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Hausa Grammatical Sketch

Bernard Caron

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Hausa Grammatical Sketch¹

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(30/11/2012)

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

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1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

² Examples taken from (Newman 2000) are labelled "PN"; our own examples are labelled "BC".

³ *Ajami* is the Hausa name given to the Arab alphabet adapted for the notation of African languages.

1.1 Abbreviations used in the grammar and in the corpus

Grammar: general abbreviations

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

Corpus: glossing labels (\rx tier)

Label (\rx)	Meaning	Associated \ge labels and/or examples
ADJ	Adjective	red (ɗa:), evil (mu:gu:)
ADV	Adverb	formerly (dá:), quickly (dàwuɾi)
ADV.DEICT	Deictic Adverb	now (jànzú), next_year (bàɗfí)
ADV.REL	Relative Adverb	how (jaddà), REL.LOC (indà)
ato	Apotony	IMP
CIRC	Circumfix	AGT (ma-); INS (-i:)
COMP	Complementizer	that_is (ɸé:wa:)
CONJ	Conjunction	if (in); until (har)
der	Derivation	DIR (-o:); NMLZ (-wa:)
DET	Determinant	DEF (-n)
DET.INDF	Indefinite Determinant	SOME.PL (wasu)
DP	Discourse particle	well (tò:)
EXCL	Exclamation	eh (ě:); indeed (àfe:)
FILL	Pause filler	er... (e:::)
HESIT	Hesitation	gwa:#
hom	Homonymy	COP2 (dà); REL (dà); COMP (dà)
IDEOPH	Ideophone	strong (kankan); tight (tsantsan)
INTJ	Interjection	amen (à:min); no (a:ʔà:)
N	Noun	thing (àbù); work (aiki:)
N.P	Proper Noun	Amina; Bashir
N.V	Verbal Noun	loan; begging
NUM	Numeral	Four (hudu)
ONOM	Onomatopoeia	mê:; galalan
PNG	Person-Number-Gender complex	2PL.CONT (kunà:); FUT.3SG.M (zâi)
POSL	Possessive Link	PTCL.SYNT (-n ; na)
PRO	Pronoun	So_and_So (wa:nè)
PRO.BEN	Benefactive Pronoun	2.PL (mukù)
PRO.DEICT	Deictic Pronoun	ANAPH (wànnan); DIST (wantfàn)
PRO.INDF	Indefinite Pronoun	some.F (wata)
PRO.IDP	Independent Pronoun	2SG.F (ke:); 3SG.M (fi:)
PRO.POS	Possessive Pronoun	3SG.F (ta:kù)
PRO.SBJ	Subject Pronoun	2SG.F (ki)
PRO.UNIV	Universal Quantifier Pronoun	anything (ko:me:)

PTCL	Particle	ANAPH (<i>d̄ɪn</i>); plus (<i>ʃâ:</i>)
PTCL.ASS	Assertive Particle	FCT (<i>-o:</i>); VRT (<i>-a:</i>)
PTCL.NEG	Negative Particle	NEG2a (<i>bâ:</i>); NEG3 (<i>bâ:</i>)
PTCL.SYNT	Syntactic Particle	ATTR (<i>mâi</i>); POSL (<i>na</i>)
PTCL.TOP	Topicalizing Particle	indeed (<i>fa</i>); too (<i>kuma</i>)
rdp	reduplication	child/PL (<i>ya:ya:</i>); gather (<i>tattâ:ra:</i>)
REL	Relative	how (<i>jandâ</i>); who (<i>wandâ</i>);
STAT	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>)

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 (circumfix)	CIRC (ma- ... -i:\HLH)
ALL	Allative	PTCL.SYNT (<i>zâ:</i>)
ANAPH	Anaphoric	PRO .DEICT (<i>wânnan</i>); PTCL (<i>d̄ɪn</i>)
ATTR	Attributive	PTCL.SYNT (<i>mâi</i>)
BEN	Benefactive	PTCL.SYNT (<i>mâ</i>)
BKL	Backchannelling	BKL (<i>m:hm:</i>)
CONT	Continuous	TAM
COP	Copula	PTCL.SYNT (<i>dâ</i>)
CTF	Counterfactual	CONJ (<i>dâ:</i>)
DEF	Definite	DET (<i>-ñ</i>)
DIM	Diminutive	ADV (<i>d̄an</i>)
DIR	Directional	der (<i>-o:</i>); PTCL.SYNT (<i>zâ:</i>)
DIST	Distal	ADV.DEICT (<i>ʃân</i>)
DUR	Durative	TAM (<i>ta</i>)
EVD	Evidential	PTCL (<i>wai</i>)
F	Feminine	PNG (<i>ita</i>); der (<i>-annija:</i>)
FCT	Factual	PTCL.ASS (<i>-o:</i>)
FILL	Pause Filler	FILL (<i>ê:::</i>)
FOC	Focus	TAM (<i>jakè:</i>)
FUT	Future	TAM (<i>zâi</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:</i> ; [H])
M	Masculine	PNG (<i>ʃi:</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:Çi:</i>)
PROX	Proximal	ADV.DEICT (<i>nân</i>); PRO.DEICT (<i>wannân</i>)
REL.LOC	Locative Relative Pronoun	ADV.REL (<i>indâ</i>)
SBJV	Subjunctive	TAM (<i>jà, mù</i>)
SG	Singular	PNG (<i>ʃi:, ja:</i>)
TAM	Tense/Aspect/Mood complex	
VRT	Virtual	PTCL.ASS (<i>-a:</i>)
1, 2, 3, 4	Number	PRO, PNG

2 Phonology

3 Syllable structure

There are three types of syllable structure in Hausa, divided into light (CV) and heavy (CVV and CVC). Initial vowels and consonant clusters, as well as syllable-internal long vowels are do not exist. Hence, all words written with an initial vowel in the standard orthography⁴ begin in fact with an initial glottal stop: **ai̯ki**: ‘work’ is in fact pronounced [ʔai̯ki:]. Words ending in a CVC syllable are often ideophones or loanwords.

4 Vowels

4.1 Quality

Hausa has 5 vowels distributed over 3 heights:

i *u*

 e *o*

 a

4.2 Quantity

Length produces five more vowels:

i: *u:*

 e: *o:*

 a:

On top of these 10 vowels, Hausa has 2 diphthongs: /**ai**/ and /**au**/

4.3 Changes in quality due to length and position

The phonetic realization, and more particularly the quality of the vowel, is influenced by length and the situation of the vowel in the utterance. Short vowels are more open, more central, less rounded than long ones. They can be transcribed as follows⁵:

/a/ = [a] (low, central, neutral lip position; cf. English **but**, **cut**)

/a:/ = [a:] (low; half-way between central and back)

/e/ = [ɛ] (front, lower mid, neutral lip position; cf. English **bet**, **get**)

/e:/ = [ɛ:] (front, upper mid, retracted lips; cf. French **bébé**)

/i/ = [i̯] (not quite high; not quite front; cf. English **bit**, **lid**)

/i:/ = [i:] (high, front, with retracted lips; cf. French /i/)

/o/ = [ɔ] (lower mid, back, rounded; cf. English **god**)

/o:/ = [o:] (upper mid, back, rounded; cf. French **peau**)

/u/ = [ɯ] (half-way between high and upper mid; not quite back; less rounded than /u:/; cf. English **book**)

/u:/ = [u:] (high, back, very rounded)

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

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

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

- the final **-a** of the 1SG possessive pronoun **na/ta: bà:ba:na:** ‘my father’, **ʔi:ga:ta:** ‘my (man’s) gown’;
- the final **-o:** of class 6 verbs (ventive extension);
- the final vowel of the following verbs: **ɔʒe:** ‘go’; **ɔʒa:** ‘draw’; **ʒa:** ‘drink’; **so:** ‘want, love’; **zo:** ‘come’, **jo:/wo:** ‘go and do sth.’; **bija:** ‘pay’; **ɔʒiʔa:** ‘wait’; **kiʔa:** ‘call’;
- the diphthongs in the words **kai** ‘carry’; **hau** ‘ride’; **kau** ‘take away’.

5 Consonants

f	f̥	t	s	ʃ	ʃ̥	k ^j	k ^w	h	ʔ
b		d	z		ɖʒ	g ^j	g ^w		
ɓ		ɗ	ts			k̪ ^j	k̪ ^w		
						ỵ			
m		n				j	w		
			l						
			ɽ						
			r						

Comments: the consonant written **/f/** in standard orthography is a bilabial whose pronunciation varies according to dialects and sociolects: [h^w] 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 **/ɖʒ/** in standard orthography is realized [ʒ] in the West, e.g. “**ɔʒaki**” ‘donkey’ is pronounced [ɔʒa:ki:] in Kano and [ʒa:ki:] in Sokoto. It is transcribed and pronounced [ɖʒ] in the corpus. The standard orthography notes only one **/r/**. In the corpus, **/r/** notes an alveolar trill, and **/ɽ/** an retroflex alveolar tap.

5.1 Glottalization

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 voiceless post-glottalized ejectives **k̪, k̪^ɓ, k̪^w** and **s̪** (written “ts” in standard orthography);
- the injectives **ɓ, ɗ, y**, also called implosives, or voiced pre-glottalized.

5.2 Long or geminated consonants

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

5.3 Labialization and palatalization of consonants

/b/, /ɓ/, /k/, /k̪/ 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:ʔò:** ‘cola nut’, the consonants **/b/, /k/** and **/g/** are pronounced with rounded lips, so that one can hear [b^wùhu:], [b^wo:kò:], and [g^wudù:].

/k/ and **/g/** are palatalized before front vowels **/i/, /i:/, /e/** and **/e:/**. For example, in the words **bà:ki:** ‘mouth’ and **gida:** ‘compound’, **/k/** and **/g/** are palatalized into [bà:k̪i:] and [g̪ida:].

/t/, /d/, /z/, /s/, and **/w/** are realized **/t̪/, /ɖʒ/, /ʒ/, /ʃ/** and **/j/** respectively in front of the front vowels **/i/, /i:/, /e/** and **/e:/**, except in recent loanwords, e.g. **tí:tí:** ‘street’, a word borrowed from English via Yoruba.

5.4 Velarization of nasals

/n/ is pronounced [ŋ] before /k/, /k/, /g/ and /ʔ/.⁶ For example, *gwanki*: ‘antelope’, is pronounced [gwanʔki:] and *danko*: ‘rubber’, is pronounced [danʔko:].

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

6 Tone⁷

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

Tone has lexical as well as grammatical functions. Some words contrast only through their tone pattern: *kai*, 2.SG.M.IDP pronoun vs. *kâi* ‘head’; *su*: 3.PL.IDP pronoun vs. *sû*: ‘fishing’; *ku:kâ*: ‘baobab’ vs. *ku:ka*: ‘crying’; *wujâ*: ‘neck’ vs. *wùja*: ‘difficulty’. Some plurals, imperatives and derivatives are formed by changing the tone pattern only: *mâ:ta*: (LH) ‘wife sg.’ vs. *ma:ta*: (HH) ‘wife pl.’; *dafâ*: (HL) ‘cook’ vs. *dâfa*: (LH) ‘cook!’; *ma’aikata*: (H) ‘working place’ vs. *ma’âikàta*: (HLLH) ‘workers’.

Tone patterns or melodies are associated with words or morphemes. The tones of a melody are assigned to the syllables from right to left: *su:na:je:*)^{HLH} is realized as *su:nâ:je:* ‘names’ with HLH. If there are more syllables than tones, the first tone is repeated up to the next-to-the-last syllable: *makarantu:*)^{LH} is realized as *mâkârântu:* ‘schools’. Some suffixes have an associated tone pattern that overrides that of the suffixed word, e.g. *ri:ga*: (LH) + *-una:*)^{HL} gives *ri:gunâ:* ‘gowns’ (HHL). These suffixes, called tone-integrating suffixes by 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: *dakâ:* > *dâkakke:* > *dâkâkku:* ‘pounded (pl.)’.

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

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

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

7 Intonation

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

- **The Declarative or neutral pattern** is characterized by downdrift, accounted for by the general rule that “each H tone after a L is a step lower than the preceding H” (PN:612).
- **Wh-questions** are characterized by a declarative intonation pattern and a L tone + vowel lengthening added to the end of the intonation unit. This L tone changes final H tones to F. It does not change final L⁸.

