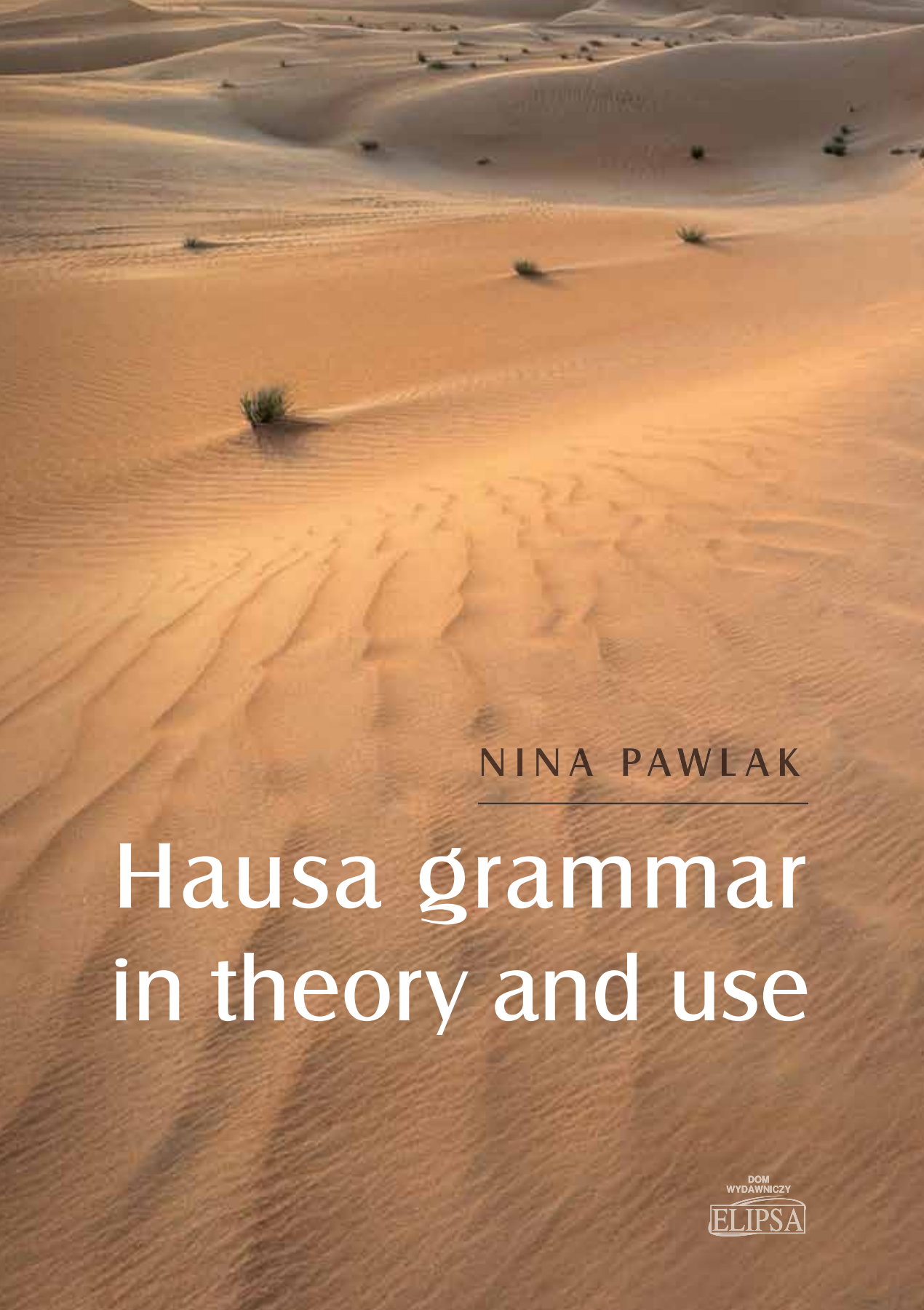




NINA PAWLAK

Hausa grammar in theory and use

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Contents

Foreword	11
Abbreviations	14
Introduction	15
CHAPTER I	
Basic units of the sound system	21
1.1. Sounds and writing system	21
1.1.1. Phonological inventory	22
1.1.2. Consonants	23
1.1.3. Glides/Semiwovels	26
1.1.4. Vowels	26
1.1.5. Diphthongs	27
1.2. Tone	27
1.3. Syllable structure	28
1.4. Consonants, vowels and tones in word structure	29
1.4.1. Phonological variations and neutralizations	30
1.4.2. Distributional features of vowels	30
1.4.3. Tonal pitch and sentence intonation	30
CHAPTER II	
Sound alternations and tonal changes in morphological context	32
2.1. Assimilation as an universal and language specific process	32
2.2. Phonetic processes at a morpheme boundary	33
2.2.1. Palatalization	33
2.2.2. Syllable modifications as a result of morphological changes ...	34
2.3. Morphophonology and morphotonology	35
2.3.1. Alternation of root vowels	36
2.3.2. Tonal processes in adjacent syllables	36

CHAPTER III

Parts of speech and grammatical categories	38
3.1. Identifying parts of speech in Hausa	38
3.2. Grammatical categories	40
3.3. Grammar across systemic rules: Consonantal framework of the demonstrative and personal pronouns	43

CHAPTER IV

Non-verbal sentences	44
4.1. Sentences with copula	44
4.2. Non-verbal constructions with continuous TAM markers	46
4.3. Existential sentences	48
4.4. The paradigm ‘to go (somewhere)’, ‘to go to’, ‘to be off’	51
4.5. Expressing the meaning ‘to be’ and ‘to have’ beyond established counterparts	51

CHAPTER V

Gender in nouns	54
5.1. Phonological and morphological motivations of gender assignment	54
5.2. Semantic motivations of gender assignment	56
5.3. Other criteria for classifying nouns	58
5.4. Pragmatic criteria of feminine gender assignment	58

CHAPTER VI

Noun plurals	61
6.1. Plural classes	62
6.1.1. Class 1: -OXI) ^H	62
6.1.2. Class 2: -ai) ^{LH}	64
6.1.3. Class 3: -AXE) ^{HLH}	67
6.1.4. Class 4: -(A)XA) ^{HLH}	69
6.1.5. Class 5: -AXU) ^{HLH}	70
6.1.6. Class 6: -UXA) ^{HL}	71
6.1.7. Class 7: -AXI) ^{LH}	74
6.1.8. Class 8: -AXI) ^{HLHH}	75
6.1.9. Class 9: -U/-I) ^{LH}	76
6.1.10. Class 10: -V α $\Rightarrow$ -V β	77
6.1.11. Class 11: -āwā) ^{LH ~ HH}	78
6.1.12. Class 12: x 2 (REDUP)	78

6.1.13. Class 13: -e)LH x 2 (REDUP)	78
6.1.14. Class 14: x 2)H – L (REDUP)	79
6.1.15. Class 15: CiCī x 2) ^{H–H}	79
6.2. Other plural forms	79
6.3. Concluding remarks.	80

CHAPTER VII

Adjectives and adjectival phrases	81
7.1. Basic adjectives	81
7.1.1. Adjectives and nouns with dual class membership	82
7.1.2. Augmentative adjectives	83
7.1.3. Diminutive adjectives	84
7.2. Derived adjectives	84
7.2.1. Adjectival past participle	84
7.2.2. Derived adjectives of sensory quality	85
7.3. Adjectives as a cross-category notion	87

CHAPTER VIII

Adverbs and adverbial phrases	89
8.1. Basic adverbs	89
8.1.1. NAN/CAN dichotomy	90
8.2. Derived adverbs	92
8.2.1. Prepositional phrases expressing spatial meanings	92
8.2.2. Reduplicated adverbs	94
8.2.3. Deverbal statives	95
8.2.4. Adverbial expressions in the form of lexicalized clauses of phrases	96
8.3. Ideophones in adverbial function	96
8.4. Adverbial modifications coded syntactically	98
8.4.1. Coding the meanings of ‘even’, ‘a little’, ‘especially’ in sentence structure	98
8.4.2. Predicative adjuncts in multiverb constructions	99

CHAPTER IX

Numerals in grammar and in their most common uses	102
9.1. Cardinal numbers	102
9.1.1. Numerals in sentence structure	104
9.1.2. Modifying numerals	105
9.1.3. Other common quantifiers	105

9.2. Ordinal numbers	105
9.3. The most common uses of numerals	106
9.3.1. What time is it?	106
9.3.2. Arithmetic calculations	107
9.4. The currency in Nigeria and the rituals of bargaining	107

CHAPTER X

Pronouns and pronominal determiners	109
10.1. Personal pronouns	109
10.1.1. Independent pronouns	109
10.1.2. Direct object pronouns	110
10.1.3. Indirect object pronouns	111
10.1.4. Possessive pronouns	111
10.1.5. Reflexives	113
10.1.6. Reciprocals	113
10.2. Non-personal pronouns	114
10.2.1. The demonstratives	114
10.2.2. The definite article <i>-n/-r</i>	116
10.2.3. The deictic particle <i>dîn</i>	117
10.2.4. Indefinites ('some')	117
10.2.5. Interrogative demonstratives ('which')	117
10.2.6. Relatives ('the one who/that')	118
10.2.7. Universals ('every', 'all')	119
10.2.8. Interrogative pronouns	119

CHAPTER XI

Lexical compounds: nominal and verbal phrases	121
11.1. Nominal compounds	121
11.2. Verb-based nominal compounds	124
11.2.1. Verb-based phrases	124
11.2.2. Lexicalized sentences	125
11.3. Idiomatic phrasal verbs	126
11.4. Grammaticalization and lexicalization of the compound units	128

CHAPTER XII

Word formation	131
12.1. Prefixal formations	131
12.2. Suffixal formations	134

12.3. Derivational morphemes based on lexical units	136
12.4. Derivational formations based on reduplication	139
12.4.1. Pluractionals	139
12.4.2. Hypocoristics	141
12.4.3. Verbs derived from nouns	142

CHAPTER XIII

Verb base forms and their syntactically conditioned variants	143
13.1. Monosyllabic and some other morphologically distinct verbs	144
13.2. Irregular verbs	145
13.3. Grade system – classification scheme for regular verbs	147
13.4. Verb grade patterns, their syntactic environment and semantics	149
13.4.1. Grade 0	149
13.4.2. Primary grades	150
13.4.2.1. Grade 1	150
13.4.2.2. Grade 2	151
13.4.2.3. Grade 3	153
13.4.3. Secondary grades	153
13.4.3.1. Grade 4 (-e verbs)	154
13.4.3.2. Grade 5 (-ar verbs)	155
13.4.3.3. Grade 6 (-o verbs)	157
13.4.3.4. Grade 7 (-u verbs)	158
13.5. Verbal nouns	158

CHAPTER XIV

Verb conjugation system	161
14.1. The conjugation patterns	162
14.1.1. Completive aspect (<i>sun</i> -form)	162
14.1.2. Continuous aspect (<i>sunâ</i> -forms)	163
14.1.3. Relative completive (<i>sukâ</i> -form) and Relative continuous (<i>sukê</i> -form)	166
14.1.4. Subjunctive (<i>sù</i> -form)	168
14.1.5. Future (<i>zāsù</i> -form)	170
14.1.6. Habitual (<i>sukân</i> -form)	171
14.1.7. Potential (<i>sâ</i> -form)	171
14.2. Imperative	172
14.3. Negation expressed by lexical means	173

CHAPTER XV

Particles and other function words	174
15.1. Genitive linker	174
15.1.1. The short form of the genitive linker (- <i>n/-r</i>)	175
15.1.2. The full form of the genitive linker (<i>na/ta</i>)	176
15.2. Copula (<i>nē/cē</i>)	177
15.3. Prepositions	178
15.3.1. Basic prepositions	178
15.3.2. Genitive prepositions	181
15.4. Conjunctions	182
15.5. Modal particles	183
15.6. Multifunctional words	185
15.7. Exclamations	188

CHAPTER XVI

Types of sentences	189
16.1. Verbal sentence	189
16.2. Sentences with focus	191
16.3. Conjoined sentences	192
16.3.1. Sentences with aspectual verbs	192
16.3.2. Sentences with predicative adjuncts	193
16.4. Questions	194
16.4.1. Yes/No questions	194
16.4.2. Questions containing a question word	195
16.4.3. Questions ending in <i>kō</i> or <i>kō bà hakà bà</i>	195
16.4.4. Interrogative adjectives	195
16.5. Complex sentences	196
16.5.1. Clause coordination	196
16.5.2. Clause subordination	197
16.5.3. The complement clauses	198

Bibliography	201
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Appendices	203
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Index	215
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Foreword

Publications on the Hausa language are professionally advanced in two thematic areas: theoretical analysis of the language and textbooks for practical language learning. With few exceptions, these two areas have not been interlinked in the current approach to language learning. A large part of the grammar descriptions of the language were created with the aim of systemic interpretation of grammatical relations and were addressed to language researchers and students with good linguistic background. On the other hand, language learning based on communicative correctness and adherence to the cultural code makes problems to the learners when using alternative structures for which no justification is usually provided. Moreover, the complex and linguistically specialized terminology limits access to rules for less advanced learners, while practical instructions without grammatical explanations do not encourage learners to use language structures creatively in various discursive contexts.

The book is in line with the current trend of combining theoretical knowledge about the systemic features of the Hausa language with the practical application of structures illustrating these features, especially the features characteristic of Hausa that do not occur (or occur rarely) in other languages

The book is intended mainly for students who have already studied the basic grammar of Hausa, although elementary information is also included in the presentation of grammar rules. The explanations are illustrated with numerous examples giving priority to those structures that differ fundamentally from English and other widely known languages, both African and non-African, and often cause difficulty.

The book is organized into 16 chapters, preceded by an Introductory chapter. Each chapter concentrates on a particular point of grammar in its broadest possible sense, which allows combining some issues that do not have clear demarcation lines in the structure of the language. The chapters are given titles that represent a traditional approach to grammar, making it easier to find both general and more specific topics. The topics, for example, noun plurals, verbal conjugation, pronouns (regardless of their length and complexity) are presented within one unit.

In theoretical part, there are explanations and examples that clarify the rules. This part is followed by a more selective approach to the topic, emphasizing exceptions to the rules, problems with the practical application of these rules, or a different perspective on the topic.

There are also eleven Appendices at the back of the book. These include patterns of noun plurals, derived adjectives, irregular verbs and verbal nouns, TAM markers of verb conjugation, among others. Finally, there is a detailed Index at the back of the book.

This work aims to convey the achievements of Hausa research to Hausa learners. It is a contrastive description of the language, emphasizing the structural differences of Hausa compared to the grammatical systems of European languages, especially English, and the equivalence (or lack thereof) in the basic terminology to which descriptions of the language typically refer.

The proposed language description combines two distinct approaches to presenting Hausa grammar. One draws on recent advances in the systemic interpretation of structures, as embodied in two fundamental works in Hausa studies: Paul Newman's Hausa reference grammar (*The Hausa Language. An Encyclopedic Reference Grammar*. New Haven & London 2000: Yale University Press) and Philip Jaggar's descriptive grammar (*Hausa*. Amsterdam 2001: John Benjamins). In particular, solutions concerning noun plural classes and verb grades are presented in this work as proposed by these authors, with a view to correlating their achievements with the descriptions of dictionary entries in the latest Hausa dictionaries.

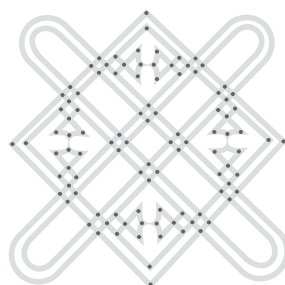
A great inspiration for my work was language learning textbook by J. Ronayne Cowan and Russell G. Schuh (*Spoken Hausa*. Ithaca 1976) that organizes grammatical material for teaching purposes. In the current approach, I took the frames combining the two different approaches and incorporating my own experiences in studies on Hausa and teaching the Hausa language into them with reference to my first description of the Hausa language in Polish (Nina Pawlak, *Gramatyka języka hausa: Fonologia i fonetyka. Morfologia*. Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego: Warszawa 1989). [The Hausa grammar: Phonology and phonetics. Morphology]. Writing about Hausa in a language other than English poses new challenges and opens up new areas for contrastive approaches. Sergio Baldi's description of Hausa in Italian (*Grammatica di lingua Hausa*. Milano 2017: Ulrico Hoepli) provides inspiration to include the cultural context in the description of language grammar. Some of these non-canonical attitudes are addressed in this English-language book.

Above all, however, this book is the result of many years of experience in teaching Hausa grammar to the students, who pointed out those elements of the

grammar that they found difficult to understand and required deeper explanation. I thank them for their questions about more or less specialized expressions and for their observations not only about the structures themselves, but also about the rules governing their use in different communicative contexts.

I hope that the book will increase resources on learning the Hausa language and will be helpful for language researchers focused on the contrastive study of Hausa. I would like to thank Prof. Beata Wójtowicz for making it possible to support preparing this book with the fund dedicated to African Studies program developed with support of “Lines of studies in Priority Research Areas – POB (2nd degree) – Organisation of university-wide courses in support of second-level studies” implemented under the “Excellence Initiative – Research University” Programme.

Nina Pawlak



Abbreviations

*	symbol of non-existing (reconstructed) word
<i>Adj</i>	Adjective
alt.	alternatively
ANSQ	<i>Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality</i>
Ar	Arabic
C	consonant
cl.	class
DO	Direct Object
Eng	English
f	feminine
G	gemination
H	high tone
HC	Hypocoristic name
Imp.	Impersonal
IO	Indirect Object
K	Kano (dialect)
L	low tone
lit.	literally
Loc	Locative
m	masculine
Pl	Plural
Plur	Pluractional verb
<i>Plv</i>	Pluractional verb
S	Sokoto (dialect)
Sg	Singular
SH	Standard Hausa
Sg	Singular
SVC	Serial verb construction
SVO	Subject-Verb-Object sequence in sentence structure
TAM	tense-aspect-mood
V	vowel
X	representation of a consonantal “slot” in affixes
Yor	Yoruba

Introduction

Hausa is one of the major languages in Africa with more first language speakers than any other sub-Saharan African language (Yakasai & Mu'azu 2016: 31). In this function, the language is estimated to be spoken by 47 million people (following the *Ethnologue* source). The largest native speaking population is in Northern Nigeria where mostly ethnic Hausas and settled Fulanis, but also members of other ethnic groups, use Hausa on a daily basis. A significant number of native speakers live in southern Niger. Hausa is also used as the language of communication in large areas of West Africa. Resident Hausa communities are in cities in southern Nigeria (Lagos, Ibadan) and in West African countries such as Ghana, Togo, Benin and the Blue Nile area of the Sudan.¹ The total number of speakers ranges from 72 to 100–150 million users, depending on the source.

The Hausa language has many geographical dialects and social variants. Within the Hausaland, distinct features of the language are identified in each of the major cities, such as Kano, Zaria, Daura, Katsina, Sokoto, and Damagaram. However, the differences are not significant and do not prevent mutual understanding. They are gradually becoming indistinct due to mutual influences and advanced unification processes, especially in Nigeria. However, two centres of linguistic dominance can be distinguished: Sokoto and Kano, which make the most significant differences between them preserved in other areas as well. Generally speaking, the territory of Hausaland can be divided into two dialectal varieties: the so-called eastern dialect (including Kano, Katagum) and the western dialect (spoken in Sokoto, Katsina, Zaria, Bauchi and the Niger area). The source of the prestige of the western dialect is the administrative and cultural position of Sokoto dating back to the Fulani empire (1804–1903) founded by Usman dan Fodio. High position of the eastern dialect results from its proximity to the standard norm, of which it was the basis and with which it is gradually becoming identified.

¹ A term *zango* (or its phonological variants) is used to refer to an area inhabited by Hausa community in West African cities outside the Hausaland. Originally it was a stopping point for Hausa-led caravans traveling the trade routes in the past few centuries.

Differences between the “eastern” K(ano) and “western” S(okoto) dialects manifest phonological features specific to each variant, as in the following words:

‘expensiveness’	K	tsāḍā	/	S	c’āḍā
‘door(way)’	K	kōfā	/	S	’ōfā
‘go out’	K	fita	/	S	hita
‘except’	K	sai	/	S	shai / hai (kā zō)
‘last long’	K	dāḍē	/	S	dwāḍē

Lexical equivalents of the names for objects, things, animals, people, etc. may be originally different in both variants (K *rumbū*, S *ambūtā* ‘granary’; K *gyāḍā*, S *guiyā* ‘peanuts’), but they are recognized throughout Hausaland as synonyms or closely related terms, such as *gulbī* / *kōgī* ‘river’, *mūzūrū* / *māgē* / *kyānwā* ‘cat’.

Words characteristic of the Western dialect show archaic features that are the basis for diachronic research, especially those concerning transformations within the syllable structure, e.g.:

‘sit down’	K	zaunā	/	S	zamnā
‘withstand (pain)’	K	jūrē	/	S	jimrē
‘sow’	K	shūkā	/	S	shibkā
‘descend’	K	sāukā	/	S	sābkā

“Sokoto variants” are recognized in some grammatical forms, especially in the form of copula, possessive pronouns and plural nouns, therefore ‘(he) is’ / ‘(she) is’ (K *nē/cē*), *mī nē nē* / *mī nā nā* ‘what is it?’ (K *mē nē nē*), *dōkīnshì*, *dōkīnai* ‘his horse’ (K *dōkīnsà*), *tākārdinnē*, *tākārdinnài* – plural form of *takārdā* ‘paper’ (K *tākārdū*).

The language spoken in Niger and Nigeria differs in additional features resulting from the division of Hausa territory by national borders in the 20th century and the influence of the different official languages in these countries. Hausa spoken in Niger is characterized by the incorporation of loanwords from French, e.g. *bōmbō* ‘sweets’, *bīrō* ‘office’, *òpitàl* ‘hospital’, *ḍūwān* ‘customs’, while Hausa spoken in Nigeria is characterized by extensive influence from English: the equivalents of the above nouns are *ālēwā*, *bīrō*, *àsibitì*, and *kwastàn* respectively.

Standard Hausa (SH) was developed as a result of standardization and normalization activities to represent the norm for the written language. It was a recommendation for books and newspapers and also for broadcasts in radio and television. It essentially represents the dialect of Kano State that is preserved in major dictionaries and grammars of the language as the common norm. This

is the norm that foreigners usually learn. Sokoto (western dialect) remains a “classic” norm that is still positively valued in the society.

Standard Hausa is based on a Romanized script. The current official spelling, called *boko*, was introduced by the British colonial administration in the 1930s. In the past Arabic (*Ajami*) script was also used.

A challenge for the further development of Hausa is internet communication using texts that do not respect the Hausa Standard spelling rules.

Hausa has been the subject of scholarly study for nearly two centuries. The research was mainly aimed at understanding the structural features of the language and in this respect the descriptions are exhaustive to interpret the language system according to linguistic criteria.

Alongside the study of language characteristics, comparative linguistics has also developed within the Chadic languages, of which Hausa is a member within the larger Afro-Asiatic family. Such research has contributed to the development of diachronic research methodology based on synchronic data and a better recognition of the earlier stages of Hausa (see Newman 2022).

At the same time, many language teaching materials were prepared that focused on developing conversational skills, often without considering knowledge of the language’s grammatical features. Theoretical language knowledge, primarily aimed at students and language researchers, was little applied to practical language teaching, even though it is essential for the creative use of linguistic structures. Bringing these two levels together, namely specialized theoretical knowledge and practical language teaching seems to be important for further work on the language.

This does not change the fact that Hausa is a “figurative language” with a high degree of contextual requirements in the use of linguistic structures. Moreover, native Hausa speakers are sensitive to the style in which the language is used, emphasizing language aesthetic and its symbolic values. Consequently, they constantly evaluate language use, its formal correctness, and the use of formulas appropriate to a given communicative situation. Many phrases have been created to praise the beauty of the language and its use with the most proper conventional application (*Iya magana ma da ranarsa* ‘Every occasion has its [proper] saying’, *Magana jari ce* ‘The art of storytelling is an asset’). The term Gwari (Sg. Bagwari) is used to refer to people who have trouble speaking Hausa correctly². On the other hand, foreigners who speak Hausa fluently are often

² The term is derived from the name of the Gwari people who migrated south from the ethnic area and speak a language known as Pidgin Hausa.

called *Ya iya Hausa kamar jakin Kano* (lit. He speaks Hausa as a Kano donkey), which is a great compliment.

The Hausa language has many features that distinguish it from other languages, especially European languages, which require special attention when learning the language. Besides structural differences, the situational context that justifies the use of a given phrase is also important. This is particularly true for greetings, which in Hausa are complex and varied. For example, the expression “Good morning!” has no simple equivalent; many different phrases and expressions are used, depending on the situation and the status of the people greeting each other or the circumstances of the meeting.

Different types of greetings have specific phrases assigned to them. The response is always positive.

Greeting initiation formulas may take into account the current time of day:

Ina kwana? ‘Good morning’ (lit. how did you pass the night?)	R(espone): Lafiya lau
Barka da safe ‘Good morning’	R: Barka kadai
Barka da rana ‘Good day’	R: Barka kadai
Sannu / Barka da yamma ‘Good evening’	R: Yauwa, sannu / Barka kadai

When the greeter is a guest, the formula *Barka da zuwa* ‘(You are) welcome’ may be added to the response.

Greeting initiation formulas may also take into account circumstances of the meeting:

Sannu / Barka da aiki (greeting at work)	R: Yauwa, sannu / Barka kadai ³
Sannu / Barka da hutawa (greeting while resting)	R: Yauwa, sannu / Barka kadai
Sannu / Barka da ciniki (greeting while trading)	R: Yauwa, sannu / Barka kadai

Sannu (often used interchangeably with *Barka* in extended phrases, as above) has emerged as a modern-day universal greeting, popular among peers and young people. In short-term, occasional contacts, it is often used as the only greeting. The response is *Yauwa, sannu (dai)*.

Specially selected welcome formulas take into account status, age, and official contacts. Among them, the greeting, which is a communication ritual of the Muslim community, is expressed by the phrase *Salamu alaikum*. Response: *Amin, alaika salamu*.

³ This is to note that the greeting with *sannu* cannot be answered with *barka* or vice versa.

In the hierarchical Hausa society, there is a special greeting used to address the ruler, i.e. *Ranka ya dadē* ‘May your life be long’. In contemporary Hausa, it functions as a respectful greeting to a chief or other superior.

Initiation formulas are most often accompanied by expanding formulas, such as

Ina gajiya ‘How are you?’	R: Ba/Babu gajiya
Ina yini? ‘How is the day? How are you doing?’	R: Lafiya, lau

Other formulas to develop conversation are added (they can be used one after the other, depending on the level of familiarity of the interlocutors):

Yaya gida? ‘How is your family?’	R: Gida lafiya/Suna lafiya
Yaya yara? ‘How are your children?’	R: Suna lafiya
Ina labari? ‘What is the news?’	R: Labari sai alheri
Yaya aiki? ‘How is the work?’	R: Aiki da godiya
Yaya ciniki? ‘How is trading?’	R: Alhamdu lillahi

Reference to the type of weather prevalent at that time can also be included, i.e.:

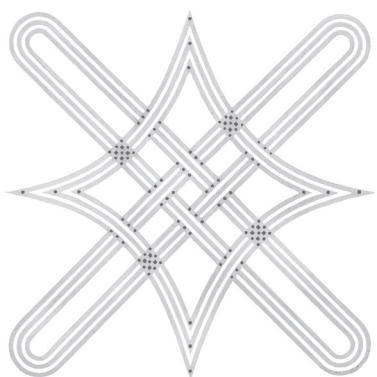
Yaya ruwa? ‘How is the rain?’	R: Ruwa ya yi gyara (lit. the rain has improved)
Yaya zafi (Ina gumi?) ‘How is the heat?’	R: Ai lokacinsa ne (lit. it’s his time)

The phrase *To, madalla* or just *To* ‘Good’ opens closing formulas, such as

To, sai wani lokaci ‘OK. Until another time’	R: Alla ya kai mu ‘May God take us (until that time)’
To, sai an juma ‘See you later’	R: Yauwa, sai an juma
Amin ‘May it be so’	

In some social contexts a long series of greetings may constitute the entire conversation.

A: <i>Salamu alaikum.</i>	Greetings, may I come in?
B: <i>Yauwa, alaika salamu.</i>	Greetings to you.
A: <i>Na zo in gaishe ka.</i>	I came to greet you.
B: <i>Madalla. Barka da zuwa.</i>	Good. You’re welcome.
A: <i>Yauwa!</i>	OK.
B: <i>Ka zo lafiya?</i>	Are you feeling well? (lit. Did you come healthy?)
A: <i>Lafiya kalau.</i>	I am fine.
B: <i>Yaya zaman gari?</i>	What’s the news in the city?
A: <i>Zaman gari da godiya.</i>	Everything is fine in the city.
B: <i>To, madalla. Sai wani lokaci.</i>	OK. Good. Until another time.
A: <i>Yauwa! Sai wani lokaci.</i>	Fine. Until another time.



CHAPTER I

Basic units of the sound system

1.1. Sounds and writing system

The basic concept in analyzing the sound level of any language is the phoneme. It is the smallest unit of sound that makes one word different from another word, as for example in the Hausa words *kama* ‘catch’, *dama* ‘mix up’, *dafa* ‘cook’, *daba* ‘pound floor’.

Phoneme identification is crucial to the communicative function of language, as oppositions between sounds allow us to distinguish words. This is best illustrated by minimal pairs, i.e. words that differ in a single sound and have different meanings. This leads to the conclusion that phonemes must be identified in the language description. In the examples given above, the phoneme status is confirmed for the consonants **k**, **d**, **f**, and **ɓ**.

In the Hausa language, there are more criteria for distinguishing words of the same sequence of consonant and vowel phonemes. These include the level of tones and the length of vowels, which are units enlarging a set of language phonemes, giving a separate phonemic status to long and short vowels, and also distinguishing between the meaning of words based on the differences in their levels of tone (tones).

In the descriptive tradition of Hausa, various conventions of word spelling have developed in order to mark the height of the tone and the length of the vowel. Considering the tone, Hausa has two basic tones: high (H) and low (L). In linguistic works on Hausa, low tone is marked by a grave accent /`/ placed above the vowel (as in *màcè* ‘woman’), while the high tone remains unmarked (*kai* ‘you’ (Sg.))⁴. At the surface level, there is a third tone, the so-called falling

⁴ This well-established convention differs from the common practice in linguistics to mark high tone rather than low tone or to mark both high and low tones as well as other tones distinguished in the language.

tone, often interpreted as a sequence of H + L on a single syllable. It is marked by a circumflex accent, e.g. *dâ* ‘formerly’, *kâi* ‘head’.

As far as the length of the vowels is concerned, the conventions are more diverse, among which the marking of a long vowel by doubling this vowel /aa/ or sign over the vowel are prevailing. There are more differences in the case of combining tone notation and the length of the vowel. In the current work, a long vowel is marked by placing a macron (straight bar) above the vowel, a short vowel remains unmarked. If the tone is additionally marked, the symbol of the tone is placed above the vowel, either short or long, e.g. *dāmā* ‘bother, upset s’o.’, *dāmà* ‘mix up, confuse’, and *dāmā* ‘chance, opportunity, possibility’. Marking the tone and vowel length is common in linguistic works. In publications respecting standard orthography, neither tone nor vowel length distinction is noted, therefore all the above examples are written as *dama*. Similarly, *gāgarà* ‘be impossible for’ and *gāgarā* ‘cut with a blunt instrument’ are in their both variants written as *gagara* in Standard Hausa orthography.

1.1.1. Phonological inventory

The basic phoneme inventory of the Hausa language includes 29 consonant sounds, 3 semivowels, 5 vowels and 2 diphthongs.⁵ According to the orthography corresponding to the standard norm of the language, they have the following notation (the table below correlates the articulatory features of the phonemes, such as place and manner of articulation).

		Labial	Coronal	Palatal	Velar	Labialized	Palatalized	Laryngeal
O	voiceless	(f)	t	c /= č/	k	kw	ky (fy)	
b								
s	voiced	b	d	j /= j/	g	gw	gy	
t								
r	glottalized	ḃ	ḋ	’y	ḵ	ḵw	ḵy	’ /= ʔ/
u								
e	voiceless	f (= /ɸ/)	s	sh			fy (= /ɸy/)	h
n								
t	voiced		z	(j)				
s								
	glottalized		ts /= s’/					

⁵ In descriptions of the Hausa sound system, there is general agreement on the number of phonemes and their sound representation, although tendencies towards change have already been indicated in other studies. The table of distinctive sounds (with minor differences in the way they are presented) is the same in (Newman 2000) and (Jaggar 2001), and it was also presented in this form in (Pawlak 1989).

	Labial	Coronal	Palatal	Velar	Labialized	Palatalized	Laryngeal
S	m	n					
o							
n		l					
o							
r		r					
a							
n		r /= ṛ /					
t	w		y				
s							

Vowels

Short			Long			Diphthongs	
i		u	ī		ū		
e			ē		ō		
	a			ā		ai	au

The orthography, based on the Latin alphabet, uses 21 single characters and 10 digraphs. In this convention, the spelling generally takes into account the distinctness of the consonantal phonemes, with one exception, when the letter **r** is used to spell two phonemes: the flapped /r/ and the trilled /ṛ/.

A combination of two letters representing one sound is used to mark sounds which are characterized by additional palatal articulation (/fy, ky, ƙy/, labial articulation (/kw, gw, ƙw/ or the glottal stop /'y/). The digraph **sh** is used to record the phoneme articulated as /ʃ/.

1.1.2. Consonants

Among the letters representing Hausa phonemes are those that commonly occur in languages, such as /k/, /g/, /d/, /t/, /s/, /z/, /m/, /n/, /l/. Their articulation does not differ significantly from the realization of these phonemes in many languages. The pronunciation of the words given below does not require additional explanations in relation to consonants:

dukà ‘all’	samà ‘sky, heavens’
sanì ‘know’	ganì ‘see’
kāmà ‘catch’	bàrgō ‘blanket’
zānà ‘draw a design or picture’	zama ‘be, become’

Some other Hausa phonemes are typologically uncommon and are characteristic of this language. They are written using modified letters of the basic alphabet

(“hooked” letters). These include /b/, /d/, /k/ (as in *bērā* ‘mouse’, *daya* ‘one’ and *karfī* ‘strength’ respectively). Their distinctive function in the sound system of Hausa is confirmed by the following pairs of words:

bugà ‘hit, beat’	bugà ‘burrow (into something)’
ḍigà ‘pickaxe’	ḍigà ‘pour out in drops’
karī ‘frond of palm tree’	karī ‘sting of a scorpion or bee’

The glottalized sound **k** also occurs as a palatal phoneme /kʲ/, (as in *kʲaurē* ‘door’) and a labial phoneme /kʷ/ (as in *kʷai* ‘egg’). It represents two other series of palatalized and labialized consonants where velars /k/, /g/ and /k/ make triads with the additional (palatal or labial) articulation.⁶ The consonants are frequent in the lexicon and they contrast with their plain counterparts, e.g.:

kārā ‘respect, courtesy’	kʲārā ‘rebuke children’
gārā ‘wedding gifts’	gʲārā ‘repairs’
kāwà ‘strong desire’	kʲāwà name of the bird
karī ‘frond of palm tree’	kʷarī ‘valley’
gandā	gʷandā
kārī ‘smell of baby’s stale urine’	kʷārī ‘strength’

Without a labial equivalent, there is a palatalized phoneme /fʲ/ as in *fʲādā* ‘whip’. The sound is lexically infrequent and is often replaced by its plain counterpart (*fācē* = *fʲācē* ‘blow one’s nose’) that makes the contrast between /f/ and /fʲ/ marginal for the Hausa phonological system.

The glottalized series also includes some other sounds, such as /sʰ/ which is marked by digraph **ts**, e.g. *tsādā* ‘expensiveness’, *kitsō* ‘woman’s hair-do’. The contrast between /s/ and /sʰ/ is manifested in the pair *saurī* ‘speed’ and *tsaurī* ‘hardness (of a subject)’.

As a complement to this series, the symbol /ʔ/ represents a glottalized palatal semivowel.⁷ It occurs rarely in the Hausa lexicon, but these are high frequency words.

⁶ In Hausa dialectal variants, there is a larger set of palatalized and labialized sounds than in SH, which include sw, zw, hw, hy, as in *swākā* (SH *sākā*) ‘weave’, *dwadē* (SH *dadē*) ‘be or last long’, *hwarkō* (SH *farkō*) ‘beginning’, *hyā* (SH *shā*) ‘drink’. In some cases, dialect sounds are accepted in the standard language, e.g. *hwāggā* – plural form of *hōgē* ‘clump of dried earth or dried cement’ or *zwai* – ideophonic qualification of *zākī* ‘sweetness’, i.e. *zākī zwai* ‘very sweet’.

⁷ The phonemic status of /ʔ/ is historically very recent, having developed from the sequence /dʲy/ via /dʲy/, as illustrated by variants *dʲyā* in Western Hausa and *ʔyā* in Standard Hausa (Newman 2000: 393).

'yā 'daughter'	'yam mātā 'girls'
'yā'yā 'children'	'yancì 'freedom'

Referring further to the consonant table, Hausa has two **r** sounds:

- a “tapped r” or “trilled r” (among phonetic symbols it is identified as **ř**) that is produced by tapping or trilling the tongue against the ridge just behind the upper teeth. It occurs in *rahā* /řahā/ ‘pleasant chatting’, *tarā* /tařā/ ‘nine’, *rùbùtū* /řùbùtū/ ‘writing’, *kàràtū* /kàřàtū/ ‘reading’.
- b. the other **r** is called a retroflex flap which is “l-like” sound. It is produced by curling the tongue back, then flipping it forward across the ridge behind the upper teeth, as in *rabā* ‘divide’, *kàrē* ‘dog’, *sarkī* ‘emir’, *harshē* ‘tongue’, ‘language’.

A distinction between the “trilled r” sound (**ř**) and the “flapped r” sound (marked **r**) is not significantly contrastive in language use and the role of the two sounds in distinguishing word meaning based on this feature is minor. Therefore, this distinction is not marked in standard orthography. However, there are few minimal pairs, in which the systemic contrast is confirmed, e.g. /barā/ ‘servant’ and /bařā/ ‘begging’; /kōrē/ ‘drive away’ and /kořē/ ‘dark green’; /farkō/ ‘beginning’, /fařkō/ ‘recover’. The lexical **r** variant is not preserved in some environments, as in the pre-object form *bar* [bař] of the verb *barī* ‘to leave’, which has no final vowel in this position. In the following parts of the book, the opposition /r/ and /ř/ will not be recorded in word notation to stay in accordance with the rules of Standard Hausa.

The set of Hausa consonant phonemes includes the glottal stop. In Hausa orthography its symbol is /’/⁸, e.g. *mā’ānā* ‘meaning’, *sā’ā* ‘hour, time’. In word initial position the glottal stop is not orthographically employed, although in pronunciation it occurs before every initial vowel of a word, i.e. orthographic *abu* = *àbù* = [ʔàbù] ‘thing’, *uku* = *ukù* = [ʔukù] ‘three’.

When glottal stop occurs in pronunciation in the middle of a word, it is spelled with the /’/ sign, e.g. *sā’ā* ‘luck’, *dān’uwā* ‘brother’, *sānā’ā* ‘occupation’, *sana’ō’ī* ‘occupations’, but in words *ōdā* [ʔōdā] ‘order’, *idō* [ʔidō] ‘eye’ the symbol of glottal stop is omitted.

The phoneme /f/ can be realized as a bilabial fricative [ɸ], but it may also be pronounced as [f], [p], [h], depending on dialect, idiolectal preferences or phonological environment. For example, in Kano /f/ before unrounded vowels is typically pronounced as [p] (Newman 2000: 393), which means that there is no phonemic contrast between /f/ and /p/.

⁸ The symbol for a glottal stop in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) is [ʔ].

In some lexical units, we have the free alternation between /f/ and /h/. Variants are recorded in some dictionaries, where the primary form is indicated, e.g. *fùlā* → *hùlā* ‘cap’. In the inventory of sounds, these two consonants are not variants of a single phoneme, because the independent status of /h/ is attested in another part of the lexical resource, as in *jihà* ‘region’, *haskē* ‘light’, *bùhū* ‘sack’ and the contrast is confirmed by minimal pairs, such as *farì* ‘drought’ and *harì* ‘raid, attack’.

The letters **c** and **j** represent the affricates ([tʃ] and [dʒ] respectively. The pronunciation of /j/ differs between the areas of Hausaland, especially in the northern dialects (mostly in Niger), where it is realized as [ʒ].

1.1.3. Glides/Semi-vowels

The semivowels /w/ and /y/, which are contrastive in pairs such as *wâ* ‘elder brother’ and *yâ* ‘elder sister’, may also be contextual variants, depending on the vowels that follow them, e.g. *wuni* = *yini* ‘spend the day’. However, this is a rare alternation in a lexical context, but it does appear in morphophonology (see 2.2.1).

1.1.4. Vowels

Hausa vowels are located in five positions of the articulation diagram, namely i, u, e, o, a. Since they can be long or short, their number is doubled with *ī*, *ū*, *ē*, *ō*, *ā*. Additionally, there are two diphthongs written with the digraphs *ai* and *au*.

Hausa belongs to languages in which vowel length is a feature of a word, determining its meaning, e.g. *gārī* ‘town’, *gārī* ‘flour’; *cikō* ‘materials for filling up a hole’, *cikō* ‘men’s hair style’; *dukà* ‘all’, *dūkà* ‘a blow’.

However, the way a word is used within a broader utterance also influences the contrast between long and short vowels. A vowel occurring in the middle of a word is recognized clearly as either long or short, while the final vowel undergoes additional modifications that neutralize or at least blur this contrast. When a word is pronounced in isolation or as the final member of a larger phrase, the final short vowel is pronounced with an accompanying glottal stop, creating articulation lengthening. For example, *zo!* ‘come here!’ phonetically represents [zōʔ]! A long vowel lacks this additional articulation. The glottal stop may be weakly marked, in which case the pronunciation of the final long and short vowels is very similar.⁹

⁹ A good test for determining the underlying length of final vowels in nouns is to create a nominal sentence with *nē/cē*, e.g. *yārō nē* ‘this is a boy’, *màcè cē* ‘this is a woman’. Then the length of the final vowel is not subject to neutralization.

It is possible to distinguish pairs contrasting phonologically only in final vowel length, e.g. *dāmā* ‘opportunity’ and *dāma* ‘right (hand)’. Proper names derived from concrete nouns often differ from them in that they have a short final vowel, e.g. *bākō* ‘stranger’ and *Bāko* ‘a man’s name’, *tsōhō* ‘old’, *Tsōho* ‘a boy’s name’, *kākā* ‘harvest time’, *Kāka* name given to a girl born during *kākā* (Cowan & Schuh 1976: 20).

1.1.5. Diphthongs

Hausa has two distinct diphthongs: /ai/ and /au/, e.g. *māi* ‘oil, fat’, *sau* ‘foot’. There are two variants of the /ai/ sound: [eɪ] (as in the English word *say*), for example *sai* ‘until’ and [aɪ] (as in *buy*), e.g. *aikī* ‘work’. It’s difficult to establish a rule for their distribution, although it can be assumed that the former follows dental consonants, the latter non-dental consonants. Despite noticeable differences in the pronunciation of this sound in individual words, we can speak of a single, phonologically distinct unit, written as *ai*.

1.2. Tone

Hausa is a tonal language, which means that each syllable has a specific pitch, which is important for coding the meaning of individual words. The two phonologically relevant tones, high (H) and low (L), are distinguished on the basis of their relative pitch difference, without reference to the absolute level of the musical scale. Their phonological status is confirmed in pairs of words that differ only in tonal pattern, e.g.:

bābā ‘indigo plant’	bābā ‘eunuch’
bāba ‘father’	bābā ‘mother’, ‘aunt’

The falling tone occurs in open syllables containing a long vowel, a diphthong, or closed syllables ending in a consonant, e.g. *sā* ‘put’, ‘place’, *yāuwā* – response to standard greetings, *mūtūm* ‘person’, *Ālhāmīs* ‘Thursday’.

Words of more than two syllables can be distinguished by tone, e.g. *gāgarā* ‘be impossible for’, *gāgarā* ‘cut with a blunt instrument’. However, the function of word distinction is not crucial for Hausa tone, as it is in other tonal languages, e.g. Yoruba. There are no more than 100 minimal pairs in the lexical inventory included in R.C. Abraham’s dictionary (1962) (Mukoshy 1978: 317), the vast majority of which are identified by context.¹⁰

¹⁰ Relying only on the segmental representation of consonants and vowels and ignoring the tonal pattern and phonological opposition may lead to communication problems when, for example, the words *kāshī* ‘bone’ and *kāshī* ‘excrement’ are found in an ambiguous context.

Much greater importance should be attributed to the grammatical function of tone in Hausa, its role in morpheme structure and the overall morphology of the language. Characteristic features include variations in the tonal pattern of a lexeme depending on its inflectional and derivational forms. Tone is assigned to a given formation and is not strictly linked to the root of the word.

1.3. Syllable structure

Languages are easily identified by differences in their sound level. Differences are determined by the sounds characteristic of a given language, but also by the accepted or preferred sequences of sounds within words. The basic unit at this level is the syllable. A syllable may consist of the vowel V(owel) alone, but it is usually accompanied by a C(onsonant), two consonants or consonantal clusters. In Hausa, neither a short vowel V nor a long vowel VV (which also includes a diphthong), creates a syllable on its own (the so-called hiatus does not occur in a word). Acceptable syllable patterns derived from the above elements create the following syllable types:

CV, e.g. *dà* ‘with’, *dà-gà* ‘from’, *mà-cè* ‘woman’

CVV, e.g. *wà?* ‘who?’, *yâ-râ* ‘children’, *kâi* ‘head’

CVC, e.g. *sam* ‘not at all’, *dùn-dùm* ‘in complete darkness’

Words usually consist of different types of syllables, but they must always have a consonant onset, as in *bā-yan* ‘after’, *ga-dā* ‘bridge’, *dur-kū-sā* ‘kneel down’, *bù-dur-wā* ‘teenage girl’, *bàr-kò-nō* ‘chili pepper’. Words that begin with a vowel in spelling have a consonantal glottal stop in the onset, e.g. *àmḡānī* /ʔàmḡānī/ ‘usefulness’, *àbù* /ʔàbù/ ‘thing’. *Ā’ā* ‘no’ is realized phonetically as /ʔāʔā/ and begins with a glottal stop.

Internal structure of syllables is a way of categorizing syllables as either ‘heavy’ or light’. The CV syllable type consisting of a short vowel is light. A syllable is considered heavy if it contains a long vowel or a diphthong (CVV), or if it ends in a consonant (a coda), i.e. CVC. Among the syllable types accepted in Hausa, there is no syllable which ends in a consonant and has a long vowel (over-heavy CVVC syllable).

The syllabic structure of the words is broadly correlated with the patterns of Hausa poetry. A specific sequence of long and short syllables creates a rhythmic pattern, or metrical pattern, to which the poem’s author adapts the linguistic material.

1.4. Consonants, vowels and tones in word structure

The distributional features of consonant phonemes are determined by the place they occupy in a syllable and in a word, as well as their accepted juxtaposition with other phonemes.

Hausa tends to have open syllables in word ending. If native words end in a consonant, it is either a liquid (/r/ or /l/) or a nasal consonant (/m/ or /n/). This rule is not followed by loanwords (e.g. *kôś* ‘course’) as well as a distinctive group of words called ideophones (e.g. *tak*, as in *ɗaya tak* ‘just one’, ‘only one’).

At the end of a syllable (and therefore of a word) there are no consonants with complex articulation (glottalized consonants or those with additional palatal or labial articulation).

The full manifestation of the Hausa phonological system and its contrastive relations occurs only at the beginning of syllables (and thus words). Like all other consonants, palatalized and labialized consonants also appear in this position only before vowels and diphthongs, e.g. *kwānā* ‘spend the night’, *bakwài* ‘seven’, *gyārā* ‘repairs’, *kwai* ‘egg’. In the standard orthography, they are noted only before /a/ and /ā/.

There are also contexts in which simple consonants are realized as their variants with additional labial or palatal articulation. This applies to the consonants /b/, /ɓ/, /k/, /k̟/, and /g/ which are pronounced with lips rounded before /o/, /ō/, /u/, and /ū/. Thus in words like *bùhū* ‘bag’, *bōkō* ‘deceit’, *gudū* ‘running’, and *gōrō* ‘kola nut’, these consonants are pronounced [bwùhū], [bwōkwō], [gwudū], and [gwōrō]. Additionally, the consonants /k/ and /g/ are palatalized before /i/, /ī/, /e/, and /ē/. Thus, *bākī* ‘mouth’ would be pronounced [bāk̟yī] and *gidā* ‘compound’ would be [gyidā] (Cowan & Schuh 1976: 16).

Consonant clusters can only appear in the middle of a word and are limited to two consonants, each of which belongs to a different syllable, e.g. *kār-ḡā* ‘receive’, *bāl-bē-lā* ‘cattle egret’, *fam-fò* ‘pump’, *kùn-ku-rū* ‘tortoise’. As in the examples given, the first element of a consonant cluster is most often /r/, /l/, /m/, /n/. This distributional preference may cause conditioned alternations within a word, resulting from ‘inconvenient’ juxtaposition.¹¹

These rules do not apply to geminated consonants, which can appear without restrictions in the middle of a word, e.g. *bukkā* ‘grass hut’, *kāttā* ‘huge’ (PI), *fiffikē* ‘wing’, *dabbā* ‘animal’. Geminates are phonetically realized as long consonants.

¹¹ Due to sequence constraints, the word ‘Africa’ is often pronounced and spelled as Afirka.

