Hausa Grammatical Sketch
Bernard Caron

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Boyd. Many of his suggestions have been taken into account. The final decisions and remaining mistakes are for the CorpAfroAs project.

Hyperlinks: The reference of each example in the article can be clicked to view all its tiers in the CorpAfroAs database, and play the corresponding audio file.

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

1 Introduction ........................................................................................................... 4
1.1 Abbreviations used in the grammar and in the corpus ........................................... 5
    Grammar: general abbreviations ........................................................................... 5
    Corpus: glossing labels (rx tier) ........................................................................... 5
    Corpus: glossing labels (ge tier) ........................................................................... 6

2 Phonology ........................................................................................................... 7

3 Syllable structure .................................................................................................. 7

4 Vowels .................................................................................................................. 7
    4.1 Quality ............................................................................................................. 7
    4.2 Quantity .......................................................................................................... 7
    4.3 Changes in quality due to length and position ................................................. 7

5 Consonants ......................................................................................................... 8
    5.1 Glottalization .................................................................................................. 8
    5.2 Long or geminated consonants ....................................................................... 8
    5.3 Labialization and palatalization of consonants .............................................. 8
    5.4 Velarization of nasals ..................................................................................... 9

6 Tone ...................................................................................................................... 9

7 Intonation ............................................................................................................. 9

8 Word structure ..................................................................................................... 10

9 Information structure .......................................................................................... 10
    9.1 Topicalization .............................................................................................. 10
    9.2 Focus and subordination .............................................................................. 11
        Focus ............................................................................................................... 11
        WH-Questions ............................................................................................. 12

10 Syntax of the simple sentence ............................................................................. 12
    10.1 Non-verbal sentences -- Copulas ................................................................. 12
        Existence: àkwai, dà ..................................................................................... 13
        Presentation: gà ........................................................................................... 14
        Location: COP + PP ..................................................................................... 14

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1 This grammatical sketch of Hausa has been written as an annex to the annotated Hausa Corpus transcribed for the CorpAfroAs project (ANR-06CORP). It has been meticulously checked and corrected by Raymond Boyd. Many of his suggestions have been taken into account. The final decisions and remaining mistakes are mine.

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1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>Verbal sentences - TAM marking</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNG+TAM Paradigms</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM Semantics</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Nouns and Noun Phrases</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>The HeadNouns</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plurals</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Compound nouns</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conjoined nouns</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Possessive Construction</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>Pre-nominal elements</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Demonstratives</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pronouns as pronominal modifiers</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Universal quantifiers</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The isolator daya</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adjectives as pre-nominal modifiers</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>Post-nominal elements</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Post-nominal specifiers</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Post-nominal modifiers</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Nominal derivation</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>ma- Agents, Place and Instruments</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agent nouns</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place nouns</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Instrument nouns</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>Ethnonyms</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Personal Pronouns</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Verbs and Verb Phrases</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>Verb grades</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Primary Grades</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secondary grades</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>Imperatives</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>Auxiliaries</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modal auxiliaries</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aspectual auxiliaries</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Adverbs and Prepositional phrases</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>Basic adverbs</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>Adverb derivation</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Denominal adverbs</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deverbal statives</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>Reduplication</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>Prepositional Phrases</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>Syntax</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The attributive function</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The predicative function</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comparison</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>Basic adjectives</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>Derived adjectives</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agentive adjectives</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past Participles</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adjectives of Sensory Quality</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reduplicated adjectives</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
17 Prepositions
17.1 Basic prepositions
17.2 Compound prepositions
17.3 Possessive prepositions

18 Universal Quantifiers
18.1 The global universal duk/duká
18.2 The distributive universal ko:
18.3 Universal subordination

19 Ideophones

20 Complex sentences
20.1 Coordination
20.2 Completives
20.3 Subordination: Adverbial clauses

21 Negation
21.1 NEG1. All TAMS except the Continuous and Subjunctive
21.2 NEG2. Negative Continuous TAM
21.3 NEG3. Existential and "have" sentences
21.4 NEG4. Non-verbal sentences and NPs
21.5 NEG5. Subjunctive

22 Question
22.1 Wh-Questions
22.2 Yes/No questions
22.3 Indirect questions

23 Bibliography
23.1 General bibliographies
23.2 Grammars
23.3 Manuals
23.4 Dictionaries and lexicons

LIST OF TABLES
1 Introduction

Hausa has enjoyed a long tradition of linguistic studies with, to name but the most important early scientific works, two major dictionaries (Bargery 1934, Abraham 1962), a grammar (Abraham 1959), and a collection of articles by F. Parsons spanning the years from 1955 to 1975 which laid the groundwork for modern Hausaist research. Recent years have seen the fulfillment of these decades of scientific research with the successive publication of two monumental grammars (Newman 2000 (760 p.) and Jaggar 2001 (754 p.)) and two major dictionaries (R. M. Newman 1990 and Newman 2007). This grammatical sketch owes much to Paul Newman’s *The Hausa language: an encyclopedic reference grammar* (Newman 2000), which provides exactly what its title announces: in 760 densely set pages, it covers everything one might ever want to know about Hausa, in a clear, precise, exhaustive set of 80 articles. Large passages below merely summarize relevant parts of this grammar, examples included. Whenever possible, we have added data and examples from our own teaching experience and research.²

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

The origin of the Hausa people has been situated in the Air mountain in Niger Republic. The movement from North to South took place under the pressure of Tuareg populations driven on by desertification of the Sahara. The Hausa states as they exist today were founded in the 14th Century A.D. Following the *jihad* launched by Shehu Usman Dan Fodio from 1804 to 1812, the Sokoto caliphate replaced the old Hausa kingdoms. That is when the Hausa Islamic poetry was born, which constitutes the first trace of Hausa written in *ajami*.³ British colonization, with the generalization and standardization of Hausa spelling in roman script, witnessed the birth of a Hausa press and literature. The current offer consists of five periodicals, as well as novels, poetry, plays, textbooks, propaganda leaflets, political and commercial posters, etc.

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

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² Examples taken from (Newman 2000) are labelled “PN”; our own examples are labelled “BC”.
³ *Ajami* is the Hausa name given to the Arab alphabet adapted for the notation of African languages.
1.1 Abbreviations used in the grammar and in the corpus

**Grammar: general abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adj.</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Falling tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gr</td>
<td>Grade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>High tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IP</td>
<td>Infinitive Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Low tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Mid tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>Masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NV</td>
<td>Verbal Noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pds</td>
<td>Pre-dative Suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSL</td>
<td>Possessive link</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>Prepositional Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prep.</td>
<td>Preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH</td>
<td>Standard Hausa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sufx</td>
<td>Suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP</td>
<td>Tone Pattern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.</td>
<td>Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Verb Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WH</td>
<td>Western Hausa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZR</td>
<td>Zaria Hausa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Corpus: glossing labels (\rx tier)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Label (\rx)</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Associated \ge labels and/or examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>red (dja):, evil (mu:gù):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>formerly (dà):, quickly (dàwụ́):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV.DEICT</td>
<td>Deictic Adverb</td>
<td>now (jànzu):, next_year (bàdi):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV.REL</td>
<td>Relative Adverb</td>
<td>how (jaddà):, REL.LOC (inda):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ato</td>
<td>Apotony</td>
<td>IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIRC</td>
<td>Circumfix</td>
<td>AGT (ma); INS (-i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>Complementizer</td>
<td>that_is (gẹ́:wa):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
<td>Conjunction</td>
<td>if (in); until (har)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>der</td>
<td>Derivation</td>
<td>DIR (-o):; NMLZ (-wa):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET</td>
<td>Determinant</td>
<td>DEF (-ni)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET.INDF</td>
<td>Indefinite Determinant</td>
<td>SOME.PL (wasu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP</td>
<td>Discourse particle</td>
<td>well (tọ́):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>Exclamation</td>
<td>eh (ẹ́):; indeed (ǎje):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FILL</td>
<td>Pause filler</td>
<td>er… (e:::)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HESIT</td>
<td>Hesitation</td>
<td>gwa:#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hom</td>
<td>Homonymy</td>
<td>COP2 (dà):; REL (dà); COMP (dà)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDEOPH</td>
<td>Ideophone</td>
<td>strong (kankan):; tight (tsantsan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTJ</td>
<td>Interjection</td>
<td>amen (à:min):; no (a?à):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>thing (àbù):; work (aikì):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.P</td>
<td>Proper Noun</td>
<td>Amina; Bashir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.V</td>
<td>Verbal Noun</td>
<td>loan; begging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM</td>
<td>Numeral</td>
<td>Four (hudu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONOM</td>
<td>Onomatopoeia</td>
<td>mèː; galalan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNG</td>
<td>Person-Number-Gender complex</td>
<td>2PL.CONT (kunà):; FUT.3SG.M (zài)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSL</td>
<td>Possessive Link</td>
<td>PTCL.SYNT (-n ; na)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>So_and_So (wà:nè)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO.BEN</td>
<td>Benefactive Pronoun</td>
<td>2.PL (muku)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO.DEICT</td>
<td>Deictic Pronoun</td>
<td>ANAPH (wànnan); DIST (wàntfàn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO.INDF</td>
<td>Indefinite Pronoun</td>
<td>some.F (wata)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO.IDP</td>
<td>Independent Pronoun</td>
<td>2SG.F (ke):; 3SG.M (fi:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO.POS</td>
<td>Possessive Pronoun</td>
<td>3SG.F (ta:kù)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO.SBJ</td>
<td>Subject Pronoun</td>
<td>2SG.F (kì)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Label (\ge)</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Associated \rgx labels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC1</td>
<td>Accusative 1</td>
<td>ACC1 (-i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC2</td>
<td>Accusative 2</td>
<td>ACC2 (-e:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGT</td>
<td>Agent (circumfix)</td>
<td>CIRC (ma- … -i:\HLH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>PTCL.SYNT (zà:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANAPH</td>
<td>Anaphoric</td>
<td>PRO.DEICT (wànnan); PTCL (dìn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTR</td>
<td>Attributive</td>
<td>PTCL.SYNT (mài)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>Benefactive</td>
<td>PTCL.SYNT (mà)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BKL</td>
<td>Backchannelling</td>
<td>BKL (mÌ.\hm:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>TAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Copula</td>
<td>PTCL.SYNT (dà)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTF</td>
<td>Counterfactual</td>
<td>CONJ (dà:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>DET (-nl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>Diminutive</td>
<td>ADV (dan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>Directional</td>
<td>der (-o:); PTCL.SYNT (zà:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>ADV.DEICT (tfân)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>Durative</td>
<td>TAM (ta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVD</td>
<td>Evidential</td>
<td>PTCL (wai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>PNG (ita); der (-annija:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FCT</td>
<td>Factual</td>
<td>PTCL.ASS (-o:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FILL</td>
<td>Pause Filler</td>
<td>FILL (è:::)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOC</td>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>TAM (jakè:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>Future</td>
<td>TAM (zài)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>TAM (kàn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HESIT</td>
<td>Hesitation</td>
<td>FILL (d:::)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDP</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>PNG (su:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>TAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INS</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>CIRC (-a: … -i; {[H]})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>PNG (fi:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>PTCL.NEG (bà:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NFOC</td>
<td>Non-Focus</td>
<td>TAM (nà:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMLZ</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
<td>der (-wa:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>TAM (ja:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>PL (-o:Çì:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>ADV.DEICT (nàn); PRO.DEICT (wànnàn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL.LOC</td>
<td>Locative Relative Pronoun</td>
<td>ADV.REL (indà)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJV</td>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>TAM (jà, mú)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>PNG (fi:, ja:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>Tense/Aspect/Mood complex</td>
<td>PTCL.ASS (-a:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VRT</td>
<td>Virtual</td>
<td>PTCL.ASS (-a:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>PRO, PNG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2 Phonology

3 Syllable structure

There are three types of syllable structure in Hausa, divided into light (CV) and heavy (CVV and CVC). Initial vowels and consonant clusters, as well as syllable-internal long vowels are do not exist. Hence, all words written with an initial vowel in the standard orthography begin in fact with an initial glottal stop: aiki: ‘work’ is in fact pronounced [ʔaiki:]. Words ending in a CVC syllable are often ideophones or loanwords.

4 Vowels

4.1 Quality

Hausa has 5 vowels distributed over 3 heights:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{i} &\text{u} \\
&\text{e} &\text{o} \\
&\text{a}
\end{align*}
\]

4.2 Quantity

Length produces five more vowels:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{iː} &\text{uː} \\
&\text{eː} &\text{oː} \\
&\text{aː}
\end{align*}
\]

On top of these 10 vowels, Hausa has 2 diphtongs: /ai/ and /au/.

4.3 Changes in quality due to length and position

The phonetic realization, and more particularly the quality of the vowel, is influenced by length and the situation of the vowel in the utterance. Short vowels are more open, more central, less rounded than long ones. They can be transcribed as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
&/\text{a}/ = [\text{ə}] \text{ (low, central, neutral lip position; cf. English but, cut)} \\
&/\text{a}/ = [\text{aː}] \text{ (low; half-way between central and back)} \\
&/\text{e}/ = [\text{ɛ}] \text{ (front, lower mid, neutral lip position; cf. English bet, get)} \\
&/\text{e}/ = [\text{eː}] \text{ (front, upper mid, retracted lips; cf. French bébé)} \\
&/\text{i}/ = [\text{i}] \text{ (not quite high; not quite front; cf. English bit, lid)} \\
&/\text{i}/ = [\text{iː}] \text{ (high, front, with retracted lips; cf. French /i/)} \\
&/\text{o}/ = [\text{o}] \text{ (lower mid, back, rounded; cf. English god)} \\
&/\text{o}/ = [\text{oː}] \text{ (upper mid, back, rounded; cf French peau)} \\
&/\text{u}/ = [\text{ʊ}] \text{ (half-way between high and upper mid; not quite back; less rounded than /uː/; cf. English book)} \\
&/\text{u}/ = [\text{uː}] \text{ (high, back, very rounded)}
\end{align*}
\]

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

---

4 It has been decided to follow the conventions for transcriptions in the CorpAfroAs corpus. Examples quoted from (Newman 2000) have therefore been converted to this transcription.

5 See (Carnochan 88) for a detailed account of Hausa vowels.
5 Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>f</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>ž</th>
<th>ʃ</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>k'</th>
<th>h</th>
<th>?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ʒ</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The consonant written /ʤ/ in standard orthography is realized [ʒ] in the West, e.g. “ʤakī” ‘donkey’ is pronounced [ʤaːkì] in Kano and [jaːkì] in Sokoto. It is transcribed and pronounced [ʤ] in the corpus. The standard orthography notes only one /l/. In the corpus, /l/ notes an alveolar trill, and /ʃ/ an retroflex alveolar tap.

5.1 Glottalization

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

Two types of glottalized consonants are generally distinguished in Hausa:

- the voiceless post-glottalized ejectives k, k', k" and s' (written “ts” in standard orthography);
- the injectives b, d, y, also called implosives, or voiced pre-glottalized.

5.2 Long or geminated consonants

Hausa has long (geminated) consonants whose articulation is maintained longer than that of normal consonants. Some words contrast by consonant length: kulè / kullè: (‘cat/lock’); manà/manna: (‘BEN.1PL/glue’).