⁶ In standard Hausa orthography, [ʔ] is written // word-internally, and not written word-initially.
⁷ Cf. Newman 2000: 597-614.

- **Yes/No questions** are characterized by suspension of downdrift and key raising (↑) of the last H tone and all following L tones⁹.
- **Sympathetic address** is an intonation pattern associated with units beginning with **tô**: ‘okay, I see’ / **habà** ‘never, stop now!’, followed by the name of addressee. They are characterized by a floating L tone added to the end of the name of the addressee.
- **The vocative pattern** is used when calling someone. It is characterized by raised pitch, lesser downdrift and lengthening of the final short vowel of any name of an addressee ending in such a vowel.

8 Word structure

The structure of the Hausa word is: < radical + affix >. The affix is composed of at least a final vowel and a tone pattern (TP). The radical **karant-** ‘read’ is associated with the word ‘teacher’, which has three forms: **makaràntfj:**, m. suffix **-i:**)^{HLH}, **makarànta:**, f. suffix **-a:**)^{HLH}, **màkaràntai**, pl.; suffix **-ai**)^{LH}. The notion of ‘leaning on’ (**dangan-**) is associated with the verb **dangàna:**, v., suffix **-a:**)^{HLH}, ‘lean, prop, put against’. Adding the suffix **-t**, we get the derived verb **dàngantà:**, v., suffix **-t-a:**)^{LHL} ‘to be linked to, comparable to’ and the derived noun **dàngantakà:**, n.f., suffix **-takà:**)^{LHL} ‘relationship’. The affix can comprise an infix, frequent in the formation of nominal plurals, as e.g. in the noun **biɣni:** ‘city’, pl. **biɣà:ne:** (rad. **biɣn-**; infix **-a:-**; suffix **-e:**)^{HLH}. Only two prefixes are in use: **ma-**, used to derive agent, place, and instrument nouns; and **ba-**, used to form ethnonyms.

9 Information structure

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

Ex 1.

TOPIC	COMMENT		
	FOCUS	PRECONSTRUCT	
Hawan doki: dai, riding Horse indeed As for riding,	Sulè: ne: Sule cop it’s Sule	ja 3s.m.pfv.foc who	fi ko:wa:. exceed everyone beats them all (PN, <i>op.cit.</i>)

9.1 Topicalization

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

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

⁹ See also § 0.

“The topic belongs to the pragmatic preamble of the utterance, and is separated from the rest by either (a) the intonation; (b) the insertion of a modal particle like *dai* ‘indeed’, *fa* ‘well’, *kàm* ‘really’, *kùwa* (= *kò(:)*) ‘moreover’, etc. (or a succession of such particles).’ (PN:616¹⁰)

Ex 2.	à:	/	da:wà:	/	mukàn	ijà:	
	ER	/	guinea-corn	/	1PL.HAB	can	
	sa:mù		-n		bùhu:	go:mà	hakà //
	getting		-POSL		sack	ten	like_this //
	masàra:	kuma	/	mukàn	ijà:	sa:mù	-n
	maize	too	/	1PL.HAB	can	getting	-POSL
	kàman	bùhu:	/	à:::	/	go:mà	fâ:
	like	sack	/	FILL	/	ten	plus
						bijar	//
						five	//

[Ah]_{FILLER}, [guinea-corn]_{TOPIC}, [we get like ten sacks.]_{COMMENT}
 [As for maize]_{TOPIC}, [we can get like ... er... fifteen sacks.]_{COMMENT}
 (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_444)¹¹:

9.2 Focus and subordination

When an element of a sentence is focussed (contrastive emphasis with identification), it is moved to the beginning of the sentence, and the subject pronoun associated with the verb is selected from a subset of paradigms characterized as focus-compatible¹². 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 start of the sentence. Two types of sentences are associated with [+FOC] subject pronouns: (1) sentences with focus; (2) Wh-Questions.

Focus

The focussed 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:/tfe:/ne:* copula. The TAM that follows must be chosen from among the +FOC paradigms.

PERFECTIVE	CONTINUOUS
ja:ròn [ja:]_{PFV.NFOC} t̥fi na:mà: d̥ɕijà the boy ate meat yesterday ()	ja:ròn [(ja)nà:]_{CONT.NFOC} t̥fin na:mà: à kà:suwa: the boy is eating meat at the market.
ja:ròn (ne:) [ja:]_{PFV.FOC} t̥fi na:mà: d̥ɕijà THE BOY ate meat yesterday	ja:ròn (ne:) [(ja)kè:]_{CONT.FOC} t̥fin na:mà: à kà:suwa: THE BOY is eating meat at the market.
na:mà: (ne:) ja:ròn [ja:]_{PFV.FOC} t̥fi d̥ɕijà the boy ate MEAT yesterday	na:mà: (ne:) ja:ròn [(ja)kè:]_{CONT.FOC} t̥fi: à kà:suwa: the boy is eating MEAT at the market.
d̥ɕijà (ne:) ja:ròn [ja:]_{PFV.FOC} t̥fi na:mà: the boy ate meat YESTERDAY	à kà:suwa: (ne:) ja:ròn [(ja)kè:]_{CONT.FOC} t̥fin na:mà: the boy is eating meat AT THE MARKET.
t̥fin na:mà: (ne:) ja:ròn [ja:]_{PFV.FOC} ji d̥ɕijà the boy DID eat meat yesterday	t̥fin na:mà: (ne:) ja:ròn [(ja)kè:]_{CONT.FOC} j̥i: à kà:suwa: t̥fin na:mà: (ne:) ja:ròn [(ja)kè:]_{CONT.FOC} (j̥i:) à kà:suwa: the boy IS eating meat at the market.

¹⁰ As for all examples taken from (Newman 2000), the transcription has been adapted following CorpAfroAs conventions.

¹¹ Edited example.

¹² Cf. 10.2 for TAM and Subject Pronouns (PNG).

Ex 3. *ta nan nè: akà sa:mo: basa:wa //*
 via ANAPH COP1 4.PFV.FOC get.DIR Basawa //
 [Is it there]_{FOCUS} [one finds the Basawas]_{PRECONSTRUCT}? (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP1_174)¹³

WH-Questions

Wh-Questions are requests for identification of the questioned term. The whole utterance is subordinated to this term, and the +FOC subject pronouns indicate this. The main question words are: *wà:(ne: nè:)* (m.), *wà:(fè: fè:)* (f.), *suwà: ne: nè:* (pl.) ‘who’; *mè:(ne: nè:)* (m.), *mè:(fè: fè:)* (f.) ‘what’; *ina:* ‘where’; *jàufè: / jàufe:* ‘when’; *jà:jà:* ‘how’; *nawà* ‘how many’; *wàné* (m.) / *wàtfè* (f.) / *wàdànnè* (pl.) ‘which’.

Ex 4. *tò: jàjà: kukè: dà / dabbo:bi: kuma /*
 well how 2PL.CONT.FOC with / cattle.PL too /
makijà:ja: //
 cattle_driver.PL //
 Well how do you [do] with... animals and cattle drivers? (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP1_213-6)

10 Syntax of the simple sentence

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

Ex 5. *fi: nè:*
 3SG.M COP1
 That’s it. (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_464)

This particular syntactic frame (___COP1) is what defines a noun in Hausa. Verbs, prepositions, etc. cannot occur in this context. Conversely, verbs and only verbs are compatible with TAM marking.

10.1 Non-verbal sentences -- Copulas

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

- *ne:* (m.sg.) / *fè:* (f.sg.) / *ne:* (pl.) (COP1.NFOC) ‘be’
- *dà* (COP2) ‘there is’
- *àkwai* (COP3) ‘there is’
- *gà:* (COP4) ‘here is’.
- Identification: *ne:/fè:/ne:*

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

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

¹³ This example shows that Focus can appear in declarative as well as interrogative sentences (Yes/No questions).

Ex 6. *wai ai bà: gida -n -fi ba nè: jànzu /*
 EVD indeed NEG4A house -POSL -3SG.M NEG4B COP1.NFOC now /
 He said it was no longer his house. (HAU_BC_Conv03_SP1_289)

Yes/no questions are formed through intonation only, without any syntactic or morphological change¹⁴.

Ex 7. *matfi:ɗji: nè: ?*
 snake COP1.NFOC
 Is it a snake? (BC)

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

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

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

Ex 8. *Mè:ne: nè: wannàn?* What is this ?
Wannàn littà:fi: ne: This is a book.
Wannàn kuɗɗè:ra: ɸè: This is a chair.
Wà:ne: nè:? Who is this? (woman)
Wà:ɸe: ɸè:? Who is this? (man)
Suwà:ne: nè:? Who are they?

Existence: *àkwai, dà*

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

Ex 9. *àkwai ɾà:fi: // 254 gùda: ɗaja //*
 COP3 river // unit one //
 There is a river, one which[...] (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_626)

Ex: *àkwai ruwa:*. ‘There is water.’; *àkwai àlbasà:*. ‘There are onions.’; *-àkwai kuɗi: ? -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)¹⁵. Same structure as *àkwai*: <*dà* X> ‘there is/was/will be X’, except that a complement is compulsory, whereas it can be implicit in the case of *àkwai*.

Ex 10. *kâi / zo:mo: / 219 dà àbù -n dà ka ɸji //*
 eh / Rabbit / COP2 thing -DEF REL 2SG.M.PFV.FOC eat //
 Eh, Rabbit, it must be something you have eaten. (HAU_BC_narr01_SP1_199-202)

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

Ex 11. *-dà ɸɗàri:dà: ? -i: dà ita.*
 COP2 newspapers yes COP2 3SG.F.IDP
 - Are there any newspapers? - Yes, there are. (BC)

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

¹⁴ 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.

¹⁵ This copula is related to the preposition *dà* ‘with’.

there any petrol? -No, there isn't.'; -*Bâ: mâi?* - *A:'à; àkwai. / -l; bâ: mâi. / -l; ba:bù.* 'Isn't there any petrol?' - 'Yes (*lit.* No), there is.' / 'No (*lit.* Yes), there is no petrol.' / 'No (*lit.* Yes), there isn't.'

When the NP following *bâ:/ba:bù* is pronominal, it belongs to the independent pronoun paradigm: *Ba:bù fí: = Bâ: fí:*. 'There isn't any. (*lit.* There is no him.)'

Presentation: *gà:*

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

Ex 12. *gà: gànga: / gà: àbintfi / gà: kwà:ja:*
COP4 drum / COP4 food / COP4 drugs

There were drums, there was food, there were drugs. (BC_HAU_Conv_04_SP1_1096-1100)

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

Location: COP + PP

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

Ex 13. *ri:ɕijo:ji: nè: hakà / à wacɕen / gò:nákí-n na:mù //*
well.PL COP1.NFOC like_this / at around / field.PL-DEF 1PL.POS //
There were wells like this, near our fields. (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_491-4)

Ex 14. *gà: wani ma: à nân //*
COP4 some.M even at PROX //
There's even one here. (BC_HAU_Conv_04_SP2_058)

Wh-Question: *ina:*. The Wh-Question word *ina:* can be followed by the copula *nè:/tfe:* (COP1).

Ex 15. *ina: nè: hanjà: -n -mù na rà:fi: //*
where COP1.NFOC road -POSL -1PL POSL river //
Where is the way to the river? (HAU_BC_narr01_SP1_021)

The Allative (*zâ:*)

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

Ex 1 (BC)

Ex 16. *ina: zâ: ka?*
where all 2SG.M.OBJ
ja tfê: zâ: ni mângacɕà: nè:.
3SG.M.PFV.FOC say all 1SG.OBJ Mangaja COP1.NFOC
[They asked,]"Where are you going?" He said, "I'm going to Mangaja."

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

TABLE 1. ALLATIVE

	Affirmative	Negative
1	<i>zâ: ní</i>	<i>bà zâ: ní ... ba / bà zân ... ba</i>
2m	<i>zâ: ka</i>	<i>bà zâ: ka ... ba</i>
2f	<i>zâ: kí</i>	<i>bà zâ: kí ... ba</i>
3m	<i>zâ: fí / zâ: ja / zâi</i>	<i>bà <zâ: fí / zâ: ja / zâi> ...ba</i>
3f	<i>zâ: ta</i>	<i>bà zâ: ta ... ba</i>

1p	zâ: mu	bà zâ: mu ... ba
2p	zâ: ku	bà zâ: ku ... ba
3p	zâ: su	bà zâ: su ... ba
4	zâ: a	bà zâ: a ... ba

10.2 Verbal sentences – TAM marking

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

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

Actually, (14) is truncated, with an elliptical nominal or lexical subject, leaving only the agreement morpheme, or light subject (PNG=3PL), within the PNG.TAM complex.