1.4.1. Phonological variations and neutralizations

Hausa sounds, distinguished as phonemes, can change their articulatory characteristics in certain contexts. For example, /n/ (closing one syllable) is pronounced as [ɲ] before /y/ (beginning the second syllable), e.g. *hanyǎ* [hanyǎ] ‘road’, *sanyī* [sanyī] ‘coldness’. On the other hand, /n/ preceding velars or semivowel /w/ in this context as well as occurring at the end of a word is pronounced as [ŋ], e.g. *dùṅgū* [duŋgū] ‘stump of an arm’, *kyānwā* [kyānwā] ‘cat’, *wannàn* [wannāŋ] ‘this (one)’, *gidan Audù* [gidanʔaudù] ‘Audu’s house’.

The consonant /n/ is sensitive to the proximity of the consonants /b/, /ɓ/, /f/, and /m/. When /n/ precedes these consonants (on syllable or word boundaries) it is pronounced as /m/, e.g. *dān bàkō* [dāmbākō] ‘the guest’s son’; *gidanmù* [gidammù] ‘our house’. Before the pause, /m/ has the variant /ɲ/, e.g. *mùtùm* [mùtùm] or [mùtɲ] ‘a person’.

In some lexical units, there is an alternation that is phonetically unconditioned. In words of Arabic origin, /k/ is a variant of /ḳ/ if it corresponds to the Arabic consonant /q/. This alternation is noted in the orthography, e.g. *àlkalāmī* or *àlkalāmī* ‘pen’, *wàsikā* or *wàsīkā* ‘letter’; *hàkīkā* or *hàkīkā* ‘surely’.

1.4.2. Distributional features of vowels

While the vowels **a**, **i**, and **u** can appear in various places in a word, both in shorter and longer variants, certain restrictions in distribution are noted for the vowels **e** and **o**. Short /e/ and /o/ very rarely are found in the middle of the word, apart from recent borrowings, e.g. *òtél*, *hèdkwatà*¹². Additionally, the distinction between /ē/ and the diphthong /ai/ as well as the distinction between /ō/ and the diphthong /au/ are often hard to hear. Conventionalized spelling often respects this alternation, e.g. *rainā* = *rēna* ‘malign’, ‘deprecate’, *sōrō* = *sauro* ‘mosquito’.

1.4.3. Tonal pitch and sentence intonation

Tone, considered a feature of the syllable, creates a specific tonal pattern in larger utterance units. At the same time, each utterance has a specific intonation contour, to which the tones also conform. In the Hausa language, there are three intonation patterns distinguished at the sentence level:

- neutral/declarative intonation characterized by an overall downward slope that causes tones later in the sentence to have a lower pitch than equivalent

¹² In these words, the vowel /e/ has a falling tone, which makes it pronounced longer than vowels with a high or low tone in a closed syllable.

tones earlier in the sentence (Newman 2000: 612). In *Mùtùm yā tàfì gidan bàbansà* ‘The man went to his father’s house’ the first syllable with a low tone is pronounced higher than the last syllable with a low tone.

- interrogative intonation, which distinguishes two types of questions. Q-word questions have an intonation similar to declarative (*Wà ya zō* ‘Who came?’), while Yes/No questions are characterized by a raising of the last tone or two tones (the high tone then becomes extra high), as in *Kanà láfì↑yǎ?* ‘Are you (feeling) well?’, *Sunà aiki↑nē?* ‘Are they working?’ (see 16.4.).
- exclamatory intonation, used in greetings. This involves lowering the tone on the last syllable, as in *Sànnu Au↓dù!* ‘Hi, Audu!’, *Nā gaishē kà dālì↓bī* ‘Greetings to you, student!’ (Kraft 1973: 36).

Intonation modifications are also introduced by expressing emphasis, doubt, and reflection. The absolute height of high and low tones may be similar in different parts of the utterance, but contrast, understood as the relative difference in levels between adjacent syllables, is preserved.

Hausa is classified as an unaccented language. A stronger pronunciation of high-pitched syllables may occasionally be noted, but this does not serve the purpose of word differentiation or broader text segmentation. In the pronunciation of multisyllabic words with a uniform tone, no syllable is distinguished, as in *makarantā* ‘school’, *kāsuwōyī* ‘markets’, *bàrkàtài* ‘in a disorderly mess’.

CHAPTER II

Sound alternations and tonal changes in morphological context

Many phonological alternations occur during word transformations as a result of inflectional or derivational processes. A sequence of two consonants in a word may cause the change of one consonant (in Hausa it is the first consonant) under the influence of another. In Hausa, the process commonly known as assimilation can be considered not only in the context of articulatory features of the second consonant, but also in relation to the morphological formation.

2.1. Assimilation as an universal and language specific process

Assimilation most often results in geminated consonants, and in this case, it is called full assimilation. It occurs in the following contexts:

- in pluractional verbs (see 12.4.1.) and in adjectives derived from nouns (see 7.2.2.) where the final consonant of the first syllable (coda consonant) becomes the same as the initial consonant of the next syllable, e.g.:

fàkà ‘lie in wait for’, ‘eavesdrop on’	<i>Plv</i> fàffakà (< *fàkfakà)
bùgà ‘beat’	<i>Plv</i> bùbbugà (< *bùgbugà)
zāfī ‘heat’	zàzzāfā ‘hot’ (< *zāfzāfā)
kārfī ‘strength’	kàkḱārfā ‘strong’ (< *kārkarfā)

In the above-mentioned formations, assimilation is common. Geminates are formed not only by consonants but also by semivowels, e.g.:

wakiltā ‘appoint someone as one’s representation’	<i>Plv</i> wawwakiltā (* < wakwakiltā)
yāfā ‘sow by scattering seeds’	<i>Plv</i> yayyāfā (* < yafyāfā)

However, the final consonant of a reduplicated syllable in pluractionals (and some other formations based on partial reduplication) may behave differently. If the

reduplicated syllable ends in a stop, it changes to **r** /= **ř**/; similar changes occur for the consonants **s** and **z**, as well as **sh** and **j**. The process termed as rhotacism (Newman 2000: 235) may be the only choice for a given formation (e.g. *Plv girgizā* < *giz-gizā ‘shake’; *marmaza* < *maz-maza ‘very quickly’) or is a variant to assimilation resulted in geminates (e.g. *karkàshē* = *kakkàshē* < *kaskàshē ‘kill many’, *firfita* = *fiffita* < *fit-fita ‘go out (many or often)’). In some other verb formatives, assimilation is assigned to grammatical form of the verb. Before one of the suffixes of grade 5 verbs (the so-called causative form), namely *-she* (see 13.4.3.2.), the assimilation applies to the alveolar consonants /t/, /d/, and also /r/ (in the [ř] pronunciation), e.g.: *nā fit-ar dà shī* = *nā fīs-shē shī* ‘I took him out’. In the (few) verbs ending in a consonant that are used before the marker *mà* introducing an indirect object (see 13.4.), the consonant is *-m*, irrespective of its historical source. The verbs themselves are listed among dictionary items with the consonant *-m* and the following preposition *mà*, as in *cim (mà)* ‘catch up with’, *tāsam (mà)* ‘attack’, e.g. *mun tāsam mà kasar nān* ‘we attacked this country’.

2.2. Phonetic processes at a morpheme boundary

Processes related to the contextual realization of phonemes can be conditioned by morphological transformations of the word. They involve consonants, semivowels, and vowels. Contexts in which one phonological unit of the Hausa sound system changes into another phonological unit of this language are strictly defined (see below), while adjacent sounds, not morphologically determined, are not subject to such changes, cf. *sàtā* ‘steal’, but *yā sàc-i àgōgo* ‘he has stolen the watch’ (*yā sāt-i àgōgo), while in the words *tītī* ‘street’, *àkwàtī* ‘box’ the sequence **tī** is preserved.

2.2.1. Palatalization

Palatalization is an active process which occurs at morpheme boundary. According to the rule, the alveolar consonants **s**, **z**, and **t** when followed by a front vowel, either *i*(*i*) or *e*(*e*) palatalize and change to **sh**, **j**, **c** respectively. The voiced stop **d** also palatalize to **j**, but less regularly than in the case of the previously mentioned consonants. This can be illustrated as follows:

yā būsà ‘he blew (something)’	à būs he ‘blowing’
kāzā ‘hen, chicken’	kāj jī ‘chickens’ (Pl suffix - <i>ř</i>)
mōtā ‘car’	mōtō cī ‘cars’ (Pl suffix - <i>ōCř</i>)
yā gādā ‘he inherited’ (he became the heir)	yā gāj jī dūkiyā ‘he inherited a fortune’

The morphological formations in which palatalization occurs most frequently are noun plurals with endings containing initial *-i* or *-e* (see 6.1.), grade 2 verbs (changing verbs) preceding object (see 13.4.2.2.), adjectival past participle (see 7.2.1.), deverbal statives (see 8.2.3.) and some other derivational forms, as in *Bàhaushè* ‘Hausa person’ (< Hausa). The same contexts also affect the semivowel **w**, which palatalizes to **y**, e.g.: *kāsuwā* ‘market’, Pl *kāsuwōyī* (*-ōCī* suffix), *bāwā* ‘slave’, Pl *bāyī* (*-ī* suffix).

Borrowings (earlier from Arabic and neighbouring languages, more recently from English) have changed the nature of palatalization, reducing it largely to a morphophonological process, while lexical contexts such as in *siyāsà* ‘politics’ (Ar.), *zīnārī* ‘gold’ (Ar), *tēlā* ‘tailor’ (Eng), *tītī* ‘street’, *ākwāti* ‘box’ (Yor) are not covered by this process. Taking into account the historical context, the alternations *wuni* = *yini* ‘spend a day’, *zīzā* = *jīzā* ‘buzz, hum of voices’ confirm the change of the rules in the development of Hausa.

Palatalization is also manifested by the lack of contrast between the velar stops /k/, /k̄/, /g/, and their palatalized counterparts before the vowels /i/ and /e/ within a word, as in *kèkè* [kyèkyè] ‘bicycle’, *gēmù* [gyēmù] ‘beard’. However, while the palatalization of alveolars (/s/, /z/, /t/) and the stop /d/ is reflected in the orthography, the contextual palatalization of velar stops (see 1.4.) is not recorded in the orthography.

2.2.2. Syllable modifications as a result of morphological changes

Some grammatical transformations, which involve the addition of a morpheme to the word, affect the structure of the syllable in this word. For example, when a final open syllable with a long vowel is closed in a given morphological formation (after adding a genitive linker in the form of the bound morpheme *-n* or *-r*, see 15.1.1.), its vowel becomes short. In this way, the canonical structure of a closed CVC syllable with a short vowel is preserved, e.g.:

hannū + -n > hannun (nàn) ‘(this) hand’
jākā + -r > jàkar (nàn) ‘(this) bag’

If this process applies to the final vowels /ē/ and /ō/ in nouns, they also shorten to /e/ and /o/ respectively, when a genitive linker *-n* is added, and at the same time their pronunciation changes in both cases to /a/, e.g.:

hōtō ‘photograph’, but hōton yārō [hōtanyārō] ‘a photo of a boy’
kārē ‘dog’, but kàren Audù [kàranaudù] ‘Audu’s dog’

Adding the genitive linker *-n/-r* or a definite article *-̀n/-̀r* to a noun ending in a consonant (usually a word of foreign origin) causes the appearance of an additional vowel /i/ or /u/ in the resulting consonant cluster,¹³ e.g.:

kyandir + -n + sà	>	kyandirinsà ‘his candle’
kāmùs + -n + -tà	>	kāmùsuntà ‘her dictionary’

2.3. Morphophonology and morphotonology

The assimilation described above is obligatory and is marked in the orthography. Furthermore, Hausa also exhibits optional assimilation, which allows for variants with and without assimilation. The spelling standard usually does not record the pronunciation of a consonant assimilated to the following consonant. The phenomenon resulted in full assimilation when the consonant becomes identical with the following consonant occurs in the following contexts:

- in grade 5 verbs (so-called causative verbs) ending in *-ar* (see 13.4.3.2.) before the preposition *dà* preceding the object, e.g. *sayar dà* [sayad dà] ‘sell’,
- in any other form of a word ending in a consonant followed by the preposition *dà*, e.g. *duk dà hakà* [dud dà hakà] ‘nevertheless’,
- in nouns with the genitive particle *-r* before suffixed pronouns (bound genitive pronouns) *-sà*, *-tà*, e.g. *rìgarsà* [rìgassà] ‘his gown’, *gōdīyartà* [gōdīyattà] ‘her mare’.

Assimilation can also be partial, affecting only a specific articulatory feature, such as place of articulation. An example is the consonant /m/, which in pronunciation transforms into /n/ before morphemes beginning with /t/, as in the following formatives:

- in nominal derivation using the suffix *-tā* or its phonological variant *-cī*, e.g. *hùkūmā* ‘governing body’, *hukuncī* ‘verdict, sentence’.
- in verbs derived from nouns with the ending *-tā* (see 12.4.3.), *àzzālùmī* ‘oppressor’, *zāluntā* ‘oppress’ (< *zālumtā).

The assimilation of this kind may occur in the other contexts, as in in *Phv tàntàmbayà* (*tàmtàmbayà) < *tàmbayà* ‘ask, inquire’. This assimilation is noted in the orthography. However, it is not the case of assimilation in nouns

¹³ The definite article *-̀n* (with tone lowering in the preceding syllable) is added to mark definiteness or indicate the already mentioned item (see 10.2.2.). Many borrowings do not accept adding *-n* in any function and the free morpheme *dīn* is preferred, *karas dīn* ‘the very carrots’.

with the genitive particle *-n*, which is pronounced like [-m] on the word boundary, if the next word begins with /m/, /f/, /b/, /ɓ/, e.g. *ɗan bākō* [ɗambākō] ‘visitor’s son’.

2.3.1. *Alternation of root vowels*

Hausa morphology is based on the addition of suffixes and prefixes to the root or stem and generally does not involve changes in the root vowels. However, in some parts of the lexical inventory, there is a symmetrical alternation, which concerns the vowel of the verb and the vowel of its verbal noun counterpart. Vocalic alternations in the root consist of regular correspondences between the mid vowels /ē/ and /ō/ in verbs and the high vowels /ī/ and /ū/ in the corresponding verbal nouns. The following are examples of such alternations, which are result of the historical development of the language and are not an active process. Interpretation of their systemic relevance differs among scholars (Newman 1979: 180):

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Verbal noun</i>
a) dēbā ‘take, fetch’	dībā ‘taking, fetching’
jēfā ‘throw’	jīfā ‘throwing, a throw’
kērā ‘forge, smith’	kīrā ‘forging’
fērē ‘pare’	fīrā ‘paring’
jēmā ‘tan (leather)’	jīmā ‘tanning’
shēkā ‘winnow’	shīkā ‘winnowing’
tsēfē ‘comb out (hair)’	tsīfā ‘combing out’
b) dōkā ‘beat’	dūkā ‘beating’
gōgē ‘rub clean, iron’	gūkā ‘rubbing, ironing’
kōdā ‘sharpen by beating’	kūkā ‘sharpening by beating’
sōkā ‘pierce, stab’	sūkā ‘stabbing, criticism’
sōsā ‘scratch (an itch)’	sūsā ‘scratching (an itch)’
sōyā ‘fry in oil’	sūyā ‘frying, fried meat’

2.3.2. *Tonal processes in adjacent syllables*

Contextual variations also apply to tones. In addition to changes determined by the grammatical formation a given word currently represents, context-dependent changes also occur. Units that undergo such changes are the copula *nē/cē* (see 15.2.) and some other morphemes, which always have a tone opposite to the tone of the preceding syllable. This phenomenon is referred to as tone polarization, as in the following examples with copula: *kauyē nē* ‘this is a village’,

but *bàkō nè* ‘this is a visitor’; *makarantā cè* ‘this is the school’, but *kōfā cē* ‘this is the door’.

Enclitics that take on a tone opposite to that of the preceding syllable, are the demonstrative pronouns *nân/cân* (see 10.2.1.), e.g. *gidan nân* ‘this house’, but *àlbasàr nân* ‘this onion’. Direct object pronouns (see 10.1.1.) also fit this pattern in differentiating low-tone and high-tone pronouns, e.g. *mun jī shī* ‘we heard him’, but *yā kāmā shī* ‘he caught him’.¹⁴

Hausa also has a set of morphemes that carry a ‘floating’ (low) tone that attaches to the immediately preceding syllable. Some of these units have their own (high) tone which is preserved. This refers to the verbal noun marker *ˊwā* (see 13.5.), the postnominal demonstrative *ˊnan* ‘that near you’ and its distal counterpart *ˊcan* ‘those (remote)’ (see 10.2.1.). If the stem to which these morphemes are added ends in L tone, then the floating tone attaches vacuously; if the stem-final tone is high, then the result of the attachment is a surface fall (Newman 2000: 604), e.g.:

rufē ‘close’ + *ˊwā* → *rufēwā* ‘closing’
dāwō ‘return’ + *ˊwā* → *dāwōwā* ‘returning’
jihār + *ˊcan* → *jihār can* ‘that state far away’
zōmon + *ˊnan* → *zōmôn nan* ‘that hare near you’

A definite article (see 10.2.2.) *ˊn/ˊr/ˊn* (m/fem/Pl) also contains this floating (low) tone which attaches the stem-final tone, e.g.: *gidā* ‘house’, *gidân* ‘the house (mentioned earlier)’, *kōfā* ‘door’, *kōfār* ‘the door’. This morpheme is also used to connect a noun with a relative pronoun *dà*, therefore *tākalmā* ‘sandals’ and *riḡā* ‘gown’ when used in the relative clause have the following forms:

tākalmân dà ka sàyā ‘the sandals that you bought’
riḡâr dà ka sàyā ‘the gown that you bought’

Hausa does not have a rising tone corresponding to its falling tone. LH tones on a single syllable, which sometimes develop in intermediate structure as a result of synchronic processes or historical changes, automatically simplify to H or to L depending on the context (Newman 2000: 599).

¹⁴ Taking into account examples in which H-tone pronoun occurs after a preceding H tone (*mun karāncē su* ‘we read them all’), Paul Newman (2000: 478f) distinguishes two sets of object pronouns (strong object pronouns with a high tone and weak object pronouns with a low tone), not as toneless pronouns that take on a tone opposite to that of the last syllable of the verb in the process of polarization.

CHAPTER III

Parts of speech and grammatical categories

3.1. Identifying parts of speech in Hausa

Classifying Hausa words into parts of speech poses problems primarily due to unclear morphological divisions and overlapping criteria for distinguishing one group from another. Traditional descriptions of the Hausa language divide lexemes into three groups: nominals, verbals, and particles (Parsons 1960; Kraft & Kraft 1973). This division is based on an essentially distributive criterion and primarily contrasts nominals (nouns) with verbal lexemes, the basic core of which are verbs. Nominals in Hausa are words that can follow the genitive particle *na/ta* or can attach its short form *-n/-r*, while verbs are distinguished from other classes by their use with tense/aspect/mood (TAM) markers. Particles are other words that do not meet any of the above criteria.

This three-way division, however, does not clearly classify the Hausa lexical inventory, nor is it exhaustive. Because not only verbs but also certain other words that do not accept conjugational markers function as predicates (*àkwai* ‘there is/are’), grammatical descriptions classify them as verbals, not particles. On the other hand, some adverbial lexemes can follow a genitive particle, when they meet criteria for nouns, as the word *yànzù* ‘now’ in a book title (*Làbàrù na dâ dâ na yànzù* ‘Stories of the past and present’).

In light of distributional criteria, the classes of nouns and verbs are not entirely distinct. So-called verbal nouns, on the one hand, exhibit many nominal features, and on the other, they are incorporated into the verb conjugation system and accept tense-aspect-mood (TAM) markers (see 13.5.). Systemic descriptions of language distinguish all ‘subclasses’ of nominals as independent parts of speech (adjectives, adverbs, numerals, and pronouns), based primarily on their syntactic features, but also taking into account semantics. Their unusual representations or characteristic uses are often noted in the dictionaries, e.g. *gàske* is classified as an adverb ‘truly, really’, but in this function it is preceded by the preposition

dà ‘with’, which is generally associated with nouns. Other nominal attributes of this word concern its use in the genitive construction, both as the first and second constituent, e.g. *dà gāsken gaskiyā* ‘the honest to goodness truth’, *yawān gāske* ‘in great numbers’ (Newman 2007). However, the syntactic features of Hausa words determine their part-of-speech representation, as in *kàðan nē dàgà cikinmù sukà zō* ‘few of us came’ where *kàðan* fills the nominal slot, whereas in *àbù kàðan* ‘a tiny thing’ it is used as an adverb.

Very often it is the semantic features that determine the distinctiveness of word groups, irrespective of their syntactic parameters. An example of the systemic differences between Hausa and many other languages is the encoding of meanings commonly considered adjectival with words such as *kyāu* ‘goodness, beauty’, which have syntactic features of nouns, e.g. *tanā dà kyāu* ‘she is beautiful’ (lit. she is with beauty). Similarly, the verb phrase *ya tsūfa* ‘he is old’ (lit. he became old) has an ‘adjectival’ meaning coded on verbs.

A group of words that are not covered by traditional divisions into parts of speech are ideophones. Compared to other Hausa words, ideophones are distinguished by their phonological distinctiveness, including phonotactics, and special intonational features. Above all, however, they function as vocal representations of visual, auditory, or other sensory impressions, e.g. *dūngum* ‘entirely, completely’, *zigidir* ‘stark naked’, *shēkēkē* ‘contemptuously’, *bagā-bàgā* ‘in large chunks (usually of solid foods or fruits)’ (Newman 2000: 251f). They function to modify verbal action or state when used as adverbs (see 8.3.) or to indicate features of a noun when used adjectivally (see 7.3.), while others are nouns (which is confirmed by the possibility of their use with the verb *yi* ‘to do’). Examples:

yā rufē kōfar ruf ‘he close the door thick’,
yā tsūfa tukuf ‘he has become very old’, ‘he has aged strikingly’
kūnun yā yi kauri kirtif ‘gruel is thick (lit. gruel did [its] thickness high)’
mai baki balam-balam ‘eloquent person’ (lit. someone with a balam-balam mouth)
yā yi cūkū-cūkū yā sāmi aikī ‘he got a job through the back door’
 (lit. he did *cūkū-cūkū* he got the job)
mun yi kàcibis dà sū ‘we unexpectedly ran into them’ (lit. we did *kàcibis* with them)

Among words that are distinguished by uniformity in terms of morphological features, semantics and syntactic contexts, there is a group of words termed as *Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality* (ANSQ), as proposed by F.W. Parsons (1955). They have a common canonical shape, i.e. they are disyllabic, have a heavy first syllable, either CVC or CVV, end in *-ī*, and have a H-H tonal pattern. These are nouns indicating the qualities of touch, taste, size, strength, e.g. *nauyī* ‘heaviness,

light', *sāukī* 'lightness' (see Appendix No 3). Common morphosemantic criteria make them a sub-class of nouns that also shares the same derivational strategies, creating derived adjectives (see 7.2.2.), i.e. *kàkkarfā* 'strong', *karfāfā* 'strengthen' respectively (*karfī* 'strength') and derived verbs (see 12.4.3.), i.e. *fàdàdā* '(to) broad' (< *fādī* 'width'). For these reasons, in descriptions of Hausa grammar they most often appear together with adjectives and derived verbs.

The division of words into parts of speech will be the basis for organizing the material presented in the following chapters of this book. The most attention will be devoted to two main word classes: nouns and verbs in their most complete set of grammatical categories. Another group of words, crucial to the communicative function of Hausa, deserves separate treatment. This is the subclass of words that form non-verbal predicates. These words operate primarily in oral, direct communication and have many contextual references. They constitute a distinct grammatical subsystem that ensures basic communication and simultaneously contribute to the set of rules within the Hausa grammatical system.

It is impossible to transfer the description of the syntactic and semantic features of Hausa words to the practical use of this language without taking into account the high degree of idiomaticity of Hausa linguistic structures, which involves the use of phraseological equivalents of individual lexical units known from other languages (or vice versa). Therefore, *ci nāsarā* 'be victorious' in literal translation is 'eat victory' (see 11.3.) and the question *Înā ruwankà?* does not mean what the phrase contains in its literal translation (i.e. where is your water?), but is equivalent to 'What concern is of yours?'.

Nevertheless, the idiomaticity of many linguistic structures means that they are built according to the systemic rules of the language. Their contextual meaning is established through communication, which carries cultural values and experiences and is evidence of different modes of conceptualization.

3.2. Grammatical categories

The grammatical categories of the language are best identified by surface exponents, which mark oppositions essential to the system and obligatorily enforce their use to express meaning. For the Hausa language, the best described categories are gender and number for nouns (see Chapters V and VI) as well as tense/aspect/mood for verbs. Due to the uniform conjugation pattern (see 14.1.), the categories expressed in the verb are considered as variants of this system, not as independent cross-cutting categories. A characteristic feature of the language is the differentiation of verbs by grades, which reflects categories belonging

to grammatical structure (especially the category of transitivity), as well as categories related to semantics (direction of the action, state of the action such as its completion, or the evaluation of its effects).

The grade system is not a grammatical category in itself, as verbs do not decline through seven grades but appear in specific grade forms. There are three basic variants (primary grades), among which the form that is basis for further derivations can be identified (with few exceptions to this rule). Very few verbal roots are represented in all grades, and for a few, one can attempt to find a complete representation, as in the case of the verb *bùgā* ‘hit, beat’, which in its base form is a grade 2 verb (see 13.4.2.2.). Taking into account the grammatical modifications and the resulting semantic extensions, this verb appears in the following derivational forms (some of them are contextual variants of a phraseological nature):

bugà ‘print, publish’ *bugà jàrdà* ‘print a newspaper’
bùgā ‘hit, beat (person, animal)’ *yā bùgē nì* ‘he hit me’
bùga ‘blow (i.e. the wind)’ *iskā tā bùga* ‘the wind blew’
bugè ‘defeat’ *cīwò yā bugè nì* ‘illness incapacitated me’
bugar ‘knock (person) over’ *yā bugar dà nī* ‘it (moving animal) knocked me over’
bugō ‘beat (with direction)’ *sun bugō yārò* ‘they beat up the boy’
 (= ‘they brought in a beaten boy’)
bùgu ‘be drunk’ *yā bùgu* ‘he is drunk’

This differentiation indicates the potential flexibility of the verbal system in expressing grammatical and semantic relations in sentence structure.

Some categories can be expressed using analytic constructions, among which the names of body parts are grammaticalized to express other meanings. Examples include the use of the noun *kāi* ‘head’ as an exponent of reflexives (see 10.1.5.), therefore *zātà kulà dà kântà* ‘she will take care of herself’ (lit. she will take care of her head). Many other body-part names express spatial and temporal relations (*bāyā* ‘back’, *bāyan* ‘after, behind’, see 15.3.2.), and the word *jūnā* ‘other’ indicates reciprocals (see 10.1.6.), as in *kù tàimàkì jūnankù* ‘you (Pl) should help one another’.

As for Hausa nouns, morphological exponents are assigned to gender and number, while nouns are not declined by case in the sense of an inflectional category. However, there are many strategies for expressing relations corresponding to the expression of case using morphological exponents, although these morphemes are sometimes ‘out of place’. An example is the expression of the Genitive case using the genitive particle *-n/-r*, which is attached to the first, not the second, member of such a genitive construction, e.g. *gida-n sarkī* ‘emir’s

house' (lit. house-of emir). The Instrumental case is expressed by a prepositional phrase with *dà* 'with', e.g. *dà wukā* 'with a knife'. The function of expressing case is also performed by gender/number agreement between a noun (phrase) and the copula *nē/cē* (see 15.2.) in focus phrases placed in sentence-initial position (see 16.2.). Therefore, the sentence *Kanò cē mukà ganī* means 'it was **Kano** that we saw', while *Kanò nē mukà gan shì* 'it was **in Kano** that we saw him'.¹⁵

A characteristic feature of the Hausa language is the change of the final vowel of the verb before the indirect and the direct object (for this reason, the grade 2 verbs are termed as changing verbs). This syntactically determined change, which is in fact an indication of the syntactic function of the following object (corresponding to the distinction between Accusative and Dative), (see Zima 1972).

The case is quite clearly manifested in pronouns, which change depending on their syntactic function in sentence. The separate forms function to express the so-called independent pronouns and forms of direct and indirect object (see 10.1.).¹⁶ Pronominal (2Sgm) form *kai* 'you' changes to *kà/ka* in the function of direct object (Accusative), *makà* in the function of indirect object (Dative).

Categories can be implemented using surface exponents or construction types. In addition to categories that occur widely in languages (such as gender, number), there are also those that are rare or realized through distributional constraints on words or entire classes. A category that distinguishes Hausa from other languages is the morphological expression of plurality of action, realized through verb forms known as Pluractionals (see 12.4.1.)¹⁷ e.g. *sàssàuka* < *sàuka* < 'get down', *gargàsā* = *gaggàsā* < *gasā* 'roast'.

Some categories are realized through a limited number of syntactic contexts in which words can appear. For example, there are restrictions on the use of spatial prepositions (*à*, *zuwā*, *dàgà*, see 15.3.1.) directly before nouns denoting a person. In coding spatial relations, the locative goal must be indicated, as a person does

¹⁵ A small number of Hausa nouns change the ending when it is used in a locative function (usually after a preposition). They can be said to realize the locative case through alternative forms, e.g. *à ka* 'on the head', *à wutsi* 'on the tail' (*kāi* 'head', *wutsiyā* 'tail' (see 15.3.)). This is not a productive category in contemporary language.

¹⁶ Many pronoun forms depend on the linear structure of the sentence. Pronouns corresponding to the accusative case (direct object) but appearing after the preposition *dà* always have an independent form, not an object pronoun form, resulting from their syntactic function, e.g. *yā sanar dà shī* 'he informed him', *yā mātā dà shī* 'he forgot it'. Furthermore, after the irregular verb *bā* 'give' the indirect object pronoun takes the form of a direct object pronoun, e.g. *yā bā shī kudī* 'he gave him money' (not **yā bā masā kudī*).

¹⁷ This is a category that is realized in a similar way, among others, in Polish (see Pawlak 2009).

not designate a locative space. Therefore, ‘from the emir’ cannot be translated as **dàgà sarkī*, but an additional spatial exponent should be used to determine the place (*dàgà wajen sarkī* ‘from emir’s place’).

3.3. Grammar across systemic rules: Consonantal framework of the demonstrative and personal pronouns

The two groups of words representing pronouns (demonstrative and personal, respectively) are characterized by a significant diversity of their forms and functions, creating subsystems for encoding grammatical information. With this diversity, a small number of phonological elements are preserved in all variants of these forms within each group. Within the demonstrative pronouns, often termed as determiners,¹⁸ these are the consonants **n* and **t*,¹⁹ which are the basis for indicating proximity and distance (see Jaggar & Buba 1994). As a result of the grammaticalization processes (see Pawlak 1994), gender oppositions also developed in many grammatical formations (e.g. the genitive linker, in which *na* refers to masculine and plural forms, *ta* to feminine forms, see 15.1.2. or copula *nē/cē*, see 15.2.). Phonologically conditioned changes in the historical development of the language resulted in the substitution of *t > c* (*nân* and *cân* ‘here’ and ‘there’ respectively) or *t > r* (as in short genitive linker *-n/-r*, see 15.1.1.).

As for personal pronouns, despite a high degree of alternation in grammatical forms (as, for example, in person indicators of TAM markers, see 14.1.), particular persons are represented in them by the same consonant elements, i.e. (Skinner 1982: 38):

1 st person	n, m		
2 nd person	k		
3 rd person	y, s		
	t		
impersonal form	’		
For example:	nī ‘I’	nā zō ‘I came’	zân zō ‘I will come’
	itā ‘she’	tā zō ‘she came’	zātā zō ‘she will come’

¹⁸ The term determiners covers the functions of the demonstratives (this, that) and captures some other functions as well, such as referentiality or definiteness.

¹⁹ These phonological elements (among some other ones) have been specified as peculiar to the common Chadic system of determiners and they are probably related to common Afroasiatic evidence (Schuh 1983: 158).

CHAPTER IV

Non-verbal sentences

In Hausa, many types of sentences can be created with nonverbal elements that function as predicates. Most often, such structures are equivalent to sentences with the verb ‘to be’ in other languages. Hausa does not have a direct equivalent for the verb ‘to be’ in English or many other languages. The variety of non-verbal sentences is followed by various segmental exponents of this function that reflect semantic differences within these types of structures.

4.1. Sentences with copula

Copula is a word used to link a subject with a predicate. In Hausa it has the form *nē* when agreeing with items that are masculine singular or plural and *cē* when agreeing with items that are feminine singular (see 15.2.). Gender/number variation is accompanied by the polarization of the tone, which is opposite to that of the preceding tone, i.e.:

- a. yārò *nē* ‘it’s a boy’ b. yārinyà *cē* ‘it’s a girl’ c. yārā *nē* ‘they’re boys’

Nē/cē, which is translatable by the English verb ‘to be’, is not a verb in Hausa. Commonly referred to as copula, it is also termed a stabilizer (Newman 2000: 545) or an identifier (Cowan, Schuh 1976: 47) or simply the particle *nē/cē* (see 15.2.). It is used without preverbal prefixes of conjugation (TAM markers, see 14.1.). The above structures represent identificational sentences (‘to be someone/something’) in which copula follows the noun and marks its gender/number category.

The identificational sentence often fills the focus slot being a syntactic position located at the beginning of the sentence to emphasize the focused element (see 16.2.), e.g.:

yārò nē mukà gan shì ‘it was the boy we saw’
yārinyà cē mukà gan tà ‘it was the girl we saw’

Nē/cē occurs in equational sentences in which both the subject and the predicate are used²⁰ when the predicate is either a noun (nominal phrase), such as ‘John is a teacher’, or an adjective. In the latter case, the structure represents an attributive sentence (John is tall).

Audù mālāmī nē ‘Audu is a teacher’
Mātarsà dōguwā cē ‘his wife is tall’

The copula follows the two elements of the equational sentence. In some instances, it may be placed between them, e.g.:

Gidā nē wannàn ‘this is a compound’

Since non-verbal sentences (including sentences with a copula) are common in oral communication, where there is a possibility of referring to the situational or narrative context, demonstrative pronouns (see 10.2.1.) and personal pronouns often appear in structures with *nē/cē*, e.g.:

wannàn littāfi nē ‘this is a book’
mū dālibai nē ‘we are students’

A rather peculiar use of the copula *nē/cē* can be found in interrogative sentences with the pronouns *who?* and *what?* The pronouns have the form **wānē nē** m (**wācē cē** f, **su wānē nē** Pl) and **mēnē nē**, respectively. These are the longer forms of the pronouns *wā* ‘who?’ and *mē* ‘what?’, extended by a double copula (differentiated according to the gender of the questioned referent). Thus,

mēnē nē wannàn? ‘what is this?’
wānē nē mālāmīn? ‘who is the teacher?’
su wānē nē? ‘who are they?’

Sentences expressing identification and equation are negated using the discontinuous marker **bā ... ba**, which encompasses the negated element. *Nē/cē* is

²⁰ As a rule, the copula cannot be omitted in a sentence, although such omissions do occur in some structures of fixed phrases, as in *inā sūnankā?* ‘What (lit. where) [is] your name? *Sūnāna Audù* ‘my name [is] Audu’ or in a proverb *mātar mutūm kabārinsà* ‘a man’s wife [is] his destiny’ (lit. his grave).

placed after the second element of the negation (*ba*) and thus in the last position in the sentence.

b̃ littāfī **ba** nē ‘(this) is not a book’
b̃ kujērā **ba** cē ‘(this) is not a chair’
 wannān **b̃** āllō **ba** nē ‘this is not a blackboard’
 sū **b̃** dālībāi **ba** nē ‘they are not students’

An alternative to the copula *nē/cē* is the fixed phrase **kē nan** (invariable for number and gender). Often used in direct discourse, it functions as an element of linguistic pragmatics, adding the notion of certainty and undeniability. It often appears at the end of a sentence. In arithmetic calculations, it is the only variant of the copula, e.g.:

hālin yārā **kē nan** ‘that’s just the way kids are’
 biyar dā ukū takwās **kē nan** ‘five and three is eight’

4.2. Non-verbal constructions with continuous TAM markers

The equivalent of ‘to be’ in predicates containing a locative phrase (which may be a single noun designating a place, space, area) is a special type of non-verbal sentences involving continuous markers of the verb conjugation pattern (see 14.1.2.).

sunā nān ‘they are here’
 yanā gidā ‘he is in the compound/at home’
 Mammān yanā gidā ‘Mamman is at home’

This paradigm also occurs in constructions expressing other meanings of ‘to be’ and the meaning of ‘to have’. Its complete set as used in the locative construction is given below:

Singular	Plural
1. inā nān ‘I am here’ 2m. kanā nān ‘you (m) are here’ 2f. kinā nān ‘you (f) are here’ 3. yanā nān ‘he is here’ 3. tanā nān ‘she is here’ Imp. anā nān ‘one is here’	1. munā nān ‘we are here’ 2. kunā nān ‘you (PI) are here’ 3. sunā nān ‘they are here’

Similarly to the conjugation pattern of a predicate coding an action, such as *yanà tàfīyā* ‘he is traveling’ (*tàfīyā* ‘journey, trip, traveling’) (see 14.1.2.), all sentences formed with these person-aspect markers do not have a verb, and the meaning ‘to be (in)’ is encoded in the continuous TAM markers (= ‘to be in travelling’ for action predicate).²¹ Following syntactic rules, the substitution of the continuous TAM marker for the relative continuous TAM markers in certain contexts is required (see 14.1.3.), i.e.:

yanà cikin gidā? ‘is he in the compound/at home?’

wā **yakè** cikin gidā? ‘who is in the compound/at home?’

Markers of continuous also form the basis of other types of non-verbal sentences. These include possessive construction, in which the complement is a noun (the possessed object) or its corresponding pronoun with the preceding preposition *dà* ‘with, together with’, e.g.:

yanà dà àlkalāmī ‘he has a pen’

tanà dà alƙalumà ‘she has pens’

Mammàn yanà dà rīgā ‘Mamman has a gown’

yanà dà shī ‘he has it’

tanà dà sū ‘she has them’ (pens)

Mammàn yanà dà ita ‘Mamman has it’ (lit. her)

Yet another nonverbal construction that uses continuous TAM markers to encode the meaning of ‘to be’ is the construction expressing the meaning ‘to be a/some’ (e.g.: big, good, beautiful, etc.). Structurally, it maintains the sequence of elements of the possessive structure, in which the complement (used after the preposition *dà*) is a noun denoting a feature, quality, value, etc. (such as height, goodness, beauty), e.g.:

tsādā (f) ‘expensiveness’

girmā (m) ‘bigness, size’

ƙarfī (m) ‘strength’

ƙibā (f) ‘fatness, obesity’

yanà dà tsādā ‘it is expensive’

bishiyā tanà dà girmā ‘the tree is tall’

Audù yanà dà ƙarfī ‘Audu is strong’

Hālīmā tanà dà ƙibā ‘Halima is fat’

In the corresponding negative sentences the markers only to some extent overlap with the negative continuous markers (see 14.1.2.). This is the case with the locative construction, in which a single marker *bā* preceding the pronominal element follows the negative continuous paradigm (see Appendix No 9), e.g.:

munā nān ‘we are here’

bā mā nān ‘we are not here’

²¹ Generally, in locative constructions with a person-aspect marker, nouns naming persons are not used unless this noun is contextually interpreted as a space-time exponent, e.g. *inā yārō à lōkàcīn* ‘I was a boy at that time’ (Jaggar 2001: 470).

Here are examples of using these forms in sentences:

yārā sunā nân ‘the boys are here’ yārā **bā sà** nân ‘the boys are not here’
 dōkī yanā nân ‘the horse is here’ dōkī **bā yà** nân ‘the horse is not here’
 yārā sunā gidā ‘the boys are at home’ yārā **bā sà** gidā ‘the boys are not at home’
 Lādi tanā cikin makarantā ‘Ladi is at school’ Lādi **bā tà** cikin makarantā ‘Ladi is not at school’

The negative paradigm of the construction expressing possession (including the construction encoding features, qualities, etc.) has developed into a specific pattern, which is as follows:

Singular	Plural
1. bā ni dà shī ‘I don’t have it’ 2m. bā ka dà shī ‘you (m) don’t have it’ 2f. bā ki dà shī ‘you (f) don’t have it’ 3. bā shi dà shī ‘he doesn’t have it’ 3. bā ta dà shī ‘she doesn’t have it’ Imp. bā a dà shī ‘one doesn’t have it’	1. bā mu dà shī ‘we don’t have it’ 2. bā ku dà shī ‘you don’t have it’ 3. bā su dà shī ‘they don’t have it’

Examples: **bā shi** dà kuđī ‘he has no money’
bā ni dà awākī ‘I don’t have goats’
 Hālīmà **bā ta** dà Kibà ‘Halima is not fat’

4.3. Existential sentences

The non-verbal predicate *àkwai* has many functions, but it is basically admitted as an exponent of existence to expresses the meaning ‘there is/there are’. It is placed at the beginning of a sentence, but can also constitute a sentence on its own (if it is the answer to the question: is there (X)?). *Àkwai* is invariant for number and gender, e.g.:

Àkwai kùjèrū nân? ‘Are there any chairs here?’
 Ī, àkwai. ‘Yes, there are.’
 Àkwai kāsuwā à gārī? ‘Is there a market in the town?’
 Ī, àkwai. ‘Yes, there is.’

If *àkwai* occurs with a pronoun, it is a direct object pronoun with a low tone (L) (see 10.1.1.), e.g.:

àkwai **sù** ‘they are (somewhere)’

àkwai **tà** ‘she is (somewhere)’

The negation of *àkwai* is a lexical marker having the form *bābù* or *bâ* ‘there is no’, also unchanged when followed by nouns or pronouns, e.g.:

àkwai fensirōrī? ‘are there any pencils?’

ā’ā, bābù fensirōrī ‘no, there are no pencils’

àkwai tābā? ‘are there any cigarettes?’

ā’ā, bâ tābā ‘no, no cigarettes’

Similarly to *àkwai*, *bābù* can form a sentence on its own (if the noun is known from the context), e.g.:

àkwai fensirōrī? ‘are there any pencils?’

ā’ā, bābù ‘no, there aren’t (any)’

If *bābù* appears with a pronoun, it is an independent pronoun (see 10.1.), e.g.:

bābù **sù** ‘there are none’ (‘they are not there’)

bābù **ita** ‘she is not there’

The variant *bâ* does not occur on its own; the sentence is complemented by a noun or a pronoun. The latter takes the form of a direct object pronoun with a high tone (H), e.g.:

àkwai fensirōrī? ‘are there any pencils?’

bâ **su** ‘there are none’

àkwai tābā? ‘are there any cigarettes?’

bâ **ta** ‘she is not there’

Àkwai is a high-frequency word in Hausa texts, both spoken and written, in which semantic derivations extend the prototypical understanding of existence.²² For example, the structure consisting of *àkwai* plus a pronoun followed by *dà* plus noun denoting quality (see 4.2. above) may be used to express adjectival

²² In modern language, *àkwai* is the subject of creative use and a source of new derivations. The formative *mài àkwai*, in which *mài* expresses ‘the owner or possessor of’, was created as an equivalent of ‘rich, wealthy person’, ‘the one possessing a lot of money’.

meanings, and this construction is more marked and expressive than the normal possessive constructions, e.g. (Newman 2000: 179):

àkwai shì dà wǎyō ‘he is very clever’ (lit. there is him with cleverness)

An alternative exponent of an existential meaning is *dà*, as in *dà kudĩ* ‘there is money’. Its use is preferred in short statements and in the context of spoken rather than written language. *Dà* is the same morpheme as the preposition *dà* ‘with’; therefore, the phrase *dà kudĩ* ‘there is money’ is semantically equal to ‘with money’ when used in a very specific context.²³

One more meaning included in the notion ‘to be’ is coded by a non-verbal predicate in Hausa. This is *gǎ* as an exponent of ‘here is/are’; ‘there is/are’, which is used in presentational sentences. Its main function is to identify a referent in direct conversation when this referent can be pointed out. It justifies the semantic derivation from an imperative of the verb *ga(nĩ)* ‘see’ plus a noun (phrase) (Newman 2000: 181), e.g. *gǎ yāròn* ‘here is the boy’, *gǎ tsōhuwā nān* ‘here is an old woman right here’, *gǎ kōfā* ‘here is the door’.

The most common context for using *gǎ* is when answering the question ‘where is X’, accompanied by an indication of the object (person, item) the question is about. If a pronoun is used in the answer, it represents the high-tone direct object set (see 10.1.2.).

Examples: inā Audù? ‘where is Audu?’
 gǎ shi cân ‘he is there’, ‘there he is’
 inā littāfī dà fensir? ‘where is the book and pencil?’
 gǎ su nān ‘they are there’, ‘there they are’

The phrase *gǎ ta nan* ‘here it is’, used with the feminine pronominal marker *ta* has a special function in certain pragmatic situations (Pawlak & McIntyre 2019), (see 5.4.). The phrase can add additional meaning to a statement as ‘see if my words don’t come true’. The extended form *gǎ ta (nan) gǎ ta nan* is used by storytellers as an introductory formula.

²³ *Àkwai* may occur in a sequence with *dà*, therefore *dà àkwai kudĩ* ‘there is money’ is more expressive statement than *dà kudĩ* ‘there is money’.

4.4. The paradigm ‘to go (somewhere)’, ‘to go to’, ‘to be off’

A special type of non-verbal sentence is the structure expressing the meaning ‘to go (somewhere)’, ‘to go to’, ‘to be off’, which has a distinct conjugational paradigm. It is expressed by a falling-tone TAM-element *zâ* and a H-tone pronoun, immediately followed by the locative goal. This construction has no verbal element. In grammars, it is presented as a distinct conjugational pattern, the Allative (Newman 2000: 585; Jaggar 2001: 197f). The full paradigm, illustrated with *cân* ‘(over) there’ is as follows:

Singular	Plural
<i>zâ ni cân</i> ‘I am going there’	<i>zâ mu cân</i> ‘we are going there’
<i>zâ ka cân</i> ‘you (m) are going there’	
<i>zâ ki cân</i> ‘you (f) are going there’	<i>zâ ku cân</i> ‘you (Pl) are going there’
<i>zâ shi cân</i> ‘he is going there’	
<i>zâ ta cân</i> ‘she is going there’	
<i>zâ a cân</i> ‘one is going there’	<i>zâ su cân</i> ‘they are going there’

The structure is commonly used in colloquial speech, in short sentences, including questions, e.g.:

zâ shi kâsuwā ‘he is going to the market’
inā zâ ka? ‘where are you going?’, ‘where are you off to?’
zâ ni gidā ‘I am going home’

Although translations often convey the meaning of ‘to go’ in the future tense, it can refer to the present, past, or future time, e.g. *dā kin zō zâ mu kâsuwā* ‘as soon as you come we’ll be off to market’ (Jaggar 2001: 199).

4.5. Expressing the meaning ‘to be’ and ‘to have’ beyond established counterparts

Strategies in rendering the meaning ‘to be’ in Hausa not only include lexical equivalents but also take into account some structural elements in which the meaning ‘to be’ (in its specific conceptual sense) is encoded. These strategies which may be interpreted in terms of conceptualization refer to verbs expressing state or action. When used in the completive aspect (see 14.1.1.) they are

equivalents of ‘being’, e.g. *nā zō nan* ‘I was there’ is in fact the statement ‘I came there’, *mun zamā à cān* ‘we were there’ in literal translation is ‘we stayed/lived there’. The verbal predicate may also have a future form, e.g. *zān zō nan kārḡē gōmā* ‘I will be there at 10 o’clock’ (lit. I’ll get there at 10 o’clock).

This strategy of using verbs to code the notion identified as ‘being’ in other languages may be regarded as a stylistic feature of the Hausa language. Verbs in this function are used in conjugation forms other than the continuous. The verbs that are used in this function are *tsayā* ‘stay’, *kwāntā* ‘lie’, *zō* ‘come’, *zaunā* ‘sit’, ‘sit down’, *zama* ‘become’.

With reference to some intransitive verbs used in the completive, the meaning ‘to be in a given state’ is coded through a verbal paradigm ‘come to be in a given state’, e.g.: *nā gāji* ‘I am tired’ (lit. I became tired), *nā bugu* ‘I am drunk’ (lit. I became drunk).

Verbal structures are also used to express ‘adjectival’ meanings (such as ‘be good’, ‘be wide’, ‘be numerous’), but only when the predicate is expressed through the phrasal verb *yi* ‘do’ and a quality noun (*kyāu* ‘goodness’, ‘beauty’; *fādī* ‘width’, ‘breadth’; *yawā* ‘quantity’). The sentence is in the Completive, but its semantic reading is present or past, e.g. (Cowan & Schuh 1976: 166):

yāriyā **tā yi** kyāu ‘the girl is pretty’ (lit. did beauty)

mutānē **sun yi** yawā ‘there are a lot of people’ (lit. people did abundance)

Verbal exponents that carry the meaning ‘to be’ (in the sense of ‘being a result of an event’ or ‘coming to be a state’, ‘becoming’) are also involved in a special type of multiverb constructions (Pawlak 2007) that form complex predicates. In the case of the two verbs, either both are in their finite forms or the second constituent is nominalized; however, their meaning is a composition of the two notions. The meanings related to the notion ‘to be’ coded with the verbs *yi* ‘do’, *zō* ‘come’ or *zama* ‘become’ may have special clarification related to the time, sequence of events, aspectual relation, which are expressed with the main verb, as in *nā dadē nā yi à cān* ‘I have been there for a long time’, *nā tabā zuwā nān* ‘I’ve already been there’ (see 16.3.1.).

