfu** 'be well cooked', **tāru** 'meet'. All secondary grades have corresponding weak verbal nouns formed with the suffix -wā.

1.3. Irregular verbs

In addition to the verbs that operate regular grade forms, there are some ten or so irregular verbs. These are verbs that, in their basic forms at least, do not appear to fall within any of the established grades, although some of them do operate secondary grades in a regular manner. (These verbs are all indicated as v\*, even though some of them could be classified as gr2\* or gr3\*, i.e., irregular members of a normal grade.) Verbs in this group include **ganī** 'see', **sanī** 'know', **barī** 'leave, let', **kusa** 'draw near', **zama** 'become', **hau** 'mount', **kai** 'take', **bā/bai** 'give', **jē** 'go', and **zō** 'come'.

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## 2. GRADE 0: BASIC MONOTONAL VERBS

## 2.1. Form

A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
-i H-	-ɪ H	-i H	-i(i) H
-ā/-ō H	-ā/-ō H	-ā/-ō H	-ā/-ō H

Grade 0 is a small, very restricted class that includes some eight H-tone monosyllabic verbs (termed "monoverbs"), and four H-tone CiCā verbs. Six of the monoverbs end in -i (with variable vowel length), namely, **bi** 'follow', **ci** 'eat', **fi** 'exceed', **ji** 'hear, feel', **ki** 'hate', and **yi** 'do'; two end in -ā, namely, **jā** 'pull' and **shā** 'drink', and one ends in -ō, namely, **sō** 'want, love'. The four CiCā verbs are **biyā** 'pay', **jirā** 'wait', **kirā** 'call', and **rigā** 'precede'.

◊HN: Historically, some of the Ci verbs (e.g., **bi** and **ki**) probably derive from disyllabic verbs with a /y/ in the second syllable, e.g. **bi** < \***biyā**. Others (e.g., **ci** and **yi**) derive from true monoverbs reconstructable as such for Proto-Chadic, e.g., **ci** < \***ti**. Eulenberg (1972) noted that the two ā-final monoverbs (**jā** 'pull' and **shā** 'drink') both contain a palatal consonant and on this basis made the reasonable suggestion that they derive from disyllabic stems belonging to the CiCā class, i.e., **jā** < \***ziyā** and **shā** < \***siyā**.

There is evidence in the language of the former existence of a few more Cā gr0 verbs. These are stems that now occur only in gr5, namely, **kā(yaŋ)** [dà] 'knock down' < \***kā**; **tā(yaŋ)** [dà] 'raise' < \***tā** (cf. **tāshì** 'get up', with an archaic \*-sV suffix); and **yā dà** 'throw out' < \***yā** (cf. Bole **yā** 'throw').

The CiCā gr0 verbs all exist alongside equivalent gr2 verbs with final -yā, e.g., **kirā** 'call' = **kirāyā**. This would suggest that the CiCā verbs might be apocopated forms of original trisyllabic verbs. Because, however, -yā exists (using the historical present) as a verb stem formative, it is not clear whether **kirā**, for example, is derived from **kirāyā** or vice versa. Viewing -yā as a suffix allows one to spot another erstwhile CiCā verb now restricted to gr5, namely, **kiyā(yaŋ)** [dà] 'protect' (more or less = **kiyāyā**).

As far as **sō** is concerned, we do not yet know whether it is an archaism, representing an earlier period when it was normal for monoverbs to end in vowels other than -i or -ā, or whether it is a relatively recent creation.

Not all monosyllabic verbs are classified as gr0. The falling-tone verbs **sā** 'put' and **cē** 'say' are phonologically aberrant "disyllabic" verbs belonging to grades 1 and 4 respectively. The verb **yō** 'do and come back' is simply a shortened variant of the regular gr6 form **yiwō**. The irregular verbs **kau** 'move aside' (< \***kāwa**) and **hau** 'mount, ride' (< \***hāwa**) etymologically are phonologically reduced gr3 verbs. (In its transitive usage, **hau** is probably a clipped gr1 verb.) Synchronically **kai** 'take' is classified as v\* (irregular verb) as is **bā/bai** 'give'. The high-frequency intransitive verbs **jē** 'go' and **zō** 'come' are also considered v\* because they do not share the regular morphosyntactic features of the gr0 verbs.

The Ci verbs have an underlying short vowel, which is used in the A and C forms. The verb **yi** 'do' commonly drops the vowel and phonologically attaches to the final syllable of the preceding word, e.g., **ābīn dà mukà yi** → **ābīn dà mukà y** → **ābīn dà mukài** 'the thing that we did'. (This coalescence is reflected in the written language as well as in pronunciation.) In the pre-pronoun B-form, the vowel automatically lengthens. (Pronominal objects of gr0 verbs belong to the L-tone weak object set.) The D-form exhibits dialectal and lexically specific variation in the length of the vowel. The pattern for most

SH speaker  
the vowel,

A. nāmà n  
B. mun ft s  
C. sun ci n  
D. kà yi m  
D. kadà kà

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yā yi dà n

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2.2. Mea  
Grade 0 co  
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same verb  
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sukàn shā  
mù kirā t  
zā sù yi a  
lōkàci yā  
kadà kà c  
kāsūwā ta  
tā biyā m  
bùkātāfs

SH speakers is for *yi* to retain its short final vowel in the D-form and for the other *Ci* verbs to lengthen the vowel, e.g.,

- |                                  |   |
|----------------------------------|---|
| A. <i>nāmā nē sukà ci</i>        | It was meat they ate.   |
| B. <i>mun fi sù wāyō</i>         | We are smarter than them. (lit. we.comp exceed them cleverness) |
| C. <i>sun ci nāmā</i>            | They ate meat.  |
| D. <i>kà yi masà aikin!</i>      | Do the work for him! (lit you.sub do for.him work.the)          |
| D. <i>kadà kà ci masà àmānà!</i> | Don't let him down! (lit. don't you.sub eat to.him trust)       |

The verbs *yi* and *ji* also exhibit variation in the length of the /i/ when occurring in sociative constructions with the preposition *da*: for some speakers it is short, for others it is long, e.g.,

- |                               |   |                               |                                   |
|-------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>yàyà ka ji dà mutànèn?</i> | = | <i>yàyà ka ji dà mutànèn?</i> | How do you feel about the people? |
| <i>yā yi dà nī</i>            | = | <i>yā yī dà nī</i>            | She slandered me.                 |

°AN: If *yi/yī dà* 'slander, backbite' is not a semantically specialized use of the verb *yi* 'do', as I have tended to assume—but with little justification—then one has a homophonous verb *yī* to add to the list of *Ci* monoverbs.

Grade 0 verbs ending in *-ā* or *-ō* do not change the length of the final vowel in the different syntactic environments: phonologically the vowel is always long, whether in the A, B, C, or D environment. Like independent pronouns and certain other H-tone morphemes, however, the H-tone long-vowel gr0 verbs do undergo a phonetic change in prepausal position (see §54:1.2.2). Here they appear with final glottal closure and a half-long vowel, e.g., *yā jā* [jaʔ] 'He pulled (it)', *zā sù biyā* [biyaʔ] 'They will pay.'

Grade 0 verbs regularly form verbal nouns by means of a suffix *-:HL*, which consists of vowel lengthening (which affects only the short final vowel *Ci* verbs) and a set H-L tone melody. With the true monoverbs, the H-L is realized as a fall; with the disyllabic *CiCā* verbs, the H-L spreads over the two available syllables. These verbal nouns are all masculine, e.g., *bi* 'follow', *bī* 'following'; *shā* 'drink', *shā* 'drinking'; *sō* 'want, love', *sō* 'wanting, loving, love (n.)'; *biyā* 'pay', *biyā* 'paying'; *kirā* 'call', *kirā* 'calling'.

## 2.2. Meaning and function

Grade 0 contains a small number of high-frequency, basic verbs. They do not have a common semantic characterization. What combines them as a class is the shared phonological shape and the use of the same verbal noun formative. All grade 0 verbs can function transitively. Some also function intransitively, e.g.,

- |                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| <i>sukàn shā tābā</i>          | They smoke. (lit. ...drink tobacco)                       |
| <i>mù kirā tà</i>              | Let's call her.   |
| <i>zā sù yi aikin</i>          | They will do the work.                                    |
| <i>lōkàci yā yi</i>            | Time is up. (lit. time 3m.comp do)                        |
| <i>kadà kà ci wannàn nāmā!</i> | Don't eat this meat!                                      |
| <i>kāsuwā tanà cī</i>          | The market is in full swing. (lit. market 3f.cont eating) |
| <i>tā biyā mù</i>              | She paid us.  |
| <i>bùkātārsà tā biyā</i>       | He achieved his wishes. (lit. need.of.his 3f.comp pay)    |

## 3. GRADE 1: BASIC VERBS, APPLICATIVES, ACTOR-INTRANSITIVES

## 3.1. Form

A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
-ā H-L-(H)	-ā H-L-(H)	-a H-L-(L)	-ā H-L-(H)

Grade 1 verbs end in -a(a). In the A, B, and D contexts, the vowel is long and the tone pattern is H-L-(H), i.e., H-L if disyllabic, H-L-H if polysyllabic. (Gr1 verbs take strong object pronouns, which invariably have H tone regardless of the immediately preceding tone of the verb.) In the C-form, the final vowel is short and the tone pattern is H-L-(L). (Note: If there are more syllables than there are tones indicated, the tones spread to the left, thus a quadrisyllabic gr1 verb in the A-form will have surface H-H-L-H tone, whereas in the C-form it will have H-H-L-L tone.) Examples:

A. <i>yā kāmā</i>	He caught (it).
B. <i>yā kāmā ta</i>	He caught her/it.
C. <i>yā kāmā bàrauniyā</i>	He caught the female thief.
D. <i>yā kāmā masā bàrauniyā</i>	He caught the female thief for him.
A. <i>sun rāzānā</i>	They terrorized (s.o.).
B. <i>sun rāzānā su</i>	They terrorized them.
C. <i>sun rāzānā faraf-hūlā</i>	They terrorized the civilians.
D. <i>sun rāzānā manā faraf-hūlā</i>	They terrorized the civilians for us.
A. <i>zān tumūrmūsā</i>	I'll throw (him) to the ground. (e.g., in wrestling)
B. <i>zān tumūrmūsā shi</i>	I'll throw him to the ground.
C. <i>zān tumūrmūsā yārō</i>	I'll throw the boy to the ground.
D. <i>zān tumūrmūsā miki shi</i>	I'll throw him to the ground for you (f.).

°AN/ØHN: [i] According to the usual descriptions of Hausa, the underlying final vowel of gr1 verbs (and of gr4 verbs) is long and there is a shortening rule in the C-form before noun direct objects. As explained in Newman (1973), there is/was no general shortening rule. Rather, the final vowel is underlyingly short (as seen in the C-form) and the long vowel found in the other forms is due to morphophonological processes, such as the general rule that lengthens vowels before personal pronoun objects.

[ii] I am assuming that the underlying tone of polysyllabic gr1 verbs is H-L-H, e.g., *kařāntā* 'read'. The H-L-L tone found in the C-form is most probably a result of morphophonological lowering of the final H when occurring on a short vowel, e.g., \**tā kařānta littāfi* → *tā kařāntā littāfi* 'She read a book.'

In the imperative, the A-, B-, and D-forms of gr1 verbs, which end in long -ā, have L-H tone, whereas the C-form with the short final-vowel has L-L tone, e.g.,

*kāmā ta!* Catch her! *kāmā bàrauniyā!* Catch the thief!  
*rāzānā manā faraf-hūlā!* Terrify the civilians for us! *rāzānā faraf-hūlā!* Terrify the civilians!  
*tūmūrmūsā!* Throw (s.o.) to the ground! *tūmūrmūsā shi!* Throw him to the ground! *tūmūrmūsā yārō!* Throw the boy to the ground!

Gr1 verbs regularly take weak verbal nouns. These are formed by adding an L-H non-integrating suffix -wā to the A-form of the verb. With polysyllabic verbs, which end in an H tone, the L tone of the suffix

attaches to :  
 When added  
 preceding sy  
 A hand  
 i.e., they hav  
 vowel in th  
 down', *kyāu*  
 'put' (= *sā*),  
 Examples:

- A. *sun zānti*  
 B. *mun 'yāi*  
 C. *nā mānti*  
 D. *tā shāidā*

The verb *sā*  
 second cons  
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3.2.1. Bas  
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 they contain  
 pluractional  
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a. (simple):  
 up; *ḍanā* :  
 pottery; *gu*  
 be a long tin  
 (with); *kasi*  
 close to; *mu*  
 indigo); *ru*



attaches to the preceding H to produce a fall, e.g., *rāzānā* 'terrify' + *ˀwā* → *rāzānāwā* 'terrifying'. When added to a disyllabic word, which ends in an L tone, the L of the suffix is simply absorbed into the preceding syllable, e.g., *kāmā* 'catch' + *ˀwā* → *kāmāwā* 'catching'.

A handful of disyllabic verbs with the tone pattern falling-high behave as if they were trisyllabic, i.e., they have HL-H tone and a long final vowel in the A-, B-, and D-forms and HL-L and a short final vowel in the C-form. These verbs include *bāutā* 'worship', *gyārtā* 'repair' (= *gyārā*), *kwāntā* 'lie down', *kyāutā* 'behave kindly toward, do a good deed to', *māntā* 'forget', *rāntā* 'lend (money)', *sānyā* 'put' (= *sā*), *shāidā* 'inform, testify', *shānyā* 'spread out to dry', *yāntā* 'manumit', *zāntā* 'converse'. Examples:

- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| A. <i>sun zāntā</i>            | They conversed. <i>sunā zāntāwā</i> They are conversing. |
| B. <i>mun 'yāntā su</i>        | We redeemed them from slavery.                           |
| C. <i>nā māntā ādīfēshinsā</i> | I forgot his address.                                    |
| D. <i>tā shāidā masā</i>       | She informed him.  |

The verb *sā* 'put, put on' is best analyzed as a phonologically reduced disyllabic gr1 verb with a zero second consonant, i.e., *sā* < //saØā// (< \*sakā?). Like other gr1 verbs, it forms regular verbal nouns with *ˀwā*, e.g., *mē yakē sāwā?* 'What is he putting on?'

### 3.2. Meaning and function

Grade 1 includes both transitive verbs, e.g., *dafā* 'cook', *sussūkā* 'thresh', *wāsā* 'sharpen' (e.g., a knife), and intransitive verbs, e.g., *tsayā* 'stop', *zaunā* 'sit'. Nevertheless, gr1 needs to be thought of as a fundamentally transitive grade. For example, when gr1 verbs pair with verbs of other grades to form transitive/intransitive pairs, the gr1 always serves as the transitive member, e.g., *zūbā* gr1 'pour', cf. *zūbā* gr3 'flow out', *fasā* gr1 'break' (e.g., a bottle), cf. *fashē* gr4 'become broken'. The use of gr1 as the transitive counterpart in verb pairs is particularly common with derived denominal verbs, e.g., *tājīrtā* gr1 'enrich', cf. *tājīrtā* gr3 'become rich' (< *tājīrī* 'rich man'); *fādāfā* gr1 'widen', cf. *fādāfā* gr3 'become wide' (< *fādī* 'width'). The nature of gr1 intransitives will be discussed below.

Grade 1 includes some basic nonextended simple verb stems and some verbs where the ending is part of a derivational process, either active, as with the denominal verbs, or frozen, as in the case of historically remnant suffixes (see chap. 76). It also includes many verbs with an applicative extensional suffix. Finally, it includes a number of verbs whose makeup is not clear.

#### 3.2.1. Basic verbs

Many verbs belong to gr1 simply because they have the inherent lexical shape that puts them in that class, namely, final *-ā* and H-L(-H) tone. Some are morphologically simple; others are "complex," i.e., they contain synchronically productive or historically frozen morphological suffixes, or are/were pluractional variants of simple verbs. A certain number of loanwords are also found in gr1, the assignment to this grade presumably being on analogical or phonological grounds. The various non-extended verbs do not necessarily share common semantic characteristics. Examples:

- a. (simple): *cikā* fill; *dafā* cook; *dasā* transplant; *daḡā* pound floor; *dakā* pound; *ḡagā* lift up; *ḡanā* set, adjust, cock (trigger, bow, etc.); *ḡasā* pour in drops; *gasā* roast; *ginā* build, make pottery; *gusā* (v.i.) move aside; *gwadā* measure; *hūtā* (v.i.) rest; *iyā* be able to; *jimā* (v.i.) wait, be a long time; *kafā* erect; *kaḡā* beat (e.g., drum), whisk; *kāmā* catch; *karā* (ḡā) (v.i.) clash (with); *kasā* put in separate heaps, classify; *kōmā* (v.i.) return; *matsā* pinch together, get nestled close to; *musā* deny, contradict; *nikā* grind; *rakā* escort, accompany (s.o.); *rinā* dye (e.g., with indigo); *rumā* (= *rūmāmā* gr3) (v.i.) subside (e.g., of wind or crying); *sākā* weave; *sōyā* fry; *taḡā*

touch; **tākà** tread on; **tayà** make an offer, help s.o.; **tunà** remember; **tsayà** (v.i.) stop; **turà** dye; **tisà** grind (condiments on millstone); **tsibà** heap up; **wàsà** sharpen (a blade); **zubà** pour in  
 b. (complex): **aunà** weigh; **biyà** go via, pass by; **babbākà** roast, singe; **ballà** fasten, hook up; **barkà** rip open; **dannà** press down; **duhùntà** darken; **dīnkà** sew; **fāfāfā** broaden; **faràntà** whiten, gladden; **faḥkà** (v.i.) wake up; **fusàtā** anger s.o.; **gaisà** (v.i.) exchange greetings; **girmāmā** honor, show respect to; **jūyà** turn (sth) round or over; **karfāfā** strengthen, encourage; **kididdigā** calculate; **maimàitā** repeat; **sassākā** carve; **shiryà** prepare; **shūkà** plant; **sussūkà** thresh; **tallàtā** display goods for sale; **tsattsàgā** tap, shake down; **waiwàyà** (v.i.) turn one's head around; **zaunà** (v.i.) sit, settle, live; **zurḥāfā** deepen  
 c. (loanwords): **bayyānā** (Ar.) explain, describe; reveal, display, expose; **canzà** (Eng.) change, exchange goods or money; **d'abbà'ā** (Ar.) print, publish; **fassārā** (Ar.) translate, explain; **jōnà** (Eng.) splice, join together; **kaḥàntā** (Kanuri?) read, **fubùtā** (Kanuri) write; **wānà** (Eng.) wind

ØHN: From a comparative/historical point of view, basic verbs with final -a(a), which are reflected in Hausa in grades 1 and 3, are very restricted. The typical pattern in West Chadic is for "a-verbs" to be limited to disyllabic words with a light first syllable (Schuh 1977b). Disyllabic gr1 verbs with a heavy initial syllable and all polysyllabic gr1 verbs can thus be assumed to have some historical or analytical explanation, i.e., they are unlikely to be direct reflexes of basic a-verbs.

### 3.2.2. Applicatives

Many gr1 verbs that are identical in shape to basic a-verbs actually contain a hidden applicative derivational extension -a)<sup>HL(H)</sup>. The applicative serves to direct the action of the verb onto the object (direct or indirect) or onto a location. This typically shows up in the argument structure of a sentence with an applicative as compared with a corresponding sentence without the applicative. Various functions of the applicative will be presented in turn.

3.2.2.1. The applicative is commonly used as a pre-i.o. D-form, either as a replacement for verbs that occur in other grades without the i.o., e.g., grades 2 and 3, or as the sole form for verbs that always take an i.o. In many cases, the applicative with the i.o. changes the orientation of the action. In some cases, a gr1 applicative followed by an i.o. means essentially the same as a corresponding gr2 verb with a direct object, e.g.,

<b>tā fadà masà làbārì</b> (gr1)	She told him the news.
cf. <b>tā fadì làbārì</b> (gr2)	She told the news.
<b>yā fādà matà dà fadà</b> (gr1)	He fell upon her with fighting,
cf. <b>yā fadì</b> (gr3b)	He fell down.
<b>yā gāfārtā minì</b> (gr1)	He forgave me. (lit. he.comp forgive to.me)
= <b>yā gāfārcē nì</b> (gr2)	
<b>zā mù nēmà wà àbōkinkà aikì</b> (gr1)	We will seek work for your friend.
cf. <b>zā mù nēmi aikì</b> (gr2)	We will seek work.
<b>yārò yā gātsà minì d'an yātsà</b> (gr1)	The boy bit my finger. (lit. ...bit to.me finger)
cf. <b>yā gātsi rākē</b> (gr2)	He bit off a piece of sugar cane.
<b>zān arà mukù wasu littàttāfai</b> (gr1)	I'll lend you some books.
cf. <b>zān àri wasu littàttāfai</b> (gr2)	I'll borrow some books.
<b>māsifā tā aukà musù</b> (gr1)	A calamity befell them, cf. <b>yā àuku</b> It happened. (gr7)
<b>mātar Audù tā rufà masà àsīfì</b> (gr1)	Audu's wife kept his secret. (lit. ...covered for.him secret)
<b>yanà kōyà manà Hausa</b> (gr1)	He is teaching us Hausa.
cf. <b>munà kōyon Hausa</b> (VN < gr2)	We are learning Hausa.

sun yarḥà  
 gwamnati  
 = gwamnu  
 nā taimàl

Applicativ  
 thematic c

yā jēfà wì  
 = yā jēfì l  
 yā sōkà w  
 = yā sōki  
 yanà fyād  
 = yanà fy  
 sun zungù  
 (lit. poke  
 zā tà shāf  
 yā līkà m  
 (lit. ...stic

With a fev  
 indirect ol

yā haḥbà  
 yā jēfà wì

3.2.2.2. A

yā fādà r  
 sun rügà  
 tā damfār  
 yā danKà  
 nā d'aurà  
 cf. nā d'au  
 yā d'ofànà  
 àkuyà tā  
 nā tōkàrà  
 yā kwaḥà  
 tā lullùḥà  
 (lit. covere

In many c  
 is matched

tā badà y  
 = tā badà  
 S  
 yā gōgà m

- sun yaɓbà masà láifí (gr1) They falsely accused him. (lit. ...smeared on.him blame)  
 gwamnati tanà gallazà wà mutàné (gr1) The government is harassing/pestering people.  
 = gwamnati tanà gallazà mutàné (VN < gr2)  
 nā taimakā masà I helped him. = nā taimakē shì (gr2)

Applicative gr1 verbs commonly take the thematic instrument as the syntactic d.o. and express the thematic object as an i.o., e.g.,

- yā jēfà wà kàrē dūtsè (gr1) He threw a stone at the dog. (lit. ...threw to dog stone)  
 = yā jēfì kàrē dà dūtsè (gr2) (lit. ...threw at dog with stone)  
 yā sōkà wà ràkumì wukā (gr1) He thrust a knife into the camel.  
 = yā sōkì ràkumì dà wukā (gr2) He stabbed the camel with a knife.  
 yanà fyàd'ā masà bülälā (gr1) He is flogging him with a whip.  
 = yanà fyàd'arsà dà bülälā (VN < gr2)  
 sun zungurā wà gafiyà sàndā (gr1) They poked the bandicoot rat with a stick.  
 (lit. poke to bandicoot stick)  
 zā tà shāfā wà jinjiri mái (gr1) She will spread oil on the baby. (lit. ...wipe to baby oil)  
 yā líkà matà cingám à lulluḡi (gr1) He (maliciously) stuck chewing gum on her shawl.  
 (lit. ...stick to.her chewing gum on shawl)

With a few applicatives, the thematic instrument can serve as a direct object even in the absence of an indirect object, e.g.,

- yā haɓbà bindigà (gr1) He shot a gun, cf. yā haɓbi tsuntsū (gr2) He shot (at) a bird.  
 yā jēfà wàsíkà (gr1) He mailed (lit. threw) a letter, cf. yā jēfē tà (gr2) He threw (sth) at her.

3.2.2.2. Applicatives commonly occur in sentences that require the expression of a locative.

- yā fād'ā ruwa He fell in the water. (not \*\*yā fād'ā), cf. yā fād'i (gr3b) He fell.  
 sun rùgà (cikin) d'ākì They rushed into the room.  
 tā damfàrà tufāfintà à tukunyā She stuffed her clothes into the pot.  
 yā danká fāyilōlì à hannūnā He handed the files over to me.  
 nā d'aurà sīrdì gā dōkì I saddled the horse. (lit. ...tie saddle to horse)  
 cf. nā d'aurè dōkì I tied the horse. (gr4)  
 yā d'ofànà gōshinsà à kāsà He lightly touched his forehead to the ground.  
 àkuyà tā dumà bākintà à kwaryā The goat put its mouth deep into the calabash food bowl.  
 nā tōkàrà sàndā gā tufāniyā I propped a stick against the door screen.  
 yā kwabà gātari à kōtā He hafted the axe onto the handle.  
 tā lullùbà mayāfi à kántà She covered her head with a cloth.  
 (lit. covered cloth at head.of.her)

In many cases, there exist pairs of related sentences in which an applicative verb with a locative phrase is matched by an applicative with an indirect object. Examples:

- tā bad'ā yājì [à nāmā] (lit. she.comp sprinkle spices [at meat])  
 = tā bad'ā [wà nāmā] yājì (lit. she.comp sprinkle [to meat] spices)  
 She sprinkled spices on the meat.  
 yā gōgà mán mōtā [à jikin mōtā] (lit. he.comp rub oil.of car [at body.of car])

= *yā gōgà* [wà mōtā] *mān mōtā* (lit. he.comp rub [to ca]r oil.of car)

He rubbed polish on the car.

*yā dallārā tōcilàn* [à idōnā] (lit. he.comp dazzle flashlight [at eye.of.my])

= *yā dallārā* [mini] *tōcilàn* (lit. he.comp dazzled [to.me] flashlight)

He dazzled me with the flashlight.

*tā dōdānā itācē* [à bāyansà] = *tā dōdānā* [masà] *itācē à bāya*

She touched him in the back with a stick.

*tā zumbùfā gishiri* [à miyār] = *tā zumbùfā* [wà miyār] *gishiri*

She put a lot of salt in the stew.

*an shifbūnā mái* [à jikinsà] = *an shifbūnā* [masà] *mái*

One applied a lot of oil on him.

### 3.2.3. Intransitives

Intransitive gr1 verbs can be divided into those that are “nonmotivated” as opposed to those that are “motivated.”

The nonmotivated intransitive verbs are those that operate gr1 simply because their phonological shape threw them into gr1 and not because of any semantic or syntactic reason. Prime examples of this are *far̄kà* ‘wake up’ (< *fāḍakà* gr3) and *tafsà* [dv] ‘boil’ (= *tāfasà* gr3), both of which became gr1 by accident when the syncope of the middle short vowel and an L-H to H tone simplification rule resulted in their having a surface shape with H-L tone and final -a(a). Some intransitive verbs acquired the canonical shape of gr1 verbs when they added a now frozen remnant suffix of the form -Cà(a), e.g., *zaunà* ‘sit’, *waigà* ‘turn around’, *aukà* ‘collapse, cave in’. Finally, gr1 also contains a small number of what appear to be simple, basic intransitive verbs that just happen to be gr1 for no apparent reason, e.g., *tsayà* ‘stop’, *jimà* ‘spend some time’, *lafà* ‘die down’, *nitsà* ‘settle down, calm down’.

Some intransitives, on the other hand, do have certain characteristics that indicate that their assignment to gr1 is motivated by lexical or grammatical factors. By “motivated”, I mean simply that one can offer some reason why the particular verb operates gr1 rather than some other grade; it does not mean that the assignment had to have taken place or that all verbs with that property necessarily operate gr1. Generally speaking, intransitive counterparts of transitive verbs use the underlying patient as subject, e.g., *yā cikà tūlū* ‘He filled the water pot’ (v.t.) ⇒ *tūlū yā cika* (v.i.) ‘The water pot filled up.’ Hausa tends to avoid intransitive sentences with actor subjects; in such cases, the activity may be expressed by means of the pro-verb *yi* ‘do’ plus an action noun or by some other paraphrase, e.g., *yā hārbi bārēwā* ‘He shot an antelope’ ⇒ *yā yi hārbi* ‘He hunted’ (lit. he did shooting). The sentence *yā hārba* would mean ‘He shot (it)’, with object understood, and thus has to be considered a transitive sentence even though the object is not overtly expressed. Intransitives with actor subjects are not, however, impossible. In such constructions, the typical grade form is not the inherently intransitive gr3 nor the often intransitive gr4, but rather gr1. In other words, one function of gr1 verbs is to express intransitives with “actor subjects.” Included here are “lexically reflexive” verbs requiring a plural subject. If the intransitive gr1 verb has a corresponding transitive counterpart, it may be in gr2 or, most often, in gr1 itself. Examples:

*kin taimakā* (gr1) You helped, cf. *kin taimakē tà* (gr2) You helped her.

*nā nēmā* (gr1) I tried, looked around, cf. *nā nēmi aikì* (gr2) I sought work.

*nā hangà àmmā bàn ga kōwā ba* (gr1) I looked (from a distance) but didn’t see anyone.

cf. *mun hangì mayārā can nēsà* (gr2) We saw warriors there in the distance.

*sun gwabzà* (dà jūnā) (gr1) They came to blows (with one another).

cf. *sun gwabji jūnā* (gr2) They beat one another.

*sun dārā* (gr1) They laughed. = *sun yi dāriyā* (lit. they.comp did laughter)

*ka dakata* (gr1)  
*ka ta busa* (gr1)  
*lalle ya kama* (gr1)  
cf. *ya kama* (gr1)  
*yaro ya gara* (gr1)  
cf. *yaro ya g*

3.2.4. Social  
Some gr1 verbs  
the semantic  
include the f

*alka da*  
*beta da*  
*fasa da*  
*gana da*  
*gaisa da*  
*gusa da*

## 4. GRADE

### 4.1. Form

A-Form
-ā L-H(L)

Grade 2 verb  
change in the  
either switch  
The A-form  
L-H-L if pol  
sth/s.o., gā

°AN/∅H  
*ɗauki*,  
explana  
\*ɗawul  
internal

A few disyll:  
A-form. The  
a verbal nou

*faɗi* (= *faɗā*)  
*ɗibā* (verbal  
*sāmū* (= *sān*)  
*saki* (= *sakā*)

- kà dākātā (gr1)                      Wait, pause! cf. kà dākāci zuwānsù (gr2) Wait for their arrival!
- iskà tā būsà (gr1)                    The wind blew. cf. yā būsà sārēwà (gr1) He blew the flute.
- lallè yā kāmà (gr1)                    The henna took. (lit. caught hold)
- cf. yā kāmà àku (gr1)                He caught the parrot.
- yārò yā garà à gùje à kán kèkensà (gr1)    The boy sped off on his bicycle.
- cf. yārò yā garà wīlì (gr1)            The boy rolled the wheel (along the ground).

3.2.4. Sociatives

Some gr1 verbs function syntactically not as transitives or intransitives but rather as sociatives, where the semantic object is expressed as the object of the preposition dà ‘with’ (see §75:4). These verbs include the following:

- |          |                           |          |                    |
|----------|---------------------------|----------|--------------------|
| aikà dà  | send sth                  | karà dà  | clash with         |
| bātà dà  | no longer be friends with | kulà dà  | attend to          |
| ḏāsà dà  | be on good terms with     | māntā dà | forget (sth)       |
| gānà dà  | converse with             | sābà dà  | be acquainted with |
| gaisà dà | exchange greetings with   | tunà dà  | remember (sth)     |
| gusà dà  | move sth. away (from)     | yabà dà  | praise             |

4. GRADE 2: BASIC TRANSITIVE VERBS AND PARTITIVES

4.1. Form

A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
-ā L-H-(L)	-ē L-H	-i L-H	(pds)

Grade 2 verbs, the infamous “changing verbs” of traditional Hausa grammars, are characterized by a change in the final vowel in the three syntactic environments A, B, C. (In the D context, gr2 verbs either switch to another grade or use the inflectional pre-dative suffix.)

The A-form (the conventional citation form) ends in -ā and has L-H-(L) tone, i.e., L-H if disyllabic, L-H-L if polysyllabic, e.g., mārā ‘slap’, cīzā ‘bite’, shèkà ‘sniff, smell’, jèfā ‘throw at’, tsòratà ‘fear sth/s.o.’, gāgarā ‘be difficult for’, tàttāmbayà ‘ask often’.

°AN/°HN: The common verb ḏaukà ‘take, carry’, which has the regular B- and C-forms ḏaukē and ḏauki, appears to have the wrong tones for a gr2 verb, i.e., H-L ā-final verbs are normally gr1. The explanation is that the now disyllabic A-form derives by shortening from a trisyllabic stem \*ḏāwukà that did have the correct L-H-L tone pattern. (The LH to H simplification following the internal vowel syncope is fully regular (see §71:1.2).)

A few disyllabic verbs have irregular A-forms that are used in place of or as an alternative to the normal A-form. These A-forms are identical to corresponding verbal nouns and in fact represent the extension of a verbal noun into what is syntactically a finite verb environment. Examples:

- |                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| fadī (= fādā)               | tell, e.g., àbīn dà ta fadī what she said |
| ḏībà (verbal base //ḏēb-//) | dip out, take                             |
| sāmù (= sāmā)               | get, e.g., I, nā sāmù Yes, I got (it).    |
| sakī (= sākā)               | let loose                                 |

There is also a systematic deviation from the standard A-form that occurs in the imperative. In the imperative, gr2 verbs manifest final -i in the A-form instead of the usual -ā (see §37:2.2.1 for fuller discussion). Examples:

**hārbi!** Shoot (it)! (cf. *nā hārba* I shot (it)); **sāci!** Steal(it)!; **tāmbāyi!** Ask!

The pre-pronoun B-form has an L-H tone pattern and ends in long -ē. This vowel conditions palatalization of preceding coronal obstruents. The pronoun objects of gr2 verbs belong to the weak object set. These pronouns are underlying toneless clitics, which in non-imperative sentences are realized as L. In standard orthography, the pronoun is written as a separate word even though it is clearly a clitic bound tightly to the verb.

<b>yā d'aukē shì</b>	He took it.
<b>mun tātāmbāyē sù</b>	We questioned them a lot.
<b>bà tá cījē kà ba</b>	She probably won't bite you.
<b>nā tsòràcē sù</b>	I feared them.
<b>kadà kà màrē nì!</b>	Don't slap me!

(This is subjunctive, not imperative.)

A few gr2 verbs have clipped forms that are used in the B (as well as C and D) environments, namely, *d'au < d'aukà* 'take', *sau < sākā* 'let loose', *sai < sàyā* 'buy', e.g.,

<b>zái sau tà = zái sākē tà</b>	He will divorce her. (lit. ...release her)
<b>mù sai sù = mù sàyē sù</b>	Let's buy them.

In fast speech, the 1s and 3m pronouns *nì* and *shì* (< //sì//) are sometimes reduced to ̀n and ̀s respectively, i.e., a consonant with an L tone. Note that if the final /i/ is omitted, the /s/ does not palatalize to /sh/; rather it is either pronounced as /s/ or else it rhotacizes to /ř/. The floating L-tone of the pronoun is realized as a fall on the preceding syllable. The final -ē of the B-form shortens and alters into /a/ in the resulting closed syllable (i.e., ē → e → a /\_\_\_C.), e.g.,

<b>yā bùgān (&lt; bùgē nì)</b>	He beat me.
<b>nā bùgās (= nā bùgāř)</b>	I beat him.
<b>yā mārān</b>	He slapped me.
<b>yā saurārān</b>	He listened to me.
<b>yā dòkās (= yā dòkāř)</b>	He beat him.

An interesting question is what happens in this construction when the final consonant of the verb stem is one that normally palatalizes before -ē. Because the centralization of /ē/ to [a] appears to be a late, low-level phonological rule, one would expect the palatalization to remain. Surprisingly, this is not always the case. Verbs with underlying root-final /s/ and /z/ tend to appear before [a] without the palatalization, e.g.,

<b>yā cizān = yā cījē nì</b>	He bit me.
<b>yā gābzān = yā gābjē nì</b>	He whacked me.
<b>yā isān = yā ishē nì</b>	It suffices me.
<b>nā nāusās = nā nāushē shì</b>	I punched him.

Verbs that nor  
evidence that the

yā gūjān (not \*  
yā gājān = yā

°AN: On fi  
given that  
makes sens  
process rul  
therefore ir

With stem-final  
pronoun form.  
without palatal

yā gāyyātān  
mun sātās

The pre-non-pro  
vowel also con

'yan sādā sun  
yakān fādī gas  
nā tsòràci dòdò  
kārēn bà zái cē  
kū tàimāki jūn  
kū d'auki (= d'au  
mutānēn sun n  
Irregular: yā sà

ADN/°AN:  
clitic, the  
interposed  
he.comp s  
discontinuo  
gīwā 'He  
°HN: The  
We can, he  
not the -ā  
underlying  
in present-  
-ē undoubt  
lengthenin  
language, t  
the A-form  
as highly u  
to a morph  
and tone p

the imperative. In the  
see §37:2.2.1 for fuller

This vowel conditions  
bs belong to the weak  
perative sentences are  
ven though it is clearly

vironments, namely,

reduced to ɔ̃n and ɔ̃s  
ted, the /s/ does not  
The floating L-tone of  
m shortens and alters

ant of the verb stem  
appears to be a late,  
risingly, this is not  
fore [a] without the

Verbs that normally exhibit **d ~ j** alternation invariably appear with palatalization (giving further evidence that the **z → j** and **d → j** rules have a different status in the language), e.g.,

**yā gùján** (not **\*\*gùdán**) = **yā gùjē nì**    He ran from (is avoiding) me. (cf. **gudù** run)  
**yā gàján** = **yā gàjē nì**    He succeeded/inherited from me. (cf. **gàdā** inherit)

°AN: On first thought, the asymmetry of /z/ and /d/ is the opposite of what one might have expected given that phonologically **z → j** is a much more regular process in the language than is **d → j**. It makes sense, however, if one considers that **d → j** has a somewhat tenuous status as a phonological process rule and thus the /j/ one gets in verb forms like **gùjē** and **gàjē** is *morphologically* fixed and therefore impervious to the phonetics of the reduced vowel.

With stem-final /t/, speakers tried to sidestep the palatalization dilemma by avoiding the reduced pronoun form. When pressed to use the reduced pronoun form, however, the /t/ was generally retained without palatalization, e.g.,

**yā gàyàtán**    He invited me. (better than **yā gàyàcân**; but best is **yā gàyàcē nì**)  
**mun sàtás**    We stole it. (= [Skt] **mun sàtai**), *not* **\*\*mun sàcás**, but best is **mun sàcē shì**)

The pre-non-pronoun direct object C-form has an L-H tone pattern and ends in short -i. This high front vowel also conditions palatalization. Examples:

**'yan sàndā sun càkùmi òarāwò**    The policemen nabbed the thief.  
**yakàn fādī gaskiyā**    He tells the truth.  
**nā tsòràcì dōdō**    I was afraid of the goblin.  
**kàrén bà zài cìjì yāròn ba**    The dog won't bite the boy.  
**kù tàimàki jūnā**    You should help one another.  
**kù d'auki (= d'au) wannàn!**    Take this! [d'au is an optional clipped form]  
**mutànén sun nēmi sù bijiré**    The people tried to revolt. [sentence d.o.]  
Irregular: **yā sàmu (= sàmi) kuft**    He got some money.

ΔDN/°AN: Unlike the B-form (of all grades), which must be followed *immediately* by a d.o. pronoun clitic, the C-form can be separated from its object. For example, any of the modal particles can be interposed between the verb and the d.o., e.g., **yā hàrbi mā glwā** 'He even shot an elephant' (lit. he.comp shoot even elephant). Moreover, in certain northern dialects, the second **ba** of the discontinuous negative morpheme appears between the verb and a noun d.o., e.g., **bài hàrbi ba glwā** 'He didn't shoot an elephant', but *not* **\*\*bài hàrbē ba tà** (lit. neg.he shoot neg it/her).

◊HN: The exact historical explanation for the final vowel alternation in gr2 verbs is still unknown. We can, however, say the following: The historically original lexical-final vowel was short -i, and not the -ā found in the conventional citation form used in dictionaries and such. Thus, the underlying form of a verb like 'choose' was originally **\*zābi**, not **zābā**. This -i has been preserved in present-day Hausa in the C-form (and possibly in the imperative as well). The pre-pronoun vowel -ē undoubtedly represents a *phonological* deviation from long \*-i (for reasons still not clear), the lengthening of vowels before clitic pronoun objects being a regular morphological feature of the language, thus **zābi + pn > zābī-pn > zābē-pn**. (Suggestions that the -ē comes from the final -ā of the A-form plus the 3m pronoun -y or that it represents a distinct grammatical morpheme strike me as highly unlikely.) The final -ā of the A-form (the present-day "anaphora stem") was probably due to a *morphosyntactic* replacement of the lexical form by a related form with a distinct final vowel and tone pattern, namely, a stem-derived verbal noun, i.e., [zābi]V ⇒ [zābā]VN. Note that the drift

toward using verbal nouns in the finite A environment continues in Hausa, cf. the A-form *fadī* 'tell', derived from an H-L -I verbal noun), with the regular A-form *fāfā*. (On this historical question, see the discussion in Newman (1973, 1979b), with an alternative viewpoint by Frajzyngier (1982).)

Grade 2 verbs in the D context makes use of the inflectional benefactive/dative marker that I have called the pre-dative suffix (pds). (This pds is also used in the D context with some gr3 and gr7 verbs.) The pds has the shape *-aC*<sup>H</sup>, i.e., it is a tone-integrating suffix with all H tone. The final consonant generally appears as /m/ before the *ma* allomorph of the i.o. marker (with H or L tone) and *-f̄* before *wà*. Examples:

<i>sun girbam manà dāwà</i> (gr2+pds)	They reaped the guinea-corn for us.
<i>sun girbař wà manòm̄l dāwà</i> (gr2+pds)	They reaped the guinea-corn for the farmer. = They reaped the farmer's guinea-corn.
cf. <i>sun girbi dāwà</i> (gr2 C-form)	They reaped the guinea-corn.
<i>kunà nēmam masà aikì?</i> (gr2+pds)	Are you seeking work for him?
<i>kunà nēmař wà yārònà aikì?</i>	Are you seeking work for my boy?
= [dv] <i>kunà nēmam mà yārònà aikì?</i> (gr2+pds)	
cf. <i>kunà nēman aikì?</i> (VN)	Are you seeking work?

A few clipped gr2 verbs occur without the suffix, e.g., *yā sam minì nāmà* 'He got meat for me', cf. *yā sàm̄u nāmà* 'He got meat'; *zō nān mù ɗau masà kāyān* 'Come here let's lift the load for him', cf. *zō nān mù ɗauki kāyān* 'Come here let's lift the load'; *yā sai matà / wà yārinyà zanè* 'He bought a wrapper for her / for the girl', cf. *yā sàyi zanè* (C-form) 'He bought a wrapper.'

#### 4.2. Meaning and function

All grade 2 verbs are transitive and take direct objects, e.g., *yā sàci kèkè* 'He stole a bicycle', *nā tàmbàyè sù* 'I asked them.' With the non-object A-form, an underlying object is always understood, either from the sentence itself or from the discourse, e.g.,

<i>mè ka hàřbā?</i>	What did you shoot?
<i>zān ɗaukà</i>	I'll take (it).
<i>yāròn dà na màrā</i>	the boy that I slapped
<i>Hondà cè ya sàya</i>	It was a Honda he bought.
<i>mun fāhimtà</i>	We understand (what you were talking about).

With indirect objects, some verbs add the pre-dative suffix (pds). Other verbs require or allow a switch to a gr1 applicative, often, but not always, with a difference in meaning as compared with the pds form. (Another option, especially when the indirect object is heavy, is to express the thematic beneficiary not by a syntactic indirect object phrase but rather by a prepositional phrase with *gà* 'to' that occurs after the d.o. (see §57:1). In this case, the verb will take its normal B-form or C-form depending on the nature of the d.o.) Examples:

<i>tanà gambasař wà yārò furā</i> (gr2+pds)	She is breaking off a large chunk of <i>furā</i> for the boy.
<i>mun zābař wà ɗàlìbai littāfī</i> (gr2+pds)	We chose a book for the students.
<i>yā sātām minì dōkì</i> (gr2+pds)	He stole the horse for me. / He stole my horse.
cf. <i>yā sàcè minì dōkì</i> (gr4-D)	He stole the horse from me.
cf. <i>yā sātò minì dōkì</i> (gr6-D)	He stole the horse for me.

sōkam min  
yā sōkà wà  
rantam ma  
kà rāntā n  
sù nēmař v  
zā sù nēmař  
fadā manā  
(< fadā tell)  
mun fadī lāb  
We  
ɗā ɗībam mu  
She

°AN: The  
and C-fo  
whether  
ruwā =

In nonfinite e  
By contrast,  
Examples:

yā yi ta [hař  
sunà [tàmb  
bā yā [kōyo  
sunà [bugar  
cf. sunà [bu  
wà yakè [zā  
wà yakè [zā

The grammar  
the verbs an  
that A-form

wà kukè tà  
cf. wà kukà  
mū nè sukè  
cf. mū nè s  
yanà sàye  
cf. yā sàya

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semantic co  
other char

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<b>yā sōkam mini rākumī</b> (gr2+pds)	He stabbed my camel.
cf. <b>yā sōkà wà rākumī wukā</b> (gr1-D [applicative])	He thrust a knife into the camel.
<b>kà rantam masà fām gōmà</b> (gr2+pds)	You should borrow ten pounds for him.
cf. <b>kà rāntā masà fām gōmà</b> (gr1-D [applicative])	You should lend him ten pounds.
<b>zā sù nēmař wà yārōnā aikī</b> (gr2+pds)	They will seek work for my boy.
= <b>zā sù nēmà wà yārōnā aikī</b> (gr1-D [applicative])	
<b>yā fadā manā làbāřī</b> (gr1-D [applicative])	He told us the news.
(< fādā tell) (no gr2+pds form allowed)	
<b>mun fādī làbāřī gā wadānnān mutānē, mazā dà mātā</b> (gr2-C)	
We told the news to these people, men and women.	
<b>tā đībam musū ruwā</b> (gr2+pds)	
She dipped out some water for them. <i>or</i> She dipped out their water.	

°AN: The verb 'dip out' has an irregular A-form (đībā) that is derived from the verbal noun. The B- and C-forms (đēbē, đēbi) are regular. In the D-form, there is variation among speakers as to whether they add the pds to the A-form stem or to the underlying lexical base, i.e., **tā đībam musū ruwā** = **tā đēbam musū ruwā**.

In nonfinite environments, the A, B, and C forms of gr2 verbs are obligatorily replaced by verbal nouns. By contrast, the form containing the pds in the D context, which is strictly a verbal stem, remains as is. Examples:

<b>yā yi ta</b> [hāřbin] <sub>VN</sub> sù (not **yā yi ta hāřbē sù)	He kept on shooting at them.
<b>sunā</b> [tāmbayāř] <sub>VN</sub> sà (not **sunā tāmbayē shì)	They are asking him.
<b>bā yā</b> [kōyon] <sub>VN</sub> Lāřabci (not **bā yā kōyi Lāřabci)	He is not learning Arabic.
<b>sunā</b> [bugam] <sub>V</sub> mini đā	They are beating my son. (lit. ...beat to.me son) (gr2+pds)
cf. <b>sunā</b> [bugùn] <sub>VN</sub> đānā	They are beating my son.
<b>wà yakē</b> [zābāř] <sub>V</sub> wà đālibai littāřī?	Who is choosing a book for the students? (gr2+pds)
<b>wà yakē</b> [zāřin] <sub>VN</sub> littāřī?	Who is choosing a book?