5.3 Labialization and palatalization of consonants

/b/, /b/, /k/, /k/ and /g/ are pronounced with rounded lips before /o/, /oː/, /u/ and /uː/. For example, in the words bùhu: ‘bag’; bo:kò: ‘schooling’; gudù: ‘run’, and go:ro: ‘cola nut’, the consonants /b/, /k/ and /g/ are pronounced with rounded lips, so that one can hear [b'ûhu:], [b'o:kò:], and [g'o:du:].

/k/ and /g/ are palatalized before front vowels /i/, /iː/, /e/ and /eː/. For example, in the words bà:kì: ‘mouth’ and gida: ‘compound’, /k/ and /g/ are palatalized into [bá:kì:] and [gída:].

/l/, /l/, /ʃ/, /ʂ/, /l/ and /ʃ/ are realized /j/, /ʤ/, /ʃ/, /ʂ/ and /ʃ/ respectively in front of the front vowels /i/, /iː/, /e/ and /eː/, except in recent loanwords, e.g. tì:tì: ‘street’, a word borrowed from English via Yoruba.
5.4 Velarization of nasals

/ŋ/ is pronounced [ŋ] before /k/, /k/, /ɡ/ and /ʔ/. For example, gwanki: ‘antelope’, is pronounced [ɡwanki] and danko: ‘rubber’, is pronounced [daŋko].

Word-final /ŋ/ and /m/ are pronounced [ŋ] too, as in nân [nân] ‘here’ and kullum [kullum] ‘always’.

6 Tone

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

Tone has lexical as well as grammatical functions. Some words contrast only through their tone. When a final syllable drops, the tone it bears remains floating and is added to the preceding syllable. It is characterized by downdrift, accounted for by the general rule that “each H tone after a L is a step lower than the preceding H” (PN:612).

Wh-questions are characterized by a declarative intonation pattern and a L tone + vowel lengthening added to the end of the intonation unit. This L tone changes final H tones to F. It does not change final L.

In standard Hausa orthography, [ʔ] is written /ʔ/ word-internally, and not written word-initially.

7 Intonation

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

- The **Declarative or neutral pattern** is characterized by downdrift, accounted for by the general rule that “each H tone after a L is a step lower than the preceding H” (PN:612).

- Wh-questions are characterized by a declarative intonation pattern and a L tone + vowel lengthening added to the end of the intonation unit. This L tone changes final H tones to F. It does not change final L.

---

6 In standard Hausa orthography, [ʔ] is written /ʔ/ word-internally, and not written word-initially.

- **Yes/No questions** are characterized by suspension of downdrift and key raising (↑) of the last H tone and all following L tones.
- **Sympathetic address** is an intonation pattern associated with units beginning with tô: ‘okay, I see’/habà ‘never, stop now!’, followed by the name of addressee. They are characterized by a floating L tone added to the end of the name of the addressee.
- **The vocative pattern** is used when calling someone. It is characterized by raised pitch, lesser downdrift and lengthening of the final short vowel of any name of an addressee ending in such a vowel.

### 8 Word structure

The structure of the Hausa word is: <radical + affix>. The affix is composed of at least a final vowel and a tone pattern (TP). The radical karant- ‘read’ is associated with the word ‘teacher’, which has three forms: makarantf, m. suffix -i);makaranta; f. suffix -a);makarantai, pl. suffix -ai). The notion of ‘leaning on’ (dangan-) is associated with the verb danganà, v., suffix -a); ‘lean, prop, put against’. Adding the suffix -t, we get the derived verb dàngánta, v., suffixx -t-; ‘to be linked to, comparable to’ and the derived noun dàngántakà, n.f., suffix -takà); ‘relationship’. The affix can comprise an infix, frequent in the formation of nominal plurals, as e.g. in the noun biñi: ‘city’, pl. biñî:ne: (rad. biñ; infix -a-; suffix -e);. Only two prefixes are in use: ma-, used to derive agent, place, and instrument nouns; and ba-, used to form ethnonyms.

### 9 Information structure

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

**Ex 1.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOPIC</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
<th>PRECONSTRUCT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hawan doki: dai, riding horse indeed</td>
<td>Sulè ne: Sule COP</td>
<td>ja fi ko:wa:. 3S.M.PFV.FOC exceed everyone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As for riding, it’s Sule</td>
<td>it beats them all (PN, op.cit.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 9.1 Topicalization

Topicalization involves setting an NP at the beginning of an utterance, the rest of which is a comment upon it. There can be multiple topics. The TAM marking of the rest of the sentence is not affected by topicalization.

---

8 Newman (2000:493) identifies this phenomenon as a question-morpheme (“q-morpheme”), and refuses to consider it as part of the intonation pattern.

9 See also § 0.
"The topic belongs to the pragmatic preamble of the utterance, and is separated from the rest by either (a) the intonation; (b) the insertion of a modal particle like daï ‘indeed’, fa ‘well’, kām ‘really’, kùwa (= kó(j)) ‘moreover’, etc. (or a succession of such particles).’ (PN:616\textsuperscript{10})

Ex 2. àː / daːwaː / mukàn ijà:
FILL / guinea-corn / 1PL.HAB can
saːmuː -n buhuː / goːmà hakà //
getting -POS.L sack ten like_this //
masàrəː / kuma / mukàn ijà / saːmu -n
maize too / 1PL.HAB can getting -POS.L
kàman buhuː / àːːː / goːmà jàː bìjər //
like sack / FILL / ten plus five //

[Ah]FUILL. [guinea-corn]TOPIC. [we get like ten sacks.]COMMENT
As for maize]TOPIC. [we can get like ... er... fifteen sacks.]COMMENT (HAIU_BC_CONV_01_SP2_442-50)\textsuperscript{11}:

9.2 Focus and subordination

When an element of a sentence is focused (contrastive emphasis with identification), it is moved to the beginning of the sentence, and the subject pronoun associated with the verb is selected from a subset of paradigms characterized as focus-compatible\textsuperscript{12}. Syntactically, the clauses identified by this subset of pronouns are characterized as being subordinated to the focused element. Pragmatically, their referential value is a backgrounded preconstruct. Those that are compatible with focus [+FOC] are labelled FOC in the glosses; those that are incompatible [-FOC] are labelled NFOC. Wh-Questions are another instance of focus constructions, with the question word appearing at the start of the sentence. Two types of sentences are associated with [+FOC] subject pronouns: (1) sentences with focus; (2) Wh-Questions.\textsuperscript{13}

Focus

The focused element can be an NP, adverb or PP. It is contrasted with a set of elements which could potentially have the same function. The focused element is optionally followed by the neː/ʧeː/ne:: copula. The TAM that follows must be chosen from among the +FOC paradigms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERFECTIVE</th>
<th>CONTINUOUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jaːrɔn (jaː)PFV.NFOC ʧi naːmàː djìjə</td>
<td>jaːrɔn ([ja]nàː)CONT.NFOC ʧin naːmàː à kàːsuwaː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaːrɔn (neː) [ja]PFV.FOC ʧi naːmàː djìjə</td>
<td>jaːrɔn (neː) ([ja]kèː)CONT.FOC ʧin naːmàː à kàːsuwaː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naːmàː (neː) jaːrɔn [ja]PFV.FOC ʧi djìjə</td>
<td>naːmàː (neː) jaːrɔn ([ja]kèː)CONT.FOC ʧi: à kàːsuwaː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djjə (neː) jaːrɔn [ja]PFV.FOC ʧi naːmàː</td>
<td>à kàːsuwaː (nèː) jaːrɔn ([ja]kèː)CONT.FOC ʧin naːmàː:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʧin naːmàː (neː) jaːrɔn [ja]PFV.FOC ʧi djìjə</td>
<td>ʧin naːmàː (neː) jaːrɔn ([ja]kèː)CONT.FOC ʧi: à kàːsuwaː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{10} As for all examples taken from (Newman 2000), the transcription has been adapted following CorpAfroAs conventions.
\textsuperscript{11} Edited example.
\textsuperscript{12} Cf. 10.2 for TAM and Subject Pronouns (PNG).
\textsuperscript{13} At a lower level, [+FOC] TAM’s are also typically associated with relative clauses.
Ex 3. ta nan nè: akà sa:mo: basa:wa //
via ANAPH COP1 4.PFV.FOC get.DIR Basawa //
[Is it there] FOCUS one finds the Basawas] PRECONSTRUCT? (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP1_174)  

WH-Questions

Wh-Questions are requests for identification of the questioned term. The whole utterance is subordinated to this term, and the +FOC subject pronouns indicate this. The main question words are: wa:(ne: nè:) (m.), wa:(fge: ʧè:) (f.), suwa: ne: nè: (pl.) ‘who’; mè:(ne: nè:) (m.), mè:(fge: ʧè:) (f.) ‘what’; ina: ‘where’; ʤaufe: / ʤaufe: ‘when’; ja:ja: ‘how’; ʤawà ‘how many’; wànè (m.) / wàfè (f.) / wàdànnè (pl.) ‘which’.

Ex 4. tô: jàjà: kükè: dá / dabbo:bi: kuma /

Well how 2PL.CONT.FOC with / cattle.PL too /

makijà:ja: //
cattle_driver.PL //

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

10 Syntax of the simple sentence

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

Ex 5. ʧl: nè: 3SG.M COP1

That’s it. (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP2_464)

10.1 Non-verbal sentences -- Copulas

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

- ne: (m.sg.) / fge: (f.sg) / ne: (pl.) (COP1.NFOC) ‘be’
- dà (COP2) ‘there is’
- ʤàkwai (COP3) ‘there is’
- ʤà: (COP4) ‘here is’.
- Identification: ne:/fge:/ne:

Positive assertion: The identification corresponding to ‘it/they is/are/was/were, etc.’ is done with the ne:/fge:/ne: (COP1.NFOC) through the pattern: <X COP1> where X stands for an NP. The copula agrees in gender and number with the NP it identifies. fge: is the feminine marked form; ne: is the masculine and plural unmarked form. The tone of the copula is polar with that of the last tone of the NP, e.g. Musa: (m.) nè: ‘It’s Musa.’; Kanò: (f.) fge: ‘It’s Kano.’; gàrù:wà: (pl.) ne: ‘They’re towns.’ When the NP is a pronoun, it belongs to the paradigm of independent pronouns (cf. Ex 5. above)

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

14 This example shows that Focus can appear in declarative as well as interrogative sentences (Yes/No questions).
Yes/no questions are formed through intonation only, without any syntactic or morphological change.\(^{15}\)

Ex. 7. \textit{maṭiːɗiːn: nː: ?}  
\textit{snake COP1.NFOC}  
Is it a snake? (BC)

**Wh-Question:** The question word varies with animacy, gender and number:  
- -human: \textit{mːeː:nː: (m.)}; \textit{mːeː:fe: fː: (f.)};  
- +human: \textit{wːaː:nː: (m.)}; \textit{wːaː:fe: fː: (f.)}; \textit{su wːaː:nː: (pl.)}.

\textit{N}: is used if the gender of the item questioned is masculine or unknown, \textit{fːe:} if it is feminine.

Ex. 8. \textit{Mːeː:nː: nː: wannːə?:}  
\textit{What is this?}  
\textit{Wannːə lːiːtːaː fːiː nː:}  
\textit{This is a book.}  
\textit{Wannːə kːudːəː fːəː}  
\textit{This is a chair.}  
\textit{Wːaː:nː: ?}  
\textit{Who is this? (woman)}  
\textit{Wːaː:fe: fːː?}  
\textit{Who is this? (man)}  
\textit{Suwːaː:nː: ?}  
\textit{Who are they?}

**Existence:** \textit{àkwai, dː}  
\textit{àkwai (COP3). Structure:} \textit{<àkwai X> ‘there is/was/will be X’. \textit{àkwai} is invariable.}

Ex. 9. \textit{àkwai tːaː:fːiː / 254 gːudaː dːaː / […]}  
\textit{COP3 river / unit one /}  
There is a river, one, \textit{[which …]} (HAU_BC_CONV_01.SP2_624-6)

Ex: \textit{àkwai ruwa: ‘There is water.’; àkwai álbaːː. ‘There are onions.’; -àkwai kudːəː? -iː, àkwai. ‘Is there any money?’ -Yes, there is.’}

When the NP is a pronoun, it belongs to the paradigm of dependent pronouns: \textit{àkwai tːaː! ‘Here she comes!’}

\textit{dː (COP2)}\(^{16}\). Same structure as \textit{àkwai}. \textit{<dː X> ‘there is/was/will be X’, except that a complement is compulsory, whereas it can be implicit in the case of \textit{àkwai}.}

Ex. 10. \textit{kːaː / zoːmoː / 219 dːaː abːu -nː dːaː ka fːi} //  
\textit{COP2 thing -DEF REL 2SG.M,PFV.FOC eat //}  
\textit{eh / Rabbit COP2}  
\textit{eh, Rabbit, it must be something you have eaten.} (HAU_BC_NARR_01.SP1_199-202)

When the NP complement is elliptical, it is replaced by an independent pronoun:

Ex. 11. \textit{-dː qːarıːdːaː? -iː dːaː iːta.}  
\textit{COP2 newspapers yes COP2 3SG.F.IDP}  
- Are there any newspapers?  -Yes, there are (BC)

**Negation:** \textit{bːaː/bːaːbːu (NEG3). Structure:} \textit{<bːaː/bːaːbːu X>; meaning: <there is/was/will be no X>. In final position, only \textit{bːaːbːu} is used: Bːaː/bːaːbːu mːaː ‘There is no petrol’; -Àkwai mːaː? -Aː’àː, bːaːbːu. ‘Is there any petrol? -No, there isn’t.’; -Bːaː mːaː? -Aː’àː, àkwai. -iː, bːaːbːu. ‘Isn’t there any petrol?’ -‘Yes (lit. No), there is.’ / ‘No (lit. Yes), there is no petrol.’ / ‘No (lit. Yes), there isn’t.’}

\(^{15}\) As the syntax of the formation of Y/N questions is minimal in Hausa, it will not be discussed any more in the rest of the presentation.

\(^{16}\) This copula is related to the preposition \textit{dː} ‘with’.
When the NP following *báːbaːbu* is pronominal, it belongs to the independent pronoun paradigm: *Baːbù jìː = Bāː fiː*. ‘There isn’t any. (lit. There is no him.)’

**Presentation: *gàː***

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

Ex 12. *gàː* / *gàngaː* / *gàː* *àbinʧi* / *gàː* *kwàːja*:

There were drums, there was food, there were drugs. (HAU_BC_CONV_04_SP1_1096-2100)

Pronominal NP’s belong to the paradigm of object pronouns. The presentation copula *gàː* has no negative form.

**Location: COP + PP**

Existence or presentation can be specified in space through a Prepositional Phrase (PP), an adverb or a deictic pronoun (e.g. *nân* ‘here’; *ʧân* ‘there’).