A special type of multiverb construction is that consisting of the verb *kasāncē* ‘become’, ‘happen’, which adds the idea of ‘it was, it happened that’ to the main verb, e.g. (Newman 2007: 110), as in *yā kasāncē inā rashin lāfiyā à lōkacin* ‘it was/happened that I was sick at that time’.

The verb *kasāncē* is often used in specialized texts, including scientific texts, where it is not only part of a complex predicate, but also appears as a single lexical equivalent of the meaning ‘to be’, as in *gàskiyā nē cēwā aurē yā kasāncē*

dàgà cikin dàbī'ū na ɗan Adām 'it is true that marriage belongs to (is among) the traits of a human being'. The verb *kasàncē* replaces non-verbal structures even in common language; therefore, *zân kasàncē gidā à karfè bakwàì* 'I will be at home at seven' is an accepted form of the statement.²⁴

Similarly, the meaning 'to have' overlaps with other meanings that render the idea of 'having' through the notions related to 'coming to a state', 'becoming', 'being a result of an action or a state'. Therefore, 'to have' may be contextually interpreted as 'to obtain, to get', as in the question *Kā sāmē shì?* 'do you have it?' (lit. did you get it?) and the answer *Ī, nā sāmù = Ī, nā sāmā* 'Yes, I have it' (lit. yes, I did get it).

At the same time, the language is developing a lexical equivalent of the meaning of 'to have' that is contextually independent. For the Hausa language, the verbal equivalent is *màllakā*, derived from an Arabic term expressing ownership and domination, but also used in neural contexts related to possession. The sentence *Yawàn kudŋi dà mùtūm yā màllakā à account* 'The amount of money a person has in their account' confirms the meaning 'to have' coded by the verb *màllakā*. The word has a wide range of uses in creating legal terms and other phrases used in modern language, such as *shaidàr màllakàr mōtā* 'evidence of vehicle ownership', *hakkìn màllakā* 'copyright'.

²⁴ The translation of Shakespeare's phrase "To be or not to be – that is the question", in which the specific notion of 'being' is not defined, gives preference to the verb *kasàncē* as an equivalent of the verb 'to be', therefore *Tàmbayà kē nan – yà kasàncē kō kadà yà kasàncē* (Pawlak 2017: 135).

CHAPTER V

Gender in nouns

Hausa nouns are differentiated by gender. However, this distinction applies only to singular nouns, which are either feminine or masculine. There is no gender distinction in the plural. Here is a representation of masculine and feminine nouns from the basic vocabulary list.

Masculine nouns

kògī ‘river’
tēbūr ‘table’
hancì ‘nose’
jīkà ‘grandchild’ (m)
yārò ‘boy’
kôs ‘course’
sūnā ‘name’
watā ‘moon’
ruwā ‘water’

Feminine nouns

rānā ‘sun’, ‘day’
mātā ‘wife’, ‘woman’
Kwārā ‘Niger (river)’
jīkà ‘grandchild’ (f)
yārinyā ‘girl’
riṭjiyā ‘a well’
màcè ‘woman’
taguwā ‘men’s gown’
gwamnati ‘government’

5.1. Phonological and morphological motivations of gender assignment

Although it can be said that the gender feature in nouns is arbitrary, there are certain criteria justifying the assignment of a specific gender to a noun. One of them is the ending. The final vowel **a** (*-a/-ā*) in most of the lexicon indicates the feminine gender of the noun, as in the following examples:

kasā ‘earth’	iyākā ‘border’	kyautā ‘gift, present’	uwā ‘mother’
tābā ‘cigarette’	yunwā ‘hunger’	dāwā ‘guinea-corn’	kujērā ‘chair’

The ending *-ā* has this function in all nouns ending in *-(u)wā*, *(i)yā*, which are considered a feminine suffixes (Newman 2000: 210f), e.g.:

kibiyà ‘arrow’	zūciyā ‘heart’	cībiyā ‘navel’
gānuwā ‘town wall’	gārkuwā ‘shield’	dōguwā ‘tall’ (feminine form)

Masculine nouns have different endings:

- e, e.g. *kàrshē* ‘end’, *rēshē* ‘branch’, *fagē* ‘open space’, *kūnnē* ‘ear’
- i, e.g. *kōgī* ‘river’, *littāfi* ‘book’, *kīfi* ‘fish’, *biri* ‘monkey’, *bikī* ‘celebration, party’
- u, e.g. *gēmù* ‘beard’, *àbù* ‘thing’, *tsukù* ‘crunching sound’, *sulhù* ‘peace’
- o, e.g. *gērō* ‘bulrush millet’, *sōrō* ‘rectangular mud house’, *cīwò* ‘illness’, *bàkō* ‘visitor’.

Nouns ending in a consonant are also masculine, and many of them are borrowed words, e.g. *kōs* ‘course’, *òtél* ‘hotel’, *kyafin* ‘captain’, *kyandir* ‘candle’, *tēbùr* ‘table’.

However, the Hausa lexical inventory includes a large number of masculine nouns ending in *-ā*. These are nouns with high frequency in everyday communication, including nouns with culturally significant referents, such as

gidā ‘compound’	ruwā ‘water’	wāsā ‘game’
watā ‘moon’	ubā ‘father’	bāyā ‘back’
sūnā ‘name’	wuyā ‘neck’	dā ‘son’
bākā ‘a bow’	gūgā ‘small bucket’	nāmā ‘meat’
kāyā ‘goods, loads’	sā ‘ox ‘bull’	ālālā ‘type of bean-food’

Similarly, among feminine nouns there are nouns ending in vowels other than *-a/ā*, including *màcè* ‘woman’, *gwaggò* ‘aunt’, but also some loan words, such as

gwamnati ‘government’	lābùrārè ‘library’	kwalēji ‘college’
asibiti ‘hospital’	kōtù ‘court’	bās ‘bus’

In a small number of words, gender is not rigid. Variation in gender may happen within the same dialect or dialects differ in gender of individual lexical items. Masculine or feminine are words *kāmā* ‘likeness’, *sāndā* ‘stick’, *tufā* ‘garment, clothing’, *tēku* ‘ocean, sea’, whereas *iskā* ‘wind, spirit’ is feminine in Kano, masculine in Katsina (Newman 2000: 201). The gender currently assigned to the noun is marked by the genitive linker (see 15.1.1.) or other gender exponents requiring gender agreement in the sentence.²⁵ Therefore, *sāndarsā* or *sāndansā* ‘his stick’, *iskā tanā būshe* or *iskā yanā būshe* ‘the wind is blowing’.

²⁵ In some words, gender assignment determines the meaning of the word, e.g. *kwallō* (f) ‘ball’, *kwallō* (m) ‘pit, nut’.

Some other words are epicene; it occurs when one form is used for both masculine and feminine genders, depending on the gender (sex) of the referent. This applies to animal names and personal nouns denoting kinship relationships, social status, or professions, e.g.:

dāmisà 'leopard'	jiminā 'ostrich'
àku 'parrot'	bàrēwā 'gazelle'
kākā 'grandparent'	jīkà 'grandchild'
talakà 'poor person'	shaidā 'a witness'
likitā 'doctor'	fāsinjā 'passenger'

In some words of this kind, feminine forms are formed from masculine forms using the suffixes *-ā*, *-n(i)yā*, e.g.:

<i>Masculine form</i>	<i>Feminine form</i>	
rākumī	rākumā	'camel'
jākī	jākā	'donkey'
kārē	kāryā	'dog'
birī	birinyā	'monkey'
barā	baranyā	'servant'
bārāwō	bārauniyā	'thief'

The regular formation of feminine forms from masculine ones is part of the derivational patterns for adjectives in their basic (see 7.1.) and derived forms (see 7.2.), formations with the prefixes *bà-* and *ma-* (see 12.1.), demonstrative and relative pronouns (see 10.2.), and even the interrogative pronouns 'who' and 'what' (see 10.2.8.).

5.2. Semantic motivations of gender assignment

The assignment of grammatical gender may have a semantic basis. In Hausa, semantically-based classes can be distinguished, which have a fixed gender regardless of the phonological or morphological shape of the word. These are the terms for geographical locations, i.e. names of countries (*Jāmùs* f 'Germany', *Masàr* f Egypt), continents (*Tūrai* f 'Europe', *Afirkà* f 'Africa'), states (*Bàrno* f 'Borno', *Kabì* f 'Kebbi', *Sakkwato* f 'Sokoto'), which are feminine. This feature is also shared by the names of cities and towns, even if the name has a phrasal structure where the head noun is masculine, therefore *Kanò* f 'Kano', *Dùtsèn Mā* f 'Dutsen Ma'. However, if the city or town name is used in a phrase with a generic

name *gàrī* or *birnī* (plus a linker), they take masculine concord, therefore *birnin Kanò nē* ‘this is Kano city’ (cf. *Birnin Kudùs cē* ‘this is Jerusalem’). Consequently, river names are feminine (*Kwārà* ‘Niger’). The generic noun *kōgt* ‘river’, which is masculine, when preceding the name, introduces masculine agreement, therefore *kōgin Nīl nē* ‘this is the Nile River’.

The names of months and days of the week also have a fixed gender, as the names of months are masculine (*Maris* m ‘March’), whereas the names of days are feminine (*Lahàdī* ‘Sunday’).²⁶ Similarly to the previously stated rules, this ‘subsystem’ is linked with Arabic where gender is assigned according to the same semantic criteria. As in Arabic, some Hausa adverbial nouns (*gòbe* f ‘tomorrow’, *kudù* f ‘south’) are feminine, whereas months are masculine (*Sàtumbā* m ‘September’, *Disambā* m ‘December’, *Mùharrām* m ‘first Islamic month’). In addition, the names of letters in Arabic script are feminine, e.g. *lam* f ‘the letter l’.

In discussions of phonological criteria for assigning feminine gender, the issue of endings in *-a* arises, in contrast to other endings that also occur in feminine nouns. This is particularly important in relation to borrowed words in which the motivation for gender does not come from specific systemic rules; rather, the idea of assigning gender is based on the assumption that the gender is shared by semantically related words, regardless of their ending. Regarding borrowings from Arabic, the Hausa gender system is largely linked to the grammatical gender of Arabic words, i.e. the phonological marking of the feminine nouns is the same in both languages. This is due to the fact that the conceptual basis for gender assignment in Hausa in words denoting institutions and all kinds of collective bodies are words of Arabic origin, such as *jāmhūriyā* f ‘republic’, *jāmi’ā* f ‘university’, *hùkūmā* f ‘local government’, *màjàlisā* f ‘parliament, council’. Originally, (as in Arabic) they are feminine, also having an *-ā* ending. However, the terms borrowed from English in this semantic group often have endings other than *-a*, e.g. *firāmàrè* f ‘primary school’, *kwalējì* f ‘college’, *kōtù* f ‘court’, *gwamnati* f ‘government’. They are feminine and their “semantic associates” are *makarantā* f ‘school’, *shàri’ā* f ‘court’, *hùkūmā* f ‘local government’ respectively, which are words of Arabic origin.

Some non-*a* feminine words borrowed from English are subordinate to the gender of native words, e.g. *bās* ‘bus’ (cf. *mōtā* f ‘car’), *gàzèt* ‘gazette’ (cf. *takàrdā* f ‘paper’), *tàsì* ‘taxi’ (cf. *mōtā* f ‘car’), *walāt* ‘wallet’ (cf. *jākā* f ‘leather sack’) (Newman 2000: 208).

²⁶ The exception is *sātī* ‘Saturday’, which is masculine, also in the version of (*ran*) *sātī* ‘(the day of) Saturday’ in which *ran* < *rānā* ‘day’ is feminine.

5.3. Other criteria for classifying nouns

Part of the Hausa lexical inventory is distinguished by identical segmental elements and shared semantic features that make these sets similar to word groups in a class system. A fairly large group consists of words beginning with *ha-*,²⁷ which refer to body parts, and several other sets with other shared features. Apart from body-part terms, the remaining words are less frequently used. It is worth adding that these ‘classes’ of words are not productive formations in Hausa. Only on this basis we attempt to infer the significance of sound symbolism in identifying lexeme groups at the earlier stages of language development.

Here are groups of words with the initial syllable *ha-* and its semantic implications (following Will 2004: 130):

<i>Body part</i>	<i>The intensity of a feature</i>	<i>Diseases and ailments</i>
haḡā ‘chin’	hāḡamā ‘greed’	haḡō ‘nosebleed’
haḡōrī ‘tooth’	hāmago ‘abundance’	hākī ‘panting, grasping’
hancī ‘nose’	hāmākā ‘large crowd’	hakijā ‘hematuria’
hanjī ‘intestines’	hāmshākī ‘huge’	hānkāyā ‘abdominal distension’
hannū ‘hand’	hangarmī ‘huge’	hāgurī ‘type of epilepsy’
hantā ‘liver’	hāmṭōrō ‘huge’	hākanniyā ‘pleurisy’
hammātā ‘armpit’		
hantsā ‘udder, teats’		
harshē ‘tongue’		
haḡārḡarī ‘rib(s)’		

A similar semantic association is shown by words beginning with *ba-/ḡa-*, in which the common meaning of “roundness” (Gouffé 1965–66) is realized in nouns whose designations are insects, small birds, plants or products of the Hausa culture, e.g.: *bālbēlā* ‘cattle egret’, *ḡantā* ‘sparrow’, *ḡarwā* ‘the common quail’, *bāntē* ‘loincloth’ (Will 2004: 131).

5.4. Pragmatic criteria of feminine gender assignment

Gender in Hausa is considered a two-term system, according to which nouns (and their corresponding pronouns) in the singular are divided into masculine and feminine. In many structures (including common sayings), a pronoun appears

²⁷ The sound *h* with the status of a phoneme, like the glottal stop, is an innovation in Hausa, therefore this prefix (often termed as body part prefix) may refer to the prefix **a-*, which as a result of morphophonological processes was transformed into *ha-*.

only in its feminine form (it mostly concerns the third person feminine preverbal TAM marker), which is difficult to assign a female referent. The question arises what is the justification for this form of gender and whether it is a third gender category. Here are examples of the relevant structures:²⁸

Tā fāru, **tā** kārè ‘It’s all over.’
(lit. she happened she ended)

The pronoun *ta* is used with the verb *kasàncē* ‘to become, happen’, when the subject is not specified, e.g.:

Ta hakà dai **ta** kasàncē gà Laṛai dà Iyā (literary excerpt)
‘That’s just how it (f) happened to Larai and Iya’

The expression *tā kwāna kusa* (lit. she spent the night nearby) is a metaphor expressing a general kind of satisfaction with a situation, as in

na cè, **tā** kwāna kusa
(lit. I said (that) she has spent night nearby)
‘I said that it (f) was easily learned’

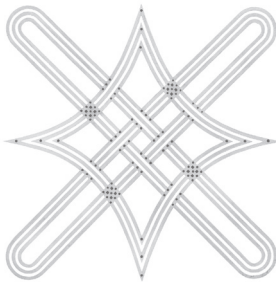
Similar expression is *tā kwāna gidan saukī* (lit. she has passed night in house of ease) as an equivalent of ‘no need to worry anymore’. or ‘rest assured, I’ll not let you down’. The negative expression *kadà tà kwāna* (lit. she should not spend the night) is used to express speed, therefore it is translated as ‘urgent, through-mail’ (Abraham 1962: 443).

Ta marker *ta* may also have other syntactic functions, such as the 3Sgf direct object pronoun. The phrase *gā tā nan* ‘here it is’ (lit. see her here) is used by story-tellers as an introductory formula. The use of the feminine pronoun may well be explained as referring to *tàtsūnìyā* f ‘folktale, fable’, a feminine noun. However, the same formula may also refer to riddles (*kàcīci-kàcīci*) which is a masculine noun. If it is the ‘unspecified referent’, it may also justify the use of *ta* in the function of the feminine genitive linker, as in the following extract from the literary text:

Sarkī bài sāmī **ta** cēwā ba.
(lit. emir didn’t get *that of* (f) saying)
‘The chief/emir didn’t know what to say.’

²⁸ All examples with *ta* are taken from (Pawlak & McIntyre 2019).

The examples given refer to a situational context which is both pragmatically and grammatically undefined. Although the motivation for such usage is contextually unspecified, nevertheless, the context is conventionalized and known to both speaker and hearer. The use of the feminine seems to express an unspecified subject, and may be comparable to the English ‘it’, which does not mark gender (Pawlak & McIntyre 2019: 206).



CHAPTER VI

Noun plurals

The formation of noun plurals in the Hausa language is a complex morphological process, which results in many structural patterns. Its complexity lies, among other things, in the fact that the plural form is in no way presupposed by the singular form.

<i>Singular / gender</i>	<i>Plural form</i>
baḳī m ‘consonant in Arabic script’	Pl babbaḳū
baḳī <i>Adj</i> m ‘black’	Pl baḳāḱē
gōrā f ‘cane’	Pl gōrōrī
gōrā m ‘large gourd’	Pl gōrunā
mijī m ‘husband’	Pl mazā
màcè f ‘woman’	Pl mātā
irī m ‘type, kind’	Pl irī-irī
littāfi m ‘book’	Pl littattāfai
zūciyā f ‘heart’	Pl zūciyōyī or zukātā

If we assume that the plural form is derived from the singular form of the noun, then the process of plural formation involves adding suffixes to the stem, internal inflection, as well as full and partial reduplication. Although the regularity of morphological processes in the transformation of a word from singular to plural are preserved, it can be said that singular and plural nouns are separate lexical units. However, If we look at the plural formation process from the perspective of plural forms, we will see many regularities in their structure, which are determined both by the segmental morpheme (suffix) and the tonal pattern of the entire formation. For example, the suffix -ōCī (in which C denotes the repeated last consonant of the root) and the tonal pattern HHH (i.e. all high tones) create a uniform group of plural nouns, unrelated to the structure of their corresponding singular nouns, i.e.:

Plural pattern: -ōCī (HHH)

Plural nouns: tēburōrī ‘tables’, dōkōkī ‘laws’, rījiyōī ‘wells’

Singular nouns: tēbūr ‘table’, dōkā ‘law’, rīyā ‘a well’

If we add that some nouns have two or more plural forms (*kwabò* ‘penny, kobo’ Pl *kwàbbai* or *kwabbunà*), the pluralization of Hausa nouns appears to be a complex process, and the regularities in their structure are seen as morphological-tonal patterns of plural forms rather than the structural uniformity of singular nouns and their corresponding plural forms.

6.1. Plural classes

Further explanations regarding the plural forms of nouns will be presented through examples creating one pattern, which can help internalize this pattern and develop mechanisms of morphological transformations within it. These patterns termed as classes were best recognized and described by Paul Newman, and an extract from his most important theses, along with examples, will be presented below (Newman 2000: 430ff).

The classes representing major types include various subtypes. Ten major classes and some sample forms of the other classes will be presented further in the chapter. They are arranged according to their largest representation and productivity. The symbol C represents a copy of the preceding consonant. The symbol X represents a consonantal “slot” that may be filled by this consonant or by a specific suffixal consonant (which is indicated in the types and subtypes). The tone (H, L or their combinations) noted as a superscript refers to the entire formation and is associated with the type of suffix, which is the so-called tone-integrating suffix, i.e. the specified tone spreads across the entire word from right to left. Therefore, the plural form with the suffix -ōCī)^H has all the high tones, whereas the plural form with the suffix -ai)^{LH} has a high final tone, while all the preceding tones are low.

6.1.1. Class 1: -OXI)^H

Within this class, the main plural type is -ōCī)^H which contains the consonant C being a copy of the base-final consonant. This plural type is highly productive, very regular and does not involve changes in the word base. It is often used in borrowed words, for some native words it is an alternative to other patterns. Here are examples:

<i>Singular / gender</i>	<i>Plural form</i>
fannì m ‘branch, category’	Pl fannōnī
gulà f ‘drum stick’	Pl gulōlī
tāgà f ‘window’	Pl tāgōgī
rāgā f ‘net’	Pl rāgōgī
gyàllè m ‘shawl’	Pl gyalōlī
dilā m ‘jackal’	Pl dilōlī
sānā’ā f ‘occupation’	Pl sanā’ō’ī
bindigà f ‘gun’	Pl bindigōgī
tāmbayà f ‘question’	Pl tambayōyī
ālmārā f ‘fable, fiction’	Pl almārōrī
fassarā f ‘translation’	Pl fassarōrī
hūkūmā f ‘governmental body’	Pl hukūmōmī
fensir m ‘pencil’	Pl fensirōrī
kamfanī m ‘company’	Pl kamfanōnī
tātsūniyā f ‘folktale’	Pl tātsūniyōyī
tashā f ‘station’	Pl tashōshī

Plural type $-\bar{o}C\bar{i}$ ^H contains the vowel $-i$, which affects the preceding consonant (C). If it is one of the following consonants: **s**, **z**, **t**, and **d**, it undergoes palatalization (see 2.2.1.), changing into **sh**, **j**, **c**, and **j** respectively. The alternation of semivowels also occurs in this type of transformation, e.g.:

<i>Singular / gender</i>	<i>Plural form</i>
tāsā f ‘bowl’	Pl tāsōshī
dāmīsā m/f ‘leopard’	Pl dāmīsōshī
ōfis m ‘office’	Pl ōfisōshī
kwāmitī m ‘committee’	Pl kwāmitōcī
battā f ‘small receptacle’	Pl battōcī
gēzā f ‘a kind of shrub’	Pl gēzōjī
gadā f ‘bridge’	Pl gadōjī
kāsuwā f ‘market’	Pl kāsuwōyī

Other subtypes distinguished in the systemic description are sets of individual items that are frozen in their form, and only reference to historical transformations can justify their presence in this class. They are identified as Plural type $-\bar{o}-\bar{i}$ ^H/ $-\bar{a}-\bar{i}$ ^H. However, the regular plural form within this class is an alternative to some of them, more commonly used than the irregular form. This type of plurals is limited to the following examples:

<i>Singular / gender</i>	<i>Plural form</i>
jījiyā f ‘vein’	Pl jiyōjī (= jījiyōyī)
rījiyā f ‘well’	Pl riyōjī (= rījiyōyī)
tsarkiyā f ‘bow string’	Pl tsarōkī (= tsarkiyōyī)
zūciyā f ‘heart’	Pl zukōcī (= zūciyōyī)
ākuyā f ‘goat’	Pl awākī
dōkī m ‘horse’	Pl dawākī
tunkiā f ‘sheep’	Pl tumākī

6.1.2. Class 2: *-ai*^{LH}

This class is distinguished by the suffix *-ai* in all types and subtypes, but only the major formative does not have unconditioned stem changes. The others are subject to additional modifications. The main type of this class, i.e. plural type *-ai*^{LH}, includes nouns which in singular are polysyllabic words ending in *-ī* (or other vowels other than *-ā*), e.g.:

<i>Singular / gender</i>	<i>Plural form</i>
dālīlī ‘reason’	Pl dālīlai
dālibī m ‘student’	Pl dālibai
kāfirī m ‘infidel’	Pl kāfirai
wākīlī m ‘representative’	Pl wākīlai
būnsurū m ‘he-goat’	Pl būnsūrai
mādūgū m ‘caravan leader’	Pl mādūgai
mākānikē m ‘mechanic’	Pl mākānikai
kādārkō m ‘small bridge’	Pl kādārkai
mālāmī m ‘teacher’	Pl mālāmai

Words ending in *-i* in the singular that are preceded by a coronal consonant are perceived as sequences of palatalized consonants and the suffix *-i*, and in the plural formatives with *-ai*, these consonants are depalatalized. This applies to the following nouns, among others:

ālhajī m ‘Alhaji’	Pl ālhāzai (j > z)
kyarkēcī m ‘wild dog’	Pl kyārkētai (c > t)
ālmākāshī ‘scissors’	Pl ālmākāsai (shi > s)

Some two-syllable nouns and nouns ending with *-a/-ā* also form their plurals according to this pattern, e.g.:

<i>Singular / gender</i>	<i>Plural form</i>
jākī m ‘donkey’	Pl jākai (= jākunà)
rāsīt m (< rāsīdī) ‘receipt’	Pl rāsīdai
àllūrā f ‘needle’	Pl àllūrai
fārillā f ‘religious duty’	Pl fārillai
kārùwā f ‘prostitute’	Pl kārùwai
tàntabàrā f ‘pigeon’	Pl tàntabàrai
mākātā f ‘hooked stick’	Pl mākàtai

Among those formations considered regular, the noun *littāfi* (m), forming the plural with the suffix *-ai* and stem expansion by internal reduplication (Pl *littàttàfai*), is at exception. However, there is a group of disyllabic words that uses *-ai* suffix and LH tonal pattern involving gemination in plural formation, e.g.:

<i>Singular / gender</i>	<i>Plural form</i>
damī m ‘bundle’	Pl dàmmai
rābō m ‘share’	Pl rābbai
tudū m ‘hill’	Pl tuddai
dubū f ‘thousand’	Pl dùbbai
kwabō m ‘penny’	Pl kwàbbai
samā f ‘sky, heavens’	Pl sàmmai

It is worth adding that most of this words have alternative plural forms with the other suffixes. Similarly, some other plural formations with *-ai* suffix undergo nasal insertion.

<i>Singular / gender</i>	<i>Plural form</i>
kārē m ‘dog’	Pl kārnai (= karnukà)
kāwū/kāwū m ‘uncle’	Pl kàwūnai
shaihū/shēhū m ‘learned pious psn’	Pl shēhūnai
àbōkī m ‘friend’	Pl àbòkànai (= àbòkai)

Regular formations ending in *-ai* exist in derived noun classes using the prefix *ma-* (see 12.1.). These include nouns of instrument and locational nouns as in the following examples:

<i>Singular / gender</i>	<i>Plural form</i>
masaukī m ‘lodging place’	Pl māsàukai
masallācī m ‘mosque’	Pl māsàllàtai

mafakā f ‘shelter’	Pl mǎfākai
mabūdī m ‘key’	Pl mǎbūdai
magirbī m ‘harvesting tool’	Pl mǎgirbai

Other types involve modification of the plural morpheme, which refers either to additional stem expansion or to suffix expansion. In many cases, this plural type applies to nouns that in the singular begin with a CVC reduplicated element. The plural type **-ā-...ai)^{LH}** contains an internal *-ā-* which is inserted between the reduplicated element and the base in addition to the suffix *-ai*. Modifications to singular forms require reference to a reconstructed base in which the historical foundations for transformations have been justified.

<i>Singular / gender</i>	<i>Plural form</i>	
girgijè m ‘rain cloud’	(base //giz-//)	Pl gizǎgizai
kuskurè m ‘mistake’	(base //kur-//)	Pl kūrǎkūrāi
faifai m ‘round mat’	(base //fay-//)	Pl fǎyǎfǎyai
jijirī m ‘baby’	(base //jir-//)	Pl jirǎjirai

Some monosyllabic words with a CVC structure that are loanwords from English also use this pattern to form the plural, e.g.:

<i>Singular / gender</i>	<i>Plural form</i>	
bâl f ‘ball’	Pl bālǎbālai	
bâm m ‘bomb’	Pl bāmǎbāmai	
fâm m ‘pound’	Pl fāmǎfāmai	(= fāmǎfāmai)
kwâs m ‘course’	Pl kwâsǎkwāsai	
fîm m ‘film’	Pl fînǎfinai	
mîl m ‘mile’	Pl mîlǎmilai	

Finally, it is worth mentioning one type of noun plurals with a reduplicated ending *-ai* and a preserved final consonant of the base, i.e. **-aiCai)^{HLH}**. This is a rare form; for some words, alternative plural patterns are more commonly used, e.g.:

<i>Singular / gender</i>	<i>Plural form</i>	
hatsī m ‘grain’	Pl hatsàitsai	
bisā f ‘pack animal’	Pl bisàisai	(= bisǎshē)
wutsiyǎ f ‘tail’	Pl wutsàitsai	(= wutsiyōyī)
kasā f ‘country’	Pl kasàisai	(= kasǎshē)

6.1.3. Class 3: -AXE)^{HLH}

This class contains a suffix with the vowel sequence ā...ē and HLH tonal pattern. The types distinguished in this class differ in segmental representation of the consonantal “slot” X that occurs between the vowels of the suffix.

The major type is -āCē)^{HLH}, where C is a copy of the preceding consonant. This type is active in the formation of both the plural of nouns and adjectives, e.g.:

<i>Singular / gender</i>	<i>Plural form</i>
farī m <i>Adj</i> ‘white’	Pl farārē
baḱī m <i>Adj</i> ‘black’	Pl baḱāḱē
kudī m ‘money’	Pl kudāḱē
tsakā f ‘small gecko lizard’	Pl tsakāḱē
gadō m ‘bed’	Pl gadājē

The consonant C is palatalized before -ē, according to the rules of this process in the Hausa language (see 2.2.1.), i.e.:

gidā m ‘house’	Pl gidājē
ḱasā f ‘country’	Pl ḱasāshē
uwā f ‘mother’	Pl uwāyē > iyāyē (‘parents’)

Another part of the lexicon contains a fixed semivowel -y- in the suffix, thus, the suffix represents the plural type -āyē)^{HLH}, as in the following examples:

<i>Singular / gender</i>	<i>Plural form</i>
wāwā m ‘fool’	Pl wāwāyē
ḱērā m ‘mouse’	Pl ḱērāyē
halī m ‘character’	Pl halāyē
kīfī m ‘fish’	Pl kifāyē
sūnā m ‘name’	Pl sūnāyē
ḱaurē m ‘fig tree’	Pl ḱaurāyē
ḱyallē m ‘piece of cloth’	Pl ḱyallāyē
hannū m ‘hand’	Pl hannāyē

The trisyllabic structure of this type of noun plurals can also be formed from some monosyllabic words in the singular, e.g.:

ḱwai m ‘egg’ (base //ḱway-//)	Pl ḱwāyāyē
sau (= sāwū) m ‘foot’	Pl sāwāyē
jā m <i>Adj</i> ‘red’ (base //jāj-//)	Pl jāyāyē

On the other hand, some trisyllabic words also use this plural formation, i.e.:

gwangwanī m ‘tin can’	Pl gwangwanāyē
alternative <i>gwangwan</i> m >	Pl gwangwāyē
kùnkurū m ‘tortoise’	Pl kunkurāyē
ùngùlu f ‘vulture’	Pl ungulāyē

Although the -āyē^{HLH} plural type mainly refers to words with high tones in the singular, words with other tone sequences may also use this plural formation.

angò m ‘bridegroom’	Pl angwāyē
kōrè <i>Adj</i> m ‘green’	Pl kōrāyē
mūdù m ‘measuring bowl’	Pl mūdāyē
nōnò m ‘breast’	Pl nōnāyē (= nōnnā)
shūdī <i>Adj</i> m ‘blue’	Pl shūdāyē (= shūdā)
gwānī m ‘expert’	Pl gwanāyē

The third plural type within Class 3 is -ā-ē^{HLH} type which does not have a specific consonant between the vowels of the suffix, although the last consonant of the base should be inserted here. However, there is a different rule for incorporating this suffix into the base, i.e. the first vowel of the suffix (-a) is inserted between the second and third consonants of the base, and only after them the suffix -e is added. Here are examples:

<i>Singular / gender</i>	<i>Plural form</i>
gulbī m ‘stream’	Pl gulābē
askā f ‘straight razor’	Pl asākē
birnī m ‘city, town’	Pl birānē
kuturū m ‘leper’	Pl kutārē
kwal(a)bā f ‘bottle’	Pl kwalābē

For some formations within this type, the justification is the reconstruction of the base, e.g.:

amaryā f ‘bride’ (base //amr-//)	Pl amārē
buzurwā f ‘long-haired goat’ (base //buzr-//)	Pl buzārē
tukunyā f ‘cooking pot’ (base //tukwn-//)	Pl tukwārē

Some of these formations have alternative plural formations that refer to regular transformations with the suffix -āyē. i.e.:

ḡaunā f ‘buffalo’ (base //ḡak(w)n-//)	Pl ḡak(w)ānē	(= ḡaunāyē)
būzū m ‘Tuareg’ (base //bugz-//)	Pl bugājē	(= būzāyē)
farkē / falkē m ‘itinerant trader’ (base //fatk-//)	Pl fatākē	
kyaurē m ‘door’ (base //kyamr-//)	Pl kyamārē	(= kyaurāyē)

In this context, the formation Pl *mutānē* ‘people’ is regular, but it does not refer to the transformations described above, as the singular form is *mūtūm* m ‘person’.

6.1.4. Class 4: -(A)XA)^{HLH}

This class is distinguished by the ending -ā and the HLH tonal pattern of the entire formation. Individual types differ in the consonant component (X) and the way the suffix is added to the base.

In plural type **-Gā)^{HLH}** the suffix -ā is preceded by geminated base-final consonant (G), i.e.:

<i>Singular / gender</i>	<i>Plural form</i>
ḡēfē m ‘side’	Pl gyâffā ²⁹
kōrē Adj m ‘green’	Pl kwārrā ³⁰
zōbē m ‘ring’	Pl zōbbā (= zābbā)
ḡōrō m ‘kolanut’	Pl ḡwārrā
shūdī Adj m ‘blue’	Pl shūddā
mūdū m ‘corn measure’	Pl mūddā (= mūdāyē)
sāshē m ‘section’	Pl sāsā
rēshē m ‘branch’	Pl rāsā
tūshē m ‘base’	Pl tūsā

A few words forming plurals of this type take on a pattern from another class that is more frequently in use, e.g.:

tūdū m ‘hill’	Pl tūddā	(= tūddai)
dāmī m ‘bundle’	Pl dāmmā	(= dāmmai)
tabō m ‘scar’	Pl tābbā	(= tabbunā)

Two words have plurals of this type without the gemination, i.e.:

taurē m ‘castrated he-goat’	Pl tāurā
yārō m ‘boy’	Pl yārā

²⁹ ḡēfē [ḡyēfē], therefore gyâffā (< gyêffā).

³⁰ kōrē [kwōrē], therefore kwārrā.

Plural formation with *-ā* ending are also used in the derived class of adjectives (see 7.2.2.), but in this case the suffix may be extended to **-āCā)^{HLH}** in which C is a copy of the preceding consonant, e.g.:

<i>zàzzāfā Adj</i> m/f ‘very hot’	Pl <i>zāfāfā</i>
<i>mùmmūnā Adj</i> m/f ‘ugly’	Pl <i>mūnānā</i>
<i>kàkkarfā Adj</i> m/f ‘very deep’	Pl <i>karfāfā</i>

Another class of derived nouns formed with *ma-* (see 12.1.) has a regular plural formative of the type **-ā)^{HLH} (HLLH)**, e.g.:

<i>mahàrbī m</i> ‘hunter’	Pl <i>mahàrbā</i>
<i>mahàukàcī m</i> ‘crazy’	Pl <i>mahàukātā</i>
<i>matsōraciā f</i> ‘coward’	Pl <i>matsōrātā</i>

When consonantal slot is filled by the third consonant of the base, the suffix is modified to the shape **-ā-ā)^{HLH}**, e.g.:

<i>garkē m</i> ‘herd’	Pl <i>garākā</i>	
<i>sirdii m</i> ‘saddle’	Pl <i>sirādā</i>	
<i>harshē m</i> ‘tongue’	Pl <i>harāsā</i>	(= <i>harsunāa</i>)
<i>gunkī m</i> ‘idol’ (base //gumk-//)	Pl <i>gumākā</i>	
<i>zūciyā f</i> ‘heart’ (base //zukt-//)	Pl <i>zukātā</i>	(= <i>zūciyōyī</i>)

6.1.5. Class 5: **-AXU)^{HLH}**

This plural class is distinguished by *-ā-ū* vowel sequence and HLH tone pattern. The two types within this class differ in the filling of the consonant slot. In the first (**-ā-ū)^{HLH}**, the vowel *-a* is inserted between the last two consonants, while in the second (**-āCū)^{HLH}**, the consonant C is a copy of the preceding consonant. The first type is represented by nouns that are masculine in the singular, the second includes both feminine and masculine ones. Here are examples of the **-ā-ū)^{HLH}** pattern:

<i>Singular / gender</i>	<i>Plural form</i>
<i>gurgū m</i> ‘lame person’	Pl <i>gurāgū</i>
<i>murhū m</i> ‘cooking place’	Pl <i>murāfū</i>
<i>dutsē m</i> ‘stone’ (base //duwts-//)	Pl <i>duwātsū</i>
<i>mūgū m</i> ‘evil’ (base //muyg-//)	Pl <i>miyāgū</i>

The $-\bar{a}C\bar{u})^{HLH}$ formation is used with some basic body part terms, e.g.:

gaḅā f ‘joint, limb’	Pl gaḅāḅū (= gaḅḅunā)
kafā f ‘foot’	Pl kafāfū
tsuwē m ‘testicle’	Pl tsuwāwū
gwīwā f ‘knee’ (base //guy-//)	Pl gwiwāyū (= gwīyōyī)
dūwāwū m ‘buttocks’	

6.1.6. Class 6: $-UXA)^{HL}$

The common characteristics of the class are the vowel sequence $u...ā$ and the HL tone melody. The pattern includes 5 types that differ in the representation of the X element in the suffix and subtypes that additionally take into account the processes of gemination and internal reduplication. Here is an illustration of the plural formatives in this class.

The three plural types, i.e. $-unā)^{HL}$, $-ukā)^{HL}$, and $-uwā)^{HL}$ are largely separable in terms of choice determined by the nature of the stem-final consonant, and for this reason it can be said that suffix choice is (at least partially) predictable.

The examples of the type $-unā)^{HL}$ are as follows:

<i>Singular / gender</i>	<i>Plural form</i>
hūlā f ‘cap’	Pl hūlunā
gàngā f ‘drum’	Pl gangunā
kōgī m ‘river’	Pl kōgunā
rāgō m ‘ram’	Pl rāgunā
kwāndō m ‘basket’	Pl kwandunā
tūlū m ‘water pot’	Pl tūlunā
lardī m ‘province’	Pl lardunā
yankī m ‘section’	Pl yankunā
āgōgō m ‘clock’	Pl āgōgunā
ākāwu m ‘clerk’	Pl akāwunā
ākḡwāṭi m ‘box’	Pl akḡwātunā
kāi m ‘head’ (base //kaaw-// < kaay-)	Pl kāwunā
sarkī m ‘chief, emir’ (base //sarāk-//)	Pl sarākunā

Some plural formatives undergo expansion of the stem either by gemination or by internal -CVC- reduplication, e.g.:

cikī m ‘belly’	Pl cikunā = cikḡkunā = cikunkunā
bākā f ‘bow’	Pl bakunkunā

bùhū m ‘sack’	Pl bu h unhunà
jìkī m	Pl jìkunà = jì k unkunà
kwabò m ‘penny’	Pl kwab b unà

The examples of the type **-ukā**^{HL} are to show that the “words with base-final **y**, **n**, **r** and **f** use **-ukā** exclusively as opposed to the related **-unā** suffix” (Newman 2000: 445), e.g.:

zaurè m ‘entrance room’	Pl zaurukà
ƙauyè m ‘village’	Pl ƙauyukà
rāfī m ‘stream’	Pl rāfukà
tsānī m ‘ladder’	Pl tsānukà
rāi m ‘life, soul’ (base //rāy-//)	Pl rāyukà

In this type internal **-CVC-** reduplication and gemination also occur, e.g.:

cūtā f ‘disease’	Pl cūt u ttukà
lāifī m ‘crime, fault’	Pl lai f uffukà
bāshī m ‘loan’	Pl bās u ssukà
dājī m ‘bush, forest’	Pl dā z uzzukà
zāncē m ‘conversation’	Pl zant u ttukà (= zantukà)

The last three examples also provide evidence that words with base-final palatals depalatalize before the plural suffix. Thus, the consonants that occur in the singular before **-i** or **-e** and undergo this process (see 2.2.1.) are **sh**, **j**, **c**, which change into **s**, **z**, **t**, respectively, in the plural.

Another plural type **-uwā**^{HL} is regularly accompanied either by internal **-CVC-** reduplication or by gemination. The relevant depalatalization also occurs:

bātū m ‘conversation’	Pl batūtuwà	
gārī m ‘town’	Pl garūruwà	(= garurrukà) ³¹
ƙàshī m ‘bone’	Pl ƙasūsuwà	
ajī m ‘class’	Pl azūzuwà	(= ajūjuwà)
ƙanè m ‘younger brother’	Pl ƙannuwà	
zanè m ‘wrapper’	Pl zannuwà	
hannū m ‘hand’	Pl hannuwà	
kūnnē m ‘ear’	Pl kunnuwà	

³¹ The form *garurrukà*, earlier noted as Western Hausa, is now spreading in SH (Newman 2000: 446).

The word *itâcê* is synchronically a singular masculine noun, although it has the shape of Class 3 plural formation of *icê*. The two words, *icê* and *itâcê* are synonyms expressing the meaning ‘tree, wood’, but the plural form of *itâcê* is *itâturwâ*, which Paul Newman called ‘plural of plural’ (2000: 447).

Yet another plural type **-u-ā)**^{HL} contains a discontinuous suffix which is incorporated into the base in such a way that **u** replaces the penultimate singular vowel of the word, and the consonant slot is filled with the final consonant of the base. Here are examples:

cōkālī m ‘spoon’	Pl cōkulâ
dāgūmī m ‘charm’	Pl dāgumā
kallābī m ‘woman’s head-tie’	Pl kallubâ

This plural formation is used also with some English loanwords, e.g.:

bātīr m ‘battery’	Pl bātūrâ (= bātīrōrī)
bābūr m ‘motorcycle’	Pl bāburâ

The words using the **-u-ā** suffix often geminate the final consonant or undergo internal -CVC- reduplication, e.g.:

darāsī m ‘lesson’	Pl darussâ
harāfī m ‘letter of alphabet’	Pl haruffâ
takōbī m ‘sword’	Pl takubbâ (= takubâ)
āl’amārī m ‘matter’	Pl al’amurrâ (= al’amurâ)
garkê m ‘herd’	Pl garukkâ
harshê m ‘tongue’	Pl harussâ (= harsunâ = harāsâ)
kabārī m ‘grave’	Pl kaburburâ
māgānī m ‘medicine’	Pl māgungunâ
shagālī m ‘celebration’	Pl shagulgulâ

Finally, it is to mention one more type within class 6, i.e. **-uCCā)**^{HL}, adding that it is an archaic type and the nouns it concerns use different plural formatives today, e.g.:

ābū m ‘thing’	Pl abubbâ (= abūbuwâ)
gaḍā f ‘limb’	Pl gaḍuḍḍâ (= gaḍōḍī)

This class also includes some nouns that use the vowel **-ā** in the plural and keep the H-L tone pattern, but do not insert the vowel **-u-**, such as *tākālmī* m ‘shoe’, Pl *tākalmâ*.

6.1.7. Class 7: **-AXI**)^{LH}

The surface manifestation of this class varies mostly due to the representation of the symbol X of this pattern. The shared characteristics are the vowel *-a-* preceding the consonantal element and the tone melody LH. The final vowel is usually *-ī*, but one type ends in another high vowel *-ū*. The plural type **-annī**)^{LH} finds its manifestation in the following examples:

<i>Singular / gender</i>	<i>Plural form</i>
dòdō m ‘monster, goblin’	Pl dōdānnī
fūrē m ‘flower’	Pl fūrānnī
ùbā m ‘father’	Pl ùbānnī
wāsā m ‘play, game’	Pl wāsānnī
watā m ‘moon’	Pl wātānnī
rāhōtō m ‘report’	Pl rāhōtānnī
shūgābā m ‘leader’	Pl shūgābānnī
kākā m/f ‘grandparent’	Pl kākānī (= kākānnī)

In the two plural forms of the common adjectives, the type **-aCCī**)^{LH} has the consonantal representation of the base, i.e.:

sābō <i>Adj</i> m ‘new’	Pl sàbābbī (= sàbbī)
tsōhō <i>Adj</i> m ‘old’	Pl tsòfāffī (= tsòffī) ³²

The plural type **-a(i)kU**)^{LH} is unusual due to the presence of /k/ in the suffix, which can be *-āikū*, *-àkū*, *-kū* or *-ākī*, e.g.:

rānā f ‘day’	Pl rānāikū (= rānākū)
tsāmiyā f ‘tamarind’	Pl tsāmāikū
cēdiyā f ‘fig tree’	Pl cēdāikū
gōnā f ‘farm’	Pl gōnākī
kwānā m ‘day’	Pl kwānākī

The word *sāmārī* ‘youth, young men’, < Sg *saurāyī* m (base //samr-//) is seen as a member of this class, but synchronically there are no other representatives of this type.

³² The plural of *tsōhō* includes the phonological alternation between /h/ and /f/ (see 1.1.2).

6.1.8. Class 8: -AXI)^{HLHH}

The plural form within this class is distinguished by internal expansion, which involves vowel insertion or internal reduplication. Plural nouns are therefore quadrisyllabic and generally end in *-i*.

In the plural type **-èCañi)**^{HLHH} the vowel *-ē-* is inserted after the second consonant of the base and the suffix *-anī* is added after the third consonant. Here are examples:

garmā f ‘large hoe’	Pl garèmanī	
karma(a) m/f ‘foot soldier’	Pl karèmanī	
sàlkā f ‘hide water bag’	Pl salèkanī	(= salkunā)
farcè m ‘fingernail’	Pl farètānī	(= farātā)

The plural type **-èCaCi)**^{HLHH} refers to words that have four syllables in the singular. In the plural pattern, the vowel *-e-* is also inserted after the second consonant, but internal expansion involves adding a suffix in the form of vowels *-a-i*, between which a fourth consonant is inserted, e.g.:

malmalā m ‘mound of <i>tuwo</i> ’	Pl malèmalī
fartanyà f ‘hoe’ (base //fartan-//)	Pl farètānī ³³
Bàbarbarè m ‘Kanuri person’ (base //barbar-//)	Pl Barèbarī
Bàzazzàgii m ‘Zaria person’ (base //zagzag-//)	Pl Zagèzagī

The word *fiffikè* m ‘wing’ has the plural form with inserted /a/ rather than /e/, i.e. Pl *fikàfikī*, but it also uses an alternative form Pl *fikàfikai*.

The common characteristics of the plural type **-CVC-...aki)**^{HLHH} are the suffix *-akī* and internal *-CVC-* reduplication. The geminated consonant is a result of assimilation (see 2.1.), e.g.:

guntū m ‘stub, fragment’	Pl guntàttakī	
kāyā m ‘goods’	Pl kāyàyyakī	
gāwā f ‘corps’	Pl gāwāwwakī	
aurē m ‘marriage’	Pl auràrrakī	(= àure-àure)

³³ Phonologically, it is *farètānī* (with “trilled r”), cf. plural form of *farcè*, which is *farètānī*.

The plural type **-CVC-...a-ī)^{HLHH}** is distinguished by the suffix *-a-ī* and internal *-CVC-* reduplication, e.g.:

amaryā f ‘bride’ (base //’amr-//) ³⁴	Pl amàrmarī
kadānyā f ‘shea tree’ (base //kadān-//)	Pl kadāndānī
shāwarā f ‘advice’	Pl shāwārwarī
dūtsē m ‘stone’ (base //duwts-//)	Pl duwār watsū (= duwàtsū)

6.1.9. Class 9: **-U/-I)^{LH}**

The subsequent class of Hausa noun plurals includes two plural types, differentiated by the representation of a high vowel in the suffix, i.e. *-ū* or *-ī*. The common characteristic is the LH tonal pattern. This plural class refers mostly to polysyllabic singulars.

The examples of plural type **-ū)^{LH}** are as follows:

fatalā f ‘head-tie’	Pl fātālū
kujērā f ‘chair’	Pl kùjèrū
kàtangā f ‘large potsherd’	Pl kàtàngū (= kàtàngī)
àl’ādā f ‘custom’	Pl àl’ādū
gìginyā f ‘deleb-palm’	Pl gìginyū

The derivational formatives with *ma...ā* denoting location (see 12.1.) use this plural type on a regular basis, i.e.:

ma’aikatā f ‘factory’	Pl mà’àikātū
makērā f ‘smithy’	Pl màkèrū
marinā f ‘dye-pit’	Pl màrinū

This pattern is a regular plural formative with adjectival past participles (see 7.2.1.), e.g.:

bùdāddē m ‘opened’	Pl bùdāddū
gàsashhē ³⁵ m ‘roasted’	Pl gàsàssū

A few two-syllable words in the singular also represent this type in the plural, e.g.:

dānyē m ‘raw, unripe’	Pl dānyū
shēgē m ‘bastard’	Pl shēgū

³⁴ In the formation of plural, the feminine suffix is dropped before the plural suffix is added.

³⁵ The real sequence of phonemes is *gàsashshē*, but the spelling convention provides for notation of only the first element of the character written as a digraph in the case of its gemination.

There are also plurals with the suffix *-u* which have internal *-CVC-* reduplication, which can be considered irregular. However, for some of these forms there are alternative regular patterns, e.g.:

gàjērē <i>Adj</i> m ‘short’	Pl gājǎjjērū (= gājǎjērū)
màgānǎ f ‘speech’	Pl màgàngànū

The plural type **-ī**^{LH} is distinguished by the *-ī* suffix. Phonological alternation between /h/ and /f/ may occur in the transformation. There may also be a change between semivowels /w/ and /y/ due to palatalization before *-ī*, e.g.:

kàtangǎ f ‘large potsherd’	Pl kàtàngī (= kàtàngū)
mākāhǒ m ‘blind person’ (base //makaf-//)	Pl mākǎfī
ǎràwǒ m ‘thief’	Pl ǎràyī
tǎbarmǎ f ‘mat’	Pl tǎbarmī
tàurǎrǒ m ‘star’	Pl tàurǎrī

6.1.10. Class 10: *-Va* ⇒ *-Vβ*

In all subtypes within this class the final vowel of the singular is replaced by another vowel in plural. With one exception, the plurals have H tone pattern.

