Hausa Grammatical Sketch
Bernard Caron

To cite this version:
Bernard Caron. Hausa Grammatical Sketch. 2015. halshs-00647533v3

HAL Id: halshs-00647533
https://shs.hal.science/halshs-00647533v3
Submitted on 3 Oct 2013

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

Copyright
Hausa Grammatical Sketch

BERNARD CARON, LLACAN (INALCO, CNRS, PRES SORBONNE PARIS-CITÉ)
(03/10/2013)

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: ãkwai, ãwa ....................................................................................... 13
      Presentation: gà ............................................................................................... 14
      Location: COP + PP ....................................................................................... 14

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.
The Allative (zäː) .......................................................................................................................... 14
10.2 Verbal sentences - TAM marking............................................................................................... 15
PNG+TAM Paradigms ..................................................................................................................... 16
TAM Semantics ............................................................................................................................... 18
11 Nouns and Noun Phrases ........................................................................................................... 21
11.1 The HeadNouns ......................................................................................................................... 21
Gender ....................................................................................................................................... 21
Plurals .......................................................................................................................................... 22
Compound nouns ......................................................................................................................... 23
Conjoined nouns ........................................................................................................................... 23
The Possessive Construction ......................................................................................................... 24
11.2 Pre-nominal elements .............................................................................................................. 24
Demonstratives ............................................................................................................................ 24
Pronouns as pronominal modifiers ............................................................................................... 25
Universal quantifiers .................................................................................................................... 25
The isolator daya .......................................................................................................................... 25
Adjectives as pre-nominal modifiers .............................................................................................. 25
11.3 Post-nominal elements ........................................................................................................... 26
Post-nominal specifiers .................................................................................................................. 26
Post-nominal modifiers .................................................................................................................. 26
12 Nominal derivation .................................................................................................................... 28
12.1 ma- Agents, Place and Instruments .......................................................................................... 28
Agent nouns .................................................................................................................................. 28
Place nouns .................................................................................................................................. 28
Instrument nouns ........................................................................................................................... 28
12.2 Ethnonyms ............................................................................................................................ 29
13 Personal Pronouns ...................................................................................................................... 29
14 Verbs and Verb Phrases ............................................................................................................. 31
14.1 Verb grades ............................................................................................................................. 31
Primary Grades ............................................................................................................................. 31
Secondary grades ......................................................................................................................... 31
14.2 Imperatives .............................................................................................................................. 32
14.3 Auxiliaries .............................................................................................................................. 32
Modal auxiliaries ........................................................................................................................... 32
Aspectual auxiliaries ...................................................................................................................... 33
15 Adverbs and Prepositional phrases .......................................................................................... 33
15.1 Basic adverbs .......................................................................................................................... 33
15.2 Adverb derivation .................................................................................................................... 34
Denominal adverbs ....................................................................................................................... 34
Deverbal statives ............................................................................................................................ 35
15.3 Reduplication .......................................................................................................................... 35
15.4 Prepositional Phrases ............................................................................................................. 35
16 Adjectives ................................................................................................................................. 36
16.1 Syntax ...................................................................................................................................... 36
The attributive function .................................................................................................................. 36
The predicative function ............................................................................................................... 36
Comparison .................................................................................................................................... 36
16.2 Basic adjectives ....................................................................................................................... 37
16.3 Derived adjectives ................................................................................................................... 38
Agentive adjectives ...................................................................................................................... 38
Past Participles ............................................................................................................................... 38
Adjectives of Sensory Quality ....................................................................................................... 38
Reduplicated adjectives ................................................................................................................ 38
17 Prepositions .................................................................................................................. 38
17.1 Basic prepositions ..................................................................................................... 38
17.2 Compound prepositions ......................................................................................... 39
17.3 Possessive prepositions ......................................................................................... 39
18 Universal Quantifiers ............................................................................................... 39
18.1 The global universal duk/dukà ............................................................................. 39
18.2 The distributive universal ko ................................................................. 39
18.3 Universal subordination ....................................................................................... 40
19 Ideophones ................................................................................................................ 40
20 Complex sentences ..................................................................................................... 40
20.1 Coordination ............................................................................................................. 40
   ‘And’ ......................................................................................................................... 40
   ‘Or’ ............................................................................................................................. 41
   ‘But’ and ‘however’ .................................................................................................. 41
20.2 Completes ................................................................................................................ 42
20.3 Subordination: Adverbial clauses ....................................................................... 42
21 Negation ........................................................................................................................ 43
21.1 NEG1. All TAMS except the Continuous and Subjunctive ................................. 43
21.2 NEG2. Negative Continuous TAM ................................................................. 44
21.3 NEG3. Existential and "have" sentences ............................................................ 44
21.4 NEG4. Non-verbal sentences and NPs ............................................................. 44
21.5 NEG5. Subjunctive ................................................................................................. 45
22 Question ........................................................................................................................ 45
22.1 Wh-Questions ........................................................................................................ 45
22.2 Yes/No questions ................................................................................................... 45
   The Q-morpheme ...................................................................................................... 46
   Question intonation ................................................................................................... 46
   Sentence-final question tags .................................................................................... 46
   Sentence-initial interrogative words ....................................................................... 46
22.3 Indirect questions .................................................................................................. 47
23 Bibliography .................................................................................................................. 47
23.1 General bibliographies .......................................................................................... 47
23.2 Grammars ................................................................................................................ 47
23.3 Manuals .................................................................................................................... 47
23.4 Dictionaries and lexicons .................................................................................... 48

List of Tables ..................................................................................................................... 48
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.

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. 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>.

---

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>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adv.</td>
<td>Adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>Adjectival Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Falling tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<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 (\dà\wu?):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV.DEICT</td>
<td>Deictic Adverb</td>
<td>now (\jà\nz?u?):, next_year (\bà\di?):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV.REL</td>
<td>Relative Adverb</td>
<td>how (\jà\dd\à?):, REL.LOC (\in\dí?):</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 (\jf\é:\w\a?):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
<td>Conjunction</td>
<td>if (\in?):; until (\h\a?):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>der</td>
<td>Derivation</td>
<td>DIR (-\o?):; NMLZ (-\w\a?):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET</td>
<td>Determinant</td>
<td>DEF (-\n?):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET.INDF</td>
<td>Indefinite Determinant</td>
<td>SOME.PL (\w\a\su?):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP</td>
<td>Discourse particle</td>
<td>well (\t\o?):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>Exclamation</td>
<td>eh (\j?):; indeed (\j\af\é?):</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 (\k\án\k\án?):; tight (\ts\án\ts\án?):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTJ</td>
<td>Interjection</td>
<td>amen (\j\a\min?):; no (a:\j?\a?):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>thing (\áb\u?):; work (\aik\i?):</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 (\h\u\d\u?):</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 (\k\un\á?):; FUT.3SG.M (\za\í?):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSL</td>
<td>Possessive Link</td>
<td>PTCL.SYNT (-\n?: \n\a?):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>So_and_So (\w\a:n\é?):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO.BEN</td>
<td>Benefactive Pronoun</td>
<td>2.PL (\m\u\k\u?):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO.DEICT</td>
<td>Deictic Pronoun</td>
<td>ANAPH (\w\án\n\n\n\án?):; DIST (\w\án\f\án\n\án?):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO.INDF</td>
<td>Indefinite Pronoun</td>
<td>some.F (\w\a\t\a?):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO.IDP</td>
<td>Independent Pronoun</td>
<td>2SG.F (\k\é?):; 3SG.M (\j\f?):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO.POS</td>
<td>Possessive Pronoun</td>
<td>3SG.F (\ta:\k\ú?):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO.SBJ</td>
<td>Subject Pronoun</td>
<td>2SG.F (\k\l?):</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PRO.UNIV  Universal Quantifier Pronoun  anything (ko:me:)
PTCL    Particle  ANAPH (din); plus (fä:)
PTCL.ASS  Assertive Particle  FCT (-a:); VRT (-a:)
PTCL.NEG  Negative Particle  NEG2a (ba:); NEG3 (bâ:)
PTCL.SYNT  Syntactic Particle  ATTR (mâi); POSL (na)
PTCL.TOP  Topicalizing Particle  indeed (fa); too (kuma)
rdp  reduplication  child\PL (yâ:yâ:); gather (tattâ:rà:)
REL    Relative  how (jandà); who (wandà);
STAT   Stative  together (tà:re); staying (zàune)
V      Verb  go.DIR (taho:); say (ʧê:)
V.AUX  Auxiliary Verb  keep_on (rìngâ:)

Corpus: glossing labels (\ge tier)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Label (\ge)</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Associated \rx labels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<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 (zâ:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANAPH</td>
<td>Anaphoric</td>
<td>PRO.DEICT (wànnan); PTCL (din)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTR</td>
<td>Attributive</td>
<td>PTCL.SYNT (mâi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>Benefactive</td>
<td>PTCL.SYNT (mâ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BKL</td>
<td>Backchannelling</td>
<td>BKL (mî:hm:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>TAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Copula</td>
<td>PTCL.SYNT (dâ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTF</td>
<td>Counterfactual</td>
<td>CONJ (dâ:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>DET (-nî)</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 (zâ:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>ADV.DEICT (ʧân)</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 (-annîja:)</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 (jakê:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>Future</td>
<td>TAM (zâi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>TAM (kân)</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 (bâ:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NFOC</td>
<td>Non-Focus</td>
<td>TAM (nâ:)</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:Çi:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>ADV.DEICT (nân); PRO.DEICT (wànnân)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL.LOC</td>
<td>Locative Relative Pronoun</td>
<td>ADV.REL (îndà)</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></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: aikì: ‘work’ is in fact pronounced [ʔaikì:]. Words ending in a CVC syllable are often ideophones or loanwords.