Ex 13. *ʧiːʤiːbëː* / *hakàː* / *àwàʧen* / *goːnàkiː nàːmu* //

well.PL COP1,NFOC like_this / at around / field.PL-DEF 1PL,POS //

There were wells like this, near... our fields. (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP2_491-4)

Ex 14. *gàː* / *wani* / *màː* à *nànn* //

COP4 some.M even at PROX //

There’s even one here. (HAU_BC_CONV_04_SP2_058)

**Wh-Question: *ìnaː***. The Wh-Question word *ìnaː* can be followed by the copula *nèːʧëː* (COP1).

Ex 15. *ìnaː* / *nëː* / *hanjaː* - *mù* / *nàːfiː* //

where COP1,NFOC road - POSL - 1PL POSL river //

Where is the way to the river? (HAU_BC_NARR_01_SP1_021)

**The Allative (zâː)**

*zâː* is a Syntactic Particle, glossed Allative (ALL) in the corpus, and used to indicate movement in a certain direction. Structure: < *zâː* X Location> = < *zâː* NP PP/Adv/Deict >

Ex 16. *ìnaː* / *zâː* / *ka*?

where all 2SG.M.OBJ

*jaː* *ʧëː* *zâː* *ni* / *màŋadaːjaː* *nëː*:

3SG.M.PFV,FOC say all 1SG.OBJ Mangaja COP1,NFOC

[They asked,]"Where are you going?" He said, "I'm going to Mangaja." (BC)

Followed by pronominal forms from the paradigm of object pronouns (PRO.OBJ), it seems to govern semantic subject pronouns (see Table 1 below), but has not reached the stage of a full-fledged TAM as it is not related to time or modality but only denotes a spatial specification.

**Table 1. Allative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>bā zâː ni ... ba / bā zān ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>bā zâː ka ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>bā zâː ki ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>bā &lt;zâː ji / zâː ja / zâi&gt; ...ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>bā zâː ta ... ba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10.2 Verbal sentences – TAM marking

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>PNG</th>
<th>TAM</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>zâ: mu</td>
<td>ba zâ: mu ... ba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>zâ: ku</td>
<td>ba zâ: ku ... ba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>zâ: su</td>
<td>ba zâ: su ... ba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>zâ: a</td>
<td>ba zâ: a ... ba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ex 17. sun tsajà: 3pl.pfv.nfoc stop
They stopped. (BC)

Actually, (17) is truncated through the ellipsis of the lexical subject, leaving only the agreement morpheme, or light subject (PNG=3PL), within the PNG.TAM complex.

A complete intransitive sentence takes the form: Subject + [PNG.TAM + Verb]

Ex 18. ma:ta: 3pl.pfv.nfoc sun stop
femme.PL  They stopped. (BC)

A complete transitive sentence takes the form: Subject + [PNG.TAM + [Verb+Object]]

Ex 19. ma:ta: 3pl.pfv.nfoc sun dafa abinʧi
femme.PL  They cooked food. (BC)

The PNG component of the agreement complex allows for the usual three persons, plus a fourth indefinite person, corresponding to French ‘on’. Gender is marked in the singular in the second and third persons. This makes for conjugational paradigms of nine PNG.TAM morphemes.

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

Added to this three-way contrast, Hausa has two Futures - a (simple) Future (FUT) and a Potential or Indefinite Future (FUT.INDF) - a Habitual (HAB), and a Rhetorical (RHT).17

Hausa has developed special paradigms for verbs used in subordinate clauses. Subordination is linked to Wh-Questions, relative clauses and focus.18 Thus, it has two Perfect and two Continuous paradigms, one which is compatible with focus, Wh-Questions and relativization (PFV.FOC and CONT.FOC) and one which is not (PFV.NFOC and CONT.NFOC). The Subjunctive is not compatible with subordination; the Future (FUT) is used instead.

Negation of verbal sentences is partially or totally integrated into the subject pronouns, giving rise to additional paradigms.

17 We have not found any instance of this aspect described by Paul Newman (2000:588-90).
18 Subordination is the syntactic manifestation of preconstruction. Cf. Caron 2000.
PNG + TAM Paradigms

Table 2. Perfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect (PFV)</th>
<th>Relative Perfect (PFV.FOC)</th>
<th>Negative Perfect (NEG1a.PFV... NEG1b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 s.</td>
<td>na:</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>bân... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>ka:</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>bákà... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.s.</td>
<td>kin</td>
<td>kikà</td>
<td>bákì... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>ja:</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>bái... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>ta:</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>bátâ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl.</td>
<td>mun</td>
<td>mukà</td>
<td>bámù... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>kun</td>
<td>kukà</td>
<td>bâkù... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl.</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>sukà</td>
<td>bâsù... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 s.</td>
<td>inà:</td>
<td>ba: nà:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>kanà:</td>
<td>ba: kà:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 f.s.</td>
<td>kìnà:</td>
<td>ba: kjà:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>jànà: / jìnà:</td>
<td>ba: já:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>tànà:</td>
<td>ba: tà:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 pl.</td>
<td>munà:</td>
<td>ba: mà:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>kunà:</td>
<td>ba: kwà:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 pl.</td>
<td>sunà:</td>
<td>ba: sà:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>anà:</td>
<td>ba: à:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ex 20. ʃi: kê: ʧi: dà ni: / 3SG.M CONT.FOC feeding APPL 1SG.IDPT / he is the one feeding me (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP2_238)

Unlike all other paradigms, the Continuous subject pronouns are followed by a nominalized form of the verb (Caron 1991).

Table 3. Continuous

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continuous (CONT)</th>
<th>Relative Continuous (CONT.FOC)</th>
<th>Negative Continuous (&quot;have&quot; constructs, NEG2 CONT)</th>
<th>Negative Continuous (other constructs, NEG3 CONT)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 s.</td>
<td>inà:</td>
<td>ba: nà:</td>
<td>bà: nì&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>kanà:</td>
<td>ba: kà:</td>
<td>bà: ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.s.</td>
<td>kìnà:</td>
<td>ba: kjà:</td>
<td>bà: kì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>jànà: / jìnà:</td>
<td>ba: já:</td>
<td>bà: fi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>tànà:</td>
<td>ba: tà:</td>
<td>bà: ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl.</td>
<td>munà:</td>
<td>ba: mà:</td>
<td>bà: mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>kunà:</td>
<td>ba: kwà:</td>
<td>bà: ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl.</td>
<td>sunà:</td>
<td>ba: sà:</td>
<td>bà: su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>anà:</td>
<td>ba: à:</td>
<td>bà: a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Etymologically, the Continuous is derived from a locative construction meaning “be at X” where X is an infinitive, an verbal noun expressing an action, or an action noun. The Continuous subject pronouns are also used in nonverbal predication where they are followed by locative or possessive constructions.

When the nominal or pronominal subject is explicit, the PNG index of the subject pronoun can be omitted:

Ex 21. Musa has stopped Musa is stopping

The infinitive is characterized by the nominalising suffix -lwaay applied to the lexical form of the verb, i.e. the Perfect, when the verb is not followed by a Direct Object:

Perfect Continuous

Musa has stopped Musa is stopping

When the infinitive is followed by a Direct Object, it is identical with the Perfect:

Ex 21. Musa: ja: tsajà: Musa: jànà: tsajà:-wa:

19 = <ZR> bân, e.g. ni: bân wàjo: na: san sâ: bal ‘Me, I was not clever enough to have seen a bull!’ (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_303)

20 In Ader Hausa, the Future behaves like the SH Continuous, i.e. the subject pronouns are followed by a nominalized form of the verb (Caron 1991).

21 /_PENDING stands for a floating Low tone which combines with a final High tone of the verb to produce a Falling tone.
Perfect Continuous
Ex 22. sun ka:mà bàraunija: sunà: ka:mà bàraunija:
They have caught the robber. They are catching the robber.

sun ka:mà: ta sunà: ka:mà: ta
They have caught her. They are catching her.

**Verbal Noun.** In the Continuous, some verbs use a nominal form that behaves fully like a noun in so far as it uses a possessive link (POSL) -n to form a Noun Phrase with its Direct Object. This is the verbal noun (NV), cf. ja: ‘drink’ and its NV já: (m.)².

Perfect Continuous
Ex 23. sun fa: ta:ba sunà: fàn (fá:-n) ta:ba
They have smoked tobacco. They are smoking tobacco.

**Action Noun.** Action Nouns are a subclass of nouns compatible with the Continuous TAM marker, and denoting an action. They are part of the basic vocabulary and have a plural form: aki: (pl. ajjukà: aikafe-aikafe) ‘work(ing)’; wà:kà: (pl. wà:ko:ki, wà:ke-wà:ke) ‘sing(ing)’; ṭawa: (pl. ṭajé-ţaje) ‘dance/dancing’; ku:ka: (m.; pl. kò:ke-kò:ke) ‘cry(ing)’.

Ex 24. kàfè: takwàs munà: aki: //
o’clock eight PL_CONT.NFOC work //
Sometimes we would stay there, by seven o’clock we were working.

HAU_BC_CONV_04_SP1_1086
With other aspects than the Continuous, Action Nouns appear as Direct Objects of the verb ji ‘do’. See (Ex 25) below with an Action Noun following a Subjunctive:

Ex 25. tô: ai do:lè kà ji aki: //
well indeed must 2SG.M.SBJV do work //
Well, you had to work.

HAU_BC_CONV_04_SP1_1103

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4. Subjunctive</th>
<th>Table 5. Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subjunctive</strong> (SBJV)</td>
<td><strong>Future</strong> (FUT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong> Subjunctive (NEG5.SBJV)</td>
<td><strong>1</strong> zàn / za: ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in</td>
<td>bà/bà: za: ni ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kà</td>
<td>bà/bà: za: kà ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>bà/bà: za: ki ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>já</td>
<td>bà/bà: za: já ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tà</td>
<td>bà/bà: za: tà ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mù</td>
<td>bà/bà: za: mú ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kù</td>
<td>bà/bà: za: kù ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sù</td>
<td>bà/bà: za: sù ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>à</td>
<td>bà/bà: za: à ... ba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The simple Future (Table 5) is made up of a TAM za: (etymologically derived from a verb ‘to go’) followed by a PNG from the object paradigm, in a reverse order from what obtains in the other subject pronouns. 

²² In Standard Hausa, the Possessive Link is -n for masculine and -t, -n in Zaria Hausa.
For the Habitual (Table 7), as for the Continuous, when the nominal subject is explicit, the PNG can be omitted.

### Table 8. Rhetorical (RH)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>nikàː</th>
<th>kakàː</th>
<th>kikàː</th>
<th>jakàː</th>
<th>takàː</th>
<th>mukàː</th>
<th>kukàː</th>
<th>sukàː</th>
<th>akàː</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nàː</td>
<td>bà nàː... ba</td>
<td>bà nàː... ba</td>
<td>bà nàː... ba</td>
<td>bà nàː... ba</td>
<td>bà nàː... ba</td>
<td>bà nàː... ba</td>
<td>bà nàː... ba</td>
<td>bà nàː... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>káː</td>
<td>bà káː... ba</td>
<td>bà káː... ba</td>
<td>bà káː... ba</td>
<td>bà káː... ba</td>
<td>bà káː... ba</td>
<td>bà káː... ba</td>
<td>bà káː... ba</td>
<td>bà káː... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>kjáː</td>
<td>bà kjáː... ba</td>
<td>bà kjáː... ba</td>
<td>bà kjáː... ba</td>
<td>bà kjáː... ba</td>
<td>bà kjáː... ba</td>
<td>bà kjáː... ba</td>
<td>bà kjáː... ba</td>
<td>bà kjáː... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>jáː</td>
<td>bà jáː... ba</td>
<td>bà jáː... ba</td>
<td>bà jáː... ba</td>
<td>bà jáː... ba</td>
<td>bà jáː... ba</td>
<td>bà jáː... ba</td>
<td>bà jáː... ba</td>
<td>bà jáː... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>tàː</td>
<td>bà tàː... ba</td>
<td>bà tàː... ba</td>
<td>bà tàː... ba</td>
<td>bà tàː... ba</td>
<td>bà tàː... ba</td>
<td>bà tàː... ba</td>
<td>bà tàː... ba</td>
<td>bà tàː... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>máː/ mwáː</td>
<td>bà máː/ mwáː... ba</td>
<td>bà máː/ mwáː... ba</td>
<td>bà máː/ mwáː... ba</td>
<td>bà máː/ mwáː... ba</td>
<td>bà máː/ mwáː... ba</td>
<td>bà máː/ mwáː... ba</td>
<td>bà máː/ mwáː... ba</td>
<td>bà máː/ mwáː... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>kwáː</td>
<td>bà kwáː... ba</td>
<td>bà kwáː... ba</td>
<td>bà kwáː... ba</td>
<td>bà kwáː... ba</td>
<td>bà kwáː... ba</td>
<td>bà kwáː... ba</td>
<td>bà kwáː... ba</td>
<td>bà kwáː... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>sáː/ swáː</td>
<td>bà sáː/ swáː... ba</td>
<td>bà sáː/ swáː... ba</td>
<td>bà sáː/ swáː... ba</td>
<td>bà sáː/ swáː... ba</td>
<td>bà sáː/ swáː... ba</td>
<td>bà sáː/ swáː... ba</td>
<td>bà sáː/ swáː... ba</td>
<td>bà sáː/ swáː... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4p</td>
<td>áː</td>
<td>bà áː... ba</td>
<td>bà áː... ba</td>
<td>bà áː... ba</td>
<td>bà áː... ba</td>
<td>bà áː... ba</td>
<td>bà áː... ba</td>
<td>bà áː... ba</td>
<td>bà áː... ba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This TAM (RH) is restricted to subordination and is not used in the negative. When the Nominal Subject is explicit, the third person PNG is omitted.

### TAM Semantics

The **Perfect** (PFV.NFOC) has the general meaning of a completive aspect. It is used only in non-relative, affirmative sentences and expresses actions that were completed or reached a resultative state prior to the temporal locus. Generic events, such as expressed in proverbs, make use of the Perfect. Stative verbs, e.g. ‘love’, ‘understand’, and impersonal complement-taking verbs (cf. Ex 26 below) also use the Perfect.

#### Ex 26.

*Jaː kàmaː tà kà biːjaː háraː djìː.*  
You should pay taxes. (BC)

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

- **syntactic uses:** it replaces the Perfect in subordinative contexts (Relatives, Wh-Questions, and Focus);
- **Relative clauses**

#### Ex 27.

*loː kàːfìː -nì dà sukà zoː /*  
time -DEF REL 3PL.PFV.FOC come /  

*méː nèː fàːɹu à wùː įː -nì //*  
what COP1.NFOC happen at place -DEF //  

When [*lit.* at the time when] they came, what happened there?  

via how 4.PFV.FOC get rampart -DEF ANAPH //
[...] how was it that we got that city wall? (HAU_BC_CONV_02_SP1_169)

- Focus

Ex 29. dà no:ma: -nì ja dò:garà
with farming -DEF 3SG.M.PFV.FOC rely
ko: kùwa jakàn ji wani àbù //
or as_for 3SG.M.HAB do some.M thing //
Was it on farming that he was relying, or did he do something else? (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP1_078)

- aspectual uses: in narrations, it denotes a succession of discrete events.