The plural type involving by adding *-ū* as the final vowel is illustrated by the following examples:

fātǎ f ‘skin’	Pl fātū
lāyǎ f ‘amulet’	Pl lāyū
yātsǎ m ‘finger’	Pl yātsū
rāmī m ‘hole’	Pl rāmū
māshī m ‘spear’	Pl māsū

The plural type with *-ī* final vowel has an exceptional LH tone melody in most cases, e.g.:

bākō m ‘stranger, guest’	Pl bākī
kwǎdō m ‘frog’	Pl kwǎfī
kǎzǎ f ‘hen’	Pl kǎjī
bāwǎ m ‘slave’	Pl bāyī

The plural type with *-ai* ending has the following representatives:

birī m ‘monkey’	Pl birai
wutsiyǎ f ‘tail’ (< *wutsi)	Pl wutsai

The plural type in which the final vowel of the stem is replaced by *-ā* is as follows:

arnɛ̀ m ‘pagan’	Pl arnā
mātā f ‘wife’	Pl mātā
mijĩ m ‘husband’	Pl mazā

Ten classes of noun plurals and their detailed types presented here are intended to systematize the diverse set of patterns used throughout the Hausa lexicon. The remaining classes apply to fairly uniform semantic, formal, or distributional word groups. These will be outlined below.

6.1.11. Class 11: *-āwā*)^{LH ~ HH}

This class includes the standard plural formation for derivational pattern of ethnonymic nouns (see 12.1.). The tonal pattern in these plurals is diversified – from LH to HH, e.g.:

Bāhaushɛ̀ m ‘Hausa’	Pl (LH) Hàusāwā
bādūkū m ‘leather worker’	Pl (LH) dūḱāwā
Bātūrɛ̀ m ‘European’	Pl (LH = HH) Tūrāwā = Tūrāwā
Bākanō m ‘Kano person’	Pl (HH) Kanāwā
talākā m ‘poor person’	Pl (HH) talakāwā
dōgarĩ m ‘emir’s bodyguard’	Pl (HH) dōgarāwā

6.1.12. Class 12: *x 2 (REDUP)*

These plurals are formed by full reduplication. In most cases, this pattern is used with recent loanwords from English and some other loans from the other languages. For some of them, however, there are more common alternative plural forms, e.g.:

cōci m ‘church’	Pl cōci-cōci
jōjì m ‘judge’	Pl jōjì-jōjì
ākāwu m ‘clerk’	Pl ākāwu-ākāwu (= akāwunā)
kwâs m ‘course’	Pl kwâs-kwâs (= kwâsākâsai)

6.1.13. Class 13: *-e*)^{LH x 2 (REDUP)}

This plural pattern applies to names of action or state, often derived from verbs, and a few other nouns. It involves adding the suffix *-e* to the base, assigning the LH tone melody, and then reduplicating this formation, e.g.:

ginĩ m ‘building’	Pl gine-gine
shirĩ m ‘radio/TV program’	Pl shirye-shirye
irĩ m ‘kind, type’	Pl ire-ire

This class includes plurals formed with expanded base made up of the nominal root plus *-(a)c-* or *-anc-*³⁶, e.g.:

cĩwò m ‘illness’	Pl cĩwàce-cĩwàce	
dàbārà f ‘trick, plan’	Pl dàbàrce-dàbàrce	
tàllà m ‘hawking goods for sale’	Pl tàllàce-tàllàce	
wàhàlà f ‘trouble’	Pl wàhàlce-wàhàlce	(= wahalōlĩ)

6.1.14. Class 14: *x 2)H – L (REDUP)*

This class consists of structurally uniform so-called augmentative adjectives (see 7.1.2.). In plural, they receive *-ā* ending and in the reduplication, the two elements have different tonal patterns, e.g.:

bundumēmē m ‘fat-bellied’	Pl bundumā-bundumā
tankamēmē m ‘massive’	Pl tankamā-tankamā
mākēkē m ‘expansive’	Pl mākā-mākā

6.1.15. Class 15: *CiCĩ x 2)H – H*

These plurals contain fully reduplicated stems of partially reduplicated diminutive adjectives (see 7.1.3.), e.g.:

minĩnĩ m ‘small’	Pl minĩ-minĩ
sirĩrĩ m ‘very thin’	Pl sirĩ-sirĩ

6.2. Other plural forms

There are some plural forms that have not been assigned to any of the earlier presented class. These words belong to the basic vocabulary and their specific plural forms should be considered as individual formations. Among them, there are the following nouns:

idò m ‘eye’	Pl idānū	
kāi m ‘head’	Pl kānū	(= kāwunā)

³⁶ The morpheme of the expanded base is the same as the *-ta/-Vnta/- (a)ta* verbalizer suffix (see 12.2.). The change of /t/ into /c/ is motivated by the palatalization before the front vowel /e/.

sâ m ‘ox’	Pl shānū
kàramī, kànkānè <i>Adj</i> m ‘little, small’	Pl kánānà
tufā f ‘clothes’	Pl tufāñ
bàbba <i>Adj</i> m/f ‘big’	Pl mǎnyā (= mǎnyā-mǎnyā)
yārinyā f ‘girl’	Pl ‘yammātā
dā m/’yaa f ‘son/daughter’	Pl ‘yā’yā

In Hausa, the question word ‘who?’ has both singular and plural forms. Plurality is indicated by adding a preposed clitic *su*, therefore

wā (nē nē) ‘who?’	Pl su wā (nē nē)
wāyē ‘who?’	Pl su wāyē

Su can also precede nouns, creating their plural forms expressing a group of similar people or objects (see 10.1.2.), e.g. *su Mūsā* ‘Musa and the others’.

6.3. Concluding remarks

Hausa plural patterns are very diverse, but somewhat regular if individual words are assigned a plural type, in which the ending and tonal pattern are the same. Regular patterns are often given in dictionaries using symbols (mostly endings), the decoding of which requires knowledge of other word features integrated with the plural morpheme (such as the tonal pattern). This is how entries are presented in Paul Newman’s dictionary (2007), in which a simplified plural code includes information about regular suffixes and infixes. Irregular forms are spelled out in full. The list of plural forms correlated with the dictionary codes is presented in Appendix No. 2.

CHAPTER VII

Adjectives and adjectival phrases

In terms of grammatical features, Hausa adjectives share morphological characteristics with nouns, but their uses differ at the level of nominal phrase structure and the rules of transformation within the phrase. They have distinct gender forms in the singular and one common plural, but unlike nouns, gender is not a selective category, since adjectives decline by adopting endings and changing tonal patterns.

The feminine morpheme of singular adjectives is *-ā* and variants of this ending with a semivowel, i.e. *-(i)yā*, *-(u)wā*. Other endings (including *-ā*) also occur in masculine adjectives. The rules for creating feminine forms from masculine forms are as follows:

- i(i) + *ā* → *-ā*, e.g. *bakī* m, *bakā* f ‘black, dark’
- e(e) + *ā* → *-iyā*, e.g. *bēbē* m, *bēbiyā* f ‘deaf mute’, but *danyē* m, *danyā* f ‘raw’, ‘uncooked’
- i(i) lub è(e) + *ā* → *-iyā*, e.g. *mūhimmī* m, *mūhimmiyā* f ‘important’
- u(u) or o(o) + *ā* → *-uwā*, e.g. *tsōho* m, *tsōhuwā* f ‘old’
- ù(u) or ò(o) + *ā* → *-ùwā*, e.g. *kātō* m, *katùwā* f ‘huge’ (person)

The plural of adjectives is formed according to the same rules as the plural of nouns, which means that the plural adjectival pattern can be assigned to a class distinguished for nouns, e.g. *bakī* m ‘black, dark’, Pl *bakàkē* (cl. 3a), *tsōho* m ‘old’, Pl *tsòfàffī* (cl. 7b), see Appendix No 1.

7.1. Basic adjectives

Adjectives most often have an attributive function and appear in sentences as determiners of nouns. They agree with them in gender/number. Such constructions are of two types:

- a) the adjective precedes the noun and attaches the linker *-n* (as an agreement morpheme in the masculine singular and plural) or *-r* (as an agreement morpheme in the feminine singular), e.g. *kàramin yārō* ‘little boy’, *sābuwar rīgā* ‘new robe’, *tsōfāffin mutānē* ‘old people’.
- b) the adjective follows the noun; such a construction has no morphological exponents, e.g. *yārō kàramī* ‘little boy’, *rīgā sābuwā* ‘new robe’, *mutānē tsōfāffi* ‘old people’.

The list of basic adjectives is not long, it has just over twenty units (see Appendix No 4). They describe features such as size (*kàramī* or *kànkānē* ‘little’, *bābbā* ‘big’, *dōgō* ‘long, tall’, *gājērē* ‘short’), colour (*bakī* ‘black’, *farī* ‘white’, *jā* ‘red’, *kōrē* ‘green’, *shūdī* ‘blue’, *algāshī* ‘light green’) or some other properties, such as in *sābō* ‘new’, *tsōho* ‘old’, *mūgū* ‘bad’, *huntū* ‘naked’, *danyē* ‘raw, uncooked’.

Adjectives also include terms referring to physical characteristics of people (*kātō* ‘huge person’), especially those with disabilities, such as *gurgū* ‘lame’, *bēbē* ‘deaf mute’. The list is enriched by adjectives borrowed from Arabic, among them *māshāhūrī* ‘well-known’ and *mūhimī* ‘important’. They all have common morphological features in phrases with nouns.

7.1.1. Adjectives and nouns with dual class membership

An important addition to the list of adjectives are numerous and semantically diverse terms, usually referring to characteristics of people. These words among which there are native terms and many Arabic loanwords are assigned the status of nouns. However, they have dual class membership; they may be used as nouns, but they also appear in typical adjectival phrases. Among the determiners of this type, the following can be mentioned (Newman 2000: 24):

bākō ‘stranger, foreigner’
wāwā ‘fool(ish)’
gwarzō ‘dauntless, energetic (person)’
mūnāfūkī ‘hypocritical, hypocrite’
jāhīlī ‘ignorant, illiterate (person)’
ālmūbazzārī ‘extravagant, spendthrift’

Their membership in the class of nouns or adjectives is marked by the different types of structures in which they occur. For example, a feminine adjective *wāwā* (or *wāwiyā*) and the noun *wāwā* (*wāwanyā* – derived feminine noun) have the following representation in sentence structure:

Ita cē **wāwar** sārauniyā ‘she is a foolish queen’
 Ita cē **wāwanyā** ‘she is a fool’

Similar usage rules apply to the words *sūsūsū* and *shāshāshā*, which carry negative associations when referring to people (‘witless’ and ‘foolish, stupid’ respectively) and may function as nouns or adjectives. It is to be added that some adjectival determiners that are primarily classified as basic adjectives, such as: *tsōho* ‘old’, *kātō* ‘huge’, *gurgū* ‘cripple, lame’, may also be used as nouns, e.g. *wani tsōho yā zō* ‘an old (man) came’.

Other types of adjectives are distinguished by some additional formal features that determine their common semantic characteristics and create certain semantic classes.

7.1.2. *Augmentative adjectives*

There is a quite large group of adjectives, which is treated separately because of their common semantic component ‘very’ or ‘excessively’. Their distinguishing feature is the ending *-ī* and variants of the form with reduplication, emphasizing their phonoaesthetic, expressive character, i.e. *sangamī* ‘huge’, *sangamēmē* ‘huge (of living things)’, *wàngangāmī* ‘extensive’ (Yakasai 2023: 58). A term *augmentative adjectives* is used to describe this expressive words (Newman 2000: 25) that share all the morphological features of basic adjectives. They are linked to distinct gender forms in the singular and a common plural form identified as pattern (14). Here are examples:

sangamī m	sangamā f	‘huge’	Pl sangam-sàngàm
sangamēmē m	sangamēmiyā f	‘huge’	Pl sangam-sàngàm
fankamēmē m	fankamēmiyā f	‘very broad’	Pl fankam-fànkàm
wangamī m	wangamā f	‘extensive’	Pl wangam-wàngàm
wangamēmē m	wangamēmiyā f	‘extensive’	Pl wangam-wàngàm

In nominal phrase, they have regular morphological features of adjectives, for example *fankamēmèn kōgī* ‘a very wide river’, *santalēliyar yārinyā* ‘a shapely girl’.³⁷ The plural form, which has the suprasegmental features of ideophones (see 8.3.), occurs most often in postposition, therefore *kōgunā fankam-fànkàm* ‘very wide rivers’.

³⁷ More preferable expression with the augmentative adjectives is the variant with their postposition in nominal phrase, often with the additional pronominal phrase, e.g. *yārinyā santalēliyā (dā ita)* (Newman 2000: 26).

7.1.3. Diminutive adjectives

Another class of phonaesthetic-ideophonic words are *diminutive adjectives*, which denote the physically diminutive attributes of persons, places or objects. They express meanings such as ‘small’, ‘tiny’, ‘teeny’, ‘short’, ‘skinny’, ‘slim’, ‘narrow’, ‘slender’, ‘light’, etc. (Jaggar 2001: 133; Yakasai 2023: 58). At the surface level, they have *-ī* ending and include reduplication of the final syllable in singular and full reduplication in plural. The feminine adjective in singular is formed with the feminine suffix *-iyā*, e.g.:

mīlīlī (= mīlīlī) m	mīlīliyā f	‘small and round’	Pl mīlī-mīlī
fītītī (= fītītī) m	fītītiyā m	‘skinny’	Pl fītī-fītī
sīrīrī (= sīrīrī) m	sīrīriyā	‘skinny’	Pl sīrī-sīrī

When used with nouns, they are commonly preceded by the diminutive marker *dān/’yar/’yan* (see 12.3.) and follow the noun. Additionally, they may be extended by a pronominal phrases with *dā* ‘with’, e.g. *yārinyā* (‘*yar*’) *sīrīriyā dā ita* (Newman 2000: 26).

7.2. Derived adjectives

7.2.1. Adjectival past participle

There are many adjectives derived from words representing other parts of speech that share the morphological properties of basic adjectives. Among them are adjectival past participles, formed from verbs by a tone-integrating suffix *-aCCē*^{LHH}. They have distinct gender forms in the singular and a plural form that adapts to the class (9a) plural pattern (see 6.1.9.). It is worth noting that in the singular, the final vowel *-e* and feminine ending *-iyā* cause palatalization of the relevant root consonant (see 2.2.1.), which remains unpalatalized before the ending *-u* in the plural, as in the examples below:

gàsasshē ³⁸ m	gàsasshiyā f	Pl gàsässū	‘roasted’	(< <i>gasā</i> ‘roast’)
fàsasshē m	fàsasshiyā f	Pl fàsässū	‘broken’	(< <i>fasā</i> ‘break’)
rùbūtaccē m	rùbūtacciyā f	Pl rùbūtättū	‘written’	(< <i>rubūtā</i> ‘write’)
sātaccē m	sātacciyā f	Pl sātättū	‘stolen’	(< <i>sātā</i> ‘steal’)

³⁸ According to the spelling convention, a double digraph has the first consonant marked only with the first element, i.e. shsh > ssh.

gùdajjē m	gùdajjiyā f	Pl gùdàddū	‘running’	(< <i>gudū</i> ‘run’)
màtaccē m	màtacciyā f	Pl màtattū	‘dead’	(< <i>mutū</i> , <i>macē</i> ‘die’)
bùdāddē m	bùdāddiyā f	Pl bùdāddū	‘opened’	(< <i>būdē</i> ‘open’)
dàfaffē m	dàfaffiyā f	Pl dàfāffū	‘cooked’	(< <i>dafā</i> ‘cook’)
gyàrarrē m	gyàrariyā f	Pl gyàrarrū	‘repaired’	(< <i>gyārā</i> ‘repair’)

When used in phrases with nouns, participles behave like adjectives, i.e. *gyàrarren àkwàtì* (= *àkwàtì gyàrarrē*) ‘repaired box’, *sàtattun kāyā* (= *kāyā sàtattū*) ‘stolen goods’. Some other derived nouns, such as agentive nouns with the prefix *ma-* (see 12.1.), can also be used adjectivally. They have feminine forms in singular and form plurals with (4c) plural pattern, e.g.:

mahàukācī m	mahaukaciya f	Pl mahàukātā	‘mad (person)’	(< <i>haukacē</i> ‘become mad’)
matsiyācī m	matsiyāciyā f	Pl matsiyātā	‘poor’	(< <i>tsiyā</i> ‘be(come) poor’)

When used as adjectives, the gender/number form agrees with the noun, e.g. *wani mahàukācin dirēbā* ‘a crazy driver’, *matsiyācin yāu*, *mawādācin gōbē* ‘poor to-day, rich to-morrow!’ (Abraham 1962: 668).

7.2.2. *Derived adjectives of sensory quality*

Regular adjectives in Hausa are also derived from nouns that represent a consistent semantic class and have a uniform structure. This is a set of some 60 or so nouns indicating the qualities of touch, taste, size, strength, etc. termed as *Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality*, i.e. ANSQ as first designated by F.W. Parsons (Parsons 1955). These include qualities perceptible by eye (*fāḍī* ‘breadth’, *zurfi* ‘depth’), by both touch and sight (*kwarī* ‘strength of substance’, *tsaurī* ‘density’), by lifting (*nauyī* ‘heaviness’, *sāukī* ‘lightness’), qualities of temperature (*zāfi* ‘heat’, *sanyī* ‘coolness’, *dārī* ‘coldness’), by action (*karfi* ‘strength in action, force’), by taste (*zākī* ‘flavour, sweetness’, *lāmī* ‘tastelessness, dullness’), by smell (*wārī* ‘strong smell’, *kamshī* ‘sweet smell, perfume’), by any of the senses, e.g. *dādī* ‘pleasantness, niceness’, *tsarkī* ‘cleanliness, purity’ (Parsons 1955: 380f).

As for formal features of these nouns, they are disyllabic words ending in *-ī* whose tonal pattern is HH. Their first syllable is always long/heavy. In other words, they exhibit a remarkable degree of homogeneity at all levels of analysis: phonological, tonological, morphological and semantic and they are involved in many types of structures in which they express meanings of traits, qualities and are equivalents of terms most often expressed in European languages through adjectives.

Adjectives derived from these nouns are formed by means of a CVC(-)^L prefix, which is a reduplicated part of the root, and the suffix *-ā*, while the plural is formed by the suffix *-āCā*^{HLH} (class 4b), e.g.:³⁹

zùzzurfā m/f	‘deep’	Pl zurfāfā	(< zurfī ‘depth’)
kàkkausā m/f	‘rough’	Pl kausāsā	(< kaushī ‘roughness’)
fārādā = fāfādā m/f	‘broad’	Pl fādādā	(< fādī ‘breadth’)

Derived adjectives of sensory quality are often assigned a semantic component of intensity, hence *fārādā* is translated as ‘very broad’ (Newman 2000: 25). Not all contexts support this semantic attribute, which requires more detailed research. A list of the most frequently used ANSQ and adjectives derived from them is available in Appendix No 3.

Some other names of qualities that are syntactic nouns, but do not have all the features of the ANSQ, also form adjectives on similar principles, including *kyāu* ‘goodness’ and *mūnī* ‘ugliness’, i.e.

kyākkyawā m/f	‘good’	Pl kyāwāwā	(< kyāu ‘goodness’)
mūmmūnā m/f	‘evil, ugly’	Pl mūnānā	(< mūnī ‘ugliness’)

As noun determiners, these adjectives take the linker *-n/-r* (according to gender), but only when they precede the word they describe, e.g. *zùzzurfān kōgī* (but *kōgī zùzzurfā*) ‘deep river’, *fādādān kōgunā* (but *kōgunā fādādā*) ‘wide rivers’, *kyākkyāwar yārinyā* (but *yārinyā kyākkyāwā*) ‘beautiful girl’.

The *Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality* create the following types of constructions equivalent to adjectival phrases, with reference to an example of *zùzzurfān kōgī* (*kōgī zùzzurfā*) ‘deep river’ and its negative variants:

- kōgī mair zurfī* ‘deep river’ (lit. river possessing ‘depth’)
- kōgī maràs zurfī* ‘shallow river’ (lit. river lacking depth)
- kōgī yanā dà zurfī* ‘the river is deep’ (lit. river possesses depth)
- kōgī bā ya dà zurfī* (= *kōgī bā shi dà zurfī*) ‘the river is not deep’ (lit. the river has no depth)
- kōgī yā yi zurfī* ‘the river became deep’ (lit. the river has generated depth)

³⁹ The syllable final consonant of the CVC reduplicative morpheme undergoes phonological changes, mostly complete assimilation to the following consonant (see 2.1.) as well as some other changes related to historical transformations concerned with the systematic weakening of the coda consonant or its change into /r/.

The syntax and phraseology of Hausa generates other variants equivalent to the adjectival construction *kògī yā yi zurfī*, which includes verbs other than *yi* ‘to do’, such as *cikā* ‘fill, do much of’, *kārā* ‘increase, add to’, therefore *kògī yā cikā zurfī* (lit. the river is filled with depth), *kògī yā kārā zurfī* (lit. the river increased in depth).

7.3. Adjectives as a cross-category notion

The common opinion that Hausa (like many other African languages) has few adjectives and is therefore poor in expressing meanings is false because it assumes that syntactic class of adjectives determines the richness of the means of expressing characteristics, qualities and other attributes of persons, places or objects.

In addition to the structural possibilities mentioned earlier, which allow for the creation of adjectival terms from other parts of speech by derivation, the Hausa language also possesses a rich set of structures that, in a sense, replace adjectives but do not possess the systemic characteristics of adjectives. Prominent among these are verb clauses, which describe a state resulting from a process, or, less frequently, an action. Therefore, the meaning of a feature or quality may be encoded by intransitive verbs, such as *gàji* ‘become tired’, *tsūfa* ‘become old’, when in the verbal phrases (always in completive aspect, see 14.1.1.) *yā gāji* and *yā tsūfa* is an equivalent to ‘he is tired’ and ‘he is old’ respectively. Similarly, the clause with verbal predicate *yi* ‘do, make’ and nouns denoting qualities (including ANSQ) are used to express adjectival phrases (*yā yi kyāu* ‘it’s beautiful’ (lit. he/if did beauty), *yā yi girmā* ‘he is big’. Verbal phrases are preferred over basic adjectives in some contexts.

Also comparative adjectives are in Hausa based on verbal structures. The most common verb used to highlight a difference between the two nouns in a shared characteristic is *fī* ‘exceed, surpass’, e.g. *yā fī nì wàyō* ‘he is smarter than me’ (lit. he surpasses me in cleverness). Some other verbs may be used in more specific contexts, e.g. *girmē* ‘be older than’, as in *Mūsā yā girmē nì dà shēkarā biyu* ‘Musa is two years older than I am’.

The possibility of using different structural patterns corresponding in meaning to adjectives reflects a feature of the Hausa language known as figurativeness. Many such terms contain a large expressive component which can be additionally coded by sound sequence and reduplication.

The class of words that has aesthetic properties are ideophones (see 1.4.). Syntactically, they are nouns, but some of them are determiners of nouns and

express adjectival meanings, e.g. *màganà bada-bada* ‘incomprehensible’ (*màganà* ‘speech’). They are mostly post-head modifiers, but may also be used adjectivally, e.g. *zòlòlò* ‘tall with a long neck’, *zòlòlòn ràkumī* ‘a tall camel’ (Newman 2000: 24). When used in a verb phrase with *tsayà* ‘stop, stand in place’, i.e. *yā tsayà zòlòlò*, it expresses the meaning ‘(he) is haughty’, coding a feature of the subject, not the nature of the action. Some ideophones are used to intensify the attribute of an adjective, e.g. *fārī fat* ‘snow white’.

As for reduplication, it is a common feature of the particular classes of adjectives (as indicated above) and ideophones. A special status in coding adjectival meanings has full reduplication. When the process of full reduplication applies to adjectives or sensory-quality nouns (ANSQ), the reduplicated forms are semantically “attenuated”, i.e. have the quality of the simple adjective but to a lesser extent (Newman 2000: 27). Examples of adjectives are *dōgō* ‘tall’, *dōgo-dōgo* ‘medium height’, *shūdī* ‘(dark) blue’, *shūdī-shūdī* ‘light blue, bluish’. The process is accompanied by vowel shortening of the basic adjective. Also sensory-quality nouns undergo full reduplication on the same terms, e.g. *dākunà māsū wāri-wāri* ‘somewhat smelly rooms’.

Adjectives can be formed by full reduplication also from common nouns. As in the reduplicated forms presented above, the final vowel of both parts of the base word is shortened. The resulting adjectives indicate a quality or characteristic of the source nouns (Newman 2000: 27), e.g. *gishir-gishiri* ‘salty’ (*gishirī* ‘salt’), *ruwa-ruwa* ‘watery’ (*ruwā* ‘water’), *yāshi-yāshi* ‘sandy’ (*yāshī* ‘sand’).

Fully reduplicated forms of adjectives in all their variants are used postpositionally and those of them that have distinct feminine and plural forms retain them in reduplicated forms, e.g. *wata rīgā shūdīya-shūdīya* ‘a light-blue gown’, *madarā ruwa-ruwa* ‘skimmed milk’, *nāmā danye-danye* ‘rawish meat’.

CHAPTER VIII

Adverbs and adverbial phrases

Adverbs serve many functions in a sentence: they indicate time, place, and manner. They usually function as modifiers of predicates; in neutral sentence word order (see 16.1.), they most often appear postpositionally (*tanà aikì sànnu sànnu* ‘she is working slowly’), but they may also be fronted and it is not connected with focus, which is the reason of such movements (*jiyà an yi ruwā = an yi ruwā jiyà* ‘it rained yesterday’). In Hausa, adverbs also may have an unusual function in the sentence structure, namely, they serve as predicates in nonverbal locative (see 4.2.) and stative sentences (see 8.2.3. below), e.g.:

dākīnā **yanà nân** ‘my room is here’

bākī **sunà zàune** kusa dà sarkī ‘the visitors are seated close to the chief’

8.1. Basic adverbs

The main difference between adverbs, nouns, and adjectives is manifested at the phonological level. A common feature of adverbs is a short final vowel, which sometimes creates a categorical opposition within a single lexeme, e.g. *darē* ‘night’ and *dare* ‘at night’, *kasā* ‘earth, ground’ and *kasà* ‘on the ground, below’, *bāyā* ‘back’ and *bāya* ‘in/at the back, behind’.

Adverbs are grouped into semantic classes, among which temporal and spatial adverbs are the most numerous, but there are also those that express manner, intensity or other adverbial meanings. Here are their representatives (following Newman 2000: 35f):

Spatial adverbs: *dāma* ‘right-hand side’, *hagu* = *hagun* ‘left’, *arēwa* ‘north’, *kudù* ‘south’, *gabàs* ‘east’, *yamma* ‘west’, *kusa* ‘near, nearby’, *inā* ‘where?’, *kō’inā* ‘everywhere’, *nân* ‘here’, *nan* ‘there’, *cân* ‘there’, *can* ‘there’.

Temporal adverbs: *bāra* ‘last year’, *bàdī* ‘next year’, *bana* ‘this year’, *città* ‘four days hence’, *dā* ‘formerly, in former times’, *dàdai* ‘ever, always’ (in negative

sentences: ‘never’), *dāzu* ‘just now’, *gātà* ‘three days hence’, *gòbe* ‘tomorrow’, *jībi* ‘day after tomorrow’, *jìyà* ‘yesterday’, *yāu* ‘today’, *shēkaranjìyà* ‘day before yesterday’, *kullum* ‘always, every day’, *tùni* ‘long ago’, *wāshègārī* = *kāshègārī* ‘the following day’, *yànzu* ‘now’, *yàushè* = *yàushē* ‘when?’, *kōyàushè*, *kōyàushē* ‘whenever’.

Adverbs indicating manner or intensity: *ainùn* ‘very much, thoroughly’, *daidai* ‘correctly, exactly’, *dōlè* ‘perforce’, *duk* ‘entirely’, *hākīkà* ‘surely, without a doubt’, *kawài* ‘only, merely’, *kwarai* ‘very much so’, *mùsammàn* ‘especially’, *maza* ‘quickly’, *sòsai* ‘very well, correctly’, *(wata)kīlā* ‘perhaps, maybe’, *yāyà* ‘how?’.

Many words referred to (for example, in dictionaries) as adverbs behave in a sentence like nouns or adjectives. They may be used as subject of the sentence (*dā dà yànzu ba dāya sukè* ‘he past and the present are not the same’), second element of nominal compound with a genitive linker (*mutānen dā* ‘old-fashioned people’ (lit. people of long ago) or may form prepositional phrases (*dàgà arēwa* ‘from the north’, *dàgà inā* ‘from where?’). The same word can modify both a noun, numeral and a verb, e.g. *karfè gōmà daidai* ‘ten o’clock precisely’, *rīgarkà tā yī daidai dà kai* ‘the robe suits you well’, *daidai lōkàcīn dà sukà zō* ‘exactly when they came’. Some adverbs are formed as nominal phrases with demonstrative adjectives by means of the linker, e.g. *dāzun nān* ‘just a moment ago’, *yānzun nān* ‘just now’.

The word **duk** ‘entirely’ also has intercategorical status. As an adverb *duk* ‘entirely’ often appears at the beginning of a sentence, where it remains a modifier of the verb, e.g. *duk yā bātā minī lōkàcī* ‘he completely wasted my time’. It often comes at the very beginning of a relative construction, as in *duk indà mukà jē, sai mukà gan shì* ‘wherever we went, we saw him’. As a nominal element it has an alternative form *dukà* and expresses the meaning ‘all’. *Duk/dukà* can be used to modify nouns when it can precede the noun or to follow it (*duk rānā* ‘every day’, *dukàn mātā* or *mātā dukà* ‘all women’) (see also 10.2.7.).

8.1.1. NAN/CAN dichotomy

The segmental opposition of NAN and CAN expresses the basic contrast between ‘here’ and ‘there’, but with tonal modifications, the two items form a four-term system expressing additional meanings, which take into account the speaker’s and hearer’s perspectives in defining these meanings. Moreover, in addition to spatial meanings, they also serve to express temporal meanings. For the individual units labeled as NAN and CAN the following meanings can be distinguished (Newman 2000: 36):

NAN

Used spatially: *nân* means ‘here’ (defined as speaker proximal), *nan* ‘there’ (defined as hearer proximal).

Used temporally, *nân* indicates proximal time (‘now, soon’), *nan* denotes ‘then’.

There is an extensive usage of NAN forms in non-spatial functions, either in idiomatic expressions or for other deictic purposes (Pawlak 2016: 238). Many phrases function as petrified structures which no longer refer to space. Most of these are adverbial phrases of time or manner, e.g. *nan dà nan* (lit. here and here), which means ‘at once’ and *nan tãke (sai)...* (lit. there stepped) ‘suddenly’, *nân gàba* (lit. here in front) ‘in the near future’, *shī kě nan* (lit. it/he is there) ‘OK, that’s it, that’s fine’.

CAN

Used spatially: *cân* means ‘there’ (but not extremely far away from the speaker and the hearer), *can* ‘there (remote)’.

Used temporally, *can* ‘then’ indicates distal time (*cân* is not used in nonspatial contexts).

A reference system based on the opposition between ‘here’ and ‘there’ was reinterpreted by Jaggar & Buba (1994) as a distance/speaker-based code with a “person oriented” deictic system. The ‘there’ domain was further reinterpreted by Mahamane L. Abdoulaye (2005: 85) into a H(earer)-based subsystem, as seen in the following table.

Proximal	Distal	
nân	cân	
	H-Proximal	H-Distal
	nan	cân

The locative adverbial forms *nân* ‘here’, *nan* ‘there (speaker proximal)’, *cân* ‘there (distant)’, and *can* ‘there (remote)’ may be used as a demonstrative adjectives (see 10.2.1.).

8.2. Derived adverbs

Not only basic adverbs can occur with prepositions, syntactically equivalent counterparts are also formed using prepositional phrases with nouns. Nouns used in adverbial function share the feature of short final vowel with adverbs. Adverbial prepositional phrases are most often formed with the prepositions **à** ‘at’ and **dà** ‘with’. In some derived adverbs the ending of the nominal component additionally changes with respect to its basic form, e.g.:

- à zūci ‘in the heart’ (*zūciyā* f ‘heart’)
- à yātsu ‘at fingers’ (*yātsū* Pl of *yātsā* ‘finger’)
- à ido ‘in/on the eye’ (*idō* ‘eye’)
- à bakà ‘in the mouth’ (*bākī* ‘mouth’)
- à ruwà ‘in the water’ (*ruwā* ‘water’)
- dà dare ‘at night’ (*darē* ‘night’)
- à kunnuwà ‘in/on the ears’ (*kunnuwā* ‘ears’)
- dà kà ‘by head’ (*kāi* m ‘head’)
- dà rāna ‘during the day’ (*rānā* f ‘sun, day’)
- dà gāske ‘truly’ (*gāskiyā* f ‘truth’)
- dà hankālī ‘carefully’ (*hankālī* ‘care’)
- dà nīsa ‘far’

Other prepositions are possible (see 15.3.1.), as in **dàgà nān zuwā** *cān duk gōnarmù cē* ‘our farm extends from here to there’).

8.2.1. Prepositional phrases expressing spatial meanings

Spatial adverbs in the form of prepositional phrases create a system in which two elements function: basic prepositions and the so-called genitive preposition (see 15.3.2.). Among the basic prepositions’ (see 15.3.1.), four are used in a spatial sense: **à** ‘at, in, on’⁴⁰, **dàgà** ‘from’, **zuwā** ‘to’, **ta** ‘via, by means of’. They can be combined with a preposition denoting spatial relation, for example *cikin* ‘inside of’. Therefore, with this definition of space, spatial adverbs can be formed with the following meanings:

- à cikin gidā ‘in the house’ (*gidā* ‘house’)
- dàgà** cikin gidā ‘from the house’
- zuwā** cikin gidā ‘to the house’
- ta** cikin gidā ‘through the house’

⁴⁰ The preposition **à** does not carry any spatial meaning, its function is to indicate the static relation, when the phrase used is an answer to the question: where?

On the other hand, each of these basic prepositions can appear before a noun indicating space, which forms a genitive construction with the noun designating that space. Many of such “genitive prepositions” (see 15.3.2.) are built on body part terms, such as **cikin** ‘inside of’ (< *cikī* ‘belly’), **kān** ‘on top of’ (< *kāi* ‘head’), but some other nouns may also be used in this function, for example **wàjen** ‘outside of’ (< *wàje* ‘outside’), **kàrkashin** ‘under’ (< *kàrkashī* ‘the underneath’). Therefore, **dàgà** (similarly to the other basic prepositions) can be combined with various genitive prepositions to form an extended prepositional phrase as a spatial adverb:

dàgà **cikin** gidā ‘from (inside) the house’
 dàgà **bāyan** gidā ‘from behind the house’
 dàgà **kān** gidā ‘from the top of the house’
 dàgà **kàrkashin** gidā ‘from under the house’

However, this prepositional phrase pattern often occurs in a reduced form – without one or even both prepositions, therefore *à kān gadō* = *kān gadō* = *à gado* = *gado* ‘in a bed’ (lit. on a bed). These constructions are structurally in free variation, but with reference to the context, as in *bā kullum akē kwāna (à) (kān) gadō ba* ‘it’s not like one always sleeps in bed’. The current variant of the prepositional phrase takes into account pragmatics and discursive purposes of the text. The primary goal here is to avoid redundancy (i.e. repeating information already provided elsewhere) and ambiguity.

Textual analyses (Pawlak 1986) show that basic prepositions occur in correlation with a verb (or a type of predicate) and if its meaning is coded on the verb, the preposition can be omitted. When the predicate generates the question where?, the preposition **à** is used, e.g.: *jìyà inā yāwò à bākin kōgī* ‘yesterday I was walking along the bank of the river’. The preposition **à** is not used after verbs of motion, which generally encode the meaning ‘to’, but when the prepositional phrase does not follow immediately the verb, the preposition **zuwā** is used, e.g.: *Yā nufō waje dà gudù zuwā wajen turkèn jākunā* ‘He ran out and made his way to the place where the donkey tethering-post was’. When the locative goal follows immediately the verb of motion, the preposition **zuwā** is not used, i.e. *jìyà nā tàfi bākin kōgi* ‘yesterday I went to the river (bank)’ (*tāfi* ‘go to’). Similarly, the preposition **dàgà** ‘from’ may be omitted when the verb inherently contains this meaning, as in *sun fitō wàjen Kanò* = *sun fitō dàgà wàjen Kanò* ‘they come from the Kano area’ (lit. from the outskirts of Kano).⁴¹

⁴¹ In some contexts, the semantic oppositions between prepositions given here are neutralized or give another perspective to the spatial relation, for example **dàgà** may appear in sentences in

As for ‘genitive prepositions’ (see 15.3.2.), they specify the exact space of the relation. These prepositions can be omitted if the space is known or is default. Therefore, *kwāna (à) gadō* always means ‘sleep in the bed’ (lit. on the bed), even if the genitive preposition *kān* ‘on’ is not used. If we want to express the meaning ‘under the bed’, the appropriate genitive preposition, i.e. *kàrkashin* must be used, resulting in *(à) kàrkashin gadō*.

Another type of prepositional phrases includes denominal adverbs, which specify the exact space of the relation, but here the genitive relation with the following noun is replaced by the conjoined phrase with the preposition *dà* ‘with, in relation to’, e.g. *kusa dà* ‘near to’, *kēwayè dà* ‘around’, as in *kusa dà kōgī* ‘near the river’, *kēwayè dà shī* ‘around him’. In addition to those mentioned, compounds of this kind are formed by the following denominal adverbs:

nēsà dà ‘far from’ (cf. *dà nēsà/nīsà* ‘far away’)
bisà dà ‘above (something)’
samà dà ‘above (in rank or position)’
arèwa dà ‘north of’
kudù dà ‘south of’
gabàs dà ‘east of’
yamma dà ‘west of’

The variant of *dà* in compounds with denominal adverbs may be the preposition *gà* (*gārē* before a pronoun, see 15.3.1.), e.g. *yā zākūdā nēsà gà shìmfidā tāsà* ‘he moved further away from his mat’, *kusa gārē shì* ‘close to him’. This type of prepositional phrases can also be preceded by basic prepositions (most often *dàgà*, less often *à*), e.g. *sun tsayà dàgà nēsà dà shī* ‘they stopped far away from him’, *sun sàuka à kusa dà wata bishiyà* ‘they stopped near the tree’.

8.2.2. Reduplicated adverbs

Adverbs can be reduplicated, and the function of this process can be either to strengthen or weaken the feature. Semantic strengthening applies to some basic temporal adverbs, the locative ‘here’ and ‘there’, and a few manner adverbs (Newman 2000: 41), e.g.:

dāzu dāzu ‘this very moment’ (*dāzu* ‘this moment’)
maza maza (= *marmaza*) ‘very quickly’ (*maza* ‘quickly’)

which it fills the adverbial slot answering the question where?, and not where from?, e.g. *yā sàuka dàgà bayan gārī* ‘he stopped outside the town’ (cf. also *yā sàuka à bayan gārī* with the same translation when it does not take into account the pragmatic context).

wuri wuri ‘very early’ (*wuri* ‘early’)
 nân nân ‘right here’ (*nân* ‘here’)

The weakening occurs mainly in denominal adverbs with a locative meaning (Newman 2000: 42), e.g. *bāya bāya* ‘a bit behind’ (*bāya* ‘behind’), *samà samà* ‘a bit higher’ (*samà* ‘above’).

Denominal adverbs are also reduplicated nouns that express distribution in time, space, or manner. When used in a sentence, they carry the meaning ‘every’/‘each’ or from X to X (Yakasai 2023: 87), e.g.:

gidā gidā ‘from house to house’ (*gidā* ‘house’)
 kashī kashī ‘in different categories, classes’ (*kashī* ‘portion, part’)
 lōkàcī lōkàcī ‘from time to time’ (*lōkàcī* ‘time’)
 lahàdī lahàdī ‘every Sunday’ (*lahàdī* ‘Sunday’)⁴²

8.2.3. Deverbal statives

Adverbial forms derived from verbs by means of a suffix *-e* and the change of the tonal pattern into LH denotes the state resulting from the completion of action, e.g. *zaunà* ‘to sit’, *zàune* ‘seated’, *būdā* ‘(to) open’, *būde* ‘open’, *cikā* ‘fill’, *cike* ‘filled’. In Hausa descriptive tradition, they are referred to as adverbial nouns of state, adverbs of state or statives. They are commonly used in Hausa texts and have many functions, some of which escape the standard uses of similar forms in other languages. For example, they may function as predicates of sentences in continuous, e.g. *sunà zàune* ‘they are sitting/seated’, *sunà tsàye* ‘they are standing/in a standing position’.

Statives are usually preceded by the optional preposition (*à*), therefore

(à) gùje ‘on the run’ (*gudù* ‘run’)
 (à) tsàye ‘standing’ (*tsayà* ‘stay’)
 (à) riķe ‘held’ (*rikē* ‘hold’)

When used as adverbial modifiers, the preposition *à* is obligatory, e.g.:

Yā bar tǎgǎ à būde ‘he left the window open’
 Yā fita à gùje ‘he sped out’

⁴² A small number of fully reduplicated nouns, mostly loanwords such as *hòtāl-hòtāl*, *cōcì-cōcì*, denote plurality (‘hotels’ and ‘churches’ respectively) rather than distribution. Their proper qualification is possible in clausal context.

The deverbal stative structure is also shared by some denominal formations, for example *à àsirce* ‘in secret’ (*àsīrī* ‘secret’), *à Hàusànce* ‘in Hausa’ (*Hausa* ‘Hausa language’). Statives are most often formed from intransitive verbs. If they are derived from transitive verbs, they add an object to the sentence using the preposition *dà*, e.g. *mùtùm dāuke dà sàndā* ‘a man holding a stick’, *yanà ràtāye dà bindigà* ‘he has a gun hanging over his shoulder’.

8.2.4. Adverbial expressions in the form of lexicalized clauses of phrases

Adverbs in Hausa can take the form of phrases whose literal meaning is different from the meaning of the lexicalized phrase. Such petrified expressions, which take the form of either compound words or entire clauses, fill the adverb slot in the sentence structure. Here are examples:

kwānā, tǎshi (= à kwānā à tǎshi) ‘gradually’ (lit. sleep, wake up)
 kǎwō yānzū ‘so far, up to now’ (lit. bring now)
 bā zātō bā tsāmmānī ‘unexpectedly’ (lit. without supposing without thinking)
 kadā-tā-kwānā ‘urgent’ (lit. may she not rest)
 kǎi tsāye ‘directly’, ‘at once’ (lit. head in standing position)
 ruwā-à-jǎllō ‘desperately, with great effort’ (lit. water at bottle)
 nan takē ‘forthwith’ (lit. she is here)
 gābā daya ‘simultaneously, entire, entirely, at once’ (lit. one front)
 bāki daya ‘unanimously, all at once, simultaneously’ (lit. one mouth)
 nan dà nan ‘immediately’ (lit. here and there)
 kwānan bāya ‘recently’ (lit. day of back)

8.3. Ideophones in adverbial function

Ideophones represent a specific class of words distinguished by distinct phonotactics, which differ from regular sound sequences within a word (see 1.4.). They do not represent a separate part of speech, but complement the repertoire of adjectival terms (see 7.3.), and especially adverbial terms.

Ideophones are often consonant-final, e.g. *zigidir* ‘stark naked’, *tsit* ‘in complete silence’, *wulik* ‘deep blue’. Their meaning is assigned to the meaning of the word to which they refer, whereby a specific ideophone can only refer to one word, e.g.:

sābō **ful** ‘brand new’ (sābō ‘new’)
 tsōfō **kutuf** ‘very old’ (tsōfō ‘old’)

Ideophones may also take the form of reduplicated words, with fixed tonal patterns, e.g.:

budū-budū ‘be covered all over with smoke or powdery substance’, ‘bad-looking’
 buzū-buzū ‘with unkempt hair’
 rakē-rakē ‘about hanging clothes or sagging breasts’
 batsō-batsō ‘poorly made, bad looking’
 cakō-cakō ‘unaligned (teeth)’
 wujigā-wujigā ‘in disarray, in a disheveled state’

Only some of the ideophones have the characteristics of onomatopoeic words:

karas-karas the sound heard when a person eats raw kola or raw groundnuts
 (‘crunch-crunch’)
 kwas-kwas ‘snip-snip’
 ratata indicates abundance or great number of something in movement
 rātātā ‘chat-and-talk’, e.g. *sunā zāncē rātātā* ‘they are chattering *rātātā*’

Ideophones often act as adverbs that intensify or specify the meaning of adjectives and numerals, e.g.:

farī **fat** ‘snow white’ (*farī* ‘white’)
 jā **wur** (also *jāwur*) ‘bright red’ (*jā* ‘red’)
 bakī **kirin** emphasizes blackness (‘pitch black’) (*bakī* ‘black’)
 dāya **tak** ‘just (one), one (only)’ (*dāya* ‘one’)
 karfē gōmā **cif** ‘ten o’clock sharp’ (*gōmā* ‘ten’)

Adverbial use is most often associated with the modification of the action expressed in the predicate or with the clarification of the effects of this action, e.g.:

yā cika **pal** ‘it is filled to the brim’
 yā kōnē **kurmus** ‘it is burned to the ground’
 yā tāshi **farat** ‘he got up in a flash’
 yā fādi **sharap** ‘he fell headlong’
 yā gudū **farcak** ‘he ran away’
 sunā dūbansā **shekeke** ‘they look at him with contempt’
 sunā cī **gatsal-gatsal** ‘they eat without good manners’

Some adverbially used ideophones undergo transformation (but not as a regular process involving all ideophones) that changes the postverbal position of the ideophone into another verbal phrase with the verb *yi* ‘do, make’, preceding the verb in question used in its finite form (see 16.3.2.), i.e. *yā tāshì farat* ‘he got

up in a flash’ = *yā yi farat yā tashi* (lit. he did a sudden movement and got up). This example shows that the semantic contents of ideophones refer to sensory or mental experiences that are embedded in the content of the entire sentence. Below are examples of sentences with the predicate *yanā tsàye* ‘he is standing’ and various ideophones to modify the meaning of the entire sentence. In these sentences, the adverbial modifier for *tsàye* characterizes and evaluates the one who is standing rather than describes the manner of standing:

- yanā tsàye zòlòlò* ‘he is standing like a pillar’ (creates the impression of being tall)
- yanā tsàye gàndàndàn* ‘he is standing like a giant’ (i.e. he gives the impression of being huge)
- yanā tsàye gàndàkài* ‘he is standing rudely’ (i.e. in an impolite way or acting with a lack of respect)
- yanā tsàye kíkàm* ‘he is standing stiffly, motionless as a sign of refusal to do something’ (creates the impression of rudeness)
- yanā tsàye cik* ‘he is standing motionless’ (creates an impression of politeness)

8.4. Adverbial modifications coded syntactically

The equivalents of adverbs, which encode meanings of space, time, manner, and other senses classified under the umbrella of adjuncts, do not always have simple lexical equivalents in Hausa. In the use of syntactically defined equivalents, two strategies are employed: one concerns words with a wide range of modifying uses, such as particles and some ‘intercategorical’ terms (*duk* ‘entirely’, *daidai* ‘exactly’), which may be used differently from standard usage, while the other concerns syntactic devices referring to special types of structures.

8.4.1. Coding the meanings of ‘even’, ‘a little’, ‘especially’ in sentence structure

The words *kō* ‘even’ and *dān* ‘a little’, which have many functions (see 15.5 and 12.3), as well as the expression *tun bā... bā* ‘since not’ which is dedicated to the meaning ‘especially’, illustrate the strategies for encoding some adverbial meanings. When *kō* ‘even’, *dān* ‘a little’ are used adverbially as a verb phrase modifiers, they occur between the TAM marker and the verb or the predicative verbal noun form. Some multifunctional words in their adverbial function are presented below (examples extracted from Newman 2000: 46f). The data shows that the word *kō* ‘even’, which commonly modifies noun phrases (see 15.6.), can also be referred to verbal phrases. In this function, it often occurs in negative sentences, e.g.:

bàì **kō** dùbē mù ba ‘he didn’t even look at us’
 bā sà **kō** sôn bakin-ruwa ‘they do not even want clean water’

The meaning ‘a little’ is coded by the diminutive marker *dān*, which is a regular derivational morpheme to modify nouns and adjectives (see 12.3.).

kà **dān** dākātā! ‘wait a little!’
 munā **dān** hūtāwā ‘we were taking a little rest’

The meaning ‘especially’ is indicated by the complex expression *tun bā... bā* ‘since not’ complemented by an appropriate noun (phrase) inserted between the two elements, e.g.:

yānzū mōtōcī sun yī tsādā, **tun bā** Marsandī **bā** ‘cars are expensive, especially Mercedes’
 Māiduguri tanā dà zāfī, **tun bā** dà bazārā **bā** ‘Maiduguri is hot, especially in the hot season’

8.4.2. *Predicative adjuncts in multiverb constructions*

Adverbial modifications can be realized through multiverb constructions, in which two or more verbs or verb phrases are strung together in a single clause. The verbs are in their finite forms and the complex structure is without any marker of syntactic dependency.⁴³ Adverbial meanings (mostly time relations) form an auxiliary set with the finite clause which precedes the main verb phrase. These conjoined sentences have essentially unitary meaning (Newman 2000: 140).