4 Vowels

4.1 Quality

Hausa has 5 vowels distributed over 3 heights:

i u
e o

a

4.2 Quantity

Length produces five more vowels:

iː uː
eː oː

a:

On top of these 10 vowels, Hausa has 2 diphongs: /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:

/ai/ = [A] (low, central, neutral lip position; cf. English but, cut)
/ai/ = [aː] (low; half-way between central and back)
/ei/ = [ɛ] (front, lower mid, neutral lip position; cf. English bet, get)
/ei/ = [eː] (front, upper mid, retracted lips; cf. French bébé)
/i/ = [i] (not quite high; not quite front; cf. English bit, lid)
/iː/ = [iː] (high, front, with retracted lips; cf. French /i/)
/o/ = [ɔ] (lower mid, back, rounded; cf. English god)
/o/ = [oː] (upper mid, back, rounded; cf French peau)
/u/ = [u] (half-way between high and upper mid; not quite back; less rounded than /uː/; cf. English book)
/uː/ = [uː] (high, back, very rounded)

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.
the final -a of the 1SG possessive pronoun na/ta: bà:ba:na: ‘my father’, ti/ga:ta: ‘my (man’s) gown’;
• the final -o: of class 6 verbs (ventive extension);
• the diphthongs in the words kai ‘carry’; hau ‘ride’; kau ‘take away’.

5 Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/f/</th>
<th>/j/</th>
<th>/t/</th>
<th>/s/</th>
<th>/ʃ/</th>
<th>/k/</th>
<th>/kʰ/</th>
<th>/h/</th>
<th>?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ð</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>gʰ</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The consonant written /ð/ in standard orthography is realized [ Phonetic symbol] in the West, e.g. “dʒa:kì” ‘donkey’ is pronounced [ Phonetic symbol] in Kano and [ Phonetic symbol] in Sokoto. It is transcribed and pronounced [ Phonetic symbol] in the corpus. The standard orthography notes only one /r/. In the corpus, /r/ notes an alveolar trill, and /ɾ/ an retroflex alveolar tap.

5.1 Glottalization

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

Two types of glottalized consonants are generally distinguished in Hausa:

• the voiceless post-glottalized ejectives k, kʰ 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: / kulèle: (‘cat/lock’); manà’/manna: (‘BEN.1PL/gluc’).

5.3 Labialization and palatalization of consonants

/bl/, /bl/, /kl/, /kl/ and /g/ are pronounced with rounded lips before /o/, /oː/, /u/ and /uː/. For example, in the words bu/hsu: ‘bag’; bo/kò: ‘schooling”; gùdu: ‘run’, and go/ro: ‘cola nut’, the consonants /bl/, /kl/ and /g/ are pronounced with rounded lips, so that one can hear [bʰwuh], [bʰo:kò:], and [gʰudù:].

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

/l/, /l/, /z/, /s/, and /w/ are realized [ʃ], /dʃ/, /ʃ/ and /w/ respectively in front of the front vowels /i/, /iː/, /e/ and /eː/, except in recent loanwords, e.g. ti/ʃi: ‘street’, a word borrowed from English via Yoruba.
5.4 Velarization of nasals

/ŋ/ is pronounced [ŋ] before /kl/ or /kl/ and /p/. For example, gwanki: ‘antelope’, is pronounced [gwan’k:] and danko: ‘rubber’, is pronounced [dan’ko:].

Word-final /n/ and /m/ are pronounced [ŋ] too, as in năn [nån] ‘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 a); and High (H), left unmarked (a and a). The third, Falling (F) marked with a circumflex accent (ã a) 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 patterns or melodies are associated with words or morphemes. The tones of a melody are assigned to the syllables from right to left: su:{na}je:{y}HLH is realized as su:{na}je: ‘names’ with HLH. If there are more syllables than tones, the first tone is repeated up to the next-to-the-last syllable: màkàrântu:{y}LH is realized as màkàrântu: ‘shools’. Some suffixes have an associated tone pattern that overrides that of the suffixed word, e.g. rì:ga: (LH) + -una:HL gives rì:guna: ‘gowns’ (HHL). These suffixes, called tone-integrating suffixes by Newman, can be stacked, in which case the melody of the last applied suffix overrides that of the suffixed word: dàka:{y}HL ‘pound’ + -akke:HLH past participle + -ù:HL plural: dàka: > dàkakke: > dàkâkkù: ‘pounded (pl.)’.

Some grammatical words have “polar tones”; i.e. they have no tone of their own, but must bear one that is the opposite of the preceding one. This is the case of the identifying copula tìe: (f./ne: (m., pl.) mo’tà: tìe: ‘it’s a car’ vs. rì:ga: tìe: ‘it’s a gown’.

When a final syllable drops, the tone it bears remains floating and is added to the preceding syllable. HL on a heavy syllable produces a F: mútûm: (LHL) > mútuim > mútûm (LF) ‘man’. Since a Rising tone is not allowed in Hausa, LH is usually simplified to H: ta: sàjì na:mà: > ta: sàjì i na:mà: > ta: sai na:mà: ‘she bought food’.

Canonical tone patterns can be identified in terms of the number and structure of syllables (cf. PN:605-7).

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 ‘/’ 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: makarântʃi, m. suffix -ʃi\(^\text{HLH}\), makarânta; f. suffix -a\(^{\text{HLH}}\), mákârantai, pl.; suffix -ai\(^{\text{LH}}\). The notion of ‘leaning on’ (dangàn-) is associated with the verb dangâna; v., suffix -a\(^{\text{HLH}}\), ‘lean, prop, put against’. Adding the suffix -t, we get the derived verb dangântà; v., suffixx -t-a\(^{\text{LHL}}\) ‘to be linked to, comparable to’ and the derived noun dangântakà; n.f., suffix -takà\(^{\text{LHL}}\) ‘relationship’. The affix can comprise an infix, frequent in the formation of nominal plurals, as e.g. in the noun bìrni: ‘city’, pl. bìrà:ne; (rad. bìrn-; infix -a:- suffix -e:\(^{\text{HLH}}\)). Only two prefixes are in use: ma-, used to derive agent, place, and instrument nouns; and ba-, used to form ethnyonyms.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOPIC</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOPIC</strong></td>
<td><strong>COMMENT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FOCUS</strong></td>
<td><strong>PRECONSTRUCT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawan doki: dai, riding horse indeed</td>
<td>Sulè ne:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As for riding, Sule COP it’s Sule</td>
<td>fi ko:wa:. who beats them all (PN, op.cit.)</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 dai 'indeed', fa 'well', kam 'really', kùwa (= kò(ː)) 'moreover', etc. (or a succession of such particles)." (PN:616)

Ex 2. àː / daːwàː / mukàn / ijàː;
FILL / guinea-corn / 1PL.HAB / can

saːmù -n buhùː / goːmà / hakà //
getting -POS. sack ten like_this //

masàːraː / kuma / mukàn / ijàː / saːmù -n
maize too / 1PL.HAB can getting -POS.

kàman buhùː / Àːːː / goːmà fàːː bijar //
like sack / FILL / ten plus five //

[Ah] FILLER, [guinea-corn] TOPIC, [we get like ten sacks.]; COMMENT
[As for maize] TOPIC, [we can get like ... er... fifteen sacks.]; COMMENT

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. 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.

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 neːʧeː neː 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>jaːròn [ja]PFV.NFOC fì naːmàː djiːjà</td>
<td>jaːròn [ja]PFV.FOC fì naːmàː jàːsuːwaː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaːròn (neː) [ja]PFV.FOC fì naːmàː djiːjà</td>
<td>jaːròn (neː) [ja]PFV.FOC fì naːmàː jàːsuːwaː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naːmàː (neː) jaːròn [ja]PFV.FOC fì djiːjà</td>
<td>naːmàː (neː) jaːròn [ja]PFV.FOC fì jàːsuːwaː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djiːjà (neː) jaːròn [ja]PFV.FOC fì naːmàː</td>
<td>djiːjà (neː) jaːròn [ja]PFV.FOC fì jàːsuːwaː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fìn naːmàː (neː) jaːròn [ja]PFV.FOC fì djiːjà</td>
<td>fìn naːmàː (neː) jaːròn [ja]PFV.FOC fì jàːsuːwaː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

10 As for all examples taken from (Newman 2000), the transcription has been adapted following CorpAfroAs conventions.
11 Edited example.
12 Cf. 10.2 for TAM and Subject Pronouns (PNG).
13 At a lower level, [+FOC] TAM’s are also typically associated with relative clauses.
Ex 3. \texttt{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? \footnote{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: \texttt{wà:(ne: nè:) (m.)}, \texttt{wà:(fge: ñè:) (f.)}, \texttt{suwà: ne: nè: (pl.)} ‘who’, \texttt{mè:(ne: nè:) (m.)}, \texttt{mè:(fge: ñè:) (f.)} ‘what’, \texttt{ina:} ‘where’, \texttt{jàufe: / jàufe:} ‘when’, \texttt{ji:jà:} ‘how’, \texttt{nàwà} ‘how many’, \texttt{wànè (m.) / wàfè (f.) / wàdànàé (pl.)} ‘which’.

Ex 4. \texttt{to: jàjà: kukè: dà / dabbo:bi: kuma /}
\texttt{màkijà:ja:} //
cattle\_driver.PL too //
Well how do you [do] with... animals and cattle drivers? \footnote{HAU\_BC\_CONV\_01\_SP1\_213.6}

**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. \texttt{fi: nè:}
\texttt{3SG.M COP1}
That’s it. \footnote{HAU\_BC\_CONV\_01\_SP2\_464}

This particular syntactic frame (\texttt{____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.

**10.1 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:

- \texttt{ne:} (m.sg.) / \texttt{fge:} (f.sg.) / \texttt{ne: (pl.)} (COP1.NFOC) ‘be’
- \texttt{dà} (COP2) ‘there is’
- \texttt{àkwài} (COP3) ‘there is’
- \texttt{gà} (COP4) ‘here is’.
- Identification: ne:/fge:/ne:

**Positive assertion** The identification corresponding to ‘it/they is/are/was/were, etc.’ is done with the \texttt{ne:/fge:/ne:} (COP1.NFOC) through the pattern: \texttt{<X COP1>} where \texttt{X} stands for an NP. The copula agrees in gender and number with the NP it identifies. \texttt{fge:} is the feminine marked form; \texttt{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. \texttt{Mùsà: (m.) nè:} ‘It’s Musa.’; \texttt{Kàno: (f.) fge:} ‘It’s Kano.’; \texttt{gàru:ñèwà: (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 \texttt{<bà: X ba nè:/fge:>, < NEG4a X NEG4b COP1.NFOC>}

\footnote{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.  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textbf{Wh-Question}: } & \text{The question word varies with animacy, gender and number:} \\
- & \text{human: } \text{mè:ne: nè:} \text{ (m.); mè:fe: fè:} \text{ (f.);} \\
- & \text{+human: } wà:ne: nè: \text{ (m.); wà:fe: fè:} \text{ (f.); su wà:ne: nè:} \text{ (pl.).} \\
\text{Ne: } & \text{is used if the gender of the item questioned is masculine or unknown, } fè: \text{ if it is feminine.}
\end{align*}
\]

Ex 8.  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mè:ne: nè: wannàn?} & \quad \text{What is this?} \\
\text{Wannàn liita:fi: ne:} & \quad \text{This is a book.} \\
\text{Wannàn kudù:ra: fè:} & \quad \text{This is a chair.} \\
\text{Wà:ne: nè:?} & \quad \text{Who is this? (woman)} \\
\text{Wà:fe: fè:?} & \quad \text{Who is this? (man)} \\
\text{Suwà:ne: nè:?} & \quad \text{Who are they?}
\end{align*}
\]

Existence: àkwai, dà

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

Ex 9.  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{àkwai} & \text{ tà:fi: } 254 \text{ gùda: dàja } \text{/ [\ldots] } \\
\text{cop3} & \text{ river } \text{/ unit one } \text{/ }
\end{align*}
\]

There is a river, one, [which \ldots] (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP2_624-6)

Ex: àkwai ruwa: ‘There is water.’; àkwai àbasà:. ‘There are onions.’; -àkwai kudù:? -i:, àkwai. ‘Is there any money? -Yes, there is.’