Ex 30. sukà ji fì:ţi:, sukà fìga masalla:fi:,
3PL.PFV.FOC do preparation 3PL.PFV.FOC enter mosque
sukà du:ka:
3PL.PFV.FOC stoop_down
They got ready, they entered the mosque, they stooped down. (PN:573)

The Continuous (CONT and CONT.FOC) subject pronouns have two separate types of uses:
- aspectual uses expressing ongoing action or durativity, without specific reference to time. They can also express normal, customary or habitual actions. Their meaning is compatible with past, present or future interpretations.

together 2PL.CONT.FOC profession -POS. farming with 3PL //
Were you farming TOGETHER with them? (Lit. Is it together that you were farming with them?) (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP1_050)

- non-aspectual uses, with locative, stative, or possessive meanings.
  - Location, when followed by a Prepositional Phrase, an adverb or a noun of place:

uncle -1SG.POS 3SG.M.CONT.NFOC PROX quarter -POSL Fulanis //
my uncle, he is in this Fulani Quarter. (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP2_198)
  - Stative constructions with predicates expressing state, such as Adjectives or Statives, e.g. zàune ‘seated’ from the verb zaunà: ‘sit down’:

Ex 33. ità ma: tànà: zàune à nàn /
3SG.F even 3SG.F.CONT.NFOC staying at PROX /
As for her, does she live here [...]? (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP1_007)
  - Possession (‘have constructs’). The form is that of a comitative construction with the preposition dà ‘with’:

Ex 34. tô: fì: / jànà: dà jà:ţà: nè: kàman -kà //
well 3SG.M / 3SG.M.CONT.NFOC with child PL COP1.NFOC like -2SG.M //
Well he, does he have children like you? (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP1_048-9)

The ‘have construct’ can also express a quality:

Ex 35. àbinì fì jànà: dà da:di:
food 3SG.CONT.NFOC with pleasure
The food is tasty. (BC)
The Subjunctive has modal functions. It expresses orders (jussive), wishes (optative), and epistemic modalities (necessity, etc.), either directly or following a verb or an expression inducing this type of function.

Ex 36. allà: dai ʃi  ka:ɔː: manà la:fijà: //
God indeed 3SG.M.SBJV increase 1PL.BEN health //
May God keep us in good health. (HAU_BC_CONV_04_SP1_1182)

It appears after the conjunction sei with habitual meanings, e.g. in proverbs or recipe-type discourses:

Ex 37. sei mù dège: mù kai ʃi kà:suwa: //
then 1PL.SBJV go 1PL.SBJV carry 3SG.M market //

fi: ma: mù dège: mù sajar //
3SG.M even 1PL.SBJV go 1PL.SBJV sell.CAUS //

[When we had cooked the doughnuts] we took (them), carried (them) to the market. Actually, we went to sell (them). (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP2_107)

The Future expresses future and/or intentional actions or events. It occurs in both main and subordinate propositions.

Ex 38. an ʤimà: fa / ina: za:ki dège: //
4.PVF.NFOC spend_time indeed / where FUT.2SG.F go //

Later on, where will you go? (HAU_BC_CONV_03_SP2_026-8)

The Future is compatible with [+Focus] utterances, as (Ex. 33) with a WH-Question shows. It can refer to futurity in the past:

Ex 39. zâi dàuka: -i hukunʧi: à kâi -n -ki //
FUT.3SG.M take -ACC1 punishment AT head -POS1 -2SG.F //

[...] he will punish you. (HAU_BC_CONV_03_SP2_058-60)

The Indefinite Future or Potential is defined by P. Newman as “indicating an action that will possibly take place in the future (God willing). [...] It differs from the normal future in having a lesser degree of certainty and a lesser element of intentionality or commitment.” (2000:587). It cannot appear in [+Focus] contexts, where it is replaced by the simple Future.

Ex 40. wàtàƙi:là makàda: sâ: da:wo:
maybe drummers 3PL.FUT.INDF come

Maybe the drum players will come back. (PN:587)

It is found in proverbs:

Ex 41. ko:wa: ja hadijè tabarja: jà: kwa:na: tsàje
whoever 3SG.PVF.FOC swallow pestle 3SG.FUT.INDF spend_night standing_up

Whoever swallows a pestle will spend the night standing. (Evil will rebound on the doer.) (ibid.)

It is used to express latent threats:

Ex 42. kjà: gâmu dá ʃi: //
2SG.M.FUT.INDF meet with 3SG.M //
Well, (sooner or later) you will see him [he has already said he will punish you.]

(Most commonly, it is found in greetings and their answers:

Ex 43. kà gai dá gida
2SG.M.SBJV greet with home
sâ dʒí
2PL.FUT.INDF hear
- Greet your people! (lit. Greet [them] at home!) - I will! (lit. They will hear!) (BC)

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

Ex 44. akàn sa: mù matsala: ịri: -nì na wànnan //
4.HAB GET problem TYPE -DEF POSL PROX //
We usually get that kind of problem. (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP2_667)

The Rhetorical. This little-studied set of subject pronouns cannot be used outside subordination, and has no negative form. The third person PNG can be omitted when a nominal subject is present. The Rhetorical, which does not appear in our corpus, has been described by Paul Newman as follows:
“*It is used primarily in set expressions, idioms, epithets, proverbs, compounds, and such, but not exclusively so. [...] The rhetorical implies doubt or even a dare with respect to the possibility of achieving some action. It is often best translated with such English modals as ‘should’ or ‘could’. As the name indicates, it is commonly used in rhetorical questions or statements*” (2000:589)

11 Nouns and Noun Phrases

Noun phrases (NP) consist of a head noun with optional pre-nominal and/or postnominal elements. The head of the NP may be a noun, conjoined nouns, nouns in a possessive (X of Y) relationship, a compound noun, etc. The head is optionally accompanied by specifying or modifying elements. Some of these, e.g. the demonstratives (excluding the deictics indicating ‘this, that’, etc.) and the personal pronouns functioning as modifiers, occur only before the head; a large number of elements, like the definite article and relative clauses, occur only after the head. A few items, namely the deictic demonstratives and simple adjectives, occur in both pre-nominal and post-nominal position.

11.1 The Head Nouns

Hausa nouns are marked for gender and number. There are two genders in Hausa: masculine and feminine. This contrast is neutralized in the plural. Gender is assigned to nouns and adjectives according to biological sex whenever possible; otherwise, lexical items have arbitrary gender, with a two-way distinction: m/pl or f/pl.

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<th>m</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d'à: ki:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fa:ji:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>dà:ti:gi:</td>
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<td>go:na:</td>
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<td>f</td>
<td>dà: ka:</td>
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<td>fa:ja:</td>
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<td>dà:ti:ge:</td>
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<td>f</td>
<td>go:nàki:</td>
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<td>pl</td>
<td>dà: kài</td>
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<td>pl</td>
<td>fa:ja:te:</td>
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<td>pl</td>
<td>dà:ti:ge:</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>go:nàki:</td>
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<th></th>
<th>donkey (n.)</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>white (adj.)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>vehicle (n.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>farm (n.)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

Gender

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>go:ra:</th>
<th>bamboo</th>
<th>gwi:wà:</th>
<th>knee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ọ:a:na:</td>
<td>sun, day</td>
<td>fa:da</td>
<td>emir’s palace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku:ka:</td>
<td>baobab</td>
<td>la?adà:</td>
<td>commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sàuqa:</td>
<td>fallow</td>
<td>wùya:</td>
<td>difficulty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ex. (b) other vowels = masculine

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{tsunsu:} & \text{bird} & \text{käche:} & \text{dog} \\
\text{go:ró} & \text{cola nut} & \text{bọ́rì:} & \text{cult of possession}
\end{array}
\]

However, a certain number of feminine nouns end in a vowel other than /a/, e.g. máće ‘wife’; ṭë:ku ‘sea’; gwammati ‘government’, etc. Masculine nouns ending in /a/ are more numerous:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{báka:} & \text{bow} & \text{ba:ya:} & \text{back} \\
\text{dawà} & \text{bush} & \text{duma:} & \text{calabash} \\
\text{gàba:} & \text{chest} & \text{gída:} & \text{compound} \\
\text{gí:rma:} & \text{pride, large size} & \text{go:ra:} & \text{gourd} \\
\text{gúda:} & \text{lump in tuwo} & \text{gú:ga:} & \text{well pail}
\end{array}
\]

According to Newman (2000:210), Hausa has a toneless suffix -а: marking the feminine. Following certain phonological rules, this same suffix has the following variants: -ja-, -wa-, -ìja: and -uwa.²⁴

\[
\begin{align*}
(\text{be:be:})^\text{HH} + (a:)^\text{H} & \quad \text{be:bìja:} \quad \text{dumb and mute} \\
(\text{shu:di:})^\text{HB} + (a:)^\text{H} & \quad \text{shu:dìja:} \quad \text{blue} \\
(\text{ka:to:})^\text{HB} + (a:)^\text{H} & \quad \text{ka:tuwa:} \quad \text{enormous} \\
(\text{bà:ko:})^\text{BH} + (a:)^\text{H} & \quad \text{bà:kuwa:} \quad \text{foreign}
\end{align*}
\]

### Plurals

Hausa plurals are very complex and formed by a combination of suffixes, infixes and sometimes reduplication.²⁵ Plural formation is governed by the following rules:

1. The final vowel of the singular is dropped when the plural affix is added.
2. The tone pattern of the plural replaces the tones of the singular and is distributed over the plural in a right to left manner with the leftmost tone continuing to spread over all available syllables.
3. When occurring before suffixal front vowels (i: and e:) the alveolar consonants t, s, z, and, less regularly, d palatalize to ʧ, j, and ʤ respectively (both z and d becoming ʤ), e.g. bìsa: ‘pack animal’ has the reduplicated plural form bìsà:fe: (PL4 < -a:Ce>). Likewise, w palatalizes to j, e.g. the plural of bàrà:wo: ‘thief’ is bàrà:jìi: (PL14 < -jì:).²⁶
4. The palatal consonants ʧ, j, and ʤ occurring in the singular before word-final i: and e: generally depalatalize to t, s and z respectively, when followed by a plural suffix beginning with a non-front vowel, e.g. hànìjì: ‘nose’, plural hàntùnà: (PL19 < -una:), màfì:jì: ‘snake’, plural màfì:zi: (PL5 < -a:ì).²⁶
5. C represents a third consonant added to the stem in the plural. Otherwise, C represents a copy or reduplication of the preceding consonant. If either of these is alveolar and occurs before a front vowel (i: or e:) it is palatalized as indicated above in (3).

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

---

²⁴ Newman (2000:210) describes two other derivative feminine suffixes (-ìja: and -jà:) limited to a small number of nouns.

²⁵ Adapted from Newman (2007:xv)

²⁶ (Newman 2007:xvi)
Compound nouns

The head of a NP can be two or more words joined in such a way as to make a single lexical unit, e.g. *faŋar-hù:la:*27 (lit. white-PL cap) ‘civilian’. They behave like ordinary nouns insofar as they are sensitive to gender and number28. The internal structure of these compound nouns follows various patterns:

- **Noun-linked compounds:** N- POSL N, e.g. *dan-sànda:* ‘policeman’ (son- POSL stick); *abo:kin gà:ba:* ‘enemy’ (friend- POSL enmity);
- **Adjective-Noun compounds:** *bakín-ciki:* (black-POS belly) ‘sadness’; *dyan-karte:* (red-POSL iron) ‘copper’;
- **Verbal compounds:** *hànà-sàlài* (prevent prayer) ‘baseball cap’; *dàtá:-dúkà* (cook all) ‘Jollof rice’; *ta:di-kà-mutù* (fall you die) ‘chirnaware’;
- **Phrasal compounds:** *babà:-da-djà:ka* (Mr. Big with bag) ‘marabou stork’; *ja:ki:-dà-dja:hilfi:* (war with ignorance) ‘adult literacy program’;
- **Agentive compounds:** *magà:-takàrda:* (one_who_sees paper) ‘scribe’; *màfà:-jàwà:* (one_who_drinks water) ‘rainbow’;
- **Sentential compounds:** *bá:-hàjà:* (there_is_no hiring) ‘public toilet’; *kà:kà:-níkà:-ji:* (how 1S.RHET do) ‘dilemma’.

Conjoined nouns

Nouns conjoined through coordination can function as NP head.

**‘And’**

Simple coordination uses the conjunction *dà:* ‘and’, e.g. *gida: dà mo: tà:* ‘house and car’; *kàza: dà kàza:* ‘one thing and another, this and that’. In principle, the number of Ns that can be conjoined is limitless. The first term can be preceded by a *da*, e.g. *dà Bellò dà Mu:sa:* ‘Bello and Musa; *dà za:ka:* dà da: misà: ‘a lion and a leopard’. When pronouns are conjoined with a noun, the pronoun comes first: in the case of pronouns; the order is 1st, then 2nd then 3rd persons, e.g. *fì:* dà Mu:sa: ‘him and Musa’; *ità dà Bintà:* ‘her and Binta’; *dà ni:* dà fì:/ìta: su:* ‘me and him/her/them’.

**‘Or’**

Disjunction is marked by *ko:* and follows the same rules as *dà,* e.g. *Litin ko:* *Tàla:tà:* ko:* Là:rà:ba:* ‘Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday’; *ko:* *bijù ko:* *ùku:* ‘two or three’; *ni:* ko:* *kai:* ‘me or you’.

NB: Not only simple nouns but whole NPs can be conjoined, e.g. *faŋin tsuntu:* dà do: guwar bífìjìà: ‘a white bird and a big tree’; *rà:go:* *da:ja:* dà tuma:ki:* *go: mà:* ‘a ram and ten sheep’.

27 The hyphen in these compound nouns is not part of an affix, but is kept from the orthographic conventions. It has been removed from the glosses.

The Possessive Construction

The Possessive link (POS) na/ta/na (m./f./pl.) is an essential syntactic tool in Hausa. Its main use is to connect an NP with a following NP or adverb in an “X of Y” construction, where X is the possessed and Y is the possessor. Like the identifying copula ne/fe/ne, it agrees in gender and number with the first (possessed) NP.