A typical example, classified as a regular systemic device, not a stylistic option, is the meaning ‘already’ (‘not yet’ in negative sentences) coded by the intransitive verb *rigā* ‘precede’, be the first to⁴⁴ and the following verb phrase, when the two verbs are in the same aspectual form, e.g.:

an rigā an yī masà lambār rigākafi ‘an injection is already done’
 (lit. it happened earlier, he was given an injection)
yā rigā yā zō ‘he has already come’ (lit. he did it previously, he came)
 bà à **rigā** an farā ba ‘one hasn’t begun yet’ (lit. he didn’t do it earlier, he didn’t start)

⁴³ These types of structures are most often referred to as serial verb constructions (SVC). Hausa is claimed to lack serial verb constructions in its syntactic patterns, but many fixed expressions share the features of SVC structures found in other languages.

⁴⁴ The verb *rigā* may be also used transitively as a semantic equivalent of time preposition ‘before’, e.g. *mun rigā shì zuwā* ‘we came before him’ (lit. we predated him in coming).

Other verbs, such as *dadě̀* ‘last long’ or *jimā̀* ‘spend some time’ can also be used in adverbial function, but when the two actions overlap, the second verb may occur in continuous, e.g.:

- yā dadě̀** yā yi kàràtū dà dare ‘he read for a long time at night’
 (lit. it lasted long, he read during the night)
nā dadě̀ inā aikì à nān ‘I have been working here for a long time’
 (lit. it lasted long, I was working here)
yā jimā̀ yanā aikì ‘he has been working for some time’
 (lit. he spent some time, he was working)

The two verbs indicating ‘lasting long’ and ‘lasting short’ create a fixed phrase in which they have an adverbial function, e.g.:

- kō bà **dadě̀**, kō bà **jimā̀**, zā à yī ‘it is bound to be done sooner or later’
 (lit. whether it takes a long time or a short time, but it will be done)

Some other verbs express adverbial meanings (time, manner) when used in multiverb constructions, for example *kwāna* ‘spend the night, *dāgě̀* ‘stay firm’, ‘be obstinate’, e.g. *nā kwāna bàn yi barcī ba* ‘I couldn’t sleep at night’ (lit. I spent the night, I didn’t sleep), *yā dāgě̀ yā kī zuwā̀* ‘he stubbornly refused to come’ (lit. he was stubborn, he refused to come). Similarly, the verb *kusa* ‘be about to do something, be close to doing something’ may express the meaning ‘nearly, almost’ but rather as an auxiliary verb preceding nominal form of the verb (see 16.3.1.) or as a verb finite form followed by the subjunctive clause, i.e. *mun kusa mù gama* = *mun kusa gamāwā̀* ‘we are almost finished’ (lit. we were close to finishing).

The clausal equivalents of adverbial phrases may be formed with the verb *yi* ‘do, make’ plus a verbal complement in the form of ideophone indicating manner, noun indicating time or some other adverbial specifier, e.g.:

- yā **yi farat** yā gudù ‘he suddenly ran off’ (lit. he did *farat* he ran off)
 tā **yi maza** tā kira wannān dattjòn ‘she called this gentleman quickly’
 (lit. she reacted quickly, she called this gentleman)
 yā **yi kwānā** ukù yanā tafiya ‘he has travelled for three days’
 (lit. he spent three days he was travelling)

Adjuncts in verb finite forms, among them those that express adverbial meanings, are an illustration of the rich phraseology of Hausa and a manifestation of its stylistic variants. Structures with verbs retain the basic conceptualization that

refers to an action/process in expressing adverbial meanings. Here are examples with the verb *ràbu* ‘be separated’ and its nominal counterpart *ràbō* ‘division, separation’ in expressing time relations:

nā ràbu dà ganinkà ‘I haven’t seen you for a long time’

(lit. I was separated from seeing you)

ràbōna dà ganinkà tun shêkarà biyu ‘It’s been two years since I saw you’

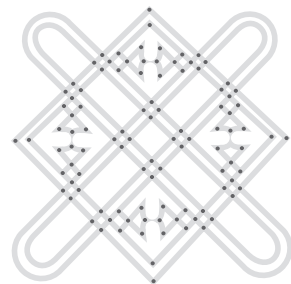
(lit. my separation from seeing you lasted two years)

yâu kwānā gōmà ràbōna dà gàrimmù ‘I have been away from my hometown for ten days’

(lit. today is ten days since my separation from our hometown)

nā dadê ràbōna dà ganinsà ‘I haven’t seen him for a long time’

(lit. it lasted long I was separated from seeing you).



CHAPTER IX

Numerals in grammar and in their most common uses

9.1. Cardinal numbers

The numbers one through ten are:

1	ḍāya	6	shidà
2	biyu	7	bakwài
3	ukù	8	takwàs
4	hudù	9	tarà
5	biyar	10	gōmà

The numbers 11–20 are formed by adding *gōmà shâ* or simply *shâ* before the numbers 1–9, i.e.:

11	(gōmà) shâ ḍāya	16	(gōmà) shâ shidà
12	(gōmà) shâ biyu	17	(gōmà) shâ bakwài
13	(gōmà) shâ ukù	18	(gōmà) shâ takwàs
14	(gōmà) shâ hudù	19	(gōmà) shâ tarà
15	(gōmà) shâ biyar	20	àshîrin

For the numbers 18 and 19 it is possible to use an alternative structure corresponding to the phrases “twenty minus two” and “twenty minus one”:

18	àshîrin biyu bābù	19	àshîrin ḍāya bābù
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The numbers twenty through ninety are adapted loans from Arabic, i.e.:

20	àshîrin	60	sittin
30	tàlâtin	70	sàbà'in
40	àrbà'in	80	tàmanin
50	hàmsin	90	tàsà'in / càsà'in

Numerals placed between full tens are formed by adding a numeral 1–9 preceded by the preposition *dà* (*shâ* is only used in the numbers from eleven to nineteen), e.g.:

- 21 àshirin dà ðaya
32 tàlâtin dà biyu
43 àrbà'in dà ukù

Numerals containing 8 or 9 can alternatively be formed from the next ten reduced by 1 or 2, respectively (similarly to 19 and 20), e.g.:

- | | | |
|----------------------|----|------------------|
| 48 àrbà'in dà takwàs | or | hàmsin biyu bābù |
| 59 hàmsin dà tarà | or | sittin ðaya bābù |

The name for 100 is *dārī*, and the other names for hundreds consist of this term and the appropriate numeral from 1 to 9, e.g.:

- 300 dārī ukù
600 dārī shidà

For thousand (1000) either the native term *dubū* or the Arabic loanword *àlif* is used⁴⁵. Optionally, the numeral *ðaya* (1 one) is added to this name, therefore

- 1000 dubū / àlif ðaya

Numerals consisting of major and minor units of the system have names formed using the conjunction *dà*⁴⁶, e.g.:

- 345 dārī ukù dà àrbà'in dà biyar
1987 àlif ðaya dà dārī tarà dà tàmmānin dà bakwài
2015 àlif biyu dà (gōmà) shâ biyar

Percentages are formed with the preposition *cikin* 'in', e.g. *gōma cikin dārī* '10%' (lit. 10 in 100).

⁴⁵ The name 'thousand' also has its variant *zambār*, used in combination with the numbers 9 (9 000 *zambār tarà*) and 10 (10 000 *zambār gōmà*), and in the name milion (*zambār dubū*).

⁴⁶ *Àlif* regularly substitutes *dubū* in calendar dates.

9.1.1. Numerals in sentence structure

Numbers do not vary for gender. They always directly follow the noun they modify. Nouns may be singular or plural, with the singular being far more frequent.

sulè dāya	‘one shilling’
sulè gōmā	‘ten shillings’
kalmā biyar	‘five words’

The numeral pronoun *nawà* ‘how many’ also takes a postnominal position in the sentence:

kwàndō nawà?	‘how many baskets?’
kū nawà nē?	‘how many of you are there?’

Only a few numerals can precede a noun, such as *dubū* ‘thousand’, which then functions as an equivalent of ‘many’. In a nominal phrase, it takes the linker *-n*, e.g. *dubun gaisuwa* or (*dubban gaisuwa*) ‘thousands of greetings’. Also the numeral *dāya* ‘one’ can occur before the head noun, which attaches the definite article (see 10.2.2.) or possessive pronoun. In this case, it indicates ‘the other’, e.g. *dāya yāròn* ‘the other boy’, *dāya àbōkinsà* ‘his other friend’.

The word *gùdā* ‘unit’ sometimes precedes the numerals 1 to 10 and *nawà* with no change in meaning. When referring to a single thing, *gùdā* is used instead of *dāya*, i.e. (Cowan & Schuh 1976: 71):

mōtā gùdā gōmā	‘ten cars’
lēmō gùdā nawà?	‘how many oranges?’
kāwō gùdā = kāwō gùdā dāya = kāwō dāya	‘give me (bring) one’

Numerals can function as nouns and appear as the first or second element of the genitive construction. They are all feminine, e.g. *dārī tā fī hàmsin* ‘(the number) one hundred is more than fifty’, *àshìrin cē* ‘it’s twenty’. An exception in this respect is *dāya* ‘one’, which can also be masculine.

Repetition of numerals (in phrasal numerals, repetition of the last element) expresses the notion ‘X each’, e.g. *hudu hudu* ‘five each’, *dukànsu Nairā dubū biyar biyar nē* ‘five thousand naira each’.

9.1.2. Modifying numerals

Numerals can be followed by an adverb or ideophone to specify their numeral value, e.g. (Newman 2000: 387):

lèmō ðaya tak akà bā nì	‘they gave me precisely one orange’
awà biyu cur	‘exactly two hours’
yànzú (gōmà) shâ biyu daidai	‘it is now exactly twelve o’clock’

Specific ideophones are assigned to individual numerals and their free use is limited, therefore *ðaya tak* ‘only one’, *shèkarà 20 cir* ‘a full 20 years’. Modification of numerals also occurs when they are preceded by a prepositional qualifier, like *wajen = kàmar* ‘about, approximately’, *kusan* ‘close to, almost’, *har* ‘as much as, to the extent of’, *fiye dà* ‘more than’, e.g.:

wajen/kàmar mîl gōmà	‘about ten miles’
mutànē fiye dà hàmsin	‘more than fifty people’

9.1.3. Other common quantifiers

A universal quantifier *duk, dukà* ‘all’ functions mainly as nominal quantifier (see 10.2.7.), but it also can modify a numeral, e.g. *duk(à) gōmà* ‘all ten’, *duk biyunsù* ‘both of them’. The phrase *duk ðaya* (lit. all one) means ‘all the same’.

The meaning ‘many’ or ‘much’ is expressed by the word *yawà* that occurs in the form of prepositional phrase with *dà*, therefore *mutànē dà yawà* ‘many people’, *ruwā dà yawà* ‘plenty of water’.

A quantifier *kàdan* ‘a little’ has adverbial status. It follows the noun it modifies, e.g. *māgànī kàdan* ‘a little bit of medicine’. The quantifier ‘some’ while referring to a certain number or specific amount is expressed by indefinite pronouns *wani/wata/wadansu (wasu)* (see 10.2.4.), e.g. *wasu mutànē sun wucè nân* ‘some people passed by here’.

9.2. Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are indicated by means of the short-vowel linker (*na* or *ta* depending on the gender and number of the preceding noun). The numeral follows the linker, e.g. *gidā na ukù* ‘the third house’, *mōtā ta biyar* ‘the fifth car’.

An ordinal number can occur with a genitive linker only if the noun is known from the context, e.g. *na gōmà* ‘the tenth’ (e.g. page which is masculine), *ta biyu* ‘the second’ (e.g. car which is feminine).

‘First’ is commonly expressed as *(na/ta) farkō*, but *(na/ta) daya* is also possible.

9.3. The most common uses of numerals

9.3.1. What time is it?

Full clock hours are expressed by the noun *karfê*⁴⁷ and the appropriate cardinal numeral.

<i>karfê daya</i>	‘one o’clock’
<i>karfê biyar</i>	‘five o’clock’
<i>karfê gōmà</i>	‘ten o’clock’

A half-hour period is indicated by the noun *rabi*, a quarter of an hour is *kwatā*, and minutes are introduced by the noun *minti*.

<i>karfê biyu dà rabi</i>	‘half past two’
<i>karfê huđu dà kwatā</i>	‘a quarter past four’
<i>karfê huđu dà minti biyar</i>	‘five past four’

If the time has passed the half hour, the exact time can be specified with reference to the next hour, using *bâ* ‘without’ meaning ‘till’, e.g.:

<i>karfê ukù bâ kwatā</i>	‘quarter till three’
<i>karfê huđu bâ minti biyar</i>	‘five till four’

The time expression ‘at X o’clock’ is formed in Hausa with the preposition *dà*, e.g.:

<i>munā makarantā dà karfê takwās</i>	‘we are at school at 8.00’
<i>mutānē sun zō dà karfê tarā dà rabi</i>	‘the people came at 9.30’

⁴⁷ The noun *karfê* also has another meaning: ‘metal’ (cf. hour as a time dimension: *awā*).

9.3.2. Arithmetic calculations

Adding numbers is expressed using the conjunction *dà*. Both the question about the result of the operation and the answer end with the phrase *kè nan*, equivalent to *nē/cē* (see 15.2.), e.g.:

biyu dà biyar nawà kè nan?	(2 + 5 = ?)
biyu dà biyar bakwài kè nan	(2 + 5 = 7)
shâ huđu dà shâ shidà nawà kè nan?	(14 + 16 = ?)
shâ huđu dà shâ shidà tâlâtin kè nan	(14 + 16 = 30)

Subtraction of numbers is expressed using the phrase *à dēbè* (lit. may one remove). The question about the result of the operation has the phrase *kè nan* at the end, and the entire expression (including the answer) has the structure *X à dēbè Y, saurā Z* ‘X take away Y, (the) remainder (is) Z’, e.g.:

sittin à dēbè àshirin nawà kè nan?	(60 – 20 = ?)
sittin à dēbè àshirin, saurā àrbà’in	(60 – 20 = 40)

9.4. The currency in Nigeria and the rituals of bargaining

Nigeria currently has a decimal monetary system, with the *naira* (*Nairā*) as the basic unit of Nigerian currency. A smaller unit is the *kobo* (100k = ₦1). The significant change in the value of the Nigerian currency over the last few decades has essentially resulted in the disappearance of denominations lower than the naira in favor of higher denomination banknotes. At the same time, some Hausa terms referring to the earlier monetary system based on pounds/shillings/penny have survived. Especially written texts of historical importance have preserved earlier monetary relations and interferences of different systems that still function at the markets. In particular, the term *sulè* (‘shilling’) has remained in use for a long time, but with reference to a coin worth 10 kobo, while *sīsì* (‘sixpence’) corresponds to a coin worth 5 kobo (*kwabò* in Hausa) (Cowan & Schuh 1976: 124). The term *dārī* (= 0.5 kobo) is rather forgotten today. Terms from other currency systems and terms of smaller naira values that are not used remain in the language with a symbolic function, such as the term *kwabò* in the proverb *Gàskiyā tā fi kwabò* ‘the truth is worth more than a penny’ (lit. than a kobo).

The Hausa equivalent of ‘price’ is the noun *kudī* (basic meaning: ‘money’), therefore *kudīn lēmō* ‘the price of oranges’, *kudīnsà* ‘its price’. The question: how

much does it cost? (with an indication of the grammatical gender and number of the item we are asking about) is expressed by *kudînsà/ kudîntà/ kudînsù nawà nē?*

The question pronoun *nawà* ‘how much’ can be repeated and then expresses the meaning ‘how much each?’ (*kudîn*) *kwai nawà nawà nē?* ‘how much do eggs cost?’ (i.e. how much is each egg).

Prices at marketplaces are the result of bargaining, which is a ritualized procedure, and the final offer is binding on the seller and the buyer. The Hausa language has many formulas that are used when bargaining, and the correct use of them, like the use of greetings, is a measure of one’s knowledge of the language. Here are some of the most common words and expressions used in bargaining⁴⁸ (Cowan & Schuh 1976: 125):

nā sallāmā (said by the seller) ‘I agree (to your offer)’

àlbarkā (said by the seller) ‘no, thanks, not enough’

kāwō kudî (lit. bring money) ‘sold’

nā tayā... (said by the buyer, followed by the amount he offers) ‘I’ll offer...’

nawà ka hanā? ‘what is the lowest price you’ll take?’ (how much do you refuse?)

⁴⁸ Phrases applied in bargaining are used in the completive aspect (see 14.1.1.), although they refer to the current or future situation. This applies to phrases such as *nā tayā* ‘I offer’, *nā kārà* ‘I increase (my offer)’, *in kā ragē* ‘if you reduce (your price)’, *nā yàrdā* ‘I’ll agree’, among others.

CHAPTER X

Pronouns and pronominal determiners

Pronouns represent nouns in written or spoken text. They can also be used as substitutes for larger utterances.

The large class of Hausa pronouns can be divided into two groups: personal pronouns and non-personal pronouns. Personal pronouns form separate series for their specific syntactic functions. Non-personal pronouns are also differentiated with reference to their syntactic features, contrasting pronouns that replace nouns with pronouns that are noun specifiers. The latter belong to the broad class of determiners.

10.1. Personal pronouns

10.1.1. Independent pronouns

Singular	Plural
1. nī ‘I’	1. mū ‘we’
2. kai ‘you’ (m)	2. kū ‘you’ (Pl)
2. kē ‘you’ (f)	
3. shī ‘he’	3. sū ‘they’
4. ita ‘she’	

These pronouns are used in contexts where they are syntactically independent, for example in sentences with the copula *nē/cē*, e.g. *shī nē* ‘he is’ and in sentences like *nī mālāmī nē* ‘I am a teacher’ in which independent pronoun is a subject. They are also used in verb clauses where they precede the predicate for emphasis, which most often refers to the subject, e.g. *shī yakē ihū* ‘he is the one shouting’.

Independent pronouns also appear after the preposition *dà* ‘with’, regardless of their syntactic function in the sentence, e.g. *yā zō dà ita* ‘he came with her’,

yā sayar dà shī ‘he sold it (m)’. These pronouns can express a direct object when preceded by indirect object, e.g. *yā dānkā minì ita* ‘he entrusted her to me’, *nā bā shī ita* ‘I gave it (f) to him’.

The independent pronouns provide the phonological skeleton for other sets of pronouns (cf. 3.3.), which will be presented below.

10.1.2. Direct object pronouns

Singular	Plural
1. ni/nì	1. mu/mù
2m. ka/kà	2. ku/kù
2f. ki/kì	
3m. shi/shì	3. su/sù
3f. ta/tà	

The pronouns are used as direct objects, appearing directly after the verb. The two sets of these pronouns, differentiated in tone, are contextual variants, termed as strong (distinguished by high tone) and weak (having low tone) (Newman 2000: 478f). The tone of object pronouns depends on the tonal pattern of the verbs preceding them. After more than two-syllable verbs representing grades 1 and 4 (see 13.3.), the pronoun has a high tone. Other verbs determine the tone of these pronouns by contrasting it with the pitch of the last syllable of the verb. If that syllable is low, the object pronoun has a high tone; if it is high, the pronoun has a low tone.

Such tone polarization (see 2.3.2.) in object pronouns also occurs in other constructions, e.g. in non-verbal sentences such as *zā ta kāsūwā* ‘she (goes) to the market’ and in the negative construction expressing possession (see 4.2.), e.g. *bā shi dà mōtā* ‘he doesn’t have a car’. The use of a high-tone pronoun variant after *gā* ‘here is’ can be explained in the same way, as in *gā ni* ‘here I am’, while a low-tone pronoun occurs after *ākwai* ‘there is’ (see 4.3.), as in *ākwai sù dà yawā* ‘there are many of them’. Similarly, pronouns from the direct object sets used after the preposition *gārē* ‘for, with respect to’ have a low tone (*nā tāfi gārē shì* ‘I went to him’). Pronouns from low-tone series are also used after the verb *bā* ‘to give’, but then they express the indirect object, not the direct object (see 13.2.), e.g. *nā bā shī kuāi* ‘I gave him money’.

The pronoun *su* (with a short vowel) is used as a pre-head pluralizing marker (Newman 2000: 479) to denote a noun (pronoun) in the third person plural (cf. *su wānē nē?* ‘who are they?’). When used with a person’s name, *su* denotes community or similarity of the named person to other people. **Su** *Audù* means

‘Audu and the others’, e.g. *su Audù sunà̃ barcī* ‘Audu and the others are sleeping’, *nā àiki*⁴⁹ *su Audù gōnā* ‘I sent Audu and the others to the field’. In addition to person’s names, the pronoun *su* (in 3Pl only) can also refer to other nouns that have something in common (Cowan & Schuh 1976: 167), e.g. *na shūkà su dāwà* *dà audùgā* ‘I sowed guinea-corn and cotton’.

10.1.3. Indirect object pronouns

Indirect object pronouns have many alternative forms resulting from dialectal variation. In the table below, where there are multiple variants of the pronoun, the Kano dialect forms (i.e. the basis of the Standard Hausa) are listed first.

Singular	Plural
1. mini/mani/mîn	1. manà/mamù/munà
2m. makà/mâ/mā	2. mukù
2f. miki	
3m. masà/mishi/mâs/mâr	3. musù
3f. matà	

Indirect object pronouns contain the morpheme *ma-* and are used wherever a nominal form with *wà* ‘for’, ‘to’ can appear as an indirect object. In a sentence, this is the position immediately after the verb and before the direct object, regardless of whether it is a noun or a pronoun, e.g. *yā nūnā minì àgōgo* ‘he showed me the watch’, cf. *yā nūnā wà yārō àgōgo* ‘he showed the boy the watch’. In some dialects, *wà* is replaced by *mà*.

10.1.4. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns have two syntactic variants: bound genitive pronouns and independent possessive pronouns (free possessives). Each variant is further differentiated by the grammatical gender of the noun it combines with. Bound pronouns are used to express possessiveness and replace the second part of the genitive construction immediately following the head noun, e.g. *gidankà* ‘your house’, *gidàjenkù* ‘your (PL) houses’, *rìgarsà* ‘his gown’, *rìgarsù* ‘their gown’.

The two series of **possessive suffixes**, added respectively to a masculine singular and plural noun (the noun *kudī* ‘money’ can keep either singular or plural agreement) and to a feminine singular noun (*mōtā* ‘car’) are as follows:

⁴⁹ The *-i* ending of the verb shows the nominal status of the phrase *su Audù* (see 13.4.2.2.).

Masculine singular / plural noun	Feminine singular noun
kudĩ-n-ā ‘my money’	mōtā-t-ā ‘my car’
kudĩ-n-kà ‘your (m) money’	mōtā-r-kà ‘your (m) car’
kudĩ-n-kì ‘your (f) money’	mōtā-r-kì ‘your (f) car’
kudĩ-n-sà ‘his money’	mōtā-r-sà ‘his car’
kudĩ-n-tà ‘her money’	mōtā-r-tà ‘her car’
kudĩ-n-mù ‘our money’	mōtā-r-mù ‘our car’
kudĩ-n-kù ‘your (Pl) money’	mōtā-r-kù ‘your (Pl) car’
kudĩ-n-sù ‘their money’	mōtā-r-sù ‘their car’

With the exception of the first-person singular pronoun, all possessive pronouns are attached to the noun using the short form of the genitive linker *-n/-r* (see 15.1.1.). In pronunciation, the morpheme is assimilated to the following consonant (see 2.1.), i.e.:

kudĩnmù	pronounced as [kudĩmmù]
kudĩnkù	pronounced as [kudĩngkù]
mōtārkà	pronounced as [mōtākkà]
mōtārsà	pronounced as [mōtāssà]

All nouns that take a first-person possessive pronoun have a long final vowel, even those that in isolation end in a short vowel, e.g. *shũgābānā* ‘my president’ (but: *shũgāba* ‘leader, president’), *àkwātīnā* ‘my box’ (but: *àkwātī* ‘box’).

Independent possessive pronouns are a regular combination of the morpheme *nā-* or *tā-* with possessive pronouns, where *nā-* occurs with reference to masculine and plural nouns, *tā-* to feminine nouns. In the first person singular (‘mine’), the pronouns are *nāwa* and *tāwa*, respectively. The paradigm is as follows:

Free possessives referring to masculine / plural nouns		Free possessives referring to feminine nouns	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
nāwa ‘mine’	nāmù ‘ours’	tāwa ‘mine’	tāmù ‘ours’
nākà ‘yours’ (m)	nākù ‘yours’ (Pl)	tākà ‘yours’ (m)	tākù ‘yours’
nāki ‘yours’ (f)		tāki ‘yours’ (f)	
nāsà ‘his’	nāsù ‘theirs’	tāsà ‘his’	tāsù ‘theirs’
nātà ‘hers’		tātà ‘hers’	

The contexts of use of independent possessive pronouns are the same as those established for the full form of the genitive linker (see 15.1.2.), including in

particular when the elements of the possessive construction are separated or the subject of possession (first element of the possessive construction) is not expressed, e.g.:

- nā fi sòn **tākà** ta dā ‘I prefer yours [f] (of before)’
 gidan nān **nāwa** ‘this house of mine’
 rīgar nān **tāwa** ‘this gown of mine’

10.1.5. Reflexives

Personal pronouns also include a periphrastic construction formed from the noun *kāi* ‘head’ and suffixed possessive pronouns, which are used to express reflexivity, e.g. *yā cēcī kânsà* ‘he saved himself’ (lit. he saved his head). Pronouns of this type are as follows:

Singular	Plural
1. kâina	1. kâmmù
2m. kânkà	2. kânkù
2f. kânkì	
3m. kânsà	3. kânsù
3f. kântà	

If the reflexive variant follows an independent pronoun, attention is directed to the referent of this pronoun or contrasts it with another person or object (*ita kânta* ‘she herself’). The meaning ‘single’ or ‘exclusively’ is added when the preposition *dā* is inserted between the two elements (*nī dā kâina nā yi hakà* ‘I did it myself’, which makes this structure called emphatic reflexive (Newman 2000: 527). However, this construction is not a separate unit in terms of syntax and remains a combination of a noun and a possessive pronoun, e.g. *tā jāwō mà kânta màsīfā* ‘she brought misfortune upon herself’ (lit. she brought misfortune upon her head).

10.1.6. Reciprocals

Reciprocal pronouns indicate a mutual relationship or action between two or more subjects. In Hausa this function is performed by *jūnā* ‘other’. It can be used as a bare word *jūnā* or as an expression with a bound possessive pronoun, i.e.:

1. jūnanmù ‘each other (we)’
 2. jūnankù ‘each other (you, Pl)’
 3. jūnansù ‘each other (they)’

The distinct forms in each person (1st, 2nd, and 3rd person plural) allow reference to specific participants referred to as ‘each other’ or ‘one another.’ The bare *jūnā* can also be used alternatively, when the reference is defined by the context, e.g. *kù tàimàki jūnankù* or *kù tàimàki jūnā* ‘you (Pl) should help one another’.

10.2. Non-personal pronouns

The Hausa system of non-personal pronouns is very rich and complex. The pronouns include demonstratives (‘this’, ‘that’, etc.) indefinites (‘some’), relatives (‘the one who/that’), interrogatives (‘which?’) and universals (‘every’, ‘all’). In terms of syntactic properties, they have a double status as both pronouns replacing nouns and nominal determiners. A large group consists of forms with the prefix *wa-*, which have two gender variants in the singular and a plural form. In the following part, the non-personal pronouns will be presented in the thematic groups mentioned above, while the full list of *wa*-words used as non-personal pronouns is presented in Appendix No 6.

10.2.1. The demonstratives

The Hausa deictic system includes two types of terms, the lexical bases of which are NAN and CAN. The locative adverbial forms (see 8.1.1.) are translated as ‘here’ and ‘there’, in demonstrative function they code the meaning ‘this’ and ‘that’ respectively. As nominal determiners, they have longer forms (*wa*-words) and shorter forms (*nan* and *can*). The *wa*-forms are as follows:

	NAN	CAN
Singular forms	wannàn (m and f)	wancàn/waccàn (m/f)
	wànnan (m and f)	wàncan/wàccan (m/f)
Plural forms	wadānnān	wadāncān
	wàdānnan	wàdāncan

The terms *nan* and *can* are further differentiated by tonal contrasts. As a result, there are four terms, i.e. *nān*, *nan*, *cān* and *can* (see 8.1.1.).

As for the meaning of the demonstratives based on NAN and CAN, *wannàn* (with all its grammatical and tonal variants) and *nān* indicate closer objects (‘this’), *wancàn/waccàn* and *cān* indicate more distant objects (‘that’), but due to tonal contrast, these translations are not always adequate to the meaning. More detailed criteria for differentiating them include perspective of the speaker and the hearer in understanding the concept of ‘here’ and ‘there’ (see Jaggar 1994; Pawlak 2016).

This differentiation based on tonal contrast is of special value primarily in the oral context. Here are examples of phrases in which these demonstratives are used:

- wannàn yārò ‘this boy’ (standing close the speaker)
 wànnan yārò ‘this boy’ (standing close to the hearer)
 wannàn yārinỳà ‘this girl’ (standing close the speaker)
 wànnan yārinỳà ‘this girl’ (standing close to the hearer)
 wadānnan yārā ‘these children’ (standing close the speaker)
 wādānnan yārā ‘these children’ (standing close the hearer)

CAN derivatives are restricted to objects at a fairly great physical distance from the speaker and hearer. The forms *wancàn/waccàn* and their tonal variants are differentiated in gender, i.e.:

- wancàn gidā (m) ‘that house there’ (distant from both speaker and hearer)
 waccàn kōfā (f) ‘that door there’ (distant from both speaker and hearer)
 wāncan gidā (m) ‘that house far away’ (yonder)
 wāccan kāsā (f) ‘that country far away’ (yonder)
 wadāncān garūruwā ‘those towns there’ (distant from both speaker and hearer)
 wādāncan garūruwā ‘those towns far away’ (yonder)

In addition, demonstratives with LH tonal pattern also function as referential/anaphoric markers and may be used to denote distance in time, e.g. (Newman 2000: 149): *wānnan lābārī* ‘that very story (we are talking about)’, *wāncan karnī* ‘that century long ago’.

The definite demonstratives are used only in the position before the noun to which they refer. The shorter forms mentioned earlier as *nan* and *can* are also used in this function, but they take a post-nominal position in the phrase. Similarly to *wa*-forms, their meaning is also differentiated and marked by tone to code speaker’s and hearer’s perspective.

Locative adverb	Postnominal demonstrative
nān ‘here’ (speaker proximal)	nān (nān) ‘this’, ‘these’
nan ‘there’ (hearer proximal)	nan (̀- nan) ‘that’, ‘those’
cān ‘there’ (distant)	cān (cān) ‘that’, ‘those’
can ‘there’ (remote)	can (̀- can) ‘that’, ‘those’

The demonstratives are not differentiated by gender/number, but the linker attached to the preceding noun is gender sensitive. However, two tonal sets of the demonstratives behave differently when following the noun. When preceded by a word final low tone, the demonstratives *nān* and *cān* (‘this’, ‘these’ and ‘that’,

‘those’ respectively) are realized with falling tone. When preceded by a word final high tone, they are realized with L tone (Newman 2000: 150), e.g.:

yāròn nân ‘this boy’ (m)	gidan nân ‘this house’
tāgàr càn ‘that window’ (f)	rīgar càn ‘that gown’
dākunàn nân ‘these rooms’ (Pl)	mōtōcin nân ‘these cars’
dākunàn càn ‘those rooms’ (Pl)	jirāgen càn ‘those planes’

Also the forms **nan** ‘that’, ‘those’ and **can** ‘that’, ‘those (far away)’ used as demonstratives follow the noun which attaches the linker *-n/-r*. In this context, the last tone of the noun varies before the following *nan* or *can*. In particular, if the word preceding *nan/can* ends in high tone, that tone becomes falling. If the word preceding *nan/can* ends in low tone, that tone remains unchanged, e.g.:

wukā ‘knife’	wukâr nan ‘that knife’
gidā ‘house’	gidân can ‘that house’
bankî ‘bank’	bankin nan ‘that bank’
dākunā ‘rooms’	dākunân can ‘those (remote) rooms’

Prepositional (*wannân*, etc.) and postpositional (*nan/can*) nominal determiners are equivalent in meaning. However, they differ in their distribution: prepositional determiners appear only before nouns, while postpositional determiners have a broader application and are used, for example, after adverbs, e.g.:

wannân yārō = yāròn nân ‘this boy’
wannan bārgō = bārgon nân ‘this blanket’
dāzun nân ‘just a while (ago)’ (lit. now this)

10.2.2. The definite article *-n/-r*

A special variant of the genitive linker, *i.e.* *-n/-r* added to a noun can express reference to an object (person, matter, item, etc.) previously mentioned or known from the context. It expresses the meaning ‘the one mentioned’, ‘the one in question’. As “previous reference marker” it functions similarly to the definite article in English (Newman 2000: 143). This function is marked by a tone lowering of the preceding syllable, meaning that the original high tone of that syllable changes to a falling one, while the low tone remains unchanged, e.g.:

mēnē nè sākôn? ‘What is this message (you mentioned)? (sākō ‘message’)
gā sābuwâr nân ‘Here’s the new one (the one we talked about)’ (sābuwā ‘new [one]’)
inā fartanyâr? ‘where is that hoe?’ (fartanyā ‘hoe’)

10.2.3. The deictic particle *dɛ́n*

The deictic particle *dɛ́n* refers to something mentioned earlier or known from the context. It follows a noun without attaching the genitive linker to it. Functionally, it is equivalent to the definite article *-n/-r* (see 10.2.2.), and due to phonological constraints (see 2.2.2.) it is often used with proper names, pronouns, numerals, ideophones, and foreign words, especially those that end in a consonant, e.g.:

kwàs dɛ́n ‘the course’ (the one in question)
 dāya sãbō fil dɛ́n ‘the other brand new one’
 inā sòn pensil dɛ́n ‘I want the pencil’
 Garbà dɛ́n ‘the Garba in question’

10.2.4. Indefinites (‘some’)

Similarly to the demonstratives *wannàn*, *wancàn*, etc., also the indefinites *wani*, *wata*, *wadānsu/wasu*, m/f/Pl respectively ‘some(one)’ can occur both as pronominal determiners and self-standing pronouns. They express uncertainty or a lack of knowledge about the subject, person, or object being discussed. When used as pronominal determiners, they express two types of meanings:

- a. ‘some, certain, indefinite’, e.g. *wani mùtùm* ‘a man’, ‘someone’; *wata mōtā tā bācì à hanyā* ‘a car broke down on the road’; *wasu mutānē sun wucē nān* ‘some people were passing by here’,
- b. ‘other’, e.g. *nā gan shì à wani gārī* ‘I saw him in another city’; *sai wani lōkacī* ‘(goodbye) see you some other time’.

In this function, indefinites often correspond to the English indefinite article ‘a/an’.

Similarly, the pronoun *wani* (*wata*, *wadānsu/wasu*) is used to code two notions: ‘some, someone’ and ‘another person or thing’, e.g. *wani yā zō* ‘someone came’; *bā nā sòn littafin nān, kǎwō minì wani* ‘I don’t want this book, bring me another one’.

10.2.5. Interrogative demonstratives (‘which’)

Interrogative demonstratives (‘which’) and their self-standing counterparts (‘which one’) have in Hausa terms differentiated by gender and number. In the function of pronominal determiners *wàné* (m), *wàcè* (f), *wàdānnè* (Pl) occur, e.g.:

wàné gidā? ‘which house?’
 wàcè mōtā ‘which car?’
 wàdānnè mōtōcī? ‘which cars?’

Pronouns that replace nouns with the meaning ‘which (one)?’ also have distinct singular and plural forms, i.e. **wànnē** (m), **wàccē** (f), **wàdānnē** (Pl) ‘which one (of them)?’, e.g.:

wànnē dàgà cikinsù ya fi kàrfi? ‘which one among them is strongest?’
 wàccē ta fi kàsùwā? ‘which one sells better?’ (lit. surpasses at market)
 wàdānnē sukà zābā? ‘which ones did they choose?’

10.2.6. Relatives (‘the one who/that’)

The relative pronoun ‘who’ introduces the relative clause, which becomes a postpositional determiner of the noun. In Hausa, the relative pronoun has the form **dà** and follows the word it modifies, being linked to it by means of a bound morpheme **-n/-r** (see 10.2.2.). When the linker is attached, the high tone of the last syllable of the noun becomes falling (the low tone remains unchanged), e.g.:

mālāmīn dà ya zō yā zaunā ‘the teacher who came, sat down’ (*mālāmī* ‘teacher’)
 yārinyār dà ta zō tã zaunā ‘the girl who came, sat down’ (*yārinyā* ‘girl’)

If a relative clause with **dà** modifies a compound noun, this noun does not attach **-n/-r**. Similarly, after proper names and independent pronouns, **dà** occurs without the preceding linker, e.g.:

àkwai wadānsu ‘**yan kàsùwā** dà na ganī ‘these are the traders I saw’
Amīnā dà ta shiryā àbinci tã kirāwō mijintā ‘Amina, who had prepared the food, called her husband’
 àmmā **mū** dà mukè gidā munā jīn zāfi ‘but we, being a home (lit. who are at home), feel the heat’

The relative pronoun **dà** has its gender-sensitive variant (*wandà* m, *waddà*/ *waccè* f, *wadāndà* Pl). It directly follows a noun without attaching the linking morpheme, e.g.:

mùtūm **wandà** na ganī ‘the man I saw’ (= mùtūmīn dà na ganī)
 màcè **waddà** ta yi aikī tã tãfi gidā ‘the woman who worked went home’

Between **dà** and **wandà** (and its gender/number forms) the variation is free but only as determiners after the noun (phrase). A syntactic difference between them lies in that **wandà** can occur as a self-standing pronoun, as in *wandà ya zō kanènsà nē* ‘he (the one) who came is his brother’ while **dà** functions as a relative pronoun only.

The pronoun *dà* is also part of other compounds (*indà* ‘place that’, *yaddà* ‘the way that’), which play the role of various types of relative pronouns or subordinate clause conjunctions in the language system, e.g.:

bàn san **indà** sukà tàfi ba ‘I don’t know where (lit. place that) they went’
anà yînsà **yaddà** na nūnà makà ‘it’s done just like (lit. the way that) I showed you’

A relative clause (following a relative pronoun in any form) has a predicate in the Relative continuous or Relative completive (see 14.1.3.).

10.2.7. *Universals* (‘every’, ‘all’)

Pronouns beginning with the morpheme *kō-* carry a generalizing meaning ‘every’, ‘any’. A distinction is made between those that replace nouns and those that are their determiners. Among the self-standing pronouns are *kōwā* ‘everyone’; *kōmē/kōmai* ‘everything’, *kō’inā* ‘everywhere’, *kōyāushē* ‘always’ (in sentences with negation they mean ‘nobody’, ‘nothing’, ‘nowhere’, ‘never’ respectively), e.g.:

nā dūbà kō’inā ‘I looked everywhere’
kōwā yā tàfi ‘everyone went’
bàn ga kōwā ba ‘I didn’t see anyone’
bài kāwō kōmai ba ‘he didn’t bring anything’

The universal pronouns used as pronominal determiners include *kōwànè* (m), *kōwàcè* (f), *kōwàdānnè* Pl) ‘every’, and *kōnawà* ‘any (number of)’.

àkwai daudā à kōwànè wurī ‘everywhere (lit. in every place) is dirty’
kadà kà sàyā kōnawà kudînsà ‘don’t buy at any price’

The pronoun **duk** (*dukà*) also has a generalizing/universal meaning. It occurs independently as a pronoun replacing a noun, e.g.: *sun bā shì duk* ‘they gave him everything’, it functions as an adverb (see 8.1.). It can also be a nominal determiner, where ‘all’ has two variants: *dukà* and *duk* that can either precede a noun or to follow it with essentially identical meaning, e.g. *duk fāsinjōjîn* = *fāsinjōjîn dukà* ‘all the passengers’, *duk(à) Hàusāwā* = *Hàusāwā dukà* ‘all Hausas’.

10.2.8. *Interrogative pronouns*

Interrogative pronouns essentially replace the part of the sentence that is being questioned, e.g. *mě?* ‘what?’, *wā?* ‘who?’, e.g.:

wā ya zō ‘who came?’ yārō yā zō ‘the boy came’
mě sukà ganī? ‘what did they see?’ sun ga wani dūtsē ‘they saw a stone’

The question words *mě?* and *wǎ* have longer variants expanded with the copula (see 15.2.), e.g. *mě̀nē nē* ‘what (is it)?’, *wǎ̀nē nē* ‘who (is it)?’. Both forms have a feminine variant, i.e. *mě̀cē cē* and *wǎ̀cē cē*, which makes it possible to mark the grammatical gender of the noun that is being asked, e.g.:

wǎ̀nē nē ya zō ‘who (m) came?’

wǎ̀cē cē ta zō ‘who (f) came?’

Other interrogative pronouns are as follows: *inā?* ‘where?’, *yàushē?* ‘when?’, *nawà?* ‘how much/many?’, *yǎyǎ?* ‘how?’. The self-standing pronouns can be used with prepositions, e.g. *don mē* ‘why’ (lit. for what?), *dàgà inā* ‘from where?’. As for noun modifiers, the prepositional demonstrative *wànē* (m), *wàcē* (f), *wàdānnē* (Pl) ‘which?’ was mentioned in 10.2.5, while the postpositional determiner *nawà* ‘how much/many?’ was introduced as a numeral pronoun (9.1.1.), e.g.:

wànē aikì zài yì? ‘what (kind of) work will he do?’

wàdānnē mutānē sukà zō nān? ‘what (kind of) people came here?’

kudinsà nawà nē? ‘how much does it cost?’

Question words are typically fronted in a sentence. Their use in interrogative sentence changes its structure to a sentence with focus (see 16.2.), which is associated with the use of the relative TAM markers (see 14.1.3.).

wǎ yakē kūkà ‘who is crying?’

yàushē kukà dāwō ‘when did you come back?’

CHAPTER XI

Lexical compounds: nominal and verbal phrases

A key indicator of language development is the creative use of its systemic resources to invent new terms, names for concepts, and expand the meanings of existing terms. A common strategy is creating compounds based on multi-word units. They are represented by sequences of two or more words that are bound together to constitute a single word. They function as parts of speech equivalent to nouns (noun phrases) or verbs (verbal phrases). At the structural level, they represent idioms and other phraseological expressions, which illustrate various metaphorical strategies in encoding meanings.

11.1. Nominal compounds

The most common units are nominal compounds, which are the combination of two (or more) nouns using the bound genitive linker *-n/-r* (see 15.1.1.), e.g. *ruwan samà* ‘rain’ (lit. water of heavens), *uwar yāki* ‘commander-in-chief’ (lit. mother of war). In addition to the sequences of nouns in the genitive (possessive) relationship, there are also adjectival phrases created on the same basis, e.g. *farar hūlā* ‘civilian’ (lit. white cup). In most cases, they are unique combinations of words. Some of them are semantically transparent compounds, some other ones are “semantically non-compositional idiomatic phrases” (Newman 2000: 109). Here are some examples of Hausa nominal compounds (including adjectival phrases):

- ābōkin aikì ‘coworker, colleague’ (lit. friend of/at work)
- ābōkin gābā ‘enemy’ (lit. friend of enmity)
- farin cikī ‘happiness’ (lit. white belly)
- bakin cikī ‘sadness’ (lit. black belly)
- bāyan gidā ‘toilet’ (lit. back of the house, behind the house)
- cīn hancī ‘bribery’ (lit. eating nose)

cīwòn dājì ‘cancer’ (lit. disease of bush)
 dōgon Tūrancī ‘long and complicated explanation’, ‘bureaucracy’ (lit. long English)
 gōyon bāyā ‘support’ (lit. carrying a baby on the back)
 jàn bāki ‘lipstick’ (lit. red lips)
 kisàn aurē ‘divorce’ (lit. killing a marriage)
 mulkin kâi ‘independence’ (lit. the rule of the head/self)
 sôn râi ‘self-interest’ (lit. love of life)

Being regular compounds based on a regular genitive phrase in which the linker is attached to the first constituent (both in nominal compounds and adjectival phrases), they are distinguished by “lexical integrity” which stipulates that any modifications, insertions or substitutions are not possible (Newman 2000: 109).

All compound nouns have gender that is mostly determined by the gender of the head noun. Gender is manifested not only through the linker but also through agreement rules, pronoun substitution, etc. Examples:

{makarantar (f) allō (m)} **f** ‘Koranic school’ (lit. school of slate/wooden writing board)
 {kàren (m) mōtā (f)} **m** ‘driver’s mate’ (lit. dog of vehicle)
 {idòn (m) sanī (m)} **m/f** ‘acquaintance (male or female)’ (lit. eye of knowing)

In expressing plurality, the initial noun (adjective) is pluralizing. In some cases, the two constituents become pluralized, e.g.:

kân sarkī ‘postage stamp’ (lit. head of the ruler); Pl kâwunân sarkī
 sàbòn shiga ‘recruit’, ‘newcomer to any profession’ (lit. new coming); Pl sàbbin shiga
 farar hūlā ‘civilian’ (lit. white cap); Pl faràren hūlā
 bakar màgànā ‘insult’ (lit. black talk); Pl bakàken màgàngànū

Although there are no restrictions on the choice of lexical constituents of the compounds, some words are used more often than others. Among the nouns most frequently used as the first element of a compound are nouns that refer to home and family members (*gidā* ‘house, home, compound’, *dā* ‘son’, *yā* ‘daughter’, *yā’yā* ‘children’, *ùbā* ‘father’, *uwā* ‘mother’), e.g. (Pawlak 2021: 100f):

[**gidā**]: *gidan gàskiyā* ‘the next world’ (lit. house of truth), *gidan sarkā* ‘prizon’ (lit. house of chain)
 [**dā**]: *dān sàndā* ‘policeman’ (lit. son of a stick), *dān Adām* ‘mankind, human being’ (lit. Adam’s son)
 [**yā**]: *yar ciki* ‘light shirt worn under a gown’ (lit. daughter of inside), *yar rānī* ‘smallpox’ (lit. daughter of dry season)
 [**yā’yā**]: *yā’yan itācē* ‘fruits’ (lit. children of tree), (with short form *yān*), *yān kasā* ‘citizens’ (lit. children of country)

[**ùbā**]: *ùban wutā* ‘leader’ (lit. father of fire), *ùbangiji* ‘the Lord God’ (lit. father of the house)⁵⁰

[**uwā**]: *uwargidā* ‘(senior) wife’ (lit. mother of home), *uwar makērā* ‘anvil’ (lit. mother of a smithy)

Also body part terms⁵¹ (*idō* ‘eye’, *hannū* ‘hand’, *kāi* ‘head’) are used to conceptualize other meanings in nominal compounds, e.g.:

[**idō**]: *idōn dūniyā* ‘the best (thing)’ (lit. eye of the world)

[**hannū**]: *hannun rīgā* ‘sleeve’ (lit. hand of a shirt, blouse, robe)

[**kāi**]: *kān bārāwō* ‘type of herb’ (lit. head of a thief)

Also some social and environmental terms (*ābōkī* ‘friend’, *ruwā* ‘water’) and some other cultural terms (*sarkī* ‘ruler’) are common in nominal compounds, e.g.:

[**ābōkī**]: *ābōkin taḥiyā* ‘traveling companion’ (lit. friend of traveling), *ābōkin hīra* ‘conversation partner’ (lit. friend of chatting)

[**ruwā**]: *ruwan samā* ‘rain’ (lit. water of heavens), *ruwan kasā* ‘brown (color)’ (lit. water of earth)

[**sarkī**]: *sarkin yāḥī* ‘military General’ (lit. chief of war), *sarkin kamfūtā* ‘IT specialist’ (lit. ruler/master of computer)

Many nominal compounds have a verbal noun (see 13.5.) as their first component, e.g. *cīn fuskā* ‘humiliation, insult’ (lit. eating face), *hāngen nēsā* ‘foresight, forecast’ (lit. spying afar), *sā hannū* ‘signature’ (lit. putting the hand). Often they have counterparts in phrasal verbs (see 11.2.1. below), among them compounds with *ban* (form of the verb *bā* ‘give’) as the first constituent, e.g.:

ban hannū ‘handshake’ (lit. giving hand)

ban kwānā ‘saying goodbye’ (lit. giving sleep)

ban gaskiyā ‘belief, acceptance’ (lit. giving the truth)

ban girmā ‘respect’ (lit. giving importance)

ban haushī ‘anger, outrage’ (lit. giving annoyance)

ban māmākī ‘amazement, mystery’ (lit. giving surprise)

Juxtaposed compounds, i.e. compounds without the linker are rather rare (Newman 2000: 119), the examples are *bindigā-dādī* ‘trigger-happy’ (lit. gun-pleasantness), *uwā-ùbā* ‘public benefit organization’ (lit. mother-father).

⁵⁰ The form *giji* is referred to the old form of the adverbial use of the noun *gidā* ‘house, compound’.

⁵¹ Many body part terms appearing as the first element of compounds have been grammaticalized and function as prepositions (see 15.3.2.), but these terms can also appear as the second element of compounds, e.g. *bakin ciki* ‘sadness’ (lit. black belly), *wutar ciki* ‘energy’, (lit. fire of belly).

11.2. Verb-based nominal compounds

There are two types of nominal phrases that include verb as their main component, i.e. verb-based compounds and lexicalized sentences.

