Zaar-Hausa-English Code Mixing
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To cite this version:

HAL Id: halshs-00644631
https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00644631
Submitted on 28 Nov 2011

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According to [NEWMAN, 1990 : 202], Zaar (which he calls Saya) belongs to the the West-B3 group of Chadic languages, with some doubts arising from the properties it shares with Angas.

The names derived from the root 'Saya' (i.e. Bàsayèe (pl. Sayaawaa) for the speakers, and Sayancii for the language) are the names used by the Hausas. The speakers call themselves Zaar (pl. Zaarsä) meaning human being, and call their language vikzaar (lit. the mouth of men). They consider the term "Saya" derogatory, and associate it with the Hausa verb saya, to buy, taking it as a reference to the fact that Hausas used to take them as slaves. In this work, we will use the term Zaar to refer both to the people and the language.

Most Zaar people of the younger generation are bilingual Hausa-Zaar. They are schooled through the medium of Hausa in primary school, before learning English. The Zaars are Christians, and use a Hausa translation of the Bible. The older generation are not very confident in Hausa, whereas the younger educated elite who sometimes hold positions in the administration, police and education, switch between Zaar, Hausa and English.

The purpose of this paper is to examine how a minority language that is healthy is used in two different contexts : (A) an urban context, with educated speakers who are fluent in the two main vehicular languages of the area : English and Hausa ; (B) a rural context with speakers who hardly speak a few words of Pidgin English, but are quite fluent in Hausa.

1. Sources

This presentation was done using the transcription of two dialogues of around half an hour each.

A a conversation between three teachers of English in Azare Teachers’ College, in the North of Bauchi State. The conversation was recorded in a hotel in Azare in 1991, on the first day of my field work on Zaar. It was transcribed the following year in Ibadan with Sunday, my Zaar language assistant. Topic : one of the teachers narrates the attack of his taxi by a gang of highway robbers on the way from Ibadan to Jos.

B a conversation between a mechanic (30) two unemployed young men (in their early 20s) and a young boy (10). It was recorded in 1996 and transcribed in 1999 in the village of
Tudun Wada (B’ogoro LGA, South of Bauchi State). Tudun Wada is in the middle of the area where the Zaar language is spoken. The conversation bears on various topics: purchase of material to repair shoes; radio equipment; sexual behaviour of one neighbour, prostitution, teasing the young boy, etc.

On the whole, the texts are samples of unmistakably « good » Zaar spoken by competent speakers, with various degrees of code mixing.

2. Historical stratification

It is possible to distinguish various strata of borrowing depending on the degree of integration into the matrix language structure, ranging from the more to the less integrated.

2.1 (Integrated) loan-words

They are part of the architecture of the sentence, both from the point of view of lexicon and grammar. They follow the phonological and grammatical rules of Zaar (noun determination; integration into the verb class system).

2.1.1 Lexical

2.1.1.1 Nouns

- English (sometimes via Hausa)
  - aidi káafa (I.D. card) ; buróóda (brother) ; daráávai (driver) ; galóóbí (electric bulb) ; ínjááñ (engine) ; ñúù (nylon thread) ; mááshín (motorbike); máástáá (Master) ; móóta / mootoocii (motor or car) ; súúlc (shilling) ; táyíí (taxi) ; tashíí (station) ; tóócés (electric torch) ; vólúm ("volume" for a radio) ; wáállé (wallet).

- Hausa : állúára (injection) ; amaryá (bride) ; asálí (situation) ; báákúr (sweet sp.) ; bóbí (wedding ceremony) ; bíníígá (gun) ; dííní (sewing) ; gaskyá (truth) ; háské (light) ; írí (type) ; kárfe (o'clock) ; karáyá (lie) ; kíítaáni , kéltááni (hemp thread) ; makáraanta (school) ; sálá (Muslim prayer) ; shíírmé (insolence) ; táágyá (hat) ; táállé (peddling) ; tóótoó, tóotúwáá, tóótúwáá (sweet sp.) ; záncé (situation) ; zííri / záírè (thread).

2.1.1.2 Verbs

The integration of verbs borrowed from Hausa can be seen in the way they adopt the Zaar class system, with the two-syllable verb tone scheme Mid-Hi :

  - bugá (pound) ; bwooöi (open) ; gámá (finish) ; sápká (get down)

and suffixation with the Verbal Noun formative -káñi (with /k/ > /γ/ in intervocalic position) :

  - mooráγóñi (relax).

2.1.1.3 Prepositions

- dagá (from) ; zúwá (to).

2.1.2 Grammatical

2.1.2.1 Aspectual verbs

Zaar doesn’t have any auxiliaries and makes a heavy use of Hausa aspectral verbs, which are integrated into the Zaar verb class system (cf. supra 2.1.1.2)

  - gámá (finish) ; rigá (have already) ; saaké (repeat), faáraá (begin).