The grammatical replacement of gr2 finite verbs by verbal nouns also applies to A-forms, although here the verbs and verbal nouns are often (but not always) phonologically identical. (The reason for this is that A-forms are derived historically from verbal nouns.) Examples:

<b>wà kukē</b> tāmbayā? (VN)	Whom are you asking?
cf. <b>wà kukà</b> tāmbayā? (gr2-A)	Whom did you ask?
<b>mū nē sukē</b> cūtā (VN)	It is us they are cheating.
cf. <b>mū nē sukà</b> cūtā (gr2-A)	It is us they cheated.
<b>yanā</b> sàyē (VN)	He is buying (it).
cf. <b>yā</b> sàyā (gr2-A)	He bought (it).

From the point of view of meaning, gr2 consists of two major classes: basic verbs not having a unified semantic component and derived participles. Gr2 also includes a certain number of verbs that have various other characteristics.

#### 4.2.1. Basic verbs

Many transitive verbs belong to gr2 because they happen to have the inherent lexical shape that puts them in that class. They do not necessarily share common semantic characteristics. The underlying

lexical form (= the surface C-form) of a gr2 verb like as *fādi* 'tell sth', for example, is monomorphemic. It is *not* made up of a stem plus a semantically defined extensional affix, as is the case with the derived grades, e.g., *fādō* gr6 'tell and come' < //fād-// 'tell' plus //ō// 'hither'. As a semantically open, morphophonologically defined class, gr2 turns out to be the largest class of basic transitive verbs in the language. Examples include the following:

*àikā* send s.o.; *āmsā* receive, accept; *ārā* borrow sth; *aurā* marry s.o.; *bīdā* look for, seek; *cētā* save, rescue; *cizā* bite; *d'aukà* take (up), carry; *dāgurā* gnaw at; *dībā* dip out, scoop up; *dōkā* beat, hit; *fāfarā* chase, pursue furiously; *fādā* tell, say; *fānsā* redeem from slavery, manumit; *gādā* inherit (from); *gārgadā* warn, chastise; *hārbā* shoot at, sting; *jēmā* tan (leather); *kwāfzanā* scratch; *kōyā* learn; *māmāyā* attack by surprise; *mūsāyā* exchange; *nāusā* punch s.o.; *rāinā* care for a child; *rigāyā* precede; *sātā* steal; *saurārā* listen; *tātsā* milk an animal; *tāmbayā* ask; *tūnkuyā* butt, gore

ØHN: Historically basic gr2 verbs have two sources. Many gr2 verbs (e.g., *fādi* 'tell') are morphologically simple verbs that are direct reflexes of the Chadic "schwa class" (Newman 1973, 1975; Schuh 1977b), i.e., verbs with a lexically inherent non-low final vowel. Others, especially polysyllabic verbs (e.g. *tāmbayā* 'ask'), contain a frozen suffix, the most common being *\*-yā* (see §76:1). Because the resulting segmental and phonological shape was identical to that of the A-form of the simple gr2 verbs, these extended verbs fell into gr2. The behavior of synchronic doublets containing the not quite frozen *-yā* shows clearly that the grade assignment is a phonologically determined secondary phenomenon and not a deep grammatical/semantic one. For example, *rigā* gr0 'precede' + *-yā*<sup>(L)HL</sup> ⇒ *rigāyā* gr2 (same meaning); *hadè* gr4 'swallow' + *yā*<sup>(L)HL</sup> ⇒ *hādīyā* gr2 (same meaning); cf. *bi* gr0 'follow' + *yā*<sup>(L)HL</sup> ⇒ *biyā* gr1 (same meaning); *karè* gr4 'snap' + *yā*<sup>(L)HL</sup> ⇒ *karyā* gr1 'break sth' or *kārayā* gr3 'lose hope'.

#### 4.2.2. Partitive/displacive

In addition to the many semantically basic verbs, gr2 includes a number of derived partitive/displacive verbs, which can be analyzed as containing a tone-integrating extensional suffix *-i*<sup>LH</sup>.

ØHN: Partitive clearly was among the inventory of Proto-Chadic extensions. Given the regular Hausa sound change of non-initial *\*r > y* (Newman 1977a), the gr2 partitive ending *-i* (< *\*-iyi*? < *\*-iri*?) could easily be cognate with the Margi partitive extension *-ri* (Hoffmann 1963).

Hausa partitives often have an associated separative meaning, i.e., not only do they indicate action affecting part of the object—in this sense being the opposite of the gr4 totality extension, to be discussed below—but they also tend to connote removal or displacement, e.g., *yānkā* gr2 'cut off a little piece of', cf. *yānkā* gr1 'slice sth, slaughter'. In some cases the partitive verb can be contrasted directly with a synchronically co-occurring nonpartitive verb form; in other cases, only the presumed partitive form exists. (In these latter cases, one cannot be absolutely sure whether one is dealing with a basic i-verb or whether the verb really contains a derivational extension.) Examples:

<i>àikatā</i> v2	partially finish work, cf. <i>aikatā</i> v1 do sth	<i>ballā</i> v2	unhook, cf. <i>ballā</i> v1 hook up
<i>gātsā</i> v2	bite off a piece, cf. <i>gātsā</i> v1 bite	<i>gūdā</i> v2	run from, cf. <i>gūdū</i> gr3b run
<i>hākā</i> v2	dig up, cf. <i>hākā</i> v1 dig	<i>jēmā</i> v2	tan part of, cf. <i>jēmā</i> v1 tan
<i>kāryā</i> v2	break off, cf. <i>karyā</i> v1 break	<i>kīrgā</i> v2	count out, cf. <i>kīrgā</i> v1 count
<i>sūssukā</i> v2	thresh part of, cf. <i>sussukā</i> v1 thresh	<i>yādā</i> v2	skim off, cf. <i>yādā</i> v1 spread
<i>bāntarā</i> v2	break a piece off	<i>fīzgā</i> v2	wrench out
<i>tsāmā</i> v2	pick out of a liquid	<i>tsintā</i> v2	pick out one by one

4.2.3. Fig  
A few appar  
contrast to th  
connotation.

*dāmā* v2  
*nīkā* v2  
*sārkā* v2  
*sōkā* v2  
*tūkā* v2

## 5. GRADE

### 5.1. Form

A-Form
-a L-H-(L)

Grade 3 verb  
all gr3 verb  
lengthens th  
followed by  
*yā shigam*  
all have L-H  
very commo  
Examples:

(a) *būra* ri  
sprout, germ  
(b) *dāgulā*  
confused

ØHN: [  
West C  
basic n  
syllabl  
[ü] In V  
probab

Gr3 is an e  
(trisyllabic  
most (b) ar  
reflecting f

(a) *bālagā*  
(b) *dūlmuy*  
*gāgarā* be  
*tūmūr* mus

4.2.3. Figurative/metaphorical

A few apparently derived gr2 verbs have a figurative meaning, usually with an animate object, in contrast to the literal meaning relating to an inanimate object. These verbs commonly have a negative connotation. Examples:

- dāmā** v2          bother, annoy s.o., cf. **dāmā** v1 stir
- nikā** v2          do a lot of sth (often unpleasant), cf. **nikā** v1 grind
- sārkā** v2          stick to a psn, be a regular at sth, cf. **sārkā** interlace, intertwine
- sōkā** v2          criticize, cf. **sōkā/sōkā** v2/v1 stab
- tūkā** v2          upset s.o., cf. **tūkā** v1 stir, drive

5. GRADE 3: BASIC INTRANSITIVES

5.1. Form

A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
-a L-H-(L)			(pds)

Grade 3 verbs end in short -a. (The related grades 3a and 3b are described in following sections.) Because all gr3 verbs are intransitive they do not have B-forms or C-forms. The corresponding verbal noun lengthens the final vowel, e.g., **shiga** / **shigā** 'enter / entering'. In the D environment (i.e., when followed by an indirect object) gr3 verbs employ the same inflectional pds found with gr2 verbs, e.g., **yā shigam minī gidā** 'He entered my house' (lit. he.comp enter.pds to.me house). Disyllabic gr3 verbs all have L-H tone. Most have a light first syllable, although there are exceptions, which include some very common verbs such as **sāuka** 'get down'. Polysyllabic gr3 verbs have L-H-L tone (but see below). Examples:

- (a) **būra** ripen; **dīga** drip; **fta** go out; **mūla** disappear; **rūba** rot, spoil; **shiga** enter; **tsira** sprout, germinate; **nūka** become ripe by storing; **nūna** become ripe, mature; **yārda** agree
- (b) **dāgulā** become spoiled, disturbed; **mālālā** flow; **zābuḥā** jump up; **dūgūnzumā** become upset or confused

ØHN: [i] The syllable weight restriction on the disyllabic verbs is an old, inherited feature. In related West Chadic languages like Bole (e.g., Lukas 1970/71–1971/72; Schuh 1977b), it is common for basic nonderived verbs with lexical-final -a to be restricted to disyllabic verbs with a light initial syllable.

[ii] In WH the word for 'ripen' is **nūna** with a short vowel in the first syllable. The SH form **nūna** probably derives from **\*nūk-na**, built on the other 'ripen' root **nūka**.

Gr3 is an extremely large class because it contains a high number of intransitive polysyllabic verbs (trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic). Some of these (a) are monomorphemic as far as we can determine, but most (b) are morphologically complex, either containing derivational suffixes (frozen or active) or reflecting frozen reduplication (see §62:4). Examples:

- (a) **bālagā** reach puberty; **kūbutā** escape; **mākarā** be late
- (b) **dūlmuyā** sink in water; **fāḍakā** wake up; **gūdānā** flow, happen; **dūnānā** become mildewed; **gāgarā** be difficult; **kālkālā** be(come) cleanly shaved or swept; **Mūsūluntā** become a Muslim; **tūmūr-musā** wallow in dirt; **zāfafā** become hot; **zāmanā** become

Although polysyllabic gr3 verbs typically have L-H-L tone, trisyllabic pluractional verbs derived from disyllabic gr3 forms normally have L-L-H tone, e.g., *fīffita* 'go out, many people' < *fita* 'go out'; *shīsshīga* 'enter often' < *shīga* 'enter'. (The L-H-L pattern is also attested with the pluractional forms, i.e., *fīffita* = *fīffita*, but with modern SH speakers, the L-L-H variant is clearly preferred.) The tonal distinction between pluractional and nonpluractional polysyllabic gr3 verbs is unique in the grade system, because elsewhere tone assignment depends simply on the number of syllables without regard to whether the verb is basic, derived by affixation, or derived by reduplication.

ØHN: Historically, the disyllabic gr3 verbs—all of which would have had a light first syllable—and the polysyllabic gr3 verbs, which synchronically constitute a single grade, belonged to different morphological classes. The former had a fixed L-H tone pattern, the initial L spreading to the left in the case of pluractional forms like *fīffita*. The attested L-H-L pluractional variant, as in *fīffita*, represents an innovation by analogy with the tone of the very common L-H-L trisyllabic verbs. Intransitive polysyllabic verbs, such as *zābuřā* 'jump up', had intrinsic L-H-L tone, and very possibly ended in schwa, not -a.

The irregular gr3\* verbs *gāji* 'tire, *tāfi* 'go', and (also?) *kōshi* 'be replete' are presumably clipped forms of trisyllabic verbs containing the remnant -yā suffix, namely, \**gājiyā*, \**tāfiyā*, and \**kōshiyā*, respectively. Note that these presumed fuller forms (evidenced in the verbal nouns *gājiyā* and *tāfiyā*) serve as synchronic bases for various derivations, e.g., *gājiyayyē* 'tired' (past participle) (< //gājiy-//) not \*\**gājajjē* (< //gāj-//), *tāfiyu* 'well traveled' (gr7) (< //tāfiy-//) not \*\**tāfu* (< //taf-//), but cf. *tāfe* 'on the go' (stative).

### 5.2. Meaning and function

Gr3 verbs are all intransitive (or sometimes sociative, accompanied by the preposition *dā* 'with'). This valency is the essential feature of gr3. The grade does not have any discrete semantic properties per se. The grade includes many of the most basic, inherently intransitive verbs in the language, such as *fita* 'go out', *shīga* 'enter', *cika* 'fill up', etc., which are mostly disyllabic. Some of these intransitive verbs take actor subjects, e.g., *yārō yā fita* 'The boy went out'; others have patient subjects, e.g., *tūlū yā cika* 'The waterpot filled.' Those with actor subjects can be transitivized by use of the gr5 efferential extension, e.g., *yārō yā fitař dā kāyā* 'The boy took out the loads.' Those with patient subjects usually have corresponding gr1 transitive forms, e.g., *yārō yā cikā tūlū* 'The boy filled the waterpot'; *shīnkāfā tā sulālā* 'The rice was parboiled' (gr3), *tā sulālā shīnkāfā* 'She parboiled the rice' (gr1). With a few gr3 verbs (mostly polysyllabic), the semantic roles of the subject and object dictate that the corresponding transitive verb be gr2 rather than gr1, e.g., *nā gūndurā* (gr3) 'I have lost interest'; *hūtun nān yā gūndurē ni* (gr2) 'This vacation bores me.'

Gr3 includes large numbers of derived polysyllabic verbs that operate gr1/gr3 transitive/intransitive pairs. For example, gr3 is the standard intransitive counterpart of gr1 for derived verbs of sensory quality (see §2:3), e.g., *fādādā* gr1 'broaden' / *fādādā* gr3 'become broad' < *fādā* 'breadth'; *zāfāfā* gr1 'heat up' / *zāfāfā* gr3 'become hot' < *zāfi* 'heat'; and for denominal verbs with -TA (see chap. 79), e.g., *fusātā* gr1 'anger s.o.' / *fūsātā* gr3 'be(come) angry' < *fushi* 'anger'; *tsawāitā* gr1 'lengthen' / *tsawāitā* gr3 'become long' < *tsawō* 'length'; *karyātā* gr1 'contradict, give lie to' / *kāryātā* gr3 'prove false' < *karyā* 'a lie'; *tsōratā* gr1 'frighten' / *tsōratā* 'be(come) afraid' (cf. also *tsōratā* gr2 'be afraid of') < *tsōrō* 'fear'.

Gr3 is an important source of intransitive modal verbs with semantically empty subjects that take sentential complements, e.g., *yā kāmātā* (gr3) *kā taimākē shī* 'It is fitting that you help him'; *yā hāfamtā* (gr3) *gā Mūsūlmī sū ci nāmān aladē* 'It is unlawful for Muslims to eat pork.' Other examples include *cāncantā* 'be suitable/fitting/appropriate', *fāskarā* 'be impossible/difficult/hard to', *hālattā*

legal/al  
syllabic:  
A num  
da mē  
clude gāj  
cept', zā  
sign one  
Gr3 ve  
benefactive  
fitam m  
kiki yā zāb  
wō yā af  
nān yārdan

## 6. GRADE

### 6.1. Form

A-Form
-a H

The design  
Parsons' or  
syllable. (C  
The mid vo  
following is

būya hide  
24-hour day  
remain, be

The verb k  
kwan lāfiy

ΔDN:  
wood  
forget

Simple gr3  
the norma  
people'.

Secor  
gr3a 'hide  
verbs som  
'rescue'.  
'emigrate

'be legal/allowed/lawful to'. (For unexplained reasons, all of these complement-taking gr3 verbs are trisyllabic.)

A number of gr3 verbs enter into sociative constructions containing the preposition *dà*, e.g., *kà lùfa dà mōtōci kàfin kà kētārè hanyà* 'Pay attention to the traffic before you cross the street.' These include *gàji dà* 'tire of', *hàkurà dà* 'be patient with', *shàgalà dà* 'be occupied with', *yàfda dà* 'trust, accept', *zàkwàikwatà dà* 'be eager to'. A few typically occur with the preposition *gà*, e.g., *dànganà gà* 'resign oneself to (God's will)', *dògarà gà = dògarà dà* 'rely on'.

Gr3 verbs before indirect objects normally make use of the pds. The exact semantic reading (benefactive/possessive/dative) depends on the verb in question, e.g.,

<i>kà fitam minì gidá!</i>	Get out of my house! (< <i>fità</i> go out)
<i>zākì yā zābuřāř wà dilā</i>	The lion sprang up at the jackal. (< <i>zābuřā</i> jump up)
<i>cīwò yā ařalam masà à jējì</i>	An illness came upon him in the bush. (< <i>āřalà</i> happen)
<i>bàn yařdam mukù ba</i>	I don't agree for you (to do it). (< <i>yāřda</i> agree)

## 6. GRADE 3A : BASIC INTRANSITIVES (H-H)

### 6.1. Form

A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
-a H			(pds)

The designation gr3a is used for a small class of disyllabic intransitive verbs not accounted for in Parsons' original system. These are characterized by a final short -a, H-H tone, and a heavy first syllable. (Contrast the norm for regular gr3 disyllabic verbs, which is L-H with a light first syllable.) The mid vowels /ē/ and /ō/ are not included among the long vowels that occur in the initial syllable. The following is a full list of readily accepted gr3a verbs in SH:

*būya* hide; *cāfa* crow; *fařga* realize, understand; *girma* grow up; *kwāna* spend the night, spend a 24-hour day; *kāra* cry out; *kaura* emigrate; *kūka* cry [in fixed expressions]; *saura/shaura* remain, be left over; *sūma* faint; *tsira* escape; *tsūfa* become old; *tūba* repent

The verb *kwāna* has a clipped form *kwan*, the final /n/ being subject to anticipatory assimilation, e.g.,

*kwan lāfiyā!* = [kwallāfiyā] 'Sleep well!'

ADN: In WH, a few additional examples are attested, e.g., *d'wāřa* 'crackle' (referring to burning wood), *karya* (= SH *kārayà* gr3) 'break, get discouraged', *nūtsa* 'sink under water', *shāfa* 'be forgetful'.

Simple gr3a verbs are all disyllabic; it is only their pluractional forms that are trisyllabic. These have the normal all H tone pattern, e.g., *buřbuřya* 'hide (many or often)', *giggirma* 'grow up (of various people)'.

Secondary grade forms derived from gr3a verbs often display an internal vowel change, e.g., *būya* gr3a 'hide', *bōyè* gr4 'hide (sth)'; *tsira* gr3a 'escape', *tsērè* gr4 'escape from'. (Corresponding Gr5 verbs sometimes have alternative forms with the two different vowels, e.g., *tsirař* gr5 = *tsērař* gr5 'rescue'.) The gr3a form *kaura* 'emigrate' uses an extended -TA stem in other grades, e.g., *kauracè* gr4 'emigrate from'.

## 6.2. Meaning and function

All grade 3a verbs are intransitive. However, as compared with regular gr3 verbs, they are thematically more restricted, i.e., the subject is never an affected patient. Moreover, they tend to enter into secondary grades less readily than simple gr3 verbs. Before indirect objects, gr3a verbs either use the inflectional pds or else switch to another grade, e.g.,

<b>tā tūba</b> gr3a	She repented.
cf. <b>tā tūbaŋ wà iyàyentà</b> (gr3a+pds)	She repented (sought the pardon of) her parents.
<b>sun kwāna à gidānā</b> gr3a	They spent the night in my house.
cf. <b>sun kwānam minì gidā</b> (gr3a+pds)	They spent the night in my house (not to my liking).
<b>yā tsīra</b> gr3a	He escaped.
cf. <b>yā tsērè manà</b> (gr4-D)	He escaped from us. <i>or</i> He surpassed us.
<b>sun kaura</b> gr3a	They migrated.
cf. <b>sun kauràcè manà</b> (gr4-D)	They deserted/snubbed us.
<b>tā sūma</b> gr3a	She fainted.
cf. <b>tā sōmè masà</b> (gr4-D)	She fainted on him.

Like the regular gr3 class, gr3a verbs form their corresponding verbal nouns by lengthening the final vowel, e.g., **sunā būyā** 'They are hiding', **bà zā sù iyà tsīrā ba** 'They will not be able to escape.' The major difference between the two classes is that the verbal nouns of gr3 verbs are all feminine whereas gr3a verbal nouns are mostly masculine. (Only **cāfā** 'crowing' and **farḡā** 'realizing, realization' are strictly feminine; all the others are either exclusively masculine, e.g., **girmā** 'size, importance', **kūka** 'crying', or variable in gender depending on dialect or idiolect, e.g., **tsīrā** m. or f. 'escaping'.)

ØHN: Synchronically, gr3a and gr3 can be viewed as phonologically partially determined subclasses of intransitive -a verbs, the former being disyllabic with a heavy first syllable (with accompanying H-H tone), the latter being either disyllabic with a light first syllable (with accompanying L-H tone) or polysyllabic (with L-H-L tone). Historically, however, gr3a verbs probably have a totally different origin, independent of the gr3 class. The usually masculine gender of the gr3a verbal nouns and the ablaut relation between gr3a verbs and other derivatives supports the suggestion, originally made by Parsons (personal communication), that these verbs were created by back-formation from the verbal nouns, i.e., **girma** 'grow up' and **tsīra** 'escape', for example, came from **girmā** 'size, importance' and **tsīrā** 'an escape/escaping', respectively, and not vice versa.

## 7. GRADE 3B: BASIC INTRANSITIVES (H-L)

## 7.1. Form

A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
-i / -u / -a H-L			(pds)

Grade 3b verbs end in short -i, short -u, and short -a. The original/underlying final vowel is probably -i (or, at a more abstract level, \*-ə). The surface -u is presumably due to assimilation to the /u/ in the preceding syllable or to the bilabial /f/, whereas the -a is due to assimilation to the /a/ in the preceding syllable. These verbs are all disyllabic and all have H-L tone. Examples (complete):

**bāci** become damaged, spoiled; **fādī** fall; **tāshī** stand up, get up; **wunī** (= **yinī**) spend the day; **gudū** run (away); **haifū** (= **haihū**) give birth, have a child; **mutū** die; **ḡatā** get lost

ØHN/A  
from a  
gr3b v

The corres  
times)', ha

## 7.2. Mean

This is a le  
gr3a, those  
grade, the c  
fādā (= fa  
gudam mi  
kadā kà g  
is attacking  
macè man

The c  
vowel leng  
(with inse  
mutuwā ')

ØHN:  
the fin  
The l  
this r  
gener  
verbs

## 8. GRADE

## 8.1. For

A-Form
-ē H-L(-)
-nyē H-L

Grade 4 v  
strong H-  
gr1 verbs  
the short  
**bārgō** 'F  
e.g., **ruḡē**  
final vov  
many', **f**  
with a sh  
animal's

ØHN/ΔDN: The WH verb *zakà* 'come, go' (= SH *zō*) probably belongs to this class, i.e., it derives from a gr3b stem \**zakà*. Compare its verbal noun *zakùwà* with *fādùwà*, which corresponds to the gr3b verb *fādī* 'fall'.

The corresponding trisyllabic pluractional forms have H-H-L tone, e.g., *faffādī* 'fall (many people or times)', *hahhaifū* 'give birth often'.

### 7.2. Meaning and function

This is a lexically closed set of very basic intransitive verbs with a nonpatient subject. As with gr3 and gr3a, those gr3b verbs that allow an indirect object must either use the pds or switch to some other grade, the choice being lexically specific, e.g., *yā fādām minī* (gr3b+pds) 'It dropped on me', cf. *yā fādā* (= *faḥ*) *matà dà fādā* (gr1) 'He ranted at her' (lit. fell upon her with fighting); *shègèn nan yā gudām minī dà mōtā* (gr3b+pds) 'That bastard absconded with my car' (lit. ran from me with car), cf. *kadà kà gujè manà!* (gr4) 'Don't run away from us!'; *yanà tāsām matà da haurāgiyā* (gr3b+pds) 'He is attacking her with wild talk'; *Bellò yā facè minī* (g4) 'Bello escaped from my sight'; *tōcīlān tā macè manà* (gr4) 'The flashlight died on us' (< *mutū*).

The corresponding verbal nouns of gr3b verbs are formed in two ways. Either they undergo final vowel lengthening, in which case they are masculine, e.g., *gudū* 'running', or else they add a suffix *-ā* (with insertion of epenthetic glides and tone adjustments), in which case they are feminine, e.g., *mutuwā* 'dying, death'.

ØHN: Historically gr3 and gr3b represent basic intransitive verb classes distinguished primarily by the final vowel. The former all ended in the low vowel *-a* (and had L-H tone), e.g., \**ḥita* 'go out'. The latter ended in a high vowel (and had H-L tone), e.g., \**fādī* 'fall'. In Chadic, the exact quality of this non-low vowel (referred to loosely as "schwa") varies from language to language, appearing generally either as /i/, /u/, or /ə/. For the general distinction between Chadic *a*-verbs and schwa-verbs, see Newman (1975) and the discussion in §16.2 below.

## 8. GRADE 4: TOTALITY/FINALITY

### 8.1. Form

A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
-ē H-L-(H)	-ē H-L-(H)	-e H-L-(L)	-ē H-L-(H)
		-ē H-L-(H)	
-nyē H-L-(H)	-nyē H-L-(H)	-nye H-L-(L)	-nyē H-L-(H)
		-nyē H-L-(H)	

Grade 4 verbs end in *-e(e)*. The vowel is long in the A, B, and D forms. (Direct object pronouns use the strong H-tone set.) The pre-noun C-form has two variants, one with a short vowel (which patterns with gr1 verbs) and one with a long vowel. The long vowel variant is considered slightly more intensive than the short vowel variant, e.g., *yā kaḥkādē bārḡō* 'He shook out (dirt from) the blanket'; *yā kaḥkādē bārḡō* 'He shook out the blanket thoroughly.' Disyllabic gr4 verbs have H-L tone in all environments, e.g., *rufè* 'close', *fērè* 'pare', *narkè* 'melt'. The tone of polysyllabic verbs depends on the length of the final vowel. Verbs with long final *-ē* have H-L-H tone, e.g., *bincikē* 'investigate', *kaḥkashē* 'kill many', *ḥagaḥgājē* 'be shattered, smashed up', *taḥkaḥkārē* 'strive hard, exert oneself'. Polysyllabic verbs with a short *-e* in the C-form have H-L-L tone, e.g., *tsōkànè* 'poke, prod s.o.'; *dabaibàyè* 'hobble an animal's forefeet'.

◊HN: A reasonable suggestion is that the original final vowel of verbs with the gr4 extension was invariably long (like that of the final -ō of gr6) and that the short vowel variant before noun objects was created by analogy with gr1. The slight semantic differences that now exist between the two forms would have ensued as a secondary development.

°AN: Underlyingly, polysyllabic gr4 verbs have H-L-H tone. The H-L-L tone on the short final vowel C-forms is due to the same morphophonological lowering rule that operates with gr1 verbs (see §3.1 above).

ΔDN: We do not know whether all Hausa dialects have the two vowel-length options in the C-form and if not which variant occurs. (According to Malami Buba, personal communication, the Sokoto dialect only has the short vowel gr4.) In SH, the short vowel C-form would seem to be the unmarked form. I would not, however, be surprised if the long-vowel form were found to be the norm in some other dialects.

A few gr0 monoverbs employ a suffix **-nye(e)**, instead of the bare final vowel. These behave as polysyllabic verbs with H-L-H tone (the initial HL surfacing as a fall), e.g., **jányē** 'pull away' (= **jāyē** [dv]) < **jā** 'pull'; **shányē** 'drink up' < **shā** 'drink'; **cínyē** (= **cányē** [dv]) 'eat up' < **ci** 'eat'. The form **yínyē** 'complete' (= **wányē** [dv]) < **yi** 'do' is given in the dictionaries, but is now considered archaic. The **-nyē** suffix is also attested with the disyllabic gr0 verb **kirā** 'call', but only in the specialized verbal noun form **kirānyē** (= **kirāyē** [dv]) 'being summoned (often by magical means)'. Other monoverbs (ending in -i) add the regular **-ē** ending to an expanded base containing the suffix **-yà**, e.g., **riyē** 'despise' (< **ri(yà)** 'hate'); **biyē** 'follow all' < **bi(yà)** 'follow'; **fiyē** 'exceed' (often pre-i.o.) < **fi(yà)** 'exceed'.

◊HN: The ending with **-nyē** is an archaism going back to a Proto-Chadic totality extension, which can be reconstructed, for West Chadic at least, as **\*-ān(y)ē** (see Newman 1972a). The initial /a/ is reflected in the nonstandard forms **cányē** (= **cínyē**) 'eat up' and **wányē** (= **yínyē**) 'complete'.

The verb **cē** 'to say' can be treated as an irregular gr4 verb, probably derived from **\*canē**. In SH, **cē** typically undergoes a morphotonemic change to **cè** when preceded by an H-tone CV (light-syllable) pronoun, e.g.,

<b>wáddà ta cè</b> "mādàllā"	the one who said "thank you"
<b>nī nè na cè</b> "mādàllā"	I was the one who said "thank you".
cf. <b>yā/sun cè</b> "mādàllā"	He/they said "thank you".
cf. <b>sū nè sukà cè</b> "mādàllā"	They were the ones who said "thank you".

All gr4 verbs form weak verbal nouns with **-wā**, e.g., **rufèwā** 'closing', **cèwā** 'saying', **shányèwā** 'drinking up', **karfàdèwā** 'shaking out'.

## 8.2. Meaning and function

Grade 4, which includes both transitive and intransitive verbs, is an extremely common grade. Many of these verbs are derived from synchronically extant basic grade forms (gr0/1/2/3), but for others, gr4 has become the basic lexical item. Gr4 is a semantically heterogeneous grade whose verbs have a range of overlapping meanings and functions. The conventional label "totality" covers only one of these meanings and should not be interpreted too literally.

### 8.2.1. Totality/finality

Gr4 often indicates that the action of the verb has affected the totality or multiplicity of the object(s) or has affected them in such a way as to emphasize the intensity or finality of the action. With verbs indicating 'hitting' and such, gr4 generally adds the idea of 'knocking over'. If the verb is intransitive,

use of  
vowel

sá cik  
yā sa,  
nā bu  
sun h:  
kà sh  
nā fa  
mùgù

môtàt

Some

bindi:  
kyanl  
overcc  
becor

8.2.2

A secc  
'from'  
senten

yā jān  
tā fizg

yā nau  
zān yā  
sun sā

cf. sur  
kadā l  
yā bō:  
sai kà  
madai

Some  
verb,

baudè  
figè  
kakkà  
kèbè  
kaucè  
kubcè  
kwanc



use of the gr4 connotes totality of impact on the subject. (Note: In the examples, the length of the final vowel of the C-form, which can be long or short, will be given as found in my notes.)

<b>sá cikè buhunhunà</b>	They will likely fill up the sacks. (< <b>cikà</b> v1 fill)
<b>yā sayè audùgā</b>	He bought up the cotton. (< <b>sàyā</b> v2 buy)
<b>nā bugè shi</b>	I hit him so that he fell. (< <b>bùgā</b> v2 hit)
<b>sun hařbè zākì</b>	They shot dead the lion. (< <b>hařbā</b> v2 shoot)
<b>kà shānyè madařā!</b>	Drink up the milk! (< <b>shā</b> v0 drink)
<b>nā ßacè</b>	I am completely lost. (< <b>ßatà</b> v3b get lost)
<b>mùgùn sarkì yanà dannè hařkìn talakāwā</b>	
	The evil king is oppressing the common people. (< <b>dannà</b> v1 press down)
<b>mōtātā tā macè</b>	
	My car is kaput (i.e., died completely). (< <b>mutù</b> v3b die)

Some verbs with "totality" semantics now operate gr4 to the exclusion of a basic verb, e.g.,

**bindigè** gun down, execute (by firing squad); **binnè** bury; **garkè** close tightly (a door); **kashè** kill; **kyankènè** monopolize; **kāřè** finish (tr.), be finished (intr.); **langābè** become soft, mushy from overcooking or being overripe; **lanřwāmè** eat food greedily; **murkùshè** knock down, subdue; **rāmè** become emaciated; **řatattākè** shatter, disintegrate, deteriorate from age

### 8.2.2. Deprivative/separative

A second common meaning of gr4 (which may combine or overlap with the totality meaning) is action 'from' in a separative or deprivative (sometimes malefactive) sense. This shows up particularly when the sentence contains an indirect object. Examples:

<b>yā jānyè kūrā</b>	He dragged away the cart. (< <b>jā</b> v0 pull)
<b>tā řizgè manà kudř</b>	She snatched the money from us. (< <b>řizgā</b> v2 snatch)
<b>yā nařè tābarmā?</b>	Will he roll up the mat? (< <b>nařā</b> v1 wind on (e.g., a turban))
<b>zān yāgè yāđìn nān</b>	I'm going to tear off this cloth. (< <b>yāgā</b> v1 tear (up))
<b>sun sācè mìn zōbè</b>	They stole the ring from me. (< <b>sātā</b> v2 steal)
cf. <b>sun sātām mìn zōbè</b> (gr2+pds)	They stole the ring for me. (or They stole my ring.)
<b>kadā kà gujè manà!</b>	Don't run away from us! (< <b>gudù</b> v3b run)
<b>yā ßoyè matà littāř</b>	He hid the/her book from her. (< <b>ßūya</b> v3a hide)
<b>sai kà kaurācè wā kāřūwai</b>	You should avoid prostitutes. (< <b>kaura</b> v3a migrate)
<b>madařā tā zubè</b>	The milk spilled away. (< <b>zūba</b> v3 leak)

Some verbs with separative/deprivative semantics also now operate gr4 to the exclusion of the basic verb, e.g.,

<b>baudè</b>	swerve aside	<b>sālè</b>	peel/scrape away
<b>řigè</b>	pluck out hair, feathers	<b>sullūbè</b>	slip from
<b>kakkābè</b>	shake dust off, shed leaves	<b>tūbè</b>	take off (clothing), depose
<b>kēbè</b>	set aside	<b>wāgè</b>	fly open (e.g., mouth)
<b>kauçè</b>	dodge, avoid	<b>wāřè</b>	separate, set aside
<b>kubçè</b>	wrestle away from	<b>yācè</b>	wipe away perspiration
<b>kwancè</b>	untie (v.t.), become untied (v.i.)	<b>yāyè</b>	wean

## 8.2.3. Intransitive

In many cases, the grade 4 represents the intransitive (unaccusative) member of a transitive/intransitive verb pair without the addition of any extra semantic nuance. The transitive verb is usually gr1. Examples:

<b>ḥalgàcē</b>	become chipped (intr.)	<b>ḥalgàtā</b>	break off, chip off (tr.)
<b>dad'è</b>	be or last long (intr.)	<b>dad'ā</b>	add, increase (tr.)
<b>fash'è</b>	break, become smashed, explode (intr.)	<b>fas'ā</b>	break, smash (tr.)
<b>hūj'è</b>	become pierced (intr.)	<b>hūd'ā</b>	pierce (tr.)
<b>kaf'è</b>	get stuck (intr.)	<b>kaf'ā</b>	put up, erect (tr.)
<b>kary'è</b>	break, snap (intr.)	<b>kary'ā</b>	break, snap (tr.)
<b>lauy'è</b>	become bent, arched (intr.)	<b>lauy'ā</b>	bend (tr.)
<b>nark'è</b>	melt (intr.)	<b>nark'ā</b>	melt (tr.)
<b>ḥagaḥgāj'è</b>	fall apart, disintegrate (intr.)	<b>ḥagaḥgāz'ā</b>	break up (tr.)
<b>yāmùts'è</b>	crumble (intr.)	<b>yāmùts'ā</b>	mix up (tr.)

ØHN: Furniss (1983) has suggested that the present gr4 might represent the merger of two historically distinct extensions: a totality extension and a detransitivizing extension. I have not been able to find any internal or comparative evidence to support this hypothesis. My guess is that we are dealing with one and the same extension and that the widespread use of the gr4 as a detransitivizer is due to a combination of semantic bleaching (weakening of the totality connotation) plus a natural association found in many languages between intransitive usage and finality/completeness.

A gr4 verb derived from a basic transitive verb can sometimes serve as a semantically fairly neutral intransitive or else as a transitive verb that is semantically marked (either as totality/finality or deprivative/separative), e.g.,

<b>ctj'è</b>	bite all (tr.), become jammed (intr.); cf. <b>cìz'ā</b> v2 bite
<b>līk'è</b>	seal up (tr.), be stuck (intr.); cf. <b>līk'ā</b> v1 stick on, attach to
<b>tsāg'è</b>	split all (tr.), become split (intr.); cf. <b>tsāg'ā</b> v1 split
<b>yāg'è</b>	tear away (tr.), be torn (intr.); cf. <b>yāg'ā</b> v1 tear (up)

Because of the development of grade 4 as a semantically neutral grade for intransitive verbs, one now finds doublets where an intransitive gr4 is semantically equivalent (more or less) to a basic gr3 intransitive, e.g.,

<b>fiyāy'è</b> v4	become mildewed, moldy = <b>fiyāy'ā</b> v3
<b>gīgic'è</b> v4	be flustered = <b>gīgīt'ā</b> (rare) v3
<b>gum'è</b> v4	be filled with an odor = <b>gūm'ā</b> v3 (rare)
<b>gurgūnc'è</b> v4	become lame = <b>gūrgūnt'ā</b> v3 (less common)
<b>rub'è</b> v4	rot = <b>rūb'ā</b> v3

## 8.2.4. Neutral/unmarked (semantic devaluation)

For large numbers of verbs, some transitive, some intransitive, and some both, gr4 has now become the basic form synchronically, i.e., these verbs no longer, or rarely, operate gr1, gr2, or gr3 forms. Originally these verbs must have carried distinctive gr4 extensional semantics—and in some cases, it is still recognizable—but nowadays the extra semantics has faded away and these verbs constitute

semantically neutral forms. Note that the use of gr4 as the neutral form applies to derived verbs (such as those containing the verbalizing suffix -TA) as well as to simple stems. Here are some selected examples out of the hundreds that one could cite:

**amàyé** vomit up; **café** catch object that has been thrown; **cé** (irregular gr4) say; **dabaibàyé** hobble an animal's forefeet, entangle (tr.), become entangled (intr.); **dāgūlē** become spoiled, disturbed; **darjè** slither, graze the skin; choose the best of; **daurè** tolerate (tr.), be patient, persevere (intr.); **dundè** be overcast; **dushè** fade, become dim; **fàcè** patch sth (< Eng.); **fēfè** flay, skin an animal; **fēkè** sharpen to a point; **gōdè** thank; **guřdè** twist, sprain (tr.), be twisted or sprained (intr.); **gwammàcè** be preferable; **kasàncè** become, happen, turn out that; **kōkè** fade (of colors); **kwarè** become expert; **kyālè** ignore; **mafè** patch, mend (esp. clothing); **mōrè** enjoy (tr.), enjoy oneself (intr.); **ragè** reduce, decrease (tr.), remain left (intr.); **rantsè** swear; **shantàkè** dawdle, loll about; **tājè** comb (cf. VN **tāzā** from original gr2 verb); **wallàcè** [WH] swear; **warkè** be cured, recover (tr. is gr5); **wāyé** be enlightened, enlighten

## 9. GRADE 5: EFFERENTIAL

### 9.1. Form

A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
-ař H	-ař [dà] H	-ař [dà] H	-ař [dà] H
	-shē H		
	-Ø [dà] H	-Ø [dà] H	

The gr5 ending **-ař**<sup>H</sup>, which is used in A, B, C, and D forms, is unique among the grade extensions (and most other Hausa suffixes) in that it ends in a consonant rather than a vowel, e.g., **fiřař** 'take out', **sanař** 'inform', **kōyař** 'teach'. This suffix derives historically from **//-as//**, a shape that is still found in other dialects (and occasionally in SH) and still shows up synchronically in SH in the B-form allomorph **-shē**.

ØHN: The gr5 **-as** suffix has often been compared with the **s**-causative found throughout Afroasiatic (see, for example, Hodge 1971). There are two problems with this comparison. First, as will be discussed below, the description of the Hausa gr5 as a "causative" is inaccurate. Second, although good cognates exist throughout the Chadic family for many verbal extensions, **/s/** as a causative-like affix in Chadic is barely attested, if at all. One thus has to entertain the possibility that the identity of the Hausa **-s** and other **-s** forms in Afroasiatic is simply a phonological accident without historical significance.

The tone pattern is all H, e.g., **tsōrařař** 'frighten off', **wulākantař** 'treat contemptuously'. Gr0 monoverbs insert an epenthetic **/y/** before the suffix, e.g., **bā-y-ař** 'give away', **ci-y-ař** 'feed'. (This glide is added by a phonological rule and is *not* evidence of a second root consonant in these words, as has been suggested by various scholars.) The verbs **tāfi** 'go' and **gāji** 'tire' build their gr5 stems on the extended bases **//tafiy-//** and **//gajiy-//** respectively, e.g., **tafiyař** 'administer, run' (not **\*tafař**), **gajiyař** 'tire/bore s.o.' (not **\*gazař**).

°AN: At an analytical level, there is reason to suggest that monoverbs require a heavy syllable as a host for the suffix, i.e., the base vowel must be lengthened if not already long. This morphophonological lengthening is then wiped out by a general phonological rule shortening long **/i/** before **/y/**, i.e., **ci** 'eat' + **-ař** ⇒ **//ci-y-ař//** → **/ciyař/** 'feed'. (This seemingly inefficient

sequence of morphophonemic lengthening followed by phonologically automatic shortening is also attested in the case of the genitive linker (see note in §43:2.1.3.)

Thematic objects of gr5 are typically expressed, not as syntactic direct objects, but rather as oblique objects of the particle *dà*, e.g., *yā shāyař dà dōkì* 'He watered the horse', *tanà sayar dà sū* 'She is selling them.' In normal speech, the /r/ of the suffix assimilates fully to the /d/ of the particle, e.g., *yā sanar dà gwamnà* → /*yā sanad dà gwamnà*/ 'He informed the governor', *kadà kì zubar dà mái* → *kadà kì zubar dà mái* 'Don't pour out the oil.'

°AN: This assimilation is indicated, for example, in the entries in Abraham's dictionary (1962). According to the *Official Guide to Hausa Orthography* (1979), the assimilation is supposed to be ignored in writing; but in actual practice it is commonplace to find people writing *d* rather than *r* before *dà*.

Gr5 verbs form weak verbal nouns with *-wā*. The L tone of the suffix attaches to the preceding syllable to produce a fall, e.g., *fitar + -wā* → *fitarwā* 'taking out', *kařantar + -wā* → *kařantarwā* 'teaching'.

### 9.1.1. The short-form grade 5

Some twenty or so verbs—mostly gr0 verbs plus a few common disyllabic verbs with a light first syllable—have a short-form grade 5 without the *-ar* suffix. This form is always used along with the *dà* particle before an expressed direct object (noun or pronoun), e.g., *yā zub dà giyà* 'He poured out the beer' (= *yā zubar dà giyà*); *yā zub dà ita* 'He poured it out/away.' The syllable preceding the *dà* is invariably heavy, either CVC or CVV, where the long vowel may be a monophthong or the diphthong /ai/ (derived from //ay//). In SH, *gajiyar* 'tire, bore', *tafiyar* 'run, administer', and *wahalar* 'cause trouble' are about the only trisyllabic gr5 verbs to have corresponding short forms. Examples (complete):

<i>bā dà</i>	give away (= <i>bāyar dà</i> ) < <i>bā</i> / <i>bai</i> give to
<i>bī dà</i>	control (= <i>biyar dà</i> ) < <i>bī</i> follow
<i>cī dà</i>	feed (= <i>ciyar dà</i> ) < <i>cī</i> eat
<i>kā dà</i>	knock down (= <i>kāyar dà</i> ) < * <i>kā</i>
<i>shā dà</i>	give water to (= <i>shāyar dà</i> ) < <i>shā</i> drink
<i>tā dà</i>	raise (= <i>tāyar dà</i> ) < * <i>tā</i> (cf. <i>tāshì</i> get up)
<i>yā dà</i>	throw away (irreg. = <i>yar dà</i> ) < * <i>yā</i>
<i>bad dà</i> (< //bat dà//)	lose, squander (= <i>batar dà</i> ) < <i>batà</i> get lost
<i>fid dà</i> (< //fit dà//)	take out (= <i>fitar dà</i> ) < <i>fita</i> go out
<i>gai dà</i>	greet (= <i>gayar dà</i> ) < <i>gayà</i> tell
<i>ī dà</i> (< //iy dà//)	accomplish (= <i>iyar dà</i> ) < <i>iyà</i> be able
<i>kau dà</i>	move sth aside (= <i>kawar dà</i> ) < <i>kau</i> (< * <i>kāwa</i> ) move aside
<i>mai dà</i>	return (= <i>mayar dà</i> ) < <i>māyā</i> replace
<i>rau dà</i>	shake sth (= <i>rawar dà</i> ) < * <i>rāwa</i> (cf. <i>rawā</i> dancing)
<i>sai dà</i>	sell (= <i>sayar dà</i> ) < <i>sāyā</i> buy
<i>tsai dà</i>	stop sth (= <i>tsayar dà</i> ) < <i>tsayà</i> stop, stand
<i>zub dà</i>	pour out/away (= <i>zubar dà</i> ) < <i>zubà</i> pour in
<i>gajī dà</i>	tire, bore (= <i>gajiyar dà</i> ) < <i>gàji</i> become tired
<i>tafi dà</i>	run, administer (= <i>tafiyar dà</i> ) < <i>tàfi</i> go
<i>wahal dà</i>	cause s.o. trouble (= <i>wahalar dà</i> ) < <i>wàhalà</i> have trouble

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### 9.1.2. T

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◊HN: [i] The variant **yař dā** (= **yā dā**) 'throw away' is probably derived by phonological haplogy from an original long-form gr5 \***yāyař dā**. Note that unlike true short-form gr5 verbs, **yař** can be used without an immediately following direct object, e.g., **kadā kà yař!** 'Don't throw (it) away!' and forms a weak verbal noun with **-wā**, e.g., **ābīn dā sukē yāřwā** 'the thing that they were throwing away'.

[ii] The irregular verb **yī dā** (sometimes **yī dā**) 'slander', which does not have a corresponding long form, is sometimes included as a gr5 short form, but this is probably an error. More likely, it is a gr0 verb in a sociative construction with the preposition **dā**. As with other sociative verbs, the **yī** in **yī dā** alters into the corresponding verbal noun in nonfinite environments, e.g., **sunā yī dā mālām** 'They are slandering the teacher', cf. a true gr5 short-form that retains its underlying H tone in the same environment, **sunā cī dā yārā** 'They are feeding the children.'

### 9.1.2. The -shē form

Gr5 verbs plus the particle **dā** are used before pronoun objects as well as before noun objects. The thematic object following **dā** is expressed by an independent pronoun, e.g., **nā kōyař dā ita** 'I taught her', **zā sū sanāř dā mū** 'They will inform us', **kū cī dā sū** 'Feed them', **yā kā dā nī** 'He will likely throw me down.'

Many verbs allow a true pre-pronominal B-form with what on the surface looks like a suffix **-shē**. With most verbs, especially those that have a short-form, the **-shē** appears as such directly after the base, e.g., **cīshē sū** 'feed them', **bāshē sū** 'give them away', **fišshē** (< //fišhē//) **sū** 'take them out', **tsarshē sū** 'protect them', **zūbshē sū** 'pour them out/away', **wahāshē sū** 'cause trouble to them', **hākurshē sū** 'enjoin patience on them'.

◊HN/°AN: Phonological differences notwithstanding, the so-called **-shē** suffix is really nothing but the gr5 final **-ř** followed by the pre-pronominal vowel **-ē**. That is, /**sh**/ is a palatalized manifestation of the //s// which is the historically and analytically underlying form of the gr5 suffix. In SH, the word-final **-s** is normally realized as /**ř**/, but in other dialects the /**s**/ is still preserved, i.e., //zūbas// = **zūbař** 'pour out'. When followed by the front vowel, the /**s**/ does not change to **ř**, but rather undergoes regular palatalization, i.e., //zūbsē// → **zūbshē**. The /**ē**/ in the **-shē** suffix is reminiscent of the /**ē**/ found in the B-form of gr2 verbs, compare **nā zūbshē sū** 'I poured them away' (gr5) with **nā cījē sū** 'I bit them' (gr2).

With some verbs, one finds a longer suffix, **-asshē** (with geminate /**shsh**/), e.g.,

<b>ganasshē sū</b>	show them	<b>sanasshē sū</b>	inform them
<b>hūtasshē sū</b>	put them at rest	<b>kařantasshē sū</b>	teach them

◊HN: The original shape of the gr5 suffix used in the B-form was probably \***-asē**, which, with palatalization, surfaced as **-ashē**. Thus one would have had such examples as \***zūbashē** and \***sanashē**. In most cases, the medial short /**a**/ was dropped, e.g., \***zūb(a)shē** → **zūbshē**. In those instances where the vowel was retained, the **s** (= **sh**) was doubled for metrical purposes, e.g., \***sanashē** → **sanasshē**.