11.2.1. *Verb-based compounds*

They consist of a verb and its object or adverbial complement. As a sequence of elements, they are similar to verbal phrases, but they fill the syntactic slots of nouns (adjectives in some cases). Although individual phrases have specific characteristics, several subtypes can be distinguished, differing in tonal structure and verb form. For example, in some of these expressions the verb adopts low tones regardless of the basic tonal pattern, others are based on the verb in the imperative, and still others retain lexical forms (Newman 2000: 116f). Here are some examples of phrases which are based on monosyllabic and disyllabic verbs:

- jǎ-gōrǎ ‘guide, leader’ (lit. pull-bamboo)
- gǎ-ruwa ‘water selling’ (lit. here is water)
- bǎ-duhù ‘a charm that makes one invisible’ (lit. give-darkness)
- jǎ-kūnnē the term for the ‘gesture of warning’ (lit. pull [someone’s] ear), cf. *jā kūnnē* ‘warn, reprimand’
- fǎdǎ-wuta ‘moth’ (lit. fall into fire)
- dǎurè-fuskǎ ‘scowling’ (lit. tie face)
- sǎdǎ-zumuncǐ ‘keeping family ties’ (lit. connect family relationship)
- shǎfǎ-lǎbǎrǐ-shūnǐ ‘exaggerator, statement beyond the truth, lie’ (lit. smear on indigo over the news)

Gender assignment to such nouns takes into account various factors. Typically, such units keep the agreement in the masculine singular, but gender may also be influenced by associations with other words that define the gender category, e.g.:

- fǎdǎ wuta (m) ‘moth’ (lit. fall into-fire)
- hàna màkarà (m) ‘rattle serving as an alarm clock’ (lit. prevent-lateness)
- hàna sallà (f) ‘baseball cap’ (= hūlǎ f ‘cap’)
- mashǎ ruwǎ (m) ‘rainbow’ (= bàkā m ‘arc’)

Plural concord indicates the plural number of the whole phrase, i.e.: *wata hànà sallà* Sg ‘a baseball cap’, *wasu hànà sallà* Pl ‘some baseball caps’.

11.2.2. Lexicalized sentences

Another type of expressions has the form of lexicalized sentences (also termed as sentential compounds, see Newman 2000: 120). They assume the form of a clause and function as fixed expressions, e.g. (Pawlak 2021: 105):

- fǎdī-tǎshi ‘struggle, effort’ (lit. fall down and get up)
 fǎdī-kà-mutù ‘chinaware, breakable dishes, porcelain’ (lit. fall down and die)
 dà-nā-sanī ‘regret, repentance’ (lit. if I had known)
 kà-cǐci-kà-cǐci ‘riddle, quiz’ (lit. make a guess, make a guess)

Lexicalized sentences perform all the functions of nominal elements in the clausal structure, i.e. they form the prepositional phrases with *da* ‘with’ and may function as constituents of linked compounds; they may be also preceded by an indefinite demonstrative, e.g.:

- Allā yà tsarè mu dà **dà-nā-sanī**
 ‘Let Allah protect us from doing things that require regret’
 (dà dà-nā-sanī, lit. from if-I-had known)

- mutânên dà sukà yi **àbin à-zō-à-ganī**...
 ‘people who made interesting things’
 (àbin à-zō-à-ganī, lit. thing for-someone-to come-and-see)

- fǎdāwan nàn sai sukà dāukē ta wata **shā-kà-tǎfi**
 ‘the guards thought her stupid (they took her for a stupid girl)’
 (wata shā-kà-tǎfi, lit. someone drink-and-go)

- àbin-**cī-kâr-kà-mutù** ‘tasteless food’
 (lit. food eaten in order not to die)

Some units have the structure of a complex sentence, e.g. *ka-cè-na-cè* ‘argument’ (lit. you said, I said), *fǎdī-tǎshi* ‘struggle, effort’ (lit. fall down and get up), *bǎ-ni-in-bā-kà* ‘exchange of goods’ (lit. give me so that I could give you). If it is a verb plus its complements, most commonly the imperative or subjunctive verb forms occur, e.g.:

- tǎfi-dà-mālāminkà ‘any book with a long foot-notes’ (lit. go along with your teacher)
 mù-ci-tǎre ‘co-trader’ (lit. let us eat together)
 jè-ka-dà-kwàrinkà ‘type of marriage; marriage in which a husband lives in a wife’s home’ (lit. go with your bow and arrows)

11.3. Idiomatic phrasal verbs

Fixed verb-object collocations create a special pattern of units giving evidence of Hausa phraseology. They have the status of “idiomatic phrasal verbs”, at the semantic level they are distinguished by their “noncompositional meaning” (Newman 2000: 260). The examples are as follows:

- kāwō hancī ‘approach, get close’ (lit. bring nose)
- bātā rāi ‘frown, be upset’ (lit. spoil life)
- sā hannū ‘sign’ (lit. put hand)
- kashē idō ‘wink’ (lit. kill eye)
- cī gāba ‘carry on, continue’ (lit. eat front)
- bugā harī ‘to raid’ (lit. beat raid)
- sāyī inuwā ‘buy something without having seen it, buy a pig in a poke’ (lit. buy shadow)
- sā bākī ‘interfere’ (lit. put mouth)
- shiga ukū ‘be in a dilemma’ (lit. enter three)

A very large group of verbal phraseologisms is made up of monosyllabic verbs, which have a special status in the system of morphological differentiation of verbs (see 13.1.). Particular verbs create sets of verbal phrases with meanings that go beyond the sum of the meanings of the individual elements. The most common of them are the following (Pawlak 2021: 95f):

[cī] ‘eat’, e.g. *cī àmānā* ‘breach trust’ (lit. eat trust), *cī gāba* ‘carry on’ (lit. eat the front), *cī gūmī* ‘enjoy oneself’ (lit. eat sweat), *cī jarrābāwā* ‘pass an examination’ (lit. eat an exam), *cī kwāf* ‘win the cup’ (lit. eat a cup), *cī littāfi* ‘read the book thoroughly’ (lit. eat a book), *cī mutunci* ‘treat with disrespect’ (lit. eat humaneness), *cī nāsarā* ‘win, be victorious’ (lit. eat victory), *cī kāsūwā* ‘make purchases, have a successful day at the market’ (lit. eat the market), *cī sàrautā* ‘attain kingship’ (lit. eat rulership)

[shā] ‘drink’, e.g. *shā àlwāshī* ‘declare, make a promise’ (lit. drink a promise), *shā bām̄bam* ‘be different’ (lit. drink being-different), *shā iskā* ‘go for a walk’ (lit. drink the wind), *shā kāshī* ‘suffer, have a very bad time’ (lit. drink excrement), *shā kùnū* ‘manifest contempt or anger’ (lit. drink gruel), *shā ràunī* ‘get hurt’ (lit. drink hurt), *shā wāhalā* ‘suffer trouble’ (lit. drink trouble, difficulty), *shā wūyā* ‘suffer hardship’ (lit. drink trouble), *shā tībā* ‘smoke (a cigarette)’ (lit. eat a cigarette)

[jī] ‘hear, feel’⁵² e.g. *jī yunwā* ‘feel hungry’, *jī tsōrō* ‘be afraid of’ (lit. feel fear), *jī Lārabcī/Hausa* ‘know (understand) Arabic/Hausa’ (lit. hear Arabic / Hausa), *jī jikī* ‘feel out of sorts’

⁵² The basic meaning of *jī* is ‘hear’, semantic derivation has extended it to ‘feel’ and to ‘understand’.

(lit. feel the body), *ji gàrī* ‘be short of money’ (lit. hear the town), *ji dōyin mutànē* ‘to be haughty’ (lit. to smell the stench of people)

[bā] ‘give’, e.g. *bā dà bàkī* ‘implore, persuade’ (lit. give mouth), *bā dà fuskā* ‘be receptive’ (lit. give a face), *bā dà sa’ à* ‘to indicate the most appropriate time’ (lit. give the propitious time)

[sā] ‘put, place’, e.g. *sā rai* ‘expect, anticipate’ (lit. put life), *sā bàkī* ‘interfere’ (lit. put [one’s] mouth), *sā hannū* ‘sign’ (lit. put [one’s] hand), *sā rana* ‘set a day or time’ (lit. put a day), *sā (wà wani) sūnā* ‘give (someone) a name’ (lit. put a name)

[jā] ‘pull, drag’; [jāwō] ‘pull (this way), bring about’, e.g. *jāwō hankālī* ‘draw attention’ (lit. pull attention), *jā yākī* ‘wage war’ (lit. drag war), *jā hatsī* ‘eat a lot of food’ (lit. pull grain), *jā dà bāya* ‘step back, retreat’ (lit. pull backward)

[kai] ‘take, take to’; [kāwō] ‘bring’, e.g. *kai/kāwō harī* ‘raid, mount an attack’ (lit. bring a raid), *kai tikiti* ‘die’ (lit. take a ticket), *kai takārdā* ‘die’ (lit. take a letter), *kāwō kái* ‘be at hand, be just about to happen’ (lit. bring head), *kāwō hancī* ‘approach, get close to’ (lit. bring [one’s] nose), *kai ruwā rāna* ‘cause controversy, quarrel’ (lit. bring rain in sun[ny weather])

The verb *yi* ‘do, make’, which is involved in the formation of adjectival phrases with nouns, such as *yā yi kyāu* ‘it is beautiful’ (*kyāu* ‘beauty’), *yā yi tsādā* ‘it is expensive’ (*tsādā* ‘expensiveness’), (see 7.2.2.), also forms phrasal verbs with ideophones (see 3.1.), e.g.:

[yi] ‘do’, e.g. *yi farat* ‘suddenly’ (lit. do rush), *yi wup* ‘in a flash’ (lit. do wup), *yi fatō-fātō* ‘(be) large and broad’ (lit. do overly large and broad)

Among the two-syllable verbs, *daukà*, *daurà* and *kashè* are worth mentioning, as they create a large number of phraseological combinations, i.e.:

[**daukà**⁵³] ‘take, take away’, e.g. *daukà (wà wani) hankālī* ‘grab someone’s attention’ (lit. take someone’s attention), *dau cikì* ‘become pregnant’ (lit. take [a] stomach), *daukè kafà dàgà...* ‘cease doing (something)’ (lit. take someone’s foot away from), *daukè (wà wani) idò* ‘dazzle’ (lit. take someone’s eye), *dauki rānā* ‘fix a date’ (lit. take a day), *dauki fòtō* ‘take a picture’ (lit. take a picture), *dauki harshè* ‘speak loudly’ (lit. take a tongue), *dauki zōbè* ‘imagine’ (lit. take gold)

⁵³ *Daukà* used as a phrasal verb may have the variant forms *dauki* or *daukè*, depending on the syntactic environment, in some contexts also *daukō* or *daukē*. Optionally the clipped form *dau* may be used.

[**ḍaurā**] ‘tie (up)’, e.g. *ḍaurà àlkāwārī* ‘make a promise’ (lit. tie a promise), *ḍaurà aurē* ‘perform a marriage’ (lit. tie marriage), *ḍaurà àniyā* ‘exert oneself to do something, be determined to do something’ (lit. tie determination), *ḍaurà àbūtā* ‘form a friendship’ (lit. tie a friendship), *ḍaurà fuskā* ‘scowl’ (lit. tie a face), *ḍaurā (wà wani) gīndī* ‘support, back up (somebody)’ (lit. tie someone’s buttocks), *ḍaurē kâi* ‘do not understand’ (lit. tie [someone’s] head)

[**kashē**] ‘kill’, e.g. *kashē idō* ‘dazzle’ (lit. kill an eye), *kashē kâi* ‘commit suicide’ (lit. kill head), *kashē aurē* ‘divorce’ (lit. kill marriage), *kashē kudī* ‘spend money (wastefully)’ (lit. kill money), *kashē kâsuwā* ‘spoil chances’ (lit. kill the market), *kashē gārā* ‘eat extra-special food’ (lit. kill wedding-presents), *kashē hakī* ‘escape’, ‘abscond’ (lit. kill blade-of-grass)

Idiomatic phrasal verbs are regular phrases, in which particular elements function within clausal structure as their constituents. Therefore, the verbs occur in the form of their morphological variants appropriate to the context, including the verbo-nominal form, e.g.:

lallē à lōkâcin yāķī mutānē sukā **shā wūyā** ‘truly, during the war time the population struggled with numerous difficulties’
 yanā **jīn yunwā** ‘he is/feels hungry’
 sun **shā** matufar **āzābā** ‘they experienced a lot of suffering’

11.4. Grammaticalization and lexicalization of the compound units

Using examples of compounds, we can observe the processes of language development and changing its structure. These primarily concern the grammaticalization of compound elements and the lexicalization of entire compounds. Some of these processes are significantly advanced, others are at a stage that does not allow for distinguishing grammatical forms from lexical units. The development of grammatical morphemes from lexical items occurs in so-called genitive prepositions, which are derived from meaningful items, largely body part terms (see 15.3.2.). At the surface level, the expression *gāban gidā* ‘in front of the house’ does not differ from *gāban gidā* ‘front of the house/building’ (*gābā* ‘front part’), but *cikin* ‘in’ and *cikī* ‘the inside’ have already separated from the source lexeme *cikī* ‘belly’ (i.e. *cikīnsā* ‘his belly’, but *cikīnsā* ‘inside it’).

The grammaticalization process also applies to other elements of nominal compounds. The nouns *dā* ‘son’ and *’yā* ‘daughter’, *’yā’yā* ‘children’⁵⁴ have been grammaticalized and are used as regular derivational morphemes (see 12.3.), e.g. *dan’uwā* ‘brother’ (lit. mother’s son), *’yar’uwā* ‘sister’ (lit. mother’s daughter), *’yan Adām* ‘human beings’ (lit. Adam’s children), *’yan’uwā* ‘brothers, colleagues’, but *’yā’yan rānā* ‘mirage’ (lit. children of sun).

Some distinctive features of compounds which make them phonologically marked have been identified in a number of nominal compounds. It is low tone(s) on the first word and short final vowel on the last, which is different from the lexical items involved in the composition, such as *gāshin bākī* ‘mustache’ (cf. *gāshī* ‘hair’, *bākī* ‘mouth’) (Newman 2000: 115). Most compounds of this type, however, remain phonologically unmarked. Similarly, in verb-based nominal phrases the distinctiveness of phrasal compounds lies in low tone marking on the verb and a short final vowel on the last item in the compound (Newman 2000: 116), as in *hānā sallā* ‘baseball cap’ (lit. prevent prayer), cf. *hanā* ‘prevent’, *sallā* ‘prayer’. but individual phrases may have different rules, e.g. *jā gābā* ‘guide, leader’ (cf. *jā gāba* ‘put forward’), ‘Ali’, but *dan Ali* ‘Ali’s son’.

The morphology of nominal and verbal phrases which are lexical compounds confirms the ongoing process of their lexicalization and attributing the status of single words to them. Still not completely established position is reflected in the varied orthographic convention of the written language which refers to the spelling as one word or separate words and hyphenated words, e.g. *dan’uwā* or *dan uwā* ‘brother’, *ùbangidā* or *ùban gidā* ‘master’, *uwargidā* or *uwar gidā* ‘(senior) wife’, but *uwar-dākī* ‘mistress of a household’. The form *rigākafi* ‘precaution’ seems to be a fully lexicalized noun from the earlier < *rigā-kafi* (lit. prevail before pegging). To confirm the status of a single lexical unit, some grammatical markers accepted in combination with nouns are used, e.g. *māi ban shā’awā* ‘attractive, interesting’ (lit. being characterized by giving attraction). In the compound *jā-gāban aurē* ‘marriage intermediary’ the linker *-n* is attached to the second element of the phrasal *jā-gāba* ‘guide’. It means that compound structures became single units in the Hausa lexicon and are treated as ordinary non-composed nouns. Some of them adopt one of the plural patterns and take a regular plural form, such as *shūgàbànnī* which has been attributed to the noun

⁵⁴ When *’yā’yā* used as a grammatical morpheme, mostly instead of *’yā’yan* a short form *’yan* is used.

shùgàbā ‘leader, chairman’ derived from *shìga-gàba* (lit. enter-front). The regular plural suffix *-ū* is used in *màgàtàkàrdū*, Sg *magàtakàrdā* (< *magà takàrdā*) ‘scribe, secretary’ which contains the prefix *ma-* (see 12.1.) added to *ga takàrdā* (lit. see paper/letter). Most compounds, however, do not have morphological plurals and the plurality is indicated by their determiners, e.g. *wannàn idòn-sanì* ‘this acquaintance’ (lit. this eye-know), *wadānnān idòn-sanì* ‘these acquaintances’ (lit. these eye-know) (Jaggar 2001: 126).

The development of distinct morphemes is deeply embedded in cognitive processes and the conceptualization of meanings. Observing these processes poses significant challenges for Hausa language researchers, especially with respect to compound structures. Illustrative examples of such processes are recognized in two idiomatic phrasal verbs, namely *ci* ‘eat’ and *shā* ‘drink’.

The analysis of these two verbs, operating in metaphorical context, shows their various semantic extensions (Jaggar & Buba 2009). However, the meanings can be reduced to two semantic domains in which these two bodily consumption verbs operate, namely *ci* ‘eat’ expresses the cognitive notion of OVERCOME, whereas *shā* ‘drink’ UNDERGO. Therefore:

[OVERCOME]: *ci nāsara* ‘win, be victorious’ (*nāsara* ‘victory’), *ci jarràbāwā* ‘pass an examination’ (*jarràbāwā* ‘test, examination’), *ci kàsuwā* ‘have a successful day at the market’ (*kàsuwā* ‘market’)

[UNDERGO]: *shā wàhalā* ‘have problems’ (*wàhalā* ‘trouble, difficulty’), *shā rānā* ‘suffer the sun’ (*rānā* ‘sun’), *shā kāshī* ‘have a hard time’ (*kāshī* ‘excrement’).

CHAPTER XII

Word formation

In Hausa, words change their form through adding prefixal and suffixal morphemes, with suffixal formations clearly dominating over prefixal ones. This chapter focuses on derivational formations associated with categorial change (e.g. verbs derived from nouns and *vice versa*), but also other word formations involving a change in the meaning of the word, such as reduplication of part of the stem.

12.1. Prefixal formations

– **bà-** prefix to form Ethnonyms

Words indicating a person's place of origin, nationality, ethnicity, occupation or social group are formed by means of the prefix **bà-** and the suffix **-āwā** added to the name of a place or ethnic group. The prefix **bà-** is added to singular names (both masculine and feminine), and the suffix **-āwā** is added to plural names. The masculine and feminine singular forms also differ in their endings, which replace the ending of the geographical or ethnic name. Masculine nouns then receive the ending **-ē**, feminine nouns **-iyā**, and some ethnonyms have different endings (**-ī** and **-ā**, respectively). e.g.:

Bàhaushē m	Bàhaushiya f	Hàusāwā Pl	‘Hausa’ (< <i>Hausa</i>)
bāfādā m	bāfādiya f	fādāwā Pl	‘courtier’ (< <i>fādā</i> ‘palace’)
Bàgōbirī m	Bàgōbirā f	Gōbirāwā Pl	‘person/people from Gobir’ (< <i>Gōbir</i>)
Bādāurī m	Bādāurā f	Dāurāwā Pl	‘person/people from Daura’ (< <i>Dāurā</i>)
Bāmasārī m	Bāmasārā f	Masarāwā Pl	‘Egyptian’ (< <i>Masār</i> ‘Egypt’)

Some ethnonyms are characterized by irregularities that go beyond the morphological pattern (often based on names no longer in use today). They may

have endings other than *-e* or *-i* in the singular and their tonal patterns may be different, e.g.:

Bàkanò/Bàkanè m	Bàkaniyā f	Kanāwā Pl	person/people from Kano' (< <i>Kanò</i>)
Bàyarabè m	Bàyarabiyā f	Yarabāwā Pl	'Yoruba people' (< <i>Yaraba</i>) ⁵⁵
Bàfillācè m	Bàfillātā f	Filānī Pl	'Fulani people' (< <i>Fila</i>) ⁵⁶
Bàzazzāgī m	Bàzazzāgā f	Zazzagāwā Pl	'person/people from Zaria' (< <i>Zagzāg</i>) ⁵⁷

Some ethnonyms do not form plurals regularly or do not have them at all, e.g.:

Bàbarbarè m	Barèbarī Pl	'Kanuris'
Bànasārè m	Nàsārū = Nàsāra Pl	'white people', 'Christians'
Bàtijjānè m	'yan Tijjāniyyā Pl	'Tijaniyya order members'

The formation refers mainly to names fixed in the process of language development, and the creation of new names using this pattern is limited. Regular formations for *Bàjāmushè* m, *Bàjāmushiyā* f, *Jāmusāwā* Pl 'German' and *Bàfaranshè* m, *Bàfaranshiyā* f, *Faransāwā* Pl 'French' are well established, but there is only a plural form *Sīnāwā* (*ḍan kasar Sin*, lit. son of China in the singular). 'Nigerian' is also formed as *ḍan Nājēriyā*. Similarly, a lexical morpheme expresses the ethnonym *mùtumìn kasar Poland* 'Pole' (lit. a person from the country of Poland).

Ethnonyms are most often used as nouns, but they can also occur as adjectives, e.g.:

bàfārishèn bàrgō	'Persian carpet'
bàhagòn mùtùm	'left-handed man'
bàlārabiyyar shèkarā	'Muslim year (354 days)'

– **ma-** prefix to form Agent, Location, Instrument nouns

The Chadic and Afro-Asiatic derivational prefix *ma-* is used in Hausa to form nouns denoting the doer of an action (Agent nouns), tools (Instrument nouns), and places (Location nouns). Some action names are also formed using *ma-*. It is a productive prefix in the contemporary language. Particular formations differ in their endings in the singular and plural.

⁵⁵ Word not used alone as a Hausa word.

⁵⁶ Word not used alone as a Hausa word (as above).

⁵⁷ *Zagzāg* is a historical name of *Zārīyā* city.

ma-...-ī/iyā to form Agent noun

The Agent noun (*Nomen agentis*) is formed by adding the prefix *ma-* to the verb stem and the gender/number suffixes *-ī* (m), *-iyā* (f) in the singular, and *-ā* in the plural. The tonal pattern is HL(L)H and HH(H)LH in the singular, and HL(L)H in the plural, respectively. Many lexically established formations have this form, e.g.:

mahāifī m ‘father’	mahaiḡiyā f ‘mother’	mahāifā Pl ‘parents’ (<i>hāifā</i> ‘give birth to’)
manōmī m ‘rolnik’	manōmiyā f	manōmā Pl (<i>nōmā</i> ‘work in the farm’)
maḡiyī m ‘enemy’	maḡiyiyā f	maḡiyā Pl (<i>kī</i> ‘dislike’)
malālācī m ‘lazy’ (< <i>lālātā</i> ‘spoil’)		
macīḡī m ‘snake’		macīzai Pl (<i>cīzā</i> ‘bite’)
mahāukācī m ‘madman’		mahāukātā Pl (<i>hāukā</i> ‘madness’ > <i>haukātā</i> ‘make someone become crazy’)

Monosyllabic verbs usually form Agent nouns from extended stems with the semivowel *-y-*, e.g. *mashāyī* m *mashāyiyā* f *mashāyā* Pl ‘drinker, drunkard’. If such formations are elements of compound structures, the Agent nouns occur without gender/number suffixes, for example *majē hāḡī* ‘pilgrim’ (lit. one who made a pilgrimage to Mecca), *mashāyā ḡiyā* ‘alcoholic drinkers’, *mabī sarkī* ‘one who accompanies the emir’, *manēmā lābārī* ‘journalists, reporters’ (lit. the ones seeking news). Such formations can also be elements of a regular genitive construction, e.g. *mashāyin ḡiyā* ‘drunkard’, *masōyin Mānzō* ‘zealous Muslim’ (lit. loving the Prophet).

ma-...-ā, ma-...-ī to form Location nouns

Place names (*Nomen loci*) have forms differentiated by gender/number. They are derived from verbal stems. Those ending in *-ī* are masculine singular, those ending in *-ā* are feminine singular. In the plural, some end in *-ū*, others in *-ai*. The tones of these nouns in the singular have the pattern (H)HHH, in the plural (L)LLH, e.g.:

makarantā f ‘school’	mākārāntū Pl	(<i>karāntā</i> ‘read, study’)
masaukī m ‘place for lodging’	māsāukai Pl	(<i>sāuka</i> ‘descend, be lodged’)
masallācī m ‘mosque’	māsāllātai Pl	(<i>sāllātā</i> ‘perform daily prayer’)
ma’aikatā f ‘workplace’	mā’aikātū Pl	(<i>aikātā</i> ‘do, perform’)

There is a difference in meaning between two location nouns with different endings, i.e. *matsayā* ‘a stop, a resting place for travelers’ and *matsayī* ‘place where a person or thing remains, position, post, status’ (Newman 2000: 58).

ma-...-ī to form Instrument nouns

Instrument noun (*Nomen instrumenti*) has the same structure as location noun, using the prefix *ma-* and the suffix *-ī* in the singular, and the suffix *-ai* in the plural. The tonal pattern also remains the same as in place names, e.g.:

madūbī m ‘mirror’ m	mādūbai Pl	(<i>dūbā</i> ‘look, look at’)
makullī m ‘key’	mākūllai Pl	(<i>kullē</i> ‘lock’)
magirbī m ‘harvesting tool’	māgirbai Pl	(<i>girbā</i> ‘reap’)
masassaķī m ‘adze’	māsāsākai Pl	(<i>sassākā</i> ‘carve, make of wood’)
makāmī m ‘weapon’	mākāmai Pl	(<i>kāmā</i> ‘catch, seize, take hold of’)

The term *mabūsā* m, *mābūsai* Pl ‘type of flute’ (*būsā* ‘blow something [with mouth]’) is a rare case of an instrument noun with the ending *-ā*.

Ma- extends its functions to other derivational formations as well, including names of actions, e.g.:

mafarkī m ‘dream’	māfarkai Pl	(<i>farkā</i> ‘wake up’)
matambayā m ‘questioning’		(<i>fāmbayā</i> ‘to ask’)

12.2. Suffixal formations

Many derivational formations in Hausa are suffixal. The most frequently used ones are listed below.

-cī/-ancī (Language names)

The suffix *-cī* and its variant *-anci* are used to derive language names from the names of countries, lands, cities, and ethnic groups. The resulting formation is characterized by the tonal pattern (H)HH, e.g.:

- Lārabēcī ‘Arabic’
- Kanancī ‘Kano dialect’ (*Kanō* ‘Kano city’)
- Barbarēcī ‘Kanuri language’ (cf. *Bābarbarē* ‘a Kanuri person’)
- Tūrancī⁵⁸ ‘English’ (< *Tūrai*⁵⁹ ‘Europe’)
- Fillancī (Filātancī) ‘Fulani language’ (*Filātānī* ‘Fulani person’)

⁵⁸ The term *Ingilishī* ‘English’ is also used.

⁵⁹ The terms *Tūrai* and *Tūrāwā* are originally referred to places outside Africa and non-Africans in general, at first to Arabs (maybe Turks?) and later to Europeans (see also Newman 2000: 294).

Many language names are not formed with this suffix. Instead, the phrase with *harshè* ‘language’ is used, e.g. *harshèn Ibo* ‘Igbo language’, *harshen mutànen Habashà* (lit. language of the people of Ethiopia) ‘Amharic’.

The suffix *-ancī* is also used to identify a way of behaving, oral and written norms, etc., e.g.:

- mālam**ancī** ‘language and/or mannerisms of traditional teachers’ (*mālāmī* ‘teacher’)
 Gaskiy**ancī** ‘the standardized Hausa language norm (as used by *the Gaskiya* newspaper)
 (*gaskiyā* ‘truth’)

-tā, -cī, -takā (Abstract nouns)

Abstract nouns are derived from common nouns or adjectives through the use of three suffixes *-tā, -cī, -takā*, which can have the consonant /n/ inserted, creating variants of these suffixes *-(n)tā, -(n)cī, -(n)takā*. Abstract nouns with the *-cī* suffix are masculine, those with the other two suffixes are feminine. In terms of tonal structure, only formations ending in *-(n)takā* exhibit regularity, following the LLHL pattern, e.g.:

- [-(n)tā]: bāut**tā** ‘slavery’ (*bāwā* ‘slave’), gajart**tā** ‘shortness’ (*gājērē* ‘short’), nàgàrt**tā** ‘goodness’ (*nagārī* ‘good’)
 [-(n)cī]: ādal**cī** ‘justice’ (*ādālī* ‘honest’), jāhīl**cī** ‘illiteracy’ (*jāhīlī* ‘ignorant person’), ālbarkā**cī** ‘good fortune’ (*ālbarkā* ‘blessing’), shūgab**ancī** ‘leadership’ (*shūgābā* ‘leader, president’)
 [-takā]: jārūmānt**akā** (= jārūmtā) ‘bravery’ (*jārūmī* ‘brave’), dāngānt**akā** ‘relationship’ (*dangī* ‘kin, relatives’), ābōkānt**akā** (= ābūtā) ‘friendship’ (*ābōkī* ‘friend’)

-ayyā, -ēCēniyā (Mutuality)

Mutuality or reciprocity is encoded in Hausa by the pronoun *jūnā* (see 10.1.6.), but it is also expressed in derived nouns formed by the suffixes *-ayyā* and *-ēCēniyā*. Derivational formations are based on verbal stems, often stems extended by a semivowel, some referring to nouns. Examples:

- [-ayyā]: tār**ayyā** ‘federation’ (*tārā* ‘collect together’), àurāt**ayyā** ‘marriage relationship, intermarriage’ (*aurā* ‘marry’, *aurē* ‘marriage’), bùg**ayyā** ‘exchange of blows’ (*bùgā* ‘beat’), kiy**ayyā** ‘hatred’ (*kī* ‘refuse, hate’), sòy**ayyā** ‘mutual love’ (*sō* ‘like, love’)
 [-ēCēniyā]: yàrjē**niyā** ‘mutual consent, agreement’ (*yārda* ‘agree’), rùngùm**ēniyā** ‘mutual embracing’ (*rùngumā* ‘embrace’)

Many words ending with one of the suffixes are lexicalized forms of derivational formations and function as fixed lexical units.

-au (Associated characteristics)

Derived nouns containing a suffix *-au* and the fixed LH pattern are used to express “associated characteristics” (Newman 2000: 71) which are determined by the semantics of the base verb.

- màntau ‘very forgetful person’ (< *māntā* ‘forget’)
- màkàrau ‘dilatory person’ (< *màkarà* ‘be late’)
- tàfiyau ‘someone who travels a lot’ (*tāfi* ‘go’, *tāfiyā* ‘journey, trip’)
- Jātau ‘proper name’ (for light-skinned boy (*ja* ‘red’))
- gāgarau ‘epithet of (any) Abubakar, a warrior or difficult person or thing’
- (*gāgarà* ‘be impossible’, ‘be uncontrollable’)

The suffix occurs mostly in lexically specific items, but one can notice its growing importance in the creation of new adverblike formations, as well as new specialized terms, among which are linguistic terms, such as *àikàtau* ‘verb’ (< *aikātā* ‘to work’), *bàyyānu* ‘adverb’ (*bayyānā* ‘explain’), *dōgarau* ‘relative clause’ (< *dōgarà* ‘depend on’), *kàrbau* ‘direct object’, (< *kàrbā* ‘receive’) (see also Newman 2000: 73).

-ta, -Vnta, -(a)ta (verbalizing suffix)

To create verbs from nouns (or from adjectives, occasionally adverbs), the verbalizing suffix *-ta* and its variants *-Vnta*, *-(a)ta* are used, e.g.:

- nīsantā ‘be(come) distant from’ (< *nīsā* ‘distance’)
- hanzartā ‘hasten’ (< *hanzarī* ‘speed, haste’)
- gajartā ‘shorten’ (< *gājērē* ‘short’)
- farantā ‘whiten’, ‘make happy’ (< *farī* ‘white’)
- tsōratā ‘be afraid of’; tsōrātā ‘frighten’ (< *tsōrō* ‘fright’)

12.3. Derivational morphemes based on lexical units

Some regular word formations occupy an intermediate position in the Hausa language system between derivational constructions and lexical compositions. The prefix *māi* (= the doer or possessor of) and the prefix *maràs* (= the one(s) lacking in...) have gained morphemic status. The prefix *māi* and the prefix *maràs* function as morphemes only, while *ḍan* – a prefix of diminutives and nouns expressing origin, affiliation, etc. – is also used as an independent word *ḍā* with the meaning ‘son’.

màì/mà̃su

The etymology of *màì* indicates the agentive form of *ma-* formative with the verb *yì* ‘do’ which is used in singular (see 12.1.). It has no feminine counterpart in singular. The plural morpheme *mà̃su* is probably of different origin, i.e. as a marker *mā-* plus the third person plural pronoun *-su* (Newman 2000: 323).

Màì is a nominal prefix used to create derivative nouns and noun phrases. Their exact translation varies, but equivalents such as ‘owner, doer, one who...’ are often used, e.g.:

- màì māgàṅī ‘apothecary, herbalist’, Pl *mà̃su māgàṅī* (*māgàṅī* ‘medicine’)
- màì dōkī ‘horse owner’ (*dōkī* ‘horse’)
- màì hūlā ‘man in a hat’ (*hūlā* ‘cap, hat’)
- màì idò ɗaya ‘one-eyed (man)’ (*idò ɗaya* ‘one eye’)
- màì sūnānā ‘my namesake’ (lit. one having my name)

Màì can also be followed by a verbal noun, e.g.:

- màì tàfiyā ‘traveler’ (*tàfiyā* ‘journey’ < *tàfi* ‘go, go to’)
- màì yiwuwā ‘it is possible’ (lit. doable) (< *yiwu* ‘be possible’)
- màì sayārwā ‘seller’ (*sayārwā* ‘selling’ < *sayar* [dà] ‘sell’)
- màì bincikē ‘researcher’ (*bincikē* ‘investigation’ < *bincikā* ‘investigate’)
- màì kulā dà mānyan màkàràntū ‘one who supervises secondary schools’ (*kulā dà mānyan màkàràntū* ‘supervising secondary schools’)

Màì is also used to form postpositional modifiers of nouns when the morpheme *màì/mà̃su* combines with nouns of quality, abstract nouns or other noun phrases, including verbal nouns, as in *màì àmfàṅī* ‘useful’, *mà̃su tsāḍā* ‘expensive (Pl)’, *màì kyāu* ‘good, beautiful’, *màì nēman àbinci* ‘(one) looking for food’. When these expressions are modifiers, the morpheme agrees with the head noun in number, ignoring the gender, e.g.:

- yārò *màì* hāṅkalī ‘a sensible boy’
- yārinyā *màì* kyāu ‘beautiful girl’
- abūbuwā *mà̃su* tsāḍā ‘expensive things’

Many combinations with *màì* have been incorporated into the Hausa lexicon as fixed units, such as *màì gāḍī* ‘watchman’, *màì gārī* ‘chief of a town’, *màigīdā* ‘householder’, *màì ḍākī* ‘wife’, *màì girmā* ‘his highness, excellency’.

maràs/maràsā

The semantic opposite of *mài* is *maràs* which indicates ‘the one lacking in...’. Its plural form is *maràsā*. Etymologically, *maràs* and *maràsā* phrases are grammaticalized agentive nouns formed with the prefix *ma-* and the verb *rasà* ‘to lack’ (see 12.1.). Formations can appear as nouns, e.g. *maràs lāfiyà* ‘sick (person)’ (*lāfiyà* ‘health’), *maràs aikì* ‘unemployed’ (*aikì* ‘work’), but are more often postpositional modifiers in nominal phrases, e.g.:

- àbinci **maràs** kyâu ‘bad food’ (lit. food lacking what is good)
 yārinyà **maràs** kunyà ‘a girl who does not respect the rules of good manners’
 (lit. girl lacking *kunya*)
 yârā **maràsā** hankālī ‘boys without sense’ (lit. boys lacking sense)

dan/’yar/’yan

Morphologically, expressions with *dan/’yar/’yan* do not differ from lexical compositions with the nouns *dā* ‘son’, *’yā* ‘daughter’, and *’yā’yā* ‘children’. However, they can be considered derivational morphemes differentiated in gender/number, having the forms *dan* in the masculine singular, *’yar* in the feminine singular, and *’yan* in the plural. They precede words whose meaning they modify and create two types of word formations with them. The first type is based on a genitive construction, in which *dan* (*’yar/’yan*) is its head noun, e.g. *dan gidā* ‘resident (m) of the house’, *’yar gidā* ‘resident (f) of the house’, *’yan gidā* ‘residents of the house’. The second one corresponds to the formation of diminutives and retains the gender/number agreement of the prefix with the noun they are combined with (*’yar hūlā* ‘little cap’, *dan tsibirī* ‘islet’, *’yan kāsūwōyī* ‘small markets’).

The first type is very productive to create semantically diverse groups in which the following meanings are encoded:

- territorial affiliation, e.g. *dan kasā* ‘citizen’ (*kasā* ‘country, state’), *’yar Nājēriyā* ‘Nigerian (f)’,
- professional, social affiliation, e.g. *dan siyāsā* ‘politician’ (*siyāsā* ‘politics’), *dan makarantā* ‘school student’ (*makarantā* ‘school’), *dan jārīdā* ‘journalist’ (*jārīdā* ‘newspaper’), *’yan kāsūwā* ‘traders’ (*kāsūwā* ‘market’),
- clothes, e.g. *’yar cikī* ‘light shirt worn under a gown’ (*cikī* ‘inside’), *’yar shārā* ‘type of sleeveless shirt’ (*shārā* ‘sweeping’),
- names of young animals, e.g. *dan tunkiyā* ‘lamb’ (*tunkiyā* ‘sheep’), *’yan dawākī* ‘foals’ (*dawākī* ‘horses’)

- any other types of relationships indicating affiliation, semantic connection, symbolic reference, etc., e.g. *'yar yāu* ‘cake made of cassava’ (*yāu* ‘today’), *'yar Murtālā* ‘twenty naira bill’ (the bill having a picture of the Nigerian former head of state General Murtala Muhammad).

In the group of diminutives, the use of the morpheme *ḍan* (usually in the masculine gender form) is possible not only with nouns, but also with their modifiers and even with verbs. The position of the morpheme in such phrases is unusual because *ḍan* is inserted into an adjectival phrase, a construction with *mài*, or even a verb complex, e.g.:

mài **ḍan** tsāwō ‘rather tall’ (*mài tsāwō* ‘tall’)

dà **ḍan** yawà ‘not much’ (*dà yawà* ‘a lot’)

yā **ḍan** tsūfa ‘he has become a little old’ (*yā tsūfa* ‘he has become old, he is old’)

The duality of the types of constructions with *ḍan*/*'yar*/*'yan* can sometimes cause ambiguity, but the context and references to the grammatical relations between the constituents clarify the meaning when, for example, *ḍan sàndā* means ‘policeman, but it can also mean ‘small stick’ (*sàndā* ‘stick, baton’), *'yan kāsūwā* ‘traders’, but *'yan kāsūwōyī* ‘small markets’.

12.4. Derivational formations based on reduplication

Nominal and verbal morphology in Hausa relies heavily on the reduplication of part or all of the source word. As a morphological strategy, partial reduplication is more common than full reduplication, and verbs do not use full reduplication at all in any function. Patterns of partial reduplication, both prefixal and suffixal, are presented below.

12.4.1. Pluractionals

This term refers to derived verbs in which the prefixal morpheme is based on reduplication. The term pluractionals, first used in (Newman 1980), refers to verbs formerly called intensive verbs. These verbs are formed by repeating part of the root, e.g. *bullō* ‘appear suddenly’, Plur *bulbullō*. They express a multiple action, lasting a long time, or referring to multiple subjects (objects).

In the formation of pluractional verbs, the first three phonemes of the verb are usually repeated, but the syllabic structure of words and the processes that apply to consonant clusters cause the patterns of reduplication-based morphemes

to vary. Processes leading to changes in the original form of a reduplicated morpheme most often involve the assimilation of the first consonant to the second (see 2.1.). The ending of the first syllable may also include /r/, /l/, /n/, which are not the consonants of the verb root. Here are examples of such transformations:

bugǎ ‘beat’	> Plur bubbùgā
fita ‘go out’	> Plur firfita
fǎdǎ ‘fall’	> Plur farfǎdǎ
tàmbayǎ ‘ask, inquire’	> Plur tàntàmbayǎ
zǎǎ ‘choose’	> Plur zàzzǎǎ
àikā ‘send (someone)’	> Plur à’’aikā
tārǎ ‘collect’	> Plur tattārǎ

The tonal structure of pluractional verbs does not reflect the tones of the basic verb, although they remain in some relationship to each other. Thus, disyllabic verbs with the pattern HL in their plural form acquire the pattern HLH, e.g. *dafǎ* ‘cook’, Plur *daddǎfǎ*, *cikǎ* ‘fill’, Plur *ciccikǎ*; verbs with the pattern LH in their plural form acquire the pattern LHL, e.g. *nēmǎ* ‘search’, Plur *nènnēmǎ*, *shìgǎ* ‘enter’, Plur *shìsshìgǎ* = *shìzzhìgǎ*); verbs with all high tones (HH) in their plural form retain this pattern, e.g. *kirǎ* ‘call’, Plur *kikkirǎ*, *sayar* ‘sell’, Plur *sassayar*. For two-syllables verbs differentiated by grades and their pluractional representation see Appendix No 10.

Trisyllabic verbs also form the pluractional forms by repeating the first three phonemes, e.g. *karǎntǎ* ‘read’, Plur *kakkarǎntǎ*, *tàmbayǎ* ‘ask, inquiry’, Plur *tàntàmbayǎ*. In this case, the tones in the individual syllables remain the same as they were in the nonpluractional form. Some three-syllable verbs form pluractionals by reduplication of the second syllable (if closed) or of the second syllable and the first consonant of the third syllable, using the same phonetic rules that govern reduplication of word-initial segments, e.g. *hǎbakǎ* ‘expand’, Plur *hǎbabbakǎ*, *gutsùrǎ* ‘break’, Plur *gutsuttsùrǎ*. One-syllable verbs with a CV/V structure form pluractionals with a repeated consonant of the verb, e.g. *zō* ‘come’, Plur *zazzō*, *bi* ‘follow’, Plur *bibbi*. In their translation, different equivalents are possible, e.g.:

tàntàmbayǎ ‘to ask many times’, ‘to ask many people’, ‘to ask questions (by many askers)’
 kikkirǎ ‘to call out many times, to direct a call to many people, (to hear) the call from many people’

The exact meaning is best identified by context. The use of the plural form is not grammatically motivated by agreement with a plural subject or object, which would justify the plurality of actions. It can be used both with and without a plural subject and/or object. Here are examples (Yakasai 2023: 106f, Pawlak 1975: 147f):

Sun dādfāurē nì tamau.. ‘They (each of them) tied me up tightly’
 Abdù yā daddātsa rākē ‘Abdu cut sugarcane into pieces’
 Sānnan na bibbi mālāman gārīn na rarrābā musù kudāḍēn sadakà ‘Then I followed
 (each of) the scholars in the town and distributed money as alms to (each of) them’
 Yā bubbūga kōfā ‘he knocked at the door (several times)’
 Cf. also Yā bubbūga kōfā kwas kwas kwas ‘he knocked at the door (several times)’

All verbs can appear as pluractional verbs, but only some are recorded in dictionaries as fixed forms, e.g. *mulmùlā* ‘knead into balls’, *babbākā* ‘grill’. Due to the lack of lexical equivalents for pluractional verbs in many languages, translations do not always take into account the semantic component these verbs contribute.

12.4.2. *Hypocoristics*

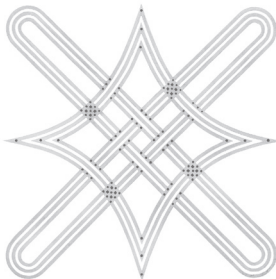
Hypocoristic forms of personal names indicate the affection of the speaker toward the person referred to. Their communicative function is connected with the intimacy, but they may also indicate the diminutive nature of the referent (Yakasai 2023: 113). The most common pattern involves the -CV reduplication. In these formations, the final syllable is copied and identical vowels have the long-short sequence. The tonal melody is LHH, irrespective of the tones of the basic form, e.g.:

Bintù f	(HC) Bintūt <u>u</u> ‘(my dear) little Bintu’
Bālā m	(HC) Bālē <u>le</u> ‘(my dear) little Bala
Inū m	(HC) Inū <u>nu</u> ‘(my dear) little Inu’
Lādi f	(HC) Lādī <u>di</u> ‘(my dear) little Ladi’

There are also some other patterns, involving added suffixes (-tī, -alō, -lle, -ndi, -ìwā) and different tonal patterns (see Newman 2000: 348f). They are variants of lesser and greater productivity, e.g. *Ummà* f, (HC) *Ummātī*, *Shatù* f, (HC) *Shatìwā*.

12.4.3. Verbs derived from nouns

Verbs that share common lexical base with nouns are formed by repeating the final consonant of the nominal stem, thus creating two identical syllables with the vowel component *-a-a*, e.g. *fādī* ‘width’, *fādādā* ‘(to) broad’. Such verbs are most often formed from nouns naming qualities, which are mainly *Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality* (see 7.2.2.), although they are also based on other nouns, e.g. *girmā* ‘bigness, size’, *girmāmā* ‘show respect to’, *dūmī* ‘warmth’, *dūmāmā* ‘warm up, heat up’. Verbs formed in this way can have two tonal patterns, differentiating their meaning: the HLH pattern refers to transitive verbs, as in *fādādā* ‘broaden’, the LHL pattern refers to intransitive verbs, as in *fādādā* ‘become broad’.



CHAPTER XIII

Verb base forms and their syntactically conditioned variants

Hausa verbs used in dictionary entries have the form of a verb base, whose use in a sentence is subject to modifications resulting from conjugation parameters (see Chapter XIV) and the contextual requirements for the verbal phrase. The morphological shape of the verb base is differentiated according to the system of so-called verb grades. Seven distinct grades are further discussed in more detail in this chapter.

The typology of Hausa verbs, reflected in their changes motivated by syntactic context, is associated with the number of syllables in the verb. The vast majority of verbs are disyllabic that manifest variety of patterns and form the basis for the classification of Hausa verbs. Within this context, monosyllabic verbs stand out, differing not only in structure but also in the rules of use within verbal phrases. They share some features common to all verbs, yet also retain their individual distinctiveness. Other verbs, three- and more-syllable, join the distinguished classes (grades) based on extended criteria. There remains a small group of high-frequency irregular verbs, for which rules are formulated separately.

Another typological feature dividing Hausa verbs is the syntactic category of transitivity. This distinguishes transitive verbs, which require a direct object to complete their meaning, from intransitive verbs, which form a complete statement with just a subject and verb. This feature is integrated into the classification framework of the grade system based on the morphological characteristics of the verb and its tonal structure.⁶⁰ However, some verbs are bivalent in this respect and are free to occur in either transitive and intransitive contexts, e.g. *yi* ‘do make’:

⁶⁰ An additional feature of transitive verbs is the ability to use both a noun and its pronominal equivalent as a direct object. For these reasons, the sentences *yā sàyi gidā* ‘he bought a house’ and *yā sàyē shi* ‘he bought it (= him)’ contain the transitive verb *sàyā*, while the sentence *yā shìga gidā* ‘he entered the house’, although constructed similarly, contains an intransitive verb (*shìga* ‘to enter’), the complement of which can be replaced by an adverb of place (*nān*) rather than a direct object pronoun (see 16.1.).

(transitive) *zân yi miyà dà yawà* ‘I’ll make a lot of soup’, (intransitive) *lōkàcī yā yi* ‘the time has come’ (lit. did) (Jaggar 2001: 427).

Another dividing line operates within transitive verbs, which change their verb endings to indicate their object by replacing the final vowel of the verb. One group of verbs creates a distinct pattern of verbs (the so-called grade 2 verbs or ‘changing verbs’) that correspond to marking the presence of a direct object, additionally indicating the object either in the nominal or pronominal form. Therefore, a verb morpheme functions as an exponent of the following direct object (= Accusative case), which would be expected on noun rather than on verb.

13.1. Monosyllabic and some other morphologically distinct verbs

There is a small group of monosyllabic verbs, quite diverse in terms of morphological features, whose only common feature is high tone. There are eight such verbs (Newman 2000: 630), most of them ending in *-i* (with variable vowel length), some others with *-ā* or *-ō*. These include *bi* ‘follow’, *ci* ‘eat’, *fi* ‘exceed’, *ji* ‘hear’, *ki* ‘hate’, *yi* ‘do’, *jā* ‘pull’, *shā* ‘drink’, *sō* ‘want, love’. As high-frequency verbs, they are used not only in their basic meaning but also in many derived meanings. For example, *ji*, in addition to ‘hear’, also expresses the meaning of ‘understand’, *jā* ‘pull’ also means ‘draw’ in its concrete and more abstract meanings (‘draw attention’). Most of monosyllabic verbs (including *ci* and *shā*) are constituents in phraseological units in which they encode more general meanings (see 11.4.).

In a verbal phrase, these verbs generally behave like regular verbs, although some are exceptions, for example, the verb *shā* ‘drink’ retains a long final vowel before a direct object in the nominal form, e.g. *yā shā tābā* ‘he smoked a cigarette’, as does *jā* ‘pull’, as in *yā jā jākī* ‘he pulled the donkey’. The final vowel in regular verbs is short in these contexts (see 13.4.).

There are more monosyllabic verbs in the Hausa lexicon, but they seem to be shortened variants or of the regular two-syllable forms, such as *sā* ‘put’ (< grade 1 **sakā*) and *cē* ‘say’ (< grade 4 **cane*) (Jaggar 2001: 227, 244). Similarly, *hau* ‘mount, ride’ is probably a clipped dissyllabic verb **hāwa*, as is *kau* ‘move aside’ (< **kāwa*) (Newman 2000: 630).

The group of verbs that are ‘unusual’ from the point of view of regular grades patterns also includes some two-syllable verbs. These are *biyā* ‘pay’, *jirā* ‘wait’, *kirā* ‘call’, *rigā* ‘precede’. They have high tones and the ending *-ā*, and this combination of features is not intended for any of the regular grades verbs. As a rule, they are transitive, but they can also be used intransitively, e.g. *yā rigā mù*

zūwà ‘he came before us’ (lit. he preceded us in coming), cf. *yā rigā yā zō* ‘he has already come’ (lit. he did previously he came).