The POS has two forms, a free form (na/ta/na) and a bound form. If we take the words gida: (m.) ‘house’ go:na: (f.) ‘farm’; and gidá:ɗe: (pl.) ‘houses’ with saƙki: (m.) ‘chief’ as possessor, we get the following possessive constructions:

| gida: na saƙki: | gida-n saƙki: | the chief’s house |
| gida:ɗe: na saƙki: | gida:ɗe-n saƙki: | the chief’s houses |

The Possessive Construction (POS) is used for all modifiers beginning with a wa- morpheme. Some function only as pronouns, e.g. wannane: ‘which one?’; some only as modifiers, e.g. wannen jai: ‘which horse’; and others both as pronouns and modifiers, e.g. wannan ja: fi kjaju: ‘this one is best.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M.</th>
<th>F.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
<th>\RX</th>
<th>\GE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this (by me)</td>
<td>wannan</td>
<td>wannan</td>
<td>wadannan</td>
<td>PRO.DEICT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this (by you)</td>
<td>wannan</td>
<td>wannan</td>
<td>wadannan</td>
<td>DET.DEICT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that (there)</td>
<td>waƙiƙan</td>
<td>waƙiƙan</td>
<td>wadannan</td>
<td>PRO.DEICT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that (distant)</td>
<td>waƙiƙan</td>
<td>waƙiƙan</td>
<td>wadannan</td>
<td>DET.DEICT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which?</td>
<td>wannen</td>
<td>waƙe:</td>
<td>wadannen</td>
<td>DET.Q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB: (a) the suffixation of the POS to long final vowels, e.g. go:na:ɓai creates a closed syllable (CVV-C>V) entailing the shortening of the vowel, hence go:na:ɓai; (b) likewise, the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ are simplified, e.g. kjân (ʃkjâːn) ja:ɗinjâ: ‘beautiful girl’ (lit. beauty of the girl), mân (ʃmâːn) ja:nu: ‘butter’ (lit. oil of cow); (c) the use of the -n form has been extended to feminine words that do not end in /ai/, e.g. gwamnati:ŋiŋila ‘the English government’, where gwamnati: (f.) ends in /i/. The bound form of the POS (<n/-r/-n>) is the default form. The free form (na/ta/na) is used when the thing possessed is elliptical or separated from the possessor, as when topicalized, e.g. mo:taɗ râ:n, ta saƙki: ɗe: ‘that car is that of the chief’. It is also used to form ordinal numerals with the structure N-POSL - NUM, e.g. litta:ɓi: na biɲu ‘the second book’, or to express measurement or value, e.g. na:ma: na si:si: ‘meat for a shilling’, ɗi:ga: ta naira: du:ɓu: dà ɾabi: ‘a dress worth one thousand five hundred naira’.

11.2 Pre-nominal elements

Pre-nominal elements are divided into specifiers, i.e. (1) demonstratives, (2) personal pronouns used as specifiers, (3) universal quantifiers, and (4) the isolator daya:; and modifiers, i.e. (5) adjectives.

Demonstratives

The label “demonstrative” is used by Newman (PN:147-54) as an umbrella term to cover all modifiers beginning with a wa- morpheme. Some function only as pronouns, e.g. wannane: ‘which one?’; some only as modifiers, e.g. wannen doki: ‘which horse?’ and others both as pronouns and modifiers, e.g. wannan ja: fi kjaju: ‘This one is best.’; wannan biroro: ja: fi kyau: ‘This ballpoint pen is best.’

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<tr>
<th>M.</th>
<th>F.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
<th>\RX</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this (by me)</td>
<td>wannan</td>
<td>wannan</td>
<td>wadannan</td>
<td>PRO.DEICT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this (by you)</td>
<td>wannan</td>
<td>wannan</td>
<td>wadannan</td>
<td>DET.DEICT</td>
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<tr>
<td>that (there)</td>
<td>waƙiƙan</td>
<td>waƙiƙan</td>
<td>wadannan</td>
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<td>that (distant)</td>
<td>waƙiƙan</td>
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<td>wadannan</td>
<td>DET.DEICT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which?</td>
<td>wannen</td>
<td>waƙe:</td>
<td>wadannen</td>
<td>DET.Q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29 The same POS is used for pre-nominal adjectives, e.g. sa:sbo-n gida: ‘new house’ (lit. ‘new-of house’).
30 The na/ta: variant with a long /a:/ is combined to the suffixed possessive pronouns to form the paradigm of the Independent Possessive Pronouns (cf. Table 16).
The morphemes we have glossed DEICT can appear pronominally in the heavy wa-prefixed forms above, but also post-nominally without the wa- prefix, e.g. waʧʧàn kà:suwa = kà:suwar tʃan ‘that market’. They are related to the adverbs nàn, tʃàn, nan, tʃan, with the same meaning. The second term in the set, corresponding to the nan adverb, on top of its ‘there by you’ meaning, has a frequent anaphoric function, hence our gloss ANAPH in the corpus. See PN:147-151 for a full description of the uses, meanings and distribution of these demonstratives in Standard Hausa.

Pronouns as pronominal modifiers

Indendant pronouns can be used as a modifier with “a particularizing function, i.e. [they serve] to pick out some particular person(s) or thing(s) as opposed to others.” (PN:155)

Ex 45. an jabà: wa ji: àlka:lin
4.PFV.NFOC praise BEN 3SG.M (PRO.IDP) judge.DEF
They praised him, the judge. (BC)

The 3pl pronoun su is used pronominally with common and proper nouns as an associative plural, e.g. su Tankò ‘Tanko et al.’, su bâre:wa: ‘gazelles, etc.’.

Universal quantifiers

The global quantifier duk/dukà ‘all’ can occur as a modifier, a pronoun and an adverb. As a modifier, it can be pre-nominal, with the form duk, or post-nominal, with the form dukà, e.g. duk mutàːne.31 = mutàːne: dukà ‘all the people.’

The distributive quantifier ko:wanè (f. ko:warfè, pl. ko:warànnè) ‘every, whichever’ is another pre-nominal specifier, e.g. ko:wanè mutùm ‘each man’, ko:warfè kasa: ‘each country’.

The isolator daya

The numeral daya ‘one’ which usually occurs post-nominally as a modifier, e.g. mo:tà: daya ‘one car’, can occur pre-nominally as as specifier, with the noun in the definite form, e.g. daya mo:tår ‘the other car’.

Adjectives as pre-nominal modifiers

The typical pre-nominal modifier is a simple attributive adjective. Its structure is <Adjective- POSL N>. The adjective agrees in gender and number with the noun, and can be preceded by the diminutive dan/yàràn, e.g. jùddan ji:guna: ‘blue gowns’ (ADJ.PL-POSL.PL N.PL), dan kàːrànnìn ja:ʧò: ‘a little boy’ (DIM.M ADJ.M-POSL.N). Adjectives can be stacked, e.g. zungure:rijar tso:fuwar faʧar mo:tà: ‘a very long old white car’ (ADJ.F-POSL.F ADJ.F-POSL.F ADJ.F-POSL.F N)32

31 Pronounced [dummutàːneː]; the pronominal quantifier duk is often realized as dûG, with its final consonant assimilating to the initial consonant of the noun.
32 PN:371
11.3 Post-nominal elements

Post-nominal specifiers

These include (1) the definite article; (2) demonstrative determiners; (3) possessives; (4) numerals and quantifiers.

Definite article

What corresponds to the English definite article is the anaphoric suffix -in/-hr/-ln (m./f/pl) glossed ANAPH in the corpus. The choice of the -in or -hr form follows the same rules as for the POSL, i.e. -hr is suffixed to feminine nouns ending in /al/ and -in elsewhere, e.g. bàkan the bow (<baka: (m.) -in), go:di:jär ‘the mare’ (<go:di:ja: (f.) -in), üngülün ‘the vulture’ (<üngulu: (f.) -in), go:di:jìn ‘the mares’ (<go:di:ji:j (pl.) -in).

Demonstrative determiners

The heavy forms of the pre-nominal deitics (vd. Table 10) occur post-nominally in the invariant light form năn ‘this’ (PROX), nan ‘that near you, that previously mentioned’ (ANAPH), tfăn ‘that there’ (DIST), tfăn ‘that over there’ (DIST2). They directly follow a noun with suffixed POSL, or a noun plus the connective dì- plus POSL, e.g. do:kin năn ‘this horse’, ṭi:gar nan ‘that gown’ (near you or previously mentioned), gidà:djen tfăn ‘those houses there’, ṭék din năn ‘this check’. The forms năn and tfăn are realized năn and tfăn respectively when following a H tone.

Possessives

Possession, in the order < Possessed Possessor > where the thing possessed is the head noun, is indicated by a post-head noun or clitic pronoun33 preceded by POSL -n/-r/-t, e.g. ṭi:gar Sulè ‘Sule’s gown’ (<ti:ga:-r), do:kisà ‘his horse’ (<do:ki:-n--sà), ṭék dintà (< ṭék di-n--tà) ‘her check’. If POSL is not attached directly to the head noun, it appears as na:-ta- prefixed to a possessive pronoun, or as nata before a noun, e.g. do:kin năn na:sà ‘this horse of his’; ṭi:gar ta Sulè ‘the gown, Sule’s’.

Numerals

Cardinal numbers and other quantitative specifiers such as the modifiers dukà ‘all’, dá jawa: ‘plenty’, the interrogative nawa: ‘how many’, as well as ideophones, directly follow the head noun, e.g. naira: dubu: ‘one thousand naira’; so:djo:djì: dá jawa: ‘many soldiers’ (lit. ‘soldiers with plenty’), mangwàró nawa: ‘how many mangoes?’; yamma:ta: dukà ‘all the girls’; mutà:e:ne: tìngjin ‘lots of people’ (‘people IDEEOPH’).

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

Post-nominal modifiers

Adjectives

Post-nominal adjectives directly follow the noun they qualify. All adjectives occurring pre-nominally can occur post-nominally and be preceded by the diminutive dànyarìyan, e.g. kwa:li: bàbba ‘large carton’; tuma:ktì: yàn kana:nà: ‘wee small lambs’. Post-nominal adjectives follow specifiers, e.g. kwa:li:n nànan bàbba ‘this large carton’.

Possessive modifying nouns


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33 See the full paradigm of suffixed (Table 15) and independent (Table 16) possessive pronouns.
The mai construction
The particle mai (pl. mà:su) ‘owner of’, and its negative counterpart màras (= mà:r = mà:G where G geminates with the following consonant; pl. màrasa:) followed by a series of nouns expressing a quality\cite{35}, will be used to attribute this quality or its absence to a noun, e.g. ja:rinja: mai kjau ‘beautiful girl’, ri:ɗi:ja: mai zu:fi: ‘deep well’, já:ra: màrasa: hankåli: ‘needless children’.

The superlative modifier construction
On the same model as mai, a superlative qualitative construction can be formed with the short agentive mafi: (pl. mafi:jä) ‘lit. the one exceeding’ plus an object, e.g. mo:tä: mafi:tsä:da: ‘the most expensive car’.

Prepositional phrases
Nouns may be modified by a post-head prepositional phrase, e.g. wani te:bür à da:ki:na: ‘a table in my room’; da:libi: à dja:mi: ‘à: ‘university student’ (lit. ‘student at university’).

Stative phrases
Another type of post-nominal modifier is the phrase formed by a Stative + dä + NP, e.g. bango: jà:fe dà fenti: ‘wall covered with paint’.

Relative clauses
Relative clauses occur only post-nominally. Their structure is REL+ embedded clause (with no change in the word order). The TAM in the embedded clause is chosen from the paradigms that are compatible with Focus. The REL is dä or a relative pronoun containing dä, e.g. wandà, jaddà, inàdà, etc. The antecedent of the relative must have some degree of definiteness; usually it bears the definite article suffix -ln/-hr/-ln (<ZR> ?

now even speech -DEF REL 4.CONT.FOC doing 3SG:M.PVF:NFOC dry_up /
Right now, what we were talking about [i.e. the river, lit. the speech that we were doing] has dried up. \cite{HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP2_659}

Other degrees of definiteness are possible, e.g. with the indefinite specifier wani:

Ex 47. àkwa:wàjà wani àbù -n tsò:ro: dà mukà tabà: gani: //
COP3 some.M thing -POSF fear REL 1PL.PVF.FOC touch see //
there is something terrible that we saw. \cite{HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP2_123-4}

With numerals:

like year two REL 3PL.PVF.FOC pass_by /
over the past two year (the two years that have elapsed) \cite{HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP2_410}

When the pivot noun of the relative is modified by a universal quantifier (e.g. kö:wa:, ‘everyone’), the result is a universal subordinate clause: kö:wa: dà kùka gani: ‘whoever you may see’.

The wai construction
The particle wai introduces proper nouns as part of a post-nominal modifier meaning ‘called X’, e.g. wata mace wai La:di ‘a woman called Ladi’\cite{35}.

\cite{35} These nouns belong to a phonologically and semantically distinct class named “Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality” by F. Parsons. Cf (Parsons 1955) and (Newman 2000:13-18).

\cite{35} Cf. its other uses as the particle glossed EVD (Evidential) in the corpus, found at the beginning of an utterance to cast a measure of doubt on what follows. It is translated in English by ‘it is said that...’. The same particle becomes a complementizer introducing reported speech. Reduplicated, it becomes the full noun waiwai ‘rumour, hearsay’.
12 Nominal derivation

12.1 ma- Agents, Place and Instruments

The H-tone prefix ma- is used to derive nouns of agent, place and instrument from a verb, e.g. manò:mi: ‘farmer’; madże:mi: ‘tannery’; masassabi: ‘harvesting tool’.

Agent nouns

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>F.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ginà:</td>
<td>magini:</td>
<td>maginìja:</td>
<td>magìna: mason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dìnkà:</td>
<td>madinkì:</td>
<td>madinkìja:</td>
<td>madìnka: tailor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Place Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maʧì: àma:nà:</td>
<td>treacherous person (lit. eater trust)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mabì: sàŋkì:</td>
<td>follower of the Emir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mazò: gaʧì:</td>
<td>town-goer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madje: sìlimàn</td>
<td>cinema-goer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Place nouns

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Place Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aikàta:</td>
<td>mam’ai kàta: factory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bìbbbugà</td>
<td>mabìbbbugà: spring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dje: mà:</td>
<td>madje:ma: tannery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fàka:</td>
<td>mafàka: shelter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plural of -i: place nouns, when it exists, is formed with the -ai:LLH suffix, e.g. màsàllà:taï (sg. masàllà:ʧì) ‘mosque’. The plurals of -a: place nouns are more varied, e.g.: mà’ài kàta: (< ma’ai kàta: - u:LLH) ‘factory’; màfàràutài (< màfàràutà: -ai:LLH) ‘hunting ground’; màfìjì:ji: (< màfìjì:ja: -o:ʧì:LLH) ‘small roadside eating place’. Some of these nouns use two or even all of these plural forms.

Instrument nouns

Instrument nouns with the same H tone ma- prefix are masculine with a -i: suffix and an all-H tone pattern. The plural is regular with an -ai:LLH suffix. They designate an object associated with the verb they are derived from.

36 PN:58.
12.2 Ethnonyms

The term ethnonym refers to a set of nouns starting with bà- prefix denoting a person’s place of origin, nationality, ethnicity, occupation or social group. Masculines have an -eː suffix with tones spreading to the left up to the prefix, e.g. Bàgumalè: ‘man from Gumel’ (Gumàl); Bàzamfaře: ‘man from Zamfara’ (Zàmfà). Some ethnonyms have different final vowels, e.g. Bàkanò: ‘man from Kano’; bàduːkùː ‘leather worker’.

The feminine is formed by adding -aː to the masculine, without replacing the existing suffix. The realization follows the rules -eː + -aː > -ìja and -òː +aː > -ùwa, e.g. Bàgumalè : (m.) / Bàgumalìja : (f.) ‘a man / woman from Gumel’; Bàkanò: (m.) / Bàkanùwa: (f.) ‘a man / woman from Kano’. The plural is formed by adding -awaː to the lexical base, without the ba- prefix, e.g. Bàgumalè: (m.) /Gumalaːwa: (pl.) ‘man / people from Gumel’.