The object pronouns following **-shē** belong to the L-tone weak object set (which is also used with gr2 verbs), e.g., **mū gaishē shì** 'Let's greet him'; **zā sū sanasshē mū** 'They will inform us', **nā cīshē shì gāba** 'I promoted him.'

In SH (and in other dialects as well), the **-shē** form is becoming less and less common. Instead, the construction with **dā** is generally used, e.g., **zān fid dā sū** = **zān fitař dā sū** 'I will take them out' is preferred over **zān fišshē sū**. Exceptions are commonly used, lexicalized gr5 verbs such as **gaishē** 'greet', e.g., **mū gaishē shì!** 'Let's greet him!'

ΔDN: In recent times, the word *gaishē* has been reinterpreted in the Kano area as a fused form that is allowed to be used along with *dà*, e.g., *inā gaishē dà mijinā* 'I am greeting my husband', *kà gaishē min dà iyāli!* 'Greet your family for me!' I have no information as to how widely this innovation has spread.

◊HN: The *-shē* forms are well documented in the major dictionaries and clearly described in early grammars, e.g., Mischlich (1911: 57). What this indicates is that the loss of the *-shē* forms is a recent historical development. The explanation has to do with the phonological realization of the *\*-s* suffix. The modern-day pronunciation of the */s/* is either */ř/* in final position or */d/* before *dà*, e.g., *yā zubar* 'He poured (it) out', *yā zubar dà mǎi* 'He poured out the oil.' In the case of the short-form gr5 verbs, which, when they exist, are commonly used, the */s/* is dropped entirely, e.g., *yā zub dà mǎi*. Thus for native speakers—as has been the case for many linguists!—there is no immediately observable morphological relation between the ending *-shē* and the normal gr5 formation. Because it is easy to avoid the synchronically anomalous *-shē* form by using alternative constructions, speakers are increasingly avoiding its use.

### 9.1.3. Dialect variants:

Grade 5 is unusual among Hausa grades not only in its internal morphological complexity, but also in the considerable dialect variation that it exhibits, something that has still been barely studied. Here, I shall simply present structures corresponding to the SH gr5 that have been reported in two dialects, one from the east, the Guddiri dialect of the Azare area (Katagum emirate) of Nigeria (Bagari 1982, [1984]), and one from the northwest, the Ader dialect of the Tawa area of Niger (Caron 1991). Note that in neither dialect is the *dà* particle used.

#### Guddiri "grade 5"

A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
-si H	-shē H	-si H	-si H

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| A. <i>rīgā na saist</i>                         | It's a gown I sold.                     |
| B. <i>nā saishē tà dà wuri</i>                  | I sold it early.                        |
| C. <i>yāu nā saisi kāyānā dà wuri</i>           | Today I sold the goods early.           |
| D. <i>wannān nē rīgār dà Audù ya saisi makà</i> | This is the gown that Audu sold to you. |

All of the forms contain */s/*, the essential pan-dialectal consonant in the gr5 morpheme. Interestingly, palatalization takes place only in the B-form before *-ē* and not in the C- or D-forms before *-i(i)*. (From the information available, it appears that the *-i* in the D-form is long—which is what one would expect—however, this needs to be verified.)

#### Ader "grade 5"

A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
-suwǎ H-L	-shē H	-sa H-L	-s (+pds) H

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| A. <i>tuhwǎnā yaḅ ɓassuwǎ (&lt; //ɓat-suwǎ//)</i> | It was my clothes he lost.                         |
| B. <i>yaḅ ɓasshē sù</i>                           | He lost them.                                      |
| C. <i>yaḅ ɓassà tuhwǎn Àbdū</i>                   | He lost Abdu's clothes.                            |
| D. <i>yaḅ ɓassam min tuhwǎ</i>                    | He lost my clothes. (lit. he lost from.me clothes) |

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Verb bases with the shape CVV (plus some CVC and CVVC bases) add the suffix directly, e.g., *sai-suwà* 'sell' (< *sàyà* 'buy'), *his-suwà* 'take out' (< *hita* 'go out'). Other verbs connect the base to the suffix by means of /a/ plus gemination (as found with some verbs in SH before the suffix -*shē*), e.g., *hirgitas-suwà* 'frighten s.o.' < *hirgità* 'get frightened', or by means of long /ā/, e.g., *hirā-shē* 'make fly' (< *hira* 'fly up'). The D-form uses both the gr5 suffix -s and the pds -aC)<sup>H</sup>, which appears as -am because of the following /m/ initial indirect object marker, e.g., *his-s-am* 'take out for'.

°AN: Some scholars have erroneously equated the pds in SH, which has the shape -aC, with the gr5 -ař suffix. This confusion is due to the fact that in SH, they look alike on the surface, e.g., *yā nēmař* (gr2+pds) *wà Bālā aikì* 'He sought work for Bala', vs. *yā sayar* (gr5) *dà mōtā* 'He sold a car.' The fact that these morphemes can co-occur in the Ader dialect, where they are phonologically distinct, e.g., *his-s-am* 'take out for' is strong evidence that they are fundamentally different from and independent of one another.

## 9.2. Meaning and function

In traditional works on Hausa, gr5 verbs were described as *causative*. This term, however, is semantically inaccurate at the descriptive level and is misleading for comparative and typological purposes. I have thus dropped the term. In its place, I have adopted the alternative *efferential*, a coinage that was proposed to capture the fact that the major feature of the gr5 extension is to indicate, not causation, but action directed out and away. (The true causative in Hausa is an analytical construction employing the verb *sā* 'put, cause', see chap. 12.) The efferential has both semantic and syntactic functions. Semantically, it generally adds the notion of action directed away from the speaker. Syntactically, it serves to transitivize inherently intransitive verbs with an actor subject. The various semantic subclasses and the syntactic function of gr5 will be illustrated in turn.

°AN: The term *efferential* was first proposed in Newman (1983). Since then it has gained a considerable degree of acceptance among Hausaists and Chadacists although it has not entirely displaced the long established and familiar term *causative*. Some scholars have stuck with *causative* because they are convinced—wrongly in my opinion—that the syntactic/semantic properties of gr5 are such that *causative* is an appropriate label. Others, however, continue to use it, while acknowledging its descriptive inadequacies, either out of inertia or because they are not entirely happy with the alternative term *efferential*.

### 9.2.1. Action away in a fairly literal directional sense.

With some verbs, the gr5 derivation adds the notion of action away, sometimes with an extra connotation of disposal or riddance, e.g.,

<i>bāyař</i>	give away, betray < <i>bā/bai</i> give to	<i>bugar</i>	knock over < <i>bùgā</i> hit
<i>jēfar</i>	throw away < <i>jēfā</i> throw at	<i>harbar</i>	kick off < <i>hārba</i> shoot, kick
<i>rabař</i>	distribute < <i>rabà</i> divide, share	<i>tōfar</i>	spit out < <i>tōfā</i> spit
<i>tūrař</i>	push away < <i>tūrā</i> push	<i>zubar</i>	pour out, spill out < <i>zubā</i> pour (in)
e.g., <i>tā zubar dà madařā</i>	She poured out the milk. (gr5)		
cf. <i>tā zubā madařā cikin řwaryā</i>	She poured the milk in the calabash. (gr1)		

### 9.2.2. Action away in a conceptual sense

With many verbs, the gr5 extension serves to shift the locus of the action away from the speaker in a conceptual rather than a literally directional sense; compare, for example, the gr2 verb *sàyā* 'buy' with the gr5 *sayar* 'sell'. Other examples:

<b>arař</b>	lend < <b>arā</b> borrow	<b>aunař</b>	weigh and sell off < <b>aunā</b> weigh
<b>aurař</b>	marry off < <b>aurā</b> marry	<b>gādař</b>	bequeath < <b>gādā</b> inherit
<b>kōyař</b>	teach < <b>kōyā</b> learn	<b>kařantař</b>	teach < <b>kařantā</b> read
<b>sanař</b>	inform < <b>sanī</b> know	<b>ganař</b>	show < <b>gani</b> see
<b>ciyař</b>	feed, provide for < <b>ci</b> eat	<b>shāyař</b>	give water to < <b>shā</b> drink

Verbs such as the above that also operate gr1 applicatives (see §3.2.2 above) generally prefer the gr1 to the gr5 when used with an indirect object, e.g.,

<b>sunā kōyař dà lissāfi</b> (v5)	They are teaching mathematics.
cf. <b>sunā kōyā manā lissāfi</b> (v1)	They are teaching us mathematics.
<b>bā zān arař dà kēkēnā ba</b> (v5)	I won't lend my bicycle.
cf. <b>bā zān arā mā kēkēnā ba</b> (v1)	I won't lend you my bicycle.
<b>yā aurař dà 'yā tasā</b> (v5)	He married off his daughter.
cf. <b>yā aurā wā dattjō 'yā tasā</b> (v1)	He married his daughter to the gentleman.

Alternatively, one can sometimes express the thematic indirect object with a gr5 verb by means of a prepositional phrase with **gà(rē)** after the direct object, e.g.,

<b>yā aurař dà 'yā tasā gà wani dattjō</b>	He married off his daughter to some gentleman.
<b>bā zān arař dà kēkēnā gàrē kà ba</b>	I won't lend my bicycle to you.

The preference for the applicative gr1 over the efferential gr5 also applies in some cases where the added element is a locative rather than a dative, e.g.,

<b>nā jūyař dà shī</b> (v5)	I turned it around.
cf. <b>nā jūyā shī wajen Rōfā</b> (v1)	I turned it toward the door.

### 9.2.3. Semantically empty, stylistic preference

With some verbs, especially denominatives formed with the verbalizing suffix **-TA**, gr5 is semantically equivalent (as far as one can determine) to the corresponding gr1 form. If gr5 adds anything, it is a little extra strength and stylistic nicety. Examples:

<b>halakař = halākā</b> destroy, wipe out	<b>kāwatař = kāwātā</b> beautify, adorn
<b>rikitař = rikitā</b> muddle up	<b>tsōratař = tsōrātā</b> frighten (off)
<b>wakilitař = wakiltā</b> appoint as representative	<b>wulākantař = wulākāntā</b> treat contemptuously

### 9.2.4. Transitivity

Intransitive unaccusative verbs with a patient subject usually appear in gr3 or gr4. The corresponding transitive verbs are normally gr1 (less often, gr2), e.g., **cika** v3 'become full', **cikā** v1 'fill'; **karyē** 'break, become broken', **karyā** v1 'break sth'; **zāfafa** v3 'become hot', **zāfāfā** v1 'heat up'; **kāryatā** v3 'prove false', **kāryātā** v1 'contradict'; **zūba** v3 'spill, leak', **zūbā** v1 'pour (in)' (cf. **zubař** v5 'pour out'). Inherently intransitive verbs with a nonpatient subject, on the other hand, form their transitive counterparts by means of the gr5 derivation. This grammatical role of gr5 is part of the same overall efferential concept of having the action move away from the subject toward the patient. Examples:

<b>ḡatař</b>	lose, spend, squander < <b>ḡatā</b> v3b get lost
<b>fādāř</b>	drop sth < <b>fādī</b> v3b fall



<b>faɗakaɗ</b>	awaken s.o., enlighten < <b>faɗkà</b> v1 (= <b>faɗakà</b> v3) wake up
<b>fiɗaɗ</b>	take out < <b>fiɗa</b> v3 go out
<b>gajijaɗ</b>	tire, bore s.o. < <b>gàji</b> v3* become tired
<b>kawaɗ</b>	move sth to another place < <b>kau</b> (< * <b>kàwa</b> v3) move out of the way
<b>saukaɗ</b>	lift sth down, unload < <b>sàukà</b> v3 get down
<b>tásaɗ</b>	start (e.g., a car) < <b>tàshì</b> v3b get up
<b>tafiyaɗ</b>	run, administer < <b>tàfi</b> v3* go
<b>tsayaɗ</b>	stop sth < <b>tsayà</b> v1 stop, stand
<b>tsiraɗ / tsèraɗ</b>	save, rescue < <b>tsira</b> v3a escape, <b>tsèrè</b> v4 escape from
<b>warkaɗ</b>	cure < <b>warkè</b> v4 get well

### 9.3. Syntactic structure

The grade 5 form with the suffix **-aɗ** is used in constructions corresponding to the A, B, C, and D syntactic environments, e.g.,

A. <b>mè sukà fiɗaɗ?</b>	What did they take out?
B. <b>sun fiɗaɗ dà ita</b>	They took it/her out.
C. <b>sun fiɗaɗ dà mōtà</b>	They took out the car.
D. <b>sun fiɗaɗ manà dà mōtà</b>	They took out the car for us.

When followed by a semantic object, the particle **dà**, which phonologically is homophonous with the preposition **dà** 'with', is inserted between the **-aɗ** verb stem and the oblique object. The common inclusion of **dà** in the representation of gr5 verbs in grammatical tables and in dictionary entries is meant to show that although **dà** is not part of the verb, it obligatorily accompanies it when an object is expressed.

°AN/ØHN: Abraham (1959b: 68ff.) views the **dà** as an essential suffixal element on the verb, which is deleted in the A context. For him, one would get derivations such as **sun sayarɗà nāmà** 'They sold meat' ⇒ \***nāmà sukà sayarɗà** ⇒ **nāmà sukà sayar** 'It was meat they sold.' I would view the matter in reverse fashion, i.e., treat the verb qua verb as *not* containing **dà**, the **dà** only being inserted by a late rule *if and only if* it is required by the surface syntactic structure. For example, \*//**sun sayar nāmà**// could be transformed directly into **nāmà sukà sayar** (without requiring deletion of **dà**, which was never there); otherwise **dà** would be inserted, i.e., **sun sayar dà nāmà**. This insertion rule approach can be illustrated well with topicalized structures, which allow either a resumptive pronoun or omission of the repeated noun: //**àkuyà kàm, yā sayar Ø**// ⇒ **àkuyà kàm, yā sayar** 'As for the goat, he sold (it)'; cf. //**àkuyà kàm, yā sayar ta**// ⇒ **àkuyà kàm, yā sayar dà ita** 'As for the goat he sold (it).' Viewed in this perspective, **dà** is neither a semantically specified preposition nor a grade formative, but rather an "empty morph" inserted by a late, morphophonological adjustment rule.

The introduction of **dà** into the verb system with gr5 verbs was undoubtedly due to the phonological "accident" that resulted in a consonant-final grade suffix (**-as / -aɗ**). (Originally, all verbs of whatever grade must have ended in a vowel.) The motivation for adding **dà** was clearly to avoid a consonant-final verb from being followed immediately by a direct object. (Note, for example, that in the Guddiri dialect, where the B-form and C-form of gr5 verbs end in **-shē** and **-si**, respectively, **dà** is not employed, nor is **dà** used in SH with the **-shē** form.) The details of the scenario obviously need to be worked out, but it would seem that what we have here is a straightforward instance of a syntactic change from direct object to oblique being put in motion by a morphophonological development.

Strictly speaking, the **-aḥ** form does not occur in B and C environments, because these environments are narrowly defined in terms of the verb being followed immediately by a direct object (personal pronoun or NP other than personal pronoun, respectively). With the gr5 **-aḥ** form, one does not have a true direct object; rather, the thematic object is expressed syntactically as an oblique object of the particle **dà**. The pronouns following **dà** are not direct object pronouns, but rather are independent pronouns, this also being the pronoun set used with true prepositions. By contrast, the so-called **-shē** suffix creates a true B-form, which takes enclitic weak object pronouns. Compare the following (where the hyphen marks clitics connected to the verb):

<b>yā cī dà sū = yā cīshē-sū</b>	He fed them.
<b>sunà sanaḥ dà shī = sunà sanasshē-shī</b>	They are informing him.
<b>kà zub(aḥ) dà ita = kà zubshē-tà</b>	You should pour it out.

ΔDN: Another possibility, at least for some speakers, is to juxtapose a high-tone strong direct object pronoun immediately after the suffix **-aḥ** without using **dà**, for example, **an fitaḥ ni** 'They sent me out' (= **an fitaḥ dà ni**); **yā bāyaḥ ta** 'He betrayed her' (= **yā bāyaḥ dà ita**); **sun ciyaḥ shi gāba** 'They promoted him' (= **sun ciyaḥ dà shī gāba**); **sun azabtaḥ mu** 'They tortured us' (= **sun azabtaḥ dà mū**). (The final **-ḥ** normally assimilates fully to the following consonant, i.e., the examples above are pronounced [fitanni], [bāyatta], [ciyasshi], [azabtammu].) This variant is considered "archaic" by modern SH speakers and is rarely used, but it is still recognized and deemed grammatical.

Although **dà** is clearly a separable particle and not a verbal suffix—it occurs only with the verb in certain environments and not others—when it is found immediately next to the verb, it bonds to it as a clitic and phonologically often conditions full assimilation of the preceding **ḥ**. Contrary to the standard orthography, which puts a space between the verb and the **dà**, it would be preferable analytically to adopt a transcription involving a hyphen, i.e., **cī-dà**, **fid-dà**, **sanaḥ-dà**, etc.

The difference between the synchronic status of the gr5 **-dà** and the homophonous preposition **dà** 'with', which occurs with sociative verbs (often gr1 or gr3), can be seen most clearly in how they affect the use of weak verbal nouns formed with **ḥ-wā**. With sociatives, where the **dà** functions as a separate word following the A-form of the verb, the verb in a nonfinite environment is necessarily replaced by the corresponding weak verbal noun, e.g.,

<b>tanà kulāwā dà yārā</b>	She is looking after the children.
cf. <b>takàn kulā dà yārā</b>	She looks after the children.
<b>bā à sàbàwā dà wāhalā</b>	One doesn't become accustomed to trouble.
<b>munà ta gaisàwā dà mutānē</b>	We were greeting the men.

Grade 5 verbs, on the other hand, always use the finite verb form when followed by **-dà**, not the **ḥ-wā** verbal noun. The verbal noun is used only in an A environment where the **-dà** is absent. Examples (with a hyphen used to indicate the close bonding between the verb and **dà**):

<b>tanà zubaḥ-dà ruwā</b>	She is pouring out the water. ( <i>not **tanà zubārwā dà ruwā</i> )
cf. <b>ruwā nē takē zubārwā</b>	It is water she is pouring out.
<b>bā mǎ tsōrataḥ-dà sū</b>	We are not frightening them off.
cf. <b>wà kukē tsōratārwā?</b>	Who are you frightening off?
<b>tsayaḥ-dà injin yanà dà wūyā</b>	Stopping the engine is difficult.
cf. <b>tsayārwā tanà dà wūyā</b>	Stopping (it) is difficult.

°AN: The gender distinction between *tsayař-dà injin* (m.) and *tsayařwā* (f.) is because infinitive phrases are masculine whereas weak verbal nouns with *̀wā* are feminine.

°HN: Synchronically it seems evident that the preposition *dà* and the gr5 particle *dà* must be treated as distinct morphemes. What we don't know is whether historically they represent two separate morphemes that just happen to be phonologically homophonous, or whether they represent specialized uses of what originally was one and the same item—an alternative that I think is more likely.

### 9.3.1. Grade 5 with indirect objects

A peculiarity of gr5 verbs concerns the use and position of *dà* when the sentence contains an indirect object (i.o.). (For purposes of the exposition here, I shall refer to the thematic direct object as d.o. even when it syntactically consists of *dà* and an oblique object.) With pronoun i.o.'s, the situation is straightforward. The word order is V + i.o. + d.o.

<i>zāi tsayař [mukù]<sub>i.o.</sub> dà mōtā</i>	He will stop the car for you (pl.).
<i>sōjà yā tsērař [manā]<sub>i.o.</sub> dà 'yā'yanmù</i>	The soldier rescued our children for us.
<i>sunā zubař [matā]<sub>i.o.</sub> dà māi</i>	They are pouring out the oil for her.

With noun i.o.'s, on the other hand, the matter is much more complicated. Here one finds four different possibilities, all of which are considered to be fully grammatical: (1) In the first, the indirect object marker *wà* and the particle *dà* are "stacked" one after the other, followed by their respective objects, e.g., *zāi fitař wà dà Tankò àkwātì* 'He will take out the box for Tanko.' This is the preferred option for many SH speakers. (2) The second option is to use *dà* twice, first immediately after *wà* and then also before the thematic d.o., e.g., *zāi fitař wà dà Tankò dà àkwātì*. (3) The third option is to omit the *dà* and thus treat the thematic object as a true d.o. rather than as an oblique object, e.g., *zāi fitař wà Tankò àkwātì*. The preference with regard to the second and third options varies from speaker to speaker (and presumably from (sub)dialect to (sub)dialect). (4) The fourth option parallels the pronoun i.o. construction, i.e., one gets V i.o. (= *wà* + NP) d.o. (= *dà* + NP), e.g., *zāi fitař wà Tankò dà àkwātì*. Surprisingly, for many speakers, this "straightforward" structure is the least preferred of the options. Examples:

1. <i>yā tsayař wà dà mālām mōtā</i>	He stopped the car for the teacher.
= 2. <i>yā tsayař wà dà mālām dà mōtā</i>	
= 3. <i>yā tsayař wà mālām mōtā</i>	
= 4. <i>yā tsayař wà mālām dà mōtā</i>	
1. <i>sunā zubař wà dà tsōhuwā māi</i>	They are pouring out oil for the old woman.
= 2. <i>sunā zubař wà dà tsōhuwā dà māi</i>	
= 3. <i>sunā zubař wà tsōhuwā māi</i>	
= 4. <i>sunā zubař wà tsōhuwā dà māi</i>	

Here are a few additional examples of the seemingly strange, but often preferred, structure with the two grammatical markers in succession:

*yā lazumtař wà dà 'yā'yansà řùbùtù dà hannun dāma*

He made it compulsory for his children to write with the right hand.

*wasu likitōci sunā zubař wà dà mātā cikì*

Some doctors perform abortions on women. (< *zubař dà cikì* 'abort', lit. pour away belly)

*yā sayāř wà dà Mūsā ita*

He sold it to/for Musa.

## 9.3.2. Grade 5 and double objects

Some gr5 verbs allow double direct objects, i.e., a sequence of two NPs, either of which can serve as the thematic direct object, e.g.,

<b>tā kōyār dà d'ālibai Tūfanci</b>	She taught the students English.
cf. <b>tā kōyār dà d'ālibai</b>	She taught the students.
cf. <b>tā kōyār dà Tūfanci</b>	She taught English.

It is the first object that conditions the presence of the **dà**. If it is fronted, then the **dà** is omitted and the second object immediately follows the verb, e.g.,

<b>d'ālibān dà ta kōyār Tūfanci</b>	The students that she taught English to.
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If the second object is fronted, on the other hand, the verb will take its normal form with **dà** before the thematic first object, e.g.,

<b>Tūfanci nè ta kōyār dà d'ālibai</b>	It is English she taught the students.
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## 10. GRADE 5D: DECAUSATIVE

## 10.1. Form

A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
-dā H-L	-dā H-L	-da H-L	-dā H-L

WH dialects have a variant gr5 form in which the **dà** particle is fused to the verb as a suffix. (This construction is well recognized in SH, even though it is not normally used.) This grade form, termed "decausative" by Gouffé (1962) and anglicized as "decausative," is especially prevalent with verbs that exhibit a short-form gr5 in SH (although there are others as well), e.g., **gaidà** 'greet', **maidà** 'return (sth)', **bādà** 'give away', **zubdà** 'pour out', **wahaldà** 'trouble (s.o.)', **kařantaddà** 'teach'. These **da**-stems form verbal nouns with **-wā**, e.g., **maidàwā** 'returning (sth)', **zubdàwā** 'pouring out (sth)'. In meaning, gr5d is equivalent to SH gr5.

Morphophonologically and syntactically, gr5d parallels gr1 in having A-, B-, and D-forms with final long /ā/ and a pre-noun C-form with final short /a/. Note, for example, that the pronoun object of the B-form is a true H-tone strong object pronoun and not an independent form. Note also that the indirect object, whether noun or pronoun, occurs between the verb stem and the direct object, just as is the case with any other verb grade, except the standard gr5. Finally, note that gr5d is similar to gr1 in its use of the weak verbal noun. Examples:

A. <b>tā maidà</b>	She returned (it).
B. <b>tā maidà shi</b>	She returned it.
C. <b>tā maidà zōbè</b>	She returned the ring.
D. <b>tā maidà minì / mà sarki zōbè</b>	She returned the ring to me / to the chief.

Given the syntactic similarity between gr5d and gr1, many Hausaists have taken it for granted that with the fusion of **-dā** into the verb stem, these decausatives thereby became indistinguishable from gr1 verbs, i.e., **bādà** 'give away' could be classified as a gr1 verb like **kāmà** 'catch' or **d'inkà** 'sew'.

Although this appears to be correct if one only looks at disyllabic verbs, the tone of polysyllabic gr5d verbs shows this proposal to be invalid. Whereas the tone pattern for polysyllabic gr1 verbs is H-L-H (or H-L-L for the C-form) the gr5d tone pattern is a fixed (H-)H-L. Contrast the following pairs: **hařàmtà** gr1-A 'forbid' vs. **wahaldà** gr5d-A 'trouble s.o.'; **kakkařàntà** gr1-C 'read many' vs. **kařantaddà** gr5d-C 'teach'.

ØHN: It is not entirely clear whether the gr5d verbs historically underwent fusion, i.e., \***zub dà** > **zubdà** (thence to **zubdà** in the A- and B-forms) or whether the **dà** was originally a verb extension that was reanalyzed as a separate word through confusion with the preposition **dà** 'with', i.e., \***zubdà** > **zub dà**. In Newman (1971b) I proposed the latter analysis, i.e., that gr5d forms like **zubdà** exhibited an old extensional suffix \*-**dà** that is widespread in Chadic and probably reconstructable for the proto-language. According to this hypothesis, the now-occurring SH pattern, as seen in such sentences as **sun zub dà ita**, with the independent pronoun, would have been due to a mistaken identification of the suffix with the prepositional particle **dà** (used in sociative constructions and in full gr5 forms like **zubař dà!**). Although this hypothesis cannot be ruled out, it strikes me as less likely than the previously assumed fusion explanation. Wrong morpheme cuts and reanalyses of various sorts do, of course, happen in language change; but the overall drift in the history and development of the grade system in Hausa has been one of incorporation and fusion of grammatical items that originally had greater independence.

ΔDN: Some Kano speakers now have a mixed system that shares properties of both the SH short-form gr5 and the dialectal gr5d. In this system the **dà** before pronoun objects is treated as a particle as it is in SH, i.e., it has a short vowel followed by an independent pronoun, e.g., **yà mai dà ita** 'He returned it.' When no object follows, however, the short-form efferential behaves like a gr5d, i.e., it is allowed in the A environment (which short form gr5 verbs are not) and the **dà** behaves like a stem formative in undergoing vowel lengthening, e.g., **àbìn dà ya maidà** 'the thing that he returned'. In this incipient development, one sees a replication of the fusion process affecting verb + **dà** that presumably took place in WH dialects at an earlier period.

That the **-dà** in gr5d verbs is synchronically fused to the stem as a suffix is shown by the fact that this stem can serve as the input to other grade endings and other derivations. For example, from **tādà** 'raise', one can derive a gr6 verb **tādō** 'raise and come'; from **bādà** 'give away', one can derive a gr7 verb **bādu** 'be given away'; from **fiddà** 'take out', one can create a nominal derivative **fiddau** 'a reject, sth taken out', etc. Some speakers even allow the formation of a redundant gr5 equivalent in meaning to the gr5d, e.g., **maidà = maidař** 'return sth'.

Dialects that have a gr5d form tend to use it to the exclusion of the SH gr5. The status of gr5d is thus unlike that of the short-form gr5, which is always an alternative to the full form (though frequently chosen). There are two modifications to this statement. First, some gr5d dialects do still use the pre-pronoun **-shē** form, at least with some verbs and set expressions, e.g., **à gaishē kà** 'One greets you.' Second, autonomous deverbal nouns consisting of a gr5 form plus **̀wā** exist alongside active gr5d inflectional verbal nouns with **̀wā**, e.g., **sanāřwā** 'an announcement', but **sunà sanaddāwā** 'They are announcing (it)', **sayāřwā** 'selling', as in **sāyē dà sayāřwā** 'buy and selling', but **sunà saidāwā** 'They are selling (it).'

## 11. GRADE 6: VENTIVE

### 11.1. Form

A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
-ō H	-ō H	-ō H	-ō H

Grade 6 verbs present a regular, morphologically homogeneous form with all H tone and long final *-ō* (the vowel being long even in the pre-noun C-form), e.g., *yā sātō jiyā* 'He stole (it) yesterday'; *yā sātō tā* 'He stole it'; *yā sātō mōtā* 'He stole a car'; *yā sātō minì mōtā* 'He stole me a car.' (Direct object pronouns of gr6 verbs belong to the L-tone weak object set.) In prepausal position in declarative or imperative sentences, the final vowel of gr6 verbs is closed by a glottal stop and becomes half-long (a peculiarity also characteristic of the H-tone, long-vowel gr0 verbs), e.g., *yā hařbō* [hařbo-ʔ] 'He shot (it)', cf. *bài hařbō* [hařbō] *ba* 'He didn't shoot (it)'; *sàukō* [sàuko-ʔ]! 'Get down!'; cf. *sàukō* [sàukō] *yànzun nàn!* 'Get down right now!'

Monosyllabic verbs ending in *-ā* and the H-H CiCā verbs insert /w/ between the stem-final vowel and the /ō/, e.g., *jāwō* 'pull here' (< *jā*), *sāwō* 'put here, put on and come' (< *sā*), *kirāwō* 'call here' (< *kirā*). The gr6 of *yī* 'do' is *yiwō* 'do and come', which often shortens to *yō* (or *wō* in some dialects). The gr6 form corresponding to *kai* 'take', which is a clipped verb derived from *\*/kāy-//*, is *kāwō* 'bring'. The monoverbs *ji* 'feel' and *bi* 'follow' appear with /y/ before the suffix, e.g., *jiyō* 'feel', *biyō* 'follow here'. The gr6 form of the verb *ci* 'eat', on the other hand, is typically *ciwō* 'eat and return', although *ciyō* is also common.

ØHN: Synchronically, it is not unreasonable to identify the gr6 suffix as *-ō* and to treat /w/ as an epenthetic glide. Historically, however, the /w/ was probably part of the originally CV ventive extension from which gr6 developed (Newman 1977b). Subsequently the language underwent a morphophonological change of *\*-wō* > *-ō* that applied quite generally except in the case of the *ā*-final H(H) verbs.

°AN: The difference between the gr6 forms *yiwō* and *ciwō*, on the one hand, and *jiyō* and *biyō*, on the other, has a simple explanation. In *yiwō*, for example, one has a suffix *-wō* attached to the CV base of a monosyllabic verb, whereas in *jiyō*, one has a suffix *-ō* added to the CVC base (*\*/jiy-//*), which underlies the related disyllabic verb *jiyā*.

°AN/ØHN: The verb *zō* 'come' is often described as a gr6 form due to the final *-ō* and the 'hither' meaning. This is not necessarily so (see McIntyre 1990). To begin with, in analyzing *zō* as gr6, scholars have generally treated it as the counterpart of *jē* 'go', whereas it is possible that *zō* and *jē* relate etymologically to two different roots, the former with initial /z/ and the latter with initial /d/. If *jē* is indeed underlyingly *\*/dē//* rather than *\*/zē//*—both /d/ and /z/ palatalize to /j/—then its corresponding gr6 form can be identified as *dāwō* 'return here' rather than *zō*. Assuming for the moment that *zō* (and *jē*) derives from an irregular verb form *\*zā* 'to go', it still would not follow that *zō* is a gr6 form containing the ventive *-ō* suffix. Note that the ventive forms of monosyllabic stems are normally disyllabic with an epenthetic glide and do not simply replace the lexical vowel, i.e., the gr6 corresponding to *zā* should be *\*\*zāwō*. It is thus very possible that *zō* is etymologically not a ventive but rather is a clipped form of the dialect variant *zakà* (< *\*zakà*) 'come' (i.e., *\*zakà* > *zak* > *zau* (via Klingenberg's Law) > *zō*) and that the phonological identity of the final *-ō* and the gr6 *-ō* is fortuitous.

ADN: Unlike grades 1, 2, and 4, which have a short final vowel in the C-form but a long final vowel elsewhere, gr4 has an invariant long final vowel. Some WH speakers, however, have partially modified gr6 by analogy with the other grades and now shorten the final vowel before noun direct objects. This shortening is generally sensitive to syllable weight, i.e., one gets a short vowel if the penultimate syllable is heavy, but a long vowel if the penultimate syllable is light. For example, *yā kařanto lābārì* 'He read the news'; *sun hařbo zākì* 'They shot a lion'; but *mun barō yārá à gidā* 'We left the children at home.'

Gr6 verbs regularly use inflectional *-wā* weak verbal nouns, e.g., *bā sà hařbōwā* 'They are not shooting (at it) in this direction'; *aikì yakè nēmōwā* 'It is work he is seeking', *sun yi ta shishigōwā* 'They kept on entering.'

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### 11.2. Meaning and function

Grade 6 is a very productive, commonly used grade, both with transitive and intransitive verbs. The ventive ending generally denotes action or movement in the direction of the speaker (or any other pragmatically established deictic center), sometimes emphasizing the distance of the occurrence from the speaker, e.g., *fitō* 'come out', cf. *fiṭa* 'go out'; *fādō* 'fall down this way', cf. *fādī* 'fall'; *gangarō* 'roll down here', cf. *gangārā* 'roll down'; *kāwō* 'bring', cf. *kai* 'take'; *kirāwō* 'call to come here', cf. *kirā* 'call'; *janyō* 'drag in this direction' (gr6 built on a gr4), cf. *jānyē* 'drag away'; *fārō* 'begin at a distance', cf. *fārā* 'begin', e.g., *kògin Binuwai yā fārō dàgà Kasāf Kāmāfu* 'The River Benue begins (there) in Cameroon (and then comes this way)'; *haṛbō* 'shoot at in this direction', cf. *hārbā* 'shoot at', e.g., *yā haṛbō nì dà kibiyā* 'He shot me with an arrow', cf. *nā hārbē shì dà kibiyā* 'I shot him with an arrow.' With certain verbs, the gr6 form is commonly used even though the ventive reading is not evident, e.g., *bullō* 'appear suddenly', *bunkudō* 'come out in profusion' (of ants, pimples, etc.). The gr6 sometimes indicates 'do some action and come', e.g., *nā shāfō bangō* 'I whitewashed the wall and came back', *yā sayō nāmā* 'He bought some meat and brought it back here.' Because the locus/deictic center does not have to be the real-world position of the speaker, i.e., it can be transferred to someone or something else, the use or not of gr6 becomes flexible depending on how the situation is conceptualized by the speaker and what kind of semantic projection has taken place. For example, in the sentence *nā bugō masà wayà* 'I telephoned him' (lit. beat to.him wire) (more or less = *nā bugà masà wayà*), the object 'him' is treated as the deictic locus toward which the action is directed. Similarly, if someone in London says *Audù yā kōmō Kanò* 'Audu returned to Kano', with the gr6 verb, instead of *Audù yā kōmā Kanò*, it is because Kano rather than London is being treated as the deictic center or reference point.

Grade 6 commonly connotes association with, involvement by, or benefit for the speaker, e.g., *sun cīwō kwáf* 'They won the cup', *yā matō à kân yārin yāf nân* 'He is madly in love with this girl' (lit. he.comp die on girl.of this); *yā barō sù à gidā* 'He left them (e.g., children) at home (in good care)', cf. *yā baṛ sù à gidā*, which could imply that he left them there at home but they weren't happy about it or that he abandoned them at home. Indirect objects with the ventive gr6 invariably mean 'for' rather than 'from', e.g., *kà sayō manà àllō* 'Buy us a slate'; *yā Rwātō makà kudīn* 'He seized the money for you' (cf. *yā Rwācē makà kudīn* 'He seized the money from you'); *zāi nēmō minì aikì* 'He's going to seek work for me.' Finally, there are a few verbs that for no obvious reason occur only in gr6 and not in one of the primary grades, namely, *faṛfaḍō* 'revive' (etymologically related to *faṛkà* 'wake up') and *zamanō* 'become, happen' (an extended verb essentially equivalent to *zama* or *zamanā* 'become'). If the verb *dāwō* 'return here' is not viewed as the gr6 of *jē* 'go', then it constitutes a stem occurring exclusively in gr6, in this case, however, for obvious semantic reasons.

### 11.3. Ventive plus efferential

In addition to connoting action away in a directional sense (in which case it necessarily conflicts semantically with the ventive), the efferential (gr5) also changes the orientation of a verb (e.g., buy → sell) and to transitivize inherently transitive verbs with a nonpatient subject (e.g., go out → take out). In these latter functions, the efferential and the ventive are fully compatible and do in fact co-occur, although with only a restricted number of verbs.

In SH, one gets a combination of gr5 + gr6 in which the verb employs the gr6 morphology, i.e., displays the -ō suffix, but at the same time utilizes the particle *dā* and preserves the gr5 efferential semantics and syntax, e.g., with regard to the use of verbal nouns and indirect object formation. Examples:

*yanà fitō dà kāyā* (gr5/6)  
cf. *yanà fitōwā dà kāyā* (gr6)  
*sun dāwō dà shī Kanò* (gr5/6)

He is bringing out the loads.  
He is coming out with the loads. (with the VN *fitōwā*)  
They returned him to Kano.

cf. **sun dāwō Kanò dà shi** (gr6) They returned to Kano with him.

**sun bullò wà dà Gwamnà sábuwāf hanyà** (gr5/6)

They introduced a new plan for the Governor.

cf. **sun bullò wà Gwamnà dà tūtōci** (gr6)

They appeared before the Governor with banners.

**munà juyō dà hòtōn** (gr5/6)

We were turning over the picture.

**tanà kařkatō wà dà mijintà fitilāř** (gr5/6)

She is tilting the lamp for her husband.

(Note the use in sequence of the i.o. marker **wà** and the particle **dà** typical of gr5 verbs, as in **sun zubar wà dà mālāmī shārā** (gr5) They threw out the trash for the teacher.)

°AN: Semantically the distinction between a gr5/6 construction and a gr6 sociative construction is slight, for some speakers the two being essentially interchangeable (see Jaggar 1992a: 35n), e.g., **sunà shigō dà miyāgun řwāyōyi** (gr5/6) = **sunà shigōwā dà miyāgun řwāyōyi** (gr6 sociative) 'They are bringing in illicit drugs.'

In WH dialects that have gr5d, the efferential/ventive combination is morphologically straightforward because one can simply add **-ō** to the decausative form containing the fused **-dā**, e.g.,

**fiddō** bring out < **fiddā** take out (cf. **řita** go out)

**saidō** sell and come back < **saidā** sell (cf. **sāyā** buy)

**maidō** return sth here < **maidā** return sth (cf. **mayā** [WH] return)

**bādō** give away money (there and come back) < **bādā** give away (cf. **bā** give to)

## 12. GRADE 7: SUSTENTATIVE

### 12.1. Form

A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
-u L-H			(pds)

Grade 7 verbs contain a suffix **-u**<sup>LH</sup>, i.e., they end in the short vowel **-u** and have an L-H tone pattern. Gr0 verbs insert an epenthetic /w/ between the stem-final vowel and the suffix.

<b>dāuru</b>	be well tied	<b>gāmsu</b>	be pleased/satisfied
<b>gyāru</b>	be well repaired	<b>kāřkāru</b>	be scratched off
<b>řāgāřgāzu</b>	be fully smashed	<b>tāru</b>	have assembled
<b>wādātu</b>	have prospered, be contented	<b>kīrāwu</b>	be called (< <b>kīrā</b> call)
<b>shāwu</b>	be drunk (< <b>shā</b> drink)	<b>yīwu</b>	be possible (< <b>yī</b> do)
<b>jānyu</b>	be completely pulled away (< <b>jānyē</b> gr4 pull away; cf. <b>jāwu</b> be pulled < <b>jā</b> v0 pull)		

The irregular verbs **tāfi** 'go' (< \***tāfiyā**) and **gāji** 'tire' (< \***gājiyā**), the monoverbs **bi** 'follow' (= **biyā**) and (optionally) **ji** 'feel' (= **jiyā**), and the H-H gr0 verb **řigā** 'precede' (= **řigāyā**) use bases with final /y/ in forming gr7. Examples:

<b>gājiyu</b>	be dog-tired	<b>tāfiyu</b>	travel far, be well traveled
<b>biyu</b>	be followed, disciplined	<b>jiyu = jiwu</b>	be felt, heard
<b>řigāyu</b>	be preceded [WH]		



Gr7 verbs form regular weak verbal nouns *-wā* (see discussion in §77:3.1.1), e.g.,

<i>dīnkuwā</i>	be sewable	<i>gyàruwā</i>	be repairable
<i>jāwuwā</i>	be pullable	<i>nàtsuwā</i>	be reflecting
<i>fāgārgāzuwā</i>	be smashable	<i>tāruwā</i>	assembling

The *-uwā* sequence commonly simplifies to /ō/, e.g.,

<i>wannān hanyā bā tā biyō</i> (= <i>biyuwā</i> )	This road cannot be followed.
<i>bā sà rābō</i> (= <i>rābuwā</i> )	They are inseparable.
<i>gērō yā fārā dākō</i> (= <i>dākuwā</i> )	The millet has begun to get pounded.
<i>kīfin bā yā yānkō</i> (= <i>yānkuwā</i> ) <i>kō dāhō</i> (= <i>dāhuwā</i> )	The fish cannot be sliced or cooked.

The few gr7 verbs that allow indirect objects add the inflectional pds in the D-form, e.g., *yā aukař wā manōmā* 'It befell the farmers' (< *āuku* 'happen'); *sun tāram masā* 'They assembled around him / they grouped together against him' (< *tāru* 'meet').

WH dialects with the gr5d decausative allow gr7 verbs to be built on the gr5d stems, e.g.,

<i>fīddu</i> v5d/7	be taken out <	<i>fīddā</i> v5d	take out <	<i>fīta</i> v3	go out
<i>sāidu</i> v5d/7	be sold <	<i>sāidā</i> v5d	sell <	<i>sāyā</i> v2	buy
<i>bāduwa</i> v5d/7	be giveable <	<i>bādā</i> v5d	give away <	<i>bā</i> v*	give to

## 12.2. Meaning and function

Grade 7, which is strictly an intransitive (or sociative) grade, indicates that the subject of the verb has sustained or is capable of sustaining some action. In many cases, it thus corresponds to the English passive. There is usually an accompanying connotation that the action was done thoroughly. Gr7 is operable by a wide range of transitive stems (but not all) and many intransitives as well. With few exceptions, e.g., *jītu* (*dā*) 'be on good terms with' and *wānzu* 'happen' (cf. *wanzař* gr5 'make last long'), gr7 verbs all derive from extant lower-grade verbs.

°AN: The verb *jītu* is given in the dictionaries as *jītu* with a short /i/. Present-day SH speakers pronounce the word as *jītu* with a long /i/, whereas for WH speakers, the word tends to be *jīttu* with a geminate /tt/.

Semantically gr7 verbs can be divided into two major classes, depending on whether the affected subject can be characterized as "patient" or "actor/experiencer."

### 12.2.1. Patient oriented gr7 ("Passive")

A major function of gr7 is to indicate an agentless passive in which the syntactic subject is the patient affected by the action of the verb. Consider the following pairs of sentences, the first being active/transitive, the second a gr7 passive.

a. <i>sun wāsā wukā</i>	They sharpened the knife. (gr1)
b. <i>dā wukā ta wāsu...</i>	When the knife was sharpened... (gr7)
a. <i>kā tsinkē igiyā</i>	Snap the string. (gr4)
b. <i>igiyāř tā tsinku</i>	The string was snapped. (gr7)
a. <i>sun fāsā tāfiyā Marāđi</i>	They postponed the travel to Maradi. (gr1)

- b. *tàfiyà Marádì tã fàsu* The trip to Maradi was put off. (gr7)  
 a. *Abdù yã kèbè bùhù* Abdu put away the sack. (gr4)  
 b. *bùhù yã kèbu* The sack has been put away. (gr7)  
 a. *su Músá sun saidà shānū à Nìjēriyà* Musa et al. sold some cows in Nigeria. (gr5d)  
 b. *shānū sun sàidu à Nìjēriyà* The cows were sold in Nigeria. (gr7 < gr5d)

With the passive gr7 verbs, there is always an agent implied, though usually not expressed. These verbs thus differ from gr3 or gr4 intransitive unaccusative verbs, e.g.,

- tùlù yã fàsu* The water pot was smashed up (by someone). (gr7)  
*tùlù yã fashè* The water pot broke. (gr4)  
*rāmì yã ciku* The hole was filled up (by someone). (gr7)  
*rāmì yã cika* The hole filled. (gr3)  
*gérôn yã jìku dà gàngan* The millet was well soaked (by someone) on purpose. (gr7)  
*gérôn yã jìka (not \*\*dà gàngan)* The millet got wet. (\*\*on purpose) (gr3)

Gr7 is semantically more heavily marked (connoting action thoroughly or well done) than a comparable passive sentence in English. The neutral translation of an English passive sentence would be by means of an active transitive sentence with an impersonal subject, e.g.,

- an fasà tùlù* The water pot was smashed. (lit. one.comp break water pot )  
*zã à cikà rāmì* The hole will be filled. (lit. fut one fill hole)  
*an gyàrà môtàf* The car was repaired. (lit. one.comp repair car.the)  
 cf. *môtàf tã gyàru* The car was well repaired.

Stylistically, it is common to put a gr7 passive clause after a corresponding active clause in the same sentence to emphasize the thoroughness of an action, e.g.,

- yã d'aurè tunkiyã tã d'auru* He tied a sheep (such that) it was well tied up.  
*tã dafà àbinci yã dàfu* She cooked the food (so that) it was good and well cooked.

Related to the notion of 'thoroughly done', gr7 sometimes indicates that the action of the verb has come to fruition only after great effort, e.g.,

- tuřkàshi! Bintà tã kãmu* Yahoo! Binta has finally been caught.  
*duk dà hakà, gidanmù yã gĩnu* Nevertheless, our house has been built at last.

In the continuous, gr7 verbs, which naturally appears as a verbal noun, normally indicate potentiality of action, i.e., they often correspond to English '-able' words. The semantic connotation is that the action in question is an inherent, generic, timeless quality of the subject. These sentences are particularly common in the negative.

- wannàn môtàf tanà gyàruwã* This car is repairable. (by its nature)  
*kògín yanà Rètàruwã* The river is crossable.  
*zòbèn bā yà sàtuwã* The ring can't be stolen.  
*kùnū mài zāfi bā yà shāuwã* A burning hot gruel is not drinkable.  
*màganàf bā tã fòyuwã* The matter cannot be concealed.  
*wannàn bā yà sàyuwã naifà d'ari* This cannot be bought for a hundred nairs.

One also finds the 'it is (not) possible to' reading in sentences in the negative potential future and for some speakers in the regular future as well. Here, however, there is sometimes a slight semantic difference as compared with the continuous sentences in that the action may be viewed as time delimited or specified, e.g.,

Abdù fa [yá]pot gānu? (i.e., Will it be possible to find Abdu?)	Can Abdu really be seen?
Lēgàs bà [tá]pot zàunu ba	Lagos won't be habitable. (in the future)
irìn yādìn nān bà [zái]fut wānku ba	This kind of cloth isn't washable.
gòbe kām kògìn [yá]pot kètāru	Tomorrow the river will probably be crossable.

With verbs that operate gr1 and gr2 contrastively, the gr7 often incorporates both possible meanings.