The regular morphosyntactic features of grade verb forms are not shared by the verbs *jē* ‘go’ and *zō* ‘come’. However, they are a pair of verbs derived regularly from the same root, probably *jē*, while *zō* functions synchronically as the regular grade 6 counterpart of *jē* (Jaggar 2001: 222) with a depalatalized consonant *z-*. The syntactic behaviour of these verbs is the same as that of regular verbs with the endings *-ē* and *-ō*, respectively (see 13.4.3.).

The grade system takes into account some historically conditioned transformations of the word (leading, for example, to syllable reduction) and incorporates unusual features into the regular patterns. Some verbs are assigned to a specific grade not according to the morphological features of the base form, but to the form of the word in specific syntactic contexts. For example, *daukā* ‘take’, *sāmū* ‘obtain, get’ represent the same pattern as *sàyā* ‘buy’ in the same environment, as in *yā dāuki littāfi* ‘he took the book’, *yā sāmī littāfi* ‘he received the book’, *yā sàyi littāfi* ‘he bought the book’ (see 13.4.2.2.), where the verb changes its ending to *-i* before the noun direct object (DO). Such irregularities are relatively rare and the whole system appears to be a very clear and transparent classification of Hausa verbs. This system operates beyond basic conjugation, which has separate formal exponents (see 14.1.).

13.2. Irregular verbs

The verbs *ganī* ‘see’, *sanī* ‘know’, and *barī* ‘leave’ are irregular, as they have distinct forms determined by the syntactic context in which they occur. The base form is used only when there is no object after the verb. Before an object expressed by a pronoun or noun, the form changes as follows:

	<i>ganī</i> ‘see’	<i>sanī</i> ‘know’	<i>barī</i> ‘leave’
Form when no object follows	<i>ganī</i>	<i>sanī</i>	<i>barī</i>
Form when followed by a pronoun DO	<i>gan</i>	<i>san</i>	<i>bar</i>
Form when followed by a noun DO	<i>ga</i>	<i>san</i>	<i>bar</i>

Examples: *nā ganī* ‘I see’
kā ga àbōkīnā? ‘did you see my friend?’
ī, nā gan shī ‘yes, I saw him’
bān sanī ba ‘I don’t know’
kā san ībrāhim? ‘do you know Ibrahim?’
ī, nā san shī ‘yes, I know him’

bàri⁶¹ mù fārà ‘let’s start’
 tā **bar** kōfā à būde ‘she left the door open’
 yā **bar** sù à hanyà ‘he left them on the road’

Another irregular verb, i.e. **bā** ‘give’, also has variants determined by the context in which it occurs, and in addition, it requires specific forms of the pronouns that follow it. According to the semantics of this verb, it is most often followed by the recipient of what is given, i.e. a syntactic indirect object (IO = to whom?). The verb changes depending on whether it is in the form of a pronoun or a noun.

The verb base **bā** ‘give’ becomes **bâ** before a non-pronominal object, i.e. *nā bâ Mūsā kudīn* ‘I gave Musa the money’. There is also an alternative expression of this syntactic relation using the object-introducing morpheme *wà* (see 16.1.), but then the verb changes to *bai*, e.g. *nā bai wà Mūsā kudīn* ‘I gave Musa the money’. If the IO is pronominal, its form corresponds to a paradigm of direct object pronouns (see 10.1.2.), i.e. *nā bā shì kudīn* (not **nā bā masà kudīn*) ‘I gave him the money’. If the sentence with the verb **bā** ‘give’ contains only a direct object, it is preceded by the preposition *dà*, thus *nā bā dà kudīn* ‘I gave the money’. Pronominal direct object always has the form of an independent pronoun (see 10.1.1.), so *nā bā dà shī* ‘I gave it’, *nā bâ Mūsā shī* ‘I gave it to Musa’.

The examples below show the structural differences in sentences with the verb **bā** ‘give’ and the resulting contextual variants of this verb:

yā **bā** nì kyàutā ‘he gave me the gift’
 yā **bā** nì ‘he gave me’ (some unspecified object)
 yā **bā** dà kyàutā ‘he gave the gift’
 nā **bā** yārō kudī ‘I gave the boy money’
 nā **bai** wà yārō kudī ‘I gave the boy money’

Bā ‘give’ is a high-frequency verb that forms many collocations within verbal phrase, as well as nominal compounds with the corresponding verbal noun *ban* (see 13.5.), e.g. *bā dà māmākī* (lit. to give surprise) ‘(to) surprise’; *ban tsòrō* (lit. giving fear) ‘frightening’.

13.3. Grade system – classification scheme for regular verbs

Grade system in Hausa is a set of classes differentiated by formal characteristics of verbs. Verb grade classification was initially set up by F.W. Parsons (1960) as abstract verbal bases potentially operating seven mutually exclusive grades, in

⁶¹ The verb *bari* is used here in the Imperative (see 14.2.).

which the distinctiveness of each grade was defined by the ending of the verb and tonal pattern of the entire verb.

An important reappraisal of Parsons' classification was proposed by P. Newman (2000; chap. 74), which incorporated internal-historical perspective and the Chadic context in the development of the Hausa lexicon. This significantly expanded the number of lexical items representing individual grades, as many verbs situated outside the system were incorporated into it, despite surface irregularities. Monosyllabic verbs and several other morphologically distinct verbs also became part of this system, creating an additional zero (0) grade. This presentation of the system is linked to the Hausa dictionary (Newman 2007), in which grade 0 and grades 1–7 are introduced to describe verbs as dictionary entries.

The grade system, built on morphological criteria, allows for assigning syntactic features and modifications of meaning to verbs. The basic syntactic property is the distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs and, furthermore, the differentiation of the form of transitive verbs depending on their complements. Thus, all regular verbs that end in *-u* and have an LH tone pattern are intransitive (*sun tàru* 'they met'), while all verbs ending in *-ā*, which also have an LH tone pattern, are transitive (*sun sàyā* 'he bought [something], most often used with an object, e.g. *sun sàyi àgōgo* 'he bought a watch'). Verb stems can also function as sociative verbs, extended with the preposition *dà* 'with'⁶², e.g. *sun yabā dà shī* 'they praised him', *sun sayar dà shī* 'they sold it (lit. him)'.

Verb base with suffixal vowel and tonal pattern is a citation A form. Other contexts are differentiated by the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs. For transitive verbs, the verb form is determined by the direct object that follows them. When the verb is followed by a personal pronoun direct object, the B form is used. Form C is used with any other (nominal, sentential) direct object. Form D is used before indirect objects. Transitive verbs have the potential for operating four distinct (A, B, C, D) sub-forms depending on the syntactic environment. The paradigms of transformations of the verbs *ginā* 'build' and *zābā* 'elect' are presented below.

- | | |
|--|---|
| A: yā ginā 'he built (some building)' | A: an zābā 'the election was held' |
| B: yā ginā shi 'he built it' | B: an zābē shi 'he was elected' |
| C: yā ginā gidā 'he built a house' | C: an zābi shūgābā 'the president was elected' |
| D: yā ginā masā gidā 'he built him a house' | D: an zābam musū 'they elected the president'
(lit. the president was elected for them) |

⁶² In other words, verbs do not attach the object directly, but only using the preposition *dà*, which requires the pronominal object to take the form of an independent pronoun.

In the above examples, the verbs represent different grades (grade 1 and 2 respectively), which vary in the extent of verb changes in contexts A, B, C, and D. The verb *ginā* ‘build’ represents grade 1 verbs, which are characterized by only a slight change from a long suffixal vowel to a short vowel in context C, and for this reason these verbs have often been referred to as unchanging verbs. The verb *zābā* ‘choose, elect’, representing grade 2 verbs, has these changes much greater, which justifies their label of changing verbs (see Abraham 1962).

As far as verb forms before an indirect object are concerned, they do not have a uniform pattern for all grades. For some verbs (grades 1, 4, 5, and 6), the pre-indirect object D form is identical to the citation A-form. Intransitive verbs (grades 3 and 7) as well as transitive grade 2 verbs do not utilize this strategy; instead, in a pre-IO D context, the verb takes the suffix *-ar* and adopts the H tonal pattern (just like one of the grade forms of the verb [i.e. grade 5]). The final *-r* of the suffix regularly assimilates to and geminates with the initial consonant of the following *ma-* or *wā* IO marker. The suffix *-aC*^H is termed as pre-dative suffix (pds) (Newman 2000: 283):

- yā **dīnkā** rīgā ‘he sewed a gown’ *dīnkā* ‘sew’ (grade 1 verb)
 yā **dīnkā** minī rīgā ‘he sewed a gown for me’
 sun **gīrbi** dāwā ‘they reaped the guinea-corn’ *gīrbā* ‘reap corn, collect’ (grade 2 verb)
 sun **gīrbam** manā dāwā ‘they reaped the guinea-corn for us’

Semantics is also incorporated into the system of verb grades, with grades 1–3 differing significantly in this respect from grades 4–7. In the first three grades, called primary grades, verbs contain basic semantics, and if representations of the same root are found in two or even all of these grades, these involve the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs or their distinct syntactic functions. For example, the grade 2 verb *būgā* ‘hit, beat’ is a transitive verb with any concrete noun as an object, and the grade 1 verb *bugā* is used in phraseological units where it carries the meaning ‘to print’ (e.g. *sun bugā jārīdā* ‘they printed a newspaper’). Three other verbs, differing in formal features within primary grades, represent different syntactic properties of verbs, i.e. *tsōratā* ‘frighten’, *tsōratā* ‘be afraid of’, *tsōratā* ‘become frightened, afraid’, representing grade 1, grade 2, and grade 3 verbs, respectively.

Grades 4–7, called secondary grades, add nuances or modifications of meaning to verbs representing other (usually primary) grades, such as finality of action (grade 4), causative meaning (grade 5), action directed onto the place or object (grade 6), or passive/impersonal meaning (grade 7). Their exponent is a verb

ending that functions as a derivational morpheme and, together with the tonal pattern, characterizes the individual grade. This is to compare:

(grade 1) rufǎ ‘cover’	(grade 4) rufě ‘close’
(grade 1) kwǎntǎ ‘lie down’	(grade 5) kwantar ‘lay’
(grade 3) shiga ‘enter’	(grade 6) shigō ‘come in, arrive’
(grade 1) tǎrǎ ‘assemble, gather’	(grade 7) tǎru ‘gather (crowd)’
(grade 2) tǎmbayǎ ‘ask’	(grade 7) tǎmbàyu ‘be well questioned’

13.4. Verb grade patterns, their syntactic environment and semantics

In the following sub-sections, verb forms from individual grades will be provided in contexts A, B, C and D. The description presented here is based on the work of P. Newman (2000) with reference to the original classification by F.W. Parsons (1960) and interpretations of this system by Ph. Jaggar (2001). In addition to the formal features of the distinguished groups of verbs, attention will be paid to their common semantic properties resulting from the morphological features of the particular grades. Following this approach, monosyllabic verbs are included in the transformation table according to their properties. A summary of the features of monosyllabic verbs and some morphologically distinct verbs in contexts B, C, and D is as follows:

13.4.1. Grade 0

A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
-i H	-ī H	-i H	-i(i) H
-ǎ/-ō H	-ǎ/ō H	-ǎ/-ō H	-ǎ/-ō H

Because the morphological features of these verbs are not uniform in the same contexts, full verbal phrases using verbs in forms B, C, and D are presented below.

bi ‘follow’	yā bī tǎ	yā bi hanyǎ	yā bī masà hanyǎ
ci ‘eat’	yā cī shì	yā ci nāmǎ	yā cī masà nāmǎ
fī ‘exceed’	yā fī nī (kudī)	yā fī kyāu	

ji ‘hear’	yā jī shi	yā ji lābārī	yā jī minì cīwò
ki ‘hate’	yā kī shi	yā ki ruwā	yā kī masà ruwā
yi ‘do’	yā yī shi	yā yi aikìn	yā yi masà aikìn
jā ‘pull’	yā jā shi	yā jā jākī	yā jā minì jākī
shā ‘drink’	yā shā tà	yā shā tābà	yā shā minì tābà
sō ‘want, love’	yā sō tà	yā sō yà zō	
biyā ‘pay’	yā biyā mù	yā biyā kuđī	yā biyā masà kuđī
jirā ‘wait’	yā jirā tà	yā jirā yārinyà	yā jirā minì shī
kirā ‘call’	yā kirā tà	yā kirā yārinyà	yā kirā minì yārinyà
rigā ‘precede’	yā rigā mù zūwā	an rigā fārāwā	

13.4.2. Primary grades

13.4.2.1. Grade 1

A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
-ā H-L-(H)	-ā H-L-(H)	-a H-L-(L)	-ā H-L-(H)

<i>kāmà</i> ‘catch’	<i>kāmà</i>	<i>kāmà</i>	<i>kāmà</i>
<i>yā kāmà</i>	<i>yā kāmà shi</i>	<i>yā kāmà tsuntsū</i>	<i>yā kāmà masà tsuntsū</i>
‘he caught (it)’	‘he caught him/it’	‘he caught the bird’	‘he caught the bird for him’

Grade 1 includes both transitive and intransitive verbs, while transitive verbs predominate. Among the two-syllable verbs, there are many terms for traditional Hausa occupations, such as *dakà* ‘pound’, *gasà* ‘roast’, *ginà* ‘build’, *nikà* ‘grind’, *rinà* ‘dye’, *sākà* ‘weave’, *sōyà* ‘fry’, *aunà* ‘weigh’, *dīnkà* ‘sew’. Verbs denoting other activities are *dafà* ‘cook’, *cikà* ‘fill’, *zubà* ‘pour in’, *jěfà* ‘throw’, *harbà* ‘fire a weapon’, *bugà* ‘strike (something), print’, *shiryà* ‘prepare’.

Among polysyllabic verbs, there are derivatives, loanwords and other verbs with extended stems, for example *karàntā* ‘read’, *fassārā* ‘translate’, *rubùtā* ‘write’, *maimàitā* ‘repeat’, *zurfāfā* ‘deepen’, *tsōràtā* ‘frighten’. Polysyllabic verbs in form C (before the DO in nominal form) have two last tones low. Some disyllabic verbs with the tone pattern falling-high behave as if they were trisyllabic, i.e. they have HL-L melody and a short final vowel in the C-form. These are: *kwântā* ‘lie down’, *māntā* ‘forget’, *shàidā* ‘inform, testify’.

Intransitive verbs include *farkà* ‘wake up’, *tsayà* ‘stop’, *zaunà* ‘sit’, *jimà* ‘spend some time’, *kōmà* ‘return’, *waigà* ‘turn around’.

Among grade 1 verbs, there are some that require an indirect object with its *ma-* or *wà* IO marker that plays a recipient, benefactive, goal, or malefactive role. These are distinguished as “dative verbs”⁶³ (Jaggard 2000: 429), e.g.:

tanã bautã wà iskōkī ‘she believes in spirit-worship’
yā sãbã masa ‘he wronged him’

Another group of grade 1 verbs is distinguished by formal features that change their syntactic functions. These are verbs identified as sociatives, which introduce a semantic object using the preposition *dà*. These include: *aikã dà* ‘send (something)’, *gaisã dà* ‘exchange greetings with’, *karã dà* ‘clash with’, *kulã dà* ‘attend to’, *mântã dà* ‘forget (something)’, *sãbã dà* ‘be acquainted with’, *tunã dà* ‘remember (something)’, *yabã dà* ‘praise’ (Newman 2000: 637).

13.4.2.2. Grade 2

A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
-ã L-H-(L)	-ē L-H	-i L-H	-aC) ^H (pds)
<i>nēmã</i> ‘look for’ <i>yā nēmã</i> ‘he was looking for (something)’	<i>nēmē</i> <i>yā nēmē tà</i> ‘he was looking for her’	<i>nēmi</i> <i>yā nēmi mōtã</i> ‘he was looking for a car’	<i>nēma-r/-m</i> <i>yā nēmar wà yārò mōtã</i> ‘he was looking for a car for the boy’
<i>sãtã</i> ‘steal’ <i>yā sãtã</i> ‘he stole (something)’	<i>sãcē</i> <i>yā sãcē shi</i> ‘he stole it (lit. him)’	<i>sãci</i> <i>yā sãci àgōgo</i> ‘he stole a watch’	<i>sãta-m/-r</i> <i>yā sãtam masà àgōgo</i> ‘he stole a watch for him’

Grade 2 verbs are characterized by a change in the final vowel when followed by an object. It is *-ē* ending in B context (i.e. before a direct object in pronominal form), *-i* ending in C context (i.e. before a direct object in nominal form). The pronoun object of grade 2 verbs is a toneless clitic, which is realized with Low tone (see 10.1.2.). In the D context, grade 2 verbs use the form with pre-dative suffix (pds), but they also may switch to another grade form.

⁶³ In addition to grade 1 verbs, there is also a large group of grade 4 verbs that behave this way, as well as some irregular verbs that retain the pre-IO form as a separate verb form, recorded in dictionaries, among them *cim mà* ‘achieve’ and *tāsam mà* ‘attack’, e.g. *yā cim mà bürinsà* ‘he achieved his desires’, *mun tāsam mà kasàr nan* ‘we attacked that country’.

Grade 2 verbs are basically transitive verbs, so they must be followed by an object, and if they occur without one, it is known from the context. The following verbs are grade 2 verbs: *àurā* ‘marry’, *àrā* ‘borrow’, *àikā* ‘send’, *jèfā* ‘throw at’, *hàrbā* ‘shoot’, *kòyā* ‘learn’, *bùgā* ‘beat’, *sàyā* ‘buy’, *zābā* ‘choose, elect’, *yànkā* ‘cut off a little piece’, *tàmbayā* ‘ask’, *gìrbā* ‘reap corn’. These verbs behave regularly in contexts B and C, i.e. they change the final vowel to *-e* and *-i*, respectively. There is a group of grade 2 verbs in which these high front vowels condition palatalization (see 2.2.1.). As a result, stem-final /t/ changes to /c/; this process also includes /d/ > /j/, /z/ > /j/, /s/ > /sh/. Here are examples: *cūtā* (*cùcē*, *cùci*) ‘trick, cheat’, *sūtā* (*sàcē*, *sàci*) ‘steal’, *kàrantā* (*kàràncē*, *kàrànci*) ‘read, study’, *tsòratā* (*tsòracē*, *tsòraci*) ‘be afraid of’, *àikatā* (*àikacē*, *àikaci*) ‘partially finish work’, *gādā* (*gājē*, *gāji*) ‘inherit (from)’, *gūdā* (*gùjē*, *gùji*) ‘run from’, *cīzā* (*cījē*, *cīji*) ‘bite’, *àmsā* (*àmshē*, *àmshi*) ‘answer, reply to’, *isā* (*ishē*, *ishi*) ‘be sufficient for’, e.g.:

an sàci kudīnā ‘my money was stolen’
 kārē yā cījē nī ‘the dog bit me’
 àbinci yā ishē nī ‘that’s enough food for me’ (lit. the food is sufficient for me)

A few verbs classified as grade 2 verbs do not maintain the full paradigm of transformations and they are exceptions in this respect, but only when they occur without an object. These include: *dāukā* ‘take’, *dībā* ‘draw’, *sāmū* ‘receive’ that have HL tonal pattern (see 13.1.). In B and C contexts they behave regularly as grade 2 verbs. The verb *dībā* is also distinguished by a change of the root vowel *-ī-* (the vowel of the first syllable) to *-ē-* when the verb is followed by an object, e.g.:

yā dāukē shī ‘he took him/it’
 yā dāukā ‘he took’
 yā sāmī sākō ‘I received a message’
 nā sāmū ‘I got (it)’
 tā dēbi ruwā ‘she drew water’
 tā dēbē shī ‘she drew it (him)’
 tā dībā ‘she drew’

Before an indirect object, grade 2 verbs lose the features that distinguish them before a direct object and “switch” to another pattern of the grade system. Their form has the features of either grade 1 verbs or the form with pre-dative suffix *-r/-m* (pds, see 13.3.), e.g.:

nā dāukā wā Yūsufū kāyā ‘I took the goods for Yusuf’
 nā tambayar wā Yūsufū makērī ‘I asked (on behalf of Yusuf) about the mechanic’
 yā tambayam mini makērī ‘he asked (on my behalf) about the mechanic’

13.4.2.3. Grade 3

A-Form	D-Form
-a L-H-(L)	-aC) ^H (pds)

shiga ‘enter’*shigam**yā shiga**yā shigam minì gidā*

‘he entered’

‘he came into my house’ (lit. he entered the house for me)

Grade 3 verbs are all intransitive (or occasionally sociative, when the preposition *dà* accompanies an oblique object). The grade 3 covers disyllabic and polysyllabic verbs, among which there are some derivative formatives, e.g. *fita* ‘go out’, *diga* ‘drip’, *shiga* ‘enter’, *nūna* ‘become ripe’, *yārda* ‘agree’, *mālālā* ‘flow’, *zāburā* ‘jump up’, *kūbutā* ‘escape’, *mākarā* ‘be late’, *gāgarā* ‘be difficult’, *zāfafū* ‘become hot’, *zāmanā* ‘become’, *tsòratā* ‘be(come) afraid’.

A large part of the ‘irregular’ verbs excluded by Parsons from the grade system, in the new approach, has their place within grade 3, for which grades 3A and 3B have been distinguished. Grade 3A verbs (Newman 2000: 645), which are characterized by a final short -a and H-H tone, have the following representation: *būya* ‘hide’, *girma* ‘grow up’, *kwāna* ‘spend the night’, *kāra* ‘cry out’, *saura* ‘remain’, *tsūfa* ‘become old’, *tūba* ‘repent’, *sūma* ‘faint’, *tsīra* ‘escape’. Grade 3B verbs end in short -i, short -u, and short -a. The disyllabic verbs have H-L tone. The full Grade 3B list has 8 verbs which are: *bāci* ‘become damaged’, *fādī* ‘fall’, *tāshī* ‘stand up’, *gudū* ‘run’, *mutū* ‘die’, *batā* ‘get lost’, *haifū* (= *haihū*) ‘give birth’, *wunì* (= *yinì*) ‘spend the day’ (Newman 2000: 646).

Finally, there are three high-frequency intransitive verbs, namely *gàji* ‘tire’, *tāfi* ‘go’, *kòshi* ‘be replete’, which do not meet the formal criteria of the distinguished grade 3 verbs (including the correlation of ending and tonal pattern) and must be considered irregular.

13.4.3. Secondary grades

While the properties of primary grades mainly concern morphological changes conditioned by the syntactic context of the verb, in secondary grades, the distinct features are determined to a greater extent by common semantics. The “semantically-specified fused extensions” (Jaggar 2000: 241) produce morpho-semantically complex verbs with syntactic properties that are different from those of underlying forms.

13.4.3.1. Grade 4 (-e verbs)

A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
-ē H-L-(H)	-ē H-L-(H)	-e H-L-(L)	-ē H-L-(H)
		-ē H-L-(H)	
-nyē H-L-(H)	-nyē H-L-(H)	-nye H-L-(L)	-nyē H-L-(H)
		-nyē H-L-(H)	

nā bacē‘I am completely
lost’*nā bugē shi*‘I hit him (so that
he fell)’*yā sayē audūgā*‘he bought up
the cotton’*sun sācē mīn zōbē*‘they stole the ring
from me’

The grade 4 verbs are transitive or intransitive. Transitive are *rufē* ‘close’, *binnē* ‘bury’, *kashē* ‘kill’, intransitive *dadē* ‘be or last long’, *bacē* ‘be lost’, *hūjē* ‘become pierced’, *warkē* ‘recover’, *narkē* ‘melt’. Some verbs may be used transitively or intransitively, then they have different meanings, e.g. *ragē* ‘reduce, decrease’ (transitive); ‘remain left’ (intransitive); *gōdē* ‘thank; be thankful’. There are also those that have a sociative structure, i.e. they occur with the preposition *dā* ‘with’ preceding the object, e.g. *fashē/būshē dā dāriyā* ‘burst out laughing’ (lit. explode with laughing). The suffix -ē, present in all syntactic variants of the grade 4 verbs, nuances the meaning of the base verbs with a modification called “totality/finality” (Newman 2000: 647) and verbs are referred to as “totality-conclusive verbs” (Jaggar 2000: 242).

Many of these forms are derived from primary grades, some of them are associated with verb stem that no longer functions in primary grades (e.g. *yāyē* ‘wean’, *warē* ‘separate, set aside’). Most such transformations are based on grade 1 and grade 2 verbs, which are transitive, and as grade 4 they become intransitive (or “unaccusative”). In grade 4 form, the relevant stem-final consonants undergo the process of palatalization (see 2.2.1.) before the final vowel -ē, e.g.:

fashē ‘break, explode’*dadē* ‘be or last long’*hūjē* ‘be pierced’*lālācē* ‘break down, spoil’*harbē* ‘shoot down, shoot dead’*sayē* ‘buy up, buy all’*cījē* ‘bite all’; ‘become jammed’*fasā* ‘break, smash’ (grade 1)*dadā* ‘add, increase’ (grade 1)*hūdā* ‘pierce’ (grade 1)*lālātā* ‘spoil’ (grade 1)*hārbā* ‘shoot at’ (grade 2)*sāyā* ‘buy’ (grade 2)*cīzā* ‘bite’ (grade 2)

Grade 4 (and other secondary grade forms) derived from grade 3A verbs often display an internal vowel change, e.g. *ḡōyē* ‘hide (something)’ (< *ḡūya* ‘hide’); *tsērē* ‘escape from’ (< *tsīra* ‘escape’) (Newman 2000: 645).

Grade 4 includes many multisyllabic verbs, such as *bincikē* ‘investigate’, *sullūḡē* ‘slip away, escape’, as well as verbs with extended stems. These include pluractional verbs (see 12.4.1.), such as *karkāshē* ‘kill many’, *ragargājē* ‘smash, demolish completely’ or ‘be(come) completely smashed or demolished’, and monosyllabic verbs that take the suffix *-nyē* (*-nye*), e.g. *jānyē* (< *jā*) ‘pull away’, *shānyē* (< *shā*) ‘drink up’, *cīnyē* (< *ci*) ‘eat up’, *biyē* (< *bi*) ‘follow all’, *fiyē* (< *fi*) ‘exceed’.

The verb *cē* ‘say’ is an irregular grade 4 verb, probably derived from **cane* (Newman 2000: 648).

13.4.3.2. Grade 5 (-ar verbs)

A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
-ar H	-ar [dà] H	-ar [dà] H	-ar [dà] H
	-shē H		
	-Ø [dà] H	-Ø [dà] H	
-dā H-L	-dā H-L	-da H-L	-dā H-L

yā sayar ‘he sold(it)’ *yā sayar dà ita* ‘he sold them’ (i.e. cigarettes) *yā sayar dà tābā* ‘he sold cigarettes’ *yā sayar manà dà tābā* ‘he sold cigarettes for us’

yā maida ‘he returned’ *yā maida shi* ‘he returned it’ *yā maida littāfi* ‘he returned the book’ *yā maida masà littāfi* ‘he returned the book to him’

Grade 5 verbs are unique in the entire system because of their consonant ending. The suffix *-ar* occurs in A, B, C, and D contexts, and the entire word has all high tones, e.g. *tafiyar* ‘administer, run’, *gajiyar* ‘tire, bore (someone)’, *tabbatar* ‘confirm’, *bāyar* ‘give away’, *ciyar* ‘feed’.

An object of grade 5 verbs is syntactically an oblique object of the particle *dà*, e.g. *yā sanar dà mutāne* ‘he informed the people’, *yā sanar dà sū* ‘he informed them’; *yā shayar dà dabbōbī* ‘he watered the animals’, *yā shayar dà sū* ‘he watered them’.⁶⁴ In dictionaries, the preposition is often added to verbs as

⁶⁴ The final *-r* of the suffix very frequently assimilates to the following consonant to change the suffix *-ar* to *-ad*. The alternation is not noted in the Standard Hausa orthography, but it is registered in some texts.

an integral part of the dictionary entry. The object pronoun has the form of independent pronoun (see 10.1.1.).

Grade 5 verbs have an alternative **shorter form**, which is most often formed by dropping *-ar* from the long form. The short form must always have an object (which is preceded by *dà*, just as with the long form), e.g.:

yā sayar dà nāmà ‘he sold meat’
 yā sai dà nāmà ‘he sold meat’
 yā sai dà shī ‘he sold it’
 nā gai dà mālāmī ‘I greeted the teacher’
 nā gai dà shī ‘I greeted him’

In context B, there is an alternative form of the grade 5 verbs in which the allomorphic suffix *-shē* is used instead of *-ar*. It is added to both the long and short forms of the verbs. The pronominal object comes directly after the verb and has the form of a direct object pronoun (see 10.1.2.), e.g.:

yā sanar dà mutāne ‘he informed the people’
 yā sanasshē sù ‘he informed them’
 yā gai dà mutāne ‘he greeted the people’
 yā gaishē sù ‘he greeted them’

Grade 5 verbs are a dynamically developing category in the language, replacing some other context-specific forms, which is particularly noticeable in areas outside the Hausa homeland where Hausa is widely spoken. At the same time, new forms within grade 5 are developing. The most spectacular innovation is the incorporation of the preposition *dà* into the base form of the verb, most often into its shorter forms. This gives rise to the verbs *gaidà* ‘greet’, *maidà* ‘return (something)’, *bādà* ‘give away’, *zubdà* ‘pour out’, but also *wahaldà* ‘trouble (someone)’ and *karantaddà* ‘teach’, which are interpreted as “decausative” (Newman 2000: 660). The pronominal object comes directly after the verb and has the form of a direct object pronoun (see 10.1.2.). The new lexical units created in this way behave in the verbal phrase as grade 1 verbs, e.g. *yā gaidà shi* (cf. also *yā gai dà shī*, *yā gayar dà shī*) ‘he greeted him’.

In the D form, grade 5 verbs have an indirect object directly after the verb with the *-ar* suffix, e.g. *yā gayar minì dà shī* ‘he greeted him for me’, *zāi fitar masà dà àkwàtì* ‘he will take out the box for him’, *zāi fitar wà Tankò dà àkwàtì* ‘he will take out the box for Tankò’. With the noun indirect object, there are more structural possibilities for expressing this relation, including *zāi fitar wà dà Tankò àkwàtì* (Newman 2000: 659). Context D also provides other systemic solutions

for expressing the indirect object after grade 5 verbs. One option is to express the recipient in the form of a *gà(rè)*-headed (see 15.3.) prepositional phrase put after the direct object, e.g. *nā sayar dà mōtār gà Mūsā* ‘I sold the car to Musa’. Alternatively, grade 1 applicative verb (if the basic verb also operates this form) is often used before an indirect object, e.g. *yā kōyā̀ minì Hausa* ‘he taught me Hausa’ (Jaggar 2001: 256) compared to *yā kōyar dà Hausa* ‘he taught Hausa’.

In the semantics of grade 5 verbs, a causative meaning is commonly distinguished, when derivation involves adding the meaning ‘to cause something to be done’, e.g. *sayar dà* ‘to sell’ (= to cause to buy) < *sàyā* ‘to buy’; *sanar dà* ‘to inform’ < *sanī* ‘to know’. Following P. Newman (2000: 655), for many grade 5 verbs, the meaning of “action directed out and away (from the speaker)” is more general that broadly defines the common meaning of these verbs, and the term efferential is more appropriate for them.

13.4.3.3. Grade 6 (-o verbs)

A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
-ō H	-ō H	-ō H	-ō H

<i>yā kāwō</i> ‘he brought (something)’	<i>yā kāwō shì</i> ‘he brought it’	<i>yā kāwō àgògò</i> ‘he brought a watch’	<i>yā kāwō masà àgògò</i> ‘he brought a watch for him’
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Grade 6 includes both transitive and intransitive verbs. The final vowel is a long -ō and the tones are high in all syntactic positions. The transitive verbs are *sayō* ‘buy’, *sātō* ‘steal’, *nēmō* ‘seek’, which are derived from *sàyā* ‘buy’, *sātā* ‘steal’ and *nēmā* ‘seek’ respectively. Intransitives are *fitō* ‘come out’, *bullō* ‘appear suddenly’, whose derivational base is *fita* ‘go out’, *bùlla* ‘appear suddenly’, respectively. Some grade 6 verbs function as transitive or intransitive, e.g. *dāwō* ‘return something’; ‘return here’; *kāwō* ‘bring’; ‘arrive’, e.g.:

yā kāwō ruwa ‘he brought water’
kògī yā kai yā kāwō ‘the river flooded’ (lit. the river arrived [to various places])

If a grade 6 verb is derived from one-syllable or other irregular verbs, /y/ or /w/ appears before the suffix -ō, therefore *biyō* ‘follow here’ (< *bi* ‘follow’), *jāwō* ‘pull here’ (< *jā* ‘pull’), *sāwō* ‘put here’ (< *sā* ‘put’), *kirāwō* ‘call to come here’ (< *kirā* ‘call’).

The -ō ending directs the action expressed in the verb to the speaker (or any other pragmatically established deictic center). For example, in the sentence *nā bugō masà wayā̀* ‘I telephoned him’ (lit. I hit him on the wire) the object ‘him’

is treated as a deictic locus toward which the action is directed (Newman 2000: 663), while the sentence *nā bugà masà wayà* has the same meaning, but only contains information about calling.

Verbs with the ending *-ō* are represented in dictionaries by a small group of lexically stabilized forms. However, this ending can be added to any verb to indicate a pragmatic context that clarifies the meaning. For example:

yā rubūtā minì wàsīkà ‘he wrote me a letter’
yā rubūtō minì wàsīkà ‘he wrote me a letter and sent it’

13.4.3.4. Grade 7 (-u verbs)

A-Form	D-Form
-u L-H	-aC) ^H (pds)

sun tāru *sun tāram masa*
‘they gathered’ ‘they assembled around him’

Grade 7 verbs are formed by replacing the final vowel of the verb by short *-u* and assigning LH tonal pattern to the verb. With monosyllabic verbs, the syllable *-wu* or *-yu* (depending on the verb) is added, e.g. *cìwu* ‘be edible’ (< *ci* ‘eat’), *bìyu* ‘be traversable’ (of road) (< *bi* ‘follow’). All *-u* verbs are intransitive, e.g. *àuku* (< *aukà* ‘collapse’) ‘happen’, *tāru* (< *tārà* ‘assemble, gather’) ‘meet’, *bùgu* (< *bùgā* ‘beat’) ‘be drunk’.

Grade 7 verbs often have a passive meaning and are used in sentences without an explicit agent (i.e. without specifying the person performing the action), e.g. *ràbu* ‘be divided’ (*rabà* ‘to divide’), *wātsu* ‘be dispersed’ (< *wātsà* ‘scatter’), *kàfu* ‘be established’ (< *kafà* ‘establish’). Often, an additional nuance of meaning ‘be well done’, ‘be possible to do’ can be noticed, e.g.:

hanyà tā **gyàru** ‘the road was well repaired’
àbinci yā **dàfu** ‘the food was properly cooked’
bà zài **yìwu** à ganī ba ‘it won’t be possible to see it’

13.5. Verbal nouns

Nominalized forms derived from or related to verbs have a common term “verbal nouns,” although in different types of constructions there are a variety of these forms, which correspond to the terms gerunds, present participles, and even infinitives. Very often, the equivalent of these forms in English is the -ing form.

Hausa verbal nouns are grouped into two major classes – “weak” and “strong” – distinguished on the basis of their morphosyntactic characteristics. Weak verbal nouns attach the suffix *-wā*, which lowers the tone of the preceding syllable. If the syllable has a low tone, it remains so; if it has a high tone, it changes to falling, e.g. *dafāwā* ‘cooking’ (< *dafā* ‘cook’), *sayār wā* ‘selling’ (< *sayar* [dà] ‘sell’). Strong verbal nouns occur in various forms excluding *-wā* and have vowel endings *-ō*, *-ē*, *-ī*, *-ā*, e.g. *kōyō* ‘learning’ (< *kōyā* ‘learn’), *sāyē* ‘buying’ (< *sāyā* ‘buy’), *gini* ‘building’ (< *ginā* ‘build’), *nēmā* ‘seeking’ (< *nēmā* ‘seek, look for’). A small group includes vowel alternations (see 2.3.1.), e.g. *jīfā* ‘throwing’ (< *jēfa* ‘throw’), *sūyā* ‘frying in oil’ (< *sōyā* ‘fry in oil’). Verbal nouns that have lexical equivalents in monosyllabic verbs are characterized by a long vowel and falling tone, e.g. *sō* ‘desire, love’ (< *sō* ‘like, love’), *jī* ‘hearing’ (< *ji* ‘hear’). In the following verbal nouns the stems are extended with /w/ or /y/, e.g.:

tāfiyā ‘traveling’, ‘journey’ (< *tāfi* ‘go’)
 fādūwā ‘failure, loss’ (< *fādī* ‘fall, descend’)
 gājijā ‘tiredness’ (< *gāji* ‘become tired’)
 haihūwā ‘birth’ (< *haihū* ‘give birth’)
 mutuwā ‘death’ (< *mutū* ‘die’)
 kâiwā ‘arriving’ (< *kai* ‘reach, arrive’)
 sâwā ‘putting (something)’ (< *sâ* ‘put’)
 cêwā ‘saying’ (< *cê* ‘say’)
 zuwā ‘coming’ (< *zō* ‘come’)

Nominal forms of verbs function as nouns, but also are the basic constituents in verbal predicates in some conjugation patterns (see 14.1.2. and 14.1.3.). Similarly to verbs, also verbal nouns change before the object and determine the form of the object pronoun. Weak verbal nouns, all of which are formed with the suffix *-wā*, occur only when no object is expressed, i.e. when the corresponding verb is intransitive or the object of the transitive verb is not expressed, e.g. *sunā karântāwā* ‘they are reading (it)’, *sunā kâiwā dà kâwōwā* ‘they are going back and forth’. When the object is expressed by a noun or pronoun, the suffix *-wā* does not appear, i.e. *yanā karântā littāfi* (not **yanā karântāwā littāfi*) ‘he is reading the book’, *yanā karântā shi* ‘he is reading it’.

Strong verbal nouns are differentiated by gender and are linked to the following object using the linker *-n/-r* (see 15.1.1.). If the object is a noun, a genitive construction is created, e.g. *yanā kārbar kudī* ‘he accepts money’, *yanā nēman aikī* ‘he is seeking work’. When the object is a pronoun, it is a possessive pronoun attached to the verbal noun as a bound morpheme, i.e. *yanā nēmansā* ‘he is looking for him’.

The form of a verbal noun is largely determined by the grade of the corresponding verb. Weak verbal nouns are all regular (predictable), whereas strong verbal nouns can be either regular or irregular (non-predictable).

Verbal nouns with the suffix *-wā* are formed from verbs of the grades 1, 4, 5 and 6. The suffix is attached to the verb with its final vowel, which results in the formation of variants *-āwā*, *-ēwā*, *-ārwā*, *-ōwā*, e.g. *kāmāwā* (< *kāmā* ‘catch’), *rufēwā* (< *rufē* ‘close’), *sayārwā* (< *sayar* ‘sell’), *kāwōwā* (< *kāwō* ‘bring’). The suffix *-uwā* is added to grade 7 verbs, that makes them similar to the above patterns, but not identical to them, i.e. *àukuwā* (< *àuku* ‘happen’).

The suffix *-ā* is added to verbal nouns derived from grades 2 and 3, but the rules for attaching this suffix are different. Grade 2 verbs retain the long vowel present in the verbs, and the verbal noun is identical to the form A of the verb, e.g. *kàrbā* (< *kàrbā* ‘receive’), *tàmbayā* (< *tàmbayā* ‘ask’). Grade 3 verbs receive vowel lengthening, and the verbal noun suffix is *-ā*, e.g. *fītā* (< *fīta* ‘go out’).

The irregular verbal nouns that are lexically conditioned are usually provided in dictionaries together with the verb entry. A sample list of the most frequently used forms is provided in Appendix No 8.

In summary, the features of regular verbal nouns reveal that the Hausa equivalent of the English ‘-ing’ forms has at least three structural patterns (*-wā*, *-(u)wā*, *-ā*), and each of these forms has distinct rules for behavior in sentences. Furthermore, there are a significant number of irregular forms and individualized lexical forms for which it is difficult to establish derivational rules. The morphological and syntactic diversity of verbal nouns makes this area of Hausa grammar one of the most difficult for non-native speakers to learn.

CHAPTER XIV

Verb conjugation system

The basic grammatical categories of a verb, such as tense, aspect, and mood, are expressed in Hausa without changing the verb's base form⁶⁵, by adding an exponent preceding the verb base. The system is uniform for all conjugation patterns, and the proper grammatical category is indicated by this exponent, which functions in comparative language typology as a tense-aspect-mood (TAM) marker. It also contains a pronominal element informing about the person and number of the subject of the sentence. A TAM marker is therefore an inflectional morpheme of the verb, which, due to its position relative to the verb, can be interpreted as an "inflectional onset" (by analogy with inflectional ending common in many other languages). This marker may have a negation morpheme added or incorporated.

Interpretations of the Hausa conjugation system are not unanimous and individual categories do not have unified terminology. In terms of the grammatical categories expressed, the system is complex and, above all, asymmetrical. The opposition between completive and continuous action is aspectual, the subjunctive refers more to mood, and future rather codes the future tense. The system also contains distinct categories: habitual (for customary action) and potential, which incorporates modality (indefinite future) into the grammatical categories of the verb. It is often interpreted as an aspectual system, as it is the context that determines whether the time of reference is past, present, or future.

Each TAM marker contains a morpheme characterizing a given conjugational pattern. In some persons, this morpheme is neutralized; only in the third-person plural it is preserved in its full form. For these reasons, in language teaching, the TAM marker for the third-person plural is often conventionally used as a label for a specific conjugational form (*sun*-form, *zāsù*-form, etc.).

⁶⁵ The nominal form of the predicate is required in the Continuous (see 14.1.2.). It accepts conjugation markers (TAM markers) just like a verb, but when connecting with the complement, it attaches the genitive linker *-n/-r*.

A characteristic feature of the Hausa verb conjugation system is the dichotomy between conjugational TAM categories that have the same function but operate in different syntactic contexts. This applies to the aspectual forms Completive and Continuous, which have separate paradigms for so-called relative environments and require their own conjugational forms in the verb predicate.

The following description of TAM markers includes eight distinct conjugational paradigms, i.e. Completive, Relative completive, Continuous, Relative continuous, Subjunctive, Future, Habitual and Potential. Each conjugational paradigm is referred to the Hausa personal pronoun system (see 10.1.) and also includes an impersonal form. The corresponding negative patterns are a distinct representation of TAM markers. The full set of the Hausa TAM markers is provided in Appendix No 9.

This chapter also discusses the Imperative, which is a structurally different pattern from the verb conjugation system based on TAM markers.

14.1. The conjugation patterns

14.1.1. *Completive aspect (sun-form)*

The completive paradigm (also identified as perfective or past) has two allomorphs that function as aspect indicators: **-n** ending or alternatively a long vowel of the pronoun. In the combination with a pronominal component, the two elements of the TAM marker are fused and cannot be separated. The tone of the marker is high. In this pattern, the conjugation of the verb *zō* ‘come’ is as follows:

Singular	Plural
nā zō ‘I have come’	mun zō ‘we have come’
kā zō ‘you (m) have come’	kun zō ‘you (Pl) have come’
kin zō ‘you (f) have come’	
yā zō ‘he has come’	sun zō ‘they have come’
tā zō ‘she has come’	
an zō ‘one has come’	

The completive verb form represents the category of aspect and is related to the kind of action, not the time of action. It primarily expresses action that was completed or had achieved a resultative state, e.g. *mālāmī yā shìga dākin kàràtū* ‘the teacher entered the classroom’, *bàràyī sun gudù* ‘the thieves escaped’. This

systemic orientation, different from that of languages with a tense category in their conjugational system, expresses an action that has already been performed, which is most often related to the past, but may also refer to the future, e.g. (Cowan & Schuh 1976: 83):

sun bā ni kudī jiyà ‘they gave me money yesterday’
in **sun bā** ni kudī, zān gyārà ta ‘if they give me money, I’ll fix it’

The completive aspect is usually found in verbs denoting thinking, judging, obligation, etc., even if they express current states, e.g. *nā sani* ‘I know’, *nā gānē* ‘I understand’, *nā ji* ‘I understand’, *nā yarda* ‘I agree’, *nā gōdē* ‘thank you’, *yā kāmātà* ‘it is necessary’. Verbs in the completive aspect are used in bargaining, e.g. *nā tayà* ‘I am making an offer’ (see 9.4.). With verbs of motion the completive aspect can also refer to the present time, e.g. *tô, nā tàfi kè nan* ‘Well, I’m going’.

The completive forms are negated by a discontinuous **bà...ba** negative marker. The initial **bà** is placed before the pronominal element, the final **ba** at the end of the sentence. In the 1st and 3rd (m) persons, there is a contraction of the negative marker and the pronoun to get the form *bàn* and *bài* respectively, e.g.:

yārā **bà** sù dāwō gidā **ba** ‘the children didn’t come home’
Mūsā **bài** yī aikī **ba** ‘Musa didn’t do the job’

14.1.2. Continuous aspect (sunā-forms)

The TAM marker of the continuous paradigm (= imperfective, progressive) contains the exponent *-nā* attached to the pronominal element. The conjugation pattern does not contain a verb, but verbal predicate is represented by a verbal noun (see 13.5.). In some structures, it can be substituted by a deverbal stative ending in *-e* (see 8.2.3.) and by some nouns denoting actions that have no verbal equivalents (such as *aikī* ‘work’, *dāriyā* ‘laughter’, *kūkā* ‘crying’, *māganā* ‘conversation’, *barcī* ‘sleep’). Here are some examples:

munā kōyon Hausa ‘we are learning Hausa’
sunā gyārà mōtā ‘they are repairing a car’
yārā sunā zàune ‘the children are sitting’
dukān mātā sunā dāriyā ‘all women laugh’

The conjugation of the verb *tàfi* ‘go’ when using its verbal noun *tàfiyà* is as follows:

Singular	Plural
inà tàfiyà ‘I’m traveling’ kanà tàfiyà ‘you (m) are traveling’ kinà tàfiyà ‘you (f) are traveling’ yanà tàfiyà ‘he is traveling’ tanà tàfiyà ‘she is traveling’ anà tàfiyà ‘one is traveling’	munà tàfiyà ‘we are traveling’ kunà tàfiyà ‘you (Pl) are traveling’ sunà tàfiyà ‘they are traveling’

Since in continuous aspect the nominal forms of verbs are used (unlike other categories of the Hausa conjugation system), the morphological differentiation of verbal nouns (see 13.5.) is reflected in the types of predicates in the Continuous and the rules of combining them with their complements.

Predicates with verbs forming a verbal noun with the suffix *-wā* behave differently in constructions without an object and with an object. If the predicate has no object (or is followed only by an adverb), the form with the suffix *-wā* must be used, e.g.:

yanà kāwōwā ‘he brings (something)’
yārā sunà dadēwā à kāsūwā ‘children were in the market for a long time’

If such a predicate in the continuous is followed by an object (a noun or a pronoun), the suffix *-wā* is not added and the predicate is the same as the corresponding verb:⁶⁶

yārō yanà kāmā tsuntsū ‘the boy catches bird’ (cf. *yārō yanà kāmāwā* ‘the boy catches [something]’)
munà gamà shi ‘we’re finishing it’ (cf. *munà gamāwā* ‘we are finishing’)

Predicates with verbs that do not form a verbal noun with the suffix *-wā* are connections of TAM markers with nouns, similarly to constructions with action nouns. Subsequent complements (nouns or pronouns) are added via a genitive linker (*-n* or *-r*, depending on the grammatical gender of the noun).

kanà **sôn** dōyā? ‘do you like yam?’
makērī yanà **tāmbayār** dansā ‘mechanic is asking his son’

⁶⁶ Such structures are referred to as Infinitive Phrases (Newman 2000: 288).

If the object is a pronoun, it is also attached using a genitive linker. It is then identical to the possessive pronoun (see 10.1.4.).

kanā sōntà? ‘do you like it?’ (lit. her, with reference to *dōyà* f)
makērī yanā gyārantā ‘mechanic repairs it’ (lit. her, with reference to *mōtā* f)

The continuous aspect is used for continuing action, regardless of whether the time referred to is past, present, or future, e.g. (Cowan & Schuh 1976: 83):

jiyā **yanā nân**, àmmā yāu yā tāfī ‘yesterday he was here but today he has left’
in **yanā nân** gōbē wārhakā, zān bā shī kudī ‘if he’s here tomorrow at this time, I will give him money’

Predicates in the continuous paradigm are treated as verbal predicates. They may alternatively contain the nominal form of the verb *yi* ‘to do’, i.e. *yī*. The verb *yi* is obligatory in the corresponding verbal paradigm (*sun*-form), e.g.:

sunā (**yīn**) māganā ‘they are talking’
cf. sun **yī** māganā ‘they talked’

Negation of the continuous aspect involves adding the negation particle *bā* to the pronominal element. The HL tone pattern is preserved in the entire marker, e.g.:

bā kā tāfīyā ‘you (m) are not traveling’
bā kyā tāfīyā ‘you (f) are not traveling’
bā nā shān giyā ‘I don’t drink beer’
yārā **bā sū** shān giyā ‘children do not drink beer’

TAM markers of the continuous aspect are used in periphrastic constructions expressing location and possession (see 4.2.). However, in a negative form, separate paradigms for these constructions have developed.

