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Hausa

Grammatical Sketch¹

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1. Introduction

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

Hausa belongs to the Chadic branch of AfroAsiatic languages. Whereas none of the other 170 Chadic languages has more than 200 thousand speakers, Hausa is estimated to be spoken by around 50 million people, $\frac{3}{4}$ of which live in Nigeria. The Hausa land proper straddles the Niger/Nigeria border, but Hausa communities have settled in Sudan, Cameroon, Togo and Ghana. Moreover, Hausa traders can be found in all big West African cities, and up to North-Africa (Tripoli, etc.). Presently, the Hausa community, which emerged over the centuries through the absorption of heterogeneous populations, is best defined by its common language. This on-going process of integrating vast non-Hausa speaking populations has left its imprint on the language. For example, the Hausa spoken in Bauchi and Zaria does not mark gender. A relatively weak dialect differentiation can be observed spreading from West to East, in stripes with a North-South orientation, with two main groups : Western Hausa, represented by Sokoto, and Eastern Hausa, represented by Kano. Kano Hausa has been chosen as a referent for the elaboration of a standard. The place with the greatest dialect dispersion, and the most "archaic" features is Sokoto, which is probably the origin of the dialect diffusion of the language.

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

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

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

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

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

Abbreviations used in the grammar and in the corpus

1.1 Grammar: general abbreviations

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

1.2 Corpus: glossing labels (rx tier)

Label (\rx)	Meaning	Associated \ge labels and/or examples
ADJ	Adjective	red (<i>d̥ga:</i>), evil (<i>mu:gù:</i>)
ADV	Adverb	formerly (<i>d̥a:</i>), quickly (<i>d̥awuɸi</i>)
ADV.DEICT	Deictic Adverb	now (<i>j̥anzu</i>), next_year (<i>b̥ad̥f̥i</i>)
ADV.REL	Relative Adverb	how (<i>j̥add̥a</i>), REL.LOC (<i>ind̥a</i>)
ato	Apotony	IMP
CIRC	Circumfix	AGT (<i>ma-</i>); INS (<i>-i:</i>)
COMP	Complementizer	that_is (<i>f̥ɛ:wa:</i>)
CONJ	Conjunction	if (<i>in</i>); until (<i>har</i>)
der	Derivation	DIR (<i>-o:</i>); NMLZ (<i>-wa:</i>)
DET	Determinant	DEF (<i>-n̥</i>)
DET.INDF	Indefinite Determinant	SOME.PL (<i>wasu</i>)
EXCL	Exclamation	eh (<i>ě:</i>); indeed (<i>āfe:</i>)
FILL	Pause filler	er... (<i>e:::</i>)
HESIT	Hesitation	gwa:#
hom	Homonymy	COP2 (<i>d̥a</i>)
IDEOPH	Ideophone	strong (<i>kankan</i>); tight (<i>tsantsan</i>)
INTJ	Interjection	amen (<i>ā:min</i>); no (<i>a:ʔā:</i>)
N	Noun	thing (<i>ābù</i>); work (<i>aikì:</i>)
N.P	Proper Noun	Amina ; Bashir
N.V	Verbal Noun	loan ; begging
NUM	Numeral	Four (<i>hudù</i>)
ONOM	Onomatopoeia	mê:; galalan
PNG	Person-Number-Gender complex	2SG.M.GEN (<i>-fi</i>); 1PL.IDP (<i>ku:</i>)
PRO	Pronoun	So_and_So (<i>wa:nè</i>)
PRO.DAT	Dative Pronoun	2.PL (<i>mukù</i>)
PRO.DEICT	Deictic Pronoun	ANAPH (<i>w̥ānnan</i>); DIST (<i>w̥ant̥f̥ān</i>)

PRO.IDP	Independent Pronoun	2SG.F (<i>ke:</i>); 3SG.M (<i>fī:</i>)
PRO.INDF	Indefinite Pronoun	some.M (<i>wani</i>)
PRO.UNIV	Universal Pronoun	anything (<i>ko:me:</i>)
PTCL	Particle	ANAPH (<i>dīn</i>); plus (<i>fā:</i>)
PTCL.NEG	Negative Particle	NEG2a (<i>bà:</i>); NEG3 (<i>bâ:</i>)
PTCL.SYNT	Syntactic Particle	POSS (<i>mài</i>); GEN (<i>na</i>)
PTCL.TOP	Topicalizing Particle	indeed (<i>fa</i>); too (<i>kuma</i>)
red	reduplication	child\PL (<i>yâ:yâ:</i>); gather (<i>tattâ:ra:</i>)
REL	Relative	how (<i>jandâ</i>); who (<i>wandâ</i>);
STATIVE	Stative	together (<i>tâ:re</i>); staying (<i>zâune</i>)
V	Verb	go.DIR (<i>taho:</i>); say (<i>ʃfê:</i>)
V.AUX	Auxiliary Verb	keep_on (<i>ringâ:</i>)

1.3 Corpus: glossing labels (\ge tier)

Label (\ge)	Meaning	Associated \rx labels
ACC1	Accusative 1	ACC1 (<i>-i</i>)
ACC2	Accusative 2	ACC2 (<i>-e:</i>)
AGT	Agent	CIRC (<i>ma-</i>)
ALL	Allative	PTCL.SYNT (<i>zâ:</i>)
ANAPH	Anaphoric	PRO .DEICT (<i>wânnan</i>) ; PTCL (<i>dīn</i>)
AOR	Aorist	TAM
BKL	Backchannelling	BKL (<i>m:hm:</i>)
CONT	Continuous	TAM
COP	Copula	PTCL.SYNT (<i>dâ</i>)
CTF	Counterfactual	CONJ (<i>dâ:</i>)
DAT	Dative	PTCL.SYNT (<i>wâ</i>)
DEF	Definite	DET (<i>-n</i>)
DIM	Diminutive	ADV (<i>dân</i>)
DIR	Directional	der (<i>-o:</i>) ; PTCL.SYNT (<i>zâ:</i>)
DIST	Distal	ADV.DEICT (<i>ʃfân</i>)
DUR	Durative	TAM (<i>ta</i>)
EVD	Evidential	PTCL (<i>wai</i>)
F	Feminine	PNG (<i>ita</i>) ; der (<i>-annija:</i>)
FILL	Pause Filler	FILL (<i>è:::</i>)
FOC	Focus	TAM (<i>jakè:</i>)
FUT	Future	TAM (<i>zâi</i>)
GEN	Genitive	PNG (<i>ta:kù</i>)
HAB	Habitual	TAM (<i>kân</i>)
HESIT	Hesitation	FILL (<i>d:::</i>)
IDP	Independent	PNG (<i>su:</i>)
IMP	Imperative	TAM
INS	Instrumental	CIRC (<i>-a:</i>)
M	Masculine	PNG (<i>fī:</i>)
NEG	Negative	PTCL.NEG (<i>bâ:</i>)
NFOC	Non-Focus	TAM (<i>nâ:</i>)
NMLZ	Nominalizer	der (<i>-wa:</i>)
PFV	Perfect	TAM (<i>ja:</i>)
PL	Plural	PL (<i>-o:Ci:</i>)
PROX	Proximal	ADV.DEICT (<i>nân</i>) ; PRO.DEICT (<i>wannân</i>)
REL.LOC	Place Adverb	ADV.REL (<i>indâ</i>)
SBJV	Subjunctive	TAM (<i>jà, mù</i>)
SG	Singular	PNG (<i>fī:, ja:</i>)
TAM	Tense/Aspect/Mood complex	

2.3 Consonants

<i>f</i>	<i>fʰ</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>kʲ</i>	<i>kʷ</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
<i>b</i>		<i>d</i>	<i>z</i>		<i>ɖ</i>	<i>gʲ</i>	<i>gʷ</i>		
<i>ɓ</i>		<i>dʰ</i>	<i>sʰ</i>			<i>kʲ</i>	<i>kʷ</i>		
						<i>yʰ</i>			
<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>				<i>j</i>	<i>w</i>		
			<i>l</i>						
			<i>ɾ</i>						
			<i>r</i>						

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

The consonant written /ɖ/ in standard orthography is realized [ʒ] in the West, e.g. “*ɖɖaki*”, ‘donkey’ is pronounced [ɖɖa:ki:] in Kano and [ʒa:ki:] in Sokoto. It is transcribed and pronounced [ɖ] in the corpus.

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

2.3.1 Glottalisation

In the corpus, the glottal stop [ʔ] 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 ejectives *k*, *kʰ*, *kʷ* and *sʰ* (written “ts” in standard orthography), or voiceless post-glottalized;
- the injectives *ɓ*, *dʰ*, *yʰ*, also called implosives, or voiced pre-glottalized.

2.3.2 Long or geminated consonants

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

2.3.3 Labialisation and palatalisation of consonants

/b/, /ɓ/, /k/, /kʰ/ and /g/ are pronounced with rounded lips before /o/, /o:/, /u/ and /u:/. For example, in the words *bùhu:*, ‘bag’; *bo:kò:*, ‘schooling’; *gudù:*, ‘run’, and *go:ɾò:*, ‘cola nut’, the consonants /b/, /k/ and /g/ are pronounced with rounded lips, so that one can hear [bʷùhu:], [bʷo:kò:], and [gʷudù:].

/k/ and /g/ are palatalised in front of front vowels /i/, /i:/, /e/ and /e:/. For example, in the words *bà:ki:*, ‘mouth’ and *gida:*, ‘compound’, /k/ and /g/ are palatalised into [bà:kji:] and [gjiða:].

/t/, /d/, /z/, /s/, /ʃ/ and /w/ are realized /tʃ/, /ɖʃ/, /ʒ/ and /ɖʃ/ resp. in front of front vowels /i/, /i:/, /e/ and /e:/, except in recent loanwords, e.g. *tì:tì:*, ‘street’, a recent loanword borrowed from English via Yoruba.

2.3.4 Velarization of nasals

/n/ is pronounced [ŋ] in front of /k/, /kʰ/, /g/ and /ʔ/. For example, *gwanki:*, ‘antelope’, is pronounced [gwanŋki:] and *dankò:*, ‘rubber’, is pronounced [danŋkò:].

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

2.4 Tone³

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

Tone has lexical as well as grammatical functions. Some words are opposed only through their tone pattern: *kai*, 2.SG.M.IDP pronoun vs. *kâi*, ‘head’; *su:*, 3.PL.IDP pronoun, vs. *sû:*, ‘fishing’; *ku:kà:*, ‘baobab’, vs. *ku:ka:*, ‘crying’; *wujà:*, ‘neck’, vs. *wùja:*, ‘difficulty’. Some plurals, imperatives and derivations are formed by changing the tone pattern only: *mà:ta:* (LH) ‘wife, sg.’ vs. *ma:ta:* (HH), ‘wife,

³ Cf. Newman 2000 : 597-614.

pl.']; *dafà*: (HL), 'cook' vs. *dàfa*: (LH), 'cook!'; *ma'aikata*: (H), 'working place' vs. *ma'aikàta*: (HLLH), 'workers'.

Tone patterns or melodies are associated to words or morphemes. The tones of a melody are assigned to the syllables from right to left: *su:na:je:*)^{HLH} is realised as *su:nà:je:*, 'names' with HLH. If there are more syllables than tones, the last tone is repeated up to the first syllable: *makarantu:*)^{LH} is realised as *màkàràntu:*, 'shools'. Some suffixes have an associated tone pattern that overrides that of the suffixed word, e.g. *ɾi:ga*: (LH) + *-una:*)^{HL} gives *ɾi:gunà:*, 'gowns' (HHL). These suffixes, called tone-integrating suffixes by P. Newman, can be stacked, in which case the melody of the last applied suffix overrides all preceding melodies: *daka*)^{HL}, 'pound' + *-akke:*)^{LHH} past participle + *-u:*)^{LH} plural: *dakà:* > *dàkàkke:* > *dàkàkku:*, 'pounded (pl.)'.

Some grammatical words have "polar tones"; i.e. they have no tone of their own, but instead they carry one that is the opposite of the preceding one. This is the case of the identifying copula *ɸe:(f)/ne:(m., pl.): mo:tà: ɸe:*, 'it's a car' vs. *ɾi:ga: ɸè:*, 'it's a gown'.

When a final syllable is dropped the tone it bears remains floating, and is added to the preceding syllable. HL on a heavy syllable produces a F: *mùtumi:* (LHL) > *mùtum* > *mùtùm* (LF), 'man'. Since a Rising tone is excluded in Hausa, LH is usually simplified to H: *ta: sàji na:mà:* > *ta: sàj' na:mà:* > *ta: sai na:mà:*, 'she bought food'.