When the NP is a pronoun, it belongs to the paradigm of dependent pronouns: àkwai tà! ‘Here she comes!’

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

Ex 10.  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kài } & \text{ / zo:mo: } 219 \text{ dà àbu } -nì \text{ dà òa ka } \text{ fì } \text{/}
\text{eh } & \text{ / Rabbit cop2 thing -DEF REL 2SG.M.PFV.FOC eat } \text{/}
\text{Eh, Rabbit, it must be something you have eaten.} (HAU_BC_NARR_01_SP1_199-202)
\end{align*}
\]

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

Ex 11.  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{-dà dìari:da: } & \text{- i: } \text{dà ita.} \\
\text{cop2 newspapers yes cop2 3SG.F.IDP} & \text{- Are there any newspapers? -Yes, there are.} \text{(BC)}
\end{align*}
\]

Negation: bà:/ba:bù (NEG3). Structure: <bà/ba:bù X >; meaning: <there is/was/will be no X>. In final position, only ba:bù is used.: Bà:/ba:bù mài. ‘There is no petrol’; -Àkwai mài? -A’t:; ba:bù. ‘Is there any petrol? -No, there isn’t.’; -Bà: mài? - A’t:; àkwai. / -l:, bà: mài. / -l:, ba:bù. ‘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 dà ‘with’.
When the NP following \textit{bāːbù} is pronominal, it belongs to the independent pronoun paradigm: \textit{Bāː fī} = \textit{Bāː fī}: 'There isn’t any. (lit. There is no him.)'

**Presentation: \textit{gā}:**

Structure: \textit{gā: X}; meaning: \textit{Here is X}:

Ex 12. \textit{gā:} \textit{gàngaː} / \textit{gā:} \textit{àbinʧi} / \textit{gā:} \textit{kwāːja:}:

\begin{itemize}
  \item COP\textsubscript{4} drum /
  \item COP\textsubscript{4} food /
  \item COP\textsubscript{4} drugs
\end{itemize}

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 \textit{gā:} 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. \textit{nān} ‘here’; \textit{ʧān} ‘there’).

Ex 13. \textit{ṟiːdjioːjilː nēː} / \textit{hakāː} / \textit{ā waʤen} / \textit{goːnākiː n naːmuː}:

\begin{itemize}
  \item well.PL COP\textsubscript{1}.NFOC like_this / at around / field.PL-DEF 1PL.POS
\end{itemize}

There were wells like this, near... our fields. (HAU\_BC\_CONV\_01\_SP2\_491-4)

Ex 14. \textit{gāː} \textit{wani} \textit{maː} \textit{à nān}:

\begin{itemize}
  \item COP\textsubscript{4} some.M even at PROX
\end{itemize}

There’s even one here. (HAU\_BC\_CONV\_04\_SP2\_058)

**Wh-Question: \textit{ina}:** The Wh-Question word \textit{ina}: can be followed by the copula \textit{nēːʧē}: (COP\textsubscript{1}).

Ex 15. \textit{inaː} \textit{nēː} \textit{hanjāː} \textit{-n} \textit{-mū} \textit{na} \textit{rêtːfiː}:

\begin{itemize}
  \item where COP\textsubscript{1}.NFOC road -POS\textsubscript{L} -1PL POS\textsubscript{L} river
\end{itemize}

Where is the way to the river? (HAU\_BC\_NARR\_01\_SP1\_021)

**The Allative (\textit{zā}:)**

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

Ex 16. \textit{inaː} \textit{zāː} \textit{ka?}:

\begin{itemize}
  \item all 2SG.M.OBJ
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item ja \textit{ʧēː} \textit{zāː} \textit{ni} \textit{māŋaʤāː: nēː}:
  \item 3SG.M.PFV.FOC say all 1SG.OBJ Mangaja COP\textsubscript{1}.NFOC
\end{itemize}

[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></th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>\textit{zāː nī}</td>
<td>bā zāː nī ... ba / bā zān ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>\textit{zāː kā}</td>
<td>bā zāː kā ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>\textit{zāː kī}</td>
<td>bā zāː kī ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>\textit{zāː jī / zāː ja / zāi}</td>
<td>bā &lt;zāː jī / zāː ja / zāi&gt; ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>\textit{zāː tā}</td>
<td>bā zāː tā ... 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>Number</th>
<th>PNG</th>
<th>TAM</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>zâː</td>
<td>mu</td>
<td>bâ zâː mu ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>zâː</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>bâ zâː ku ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>zâː</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>bâ zâː su ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>zâː</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>bâ zâː a ... ba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ex 17.  
**sun**  
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.   
**maːta:**  
3pl.pfv.nfoc  
*femme.*  
The women stopped. (BC)
```

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

```
Ex 19.   
**maːta:**  
3pl.pfv.nfoc  
*femme.*  
The women 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). Hausa has developed special paradigms for verbs used in subordinate clauses. Subordination is linked to Wh-Questions, relative clauses and focus. 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>bâki... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>ja:</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>bâi... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>ta:</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>bâtà... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl.</td>
<td>mun</td>
<td>mukà</td>
<td>bâmù... 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>básù... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>an:</td>
<td>akà</td>
<td>bâ’a... ba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Continuous

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<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>nakè:/nikè:</td>
<td>baː nàː</td>
<td>baː ni&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>kanà:</td>
<td>kakè:</td>
<td>baː kàː</td>
<td>baː ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.s.</td>
<td>kinà:</td>
<td>kikè:</td>
<td>baː kjàː</td>
<td>baː ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>janà:/jìnà:</td>
<td>jakè:/fikè:</td>
<td>baː jaː</td>
<td>baː ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>tanà:</td>
<td>takè:</td>
<td>baː tàː</td>
<td>baː ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl.</td>
<td>munà:</td>
<td>mukè:</td>
<td>baː màː</td>
<td>baː mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>kunà:</td>
<td>kukè:</td>
<td>baː kwàː</td>
<td>baː ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl.</td>
<td>sunà:</td>
<td>sukè:</td>
<td>baː sàː</td>
<td>baː su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>anà:</td>
<td>akè:</td>
<td>baː àː</td>
<td>baː 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 20.  fì: kèː tfì: dà nìː /
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 an Infinitive, a Verbal Noun (NV), or an action noun. Depending on their morpho-syntactic class (cf. § 14.1), verbs will use Infinitives and/or Verbal Nouns to form a Continuous TAM.

Infinitive. The infinitive is characterized by the nominalising suffix -ìwaa 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:

19 = <ZR> bân, e.g. nìː bân wàːjoː naː sàː sàl ‘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 \( / \) 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 **jà:** (m.)².

Perfect | Continuous
---|---
Ex 23.  
**sun ja: ta:ba** | **sunà: jàn (< ja:-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:**, **aikàfe-aikàfe:** 'work(ing)'; **wa:kà:** (pl. **wa:ko:ki, wa:ke-wà:ke:**) ‘sing(ing)’; **ràwa:** (pl. **ràje-ràje:** ‘dance/dancing’; **ku:ka:** (m.; pl. **ko:ke:ko:**) ‘cry(ing)’)

Ex 24.  
**kàfè:** takwàs munà: | **aikì:** //  
o’_clock eight | 1PL.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.  
**tò:** aì do:lè kà | **jì aikì:** //  
well indeed must 2SG.M.SBJV do work //  
Well, you had to work.  
**HAU_BC_CONV_04_SP1_1103**

### Table 4. Subjunctive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjunctive (SBJV)</th>
<th>Negative Subjunctive (NEG5.SBJV)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>kà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>jà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>tà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>mü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>kù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>sù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>à</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 5. Future

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future (FUT)</th>
<th>Negative Future (NEG1a.FUT… NEG1b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1 | zàn / za: ni | bà/bà: zàn ... bà /
| 2m | za: kà | bà/bà: za: kà ... ba |
| 2f | ki | bà/bà: za: ki ... ba |
| 3m | zài / za: jà | bà/bà: zài ... ba /
| 3f | za: tà | bà/bà: za: tà ... ba |
| 1p | mü | bà/bà: za: mü ... ba |
| 2p | kù | bà/bà: za: kù ... ba |
| 3p | sù | bà/bà: za: sù ... ba |
| 4 | à | bà/bà: za: à ... ba |

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. ²

---

² In Standard Hausa, the Possessive Link is **-n** for masculine and **-t, -n** in Zaria Hausa.

17
TABLE 6. INDEFINITE FUTURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indefinite Future</th>
<th>Neg. Indef. Future</th>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Neg. Habitual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FUT.INDF</td>
<td>NEG1A FUT.INDF...NEG1B</td>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>NEG1A HAB...NEG1B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ná:</td>
<td>bà ná: ... ba</td>
<td>1 nakán</td>
<td>bà nakán: ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m ká:</td>
<td>bà ká: ... ba</td>
<td>2m kakán</td>
<td>bà kakán: ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f kjá:</td>
<td>bà kjá: ... ba</td>
<td>2f kikan</td>
<td>bà kikan: ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m já:</td>
<td>bà já: ... ba</td>
<td>3m jakán</td>
<td>bà jakán: ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f tā:</td>
<td>bà tā: ... ba</td>
<td>3f takán</td>
<td>bà takán: ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p mà:/mwā:</td>
<td>bà mà:/mwā: ... ba</td>
<td>1p mukán</td>
<td>bà mukan: ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p kwā:</td>
<td>bà kwā: ... ba</td>
<td>2p kukán</td>
<td>bà kukan: ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p sā:/swā:</td>
<td>bà sā:/swā: ... ba</td>
<td>3p sukán</td>
<td>bà sukán: ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 á:</td>
<td>bà á: ... ba</td>
<td>4 åkán</td>
<td>bà åkán : ... ba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the Habitual (Table 7), as for the Continuous, when the nominal subject is explicit, the PNG can be omitted.