As in Hausa, the aspectral verb can be followed by a verbal noun (here : kón-gōñ, talk-ing) :

in yáá máá saaké kóngóñ daámuwáa gú dafa...  
I/3s.Cond/ come/ again say/ trouble/ this/ again  
If he keeps talking about this problem...

or a finite verb (here : shííshí and ţáární in the Narrative)
mà̀ rigá mà shìshì mà ḥáṣrni.
1pl.Perf/ already/ 1pl.Narr/ get up/ 1pl.Narr/ stand
we had already risen and gone

2.1.2.2 Modality verbs, adverbs and particles
Various quality judgements or modalities (epistemic, deontic) are expressed through borrowing from Hausa.

gāara (should) ; kámaatá (should) ; kííla (may be) ; aanhí, aanihés (really) ; kadáí, kadéé (only) ; sòòsái (well, good, completely) ; da wuri (quickly).

yáăn ka dīb máá, gāara àà diibni ńaa gí.
i/ 2s.Fut/ buy/ even/ should/ 2sg.Subj/ buy-Dir/ small / this
If you buy, you should buy this small one.

2.1.2.3 Discourse particles
Topicalization and discourse continuity draw heavily on Hausa lexical resources:

ai (well) ; àmma (but) ; àséé (indeed) ; dèè (indeed) ; fa (indeed) ; in (if) ; kààfín (before) ; koo / kóó kwàà (or) ; kuma (too) ; maa (even) ; sèé / sáí (only) ; tòó-wààtòó (well) ; wáí (they say)

2.2 Exclamations
Emotional reactions are expressed through exclamations, insults, etc. borrowed from Hausa. It is not easy to assess the degree of integration of these borrowings.

Allah! (God) ; case! (Engl! trouble) ; ìì mánà! éè káí èè dèè deé! (yes indeed) ; kálláú!, káwáí!, kàìí! (indeed) ; shéége! (bastard) ; sòòsái! (quite) ; wallahi! (I swear) ; yáúwá (yes).

2.3 Set phrases, quotations
They are not assimilated into Zaar, they do not follow the phonological and morphological rules of Zaar.

2.3.1 Hausa
kára gání (look again) ; abín nan wáí (well, this thing...) ; da zan shigu (if I was going) ; kà gà ìì ko? (do you understand?) ; gà tã kà tãfá (here you are, you have already) ; in jì jì tállín wa nèné (?? Hausa saying) ; ina jì (I think that) ; ku tu mání! (?? Hausa saying) ; wâí dàñ gáta n wànnan ; yán dûrin wànnan (insults) ; wàjên kàruf (around X o’clock)

2.3.2 English
addicted ; at least ; but ; driver ; fóótó (photos) ; hijacking ; police station ; posta (??) ; reserve ; sanitisation (sanitation day) ; so ; station ; total ; yes ; you know.

3. Types of code mixing
Different types of code mixing can be associated to various contents.

3.1 Borrowing
Borrowing is omnipresent in Zaar in the complexification of sentences (2.1.2.3), and discourse continuity : in, kuma, àmma, kààfín, sáí, wáí ; tòó, wààtòó, Î

3.2 Tag switching
Tag switching, on the other hand, is associated with contents that escape the usual rural setting associated with the original Zaar lexicon stock. In the following instances, the wallet and the ID card are items associated with « modern » life, and are designated by loanwords. These loanwords are nouns that get a Zaar determinant suffix:

wááléèt-es : wallet + Definite ;
3.3 Interlarded speech
This is generally set off by an event or a thing associated with the world outside Zaar rural life.

Mànàa gàà dàndì kàvit ái, dàn tònàà gàámá... *you know... sanitation*. Tòò mònàà gàà dàndì á dzàŋ. Dòn *mootooct* tà lòót nàp, kàà gàànëë kòó? Sòò... mà nàà... kààfin mò nywàal...

We left there at night, well, (not) until they *had finished*... *you know... « sanitation », Well*, we left there during the day. Because there were many *cars*, *Do you understand*? So... we left... before we went away...

"*but*" dàràávé ci tà ràà "*ka ji ? wallahi*", ci tà ràà. *But, the driver was courageous, you hear? I swear, he was courageous.*

This type of code mixing is present mostly in the conversation of the educated speakers. In the case of the uneducated speakers, one observes the occasional quotation of a Hausa saying.

3.4 Metaphorical code-switching
The most common function of tag-switching is pragmatic: highlighting an event, setting off a personal reaction to what has been said. (cf. 2.2)

In the second conversation, one notices a very strong rise in code-mixing when the topic switches to sexual jokes. The small boy is eating some fried groundnut cake, and the adults around him start teasing him, drawing a parallel between eating sweets and the sexual act. In this case, it corresponds to an expression of strong emotional reaction.

[somebody has just said that « totuwa », i.e. groundnut cakes, can never be finished]

X - Nà tòòtòò ŋ čàà wù tu na tòotùwàà gààn? Miýáì tu čàá wùl tu na gàsàà hòl!

X - *Is it groundnut cakes that they call « totuwa »? I thought they were saying vagina, what!*

Z - *é inàá! Kàákàákàá kàá! Shéeëë X. !*

Z - *Come on! You bastard, X!*


Y - *I swear, I thought that it was vagina, what! Have you ever (heard) it finishes? Here you are, have you already heard that they sell groundnut cakes and it is finished? As for vagina, do they sell and there is none left? [...] only if you die it is finished.*

4. Conclusion
The interest of this study lies in the way it reveals the processes at work in borrowing and grammaticalisation. It gives a synchronic view of diachronic processes at work. Words are borrowed, beginning in the pragmatic domain (emotions, feelings, modality) then get integrated into the area of topicality verging on sentence complexification (with the so-called Hausa modal particles heavily borrowed). Then finally, aspectual verbs build a sub-area of Zaar grammar where auxiliarity is being developed.
References