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

	Subject	PNG.TAM	Verb
Ex 18.	ma:ta:	sun	tsajà:
	femme.PL	3pl.pfv.nfoc	stop
	The women stopped. (BC)		

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

	Subject	PNG.TAM	Verb	Object
Ex 19.	ma:ta:	sun	dafà	àbinfi
	femme.PL	3pl.pfv.nfoc	cook	food
	The women cooked food. (BC)			

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

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

Added to this basic Hausa has two Futures - a (simple) Future (FUT) and a Potential or Indefinite Future (FUT.INDF) - a Habitual (HAB), and a Rhetorical (RHT¹⁶).

Hausa has developed special paradigms for verbs used in subordinate clauses. Subordination is linked to Wh-Questions, relative clauses and focus¹⁷. Thus, it has two Perfect and two Continuous paradigms, one which is compatible with focus, Wh-Questions and relativization (PFV.FOC and CONT.FOC) and one which is not (PFV.NFOC and CONT.NFOC). The Subjunctive is not compatible with subordination; the Future (FUT) is used instead.

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

¹⁶ We have not found any instance of this aspect described by Paul Newman (2000:588-90).

¹⁷ Subordination is the syntactic manifestation of preconstruction. Cf. Caron 2000.

PNG+TAM Paradigms

TABLE 2. PERFECT

	Perfect (PFV)	Relative Perfect (PFV.FOC)	Negative Perfect (NEG1a.PFV... NEG1b)
1 s.	<i>na:</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>bân... 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>bàki... 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>bàtà... 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: ni¹⁸</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: / jinà:</i>	<i>jakè: / jikè:</i>	<i>ba: jà:</i>	<i>bâ: ji</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 is an infinitive, a verbal noun expressing an action, or an action noun. The Continuous subject pronouns are also used in nonverbal predication where they are followed by locative or possessive constructions. When the nominal or pronominal subject is explicit, the PNG index of the subject pronoun can be omitted:

Ex 20. *fi: kè: fī: dà ni: /*
 3SG.M CONT.FOC feeding APPL 1SG.IDPT /
 he is the one feeding me (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_238)

Unlike all other paradigms¹⁹, the Continuous subject pronouns are followed by an Infinitive, a Verbal Noun (NV), or an action noun. Depending on their morpho-syntactic class (cf. § 14.1), verbs will use Infinitives and/or Verbal Nouns to form a Continuous TAM.

Infinitive. The infinitive is characterized by the nominalising suffix *-waa* applied to the lexical form of the verb, i.e. the Perfect, when the verb is not followed by a Direct Object²⁰:

¹⁸ = <ZR> *bân*, e.g. *ni: bân wà:jo: na: san sâ: ba!* ‘Me, I was not clever enough to have seen a bull!’ (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_303)

¹⁹ In Ader Hausa, the Future behaves like the SH Continuous, i.e. the subject pronouns are followed by a nominalized form of the verb (Caron 1991).

²⁰ /-/ stands for a floating Low tone which combines with a final High tone of the verb to produce a Falling tone.

	Perfect	Continuous
Ex 21.	<i>Mu:sa: ja: tsajà:</i> Musa has stopped	<i>Mu:sa: janà: tsajà:-wa:</i> Musa is stopping

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

	Perfect	Continuous
Ex 22.	<i>sun ka:mà bàraunija:</i> They have caught the robber.	<i>sunà: ka:mà bàraunija:</i> They are catching the robber.
	<i>sun ka:mà: ta</i> They have caught her.	<i>sunà: ka:mà: ta</i> They are catching her.

Verbal Noun. In the Continuous, some verbs use a nominal form that behaves fully like a noun in so far as it uses a possessive link (POSL) *-n* to form a Noun Phrase with its Direct Object. This is the verbal noun (NV), cf. *fa:* ‘drink’ and its NV *fâ:* (m.)²¹.

	Perfect	Continuous
Ex 23.	<i>sun fa: ta:bà</i> They have smoked tobacco.	<i>sunà: fân (< fâ:-n) ta:bà</i> They are smoking tobacco.

As opposed to the Infinitive, the various processes used to derive Verbal Nouns from a verb class

Action Noun. Action Nouns are a subclass of nouns compatible with the Continuous TAM marker, and denoting an action. They are part of the basic vocabulary and have a plural form: *aiki:* (pl. *ajjukà:*, *àikàtfe-àikàtfe*) ‘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)’/

Ex 24.	<i>karfè:</i>	<i>takwàs</i>	<i>munà:</i>	<i>aiki:</i>	//
	o'clock	eight	1PL.CONT.NFOC	work	//
	Sometimes we would stay there, by seven o'clock <u>we were working</u> .				
	(BC_HAU_Conv_04_SP1_1084-6)				

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

Ex 25.	<i>tô:</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>do:lè</i>	<i>kà</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>aiki:</i>	//
	well	indeed	must	2SG.M.SBJV	do	work	//
	Well, you had to work. (BC_HAU_Conv_04_SP1_1103)						

²¹ In Standard Hausa, the Possessive Link is *-n* for masculine and */*-t, -n* in Zaria Hausa.

TABLE 4. SUBJUNCTIVE			TABLE 5. FUTURE		
	Subjunctive (SBJV)	Negative Subjunctive (NEG5.SBJV)		Future (FUT)	Negative Future (NEG1a.FUT... NEG1b)
1	<i>in</i>	<i>kadâ/kâr in</i>	1	<i>zân / za: ni</i>	<i>bâ/bâ: zân ... ba / bâ/bâ: za: ni ... ba</i>
2m	<i>kâ</i>	<i>kadâ/kâr kâ</i>	2m	<i>za: kâ</i>	<i>bâ/bâ: za: kâ ... ba</i>
2f	<i>ki</i>	<i>kadâ/kâr ki</i>	2f	<i>za: ki</i>	<i>bâ/bâ: za: ki ... ba</i>
3m	<i>jâ</i>	<i>kadâ/kâr jâ</i>	3m	<i>zâi / za: jâ</i>	<i>bâ/bâ: zâi ...ba / bâ/bâ: za: jâ ... ba</i>
3f	<i>tâ</i>	<i>kadâ/kâr tâ</i>	3f	<i>za: tâ</i>	<i>bâ/bâ: za: tâ ... ba</i>
1p	<i>mù</i>	<i>kadâ/kâr mù</i>	1p	<i>za: mù</i>	<i>bâ/bâ: za: mù ... ba</i>
2p	<i>kù</i>	<i>kadâ/kâr kù</i>	2p	<i>za: kù</i>	<i>bâ/bâ: za: kù ... ba</i>
3p	<i>sù</i>	<i>kadâ/kâr sù</i>	3p	<i>za: sù</i>	<i>bâ/bâ: za: sù ... ba</i>
4	<i>â</i>	<i>kadâ/kâr â</i>	4	<i>za: â</i>	<i>bâ/bâ: za: â ... ba</i>

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

TABLE 6. INDEFINITE FUTURE ²²			TABLE 7. HABITUAL		
	Indefinite Future FUT.INDF	Neg. Indef. Future NEG1A FUT.INDF... NEG1B		Habitual HAB	Neg. Habitual NEG1A HAB...NEG1B
1	<i>nâ:</i>	<i>bâ nâ:... ba</i>	1	<i>nakân</i>	<i>bâ nakân ... ba</i>
2m	<i>kâ:</i>	<i>bâ kâ: ... ba</i>	2m	<i>kakân</i>	<i>bâ kakân ... ba</i>
2f	<i>kjâ:</i>	<i>bâ kjâ: ... ba</i>	2f	<i>kikân</i>	<i>bâ kikân ... ba</i>
3m	<i>jâ:</i>	<i>bâ jâ:...ba</i>	3m	<i>jakân</i>	<i>bâ jakân ... ba</i>
3f	<i>tâ:</i>	<i>bâ tâ: ... ba</i>	3f	<i>takân</i>	<i>bâ takân ... ba</i>
1p	<i>mâ:/mwâ:</i>	<i>bâ mâ:/mwâ: ... ba</i>	1p	<i>mukân</i>	<i>bâ mukân ... ba</i>
2p	<i>kwâ:</i>	<i>bâ kwâ: ... ba</i>	2p	<i>kukân</i>	<i>bâ kukân ... ba</i>
3p	<i>sâ:/swâ:</i>	<i>bâ sâ:/swâ: ... ba</i>	3p	<i>sukân</i>	<i>bâ sukân ... ba</i>
4	<i>â:</i>	<i>bâ â: ... ba</i>	4	<i>akân</i>	<i>bâ akân ... ba</i>

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

TABLE 8. RHETORICAL (RH)

1	<i>nikâ:</i>
2m	<i>kakâ:</i>
2f	<i>kikâ:</i>
3m	<i>jakâ:</i>
3f	<i>takâ:</i>
1p	<i>mukâ:</i>
2p	<i>kukâ:</i>
3p	<i>sukâ:</i>
4	<i>akâ:</i>

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

²² The Negative Indefinite Future has many dialect variants. Cf. (Newman 2000:586).

TAM Semantics

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

Ex 26. **Ja:** **kàma:tà** **kà** **bija:** **hàra:d̥ji:.**
 3S.PFV.NFOC be_proper 2SG.M.SBJV pay taxes
 You should pay taxes. (BC)

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

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

Ex 27. **lo:kàf̥ji:** **-n̄** **dà** **sukà** **zo:** /
 time -DEF REL 3PL.PFV.FOC come /
 Quand [*lit.* au moment où] ils sont venus, que s’est-il passé là-bas ?
 (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP1_028-9)

- Wh-Questions

Ex 28. **ta** **jà:jà:** **akà** **sa:mù** **ga:nuwa:** **-n̄** **nan** //
 via how 4.PFV.FOC get rampart -DEF ANAPH //
 [...] how was it that we got that city wall ? (HAU_BC_Conv_02_SP1_169)

- Focus

Ex 29. **dà** **no:ma:** **-n̄** **ja** **dò:gaṛà**
 with farming -DEF 3SG.M.PFV.FOC rely

ko: **kùwa** **jakàn** **ji** **wani** **àbù** //
 or as_for 3SG.M.HAB do some.M thing //
 Was it on farming that he was relying, or did he do something else?
 (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP1_078)

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

Ex 30. **sukà** **ji** **f̥iṛi:,** **sukà** **f̥iga** **masalla:f̥ji:,**
 3PL.PFV.FOC do preparation 3PL.PFV.FOC enter mosque

sukà **du:kà:**
 3PL.PFV.FOC stoop_down
 They got ready, they entered the mosque, they stooped down. (PN:573)

The Continuous (CONT and CONT.FOC) subject pronouns have two separate types of uses:

- **aspectual uses** expressing ongoing action or durativity, without specific reference to time. They can also express normal, customary or habitual actions. Their meaning is compatible with past, present or future interpretations.

Ex 31. **tà:ṛe** **kukè:** **sàna:’à:** **-n** **no:ma:** **dà** **su:** //
 together 2PL.CONT.FOC profession -POSL farming with 3PL //
 Were you farming TOGETHER with them? (Lit. Is it together that you were farming with them?) (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP1_050)

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

Ex 32. *kà:wu: -na: janà: wannàn ùnguwa: -n fulà:ni: //*
 uncle -1SG.POS 3SG.M.CONT.NFOC PROX quarter -POSL Fulanis //
 my uncle, he is in this Fulani Quarter. (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_198)

- *Stative* constructions with predicates expressing state, such as Adjectives or Statives, e.g. *zàune* ‘seated’ from the verb *zaunà:* ‘sit down’:

Ex 33. *ita ma: tanà: zàune à nân /*
 3SG.F even 3SG.F.CONT.NFOC staying at PROX /
 As for her, does she live here in the Palladan Quarter too? (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP1_007)

- *Possession* (“*have* constructs”). The form is that of a comitative construction with the preposition *dà* ‘with’:

Ex 34. *tò: ji: / janà: dà já:ra: nè: kàman -kà //*
 well 3SG.M / 3SG.M.CONT.NFOC with child \PL COP1.NFOC like -2SG.M //
 Well he, does he have children like you? (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP1_048-9)

The ‘*have* construct’ can also express a quality:

Ex 35. *àbintfi janà: dà da:di:*
 food 3SG.CONT.NFOC with pleasure
 The food is tasty. (BC)

The Subjunctive has modal functions. It expresses orders (jussive), wishes (optative), and epistemic modalities (necessity, etc.), either directly or following a verb or an expression inducing this type of function.