TABLE 7. HABITUAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Neg. Habitual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>NEG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 nákàn</td>
<td>bà nakàn: ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m kakàn</td>
<td>bà kakán: ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f kikan</td>
<td>bà kikan: ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m jakán</td>
<td>bà jakán: ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f takán</td>
<td>bà takán: ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p mukàn</td>
<td>bà mukan: ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p kukàn</td>
<td>bà kukan: ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p sukàn</td>
<td>bà sukán: ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 åkán</td>
<td>bà åkán: ... ba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 8. RHETORICAL (RH)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RH</th>
<th>nika:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>kaká:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>kiká:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>jaká:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>taká:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>muka:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>kuká:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>suká:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>åká:</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.

3S.PFV.NFOC be_proper 2SG.M.SBJV pay taxes
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.  *lo:kāʧi: -nɨ  dā  sukā  zo: /*
time -DEF REL 3PL.PFV.FOC come /

*mē:  nē:  fâʧu  â  wuʧi:  -nɨ  //
what COP1.NFOC happen at place -DEF //
When [lit. at the time when] they came, what happened there? (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP1_028-9)

---

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.

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

The ‘have construct’ can also express a quality:

Ex 28.  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ta</th>
<th>jàːjàː</th>
<th>akà</th>
<th>saːmù</th>
<th>gaːnuwa:</th>
<th>-nl</th>
<th>nan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>via</td>
<td>how</td>
<td>4.PFV.FOC</td>
<td>get</td>
<td>rampart</td>
<td>-DEF</td>
<td>ANAPH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[...] how was it that we got that city wall? (HAU_BC_CONV_02_SP1_169)

- Focus

Ex 29.  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dà</th>
<th>noːma:</th>
<th>-nl</th>
<th>ja</th>
<th>dòːgaːrà</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>with</td>
<td>farming</td>
<td>-DEF</td>
<td>3SG.M.PFV.FOC</td>
<td>rely</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sukà</th>
<th>ji</th>
<th>ḥiːː,</th>
<th>sukà</th>
<th>ḥiːga</th>
<th>masallaːfiː</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>do preparation</td>
<td>3PL.PFV.FOC</td>
<td>enter</td>
<td>mosque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

sukà duːkà:  
3PL.PFV.FOC stoop_down

They got ready, they entered the mosque, they stooped down. (PN:573)

Ex 31.  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tàːre</th>
<th>kukèː</th>
<th>sànaːː’a:</th>
<th>-n</th>
<th>noːma:</th>
<th>dà</th>
<th>su:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>together</td>
<td>2PL.CONT.FOC</td>
<td>profession</td>
<td>-POS</td>
<td>farming</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>3PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, static, or possessive meanings.
  - *Location*, when followed by a Prepositional Phrase, an adverb or a noun of place:

Ex 32.  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kàːwu:</th>
<th>-na:</th>
<th>jànaː:</th>
<th>wannàːn</th>
<th>ūŋguwa:</th>
<th>-n</th>
<th>fulàːni:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uncle</td>
<td>-1SG.POS</td>
<td>3SG.M.CONT.NFOC</td>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>quarter</td>
<td>-POS</td>
<td>Fulanis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. zuːne ‘seated’ from the verb zuːnà: ‘sit down’:

Ex 33.  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ìta</th>
<th>maː</th>
<th>tanàː</th>
<th>zuːne</th>
<th>àː naː</th>
<th>/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3SG.F even</td>
<td>3SG.F.CONT.NFOC</td>
<td>staying at</td>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tò</th>
<th>jiː:</th>
<th>/</th>
<th>jànaː:</th>
<th>dà</th>
<th>jàːraː:</th>
<th>nèː</th>
<th>kàman</th>
<th>-kà</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>well</td>
<td>3SG.M</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>3SG.M.CONT.NFOC with child</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>COP1.NFOC</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>-2SG.M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>àbìnlì</th>
<th>jànaː:</th>
<th>dà</th>
<th>daːdí:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>food</td>
<td>3SG.CONT.NFOC with pleasure</td>
<td>The food is tasty. (BC)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**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.  
alàː dai  ji  kaː tàː  manà laː fijaː: //
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  mú  dʒeː  mú  kai  ji  kàː suwaː: //
then 1PL.SBJV go 1PL.SBJV carry 3SG.M market //

ʃiː  maː  mú  dʒeː  mú  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  dʒimàː:  fa / inaː zaː ki  dʒeː: //
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  dàukaː:  -i  hukunʧiː:  à kái  -n  -ki //
FUT.3SG.M take -ACC1 punishment AT head -POS.L -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.  
wàtàː kiː la  makàdaː:  sâː  daː woː:
maybe drummers 3PL.FUT.INDF come
Maybe the drum players will come back. (PN:587)

It is found in proverbs:

Ex 41.  
koː waː: ja  hadiː jë  tabaː jaː:  jáː  kwaː naː:  tsàje
whoever 3SG.PFV.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.  
kjâː  gàmu  dà  jiː:
2SG.M.FUT.INDF meet with 3SG.M //
Well, (sooner or later) you will see him [he has already said he will punish you.] ([HAU_BC_CONV_03_SP2_057])

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

Ex 43.  
kàː gai  dà gida
2SG.M.SBJV greet with home
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: ịrị: -nị 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>m</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɗàːkiː</td>
<td>ɗàːkaː</td>
<td>ɗàːkai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faːjì</td>
<td>faːkaː</td>
<td>faːkẹ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɗịʔgiː</td>
<td>ɗịʔgeː</td>
<td>ɗonːkẹ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goːnaː</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Donkey (n.)
White (adj.)
Vehicle (n.)
Farm (n.)

<ZR> In the Zaria dialect of Hausa transcribed in the corpus, grammatical gender and its exponents, such as agreement in the noun system, 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

gọːjàː bamboo
faːda emir’s palace
læʔadà commission
ụwọya difficulty

gwiiːwàː knee
kù:kàː baobab
ụnà:

21
Ex. (b) other vowels = masculine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tsuntsu:</th>
<th>bird</th>
<th>käre:</th>
<th>dog</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go:ró</td>
<td>cola nut</td>
<td>bô:ti</td>
<td>cult of possession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kái</td>
<td>head</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, a certain number of feminine nouns end in a vowel other than /a/, e.g. mæcɛ ‘wife’; tɛ:kʊ ‘sea’; gwamnati ‘government’, etc. Masculine nouns ending in /a/ are more numerous:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bàkà:</th>
<th>bow</th>
<th>bà:ya:</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dàwà</td>
<td>bush</td>
<td>duma:</td>
<td>calabash fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gàbà:</td>
<td>chest</td>
<td>gîda:</td>
<td>compound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gîdîma:</td>
<td>pride, large size</td>
<td>gò:ra:</td>
<td>gourd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gîdûa:</td>
<td>lump in tuwo</td>
<td>gù:ga:</td>
<td>well pail</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

**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 jf, j, and jʃ respectively (both z and d becoming jʃ), e.g. bìsa: ‘pack animal’ has the reduplicated plural form bìsà:fe: (PL4 < -a:Ce:) where the final syllable fe: derives from se:). Likewise, w palatalizes to j, e.g. the plural of bàrạ:wọ: ‘thief’ is bàrạ:jji: (PL14 < -a:).
4. The palatal consonants jf, j, and jʃ 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. hanʃi: ‘nose’, plural hantùnà: (PL19 < -una:), maʃʃi:di: ‘snake’, plural maʃʃi:za: (PL5 < -a:).
5. C₃ stands for 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 (ge) 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.

**TABLE 9. PLURAL CLASSES**

| PL1 | -ɑː:Ca: | [H-L-H] | e.g. sirdi/sirà:da: ‘saddle’ |
| PL2 | -ɑː:Ce: | [H-L-H] | e.g. gulbi/gulà:be: ‘stream’ |
| PL3 | -ɑː:Cu: | [H-L-H] | e.g. kuʃmi/kuʃa:mu: ‘grove’ |
| PL4 | -ɑː:Ce: | [H-L-H] | e.g. wurlu/wuru:re: ‘place’ kasà:řakasà:fe: ‘country’ |
| PL5 | -ai | [L-H] | e.g. ma:la/ma:làma: ‘teacher’ |
| PL6 | -ànni: | [L-H] | e.g. wàta/wàtànni: ‘moon’ |
| PL7 | -a:wa: | [all H, or L-L-H] (if the singular word contains the prefix bà-) | it is dropped when the plural is added, e.g. |

---

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


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. faqar-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); àbò:kin gà:ba: ‘enemy’ (friend- POSL enmy);
- **Adjective-Noun compounds**: bákin-cikì: (black-POSIL belly) ‘sadness’; djan-kàrlà: (red-POSIL iron) ‘copper’;
- **Phrasal compounds**: bàbbà-da-djàkà: (Mr._Big with bag) ‘marabou stork’; ja:ki:-dà-djà:hi:lì (war with ignorance) ‘adult literacy program’;
- **Agentive compounds**: magà:-takàrdu: (one_who_sees paper) ‘scribe’; mafà:-ju:wa: (one_who_drinks water) ‘rainbow’;
- **Sentential compounds**: bà:-hàja: (there_is_no_hiring) ‘public toilet’; kà:kà:-nikà:-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. gidà: dá mo:tà: ‘house and car’; kàza: dá 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. dá Bellò dá Musa: ‘Bello and Musa; dá za:ka: dá 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: dá Musa: ‘him and Musa’; ità dá Bintà ‘her and Bintà’; nà nì: dá fi: /ità/su: ‘me and him/her/them’.

‘Or’

Disjunction is marked by ko: and follows the same rules as dà, e.g. Lìtitìn ko: Tàlà:ko: Là:rà:ba: ‘Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday’; ko: biju ko: ukù: ‘two or three’; nì: ko: kài ‘me or you’.