1.a. (gr1) yā hārbā bābbař bindigā	He shot a big gun.
b. (gr7) bābbař bindigā tā hārbu	The big gun has been shot off.
2.a (gr2) yā hārbī birī	He shot a monkey.
b. (gr7) birī yā hārbu	The monkey has been shot.
1.a. (gr1) yā jēfā mǎge ruwa	He threw the cat into the water.
b. (gr7) mǎge tā jēfu cikin ruwa	The cat was thrown into the water.
2.a. (gr2) yā jēfi mǎge dà dūtsè	He threw a stone at the cat.
b. (gr7) mǎge tā jēfu	The cat was thrown at.
1 a. (gr1) Abdù yā yānkā nāmā	Abdu cut the meat.
2.a (gr2) Abdù yā yānki nāmā	Abdu cut off the meat.
1/2b (gr7) nāmā yā yānku	(1) The meat has been cut. <i>or</i> (2) ...has been cut off.
1.a. (gr1) yā jūyā takārdā	He turned the paper over.
2.a (gr2) yā jūyi takārdā	He copied the paper.
1/2b (gr7) takārdā tā jūyu	(1) The paper was turned over. <i>or</i> (2) ... was well copied.

Syntactically speaking, gr7 is an agentless passive. It does not take a straightforward 'by' phrase comparable to the one in English. A thematic agent can, however, be referred to in a less direct manner by using the relational preposition *gā*. (Some people use the preposition *wajen*. Some people use both, depending on the context.) This is most commonly done in negative continuous sentences. In positive sentences there is often an implication that the action relates *only* to an agent who is mentioned. Examples:

bindigāř nān bà zā tā hārbu gā mùtūm d'aya ba	This gun cannot be fired by one man.
wannān hanyā bā tā biyuwā gā mānyan mōtōci	This road is impassable for heavy lorries.
jāki yā kāmū gā Abdù	The donkey was caught (only) by Abdu.
mōtāř tanā gyāruwā gā Bellò	The car is repairable by Bello (only).
tsābāř Aishā bā tā d'èbuwā gā su Bintā	Aisha's grain cannot be taken by the likes of Binta.
dāgā nan dařajāř wāzifī ta rāgu wajen sarki	From then on the vizier lost the king's favor.
(lit. the value of the vizier was reduced with respect to the king)	

ΔDN°AN: According to Abdoulaye (1992), the *gā* phrase in the dialect of Maradi functions very much like the 'by' phrase in an English passive, i.e. it specifies the thematic agent. He gives such examples as the following: *tùlū yā fiddū gā Bilki* 'The water pot was taken out by Bilki'; *gtwā tā yānku gā mahālbā* 'The elephant was killed by the hunters'; *šāwā yanā šāmšāruwā gā Abdù* 'The bark can be torn off by Abdu.' In his thesis, Bature (1991) also gives gr7 passive sentences in

which the prepositional phrase, consisting of **wajen** + NP, is treated as equivalent to a 'by' phrase in English, e.g., **môtâr tâ gyàru wajen Audù** 'The car was repaired by Audu.' All SH speakers with whom I have checked these examples find them to be strange and a bit forced. If the preceding example is accepted, it is invariably interpreted to mean 'The car got repaired but only by Audu' [Musa, for example, couldn't].

### 12.2.2. Actor/experiencer-oriented grade 7

With some gr7 verbs, the subject is not the thematic patient of a corresponding transitive verb but rather is an actor or experiencer affected by the verb. These verbs, which display a wide semantic range, can be divided roughly into a small number of groups. The first group includes "associative/lexical reflexive" verbs, namely verbs that require either a plural subject, if functioning as simple intransitives, or a sociative complement. Examples:

<b>ďuru</b>	swarm, cf. <b>ďurà</b> v1	pour in
<b>gàmu</b>	meet, cf. <b>gamà</b> v1	join, mix
e.g., <b>mutânē sun gàmu</b>		The men met.
e.g., <b>yārò yā gàmu dà Mūsā</b>		The boy met (with) Musa.
<b>kàru</b>	clash head-on, cf. <b>karà</b> (dà) v1	clash (with)
<b>jìtu</b>		be on good terms with
e.g., <b>mun jìtu dà jūnā</b>		We get along with each other.
<b>kàsu</b>	fall into classes, cf. <b>kasà</b> v1	divide
<b>ràbu</b>	part company, cf. <b>rabà</b> v1	divide
<b>shàku</b>	be close friends, be affectionate with, cf. <b>shākè</b> v4	choke, fill chock-full
e.g., <b>mun shàku</b>		We are close friends (with one another).
e.g., <b>nā shàku dà ita</b>		I am close friends with her (i.e., I love her very much), <i>not</i> ** <b>nā shàku</b>
<b>tàru</b>	gather (crowd), cf. <b>tārà</b> v1	assemble, gather
<b>wàtsu</b>	scatter, cf. <b>wàtsà</b> v1	spread sth

The second group consists of "happen" verbs, e.g.,

<b>àuku</b>	happen, cf. <b>aukà</b> v1	collapse, (with <b>dà</b> ) encounter
<b>fàru</b>	happen, cf. <b>fārà</b> v1	begin
<b>wànzū</b>	happen, cf. <b>wanzař</b> dà v5	make last long

The next group consists of semantically strengthened forms of already intransitive verbs, e.g.,

<b>dàidàitu</b>	reach full agreement, cf. <b>dàidaità</b> v3	come to an agreement
<b>gàjìyu</b>	be dead tired, cf. <b>gàji</b> v3*	be tired
<b>himmàntu</b>	strive one's utmost, cf. <b>himmantà</b> v3	strive
<b>tàfiyu</b>	travel a long way, cf. <b>tàfi</b> v3*	go
<b>tsàyu</b>	stand a long time, cf. <b>tsayà</b> v1	stand, wait
<b>wàdàtu</b>	truly prosper, cf. <b>wàdātà</b> v3	prosper, be contented
<b>tsòràtu</b>	be very much afraid, cf. <b>tsòratà</b> v3	be afraid

°AN: The verb **tsòràtu** could perhaps also be analyzed as a passive from the gr1 **tsòratà** 'frighten', e.g., **zàkì yā tsòratà yāròn** 'The lion frightened the boy' ⇒ **yāròn yā tsòràtu** 'The boy was frightened (by X).' However, speakers generally do not interpret the sentence with the gr7 form as having an implied agent.

Also derived from intransitives (generally motion verbs) are passivelike motion/action gr7 verbs, e.g.,

- zàunu** be well lived in, cf. **zaunà** v1 sit, live in, reside,  
e.g., **d'ākìn yā zàunu** The room is (well) occupied. cf. **yā zaunà d'ākìn** He lives in the room.  
**kòmu** be returned to, cf. **kômà** v1 return,  
e.g., **gidā bā yā kòmuwā yànzū** One cannot return home now.  
(lit. home isn't returnable to now), cf. **an kômà gidā** One returned home.

The next group consists of "metaphorical" verbs that in gr7 have a semantically specific reading not found in the base verb. Some of these gr7 forms can also serve as the passive counterpart of the verb in its normal meaning, e.g.,

- bùgu** be good and drunk, cf. **bùgā** v2 hit  
e.g., **Jàtau yā bùgu (dà giyà)** Jatau was dead drunk (from beer).  
cf. the literal passive **rìgāf tã bùgu** The gown was well and completely beaten.  
**dìgu** get on well in the world, cf. **dìga** v3 drip, **dìgà** v1 pour in drops  
**fàku** die (of prophets or saints), cf. **fakè** v4 hide  
**gògu** be experienced, polished, cf. **gògà** v1 rub, polish  
e.g., **mùtumin nan yā gògu wajen d'inkì** That man is an expert at embroidery.  
cf. **mòtār tã gògu dà mán mòtã** The car has been well polished with car wax.  
**kàdú** tremble/shake from fear, cf. **kadà** v1 shake sth  
**kyàutu** be fitting, appropriate, cf. **kyautā** v1 treat well  
**kāru** profit, benefit from, cf. **kārā** v1 add  
**mòtsu** be upset, stirred up, crazy, cf. **mòtsà** v1 stir  
**ràsū** die, cf. **rasà** v1 lose, lack  
**rāyu** survive, prosper, cf. **rāyà** v1 extend life  
**rùfu** close in on, cf. **rufè** v4 cover, close  
**shiryu** make up with / be well arranged, cf. **shiryà** v1 prepare, arrange  
**tābu** be crazy, touched, cf. **tabà** v1 touch  
**tàmbàyu** take potions, be well questioned, cf. **tàmbayà** v2 ask  
**yìwu** be possible, cf. **yi** v0 do

The semantic strength of gr7 verbs (indicating thoroughness or completeness) is shown by the fact that they may not be followed by contradictory weakening clauses or phrases, e.g.,

- Abdù dà Tankò sun jìtu** Abdu and Tanko get along (well).  
*not* **\*\*Abdù dà Tankò sun jìtu, àmmā bà sòsai bā**  
Abdu and Tanko get along (well), but not very well.  
**Balā yā gògu** Bala is an experienced old hand.  
*not* **\*\*Balā yā gògu, àmmā kīmà**  
Bala is an experienced old hand, but only moderately.

Some gr7s derived from transitive verbs function with subjects that are both (a) patient-affected and (b) actor/experiencer-affected. The semantic reading usually depends on the animacy of the subject, namely inanimate in the first case, animate in the second, e.g.,

- (a) **làbārì yā wàtsu** The news was spread/was widely disseminated.  
(b) **mutànè sun wàtsu** The people scattered.

- (a) tagùwaf nân bā tâ gòguwā This shirt cannot be ironed.  
 (b) yārôn yā gògu gâ sâtâ This boy is an expert at stealing.  
 (a) ßàràwô yā kâmu The thief was caught (by someone).  
 (b) mùtumin yā kâmu dà wata mùmmūnaf cûtâ The man was infected by a serious disease.

Syntactically, gr7 verbs primarily function intransitively. As illustrated by examples found throughout this section, however, a few of them also enter into sociative constructions with the preposition dà 'with', where they sometimes translate into English as transitive sentences. Examples:

- yā ràbu dà màtařsâ He divorced his wife. (cf. rabâ v1 divide, separate)  
 bân taßà hađuwâ dà shi ba I have never met him. (cf. hađâ v1 combine, connect)  
 mun shâku dà mâlâm I'm close friends with the teacher.  
 Mūsâ yā gâmsu dà jâwâbin Musa was satisfied with the speech.  
 cf. jâwâbin yā gâmsi Mūsâ The speech satisfied Musa. (gr2)

### 13. THE -K- EXTENSION (DIALECTAL)

#### 13.1. Form: -K- extension plus totality

In addition to the extensions that manifest themselves synchronically as distinct grade forms, some WH dialects also have an extension -K- that always occurs as an infix along with another grade stem, e.g., gash-ik-ē gr4 'roast all and come' (< gasâ 'roast'). In some areas (e.g., Maradi) this extension occurs only in combination with gr4; in the dialect of Ader, it is found with gr5 as well. The -K- extension combined with the gr4 ending appears as a suffix -ik(k)ē<sup>HLH</sup>. In some dialects (e.g., Ader) the /k/ appears as a single consonant, in others (e.g., Sokoto) it is normally a geminate. Monoverbs insert an epenthetic /y/ before the suffix, e.g., jâyikē 'draw up this way' < jâ 'pull, draw'. As with simple polysyllabic gr4 verbs, there are two variants for the pre-noun C-form, one with a long final vowel and H-L-H tone and one with a short final vowel and H-L-L tone. Verbal nouns are formed with -wâ (the tone being subject to dialectal variation not restricted to this grade). Examples:

	A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
shoot	halbikē	halbikē	halbikē / halbikè	halbikē
break off	ßalgacikē	ßalgacikē	ßalgacikē / ßalgacikè	ßalgacikē
uproot	ciccirikē	ciccirikē	ciccirikē / ciccirikè	ciccirikē
enter/sneak in	shigikē			shigikē
roll all down here	gangarikē			gangarikē

<sup>o</sup>AN: From the surface appearance, the combination of (-ik-) and gr4 (-ē) would appear to occur morphologically in that order. On the other hand, a few examples suggest that the combined -ikē suffix is attached to a stem that is *already* a derivative gr4 rather than to a simple base. Thus janyikē 'pull all here' clearly comes from jânyē gr4, not jâ gr0, and ficcikē 'escape out here' is derived from the secondary grade ficcè gr4, with irregular gemination, not from the basic verb fita gr3, which has a single medial consonant.

#### 13.2. Meaning and function

Semantically, verbs with -ikē carry the totality/finality meanings of normal gr4 verbs as well as some semblance of the meaning of gr6 ventive verbs ending in -ô. Thus they tend to indicate 'affect all and come here', e.g., jëfikē 'throw at and come' (cf. jëfâ 'throw at'); gangarikē 'roll all down here' (cf. gangārâ 'roll'), shanyikē 'drink up and come' (cf. shâ 'drink').

ADN: Some speakers (e.g., Malami Buba from Sokoto), feel that the suffix forms semantically stronger gr4 verbs without adding a ventive component.

Semantically, verbs with *-ikē* are similar to the few gr4 + gr6 combinations allowed in SH with monoverbs, e.g., *janyō* 'pull all in this direction/and come', cf. *jānyē* gr4 'pull all', cf. *jāwō* gr6 'pull in this direction' (from basic gr0 verb *jā* 'pull'). As with simple gr4 verbs, gr4 verbs containing *-ikē* can be transitive or intransitive. The following examples, mostly taken from Abdoulaye (1992 and unpublished notes), illustrate the use of *-ikē* verbs.

<i>tā kwāshikē gārīn</i>	She took all the flour and came.
<i>tā ciccirīkē hakūkuwà</i>	She pulled out all the grass and came.
<i>sun rātayīkē fārāwō</i>	They hanged the thief and came back.
<i>sun gujikē</i>	They escaped (ran away) to here.
<i>ɗan tsuntsū yā hwāɗīkē dàgà iccè</i>	The little bird fell off here from the tree.
<i>Bintà tā amshīkē mà Abdū zōbè</i>	
Binta wrestled away Abdu's ring and came.	
<i>kwānōnī takè wankīkēwà (à) rwāhī</i>	
It is dishes that she is washing at the river.	
<i>zōmō ya balgacīkē fāwā ya kāwō mà zākī</i>	
The hare broke all the bark and brought it to the lion.	

### 13.3. Form: *-K-* extension plus efferential

As illustrated earlier with combinations of gr5 + gr6 and gr5d + gr6, semantically, the efferential and the ventive are fully compatible. Thus we find that in the Ader dialect (Caron 1991), the *-k-* with ventive semantics combines readily with that dialect's efferential formation. (The entries in the D-form column have the pds attached.) Examples:

	<i>A-Form</i>	<i>B-Form</i>	<i>C-Form</i>	<i>D-Form</i>
feed and return	<i>cī-k-assuwà</i>	<i>cī-k-asshē</i>	<i>cī-k-assà</i>	<i>cī-k-ass-am</i>
assemble people	<i>tār-k-assuwà</i>	<i>tār-k-asshē</i>	<i>tār-k-assà</i>	<i>tār-k-ass-am</i>
make fly here	<i>hirà-k-assuwà</i>	<i>hirà-k-asshē</i>	<i>hirà-k-assà</i>	<i>hirà-k-ass-am</i>
anger s.o.	<i>hasàlā-k-assuwà</i>			
frighten s.o.	<i>hīrgitā-k-assuwà</i>			

(The missing B-, C-, and D-forms are not provided in the available source, but presumably they follow the regular pattern.) Note that the gr5 ending and the pds, which one would expect to be tone integrating and extend over the entire word, do not do so. Rather, these ventive-efferential forms consist of two discrete tonal domains. The first domain is that delimited by the *-k-* extension.

°AN: The ability of the *-k-* to create its own tonal domain supports Abdoulaye's contention that the *-k-* is a full extension and not just an infixal element.

The specifics of this tone pattern depend on the phonotactic structure of the verb, but the tone pattern associated with the *-k-* always contains initial H-L. The second domain is that of the Ader efferential extension, the tones of which are H-L in the A- and C-forms and all H in the B-form. The inflectional pds *-aC* found in the D-form also manifests all H tone. (These tone patterns without the *-k-* were presented above in §9.1.3.)

## 13.4. Meaning and function

As best as one can determine, Ader efferential verbs containing the ventive *-k-* semantically combine the meanings and functions of the two extensions. A form like *hîr-k-assuwâ* 'bring out' (< *hîta* 'go out') is presumably comparable to the gr6 ventives built on gr5 and gr5d stems, e.g., [SH] *fitô dà* 'bring out' = [dv] *fiddô/hiddô* (< *fitâ/hîta* 'go out'). The following examples are taken from Caron (1983) but adapted to the orthography employed here.

*yâ hirâ-k-ass-am min tsuntsâyên nan*

He made the birds fly toward me.

*sa'àn nan tat tâhi tab bidô duk kwârin dâzhî tat târ-k-asshê sù*

Then she (the hyena) searched for all the animals of the bush and assembled them (back here).

## 14. IRREGULAR VERBS

After verbs have been assigned to their regular grade forms, there are some ten or so irregular verbs left over. These are noted v\*. (From a historical perspective, some of these could be viewed as aberrant/irregular members of one of the basic grades.) The irregular verbs are: *ganî* 'see', *barî* 'leave, let', *sanî* 'know', *kusa* 'draw near', *zama* 'become', *hau* 'mount', *kau* 'move aside', *kai* 'take', *bâ/bai* 'give', *jê* 'go', *zô* 'come', and *'yan/'yam* 'give a little to'.

(1) The irregular transitive verb *ganî* 'see' has distinct A-, B-, and C-forms. (The syllable-final /n/ in the B-form undergoes the normal assimilation typical of /n/ in coda position.) Before an indirect object the verb obligatorily switches to gr4.

	A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
see	<b>ganî</b>	<b>gan</b>	<b>ga</b>	<b>ganè (v4)</b>

- A. *wâddâ na ganî* the one I saw  
 B. *nâ gan tâ* I saw her.  
 C. *nâ ga yârinâyâ* I saw the girl.  
 D. *kâ ganè minî rîgâ!* Keep an eye on the gown for me!

Occasionally, the C-form *ga* can be used without an object, e.g., *kâ ga?* 'Do you see?' Dialects other than SH have an alternative all H B-form with final *-ê*, e.g., *nâ ganê tâ* = [SH] *nâ gan tâ* 'I saw her.' (All of the irregular verbs use the weak direct object pronoun set.) The verbal noun is identical to the A-form, e.g., *munâ ganin àbîn dà yakè yî* 'We were observing what he was doing.'

(2) The verbs *barî* and *sanî* drop the final vowel when followed by an object. (In final position, the /r/ of *barî* automatically becomes rolled /r̄/.) In the A-form, *barî* and *sanî* have the metathesized variants *birâ* (uncommon) and *shinâ* (quite common). Before an indirect object *sanî* obligatorily switches to gr4.

	A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
leave, let, allow	<b>barî (birâ)</b>	<b>bař</b>	<b>bař</b>	<b>bař</b>
know	<b>sanî (shinâ)</b>	<b>san</b>	<b>san</b>	<b>sanè (v4)</b>

- A. *wâddâ na barî* the one I left  
 B. *nâ bař tâ* I left her.



C. <i>nā bař yāriyāř</i>	I left the girl.
D. <i>nā bař makā kudī</i>	I left the money for you.
A. <i>wāddā na sanī (= shinā)</i>	the one I know
B. <i>nā san tā</i>	I know her.
C. <i>nā san yāriyāř</i>	I know the girl.
D. <i>wā zāi sanē makā?</i>	Who will take any notice of you? (lit. who fut.he know to.you)

The verbal nouns of these two verbs are identical to the standard A-forms:

<i>barinsā yā fi kyāu</i>	Leaving it is best.
<i>tanā saninsā</i>	She is getting to know it.

At a shallow synchronic level, one can think of the verbal nouns *barī* and *sanī* as coming from their identical finite verb forms. Viewed historically, however, *barī* and *sanī* are probably H-L i-final verbal nouns belonging to the same class as *ginī* 'building' (< *ginā* 'build'), *hařbī* 'shooting' (< *hařbā* 'shoot'), etc. Their use as A-forms is parallel to the use of other verbal nouns of this class as optional A-forms of gr2 verbs, e.g., *fadī* (VN) = *fādā* gr2-A 'tell', *sakī* (VN) = *sakā* gr2-A 'release'. One can push the parallelism further and suggest that *barī* and *sanī* are indeed (irregular) gr2 verbs that happen to require the use of a clipped form without the final *-ē* and *-i* in the B and C environments before direct objects. The sentence *nā san tā* 'I know her' (< *sanī*) is thus parallel to *nā sau tā* 'I released her' (< *sakī*), the only difference being that in the first case the clipping is obligatory while in the second case it is optional. Significantly, the imperative of *barī* with no object expressed is *bāri!* It thereby exhibits exactly the same L-H short final *-i* imperative pattern used with gr2 verbs, e.g., *sākī!* 'Let go, release!'; *nēmi!* 'Seek!'; *kāřbī!* 'Receive!' (The verb *sanī* doesn't occur in the imperative in the A-form.) Thus, strictly speaking, *barī* and *sanī* should not be grouped with the truly irregular verb *ganī* 'see', as they are always done, but rather should be viewed as aberrant gr2\* verbs. (In this grammar I have, nevertheless, decided to stick with the traditional classification of *barī* and *sanī* as irregular v\* verbs so as to avoid too many departures from standard practice.)

(3) The invariant verb *kusa* 'be near' (= the adverb *kusa* 'near') occurs most often as an aspectual verb followed by a nonfinite VP, e.g.,

<i>yā kusa [isā Kanō]</i>	He is about to reach Kano.
<i>mun kusa [gamāwā]</i>	We are almost finished. (i.e., we are close to finishing it)

It may also be used intransitively, e.g.,

<i>[isōwař Audū] tā kusa</i>	Audu's arrival is near at hand.
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(4) The usually invariant copular verb *zama* 'become' requires a following complement, e.g.,

<i>māganāřsā tā zama gaskiyā</i>	What he said is true. (lit. his talk has become true)
<i>yā zama sarkin tashā</i>	He became head of the lorry park.

Some speakers, esp. in WH, use a clipped form *zam*, e.g., *yā zam mātšalā* 'It has become a problem.' Before an i.o., *zama* is replaced by the corresponding gr4 verb *zamē*, e.g.,

<i>gāriŋ yā zamē masā māsifā</i>	The town has a hold on him. (lit. has become for.him calamity)
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(5) The verb **hau** 'mount, climb up on', occurs in all four contexts, e.g., **dōkìn dà ya hau** (A-form) 'the horse that he rode', **yā hau shì** (B-form) 'He mounted it', **yā hau gadō** (C-form) 'He succeeded to the throne' (lit. he.comp mount bed), **yā hau masà dà bugù** (D-form) 'He thrashed him' (lit. he.comp mount to.him with beating). The verb may also be used intransitively, e.g., **fāfāshìn dōyà yā hau** 'The price of yams has gone up.'

◊HN: The verb **hau** probably derives historically from a basic a-final verb by a process of final vowel clipping. When used transitively, it probably had the form of a gr1 verb (i.e., \***hawā**), whereas when used intransitively it patterned with gr3 verbs (i.e., \***hāwa**).

The corresponding verbal noun is **hawā** (m.), e.g., **yanà hawan itācē** 'He is climbing up a tree.' Although **hau** itself is irregular, it allows the regular formation of other grades and derived forms. (In the derivatives, the /u/ of the diphthong appears as /w/ or, when followed by a front vowel, as /y/.) Examples:

<b>hawaĩ dà = hau dà</b> gr5	mount s.o. on sth
<b>hawō</b> gr6	mount and come
<b>hāyayyē</b> adj.pp	broken-in (of a horse)
<b>mahāyĩ</b>	a rider

◊AN: There is a semantically and phonologically similar verb **hayā** 'cross over', whose etymological relation to **hau** is not clear. Synchronically, the palatalization rule before front vowels results in confusion between the two verbs, i.e., because of the /w/ → /y/ rule, their gr4 forms are identical, e.g., **hayā** + -è → **hayè** 'cross beyond' and **hau** (base //haw//) + -è → **hayè** 'climb onto'.

(6) The intransitive verb **kau** 'move away' probably derives historically from a gr3 verb \***kāwa**. (There is no corresponding verbal noun.) As with regular gr3 verbs with actor subjects, it transitivizes by means of gr5, e.g., **sun kau dàgà nān v\*** 'They moved from here', cf. **mun kawāf dà (= kau dà) sū dàgà nufinsū** (gr5) 'We diverted them from their intentions.'

(7) The very common verb **kai** 'reach, take', which probably derives historically from a clipped gr1 verb \***kāyā**, occurs in all four contexts, e.g., **bā indà bāi kai ba** (A-form) 'There is no place he hasn't reached'; **yā kai tà kāsūwā** (B-form) 'He took it to market'; **yā kai takārdā** (C-form) 'He died' (slang, lit. he took the paper); **yā kai musū yākī** (D-form) 'He made war on them' (lit. he carried to them war). The corresponding gr6 verb is **kāwō** 'bring, reach'. Among the irregular verbs, **kai** is unusual in using the weak -wā verbal noun, e.g., **mè kukè kái wā?** 'What are you taking?' The masculine noun **kāyā** 'goods, loads' is probably an old deverbal noun derived from **kai**.

(8) The verb **bā** 'give' (or its dialectal variant **bai**) exhibits tonal variants in different syntactic contexts.

	A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form [pre-noun only]
give	<b>bā &lt;bái&gt;</b>	<b>bā</b>	<b>bā &lt;bái&gt;</b>	<b>bā (wà) / bai (wà)</b>

The normal object of the verb **bā** 'give' is the recipient, which must be expressed. This first object may optionally be followed by a second object specifying the thing that is given, e.g., **tā bā nì (kudĩ)** 'She gave me (money).' One cannot, however, simply say \*\***tā bā kudĩ** 'She gave money.' To express this

one needs to use personal pronoun weak object set, the verb has fallen as a result of the historical listed above as a the H-tone verb: fused falling-tone displaced, one unfused D-form Synchronically, 'We are giving t

◊HN: There fear), **ban** that **ban** he 'drinking w proposed th LH to H is: i.e., it *col* demonstrate verbal noun

(9) The motion that place', **yā z** another, e.g., **jē** the historical no \***zakā**). The ver coming) to this' or else **tāfiyā**, t **kāsūwā** 'We are

(10) The verb ' (see §15 below) semivowel /'y/, this irregular ve lexical form is, resulting from (orthographically

**tā 'yam minl**  
**'yām masà lèr**  
**nā 'yan wà Au**

◊AN: Althc standard pe  
ΔDN: Accc  
the imperat

one needs to use the gr5 form, i.e., *tā bā(yāf) dà kudŋ*. The H-tone *bā* (the B-form) is used before a personal pronoun object, e.g., *zān bā kà (àbìn)* 'I'll give you (the thing).' (The pronoun belongs to the weak object set, which historically was used for both direct and indirect objects.) Before a noun object the verb has falling tone, e.g., *nā bā Mūsā bīfò* 'I gave Musa a ballpoint pen.' (The falling tone is a result of the historical incorporation of the i.o. marker *wà* into the verb, i.e., *bā < \*bā-wà*, i.e., what is listed above as a C-form is in reality a fused D-form.) Before non-pronoun recipients, some speakers use the H-tone verb stem (especially the *bai* variant) followed by the overt i.o. marker *wà*, rather than the fused falling-tone form, i.e., *nā bai wà Mūsā bīfò* 'I gave Musa a ballpoint pen.' If the recipient is displaced, one uses either a falling-tone A-form (which in reality is also a fused D-form) or else the nonfused D-form, e.g., *wàné nè ka bá Ø (= bai wà) bīfò?* 'Whom did you give the ballpoint pen to?' Synchronically, *bā* does not have a corresponding verbal noun form, e.g., *munà [bā]v shì tàimakō* 'We are giving him assistance', not *\*\* munà [bān]vN sà tàimakō*.

◊HN: There are numerous compounds of the form *ban + X*, e.g., *ban tsòrò* 'terrifying' (lit. giving of fear), *ban girmā* 'respect' (lit. giving of age), *ban maganà* 'coaxing' (lit. giving of speech). Note that *ban* has H tone, unlike normal gr0 verbal nouns that have falling tone, e.g., *shān ruwā* 'drinking water'. Primarily because of the tone, some scholars, e.g., Jaggar (1992a: 36), have proposed that *ban* comes from a contraction of *bā ni!* 'give me!' where the tone simplification of LH to H is regular. From a phonological point of view there is nothing wrong with this derivation, i.e., it *could* be correct, but no one has yet produced internal or comparative evidence to demonstrate that it is in fact correct. In my opinion, *ban* could just as easily represent an archaic verbal noun *\*bā* plus the *-n* linker, notwithstanding the high rather than falling tone.

(9) The motion verbs *jē* 'go' and *zō* 'come' constitute a semantic pair, e.g., *yā jē wurin càn* 'He went to that place', *yā zō wurin nàn* 'He came to this place.' Whether they are morphological variants of one another, e.g., *jē < \*zē*, or whether they are unrelated lexical items is another question. (As suggested in the historical note in §11.1, *jē* could possibly be derived from a root *\*dā* whereas *zō* might go back to *\*zakà*.) The verbal noun of *zō* is *zuwā* (m.), e.g., *kā tabà zuwā gàrin nàn?* 'Have you ever come (lit. coming) to this town?' The verb *jē* does not have its own verbal noun; instead one has to use either *zuwā* or else *tāfiyā*, the verbal noun of *tāfi* 'go', e.g., *mù jē kāsuwā!* 'Let's go to market!'; *munà zuwā/tāfiyā kāsuwā* 'We are going to market.'

(10) The verb *'yan/'yam* 'give a little to', which is more or less synonymous with the clipped verb *sam* (see §15 below), occurs only with an i.o. It is phonologically unusual in that it contains the glottalized semivowel /'y/, a consonant normally found only in variants of the morpheme *'yā* 'daughter'. Because this irregular verb is always followed by an i.o. marker, it is impossible to determine what its underlying lexical form is, i.e., we have no way to know whether the final nasal is underlyingly /n/, with the [m] resulting from assimilation to the following *ma-*, or whether it is underlyingly /m/, with the [ŋ] (orthographically represented by *n*) resulting from assimilation to *wà*. Examples:

<i>tā 'yam minì</i>	She gave me a little.
<i>'yàm masà lèmmō!</i>	Give him some cola!
<i>nā 'yan wà Audù nāmà</i>	I gave Audu a little bit of meat.

◊AN: Although this verb is said to be commonplace in SH, it has been totally overlooked in standard pedagogical courses and abridged dictionaries of the language.

◊ADN: According to Bargery (1934), *'yam* is a variant of the WH form *d'am*, which is used only in the imperative, e.g., *d'am mìn!* 'Give me (a little of something)!' Although this verb is often found

in commands, it is not restricted to the imperative in WH any more than it is in SH, e.g., [WH] *kai nè na d'am mà* 'It was you I gave a little to.'

## 15. CLIPPED VERBS

A few otherwise regular verbs have optional clipped forms that can be used when followed by an object. (These verbs are thus treated separately from the irregular verbs in the preceding section where historically clipped forms have now become frozen.) These clipped forms have the shape CVC or CVV (where the VV is a diphthong derived from V + a glide). The tone is H in all cases. (There is also one disyllabic clipped verb, namely, *kàrai* 'lose hope', which has L-H tone.) The clipped verb *d'au* 'take' (< *d'aukà*) drops the final syllable; all the other clipped verbs simply leave off the final vowel. The form *sau* 'release' (< \**sak* < *sàkà*) reflects the operation of Klingenberg's Law changing syllable-final velars to /u/. The rolled /r/ in *d'ar* 'exceed slightly' (< *d'arà*) is due to the fact that flap /r/ does not occur in word-final position. Synchronically, the clipped form *kas* 'kill' relates to the gr4 verb *kashè*. Historically, however, it probably derives from a gr2 form (\**kàsi*), which is no longer used. With the clipped forms derived from gr1 verbs, the tone disappears along with the vowels, e.g., *d'arà* 'exceed slightly' (⇒ *d'ar*, not \*\**d'ar*). The tone of the clipped gr2 verbs can be accounted for in one of two ways. One could preserve the tone and account for the surface H by the regular LH to H simplification rule, e.g., *tā sàyi nāmā* ⇒ *tā sàyi nāmà* → *tā sai nāmà* 'She bought meat.' Alternatively, one could delete the tone and propose H as a morphologically required property of all monosyllabic clipped verb forms regardless of the original grade and tone.

Some clipped verbs, given in (a) below, occur only before an i.o. Others, given in (b), can be used with a following d.o. (or complement). Some of these can also be used with an i.o. The d.o. of the verbs *sau* 'release' and *kas* 'kill' can be either a noun or a pronoun; the other verbs only allow noun d.o.'s. Some of the clipped forms, e.g., *sai* 'buy', are quite common; others, e.g., *kas* 'kill' tend to be restricted to compounds or set fixed expressions. There are also two intransitive clipped verbs, given in (c). The following is a complete list of clipped verbs (barring accidental omissions):

(a) <i>d'ar</i> < <i>d'arà</i> v1	exceed slightly
e.g., <i>nā d'ar masà shèkàrū</i>	I am slightly older than him.
<i>fa</i> < <i>fādà</i> v1	fall on
e.g., <i>Tankò yā fa wà màtārsà dà fādà</i>	Tanko attacked his wife. (lit. fell upon his wife with fighting)
<i>sam</i> < <i>sāmū</i> v2 get	give a little to
e.g., <i>nā sam masà lèṁō</i>	I'll give him a small amount of cola / a few oranges.
(b) <i>d'au</i> < <i>d'aukà</i> v2	lift
e.g., <i>zō nān mù d'au (masà) kāyān!</i>	Come here let's lift the load (for him)!
cf. <i>zō nān mù d'auki kāyān!</i>	Come here let's lift the load!
cf. <i>zō nān mù d'aukam/d'aukà masà kāyān!</i>	Come here let's lift the load for him!
<i>kas</i> < <i>kashè</i> v4	kill
e.g., <i>màgàṁ tã kas bàkī</i>	The matter is settled. (lit. speech killed the mouth)
e.g., <i>kàs-kaifi</i>	charm to prevent being cut (lit. kill sharpness)
<i>sai</i> < <i>sàyā</i> v2	buy
e.g., <i>bà tà sai (wà kishiyā) nāmà ba</i>	She didn't buy food (for her co-wife).
<i>sau</i> < <i>sàkà</i> v2	release
e.g., <i>sàu ta!</i>	Release her!
e.g., <i>yā sau màtā tasà</i>	He divorced his wife.
<i>zam</i> < <i>zama</i> v*	become
e.g., <i>yā zam màsifà</i>	It has become a tragedy.

(c) *kàrai* < *kàrayà* v3  
*kwan* < *kwāna* v3a  
 e.g., *kù kwan lāfiyà!*

lose hope (e.g., *sun kàrai* They lost hope.)  
 spend the night,  
 Sleep well! (phonetically [kwāllāfiyà])

Normally the clipped forms are identical in meaning to their corresponding full forms. The form *sam* (→ [saŋ] when followed by *wà*), however, has developed the specialized meaning of 'give a little of something (especially food or drink)', as opposed to the full gr1 form *sāmà*, which has the general meaning of 'get for', e.g., *nā sam wà Lādi mazar̄kwailā* 'I gave Ladi a bit of sugarcane candy' vs. *nā sāmà wà Lādi aikī* 'I will get Ladi a job.'

## 16. THE ORIGIN OF THE GRADE SYSTEM: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The grade system as developed by Parsons (1960b) serves as a reasonably sound synchronic basis for organizing the various morphological classes of verbs in Hausa. As such it has been adopted by most scholars around the world, for analytical as well as for pedagogical purposes. Nevertheless, if one considers Parsons' conceptualization of the system in a strict sense, one finds that it contains a number of major flaws. An alternative, historically based model, the vowel-class / extension (VCE) model, first proposed in somewhat different form by Newman (1973), allows one to understand the grade system better and to interpret it in a different light by seeing how it came about.

### 16.1. The grade system and its flaws

The essence of the classic grade system is that all verbs are bimorphemic, i.e., they are thought to consist of an abstract verb root, which has no tone or final vowel, plus one of seven mutually exclusive grade terminations. Thus *dafā* 'to cook', for example, is viewed as consisting of a root  $\sqrt{\text{daf-}}$ , which carries the general meaning of 'cook', plus a suffix  $-\bar{a}$ <sup>HL(H)</sup>, which is the gr1 termination; *shiga* 'enter' is viewed as consisting of a root  $\sqrt{\text{shig-}}$  plus the gr3 ending  $-a$ <sup>LH(L)</sup>, *haɓbō* 'shoot and come' is viewed as consisting of the root  $\sqrt{\text{haɓb-}}$  plus the gr6 ending  $-\bar{o}$ <sup>H</sup>, etc. While this system could be made to work most of the time, it runs up against a number of problems such as the following.

(1) In principle, all bases are supposed to be able to occur in all seven grades. In fact, although most verbs, subject to semantic appropriateness, can operate grades 4 and 5 (the secondary grades) and grades 6 and 7 (the tertiary grades), there are innumerable gaps when it comes to grades 1, 2, and 3 (the primary grades). The verb *dafā* 'cook', for example, occurs in gr1 only, to the exclusion of gr2 and gr3, whereas *fita* 'go out' occurs only in gr3 but not in gr1 or gr2.

(2) If the basic meaning of a verb were provided exclusively by the root, with the grade endings adding only subsidiary semantic modification, one should not find verbs with the same segmental base having distinct meanings in different primary grades, but one does. Consider the following contrasts:

<i>gamā</i> v1	finish, complete	vs.	<i>gāmā</i> v2	please, suit, satisfy
<i>rainā</i> v1	despise, belittle	vs.	<i>rāinā</i> v2	tend, look after
<i>zāgā</i> v1	go round	vs.	<i>zāgā</i> v2	insult
<i>sakā</i> v1	put sth somewhere	vs.	<i>sākā</i> v2	release, divorce
<i>nūnā</i> v1	point at, show	vs.	<i>nūna</i> v3	ripen, be cooked

(3) Although all of the grade endings are supposed to be distinct morphemes in their own right, the primary grade formatives often have no identifiable meaning. In the gr6 verb *shigō* 'enter here', for example, one can specify the meaning of the ending  $-\bar{o}$ <sup>H</sup> as 'ventive' (= action in this direction), but in *shiga*, the supposed gr3 ending  $-a$  adds nothing to the basic meaning of 'enter'. Similarly, the gr7  $-u$ <sup>LH</sup>

ending in **dāfu** 'be well cooked' can be identified as 'passive/well sustained', whereas the supposed gr1 morpheme  $-ā$ <sup>HL(H)</sup> in **dafā** adds nothing to the general meaning of 'cook'.

(4) The grade system fails to incorporate very basic (H)H verbs such as **ci** 'eat', **shā** 'drink', **kirā** 'call', and other high-frequency "irregular" verbs like **fādī** 'fall' and **mutū** 'die'.

(5) Because a verb is supposed to consist of a root plus one of seven *mutually exclusive* grades, the system fails to account for the fact that grades can indeed co-occur, e.g., **janyō** gr4 and gr6 'pull all here' < **jā** 'pull'; **fiddu** gr5d [dv] and gr7 'have been taken out' < **fiṭa** 'go out'.

### 16.2. Historical vowel-class / extension (VCE) model

Throughout the Chadic family, it is common for basic verbs to fall into two (and only two) lexically arbitrary classes defined in terms of the final vowel, which is a morphologically integral part of the verb.

<sup>o</sup>AN: For a general discussion of phonologically-defined verb classes in Chadic as a whole, see Newman (1975); for a description with specific reference to the West Chadic group to which Hausa belongs, see Schuh (1977).

Some verbs end in **-a** (usually the smaller class), whereas other verbs end in a non-low vowel (**-i**, **-u**, or **-ə**) or in no vowel. These are conventionally referred to as "schwa-verbs," regardless of the actual ending. (In Chadic languages, the central vowel transcribed as **-ə** is typically pronounced as a high vowel, phonetically akin either to **[-i]** or to **[-u]**.) In Bole, for example, the **a**-class is represented by such verbs as **pata** 'go out', whereas schwa-verbs, which end in **-u**, are represented by such verbs as **poru** 'say' or **wundu** 'call'.

Another common feature of Chadic languages is the existence of adverbial-like extensions indicating such notions as action away, action toward the speaker, totality of action, completeness of action, partitive, etc. In some languages, for example, Tera, these extensions are adverbial particles totally separable from the verb (comparable to English *out* in *turn out (the light)*), e.g., **mbukə ɓara** 'throw away'; cf. **mbukə** 'throw'. In others, for example, Margi, they are derivational formatives (comparable to German *ver* in *verschenken* 'give away'), e.g., **kwəsənyā** 'eat up'; cf. **kwəsə** 'eat'. In Chadic, these extensions tend to combine freely with basic verbs (subject to semantic appropriateness) and are able to co-occur with one another.

The historical VCE model is a reformulation of the Hausa grade system along the lines of the normal Chadic pattern. There are two primary factors that explain why the Hausa verbal system at first looks so different from that found typically in other Chadic languages. The first is that the erstwhile extensions have become so reduced phonologically that they have become fused into the verb. (It is much easier to recognize that Tera **ɓara**, as in **mbukə ɓara** 'throw away', is an extension than it is with the Hausa final  $-ē$ <sup>HL</sup> that one finds in **sayē** 'buy all' < **sāyā** 'buy'). The second factor is that a long-standing analytical error in representing Hausa verbs has hidden the basic **-a**/schwa vowel class contrast. The general convention among Hausa grammarians and lexicographers has been to treat the A-form, i.e., the form when no object is expressed, as the basic, underlying citation form. As a result, both gr1 verbs, like **dafā** 'cook', and gr2 verbs, like **kārḃā** 'receive', appear to be **-ā** final. From a Chadic perspective, however, the more appropriate form to take as representing the underlying shape of the verb is the one that occurs before direct object nouns, which in Hausa is the C-form. In the case of gr2 verbs, the final vowel that appears here is **-i**, e.g., **tā kārḃi kudī** 'She received money.' This can be contrasted with gr1 verbs where the final vowel is **-a**, e.g., **yā dafā ābinci** 'He cooked food.' Thus one finds that the fundamental distinction between basic gr2 verbs and basic gr1 verbs is a reflex of the widespread Chadic lexical opposition between verbs ending in **-i** (i.e., schwa-verbs) and those ending in **-a** (i.e., a-verbs).

°AN: Viewed historically, the identification of the C-form as the underlying form is unassailably true. This is independent of the question whether such an analysis does or does not still hold up synchronically.

### 16.2.1. Basic verb classes

The assignment of Hausa verbs into lexically basic classes according to the quality of the final vowel (-i or -a) is represented in table 31, where transitive verbs are listed in the C-form. (I illustrate polysyllabic verbs with two-syllable verbs only.) Note that monosyllabic verbs, which pose a problem for the classic grade system, fall naturally into this categorization.

Table 31: Basic verb classes: VCE model

Tone	-i	-a
H (Monosyllabic)	ci eat	jā pull
H-L	fādī fall (= gr3b)	dafā cook (= gr1)
L-H	sàyi buy (= gr2)	fitā go out (= gr3)

°AN: The long /ā/ found with monosyllabic Cā verbs has a phonological/prosodic explanation and does not affect the basic categorization.

In this model, a verb like *fitā*, for example, is a monomorphemic word that happens to end in the vowel /a/. Contrary to the grade system analysis, the final /a/ in this word is not interpreted as a separate formative, i.e., *fitā* is *not* lexically composed of  $\sqrt{\text{fit}}$  + -a. Similarly, *ci* (which happens to be monosyllabic), *fādī*, and *sàyi* are normal schwa-verbs ending in -i; they cannot be decomposed into a root  $\sqrt{\text{c}}$ -,  $\sqrt{\text{fād}}$ -, or  $\sqrt{\text{sai}}$ - plus a morpheme -i.

Because the final vowel with basic verbs is lexically significant, one would expect to find verbs contrasting on the basis of this element. This, as pointed out earlier, does occur. Examples (with citations in the C-form):

<i>gamā</i> v1	finish, complete	vs.	<i>gāmi</i> v2	please, suit, satisfy
<i>rainā</i> v1	despise, belittle	vs.	<i>rāini</i> v2	tend, look after
<i>sakā</i> v1	put sth somewhere	vs.	<i>sāki</i> v2	release, divorce

Whereas the final vowel was (and is) lexically distinctive in verbs, tone probably was not.

°AN: This analysis is at variance from the model presented in Newman (1973). It is this modification that has necessitated the terminological change from the VTE (vowel tone extension) system to the VCE (vowel-class extension) system.

Monosyllabic verbs all have H tone. Disyllabic verbs do exhibit tonal differences, i.e., one now finds both H-L and L-H, but this surface difference, originally at least, was not lexical. Rather, it appears to have been determined by transitivity. With schwa-verbs, the tone pattern was L-H with transitive verbs (e.g., *fādī* 'tell') and H-L with intransitives (e.g., *fādī* 'fall'). With a-verbs, one found the opposite, i.e., H-L with transitive verbs (e.g., *dakā* 'pound') and L-H with intransitives (e.g., *nūka* 'become ripe'). A verb that was neutral with regard to transitivity, i.e., occurred both as a transitive and as an intransitive, thus appeared with the two different tone patterns, e.g., *cika* 'be filled' (intr.) vs. *cikā* 'fill' (tr.); *haifū* (with -i → -u conditioned by the labial consonant) 'give birth' (intr.), e.g., *tā haifū* 'She has given birth' vs. *hàifi* 'give birth to' (tr.), e.g., *tā hàifi dā namiji* 'She has given birth to a son.'

°AN: In the earlier analysis, I had cited the irregular verbs *sanì* 'know' and *barì* 'let' as exemplifying the class of H-L transitive schwa-verbs. This was clearly a conceptual error. The H-L tone of these verbs appears only in the A-form, which we know does *not* represent the underlying form. The C-forms of these verbs, namely, *san* and *bař*, are clipped verb forms derived from L-H \**sàni* and \**bàri*, respectively.

There are a small number of a-final intransitives with H-H rather than L-H tone e.g., *sūma* 'faint', *ƙaura* 'migrate', but these do not require that one accept the idea of tone historically being lexically distinctive. Rather, these words have two reasonable alternative explanations, both of which are consistent with the idea that the deviation from the expected L-H tone is secondary. The first explanation is phonological conditioning, based on the fact that these H-H final-a intransitives (like *tsira* 'escape') all have a heavy initial-syllable as opposed to the L-H (= gr3) verbs (like *shiga* 'enter'), almost all of which have a light first syllable. The second explanation (originally suggested, I believe, by Parsons) is that these H-H intransitive verbs constitute back-formations from H-H verbal nouns, e.g., *tsira* 'escape' < *tsirā* 'escaping' (m.).

Synchronically one finds a considerable number of H-L a-verbs (i.e., gr1 verbs) that are intransitive. I would contend, nonetheless, that basic intransitive a-verbs were originally L-H and that the intransitive gr1 verbs that now occur all reflect subsequent secondary developments.