Ex 36. *allà: dai ji ka:ra: manà la:fijà: //*
 God indeed 3SG.M.SBJV increase 1PL.BEN health //
 May God keep us in good health. (BC_HAU_Conv_04_SP1_1182)

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

Ex 37. *sei mù ɕje: mù kai ji kà:suwa: //*
 then 1PL.SBJV go 1PL.SBJV carry 3SG.M market //
ji: ma: mù ɕje: mù sajar //
 3SG.M even 1PL.SBJV go 1PL.SBJV sell.CAUS //
 [When we had cooked the doughnuts] we took (them), carried (them) to the market.
 Actually, we went to sell (them). (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_107-9)

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

Ex 2 *an ɕjimà: fa ina: za:ki ɕje: //*
 4.PFV.NFOC spend_time indeed where FUT.2SG.F go //
 Later on, where will you go? (HAU_BC_Conv03_SP2_028)

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

Ex 38. *zâi dâuka: -i hukunfi: à kâi -n -ki //*
 FUT.3SG.M take -ACC1 punishment AT head -POSL -2SG.F //
 [he has already said] he will punish you. (HAU_BC_Conv03_SP2_05_58-60)

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

Ex 39. **wàtàki:là makàda: sâ: da:wo:**
 maybe drummers 3PL.FUT.INDF come
 Maybe the drum players will come back. (PN:587)

It is found in proverbs:

Ex 40. **ko:wa: ja hadijè tabarja: jâ: kwa:na: tsàje**
 whoever 3SG.PFV.FOC swallow pestle 3SG.FUT.INDF spend_night standing_up
 Whoever swallows a pestle will spend the night standing. (Evil will rebound on the doer.)
 (*ibid.*)

It is used to express latent threats:

Ex 41. **kjâ: gâmu dà ji: /**
 2SG.M.FUT.INDF meet with 3SG.M /
 Well, (sooner or later) you will see him [he has already said he will punish you.]
 (HAU_BC_Conv03_SP2_055)

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

Ex 42. **kà gai dà gida**
 2SG.M.SBJV greet with home
sâ dji
 2PL.FUT.INDF hear
 - Greet your people! (lit. Greet [them] at home!) - I will! (lit. They will hear!) (BC)

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

Ex 43. **akàn sa:mù matsala: iṛi: -ṅ na wânnan //**
 4.HAB GET problem TYPE -DEF POSL PROX //
 We usually get that kind of problem. (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_667)

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

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

11 Nouns and Noun Phrases

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

11.1 The HeadNouns

Hausa nouns are marked for gender and number. There are two genders in Hausa: masculine and feminine. This contrast is neutralized in the plural. Gender is assigned to nouns and adjectives

according to biological sex whenever possible; otherwise, lexical items have arbitrary gender, with a two-way distinction: m/pl or f/pl.

m	f	pl	
ɗà:ki:	ɗà:ka:	ɗà:kai	donkey (n.)
faʔi:	faʔa:	faʔa:ʔe:	white (adj.)
ɗiʔgi:		ɗiʔa:ge:	vehicle (n.)
	go:na:	gò:nàki:	farm (n.)

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

Gender

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

Ex. (a) /a/= feminine

go:ʔa:	bamboo	gwi:wà:	knee
ʔa:na:	sun, day	fa:dà	emir's palace
ku:kà:	baobab	làʔadà:	commission
sàuʔa:	fallow	wùya:	difficulty

Ex. (b) other vowel = masculine

tsuntsu:	bird	kàʔe:	dog
go:rò	cola nut	bò:ʔi:	cult of possession
kâi	head		

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

bàka:	bow	ba:ya:	back
dawà	bush	duma:	calabash fruit
gàba:	chest	gida:	compound
giʔma:	pride, large size	gò:ʔa:	gourd
gùda:	lump in tuwo	gù:ga:	well pail

According to Newman (2000:210), Hausa has a toneless suffix **-a:** marking the feminine. Following certain phonological rules, this same suffix has the following variants: **-ja:**, **-wa:**, **-ija:** and **-uwa:**.²³

(be:be:)HH + (a:)H	be:bija:	dumb and mute
(shu:ɗi:)HB + (a:)H	shu:ɗija:	blue
(ka:tò:)HB + (a:)H	ka:tùwa:	enormous
(bà:ko:)BH + (a:)H	bà:kuwa:	foreign

Plurals

Hausa plurals are very complex and formed by a combination of suffixes, infixes and sometimes reduplication²⁴. Plural formation is governed by the following rules:

- (1) The final vowel of the singular is dropped when the plural affix is added.
- (2) The tone pattern of the plural replaces the tones of the singular and is distributed over the plural in a right to left manner with the leftmost tone continuing to spread over all available syllables.
- (3) When occurring before suffixal front vowels (*i:* and *e:*) the alveolar consonants **t**, **s**, **z**, and, less regularly, **d** palatalize to **ʃ**, **j**, and **ɗ** respectively (both **z** and **d** becoming **ɗ**), e.g. **bisa:** 'pack animal' has the reduplicated plural form **bisà:ʔe:** (PL4 <-a:Ce:> where the final syllable **ʔe:** derives from **se:**). Likewise, **w** palatalizes to **j**; e.g. the plural of **bàʔa:wò:** 'thief' is **bàʔa:ji:** (PL14 <-i:>).

²³ Newman (2000:210) describes two other derivative feminine suffixes (**-ija:** and **-ja:**) limited to a small number of nouns.

²⁴ Adapted from Newman (2007:xv)

- (4) The palatal consonants **ɸ**, **ɸ**, and **ɸ** 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. *hanɸi*: ‘nose’, plural *hantunà*: (PL19 <-unà:>), *maɸi:ɸi*: ‘snake’, plural *màɸi:zai* (PL5 <-aɸ>).
- (5) **C**₃ stands for a third consonant added to the stem in the plural. Otherwise, **C** represents a copy or reduplication of the preceding consonant. If either of these is alveolar and occurs before a front vowel (*i*: or *e*:), it is palatalized as indicated above in (3).

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

TABLE 9. PLURAL CLASSES

PL1	-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>kuɸmi:/kuɸà:mu</i> : ‘grove’
PL4	-à:Ce: [H-L-H], e.g. <i>wuɸi:/wuɸà:ɸe</i> : ‘place’ <i>kasà:/kasà:je</i> : ‘country’
PL5	-ai [L-H], e.g. <i>ma:là:/mà:làmai</i> : ‘teacher’
PL6	-ànni: [L-H], e.g. <i>watà:/wàtanni</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:/tábba</i> : ‘scar’
PL10	-Cai [L-H], e.g. <i>tudù:/tùddai</i> : ‘high ground’
PL11	-(à)ɸe with full reduplication [L-H - L-H], e.g. <i>ɸi:wò:/ɸiwà:ɸe-ci:wà:ɸe</i> : ‘illness’. (If the stem contains three consonants, the à vowel is omitted, e.g. <i>wàhalà:/wàhàlɸe-wàhàlɸe</i> : ‘difficulty’).
PL12	-unà: [H-L], e.g. <i>ɸiki:/ɸikkunà</i> : ‘belly’
PL13	-e with full reduplication [L-H - L-H], e.g. <i>ɸamfi:/ɸàmfe-ɸàmfe</i> : ‘superstition’
PL14	-i: [L-H], e.g. <i>tàurà:ɸò:/tàurà:ɸi</i> : ‘star’
PL15	-o:Ci: [all H], e.g. <i>ta:gà:/ta:go:gi</i> : ‘window’, <i>mo:tà:/mo:to:ɸi</i> : ‘car’.
PL16	-u: [L-H], e.g. <i>kuɸɸè:ɸa:/kùɸɸè:ɸu</i> : ‘chair’
PL17	-uC ₃ à: [H-L], e.g. <i>ɸo:kàli:/ɸo: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:/darussà</i> : ‘lesson’.)
PL18	-ukà: [H-L], e.g. <i>la:ji:/la:jukkà</i> : ‘lane’
PL19	-nà: [H-L], e.g. <i>ɸi:ga:/ɸi:gunà</i> : ‘gown’
PL20	Full reduplication, e.g. <i>àkà:wu/àkà:wu-àkà:wu</i> : ‘clerk’

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. *faɸar-hù:la*:²⁶ (lit. white-PL cap) ‘civilian’. They behave like ordinary nouns insofar as they are sensitive to gender and number²⁷. The internal structure of these compound nouns follows various patterns:

- **Noun-linked compounds**: N- POSL N, e.g. *dan-sànda*: ‘policeman’ (son- POSL stick); *àbo:kin gá:ba*: ‘enemy’ (friend- POSL enmity);

²⁵ (Newman 2007:xvi).

²⁶ The hyphen in these compound nouns is not part of an affix, but is kept from the orthographic conventions. It has been removed from the glosses.

²⁷ Cf. (Newman:109-124) for a study of gender and plurals of compound nouns.

- **Adjective-Noun compounds:** *bakin-ciki*: (black-POSL belly) ‘sadness’; *ɕan-karfè*: (red-POSL iron) ‘copper’;
- **Verbal compounds:** *hàná-sallà* (prevent prayer) ‘baseball cap’; *dàfà:-dukà* (cook all) ‘Jollof rice’; *fà:di-kà-mutù* (fall you die) ‘chinaware’;
- **Phrasal compounds:** *bàbba:-dà-ɕàka*: (Mr._Big with bag) ‘marabou stork’; *ja:ki:-dà-ɕa:hilfi*: (war with ignorance) ‘adult literacy program’;
- **Agentive compounds:** *magà:-takàrda*: (one_who_sees paper) ‘scribe’; *mafà:-ruwa*: (one_who_drinks water) ‘rainbow’;
- **Sentential compounds:** *bâ:-hajà*: (there_is_no hiring) ‘public toilet’; *kà:kà:-nikà:-ji* (how IS.RHET do) ‘dilemma’.

Conjoined nouns

Nouns conjoined through coordination can function as NP head.

‘And’

Simple coordination uses the conjunction *dà* ‘and’, e.g. *gida: dà mo:tà*: ‘house and car’; *kàza: dà kàza:* ‘one thing and another, this and that’. In principle, the number of Ns that can be conjoined is limitless. The first term can be preceded by a *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. *ji: dà Mu:sa*: ‘him and Musa’; *ita dà Bintà* ‘her and Bintà’; *dà ni: dà ji:/ita/su*: ‘me and him/her/them’.

‘Or’

Disjunction is marked by *ko:* and follows the same rules as *dà*, e.g. *Litinîn 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 NPs can be conjoined, e.g. *faɕin tsuntsu: dà do:guwar bijjà:* ‘a white bird and a big tree’; *rà:go: daja dà tuma:ki: go:mà* ‘a ram and ten sheep’.

The Possessive Construction

The Possessive link (POSL) *na/ta/na* (m./f./pl.) is an essential syntactic tool in Hausa. Its main use is to connect an NP with a following NP or adverb in an “X of Y” construction, where X is the possessed and Y is the possessor²⁸. Like the identifying copula *ne:/fè:/ne:*, it agrees in gender and number with the first (possessed) NP.

The POSL has two forms, a free form (*na/ta/na*²⁹) and a bound form. If we take the words *gida:* (m.) ‘house’ *go:na:* (f.) ‘farm’; and *gidà:ɕe:* (pl.) ‘houses’ with *saɕki:* (m.) ‘chief’ as possessor, we get the following possessive constructions:

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

NB: (a) the suffixation of the POSL to long final vowels, e.g. *go:na:-r* creates a closed syllable (CVV-C>CVC) entailing the shortening of the vowel, hence *go:nar:* (b) likewise, the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ are simplified, e.g. *kjân* (<*kjâu-n*) *ja:ɕinjà:* ‘beautiful girl’ (lit. beauty of the girl), *mân* (<*mâi-n*) *ja:nu:* ‘butter’ (lit. oil of cow); (c) the use of the *-n* form has been extended to feminine words that do not end in /a/, e.g. *gwamnati-n Ingilà* ‘the English government’, where *gwamnati* (f.) ends in /i/.