13 Personal Pronouns

Hausa personal pronouns show different forms according to their syntactic function. Gender is distinguished in the second and third persons singular. The fourth, indefinite person, which appears among the subject pronouns, is absent from the other paradigms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IDP</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>BEN</th>
<th>POS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>mini/min/mùn</td>
<td>-na / -ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s.m.</td>
<td>kai</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>makuː/mà:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s.f.</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>kì</td>
<td>miki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>fi</td>
<td>fi</td>
<td>masà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>ita</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>matà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>mu</td>
<td>mu</td>
<td>manà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>mukù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>musù</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Independent pronouns (PRO.IDP) appear typically as topic, focus, predicate or subject of non-verbal sentences, complement of basic prepositions, etc.

Ex 49. **kai** [vocative] mazàunin ina: nè: //

kai ma- zaun- -i\-HLH -n ina: ne: //

2.SG.M AGT- stay -AGT -POSŁ where COP1.NFOC //

You, where do you live? (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP1_002)

Ex 50. **ita** [topic] tanà: zàune à nàn [...] //

ita ma: tanà: zàune à nàn /

3SG.F even 3SG.F.CONT.NFOC staying at PROX /

As for her, does she live here [...] ? (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP1_007)

Ex 51. **kun** dadè: taːte da ita kë: nan //

2.PL.PFV LAST TOGETHER with 3SG.F COP1.FOC ANAPH //

You had been staying with her for a long time. (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP1_034)
The **Direct Object pronoun** (PRO.OBJ) is the pronoun directly following a verb. Its tone is variable:

Ex 52. [...] *ja biyo: mù //*
3SG.M.PFV.FOC follow.DIR 1PL //

 [...] he followed us. ([Hau_bc_conv_01_sp2_320]

Ex 53. *sei akà tsarè: mu [-]*
then 4.PFV.FOC block 1PL

then they blocked us [...] ([Hau_bc_narr_03_06]

The **Benefactive** (PRO.BEN) or **Indirect Object** appears before the Direct Object (PRO.OBJ)³⁸. A nominal Benefactive is marked by the particle *wa* (ZR & WH *mà*) suffixed to the long-vowel finite form of the verb³⁹. In the Continuous, the normalized form of the verb is replaced by a corresponding finite form.

Ex 54. [...] *tà ṭabà: mà màkàràntu: /*
3SG.F.SBJV share BEN school.PL /

 [...] she would distribute [them] to the schools ([Hau_bc_conv_01_sp2_038]

The pronominal Benefactive belongs to a specific paradigm merging the *mà* particle with person and number marking.

Ex 55. *wandà akè: tʃe: mà mà'azù //*
who 4.CONT.FOC say 3SG.BEN Ma'azu //

The one they call Ma'azu. (lit. ‘the one they say to him M.’) ([Hau_bc_conv_02_sp2_342]

The **Possessive Pronoun** indicates possession. It is suffixed to the possessed object through the Possessive Link (POS.L) -n/-r. Unlike the other persons, for the 1ˢᵗ person, the POS.L is attached to the pronoun which takes a H tone. The final -a is long, except in sentence-final position where it is short, e.g. *mo:tà:ta* ‘my car’: *An sa:ʧe mo:tà:ta* ‘They stole my car’ vs. *Mo:tà:ta: ta: bá:ʧi* ‘My car has broken down’ The word *kài* ‘head’ with a possessive pronoun suffix, is used to form the reflexive: *mun ʧu:ʧi kànmù* ‘we’ve wronged ourselves’ ([kànmù ‘ourselves’ < kài -n -mù, head- POSL-1PL.PNG.POS). Suffix to the free POSL, the possessive PNGs form the Independent Possessive Pronouns. The free POSL agrees with the gender of the thing possessed:

<p>| TABLE 16. INDEPENDENT POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M. &amp; PL.</th>
<th>F.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s.</td>
<td>nà:wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms.</td>
<td>na:kà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs.</td>
<td>na:ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms.</td>
<td>na:sà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs.</td>
<td>na:tà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p.</td>
<td>na:mù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p.</td>
<td>na:kù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p.</td>
<td>na:sù</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³⁷ Newman (2000:478 ff.) distinguishes two sets of Direct Object pronouns, both with CV form: (a) a set of weak clitic pronouns whose tone varies according to the class of the verb they cliticize to; (b) a set of strong non-clitic pronouns with inherent H tone.

³⁸ A pronominal Direct Object, when separated from the verb by a Benefactive, takes the form of an Independent Pronoun.

³⁹ This particle is written as a separate word in standard Hausa orthography, so as to distinguish it from the *-'wa:* nominalizer forming verbal nouns.
14 Verbs and Verb Phrases

14.1 Verb grades

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>/__Ø</th>
<th>/__PRO.OBJ</th>
<th>/__N</th>
<th>/__PRO.BEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-a:/-o: H</td>
<td>-a:/-o: H</td>
<td>-a:/-o: H</td>
<td>-a:/-o: H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-a L-H-(L)</td>
<td>-e: L-H</td>
<td>-i L-H</td>
<td>(pds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>-a H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(pds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b</td>
<td>-i/-u/-a H-L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(pds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-e: H-L(H)</td>
<td>-e: H-L(H)</td>
<td>-e: H-L(H)</td>
<td>-e: H-L(H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-o: H</td>
<td>-o: H</td>
<td>-o: H</td>
<td>-o: H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-u L-H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(pds)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verb classes, called verb grades in Hausaist tradition since Parsons (1960), are morpho-syntactic classes determined by their morphology, tone pattern, and distribution. The nature of the object following the verb influences its form and determines the various classes: (i) zero object (Ø); (ii) pronominal object (PRO.OBJ); (iii) nominal object (N); benefactive pronominal object (PRO.BEN). Depending on their tone pattern and their suffix (mostly of the form -V or -CV, with the one -VC exception, -ar), seven verb grades were established by Parsons (op.cit). To these, Newman added a grade Ø and introduced 3 subclasses: grades 3a and b, and grade 5d. These grades are subdivided into primary grades (Ø to 3, including 3a and 3b) and secondary grades which are derived from the others. (Table 17) above is a summary of Newman’s presentation.

Primary Grades

Grade Ø consists of basic H-tone monosyllabic verbs ending in /l/, e.g. ƙi ‘eat’ or /a/, e.g. dja: ‘pull’, plus a small group of H-tone CICA verbs, e.g. kira: ‘call’.

Grade 1 contains basic -a/a: verbs, e.g. dara: ‘cook’, both transitive and intransitive.

Grade 2 comprises only basic transitive verbs, e.g. sàja: ‘buy’ (sàji /__N and sàje: /__PRO.OBJ).

Before [Benefactive], grade 2 verbs, like those of grades 3 and 7, add the H-tone inflectional pds -aC)/u, e.g. sun ne:mam masà aiki: ‘They sought work for him’ (gr2+pds); cf. sun nè:mì aiki: ‘they sought work’ (gr2/__N). (PN:629)

Grade 3 is exclusively intransitive and contains basic -a final verbs, e.g. fìta ‘go out’. Grade 3a is likewise made up of disyllabic intransitive verbs with -a final vowel, but with H-H tone and a heavy initial syllable, e.g. kàqà ‘migrate’. Grade 3b consists of a few H-L 2-syllable intransitive verbs with final -i, -u, and -a, e.g. gudù ‘run’.

Secondary grades

Grade 4, with a ‘totality/finality’ meaning, contains both transitive and intransitive verbs. It indicates and action totally done or affecting all the objects, e.g. saje: ‘buy up’. Used with a dative object, it can have a malefactive/deprasive sense, e.g. kvar:je ‘take from’. The variant with /nje:/ is limited to a few verbs derived from monosyllabic grade Ø verbs, e.g. ƙànjë: ‘drink up’.
Grade 5 is called ‘effereitaly’ by Newman, who characterizes it as transitive grade indicating action directed away from the speaker, e.g. *zubar* ‘pour out’. However as it serves mainly to transitize inherently intransitive verbs, e.g. *fitar* ‘take out’ (cf. *fita* (V3) ‘go out’), we will continue to call it ‘causative’, glossed CAUS in the corpus. Transitivity is expressed via the use of the oblique marker *da* followed by the independent form of the pronoun, e.g. *ja: zubar da gija:* ‘He poured out the beer’, *ja sayar da ita:* ‘He sold it’. The pre-nominal form with *je* is an alternative to the *da* form, e.g. *na: gaife: sù = na: gajar da su:* ‘I greeted them’. Some grade 5 verbs have a short suffixless form when followed by a direct object, e.g. *ja: zub da ita = ja: zubar da ita:* ‘he poured it out’. Grade 5b is a dialectal form with the marker *da* fused to the verb, and followed by a direct object pronoun, e.g. *ja: Zubdà: ta.*

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

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

All secondary grades have nominalized forms with the suffix -*iwa*:

### 14.2 Imperatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/__Ø</th>
<th>/__PRO.obj</th>
<th>/__N</th>
<th>/__PRO.BEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catch (X)!</td>
<td>Catch them!</td>
<td>Catch the thief!</td>
<td>Catch the thief for me!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr2</td>
<td>-1 L-H</td>
<td>-e: L</td>
<td>-1 L-H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tàim àkî!</em></td>
<td><em>tàim àkè: mu!</em></td>
<td><em>tàim àkî jà:ra!</em></td>
<td><em>tàjam mini dà fi:</em>!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help (X)!</td>
<td>Help us!</td>
<td>Help the children!</td>
<td>Give it back to me!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The Imperative is the only TAM which is directly expressed on the verb, through a specific tone pattern (usually L-H) which overrides the contextual tone pattern. This specific tone pattern varies according to the verb class. One example of such variation is that of the grade 2 imperative. See (Table 18) for the difference between grade 1 and grade 2 Imperatives.⁴⁰

### 14.3 Auxiliaries

We call auxiliary verbs⁴¹ those Hausa verbs that are followed by an embedded nonfinite VP whose subject is identical to that of the auxiliary. The embedded VP is an Infinitive Phrase (IP)⁴², a NV, NV Phrase or an action noun.

Ex 56. *kun* *ka:rà* *jì:* -n *wàni* *no:ma:* /

2.PL PFV continue doing -POS.L some.M farming /

[...] did you go on cultivating another crop [...] (?)(HAU BC_CONV_01_SPI_122)

When the embedded VP functions as direct object of the auxiliary verb, the result is a completive subordinate clause as in (55). Auxiliary verbs fall into two semantic categories:

1) **modal auxiliaries** specifying the subjective or objective modality of the process without reference to its temporality;

---

⁴⁰ For more variations, especially on grade Ø Imperatives, see Newman (2000:262-9).

⁴¹ Newman (PN:64-70) calls these verbs “Aspectual verbs”.

⁴² Claude Gouffé (1978) calls this form the “Forme Verbale Libre”, ‘free verb form’.
2) **aspectual auxiliaries** specifying the temporal references of the process, e.g. inceptive, durative, repetitive, etc.

**Modal auxiliaries**

**Intersubjective:** (will, causation, permission, acceptance, etc.), e.g. *so:* ‘want’, *sā:* ‘cause’, *baği:* ‘allow’, *jərda:* ‘agree’, *ki:* ‘forbid’, *hanà:* ‘prevent’.

**Epistemic:** *ija:* ‘can’; *raşà:* *kàsà:* *gaza:* ‘cannot’; *fàskàrà:* ‘be difficult to...’

**Deontic:** *fàntàta:* *da:* *fü:* *kàma:* *tà:* ‘be proper’; *kjàutu:* ‘be better’.

**Appreciative:** *fi:* ‘exceed’; *fàjè:* *fìkà:* ‘be too much’.

**Aspectual auxiliaries**

*ka:* *rā:* *dadà:* ‘increase’; *ka:* *rā:* *sa:* *kè:* ‘repeat’; *rikà:* *do:* *rā:* *dingà:* *ji* *ta:* ‘continue to’; *dainà:* ‘stop’; *ka:* *rè:* *gamà:* ‘finish’; *baği:* *fasà:* ‘abandon’; *tabà:* ‘have experienced’; *tīga:* / *riga:* *riga:* *jà:* ‘have done before’; *fa:* *rà:* *so:* *mà:* *tà:* *sa:* / *ta:* *fi:* / *ta:* *sam* *mà:* *ji* *ta:* ‘begin to’; *kusa:* ‘have almost...’.

15 **Adverbs and Prepositional phrases**

Adverbs and adverbial phrases (of time, place, manner, etc.) have several functions in Hausa:

1. predicate of nonverbal sentences, e.g. *da:* *ki:* *na:* *jànà:* *dab:* *dà:* *na:* *tà:* ‘my room is right next to her’; *tà:* *dà:* *wa:* *sunà:* *zà:* *une:* *kusa:* *dà:* *sàr̃k̀i:* ‘the councillors are seated close to the chief’.

2. locative goal of motion verbs, e.g. *mu:* *tàfì:* *tà:* ‘let’s go there!’

3. modifier in N-POSIL ADV constructions, e.g. *ju:* *gàban:* *dà:* *zu:* ‘the leaders of the movement’ (lit. leaders of just now); *kì:* *fin:* *zù:* *fi:* ‘ambition’ (lit. jealousy of in the heart)

4. predicate modifier appearing at the end of the VP, e.g. *ìnà:* *sònà:* *ginà:* *à:* ‘I love her very much.’; *tànà:* *ài:* *sà:* *nù:* *sàn:* *nù:* ‘She is working very slowly.’

**NB:** Adverbs and adverbial phrases are prone to fronting due to framing (52) or focus (53).

Ex 57. *lo:* *kàfi:* *-nà:* *dà:* *sukà:* *zo:* / *hakà* *sun:* *zo:* 

*like this* 3PL.PVF.FOC come / *like this* 3PL.PVF.FOC come

*hakà* *sunà:* *ba:* *jar:* *dà:* *mutà:* *nà:* *tsò:* *ço:* /

*like this* 3PL.CONT.NFOC give with person fear //

[When they arrived] *FARMS* [like that] *FARMS* they arrived, [like that] *FARMS* they frightened people. *(HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP1_151-2)*

Ex 58. *ta:* *nan:* *nè:* *akà:* *sa:* *mo:* *basà:* *wa:* / *

*via* *ANAPH* *COP* 4.PVF.FOC get.DIR *Basawa* / *

[Is that where] *FOCUS* the Basawa were found? *(HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP1_174)*

15.1 **Basic adverbs**

**Basic space adverbs.** *da:* *ma:* ‘right-hand side’; *hagù:* *hagù:* ‘left’; *à:* *wà:* ‘north’; *kudù:* ‘south’; *gàba:* ‘east’; *yà:* *ma:* ‘west’; *kusa:* ‘nearby’. The interrogative spatial adverb is *inà:* ‘where?’; the universal quantifier is *ko:* *ina:* ‘everywhere, wherever’.

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

---

43 *ji* *ta* has a continuous meaning (*‘keep doing’*) with a Continuous TAM, and an inceptive meaning (*‘start doing’*) when used in the Perfect.
Table 19. Basic Time Adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>dàː</td>
<td>‘formerly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tuni</td>
<td>‘long ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dà zu</td>
<td>‘not long ago, just now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>jànu</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>fâːn</td>
<td>‘then, then later’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fàːn</td>
<td>‘then later’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fàːn</td>
<td>‘five days from now’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB: The adverb dàː: ‘formerly’ combined with maː: ‘even’ forms the phrase dàː maː: which denotes a known, confirmed fact, and translates as ‘of course’, ‘in fact’, ‘precisely’.