### 16.2.2. Extensions

In addition to having basic verbs, where the final vowel is part of the underlying representation, Hausa has morphologically derived verbs, where the final vowel (or -VC) is a tone-integrating extensional suffix. These suffixes are added to the basic verbs. (As is the norm with tone-integrating suffixes, the tone of the stem and the final vowel—except in the case of monosyllabic words—are overridden.) The stems with the extensional suffixes make up the secondary grades (namely, grades 4, 5, 6, and 7). Examples:

<i>sàyi</i>	buy + -e) <sup>HL</sup> totality ⇒	<i>sayè</i>	buy all (v4)
<i>fita</i>	go out + -ař) <sup>H</sup> efferential ⇒	<i>fitař</i>	take out (v5)
<i>ci</i>	eat + -ař) <sup>H</sup> efferential ⇒	<i>ciyař</i>	feed (v5)
<i>jā</i>	pull + -(w)ō) <sup>H</sup> ventive ⇒	<i>jāwō</i>	pull here (v6)
<i>fādī</i>	fall + -ō) <sup>H</sup> ventive ⇒	<i>fādō</i>	fall this way (v6)
<i>dafā</i>	cook + -u) <sup>LH</sup> sustentative ⇒	<i>dāfu</i>	be well cooked (v7)

Because the final vowel in basic verbs is an intrinsic part of the stem, the "same" verb should not occur both as an i-verb and as an a-verb. But in fact, it is very common for the same lexical verb to operate a pair of basic grades like gr2 (or gr3b) (final-i) as well as gr1 (final-a), e.g.,

<i>zān àri</i> (v2) <i>wasu littàttàfai</i>	I'll borrow some books.
vs. <i>zān arā</i> (v1) <i>mukù wasu littàttàfai</i>	I'll lend you some books.
<i>yā fādī</i> (v2) <i>lābārī</i>	He told the news.
vs. <i>yā fadā</i> (v1) <i>matā lābārī</i>	He told her the news.
<i>yā hàřbi</i> (v2) <i>tsuntsū</i>	He shot a bird.
vs. <i>yā hařbā</i> (v1) <i>bindigā</i>	He shot a gun.
<i>yā fādī</i> (v3b)	He fell.
vs. <i>yā fādā</i> (v1) <i>ruwa</i>	He fell into the water.
<i>yā yānki</i> (v2) <i>nāmā</i>	He cut off a piece of meat.
vs. <i>yā yankā</i> (v1) <i>rāgō</i>	He slaughtered a ram.

yā hàřbi  
vs. yā

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yā hāki (v2) gwāzā  
vs. yā haḳā (v1) rāmī

He dug out cocoyams.  
He dug a hole.

The explanation for the apparent contrast is that in such pairs as the above, both verb forms are not really basic. Rather, one verb is basic and the other contains a derivational extension, which, because of the extreme phonological reduction that has characterized Hausa extensions, now consists solely of a final vowel that is identical in shape with a basic vowel. There are at least two such "hidden extensions" that can be identified.

The first is the "applicative," which serves to direct the action of the verb onto the object (either direct or very often indirect) or onto a location. This extension ends in  $-a^{HL}$  and thus has fallen together with basic *a*-verbs to make up the form class that now constitutes gr1. A verb like arā 'lend to' is not a basic *a*-verb, as it first appears but rather is a derived verb made up of the basic *i*-verb àri 'borrow' plus the applicative extension  $-a^{HL}$ . Similarly, fādā 'fall into sth', an intransitive *a*-ending verb with H-L tone, is not a true *a*-verb but rather is a derived verb made up of fādī 'fall' plus the applicative extension  $-a^{HL}$ .

°AN: In principle there is no reason why the applicative could not be added to a basic *a*-verb, although there would be no way to see it. Since underlying gr2 *i*-verbs so often add the applicative extension before indirect objects, it would be reasonable to hypothesize that the same is happening with gr1 *a*-verbs, i.e., tā dafā (*a*-verb) àbinci 'She cooked food', but tā dafā (*a*-verb plus applicative) masā àbinci 'She cooked him food' (see Newman 1991a).

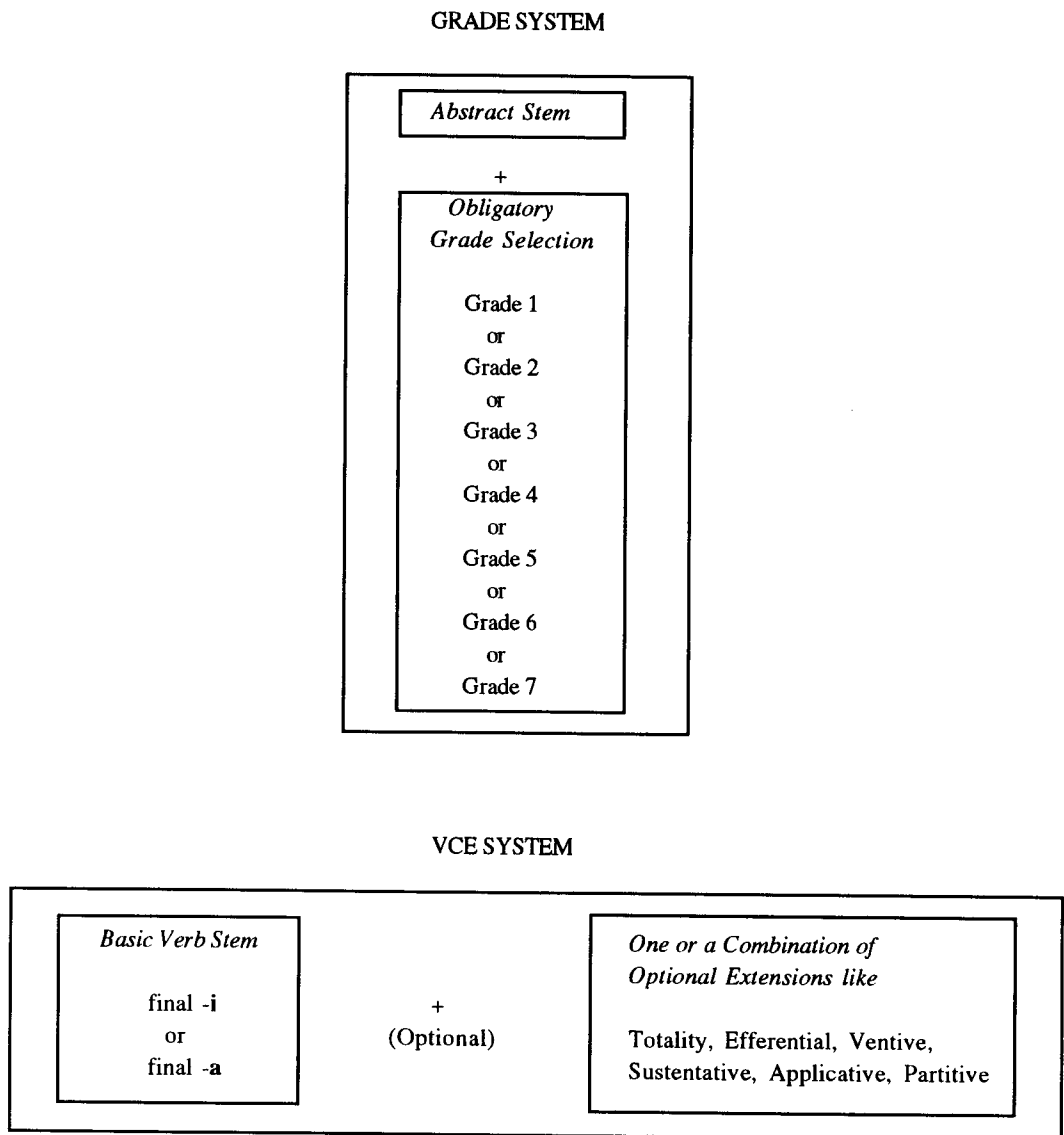
The second "hidden extension" is the "partitive-displacive," which indicates that the action affects a part of the object or involves removal or displacement of the object. This extension ends in  $-i^{LH}$  and thus has fallen together with basic *i*-verbs to make up the form class that now constitutes gr2. In the pair haḳā 'dig' and hāki 'dig out or up', the former is a basic *a*-verb, whereas the latter is a derived verb containing the extensional suffix  $-i^{LH}$ . Similarly, yānki 'cut off some' is a derived partitive and not a basic *i*-verb.

### 16.2.3. Grade system and VCE system contrasted

The contrast between the classic grade system and the historically based VCE system is illustrated in the diagrams in fig. 7 on the following page.

[References: There is an extensive literature on the Hausa grade system. The following selected references are essential reading for anyone who wishes to study the matter in greater detail. (a) General: Abdoulaye (1992); Newman (1973); Parsons (1960b); (b) Grade 2: Lukas (1963); Pilszczikowa (1969); (c) Grade 4: Furniss (1981, 1983); Jaggar (1988a, 1992b); Newman (1977b); (c) Grade 5: Bagari (1977b); Frajzyngier (1985); Garba (1982); Gouffé (1962); Newman (1983); Parsons 1962, 1971/72); (d) Grade 7: Caron (1983, 1991); Jaggar (1981)]

Figure 7: Grade system and VCE system contrasted



## 75. Verb Subcategorization

**S**YNTACTICALLY, verbs can be divided into the five major categories: (a) transitive, (b) intransitive, (c) dative, (d) sociative, and (e) efferential. (In this section, I shall use the term *verb* throughout whether the verb appears as a finite verb or as a morphological verbal noun (nominalized verb) derived from a verb.) These divisions cut across the classification into grades (noted v1, v2, etc.; see chap. 74). Transitive verbs, for example, are found in grades 0, 1, 2, 4, 5, 5d [dv], and 6, whereas grade 1 includes transitive, intransitive, dative, and sociative verbs. It is important to remember that this is a syntactic classification and that individual lexemes may function as members of a number of different classes.

### 1. TRANSITIVE VERBS

#### 1.1. Neutral/unmarked

Transitive verbs contain an underlying direct object. In the neutral, unmarked case, the syntactic direct object is the thematic patient. Grade 2 verbs are all transitive, as are all (most?) 5d verbs. Verbs in grades 3 and 7 are never transitive. The other grades (i.e., 0, 1, 4, 5, and 6) include, but are not limited to, transitive verbs. Examples:

Tankò yá sàyi àtàmǎ (v2)	Tanko will probably buy wax print cloth.
wà ya hàrbi bàrēwā? (v2)	Who shot the gazelle?
kadà kà tàimàkē sù! (v2)	Don't help them!
kàrē bàì shā ruwán ba (v0)	The dog did not drink the water.
munà jìn yunwà (v0)	We are feeling hungry.
màtātā tanà dafà àbinci (v1)	My wife is cooking food.
akàn būdè Rófà dà Rarfè tafà (v4)	One opens the door at nine o'clock.
nā gaishē kà (v5)	I greet you.
sun fiddà ta (v5d)	They took it out.
kàwō kùjèrù! (v6)	Bring chairs!

Transitive verbs may appear on the surface without an immediately following overt d.o., either because the d.o. has been fronted or because it is omitted but understood from the context. Examples:

birì nē ya hàrbā	It was a monkey he shot.	mè ka kàrbā?	What did you receive?
Tankò yá sàyā	Tanko will likely buy (it).	yā kàmātā mù kòyā	We ought to learn (it).

#### 1.2. Phrasal VPs with yi 'do' + a dynamic noun

The pro-verb *yi* 'do' occurs commonly with a dynamic noun as direct object to indicate what in English would be expressed by an intransitive verb. Grammatically, however, these verb phrases consist of a transitive verb plus a direct object, e.g.,

yā yi aikì	He worked. (lit. he.comp do work)
kadà kà yi wàsā!	Don't play! (lit. don't you do play)
zā mù yi hīfā	We will have a chat. (lit. fut we do chatting)

In nonfinite constructions, as used, for example, in the continuous, the verbal noun corresponding to yi may be, and typically is, deleted. Examples:

yā iyà (yīn) aikì	He can work.	wàsā sukè (yī)	It's playing they're doing.
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The verb may also be deleted even in finite constructions when followed by an indirect object, although this is not as common as the nonfinite VN deletion, e.g.,

yā (yī) wà Mūsā aikì	He worked for Musa.	sun (yī) masà mǎgànà	They spoke to him.
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### 1.3. Applicatives

Applicatives, i.e., grade 1 verbs with an applicative extension, differ from neutral transitives in two respects. First, the d.o. is often semantically an instrumental rather than a thematic patient. Second, the verb normally requires that a third argument be expressed in addition to the subject and the d.o. This third argument is commonly an indirect object, but it may also be a locative or a prepositional phrase. Examples:

wannàn mùtùmìn yā sòkà [wà ràkumī] <sub>i.o.</sub> wukā	This man stabbed the camel with a knife.
(lit. ...stabbed to camel knife) (cf. the neutral transitive sentence with the v2: wannàn mùtùmìn yā sòkì ràkumī dà wukā (lit. ...stabbed camel with knife)	
nā tsòkànā [masà] <sub>i.o.</sub> tsinkè à ido	I poked him in the eye with a stick.
(lit. ...poked to.him stick at eye)	
an shīf̀b̀ùnà m̀ái [à j̀ik̀insà] <sub>loc</sub>	They applied lotion on him. (lit. on his body)
= an shīf̀b̀ùnà [masà] <sub>i.o.</sub> m̀ái (lit. ...applied to.him oil)	
tā bad̀à ỳāj̀ì [à tuwò] <sub>loc</sub> = tā bad̀à [wà tuwò] <sub>i.o.</sub> ỳāj̀ì	She sprinkled spices on the tuwo.
yā aikà ỳār̀ò [k̀ásuwá] <sub>loc</sub>	He sent the boy to the market.
yā aikà wàs̀f̀k̀à g̀à Bintà	He sent a letter to Binta.
cf. yā àiki ỳār̀ò	He sent the boy. (with the transitive v2 verb)
cf. yā aikà dà wàs̀f̀k̀à	He sent a letter. (with the sociative v1 verb)

°AN: With the gr1 verb aikà 'to send', some speakers now allow deletion of the sociative preposition dà before the object being sent, i.e., yā aikà wàs̀f̀k̀à = yā aikà dà wàs̀f̀k̀à 'He sent a letter.' The bare gr1 verb can also be used when the d.o. is the person being sent, but such sentences presuppose a place or purpose related to the sending, e.g., yā aikà ỳār̀ò (don yā sayò masà Fantà) 'He sent the boy (in order that he buy him a Fanta).'

### 1.4. Three-place verbs with i.o.

Apart from the syntactic applicatives just described above, most verbs, whether transitive or intransitive, treat the indirect object as an optional element expressing benefactive, dative, malefactive, etc., e.g.,

m̀átátà tanà dafà [wà m̀al̀amai] <sub>i.o.</sub> àbinci	My wife is cooking food for the teachers.
àbòk̀inà zài nēmam [makà] <sub>i.o.</sub> aikì	My friend will look for work for you.
yā s̀ac̀è [mini] <sub>i.o.</sub> kud̀ì	He stole the money from me.

Some normal transitive verbs with a patient as direct object require that the sentence contain an indirect object as well. These will be represented as verb + IOM. (The IOM (indirect object marker) is /wà/ before noun objects (= /mà/ in WH) and *ma-* before pronoun objects.) (a) Many of these are applicative grade 1 verbs, where the i.o. is the dative recipient (e.g., *gayà* + IOM 'tell', *kallàfà* + IOM 'impose sth. on s.o.', *kōyà* + IOM 'teach to', *rântà* + IOM 'lend to' (esp. money), *sunnà* + IOM 'give sth. secretly to s.o.', *'yam* + IOM 'give a little bit of to' (esp. food or drink). (b) Some are verbs that indicate doing the action to the patient (= i.o.) in a severe or excessive manner, e.g., *dabà* + IOM 'do forcefully, apply a lot of', *gallà* + IOM 'do something severely', *shirgà* + IOM 'do much of sth. bad, inflict'. (c) Others are verbs used in idiomatic verbal constructions (see chap. 36) of the form V + i.o. + d.o., where the d.o. is fixed, e.g., *bakàntà* + i.o. *râi* 'displease, make sad', *gamè* + i.o. *kâi* 'conspire against', *kashè* + i.o. *idò* 'dazzle', *Rurà* + i.o. *idò* 'stare at'. Examples:

- |   |                                   |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| (a) <i>nā gayà masà lâbārīn</i>   | I told him the news.              |
| (not <b>**nā gayà lâbārīn</b> I told the news.)   |                                   |
| <i>nā rântà masà fām biyu</i>   | I lent him 2 pounds.              |
| (not <b>**nā rântà fām biyu</b> I lent 2 pounds.) (cf. <i>nā rānci fām biyu</i> I borrowed 2 pounds.)   |                                   |
| <i>yā kōyà wà bàtūrè Hausa</i>  | He taught Hausa to the European.  |
| (not <b>**yā kōyà Hausa</b> He taught Hausa, for which one must use the gr5: <i>yā kōyāf dà Hausa</i> ) |                                   |
| (b) <i>an dabà masà wufà</i>  | He's been stabbed severely.       |
| <i>yā shirgà mini karyā</i>   | He told me a whopping lie.        |
| (c) <i>wannàn yā bakàntà mini râi</i>   | This displeased me.               |
| <i>haskèn yā kashè wà fāsinjōji idò</i>   | The light blinded the passengers. |

The irregular verb *bā/bai* 'give to' is intrinsically a three-place verb. It is unusual in that it behaves differently depending on whether the recipient is a noun or a pronoun. If the recipient is a personal pronoun, it appears structurally as the direct object of *bā*. Nominal recipients, on the other hand, appear as indirect objects (marked either by *wà* or by a floating L tone (´), which is derived from *wà*), e.g.,

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <i>yā bá</i> (= <i>bai wà</i> ) <i>Tankò kudŋ</i> | He gave Tanko money.                                  |
| cf. <i>yā bá ni kudŋ</i>                          | He gave me money. (not <b>**yā bā/bai mini kudŋ</b> ) |

ØHN: The contrast between the double object construction in *zā tà bā ni hùlā* 'She will give me a cap' (not **\*\*zā tà bā mini hùlā**) and the simple transitive construction with a noun indirect object in *zā tà bai wà* (= *bā*) *Mūsā hùlā* 'She will give Musa a cap' reflects a widespread Chadic pattern that can be reconstructed for Proto-Chadic. In this pattern, indirect object pronouns are suffixed directly to verbs without the use of an overt particle, whereas noun indirect objects, which usually follow the direct object, require a prepositionlike particle (like the present-day *wà* (<\*gà)) (see Newman 1982).

### 1.5. Double object verbs

With most 3-place verbs, the first object is expressed as an i.o. and the second as a d.o., e.g., *nā gayà [masà]<sub>i.o.</sub> [lâbārīn]<sub>d.o.</sub>* 'I told him the news.' A small number of verbs, which I am calling double object verbs (= ditransitive verbs), allow (or require) two successive objects, where the first is syntactically a d.o. and not an i.o., e.g.,

- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| <i>sun biyā Mūsā kudŋ</i>      | They paid Musa money.                      |
| <i>kadà kà ròki Balà gōrò!</i> | Don't ask Bala (for) kolanuts!             |
| <i>nā tayà shi dalà biyu</i>   | I offered to pay him two dollars (for it). |

<b>Bintà tā fi Kànde tsawō</b> (lit. Binta she.comp exceed Kande height)	Binta is taller than Kande.
<b>tā sá málàmaftà fushi</b> (lit. she.comp cause teacher.of.her anger)	She made her teacher angry.
<b>àlkālì yā ci Sulè tārā</b> (lit. the judge he.comp eat Sule fine)	The judge fined Sule.
<b>Kànde tā kāsà Bintà tsawō</b> (lit. Kande she.comp fail Binta height)	Kande is not as tall as Binta
<b>Abdù yā kirā Jummai kāfūwà</b>	Abdu called Jummai a whore.
<b>bà à nađà Gàmbo sarki ba</b>	They didn't appoint Gambo (as) chief.

Some of the double object verbs can occur as 2-place transitive verbs with either of the objects functioning as the direct object, e.g.,

<b>sun biyā Mūsā</b>	They paid Musa.	<b>sun biyā kuđi</b>	They paid the money.
<b>kađà kà ròki Bālā!</b>	Don't beg Bala!	<b>kađà kà ròki gōrò!</b>	Don't beg for kolanuts!

In double object constructions, it is clear that the first object is the true syntactic d.o. and that the second has the status of an oblique object. For example, if the first object is moved, with the result that the second object immediately follows the verb, a finite verb takes the A (non-pre-object) form and not the C (pre-d.o.) form. Similarly, the verb or verbal noun in a nonfinite VP appears as it would if there were no following d.o., e.g.,

<b>Kànde cè Bintà ta đarà (v1-A) tsawō</b>	
It is Kande that Binta is a little taller than. ( <i>not</i> **Kànde cè Bintà ta đarà (v1-C) tsawō)	
<b>wándà akà sàkè nađàwā sarki</b>	the one whom they again appointed emir
<i>not</i> **wándà akà sàkè nađà sarki	
cf. <b>an sàkè nađà wānè sarki</b>	They again appointed so-and-so emir.
<b>su wà kukè biyā kuđin?</b>	Whom (pl.) are you paying the money?
<i>not</i> **su wà kukè biyān kuđin?	

Note also that it is only the true d.o. and not the second object that can undergo passivization and be made the subject of a gr7 verb, e.g.,

<b>Abdù bā yà ròkuwā gōrò à hālin yānu.</b>	Abdu cannot be asked for kolanuts now.
<i>not</i> **gōrò bā yà ròkuwā Abdù à hālin yānu	Kolanuts cannot be asked of Abdu now.
<b>Shatù bā tà đàukuwā mahaukaciya</b>	Shatu can't be taken for a fool.

When semantically appropriate, double object constructions can also have an indirect object.

<b>Mūsā zāi biyā [mini] Sulè fām biyu</b>	Musa will pay Sule two pounds for me.
<b>an nađà [manà] Gàmbo sarki</b>	They appointed Gambo chief for us.

Although such sentences as the above are considered to be grammatical, they are felt to be clumsy and thus the indirect object tends to be avoided by means of some appropriate paraphrase, for example, by means of a prepositional phrase, e.g., **Mūsā zāi biyā Sulè fām biyu [don ni]** 'Musa will pay Sule two pounds [on my behalf].'

## 2. INTRANSITIVE VERBS

Intransitive verbs are intrinsic 1-place verbs that *may not* take a direct object. All gr3 and gr7 verbs are intransitive. Gr4 verbs are commonly (but not exclusively) intransitive. Grades 0, 1, and 6 contain some intransitive verbs, whereas grades 2, 5d, and (generally speaking) 5 do not, e.g.,

<b>bùkàtàrsà tā biyā</b> (v0)	His needs have been fulfilled.
<b>kà dākātā kàd'an!</b> (v1)	Wait a little!
<b>kùnkurū yā dūlmuyà</b> (v3)	The tortoise sank.
<b>mālām yā tsūfa</b> (v3a)	The teacher has aged.
<b>Bellò bà zāi tāshì ba</b> (v3b)	Bello won't get up.
<b>kwalabāf tā fashè</b> (v4)	The bottle broke.
<b>yāròn yā fāfādō</b> (v6)	The boy revived.
<b>mōtā tā gyàru</b> (v7)	The car has been well repaired.

The intransitives subdivide into three main categories depending on the thematic role of the subject: (a) intransitives with an actor/undergoer subject; (b) intransitives with a patient subject ("unaccusatives"); and (c) intransitives with an affected subject ("passives") or lexical reflexives.

2.1. *Intransitives with actor/undergoer subject*

These are intransitive verbs, whose subject is either the undergoer of the action, e.g., **mutù** 'die', or the doer of the action, e.g., **shìga** 'enter'. This latter category includes basic motion verbs, such as **shìga**, as well as some gr1 activity verbs derived from corresponding transitive verbs, e.g., **taimākā** 'help'.

Examples:

<b>yārò yā fādī</b> (v3b)	The boy fell down.
<b>fāfēsà yā dāwō</b> (v6)	The professor came back.
<b>tā haifū</b> (v3b)	She gave birth.
cf. <b>tā haifi dā na-miji</b> (v2-tr.)	She bore a male child.
<b>nā nēmā nā nēmā àmmā iná!</b> (v1)	I tried and tried, but no way!
cf. <b>nā nēmi aikì</b> (v2-tr.)	I sought work.
<b>nā hangā àmmā bàn ga kōwā ba</b> (v1)	I looked (from a distance) but I didn't see anyone.
cf. <b>mun hàngi mayākā can nēsà</b> (v2-tr.)	We saw warriors there in the distance.

Intransitives in this class generally transitivize by use of the efferential extension (gr5), e.g.,

<b>yārò yā tufātā</b> (v3)	The boy got dressed.
cf. <b>kākā tā tufātāf dà yāròn</b> (v5)	Grandmother dressed the boy.
<b>māge tā shìga cikin d'ākì</b> (v3)	The cat entered the room.
cf. <b>nā shigāf dà māge cikin d'ākì</b> (v5)	I brought the cat in the room.

Motion verbs indicating 'to a place' express the locative goal immediately after the verb without the use of a preposition, e.g.,

<b>yā kyautu kà kōmā makařantā</b>	It is appropriate that you return to school.
cf. <b>tā kōmā dàgà makařantā</b>	She returned from school.
<b>tā jē kāsuwā</b> She went to market.	<b>zā sù zō ofis</b> They will come to the office.

A motion verb cannot be followed directly by a noun indicating a person; rather, one has to use a locative noun (plus linker), like **wurin** (lit. place of), e.g., **mù tãfi wurin dãrẽktã** 'Let's go to the director' (lit. we.sub go place.of director).

### 2.2. Intransitives with patient subject ("unaccusatives")

These are verbs whose grammatical subjects are the underlying objects of corresponding transitive verbs, e.g., **tũlũ yã fashẽ** 'The water pot broke', cf. **yã fasã tũlũ** 'He broke the water pot.' The subject is affected by the action of the verb without the implication of an agent. Verbs with patient subjects (= "unaccusative" verbs) are found in grades 3 and 4; their transitive counterparts are usually gr1.

<b>bũhũ yã cika dà gyãdã</b> (v3)	The sack filled up with peanuts.
cf. <b>yãrõ yã cika bũhũ dà gyãdã</b> (v1)	The boy filled up the sack with peanuts.
<b>shĩnkãfã tã dũmãmã</b> (v3)	The rice warmed up.
cf. <b>yã dũmãmã shĩnkãfã</b> (v1)	He warmed up the rice.
<b>dãrmã bà tã narkẽ ba</b> (v4)	The lead didn't melt.
cf. <b>bài narkã dãrmã ba</b> (v1)	He didn't melt the lead.
<b>ruwãn yã tafãsã</b> (v3)	The water boiled.
cf. <b>sun tafãsã ruwã</b> (v1)	They boiled water.
<b>sãndã tã karyẽ</b> (v4)	The stick broke.
cf. <b>yã karyã sãndã</b> (v1)	He broke the stick.

### 2.3. Intransitives with affected subject ("passives") and lexical reflexives

Most gr7 intransitive verbs are agentless passives, i.e., the subject is (entirely) affected by the action of an assumed agent that, however, is not normally expressed, e.g., **mõtã tã gyãru** 'The car was well repaired (by someone unnamed)'; cf. the nonpassive gr4 intransitive **mũtũm yã warkẽ** 'The man recovered.' In the continuous TAM, these verbs connote the possibility or potentiality of the action being done by someone, e.g., **mõtãr bã tã gyãruwã** 'The car is not repairable.' Grade 7 also includes some lexical reflexives, namely, intransitives with plural subjects in which the subject is both the doer and the undergoer of the action, e.g., **mun gãmu** 'We met' (i.e., we met each other). These intransitive lexical reflexives all enter into corresponding sociative constructions, e.g., **nã gãmu dà shi** 'I met (with) him.' Examples:

<b>tãfiyã Marãdi tã fãsu</b>	The trip to Maradi was called off.
<b>tũlũ yã fãsu</b>	The water pot was broken (by s.o.).
cf. <b>tũlũ yã fashẽ</b> (v4)	The water pot broke.
<b>wannãn hanyã bã tã biyuwã gã mãnyan mõtõci</b>	This road is impassable for heavy trucks.
<b>sunã tãruwã à kófãr fãdã</b>	They are assembling at the front of the palace.

## 3. DATIVE VERBS

The term *dative verb* (vdat) is used for 2-place verbs whose patient is expressed as an indirect object rather than as a direct object. This class includes the irregular verbs **cim mã** 'achieve, overtake' and **im mã** 'control', which have **mã** rather than **wã** as the pre-noun i.o. marker, and a small number of mostly gr1 and gr4 verbs, e.g., **amĩncẽ** 'trust'; **bãutã** 'worship, serve faithfully'; **bijirẽ** 'desert, betray'; **bõtsãrẽ** 'defy s.o.'; **gallãzã** 'persecute, harass, torture'; **girmẽ** 'be older than'; **gõdẽ** 'thank'; **kangãrẽ** 'defy, rebel against'; **kaurãcẽ** 'avoid, keep away from; boycott'; **kuntãtã** 'pester or badger s.o.'; **tãsarã** 'attack'; **tsãwãtã** 'scold, give a warning to'; **tsinẽ** 'curse'; **yabã** 'recommend, appreciate'. Examples:



<b>yā cim mà bürinsà</b>	He achieved his goal.
<b>dà kyař mukà im masà</b>	It was with difficulty that we controlled him.
<b>sunà kauracè wà jünà</b>	They are avoiding each other.
<b>iyàyensà sun tsInè masà</b>	His parents cursed him.
<b>yanà bauté wà iskōki</b>	He worships spirits.
<b>mālām yā tsāwātā wà àlmàjīřai</b>	The teacher scolded the pupils.
<b>gàrin nà yā girmè wà bīřnin Kādūna</b>	This town is older than Kaduna.
<b>talakāwā sunà nēman kangarè wà kàntōmà</b>	
The common people are on the verge of defying the administrator.	

The verb **gōdè** 'thank' is normally a dative verb whose object is an i.o. The noun **Allàh** 'God', however, optionally (and commonly) appears as a direct object, e.g.,

<b>nā gōdè makà</b>	I thank you. (not <b>**nā gōdè ka</b> )
<b>kà gōdè wà bàbankà!</b>	Thank your father!
<b>mun gōdè wà Allàh = mun gōdè Allàh</b>	We thank God.

#### 4. SOCIATIVE VERBS

Sociatives are complex verbs composed of a verb stem plus the preposition **dà** 'with', e.g., **lūrfa dà** 'look after, take notice of'.

°AN: Abdoulaye (1996) has shown that from certain syntactic points of view, a sequence of **V + dà + NP** can be thought of as **[V + dà]<sub>VP</sub> + NP** (i.e., a complex verb plus an object) rather than **V + [dà + NP]<sub>PP</sub>** (i.e., a verb followed by a prepositional phrase). There are, nevertheless, good morphological and syntactic reasons for etymologically equating the sociative **dà** with the preposition 'with'.

The verb preceding the **dà** may be (a) a simple stem, generally belonging to grades 0, 1, 3, 4, or 7, e.g., **kāmu dà** 'be infected with', or (b) a phrasal verb, often made up of the pro-verb **yi** 'do' plus a noun or an ideophone, e.g., **yi shiri dà** 'be on good terms with' (lit. do preparation with), **yi tir dà** 'disapprove of' (lit. do expression-of-annoyance with). Statives, i.e., adverbial forms derived from verbs, also enter into sociative constructions (see §67:2.1.1), e.g., **lābce dà** 'be laden with'. The following is a list of some of the more common sociative verbs and verb phrases:

- (a) **aikà dà** send sth; **amincè dà** agree with; **dācè dà** suit, be appropriate; **dāmu dà** be bothered by, worried about; **fāhimtā dà** understand; **gānà dà** meet, chat with; **gaisà dà** greet; **gāji dà** be tired of; **gāmsu dà** be pleased with; **gāmu dà** meet s.o.; **ji dà** feel about, feel for; **jimà dà** pass by (of time); **karà dà** clash with; **kāmu dà** be infected with; **kōmà dà** return sth.; **kulà dà** attend to (= **kūla dà**); **kārà dà** do more of; **lūrfa dà** look after, take notice of; **māntā dà** forget; **matsà dà** bring close; **rābu dà** part company with, divorce; **sābà dà** be accustomed to; **shāgaltā dà** be carried away with; **shāku dà** be close friends with; **tunà dà** remember; **wucè dà** bring in; **yabà dà** praise; **yāřda dà** trust, accept
- (b) **ci gāba dà** proceed, continue; **ci karò dà** run/bump into someone; **shā bambam dà** differ from, miss; **yi àmfāni dà** make use of; **yi ařbā dà** meet unexpectedly; **yi bīřis dà** ignore completely; **yi gārājē dà** do sth hastily; **yi kāmā dà** resemble; **yi māganà dà** talk with; **yi na'ām dà** agree with; **yi řab dà** catch suddenly; **yi shiri dà** be on good terms with; **yi wātsi dà** throw away, reject

The irregular *san dà* 'be aware of, know of' (< *sanì* 'know') is essentially equivalent to the stative *sàne dà*, e.g., *nā san dà ita = inā sàne dà ita* 'I know about it/ I know of her.'

Although the *dà* in a sociative construction is closely bound to the verb, it remains a distinct entity and does not constitute an affixed or cliticized element that is attached to the verb stem. For example, it takes an independent pronoun as object and not a direct object pronoun, e.g.,

<i>nā aikà dà sū</i>	I sent them. (cf. <i>nā aikà sū kàsuwā</i> I sent them to market.)
<i>yā rābu dà ita</i>	He divorced her. (cf. <i>yā gan tā</i> He saw her.)
<i>bāri mù yi bīfīs dà shī</i>	Let's ignore him. (cf. <i>mù kirā shī</i> Let's call him.)

The verb before *dà* behaves as would be expected of an A-form, i.e., the form used when not followed by an object. In nonfinite constructions, this often means adding the weak verbal noun suffix *ˀwā*, e.g.,

<i>munà ta gaisàwā dà mutānē</i>	We are continuously greeting the people. (< <i>gaisà dà</i> )
<i>bā à sàbàwā dà wāhalā</i>	One doesn't get accustomed to trouble. (< <i>sābā dà</i> )
<i>jinjirīn dà takē kulāwā (=kūlā) dà shī</i>	The baby she is looking after.
cf. <i>jinjirīn dà ta kulā (= kūla) dà shī</i>	The baby she looked after.
<i>nā fārā amincēwā dà sū</i>	I began to rely on them.
<i>mutānē dà yawā sunā kāmūwā dà AIDS</i>	Many people are becoming infected with AIDS.
<i>inā jī dà shī</i>	I am fond of him.

An exception to the general rule is the fixed phrase *cē dà* 'call (name)', where the verb in a nonfinite position does not add the expected verbal noun ending, e.g.,

*anā cē dà shī Mūsā* He is called Musa. (not *\*\*anā cēwā dà shī Mūsā*)

Under conditions of focus or question formation, some sociatives allow the *dà* to be fronted and separated from its verb, e.g.,

<i>dà wā ka tunā?</i>	Who did you remember?
cf. <i>nā tunā dà Audū</i>	I remembered Audu.
<i>dà Lādi mukā gaisà</i>	It was with Ladi we exchanged greetings.
cf. <i>mun gaisà dà Lādi</i>	We exchanged greetings with Ladi.

More commonly, however, only the object is fronted, its original position following *dà* being filled by a resumptive independent pronoun, e.g.,

<i>wā ka tunā dà shī?</i>	Who did you remember?
<i>Lādi cē mukā gaisà dà ita</i>	It was with Ladi we exchanged greetings.

A sociative verb differs from a simple verb followed by a prepositional phrase containing *dà* in two main respects. First, from a semantic point of view, the object of a sociative verb construction is the thematic patient. By contrast, the object of the true preposition *dà* is commonly an instrumental or a comitative.

<i>mun gabzā dà sū</i>	We clashed with them.
(= <i>mun gābjē sū</i> with the transitive gr2 verb)	
<i>kadā kà mātā dà àlkawārinmù!</i>	Don't forget our appointment!

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<i>tā yi wà Lādì wātsi dà kāyā</i>	She threw away Ladi's goods.
<i>yā rābu dà ita</i>	He divorced her.

(similar to *yā sākē tā* with the transitive gr2 verb)

<i>jiyà na yi ārbā dà tsōhon manajà</i>	Yesterday I unexpectedly ran into the former manager.
<i>sun kōmā dà mōtā</i>	They returned the car. (sociative) <i>or</i> They returned by car. (instrumental)
cf. <i>sun kōmā Kanò dà Lādì</i>	She and Ladi returned to Kano.

(lit. they.comp return Kano with Ladi) (comitative)

Second, with sociatives built on motion verbs, *dà* and its object precede the locative. With intransitive verbs, on the other hand, the locative goal invariably precedes the prepositional *dà* + NP phrase. Compare the following sentence pairs, which structurally are different although semantically they are very similar:

<i>yanà wucèwā dà kāyān dākì</i>	He is taking the goods into the room. (sociative)
cf. <i>yanà wucèwā dākì dà kāyān</i>	He is passing by the room with the goods. (intr. plus pp)
<i>kà kōmā dà kwalabā kàntì!</i>	Return the bottle to the shop! (sociative)
cf. <i>kà kōmā kàntì dà kwalabā!</i>	Go back to the shop with the bottle! (intr. plus pp)

## 5. EFFERENTIAL VERBS (GRADE 5)

The label *effeential verb* refers to grade 5 verbs composed of a verb stem (with or without the suffix *-ār*) plus the formative *dà*, which is used with an overt object (see §74:9). Since the thematic object is expressed as an oblique rather than as a direct object, pronominal objects require the independent pronoun set, e.g.,

<i>yā ciyār dà iyālinsà</i>	He provided for (lit. fed) his family.
<i>kadà kà fitār dà kujèrà!</i>	Don't take out the chair!
<i>sun zub dà mái</i>	They poured out the oil.
<i>sun fid dà ita</i>	They took it out.

°AN: As used here, "effeential" describes a *syntactic* verb category characterized by the presence of the particle *dà*. The term *effeential* is used elsewhere as a morphological/semantic grade label for all gr5 (and dialectal gr5d) verbs whether they employ *dà* or not. For example, the gr5 verb in *yā gayār dà ita* 'He greeted her' belongs to the "effeential" syntactic subcategory, whereas the semantically equivalent effeential gr5 B-form verb in *yā gaishē tā* 'He greeted her' is syntactically a straightforward transitive verb, as is the equivalent gr5d verb in *yā gaidà ta*.

### 5.1. Differences between sociatives and effeentials

Syntactically, effeentials are similar to sociatives in their use of a formative *dà* and the status of objects as obliques. The effeentials, however, differ from sociatives in a number of ways.

(a) Sociatives have a word boundary between the verb and the preposition *dà*. As a result, in nonfinite environments (e.g., in sentences with the continuous TAMs), the verb takes the normal verbal noun form required in the non-object A context (e.g., vowel lengthening with gr3 verbs, addition of *̀wā* with gr1 or gr4 verbs, etc.). The *dà* that accompanies a gr5 effeential verb, on the other hand, is treated as a clitic (indicated here by means of a hyphen), and thus when *dà* is present, the verb does *not* add the verbal noun formative *̀wā*, which is, however, used in the A-form where *dà* is absent, e.g.,

- (sociative) *bā à sàbàwā dà wàhalà* One doesn't get accustomed to trouble. (< *sàbà dà*)  
 (efferential) *bā à zubar-dà mái mài kyáu* One doesn't pour out good oil.  
 not **\*\*bā à zubār-wā dà mái mài kyáu**, cf. *bā à zubār-wā* One doesn't pour (it) out.  
 (sociative) *tanà lûrā dà yārā* She is looking after the children. (< *lûrā dà*)  
 (efferential) *tanà tsōratař-dà yārā* She is frightening off the children.  
 cf. *yārā nè takè tsōratār-wā* It is children she is frightening.

(b) If the object of a sociative is front-shifted (for reasons of focus, interrogative, relativization, etc.) the *dà* usually remains in situ and a resumptive pronoun is left in its place. If the object of an efferential verb is moved, the *dà* is deleted/omitted.

- (sociative): *Audù yā sàbà dà kārén* Audu has become used to the dog.  
*mè ya sàbà dà shī?* What has he become used to? (not **\*\*mè ya sàbà?**)  
 (efferential): *yārinyà tā zubar dà shàrà* The girl threw out the trash.  
*mè ta zubar?* What did she throw out?  
 (sociative): *sun yabà dà matàimàkin shùgàbā* They praised the vice president.  
*matàimàkin shùgàbàn dà sukà yabà dà shī* the vice president whom they praised.  
 (efferential): *zā sù sayar dà àkuyà* They will sell the goat.  
*àkuyār dà zā sù sayar* the goat that they will sell

°AN: The description of "dà deletion" with the gr5 verbs, although common, is inexact. A better way to view the alternation found in such sentences as *sun zubar dà mái* 'They poured out oil' vs. *mái nè sukà zubar* 'It is oil they poured out' is to say that *dà* is inserted only at a late stage under certain specific conditions (see discussion note in §74:9.3).

(c) Some sociatives allow fronting of the *dà* + NP phrase as a whole. Gr5 efferential verbs do not, e.g.,

- (sociative): *dà wà ka tunà?* Whom did you remember?  
 cf. *nā tunà dà Audù* I remembered Audu.  
 (efferential): *wà ka tsōratař?* Whom did you frighten off? (not **\*\*dà wà ka tsōratař?**)  
 cf. *nā tsōratař dà yārò* I frightened off the boy.

(d) Sociatives with indirect objects have the structure Verb i.o. *dà* + NP, whether the i.o. is a noun or a pronoun. Gr5 efferential verbs with pronoun indirect objects also have this structure. If the indirect object is a noun, however, a different structure is commonly used. Either the *dà* is dropped, or else it immediately follows the i.o. marker. Examples:

- (sociative): *yā kulà wà Mūsā dà dōkì* He looked after the horse for Musa.  
 (efferential): *yā ciyār wà Mūsā dōkì = yā ciyār wà dà Mūsā dōkì*  
 He fed the horse for Musa.  
 (sociative) *kà matsà wà mākānikè dà mōtà!* Bring the car closer to/for the mechanic!  
 (efferential) *sun sayar wà mākānikè mōtà = sun sayar wà dà mākānikè mōtà*  
 They sold the car to the mechanic.

ΔDN: Apparently, some speakers allow optional deletion of the sociative *dà* when an i.o. is expressed, e.g., *yā kulà wà Mūsā dà dōkì = yā kulà wà Mūsā dōkì* 'He looked after the horse for Musa.' It is not clear how common this is.

## 5.2. Grade 5/6 ventive/efferential verbs

Grade 5/6 ventive/efferential verbs are gr6 stems built on gr5 verbs, e.g., *fitō dà* 'bring out' (cf. the normal gr5 *fitāf dà* 'take out'). They have gr6 morphology, i.e., they end in -ō and have all H tone, but, like gr5 verbs, they incorporate efferential semantics and function syntactically as efferential *dà* verbs. These grade 5/6 verbs with *dà* can be contrasted with similar-looking sociatives and intransitives.

(a) Unlike sociatives and intransitives, grade 5/6 ventive/efferential verbs in nonfinite VPs may appear without the *̀wā* verbal noun formative, e.g.,

<i>sunà bullō dà dābārā</i>	They are introducing a plan. (gr5/6)
≠ <i>sunà bullōwā dà dābārā</i>	They are coming out with a plan. (gr6 sociative)
<i>wā yakè fitō dà kāyā?</i>	Who is bringing out the load? (gr5/6)
cf. <i>wā yakè fitāf dà kāyā?</i>	Who is taking out the load (gr5)
cf. <i>wā yakè fitōwā dà kāyā?</i>	Who is coming out with the load? (gr6 intransitive)

(b) Unlike sociatives, these verbs do not allow fronting of the *dà* + NP phrase. However, some of these verbs differ from regular gr5 verbs in requiring *dà* plus a resumptive pronoun after the verb, e.g.,

<i>tā kaḥkatō dà fitilāf</i>	She tilted the lamp.
<i>fitilā ta kaḥkatō</i>	It was a lamp she tilted. not <b>**dà fitilā ta kaḥkatō</b>
<i>sunà fitō dà kāyān</i>	They are bringing out goods.
<i>mè sukè fitō-dà shī?</i>	What are they bringing out?

## 76. Verb Suffixes: Historical Remnants

**M**ANY verbs contain a historically remnant -CV suffix that now functions as a semantically empty, integral part of the verb. The length of the suffixal vowel is determined by grade assignment, transitivity, etc. (For convenience, the vowel is cited as short.) Some of the suffixes appear to have intrinsic tone; others are treated as toneless.

In a few cases the suffixal nature of the ending is still observable in the language because of synchronic alternations or morpho-semantically related lexical items. In other cases, the identification of the ending as a suffix is supported by comparative/historical evidence. In most cases, however, the ending is simply presumed to be an erstwhile suffix—whether it turns out to be so or not—based on its common occurrence and overall phonotactic patterning. The -yà suffix apart, words with the presumed suffixes are either polysyllabic or else disyllabic with a heavy initial syllable, typically CVC-. Where the initial syllable is CVV, it often can be shown to be derived from CVC (or at least can be presumed to be so). There are eight suffixes that recur frequently enough to be readily identifiable and that are described here. These are -yà, -kà, -ga, -nà, -là, -sa, -fa, and -ta. (Presumably there are/were other verb suffixes as well, which will be uncovered by subsequent research, but their status is too tenuous to warrant inclusion in the list at this time.)

### 1. -yà

This is a commonly occurring ending, which is found in over sixty verbs. It is the only one of the remnant suffixes whose suffixal status is still clearly recognizable synchronically. The suffix -yà has (or can be assumed to have had) underlying L tone and the resulting verb displays an alternating (L)-H-L tone pattern. What this means is that disyllabic verbs ending in -yà are assigned H-L tone and generally operate as grade 1 verbs, e.g., *shiryà* v1 'prepare' (cf. *dafà* v1 'cook'), whereas trisyllabic verbs ending in -yà are normally assigned L-H-L tone and operate as grade 2 verbs if transitive, e.g., *tsinkâyà* v2 'espy' (cf. *càkumà* v2 'grab') or as grade 3 verbs if intransitive, e.g., *dùlmuyà* v3 'sink' (cf. *zàburà* v3 'jump up').

°AN: [i] Hausaists normally think of tone and final vowels as being determined by the verb's grade, which is morpho-syntactically assigned. In the case of verbs with the remnant suffixes, the opposite seems to be the case, i.e., it is the accident of form that dictates grade assignment and not vice versa.

[ii] I am unable to account for the form of the vowel, if present, that occurs before the -yà.

Here is a sample list of common verbs with fully frozen final -yà. (Note: Verbs that now primarily operate gr4 will appear with final -ye(e) rather than -yà.)

*amâyè* v4 vomit up; *dàgwiya* v2 gnaw at, eat much (meat); *dàlayà* v2 pare; *dùlmuyà* v3 sink; *dàurayà* v2 plate with silver, rinse; *fèrayà* paring (VN of v2 form, cf. *fèrè* pare); *gaurayà* v3

become mixed; *gi*  
lose hope (doublet  
v2 count out; *mù*  
overpower, get bett  
preparing); *sùlmu*  
*tsinkâyà* v2 espy.

In the following ex  
the basic verb with  
(indicated [dv]). Th  
-ā verbs (both clas  
by the resultant to  
operating on the -

*ajiyè* v4 = *ajè* v4  
*dàwayà* v3 (= *dāv*  
*naḏiyè* [dv] v4 =  
//zōzè//) v4 dama  
*jāyà* v1 = *jā* v0  
*jirayà* v2 = *jirā* v1  
done

The irregular verb  
suffix -yà, i.e., //t  
e.g., *tāfiyà* f. 'goi  
\*\*tāfe-tāfe).