The bound form of the POSL (*-n/-r/-n*) is the default form. The free form (*na/ta/na*) is used when the thing possessed is elliptical or separated from the possessor, as when topicalized, e.g. *mo:tàr nân, ta saɕki: fè:* ‘that car is that of the chief’. It is also used to form ordinal numerals with the structure N - POSL - NUM, e.g. *litta:fi: na biju* ‘the second book’, or to express measurement or value, e.g. *na:mà: na si:si:* ‘meat for a shilling’, *ɕi:ga: ta nairà: du:bù: dà ɕabi:* ‘a dress worth one thousand five hundred naira’.

²⁸ The same POS is used for pre-nominal adjectives, e.g. *sa:bo-n gida:* ‘new house’ (lit. ‘new-of house’).

²⁹ The *na:/ta:* variant with a long /a:/ is combined to the suffixed possessive pronouns to form the paradigm of the Independent Possessive Pronouns (cf. Table 16).

11.2 Pre-nominal elements

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

Demonstratives

The label “demonstrative” is used by Newman (PN:147-54) as an umbrella term to cover all modifiers beginning with a *wa-* morpheme. Some function only as pronouns, e.g. *wànnè:?* ‘which one?’, some only as modifiers, e.g. *wànè doki:?* ‘which horse?’ and others both as pronouns and modifiers, 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>wadànnàn</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>wantfàn</i>	<i>watfàn</i>	<i>wadàntfàn</i>	PRO.DEICT DET.DEICT	DIST
that (distant)	<i>wàntfàn</i> <i>wàntfàn</i>	<i>wàtfàn</i> <i>wàtfàn</i>	<i>wadàntfàn</i> <i>wadàntfàn</i>	PRO.DEICT DET.DEICT	DIST2
which?	<i>wànè</i>	<i>wàfè</i>	<i>wadànnè</i>	DET.Q	which?
which one?	<i>wànnè:</i>	<i>wàfè:</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>watfè</i> <i>wàfè</i>	<i>wadànda</i> <i>wadànda</i>	PRO.REL	who, which, that
some, other	<i>wani</i>	<i>wata</i>	<i>wa(d̄an)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. *watfàn kà:suwa:* = *kà:suwar fàn* ‘that market’. They are related to the adverbs *nàn*, *fàn*, *nan*, *fān*, with the same meaning. The second term in the set, corresponding to the *nan* adverb, on top of its ‘there by you’ meaning, has a frequent anaphoric function, hence our gloss ANAPH in the corpus. See PN:147-151 for a full description of the uses, meanings and distribution of these demonstratives in Standard Hausa.

Pronouns as pronominal modifiers

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

Ex 44. *an* *jabà:* *wà* *fì:* *àlka:lín*
 4.PFV.NFOC praise BEN 3SG.M (PRO.IDP) judge.DEF
 They praised him, the judge. (BC)

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

Universal quantifiers

The global quantifier *duk/dukà* ‘all’ can occur as a modifier, a pronoun and an adverb. As a modifier, it can be pre-nominal, with the form *duk*, or post-nominal, with the form *dukà*, e.g. *duk mutà:ne:*³⁰ = *mutà:ne: dukà* ‘all the people.’

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

The isolator *daya*

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

Adjectives as pre-nominal modifiers

The typical pre-nominal modifier is a simple attributive adjective. Its structure is <Adjective- POSL N>. The adjective agrees in gender and number with the noun, and can be preceded by the diminutive *dan/yar/yan*, e.g. *jùddan rì:gunà:* ‘blue gowns’ (ADJ.PL-POSL.PL N.PL), *dan kàramin ja:rò:* ‘a little boy’ (DIM.M ADJ.M-POSL N). Adjectives can be stacked, e.g. *zungure:rijar tso:fuwar faɓar mo:tà:* ‘a very long old white car’ (ADJ.F-POSL.F ADJ.F-POSL.F ADJ.F-POSL.F N)³¹

11.3 Post-nominal elements

Post-nominal specifiers

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

Definite article

What corresponds to the English definite article is the anaphoric suffix *-n/-r/-n* (m./f/pl) glossed ANAPH in the corpus. The choice of the *-n* or *-r* form follows the same rules as for the POSL, i.e. *-r* is suffixed to feminine nouns ending in /a/, and *-n* elsewhere, e.g. *bàkân* the bow (<*bàka:* (m.) *-n*), *go:djâr* ‘the mare’ (< *go:dja:* (f.) *-r*), *ùngùlùn* ‘the vulture’ (<*ùngùlu* (f.) *-n*), *go:djo:jîn* ‘the mares’ (< *go:djo:ji:* (pl.) *-n*).

Demonstrative modifiers

The heavy forms of the pre-nominal deictics (vd. Table 10) occur post-nominally in the invariant light form *nân* ‘this’ (PROX), *nan* ‘that near you, that previously mentioned’ (ANAPH), *ɸân* ‘that there’ (DIST), *ɸan* ‘that over there’ (DIST2). They directly follow a noun with suffixed POSL, or a noun plus the connective *dī-* plus POSL, e.g. *do:kìn nân* ‘this horse’, *ɸi:gâr nan* ‘that gown’ (near you or previously mentioned), *gidà:dɸen ɸàn* ‘those houses there’, *ɸêk dīn nân* ‘this check’. The forms *nân* and *ɸân* are realized *nàn* and *ɸàn* respectively when following a H tone.

Possessives

Possession, in the order < Possessed Possessor > where the thing possessed is the head noun, is indicated by a post-head noun or clitic pronoun³² preceded by POSL *-n/-r/-t*, e.g. *ɸi:gar Sulè* ‘Sule’s gown’ (< *ɸi:ga: -r*), *do:kinsà* ‘his horse’ (< *do:ki: -n --sà*), *ɸêk dīntà* (< *ɸêk dī-n --tà*) ‘her check’. If POSL is not attached directly to the head noun, it appears as *na:-/ta:-* prefixed to a possessive pronoun, or as *na/ta* before a noun, e.g. *do:kìn nân na:sà* ‘this horse of his’; *ɸi:gâr ta Sulè* ‘the gown, Sule’s’.

Numerals

Cardinal numbers and other quantitative specifiers such as the modifiers *dukà* ‘all’, *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:dɸo:dɸi: dà jawà:* ‘many soldiers’ (lit. ‘soldiers with plenty’), *mangwàrò*

³⁰ Pronounced [*dummutà:ne:*]; the pronominal quantifier *duk* is often realized as *duG*, with its final consonant assimilating to the initial consonant of the noun.

³¹ PN:371

³² See the full paradigm of suffixed (Table 15) and independent (Table 16) possessive pronouns.

nawà:? ‘how many mangoes?’; *yamma:ta: dukà* ‘all the girls’; *mutà:ne: tindjim* ‘lots of people’ (‘people IDEEOPH’).

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

Post-nominal modifiers

Adjectives

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

Possessive modifying nouns

The possessive construction (N- POSL N = ‘N-of N’), where the second noun refers to an inanimate rather than an animate possessor, will be interpreted as a qualitative construction. This is used for a limited number of modifier nouns, e.g. *sanji:* ‘cold’, *za:fi:* ‘heat’, *karja:* ‘lie’, *gàskija:* ‘truth’, *kirki:* ‘moral and social good’, *banza:* ‘stupidity’, etc. as in *ruwan sanji:* ‘cold water’ (lit. ‘water-of cold’) *là:ba:rin karja:* ‘false news’ (lit. ‘news-of lie’) *mùtumin kirki:* ‘a good man’ (lit. ‘man-of good’), *mân dja:* ‘palm oil’ (lit. ‘oil-of red’).

The mai construction

The particle *mài* (pl. *mà:su*) ‘owner of’, and its negative counterpart *maṛàs* (= *maṛàr* = *maṛàG* where G geminates with the following consonant; pl. *maṛàsa:*) followed by a series of nouns expressing a quality³³, will be used to attribute this quality or its absence to a noun, e.g. *ja:rinjà: mài kjâu* ‘beautiful girl’, *ri:djija: mài zuṛfi:* ‘deep well’, *jà:ra: maṛàsa: hankàli:* ‘heedless children’.

The superlative modifier construction

On the same model as *mài*, a superlative qualitative construction can be formed with the short agentive *mafi:* (pl. *mafija:*) ‘lit. the one exceeding’ plus an object, e.g. *mo:tà: mafi:tsà:da:* ‘the most expensive car’.

Prepositional phrases

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

Stative phrases

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

Relative clauses

Relative clauses occur only post-nominally. Their structure is REL+ embedded clause (withno change in the word order). The TAM in the embedded clause is chosen from the paradigms that are compatible with Focus. The REL is *dà* or a relative pronoun containing *dà*, e.g. *wandà, jaddà, indà*, etc. The antecedent of the relative must have some degree of definiteness; usually it bears the definite article suffix *-n/-r/-n* (<ZR>`n)

Ex 45. *jànzù ma: màganà: -n dà akè: jì: ja: ko:nè: /*
 now even speech -DEF REL 4.CONT.FOC doing 3SG.M.PFV.NFOC dry_up /
 Right now, what we were talking about [i.e. the river, lit. the speech that we were doing] has dried up. (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_659)

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

Ex 46. *àkwai wani àbù -n tsò:ro: dà mukà tabà: gani: //*
 COP3 some.M thing -POSL fear REL 1PL.PFV.FOC touch see //
 there is something terrible that we saw. (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_123-4)

³³ 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).

With numerals:

Ex 47. *kàman fè:kaɾà: biju dà sukà wufjè: /*
 like year two REL 3PL.PFV.FOC pass_by /
 over the past two year (the two years that have elapsed) (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_410)

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

The wai construction

The particle *wai* introduces proper nouns as part of a post-nominal modifier meaning ‘called X’, e.g. *wata mace wai La:di* ‘a woman called Ladi’³⁴.

12 Nominal derivation

12.1 *ma-* Agents, Place and Instruments

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

Agent nouns

All agent nouns use the same H-tone *ma-* prefix. In addition, masculine singulars add a suffix *-i:*^{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>	mason
<i>ɗinkà:</i>	sew	<i>maɗinki:</i>	<i>maɗinkija:</i>	<i>maɗinka:</i>	tailor
<i>ɕe:mà:</i>	tan	<i>maɕe:mi:</i>	<i>maɕe:mija:</i>	<i>maɕe:ma:</i>	tanner
<i>ke:ɾà:</i>	forge	<i>make:ɾi:</i>	<i>make:ɾija:</i>	<i>make:ɾa:</i>	blacksmith

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>mafj:</i>	<i>àma:nà:</i>	treacherous person (lit. eater trust)
<i>mabi:</i>	<i>saɾki:</i>	follower of the Emir
<i>mazò:</i>	<i>gaɾi:</i>	town-goer
<i>maɕe:</i>	<i>silimân</i>	cinema-goer

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.

³⁴ 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’.

TABLE 13. PLACE NOUNS

Verb	Place Nouns
<i>aikàta:</i> perform	<i>mam'aikata:</i> factory
<i>bùbbugà</i> well up	<i>mabubbuga:</i> spring
<i>ɕje:mà:</i> tan	<i>maɕje:ma:</i> tannery
<i>fàka:</i> lie in wait for	<i>mafaka:</i> shelter

The plural of *-i:* place nouns, when it exists, is formed with the *-ai*^{BH} suffix, e.g. *màsàllà:tai* (sg. *masalla:ɕji:*) ‘mosque’. The plurals of *-a:* place nouns are more varied, e.g.: *mà'aikàtu:* (< *ma'aikata: -u:*)^{BH} ‘factory’; *màfàràutai* (< *mafarauta: -ai*)^{BH} ‘hunting ground’; *maɕji:ji:* (< *maɕji: -o:ɕji:*)^H ‘small roadside eating place’. Some of these nouns use two or even all of these plural forms³⁵.

Instrument nouns

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

TABLE 14. INSTRUMENT NOUNS

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

12.2 Ethnonyms

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

The feminine is formed by adding *-a:* to the masculine, without replacing the existing suffix. The realization follows the rules *-è:+a:* > *-ija:* and *-ò:+a:* > *-ùwa:*, e.g. *Bàgumalè:* (m.) / *Bàgumaliya:* (f.) ‘a man / woman from Gumel’; *Bàkanò:* (m.) / *Bàkanùwa:* (f.) ‘a man / woman from Kano’. The plural is formed by adding *-awa:* to the lexical base, without the *ba-* prefix, e.g. *Bàgumalè:* (m.) / *Gumala:wa:* (pl.) ‘man / people from Gumel’.