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

2.5 Intonation

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

- **The Declarative or neutral pattern**, is characterized by declination, accounted for by the general rule of downdrift : "each H tone after a L is a step lower than the preceding H" (Newman 2000:612).
- **Wh-questions** are characterized by a declarative intonation pattern and a L tone + vowel lengthening added to the end of the intonation unit. This L tone changes final H tones to F. It does not change final L⁴.
- **Yes/No questions** are characterized by suspension of downdrift and key raising (↑) of the last H tone and all following L tones⁵.
- **Sympathetic address** is an intonation pattern associated with units beginning with *tô:* / *habà*, 'well', followed by the name of addressee. They are characterized by a floating L tone added to the end of the name of the addressee.
- **The vocative pattern** is used when calling someone. It is characterized by raised pitch, lesser downdrift and lengthening of the final short vowel of the name of the addressee if it ends in such a vowel.

3. Word structure

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

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

⁵ See also § 17.2.2, p. 51.

4. Information structure

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

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

4.1 Topicalisation

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

“The topic belongs to the pragmatic preamble of the utterance, and is separated from the rest by either (a) the intonation; (b) the insertion of a modal particle like *dai* ‘indeed’, *fa* ‘well’, *kàm* ‘really’, *kùwa* (= *kò(:)*) ‘moreover’, etc. (or a succession of such particles).’ (Newman 2000:616⁶)

Example (HAU_BC_Conv_01_sp2_442)⁷:

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

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

[masàra: kuma /TOPIC [mukàn ijà sa:mùn kàman bùhu::: / à::: go:mà fâ: bijar] COMMENT
[As for maize] TOPIC [we can get like ... er... fifteen sacks.] COMMENT

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

<i>kàman</i>	<i>bùhu:</i>	/	<i>à:::</i>	/	<i>go:mà</i>	<i>fâ:</i>	<i>bijar</i>	//
like	sack	/	FILL	/	ten	plus	five	//
PREP	N	/	FILL	/	NUM	PRT	NUM	//

4.2 Focus and subordination

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

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

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

⁷ Edited example.

4.2.1 Focus

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

PERFECTIVE	CONTINUOUS
<i>ja:ɾòn [ja:]</i> _{PFV.NFOC} <i>fɪ na:mà: dɔ̀jɔ̀</i> the boy ate meat yesterday ()	<i>ja:ɾòn [(ja)nà:]</i> _{CONT.NFOC} <i>fɪn na:mà: à kà:suwa:</i> the boy is eating meat at the market.
<i>ja:ɾòn (ne:) [ja:]</i> _{PFV.FOC} <i>fɪ na:mà: dɔ̀jɔ̀</i> THE BOY ate meat yesterday	<i>ja:ɾòn (ne:) [(ja)kè:]</i> _{CONT.FOC} <i>fɪn na:mà: à kà:suwa:</i> THE BOY is eating meat at the market.
<i>na:mà: (ne:) ja:ɾòn [ja:]</i> _{PFV.FOC} <i>fɪ dɔ̀jɔ̀</i> the boy ate MEAT yesterday	<i>na:mà: (ne:) ja:ɾòn [(ja)kè:]</i> _{CONT.FOC} <i>fɪ: à kà:suwa:</i> the boy is eating MEAT at the market.
<i>dɔ̀jɔ̀ (ne:) ja:ɾòn [ja:]</i> _{PFV.FOC} <i>fɪ na:mà:</i> the boy ate meat YESTERDAY	<i>à kà:suwa: (ne:) ja:ɾòn [(ja)kè:]</i> _{CONT.FOC} <i>fɪn na:mà:</i> the boy is eating meat AT THE MARKET.
<i>fɪn na:mà: (ne:) ja:ɾòn [ja:]</i> _{PFV.FOC} <i>ji dɔ̀jɔ̀</i> the boy DID eat meat yesterday	<i>fɪn na:mà: (ne:) ja:ɾòn [(ja)kè:]</i> _{CONT.FOC} <i>ji: à kà:suwa:</i> <i>fɪn na:mà: (ne:) ja:ɾòn [(ja)kè:]</i> _{CONT.FOC} <i>(jɪ:) à kà:suwa:</i> the boy IS eating meat at the market.

4.2.2 WH-Questions

In Wh-Questions, the question functions as a request for an identification of the term on which the question is bearing. The whole utterance is subordinated to this term, and the +FOC subject pronouns indicate this subordination. The main question words are: *wà:(ne: nè:)* (m.), *wà:(fɛ: fɛ:)* (f.), *suwà: ne: nè:* (pl.) ‘who’; *mè:(ne: nè:)* (m.), *mè:(fɛ: fɛ:)* (f.), ‘what’; *ina:* ‘where’; *jàufɛ:/jãufe:* ‘when’; *jà:jà:* ‘how’; *nawà* ‘how many’; *wànè* (m.) / *wàfɛ* (f.) / *wàdànnè* (pl.) ‘which’⁸.

nawà nawà kakè: bijan fensiro:rinkà?
How much do you pay your biros ?

wàfɛ: hanjà: kikhà bi?
Which road did your follow ?

5. Syntax of the simple sentence

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

<i>Mùtùm</i>	<i>ne:</i>
man	COPI.NFOC
N	PTCL.SYNT
<i>It's a man.</i>	

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

5.1 Non-verbal sentences -- Copulas

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

5.1.1.1 Identification: *ne:/fe:/ne:*

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

⁸

Cf. 6.2.1 & 17.1

<i>Mu:sa: nè:</i>	It's Musa.	<i>banki: ne:</i>	It's a bank.
<i>Kanò: ʒe:</i>	It's Kano.	<i>àlɗànu: nè:</i>	It's spirits.
<i>garu:ɽuwà: ne:</i>	It's towns.	<i>mafi:ɗi: nè:.</i>	It's a snake.

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

<i>íta</i>	<i>cè:.</i>
3SG.F.IDP	COP1.NFOC
PNG	PTCL.SYNT
It's her.	

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

<i>bà:</i>	<i>mafi:ɗi:</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>nè:.</i>
NEG4a	snake	NEG4b	COP1.NFOC
PTCL.NEG	N	PTCL.NEG	PTCL.SYNT
<i>It isn't a snake.</i>			

Yes/no question are done through intonation only, without any syntactic or morphological change⁹.

<i>mafi:ɗi:</i>	<i>nè:</i>	?
snake	COP1.NFOC	
N	PTCL.SYNT	Q
<i>Is it a snake?</i>		

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

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

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

<i>Mè:ne: nè: wannàn?</i>	What is this ?
<i>Wannàn littà:fi: ne:</i>	This is a book.
<i>Wannàn kudɗè:ra: ʒè:</i>	This is a chair.
<i>Wà:ne: nè:?</i>	Who is this? (woman)
<i>Wà:ʒe: ʒè:?</i>	Who is this? (man)
<i>Suwà:ne: nè:?</i>	Who are they?

5.1.1.2 Existence: *àkwai, dà*

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

Ex: *àkwai ruwa:.* 'There is water.' ; *àkwai àlbasà:.* 'There are onions.' ; *-àkwai kudfi: -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)*¹⁰. Same structure as *àkwai* : <*dà X*> 'there is/was/will be X', except that a complement is compulsory, whereas it could be understood in the case of *àkwai*.

<i>dà</i>	<i>dàli:li:.</i>
COP2	reason
PTCL.SYNT	N
<i>There is a reason.</i>	

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

<i>-dà</i>	<i>ɗàri:dà:?</i>	<i>- i:</i>	<i>dà</i>	<i>íta.</i>
COP2	newspapers	yes	COP2	3SG.F.IDP
PTCL.SYNT	N	INTJ	PTCL.SYNT	PNG
<i>Are there any newspapers? - Yes, there are.</i>				

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.1.1.3 Presentation : *gà:*

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

Gà: kudînkà.
gà: *kudi: -n -kà*
COP4 money –GEN –2SG.M.GEN
PTCL.SYNT N –PTCL.SYNT –PNG
Here is your money !

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

5.1.1.4 Location: COP + PP

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

Dà mutà:ne: ʃân ?
Are there people there ?

Gà: mo:tàr gâban gida:.
The car is in front of the house

Ba:bù fi: à gida:.
He isn’t at home.

Àkwai mù ʃikin màganàr.
We were concerned by the matter (lit. We were inside the talk.)

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

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

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

5.1.1.5 The Allative (*zâ:*)

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

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

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

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

5.2 Verbal sentences -- TAM

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

TAM.PNG	Verb
<i>sun</i>	<i>tsajà:</i>
3PL.PFV.NFOC	<i>stop</i>

They stopped.

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

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

Subject	TAM.PNG	Verb
<i>ma:ta:</i>	<i>sun</i>	<i>tsajà:</i>
femme.PL	3PL.PFV.NFOC	stop

The women stopped.

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

Subject	TAM.PNG	Verbe	Object
<i>ma:ta:</i>	<i>sun</i>	<i>dafà</i>	<i>àbínfi</i>
femme.PL	3PL.PFV.NFOC	<i>cook</i>	<i>food</i>

The women cooked food.

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

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

Hausa has two Futures: a (simple) Future (FUT), and a Potential or Indefinite Future (FUT.INDF) – a Habitual (HAB) and a Rhetorical (RHT¹¹).

Hausa has developed special paradigms for verbs used in subordinate clauses. Subordination is linked with Wh-Questions, relative clauses and focus¹². Thus, it has developed two Perfect and two Continuous paradigms, one which is compatible with focus, Wh-Questions and relativization

¹¹ We have not found any instance of this aspect described by Paul Newman (2000:588-90).

¹² Subordination is the syntactic manifestation of preconstruction. Cf. Caron 2000.

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

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

5.2.1.1 Paradigms

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

TABLE 3. CONTINUOUS				
	Continuous (CONT)	Relative Continuous (CONT.FOC)	Negative Continuous (“have” constructs) NEG2 CONT	Negative Continuous (other constructs) NEG3 CONT
1 s.	<i>inà:</i>	<i>nakè: / nikè:</i>	<i>ba: nà:</i>	<i>bâ: ni¹³</i>
2 m.s.	<i>kanà:</i>	<i>kakè:</i>	<i>ba: kà:</i>	<i>bâ: ka</i>
2 f.s.	<i>kinà:</i>	<i>kikè:</i>	<i>ba: kjà:</i>	<i>bâ: ki</i>
3 m.s.	<i>janà: / finà:</i>	<i>jakè: / fikè:</i>	<i>ba: jà:</i>	<i>bâ: fi</i>
3 f.s.	<i>tanà:</i>	<i>takè:</i>	<i>ba: tà:</i>	<i>bâ: ta</i>
1 pl.	<i>munà:</i>	<i>mukè:</i>	<i>ba: mà:</i>	<i>bâ: mu</i>
2 pl.	<i>kunà:</i>	<i>kukè:</i>	<i>ba: kwà:</i>	<i>bâ: ku</i>
3 pl.	<i>sunà:</i>	<i>sukè:</i>	<i>ba: sà:</i>	<i>bâ: su</i>
4	<i>anà:</i>	<i>akè:</i>	<i>ba: à:</i>	<i>bâ: a</i>

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

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

Contrary to all other paradigms¹⁴, the Continuous subject pronouns are followed by an infinitive, a verbal noun (VN) or an action noun.