NB: Not only simple nouns but whole NPs can be conjoined, e.g. faqìn tünstsu: dá do:guwar bìfìjìa: ‘a white bird and a big tree’; rà:go: ìjì 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 (POSL) 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 na:ɗe/:ne:, it agrees in gender and number with the first (possessed) NP.

The POSL 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 gida:ɗe: (pl.) ‘houses’ with saƙki: (m.) ‘chief’ as possessor, we get the following possessive constructions:

\[
\begin{align*}
gida: & \text{ na saƙki:} & gida-n saƙki: & \text{ the chief’s house} \\
gida: & \text{ na saƙki:} & gida-n saƙki: & \text{ the chief’s farm} \\
gida: & \text{ dʒe: na saƙki:} & gida:ɗe-n saƙki: & \text{ the chief’s houses} \\
\end{align*}
\]

NB: (a) the suffixation of the POSL to long final vowels, e.g. go:na:-r creates a closed syllable (CVV>C>V) entailing the shortening of the vowel, hence go:na:r; (b) likewise, the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ are simplified, e.g. kjàn (<kjà:n) ja:nja: ‘beautiful girl’ (lit. beauty of the girl), mân (<mâ:n) 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 /a/, e.g. gwammatì ingila ‘the English government’, where gwammatì (f.) ends in /i/.

The bound form of the POSL (-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:târ nân, 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:fi: na biju ‘the second book’, or to express measurement or value, e.g. na:ma: na si:si: ‘meat for a shilling’, ti:ga: ta nairà: du:bù: dà ṭaɓi: ‘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. wannà: ‘which one?’; some only as modifiers, e.g. wàne doki: ‘which horse?’ and others both as pronouns and modifiers, e.g. wannà: ja: fi kjà:u ‘This one is best.’; wannà: bìrò: ja: fi kjà:u ‘This ballpoint pen is best.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 10. Demonstratives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M.</th>
<th>F.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
<th>(\text{RX})</th>
<th>(\text{GE})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this (by me)</td>
<td>wannà:</td>
<td>wannà:</td>
<td>wàddannà:</td>
<td>PRO.DEICT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this (by you)</td>
<td>wannà:</td>
<td>wannà:</td>
<td>wàddannà:</td>
<td>DET.DEICT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that (there)</td>
<td>wàntà:</td>
<td>wàftà:</td>
<td>wàddàntà:</td>
<td>PRO.DEICT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that (distant)</td>
<td>wàntà:</td>
<td>wàftà:</td>
<td>wàddàntà:</td>
<td>DET.DEICT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which?</td>
<td>wannè:</td>
<td>wannè:</td>
<td>wàddànnè:</td>
<td>DET.Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which one?</td>
<td>wannè:</td>
<td>wannè:</td>
<td>wàddànnè:</td>
<td>PRO.Q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[29\] The same POS is used for pre-nominal adjectives, e.g. sa:bo-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-/prefix above, but also post-nominally without the wa- prefix, e.g. wa'failàn kà:suwa = kà:suwar t'ân ‘that market’. They are related to the adverbs nân, ʧân, nan, ʧan, 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: wà fi: ʧà:kà: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 TANKO ‘Tanko et al.’, su baɾe:wa: ‘gazelles, etc.’.

Universal quantifiers

The global quantifier duk/duka ‘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 mutà:ne.31 = mutà:ne dukà ‘all the people.’

The distributive quantifier ko:wànè (f. ko:wàʧè, pl. ko:wàdanne) ‘every, whichever’ is another pre-nominal specifier, e.g. ko:wànè mùtûm ‘each man’, ko:wàʧè 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:tà: ‘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 danyaràyàn, e.g. jùddàn ji:gunà: ‘blue gowns’ (ADJ.PL-POS.L PL N.PL), dan kàçàmin ja:ʧò: ‘a little boy’ (DIM.M ADJ.M-POS.L N). Adjectives can be stacked, e.g. zungure:rijar tso:fuwar façar mo:tà: ‘a very long old white car’ (ADJ.F-POS.L F ADJ.F-POS.L F ADJ.F-POS.L F N)32

---

31 Pronounced [dummutàːneː]; the pronominal quantifier duk is often realized as duG, 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.

Define article

What corresponds to the English definite article is the anaphoric suffix -IN/-IR/-IN (m./f/pl.) glossed ANAPH in the corpus. The choice of the -IN or -IR form follows the same rules as for the POSL, i.e. -IR is suffixed to feminine nouns ending in /a/, and -IN elsewhere, e.g. bàkán the bow (<baka: (m.) -IN), go:di:jär ‘the mare’ (<go:di:jå (f.) -IN), üngül:n ‘the vulture’ (<üngül:n (f.) -IN), go:di:jin ‘the mares’ (<go:di:jö:ji (pl.) -IN).

Demonstrative determiners

The heavy forms of the pre-nominal deitics (vd. Table 10) occur post-nominally in the invariant light form nān ‘this’ (PROX), nan ‘that near you, that previously mentioned’ (ANAPH), tfan ‘that there’ (DIST), tfan ‘that over there’ (DIST2). They directly follow a noun with suffixed POSL, or a noun plus the connective di- plus POSL, e.g. do:ki:n nān ‘this horse’, ti:går nān ‘that gown’ (near you or previously mentioned), gidà:djen tfan ‘those houses there’, tfk dîn nān ‘this check’. The forms nān and tfan are realized nān and tfan 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. ti:går Sulè ‘Sule’s gown’ (<gi:ga:-r), do:kiny ‘his horse’ (<do:ki:-n--sá), tfèk dînta (<tfèk di-n --tä)’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:ki:n nān na:sá ‘this horse of his’, ti:går ta Sulè ‘the gown, Sulè’s’.

Numerals

Cardinal numbers and other quantitative specifiers such as the modifiers duká ‘all’, dá jàwà ‘plenty’, the interrogative nàwà: ‘how many’, as well as ideophones, directly follow the head noun, e.g. nàwà: dubu: ‘one thousand naira’; só:di:do:dji: dá jàwà: ‘many soldiers’ (lit. ‘soldiers with plenty’), mangwàrò nàwà:? ‘how many mangoes?’; yàmma:ta: dukà ‘all the girls’; mūtà:ne: tìngjìm ‘lots of people’ (‘people IDEEPH’).

Ordinal numbers are introduced by the free POSL nàta/na, e.g. bà:bì: na ùkù ‘the third chapter’; bàbàn ja:ki:n du:nìjà: na bèju ‘the Second World War’ (lit. big-of war-of world of two’). When combined with other determiners, they come last: mà:ta:ta: ta ùkù ‘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 dàn/yàr/Yàn, e.g. kwa:šì: bàbba ‘large carton’; tuma:ki: yàn kàna:nà: ‘wee small lambs’. Post-nominal adjectives follow specifiers, e.g. kwa:šì:n nàn bàbba ‘this large carton’.

Possessive modifying nouns


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 marás (= marär = marâG where G geminates with the following consonant; pl. marâsa:) followed by a series of nouns expressing a quality34, will be used to attribute this quality or its absence to a noun, e.g. ja:rînjà: mai kjau ‘beautiful girl’, ri:dîja: mai zufti: ‘deep well’, jà:ra: marâsa: hankâi: ‘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:jà) ‘lit. the one exceeding’ plus an object, e.g. mo:tà: mafi:tsâ:da: ‘the most expensive car’.

Prepositional phrases

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

Stative phrases

Another type of post-nominal modifier is the phrase formed by a Stative + dá + 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 dá or a relative pronoun containing dá, e.g. wandà, jaddà, indà, etc. The antecedent of the relative must have some degree of definiteness; usually it bears the definite article suffix -ln/-hl/-ln (<ZR> n)

now even speech -DEF REL 4.CONT.FOC doing 3SG.M.PFV.NFOC dry_up /
Right now, what we were talking about (i.e. the river, lit. the speech that we were doing) has dried up. (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP2.659)

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

Ex 47. àkwài wani àbù -n tsà:řo: dá mukà ta:bà: gani: //
COP3 some.M thing -POSL fear REL 1PL.PFV.FOC touch see //
there is something terrible that we saw. (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP2.123-4)

With numerals:

like year two REL 3PL.PFV.FOC pass_by /
over the past two years (the two years that have elapsed) (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP2.410)

When the pivot noun of the relative is modified by a universal quantifier (e.g. kó:wa:, ‘everyone’), the result is a universal subordinate clause: kó:wa: dà kúkà 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. wàta mace wai Laːdi ‘a woman called Ladi’35.

---

34 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).
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. *manɔːmiː* ‘farmer’; *madʃeːmiː* ‘tannery’; *masassabi* ‘harvesting tool’.

**Agent nouns**

All agent nouns use the same H-tone *ma-* prefix. In addition, masculine singulars add a suffix -iː)ΛH, which results in H-(L)-(L)-L-H tone patterns. Feminine singulars use the suffix -ijaː)HΛH. The plural suffix is -aː)ΛH resulting in the same tone pattern as the masculine.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Agent Noun</th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>F.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ginàː</td>
<td>build</td>
<td>maginiː</td>
<td>maginaː</td>
<td>mason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dǐnkàː</td>
<td>sew</td>
<td>madinkiː</td>
<td>madinkaː</td>
<td>tailor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djeːmàː</td>
<td>tan</td>
<td>madjeːmiː</td>
<td>madjeːmijaː</td>
<td>tanner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keːtàː</td>
<td>forge</td>
<td>makėːrĳaː</td>
<td>makėːrjaː</td>
<td>blacksmith</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>Agent Noun</th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>F.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maʧiː</td>
<td>treacherous person (lit. eater trust)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mabì</td>
<td>follower of the Emir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mazò</td>
<td>town-goer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʤeː</td>
<td>cinema-goer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Place nouns**