13 Personal Pronouns

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

³⁵ PN:58.

TABLE 15. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	IDP	OBJ	BEN	POS
1s	<i>ní:</i>	<i>ní</i>	<i>mini/mín/mún</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>fi:</i>	<i>fi</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 **Independent pronouns** (PRO.IDP) appear typically as topic, focus, predicate or subject of non-verbal sentences, complement of basic prepositions, etc.

Ex 48. *kai*_[vocative] *mazàunin ina: nè: //*

kai ma- zaun- -i:\HLH -n ina: ne: //
 2.SG.M AGT- stay -AGT -POSL where COP1.NFOC //
 You, where do you live? (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP1_002)

Ex 49. *ita ma:*_[topic] *tanà: zàune à nân [...]* //

ita ma: tanà: zàune à nân /
 3SG.F even 3SG.F.CONT.NFOC staying at PROX /
As for her, does she live here [...] ? (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP1_007)

Ex 50. *kun dadè: tà:re dà ita kè: nan //*

2.PL.PFV LAST TOGETHER WITH 3SG.F COP1.FOC ANAPH //
 You had been staying with her for a long time. (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP1_034)

The Direct Object pronoun (PRO.OBJ) is the pronoun directly following a verb. Its tone is variable³⁶:

Ex 51. *[...] ja bijo: mù //*

3SG.M.PFV.FOC follow.DIR 1PL //
 [...] he followed us. (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_320)

Ex 52. *sei akà tsarè: mu [-.]*

then 4.PFV.FOC block 1PL
 then they blocked us [...](HAU_BC_Narr_03_06)

The Benefactive (PRO.BEN) or Indirect Object appears before the Direct Object (PRO.OBJ)³⁷. A nominal Benefactive is marked by the particle *wà* (ZR & WH *mà*) suffixed to the long-vowel finite form of the verb³⁸. In the Continuous, the nominalized form of the verb is replaced by a corresponding finite form.

Ex 53. *tà rabà: mà màkàrantu: /*

3SG.F.SBJV share -BEN school.PL /
 [...] she would distribute [them] to the schools (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_038)

³⁶ Newman (2000:478 ff.) distinguishes two sets of Accusatives, both with CV form: (a) a set of weak clitic pronouns whose tone varies according to the class of the verb it is cliticizes to; (b) a set of strong non-clitic pronouns with inherent H tone.

³⁷ A pronominal Direct Object, when separated from the verb by a Benefactive, takes the form of an Independent Pronoun.

³⁸ This particle is written as a separate word in standard Hausa orthography, so as to distinguish it from the *wà*: nominalizer forming verbal nouns.

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

Ex 54. *wandà akè: fê: mâi mà'a:zù //*
 who 4.CONT.FOC say 3SG Ma'azu //

The one they call Ma'azu. (lit. 'the one they say to him M.')

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

TABLE 16. INDEPENDENT POSSESSIVE 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:ki</i>	<i>ta:ki</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>

14 Verbs and Verb Phrases

14.1 Verb grades

TABLE 17. VERB CLASSES

	/__Ø	/__PRO.OBJ	/__N	/__PRO.BEN
Grade Ø	<i>-i: H</i> <i>-a:/-o: H</i>	<i>-i: H</i> <i>-a:/-o: H</i>	<i>-i: H</i> <i>-a:/-o: H</i>	<i>-i: H</i> <i>-a:/-o: H</i>
Grade 1	<i>-a: H-L-(H)</i>	<i>-a: H-L-(H)</i>	<i>-a H-L-(L)</i>	<i>-a: H-L-(H)</i>
Grade 2	<i>-a: L-H-(L)</i>	<i>-e: L-H-</i>	<i>-i L-H</i>	(pds)
Grade 3	<i>-a L-H-(L)</i>			(pds)
Grade 3a	<i>-a H</i>			(pds)
Grade 3b	<i>-i/-u/-a H-L</i>			(pds)
Grade 4	<i>-e: H-L(H)</i>	<i>-e: H-L(H)</i>	<i>-e H-L(L)</i> <i>-e: H-L-(H)</i>	<i>-e: H-L(H)</i>
	<i>-nje: H-L-(H)</i>	<i>-nje: H-L-(H)</i>	<i>-nje H-L-(L)</i> <i>-nje: H-L-(H)</i>	<i>-nje: H-L-(H)</i>
Grade 5	<i>-ar H</i>	<i>-ar H [dà] H</i> <i>-je: H</i> <i>-Ø [dà] H</i>	<i>-ar [dà] H</i> <i>-Ø [dà] H</i>	<i>-ar [dà] H</i>
Grade 5d	<i>-da: H-L</i>	<i>-da: H-L</i>	<i>-dà H-L</i>	<i>-da: H-L</i>
Grade 6	<i>-o: H</i>	<i>-o: H</i>	<i>-o: H</i>	<i>-o: H</i>
Grade 7	<i>-u L-H</i>			(pds)

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

Primary Grades

Grade Ø consists of basic H-tone monosyllabic verbs ending in /i/, e.g. *ɸi* 'eat' or /a:/, e.g. *ɸa:* 'pull', plus a small group of H-tone **CiCa:** verbs, e.g. *kiɸa:* 'call'.

Grade 1 contains basic *-a/a:* verbs, e.g. *ɸafà:* 'cook', both transitive and intransitive.

Grade 2 comprises only basic transitive verbs, e.g. *sàja:* 'buy' (*sàji* / ___N and *sàje:* / ___PRO.OBJ).

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

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

Secondary grades

Grade 4, with a 'totality/finality' meaning, contains both transitive and intransitive verbs. It indicates and action totally done or affecting all the objects, e.g. *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 Newman, who characterizes it as transitive grade indicating action directed away from the speaker, e.g. *zubar* 'pour out'. However as it serves mainly to transitivize inherently intransitive verbs, e.g. *fi* 'take out' (cf. *fi* (V3) 'go out'), we will continue to call it 'causative', glossed CAUS in the corpus. Transitivity is expressed via the use of the oblique marker *dà* followed by the independent form of the pronoun, e.g. *ja: zubar dà gijà:* 'He poured out the beer', *ja sayar dà ita* 'He sold it'. The pre-nominal form with *-je:* is an alternative to the *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: zubar 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 by a direct object pronoun, e.g. *ja: zubbà: ta.*

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

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

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

14.2 Imperatives

TABLE 18. GRADE 1 & 2 IMPERATIVES

	/___∅	/___PRO.obj	/___N	/___PRO.BEN
Gr1	-a: L-H <i>kà:ma:!</i> Catch (X)!	-a: L-H <i>kà:ma: su!</i> Catch them!	-a L-L <i>kà:mà bàra:wò:!</i> Catch the thief!	-a: L-H <i>kà:ma: mini bàra:wò:!</i> Catch the thief for me!
Gr2	-i L-H <i>tàimàki!</i> Help (X)!	-e: L <i>tàimàkè: mu!</i> Help us!	-i L-H <i>tàimàki jà:ra!</i> Help the children!	-aC L-H <i>tàjam mini dà ji:!</i> Give it back to me!

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

The Imperative is the only TAM which is directly expressed on the verb, through a specific tone pattern (usually L-H) which overrides the contextual tone pattern. This specific tone pattern varies according to the verb class. One example of such variation is that of the grade 2 imperative. See below the difference between grade 1 and grade 2 Imperatives³⁹.

14.3 Auxiliaries

We call auxiliary verbs⁴⁰ those Hausa verbs that are followed by an embedded nonfinite VP whose subject is identical to that of the auxiliary. The embedded VP is an Infinitive Phrase (IP)⁴¹, a NV, NV Phrase or an action noun.

Ex 55. *kun ka:ra jì: -n wani no:ma: /*
2.PL.PFV continue doing -POSL some.M farming /
[.] did you go on cultivating another crop [... ?] (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP1_122)

When the embedded VP functions as direct object of the auxiliary verb, the result is a completive subordinate clause as in (52). Auxiliary verbs fall into two semantic categories:

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

Modal auxiliaries

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

Epistemic: *ijà:* ‘can’, *rasà:*, *ka:sà:*, *gazà:* ‘cannot’, *fàskara* ‘be difficult to...’

Deontic: *fànfantà*, *da:tfè:*, *kama:tà* ‘be proper’, *kjàutu* ‘be better’.

Appreciative: *fi* ‘exceed’, *fajè:*, *fikà:* ‘be too much’.

Aspectual auxiliaries

ka:ra, *dadà:* ‘increase’, *ka:ra:*, *sa:kè:* ‘repeat’, *rikà:*, *do:ra:*, *dingà:*, *ji ta* ‘continue to’, *dainà:* ‘stop’, *ka:rè:*, *gamà:* ‘finish’, *baři:*, *fasà:* ‘abandon’, *tabà:* ‘have experienced’, *riga:* / *riga:*, *riga:jà:* ‘have done before’, *fa:ra:*, *so:mà:*, *tà:sa:* / *ta:fi* / *ta:sam mà*, *ji ta* ‘begin to’⁴²; *kusa:* ‘have almost...’.

³⁹ For more variations, especially on grade ∅ Imperatives, see Newman (2000:262-9).

⁴⁰ Newman (PN:64-70) calls these verbs “Aspectual verbs”.

⁴¹ Claude Gouffé (1978) calls this form the “Forme Verbale Libre”, ‘free verb form’.

⁴² *ji ta* has a continuous meaning (‘keep doing’) with a Continuous TAM, and an inceptive meaning (‘start doing’) when used in the Perfect.

15 Adverbs and Prepositional phrases

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

1. predicate of nonverbal sentences, e.g. *da:ki:na: janà: dab dà na:tà* ‘my room is right next to her’; *fà:dà:wa: sunà zàune kusa dà sar̄ki* ‘the councillors are seated close to the chief’.
2. locative goal of motion verbs, e.g. *mù tàfi ƙà* ‘let’s go there!’
3. modifier in N- POSL ADV constructions, e.g. *ƙù:gàban dà:zu* ‘the leaders of the movement’ (lit. leaders of just now); *ki:jin-zu:ƙi* ‘ambition’ (lit. jealousy of in the heart)
4. predicate modifier 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 framing (52) or focus (53).

Ex 56. *lo:kàƙfi: -n dà sukà zo: / hakà sun zo:*
 time -DEF REL 3PL.PFV.FOC come / like_this 3PL.PFV.NFOC come
hakà sunà: ba:jar dà mutàne: tsò:ro: //
 like_this 3PL.CONT.NFOC give with person fear //
 [When they arrived]_{FRAME}, [like that]_{FRAME} they arrived, [like that]_{FRAME} they frightened people.
 (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_151)

Ex 57. *ta nan nè: akà sa:mo: basa:wa //]*
 via ANAPH COP1.NFOC 4.PFV.FOC get.DIR Basawa //]
 prep adv.deict ptcl.synt png.tam v6 n.p /Q]
 [Is that where]_{FOCUS} the Basawa were found? (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP1_174)

15.1 Basic adverbs

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

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

TABLE 19. BASIC TIME ADVERBS

past	<i>dâ:</i> ‘formerly’	<i>ƙe:karàn-ɕijà wàƙƙan</i> ‘three days ago’	
	<i>tùni</i> ‘long ago’	<i>ƙe:karàn-ɕijà</i> ‘two days ago’	<i>bà:ra wàƙƙan</i> ‘two years ago’
	<i>dâ:zu</i> ‘not long ago, just now’	<i>ɕijà</i> ‘yesterday’	<i>bà:ra</i> ‘last year’
present	<i>jànzu</i> ‘now’	<i>yâu</i> ‘today’	<i>bana</i> ‘this year’
future	<i>ƙân</i> ‘then, then later’	<i>gò:be</i> ‘tomorrow’	<i>bàdî</i> ‘next year’
	<i>ƙan</i> ‘then later’	<i>ɕi:bi</i> ‘two days from now’	<i>bàdî wàƙƙan</i> ‘two years from now’
		<i>ga:tà</i> ‘three days from now’	
		<i>ƙittà</i> ‘four days from now’	
		<i>ƙe:karàn-ƙittà</i> ‘five days from now’	

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 are other adverbs relative to the time locus of the utterance, e.g. *kà:fè:gàrì:*, *wàfè:gàrì:* ‘the following day’⁴³, *kullum*, *dàdai*, *tùtur* ‘always’.