There are other adverbs relative to the time locus of the utterance, e.g. kàːfàː gàːriː, wàfàː gàːriː: ‘the following day’;

The interrogative temporal adverb (ADV.Q) is jàufè, jàufeː: ‘when?’; the universal quantifier is ko:jàufè, ko:jàufeː: ‘any time, whenever’.

Deictics have both a spatial and temporal meaning: nàːn ‘here, now’; nàn ‘there near you, then’; fàːn ‘there (remote), then (later)’.

Manner adverbs. We will name but a few manner adverbs, e.g. aínùn ‘very much’; dàidài ‘exactly’; dukː ‘entirely’; hàkà = hàkàn ‘thus’; kàwàːi ‘only, merely’, etc.

Other adverbs. The adverb koː modifies NP, VP and adverbials (both PP and AP). Here is an example modifying a PP: koː dà wàkaː bà zài kàfèː jì baː ‘Even with a knife, he would not be able to kill it.’ dànyàrì’àn ‘little’ is an adjective modifier, and its invariable form dàn acts as an adverbial predicate modifier, e.g.

Ex 59. à sajoː / à saː mù à dàn ʧì abÌniʧi /
SBJV.4 sell.DIR / SBJV.4 get SBJV.4 DIM eat food /
We would go and sell [doughnuts] to get [money] and eat a little. (Hau BC Conv.01 SP2 285-7)

15.2 Adverb derivation

Denominal adverbs

Many adverbs are derived from body-part nouns and time and place through one or more of the following processes: (i) shortening the final vowel (à kàfà: ‘on foot’ < kàfà: ‘foot, leg’); (ii) dropping the feminine gender suffix (à zuːʧì ‘in the heart’ < zuːʧìa: ‘heart’); (iii) change of tone to HH; (iv) addition of a tone-integrating suffix -a: (bakà dà hànʧì ‘tooth and nail, lit. at mouth and at nose’ < bà:kiː: ‘mouth’; hànʧì: ‘nose’).

44 There is no adverb corresponding to ‘the previous day’. Instead, the expression anàː gòː be + FUT (lit. they were tomorrow...), e.g. anàː gòː be zaː: sù tàʧiː... ‘the day before their departure...’ (lit. they were tomorrow they will leave).

45 Cf. the related prenominal (duk) and post-nominal (dük) specifiers.

46 We have seen how this has been lexicalized for the formation of universal quantifiers through the structure koː + Question word.
Deverbal statives

Statives are a subclass of adverbs derived from verbs by means of a tone-integrating suffix -e\(^{1}\), e.g. 
\(\text{mutù} \rightarrow \text{màʧe} \) ‘die’; 
\(\text{zaunà} \rightarrow \text{zàune} \) ‘sit’;

Example 60. 
\(\text{sunàːnan à zàune nè: à wànnan gàři: na pallà: dån} \) //
\(3\ PL\ .\ CONT\ .\ NFOC\ ANAPH\ at\ seated\ COP1\ .\ NFOC\ at\ PROX\ city\ POSL\ Palladan\ //\)
They live there (lit. they are seated there) in the city of Palladan. (HAU\_BC\_CONV\_01\_SP2\_231)

Example 61. 
\(\text{kun dàdè: tàʧe dà ita kë: nan} \) //
\(2\ PL\ .\ PFV\ last\ together\ with\ 3SG\ .\ F\ COP1\ .\ FOC\ ANAPH\ //\)
You stayed a long time together with her, you did. (HAU\_BC\_CONV\_01\_SP1\_034)

15.3 Reduplication

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

**Intensive reduplication:** 
\(\text{ʧan ‘there’ / ʧan ʧan ‘far, far away’;}\) 
\(\text{kusa ‘close’ / kusa kusa = kurkusa ‘very close’;}\) 
\(\text{maza ‘quickly’ / maza maza = marmaza ‘very quickly’;}\)

**Attenuative reduplication**\(^{47}\) mainly concerned are denominal locative adverbs, e.g. 
\(\text{baːja baːja ‘a bit behind’;}\) 
\(\text{samà samà ‘a bit above’;}\)

**Distributive reduplication:** The repetition of nouns creates adverbs with a distributive meaning, e.g. 
\(\text{maːkòː (= saːti) ‘week’ / maːkòː maːkòː (= saːti: saː ti:) ‘weekly’;}\) 
\(\text{gidaː ‘house’ / gidaː gidaː ‘from house to house’;}\)

15.4 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases (PP) consist of a preposition plus an NP or an adverb, e.g. 
\(\text{dà wuka: ‘with a knife’;}\) 
\(\text{dàga nàːn ‘from here’;}\) PPs have the same functions as adverbs for modifying predicates. Like adverbs, they have (1) temporal, (2) locative, (3) manner, and (4) instrumental meanings.

- **Time PPs** e.g. 
\(\text{kàːfin ‘before’;}\) 
\(\text{baːjan ‘after’;}\)

Example 62. 
\(\text{baːjan ràsuwantà dài /} \)
\(\text{after death.POSL.3SG.F indeed /} \)
Well, after her death, […] (HAU\_BC\_CONV\_01\_SP1\_038)

- **Place PPs**, e.g. 
\(\text{gàba dà ‘in front of’;}\) 
\(\text{à ‘at’;}\)

Example 63. 
\(\text{kaː dàdè: à wùrǐntà koː kùwa} \) //
\(2SG\ .\ MPFV\ .\ NFOC\ last\ at\ place\ .\ POSL\ .\ 3SG\ .\ F\ or\ as\ for\ //\)
did you stay long at her place or rather… (HAU\_BC\_CONV\_01\_SP1\_011)

Manner PPs use the preposition 
\(\text{dà with a noun of quality, e.g. dà hankàli: ‘gently’;}\) 
\(\text{dà karfi: ‘strongly’;}\) 
\(\text{dà jàwà: ‘many’;}\)

Example 64. 
\(\text{àkwai țaːfuffukà ne: dà jàwà: […]} \)
\(\text{COP3\ river.PL\ COP1\ .\ NFOC\ with\ quantity\ […]} \)
Are there many rivers […]? (HAU\_BC\_CONV\_01\_SP1\_192)

- **Instrument PPs** use the preposition 
\(\text{dì with concrete nouns, e.g. sun dànuʧè: fì dà ịgija: ‘they tied him with a rope’;}\)

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\(^{47}\) See the same phenomenon with adjectives, § 16.3 Reduplicated adjectives, p. 39.

\(^{48}\) Cf. § 17, p. 39 for a glossary of prepositions.
16 Adjectives

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

16.1 Syntax

Adjectives appear in three different constructions: (i) predicative; (ii) pre-nominal attributive; (iii) post-nominal attributive. Let us illustrate these three constructions with a simple adjective, **fa:ri:** (m.); **fa:ri:te:** (f.); **fa:ri:te:** (pl.) ‘white’.

The attributive function

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-nominal</th>
<th>Post-nominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>do:ki:</strong> (m.)</td>
<td><strong>fa:ri-n do:ki:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horse</td>
<td>(white-POSL horse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mot:à:</strong> (f.)</td>
<td><strong>fa:ri-r mot:à:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car</td>
<td>(white-POSL car)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hu:lunà:</strong> (pl.)</td>
<td><strong>fa:ri- te hu:lunà:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caps</td>
<td>(white-POSL caps)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The predicative function

The predicative function uses

- the non-aspectual Continuous

Ex 65. **lo:kàfìn ni: inà: dan kàrami: //**

At that time I was young. (*HAU BC_CONV_01.SP2.144*)

- the copula ne/je/(COP)2 with the structure < (X) Y COP2 > where Y is the adjective, e.g. (ex 65):

Ex 66. **do:ki-n-sà**

horse-POSL.M-him **fa:ri:** white.M **né:** COP.M

his horse is white

**ri:ga-r-sà**

car-f PL-him **fa:ri:** white.F **lé:** COP.F

his caftan (f.) is white

**mo:to:fi-n-sù**

car-POSL.PL-them **fa:ri:te:** white.PL **né:** COP.PL

their cars are white (BC)

Comparison

Comparison is expressed through the verb **fi** ‘exceed’ and the structure < X fi Y adj >, e.g. **Sulè ja: fi Mu:sa: tsəvo:** ‘Sule is taller than Musa’ (lit. Sule exceeds Musa (in) height). One of the terms of comparison may be elliptical:
These can have a nominal function, e.g. in Table 21 below lists the 19 basic, underived “true” adjectives. Superlatives are expressed through the post-nominal modifier *mafì:* + adj, e.g. *jaːtòː mafiː kaʃfiː* ‘the strongest boy’ (lit. boy exceeder (in) strength).

### 16.2 Basic adjectives

Table 21 below lists the 19 basic, underived “true” adjectives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Adjectives</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bakiː, baːkaː, baːkàːke</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baba, bább, mälla</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doːgoː, doːguwaː, doːgwàːje</td>
<td>long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>danje, dannja, ñànju</td>
<td>raw, fresh, green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farïː, faraː, faràːre</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gàjeːreː, gàjeːraː (=gàjeːriːaː =gàjeːruwaː), gàjeːru</td>
<td>short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huntuː, huntuwaː, huntàːje</td>
<td>naked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaː, jaː, jaːjaːje</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koːrêː, koːriːaː, koːraːje</td>
<td>green, unripe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kùmaːmaː, kùmaːmaː, kùmaːmai</td>
<td>weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaːtòː, kaːtùwaː, kàtta</td>
<td>huge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kànnàːneː, kànnànuwaː, kànaːnàː</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kàramìː, kàraːmaː, kànaːnàː</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kàzaːmiː, kàzaːmaː, kàzaːmai</td>
<td>dirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuːlùmìː, kuːlùmaː, kuːlùmaːje</td>
<td>stingy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muːgùː, muːgùwaː (=muːgùnjàː), mijàːguː (=muːgàːje)</td>
<td>evil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ràːwàjàː, ràːwàjàː, ràːwàjuː</td>
<td>yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saːboː, saːbuwaː, saːbàbìi</td>
<td>new</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shuːdiː, shuːduːjaː, shùddàː</td>
<td>indigo blue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Noun/adjectives. A certain number of words are used both as adjectives and as nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun/Adjectives</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baːkoː, baːkuwaː, baːkìː</td>
<td>stranger, host</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beːbeː, beːbìʃaː, beːbaːje</td>
<td>dumb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bàraːwoː, bàraːnujìaː, bàraːjiː</td>
<td>robber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurmaː, kurmaː, kuràːmeː</td>
<td>deaf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These can have a nominal function, e.g. in (Ex 68) where *tsòːfàfìː* is the noun ‘old people’:

**Ex 69.** *iɾin* na *tsòːfàfìː* // type.DEF POSL old.PL // like those of old people. (HUA_BC_CONV_01_SP2_596)

whereas in (Ex 69) the predicative adjective *tsòːfoːʃìn* ‘old’ modifies the noun *tùmaːtìr* ‘tomato’:

**Ex 70.** *tsòːfoːʃìn* *tùmaːtìr* old.PL -POS L tomatoes old tomatoes (HUA_BC_CONV_01_SP2_615)

---

mafìː is a short agent noun derived from *fi* ‘exceed’.

---

37
16.3 Derived adjectives

Agentive adjectives

We saw in § 12.1, p. 28 how agent nouns are derived from verbs with a ma-...-i: affix and a H-(L)-L-H tone pattern, e.g. manò:mi: (m.) ‘farmer’ (< no:m- ‘to farm’). Many of those derived from intransitive verbs can also function as adjectives, e.g. matsija:ti: (adj.) ‘poor, destitute’, mahàukàfi: (adj.) ‘mad’. Example: wani mahàukàfìn dire:ba: ‘a mad driver’; mahàukàtan karnùkà: ‘mad dogs’.

Past Participles


Adjectives of Sensory Quality


Reduplicated adjectives


17 Prepositions

Prepositions are the head of Prepositional phrases (cf. §15 above). They fall into three categories (1) basic prepositions; (2) compound prepositions; (3) possessive prepositions.

17.1 Basic prepositions


Many of these basic prepositions also function as conjunctions. Except for gà which takes the form gàrë: when followed by a direct object pronoun, e.g. gàrë: tà ‘by her’, all basic prepositions take independent pronouns as complements, e.g. sàbò: dà ità ‘because of her’.

50 Newman (2000:46)
17.2 Compound prepositions
These are made up of an adverb followed by the preposition *dà*, e.g. *ban dà* ‘apart from’; *fije dà* ‘more than’; *gàme dà, tà:řë dà* ‘together with’, etc.

17.3 Possessive prepositions
These prepositions are composed of an adverb or a noun bearing the short POS suffix -n/-r/-t. They are generally preceded by a basic preposition such as *ba:ki* ‘at the edge of, in exchange for’ (< *ba:ki* ‘mouth’); *fikin* ‘inside’ (< *fikí* (adv.) ‘inside’); *kàn* ‘on top of’ (< *kâi* ‘head’); *baːjan* ‘behind’ (< *ba:*ja ‘at the back’) *máimakón* ‘in exchange for’ (< *máimako:* ‘replacement’). Possessive prepositions take possessive pronouns as complements, e.g. *kânsù* ‘on them’; *ʧikintà* ‘on it’.

18 Universal Quantifiers
There exist two types of universals: (1) the global universal *duk/dukà*; (2) distributive universals based on the morpheme *ko:*.  