Place nouns formed with the H tone *ma-* prefix have two forms -aː) (f.) and -iː) (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>
<th>M.</th>
<th>F.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aikàtaː</td>
<td>perform</td>
<td>mam’aikàtaː</td>
<td>factory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bùbbuga</td>
<td>well up</td>
<td>mabùbbugaː</td>
<td>spring</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djeːmàː</td>
<td>tan</td>
<td>madjeːmaː</td>
<td>tannery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fàkàː</td>
<td>lie in wait for</td>
<td>mafàkàː</td>
<td>shelter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plural of -iː place nouns, when it exists, is formed with the -ai)ΛH suffix, e.g. *masàllàːtai* (sg. *masàllàːtillus*) ‘mosque’. The plurals of -aː place nouns are more varied, e.g.: *mà’àikatù* (< *ma’àikataː* - uː)BH) ‘factory’; *màfaʃàutai* (< *maʃàautaː* - ai)BH) ‘hunting ground’; *maʧʃìjoːjiː* (< *maʧʃìjaː* - oːjiːLH) ‘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 -iː suffix and an all-H tone pattern. The plural is regular with an -ai)BH 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); Bàzamfaː: ‘man from Zamfara’ (Zàmfà). Some ethnonyms have different final vowels, e.g. Bàkanò: ‘man from Kano’; bàduːkù: ‘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 -eː+ò > -ùwa, e.g. Bàgumalèː (m.) / Bàgumalìjaː (f.) ‘a man / woman from Gumel’; Bàkanòː (m.) / Bàkanùwaː (f.) ‘a man / woman from Kano’. The plural is formed by adding -awaː to the lexical base, without the ba- prefix, e.g. Bàgumalèː (m.) / Gumalaːwaː (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 15. Personal Pronouns**

<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/mûn</td>
<td>-na / -ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s.m.</td>
<td>kai</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>makà/maː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s.f.</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>mìki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>fìː</td>
<td>fì</td>
<td>masà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>ita</td>
<td>ta</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: nèː //**

    kai maː zaun- -i:\HLH -n inaː neː //
    2.SG.M AGT- stay -AGT -POS.L where COP1.NFOC //

You, where do you live? ([HAU.BC_CONV.01_SP1.002])

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

    ita maː tanàː zàune à nân /
    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 dàːdeː taːte dà ita kèː 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: mú //*


[...] 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). A nominal Benefactive is marked by the particle *wa* (ZR & WH *má*) suffixed to the long-vowel finite form of the verb. In the Continuous, the normalized form of the verb is replaced by a corresponding finite form.

Ex 54. [...] *tà ṭabà: mà màkànì: /*

[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 *má* particle with person and number marking.

Ex 55. *wandà akè: tįfè: mà mà’a:zù //*


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:tįfè mo:tà:ta* ‘They stole my car’ vs. *Mo:tà:ta: ta: bą:ți* ‘My car has broken down’. The word *kāi* ‘head’ with a possessive pronoun suffix, is used to form the reflexive: *mun gū:ǥī kānmù* ‘we’ve wronged ourselves’ (*kānmù* ‘ourselves’ < *kāi* -n -*mù*, head- POS.L-1PL.PNG.POS). Suffixied to the free POS.L, the possessive PNGs form the Independent Possessive Pronouns. The free POS.L agrees with the gender of the thing possessed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 16. INDEPENDENT POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M. &amp; PL.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p.</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>Grade Ø</td>
<td>-i: H</td>
<td>-i: H</td>
<td>-i: H</td>
<td>-i: H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 3a</td>
<td>-a: H-L-(L)</td>
<td>-a: H-L-(L)</td>
<td>-a: H-L-(L)</td>
<td>-a: H-L-(H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 3b</td>
<td>-i/-u/-a H-L</td>
<td>-i/-u/-a H-L</td>
<td>-i/-u/-a H-L</td>
<td>-i/-u/-a H-L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 4</td>
<td>-o: H-L(H)</td>
<td>-o: H-L(H)</td>
<td>-o: H-L(H)</td>
<td>-o: H-L(H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 6</td>
<td>-o: H</td>
<td>-o: H</td>
<td>-o: H</td>
<td>-o: H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 7</td>
<td>-u L-H</td>
<td>-u L-H</td>
<td>-u L-H</td>
<td>-u L-H</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. ʧi ‘eat’ or /aː/, e.g. ʤa: ‘pull’, plus a small group of H-tone CiCa verbs, e.g. kira: ‘call’.

**Grade 1** contains basic -aː/ verbs, e.g. dafa: ‘cook’, both transitive and intransitive.

**Grade 2** comprises only basic transitive verbs, e.g. saja: ‘buy’ (saji /___N and saja: /___PRO.OBJ).

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

**Grade 3** is exclusively intransitive and contains basic -a final verbs, e.g. fita ‘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. kauqa ‘migrate’. **Grade 3b** consists of a few H-L 2-syllable intransitive verbs with final -i, -u, and -a, e.g. gudu ‘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. saja: ‘buy up’. Used with a dative object, it can have a malefactive/deprivative sense, e.g. kwa:ʧe: ‘take from’. The variant with /nje:/ is limited to a few verbs derived from monosyllabic grade Ø verbs, e.g. jänje: ‘drink up’.

31
Grade 5 is called ‘efferential’ 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 transitiveize 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 dà gijà: ‘He poured out the beer’, ja sayar dà ita ‘He sold it’. The pre-nominal form with je: is an alternative to the da form, e.g. na: gaife: sù = na: gajar dà su: ‘I greeted them’. Some grade 5 verbs have a short suffixless form when followed by a direct object, e.g. ja: Zub dà ita = ja: zubar dà ita ‘he poured it out’. Grade 5b is a dialectal form with the marker 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. datu ‘well cooked’, tàfu ‘meet’.

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

14.2 Imperatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<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>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr2</td>
<td>-I-L-H</td>
<td>-e: L</td>
<td>-I-L-H</td>
<td>-o C L-H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tàimákì!</td>
<td>tàimákè: mu!</td>
<td>tàimákì já:ra!</td>
<td>tàjam mini dà fì!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help (X)!</td>
<td>Help us!</td>
<td>Help the children!</td>
<td>Give it back to me!</td>
<td></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.

14.3 Auxiliaries

We call auxiliary verbs 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), a NV, NV Phrase or an action noun.

Ex 56. kun ka:rà ji: -n wani no:ma: /
  2.PL PFV continue doing -POS L some.M farming /
  [...] did you go on cultivating another crop [...]?

(8.AU BC CONV 01 SP1_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 Gouffè (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


Epistemic: ija: ‘can’; raƙa:; kaƙa:; gazā: ‘cannot’; faskara: ‘be difficult to...’

Deontic: ūƙantañ, daƙe:; kama:ta: ‘be proper’; kjatu: ‘be better’.

Appreciative: ti: ‘exceed’; fajè:; ƙikà: ‘be too much’.

Aspectual auxiliaries


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. daƙi:na: jà:na:; dab da na tà: ‘my room is right next to her’; ta:da:wa: sunà zà:ne kusa dà saƙà: ‘the councillors are seated close to the chief’.
2. locative goal of motion verbs, e.g. mu tài: tài: ‘let’s go there!’
3. modifier in N-POS1 ADV constructions, e.g. fu: gà:ba:n dà:zu: ‘the leaders of the movement’ (lit. leaders of just now); ki:fi:na:ytà: ‘ambition’ (lit. jealousy of in the heart)
4. predicate modifier appearing at the end of the VP, e.g. inà: sònàtà aïnà: ‘I love her very much’, tànà: aïkà: sà:nu sà:nu: ‘She is working very slowly.’

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

Ex 57.

\[ \text{lo:kaƙà: -ni dà suƙà: zo: / } \text{hakà: suƙà: zo: } \]
\[ \text{time -DEF REL 3PL.PFV.FOC come / like this 3PL.PFV.NFOC come } \]

like this 3PL.CONT.NFOC give with person fear //
[When they arrived] [like that] [they arrived, [like that] [they frightened people.
\(H\text{AU}_{-BC\_CONV\_01\_SP1\_151\_2}\)]

Ex 58.

\[ \text{ta nà: na:n nè: akà sa:mo: basa:wa } / \]
via ANAPH COP1.NFOC 4.PFV.FOC get.DIR Basawa // ]
[Is that where] [the Basawa were found? \(H\text{AU}_{-BC\_CONV\_01\_SP1\_174}\)]

15.1 Basic adverbs


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.
There are other adverbs relative to the time locus of the utterance, e.g. **kà:fe:ga:ri**, **wà:fe:ga:ri**: ‘the following day’; **kullum, dà:da:il, tutur**: ‘always’.

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

**Deictics** have both a spatial and temporal meaning: **nà:n** ‘here, now’; **nà:n** ‘there near you, then’; **ì:fan** ‘there (not near you); **ì:fan** ‘there (remote), then (later)’.

**Manner adverbs.** We will name but a few manner adverbs, e.g. **ainùn** ‘very much’; **dà:a:il** ‘exactly’; **dàk** ‘entirely’; **hà:kà = hà:kàn** ‘thus’; **kàwài** ‘only, merely’, etc.

**Other adverbs.** The adverb **ko** modifies NP, VP and adverbials (both PP and AP). Here is an example modifying a PP: **ko: dà: wa:ku: bà:zì: ka:fe: fi bi** ‘Even with a knife, he would not be able to kill it.’ **dà:na:yàri:yan** ‘little’ is an adjective modifier, and its invariable form **dà:na** acts as an adverbial predicate modifier, e.g.

Ex 59. à sa:jo: / à sa:mù à dà:na ʧì ʧì bìnʧì / SBJV.4 sell.DIR / SBJV.4 get SBJV.4 DM eat food / We would go and sell [doughnuts] to get [money] and eat a little. (Hau BC Conv.01 SP2 285-?)

### 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 kàfa: ‘on foot’ < kàfa: ‘foot, leg’); (ii) dropping the feminine gender suffix (à zu:ʧi: ‘in the heart’ < zu:ʧija: ‘heart’); (iii) change of tone to HH; (iv) addition of a tone-integrating suffix -a:ii (bà:ka: dà: ha:nʧi: ‘tooth and nail, lit. at mouth and at nose’ < bà:ki: ‘mouth’; hanʧi: ‘nose’).

---

44 There is no adverb corresponding to ‘the previous day’. Instead, the expression anà: gò:be + FUT (lit. they were tomorrow...), e.g. anà: gò:be za: sù tà:ʧi... ‘the day before their departure...’ (lit. they were tomorrow they will leave).
45 Cf. the related prenominal (**duk**) and post-nominal (**duka**) specifiers.
46 We have seen how this has been lexicalized for the formation of universal quantifiers through the structure **ko**: + Question word.
Deverbal statives

Statives are a subclass of adverbs derived from verbs by means of a tone-integrating suffix -e\(^{1}\), e.g. mutù ‘die’ > mafè ‘dead’; zaunà ‘sit’ > zuane ‘seated’:

Ex 60. sunà: nan à zuane nè: à wànnan gàri: na pallà:dàn //
3PL.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)

Ex 61. kun daddè: tàte dà ità kè: 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: gàn ‘there’ / gàn gàn ‘far, far away’; kusa ‘close’ / kusa kusa = kurkusa ‘very close’.