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

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

Manner adverbs. We will name but a few manner adverbs, e.g. *ainùn* ‘very much’; *daidai* ‘exactly’; *duk*⁴⁴ ‘entirely’; *hakà = hakàn* ‘thus’; *kawài* ‘only, merely’, etc.

Other adverbs. The adverb *ko*: modifies NP, VP and adverbials (both PP and AP⁴⁵). Here is an example modifying a PP: *ko: dà wuka: bà zâi kafè: jì 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* acts as an adverbial predicate modifier, e.g.

Ex 58. *à sajo: / à sa:mù à dan tji àbinfi /*
 SBJV.4 sell.DIR / SBJV.4 get SBJV.4 DIM eat food /
 We would go and sell [doughnuts] to get [money] and eat a little.
 (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_287)

15.2 Adverb derivation

Denominal adverbs

Many adverbs are derived from body-part nouns and nouns of place and time through one or more of the following processes: (i) shortening the final vowel (*à kafâ* ‘on foot’ < *kafâ*: ‘foot, leg’); (ii) dropping the feminine gender suffix (*à zu:tji* ‘in the heart’ < *zu:tfija*: ‘heart’); (iii) change of tone to HH; (iv) addition of a tone-integrating suffix *-a*)^{HL} (*bakà dà hanfji* ‘tooth and nail, lit. at mouth and at nose’ < *bà:ki*: ‘mouth’; *hanfji*: ‘nose’).

Deverbal statives

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

Ex 59. *sunà: nan à zàune nè: à wânnan gàrì: na pallà:dân //*
 3PL.CONT.NFOC ANAPH at seated COP1.NFOC at PROX city POSL Palladan //
 They live there (*lit.* they are seated there) in the city of Palladan.
 (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_231)

Ex 60. *kun dadè: tà:re dà ita kè: nan //*
 2.PL.PFV last together with 3SG.F COP1.FOC ANAPH //
 You stayed a long time together with her, you did. (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP1_034)

15.3 Reduplication

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

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

⁴³ 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:fi...* ‘the day before their departure...’ (lit. they were tomorrow they will leave).

⁴⁴ Cf. the related prenominal (*duk*) and post-nominal (*dukà*) specifiers.

⁴⁵ We have seen how this has been lexicalized for the formation of universal quantifiers through the structure *ko*: + Question word.

Attenuative reduplication⁴⁶: mainly concerned are denominal 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’.

15.4 Prepositional Phrases

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

- Time PPs⁴⁷ e.g. *kà:fin* ‘before’; *ba:jan* ‘after’.

Ex 61. *ba:jan r̄asuwantà dai /*
 after death.POSL.3SG.F indeed /
 Well, after her death, [...] (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP1_038-9)

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

Ex 62. *ka: dadè: à wuřintà ko: kùwa ##*
 2SG.M.PFV.NFOC last at place.POSL.3SG.F or as_for ##
 did you stay long at her place or rather... (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP1_011)

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

Ex 63. *àkwai r̄a:fuffukà: ne: dà jawà: [...]*
 COP3 river.PL COP1.NFOC with quantity [...]
 Are there many rivers [...]? (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP1_192)

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

16 Adjectives

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

16.1 Syntax

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

The attributive function

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

⁴⁶ See the same phenomenon with adjectives, § 0 Reduplicated adjectives, p. 39.

⁴⁷ Cf. § 170 for a glossary of prepositions.

TABLE 20. ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVES

	Pre-nominal	Post-nominal	
do:ki: (m.) horse	faʃi-n do:ki: (white-POSL horse)	do:ki: faʃi: (horse white)	white horse
mo:tà: (f.) car	faʃa-r mo:tà: (white-POSL car)	motà: faʃa: (car white)	white car
hu:lunà: (pl.) caps	faʃà:ʃe-n hu:lunà: (white-POSL caps)	hu:lunà: faʃà:ʃe: (caps white)	white caps

The predicative function

The predicative function uses

- the non-aspectual Continuous

Ex 64. **lo:kàʃʃin ni: inà: ðan kàʃami: //**
time.DEF 1SG.IDPT 1SG.CONT.NFOC DIM small //
At that time I was young. (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_144)

- the copula **ne:/ʃe:/ne:** (COP2) with the structure < (X) Y COP2 > where Y is the adjective (62).

Ex 65. **do:ki-n-sà faʃi: nè: his horse is white**
horse-POSL.M-him white.M COP.M
ʃi:ga-r-sà faʃa: ʃe: his caftan (f.) is white
caftan-POSL.F-him white.F COP.F
mo:to:ʃi-n-sù faʃà:ʃe: nè: their cars are white (BC)
cars-POSL.PL-them white.PL COP.PL

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). One of the terms of comparison may be elliptical:

Ex 66. **ge:ʃón nàñ ja: fi ingantʃi: //**
millet -DEF ANAPH 3SG.M.PFV.NFOC exceed value //
The millet is more profitable. (BC_HAU_Conv_04_SP1_0009)

Ex 67. **illàntʃi-n-sà ta: fi jawà: //**
disadvantage-POSL-3SG.M 3SG.F.PFV.NFOC exceed quantity //
It has more disadvantages. (*lit.* the disadvantage exceeds in quantity)
(BC_HAU_Conv_04_SP1_955)

Superlatives are expressed through the post-nominal modifier **mafi:**⁴⁸ + adj, e.g. **ja:ʃò: mafi: kaʃfi:** ‘the strongest boy’ (lit. boy exceeder (in) strength).

⁴⁸ **mafi:** is a short agent noun derived from **fi** ‘exceed’.

16.2 Basic adjectives

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

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:, gàje:ra: (=gàje:ríja: =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:ríja:, ko:rà:je:</i>	green, unripe
<i>kùma:ma:, kùma:ma:, kùmà:mai</i>	weak
<i>ka:tò:, ka:tùwa:, káttà:</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:fi:, shu:fija:, shùdǎ:</i>	indigo blue

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

TABLE 22. NOUN/ADJECTIVES

<i>bà:ko:, bà:kuwa:, bà:kí:</i>	stranger, host
<i>be:be:, be:bíja:, be:bà:je:</i>	dumb
<i>bàra:wò:, bàrauníja:, bàrà:ji:</i>	robber
<i>kurma:, kurma:, kurà:me:</i>	deaf

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

Ex 68. *iřin na tsò:fàffi: //*
 type.DEF POSL old.PL //
 like those of old people. (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_596)

whereas in (Ex 69) the predicative adjective *tsò:fò:fin* ‘old’ modifies the noun *tùma:tir* ‘tomato’:

Ex 69. *tsò:fò:fin tùma:tir*
 old.PL -POSL tomatoes
 old tomatoes (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_615)

16.3 Derived adjectives

Agentive adjectives

We saw in § 0, p. 28 how agent nouns are derived from verbs with a *ma- ... -i:* affix and a H-(L)-L-H tone pattern, e.g. *manò:mi:* (m.) ‘farmer’ (< *no:m-* ‘to farm’). Many of those derived from intransitive verbs can also function as adjectives, e.g. *matsijà:fi:* (adj.) ‘poor, destitute’, *mahàukàfi:* (adj.) ‘mad’. Example: *wani mahàukàfi:n dire:bà* ‘a mad driver’; *mahàukàtan karnukà:* ‘mad dogs’.

Past Participles

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

Adjectives of Sensory Quality

Intensive trisyllabic adjectives are derived from a set of nouns called Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality by Parsons (1955). For example, the noun **za:fi:** ‘heat’ has the adjectival derivative **zàzza:fa:** ‘very hot’. The singular is formed with a reduplicative prefix (CVC-)^L plus a suffix **-a:**^L. The plural has an **-a:Ca:**^{LHH} 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’).

Reduplicated adjectives

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

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

17 Prepositions

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

17.1 Basic prepositions

The inventory of basic Hausa prepositions is as follows: **à** ‘at, in, on’; **dà** ‘with’; **dàgà** ‘from’; **bisà** ‘on, about’; **fà:ɗe:** ‘except’; **gà** / **gàre:** ‘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’⁴⁹.

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

17.2 Compound prepositions

These are made up 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.

17.3 Possessive prepositions

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

⁴⁹ Newman (2000:46)

for’ (< *màimako*: ‘replacement’). Possessive prepositions take possessive pronouns as complements, e.g. *kânsù* ‘on them’; *ʃikintà* ‘on it’.

18 Universal Quantifiers

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

18.1 The global universal *duk/dukà*

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

- Modifier

Ex 70. *duk abu:buwà: sun ʃanzà: //*
 all thing.PL 3PL.PFV.NFOC change //
 All things have changed. (BC_HAU_Conv_04_SP1_0514)

- Pronoun

Ex 71. *duk na kâ-n wànnan nè: /*
 all POSL HEAD-POSL -POSL ANAPH COP1.NFOC /
 It's all because of that. (HAU_BC_Conv03_SP2_062)

- Adverb

Ex 72. *duk in ja:rinjà: ta: ʃika /*
 all if girl 3SG.F.PFV.NFOC fill /
 Whenever a girl is grown up, [...] (BC_HAU_Conv_04_SP1_1018)

18.2 The distributive universal *ko*:

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

TABLE 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:jâuʃe: = ko:jâuʃè</i>	<i>jâuʃe: = jâuʃè</i> ‘when?’
each, whichever one(s)	<i>ko:wànnè: (m.), ko:wàʃʃe: (f.), ko:wàdànnè: (pl.)</i>	<i>wànnè:, wàʃʃe:, wàdànnè:</i> ‘which one?’
every, whichever	<i>ko:wàné (m.), ko:wàʃʃè (f.), ko:wàdànnè (pl.)</i>	<i>wàné (m.), wàʃʃè (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?’

Ex 73. *bàsù ʃi ko:me: ba //*
 NEG1A.3PL.PFV eat anything NEG1B //
 They hadn’t eaten anything. (HAU_BC_narr01_SP2_08)

Ex 74. **ko:wa: akà fê: jà fî //**
 everyone 4.PFV.FOC say 3SG.M.SBJV eat //
 Everyone was told to eat. (HAU_BC_Narr_02_SP1_096)

18.3 Universal subordination

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

Ex 75. **ko:me: kakè: fàda: [...]**
 anything 2SG.CONT.FOC saying [...]
Whatever you say [...] (BC_HAU_Conv_04_SP1_0670)

Ex 76. **duk jandà kikà fɪjɔ̀: //**
 all how 2SG.F.PFV.FOC get_ready //
Whenever you are ready. (BC_HAU_Conv_03_SP1_099)

19 Ideophones

Ideophones constitute a word class defined by semantic and phonological rather than syntactic properties. In other words, they are not a part of speech like nouns, verbs, or prepositions. They are “*descriptive of sound, colour, smell, manner, appearance, state, action or intensity... [that is, they are words that are] vivid vocal images or representations of visual, auditory and other sensory or mental experiences*”⁵⁰. They are characterized by highly specific meaning and collocation, function primarily as adjectives and adverbs, and are associated with expressive pronunciation, i.e. extra forcefulness or loudness, often with an intonational break, indicated in the examples below by a minor intonational break (/) and an arrow (↑)⁵¹:

Ex 77. **ta: fika / ↑dam //**
 3SG.PFV.NFOC fill / very_big //
 She had grown very big. (BC_HAU_Conv_04_SP1_1005-6)

20 Complex sentences

20.1 Coordination

‘And’

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

Ex 78. **su: kò: sukà wufê: sukà tàfi rà:fi -n -sù //**
 3PL as_for 3PL.PFV.FOC pass_by 3PL.PFV.FOC go river -POSL -1PL.POS //
 As for them, they continued [and] went to their river. (HAU_BC_narr01_SP1_096)

⁵⁰ Cole (1955:370) quoted by Newman (2000:242)

⁵¹ For a complete phonological, semantic, syntactic and intonational characterization of ideophones, see PN:242-259.