18.1 The global universal *duk/dukà*
The global quantifier *duk/dukà* ‘all’ can occur as a modifier, a pronoun, or an adverb:

- **Modifier**
  Ex 71. *duk abu buwàːsun t̪anžàː* // all thing.PL 3PL.PFV.NFOC change // All things have changed. (*HAU_BC_CONV_04_SP1_051*)

- **Pronoun**
  Ex 72. *duk na kâ-n wànnan nè*: // all POSL HEAD-POSL -POSL ANAPH COP1.NFOC // It’s all because of that. (*HAU_BC_CONV_03_SP2_06*)

- **Adverb**
  Ex 73. *duk in jaːt̪in̪áːtaː t̪ika* // all if girl 3SG.F.PFV.NFOC fill // Whenever a girl is grown up, […] (*HAU_BC_CONV_04_SP1_10*)

18.2 The distributive universal *ko:*
The morpheme *ko:* combined with question words builds a class of polyfunctional morphemes with a common meaning of universal quantifiers. They can be Pro-Nouns (‘anyone, whoever; anything, whatever’), Pro-Modifiers (‘any, whichever’) or Pro-Adverbs (‘any way, however’, etc.). See Table 23 below for a complete list and the corresponding Question Words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Universal</th>
<th>Question Words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>everyone, whoever</td>
<td>ko:wa:</td>
<td>wà: ‘who?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>everything, whatever</td>
<td>ko:me:</td>
<td>mè: ‘what?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>everywhere, wherever</td>
<td>ko:‘ina:</td>
<td>ina: ‘where?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>always, whenever</td>
<td>ko:jàufè: = ko:jàufè</td>
<td>jàufè: = jàufè ‘when?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>each, whichever one(s)</td>
<td>ko:wànne: (m.), ko:wàːt̪efe: (f.), ko:wàdànné: (pl.)</td>
<td>wànne:, wàːt̪efe:, wàdànné: ‘which one?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>every, whichever</td>
<td>ko:wào (m.), ko:wàfe: (f.), ko:wàdànné: (pl.)</td>
<td>wàne: (m.), wàfe: (f.), wàdànné: (pl.) ‘which?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
18.3 Universal subordination

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

Ex 76. ko:me: kakè: kàɗa: //
       3SG.PFV.FOC say 3SG.M.SBJV eat //
Whatever you say [...] (HAU_BC_CONV_04_SP1_0670)

Ex 77. duk jandà kikà //
       all how 2SG.F.PFV.FOC get_ready //
Whenever you are ready. (HAU_BC_CONV_03_SP1_099)

19 Ideophones

Ideophones constitute a word class defined by semantic and phonological rather than syntactic properties. In other words, they are not a part of speech like nouns, verbs, or prepositions. They are "descriptive of sound, colour, smell, manner, appearance, state, action or intensity... [that is, they are words that are] vivid vocal images or representations of visual, auditory and other sensory or mental experiences". They are characterized by highly specific meaning and collocation, function primarily as adjectives and adverbs, and are associated with expressive pronunciation, i.e. extra forcefulness or loudness, often with an intonational break, indicated in the examples below by a minor intonational break (/) and an arrow (↑)52:

Ex 78. ta: tfìka / ↑dam //
       3SG.PFV.NFOC fill / very_big //
She had grown very big. (HAU_BC_CONV_04_SP1_1005-6)

20 Complex sentences

20.1 Coordination

‘And’

The conjunction da is used only to coordonate two NPs or two APs, and not to coordonate two clauses. A link between two clauses is rather expressed through simple juxtaposition, e.g. (Ex 78), sometimes reinforced by adverbial connectors, e.g. kuma ‘too’ when the connection is pragmatic or sei (kuma) or ka:nà ‘then’ for temporal succession. The connector kuma can appear either between the two conjoined clauses, e.g. (Ex 76) or between the subject pronouns and the verb of the second clause.

52 For a complete phonological, semantic, syntactic and intonational characterization of ideophones, see PN:242-259.
Ex 79. su: kò: sukà wutfè: sukà tàfi ṣàfi -n -sù // 3PL as_for 3PL.PFV.FOC pass_by 3PL.PFV.FOC go river -POS.L -1PL.POS //
As for them, they continued [and] went to their river. (HAU_BC_NARR_01_SP1_096)

Ex 80. fi: kè: ṭfì: dà ni: / kuma jakè: tallàfa: mìn 3SG.M CONT.FOC APPL feeding 1SG.IDPT / too 3SG.M.CONT.FOC support 1SG.BEN
wàdèn harkà: -n kàrà:tu: dà saùra: -n -sù // surrounded affair -POSL education and remainder -POSL -3PL.POS //
he is the one feeding me, [...] and he is the one supporting my education etc. (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP2_238-40)

In simple juxtaposition of clauses (parataxis), TAMs play a part in the interpretation of the connection between them:

- The use of the Subjunctive as a relay TAM creates a stronger connection between juxtaposed clauses.
- A [+FOC] Perfective following a [-FOC] Continuous will indicate an event intruding into a background situation.
- A [-FOC] Continuous in the second sentence indicates concomitance.
- The relationships expressed by the aspectual system can be specified by adverbial coordinators, e.g. sai ‘then’.

‘Or’

Disjunctive coordination is expressed with ko: ‘or’, ko: ... ko: ‘either ... or’, combined optionally with the particles kuma ‘too’ or ma: ‘also, even’.

Ex 81. tò: fi: wànnan dinkin dìn kukàn saidà: nè: / well 3SG.M PROX edible_LEAVES DEF 2PL.HAB sell COP1.NFOC /
ko: kukàn / ba:jar fi nè: à gida: //
or 2PL.HAB / give.CAUS 3SG.M COP1.NFOC at home //
Well those leaves, did you sell them or did you... give it to the (people of the) house?
(HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP1_021-3)

‘But’ and ‘however’

ämma: ‘but’ and duk dà hakà, ‘however’ conjoin two clauses while contrasting them:

Ex 82. idan ta:ki -n na gargarìjja: kè: nan / if manure -DEF POSL old_times COP1.FOC ANAPH /
ämma: jànzu mukàn hadà: dà na bátù:ré: // but now 1PL.HAB join with POSL European //
If... it were manure as in the old days, they would take it and spread it on, but now, we mix it with chemical fertilizers. (HAU_BC_CONV_02_SP2_132-5)
20.2 Completives

Completives are clauses functioning as the direct object of: (i) a full verb; (ii) a nominal predicate; (iii) an impersonal verb; (iv) a non-verbal copular expression.

(i) Full verbs, e.g. sos: ‘want’:
Some verbs, (e.g. sos: ‘want’) take a direct complement phrase without a complementizer, Cf. (Ex 82) below. Predicates of saying, thought, etc., whether verbal or nominal, use the complementizer wai. The general complementizer is fe:wa:, derived from the verbal noun of the verb fe: ‘say’. Another complementizer is the particle dà.

Ex 83. gà: jì ba:kà sos: à ta:jì /
COP4 3SG.M NEG5.2SG.M,CONT,NFOC wanting 4SBJV rise /
Here you are, you don't want to leave [...] (HAU BC CONV 04 SP1 886)

(ii) Verbal phrase

Ex 84. na: sà: tāi wai zāi zo: /
1SG.PFV,NFOC put life COMP FUT.3SG.M come /
I hope he will come. (lit. I have set mind that...) (BC)

Ex 85. mun jì fa:ti: -n ḥiki: dà kukà zo: /
1PL.PFV,NFOC do white -POSL stomach with 2PL.CONT,FOC come
We are happy (lit. did white belly) that you came. (BC)

(iii) Impersonal verbs, e.g. kasànfe: ‘happen’:

Ex 86. tò: jànzu ja kasànfe: ḥe:wa: jànzu /
well now 3SG.M,PFV,FOC become that_is now /
in kukà sà:mi wānnan kudi:
if 2PL.CONT,FOC get ANAPH money
2PL.HAB invest 3PL COP1.NFOC around sell.DIR cattle -PL /
Well now it happens that now, if you get some money, you invest by buying animals. (HAU BC CONV 02 SP1 032-4)

(iv) Copular constructions:

Ex 87. wàuta: nè: gà Mu:sa: dà jà ḥi ba:jì:
foolishness COP1 near Musa with 3S.SBJV consume credit
It was stupid for Musa to take a credit. (BC)

20.3 Subordination: Adverbial clauses

Subordination is introduced by the following conjunctions53:

- har ‘as far as; up to, until, even, etc.’, denotes the continuation of an action until a qualitative degree is reached, entailing a change of state;
- sai, often implying or combined with negation, means ‘except, only, unless, etc. ‘ and denotes a progression towards a goal54;
- dà ‘when, rather than’;
- ba:yan (dà) ‘after’;
- dò:min (=don) ‘because’ when followed by a Perfective; ‘so that’ when followed by a Subjunctive;
- idan (=in) ‘if’ (conditional)
- da:, in dà: ‘if’ (hypothesis, contrary to fact)

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53 PN:134
54 As with most conjunctions, har and sai can function as prepositions as well, e.g. sai gò:be: ‘bye bye’ (lit. until tomorrow); an ji hanjá: dágà Kanó: har Dàu:ra ‘they built a road from Kano to Daura’.
The discontinuous negation \textit{bà:ba} ... \textit{ba} occurs with TAMs other than the Continuous and the Subjunctive. The first part of the morpheme \textit{bà:ba} occurs immediately before the TAM. The second part \textit{(ba)} occurs at the end of the VP, after the core arguments of the verb, but before adjuncts. Short basic adverbs tend to be included within the syntactic scope of negation.

\footnote{Cf. TAMs and their meaning, Tables 1 to 8.}

21.1 NEG1. All TAMs except the Continuous and Subjunctive\footnote{Cf. TAMs and their meaning, Tables 1 to 8.}

The discontinuous negation \textit{bà:ba} ... \textit{ba} occurs with TAMs other than the Continuous and the Subjunctive. The first part of the morpheme \textit{bà:ba} occurs immediately before the TAM. The second part \textit{(ba)} occurs at the end of the VP, after the core arguments of the verb, but before adjuncts. Short basic adverbs tend to be included within the syntactic scope of negation.
We were not used to soldiers.

We did not really use it.

In the perfective, the first and third person markers of the subject pronouns contract with the bà of the negative marker, e.g. bà ni > bàn; bà ja > bài.

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

21.2 NEG2. Negative Continuous TAM

Like the subject pronouns of the Continuous, the negative marker has a H tone and long -a:. It negates locatives and statives, as well as Continuous verbal sentences. Examples:

Ex 93. bà: a: ji -n ge:jo: //
Neg2 4,CONT doing -POSL millet //
we don't do millet. (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP2_389)

Ex 94. kin sanì: fì: dàjâkè: bài dà hâkì: //
2SG.F.PVF.NFOC know 3SG.M since NEG2,3SG.CONT with grass //
You know, as he did not have any grass [...] (HAU_BC_CONV_03_SP1_130)

21.3 NEG3. Existential and “have” sentences

bà: / ba:bu is the negative counterpart of àkwai. It negates existential sentences and “have” sentences:

Ex 95. bà: ginegine: //
Neg3 building.PL //
There were no buildings. (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP2_314)

21.4 NEG4. Non-verbal sentences and NPs

The disjunctive bà: ... ba negative marker negates the copula ne:fe/ne: in all its uses as sentence copula and as focus marker. In both cases, the second part of the marker is inserted between the copula and the constituent it is attached to (93).

Ex 96. ko: bà: hakà ba //
or NEG4A like_this NEG2 //
Isn't it true? (HAU_BC_CONV_02_SP1_031)

Ex 97. iqi -nì na garga’diija: -::: /
type -DEF POSL old_times -LENGTH /
ba zái ji ba / tundà bà: âmpà:nì: ba nè: //
NEG1A FUT,3SG.M do NEG2 / since NEG4A use NEG2 COP1,NFOC
wandà mukè: dà fì: //
which 1PL,CONT,FOC with 3SG.M //
The old kind [i.e., manure] won't do since there’s no use we have for it. (HAU_BC_CONV_02_SP2_103-5)
21.5 NEG5. Subjunctive

The prohibitive marker *kadå (=kâr, kar)* serves to negate sentences with a Subjunctive TAM. The meaning will vary beyond that of a prohibitive proper, according to the numerous contexts in which the positive counterpart of the Subjunctive occurs.

Ex 98.  
\[\text{tundå} \quad \text{wu} \quad \text{kar} \quad \text{tà} \quad \text{fa} \quad \text{tà} \quad \text{tabå}\]  
\[\text{since at place NEG5 3SG.F.SBJV begin 3SG.F.SBJV touch}\]

\[\text{wânnan} \quad \text{çamå:} \quad \text{tà} \quad \text{ʧǐ} \quad \text{ʧi} \quad //\]
\[\text{ANAPH hemp 3SG.F.SBJV eat 3SG.M // she should not even begin to touch that hemp and eat it. (HAU_BC_NARR_02_SPI_110)}\]

22 Question

22.1 Wh-Questions

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

- ‘which one(s) (pro) wànne:* m., *wà:ʧʧe:* f., *wàd:ànne:* pl.
- ‘where?’ *ina:*
- ‘when?’ *jåuʃ / jàuʃe:*
- ‘how?’ *(ta) jà:jà:*
- ‘how many/much?’ *nàwà*
- ‘why?’ *don mè:, sabò: da me:

Ex 99.  
\[\text{an} \quad \text{ka}:\text{må:} \quad \text{wà:} \quad \text{ne:} \quad //\]
\[\text{4.PFV.NFOC catch who COP1.NFOC // They caught who? (HAU_BC_CONV_03_SPI_116)}\]

Ex 100.  
\[\text{an} \quad \text{ʤìmå:} \quad \text{ina:} \quad \text{zà:} \quad \text{nì} \quad //\]
\[\text{4.PFV.NFOC spend time where DIR 1SG // Later on, where will I go? (HAU_BC_CONV_03_SPI_043)}\]

The intonation pattern is that of declarative sentences.

22.2 Yes/No questions

Yes/No questions preserve the word order of the declarative sentence but are marked in one or more of the following 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 (Newman 2000:497ff.).

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56 This is an example of WH-Question with *in situ* focus, appearing in cases of echo-questions.
The Q-morpheme

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

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

In SH, the Q-morpheme does not consistently add L tone to Yes-No questions, only length, resulting in a contrast between zài fita ‘He will go out’ vs. zài fita: ? ‘Will he go out?’ (PN:497).

Ex 101. wà: zái fita + : > wà: zái fita: ?
Who will come? (tone and length added)

jàufè ta hahù + : > jàufè ta hahù: ?
When did she give birth? (length added)

mè: sukà sajar + : > mè: sukà sajar:?
What did they sell? (tone added)

ina: ka ga jà:ròn?
Where did you see the boy? (vacuous addition) (PN:497).

Question intonation

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

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

Sentence-final question tags

The particles ko:, ba, ne:, kùwa, fà: function as sentence-final question tags. When key raising applies, they will surface with a long vowel and a falling tone, e.g. ka: džì bà: ? (< ba: ) ‘Did you hear?’; ja: àurì Aljà nè: ? (< ne+: l ) ‘Did he marry Aisha?’

Sentence-initial interrogative words

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

Ex 102. ko: bà: hakà ba //
whether NEG4A like this NEG8 //
Isn’t it true? (lit. or is it not so?) (HAU_BC_CONV_02_SP1_031)
22.3 Indirect questions

Indirect WH-questions are introduced by the complementizer ko: ‘whether’, followed by a WH-question word, e.g.

Ex 103. \texttt{bàn san ko: wà: ja ji hakà ba}

\text{NEG1A.IS.PFV know whether who 3SG.PFV.FOC do like this NEG6}

I don’t know who acted this way. (BC)

Embedded Y/N-questions are introduced by the complementizers ko: or in with the usual change in pronouns but without the addition of any other word:

Ex 104. \texttt{sai saňki: ya tambàj-e: ji}

\text{then king 3SG.PVF.FOC ask-ACC 3SG}

\text{in janà: sôn já zaunà: wàdência}

if 3SG.CONT.NFOC wanting.POSL 3SG.SBJV sit near.POSL.3SG

Then the king asked him if he wanted to sit next to him. (BC)

The intonation pattern is that of declarative sentences.

23 Bibliography

23.1 General bibliographies


23.2 Grammars


23.3 Manuals


23.4 Dictionaries and lexicons


**LIST OF TABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Future</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Indefinite Future</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Rhetorical (RH)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Plural Classes</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Demonstratives</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Agent Nouns</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Short Agent Nouns</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Place Nouns</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Instrument Nouns</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Personal Pronouns</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Independent Possessive Pronouns</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Verb Classes</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Grade 1 &amp; 2 Imperatives</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Basic Time Adverbs</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Attributive Adjectives</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Basic Adjectives</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Noun/Adjectives</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Distributive Universals</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Negative Markers</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>