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

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

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

Perfect	Continuous
<i>Mu:sa: ja: tsajà:</i>	<i>Mu:sa: janà: tsajà:-wa:</i>
<i>Musa has stopped</i>	<i>Musa is stopping</i>

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

Perfect	Continuous
<i>sun ka:mà bàraunija:</i>	<i>sunà: ka:mà bàraunija:</i>
<i>They have caught the robber.</i>	<i>They are catching the robber.</i>
<i>sun ka:mà: ta</i>	<i>sunà: ka:mà: ta</i>
<i>They have caught her.</i>	<i>They are catching her.</i>

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

Perfect	Continuous
<i>sun fa: ta:bà</i>	<i>sunà: fān ta:bà</i>
<i>They have smoked tobacco.</i>	<i>They are smoking tobacco.</i>

Action Noun. Action Nouns are a semantic subclass of nouns denoting an action. They are part of the basic vocabulary and have a plural form : *aiki:* (pl. *ajjukà:*, *àikàfè-àikàfè*) : ‘work(ing)’; *wa:kà:* (pl. *wa:ko:ki:*, *wà:ke-wà:ke*) : ‘sing(ing)’; *ɽawa:* (pl. *ɽàje-ɽàje*) : ‘dance/dancing’; *ku:ka:* (m. ; pl. *kò:ke-kò:ke*) : ‘cry(ing)’

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

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

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

TABLE 4. SUBJUNCTIVE		
	Sunjunctive (SBJV)	Neg. Subjunctive (NEG5 SBJV)
1	<i>in</i>	<i>kadû/kâr in</i>
2m	<i>kà</i>	<i>kadû/kâr kà</i>
2f	<i>kì</i>	<i>kadû/kâr kì</i>
3m	<i>jâ</i>	<i>kadû/kâr jâ</i>
3f	<i>tâ</i>	<i>kadû/kâr tâ</i>
1p	<i>mù</i>	<i>kadû/kâr mù</i>
2p	<i>kù</i>	<i>kadû/kâr kù</i>
3p	<i>sù</i>	<i>kadû/kâr sù</i>
4	<i>à</i>	<i>kadû/kâr à</i>

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

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

TABLE 6. INDEFINITE FUTURE ¹⁵		
	Indefinite Future FUT.INDF	Neg. Indef. Future NEG1a FUT.INDF... NEG1b
1	<i>nâ:</i>	<i>bâ nâ:... ba</i>
2m	<i>kâ:</i>	<i>bâ kâ: ... ba</i>
2f	<i>kjâ:</i>	<i>bâ kjâ: ... ba</i>
3m	<i>jâ:</i>	<i>bâ jâ:...ba</i>
3f	<i>tâ:</i>	<i>bâ tâ: ... ba</i>
1p	<i>mâ:/mwâ:</i>	<i>bâ mâ:/mwâ: ... ba</i>
2p	<i>kwâ:</i>	<i>bâ kwâ: ... ba</i>
3p	<i>sâ:/swâ:</i>	<i>bâ sâ:/swâ: ... ba</i>
4	<i>â:</i>	<i>bâ â: ... ba</i>

TABLE 7. HABITUAL		
	Habitual HAB	Neg. Habitual NEG1a HAB... NEG1b
1	<i>nakàn</i>	<i>bâ nakàn ... ba</i>
2m	<i>kakàn</i>	<i>bâ kakàn ... ba</i>
2f	<i>kikàn</i>	<i>bâ kikàn ... ba</i>
3m	<i>jakàn</i>	<i>bâ jakàn ... ba</i>
3f	<i>takàn</i>	<i>bâ takàn ... ba</i>
1p	<i>mukàn</i>	<i>bâ mukàn ... ba</i>
2p	<i>kukàn</i>	<i>bâ kukàn ... ba</i>
3p	<i>sukàn</i>	<i>bâ sukàn ... ba</i>
4	<i>akàn</i>	<i>bâ akàn ... ba</i>

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

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

mài kitsò: (ta)kàn zo: nân ran Lahàdi.

The hairdresser usually comes here on Sundays.

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

5.2.1.2 TAM - Semantics

The Perfect (PFV.NFOC) has the general meaning of a completive aspect. It is used only in non-relative, affirmative sentences and expresses actions that were completed or had achieved a resultative

state prior to the time locus. Generic events, such as expressed in proverbs, make use of the completive. Stative verbs (love, understand) and impersonal complement-taking verbs also use the Perfect. (Newman 2000:571)

<i>Ja:</i>	<i>kâma:tâ</i>	<i>kâ</i>	<i>bija:</i>	<i>hâra:đi:.</i>
3S.PFV.NFOC	be_proper	2SG.M.SBJV	pay	taxes
TAM.PNG	V3	TAM.PNG	V*	N

You should pay taxes.

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

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

Relative clauses

<i>fî:</i>	<i>nè:</i>	<i>bâ:ɾ:a:wò: -n</i>	<i>dâ</i>	<i>mukâ</i>	<i>hânga:.</i>
3.SG.M.IDP	COPI.NFOC	thief -DEF	REL	1PL.PFV.FOC	see
PNG	PTCL.SYNT	N -DET	CONJ	PNG.TAM	V2

He is the thief that we saw.

Wh-Questions

jâufe: kukâ gamà:?
When did you finish?

Focus

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

bà: bàre:wa: fè: ka kashè: ba, gàda: fè:.
It wasn't a gazelle you killed, it was a duiker.¹⁶

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

sukà ji firi:, sukà figa masalla:fi:, sukà du:kà:.
They got ready, they entered the mosque, they stooped.

The Continuous subject pronouns have two separate types of uses :

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

Sunà: gja:ra: mo:tà:ta:.
They are repairing my car.

They can also express normal, customary or habitual actions.

Ra:na: tanà: fitò:wa: dàgà gabàs ne:.
The sun rises in the east.

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

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

ɖijà munà: Kanò:.
Hier nous étions à Kano.

Stative constructions, e.g. with the stative¹⁷ *sànje*, ‘dressed’, derived from the verb *sanjà*, ‘put on clothes’ :

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

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

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

The same ‘have construct’ can express a quality:

àbinfi (ja)nà: dà da:di:.
La nourriture est bonne.

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

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

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

ɖijà zân tàfi o:fis sai zàzzàbi: ta: ka:mà: ni.
Yesterday I was going to leave for the office when I had a bout of fever.

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

wàtáki:là makàda: sà: da:wo:.
May be the drum players will come back.

It is found in proverbs:

ko:wa: ja hadijè tabarja:, já: kwa:na tsàje.
Whoever swallows a pestle will spend the night standing.

¹⁶ Examples adapted from Newman (2000 :572)

¹⁷ Cf. § 10.2.2, Deverbal statives

It is used for hidden threats:

mâ: gâmu!
We'll meet again ! (and you'll see !!)

Most commonly, it is found in answer to greetings:

Kâ gaidâ gida:!
Greet you people!

Sâ: ji!
I will! (lit. They will hear!)

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

wâ: zâi tàimàke: mù?
Who will help us ?

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

takân dze: ffo:fi: lo:kâfi: lo:kâfi:.
She goes to church from time to time.

dâ: fan, nakân ji aiki: na awâ: go:mâ fâ: biju ko:wâfè ra:na:.
At that time, I used to work twelve hours a day.

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

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

ina: nakâ: sakâ?
Where on earth could I put (it)?

nii: kadai kâ: iyâ hakâ.
Only I could do this.

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

Allâh jâ sâ: kâ da:wo: la:fjâ:.
May God help you to come back in good health!

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

In an gâdgi, ko: à ra:na sai à hu:tâ:.
When you are tired, even in the sun, you rest.

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

Jakân zaunâ: gindîn wata ita:ffja: à ko:fâr gidansâ, jâ:ra: kâmar àrbâ'in sù ke:wâje: fi.
He used to sit at the foot of a tree in front of his house, and children, like forty of them, would surround him.

6. Nouns and Noun Phrases

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

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

6.1 The Head

6.1.1 The noun

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

M	F	PL	
<i>ɗʒà:ki:</i>	<i>ɗʒà:ka:</i>	<i>ɗʒà:kai</i>	donkey (n.)
<i>faɾi:</i>	<i>faɾa:</i>	<i>faɾa:ɾe:</i>	white (adj.)
<i>ɗʒiɾgi:</i>		<i>ɗʒiɾ:ge:</i>	vehicle (n.)
	<i>go:na:</i>	<i>gò:nàki:</i>	farm (n.)

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

6.1.1.1 Gender

There is a strong statistical tendency for feminine nouns to end in /a/ and masculine in the other vowels or in consonants.

Ex. (a): /a/= feminine

<i>go:ɾà:</i>	<i>bamboo</i>	<i>gwi:wà:</i>	<i>knee</i>
<i>ɾa:na:</i>	<i>sun, day</i>	<i>fa:dà</i>	<i>emir's palace</i>
<i>ku:kà:</i>	<i>baobab</i>	<i>làʔadà:</i>	<i>commission</i>
<i>sàuɾa:</i>	<i>fallow</i>	<i>wùya:</i>	<i>difficulty</i>
<i>sa:ʔà:</i>	<i>hour</i>	<i>da:wà:</i>	<i>guinea-corn</i>

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

<i>tsuntsu:</i>	<i>bird</i>	<i>kàɾe:</i>	<i>dog</i>
<i>go:rò</i>	<i>cola nut</i>	<i>bò:ɾi:</i>	<i>cult of possession</i>
<i>kâi</i>	<i>head</i>		

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

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

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

<i>(be:be:)</i> ^{HH} □ □ □ <i>(a:)</i> ^H	<i>be:bija:</i>	<i>dumb and mute</i>
<i>(shu:dī:)</i> ^{HB} □ □ □ <i>(a:)</i> ^H	<i>shu:dīja:</i>	<i>blue</i>
<i>(ka:tò:)</i> ^{HB} □ □ □ <i>(a:)</i> ^H	<i>ka:tùwa:</i>	<i>enormous</i>
<i>(bà:ko:)</i> ^{BH} □ □ □ <i>(a:)</i> ^H	<i>bà:kuwa:</i>	<i>foreign</i>

6.1.1.2 Plurals

Hausa plurals are very complex and formed by a combination of suffixes, infixes and sometimes reduplication¹⁹ :

- (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 *tʃ*, *sʃ*, and *dʒ* respectively (both *z* and *d* becoming *dʒ*), e.g. *bisa:* ‘pack animal’ has the reduplicated plural form *bisà:fe:* (PL4 <-a:Ce:> where the final syllable *fe:* derives from *se:*). In the same vein, *w* palatalizes to *j*; e.g. the plural of *bàra:wò:* ‘thief’ is *bàra:ji:* (PL14 <-i:>).
- (4) The palatal consonants *tʃ*, *sʃ*, and *dʒ* 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. *hanfi:* ‘nose’, plural *hantunà:* (PL19 <-unà:>), *mafi:dʒi:* ‘snake’, plural *màfi:zai* (PL5 <-ai>).
- (5) *C3* stands for the third consonant of the stem. Otherwise, capital *C* represents a copy or doubling of the preceding consonant. If it occurs before a front vowel (*i:* or *e:*) it appears in palatalized form as indicated above in (3).

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

TABLE 9. PLURAL CLASSES²⁰

TABLE 9. PLURAL CLASSES ²⁰	
PL1	-à:C ₃ a: [H-L-H] e.g. <i>sirdi:/sirà:da:</i> ‘saddle’
PL2	-à:C ₃ e: [H-L-H], e.g. <i>gulbi:/gulà:be:</i> ‘stream’
PL3	-à:C ₃ u: [H-L-H], e.g. <i>kuɽmi:/kuɽà:mu:</i> ‘grove’
PL4	-à:Ce: [H-L-H], e.g. <i>wuɽi:/wuɽà:ɽe:</i> ‘place’ <i>kasà:/kasà:fe:</i> ‘country’
PL5	-ai [L-H], e.g. <i>ma:là:/mà:làmai</i> ‘teacher’
PL6	-ànni: [L-H], e.g. <i>watà:/wàtànni:</i> ‘moon’
PL7	-a:wa: [all H, or L-L-H] (if the singular word contains the prefix <i>bà-</i> , it is dropped when the plural is added, e.g. <i>Bàkanò:/Kana:wa:</i> ‘Kano person’.) The tone pattern is usually all high, e.g. <i>talàkà/talaka:wa:</i> ‘commoner’; however trisyllabic plurals with a heavy first syllable typically are L-L-H, e.g. <i>ku:ri:/kù:rà:wa:</i> ‘novice Koranic student’, <i>Bàhaufè:/Hàusà:wa:</i> ‘Hausa person’.
PL8	-à:je: [H-L-H], e.g. <i>zo:mo:/zo:mà:je:</i> ‘hare’
PL9	-Ca: [F-H], e.g. <i>tabò:/tâbba:</i> ‘scar’
PL10	-Cai [L-H], e.g. <i>tudù:/tùddai</i> ‘high ground’
PL11	-(à)tʃe with full reduplication [L-H - L-H], e.g. <i>tʃi:wò:/tʃi:wà:tʃe-ci:wà:tʃe</i> ‘illness’. (If the stem

¹⁸ Newman (2000:210) describes 2 other derivative feminine suffixes (*-ija:* and *-ja:*) limited to a small number of nouns.