Ex 79. *fi: kè: fji: dà ni: / kuma jakè: tallàfa: mìn*
 3SG.M CONT.FOC feeding APPL 1SG.IDPT / too 3SG.M.CONT.FOC support 1SG.BEN
wadžen harkà: -n kàrà:tu: dà sauṛa: -n -sù //
 around affair -POSL education and remainder -POSL -3PL.POS //
 he is the one feeding me, [...] and he is the one supporting my education etc.
 (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_238-40)

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

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

‘Or’

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

Ex 80. *tò: fi: wānnan dinkin dīn kukàn saidà: nè: /*
 well 3SG.M PROX edible_LEAVES DEF 2PL.HAB sell COP1.NFOC /
ko: kukàn / ba:jar fi nè: à gida: //
 or 2PL.HAB / give.CAUS 3SG.M COP1.NFOC at home //
 Well those leaves, did you sell them or did you... give it to the (people of the) house ?
 (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP1_021-3)

‘But’ and ‘however’

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

Ex 81. *idan ta:ki -n na gargaḡija: kè: nan /*
 if manure -DEF POSL old_times COP1.FOC ANAPH /
za:sù daukè: akè: zubà: mafi //
 FUT.3PL take 4.CONT.FOC pour 3SG.M //
amma: jānzu mukàn hadâ: dà na bàtu:rè: //
 but now 1PL.HAB join with POSL European //
 If... it were manure as in the old days, they would take it and spread it on, but now, we mix it with chemical fertilizers. (HAU_BC_Conv_02_SP2_132-5)

20.2 Completives

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

- (i) Full verbs, e.g. *sô*: ‘want’:

Some verbs, (e.g. *sô*: ‘want’) take a direct complement phrase without a complementizer, Cf. (Ex 82) below. Predicates of saying, thought, etc., whether verbal or nominal, use the complementizer *wai*. The

general complementizer is **ʃé:wa:**, derived from the verbal noun of the verb **ʃé:** ‘say’. Another complementizer is the particle **dà**.

Ex 82. **gà: ʃi ba:kà sô: à ta:ʃi /**
 COP4 3SG.M NEG5.2SG.M.CONT.NFOC wanting 4SBJV rise /
 Here you are, you don't want to leave [...] (BC_HAU_Conv_04_SP2_886)

(ii) Verbal phrase

Ex 83. **na: sâ: ɾâi wai zâi zo: /**
 1SG.PFV.NFOC put life COMP FUT.3SG.M come /
 I hope he will come. (*lit.* I have set mind that...) (BC)

Ex 84. **mun ʃi faɾi: -n ʃiki: dà kukà zo:**
 1PL.PFV.NFOC do white -POSL stomach with 2PL.CONT.FOC come
 We are happy (*lit.* did white belly) that you came. (BC)

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

Ex 85. **tò: jànzú ja kasântʃe: ʃé:wa: jànzú /**
 well now 3SG.M.PFV.FOC become that_is now /
in kukà sà:mi wánnan kuɗi:
 if 2PL.CONT.FOC get ANAPH money
kukàn sarrâfa: su nè: waɗʒen sajo: dabbo:bi: /
 2PL.HAB invest 3PL COP1.NFOC around sell.DIR cattle -PL /
 Well now it happens that now, if you get some money, you invest by buying animals.
 (HAU_BC_Conv_02_SPI_033-4)

(iv) Copular constructions:

Ex 86. **wâuta: nè: gà Mu:sa: dà jà ʃi ba:ʃi:**
 foolishness COP1 near Musa with 3S.SBJV consume credit
It was stupid for Musa to take a credit. (BC)

20.3 Subordination: Adverbial clauses

Subordination is introduced by the following conjunctions⁵²:

- **har** ‘as far as; up to, until, even, etc.’, denotes the continuation of an action until a qualitative degree is reached, entailing a change of state;
- **sai**, often implying or combined with negation, means ‘except, only, unless, etc.’ and denotes a progression towards a goal⁵³;
- **dà** ‘when, rather than’;
- **ba:yan (dà)** ‘after’;
- **dò:min (=don)** ‘because’ when followed by a Perfective; ‘so that’ when followed by a Subjunctive;
- **idan (=in)** ‘if’ (conditional)
- **dà:, in dà:** ‘if’ (hypothesis, contrary to fact)
- **kà:fin (= kà:fin, =kà:mi n, = kà:min)** ‘before’
- **kàmar (= tàmkar)** ‘as if’
- **ko:** ‘even if’
- **ko: dà** ‘as soon as’
- **ko: dà (yakè)** ‘although’
- **màimakon** ‘instead of’

⁵² PN:134

⁵³ As with most conjunctions, these two words can function as prepositions as well, e.g. **sai gò:be:** ‘bye bye’ (*lit.* until tomorrow); **an ʃi hanjà: dàgà Kanò: har Dàuɾa:** ‘they built a road from Kano to Daura’.

- *muddin* ‘as long as’
- *sabò:dà* ‘because’
- *tàmkar* (=kàmar): ‘as if’
- *tun* ‘while’; ‘even before’ when followed by *kà:fin* ‘before’ or a negative clause;
- *tun dà* ‘since (temporal)’
- *tun (dà yakè)* ‘since (factive)’

Here are but a few examples.

Ex 87. *sei akà ji ta du:kà -n -fi /*
 then 4.PFV.FOC do DUR beating -POSL -3SG.M.POS /

har *akà ji mifi fi:wò: //*
 until 4.PFV.FOC do 3SG.M wound //

Then they kept beating him until he was wounded. (HAU_BC_Narr_03_47)

Ex 88. *fi: ita wànnan ga:nuwa: / an sa:mo: tà ne: /*
 3SG.M 3SG.F ANAPH rampart / 4.PFV.NFOC get.DIR 3SG.F COP1.NFOC /

dò:min *dukà gàrì -n dà akà fê: makà àkwai ga:nuwa: /*
 because all town -DEF REL 4.PFV.FOC say 2SG.M COP3 rampart /

Those city walls, we had them, because whenever they tell you about a town, there are city walls. (HAU_BC_Conv_02_SP2_259-61)

Ex 89. *in dà: janà: nan ai za:sù zo: sù ko:jar //*
 if CTF 3SG.M.CONT.NFOC ANAPH indeed FUT.3PL come 3PL.SBJV learn.CAUS //
 If he had been there they would have come to teach. (HAU_BC_Conv03_SP2_017)

21 Negation

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

TABLE 24. NEGATIVE MARKERS

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

21.1 NEG1. All TAMs except the Continuous and Subjunctive⁵⁴

The discontinuous negation *bà:/bà ... ba* occurs with TAMs other than the Continuous and the Subjunctive. The first part of the morpheme (*bà:/bà*) occurs immediately before the TAM. The second part (*ba*) occurs at the end of the VP, after the core arguments of the verb, but before adjuncts. Short basic adverbs tend to be included within the syntactic scope of negation.

Ex 90. **bà** *mù san so:ɕà ba //*
 NEG1A 1PL.PFV KNOW SOLDIER NEG1B //

We were not used to soldiers. (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_155)

Ex 91. **bà** *mù fìkà àmfà:ni: dà ji: ba sò:sai //*
 NEG1A 1PL.PFV complete using with 3SG.M NEG1B quite //

We did not really use it. (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_548)

⁵⁴

Cf. TAMs and their meaning, Tables 1 to 8.

In the perfective, the first and third¹ person markers of the subject pronouns contract with the *bà* of the negative marker, e.g. *bà ni* > *bàn*; *bà jà* > *bàì*.

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

21.2 NEG2. Negative Continuous TAM

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

Ex 92. **ba:** **à:** **jì** **-n** **ge:ro:** //
 NEG2 4.CONT doing -POSL millet //
 we don't do millet. (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_389)

Ex 93. **kin** **sani:** **ji:** **dàjakè:** **bàì** **dà** **haki:** /
 2SG.F.PFV.NFOC know 3SG.M since NEG2.3SG.CONT with grass /
 You know, as he did not have any grass. (HAU_BC_Conv03_SP1_130)

21.3 NEG3. Existential and “have” sentences

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

Ex 94. **bâ:** **ginegine:** //
 NEG3 building.PL //
 There were no buildings. (HAU_BC_Conv_01_SP2_314)

21.4 NEG4. Non-verbal sentences and NPs

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

Ex 95. **ko:** **bâ:** **hakà** **ba** //
 or NEG4A like_this NEGB //
 Isn't it true? (HAU_BC_Conv_02_SP1_031)

Ex 96. **ìrì** **-n** **na** **gargaɗɗija:** **-:::** /
 type -DEF POSL old_times -LENGTH /
bà **zâi** **ji** **ba** / **tundà** **bâ:** **àmpà:ni:** **ba** **nè:**
 NEG1A FUT.3SG.M do NEGB / since NEG4A use NEGB COP1.NFOC
wandà mukè: **dà** **ji:** //
 which 1PL.CONT.FOC with 3SG.M //
 The old kind [i.e., manure] won't do since there's no use we have for it.
 (HAU_BC_Conv_02_SP2_103-5)

21.5 NEG5. Subjunctive

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

Ex 97. **tundà wuɾi** **kar** **tà** **fa:ɾà** **tà** **tabà**
 since at_place NEG5 3SG.F.SBJV begin 3SG.F.SBJV touch

wànnan ramà: tà tʃi ʃi //
 ANAPH hemp 3SG.F.SBJV eat 3SG.M //
she should not even begin to touch that hemp and eat it. (HAU_BC_Narr_02_SP1_110)

22 Question

22.1 Wh-Questions

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

- ‘who?’ *wà:* (= *wà:ne: nè:*) m., *wà:tʃe: tʃè:* f., *su wà:* (= *su wà:ne: nè:*) pl.; *wà:jè:* m., *su wà:jè:* pl.
- ‘what?’ *mè:* (= *mè:ne: nè:*) m., *mè:tʃe: tʃè:* f. (rare), *su mè:ne: nè:* pl.; *mè:jè:* m.
- ‘which?’ (adj) *wànnè* m., *wàtʃè* f., *wàdànnè* pl.
- ‘which one(s) (pro) *wànnè:* m., *wàtʃè:* f., *wàdànnè:* pl.
- ‘where?’ *ina:*
- ‘when?’ *jàufè / jáufe:*
- ‘how?’ (*ta*) *jà:jà:*
- ‘how many/much?’ *nawà*
- ‘why?’ *don mè:, sabò: dà me:*

Ex 98. *an ka:mà: wà: ne //*
 4.PFV.NFOC catch who COP1.NFOC //
 They caught who? (HAU_BC_Conv03_SP1_118)⁵⁵

Ex 99. *an tʃimà: ina: zâ: ni //*
 4.PFV.NFOC spend_time where DIR 1SG //
 Later on, where will I go? (HAU_BC_Conv03_SP1_043)

The intonation pattern is that of declarative sentences.

22.2 Yes/No questions

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

The Q-morpheme

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

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

⁵⁵ This is an example of WH-Question with *in situ* focus, appearing in cases of echo-questions.

Similarly, if the preceding syllable already ends in an L tone or in a fall (= HL on a single syllable), then the L-tone component of the morpheme attaches vacuously and has no effect on the surface tone. (op.cit.)

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

- Ex 100. **wà: zâi fita + ˀ** > **wà: zâi fitâ:?**
Who will come? (tone and length added)
- jâufè ta haihù + ˀ** > **jâufè ta haihù: ?**
When did she give birth? (length added)
- mè: sukà sajar + ˀ** > **mè: sukà sajàr?**
What did they sell? (tone added)
- ina: ka ga ja:ɾòn?**
Where did you see the boy? (vacuous addition) (PN:497).

Question intonation

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

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

Sentence-final question tags

The particles **ko:**, **ba**, **ne:**, **kùwa**, **fà:** function as sentence-final question tags. When key raising applies, they will surface with a long vowel and a falling tone, e.g. **ka: ɗji bâ: ?** (< **ba+** ˀ) ‘Did you hear?’; **ja: àuri Aifà né:?** (< **ne:**+ˀ) ‘Did he marry Aisha?’

Sentence-initial interrogative words

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

- Ex 101. **ko: bà: hakà ba //**
whether NEG4A like_this NEGB //
Isn't it true? (lit. or is it not so?) (HAU_BC_Conv_02_SP1_031)

22.3 Indirect questions

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

- Ex 102. **bàn san ko: wà: ja ji hakà ba**
NEG1A.1S.PFV know whether who 3SG.PFV.FOC do like_this NEGB
I don't know who acted this way. (BC)

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

- Ex 103. **sai saɾki: ya tàmbàj-e: ji**
then king 3SG.PVF.FOC ask-ACC2 3SG

in janà: sòn jà zaunà: wadgensà
 if 3SG.CONT.NFOC wanting.POSL 3SG.SBJV sit near.POSL.3SG
 Then the king asked him if he wanted to sit next to him. (BC)

The intonation pattern is that of declarative sentences.

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