### 2. -kà

Like the -yà suffi  
-kà ending is also

*ḅarakà* v3 = *ḅar*  
*ḏaukà* (< \*ḏāwu  
*fāḏakà* v3 = *fāḏ*  
*faskà* v1 [dv] rij  
*hābakà* v3 swe  
*haikà* v1 climb  
*narkè* v4 melt  
*shūkà* v1 (= *shif*  
*tsaikà* v1 [dv] s  
*wankà* v1 wash  
*yankà* v1 cut, s

A notable except  
is also unusual in  
syllable. One mi

become mixed; **gciyà** v3 lie across (cf. VN. **gicì** crossing over); **karyà** v1 break, snap; **kàrayà** v3 lose hope (doublet of the preceding); **kàsàyè** v4 defile with excrement (cf. **kāshì** excrement); **kìdāyà** v2 count out; **mùsāyà** v2 exchange one thing for another (cf. PC \***masə** buy); **rìnjāyà** v2 *overpower, get better of*; **sauyà** v1 *change, exchange*; **shiryà** v1 *prepare, arrange* (cf. VN **shirì** preparing); **sùlmuyà** v3 fall off, slip off; **sùnkuyà** v3 bend down, stoop down; **tàmbayà** v2 ask; **tsìnkāyà** v2 espy, wait for; **tsùnguyà** v2 pinch off sth (= **tsùngulà**)

In the following examples, the stem with **-yà** coexists for many speakers as an equivalent alternative to the basic verb without the suffix. Alternatively, the **-yà** form with some words exists as a dialect variant (indicated [dv]). This free variation is particularly common with (but not limited to) monoverbs and H-H **-ā** verbs (both classified as grade 0). The assignment of the **-yà** stem to gr1 or gr2 or gr3 is determined by the resultant tonal pattern of the verb and its valency. (Grade 4 represents a secondary derivation operating on the **-yà** stem.) Examples:

**ajiyè** v4 = **ajè** v4 put away; **bidīyè** [dv] v4 = **bidā** seek v2 (cf. the VN **bidīyà** built on the gr2 stem); **dāwayà** v3 (= **dāwai**) [dv] go back, cf. **dāwō** v6 return here; **hādīyà** v2 = **hadè** v4 [dv] swallow; **nadīyè** [dv] v4 = **nadè** v4 roll up; **tsányè** v4 = **tsanè** v4 become partially dry; **zōzāyè** v4 = **zōjè** (< //zōzè//) v4 damage fence, erode (cf. the VN **zōzayà** built on the gr2 stem)  
**jāyà** v1 = **jā** v0 pull; **jiyà** v1 = **ji** v0 hear; **riyà** v1 = **ri** v0 hate  
**jirāyà** v2 = **jirā** v0 wait for; **kirāyà** v2 = **kirā** v0 call; **rigāyà** v2 = **rigā** v0 precede, have already done

The irregular verbs **tāfi** and **gāji** are presumably clipped forms of extended gr3 stems containing the suffix **-yà**, i.e., //tāfiyà// and //gājiyà//. These suffixal stems are used in various secondary derivations, e.g., **tāfiyà** f. 'going', **gājiyu** gr7 'be dead tired' (not \*\***gāju** or \*\***gāzu**); **tāfiye-tāfiye** pl. 'travels' (not \*\***tāfe-tāfe**).

## 2. -kà

Like the **-yà** suffix, the **-kà** suffix carries its own tone, which serves to determine grade assignment. This **-kà** ending is also a widely attested suffix, being found in over fifty verbs, e.g.,

<b>ḡarakà</b> v3 = <b>ḡarkè</b> v4 split	<b>dafkà</b> v1 pile up; wound seriously
<b>ḡaukà</b> (< * <b>ḡawukà</b> ) v2 take	<b>ḡinkà</b> v1 sew
<b>fāḡakà</b> v3 = <b>fāḡkà</b> v1 wake up (cf. <b>fāḡfadō</b> v6 revive, recover) (< PC * <b>fad-</b> wake up)	<b>ḡirkà</b> v1 put pot on fire, cook
<b>faskà</b> v1 [dv] rip (cf. SH <b>fāḡkà</b> v2 rip and remove)	<b>hāḡakà</b> v3 swell, expand (cf. <b>hāḡī</b> swelling of animal's udder just prior to giving birth)
<b>hāḡakà</b> v3 swell, expand (cf. <b>hāḡī</b> swelling of animal's udder just prior to giving birth)	<b>haskà</b> v1 light, illuminate
<b>haikà</b> v1 climb over (= <b>hayà</b> )	<b>ninkà</b> v1 fold in two
<b>narkè</b> v4 melt	<b>surkà</b> v1 add cold water to hot
<b>shūkà</b> v1 (= <b>shifkà</b> [dv]) plant (< PC * <b>sip-</b> )	<b>tsinkè</b> v4 snap
<b>tsaikà</b> v1 [dv] stand, wait (= <b>tsayà</b> )	<b>warakà</b> v3 = <b>warkè</b> v4 get well
<b>wankà</b> v1 wash	
<b>yankà</b> v1 cut, slaughter (cf. <b>yanyānā</b> v1 cut in strips, pieces)	

A notable exception to the expected L tone on **-kà** is the word **sàuka** v3 (< \***sāfka**) 'get down'. This word is also unusual in having the wrong syllable weight for a basic gr3 verb: the norm is to have a light first syllable. One might hypothesize that its original form was \***saf-kà** (v1) and that it switched to gr3 by

analogy with other basic, semantically similar gr3 intransitive verbs like **fita** 'go out' and **shiga** 'enter'; but this is pure speculation.

In the case of **sakà** v1 = **sà** 'put' (= **sányā**) and **zakà** v3b [dv] = **zō** 'come (go)' it is not clear whether the **-kà** is a suffix or whether it represents an original part of the basic lexical root.

### 3. -ga

The suffix **-ga**, which is found in under twenty examples, occurs much less frequently than **-kà**. It is possibly the voiced counterpart of **-kà**, the two originally being allomorphs of the same suffix, i.e., **-ga** occurred if the preceding abutting consonant was a voiced obstruent, **-kà** occurred elsewhere. Note, however, that the inherent low tone found with **-kà** does not appear as regularly with **-ga**. Examples:

<b>buřgà</b> v1	whisk with swizzle-stick (cf. <b>bùřgā</b> v2 threaten, intimidate psn)	<b>figà</b> v1	tug, snatch away
<b>bāzgā</b> v2	tear off, e.g., a branch (This v2 is a derived partitive.)	<b>hārgā</b> v2	wolf down food
<b>dābugā</b> v2 [dv]	pester s.o. by following him/her around	<b>kirgā</b> v1	count (cf. <b>řidāyā</b> v2 count, calculate with the same * <b>ř-d</b> root)
<b>řibgā</b> v2	thrash, repulse an enemy	<b>rūgā</b> v1	flee
<b>hāngā</b> v2	espy	<b>sūngā</b> v2 [dv]	wound with a spear
<b>kirgā</b> v1	count (cf. <b>řidāyā</b> v2 count, calculate with the same * <b>ř-d</b> root)	<b>wāigā</b> v1	turn head around and look (= <b>waiwāyā</b> )
<b>rūgā</b> v1	flee	<b>zabgā</b> v1	wound s.o.
<b>shirgā</b> v1	pile on		
<b>tsārgā</b> v1 [dv]	spit in thin stream		
<b>wuřgā</b> v1	throw a missile at s.o.		
<b>zargā/zārgā</b> v1/v2	put on noose, accuse		

ØHN: Given the rule that abutting obstruents must both be either voiced or voiceless, we can assume that **wuřgā**, for example, came from \***wudgā** and not from \***wutga**. Because we know from other forms that **kirgā** comes from \***řidgā**, it should have rolled /ř/ rather than the flap /r/. It is possible that the words **hārgā**, **shirgā**, and **zargā** historically had a \*/d/ in the coda of the first syllable and thus also reflect a previously overlooked secondary historical change of /ř/ to /r/ under conditions yet to be determined. If this is not the case, we have a problem explaining how it is that both **-ga** and **-kà** occur after liquids (and nasals) if one is assuming that they originally were phonologically conditioned allomorphs of the same suffix.

### 4. -nà

The **-nà** suffix is found with some twenty-five verbs. It commonly abuts with a preceding /n/ resulting in a surface geminate. Examples:

<b>aunà</b> v1	measure, weigh (cf. VN <b>awò</b> weighing)	<b>binnè</b> v4	bury (cf. VN <b>bisò</b> [dv] burying)
<b>řincinà</b> v2	pinch off some	<b>cākunà</b> v2	provoke (= [dv] <b>cākusà</b> )
<b>cařnà</b> v1	fire, shoot a long way (= <b>callà</b> )	<b>cinnà</b> v1	stuff in
<b>cūnà</b> v1	egg on (< * <b>cig-na</b> ?)	<b>řòsanà</b> v2	obtain (fire)
<b>dainà</b> v1	cease	<b>kunnà</b> v1	light lamp or fire
<b>mannà</b> v1	adhere to, stick to	<b>mùntsunà</b> v2	pinch, take a pinch of
<b>rainà</b> v1	have contempt for	<b>tsòkanà</b> v2	poke, prod
<b>sunnà</b> v1	give surreptitiously, infect (= <b>sundà</b> [dv])		
<b>yānkwanà</b> v3	became emaciated (= <b>yānkwàdē</b> v4)		
<b>zaunà</b> (= <b>zamnà</b> ) v1	sit (cf. <b>zama</b> = <b>zāmanà</b> v3 become, happen)		



## 5. -là

About twenty-five disyllabic verbs contain a geminate //l/ preceding the final vowel, e.g., **ballà** v1 'knot, tie'. Most have H-L tone and are gr1. Because geminates are uncommon in nonderived words in Hausa, we can assume that these CVIV words contain a remnant suffix. In some cases we may be dealing with a \*-là suffix, to which the abutting root consonant assimilated and geminated. (Note that //n.l// → //l/ is quite general in Hausa, see §54:6.1.2.) In other cases, however, the suffix was possibly something other than -là (perhaps -nà, or -rà) and the assimilation was to a root final //l/. In the list that follows, I shall simply present examples of common verbs that contain final /-lla(a)/ without attempting to sort out the individual etymological histories.

<b>billà</b> v1	stretch cap with hands	<b>bullà</b> v1	add indigo powder to dye pits
<b>ballà</b> v1	knot (but v2 = v4 untie)	<b>ùlla</b> v3	appear
<b>d'allà</b> v1	project by springlike action	<b>fallà</b> v1	run away (= <i>falfalà</i> )
<b>gillà</b> v1	pinch off a big piece of sth, (with <i>karyā</i> ) concoct a lie	<b>kwallà</b> v1	burst out crying, shine brightly
<b>kullà</b> v1	knot together (= <i>kudūrā</i> )	<b>wullà</b> v1	pass by
<b>millà</b> v1	project a missile long way, go a long way, do too much		
<b>tillà</b> v1	pierce hole in pot		
<b>callà</b> v1	fire, shoot a long way = <i>caṛnà</i> (both from */cad-// or */car-// + -là or -nà ?)		

There are also a few trisyllabic words with final -la without gemination, which support the idea of an original suffix of that shape, e.g.,

<b>cābūlā</b> v1	make knife notchy, render sloppy (= <i>cābā</i> )
<b>cākūlā</b> v1	mix round and round with spoon (= <i>cākūfā</i> )
<b>tsūngulā</b> v2	pinch off sth (= <i>tsūnguyā</i> )

## 6. -sa

A small number of doublets plus a few other examples point to the existence of a suffix -sa (with underlying tone unclear). Examples:

<b>cākusā</b> v2 [dv]	provoke (= <i>cākunā</i> v2)
<b>cikāsā</b> v1	fulfill, add to, increase (partially = <i>cikā</i> v1 fill)
<b>cūsā</b> v1	stuff in (< * <i>cik-sa</i> ?) (related to preceding?)
<b>gaisā</b> v1	exchange greetings (cf. <i>gayā</i> v1 tell)
<b>kārāsā</b> v1	end, finish sth (cf. <i>kārē</i> v4 end, finish)
<b>lumshē</b> v4	cloud over (cf. <i>lūllūmī</i> (< //lūm-lūmī//) being clouded over)
<b>rūshē</b> v4 (< * <i>ripsē</i> )	collapse (= <i>ribdē</i> v4)
<b>targashē</b> [dv]	a sprain (VN form) (= <i>targadē</i> )

ØHN: The interesting historical question here is what relation there is, if any, between this suffix and the grade 5 ending, which historically was \*-as, i.e., are these erstwhile "efferential" verbs in which the extension has become frozen as a stem formative? This certainly seems to be the case with the verb *gaisā*, which synchronically has a related gr5 form in which the /s/ (→ *ř* in final position) belongs to the gr5 extension, not to the stem, e.g., *yā gay-ař* (< *gay-as*) *dà tsòfāffī* 'He greeted the elders.'

7. -*ɗa*

The suffixal nature of the *-ɗa* ending is less evident than with the other frozen suffixes in the sense that there are no synchronic alternations and only a few doublets to point to (e.g., *yankwàɗɛ* = *yankwàɓɛ* 'become emaciated'). Nevertheless, it does occur quite often and its status as a suffix has some empirical support. (Parsons (1975: 424–25) proposed a semantic characterization of *-ɗa*, namely, "displacement or disalignment," which may or may not hold up.) The *-ɗa* suffix does not appear to have an inherent tone; rather it gets its tone from the grade form in which it occurs, which is most often gr1. Examples:

<i>bankàɗā</i> v1 lift up edge of sth	<i>baudè</i> v4 swerve, dodge
<i>cākùɗā</i> v1 mix up with a spoon (= <i>cākùlā</i> v1)	<i>cūdā</i> v1 knead, massage
<i>fāɗā</i> v1 slit open, <i>fāɗā</i> v2 hoe up peanuts	<i>guɗè</i> v4 sprain, dislocate
<i>haɗā</i> v1 interlace	<i>jīɗè</i> v4 dislocate, loosen from the ground
<i>kalmàɗā</i> v1 bend, go off on a tangent	<i>kuɗā</i> v1 squeeze through a narrow place
<i>muɗā</i> v1 twist, wring	<i>murgùɗā</i> v1 twist out of shape, distort
<i>ribɗè</i> [dv] v4 collapse (= <i>rūshè</i> v4) (< *rip-sè)	<i>shimfiɗā</i> v1 spread out (e.g., mat)
<i>shūdè</i> v4 pass through, pass by (< <i>shìga</i> enter + <i>-ɗa</i> + gr4 ?)	<i>targadè</i> VN a sprain (= <i>targashè</i> [dv])
<i>tankàɗā</i> v1 sift, knock over	<i>tunkùɗā</i> v1 push aside
<i>tazgàɗā</i> v1 tilt / <i>tāzgàɗā</i> v3 be tilted	<i>zākùɗā</i> v1 (= <i>zaudā</i> v1) move aside
<i>turbùɗā</i> v1 put in hot ashes to cook, bury	
<i>zunkùɗā</i> v1 hitch up on back (e.g., load or baby)	

8. -*ta*

Synchronically, Hausa has a productive suffix *-ta* (or *-nta*) that forms verbs from nouns (see chap. 79), e.g., *hanzàrtā* 'hasten' < *hanzarɪ* 'speed, haste'; *dùhuntā* 'become dark' < *duhù* 'darkness'. In addition, one finds a large number of CVCCV and trisyllabic verbs with final *-ta* (but *not -nta*) in which the *-ta* looks in some ways like a suffix although it cannot be identified as the verbalizer. The tone is determined by the grade form. (Note that verbs in grade 4 will appear with final *-cè*.) Examples:

<i>dākātā</i> v1 wait (cf. VN <i>dākò</i> waiting)	<i>fuɗtā</i> v1 mention
<i>kaftā</i> v1 dig ground for planting (cf. Kanakuru <i>kàpe</i> plant)	<i>kiftā</i> v2 wink at
<i>kùbutā</i> v3 slip away	<i>māntā</i> v1 forget. (cf. Kanakuru <i>monè</i> )
<i>kyastā</i> v1 strike match or flint	<i>rikītā</i> v1 confuse
<i>rāntā</i> v2 borrow (money)	<i>tsintā</i> v2 pick up, find by chance
<i>saɗcè</i> v4 comb hair	<i>yantā</i> v1 prepare thatch
<i>yàfatā</i> v2 beckon	<i>zāntā</i> v1 converse
<i>wafcè</i> v4 grab from	

[References: Jungraithmayr (1970); Lemeshko (1967); Parsons (1975)]

## 77. Verbal Nouns

IN Hausa scholarship, the term *verbal noun* has been used to describe a variety of nominalized forms derived from or related to verbs, e.g., **kômôwā** f. 'returning' (cf. **kômô** 'return here'), **sâyē** m. 'buying' (cf. **sâyā** 'buy'), **aurē** m. 'marrying, marriage' (cf. **aurā** 'marry'), **ginì** m. 'building, a building' (cf. **ginà** 'build'), **shārā** f. 'sweeping, trash' (cf. **shārē** 'sweep'). There exists considerable disagreement about the classification of these "verbal nouns" partly because of differences in the criteria that have been used. Some scholars, for example, have based their analysis of verbal nouns on syntactic criteria, others on (morpho)phonological criteria, and others on a mix of the two. The situation is admittedly complicated because the syntactic classes and the morphological classes do not match, i.e., they are essentially independent classes that intersect rather than coincide. Nevertheless, once the crosscutting nature of the classes is understood and kept in mind, the analysis of verbal nouns, while far from simple, is not intractable.

### 1. VERBAL NOUNS

The major *syntactic* cut is between "verbal nouns" (VN), in the sense to be defined here, and "deverbal nouns" (DVN). Deverbal nouns, e.g., **dāshē** 'a seedling' < **dasà** 'to plant', which are described in chap. 22, are nouns that are morphologically derived from (or related to) lexical verbs but that function syntactically like ordinary common nouns. Verbal nouns, e.g., **dasāwā** 'planting', on the other hand, function as present participles or gerunds in environments, e.g., with a continuous TAM, where a nonfinite form is required in place of a regular verb. (It is perhaps useful to think of VNs as being comparable to English '-ing' forms, although they do not always translate as such.) Examples:

<b>tanà</b> [sàyen] <sub>VN</sub> <b>nāmà</b>	She is buying meat.
cf. <b>tā</b> [sàyi] <sub>V</sub> <b>nāmà</b>	She bought meat.
<b>bā sà</b> [shān] <sub>VN</sub> <b>giyà</b>	They don't drink beer. <i>or</i> They are not drinking beer.
cf. <b>bā zā sù</b> [shā] <sub>V</sub> <b>giyà ba</b>	They will not drink beer.
<b>yā</b> <b>ki</b> [zaunàwā] <sub>VN</sub>	He refused to sit. (lit. he.comp refuse sitting)
cf. <b>yā</b> [zaunà] <sub>V</sub>	He sat.
<b>kù</b> <b>dainà</b> [tàmbayāf] <sub>VN</sub> <b>sà</b>	(You pl.) stop asking him.
cf. <b>kù</b> [tàmbayē] <sub>V</sub> <b>shì</b>	(You pl.) ask him.
[kòyon] <sub>VN</sub> <b>Hausa</b> <b>bā shi dà wùyā</b>	Learning Hausa is not difficult.
cf. <b>inà sò</b> <b>in</b> [kòyi] <sub>V</sub> <b>Hausa</b>	I want to learn (lit. that I learn) Hausa.

#### 1.1. Finite vs. nonfinite VP environments

The syntactic use of verbal nouns depends critically on the distinction between two fundamental verb phrase environment types, namely, the finite verb phrase environment and the nonfinite verb phrase environment.

## 1.1.1. Finite verb phrase environment

The finite environment is one in which (a) the verb is either in the imperative or in a tensed clause having a TAM belonging to the set of noncontinuous TAMs, i.e., the completive, the negative-completive, the preterite, the future, the potential, the habitual, the rhetorical, and the subjunctive; or (b) the verb precedes an indirect object (regardless of the TAM). This finite environment *requires* the use of a finite verb (abbreviated simply as V), e.g.,

(a) <i>yā</i> [zābuřà]V	He jumped up.
<i>kadà tà</i> [tafàsà]V <i>ruwā</i>	She shouldn't boil water.
<i>zāi</i> [fēd'è]V <i>rāgôn</i>	He will flay the ram.
[ <i>nūnà</i> ]V <i>dōgôn!</i>	Show the tall one!
[ <i>zāunā</i> ]V!	Sit down!
(b) <i>mun</i> [nēmā]V <i>masà aikì</i>	We sought work for him.
<i>munā</i> [nēmā]V <i>masà aikì</i>	We are seeking work for him.
cf. <i>munā</i> [nēman]VN <i>aikì</i>	We are seeking work.
<i>kà dīngà</i> [kirā]V <i>minì shì!</i>	Keep on calling him for me!
cf. <i>kà dīngà</i> [kirānsà]VN!	Keep on calling him!

## 1.1.2. Nonfinite verb phrase environment

The nonfinite verb environment includes all other verbal environments. These include (a) the position following a continuous TAM (General, Rel, or Neg) or, in some dialects, the allative, or (b) the position following an aspectual verb. It also includes (c) environments in which the VP functions in a nominal slot such as subject or object. In these nonfinite environments, the VP must be either an infinitive phrase (IP) (which internally contains a finite verb) or a verbal noun, depending on the verb grade and, with certain grades, on whether the VP contains a direct object or not. Gr1, gr4, gr5 (including gr5d), and gr6 allow the use of an infinitive phrase; other grades, namely, gr0, gr2, gr3, and gr7, require a verbal noun, e.g.,

<i>yanā</i> [zābuřà]VN	He is jumping up.
<i>yanā</i> [fīd'ār]VN <i>rāgō</i>	He is flaying a ram.
cf. <i>yanā</i> [fēd'è]V <i>manā rāgō</i>	He is flaying a ram for us.
<i>wā yakè</i> [gyāran]VN <i>mōtār?</i>	Who is repairing the car?
cf. the equivalent <i>wā yakè</i> [[gyārā]V <i>mōtār</i> ]IP?	Who is repairing the car? (gr1)
<i>sun ři</i> [kōyō]VN	They refused to learn. (lit. they refused learning)
<i>yanā dà wūyār</i> [sayār wā]VN	It is difficult to sell.
cf. [[sayār]V <i>dà littāfi mair tsādā</i> ]IP <i>yanā dà wūyā</i>	
	Selling an expensive book is difficult.
<i>yā hanā ni</i> [aron]VN <i>kēkensā</i>	He prevented me from borrowing his bicycle.
[[ <i>hařbin</i> ]VN <i>gīwā</i> ] <i>yā buřgè ni</i>	Shooting the elephant amazed me.
[[ <i>fitař</i> ]VN <i>sà</i> ] <i>kè dà wūyā sai na ji kārā</i>	He had just gone out when I heard a scream.
(lit. [[going out] his] was difficult then I heard scream)	

## 1.2. Weak vs. strong VNs

Syntactically VNs fall into two classes, weak and strong, depending on their morphosyntactic behavior in relation to direct objects.

Weak VNs, all of which are formed with the suffix *-wā*, occur only when no object is expressed, either because the underlying object has been moved or deleted or because the verb is intransitive, e.g., *bā mà kōmōwā* 'We are not returning'; *mè takè d'aurèwā?* 'What is she tying up?' *sunā kařantāwā*

'They are reading (it)'; cf. *sunà kařàntà littāfi* (*not \*\*sunà kařàntāwā littāfi*) 'They are reading the book.'

°AN: Numerous scholars, going back to Abraham (1941), if not before, have proposed that all verb forms in a nonfinite environment, such as following a continuous TAM, should be analyzed as verbal nouns. Thus *kařàntà* in *sunà kařàntà littāfi* 'They are reading the book', for example, is viewed as a verbal noun that just happens to be identical to the finite verb. Some scholars (see Tuller 1986, for example) go even further and suggest that *kařàntà* in such a sentence is synchronically derived from the underlying verbal noun *kařàntāwā* by deletion of the *-wā* suffix. I find nothing to recommend this approach. In the first place, this analysis requires that putative verbal nouns like *kařàntà* undergo exactly the same vowel length and tone alternations in the A/B/C/D contexts (see §74:1) as do true finite verbs. In the second place, it forces one into the untenable position that whereas all other verbal nouns (i.e., 'true' verbal nouns) require a genitive linker before the thematic object, these supposed verbal nouns do not. The straightforward and, I would say, correct analysis is the one presented here, namely, that weak verbal nouns with *-wā* are syntactically restricted to VPs with no following object expressed and that the grade 1, 4, 5, and 6 forms following a continuous TAM that look and behave like ordinary verbs do so because they in fact *are* finite verbs pure and simple, albeit occurring in an infinitive phrase.

Strong verbal nouns, which take a variety of shapes other than *-wā*, occur whether they are followed by a direct object or not. When followed by an object, a strong VN obligatorily takes a linker. If the thematic direct object is a pronoun, it belongs to the genitive set, e.g., *tanà kôyô* 'She is learning', *tanà kôyo-n Hausa* 'She is learning Hausa'; *yā dingà sūkà* 'He kept on criticizing', *yā dingà sūkà-n-tà* 'He kept on criticizing her.' A VP composed of a verbal noun followed by an object has the same surface structure as a possessive NP phrase, i.e., noun + linker + NP. Thus *hařbi-n-sà bā shi dà kyáu*, for example, could mean either 'Shooting him was not good' or 'His shooting (that he did) was not good.'

### 1.3. Stem-derived vs. base-derived verbal nouns

Some verbal nouns are derived from verb stems; these are termed "stem-derived verbal nouns" (SDVN). Others are derived from verbal bases (devoid of final vowel and tone); these are termed "base-derived verbal nouns" (BDVN). Weak verbal nouns are all built on occurring verb stems, i.e., they are SDVNs. For example, *kāwôwā* 'bringing' is an inflected form of the gr6 stem *kāwô* 'bring'. Some strong verbal nouns are also built on verb stems complete with grade endings. For example, *shīgā* 'entering' is derived from the gr3 stem *shiga* 'enter', and *cī* 'eating' is derived from the gr0 stem *ci* 'eat'. Other strong verbal nouns, however, are built on an underlying verb base rather than on any overt grade stem, i.e., they are BDVNs, e.g., *cikô* 'filling' derives from the base //cik-// rather than from the spelled-out gr1 stem *cikā* 'fill (sth)' or the gr3 stem *cika* 'get filled'; similarly, *firā* 'paring' derives from the base //fir-// rather than from the occurring gr4 stem *fērē* 'pare'.

#### 1.3.1. Stem-derived verbal nouns (SDVN)

The formation of SDVNs is normally straightforward, i.e., given a stem of a particular grade, the shape of the corresponding VN is determined by regular morphological rules (to be described below). For example, monosyllabic H-tone verbs ending in short -i have verbal nouns that end in a long -ī and have falling tone, e.g., *bi* 'follow' ⇒ *bī* 'following', whereas gr3 verbs simply lengthen the final vowel, e.g., *fiṭa* 'go out' ⇒ *fiṭā* 'going out', etc. The verb stem that is altered into a verbal noun may be simple, as in the previous examples, or pluractional, e.g., *fiffitô* v6/plurac. 'come out (many people)' ⇒ *fiffitôwā* 'coming out (many people)'; *jajjā* v0/plurac. 'pull many' ⇒ *jajjā* 'pulling many'.

As a result of historical changes, the relation between synchronically extant verbs and their verbal nouns has in some cases become skewed. What one finds are gr1 and gr4 verbs optionally employing the

SDVN of an original gr2 verb, which may or may not occur synchronically, e.g., *an tājè* (v4) *gāshì* 'One combed out hair', cf. *anà tâzaf* (SDVN of erstwhile gr2) *gāshì* = *anà tājè* (gr4) *gāshì* 'One is combing out hair.'

With few exceptions, stem-derived verbal nouns ending in *-ā* are feminine. Examples:

VERB		SDVN of original gr2
<i>cinkisā</i> v1	stuff	<i>cinkisā</i>
<i>fallāsā</i> v1	shame by disclosing a secret	<i>fāllasā</i>
<i>gīrgizā</i> v1	shake to and fro	<i>gīrgizā</i>
<i>hūdā</i> v1	make ridges on farm	<i>hūdā</i>
<i>sussūkā</i> v1	thresh corn	<i>sùssukā</i>
<i>baibayē</i> v4	thatch a roof	<i>bàibayà</i>
<i>cāshē</i> v4	thresh grain	<i>cāsā</i>
<i>dabaibayē</i> v4	hobble the forefeet	<i>dàbàibayà</i>
<i>d'aurayē</i> v4	rinse	<i>d'aurayà</i>
<i>shārē</i> v4	sweep	<i>shārā</i>
<i>tācē</i> v4	filter	<i>tātā</i>

### 1.3.2. Base-derived verbal nouns (BDVN)

BDVNs are derived in the lexicon from a verbal *base* rather than being derived from a full verb stem. For example, *hařbì* 'shooting, hunting' is a BDVN derived from the abstract base //hařb-// 'shoot, hunt', and not from the gr1 stem *hařbā* 'shoot a weapon' nor the gr2 stem *hařbā* 'shoot sth.'. The BDVN *cafiyā* 'catching' is related to *cařē* 'catch' but is not derived directly from it. The BDVN *jifā* 'throwing' derives from the base //jif-// 'throw', an ablauted form of the verb stem //jēf-//; it is not a derived form of the gr1 stem *jēfā* 'throw' nor of the gr2 stem *jēfā* 'throw at'. Similarly, *awò* 'weighing', which is built on a base //aw-//, is related to but is not derived from the gr1 verb *aunā* 'weigh'.

With some verbs (most of which are gr2), one *must* use the corresponding BDVN in nonfinite environments, e.g., *tanā zāgin* (BDVN) *mijìntā* 'She is insulting her husband' (cf. *tā zāgi* (v2) *mijìntā* 'She insulted her husband'). With others, again mostly gr2, the BDVN is not totally obligatory but it is usually chosen, e.g., *yāròn dà sukē cētō* (BDVN) 'the boy they are rescuing' (= but more common than *yāròn dà sukē cētā* (SDVN of gr2). Examples:

VERB		BDVN	VERB		BDVN
<i>àurā</i> v2	marry	<i>aurē</i>	<i>kōyā</i> v2	learn	<i>kōyō</i>
<i>būgā</i> v2	beat	<i>bugù</i>	<i>lāllāsā</i> v2	coax	<i>lāllāshì</i>
<i>cētā</i> v2	rescue	<i>cētō</i>	<i>nēmā</i> v2	seek	<i>nēmā</i>
<i>cīzā</i> v2	bite	<i>cīzō</i>	<i>rīkā</i> v2, <i>rīkē</i> v4	grasp	<i>rīkō</i>
<i>dēbā/dībā</i> v2	take/fetch	<i>dībā</i>	<i>rōkā</i> v2	beg	<i>rōkō</i>
<i>duddūkā</i> v1	crouch	<i>duddūkē</i>	<i>rōrā</i> v2	harvest	<i>rōrō</i>
<i>fākā</i> v2	ambush	<i>fākō</i>	<i>sāmā/sāmū</i> v2	get	<i>sāmū</i>
<i>gīrbā</i> v2	reap	<i>gīrbì</i>	<i>sāyā</i> v2	buy	<i>sāyē</i>
<i>jēfā</i> v2, <i>jēfā</i> v1	throw	<i>jifā</i>	<i>zāgā</i> v2	insult	<i>zāgì</i>
<i>gāřgādā</i> v2	warn	<i>gāřgādì</i>	<i>zātā</i> v2	think	<i>zātō</i>

ØHN: With the now obligatory BDVN (of gr2 verbs at least), we can assume that the BDVN totally supplanted an existing SDVN, i.e., originally, all verbs probably had corresponding SDVNs. Thus, alongside the now required *munā sāyē* (BDVN) *nāmā* 'We are buying meat', one also would have had \**munā sāyāř* (SDVN) *nāmā*; alongside *tanā zāgin* (BDVN) *mijìntā* 'She is insulting her

husband', one also would have had \***tanà zàgar** (SDVN) **mijintà**, etc. Some modern-day SH speakers do, in fact, use these forms, although rarely so.

With many verbs, the BDVN exists as an essentially equivalent alternative to the corresponding finite verb or SDVN, e.g.,

<b>yanà awòn</b> (BDVN) <b>hatsi</b> =	<b>yanà aunà</b> (v1) <b>hatsi</b>	He is weighing the corn.
<b>tanà bàkàcèn</b> (BDVN) <b>dāwà</b> =	<b>tanà bàkacè</b> (v4) <b>dāwà</b>	She is winnowing guinea-corn.
<b>sunà d'inkìn</b> (BDVN) <b>hùlā</b> =	<b>sunà d'inkà</b> (v1) <b>hùlā</b>	They are embroidering caps.
<b>mun fārà firār</b> (BDVN) <b>àbìn</b> =	<b>mun fārà fèrè</b> (v4) <b>àbìn</b>	We started paring the thing.
<b>munà hòron</b> (BDVN) <b>-sù</b> =	<b>munà hòrař</b> (v2-SDVN) <b>-sù</b>	We are punishing them.
<b>tanà mārìn</b> (BDVN) <b>yārò</b> =	<b>tanà mārāř</b> (v2-SDVN) <b>yārò</b>	She is slapping the boy.
<b>yanà ambaton</b> (BDVN) <b>màganār</b> =	<b>yanà àmbatār</b> (v2-SDVN) <b>màganār</b>	
He is mentioning the matter.		

°AN: In Abraham's dictionary (1962), BDVNs are referred to as "secondary verbal nouns" only when they serve as alternatives to finite verbs or SDVNs. Other scholars, e.g., Gouffé (1981b) and Abraham himself in other places, have used the term "secondary verbal noun" as essentially equivalent to my BDVN, regardless of whether the verbal noun occurs obligatorily or as an alternative to some other form. This "secondary verbal noun" stands in opposition to "primary verbal noun," which is essentially equivalent to my SDVN. Because of the confusion about the meaning of the term "secondary verbal noun," I have decided to drop it in favor of the terminology proposed here.

With an object expressed, the alternative structures are more or less equivalent in meaning. When the object is not expressed (and sometimes even when the object is expressed), sentences with a BDVN often connote a more permanent activity as opposed to sentences with a weak verbal noun or a strong SDVN, where the underlying object is implied, e.g.,

<b>yanà gyāran</b> (BDVN) <b>mōtā</b> =	<b>yanà gyārā</b> (v1) <b>mōtā</b>	He is repairing the car.
but <b>yanà gyārā</b> (BDVN)		He is doing repair work. ≠ <b>yanà gyārāwā</b> (v1-weak VN) He is repairing (it).
<b>tanà níkàn</b> (BDVN) <b>masārā</b> =	<b>tanà níkà</b> (v1) <b>masārā</b>	She grinds / is grinding maize.
but <b>tanà níkà</b> (BDVN)		She grinds. (e.g., for money) ≠ <b>tanà níkāwā</b> (v1-weak VN) She is grinding (it).
<b>sunà zāben</b> (BDVN) <b>hākìmi</b> =	<b>sunà zābař</b> (v2-SDVN) <b>hākìmi</b>	They are choosing the headman.
but <b>sunà zābē</b> (BDVN)		They are having an election. ≠ <b>sunà zābā</b> (v2-SDVN) They are choosing (him).

The classification of verbal nouns on the basis of the two parameters weak vs. strong and stem-derived vs. base-derived is illustrated in table 32:

Table 32: Classification of verbal nouns

	Weak	Strong
Stem-derived	(-wā) kōmōwā returning here	(-:) cī eating
Base-derived		(-ē) <sup>LH</sup> shāfē wiping

## 2. DEVERBAL NOUNS

The term *deverbal noun* (DVN) is used to cover nominal forms derived from verbs that describe an activity or concrete thing resulting from the activity of the source verb (see chap. 22). These morphologically have the shape of verbal nouns, but *syntactically* they function just like ordinary common nouns, e.g.,

<b>dàkè</b> (DVN)	type of ink (< <b>dakà</b> pound), cf. <b>shàfè</b> wiping, VN of <b>shàfà</b> wipe
<b>mahò</b> (DVN)	a patch on a garment (< <b>mafè</b> mend), cf. <b>awò</b> weighing, VN of <b>aunà</b> weigh
<b>askà</b> (DVN)	razor (< <b>askè</b> shave), cf. <b>nēmā</b> seeking, VN of <b>nēmā</b> seek
<b>tayì</b> (DVN)	an offer (< <b>tayà</b> offer), cf. <b>harbì</b> shooting, VN of <b>hàrbà/hàrbà</b> shoot

Also included as DVNs are verbal derivatives containing the feminative suffixes **-iyā** and **-uwā**, e.g., **wāshiyā** 'ransacking' (< **wāshè** 'ransack'); **rakiyā** 'accompanying, accompaniment' (< **rakà** 'accompany'); **rantsuwā** 'oath, swearing' (< **rantsè** 'swear').

In terms of subcategorization, DVNs are like simple nouns in that they may be dynamic, i.e., denote an activity, e.g., **rirà** 'manufacturing', or nondynamic, i.e., denote an object or idea or event, e.g., **shàrà** 'garbage, trash'. When denoting things, DVNs potentially take the full range of determiners and modifiers available to common nouns and they may have overt plurals, e.g., **askà** 'razor' (< **askè** 'shave'), pl. **asàkè**; **shirì** 'radio or TV program' (< **shiryà** 'prepare'), pl. **shirye-shirye**. Many nominalized verb forms exist both as DVNs and as active participial VNs, e.g., **aikinsà gyārā nē** 'His work is repairing' (DVN), cf. **yanà gyāran mōtā** 'He is repairing the car' (VN); **àkwai bàbban ginì cān** 'There is a large building over there' (DVN), cf. **sunà ginin gidā** 'They are building a house' (VN).

Verbal nouns ending in vowels other than **-ā** are masculine, as is the norm with regular common nouns. Those ending in **-iyā** or **-uwā**, the feminative suffixes, are naturally feminine. With other DVNs ending in **-ā**, however, the gender is lexically specific and not predictable, as is also typical of normal nouns. Some are feminine, e.g., **hārārā** f. 'glaring sideways at s.o.'; **jīmā** f. 'tanning, a tanned hide'; **sandā** f. 'stalking'; **sātā** f. 'stealing, theft'; **sūyā** f. 'frying, pieces of fried meat'. Others, however, are masculine, e.g., **gyārā** m. 'repairing, repairs'; **harā** m. 'digging, a hole'; **jifā** m. 'throwing, a throw'; **nōmā** m. 'farming'; **sūkā** m. 'criticizing, criticism'.

One should note that there are many other nominalization processes in Hausa by which nouns are derived from verbs apart from those forming DVNs as defined here, e.g., **farkō** 'a beginning' (< **fārā** 'begin'); **fashe** 'egg-breaking game' (< **fasà** 'break/shatter'); **ɗinkau** 'sewing for payment' (< **ɗinkā** 'sew'); **kāɗe-kāɗe** 'drumming' (< **kaɗā** 'beat (a drum)'). These derivatives are presented elsewhere in various sections on nominal derivation. The term *deverbal noun* has been reserved strictly for the derivatives that share the morphological formation rules with the VNs, plus the related words with the feminative endings **-iyā** and **-uwā**.

## 3. THE FORM OF VERBAL NOUNS AND DEVERBAL NOUNS

This section describes the *form* of nominalized verbs whether they function as active (present participial-like) verbal nouns or as deverbal nouns.

3.1. Weak verbal nouns with **ˀwā**

The suffix **ˀwā** forms inflected VNs (and some DVNs) from verb stems in grades 1, 4, 5, 5d [WH], 6, and (probably) grade 7 (see below §3.1.1). It is also used with the irregular verb **kai** 'take'. All verbal nouns with **ˀwā** are feminine.



This (-wā)<sup>LH</sup> formative is a tone non-integrating L-H suffix consisting of the syllable -wā, which has H tone, preceded by a floating L tone that attaches to the final syllable of the verb. The suffix is added to the A-form of the verb, i.e., the stem form that is used when the verb is not followed by an object. If the final tone of the verb is L, the attachment of the floating L operates vacuously; if the final tone of the verb is H, the resulting HL on the syllable is realized as a fall. Examples:

<b>bugà</b> v1 + `wā → <b>bugàwā</b> beating	<b>kařàntá</b> v1 + `wā → <b>kařàntáwā</b> reading
<b>fashè</b> v4 + `wā → <b>fashèwā</b> smashing	<b>kètàrè</b> v4 + `wā → <b>kètàrèwā</b> crossing
<b>cè</b> v4 + `wā → <b>cèwā</b> saying	<b>cidà</b> v5d + `wā → <b>cidàwā</b> feeding [WH]
<b>kōyāř</b> v5 + `wā → <b>kōyāřwā</b> teaching	<b>tsōratař</b> v5 + `wā → <b>tsōratāřwā</b> frightening
<b>kōmō</b> v6 + `wā → <b>kōmōwā</b> returning here	<b>kai</b> v* + `wā → <b>kāiwā</b> taking
<b>iyà</b> v1 be able to + `wā → <b>iyàwā</b> ability, mastery	
<b>sāsàntá</b> v1 reconcile + `wā → <b>sāsàntáwā</b> reconciliation	
<b>kwarè</b> v4 be an expert + `wā → <b>kwarèwā</b> expertise	
<b>sanāř</b> v5 inform + `wā → <b>sanāřwā</b> an announcement	

### 3.1.1. Verbal nouns of grade 7

Grade 7 verbs, all of which are intransitive (with a passive or affected subject meaning), end in short /u/, e.g., **tāru** 'meet', **dīnku** 'be well sewn'. When the **-wā** suffix is added to this monomoraic short vowel, the floating L tone has nothing to attach to and thus is dropped. (The tone cannot dock because the syllable to which it is to be attached is light, and complex tones in Hausa occur only on heavy syllables.) The syllable preceding the **-wā** thus appears with H rather than falling tone. Examples: (Note that VNs of gr7 verbs are often best glossed as '-able'.)

<b>bùlbùlu</b> + `wā → <b>bùlbùluwā</b> be pourable	<b>dīnku</b> + `wā → <b>dīnkuwā</b> be sewable
<b>gyàru</b> + `wā → <b>gyàruwā</b> be repairable	<b>ràsu</b> die + `wā → <b>ràsuwā</b> death
<b>shāwu</b> + `wā → <b>shāwuwā</b> be drinkable	
<b>shāku</b> be close friends + `wā → <b>shākuwā</b> intimacy	

°AN: Gouffé (1982) has proposed an alternative analysis for the gr7 VN forms, motivated in large part by the absence of the falling tone on the syllable preceding the **-wā**. His proposal is that the VN suffix is really /-ā/ and that the /w/ is epenthetic, i.e., a form like **dāmuwā** 'nuisance, worrying' comes from **dāmu** 'be bothered' + **-ā**; cf. the epenthetic insertion process operating with feminine adjectives, e.g., **guntū** 'short', f. **guntuwā** < **guntū** + **-ā**. Gouffé equates the postulated **-ā** VN formative with the **-ā** ending presumably found on gr3 VNs (see §3.2.3 and §3.2.5), e.g., **fitā** 'going out' < **fita** + **-ā**. According to this analysis, the resemblance between the /-wā/ ending one finds on gr7 VNs and the **-wā** weak verbal noun suffix is phonologically accidental and of no importance, i.e., we have all been misled by a surface similarity. Gouffé's intriguing analysis *could* be right, but there is no evidence to indicate that it *is* in fact so. As indicated in the text, the absence of the surface F tone preceding **-wā** has a simple phonological explanation, namely, the fact that Hausa doesn't allow falling tones on light syllables, and thus this tonal factor is irrelevant in trying to decide whether the VN formative used in gr7 is or is not **-wā**. After considerable thought, I have been unable to come up with any diagnostic test that would permit an objective choice between one analysis rather than the other since both analyses equally generate the occurring surface forms. Because the status of the presumed **-ā** VN marker is far from established, and because the postulation of **-wā** as the suffix has the advantage of allowing one to group gr7 along with the other nonbasic grades (4, 5, and 6), I have decided to stick with the traditional analysis until such time as someone demonstrates convincingly that it is in fact wrong and that Gouffé's analysis (or some other alternative analysis) is better.

The final *-uwā* of gr7 VNs can be phonologically simplified to *-ō*, e.g., *dīnkuwā* 'be sewable' (→) *dīnkō*, *rābuwā* 'be separable' (→) *rābō*, *shāwuwā* 'be drinkable' (→) *shāwō*, etc. This reduced form is seldom seen in written Hausa; however, it was noted long ago by Abraham (1959b: 129) and all Hausa speakers with whom I consulted recognized the *-ō* variant and found it to be perfectly normal in everyday spoken language.

### 3.1.2. Simplification of the falling tone (dialect variants)

When the suffix *ˀwā* is added to a word ending in a high-tone heavy syllable, the result is a falling tone, e.g., *jāwō* 'pull (here)' + *ˀwā* → *jāwōwā* 'pulling (here)', *bincikē* 'investigate' + *ˀwā* → *bincikēwā* 'investigating'. In WH dialects this F tone on the penultimate syllable is generally eliminated. With weak verbal nouns corresponding to (H)-H-L-H (gr1 and gr4) verbs, the F-H on the last two syllables simplifies to H-L, e.g.,

<i>SH</i>	<i>WH</i>	
<i>kařantāwā</i>	<i>kařantāwā</i>	reading
<i>kētāřewā</i>	<i>kētāřewā</i>	crossing
<i>lugulgūdāwā</i>	<i>lugulgūdāwā</i>	kneading

The verbal nouns of level H-tone gr6 verbs display three different patterns in different subdialects, in all of which the F tone is eliminated. In Dogondoutchi, H-F-H simplifies to H-L-H. In Ader, final F-H becomes H-L, as with gr1 and gr4 verbs. Finally, Maradi uses both of the above strategies. With trisyllabic verbs (i.e., disyllabic stems plus the suffix), it behaves like Dogondoutchi and simplifies H-F-H to H-L-H; with longer words it follows the Ader pattern and simplifies ...H-F-H to ...H-H-L. (In all of the examples, the corresponding SH form has F-H on the last two syllables.)

- a. Dogondoutchi: *hitōwā* coming out; *hissuwōwā* bringing out; *lugulgūdōwā* kneading (and bringing)
- b. Ader: *kāwōwā* bringing; *lugulgūdōwā* kneading (and bringing)
- c. Maradi: [i] *sayōwā* buying and bringing; *kōmōwā* returning here  
 [ii] *řubūtōwā* writing; *zābuřōwā* leaping up; *lugulgūdōwā* kneading (and bringing)

### 3.2. Non *ˀwā* stem-derived verbal nouns

Verbs belong to grades 0, 2, 3 (including 3a and 3b), and a few irregular verbs have stem-derived verbal nouns other than *ˀwā*. There are four different formations depending on the grade.

°AN: These SDVNs (plus, for Gouffé, the gr7 verbal nouns) constitute what some scholars have labeled as "primary verbal nouns."

#### 3.2.1. Ø (gr2)

The regular SDVN of grade 2 verbs is identical in shape with the A-form (the citation/non-object form) of the finite verb, i.e., one has a zero suffix, e.g., *fānsā* v2-A 'redeem', *fānsā* VN 'redeeming'; *tāmbayā* v2-A 'ask', *tāmbayā* VN 'asking'. Most of these SDVNs are feminine. A few, e.g., *kāřbā* 'receiving' and *d'aukā* 'taking', are optionally masculine. Examples:

*ābīn dā takē kārřbā* (VN) the thing she is receiving, cf. *ābīn dā ta kārřbā* (v2) the thing she received  
*tanā kārřban* (VN) *kudī* She is receiving money. cf. *tā kārřbī* (v2) *kudī* She received money.  
*mūtumin dā sukē cūtā* (VN) the man they are deceiving,  
 cf. *mūtumin dā sukā cūtā* (v2) the man they cheated

- wà kakè màrà? (VN) Who are you slapping?  
 cf. wà zā kà màrà? (v2) Who are you going to slap?  
 bā sà càccakàf kù (VN) They are not poking/provoking you.  
 cf. bā zā sù càccakē (v2) kù ba They won't poke/provoke you.  
 nā iyà d'aukà (VN) I am able to take it. cf. bàn d'aukà (v2) ba I didn't take it.

ØHN: Historically, gr2 verbs formed corresponding SDVNs by means of a suffix -ā)<sup>LH(L)</sup>. As described in §74:16.2, finite gr2 verbs originally ended in -i and had a set L-H tone pattern (Newman 1973). The L-H-L tone now characteristic of the A-form of polysyllabic verbs came from the tone associated with the suffix, e.g., \*zùngùri 'poke' + ā)<sup>LHL</sup> > zùngurà 'poking'. Later, the verbal noun form was adopted as the A-form of the finite verb, such that the two forms are now identical, i.e., it is the A-form that comes from the verbal noun rather than vice versa! Significantly, the extension of verbal nouns to A-form usage has also taken place sporadically with some BDVNs, e.g., yā fadī 'He told (it)' < fadī (BDVN) 'telling' (cf. yā fādā with the regular A-form); yā sāmù 'He got it' < sāmù (BDVN) 'getting'; yā dībā 'He dipped (it) out' < dībā (BDVN) 'dipping' (cf. yā dēbi ruwā 'He dipped out water' with the finite v2 C-form verb preceding the noun d.o.); mù barī 'Let's leave (it)' < barī 'leaving' (BDVN).