¹⁹ Adapted from Newman (2007:xv)

²⁰ Newman (2007:xvi).

	contains three consonants, the à vowel is omitted, e.g. <i>wàhalà:/wàhàlfe-wàhàlfe</i> , ‘difficulty’).
PL12	-unà: [H-L], e.g. <i>ʃiki:/ʃikkunà</i> : ‘belly’
PL13	-e with full reduplication [L-H – L-H], e.g. <i>ʃamfi:/ʃàmfe-ʃàmfe</i> ‘superstition’
PL14	-i: [L-H], e.g. <i>tàurà:ɾò:/tàurà:ɾi</i> : ‘star’
PL15	-o: Ci: [all H], e.g. <i>ta:gà:/ta:go:gi</i> : ‘window’, <i>mo:tà:/mo:to:ʃi</i> : ‘car’.
PL16	-u: [L-H], e.g. <i>kudžè:ɾa:/kudžè:ɾu</i> : ‘chair’
PL17	-uC ₃ à: [H-L], e.g. <i>ʃo:kàli:/ʃo:kulà</i> : ‘spoon’. (The final consonant of the plural is often doubled, especially when the initial syllable of the stem contains a short vowel, e.g. <i>daràsi:/darusà</i> : ‘lesson’.)
PL18	-ukà: [H-L], e.g. <i>la:ji:/la:jukkà</i> : ‘lane’
PL19	-nà: [H-L], e.g. <i>ɾi:ga:/ɾi:gunà</i> : ‘gown’
PL20	Full reduplication, e.g. <i>àkà:wu/ àkà:wu- àkà:wu</i> ‘clerk’

6.1.2 Compound nouns

The head of a NP can be a compound noun, i.e. two or more words joined in such a way as to make a single lexical unit, e.g. *ʃaɾar-hù:la*: (lit. white-GL cap) ‘civilian’. They behave like ordinary nouns insofar as they are sensitive to gender and number²¹. The internal structure of these compound nouns follow various patterns:

- *Noun-linked compounds*: N-GL N, e.g. *dàn-sànda*: ‘policeman’ (son.GL-stick); *àbo:kin gà:ba*: ‘enemy’ (friend.GL-enmity);
- *Adjective-Noun compounds*: *bakin-ciki*: (black-belly) ‘sadness’; *džan-karfè*: (red-iron) ‘copper’;
- *Verbal compounds*: *hàná-sallà* (prevent-prayer) ‘baseball cap’; *dàfà:-dukà* (cook-all) ‘Jollof rice’; *ʃà:dí-kà-mutù* (fall-you-die) ‘chinaware’;
- *Phrasal compounds*: *bàbba:-dà-džàka*: (Mr. Big-with-bag) ‘marabou stork’; *ja:ki:-dà-džà:hilfi*: (war-with-ignorance) ‘adult literacy program’;
- *Agentive compounds*: *magà:-takàrda*: (one who sees-paper) ‘scribe’; *mafà:-ɾuwa*: (one who drinks-water) ‘rainbow’;
- *Sentential compounds*: *bà:-hajà*: (there is no-hiring) ‘public toilet’; *kà:kà:-nikà:-ji* (how-1RHET-do) ‘dilemma’.

6.1.3 Conjoined nouns

Nouns conjoined through coordination can function as NP head.

6.1.3.1 ‘And’

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

6.1.3.2 ‘Or’

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

NB : Not only simple nouns but whole NP’s can be conjoined, e.g. *ʃaɾin tsuntsu: dà do:guwar bifijà*: ‘a white bird and a big tree’; *ɾà:go: daja dà tuma:ki: go:mà* ‘a ram and ten sheep’.

²¹

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

6.1.4 The Genitive Construction

The Genitive link (GL) is an essential syntactic tool in Hausa. Its main use, among others, is to connect an NP with a following NP or adverb in an X of Y construction, where X is the possessed and Y is the possessor²². Like the identifying copula *ne:/fɛ:/ne:*, it agrees in gender and number with the 1st (possessed) NP, following the same pattern *na/ta/na* for m./f./pl.

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

<i>gida: na saɓki:</i>	<i>gida-n saɓki:</i>	the chief’s house
<i>go:na: ta saɓki:</i>	<i>go:na-r saɓki:</i>	the chief’s farm
<i>gidà:ɗɛ: na saɓki:</i>	<i>gidà:ɗɛ-n saɓki:</i>	the chief’s houses

NB: (a) the suffixation of the GL to long final vowels, e.g. *go:na:-r* creates a close vowel (CVV>CV) entailing the shortening of the vowel, e.g. *go:nar*; (b) likewise, the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ are simplified, e.g. *kjân* (<*kjâu-n*) *ja:ɸinjà:* ‘the beautiful girl’ (lit. the beauty of the girl) *mân* (<*mâi-n*) *fa: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. *gwamnati-n Ingilà* ‘the English government’, where *gwamnati* (f.) ends in /i/.

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

6.2 Pre-nominal elements

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

6.2.1 Demonstratives

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

TABLE 10. DEMONSTRATIVES

	M.	F.	PL.	\RX	\GE
this (by me)	<i>wannàn</i>	<i>wannàn</i>	<i>wadànnân</i>	PRO.DEICT DET.DEICT	PROX
this (by you)	<i>wànnan</i> <i>wànnan</i>	<i>wànnan</i> <i>wànnan</i>	<i>wadànnan</i> <i>wadànnan</i>	PRO.DEICT DET.DEICT	ANAPH
that (there)	<i>wanfàn</i>	<i>wàɸɸàn</i>	<i>wadànfàn</i>	PRO.DEICT DET.DEICT	DIST
that (distant)	<i>wànfàn</i> <i>wànfàn</i>	<i>wàɸɸan</i> <i>wàɸɸan</i>	<i>wadànfàn</i> <i>wadànfàn</i>	PRO.DEICT DET.DEICT	DIST2
which?	<i>wànè</i>	<i>wàɸɸè</i>	<i>wadànnè</i>	DET.Q	WHICH
which one?	<i>wànnè:</i>	<i>wàɸɸè:</i>	<i>wadànnè:</i>	PRO.Q	WHICH?
who, which, that	<i>wànda</i> <i>wànda</i> <i>wànda</i>	<i>wàdda</i> <i>wàdda</i> <i>wàdda</i>	<i>wadànda</i> <i>wadànda</i>	PRO.REL	WHO, WHICH, THAT

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

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

		<i>waffɛ̀</i> <i>wàffɛ̀</i>			
some, other	<i>wani</i>	<i>wata</i>	<i>wa(dan)su</i>	PRO.INDEF DET.INDEF	SOME

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

6.2.2 Pronouns as pronominal determiners

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

an *jabà:* *wà* *fi:* *àlka:lín*
4.PFV.NFOC praise DAT 3SG.M(PRO.IDP) judge.DEF
They praised him the judge. (idem)

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

6.2.3 Universal quantifiers

The global quantifier *duk/dukà*, ‘all’ can occur as a determiner, a pronoun and an adverb. As a determiner, it can be pre-nominal, with the form *duk*, or post-nominal, with the form *dukà*, e.g. *duk mutà:ne:*²⁵ = *mutà:ne: dukà* ‘all the people.’

The distributive quantifier *ko:wàné* (f. *ko:wàɣɛ̀*, pl. *ko:wàdànnè*) ‘every, whichever’ is another pre-nominal specifier, e.g. *ko:wàné mùtùm* ‘each man’, *ko:wàɣɛ̀ kasa:* ‘each country’.

6.2.4 The isolator *ɗaya*

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

6.2.5 Adjectives as pre-nominal modifiers

The typical pre-nominal modifier is a simple attributive adjective. Its structure is <Adjective-GL N> . The adjective agrees in gender and number with the noun, and can be preceded by the diminutive *ɗan/ɣar/ɣan*, e.g. *fùddan ɣi:gunà:* ‘blue gowns’ (ADJ.PL-GL.PL N.PL), *ɗan kàɣamin ja:ɣò:* ‘a little boy’ (DIM.M ADJ.M-GL N). Adjectives can be stacked, e.g. *zungure:rɛ̀jar tso:juwar faɣar mo:tà:* ‘a very long old white car’ (ADJ.F-GL.F ADJ.F-GL.F ADJ.F-GL.F N)²⁶

6.3 Post-nominal elements

6.3.1 Post-nominal specifiers

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

6.3.1.1 Definite article

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

²⁴ Cf. below under post-nominal determiners.

²⁵ [*dummutà:ne:*] : the pronominal quantifier *duk* is often realised as *duG*, with its final consonant assimilating with the initial consonant of the noun.

²⁶ Newman (2000:371)

‘the mare’ (< *go:dija*: (f.) -r), *ùngùlùn* ‘the vulture’ (< *ùngùlu* (f.) -n), *go:dijo:jîn* ‘the mares’ (< *go:dijo:ji*: (pl.) -n).

6.3.1.2 Demonstrative determiners

The heavy forms of the pre-nominal deictics seen above²⁷ occur post-nominally in the invariable light form *nân* ‘this’ (PROX), *nan* ‘that near you, that previously mentioned’ (ANAPH), *ƒân* ‘that there’ (DIST), *ƒan* ‘that over there’ (DIST2). They follow directly the noun suffixed with a GL, or a noun plus the connective *dî-* plus a GL, e.g. *do:kìn nân* ‘this horse’, *ɽi:gâr nan* ‘that gown’ (near you, or previously mentioned), *gidà:ɽen ƒân* ‘those houses there’, *ƒɛk dîn nân* ‘this check’. The forms *nân* and *ƒân* are realised *nàn* and *ƒàn* resp. when following a H tone.

6.3.1.3 Possessives

Possession, in the order < Possessed Possessor >, and where the possessed object is the head noun, is indicated by a post-head noun or clitic pronoun²⁸ preceded by the GL *-n/-r/-t*, e.g. *ɽi:gar Sulè* ‘Sule’s gown’ (< *ɽi:ga*: -r), *do:kìnsà* ‘his horse’ (< *do:ki*: -n -sà), *ƒɛk dîntà* (< *ƒɛk dî-n -tà*) ‘her check’. If the possessive is not attached to the head noun, the GL appears as *na:-/ta:-* prefixed to the genitive pronouns, or *na/ta* before the noun, e.g. *do:kìn nân na:sà* ‘this horse of his’; *ɽi:gâr ta Sulè* ‘the gown of Sule’s’.

6.3.1.4 Numerals and other quantifiers

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

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

6.3.2 Post-nominal modifiers

6.3.2.1 Adjectives

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

6.3.2.2 Genitival nouns

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

6.3.2.3 The mai construction

The particle *mài* (pl. *mà:su*) ‘owner of’, and its negative counterpart *maɽàs* (= *maɽàr* = *maɽàG* where G geminates with the following consonant; pl. *maɽàsa:*) followed by a series of nouns expressing a quality³⁰, will be used to attribute this quality to a noun, e.g. *ja:ɽinjà: mài kjâu* ‘a beautiful girl’, *ɽi:ɽija: mài zuɽfi*: ‘a deep well’, *jâ:ra: maɽàsa: hankàli:*, ‘senseless children’.

²⁷ See Table 10 Demonstratives, § 6.2, p. 20).

²⁸ See § 8, p. 25 for the full paradigm of suffixed (Table 15) and independent (Table 16) possessive pronouns.

²⁹ See § 6.2.3, p. 21 for the pre-nominal *duk* form.

³⁰ These nouns belong to a phonologically and semantically distinct class named “Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality” by F. Parsons. Cf (Parsons 1955) and (Newman 2000:13-18).

6.3.2.4 The comparative modifier construction

Along the same model, as *mài*, a comparative qualificative construction involves the short agentive³¹ *mafi:* (pl. *mafija:*) ‘lit. the one exceeding’ plus an object, e.g. *mo:tà: mafi:tsà:da:* ‘the most expensive car’.

6.3.2.5 Prepositional phrases

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

6.3.2.6 Stative phrases

Another type of post-nominal modifier is the phrase formed of a stative³² + *dà* + NP, e.g. *bango: fà:fe dà fenti:* ‘a wall covered with paint’.

6.3.2.7 Relative clauses

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

6.3.2.8 The wai construction

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

7. Nominal derivation

7.1 *ma-* Agents, Place and Instruments

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

7.1.1 Agent nouns

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

TABLE 11. AGENT NOUNS

Verb		Agent Noun		
		m.	f.	pl.
<i>ginà:</i>	build	<i>magini:</i>	<i>maginija:</i>	<i>magina:</i>
<i>dinkà:</i>	sew	<i>madinki:</i>	<i>madinkija:</i>	<i>madinka:</i>
<i>d̄ɛ:mà:</i>	tan	<i>maɗɛ:mi:</i>	<i>maɗɛ:mija:</i>	<i>maɗɛ:ma:</i>
<i>ke:ɾà:</i>	forge	<i>makè:ɾi:</i>	<i>make:ɾija:</i>	<i>makè:ɾa:</i>
<i>no:mà:</i>	farm	<i>manò:mi:</i>	<i>mano:mija:</i>	<i>manò:ma:</i>
<i>ɾinà:</i>	dye	<i>maɾini:</i>	<i>maɾinija:</i>	<i>maɾina:</i>
<i>sa:kà:</i>	weave	<i>masà:ki:</i>	<i>masa:kija:</i>	<i>masà:ka:</i>
<i>sassàka:</i>	sculpt wood	<i>masàsàki:</i>	<i>masasakija:</i>	<i>masàsàka:</i>

³¹ Cf. § 7.1.1.

³² cf. 10.2.2.