Attenuative reduplication\(^{47}\): mainly concerned are denominal locative adverbs, e.g. ba:ja ba:ja ‘a bit behind’ / samà samà ‘a bit above’.


15.4 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases (PP) consist of a preposition plus an NP or an adverb, e.g. dà wuka: ‘with a knife’, dàgà nàn: ‘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\(^{48}\) e.g. kà:fi ‘before’; ba:jan ‘after’.

Ex 62. ba:jan rúsùvantà dài /
after death.POSSL.3SG.F indeed /
Well, after her death, […] (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP1_038)

- Place PPs, e.g. gàba dà ‘in front of’; à ‘at’

Ex 63. ka: daddè: à wùrjintà ko: kùwà ##
2SG.M.PFV.NFOC last at place.POSSL.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 dà with a noun of quality, e.g. dà hankàli: ‘gently’; dà karfi: ‘strongly’, dà jàwà: ‘many’.

Ex 64. akwài ra:jufukà: ne: dà jàwà: […]
COP3 river.PL COP1.NFOC with quantity […]
Are there many rivers […]? (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP1_192)

- Instrument PPs use the preposition dà with concrete nouns, e.g. sun daufè: fi dà igija: ‘they tied him with a rope’.

\(^{47}\) 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. *tsoːho*: ‘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. *zaːzaːfaː*: ‘very hot’ (< *zaːfaː*: ‘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, *faː*: (m.); *faː*: (f.); *faːːrəː*: (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><em>doːki:</em> (m.)</td>
<td><em>faʃi-ndoːki:</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horse</td>
<td>(white-POSL horse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>moːtə:</em> (f.)</td>
<td><em>faʃaː-roːmoːtə:</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car</td>
<td>(white-POSL car)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>huːlunaː:</em> (pl.)</td>
<td><em>faʃaːːrəːn huːlunaː:</em></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.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>loːkɛʃin</th>
<th>niː</th>
<th>inːaː</th>
<th>dan</th>
<th>kʊgɔːmiː</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>time:DEF</td>
<td>1SG.IDPT</td>
<td>1SG.CONT,NFOC</td>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At that time I was young.</td>
<td>(HAU BC_CONV_01.SP2.144)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Ex 66.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>doːki-n-ɡa</th>
<th>faʃiː</th>
<th>nɛː</th>
<th>nɛː</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>horse-POSL,M-him</td>
<td>white.M</td>
<td>COP.M</td>
<td>his horse is white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riːɡa-r-ɡa</td>
<td>faʃaː</td>
<td>ɡɛː</td>
<td>COP.F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caftan-POSL,F-him</td>
<td>white.F</td>
<td>COP.F</td>
<td>his caftan (f.) is white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moːtəːr-ɡi-n-suː</td>
<td>faʃaːːrəː</td>
<td>nɛː</td>
<td>COP.PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cars-POSL,PL-them</td>
<td>white.PL</td>
<td>COP.PL</td>
<td>their cars are white (BC)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison

Comparison is expressed through the verb *fi* ‘exceed’ and the structure *<X fi Y adj>* , e.g. *Sulɛ jaː fi Muːsaː tɔsaː:* ‘Sule is taller than Musa’ (lit. Sule exceeds Musa (in) height). One of the terms of comparison may be elliptical:
Noun/adjectives. A certain number of words are used both as adjectives and as nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Adjectives</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baki:; ba:ka; ba:ka:ke:</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baba; baba; manja:</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do:go; do:guwa; do:gw:je:</td>
<td>long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>danje; danja; danju:</td>
<td>raw, fresh, green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far:; fara; fara:re:</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huntu; huntuwa; huntà:je:</td>
<td>naked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja; ja; ja:jà:je:</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko:re; ko:rija; ko:rà:je:</td>
<td>green, unripe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kùma:ma; kùma:ma; kùma:mai</td>
<td>weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka:tò; ka:tùwa; kätta:</td>
<td>huge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kànkané; kànkanuwa; kana:nà:</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kàrami:; kàrama:; kàna:nà:</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kàza:mi; kàza:ma; kàza:mai</td>
<td>dirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku:lumí; ku:luma; ku:lu:ma:je:</td>
<td>stingy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu:gu; mu:guwa: (=mu:gunjà:); mijà:gu: (=mu:ga:je:)</td>
<td>evil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rà:wàjà; rà:wàjà; rà:wà:ju:</td>
<td>yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa:bo; sa:buwa; sa:bàbbi:</td>
<td>new</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shu:di:; shu:di:ja; shùddà:</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>Basic Adjectives</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bà:ko; ba:kuwa; bà:ki:</td>
<td>stranger, host</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be:be; be:bìja; be:ba:je:</td>
<td>dumb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bàra:wo; bàraunija; bàra:ji:</td>
<td>robber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kùma:ma; kùma:; kùma:me:</td>
<td>deaf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Ex 69.  ḡin  na  tsò:faxi: / type.DEF  POSL  old.PL /
like those of old people. (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP2_596)

whereas in (Ex 69) the predicative adjective tsò:fo:fin ‘old’ modifies the noun tùma:ti: ‘tomato’:

Ex 70.  tsò:fo:fin  tùma:ti: / old.PL  -POSL  tomatoes
old tomatoes (HAU_BC_CONV_01_SP2_615)

mafí: is a short agent noun derived from fi ‘exceed’.
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. matsi:j:i: (adj.) ‘poor, destitute’, mahàukà:fi: (adj.) ‘mad’. Example: wani mahàukà:fin dire:ba ‘a mad driver’; mahàukà:tan karnu:ka ‘mad dogs’.

Past Participles

Adjectival past participles are produced from verbs by means of the tone-integrating suffix -aCCe:\(i\)\(\text{Hii}\) where CC stands for a geminated copy of the preceding consonant. The feminine counterpart has an -iya: suffix, and the plural is -u:\(i\)\(a\)\(L\), e.g. dàaffe: / dàaffiyà: / dàafftu: ‘cooked’ (< dàáfà: ‘cook’); rùbùtàffie: / rùbùtàffiyà: / rùbùtàfttu: ‘written’ (< rubù:ta: ‘write’).

Adjectives of Sensory Quality


Reduplicated adjectives

A highly productive derivation produces adjectives by full reduplication of common nouns with shortening of the original final vowel. The semantic result is an adjective meaning ‘X-like’ where X stands for the original noun, e.g. gàfi:ri: ‘salt’ > gàfi:ri-gàfi:ri ‘salty’. Other examples are: gàfì:già:ri ‘powdery’ (< gàfì:gi ‘flour’); ruwà:ruwa ‘watery’ (< ruwa: ‘water’).


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 gàre: when followed by a direct object pronoun, e.g. gàre: tà ‘by her’, all basic prepositions take independent pronouns as complements, e.g. sabò: 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’; *gâme dà, târe 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 *a / dâgà / ta*, e.g. *à kân te: bùr* ‘on the table’. Here are a few examples: *bàːkin* ‘at the edge of, in exchange for’ (< *bàːki*: mouth); *ʧikin* ‘inside’ (< *ʧiki* (adv.) ‘inside’); *kân* ‘on top of’ (< *kâi*: head); *baːjan* ‘behind’ (< *baːja*: at the back) *màimakon* ‘in exchange for’ (< *màimako*: 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 tʃanzaː* //
   all thing.PL 3PL.PFV.NFOC change //
   All things have changed. ([HAU_BC_CONV_04_SP1_0514](#))

- **Pronoun**

Ex 72. *duk na kâ-n wànnan nèː* /
   all POSL HEAD-POSL -POSL ANAPH COP1.NFOC /
   It’s all because of that. ([HAU_BC_CONV_03_SP2_062](#))

- **Adverb**

Ex 73. *duk in jaːtinjā: taː tʃika* /
   all if girl 3SG.F.PFV.NFOC fill /
   Whenever a girl is grown up, […] ([HAU_BC_CONV_04_SP1_1018](#))

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>Objective</th>
<th>Universal</th>
<th>Question Words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>everyone, whoever</td>
<td><em>koːwa</em>:</td>
<td><em>wa</em>: ‘who?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>everything, whatever</td>
<td><em>koːme</em>:</td>
<td><em>mè</em>: ‘what?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>everywhere, wherever</td>
<td><em>koː’ina</em>:</td>
<td><em>ina</em>: ‘where?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>always, whenever</td>
<td><em>koːjauːfeː = koːjauːfeː</em></td>
<td><em>jauːfeː = jauːfeː</em> ‘when?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>each, whichever one(s)</td>
<td><em>koːwànne (m.), koːwàffe (f.), koːwàddannè (pl.)</em></td>
<td><em>wànne</em>, <em>wàfфе</em>, <em>wàddannè</em>: ‘which one?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>every, whichever</td>
<td><em>koːwànne (m.), koːwàfфе (f.), koːwàddannè (pl.)</em></td>
<td><em>wàlne</em> (m.), <em>wàfфе</em> (f.), <em>wàddannè</em> (pl.): ‘which?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
however much/many  ko: nawa
in every, whatever way  ko:(ta)já: já: ‘how much/many?’

| Ex 74. basú tʃi ko:me: ba // |
| NEG1.A.3PL.PFV eat anything NEG1B // |
| They hadn’t eaten anything. (HAU_BC_NARR_01_SP2_08) |

| Ex 75. ko:wa: akà tʃé: jà tʃi // |
| everyone 4.PVF.FOC say 3SG.M.SBJV eat // |
| Everyone was told to eat. (HAU_BC_NARR_02_SP1_096) |

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

| Ex 76. ko:me: kakè: tada: [...] |
| anything 2SG.CONT.FOC saying [...] |
| Whatever you say [...] (HAU_BC_CONV_04_SP1_0670) |

| Ex 77. duk jandà kikà fiʃjá: // |
| all how 2SG.F.PVF.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".51 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: tʃika / ↑dam // |
| 3SG.PVF.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: kọ: sukà wutè: sukà tàfi ụrị -n -sù // 3PL. as_for 3PL.PFV.FOC pass_by 3PL.PFV.FOC go river -POS. -1PL.POS //
As for them, they continued [and] went to their river. (HAU_BC_NARR_01_SP1_096)

3SG.M CONT.FOC feeding APPL 1SG.IDPT / too 3SG.M.CONT.FOC support 1SG.BEN
wadgen harkà: -n kàrà:tu: dà saurà: -n -sù //
around affair -POS. education and remainder -POS. -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’.

well 3SG.M PROX edible_LEAVES DEF 2PL.HAB sell COP1.NFOC /
ko: kukàn / ba:jàr 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)

‘But’ and ‘however’

àmma: ‘but’ and duk dà hàkà, ‘however’ conjoin two clauses while contrasting them:

Ex 82. idan ta:ki -n na gargàdjà: kè: nan /
if manure -DEF POSL old_times COP1.FOC ANAPH /
za:sù daukà: akè: zubà: mafì //
FUT.3PL take 4.CONT.FOC pour 3SG.M //
àmma: jànzu mukàn hàdà: 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)
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. sô: ‘want’:
Some verbs, (e.g. sô: ‘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 ʧe:wa:, derived from the verbal noun of the verb ʧe: ‘say’. Another complementizer is the particle dà.