ΔDN: In the dialect of Maradi, the VN corresponding to many disyllabic gr2 verbs has H-H rather than L-H tone, i.e., the VN and the finite verb A-form are not identical, e.g., kùrbā v2-A 'sip, drink a bit', VN kurbā (cf. SH kùrbā); tsòtsā v2-A 'suck', VN tsòtsā (cf. SH tsòtsā). This is probably an innovation reflecting the influence of the H-H base-derived verbal nouns (see §3.3.5 below).

Many gr2 verbs use a base-derived verbal noun (BDVN) as an equivalent (often preferred) alternative to the regular SDVN formation, e.g., yanà mārīn yārò = yanà màràf yārò 'He is slapping the boy.' Other examples include:

ambatō (BDVN) =	àmbatà (v2.SDVN)	mentioning
fadī (BDVN) =	fādā (v2.SDVN)	telling
hàràrà m. (BDVN) =	hàràrà f. (v2.SDVN)	glancing disapprovingly
kwàcē (BDVN) =	kwàtā (v2.SDVN)	seizing, snatching

In a number of cases, the BDVN has completely or essentially driven out the SDVN, e.g., yanà nēman (BDVN) gyàdā 'He is looking for peanuts', not \*\*yanà nēmaf (SDVN) gyàdā. Common examples include the following:

aurē BDVN of àurā	marry	gìrbì BDVN of gìrbā	reap
kòyō BDVN of kòyā	learn	sàyē BDVN of sàyā	buy

Interestingly, pluractionals of gr2 verbs (and the irregular verb hau 'mount, climb up', hawā (BDVN)) tend to use SDVNs even in those cases where the simple verbs require or strongly prefer BDVNs, e.g.,

yanà sàssayāf (SDVN) kāyā iri-iri He is buying all kinds of goods. Preferred over ??yanà sàssayen (BDVN)...; but not \*\*yanà sàyāf (SDVN) kāyā, for which one must say yanà sàyen (BDVN) kāyā He is buying goods.

yanà ta fàffadāf (SDVN) màganā He is continuing to speak, not \*\*yanà ta fàffadīn (BDVN) màganā

sunà ta kwàkkòyāf (SDVN) abūbuwà da yawà They are in the process of learning lots of things. Preferred over ??sunà ta kwàkkòyon (BDVN)...

cf. sunà ta kòyon (BDVN) Tūřanci They are learning English; not \*\*yanà kòyāf (SDVN)...

**sunà hàhhawāf** (SDVN) **dawāki** They are riding horses. Preferred over **sunà hahhawan** (BDVN) **dawāki**. (cf. also **hàhhawāf jinī** high blood pressure, not **\*\*hahhawan jinī**)

In other cases, however, a pluractional BDVN is required to match the required simple BDVN, e.g., **sunà jijjifān** (BDVN) **ḅarāwōn** 'They were continually pelting the thief', not **\*\*sunà jajjefār** (SDVN)...; **munà ta nannēmansù** (BDVN) 'We went on seeking them', not **\*\*munà ta nannēmārsù** (SDVN).

### 3.2.2. Grade switching (grade 2)

Gr2 VNs generally correspond to synchronically occurring gr2 finite verb stems. In some cases this verbal noun type is used—as a preferred or even obligatorily alternative—even though the corresponding verb now normally operates gr1 or gr4. For example, the VN of the gr1 verb **hūḏā** 'make farm ridges' is **hūḏā** (f.), which is derived in a morphologically regular manner from a synchronically nonoccurring gr2 verb stem **\*\*hūḏā**. Additional examples:

<b>ḅāmḅarā</b>	tearing off, stripping off, VN of <b>ḅāmḅarē</b> v4 tear/strip off
<b>ḅarzā</b>	grinding coarsely; corn that has been ground, VN of <b>ḅarzā</b> v1 grind coarsely
<b>cāsā</b>	threshing; threshed grain, VN of <b>cāshē</b> v4 thresh
<b>d'aurayā</b>	rinsing, dishes, VN of <b>d'aurayē</b> v4 rinse
<b>fallasā</b>	disclosing a secret to cause s.o. shame, VN of <b>fallasā</b> v1 disclose a secret...
<b>ryāfā</b>	drying meat before roasting, VN of <b>ryāfē</b> v4 dry meat...
<b>ḅididdigā</b>	calculating, statistics, VN of <b>ḅididdigā</b> v1 calculate
<b>tātā</b>	filtering; liquid to be filtered, VN of <b>tācē</b> v4 filter

Such "grade switching" is particularly evident with erstwhile VNs that are now lexically frozen as concrete DVNs, e.g.,

<b>mōlakā</b> f.	a dent, cf. <b>mōlakē</b> v4 to dent
<b>mūrzā</b> f.	a massage, cf. <b>murzā</b> v1 to massage
<b>shanyā</b> f.	cloth, sth. spread out to dry, cf. <b>shānyā</b> v1 spread sth out to dry
<b>yātsinā</b> f.	grimace, cf. <b>yātsinē</b> v4 make a grimace

°AN: The word **shanyā** with surface H-L tone derives from a tritonal word **\*shānyā** with the normal L-H-L pattern of trisyllabic gr2 verbs. (The simplification of the LH on a single syllable to H is phonologically automatic.) Compare the corresponding H-L-H gr1 verb **shānyā**, where the three tones are still evident.

Although VNs with the suffix **-ā**<sup>LH(L)</sup> are usually identical (in SH at least) to the corresponding gr2 A-forms (or the presumed gr2 A-forms if the verb is now operating another grade), this is not always the case. Rather, one finds a number of trisyllabic VNs that are segmentally fuller than the synchronically occurring gr2 stems. In some cases the VN exhibits an unreduced internal consonant and/or vowel; in other cases it contains a remnant verbal suffix **/-yā/**, e.g.,

<b>ḅarakā</b> f.	a rip; place where stitching has come apart; breach of trust, rift, cf. <b>ḅarkā</b> v1 rip open
<b>d'amarā</b> f.	a belt (esp. for amulets), cf. <b>d'aurē</b> (< <b>d'amrē</b> ) v4 tie (e.g., sth around waist)
<b>ḅid'iyā</b> f.	seeking, cf. <b>ḅid'ā</b> v2 seek
<b>fērayā</b> f.	paring, sth that was or is to be pared, cf. <b>fērē</b> v4 pare
<b>kārayā</b> f.	a bone fracture; having second thoughts, cf. <b>karyē</b> v4 break; <b>kārayā</b> v3 regret

## 3.2.3. :) (grade 3)

Grade 3 verbs (including gr3a and gr3b) form corresponding verbal nouns by lengthening the final vowel. Tone is not affected. Here are examples of VNs of regular gr3 verbs, all of which are feminine.

<b>tanà shìgā</b> (VN)	She is entering. cf. <b>ta kàn shìga</b> (v3) She habitually enters.
<b>sàukā dai</b> (VN) <b>tanà dà wùyā</b>	As for getting down, it was difficult.
cf. <b>bàri in sàuka</b> (v3)	Let me get down.
<b>bā yà nūnā</b> (VN)	It is not ripening. cf. <b>bài nūna</b> (v3) <b>ba</b> It didn't ripen.
<b>yā dingà zàzzàbuřà</b> (VN)	He kept on jumping up. cf. <b>zái zàzzàbuřà</b> (v3) He will jump up.
<b>dànganā</b> (VN and DVN)	being resigned; resignation, cf. <b>dànganā</b> (v3) be resigned to
<b>wadātā</b> (VN and DVN)	becoming wealthy; wealth, contentment
cf. <b>wadātā</b> (v3)	become wealthy, be contented

◊HN: Historically, the vowel lengthening in these verbal nouns may be a reflex of the same \*-ā VN suffix found with gr2 verbs, i.e., **shìgā** 'entering' < \***shìga** v3 'enter' + -ā, etc., cf. **mārā** 'slapping' < \***māri** v2 'slap' + -ā. One problem with adopting this analysis (at the synchronic, if not at the historical, level) is that it fails to account for the vowel lengthening with gr3a verbs where /ā/ doesn't appear, e.g., **gudū** 'running' < **gudū** 'run from'. Alternatively, one could suggest that the lengthening historically was simply a function of the categorial change from verb (where short final vowels were found) to common noun (where long vowels were the norm). In other words, the change from [**shìga**]<sub>V</sub> 'enter' to \***[shìga]**<sub>N</sub> 'entering' originally involved "zero derivation," the overt phonological marking, i.e., the vowel lengthening, being a secondary development.

## 3.2.4. Grade switching (grade 3)

As was the case with gr2 VNs, there are a few regularly formed gr3 verbal noun forms that serve as VNs (or DVNs) of gr1 and gr4 verbs. With gr3 verbs, however, the grade switch is uncommon whereas with gr2 the switch is far from infrequent. Examples:

<b>fiyāyā</b> f.	mildew, cf. <b>fiyāyē</b> v4 become mildewed
<b>hāuhawā</b> f.	rising up, cf. <b>hahhau</b> (pluralational of <b>hau</b> v* rise)
<b>rāgaitā</b> f.	aimless wandering, cf. <b>rāgāicē</b> v4 wander aimlessly

Two verbs use extended stems as the basis for the verbal noun but clipped stems in the verb form.

<b>gājīyā</b> (VN) (< * <b>gājīyā</b> v3)	tiredness, cf. <b>gāji</b> v* be(come) tired
<b>tāfiyā</b> (VN) (< * <b>tāfiyā</b> v3)	going, cf. <b>tāfi</b> v* go

Verbal nouns of the small H-H a-final gr3a verb grade are also formed by vowel lengthening. About two-thirds of these are masculine; the others are either feminine, e.g., **cāřā** f. 'cock's crow' < **cāřa** 'to crow' (which only some speakers accept as a verb); **fařgā** f. 'realizing' < **fařga** 'realize, understand'; and **kāřā** 'complaint, lawsuit' f. < **kāřa** 'complain', or have variable gender, e.g., **kaurā** m. or f. 'migrating'.

<b>yanā kwānā</b> (VN)	He is spending the night. cf. <b>yā kwāna</b> (v3a) He spent the night.
<b>bā yā tsūfā</b> (VN)	He is not aging. cf. <b>yā tsūfa</b> (v3a) He has aged.
<b>sūmantā yā gīgītā ni</b> (VN)	Her fainting frightened me. cf. <b>tā sūma</b> (v3a) She is likely to faint.
<b>sunā girmā</b> (VN)	They are growing up. cf. <b>sun girma</b> (v3a) They have grown up.
<b>mū yi ta kaurā!</b> (VN)	Let's keep on migrating! cf. <b>kadā kù kaura!</b> (v3a) Don't migrate!
<b>sunā wāsan fūyā</b> (VN)	They are playing hide and seek. cf. <b>sun fūya</b> They hid.

ØHN: Etymologically the relation between gr3a verbs and their corresponding VNs is not the same as that which holds with regular gr3 verbs. Regular gr3 VNs are morphologically derived forms created by a rule that lengthens the final vowel of the underlying verb stem, e.g., *shìgā* + : → *shìgā* 'entering'. With the gr3a verbs, on the other hand, it is likely that the VN was in origin a BDVN belonging to the H-H -ā class (§3.3.5) and that the finite verb was created through analogical vowel shortening by a process of back-formation, e.g., *sūmā* m. 'fainting' ⇒ *sūma* v3a 'faint'; *girmā* m. 'size, status, prestige' (< *girmā* v2 'be older than') ⇒ *girma* v3a 'grow up'.

The VNs of the irregular H-H verbs *zama* 'become, live' (VN *zamā*) and *kusa* 'draw near, be about to' (VN *kusā*) are also masculine, e.g., *zaman gārin nān yanā dà zāfi* 'Living in this city is difficult.'

°AN: Although *kusā* with the long final vowel can be described as the regular verbal noun of *kusa*, it is actually hard to instantiate because it is either followed by an object, in which case it takes a linker, e.g., *yanā kusan gamāwā* 'He is about to finish it', or is replaced by a related verb form, thus *\*\*watān azūmī yanā kusā* 'The month of fasting is approaching' would normally be expressed as *watān azūmī yanā kusātōwā* with the gr6 extended verb form *kusātō*. (Note that *watān azūmī yā kusa* 'The month of fasting is upon us', with the finite verb, is fine.)

Most gr3b verbs, i.e., the small set of intransitive H-L verbs ending in short /i/, /u/, or /a/, and the irregular verb *kōshi* 'be replete' also form VNs by vowel lengthening, e.g.,

<i>tā fārā tāshì</i> (VN)	She started to get up. cf. <i>kadā kī tāshì!</i> (v3b) Don't get up!
<i>munā gudū</i> (VN)	We are running. cf. <i>mun gudū</i> We ran away.
<i>fāci</i> (VN)	spoiling, cf. <i>fāci</i> spoil
<i>batā</i> (VN)	getting lost, cf. <i>batā</i> get lost
<i>yanā kōshī</i> (VN)	He is becoming full. cf. <i>nā kōshī</i> I'm full. (i.e., have eaten enough)

### 3.2.5. -ā (grade 3b)

Instead of lengthening the final vowel, three gr3b verbs add a toneless suffix -ā. The surface form results from glide epenthesis and tonal adjustment rules. The one example with an initial light syllable becomes H-H-L; the two words with an initial heavy syllable become H-L-H. These three VNs are feminine. In forming the verbal noun, the verb *fādī* behaves as if its stem-final vowel were -u rather than -i, e.g.,

<i>haihū</i>	give birth + -ā →	<i>haihūwā</i> (VN)	giving birth
<i>mutū</i>	die + -ā →	<i>mutuwā</i> (VN)	dying, death
<i>fādī</i> (stem //fādū//)	fall + -ā →	<i>fādūwā</i> (VN)	falling

### 3.2.6. -:)L (grade 0)

Grade 0 verbs, i.e., monosyllabic verbs with H tone (*monoverbs*) and the CVCā H-tone verbs (pseudo-monoverbs), form VNs by means of a suffix -:)L, i.e., final vowel lengthening with a floating low tone. The suffix is added to simple stems and to pluractional stems. If the final vowel of the stem is already long, the lengthening functions vacuously. The attachment of the L tone to the preceding H produces a fall. All gr0 VNs are masculine regardless of the final vowel. Examples:

<i>bī</i> + : → <i>bī</i>	following	<i>bibbi</i> + : → <i>bibbī</i>	keep on following
<i>cī</i> + : → <i>cī</i>	eating	<i>cicci</i> + : → <i>ciccī</i>	eating often, much
<i>shā</i> + : → <i>shā</i>	drinking	<i>shasshā</i> + : → <i>shasshā</i>	drinking often
<i>jā</i> + : → <i>jā</i>	pulling	<i>sō</i> + : → <i>sō</i>	loving, love

°AN: Before pause, monoverbs with a long vowel, e.g., *jā*, phonetically have a half-long vowel followed by a glottal stop, i.e., [jaʔ]. In prepausal environments, the corresponding VNs with the falling tone, e.g., *jā*, have normal long vowels without glottal closure.

The verbal noun of *zō* 'come' is *zuwà* m. The verb *jē* 'go' does not have a corresponding VN; rather, one has to use *tāfiyà* f., the VN of *tāfi* 'go'.

With the three H-H nouns ending in *-ā*, which normally pattern with monoverbs, the floating L tone of the VN suffix replaces the H tone of the stem rather than being attached to it. The result is an H-L pattern spread over two syllables as compared with the monoverb VNs where the H-L pattern is crowded onto one syllable. As with the monoverb VNs, these VNs are masculine. Examples:

<i>biyā</i> + ̀ → <i>biyà</i>	paying, e.g., <i>tanà biyànsà</i> She is paying him.
cf. <i>tā biyā shì</i>	She paid him.
<i>jirā</i> + ̀ → <i>jirà</i>	waiting for
<i>kirā</i> + ̀ → <i>kirà</i>	calling; <i>kikkirā</i> + ̀ → <i>kikkirà</i> calling many/often

The verb *rigā* 'precede' differs from the above three verbs in using a finite verb form rather than a verbal noun in nonfinite environments, e.g.,

*tanà rigā shì zuwà òfis* She is preceding him to the office. *not* **\*\*tanà rigànsà zuwà òfis**

ADN: In Skt, the expected VN is in fact used, e.g., *tanà rigànshì zuwà òfis* 'She is preceding him to the office.'

### 3.3. Base-derived verbal nouns (BDVN)

Base-derived verbal nouns are formed by adding a tone-integrating affix to a verbal *base*, which, being devoid of tone and final vowel, is not in any particular grade. There are seven classes of base-derived verbal nouns, all of which generally include deverbal nouns (i.e., common nouns) as well as active verbal nouns.

#### 3.3.1. Class 1: -ī

Verbal nouns with final *-ī* constitute the largest derivational VN class, with roughly one-quarter of all such verbal nouns. As is true of all VNs ending in vowels other than *-ā*, VNs of this shape are masculine. With disyllabic words, the tone is typically H-L, e.g.,

<i>cūrī</i>	kneading; a kneaded ball	<i>datsī</i>	a blockage, dam
<i>ḏinkī</i>	sewing	<i>gashī</i>	grilling (meat)
<i>gwajī</i>	testing; a test, demonstration	<i>kadī</i>	churning, beating; spinning cotton
<i>lāfī</i>	hemming; a hem	<i>sārī</i>	buying wholesale for resale
<i>tūrī</i>	stirring, driving	<i>wāshī</i>	sharpening; item to be sharpened

Irregular: *ḏabī* printing, publishing (base //ḏab'-//) cf. *ḏabbā'ā* print

*shirī* preparing (base //shir-//), cf. *shiryā* prepare

In a few cases, the VNs now function as alternative A-forms of finite verbs, e.g.,

<i>yā fadī</i> =	<i>yā fādā</i>	He told (it). (cf. VN <i>fadī</i> telling)
<i>tā sakī</i> =	<i>tā sākā</i>	She let (it) go. (cf. VN <i>sakī</i> releasing)

The very common irregular verbs **barì** 'leave, let' and **sanì** 'know' obligatorily use the -I verbal noun form as the A form:

<b>bà mà barìnsù</b> (VN)	We are not leaving them. cf. <b>bà zā mù barì ba</b>	We will not leave (it).
<b>sanìnā</b> (VN) <b>bá yawà</b>	My knowledge is not much. cf. <b>nā sanì mànà</b>	I know (it) indeed.

There are only some ten disyllabic -I verbal nouns with L-H tone. Apart from **yàrbì** 'flicking away sth sticky', these normally do not function as active VNs. Rather, these forms are now lexicalized DVNs with, in some cases, very specific meanings.

<b>fèshì</b>	splash(ing), esp. of rain	<b>kàkì</b>	phlegm (cf. <b>kākè</b> spit out phlegm)
<b>tòfì</b>	type of traditional therapy (cf. <b>tòfà</b> spit)	<b>tòyì</b>	burning, e.g., of a farm to clear it
<b>tsàrgì</b>	apprehension, misgiving (cf. <b>tsàrgā</b> ostracize, show dislike toward s.o.)	<b>yàrbì</b>	flicking away sth sticky
<b>wàtsì</b>	dispersal, rejection, disregarding	<b>zàrgì</b>	accusation, reproach, blame
<b>yàshì</b>	sand (cf. <b>yàsā</b> clean out a well)		

°AN: The words **kwāncì** 'hatching of eggs' (cf. **kwāntā** 'lie down) and **amai** 'vomiting' (cf. **amàyē** vomit') are reduced trisyllabic words and not tonally irregular disyllabic forms.

◊HN: There are probably additional L-H I-final nouns that originally were VNs but that have not been identified as such. Possible candidates would be such words as **tsākì** 'contemptuous clucking sound' and **hākì** 'panting'.

Most of the polysyllabic -I verbal nouns are lexicalized DVNs. The most common tone pattern is H-L-H (or, in one case, L-H-L-H). Examples:

<b>āgàjì</b>	helping, assistance	<b>dākàcì</b>	waiting for
<b>dangwàrì</b>	rapping the head with knuckles, a rap	<b>mallàkì</b>	possession
<b>rāzàní</b>	terror	<b>tabbàcì</b>	certainty
<b>tunkùyì</b>	butting	<b>zāwàyì</b>	diarrhea
<b>dàbaibàyì</b>	hobbling rope		

The tone patterns H-H-H and L-(H)-H-H occur about ten times each. Examples:

<b>ařmashì</b>	beautifying, improvement	<b>lallāshì</b>	coaxing
<b>sakacì</b>	slackness, carelessness	<b>yayyafì</b>	drizzle
<b>hàrgitsì</b>	turmoil, disarray	<b>kùmburì</b>	a swelling
<b>tāřnaķì</b>	hobbling a horse or donkey	<b>yùnrurì</b>	straining every nerve
<b>rùguntsumì</b>	quarrel or fight that has escalated into a brawl		

Only three verbal nouns (all DVNs) have L-L-H tone.

<b>gàřgàđì</b>	warning	<b>ràiràyì</b>	fine sand (cf. <b>ràirayà</b> sift)
<b>tàusàyì</b>	mercy, sympathy (cf. <b>tausàyā wà</b> sympathize with)		

### 3.3.2. Class 2: -ū

There are only some eleven or so -ū final VNs. Seven have H-L tone whereas four, all ending in -tū, have (L)-L-H tone. Examples (complete):



H-L: **bugù** beating, a punch; **dāmù** pestering; **kāmù** catching, an arrest; **musù** denial, contradiction, argument; **sāmù** getting, wealth; **tumù** heads of newly ripened millet; **yāgù** tearing, a fingernail scratch

L-H: **kàftù** hacking with shovel or hoe, a hacking tool for farm work; **kyàstù** striking flint, the steel for striking a fire; **làbtù** loading heavily, the load; **fùbùtù** writing

°AN: I have not included **gudù** 'running' in the list above because I am assuming that it is an SDVN from the gr3b verb **gudù** 'run away'; but this may be wrong.

°HN: Etymologically the final -**ù** in the H-L words is probably the same as the H-L -**I** verbal noun suffix, i.e., there was a change of -**I** to -**ù** phonologically conditioned by the preceding /u/ vowel or by the labial properties of the /m/. (In the case of **yāgù**, the underlying velar consonant was most likely labialized, i.e., /gw/.) It is curious that the L-H words all end in a syllable having the same segmental shape (-**tù**). This would suggest that these words, one of which, **fùbùtù**, is a loanword from Kanuri, were formed by means of a now defunct tone-integrating suffix -**tù**<sup>LH</sup> rather than with the semi-productive verbal noun suffix -**ù**<sup>HL</sup>. The problem with this analysis, however, is that it runs up against the identification of the final -**ta** one finds in **làbtà** 'load heavily', etc., as a frozen verb suffix (see §76:8).

The VN form **sāmù** is now standardly used as the A-form of the gr2 verb, e.g., **mun sāmù** 'We got (it)', cf. the pre-pronoun B form **mun sāmē tà** 'We got her.' In the C-form one gets either final -**i** or final -**u**, e.g., **mun sāmī** (= **sāmu**) **àbinci** 'We got some food.'

### 3.3.3. Class 3: -**ē**

Verbal nouns with final -**ē**<sup>LH</sup> constitute the second largest derivational VN class. The regular L-H tone pattern applies to polysyllabic as well as to disyllabic words. Some four exceptional items have all H tone, one of which is archaic and not known by modern SH speakers. Examples:

L-H: **dāshē** transplanting; a seedling; **hàngē** seeing sth from afar; **řifcē** winking; **sāyē** buying; **tsimē** ink made by steeping; **bincikē** investigating, investigation; **fāskārē** splitting wood, the split wood; **řarrāfē** crawling; **řūdūdunē** lying down curled up; **tāgāngānē** sitting with legs apart  
H-H: **aurē** marriage (cf. **aurā** marry); **haifē** [archaic] resourcefulness (cf. **hāifā** give birth to); **haskē** light, brightness (cf. **haskā** light up); **řwākulē** scraping sth out of a container (cf. **řwākulā** scrape out)

Note that there is also a distinct class of nondynamic deverbal nouns with final -**ē** and H-L tone (see §22:2.2), e.g., **dunkulē** 'a kneaded ball' (< **dunkulā** 'knead into a ball').

### 3.3.4. Class 4: -**ō**

With -**ō** VNs, of which there are about fifty-five, tone is lexically determined and totally unpredictable. With disyllabic words, H-L and L-H are equally common patterns; the H-H pattern is limited to five words (listed in full below).

H-L: **awō** measuring, weighing (base //aw-//), cf. **aunā** measure, weigh; **bisō** [WH] burying (base //bis-//), cf. SH **binnē** (< \***bis-nē**) bury; **cizō** biting; **dākō** waiting for (base //dāk-//) (cf. **dākatā** wait for); **gādō** inheriting, inheritance; **kitsō** a braid, coiffure

L-H: **hōrō** punishing, discipline; **kōyō** learning; **yābō** praising, praise; **zūbō** fading from washing  
H-H: **arō** borrowing, a loan; **řōyō** hiding; **gōyō** carrying sth or s.o. on the back, a baby; **kallō** looking, a gaze; **tsawō** height, length

◊HN: The word **tsawō** is presumably a verbal noun derived from **tsayà** 'stand, stop'. Synchronically, the change of /y/ to /w/ before /ō/ is not an automatic change. Thus, this item must have become lexicalized at a fairly early date.

There are under ten polysyllabic VNs ending in -ō. These exhibit a variety of tone patterns, e.g.,

**ambatō** H-H-H mentioning, a mention; **dàgwàlgwàlō** L-L-H messy food or water; **dògarō** L-H-H (= **dògarō** H-H-H [Skt]) dependence; **dùrkùsō** L-L-H posture of kneeling; **kwaikwayō** H-H-H imitating, imitation; **sàurārō** L-H-H (= **sàurārō** L-L-H) listening; **tsùgùnō** L-L-H squatting, shitting; **wàwasō** L-H-L scrambling for sth

The word **cùnkôsō** 'crowding, congestion', cf. **cùnkùsā** (= **cinkùsā**) 'to stuff', is unusual in undergoing an internal vowel change in addition to the suffix.

### 3.3.5. Class 5: -ā

Disyllabic VNs ending in -ā appear with two tone patterns: H-H, the somewhat more common pattern, and H-L. This VN class has variable gender. The majority of these words are feminine, as one might expect from the -ā final vowel, but a good third of them are masculine. With the H-L tone pattern, masculine gender is restricted to words with a light first syllable.

H-H: **dūbā** m. looking, fortune telling; **girkā** f. initiation into a *bori* cult; **gyārā** m. repairing; **hawā** m. mounting, riding, a durbar; a steep place (cf. **hau** mount, ride); **nēmā** m. seeking; **rawā** f. dancing (cf. **rawāf dà** shake); **tātā** f. filtering, refining oil; **tsāgā** f. cracks, facial marks; **wankā** m. bathing; **yankā** m. slaughtering, sth slaughtered; **yantā** f. thatching, thatching grass  
H-L: **būsā** f. blowing (a musical instrument); **dakā** m. pounding; **nirkā** m. grinding, thing (to be) ground; **sārā** f. weaving, honeycomb; **sātā** f. stealing, theft; **shūkā** f. planting, a plant; **zugā** f. provocation, incitement

The tone pattern L-H-H appears to be the norm for trisyllabic VNs of this class. There is one example each of H-H-L and L-L-H. All of the trisyllabic words are feminine.

**hārārā** giving s.o. a disapproving side glance; **kidāyā** counting, census; **mūsāyā** exchanging, an exchange; **fassarā** H-H-L translation; **fītā** L-L-H fanning (= [dv] **fītā**)

### 3.3.6. Class 6: Ablaut)<sup>HL</sup> (ī...-ā / ū...-ā)

A number of disyllabic verbs with a mid vowel in the first syllable have VNs with a corresponding high vowel in the first syllable. The vowel /ē/ is replaced by /ī/ and /ō/ is replaced by /ū/. In addition to the ablaut, there is an -ā suffix with a set H-L tone pattern. As in the case with the -ā verbal nouns in the preceding class, some of these VNs are masculine and some are feminine.

<b>dībā</b> m.	take, fetch (cf. <b>dēbā</b> v2)	<b>fīdā</b> f.	flaying (cf. <b>fēdē</b> v4)
<b>fīrā</b> f.	paring (cf. <b>fērē</b> v4)	<b>jīfā</b> m.	throwing, a throw (cf. <b>jēfā</b> v2 and <b>jēfā</b> v1)
<b>jīmā</b> f.	tanning, a hide (cf. <b>jēmā</b> v1)	<b>kīrā</b> f.	forging, manufactured item (cf. <b>kērā</b> v1)
<b>rīdā</b> f.	scraping (cf. <b>rēdā</b> v2)	<b>rīgā</b> f.	washing rice to remove stones (cf. <b>rēgē</b> v4)
<b>shīkā</b> f.	winnowing (cf. <b>shēkā</b> v2)	<b>tsīfā</b> f.	combing out (cf. <b>tsēfē</b> v4)

◊AN: [i] The VN form **dībā** is now standardly used as the A-form of the finite gr2 verb, e.g., **tā dībā** 'She dipped (it) out', cf. **tā dēbi ruwā** 'She dipped out some water.'

[ii] In addition to **shèkà** 'winnow', there is a phonologically identical verb **shèkà** 'inhale'. The ablauted form **shikà** only serves as the VN of the first of the two homophonous verbs.

<b>dūkà</b> m.	beating (cf. <b>dòkà</b> v1)	<b>gūgà</b> f.	rubbing, ironing (cf. <b>gōgè</b> v4)
<b>kūđà</b> f.	sharpening by beating (cf. <b>kōđà</b> v1)	<b>kūnà</b> m.	burning heat (cf. <b>kōnà</b> v1)
<b>sūkà</b> m.	stabbing, criticism (cf. <b>sòkà</b> v2)	<b>sūsà</b> f.	scratching an itch (cf. <b>sōsà</b> v1)
<b>sūyà</b> f.	frying, fried meat (cf. <b>sōyà</b> v1)	<b>tūyà</b> f.	deep frying (cf. <b>tōyà</b> v1)

ØHN: Historically, the vowel in the initial syllable of the verb was probably /i/ or /ū/ as it still is in the verbal noun. The VN would have been formed simply by adding a suffix **-ā** with H-L tone. Subsequently, the vowel in the verb lowered to the corresponding mid vowel, under as yet unknown conditions, resulting in the vowel alternation seen in such examples as **sūsà** 'scratching' vs. **sōsà** 'scratch'. In other words, what has to be described synchronically as an  $\bar{o} \Rightarrow \bar{u}$  or  $-\bar{e} \Rightarrow -\bar{i}$  morphological raising rule was historically a  $*-\bar{u} > \bar{o}$  or  $*-\bar{i} > -\bar{e}$  (morpho)phonological change.

### 3.3.7. Class 7: **-iyā** and **-uwā**

This formation class includes two subclasses, one, which is quite numerous, using the suffix **-iyā**, and one, quite small, using the suffix **-uwā**.

3.3.7.1. The **-iyā** suffix used in this class can be identified with the formally identical **-iyā** feminative suffix, i.e., originally these words were presumably the feminine counterparts of masculine verbal nouns ending in a front vowel. In a few cases the noun is built on a reduplicated pluractional form of the verb rather than the simple verb. These derivatives sometimes function as active VNs; mostly, however, they appear as DVNs, sometimes as gerundive dynamic nouns indicting actions, sometimes as nouns indicating concrete things or events that are related in some way to the action of the underlying verb. How close the meaning of the noun is to the source verb depends on how lexicalized the noun has become.

There are some sixty or so common verbal nouns formed with the **-iyā** suffix. Most (about fifty) have all H tone. Some eight words have L-H-H tone; three words, all with a light initial syllable, have H-H-L tone. Examples:

H-H-H: **baufiyā** dodging (cf. **baudè** dodge); **cāshiyā** speeding up (by musicians); telling a friend off for a misdeed (cf. **cāshè** thresh, speed up); **dāgiyā** perseverance (cf. **dāgè** persevere); **gařgājiyā** olden times (< plurac. form of **gādā** inherit); **kakkafiyā** deep mud (< plurac. form of **kafè** get stuck); **nāniyā** (= **nāni**) mending, a patch (cf. **nānè** mend); **tāriyā** spinning, big spool of thread (cf. **tārā** collect); **tōshiyā** bribe (cf. **tōshè** block up a hole); **wāshiyā** ransacking (cf. **wāshè** ransack); **zūriyā** sliding back (physically or in speech) (cf. **zūrè** dodge)

L-H-H: **gōdiyā** thanks (cf. **gōdè** thank); **kwānciyā** lying down (cf. **kwāntā** lie down); **yādiyā** [Skt] lighting a torch (cf. **yādā** light); **yāđiyā** a twining plant or the food made from its leaves (cf. **yāđā** spread)

H-H-L: **cigiyā** searching for sth, lost and found property (< //cig-//, cf. the denominal verb **cigità** search for); **rakiyā** accompanying, accompaniment (cf. **rakà** accompany); **sakiyā** puncturing out puss from abcess (cf. **sākāsakì** release, let go)

ØHN: [i] On the model of feminative nouns that have a similar shape, e.g., **kibiyā** 'arrow' (<  $*kibi + -ā$ ), we can hypothesize that these **-iyā** VNs were derived by addition of the feminative suffix **-ā** to i-final H-L verbal nouns belonging to the class that includes **ginì** 'building', **đinkì** 'sewing', **sakì** 'releasing', etc., i.e.,  $*rakiyā < *rakì + ā$ . Originally  $*sakì$  m. 'releasing' and  $*sakì$  (later **sakiyā**) f. 'puncturing an abcess' would have been a doublet distinguished only by gender.

[ii] The verb **cigîtâ** (< //cigi-y-ta//) 'search for', with the -TA verbalizer suffix, is presumably derived from the nominal **cigiyâ** (< \*cigî + â), which itself is derived from a now nonoccurring verb base \*//cig-//. (There is also a tonally variant form **cîgiyâ**, which looks like a regular SDVN of a gr2 verb.) This development of a verb being derived from a verbal noun ultimately going back to an original verb can also be seen, for example, in **aikâtâ** 'do work', which is derived from **aikî** m. 'work', which itself is a nominalized form of the verb **âikâ** 'send'.

There are a few VNs that at first sight appear to have the -iyâ suffix but that in reality do not, e.g.,

<b>tâfiyâ</b>	going, cf. <b>tâfi</b> go	<b>gâjiyâ</b>	tiredness, cf. <b>gâji</b> tire
<b>bidîyâ</b>	seeking, cf. <b>bidâ</b> seek	<b>fêrayâ</b>	paring, cf. <b>fêrè</b> pare

In all of these cases what one really has is an SDVN formed (synchronically or historically) from an extended verb containing a remnant verbal suffix /-yâ/ i.e., **tâfiyâ** comes not from a base //taf-// but from a gr3 verb stem \*/tâfiyâ/; similarly, **fêrayâ** 'paring' comes not from a base //fêr-// 'pare' but from a gr2 verb stem /fêrayâ/.

3.3.7.2. There is a small class (about ten words) of verbal nouns that end in -uwâ. The -uwâ suffix can be identified with a formally identical feminative suffix. Like the -iyâ words, most derivatives with -uwâ function as DVNs rather than active VNs. It is not clear why this -uwâ class should be so small as compared with the corresponding -iyâ class, but it is probably related to the fact that nominalized verbs with final -I and -ê are much more common than those with final -û and -ô. The tone pattern of -uwâ words is all H. In two cases the /u/ is dropped and the suffix appears as -wâ. Examples (complete):

**dîmuwâ** losing one's bearings (cf. **dîmâucê** lose one's bearings); **gaisuwâ** greeting; **kâmuwâ** seized property; **mantuwâ** forgetfulness, forgetting; **maisuwâ** [WH] vomit(ing) (< efferential base //mays-// return sth < **mayâ** return); **râmuwâ** retaliation, revenge, restitution; **rantsuwâ** oath, swearing; **tsaîtuwâ** spitting; **tsintuwâ** luckily finding sth, the thing found; **baiwâ** gift, betrothal (< \***bayuwâ**, cf. **bai** give); **tsaiwâ** (= [Kts] **tsayuwâ**) alignment, posture (cf. **tsayâ** stand)

There are four verbal nouns ending in -uwâ that do not have all high tone:

**mutuwâ** dying, death (cf. **mutù** die); **fâdûwâ** falling, failure (cf. **fâdî** fall); **haihûwâ** giving birth (cf. **haihù** give birth); **zuwâ** coming (cf. **zô** come)

These words should not be thought of as containing the derivational -uwâ suffix. Rather, the first three, at least, are better thought of as inflectional VNs formed by the addition of -â to the verb stem. The exact derivation of **zuwâ** 'coming' is not yet known, but it also should not be grouped with the -uwâ words.

The phonological similarity of such words as **râsuwâ** 'death', **kâfuwâ** 'establishment', and **âukuwâ** 'an event, a happening' and the BDVNs with -uwâ like **mantuwâ** 'forgetfulness, forgetting' is accidental. The former are regular VNs of gr7 verbs containing the weak VN suffix -wâ whereas the latter are base-derived words containing the -uwâ suffix.

3.3.7.3. Two deverbal nouns end in -ôwâ and have L-H-L tone. It is not clear how they fit into the overall picture.

<b>cikôwâ</b>	crowd, overcrowding (cf. <b>cika</b> / <b>cikâ</b> fill up (v3 / v1))
<b>râgôwâ</b>	remainder, reduction (cf. <b>ragè</b> remain, be left over)

## 3.4. Multiple BDVNs

Many verbs have BDVNs as an alternative to semantically equivalent SDVNs or in addition to occurring SDVNs but with a difference in meaning. One also finds verbs with variant BDVNs belonging to different formation classes. In these cases, there is usually a difference in meaning and/or function. For example, one of the BDVNs may function as an active participial VN whereas the other may function only as a concrete noun, or they all may be essentially nounlike but with distinct semantic properties. Here is a representative list:

<b>askì</b>	a shave, haircut	<b>askā</b>	razor, penknife
<b>dashì</b>	transplanting	<b>dāshē</b>	seed
<b>datsì</b>	blockage, obstacle	<b>datsiyā</b>	dam
<b>fashì</b>	robbery	<b>fāsō</b>	cracking of heels due to cold (< <b>fasà</b> shatter)
<b>girkì</b>	cooking, a meal	<b>girkā</b>	initiation into a <i>bori</i> cult
<b>kōyì</b>	emulation	<b>kōyō</b>	learning (VN) (< <b>kōyā</b> learn, copy)
<b>sakì</b>	a divorce	<b>sākē</b>	slackness
<b>sāṛì</b>	a woven cloth	<b>sāṛā</b>	weaving, honeycomb
<b>tākì = tākù</b>	a step	<b>tākō</b>	hoof, foot
<b>tārì</b>	heap, crowd	<b>tārō</b>	a meeting, assembly
<b>tsimì</b>	a medicinal drink	<b>tsimē</b>	ink made by steeping
<b>tsinkāyē</b>	seeing from afar	<b>tsinkāyà</b>	seeing from afar; foresight
<b>tsùgùnē</b>	act of squatting	<b>tsùgùnō</b>	shitting
<b>turkè</b>	tethering post	<b>turkā</b>	fattening an animal for slaughter (< <b>turkè</b> tether)
<b>wankì</b>	washing; the laundry;	<b>wānkē</b>	ink made from soot on cooking pot;
<b>yankì</b>	strip of cloth; province, region, state;	<b>wankā</b>	a bath
	shortcut; <b>yānkē</b>	<b>yānkē</b>	grass cut after first month of rains; a
	slaughtering (VN), sth slaughtered (used in <b>sūnan yankā</b> Islamic name)		
<b>zubì</b>	one's contribution to a pool; (bank) deposit; casting in metal; preparing indigo infusion in a dye pit; <b>zùbō</b>		fading of colors from washing

The following pair illustrates a subtle meaning difference between two BDVNs used in a cognate accusative construction (see §13:3):

<b>nā zāḃi na zāḃē</b>	I chose those available to be chosen.
<b>nā zāḃi na zāḃì</b>	I chose those worthy of being chosen.

[References: Gouffé (1981b), esp. §3, "Le nom verbal en haoussa: essai de mise au point"; Parsons (1981), esp. pp. 208-34, 251-86]

## 78. Verbal Sentences: Simple Syntax

**H**AUSA is a straightforward SVO (subject-verb-object) language. Surface deviations from this order are primarily due to focus and topicalization (see chaps. 28 and 72). The core of a simple tensed verbal sentence consists of the subject (SBJ) (which may be null), the person-aspect-complex (PAC), and the verb phrase (VP). (The VP may optionally be followed by adverbial modifiers.) Examples:

[Mařyàm]SBJ [takàn]PAC [dafà àbinci]VP	Maryam customarily cooks food.
[yàrà]SBJ [sun]PAC [kómà gidá]VP jiyà dà sáfe	The children came home yesterday morning.
[Gàmbo]SBJ [zái]PAC [gayà manà làbàrin]VP	Gambo will tell us the news.
[dà nì dà shì]SBJ [munà]PAC [gògè mótà]VP dà mái	He and I are polishing the car with oil.

Imperative sentences, which are nontensed, lack the SBJ and the PAC, e.g.,

[shigò]VP! Come in!      [kàshè wutá]VP! Turn out the light! (lit. kill fire)

### 1. SUBJECT

The subject can be a single NP, like **Mařyàm** 'Maryam', **kōwā** 'everyone', **wadànnán** 'these', or it can consist of conjoined (or disjoined) NPs, like **yàrò dà yàrin** 'a boy and a girl', **kai dà Mūsā** 'you and Musa', (**kō**) **zākì kō dāmīsā** '(either) a lion or a leopard'. The subject can also be a verbal noun (phrase) or an infinitive phrase, e.g., [**hařàn gwál**]SBJ **yanà dà wüyā** 'Mining gold is difficult', [**faràntà matà rái**]SBJ **yā yi kyáu** 'To make her happy is good.'

If the underlying subject is a simple personal pronoun, it is obligatorily deleted, i.e., Hausa is a "pro-drop" language. The person and number of the erstwhile subject are reflected in the weak subject pronoun in the PAC.

*[sū]SBJ [zā sù]PAC dāwō ⇒ [they] [fut 3p] return	[Ø]SBJ zā sù dāwō [Ø] [fut 3p] return	They will return.
*[nì]SBJ [nā]PAC san amsà ⇒ [I] [1s.comp] know answer	[Ø]SBJ [nā]PAC san amsà [Ø] [1s.comp] know answer	I know the answer.
*[ita]SBJ [tanà]PAC hütāwā ⇒ [she] [3f.cont] resting	[Ø]SBJ [tanà]PAC hütāwā [Ø] [3f.cont] resting	She is resting.

If the underlying pronoun is modified, conjoined with another word, or separated from the PAC by a modal particle, it remains in the sentence and appears as an independent pronoun, e.g.,

[kē dà kikè gwānā]SBJ [kin]PAC fī mù sanì	You (f.) who are an expert know more than we do.
[ita kántà]SBJ [zā tà]PAC řubütà takāřdār	She herself is going to write the letter.

[nɪ dà shɪ]SBJ [mun]PAC jē kāsuwā tàrè  
[nɪ kuma]SBJ [nā]PAC iyà hawansà

He and I (we) went to market together.  
I also am able to ride it.

Single independent pronouns that translate into English as focused subjects syntactically occupy the focus slot and thus they are not deleted, e.g.,

«sū (nè)» [Ø]SBJ [zā sù]PAC dāwō  
«mū (nè)» [Ø]SBJ [mukà]PAC san amsà

They (i.e., it is they who) will return.  
We (i.e., it is we who) know the answer.

## 2. PERSON-ASPECT-COMPLEX (PAC)

The person-aspect-complex (PAC) (which is comparable to INFL in general theoretical linguistic terminology) consists of two components: a weak subject pronoun (wsp), which agrees in number and gender with the underlying subject, and a marker of tense/aspect/mood (TAM), which in some cases is phonologically zero (see §70:1). The order of elements is usually wsp + TAM (e.g., **ta.kàn** '3f.habitual'), although in a few conjugational forms, the future and the allative, it is reversed (e.g., **zā sù** 'future 3p'). In certain specific contexts, the PAC allows deletion of either the wsp or of the TAM, but not both, e.g.,

mātan nān [Ø nā]PAC shān wàhalà

These women are suffering.

mātan nān [zā sù]PAC būdè tǎgà [Ø sù]PAC kuma shārè dākin

These women are going to open the window and sweep the room.

## 3. VERB PHRASE (VP)

The verb phrase (VP) consists of a VERB (a category that includes finite verbs as well as verbal nouns derived from verbs (see chap. 77)), followed by possible objects or locative goals, e.g.,

mùtúm yā [ginà gidā]VP

The man [built a house].

sōjā yā [hār̀bè shi]VP

A soldier [shot him].

tā [tsúfa]VP

She [has aged].

mun [tāfi Kanò]VP

We [went to Kano].

cf. munà [tāfiyà Kanò]VP

We [are going to Kano].

sun [fārà kashè kañrukàn]VP

They [began to kill the dogs].

yanà [nēman aikì]VP

He is [seeking work].

(where nēman is the verbal noun nēmā plus the linker -n)

sunà [sātār wākè]VP

They are [stealing beans].

(where sātār is the verbal noun sātà plus the linker -r̄)

munà [dāwōwā]VP

We are [returning].

(where dāwōwā is the verbal noun of dāwō)

On the surface, VPs sometimes lack a VERB and consist solely of an object or objects, e.g., **sunà kòkawà** 'They are wrestling' (where **kòkawà** is a noun, not a verb); **takàn musù tsāwā** 'She is in the habit of reprimanding them' (lit. she.hab.to.them thunder). These sentences are presumed to contain the syntactically required underlying VERB (**yi** 'do'), which can be, and commonly is, deleted under appropriate conditions (see §58:3).

## 3.1. Objects

Objects can be either direct or indirect. A direct object can be essentially any kind of NP, i.e., anything from a simple noun or pronoun to an infinitive phrase to a full sentence, e.g.,

<b>kā ga</b> [Bellò] <sub>d.o.</sub> ?	Did you see [Bello]?
<b>zā tà tàimàkē</b> [mù] <sub>d.o.</sub>	She will help [us].
<b>yā hanà</b> [kìf'e-kìf'e dà bùshe-bùshe] <sub>d.o.</sub> (lit. [drummings and blowings])	He prohibited [music].
<b>sun dingà</b> [kāwō manà àbinci] <sub>d.o.</sub>	They continued [to bring us food].
<b>inà sò(n)</b> [mù jē kànti mù sayō kāyā irì irì] <sub>d.o.</sub> I want [that we go to the store and buy all kinds of goods].	

Some verbs allow double direct objects, e.g.,

**Gařbà yā d'auki Tankò mahàukàct** Garba considers Tanko a fool.

Indirect objects, which syntactically make use of the markers **ma-** (before personal pronouns) and **wà** (elsewhere), are allowed with intransitive as well as transitive verbs. They occur immediately after the verb and before other arguments in the VP. Thus, when a sentence has both direct and indirect objects, the order is necessarily i.o. + d.o., e.g.,

<b>tòcilàn tā macè</b> [minì] <sub>i.o.</sub>	The flashlight died on me.
<b>wà ya sayō</b> [makà] <sub>i.o.</sub> [fentì] <sub>d.o.</sub> ?	Who bought you paint?
<b>d'àiłbai sun fađà</b> [wà mālaminsù] <sub>i.o.</sub> [lábārì] <sub>d.o.</sub>	The students told their teacher a story.
<b>yā řubùtá</b> [manà] <sub>i.o.</sub> dà tãřřétá	He wrote (it) for us with a typewriter.

By contrast, prepositional phrases (pp) with **gà** (= **gārē** before pronoun objects), which semantically are often equivalent to i.o.'s, occur after the d.o., e.g.,

**yā fãđi** [lábārì]<sub>d.o.</sub> [gà bākìn dà sukà zō wajensà]<sub>pp</sub>  
He told the news to the strangers who came to him.