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

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

TABLE 12. SHORT AGENT NOUNS	
<i>mafi: àma:nà:</i>	a treacherous person (lit. eater trust)
<i>mabì: saḳki:</i>	a follower of the Emir
<i>mazò: gaḳi:</i>	a town-goer
<i>maḳžè: silimân</i>	a cinema-goer

7.1.2 Place nouns

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

TABLE 13. PLACE NOUNS			
VERB		PLACE NOUNS	
<i>aikàta:</i>	perform	<i>ma'aikata:</i>	factory
<i>òùbbugà</i>	well up	<i>mabùbbuga:</i>	spring
<i>ḳže:mà:</i>	tan	<i>maḳže:ma:</i>	tannery
<i>fàka:</i>	lie in wait for	<i>mafaka:</i>	shelter
<i>fàḳautà:</i>	hunt	<i>mafàḳauta:</i>	hunting ground
<i>karànta</i>	read	<i>makaranta:</i>	school
<i>sàlla:tà:</i>	perform the daily prayers	<i>masalla:ḳfi:</i>	mosque
<i>ḳfi</i>	eat	<i>maḳfi:ja:</i>	a small roadside eating place

The plural of *-i:* place nouns, when it exists, is formed with the $\square ai$)^{BH} suffix, e.g. *màsàllà:tai* (sg. *masalla:ḳfi:*) 'mosque'. The plurals of $\square a:$ place nouns are more varied, e.g. : *mà'àiḳàtu:* (<*ma'aikata:* $\square u:$)^{BH}) 'factory'; *màfàḳautai* (<*mafàḳauta:* $\square ai$)^{BH}) 'hunting ground'; *maḳfi:ji:* (<*maḳfi:ja:* *-o:ḳfi:*)^H) 'a small roadside eating place'. Some of these nouns use 2 or all of these plural forms³⁴.

7.1.3 Instrument nouns

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

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

7.2 Ethnonyms

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

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

³⁴

Newman (2000:58)

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

8. Personal Pronouns

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

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

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

dà: ni: kai nè:
If I were you

janà: dâuke dà su:
He is carrying them.

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

kadà kà kafè: mu!
Don't kill us!

bà mù kīa: kù ba.
We did not call you.

The Dative (DAT), or Indirect Object appears before the Direct Object (ACC). It is marked by the particle *wà* (W *mà*) suffixed³⁶ to the long-vowel finite form of the verb. In the Continuous, the nominalised form of a the verb is replaced by a corresponding finite form.

<i>An</i>	<i>ginà:</i>	<i>gida:</i>	<i>An</i>	<i>ginà:</i>	<i>wà</i>	<i>sarki:</i>	<i>gida:</i>
4.PFV.NFOC	build	house	4.PFV.NFOC	build	DAT	king	house
<i>They built a house</i>			<i>They built a house</i>				

<i>Anà:</i>	<i>gini-n</i>	<i>gida:</i>	<i>Anà:</i>	<i>ginà:</i>	<i>wà</i>	<i>sarki:</i>	<i>gida:</i>
4.IPFV.NFOC	building-GEN	house	4.IPFV.NFOC	build	DAT	king	house
<i>They are building a house</i>			<i>They are building a house for the chief</i>				

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

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

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

<i>Ja:</i> 3S.M.PFV.NFOC <i>He fell</i>	<i>fa:di</i> fall (GR3B)	<i>Ja:</i> 3S.M.PFV.NFC <i>He fell on me</i>	<i>fa:dam</i> fall (GR3B)	<i>mini.</i> 3S.M.DAT
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The *genitive* pronoun indicates possession. It is suffixed to the possessed object through the Genitive Link *-n/-* (GL)r. For the 1st person, the GL is integrated to the pronoun, and the pronoun has a H tone, contrary to the other persons. The final *-a* is long, except in sentence-final position where it is short, e.g. *mo:tà:ta:* ‘my car’, *An sa:ɸè mo:tà:ta.* ‘They stole my car.’ vs. *Mo:tà:ta: ta: ɸa:ɸi.* ‘My car has broken down.’ The word *kâi* ‘head’ suffixed with a genitive pronoun, is used to form the reflexive: *mun ɸù:ɸi kânmù* ‘we’ve wronged ourselves’ (*kânmù* ‘ourselves’ < *kâi -n -mù*, head –GL–1PL.PNG.GEN))

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

TABLE 16. INDEPENDANT GENITIVE PRONOUNS

	M.& Pl.	F.
1s.	<i>nà:wa</i>	<i>tà:wa</i>
2ms.	<i>na:kà</i>	<i>ta:kà</i>
2fs.	<i>na:kì</i>	<i>ta:kì</i>
3ms.	<i>na:sà</i>	<i>ta:sà</i>
3fs.	<i>na:tà</i>	<i>ta:tà</i>
1p.	<i>na:mù</i>	<i>ta:mù</i>
2p.	<i>na:kù</i>	<i>ta:kù</i>
3p.	<i>na:sù</i>	<i>ta:sù</i>

9. Verbs and Verb Phrases

9.1 Verb grades

Verb classes, called verb grades in Hausaist tradition since (Parsons 60), 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 ; (ii) pronominal object (PNG.ACC); (iii) nominal object (/__N); dative object. Depending on their tone pattern and their suffix (mostly vocalic, with the exception of one consonantal suffix, *-ar*), 7 verbal grades have been established by F. Parsons (*op.cit*) to which P. Newman has added a grade \emptyset and introduced 3 subclasses: grades 3a and b, and grade 5d. The following table is a summary of the system following Newman (2000:628).

TABLE 17. VERB CLASSES

	/ \emptyset	/ PNG.ACC	/ N	/ PNG.DAT
Grade \emptyset	<i>-i:</i> H <i>-a:/-o:</i> H	<i>-i:</i> H <i>-a:/-o:</i> H	<i>-i:</i> H <i>-a:/-o:</i> H	<i>-i:</i> H <i>-a:/-o:</i> H
Grade 1	<i>-a:</i> H-L-(H)	<i>-a:</i> H-L-(H)	<i>-a</i> H-L-(L)	<i>-a:</i> H-L-(H)
Grade 2	<i>-a:</i> L-H-(L)	<i>-e:</i> L-H-	<i>-i</i> L-H	(pds)
Grade 3	<i>-a</i> L-H-(L)			(pds)
Grade 3a	<i>-a</i> H			(pds)
Grade 3b	<i>-i/-u/-a</i> H-L			(pds)
Grade 4	<i>-e:</i> H-L(H) <i>-nje:</i> H-L-(H)	<i>-e:</i> H-L(H) <i>-nje:</i> H-L-(H)	<i>-e</i> H-L(L) <i>-e:</i> H-L-(H) <i>-nje</i> H-L-(L) <i>-nje:</i> H-L-(H)	<i>-e:</i> H-L(H) <i>-nje:</i> H-L-(H)
Grade 5	<i>-ar</i> H	<i>-ar</i> H [<i>dà</i>] H <i>-fe:</i> H	<i>-ar</i> [<i>dà</i>] H	<i>-ar</i> [<i>dà</i>] H

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

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

9.1.1 Primary Grades

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

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

Grade 2 comprises only transitive basic verbs, e.g. *sàja:* ‘buy’ (*sàji* / ___ N and *sàje:* / ___ PNG.ACC).

Before [dative], *grade 2* verbs, like those of *grades 3* and *7*, add the H-tone inflectional pds -aC)^H, e.g. *sun nè:mam masà aiki:* ‘They sought work for him’ (*gr2+pds*), cf. *sun nè:mi aiki:* (*gr2/ ___ N*). (Newman 2000:629)

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

9.1.2 Secondary grades

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

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

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

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

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

9.2 Imperatives

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

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

to the verb class. One example of such variation is that of the grade 2 imperative. See below the difference between a grade 1 and grade 2 one³⁷:

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

9.3 Auxiliaries

We call auxiliary verbs³⁸ in Hausa those verbs that are followed by an embedded nonfinite VP with the same subject interpretation. The embedded VP is an infinitive phrase (IP)³⁹, a VN, VN phrase or a dynamic noun.

ba: jà: so:(n) zjartàr sùrùkansà
He doesn't like to visit his in-laws.

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

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

9.3.1.1 Modal auxiliaries

Intersubjective: (will, causation, permission, acceptance, etc.), e.g. *so*: 'want' *sà*: 'cause' *baɓi*: 'allow' *jàrda* 'agree' *ki* 'forbid' *hanà*: 'prevent'

Epistemic: *ijà*: 'can'; *ɗasà*; *ka:sà*; *gazà*: 'cannot'; *fàskaɗà* 'be difficult to...'

Deontic: *fànfantà*, *da:ɗè*; *kàma:tà* 'be proper'; *kjàutu* 'be better';

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

9.3.1.2 Aspectual auxiliaries

ka:ɗà, *dadà*: 'increase'; *ka:ɗà*; *sa:kè*: 'repeat'; *ɗikà*; *do:ɗà*; *dingà*; *ji: ta* (CONT) 'continue to'; *dainà*: 'stop'; *ka:rè*; *gamà*: 'finish'; *baɓi*; *fasà*: 'abandon'; *tabà*: 'have experienced'; *ɗiga*: / *ɗiga*; *ɗiga:jà*: 'have done before'; *fa:ɗà*; *so:mà*; *tà:sa*: / *ta:fi* / *ta:sam mà*, *ji ta* 'begin to'; *kusa*; 'have almost...'

10. Adverbs and Prepositional phrases

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

- (i) predicates of nonverbal sentences, e.g. *da:ki:na: janà: dab dà na:tà* 'my room is right next to her'; *fà:dà:wa: sunà zàune kusa dà sariki*: 'the councillors are seated close to the chief'.
- (ii) locative goals of motion verbs, e.g. *mù tàfi ɗàn* 'let's go there!'

³⁷ For more variations, sp. on grade \emptyset Imperatives, see Newman (2000:262-9).

³⁸ P. Newman (2000:64-70) calls these verbs "Aspectual verbs".

³⁹ Claude Gouffé calls this form « Forme Verbale Libre », 'free verbal form'. (Gouffé 1978)

- (iii) modifiers in the structure N-GL Adv, e.g. *fù:gàban dâ:zu* ‘the leaders of the movement’ (lit. leaders of just now); *ki:fìn-zu:fi* ‘ambition’ (lit. jealousy of in the heart)
- (iv) modifiers of predicates, appearing at the end of the VP, e.g. *inà: sòntà ainùn*. ‘I love her very much.’; *tanà: aiki: sànnu sànnu*. ‘She is working very slowly.’

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

[fè:karàr àlif dà dāri: tarà dà sittin]_{TOPIC} Nà:dʒe:rijà: [ta:]_{PFV.NFOC} Sà:mi mulkìn kâi.
In 1960, Nigeria gained independence

[dʒijà dà jâ:mma]_{FOCUS} [sukà]_{PFV.FOC} da:wo:.
YESTERDAY AFTERNOON they came back.

10.1 Basic adverbs

Basic space adverbs. *da:ma* ‘right-hand side’; *hagu* = *hagun* ‘left’; *aɾè:wa:* ‘north’; *kudu* ‘south’; *gabàs* ‘east’; *yamma* ‘west’; *kusa* ‘nearby’. The interrogative spatial adverb is *ina:* ‘where?’; the universal quantifier is *ko:ina:* ‘everywhere’.

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

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

There exist other adverbs relative to the time locus of the utterance, e.g. *kà:sè:gàri:*, *wàsè:gàri:* ‘the following day’⁴⁰, *kullum, dàdai, tùtur* ‘always’.

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

Deictics have both a spatial and temporal meaning: *nân* ‘here, now’; *nan* ‘there near you, then’; *ʒân* ‘there (not near you)’; *ʒan* ‘there (remote), then (later)’.