Ex 83. gâ: ji ba:kà sô: à ta:ji /
COP4 3SG.M NEG5,2SG.M,CONT.NFOC wanting 4SBJV rise /
Here you are, you don't want to leave [...] (HAU BC CONV 04 SP2.886)

(ii) Verbal phrase

Ex 84. na: sâ; ũai wai zâi zo: /
1SG.PVF,NFOC put life COMP FUT.3SG.M come /
I hope he will come. (lit. I have set mind that...) (BC)

Ex 85. mun ji fa:ti: -n ʧiki: dà kukà zo:
1PL.PVF,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. kasànʧe: ‘happen’:

Ex 86. tô: jânzu ja kasànʧe: ʧe:wa: jânzu /
well now 3SG.M.PVF,FOC become that_is now /
in kukà sâ:mi wânnan kuɗi:
if 2PL,CONT,FOC get ANAPH money

kukàn sarràfa: su nê: wadʧen sajî: dabbo:bi: /
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 033-4)

(iv) Copular constructions:

Ex 87. wâuta: nê: gâ Musa: dâ ja ʧi ba:ji:
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 conjunctions:\n
- 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 goal;
- dà ‘when, rather than’;
- ba:yan (dà) ‘after’;
- dô:miŋ (=don) ‘because’ when followed by a Perfective; ‘so that’ when followed by a Subjunctive;
- idan (=in) ‘if’ (conditional)
- dà:, in dà: ‘if’ (hypothesis, contrary to fact)

PN:134
53 As with most conjunctions, har and sai can function as prepositions as well, e.g. sai gò:be: ‘byye bye’ (lit. until tomorrow); an ji hanjâ: dâgâ Kanô: har Dàuɽa: ‘they built a road from Kano to Daura’.

54
- **kà:fin** (= *kà:fin*, =*kà:mi n*, = *kà:min*) ‘before’
- **kàmar** (= *tàmkar*) ‘as if’
- **ko:** ‘even if’
- **ko: dà** ‘as soon as’
- **màimakon** ‘instead of’
- **muddin** ‘as long as’
- **sabò:da** ‘because’
- **tàmkar** (= *kàmar*): ‘as if’
- **tum** ‘while’; ‘even before’ when followed by *kà:fin* ‘before’ or a negative clause;
- **tun dà** ‘since (temporal)’
- **tun (dà yakè)** ‘since (factive)’

Here are but a few examples.

Ex 88. **sel akà ji ta du:kà -n -fi** / then 4.PFV.FOC do DUR beating -POSŁ -3SG.M.POS / **har akà ji mìfì ò:wo: //** until 4.PFV.FOC do 3SG.M wound // Then they kept beating him **until** he was wounded. ([HAU_BC_NARR_03_46-7])

Ex 89. **fì: ita wànnan ga:nuwa: / an sa:mo: tà ne:** / 3SG.M 3SG.F ANAPH rampart / 4.PFV.NFOC get.DIR 3SG.F COP1.NFOC / **dò:miñ dukà gàri -nì dà akà tfé: makà ákwai ga:nuwa: /** because all town -DEF REL 4.PFV.FOC say 2SG.M COP3 rampart / Those city walls, we had them, **because** whenever they tell you about a town, **there are city walls.** ([HAU_BC_CONV_02_SP2_259-61])

Ex 90. **in dà: jana: nan ai za:sù zo: sù ko:jar //** if CTF 3SG.M.CONT.NFOC ANAPH indeed FUT.3PL come 3PL,SBIV learn.CAUS // If he had been there they would have come to teach. ([HAU_BC_CONV_03_SP2_017])

### 21 Negation

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

**TABLE 24. NEGATIVE MARKERS**

| NEG1a...NEGb | bà:/bà ... ba | All TAMs except the Continuous and Subjunctive |
| NEG2       | bà:           | Negative Continuous TAM |
| NEG3       | bà:bù / bà:  | Existential; ‘have’ sentences, etc. |
| NEG4a...NEGb | bà: ... ba    | Equative (non-verbal) sentences, NPs, etc. |
| NEG5       | kadà / kàr    | Subjunctive |

**21.1 NEG1. All TAMs except the Continuous and Subjunctive**

The discontinuous negation **bà:/bà ... ba** occurs with TAMs other than the Continuous and the Subjunctive. The first part of the morpheme (bà:/bà) occurs immediately before the TAM. The second part (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.

---

55 Cf. TAMs and their meaning, Tables 1 to 8.
Ex 91. bà mú san so:djà ba //
NEG1A 1PL.PFV KNOW SOLDIER NEG //
We were not used to soldiers. (HAU_BC_CONV_01.SP2.155)

Ex 92. bà mú ʧikà āmfà:nì: dà fi: ba só:sai //
NEG1A 1PL.PFV complete using with 3SG.M NEG quite //
We did not really use it. (HAU_BC_CONV_01.SP2.548)

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. ba: a: jì -n ge:ro: //
NEG2 4(CONT) doing -POSL millet //
we don't do millet. (HAU_BC_CONV_01.SP2.389)

Ex 94. kin sani: fi: dājakè: bāi dā hakì: /
2SG.F.PFV.NFOC know 3SG.M since NEGB2.3SG.CONT with grass /
You know, as he did not have any grass [...] (HAU_BC_CONV_01.SP1.130)

21.3 NEG3. Existential and “have” sentences
bà: ba:bu is the negative counterpart of ákwai. It negates existential sentences and “have” sentences:

Ex 95. bà: ginege: //
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: bā: hakhà ba //
or NEG4A like this NEG //
Isn't it true? (HAU_BC_CONV_02.SP1.031)

Ex 97. iqi -nì na gargadyija: -::: /
type -DEF POSL old_times -LENGTH /
bà zài jì ba / tundà bā: āmpà:nì: ba nè:
NEG1A FUT.3SG.M do NEG / since NEG4A use NEG COP1.NFOC
wandà mukè: dà fi: //
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 *kàdà* (=*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.   tundà  *wuqi*  *kar*  tà  faːrā  tà  tabà
since  at_place  NEG  3SG.F.SBJV  begin  3SG.F.SBJV  touch

wânnan  *çamâː*  tà  ʧfì  fì  //
ANAPH  hemp  3SG.F.SBJV  eat  3SG.M  //
she should not even begin to touch that hemp and eat it. [HAU_BC_NARR_02_SPI1_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:

- ‘who?’ *wàː* (=*wàːneː* nèː) m., *wàːʧfeː* f., *su wàː*: (=*su wàːneː* nèː) pl.; *wàːjèː* m., *su wàːjèː*: pl.
- ‘what?’ *mèː* (=*mèːneː* nèː) m., *mèːʧfeː* f. (rare), *su mèː*: (*su wàːneː* nèː) pl.; *mèːjèː*: m.
- ‘which?’ (adj) *wàːné* m., *wàːʧfeː* f., *wàːdännè* pl.
- ‘which one(s)’ (pro) *wàːnneː*: m., *wàːʧfeː*: f., *wàːdännè*: pl.
- ‘where?’ *inaː*
- ‘when?’ *jàuʧ / jàuʧeː*
- ‘how?’ (ta) jàːjàː:
- ‘how many/much?’ *nawà*
- ‘why?’ *don mèːː*, sabòː dà me:

Ex 99.  *an*  *kaːmâː*  wàːː  neːː  //
4.PFV.NFOC  catch  who  COP1.NFOC  //
They caught who? [HAU_BC_CONV_03_SPI1_116]

Ex 100.  *an*  *ʤûmâː*  *inaː*  zàː  nì  //
4.PFV.NFOC  spend_time  where  DIR  1SG  //
Later on, where will I go? [HAU_BC_CONV_03_SPI1_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.).

---

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 záï fítâ ‘He will go out’ vs. záï fítâ?: ‘Will he go out?’ (PN:497).

Ex 101. wà: záï fítà +? > wà: záï fità?: Who will come? (tone and length added)
 jáufè ta hailhu +? > jáufè ta hailhu?: When did she give birth? (length added)
 mè: sukà sajar +? > mè: sukà sajaran?: What did they sell? (tone added)
 ina: ka ga ja: rôn?: 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:, kuwa, 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: djì bás? (< ba+ :) ‘Did you hear?’; ja: àuqi Àljâ 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 NEgA like this NEgB //
 Isn’t it true? (lit. or is it not so?) (HAU_BCS_310)
22.3 Indirect questions

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

Ex 103.  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ban} & \quad \text{san} \quad \text{ko:} \quad \text{wà:} \quad \text{ja} \quad \text{ji} \quad \text{hákà} \quad \text{ba} \\
\text{NEG1A.1S.PVF} & \quad \text{know \ whether} \quad \text{who} \quad \text{3SG.PVF.FOC} \quad \text{do\ like\ this} \quad \text{NEG2}
\end{align*}
\]

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.  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sai} & \quad \text{sàrkì:} \quad \text{ya} \quad \text{tùmbàj-e:} \quad \text{ji} \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{king} \quad \text{3SG.PVF.FOC} \quad \text{ask-ACC.2} \quad \text{3SG}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{in} & \quad \text{janà:} \quad \text{sòn} \quad \text{jà} \quad \text{zaunà:} \quad \text{wàdjensà}
\end{align*}
\]

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>