## 3.2. Locative goals

Locative goals, which constitute core arguments in the VP, occur immediately after the VERB (unless an i.o. intervenes) and before adverbial modifiers, e.g.,

<b>nà jē</b> [makãřantã] <sub>loc</sub> gòbe dà sãfe	I will be going to school tomorrow morning.
<b>zō</b> [nãn] <sub>loc</sub> maza!	Come here quickly!
<b>yā shigam</b> [manà] <sub>i.o.</sub> [d'ãkìn] <sub>loc</sub> bã don kômē ba sai sãtã	He entered our room (lit. enter to.us room) for no reason except theft.

## 3.3. VP modifiers

## 3.3.1. Post-VERB modifiers

Most verbal modifiers—whether simple adverbs, prepositional phrases, ideophones, or what have you—follow the VP, e.g.,

[kãwō takãřdãř] [gòbe]!	Bring the letter tomorrow!
yãřò yã [yi aikì] [à kãnti jiyà dà sãfe]	The boy worked at the store yesterday morning.



tanà [shìgā d'ákìn] [sànnu sànnu]  
 sun [táfi kàsuwā] [dà kāwùnsù]  
 kù [cìkà bùhū] [dà gyàd'á!]  
 zán [hāf'è shì] [dà bindigà]  
 wata gadà tá [rūshè] [kusa dà Kanò]  
 Sāni yā [gayà minì] [à àsìrce]  
 nā [gàji] [tikis]

She was entering the room slowly.  
 They went to the market with their uncle.  
 You (pl.) fill the sack with peanuts!  
 I'll shoot him dead with a gun.  
 A bridge collapsed close to Kano.  
 Sani told me on the sly.  
 I'm completely exhausted.

### 3.3.2. Pre-VERB modifiers

Although modifiers typically occur later in the sentence after the VP, there are a few special items that can occur between the PAC and the VERB. These include grammatical words like **kō** 'even' (usually used in the negative), the diminutive **ɗan** 'little', the quantifier **yawàn** 'a lot of', and various modal particles. Examples:

bā sà **kō** sòn buřōdi dà ruwā  
 bàì **kō** dūbē mù ba  
 Kànde tá **ɗan** tàimàkē nì  
 yanà **yawàn** mārìntà  
 = yanà mārìntà **dà yawà** (with the normal prepositional phrase in post-VP position)  
 màkànikè yā **fa** gyàrà môtàf  
 = (more or less) màkànikè yā gyàrà môtàf **fa**

They do not even want bread and water.  
 He didn't even look at us.  
 Kande helped me a little.  
 He is slapping her a lot.  
 The mechanic indeed repaired the car.

## 79. Verbalizer -TA

THE very productive suffix {-TA} (with variant surface forms) serves to derive verbs from nouns or adjectives (or occasionally adverbs), e.g.,

<b>gubà</b>	poison	<b>gubàntà</b>	to poison	<b>gàjērē</b>	short	<b>gajàrtà</b>	shorten
<b>d'ālibi</b>	student	<b>d'ālibcē</b>	become a student	<b>fushī</b>	anger	<b>fūsàtā</b>	become angry

The nature and length of the final vowel and the tone are determined by the grade that the resulting verb operates and not by the suffix itself. (If the verb ends in a front vowel, the suffixal /t/ will naturally appear as /c/.) The verbalizing formative itself does not dictate which grade the resulting verb will operate. Rather the assignment seems to be determined by syntactic/semantic characteristics of the grades. Transitive verbs tend to go into either gr1 or gr2, less often into gr4. Intransitive verbs are usually assigned to gr3 or gr4. (Although gr1 does contain a number of intransitive verbs, derived intransitives tend not to go into that grade.) Verbs that can occur both transitively and intransitively operate transitive/intransitive grade pairs, the most common pairings being gr1/gr3 or gr1/gr4, less often gr2/gr4, and rarely gr2/gr3. An example of a gr1/gr4 tr./intr. pair would be **gwāmùntā** gr1 'render knock-kneed', **gwāmùncē** gr4 'become knock-kneed', both < **gwāmè** 'knock-kneed'. In the examples in this section, verbs will be presented in one commonly used grade, with the understanding that most of the -TA derivatives may also occur in other grades as well.

### 1. FORM

The suffixal morpheme {-TA} has two primary allomorphs, each of which has phonological subvariants. These are **-Vnta** and **-(a)ta**, the latter being the more common. The choice between the two allomorphs is determined in part by the phonological shape of the underlying noun or adjective, but generally speaking, the choice seems to be lexically specific and not predictable.

#### 1.1. -Vnta

Some fifty, mostly disyllabic, nouns and adjectives create corresponding verbs by means of a suffix containing /Vn/ before the **-ta**. With most words, the suffix has the form **-anta**. Many, but not all, stems ending in /-ū/—including a few that now end in **-ō** but that historically ended in **-ū** (see §34:2.2)—have /u/ as the initial vowel of the suffix. Examples.

- (a) **àsùbàntà** v2 arrive early < **àsùbà** early morning; **faràntà** v1 whiten, make happy < **farī** white; **hùtsàncē** v4 become cantankerous < **hùtsū** cantankerous; **jàgòrantà** v2 lead, guide < **jàgòrà** a guide; **kàlùbàlantà** v2 challenge, provoke < **kàlùbàlē** a challenge; **nìsàntà** v3 be away from < **nìsà** distance; **'yàntà** v1 free a slave < **'yā** freemen

(b) *bàkuntà* v2 be a guest of, pay a visit to < *bàkō* guest (< \**bàku*); *dùhuntà* v3 become dark < *duhù* darkness; *gurguncē* v4 become lame < *gurgù* cripple; *sābuntā* v1 renew < *sābō* new (< \**sābu*)

The following words contain /un/ even though the stem does not end in a back-rounded vowel:

<i>gwāmuntā</i> v1	render knock-kneed <	<i>gwāmē</i>	knock-kneed
<i>mātuntā</i> v3	become a (mature) woman <	<i>mātā</i>	woman/wife

The word *mūgū* 'evil' undergoes irregular shortening of the initial syllable in the derived form, a feature also found in its other derivatives:

*muguncē* v4 become bad, slander < *mūgū* evil (cf. *mūguntā* evilness)

## 1.2. -(a)ta

This suffix, which is the more common of the two verbalizer allomorphs, occurs in two subvariants: *-ta* and *-(a)ta* (the latter displaying conditioned variation in the length of the suffix-initial vowel).

### 1.2.1. -ta

Trisyllabic (and a few quadrisyllabic) stems drop the final vowel and attach *-ta* directly. The direct attachment of *-ta* also applies to disyllabic stems (and one monosyllabic stem) that are C-final or end in a diphthong. (In the case of base-final /m/, there is individual and dialectal variation as to whether the /m/ assimilates to the /t/ and becomes /n/ or not.) Examples:

*hanzartā* v1 hasten < *hanzari* speed, haste; *hāfamtā* v3 be unlawful < *hāfām* unlawful according to Islam; *jāhiltā* v2 be unaware of or ignorant about < *jāhili* ignorant psn; *kāḍaitā* v3 be alone < *kāḍai* only; *kuruntā* v1 deafen, make deaf < *kurmā* (base //kurum-//) deaf psn; *kyautā* v1 do good to < *kyāu* good; *kāzantā* v3 be filthy, terrible < *kāzāmi* filth; *la'ifcē* v4 become impotent < *la'ifi* impotent (man); *māraitā* v3 become an orphan < *mārāyā* orphan; *Mūsuluntā* v3 become a Muslim < *Mūsulmi* (base //Musulum-//) Muslim; *tilastā* v1 (with i.o.) to force < *tilās* perforce  
Irregular: *ārfzūtā* v3 become prosperous < *ārfziki* wealth  
*ūmāftā* v2 order, command < *ūmāfni* an order, command

◊HN: The form *ārfzūtā* (which the dictionaries give as *ārfzutā*) is probably a back-formation/reanalysis from *ārfzuttā* with a geminate /tt/, which is derived by assimilation from \**ārfziktā*. The form *ūmāftā* is derived from the base //umaf-//, (cf. Arabic 'amr) and not from the extant noun *ūmāfni*, which contains a frozen *-ni* suffix, perhaps borrowed from Kanuri *amarnyi* 'my permission' (cf. Skinner 1996: 277).

In the verb *talautā* (< \**talaktā*) v1 'impoverish' < *talākā* 'common man', the abutting sequence of /k/ + /t/ changes to /u/ + /t/ in accordance with Klingenberg's Law. By contrast, bilabial obstruents + /t/ stay as such and do not change to /u/ in this derivation.

◊AN: The dictionaries list another example that exemplifies the operation of Klingenberg's Law in this derivation, namely, *cinūtā* (< \**ciniktā*) v2 'obtain by trading' < *ciniki* 'trading'. This verb is no longer in general use in SH.

Reduplicated noun stems with the final two syllables identical preserve the final vowel and add *-ta*. Stems with three identical syllables add the suffix to a two-syllable base, e.g.,

(a) <b>daidàitā</b> v1	straighten, arrange, become straight < <b>daidai</b> correct
<b>jājātā</b> v1	color sth red < <b>jā</b> red (< * <b>jājā</b> )
<b>kurūrūtā</b> v1	exaggerate, overstate sth < <b>kūrūruwà</b> (base //kūrūrù//) yelling
<b>lālācē</b> v4; <b>lālātā</b> v1	spoil; lead someone astray < archaic <b>lālā</b> indolence
<b>waiwāitā</b> v1	consider as a rumor < <b>waiwai</b> rumor, hearsay
(b) <b>shāshātā</b> v1	treat s.o. as a fool < <b>shāshāshā</b> fool
<b>sūsūcē</b> v4	come to naught < <b>sūsūsū</b> fool

In a number of cases, especially with reduplicated stems, the presumed stem to which the suffix is added is no longer attested as such as an independent synchronic form. Here are some examples with frozen *-ta*:

<b>balbālcē</b> v4	waste away < ?	<b>nānātā</b> v1	do or say repeatedly < ?
<b>cāncantā</b> v2	deserve < ?	<b>rīrītā</b> v1	treat gently out of love < ?
<b>fāfātā</b> v1	have a hard time < ?	<b>waiwāitā</b> v2	look back for s.o. (= <b>waigā</b> v1)
<b>kaikāitā</b> v1	slant, tilt, tip < ?	<b>zākwaikwatā</b> v3	be very eager (= <b>zāku</b> v7)
<b>kūkūtā</b> v1	strive hard < ?		

The following words, which one might expect to utilize the *-ata* variant (see following section), drop the final vowel and add *-ta* directly:

<b>bāutā</b> v1	serve <	<b>bāwā</b>	slave (cf. <b>bautā</b> slavery)
<b>cūtā</b> (< * <b>ciuta</b> < * <b>ciwta</b> ) v2	harm <	<b>ciwō</b>	sickness
<b>gyārtā</b> v1	repair <	<b>gyārā</b>	repairing (< <b>gyārā</b> v1 repair)
<b>kwāntā</b> v1	lie down <	<b>kwānā</b>	spending the night

### 1.2.2. -a(a)ta

Disyllabic words (or trisyllabic words with a feminative suffix that is removed in forming the base) drop the lexical-final vowel and add *-a(a)ta*. The length of the suffix-initial vowel /a(a)/ is determined by syllable-weight polarity. If the base has a heavy first syllable, the suffix appears as *-ata*. This produces an alternating heavy-light rhythmic foot in the first two syllables. Examples:

<b>bākācē</b> v4	winnow < <b>bākā</b> tray
<b>dañnācē</b> v4	surround with a fence < <b>dañni</b> fence
<b>gāyyatā</b> v2	invite < <b>gāyyā</b> invitation, esp. to do communal work
<b>gwammācē</b> v4	be preferable < <b>gwammā/gwamma</b> it would be better if...
<b>fārātā</b> v3	behave boastfully < <b>fāriyā</b> boastfulness
<b>iyākācē</b> v4	restrict < <b>iyākā</b> boundary (The initial /i/ is ignored.)
<b>sammācē</b> v4	bewitch < <b>sammū</b> a spell
<b>tsòratā</b> v2; <b>tsòrātā</b> v1	be afraid of; frighten < <b>tsòrō</b> fright
<b>zāmbatā</b> v2	cheat, satirize s.o. < <b>zāmbō</b> cheating
Irregular: <b>sàllatā</b> (= <b>sàllatā</b> ) v2	perform prayer on s.o. < <b>sallā</b> prayer
<b>sùmbatā</b> (= <b>sùmbatā</b> ) v2	kiss < <b>sumbā</b> a kiss

Disyllabic words with a light first syllable add the suffix *-āta*, thereby producing an alternating light-heavy rhythmic foot in the first two syllables. Examples:

<b>bārātā</b> v2	obtain by begging < <b>barā</b> begging
<b>fūsātā</b> v3; <b>fusātā</b> v1	become angry; anger s.o. < <b>fushī</b> anger
<b>kūsātā</b> v2	to approach < <b>kusa</b> near
<b>tsiyātā</b> v1	impoverish < <b>tsiyā</b> poverty
<b>wādātā</b> v3	become wealthy, satisfied < <b>wādā</b> wealth, contentment

The verbs **yawāitā** 'increase, multiply' < **yawā** 'quantity, abundance' and **tsirāitā** 'undress' < **tsirārā** 'naked' (base //tsir-//) add a suffix having the form **-aita**, with an /ai/ diphthong in place of the usual monophthongal long /ā/.

°AN/°HN: The abstract form corresponding to **tsirārā** is **tsiraicī** 'nakedness' also with /ai/. This suggests that the historically original form of the base word was probably \***tsirāyā**, i.e., **tsirāitā** is a regular trisyllabic formation with **-ta** (cf. **māraitā** 'be an orphan' < **mārāyā** 'orphan') rather than an irregular **-āta** form. The form **yawāitā** 'increase', on the other hand, probably is a true example of sporadic diphthongization, the (dissimilatory) conditioning factor being the /w/ in the preceding syllable, cf. the WH dialect form **ḏiyautā** 'become free' < **ḏiyā** 'freemen', where the /ā/ of **-āta** diphthongizes to /au/ following the base-final /y/.

## 2. VERBALIZATION OF VERBAL NOUNS AND DEVERBAL NOUNS

Nouns derived from verbs that have achieved a certain lexical independence from the verb, i.e., are not perceived simply as regular participial verbal noun forms, can be turned back into verbs by the use of the verbalizer suffix. The result is an interesting derivational cycle of verb > noun > verb, e.g., **kāllā** 'look at' > **kāllō** 'looking at, watching' > **kāllatā** 'look at'. In some cases the two verbs occupying different points in the derivational sequence coexist with essentially the same meaning. In other cases, the presumed original verb either has been lost or has semantically diverged from the **-TA** verb. Examples:

<b>aikātā</b> v1	to do, accomplish < <b>aikī</b> work < <b>āikā</b> v2 send
<b>ḡārnātā</b> v1	to damage < <b>ḡārnā</b> damage < <b>ḡātā</b> v1 spoil
<b>cigītā</b> v1	search for < <b>cigiyā</b> searching for (< * <b>cigā</b> v2 search for)
<b>gyārtā</b> v1	repair < <b>gyārā</b> repairing < <b>gyārā</b> v1 repair
<b>jirātā</b> v2	wait for s.o./sth < <b>jirā</b> waiting < <b>jirā</b> v0 wait
<b>kālatā</b> v2	glean < <b>kālā</b> gleanings (< * <b>kālā</b> v2 glean)
<b>kiwātā</b> v1	tend < <b>kiwō</b> tending < <b>kiyāyē</b> v4 look after
<b>nūfātā</b> v2	intend < <b>nufī</b> intention < <b>nūfā</b> v2 intend

## 3. ALTERNATIVE FORMS

The choice between the allomorphs **-Vnta** and **-(a)ta** is to a great extent lexically specific and not predictable. For example, one gets **baḡāntā** 'blacken' (< **baḡī** 'black'), not \*\***baḡātā**, but **fusātā** 'make angry' (< **fushī** 'anger'), not \*\***fusāntā**. Not surprisingly, some stems allow formations with either allomorph, the two forms sometimes being dialect variants, in other cases synchronically coexisting variants. In the examples, the preferred variant in SH is given first:

**cinikāntā** = **cinūtā** [dv] trade (buy and sell); **gōrātā** = **gōrāntā** mock s.o. over a past gift or favor;  
**kāyāta** = **kāyāntā** beautify, adorn; **shāshātā** = **shāshāntā** treat s.o. as a fool; **sūmbātā** / **sūmbatā**  
 = **sūmbāntā** kiss; **tufātaḡ** (ḡā) = **tufāntā** (ḡā) clothe

## 80. Writing Systems: Orthography

### 1. INTRODUCTION

**H**AUSA has two writing systems. One of them, termed *bōkò* (< English 'book'?), is based on the Roman alphabet. This was introduced by the British (and French) colonial governments at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is the system now used in the schools, on road signs and billboards, in the major newspapers and magazines, and in most books. The other, termed *àjāmi*, is based on the Arabic alphabet. This was developed at beginning of the nineteenth century, if not earlier, by traditional Hausa scholars who were literate in Arabic. It is still used for communication among people without Western education, for teachers and students in Koranic schools, and for the writings of various people with a traditionalist bent, such as certain poets.

°AN: Interestingly, the Hausa translation of the Koran, *Alkur'ani mai Girma*. Madras: Continental Book Centre (1986), is in Roman rather than Arabic script.

### 2. ROMAN SCRIPT (*bōkò*)

#### 2.1. Inventory

The Roman script makes use of the following alphabetic letters, which were established as the basis of the orthography in the mid 1930s.

' , a, b, **ḅ**, c, d, **ḍ**, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, **ḳ**, l, m, n, o, (p), r, s, t, u, w, y, 'y, z

In pronouncing the letters of the alphabet the consonants are all followed by /a/, e.g., *ba*, *ḅa*, *ca*, *ḍa*, *fa*, etc. The vowels are pronounced with their phonological values, e.g., *a* is pronounced /a/ as in *nāmà* 'meat', *i* is pronounced /i/ as in *kifi* 'fish', etc.

The apostrophe represents glottal stop. It is written within a word but not in word-initial position, e.g., /sā'ā/ 'time, luck', is spelled *sa'a*, /'aurē/ 'marriage' is spelled *aure*, and /'āl'amāfi/ 'event' is spelled *al'amari*.

°AN: Curiously, there is no mention of / ' / in the *Official Guide to Hausa Orthography* (1979). It neither appears in the table of consonants nor is it discussed anywhere.

The "hooked" letters **ḅ**, **ḍ**, and **ḳ** are now recognized as separate letters distinct from their nonglottalized counterparts. They are thus usually written as such, although one still finds publications (including major newspapers) where the special characters are absent and thus the letters are printed without the hooks, e.g., *barawo* 'thief' instead of *ḅarawo*. The hooked letters became the norm in the late 1930s. Before then, scholars noted these letters by means of a subscript dot (e.g., **ḍ̣**) or by an apostrophe, which appeared before **b** and **d** and after **k**, i.e., 'b, 'd, k' (as in the classic dictionary of Bargery 1934).

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The apostrophe is still employed in the case of the glottalized 'y, and also for the ejective 'c' that is found in some WH dialects.

ØHN: Before the adoption of the hooked letters, the dictionaries (e.g., Bargery 1934) did not separate the glottalized and nonglottalized letters for purposes of alphabetization, a practice continued by Abraham (e.g., Abraham and Kano 1949) even though he did use the hooked letters. In more recent dictionaries, e.g., Newman and Newman (1977), Mijingini (1987), and Garba (1990), the hooked letters are alphabetized as totally independent consonants following their plain counterparts.

The digraph **ts**, which represents an ejective sibilant, phonologically belongs to the same glottalized class as the hooked letters although it is not represented in the same fashion. It is sometimes treated as a distinct letter (in line with its phonological status) and thus alphabetized as a separate unit consonant, e.g., Mijingini (1987); but it is usually treated as a sequence of two letters and alphabetized among the **t**'s, thereby following the practice that is normal with such English (and French) digraphs as **th** or **ch**. Like **ts**, the digraph **sh** (which represents the palatal fricative [ʃ] as in English 'shush') is listed in *The Official Guide to Hausa Orthography* as a distinct alphabetic letter and is generally taught as such in literacy programs. For purposes of alphabetization, however, it is usually treated as a sequence of two letters.

The digraphs involving **w** and **y**, e.g., **gw**, **gy**, **fy**, **kw**, **ky**, etc., are typically treated as sequences of letters for orthographic purposes, notwithstanding their phonemic status.

°AN: The problem of how to deal with digraphs extends to major world languages. The long established convention in Spanish, for example, was to treat **ch** and **ll** as distinct letters. Partially due to issues related to computerization, the Association of Spanish Language Academies decided to eliminate these unit "letters" from the Spanish alphabet and treat **ch** and **ll** as sequences of **c + h** and **l + l** respectively. Spain and seventeen other Spanish-speaking countries voted in favor of the change; Ecuador voted against, and Nicaragua, Panama, and Uruguay abstained.

The letter **c** represents the English sound **ch** (as in 'church'). In early written works, it was represented as **ch** as it is in English.

The letter **g** always represents the "hard" /g/ as in 'goat'. The [j] sound that one finds in English words such as 'gem' is represented by the letter /j/.

In SH, the letter **p** is restricted to use with foreign proper names, e.g., **Japan**, **Pakistan**, **Pele** (the football player). In Hausa in Niger, it is also found in recent loanwords from French, e.g., **parmi** 'driver's license' (Fr. permis); **pil** 'flashlight battery' (Fr. pile).

The letter **r** represents both the flap /r/ and the rolled /r̄/; the phonemic distinction is not noted orthographically, e.g., **faṙkà** 'wake up' and **sarkī** 'chief' are both written with the same **r**, i.e., **farka** and **sarki**, respectively.

In some dialects of Hausa both **m** and **n** in final position are pronounced as [ŋ]. Nevertheless, etymological spelling with **m** and **n** is normally employed, e.g., [mālāŋ] 'teacher' and [gidāŋ] 'the house' are spelled **malam** and **gidan** respectively.

The vowel letters represent both the short and the long counterparts. The phonemic length distinction is not noted, e.g., **fari** 'white' and **fārī** 'beginning' are both written **fari**. The pronunciation of short /e/ and /o/ in closed syllables as [a] is usually not indicated, e.g., [sāban gārī] 'new town' is usually written **sabon gari**, similarly, [zōbānsà] 'his ring' is written **zobensa**. (There are a few exceptions, e.g., the function word **don** 'in order to', which in Niger is spelled **dan**.)

The diphthongs **ai** and **au** are treated as sequences of letters. The diphthongal spelling is the accepted convention even though many linguists—wrongly in my opinion—phonemically analyze

them as /ay/ and /aw/. (An attempt in Niger in the 1960s to write the diphthongs as **ay** and **aw** was subsequently abandoned.)

Tone is totally ignored in the written language, e.g., **gōrā** 'bamboo staff' and **gòrā** 'large calabash' are both written **gora**; similarly, **tà tàfi** 'She should go' and **tá tàfi** 'She is likely to go' are both written **ta tafi**.

On the whole, spelling is phonemic and matches pronunciation. In a few cases, however, especially with proper names, conventional spellings exist that have become standard, e.g., **Allah** = /'allà/, **Ahmadu** = /'àmàdù/, **Mustapha** = /mustàfà/.

## 2.2. Spelling rules

With abutting glottalized consonants, only the second is overtly marked, e.g., [ribdǎ] 'beat' is spelled **ribdǎ**.

With geminate consonants represented by digraphs, only the first letter of the consonant is doubled, e.g., /būsashshē/ 'dried' is spelled **busasshe**, **gyagygyārā** 'repair many' is spelled **gyaggyara**.

In the case of the genitive linker -n/-ŋ the spelling is morphological rather than phonological, i.e., assimilations are not shown, e.g., /rīgan nān/ 'this gown' (lit. gown.of here) is written **rigar nan**, and /gidammù/ 'our house' (lit. house.of.us) is written **gidanmu**.

## 2.3. Word divisions

Generally speaking the orthographic word divisions coincide with the sense of the linguist and the intuition of native speakers about what should and what should not be written separately or together. There are, however, a number of problematic areas and for these arbitrary conventions have been established. Here are examples of some orthographic rules: (a) Weak subject pronouns are to be written as separate words even though they tend to be attracted to the verb, especially if the verb is monosyllabic, e.g., **ya bi hanya** 'He followed the road' (often seen as **\*\*yabi hanya**). (b) The negative marker **bà** and a following L-tone weak subject pronoun are to be written as two words, e.g., **ba ta zo ba** 'She didn't come' (where /bàtǎ/ in fact constitutes a phonological word), except in the case of the contracted monosyllabic variants **ban** 'neg.I' and **bai** 'neg.he'. (c) The same rule holds for the future marker plus wsp, e.g., **za ta zo** 'She will come', but **zan** 'fut.I' and **zai** 'fut.he'. (d) Apart from the future, weak subject pronouns plus TAM markers are written as one word, e.g., **muna** 'we.cont', **muke** 'we.Rcont1' (= /mukè/ 'Rcont1' and /mukè/ 'Rcont2', with the vowel length distinction not indicated orthographically), **mukan** 'we.hab', **muka** 'we.pret'. (e) The indirect object marker **wà** is to be written separate from the verb even though phonologically they tend to bond to one another, e.g., **Dauda ne ya gaya wa** 'It was Dauda he told it to' (not **\*\*Dauda ne ya gayawa**). (f) The possessive clitics **tatà** and **tasà** are to be written as separate words, but the reduced forms **-řtǎ** and **-řsà** are written attached to the head noun, e.g., **'ya tata** (i.e., /'yātatǎ/) 'her daughter' = /'yařtǎ/. (g) Fully reduplicated words such as pseudoplurals of diversity and ideophonic adjectives are written with a hyphen, e.g., **řubũce-řubũce** 'writings', **goro ruķu-ruķu** 'large and round kolanuts', but reduplicated attenuated adjectives or distributives are written without a hyphen, e.g., **mota fara fara** 'a whitish car', **dala goma goma** 'ten dollars each'. (h) Bound possessive pronouns functioning as thematic objects of verbal nouns are to be written as separate words but the morphologically identical forms functioning as possessives are to be written bound to the head, e.g., **sunā řinkin ta** 'They are sewing it', cf. **řinkinta** 'her sewing'.

°AN: Principle (h) is the one orthographic convention that I have systematically ignored in this grammar. This is because it runs counter to the reality that the genitive pronouns are *all* bound clitics dependent on their hosts and cannot stand as independent words regardless of their thematic function. The proposed convention particularly fails when the a feminine verbal noun has as its

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object a first person pronoun, e.g., **yana karfa ta** 'He is accepting me', where **ta** is made to look like a peculiar, gender-specific, first person pronoun when in fact the /t/ is the feminine linker and the pronoun is /a/.

One area in which the orthographic rules have yet to be established firmly concerns compounds, which are extremely common in the language. The general practice seems to be to write noun of noun or adjective of noun compounds as separate words, e.g., **gidan sauro** 'mosquito net' (lit. house of mosquito), **farin jini** 'popularity' (lit. white of blood), but verb + noun compounds with hyphens, e.g., **a-ci-balbal** 'an oil-burning lamp' (lit. it burns *balbal* (describes flickering)), **kas-dafi** 'poison that makes one impervious to poison' (lit. kill poison).

#### 2.4. Capitalization and punctuation

Hausa has essentially taken over the English system lock, stock, and barrel, i.e., capital letters are used at the beginning of a sentence and for proper nouns, and commas, question marks, etc., are used as in English, e.g., **Yaro ya ce, "Ta tafi Kano da Kande ran Talata."** 'The boy said, "She went to Kano with Kande on Tuesday".' The major deviation from English concerning capitalization is in writing the first person pronoun **ni** or **na** 'I' with lower case /n/. A common shorthand convention in representing compound names is the use of a single letter plus / in place of the first part of a compound, e.g., **Abdullahi K/Hausa = Abdullahi Kafin-Hausa, Muhammadu D/Tofa = Muhammadu Dawakin-Tofa.**

### 3. ARABIC SCRIPT (àjàmi)

Before the British takeover of northern Nigeria at the beginning of the twentieth century, Hausa was already a written language employing Arabic script (termed **àjàmi**). As a result, the early dictionaries of Hausa, e.g., Mischlich (1906), Robinson (1899–1900), Le Roux (1886), all represented the Hausa entries in both scripts.

°AN: Most Hausas, being Muslim, learn Arabic script very early in Koranic school. Thus one finds that even young, Western-educated people continue to learn **àjàmi** in spite of a century-long official government policy discouraging **àjàmi** in favor of Roman script.

A considerable quantity of early **àjàmi** writings exist (or existed). For example, the important three-volume collection of Hausa folktales and stories that were published in Roman script by Edgar (1911–1913), and translated into English by Skinner (1969, 1977), consisted of a transliteration of materials written by educated Hausas in **àjàmi**. Around this same period, or even earlier, Robinson (1896) and Rattray (1913) published significant collections of Hausa written materials including the original **àjàmi** versions. Over the past quarter of a century, large collections of poetry and historical texts written in **àjàmi** have been presented and analyzed in the works of scholars specializing in Hausa literature and oral history such as Piłaszewicz (e.g., 1981, 1992).

#### 3.1. Alphabet

For purposes of representing the needs of Hausa, the Arabic script is subject to a few modifications, but these are minor. The standard **àjàmi** alphabet is presented in such scholarly volumes as Mischlich (1906) and Skinner (1969) and in little Hausa language primers like *Ka Koya wa Kanka Karatun Ajami* [*Teach Yourself Ajami*], Wusasa; C.M.S., 1971). The chart below in table 33 is reproduced from Rattray (1913), pp. xix–xxiii:

Table 33: Ajami alphabet

HAUSA NAME OF LETTER.	LETTER.				Pronunciation in Hausa.	REMARKS.
	Standing alone.	Connected with following.	Connected on both sides.	Connected with preceding.		
Alif Alif baki (black alif)	ا	ا	ا	ا	—	The bearer of vowel-sounds only, as is also <i>ain</i> , really consonants.
Ba guje Ba	ب	ب	ب	ب	<i>b</i>	<i>Guje</i> , lit. <i>ba</i> with the twirl.
Ta guje Ta	ت	ت	ت	ت	<i>t</i>	Lit. <i>ta</i> with the twirl.
Tsha guje Tsha	ت	ت	ت	ت	<i>tsch</i>	Lit. <i>tsch</i> with the twirl.
Jim karami kōma bāya Jim karami Jim sābe Jim sābe kōma bāya	ج	ج	ج	ج	<i>j</i>	[hind. Lit. small <i>j</i> with a twirl be- Lit. small <i>j</i> . Lit. <i>j</i> with the part project- ing and a twirl behind.
Ha karami kōma bāya Ha karami Ha sābe Ha sābe kōma bāya	ح	ح	ح	ح	<i>h</i>	Lit. little <i>h</i> pointing back- Lit. little <i>h</i> . [wards. Lit. <i>h</i> with the part project- ing backwards.

HAUSA NAME OF LETTER.	LETTER.				Pronunciation in Hausa.	REMARKS.
	Standing alone.	Connected with following.	Connected on both sides.	Connected with preceding.		
Ha mai-rua kōma bāya	Ⲙ				<i>h</i> (as in Scotch <i>loch</i> )	Lit. <i>h</i> with the water (i.e. drop, dot) and pointing backwards.
Ha mai-rua		Ⲙ				<i>h</i> with the (drop of) water.
Ha sābe mai-rua			Ⲙ			<i>h</i> with the projecting part and dot.
Ha sābe mai-rua kōma bāya				Ⲙ		<i>h</i> with the projecting part pointing backwards.
Dal	ⲟ	ⲟ	ⲟ	ⲟ	<i>d</i>	
Zal	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	<i>z</i>	
Ra	Ⲡ	Ⲡ	Ⲡ	Ⲡ	<i>r</i>	
Zaira	ⲟ	ⲟ	ⲟ	ⲟ	<i>z</i>	
Tsa mal hannu	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	<i>ts</i>	
Zadi	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	<i>z</i>	
Kaf lāsan	ⲟ	ⲟ	ⲟ	ⲟ	<i>k</i>	
Lam arat	ⲟ				<i>l</i>	
Lam		ⲟ				
Lam jaye			ⲟ			
Lam arat				ⲟ		
Mim arat	ⲟ				<i>m</i>	
Mim		ⲟ				
Mim jaye			ⲟ			
Mim arat				ⲟ		

HAUSA NAME OF LETTER.	LETTER.				Pronunciation in Hausa.	REMARKS.
	Standing alone.	Connected with following.	Connected on both sides.	Connected with preceding.		
Nun arat Nun guda Nun arat	ن	ند	ند	ن	n	
Sodi arat Sodi Sodi arat	ص	صد	صد	ص	s	
Lodi arat Lodi Lodi arat	ض	ضد	ضد	ض	l	
Ain baki wōfi kōma bāya Ain baki wōfi Ain likāfa Ain likāfa kōma bāya	ع	عد	عد	ع	—	Like <i>alif</i> bearer of vowel-sounds. Lit. <i>ain</i> with the open mouth and the twirl backwards. <i>Ain</i> with the open mouth. Stirrup <i>ain</i> . Stirrup <i>ain</i> with the twirl back.
Angai baki wōfi kōma bāya Angai baki wōfi Angai likāfa Angai likāfa kōma bāya	غ	غد	غد	غ	g	<i>Angai</i> with the open mouth and the backward twirl. <i>Angai</i> with the open mouth. Stirrup <i>angai</i> . Stirrup <i>angai</i> with the backward twirl.
Fa guje Fa Fa guje	ف	فد	فد	ف	f	f with the twirl.

HAUSA NAME OF LETTER.	LETTER.				Pronunciation in Hausa.	REMARKS.
	Standing alone.	Connected with following.	Connected on both sides.	Connected with preceding.		
Kaf wau Kaf mai-rua Kaf wau	ك	و	ڤ	ڤا	k (guttural)	<i>Mai-rua</i> , lit. with the water, i.e. drop, dot.
Sin arat Sin Sin arat	س	س	س	سس	s	
Schin mai-rua arat Schin mai-rua Schin mai-rua arat	ش	ش	ش	شش	sch	<i>Mai-rua</i> , vide above, <i>Kaf</i> .
Ha kuri Ha baba Ha kuri	ه	ه	ه	هه	h	
Wau	و	و	و	وو	w	
Ya arat Ya Ya arat	ي	ي	ي	يي	y	

The vowel-signs in Hausa are :

1.  $\bar{\text{—}}$  (above the line) called *wasali bisa* = *a*.
2.  $\underline{\text{—}}$  (below the line) ,, *wasali kasa* = *i*.
3.  $\dot{\text{—}}$  (below the line) ,, *guda casa* = *e*.
4.  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{—}}$  (above the line) ,, *rufua* = *o* or *u*.

*Long vowels are distinguished from short vowels in writing as in pronunciation, and the length of a vowel is of such importance that the meaning of a word is often entirely changed, or the tense of a verb altered according as a vowel is long or short.*

Long vowels are distinguished from short in writing in the following manner :

1. A long *ā* sound by an *alif* following the *wasali bisa* ( $\bar{\text{—}}$ ).
2. A long *ī* sound by a *ya* following the *wasali kasa* ( $\underline{\text{—}}$ ).
3. A long *ē* sound by a *ya* following the *guda kasa* ( $\dot{\text{—}}$ ).
4. A long *ō* or *ū* sound by a *wau* following the *rufua* ( $\overset{\cdot}{\text{—}}$ ).

EXAMPLES :

LONG VOWELS	SHORT VOWELS
1. $\text{بَا} = b\bar{a}$	1. $\text{بَ} = b\bar{a}$
2. $\text{بِي} = b\bar{i}$	2. $\text{بِ} = b\bar{i}$
3. $\text{بِي} = b\bar{e}$	3. $\text{بِ} = b\bar{e}$
4. $\text{بُو} = b\bar{o}$ or $b\bar{u}$	4. $\text{بُ} = b\bar{o}$ or $b\bar{u}$

## DIPHTHONGS

There are three diphthongs in Hausa ; they are written and pronounced as follows :

1.  $\text{بِي} = ai$  (like *i* in nice).
2.  $\text{بُو} = au$  (like *ow* in how).
3.  $\text{بُو} = oi$  (like *oy* in boy).

## 3.2. Sample texts

Below I provide two sample texts in *ajami*. These are accompanied by the same texts in Roman orthography (with some accommodation to modern-day practice, although preserving dialectal distinctiveness) along with the original translations.

3.2.1. Ajami text from Robinson (1897, 5th edition 1959, pp. 145ff.)

THE CAPTURE OF KHARTUM AND THE  
DEATH OF GENERAL GORDON.<sup>1</sup>

رَاَنَا دَاكَمَشِي اَنْبِي يَكِ تَنْدَ سَابِي حَلْمَرِي يَبِي  
بَابُو زَمَنُوا \* مُتَنِّنْ بَاشَا اَنْكَبْسُ \* مُتَنِّنْ مَهْدِ  
كَمَا اَنْكَبْسُ دِيُو حَلْدَرِي حَلَا صَبَا \* مُتَنِّنْ بَاشَا  
سُنْكَبَرِ وِنِ وِرِي سُنْكَدُو وِرِنِ مَهْدِ سُنْكَبِي  
مُنْعَجِي بَابُو فِتْوَا يُو كُنْشِنْمُ كَدَنِّ كُنْتَهِي غَدَا  
دَدَرِي بَاشَا يَغْدُو \* مَهْدِ يَبِي تُو حَكِ دَا مِي  
مَسْمَشِي \* مَهْدِ يَبَا سِ دُكِيَا يَبِي كُنْتَهِي اِنِ  
كُنْسُو كَزُونِ ثِكْنِ سَنْسَنَّا اِنِ بَكُسُوبَا كُنْتَهِي  
غَرْنِكِ \* سَكِيِي مَرَن \* يَكُوو شَانُو اَكِيْنِكِ دَرَفِي  
اَكِيْنِكِ يَكُوو كُرْدِ دِيُو يَبَا مَاسْبَاطِ يَبِي تُو وِنِّ

<sup>1</sup> A description by a Hausa native in the Mahdi's camp.

بَانِيَسُو شِكْوَانَا سَيِّ مُنْتَشِي دَعَكُنْ آلَلَهْ . سَعَنْتَبَ  
 اَكْتَشِي دَا صَبَ يَسَا مُتْنِي سَكْتَبِي غَدَزْ غَخْرْتَمْ  
 وَدَنْسُ كَمَا غَارِنُوا مَهْدِ شِنْدَغْ كُدُو . مَهْدِ يَتَاشِي  
 اَكِيي بُو سَا دُكْ سَكْتَبِي دُو غَخْرْتَمْ مُتْنِي خَرْتَمْ  
 سَكْتَشِي اَكْغَمْ اَنْبَطْ وَنَنْ دُونَنْ سُنْبُغَنْ بِنْدَغَا  
 حَلْدَرِي . سُنْبَطْ بَا سَا يَا شَغْبَا . اَنْبَطْ حَرَّ غَرِّ  
 يُوْبِي دَجَبِ مَهْدِ يَشِغْ غَرِّ مُتْنِي بَاشَا دَسْجِي  
 حَكَنْنْ ذُو يَرَسْ تَبْتِي . كَدَنْ مُتْنِي مَهْدِ سَكْسُو كِي  
 مَتْمْ يَكْنِي سَدَهْ بِنْدَغْ . سَكْكُمْ مَتْمْ كَمَنْ عَشْرِي .  
 بَاشَا يَتِي بَا دَاشْغُدُو بَا حَرِّ اَكْهَشِي . اَنْبُغَشِي  
 دَبِنْدَغْ اَكْسَارَشِي دَقْقُوْبِ . مَهْدِ يَتِي اَكُوو كَنْسْ  
 اَكْسَرَشِي اَكْدُو كِي نَامَنْسْ اَكْجَبَشِي ثَكْنِ رُوَا  
 اَكْكَوُو كَنْسْ وَرَنْ مَهْدِ . مَهْدِ يَتِي اَرْبِي  
 عَدَانَنْسْ يَتِي كُنْيِي مُوْغَنْ اَبْ دُوْمِ كُكْجَبَشِي .  
 يِيي فُشِ يَتَاشِي يَكُوُو سَنْسَنْ دَمَرِي يَتِي .



## 3.2.1.1. Transliteration into Roman script:

Rana aka kama shi an yi yaƙi tun da safe hal marece babu zamnawa. Mutanen Basha an kashe su; mutanen Mahadi kuma an kashe su da yawa hal dare hal assuba. Mutanen Basha sunka bar wani wuri sunka zo wurin Mahadi sunka ce mun gaji babu futawa yau ku cishe mu. Kadan kun tafi gida da dare Basha ya gudu. Mahadi ya ce to haka za mu yi mu same shi. Mahadi ya ba su dukiya ya ce ku tafi in kun so ku zauna a cikin sansanina in ba ku so ba ku tafi garinku. Suka yi murna. Ya kawo shanu aka yanka da rafumi aka yanka ya kawo kurɗi da yawa ya ba masu faɗa ya ce to wannan ba ni so shi kwana sai mun ci shi da ikon Allah. Sa'an nan fa aka tashi da assuba ya sa mutane sunka tafi gabas ga Khartum waɗansu kuma ga arewa. Mahadi shina daga kudu. Mahadi ya tashi aka yi busa, duka suka tafi zuwa ga Khartum, mutanen Khartum suka tashi aka gamu ana faɗa wannan da wannan suna bugun bindiga hal dare. Suna faɗa ba su iya shiga ba. Ana faɗa har gari ya waye da jijjifi Mahadi ya shiga gari mutanen Basha da suka ji haka nan zuciya ta face. Kadan mutanen Mahadi suka soki mutum yakan yas da bindiga. Suka kama mutum kaman ashirin. Basha ya ce ba za shi gudu ba har aka kama shi. An buge shi da bindiga aka sare shi da takobi. Mahadi ya ce a kawo kansa aka sare shi aka ɗauki namansa aka jefa shi cikin ruwa. Aka kawo kansa wurin Mahadi. Mahadi ya ce a rufe idanunsa ya ce kun yi mugun abu, don mi kuka kashe shi? Ya yi fushi ya tashi ya komo sansani da marece.

## 3.2.2.2. Translation:

On the day on which the city was captured the fight was carried on from morning till night without any respite. Many of the Pasha's men [Pasha = General Gordon] and many of the Mahdi's men were killed. [This went on] till evening, till the early dawn. The Pasha's men left a certain place and came to the place where the Mahdi was and said, we are tired and have had no rest today; give us something to eat. If you come to the house tonight the Pasha will run away. The Mahdi said, it is well; we will do so; we will capture him. The Mahdi gave them goods; he said, go if you wish, or stay in my camp if you do not wish to go to your own town. They rejoiced; he brought them cattle, they were killed; a camel also was killed [for eating]. He brought much money, he gave it to the soldiers. He said, it is well; I do not wish that he [the Pasha] should sleep before we capture him, by the power of God.

Then they rose up in the early morning. He caused his men to go to the east towards Khartoum, others to the north, the Mahdi himself was at the south. He rose up and blew a trumpet, they all went to Khartoum. The men of Khartoum rose up; they met, they fought one with another. They fire guns, they fight till the evening, they are not able to enter. The fight went on till break of day, till the early dawn; [then] the Mahdi entered the town.

When the Pasha's men heard this their heart failed. When the Mahdi's men pierced anyone [with a spear] he threw away his gun. About twenty men captured the Pasha. He said that he would not run away till he was captured. He was shot with a gun, he was cut with a sword. The Mahdi said that his head was to be brought, it was cut off and taken; his body was thrown into the water; his head was taken to the place where the Mahdi was. The Mahdi said, let his eyes be shut. He said, you have done a wicked thing; why did you kill him? He was angry; he rose up; he returned to the camp in the evening.



مسکنین بیایند هم، و کهنه بیست و نه ساله را بیست و نه ساله  
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شیکسن

## 3.2.1.1. Transliteration into Roman script:

Wannan fasali ne na hukuncin suna. Idan matambayi ya tambaye ka, ina wadda ake zana sunan jinjiri, ka ce: Ana zana sunan jinjiri da safe. Rana da ta haihu, idan ta kewayo, mutane su taru liman shi ce: "mu yi salati goma goma ga Annabi." Idan suka gama shi ce: "Allahumma salli ala Muhammadin. Wa ala ali Muhammadin. Warham Muhammadin wa ali Muhammadin. Wa barik ala Muhammadin. Wa ala ali Muhammadin. Kama sallaita wa rahimta wa barakta ala Ibrahim wa ala ali Ibrahim fil'alamina innaka hamidun majidun." Sannan shi yi fatiha uku shi ce: "samaina mauludu". Idan namiji ne shi ce Ibrahim ko Muhammadu ko wani suna. Idan mace ce shi ce Fadimatu ko Hadijatu. Sannan shi yi addu'a, kaman da ya so, shi ce: "Allah shi raya shi, Allah shi ba uwa da uba lafiya." Shi yi addu'a da yawa sannan mutane su watse. Amma an yanka rago tun mutane ba su taru ba. Sa'an nan a zana suna, sa'an nan wanzamai su taru, mata su yi buki, idan mai gata ne. Idan marece ya yi naman rago a rarraba a bai wa kowa sadaka. Ita kuwa matar nan ana ba ta abinci mai dad'i, tana ci har jinin haifuwa shi zuba duka, sa'an nan ta samu lafiya. Shi ke nan.

## 3.2.1.2. Translation:

This is a description of a naming ceremony. If a questioner asked you what was done at the naming of the infant you say, An infant is named on the morning of the day she [the mother] bears it; when that day comes around [i.e. in a week] people assemble. The priest says, "Let us offer up prayers ten times to the Prophet." When they have finished he says [in Arabic] "Oh God be gracious to Muhammad and the family of Muhammad and have mercy on Muhammad and the family of Muhammad and bless Muhammad and the family of Muhammad even as thou wast gracious to, merciful towards, and didst bless Abraham and Abraham's family in the world, verily thou art praiseworthy and glorious." Then he repeats three verses [of the Koran] and says, "We name the child." If it is a male child, he says Abraham or Muhammad or some other name, if it is a girl he says Fatima or Hadijatu. Then he gives a prayer if he wishes, he says "May Allah prolong his life; may Allah give (his) mother and father health." He prays many times and then the people disperse. Now a ram has been slaughtered before the people had assembled. After that they name the child. Then the barbers assemble and the women make a feast, if the man was of a wealthy family. When evening comes, the ram's meat is divided up and given to everyone as alms. And as for her, this wife, she is given the choicest food to eat until all the afterbirth has come away. By that time she has regained her health. That is it.

[References: (1939. *Hausa...*); (1979. *Karatu...*); (1980. *Rapport...*); East (n.d.); Furniss (1991b); Gregersen (1977); Yahaya (1982)]

## ABBREV

AAL  
AAP  
ABU  
ALS  
AuÜ  
BLS  
BUK  
CELHTO  
CSNL  
FWP

GLECS  
HN  
JAL  
JALL  
JWAL  
PCL

SAL  
SOAS  
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## Bibliography

### ABBREVIATIONS

AAL	<i>Afroasiatic Linguistics</i>
AAP	<i>Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere</i>
ABU	Ahmadu Bello University [Zaria]
ALS	<i>African Language Studies</i>
AuÜ	<i>Afrika und Übersee</i>
BLS	<i>Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society</i>
BUK	Bayero University [Kano]
CELHTO	Centre d'Études Linguistiques et Historiques par Traditionale Orale [Niamey]
CSNL	Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University
FWP	<i>Studies in Hausa Language and Linguistics. In Honour of F. W. Parsons</i> , ed. by Graham Furniss and Philip J. Jaggar. London: Kegan Paul International
GLECS	<i>Comptes rendus du groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques</i>
HN	<i>Harsunan Nijeriya</i>
JAL	<i>Journal of African Languages</i>
JALL	<i>Journal of African Languages and Linguistics</i>
JWAL	<i>Journal of West African Languages</i>
PCL	<i>Papers in Chadic Linguistics</i> , ed. by Paul Newman and Roxana Ma Newman. Leiden: Afrika-Studiecentrum
SAL	<i>Studies in African Linguistics</i>
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
UCLA	University of California at Los Angeles

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