TABLE 19. BASIC TIME ADVERBS			
PAST	<i>dâ:</i> ‘formerly’	<i>ʒe:kaɾàn -dʒijà wàʒʒfan</i> ‘three days ago’	
	<i>tùni</i> ‘long ago’	<i>ʒe:kaɾàn-dʒijà</i> ‘two days ago’	<i>bà:ɾa wàʒʒfan</i> ‘two years ago’
	<i>dâ:zu</i> ‘not long ago, just now’	<i>dʒijà</i> ‘yesterday’	<i>bà:ɾa</i> ‘last year’
PRESENT	<i>jànzu</i> ‘now’	<i>yâu</i> ‘today’	<i>bana</i> ‘this year’
FUTURE	<i>ʒân</i> ‘then, then later’	<i>gò:be</i> ‘tomorrow’	<i>bàdì</i> ‘next year’
	<i>ʒan</i> ‘then later’	<i>dʒi:bi</i> ‘two days from now’	<i>bàdì wàʒʒfan</i> ‘two years from now’
		<i>ga:tà</i> ‘three days from now’	
		<i>ʒittà</i> ‘four days from now’	
		<i>ʒe:kaɾàn-ʒittà</i> ‘five days from now’	

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

⁴⁰ There is no adverb corresponding to ‘the previous day’. Instead, the expression *anà: gò:be* + FUT (lit. they were tomorrow...), e.g. *anà: gò:be za: sù tà:ʒi...* ‘the day before their departure...’ (lit. they were tomorrow they will leave)

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

Other adverbs. The adverb *ko:* modifies NP, VP and adverbials (both PP and AP⁴²). Here is an example modifying a PP: *ko: dà wufka: bà zâi kafè: fî ba* ‘Even with a knife, he would not be able to kill it.’ *dan/yâr/yân* ‘little’ is an adjective modifier, and its invariable form *dan* works as an adverbial predicate modifier, e.g. *kà dan dà:katà:* ‘Wait a little!’.

10.2 Adverb derivation

10.2.1 Denominal adverbs

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

ma:fi: ja: sò:ke: fî à zu:ffi
the spear pierced him in the heart. (< *zu:tfija:* ‘heart’)

ja: zo: à kafû
he came on foot (< *kafà:* ‘foot, leg’)

sunà: aikì: bakà dà hanffi
they are working tooth and nail’ (lit. *at mouth and at nose*)
(< *bà:ki:* ‘mouth’ ; *hanffi:* ‘nose’)

10.2.2 Deverbial statives

Statives are a subclass of adverbs derived from verbs by means of a tone-integrating suffix *-e*^{LH}, e.g. *mutù* ‘die’ > *mâfe* ‘dead’; *zaunà:* ‘sit’ > *zàune* ‘seated’. More examples:

ja: bar ko:fà: à bù:de
He left the door open.

kù ka:wo: fî nân ko: à rà:je ko: à mâfe.
Bring him here dead or alive.

10.3 Reduplication

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

Intensive reduplication: *fan* ‘there’ / *fan fan* ‘far, far away’; *kusa* ‘close’ / *kusa kusa* = *kurkusa* ‘very close’; *maza* ‘quickly’ / *maza maza* = *marmaza* ‘very quickly’.

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

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

10.4 Prepositional Phrases

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

*Time PPs*⁴⁴, e.g. *ma:lâmîn ja: gamà: [kà:fin zuwàn dà:libân]* ‘The teacher arrived before the coming of the pupils.’; *bà z:a à rufè: ba [sai ba:jan karfè: bijar.]* ‘They won’t close until (lit. after) five o’clock.’

Place PPs, e.g. *ja: wufè: gâba dà mu:* ‘he passed in front of us’, *na: sà: me: sù [à makaranta:]* ‘I found them [at school].’

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

⁴² We have seen how this has been lexicalised for the formation of universal quantifiers through the structure *ko: + Question word*.

⁴³ See the same phenomenon with adjectives, § 11.3.4 Reduplicated adjectives, p. 33.

⁴⁴ Cf. §12, p. 33 for an inventory of prepositions

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

11. Adjectives

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

11.1 Syntax

Adjectives appear in three different constructions : (i) predicative ; (ii) pre-nominal attributive ; (iii) post-nominal attributive. Let’s see these three constructions with a simple adj.: *faʔi:* (m.) ; *faʔa:* (f.) ; *faʔà:ʔe:* (pl.) ‘white’.

11.1.1 The attributive function

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

TABLE 20. ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVES			
	<i>Pre-nominal</i>	<i>Post-nominal</i>	
<i>do:ki:</i> (m.) horse	<i>faʔin do:ki:</i> (lit. white-GL horse)	<i>do:ki: faʔi:</i> (lit. horse white)	white horse
<i>mo:tà:</i> (f.) car	<i>faʔar mo:tà:</i> (lit. white-GL car)	<i>mo:tà: faʔa:</i> (lit. car white)	white car
<i>hu:lunà:</i> (pl.) caps	<i>faʔà:ʔen hu:lunà:</i> (lit. white-GL caps)	<i>hu:lunà: faʔà:ʔe:</i> (lit. caps white)	white caps

See § XXX for more about these structures.

11.1.2 The predicative function

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

<i>do:kinsà</i> horse-GL.M-him	<i>faʔi:</i> white.M	<i>nè:</i> COP.M	his horse is white
<i>ʔi:garsà</i> caftan-GL.F-him	<i>faʔa:</i> white.F	<i>ʔe:</i> COP.F	his caftan (f.) is white
<i>mo:to:ʔfinsù</i> cars-GL.PL-them	<i>faʔà:ʔe:</i> white.PL	<i>nè:</i> COP.PL	their cars are white

11.1.3 Comparison

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

Superlatives are expressed through the post-nominal modifier *mafi:*⁴⁵ + adj, e.g. *ja:ʔò: mafi: kaʔfi:* ‘the strongest boy’ (lit. boy exceeding strength).

11.2 Basic adjectives

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

⁴⁵ *mafi:* is a short agent noun derived from *fi* ‘exceed’. See § 7.1.1, p. 23.

TABLE 21. BASIC ADJECTIVES

<i>baki:, baka:, bakà:ke:</i>	black
<i>bàbba, bàbba, mánja:</i>	big
<i>do:go:, do:guwa:, do:gwà:je:</i>	long
<i>dánje:, dánja:, dānju:</i>	raw, fresh, green
<i>fari:, fara:, farà:re:</i>	white
<i>gàje:re:, gáje:ra: (=gàje:rija: =gàje:rùwa:), gājè:ru:</i>	short
<i>huntu:, huntuwa:, huntà:je:</i>	naked
<i>ja:, ja:, ja:jà:je:</i>	red
<i>ko:rè:, ko:rija:, ko:rà:je:</i>	green, unripe
<i>kùma:ma:, kùma:ma:, kùma:mai</i>	weak
<i>ka:tò:, ka:tùwa:, kátta:</i>	huge
<i>kànkànè:, kànkànùwa:, kana:nà:</i>	small
<i>kàrami:, kàrama:, kana:nà:</i>	small
<i>kàza:mi:, kàza:ma:, kàzà:mai</i>	dirty
<i>ku:lumi:, ku:luma:, ku:lumà:je:</i>	stingy
<i>mu:gù:, mu:gùwa: (=mu:gunjà:), mijà:gu: (=mu:gà:je:)</i>	evil
<i>rà:wajà:, rà:wajà:, rà:wà:ju:</i>	yellow
<i>sa:bo:, sa:buwa:, sà:bàbbi:</i>	new
<i>shu:dì:, shu:dija:, shùdda:</i>	indigo blue

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

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

whereas in the following example it is a predicative adjective ‘old’ modifying the noun *do:ki:* ‘horse’:

mun ka:mà wani tso:hon do:ki:
we caught an old horse

Table 22 below lists some of these noun/adjectives:

TABLE 22. NOUN/ADJECTIVES

<i>bà:ko:, bà:kuwa:, bà:ki:</i>	stranger, host
<i>be:be:, be:bija:, be:bà:je:</i>	dumb
<i>bàra:wò:, bàraunija:, bàrà:ji:</i>	robber
<i>kurma:, kurma:, kurà:me:</i>	deaf
<i>màka:hò:, màkaunija:, màkà:fì:</i>	blind
<i>tso:ho:, tso:huwa:, tsò:fàffi:</i>	old
<i>ja:rò:, ja:rinjà:, jà:ra:</i>	young

11.3 Derived adjectives

11.3.1 Agentive adjectives

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

11.3.2 Past Participles

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

11.3.3 Adjectives of Sensory Quality

Intensive trisyllabic adjectives are derived from a set of nouns named Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality by F. Parsons⁴⁶. For example, from the noun *za:fi*: ‘heat’ is derived the adjective *zàzza:fa*: ‘very hot’. The singular is formed with a reduplicative prefix (CVC-)^L plus a suffix *-a:*)^L. The plural has a *-a:Ca:*)^{HLH} suffix added to the base without reduplication, e.g. *fàrfa:da*: = *fàffa:da*: / *fadà:da*: ‘very broad, wide’ (< *fa:di*: ‘width’); *kàkkaifa*: / *kaifà:fa*: ‘very sharp’ (< *kaifi*: ‘sharpness’); *mùmmu:na*: / *mu:nà:na*: ‘evil, ugly’ (< *mu:ni*: ‘ugliness’).

11.3.4 Reduplicated adjectives

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

A comparable morphological process derives from an adjective, another adjective with an attenuative meaning, e.g. *baki*: ‘black’, (*dàn*) *baki-baki*: ‘faded black’; *fa:ri*: ‘white’, (*dàn*) *fa:ri-fa:ri* ‘off-white’; *fu:di* ‘dark blue’, *fu:di-fu:di* ‘light blue’; *do:go*: ‘tall’, (*dàn*) *do:go-do:go* ‘medium height’; *jalò*: ‘yellow’, *jalò-jalò* ‘yellowish’; *ɗa:* ‘red’, *ɗa:ɗa-ɗa:ɗa* ‘reddish’

12. Prepositions

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

12.1 Basic prepositions

The inventory of basic Hausa prepositions is as follows: *à* ‘at, in, on’; *dà* ‘with’; *dàgà* ‘from’; *bisà* ‘on, about’; *fà:ffe*: ‘except’; *gà/gà:re*: ‘by, in, near, in connection with, in relation to’; *har* ‘up to, until’; *hàtta*: ‘including’; *ija*: ‘as far as’; *illa*: ‘except’; *kà:fin* (= *kà:fin*) ‘before’; *sabò:dà* ‘because of, on account of’; *sai* ‘except, until’; *ta* ‘via, by means of, by way of’; *tun* ‘since’; *wàr* ‘like’; *jà*: (= *i*) ‘like, among’; *zuwà*: ‘to’
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Many of these basic prepositions function also as conjunctions. Except for *gà* which takes the form *gà:re*: when followed by a direct object pronoun (PNG.ACC), e.g. *gà:re: tà* ‘by her’, all basic prepositions take independent pronouns as complements, e.g. *sabò: dà ita* ‘because of her’.

12.2 Compound prepositions

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

12.3 Genitive prepositions

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

Genitive prepositions take possessive pronouns as complements, e.g. *kânsù* ‘on them’; *ɣikintà* ‘on it’.

13. Universal Quantifiers

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

⁴⁶ (Parsons 1955).

⁴⁷ Newman (2000:46)

13.1 The global universal *duk/dukà*

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

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

13.2 The distributive universal *ko:*

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

TABLE 23. DISTRIBUTIVE UNIVERSALS		
GLOSS	UNIVERSALS	QUESTION WORDS
everyone, whoever	<i>ko:wa:</i>	<i>wà:</i> ‘who?’
everything, whatever	<i>ko:me:</i>	<i>mè:</i> ‘what?’
everywhere, wherever	<i>ko:’ina:</i>	<i>ina:</i> ‘where’
always, whenever	<i>ko:jàufe: = ko:jàufè</i>	<i>jàufe: = jàufè</i> ‘when?’
each, whichever one(s)	<i>ko:wànnè: (m.), ko:wàfife: (f.), ko:wàdànnè: (pl.)</i>	<i>wànnè:, wàfife:, wàdànnè:</i> ‘whichever?’
every, whichever	<i>ko:wànè (m.), ko:wàfè (f.), ko:wàdànnè (pl.)</i>	<i>wane (m.), wàfè (f.), wàdànnè (pl.)</i> ‘which?’
however much/many	<i>ko: nawà</i>	<i>nawà:</i> ‘how much/many?’
in every, whatever way	<i>ko:(ta)jà:jà:</i>	<i>jà:jà:</i> ‘how?’

Ko:wa: ja re:nà gàɗe:re:, bàì ta:kà kùna:mà: ba.
Whoever despises the small has never stepped on a scorpion.

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

Anà: ganinsù (à) ko:’ina:.
They were seen *everywhere*.

À ri:dɗjan nân anà: sa:mùn ruwa: à ko:jàufè.
In this well you get water *all the time*.

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

Ko: fa:nunsà nawà ne:, na saŋki: sun fi: sù.
However many his cows may be, the king’s will be more.

13.3 Universal subordination

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

Ko:me: sukà fàda:, kaŋja: fè:.
= *Duk àbîn dà sukà fàda:, kaŋja: fè:.*
= *Àbîn dà sukà fà:da: dukà, kaŋja: fè:.*
Whatever they may have said, it’s a lie.

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

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

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

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

14. Ideophones

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

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

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

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

15. Complex sentences

15.1 Coordination

15.1.1 ‘And

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

mun fi mun fa:
We ate (and) we drank.

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

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

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

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

Bintà tanà: kàrà:tu: [tanà: kuma sàurà:ren re:dijò:]

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

Binta was studying [and listening to the radio]

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

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

[bà za: tà]_{NEG2 FUT 3F} hàdu dà kawà:jên [tà]_{3S.F.SUBJ} kuma tàfi sini:mà: ba
She is not going to meet her friends and go to the movies

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

[na:]_{IS.PFV.NFOC} hau ku:kà: sai [na]_{IS.PFV.FOC} ga kaujè:
I climbed the baobab tree and then I saw the village

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

[inà:]_{IS.IPFV.NFOC} kàrà:tu: mutà:ne: [sukà]_{3PL.PFV.FOC} figo:
I was reading when people came in.

- A [-FOC] Continuous in the second sentence will indicate concomitance. Example:

[janà:]_{3S.M.IPFV.NFOC} wà:sa: Birnin Rûm [janà:]_{3S.M.IPFV.NFOC} ko:nè:wa:
He was fiddling while Rome was burning. (Newman 2000:139)

- The relationships expressed by aspectual system can be specified by adverbial coordinators, e.g. *sai* ‘then’. Example:

Janà: figa:, sai ja gan tà.
He was going in when he saw her.

15.1.2 ‘Or’

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

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

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

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

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

imma: dai sù bija: nì jànzù ko: kuma mù ji řigimà:.
Either they pay me now, or we’ll fight.

imma: kà jì hakà imma: kadà kà jì, ò:ho.
Whether you do it or no, I don’t care.

15.1.3 ‘But’ and ‘however’

àmma: and *àmma: duk dà hakà* conjoin two clauses while contrasting them.

mun řò:ke: fi àmma: ja: fi
We asked him but he refused.

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

15.2 Subordination

15.2.1 Conjunctions⁴⁹

15.2.1.1 *har* and *sai* ‘until’⁵⁰

The conjunction *har* means ‘as far as; up to, until, even, etc.’ and denotes the continuation of an action until a qualitative degree is reached, entailing a change of state.

zân ijà tsajà:wa: har ka: gamà:.

I will wait until you have finished.

ƒi:wò: ja: ƒi kaƒfintà har ja: kaƒè: ta.

The illness weakened her up to the point that she died.

sun ji aikii: har sun gàđi.

They worked so much that they got tired.

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

bà zân ijà hawan wannàn ginà: ba sai an sakà tsa:na:

I won't be able to climb this wall unless a ladder is put up.

ja: ƒè: sai ka: gamà aikin za: kà tàfi gida:

He said « It's only after you have finished your work that you can go home. »

bà za: kà dagà: dagà nân ba sai ka: bija:

You're not going to leave until you have paid.

15.2.1.2 *dà* ‘when, rather than’

dà mukà gàbà:ƒe: sù sai sukà gudù.

When we approached them, they ran away.

ja: ƒi àràha: à sàje: ƒi nân dà à tàfi Kanò:.

It's cheaper to buy here rather than go to Kano.

15.2.1.3 *ba:yan (dà)* ‘after’

ja: zo: ba:jan ka: bar gida:.

He came after you had left the house.

ba:jan sun fita mun bu:dè kwalîn.

After they had left, we opened the parcel.

15.2.1.4 *dò:min (=don)*

This conjunction has two meanings :

- (i) ‘because’ when followed by a Perfective:

an dauƒè: ƒi don [ja:]_{PFV.NFOC} gudù.

They tied him up because he had escaped.

- (ii) ‘so that’ when followed by a Subjunctive:

an dauƒè: ƒi don [kadà jà]_{NEGS SBJV} gudù.

They tied him up so that he wouldn't escape.

15.2.1.5 *idan (=in)* ‘if’

idan ka: ƒù:ƒe: mù za: mù ƒa:mà:.

If you cheat us, we'll get back at you.

15.2.1.6 *kà:fin = kà:fin (=kà:mìn = kà:min)* ‘before’

kà:fin mù hu:tà: sai mù kammàlà aikin.

Before we rest we must finish the work.

⁴⁹ Newman 2000:134

⁵⁰ As for most conjunctions, these two words can function as prepositions as well, e.g. *sai gò:be* : ‘bye bye’ (lit. until tomorrow); *an ji hanjà: dagà Kanò: har Dàura:* ‘they built a road from Kano to Daura’.

15.2.1.7 *kâmar* (= *tàmkar*) ‘as if’

na: ðʒi kâmar zân ji amai.
I feel as if I’m going to vomit.

15.2.1.8 *ko*: ‘event if’

ko: Audù ja: gâðʒi, jâ: ka:ɾàsà aikinsà.
Even if Audu is tired, he will finish his work.

15.2.1.9 *ko: dà* ‘as soon as’

ko: dà ja ðagà hannu:, jâ:ɾa: sukà dainà máganà.
As soon as he raised his hand, the children stopped talking.

15.2.1.10 *ko: dà* (*yakè*) ‘although’

ko: dà jakè kinà: fīrīn ta:fi: inà: dà máganà: dà ke:.
Although you are getting ready to go, I have something to tell you.

15.2.1.11 *màimakon* ‘instead of’

màimakon sù ɾàgu, kà:ɾuwa: sukà ji.
Instead of decreasing, they have increased.

15.2.1.12 *muddīn* ‘as long as’

muddīn janà: zuwà: gidan nân bà za: à ɾàbu dà ta:fin hankàli: ba.
As long as he comes to this house, there will always be problems.

15.2.1.13 *sabò:dà* ‘because’

na: ji fuɸi: sabò:dà ka: màkaɾà.
I am angry because you are late.

15.2.1.14 *tàmkar* (= *kâmar*) □: as if

tanà: ta:kà:wa: ðai-ðai tàmkar an nadà: ta sàɾaunija:.
She is walking around as if she had been made a queen.

15.2.1.15 *tun*

This conjunction has two meanings :

(i) ‘while’, e.g.

kà fadà: musù tun sunà: nân
Tell them while they are here.

(ii) ‘even before’ when followed by *kà:fin* ‘before’ or a negative clause, e.g.

na: gamà aiki: tun kà:fin kà zo: = tun bà kà zo: ba
I finished the work (even) before you arrived.

15.2.1.16 *tun dà* ‘since (temporal)’

tun dà mukà iso:, bà mù gan fi ba.
Since we arrived, we haven’t seen him.

15.2.1.17 *tun* (*dà yakè*) ‘since (factive)’

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

15.3 Completives

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

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

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

(iii) *ja: kjàutu in gamà aiki:na:.*
It is better I finished my work.

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

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

15.3.1 Completives following full verbs or predicates

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

15.3.1.1 Verbs of thought or speech

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

ha:kimi: jâ: gârgâde: sù fê:wa: sù bija: hàra:džin.
The district chief will recommend them to pay taxes.

ja: musà: fê:wa: fî: bàra:wò: ne:.
He denied being a thief.

The verb *fê:* ‘say’ does not use a complementizer.

sar̄ki: ja: fê: kù bija: hàra:džin.
The chief said you should pay taxes.

ja: ka:ɾà: dà fê:wa: dʒanàr zâi hàlârɾfî tà:ɾo:n dà kânsà.
He added that the general will attend the ceremony himself.

The other complementizer is *wai*. Examples:

sun ji tsâmma:ni: wai za: sù sà:mi hanjâr fîga:.
They thought they would find a way to get in.

na: dʒi wai bà à nadâ: fî sar̄ki: ba.
I heard they did not appoint him chief.

bân ji zâton (wai) za: tà zo: wuɾin nân ba.
I did not think she would come here.

15.3.1.2 *dâ* predicates

Some predicates use the complementizer *dâ*. Examples:

mun ji faɾin fîki: dâ kukà zo:.
We hare happy that you came.

an amînfê: wà Audù (dâ / fê:wa:) jà zama sar̄ki:.
Audu has been allowed to become chief.

15.3.2 Complements of impersonal verbs

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

ja: kâma:tâ (wai) sàmà:ɾin nân sù ji auɾe:.
These young people should get married.

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

ja: kâma:tâ Bàɾau jà dainà kurbà:wa:.
It is proper that Barau should stop drinking.

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

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

⁵¹ Cf. § 6.3.2.3 & note 33, p. 22.

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

15.4 Adverbial clauses

15.4.1 Time

Three types of temporal relationship will be examined :

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

Since Hausa is basically aspectual, these relationships can be situated in the past, the present or the future. Finally, duration can be specified in reference to a point in time. This temporal system can use conjunctions, but it often uses simple juxtaposition, or paratax⁵².

15.4.1.1 Concomitance

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

Juxtaposition

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

[janà:]_{3S.M.IPFV.NFOC} wà:sa: Birnin Rûm [janà:]_{3S.M.IPFV.NFOC} ko:nè:wa:
He was fiddling while Rome was burning. (Newman 2000:139)

$\Sigma 1$ *lsai* $\Sigma 1$ ⁵³.

In this structure, the adverbial coordinator *sai* ‘then’ set at the beginning of the second clause, stresses the punctuality of the irruption of a process against the background of a Continuous TAM.

Example:

Àsùbà: nà: jî: sai na dgi anà: bu:sà wani àbù kàmar kàho:.
Dawn was pointing when I heard they were blowing something like a horn. (S.U. 33 § 3)

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

dgin fa:warà: ta:sà, sai akà barì:.
When hearing his advice, they stopped.

dà $\Sigma 2$ ° (*sai*) $\Sigma 1$.

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

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

⁵² See § 15.1 on paratax and coordination.

⁵³ In $\Sigma 1$ ° $\Sigma 2$, $\Sigma 1$ stands for the subordinate, $\Sigma 2$ for the main clause while ° represents the limit between the two clauses.

Dà kun gàmù ja sà: karnukànsà sukà bijo: kà sai kà ji gàba kàmar ka: wufè:, ...
If you meet, and he sets his dogs on you, go straight on as if you have overtaken him, ...
 (MJC, I, 16, last §)

Dà sunà: fí: tà:re dà wani makwàbɓfinsà sai makwàbɓfin já zama wani iɓi: ne: mài mi:tà:.
When they were eating with a neighbour, the neighbour would become all grumpy. (MJC II, 16, l.1)

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

Sa: 'ád dà mukà zo: janà: kàrà:tu:.
When we arrived, he was reading.

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

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

The order of the subordinate and main clauses can be inverted, e.g. < $\Sigma 1$ ° *dà* $\Sigma 2$ >. Example:

Ja gajà: masà àbîn dà ja fà:ru dukà gà tɕirginsù sa: 'ád dà sunà: tsakijàr Kwa:ɾà.
He told him all that had happened to their boat when they were in the middle of the Niger river. (MJC I 128, 1)

The same narrative meaning obtains with a nominal predicate or an infinitive in $\Sigma 2$

Dà ganin wannàn sai na firgità na ta:fi.
When I saw this, I was afraid and stood up. (SU, p. 42, § 2)

Dà tɕin wadànnàn màgàngànun fa sai na fa:ɾà sa:kà:wa: à ɾâina:, fɛ:wa:...
When I heard these words indeed, I began to say to myself that... (S.U. p. 31)

Dà gamà tɕin àbingimmù, sai akà bugà kùge:, mukà ta:fi.
As we finished eating our meal, then they struck a gong and we set off. (SU, 47, § 2)

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

Kà kafè wuta: tun tanà: kàɾama:.
Put out the fire while it is still small.

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

(Tun) tanà: kàɾama: ijà:jentà sukà mutù.
While she was still young her parents died.

Tun ja:ɾò: janà: kàɾami: jakè: la:là:fɛ:wa:.
It's when he is still young that a child turns bad.

muddin $\Sigma 2_{[PFV,FOC]}$ ° $\Sigma 1$ 'when'

In a narration, *muddin* (\approx *muddàr*) introduces a [+FOC] Perfective and means « when ».

Muddin mukà zo: mukà gan fi.
When we arrived we saw him.

$\Sigma 1$ ° *muddin* $\Sigma 2_{[CONT,NFOC]}$ 'as long as'

In non-narrative contexts, *muddin* (\approx *muddàr*) introduces a [-FOC] Continuous and means « as long as ».

Jà:jà: za: mù mànta: dà fi: muddin munà: tunà:wa: dà ɾân dà ja: ji fa:ma: dà tɕa:mùs ?
How could we ever forget him as long as we remember the day that he resisted the Germans ? (Abraham)

*Kadà kù jàrda muddìn kunà: dà sauran numfafti.
Don't accept as long as you have some breath left.*

15.4.1.2 Succession

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

sai, sa:'àn nan

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

*ja: ji fè:ka: ukù, sa'àn nan ta:bà ta ka:rè:
He took three snuffs and then the tobacco was finished.*

ka:nà/ka:nà:

*Sarki: ja dagà kânsà za:màni: gùda:, ka:nà ja amsà: wà Mâ:kau fè:wa: ja: jàrda.
The king raised his head for some time, then he answered Makau that he agreed.*

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

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

15.4.1.3 Posteriority

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

ba:jan $\Sigma 2_{PFV,NFOC}$ || (*sai*) $\Sigma 1$ = 'after... then...'
ba:jan dà $\Sigma 2_{PFV,FOC}$ || (*sai*) $\Sigma 1$ = 'after... then...'

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

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

tun dà $\Sigma 1_{+FOC}$ || $\Sigma 2$ = 'since ...'

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

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

*Àmma: tun dà su kè Kàtar ko: fti:wòn kâi bàì tabà jì: ba.
But, since they had been born, Katar had never had even a headache.*

ko: dà : $\Sigma 1_{PFV,FOC}$ || (*sai*) $\Sigma 2$. = 'as soon as... then...'

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

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

Dà fê: sun da:wo: za: mù ta:fi.

As soon as they have come back, we will leave.

Gà: fi dàgà Kàrbi ja: tabà: fi duk hannuwànsù sun mi:kè:.

It happened that, as soon as Karbi had touched him, he stretched his arms out. (MJC II, p. 38, l.1)

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

Dà za:ɾar mun ji màganà:, sai sukà zà:ge: mù.

As soon as we had opened our mouth, they insulted us.

Dà za:ɾar mun ji màganà:, sai sù zà:ge: mù.

As soon as we open our mouth, they insult us.

Σ1 kè: nan || (sai) Σ2 = 'hardly...'

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

Ja: figa kò:gôn kè:nan, sai ja:ɾòn ja ko:mo:.

Hardly had he entered the cave when the boy came back.

Ja: ta:fi, ja: fa:ɾà hawa: kè:nan, sai gà: Gàmo: janà: saukô:wa:.

Hardly had he got up and started to climb when Gamo came down.

15.4.1.4 Anteriority

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

Σ1 || har Σ2_{SBJV} = 'until'

Àdɟije: fi har kà bùkà:fè: fi !

Keep it until you need it!

Sun adɟije: fi har sun / sukà bùkà:fè: fi.

They kept it until they needed it.

Σ1 || sai dà Σ2_{PFV} = 'until'

Bà za: mù ta:fi ba sai sun da:wo:.

We won't leave until they come back.

Sukà adɟije: fi sai dà sukà bùkà:fè: fi.

They kept it until they needed it.

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

Mun gamà aikìn tun bài zo: ba.

We finished the work before he arrived (lit. as he had not arrived yet).

Tanà: tà:ɾe dà ni: tun bà à ji ja:fi: ba.

She was (still) with me before the war (lit. as they had not done war yet).

À kai kaɾa: makauɾaɸfi: tun gàban kaɾa: bà tà zo: ba.

$\Sigma 1 \parallel kà:fin \Sigma 2_{SBJV} = \text{'before'}$

Kà:fin mù dge: Kanò: sai akà figa ðakà.
Before we went to Kano, people had gone home.

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

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

$tun \Sigma 1_{CONT.NFOC} \parallel har \Sigma 2_{PFV.FOC/SBJV}$

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

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

15.4.1.5 Measuring time

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

Dà akà ɸjimà: kàdan, Saɾki: ja ɸɸè:...
A little later, the king said...

ɸjim kàdan sai ja ko:mo:.
A little later, he came back.

Wannàn ja: fù:ɾu dà dadè:wa:.
This happened a long time ago.

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

ɾàbo:na: dà Kanò: fè:kaɾa: ukù.
I left Kano three years ago.

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

Na: gan fi watà: ukù dà sukà wuɸɸè:.
I saw him three months ago.

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

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

15.4.2 Reason, Consequence and Purpose

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

15.4.2.1 Reason = 'because'

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

Na: dge: wuɾinsà dò:min/sabò:dà na: san fi.
I went to his place because I know him.

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

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

15.4.2.2 Reason = 'since'

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

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

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

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

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

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

15.4.2.3 Consequence : har / har dà

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

Ja: gàɖi ainùn har bàì ijà ɸf: gàba ba.
He was so tired that he could not continue.

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

15.4.2.4 Purpose

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

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

Na: ba: fi ruwa: jà fa:.
I gave him some water for him to drink:.

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

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

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

15.4.3 Concession and Condition

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

15.4.3.1 Concessives

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

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

ko: dà jakè sun tabù zuwà: gida:na: sun batà hanjù:
Even though they had been to my house before, they got lost.

15.4.3.2 Regular conditionals

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

In ja: zo:, sai kà tàmbàje: fi.
If he comes, ask him.

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

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

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

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

idan kidâ: ja: sa:kè:, rawa: sai tà sa:kè:
Whenever the rhythm changes, the dance changes.

15.4.3.3 Restrictive conditionals

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

Namidɗi bàrkò:no: nè:, sai an taunà: za: à san ja:ɗɛ:nsà.
Man is like pepper, it's only if you chew it that you feel its strength.

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

15.4.3.4 Counterfactual conditionals

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

Dà: an tàmbàje: nì, dà: na: jàrda.
If I'd been asked, I would have agreed.

Wàlla:hi dà: kanà: fân gijà: dà: sai in ɗê: ka: fa: ka: bùgu nè:.
If you drank alcohol, I would have said that you have drunk and you are drunk.

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

dà: gubà: sukà bà: tà, dà: ta: hadɗje:
*If it was poison they had given her, she would have swallowed (with focus on **gubà:**)*

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

15.4.3.5 Concessive conditionals

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

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

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

15.4.3.6 Hypothetical concessive conditionals

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

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

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

15.4.3.7 Universal conditionals

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

ko:wa: ja f̄i wa:ke:, f̄ikìnsà zâi kùmburà
Whoever eats beans, his stomach will swell.

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

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

16. Negation

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

TABLE 24. NEGATIVE MARKERS

NEG1a...NEG1b	<i>bà:/bà ... ba</i>	TAMS other than the continuous and subjunctive
NEG2	<i>ba:</i>	negative continuous TAM
NEG3	<i>ba:bù / b̄a:</i>	existential ; HAVE sentences, etc.
NEG4a... NEG4b	<i>bà: ... ba</i>	equational (non-verbal) sentences, NPs, etc.
NEG5	<i>kadà / k̄ar</i>	subjunctive

16.1 NEG1. TAMS other than the continuous and subjunctive⁵⁵

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

ja:r̄injà: bà tà da:wo: ba
The girl did not return.

bà za: mù biya: sù ba
We will not pay them.

dà ni: dà kai bà mâ: zaunà: tà:re f̄ikin àma:nà: ba
Me and you, we won't live together peacefully.

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

⁵⁴ Cf. Table 23 Distributive Universals (§ 13.2, p. 34).

⁵⁵ Cf the TAMs and their meaning, Tables 2 to 8 (§ 5.2.1.1, p. 12 ff.).

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

16.2 NEG2. Negative continuous TAM

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

Bellò ba: jà: [da:wò:wa:]_{VP}

Bello is not coming back.

bankì: ba: jà: [nân à wannân tí:tí:]_{ADVP}

The bank is not on this road.

so:đo:đi: ba: sà: [[rike]_{STAT} dà bindigo:ginsù]_{ADVP}

The soldiers don't have their guns.

16.3 NEG3. Existential and HAVE sentences

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

(a) *bâ: mâi = ba:bù mâi*

There is no petrol.

(b) *La:dì bâ: ta dà la:fijà:*

Ladi is not well.

16.4 NEG4. (non-verbal) sentences and NP

The disjunctive *bâ: ... ba* negative marker negates the copula *ne:/fē:/ne:* in all its uses (a) as sentence copula (a) as focus marker. In both cases the second marker is inserted between the copula and the constituent it is attached to. Examples:

(a) *bâ: ka:sa: ba fē:*

It is not a puff-adder

ita bâ: yâ:ta: ba fē:

She is not my daughter.

(b) *bâ: b̄a:ra:wò: ba nè: sukà ka:mà:*

It is not a thief that they caught.

bâ: kè:kè ba nè: B̄ala: ja sajà: wà yâ:yânsà

It is not a bicycle Bala bought his children.

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

bâ: wai mutà:nen nân sun ba: tà dà:řija: ba nè:; a:’à:, tunzùřa: ta sukà jì.

It is not the case that these men made her laugh; no, irritating her they did. (Newman 2000:363)

16.5 NEG5. Subjunctive

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

kadà kì ba: fì ko:me:!

Don't give him anything!

kadà / kâr mù tàimàke: sù!

Let's not help them!

tàfì dà laimà: don kâr řuwa: jà ba: kà ka:fì:!

Take an umbrella lest you get soaked!

17. Question

17.1 Wh-Questions

Apart from echo-questions where the question-word can remain *in situ* with TAM unchanged, Wh-Questions are a typical case of 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.

17.1.1 Question words

'who ?' wà: (=wà:ne: nè:) m., wà:ʃe: ʃè: f., su wà: (=su wà:ne: nè:) pl., wà:jè: m., su wà:jè: pl.

wà:ne: nè: ?
Who is it?

su wà:(ne: nè:) sukà dʒe: harbi: ?
Who went hunting ?

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

'what ?' mè: (=mè:ne: nè:) m., mè:ʃe: ʃè: f. (rare), su mè:ne: nè: pl. , mè:jè: m.

mè:(ne: nè:) ka zà:ba: ?
What did you choose ?

mè:ne: nè: wannàn?
What is this?

dà mè: dà mè: sukà kwa:ʃè:?
What (things) did they confiscate?

'which ?' (adj): wànè m., wàʃè f., wàdànnè pl.

wàʃè mo:tà: ʃe: ta fi tsà:da:?
Which car is the cheapest?

wàdànnè hu:lunà: kakè: sajàrwa:?
Which caps are you selling

'which one(s)' (pro): wànnè: m., wàʃʃe: f., wàdànnè: pl.

wàʃʃe: (ʃe:) za: kà zà:ba:?
Which one are you going to choose?

wànnè: / wàʃʃè: / wàdànnè: ?
Which one(s)?

'where?' ina:

ina: ja:ròn?
Where is the boy?

ina: ta tàfi?
Where did she go ?

'when ?' jàufè / jàufe:

jàufe: (nè:) sukà da:wo:?
When did they come back?

jàufè (ne:) za: à sa:kè bu:dè makaranta:?
When will the school be opened again?

'how ?' (ta) jà:jà:

jà:jà: kikè: dʒi:?
How do you feel?

ta jà:jà: kukà sà:mi wurin ʃga:?
How did you manage to enter?

'how many/much ?' nawà

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

kudì: nawà za: kà sa:mù?
How much money will you get?

'why?' don mè:, sabò: dà me:

don mè: kakè: kauṛàṛfe: manà?
Why are you avoiding us

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

17.1.2 The q-morpheme

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

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

Examples:

wà: zài fìta + : → wà: zài fìtá:?
Who will come? (tone and length added)

jàufè ta haihù + : → jàufè ta haihù: ?
When did she give birth ? (length added)

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

ina: ka ga ja:ṛòn?
Where did you see the boy? (vacuous addition) (op.cit.)

17.2 Yes/No questions

Yes/No questions preserve the word order of the declarative sentence but are marked in one or more of the 4 following ways : (1) by addition of the q-morpheme; (2) by question intonation; (3) by a sentence-final interrogative tag; and (4) by a sentence-initial interrogative word. (Newman 2000:497ff.)

17.2.1 The q-morpheme

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

17.2.2 Question intonation

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

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

17.2.3 Sentence-final question tags

The particles *ko:*, *ba*, *ne:*, *kùwa*, *fà:* function as sentence-final question tags. When key raising applies, they will surface with a long vowel and a falling tone, e.g. *ka: d̥ʒi b̥â: ?* (< *ba+* :) ‘Did you hear?’; *ja: àur̥i Aif̥â n̥ê:?* (< *ne:+* :)

17.2.4 Sentence-initial interrogative words

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

ko: Mu:sà nà: nân?

Is Musa here?

anjà hakà ne?

Is that really so?

fîn ko: ka: san an ka:ɾà: manà àlbâ:fi: watàn nân?

Did you know our salary was raised this month? (Newman 2000:501)

17.3 Indirect questions

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

bàn san ko: w̥à: ja ji hakà ba

I don't know who acted this way.

bài gajà: mini ko: nawà zân bija: ba

He did not tell me how much I will pay.

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

Inà: sô: in sanì: ko: zâi tùfi.

I want to know if he will go.

Sai sar̥ki: ja tàmbàje: fi in janà: sôn jà zaunà: waɖzènsà.

Then the king asked him if he wanted to sit by him

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