Locative constructions (‘to be somewhere’) are negated in the same way as verbal predicates, while possessive constructions with the preposition *dā* are negated using markers that differ slightly from the negated *sunā*-form. The negation morpheme of the possessive construction has the form *bā* and precedes a pronoun with a short vowel and a high tone, e.g.:

ābōkīnā **yanā** gidā ‘my friend is at home’
ābōkīnā **bā yā** gidā ‘my friend is not at home’
yanā dā kudī ‘he has money’
bā shi dā kudī ‘he has no money’

14.1.3. Relative completive (sukà-form) and Relative continuous (sukè-form)

The element characterizing the conjugation pattern of the Relative completive is *-kà*, which appears in the plural TAM markers, while in the singular it is shown only in the 2nd person feminine and in the impersonal form. The paradigm of the Relative completive with the verb *tàfi* ‘to go’ is as follows:

Singular	Plural
inā tāfi? ‘where did I go?’	inā mukà tāfi? ‘where did we go?’
inā ka tāfi? ‘where did you (m) go?’	inā kukà tāfi? ‘where did you (PI) go?’
inā kika tāfi? ‘where did you (f) go?’	
inā ya tāfi? ‘where did he go?’	inā sukà tāfi? ‘where did they go?’
inā ta tāfi? ‘where did she go?’	
inā akà tāfi? ‘where did one go?’	

The element characterizing this conjugation pattern of the Relative continuous is *-kè*, which is present in all TAM markers. The paradigm of the Relative continuous with the verbal noun *tàfiyà* (< *tàfi* ‘to go’) is as follows:

Singular	Plural
inā nakè (or nikè) tàfiyà? ‘Where am I going?’	inā mukè tàfiyà? ‘where are we going?’
inā kakè tàfiyà? ‘where are you (m) going?’	inā kukè tàfiyà? ‘where are you (PI) going?’
inā kikè tàfiyà? ‘where are you (f) going?’	
inā yakè tàfiyà? ‘where is he going?’	inā sukè tàfiyà? ‘where are they going?’
inā takè tàfiyà? ‘where is she going?’	
inā akè tàfiyà? ‘where is (some)one going?’	

The two paradigms are contextual variants of the respective completive and continuous forms. Their use is required in specific syntactic contexts of the sentence’s predicate. One condition for TAM markers to alternate is their use in an interrogative sentence with an interrogative pronoun that comes at the beginning of the sentence. It is worth noting that yes/no questions are not subject to these rules (see 16.4.1.).

The element *-kè*⁶⁷ is therefore a contextual variant of the element *-nà*, which appears after the transformation of an affirmative sentence into an interrogative sentence with an interrogative pronoun. Similarly, *-kà* replaces the morpheme *-n*

⁶⁷ The morpheme *-kè* has its variant with a short vowel, which occurs in nonverbal sentences (Newman 2000: 580), especially when it is not followed by other sentence elements, e.g. *inā ya kè?* ‘where is he?’, *à zàune sukè* ‘they are seated’.

and a short vowel replaces long vowel of the affirmative paradigm, e.g. (Cowan & Schuh 1976: 85):

inā **akà dīnkā** ta? ‘where was it sewn?’
but **an dīnkā** ta à Kàtsinà ‘it was sewn in Katsina’

mè **sukā** kāwō? ‘what did they bring?’
but **sun** kāwō rīgā ‘they grought a gown’

wà **ya** yi aikì? ‘who did work?’
but Àbūbakār **yā** yi aikì ‘Abubakar did work’

inā **sukè**? ‘where are they?’
but **sunà** nân ‘they are here’

wà **yakè** cikin dākì? ‘who is in the hut?’
but Sà’īdù **yanà** cikin dākì ‘Sa’idu is in the hut’

Other situations in which the continuous *-nà* morpheme must be replaced by the *-kè* morpheme, and the completive form loses a long vowel or changes the *-n* morpheme to *-kà*, occur when the predicate is preceded by a sentence element other than subject. This then indicates a kind of emphasis, which violates the neutral word order: subject-verb-object (see 16.2.), e.g.:

à cān **akà** yī tà ‘it was there that one made it’
bārāwō **akà** kōrè ‘it was a thief who was chased away’

The third context in which the Relative completive and Relative continuous are used is a relative clause that is preceded by the relative pronoun *dà* or *wāndà* (see 10.2.6.), e.g.:

birin **dà** ya hau itācē ‘a monkey that climbed a tree’
mutānē **wadāndà** sukè tārūwā ‘people who are gathering’

These conditions are also met by all compounds with *dà* used as pronouns and conjunctions (see 16.5.2.), e.g.:

lōkàcīn dà mukà dāwō, bākō yā fita ‘when we returned the visitor left’
mun sādu à **indà** mukà yi àlkawārī ‘we met where we agreed’

The Relative completive also has an additional meaning and a special context of use. Without formal requirements of the relative environment, it is used in

historical narrative sequences to express the past tense, e.g. *dâ, mutànen kauyèn nân sukà yi fāmā dà yunwà* ‘in ancient times the people of this village struggled with hunger’.

On the other hand, the relative continuous paradigm, like the corresponding non-relative continuous, accepts the reduced form of TAM marker in the 3rd person, e.g.:

yārò **yanā** gyārà keke = yārò **nā** gyārà kèke ‘the boy repairs bicycle’

yārinyār dà **takè** rawā = yārinyār dà **kè** rawā ‘the girl who is dancing’

The negative TAM of the relative completive pattern is the same as in the corresponding non-relative paradigm, i.e. it is a discontinuous *bà...ba* negative marker, e.g. *wānē nè bàì sāmì kudī ba?* ‘who didn’t get money?’.

The negative morpheme of the Relative continuous is the same as in the continuous paradigm, i.e. a single negative marker *bā* followed by a pronoun containing the TAM -*ā*, e.g. *bā sǎ zuwā* ‘they are not coming’.

14.1.4. Subjunctive (sù-form)

The TAM markers of this conjugation pattern (which are essentially mood markers) are characterized by a low tone and a short vowel. The conjugation of the verb *tàfi* ‘to go’ in this pattern is as follows:

Singular	Plural
1. in tàfi ‘I should go’	1. mù tàfi ‘we should go’
2m. kà tàfi ‘you (m) should go’	2. kù tàfi ‘you (Pl) should go’
2f. kì tàfi ‘you (f) should go’	
3m. yà tàfi ‘he should go’	3. sù tàfi ‘they should go’
3f. tà tàfi ‘she should go’	
à tàfi ‘one should go’	

The subjunctive form is most often used to express a wish, an obligation, a mild command. To make the command less explicit, the imperative form of *barì* ‘leave’ is used before the verb in the Subjunctive, e.g.: *bàri mù shìga* ‘let’s go in’. Other examples of the use of subjunctive forms are as follows:

rànkà **yà** dadē ‘may your life be extended!’

kā yi kōkārī **kā** gamā ‘make an effort to finish’

Allàh **yà** kai mù ‘may Allah guide us’

The use of the subjunctive form is often contextual. It is determined by, among other things, the presence of certain prepositions, conjunctions, and particles preceding the verb, in particular:

- *don, dōmin* ‘in order that’, ‘for’:
inà jirā nè don **in** kàrbī àlbāshīnā ‘I’m waiting to receive my salary’
- *kāfin, kàfin, tun kàfin* ‘before’:
tun kàfin **sù** isō, mukà tāshì ‘we left before they came’
- *sai* ‘let it be so’ (after verbs meaning ‘to speak’, ‘to inform’):
tā cê sai **sù** yī aurē ‘she said they should get married’

The Subjunctive is used after predicates expressing will or desire, such as *inà sô* ‘I want’, e.g. *inà sô mù tàfi yāwō* ‘I want us to go for a walk’, but also when one of the following expressions is used:

- *yā kāmātā* ‘it’s necessary’
yā kāmātā yārā **sù** iyā kārātū ‘it is necessary for children to be able to read’
- *dōlè (nē)* ‘it’s necessary, obligatory’
dōlè **mù** ci jarrābāwār ‘we have to pass this exam’
- *gāra* ‘it would be better’
gāra **mù** tàfi dà wuri ‘We’d better go earlier’

When several coordinate sentences appear one directly after the other, the subjunctive TAM markers are used in all but the first sentence, e.g.:

yānzū zā kà tàfi **kà** bar ni? ‘now will you go and leave me?’
sukàn ci nāmàn àladè **sù** shā giyā ‘they eat pork and drink beer’

The Subjunctive is negated by means of a unique marker within the entire system, i.e. *kadà (kâr)* ‘don’t/should not/lest’. It precedes TAM markers in the subjunctive paradigm without causing their alternation, e.g. *kadà Mūsā yà dāwō* ‘Musa should not return’, *kadà kà tàfi!* ‘don’t go!’.

The Subjunctive does not occur in relative environments.

14.1.5. Future (*zāsù-form*)

The future paradigm is characterized by the morpheme *zā* followed by a low-tone pronominal element. In the first and third person singular, both elements are contracted. The verb *ganī* ‘to see’ in the Future is conjugated as follows:

Singular	Plural
<i>zân ganī</i> ‘I will see’	<i>zāmù ganī</i> ‘we will see’
<i>zākà ganī</i> ‘you (m) will see’	<i>zākù ganī</i> ‘you (Pl) will see’
<i>zāki ganī</i> ‘you (f) will see’	
<i>zâi ganī</i> ‘he will see’	<i>zāsù ganī</i> ‘they will see’
<i>zātà ganī</i> ‘she will see’	
<i>zā’â ganī</i> ‘one will see’	

Future TAM markers are used to express a possible, probable, but not yet completed action. This is most often a time-oriented use, with reference to the moment of speaking, but also to other events in the past or present. Here are examples:

mê **zākà** sàyā? ‘what are you going to buy?’
 an gayà minì **zākà** zō yâu ‘I was told you would (will) come today’
 yā cê **zâi** zō ‘he said he would (will) come’
 mātā sun nufō indà **zāsù** yi kallō ‘women went where they could see (better)’

Some uses indicate an aspectual relationship, unrelated to the moment of speaking about the action, e.g. *jìyà zâi tâfi, àmmā yā fāsâ* ‘he was supposed to go yesterday, but he canceled’.

The negation of the future form is performed by adding a discontinuous *bà...ba* negative marker, the first element of which is placed immediately before the TAM marker and the second element at the end of the sentence. The morpheme *bà* may have alternatively a long vowel, so it is often recorded as *bà(a)*, e.g.:

bà zân gan shì **ba** ‘I will not see him’
bà zāmù tâfi **ba** tükùna⁶⁸ ‘we won’t go yet’

⁶⁸ *Tükùna* ‘yet’ (with negation ‘not yet’) is one of the few words that can appear after final *ba* in sentences with a discontinuous negative marker.

14.1.6. *Habitual (sukàn-form)*

The habitual paradigm contains the morpheme *kàn* combined with the preceding high-tone pronoun and a verb. The conjugation of the verb *yi* ‘to do’ is as follows:

Singular	Plural
nakàn yi ‘I usually do’ kakàn yi ‘(you (m)) usually do’ kikàn yi ‘you (f) usually do’ yakàn yi ‘he usually does’ takàn yi ‘she usually does’ akàn yi ‘one usually does’	mukàn yi ‘we usually do’ kukàn yi ‘you (Pl) usually do’ sukàn yi ‘they usually do’

The habitual TAM marker is used to express an action that occurs regularly, habitually or repeatedly, e.g.:

sukàn kãwō gōrō dàgà kãsuwā ‘they usually bring kola nuts from the market’
mukàn ci àbinci dà kãrẽ gōmà ‘we usually eat (breakfast) at ten o’clock’

Habitual exponents of the 3rd person Singular and Plural may appear in a shortened version, i.e. without a pronominal element, e.g. *hankàlinmù kàn rikã tãshì kwarai* ‘we usually get very angry’.

The negation of the habitual form is performed by means of the discontinuous morpheme *bã...ba*, with free variation in the length of the initial *bà(a)* of the negative⁶⁹. The first element is placed before the pronominal exponent, the second at the end of the sentence. e.g.:

bã akàn zō **ba** ‘they (usually) do not come’
 tsòfãfĩ **bã** sukàn yi yãwò **ba** ‘old people don’t go for walks regularly’

14.1.7. *Potential (sâ-form)*

The exponent of the potential paradigm is *-â*. When combined with a pronoun, it creates a monosyllabic marker with falling tone. In some persons of the paradigm, a labialized and palatalized consonants (as in *kyâ* and *kwâ*) occur. In the first and third person plural, the dialectal forms *mwâ* and *swâ* appear, which have Standard Hausa equivalents *mâ* and *sâ*, respectively. The conjugation of the verb *zō* ‘come’ in the Potential is as follows:

⁶⁹ “In Standard Hausa, the long vowel variant now seems to be the norm” (Newman 2000: 590).

Singular	Plural
nâ zō ‘I will (probably) come’	mwâ/mâ/mûn zō ‘we will (probably) come’
kâ zō ‘you (m) will (probably) come’	
kyâ/kîn zō ‘you (f) will (probably) come’	kwâ/kûn zō ‘you (Pl) will (probably) come’
yâ zō ‘he will (probably) come’	
tâ zō ‘she will (probably) come’	swâ/sâ/sûn zō ‘they will (probably) come’
â/ân zō ‘one will (probably) come’	

This conjugation pattern is used to express a future action that may happen, but is indicated only as probable. The meaning of the verb in this conjugation pattern is often interpreted with reference to expressions such as ‘if circumstances allow’, ‘if nothing stands in the way’, ‘if God allows’, e.g.:

watakîlâ kuma **tâ** zō ‘maybe she will come’
nâ kai har kârfê ukû kâfin in gamâ ‘it may take till 3 o’clock before I finish’
yâu dà gôbe **kâ** iyâ ‘you will do it slowly’ (lit. today and tomorrow and you will manage)

The rules for negating Potential (*sâ*-forms) are the same as for negating Future (*zâsû*), so two negation morphemes are used: *bâ* before the pronoun-TAM marker and *ba* at the end of the sentence, e.g.:

bâ nâ karântà littâfin nân **ba** ‘I won’t read this book’
bâ mâ dadê cân **ba** ‘we won’t stay there long’

14.2. Imperative

The Imperative is the only form where a verb can be used with no subject pronoun to mark person, number, and aspect. Instead, the verb itself undergoes tone changes. The basic principle is a low tone on the first syllable, largely confirmed by two-syllable verbs, e.g. (Jaggar 2000: 437f):

zàunâ mână! ‘sit down then!’ (< *zaunâ* ‘sit’)
fâdî mù jî! ‘say (it) and let’s hear (it)! (< *fâdâ/fâdî* ‘say’)
sàuka lāfīyâ ‘safe journey (arrive safely)! (< *sàuka* ‘arrive’)
tô, kâwô! ‘OK, bring (it)! (< *kâwô* ‘bring’)

One-syllable verbs have a high tone in the Imperative, e.g. *zô nân* ‘come here’, *bî yârôn!* ‘follow the boy!’. If a one-syllable verb is followed by an object pronoun, the tone sequence is: low tone of the verb, high tone of the pronoun, e.g. *bâ ni*

shidà ‘give me six’. Trisyllabic verbs change their tonal pattern depending on the grade they represent, but the low tone on the first syllable remains, in some verbs it is also on the second and third syllables, e.g. *kàràntā dà kánkì!* ‘read (it) yourself’ (< *karàntā* ‘read’), *tàmbàyě ta!* ‘ask her’ (< *tàmbayă* ‘ask’).

The Imperative is the form referring to the singular forms. For Plurals, the Subjunctive is used.

14.3. Negation expressed by lexical means

In addition to negating verb clauses with negative particles, Hausa can express some negative meanings using lexical means encoding denial, the impossibility of performing an action, or a lack of consent to perform it. Such ‘negative’ verbs include:

- **fàskarà** ‘be impossible’, e.g. *bàràwô yā fàskarà kāmūwā* ‘the thief is impossible to catch’
- **gàgarà** ‘be impossible’, e.g. *àbîn yā gàgarà* ‘it was impossible’
- **hanà** ‘refuse’, e.g. *an hanà shàn giyā* ‘drinking beer is not allowed’
- **kāsà** ‘be insufficient’, ‘be unable or fail to do’, e.g. *nā yi nā yi àmmā nā kāsà* ‘I tried and tried but I failed’
- **ki** ‘refuse, hate, reject’, e.g. *yā ki zuwā* ‘he refused to come’, ‘he didn’t come’
- **musà** ‘deny, contradict’, e.g. *yā musà cēwā shī dan sàndā nè* ‘he denied that he was a policeman’
- **rasà** ‘lack or fail to do something’, e.g. *yā rasà àbîn dà zai yi* ‘he didn’t know what to do’

The use of these verbs expands the stylistic resource of the language and extends the means of expressing the contextual meanings of negation.

CHAPTER XV

Particles and other function words

Particles are morphologically indivisible words with stable prosodic features. With the exception of interjections, which are classified in this class rather conventionally, they are not independent in a sentence, so their description is presented using the constructions in which they most frequently occur.

The Hausa particles (and other ‘small words’) are often multifunctional words, as they perform syntactic functions considered separate. Some of them may be prepositions or conjunctions (*tun* ‘since’; ‘while’), and regarding the form, they may be identical with nouns (*zuwà* ‘to’ and *zuwà* ‘coming’). However, these are not true homonyms, because the same lexical form is the result of grammaticalization processes affecting some lexical units.

In this chapter the following units will be presented: genitive linker, copula, prepositions, conjunctions and modal particles. Exclamations complement the list of functional words in Hausa.

15.1. Genitive linker

The genitive morpheme is the morphological exponent of a nominal phrase, formed from head and its determiner. In Hausa, head comes first in this construction.

The genitive linker is the most important grammatical marker in coding relations between the two nouns in a sentence that is widely used in nominal compounding (see 11.1.). It has two variants, i.e. a bound clitic *-n/-r* and a free particle *na(a)/ta(a)*. The *-n* and *na* forms are used if the head noun is masculine singular or is plural, *-r* and *ta* forms when it is feminine singular⁷⁰. The choice between the shorter and longer variant is mainly determined by syntax, and to a lesser extent by semantics. The gender and number of the second element of the genitive construction have no influence on the choice of the linker.

⁷⁰ The linker reflects a widespread Afroasiatic n/t/n pattern in which the masculine singular and the plural have the same exponents, while feminine singular has a separate indicator.

15.1.1. The short form of the genitive linker (-n/-r)

The genitive linker expresses possession and other types of relationships between nouns. If the second element of the construction (the possessor) occurs immediately after the first (the object of possession), the bound clitic linker *-n/-r* is used.

Grammatical conditions for using the linker attached to the head noun are as follows:

- a) the linker has the form *-n* if the head noun is a masculine singular or plural noun, and *-r* if it is a feminine singular noun, e.g.:

kudī-**n** Audù ‘Audu’s money’ (lit. money-that of Audu)
 mutāne-**n** gārī ‘the townspeople’ (lit. people-those of town)
 rīga-**r** Mammàn ‘Mamman’s gown’ (lit. gown-that of Mamman)

- b) adding the linker to a noun with a final long vowel results in the shortening of that vowel (see 2.2.2.), as in the examples given above, where the nouns without the genitive determiner would be *kudī* ‘money’, *mutānē* ‘people’, *rīgā* ‘gown’, respectively; adding the linker to a noun ending in a diphthong results in dropping the second element of the diphthong (-i or -u), e.g.:

māi ‘oil, fat’	mān shānū ‘butter’ (lit. cow fat)
kyāu ‘beauty’	kyān yārinyā ‘beauty of the girl’

While speaking, the linker *-r* very often becomes similar to the first consonant of the next word (see 2.1.), therefore *rīgār Mammàn* > [rīgām Mammàn] ‘Mamman’s gown’, *gōnar Sālisù* ‘Salisu’ farm’ > [gōnas Sālisù] ‘Salisu’s farm’. In turn, the linker *-n* is pronounced like [m] before labial consonants (b, ɸ, f, m). Before g, k, ɕ, its articulation changes to [ŋ], e.g. *kudīn Mammàn* > [kudīm Mammàn] ‘Mamman’s money’, *mutānen gārī* > [mutāneng gārī] ‘townspeople’ (Cowan & Schuh 1976: 99). The spelling standard ignores this assimilation, although a notation consistent with pronunciation may appear in texts.

Adding the linker *-n/-r* to a noun also triggers other morphophonological processes. If the linker is added to a word ending in a consonant, a vowel appears in the resulting consonant cluster (see 2.2.2.), e.g. *fensir* ‘pencil’, *fensir**in** Bellò* ‘Bello’s pencil’, *kāmùs* ‘dictionary’, *kāmùs**un** Bellò* ‘Bello’s dictionary’. The nouns *àbù* ‘thing’ and *màcè* ‘woman’ have the genitive forms *àbin* and *màtar*, respectively, e.g. *àbin dāriyā* ‘something funny’ (lit. thing of laugh), *màtar Bellò* ‘Bello’s wife’.

Phonological constraints cause the feminine nouns not ending in *-a* to take the linker *-n* and not *-r* (other elements of grammatical agreement remain feminine), e.g. *gwamnatin jihā* ‘state government’ (*gwamnati* f ‘government’), *asibitīn dabbōbī* ‘veterinary clinic’ (*asibitī* f ‘hospital’).

Since most words ending in a consonant cannot take a linker, its function is performed by an independent morpheme *din* (see 10.2.3.), which can combine with possessive pronouns (with the 1st person singular pronoun it has the form *dī*, e.g.: *kwās dīnsū* ‘their course’, *kwās dīn nān* ‘this course’, *jīf dīnā* ‘my jeep’, *īnā tēbūr dīnā?* ‘where is my table?’). *Din* expands its use in modern language, especially when referring to words of foreign origin that end in a consonant.

15.1.2. The full form of the genitive linker (na/ta)

This variant of the linker is a free particle *na/ta*. The *na* allomorph is used if the head noun (phrase) is masculine singular or is plural; the *ta* allomorph is used if the head noun (phrase) that governs agreement is feminine singular.

A free-standing linker occurs when two elements of a genitive construction are not adjacent to each other in a sentence or when the first element is not expressed but is known from the context. Separated elements of the genitive construction may result from the use of postpositional determiners of the first element. The linker *na/ta* then immediately precedes the second element, e.g.:

jāwābīn nān **na** sarkī ‘this is the ruler’s speech’ (*jāwābī* ‘public speech’)
 mulkīn kâi **na** kasā ‘independence of the country’ (*mulkīn kâi* ‘independence’)
 nāmān sāniyā yā fī **na** tunkiyā tsādā ‘beef is more expensive than lamb’ (*nāmān sāniyā*
 ‘beef’, lit. cow meat; *nāmān tunkiyā* ‘lamb’, lit. sheep meat)

The linker also has a variant with a long vowel, i.e. *nā/tā* when it is combined with a personal pronoun to produce a self-standing independent possessive (see 10.1.4.), e.g. *nāmū* ‘ours’, *tākū* ‘yours’ (Pl).

In some genitive constructions, the use of the full form of the linker (without syntactic conditions) emphasizes ownership, the belonging of the possessed element to the possessor, e.g.:

gidā na Audū ‘the house of (belonging to) Audu’
 mōtā ta likitā ‘the car of (belonging to) the doctor’
 littāfī na Mālām Bellō ‘the book written by Mr. Bello’
 wannān mōtā ta Shēhū cē ‘that car is Shehu’s’
 cf. wannān mōtār Shēhū cē ‘that is Shehu’s car’

Finally, the full form of the linker *na/ta* appears with proper names that do not attach its shorter form, e.g. *Nìjēriyà ta Arēwā* ‘Northern Nigeria’ (lit. Nigeria of the North).

15.2. Copula (*nē/cē*)

Copula is a marker that links the subject of a sentence to a complement, serving as a “linking verb” to establish an identity or relationship between them. It is most often used as the equivalent to ‘to be’ in non-verbal sentences (see 4.1.), where it expresses identification (‘it’s a/they’re’) or equational and attributive relations, e.g.:

tēbūr nē ‘it’s a table’	tēbūr bābba nē ‘the table is big’
kāsuwā cē ‘it’s a market’	kāsuwā wurin sayārwa cē ‘the market is a place for selling’
sōjōjī nē ‘they are soldiers’	wadānnān mutane sōjōjī nē ‘these people are soldiers’

Two structural features distinguish Hausa copulas from other particles of the language, namely they are gender-sensitive and change tone when adjacent to a preceding word (see 2.3.2.). The *nē/cē* forms are variants that indicate agreement with the gender and number of the noun they refer to (*nē* is used with masculine singular and plural nouns, *cē* with feminine singular nouns). The examples given above also show that the copula tone is opposite to that of the preceding tone, which is the tone of the last syllable of the preceding word.

The copula *nē/cē* is involved in the formation of **focused structures** (see 16.2.), in which the emphasized element is typically shifted to the front position in the sentence. Fronting a noun (phrase), adverb, or prepositional phrase in order to emphasize it or to contrast it with some other constituent requires the use of the appropriate gender form of the copula. Nouns agree in gender/number with the copula, e.g.:

kwallō nē yārā sukē sō ‘the kids want a ball (not something else)’
ālēwā cē yārā sukē sō ‘the kids want sweets (not something else)’
rīgūnā nē yārā sukē sō ‘the kids want gowns (not something else)’

If the copula refers to a prepositional phrase or a noun in the function of an adverb (of place, manner, etc.), the copula has the form **nē** regardless of the grammatical gender of the noun used, e.g.:

(à) makarantarmù nē na gan shì ‘I saw him in our school’
Cf. makarantarmù cē na ganī ‘I saw our school’

A copula can also appear at the end of a sentence without reference to any of its elements. It serves to distinguish the sentence from the other sentences, but it can also be a stylistic element, often used in colloquial speech. In this function, only the *nē* variant is used in affirmative and interrogative sentences, e.g.:

Sun dāwō dāgà makarantā **nē**? ‘have they returned from school?’

Sun dāwō dāgà makarantā **nē** ‘they returned from school (and that’s a fact)’

15.3. Prepositions

This section covers some function words whose sole, or most dominant, syntactic role is to form so-called prepositional phrases. Other prepositions that also have other syntactic functions are listed further under Multifunctional words (see 15.6.).

15.3.1. Basic prepositions

A list of most common basic preposition includes the following: *à* ‘at, in, on’, *dàgà* ‘from’, *bisà* ‘on top of, regarding, according to’, *gà/gàrē* ‘by, in, near, in connection with, in relation to’, *ta* ‘via, by means of, by way of’, *zuwà* ‘to’. It should be added that preposition stranding (when a preposition is left alone at the end of a clause or sentence) is not accepted in Hausa.

The preposition *à* expresses the location of a given object in space or an event in time. In translation, it has different equivalents, e.g.:

à makarantā ‘**at** school’

à shèkarā ta 1950 ‘**in** 1950’

à bangō ‘**on** the wall’

à lōkàcîn ‘**at** that time’

The preposition *à* is an element of some fixed phraseological units or regular grammatical forms, e.g. *à Lāràbce* ‘in Arabic’, *à hankālī* ‘carefully’, *à zàune* ‘sitting’ (see 8.2.3.). It is a part of extended prepositional phrases expressing spatial meanings, in which it is combined with genitive prepositions (see 8.2.1.), although it may be omitted there when the type of predicate determines the spatial relation, e.g. (*à*) *kān tēbūr* ‘on the table’, (*à*) *kàrkashin tēbūr* ‘under the table’.

The preposition *dàgà* in its basic use corresponds in meaning to the preposition ‘from’, e.g. *dàgà nân* ‘from here’, *dàgà kàsūwā* ‘from the market’. It is most often used after verbs of motion and expresses movement relative to a designated object (area). After verbs denoting the beginning or end of movement, prepositional phrases with *dàgà* are equivalent to locative phrases with *à*, e.g.:

yā tsayà *dàgà nēsà kàdān* ‘he stopped a little further away’

yanā wàje = yanā *dàgà wàje* ‘he is outside’

The more commonly used fixed expressions made of *dàgà* include: *dàgà bāya* ‘then, next, afterwards’, *dàgà... zuwā* ‘from... to...’, *dàgà... sai...* ‘except... only’, e.g. *dàgà nī sai kai* ‘only you and me’ (lit. except me, only you).

The preposition *bisà* forms spatial adverbs meaning ‘on top’, ‘above’, often combined with the preposition *à* or *dàgà* and the genitive preposition *kân* ‘on top of’, e.g.:

dàgà bisà kujērā ‘from the chair’

à bisà kân tēbūt ‘over the table’

Bisà is used to mark non-adverbial relations, where its equivalents are ‘with reference to, concerning’, ‘in accordance with’. It is also used in forming fractions, e.g.:

bisà zancen nan ‘concerning this matter’

à bisà wannān dōkār ‘according to this law’

biyu bisà biyar ‘two-fifths’

The preposition *gà* expresses a location in space without specifying this location in relation to an object, e.g. *bà su kai gà gārī ba* ‘they did not reach the city’. It has a grammatically conditioned variant *gārē* when followed by a personal pronoun, e.g. *gārē shì* ‘at his place’. In spatial expressions, it can be preceded by the preposition *dàgà* or *zuwā*, e.g. *dàgà gārē shì* ‘from him’, *zuwā gà sarkī* ‘to the ruler’. In an extended pattern of prepositions expressing spatial relations (see 8.2.1.), *gà/gārē* is equivalent to genitive propositions, especially when used before nouns/pronouns referring to persons. Therefore,

sun zō *dàgà gārē shì* ‘they came from him’

yā tāfi *gà sarkī* = yā tāfi *wājen sarkī* (*yā tāfi sarkī) ‘he went to the ruler’

Gà is also used to express non-spatial meanings, such as ‘in relation to’, ‘in terms of’, e.g. *gà gudù yā fī nì* ‘he runs better than me’ (lit. in terms of running, he is better than me), *lāifī gà mahāifī* ‘the offense (committed) against (lit. in relation to) my father’. *Gà* is a stylistic variant of *dà* used in adverbial prepositions composed of *bisà*, *kusa*, *et al.*, e.g. *yanà kusa dà Kanò* = *yanà kusa gà Kanò* ‘he is close to Kano’. *Gà* is also used in expressions denoting dates, e.g. *ran hudù gà watàn Māyù* ‘May 4th’. Moreover, *gà* is a grammatical variant of the morpheme *wà* introducing an indirect object, primarily used when a semantic indirect object occurs after a direct object, e.g.:

yā yi kirā **gà** mutānē dà sù kārā kòkarinsù
 ‘he called on the people to try harder’
 mēnē nē àmfānin kògin Kwārā **gà** Nājēriyā?
 ‘what is the value of the River Niger for Nigeria?’

The preposition *ta* most often expresses movement within a given area and corresponds semantically to the prepositions ‘via’, ‘through’⁷¹. It can create extended forms with genitive prepositions, e.g.:

bìyō **ta** nān ‘come this way’
 yā shiga **ta** tǎgǎ ‘he came in through the window’
 hanyā tā dāukē sù **ta bisàn** kāsūwā ‘They were flying over the market place’
 (lit. the road led them [through] over the market place)

The preposition *zuwā* in expressing spatial and temporal relations is equivalent to the preposition ‘to’, e.g.:

yā yi tāfiyā dāgā Kanò **zuwā** Sakkwatō ‘he was traveling from Kano to Sokoto’
zuwā watàn Yūni za mù kārē ‘we finish by June’

Zuwā creates prepositional phrases with *gà* (*gārē* before the pronoun) and with so-called genitive prepositions (see 15.3.2. below), e.g.:

takārdā tā fitō dāgā Māhmūdù **zuwā** **gà** dān’uwānā ‘the letter from Mahmud was addressed to my brother’
 yā rubūtā takārdā **zuwā** **wajen** sarkī ‘he wrote a letter to the ruler’

⁷¹ A slightly different use of *ta* is observed in sentences where it appears between the verb *yi* and a verbal noun or any other noun denoting action. Synchronically, *yi ta* functions as an aspectual verb (see 16.3.1.) with the meaning ‘to do continuously’, to continue, e.g. *anā yi ta ruwā* ‘it keeps raining’.

After verbs of motion, *zuwà* is not used in adverbs of place expressing the goal of the movement, so there is *yā tàfi gidā = yā tàfi cikin gidā* ‘he went home’. If a spatial construction is somehow separated from the verb, the preposition *zuwà* is used (Pawlak 1986: 31), e.g.:

Akà dai **izà** kēyàrsà **zuwà** gidan kùrkukù ‘he was put into prison’
(lit. his nape of the neck was put into prison)

15.3.2. Genitive prepositions

Prepositional exponents of various types of relations are significantly enriched in Hausa by prepositions derived from nouns. They are used primarily to encode spatial and temporal meanings, but also other types of meanings. There are two types of complex prepositions involving nouns.

One type contains a noun with a genitive linker attached, and is therefore called genitive prepositions (Newman 2000: 470), e.g. **cikin littāfi** ‘in the book’, **kān tēbūr** ‘on the table’. Many of them are derived from body part terms, i.e. (Newman 2000: 470; Pawlak 1986: 37–41):

bākin ‘at the edge / side of’ (< *bākī* ‘mouth’), e.g. *bākin kōgī* ‘on the river bank’
bāyan ‘after, behind’ (< *bāyā* ‘back’), e.g. *bāyan gārī* ‘out of town’
cikin ‘inside of’ (< *cikī* ‘belly’), e.g. *cikin littāfi* ‘in the book’
gāban ‘in front of’ (< *gābā* ‘front part of the body’),
e.g. *gāban madūbī* ‘in front of the mirror’
gēfēn ‘beside, on the edge of’ (< *gēfē* ‘side, edge’),
e.g. *gēfēn hanyā* ‘at the edge of the road’
gindin ‘at the bottom part of’ (< *gindī* ‘buttocks’), e.g. *gindin itāciyā* ‘under the tree’
gōshin ‘just prior to’ (< *gōshī* ‘forehead’), e.g. *gōshin kākā* ‘just before harvest time’
jikin ‘against, embedded in’ (< *jikī* ‘body’), e.g. *jikin bangō* ‘in the wall’
kān ‘on top of’ (< *kāi* ‘head’), e.g. *kān tēbūr* ‘on the table’

The prepositions of this type may be also derived from other nouns, e.g.:

bisàn ‘on top, above, on’ (< *bisā* ‘upper part’), e.g. *bisàn kāsūwā* ‘over the market-place’
kàrkashin ‘under’ (< *kàrkashī* ‘the underneath’), e.g. *kàrkashin tēbūr* ‘under the table’
kàrshen ‘at the end of’ (< *kàrshē* ‘end’), e.g. *(à) kàrshen gārī* ‘at the far end of the town’
kētàren ‘on the other side’ (< *kētàrē* ‘opposite side’), e.g. *kētàren rāfi* ‘beyond the stream’
tsākānin ‘between’ (< *tsākānī* ‘in between’), e.g. *tsākāninsù* ‘between them’
tsakar, tsakiyār (< *tsakiyā* ‘middle, center’), e.g. *tsakiyār ganyāyēn dōkà* ‘in the midst of doka tree leaves’
wājen ‘outside of’ (*wājē* ‘side’), *wājen gida* ‘outside the house’
wurin ‘at place of’ (*wurī* ‘place’), *bā à bar shi yā zō wurin wani* ‘he was not allowed to go to /see/ anybody (to anyone’s place)’

Prepositions of this type can be preceded by one of the basic prepositions, i.e. *à*, *dàgà*, *zuwà*, *ta*, additionally *bisà* can appear, usually preceding *kân*, e.g.:

- à wàjen** gida ‘outside the house’
- dàgà bisà kân** gadō ‘from the bed’
- zuwà wàjen** sarkin gàrī ‘to the ruler of the city’
- ta kàrkashin** tēbūr ‘(through) under the table’

Another type of prepositions consists of an adverb (or occasionally a noun) or a deverbal stative (see 8.2.3.) and a basic preposition *dà*, e.g. *kusa dà kōgī* ‘near the river’, *kēwayē dà shī* ‘around him’. Their structure and use were presented in the section on adverbs (see 8.2.1.).

15.4. Conjunctions

Conjunctions are used to connect phrases of the same grammatical status within a clause or to connect clauses. Hausa has a rich inventory of exponents used as conjunctions or coordinators, but only a few consider this function to be absolutely primary or exclusive. From this perspective, it can be said that conjunctions are not distinguished as a separate category in Hausa, lexically they are identical to other exponents, mainly prepositions. Among the conjunctions, few are borrowings. Here are some of them, which are used to coordinate or subordinate clausal units (see 16.5.):

- **àmmā** ‘but, nevertheless’ is used in contrasting/oppositional sentences or phrases, e.g. *mun jirā, àmmā bà kà zō ba* ‘we waited, but you didn’t come’
- **in, idan** ‘if, when (in future)’ are conjunctions of time and conditional sentences, e.g. *in munà dà kudī, zā mù sàyi nāmā* ‘when we have money, we will buy meat’
- **muddīn, muddār** corresponds semantically to the expression ‘thanks to the fact that’ and functions as a conjunction ‘when’, e.g. *muddār dai yā sàmi girmā, yā yi gadon sàrauyā* ‘thanks to the fact that (= when) he grew up, he inherited the throne’

In Hausa, there is no distinct conjunction for coordinate sentences that could be equivalent to ‘and’. Rather, clauses are directly juxtaposed (*mun tàfi mun dāwō* ‘we went and returned’), but other elements, especially particles, can appear as an alternative (grammatically optional) element indicating this function. The class of conjunctions, especially subordinate conjunctions, is significantly enriched by those that can also appear as prepositions (see 15.6.).

Among the single-function conjunctions of subordinate clauses, *cēwā* ‘that’ is distinctive. It is used in sentences expressing complementation by clauses (‘that’ complements’), e.g. (see also 16.5.3.):

Mūsā yā gayā wà likitā *cēwā* yanā jīn cīwō kullum
 ‘Musa told the doctor that he feels pain every day’

However, another type of complement clause can occur without a complementizer. The type of complementation (so-called ‘to’ complements) is identified by the predicate of the subordinate clause, which is in the Subjunctive (see 14.1.4.).

nā yi shāwarār *in* gudù ‘I decided to run away’ (lit. (that) I run away)
 inā sō (sōn) *in* tafi Kanō ‘I want to travel to Kano’

In this type of sentences, the complement is often nominalized (*nā yi shāwarār gudù*, lit. I made the decision of running away), and the preceding genitive linker *-n/-r* presupposes the nominal status of the entire complement clause, regardless of its verb finite or verbal noun form.

15.5. Modal particles

Modal particles (in Hausa referred to as *gishirin Hausa* ‘lit. salt of the language’) are linguistic devices that express a personal attitude, state of mind, emphasis, contrast, or other pragmatic or discourse functions. Their translation depends largely on context, but the choice of a particle (or multiple particles) for an utterance depends on the language users and their linguistic sensitivity. Below is a list of the most frequently used modal particles. It should be noted that other words, primarily classified within other groups (see 15.6.), also express the modality.

- *ai* emphasizes the truthfulness of statements, their importance, when it appears before the element to which it refers (‘imagine’, here it is), e.g. *ai tā nēmi gāfarā* ‘imagine, she asked for forgiveness’; *wannān shāwarār ai ta fi karfin Mūsā* ‘this proposal actually exceeds Musa’s capabilities’
- *dai* serves to highlight parts of a sentence, to draw attention to their content (‘that is’, ‘actually’, ‘namely’), e.g. *mùtūmin nān dai yanā wāsā dà shī* ‘and this man is playing with him’; with the use of *dai* in negative sentences, the negation is weakened, e.g. *sai dai bā nā sō* ‘I wouldn’t like to’

- **fa** distinguishes or contrasts a given phenomenon, object, appearance of a person, etc. (‘as for’, ‘really’), e.g. *sallar Jumma’ă fa bà tà wucè su ba* ‘indeed, Friday prayer did not pass them by’
- **fà** is used at the end of phrases pronounced with interrogative intonation, *kai fà?* ‘and (what about) you?’
- **kām** highlights and emphasizes an element of a sentence (‘really’, ‘very much’), e.g. *don sô kām na shā tàmbayàrtà* ‘it was because of love that I asked about it so much’
- **kò** expresses certainty about the facts mentioned (‘indeed’, ‘undoubtedly’), e.g. *zā sù zō kò gòbe* ‘they will undoubtedly come tomorrow’
- **kùwa** highlights part of the sentence (‘while’, ‘as for’), e.g. *hāmādār kùwa tā mīkà dà nīsan gàske* ‘as for the desert, it extended far’
- **mā** highlights the part of the sentence after which it appears; it can also introduce an addition to the previous sentence (‘also’, ‘additionally’), e.g. *dabbōbī mā sun fī mù* ‘what’s more, animals are better than us’; *jihādīn Filānī mā bài kai wurinsu ba* ‘the Fulani holy war also did not reach them’
- **shin** introduces a question, which is given a polite tone, e.g. *shin inā Aminā takè yànzū?* ‘May I know where Amina is now?’

The feature of particles that distinguishes them from other Hausa words is occupying different places in the sentence (before or after the highlighted element), what differentiates the semantic associations it brings. Modal particles can appear between TAM markers and the verb, e.g. *yā kò gani* ‘he will already see (= he will remember)’. In addition, particles can be combined into clusters to strengthen the power of the message, e.g. *shin kò kà san?* ‘do you really know?’ The following example (Newman 2000: 330) is quite peculiar:

Nī kò kām dai mā fa, zān tafi kùwā? ‘do I really feel like going through?’

Some other particles can also be listed among modality markers, which are lexically associated with words and have their specific primary meanings. Such particles, used especially in colloquial speech, include *bā* (cf. *bā* ‘there is no’) and *màna* ‘for sure’, ‘well’, ‘indeed’. In the latter case, there is a lexical similarity to the first person plural indirect object pronoun (see 10.1.3.), whose tonal pattern is *manà*). Here are their examples:

- **bā** appears at the end of a sentence and expresses the author’s doubt, uncertainty about the facts being discussed, and is simultaneously a request for correction or explanation, e.g. *sun yārda dà mū, bā?* ‘They agreed with us, didn’t they?’

- *mà̀nà̀*, expressing modality, corresponds to the phrase ‘you are welcome’, but spoken with impatience, in urgency, as in *shìgō mà̀nà̀!* ‘please come in!’. It is also an emphatic confirmation of the content of the utterance (‘for sure’, ‘well’), e.g. *inà sô mà̀nà̀* ‘of course I want it!’

The particles *wai*, *tô*, *àshe*, *af*, which are classified as exclamations, also have a modal function (see 15.7.).

15.6. Multifunctional words

Multifunctionality means that the same particles can appear in different syntactic and semantic contexts. The different roles in a sentence blur the distinctions between prepositions and conjunctions, as well as between conjunctions and particles. These are high-frequency words that are used as grammatical morphemes or meaningful items. The most common are listed below.

- *dà* ‘with’

As a preposition, in addition to the basic meaning ‘with’, *dà* has many derived meanings, related, among others, to the instrumental function of the phrase (‘with something’) and meanings equivalent to ‘about’, ‘relative to’, ‘than’, e.g.:

yā zō **dà** shī ‘he came with him’
 yā sôkē nì **dà** wukā ‘he stabbed me with a knife’
 mē ka ganī **dà** yāran nān? ‘what do you think about these children?’
 inā yakē **dà** dākinkā? ‘what is its location in relation to your house?’
 gāra mōtsī **dà** zamā ‘movement is better than sitting’

It is also an integral part of many grammatical expressions encoding possession (*yanà dà gidā* ‘he has a house’), attributive relations (*tanà dà kyāu* ‘she is beautiful’), adverbs (*dà sāfe* ‘in the morning’), numerals (*àshirin dà biyu* ‘twenty-two’). It is also an element of greetings, such as *barkā dà rānā* or *sānnu dà aikī*.

As a conjunction, *dà* is realized in two types of constructions. First, it is used to connect two nouns within a clause (as *dà* or *dà...dà*), e.g. *yā daukō kudī dà rīgunā* ‘he brought money and clothes’, *dà kàzā dà gīwā sukà yī gardamā* ‘the chicken and the elephant were arguing’. Second, it introduces a temporal subordinate clause and corresponds to the conjunction ‘when’, e.g. *dà ya zō yā gaishē mù* ‘when he entered, he greeted us’.

The specificity of the Hausa language in the use of the conjunction meaning ‘with’ lies in the fact that the conjunction *dà* is not used to conjoin sentences.

– **sai** ‘except’, ‘until’

In prepositional phrases it is equivalent to ‘only’, ‘except’, ‘except for’. The sentence is then negated, e.g. *bã wandà ya zō sai kai* ‘nobody came but you’.

As a conjunction, *sai* has many meanings. When used before a verb in the Subjunctive, it reinforces the expressed wish, command, or order (‘must, let’), e.g. *barcī nakè jî, ai, sai mù tàfi gidā* ‘I am sleepy, let’s go home’. *Sai* appears in time subordinate clauses, often in combination with other conjunctions, where it expresses the meanings ‘then’, ‘only when’, ‘until’, e.g. *dà ya kai gidān sai kārē yā tāsō masà dà fadā* ‘when he got home, the dog attacked him’, *kadà kà zō nân sai kà ci jarràbāwarkà* ‘don’t come here until you pass the exam’.

The particle *sai* is part of some fixed phrases, such as *sai kà cê* ‘you would say’, *sai kà ga* ‘you would see it, you must see it’. Two syntactic functions of *sai*, i.e. prepositional and conjunctive, are realized in greetings *sai wata rānā* ‘until someday’ and *sai mun sàdu* ‘until we meet (again)’.

– **har** ‘up to’, ‘until’

As a preposition, *har* connotes action moving forward toward something or some time or some place, e.g. *yā kai shì har gidā* ‘he brought him home’, *sunā rawā har dàddare* ‘they were dancing until late at night’. It can also mean ‘including’, e.g. *nā gayā wà kōwā har sarkī* ‘he told everyone, including the ruler’.

As a conjunction, it can appear between coordinating clauses or introduce a subordinate clause, e.g. *mun sàuka har mun yi wankā* ‘we arrived and bathed’, *cīwō yā ci kārfin sà har yā kashē shi* ‘the illness weakened him so much that he died’.

Har also has a modal function, expressing surprise, when the particle *har* used at the beginning of a sentence refers to the entire statement, e.g. *har kùwa kà jē gidankà?* ‘so you even went to your own house?’.

– **kō** ‘or’

It is a conjunction that connects clausal elements or clauses expressing an alternative meaning (‘or’), e.g. *kanā sôn wannān kō wancàn?* ‘do you want this or that?’, *zāi zō kō bà zāi zō?* ‘will he come or not?’ *Kō* forms the conjunction *kō dà yakè* ‘even if’, ‘though’, ‘although’, e.g. *kō dà yakè bàì zō ba, zān sāmē shi* ‘even though he has not come, I will find him’. The modal particle *kō*, on the other hand, appears at the beginning or end of a sentence and, with intonation support, expresses a question, including doubt. As an exponent of the interrogative function, the particle *kō* is optional, but its use makes the sentence polite, e.g. *kō zā kà jirā à nân?* ‘would you wait here?’.

– **kuma** ‘also’, ‘too’, ‘likewise’

It is generally classified as a modal particle, which serves to highlight a given element in a sentence (‘as for’, ‘in addition’), e.g. *nī kuma zān yī haka* ‘as for me, I will do the same’, *gā shi kuma* ‘here it is furthermore’, but it also shares syntactic patterns with the conjunction ‘and’ and is semantically identical to it, e.g. *mun zō gidā kuma mun ci àbinci* ‘we came home and had a meal’.

– **tun** ‘since’, ‘while’

As a preposition, it is primarily used to express time relations and corresponds in meaning to ‘since’, ‘starting from’, e.g. *munà aikì tun sāfē* ‘we have been working since the morning’. In some phrases it indicates the moment of performing an action (‘during’), e.g. *nā dāuki hōtonsà tun wāncan tārōn* ‘I took a photo of him during that meeting’. In the conjunctive function, *tun* expresses a similar meaning (‘when’), e.g. *tun tanà kàramā akà yī matà aurē* ‘she was married off when she was still little’.

Tun is an element of many phraseological expressions, e.g. *tun dà yakè* ‘since’, ‘in view of the fact that’, ‘even though’, *tun kàfīn* ‘before’, *tun bā... ba* ‘especially’, e.g. *inà sōn ’yā’yan itācē, tun bā àyàbà ba* ‘I like fruit, especially bananas’.

– **wai** ‘it is said that’

Wai introduces an assumption (‘supposedly’) to the statement that follows, e.g. *wai ita yānzū ta sami ’yancin kântà* ‘supposedly she has now become independent’. The particle *wai* appears in a fixed phraseological construction with a proper name and the corresponding pronoun, e.g. *wai shī Mūsā* ‘he is called Musa’. As a conjunction, it is a variant of the complementizer *cēwā* (see 16.5.3.), e.g. *mun jī wai tsōhon shūgābā yā mutū* ‘we heard that the former president died’. It may also be an exclamation word meaning ‘Goodness, my Lord!’

There are many other words in Hausa that perform diverse syntactic functions. The lexical identity of prepositions and conjunctions is particularly noteworthy. For some, the role of a preposition or conjunction is merely a syntactic variant (*bāyan yā zō = bāyan zuwānsà* ‘after he came’). However, for some of the conjunctions the use of the appropriate verb conjugation form is required.

– **kāfīn** ‘before’

As a preposition, *kāfīn* precedes a noun or verbal noun, e.g. *kāfīn là’asār* ‘before the afternoon prayer’, *kāfīn zuwānsà* ‘before his arrival’. As a conjunction, it is used with a verb in the Subjunctive (see 14.1.4.), e.g. *kāfīn yà zō* ‘before he came’.

- **don / dōmin** ‘in order that’; ‘for’

It is primarily a conjunction of subordinate clauses of purpose that use the subjunctive predicate to express the meaning ‘in order that’, e.g. *mun zō don mù yi hīra* ‘we came to talk’. As a preposition, it expresses the meaning ‘for’, e.g. *inà yīn wannàn dōminkù* ‘I do it for you’.

- **sabōdà** ‘in order to’; because (of)’; ‘due to’

As a conjunction of subordinate clauses, *sabōdà* expresses both the meaning of ‘in order to’ and ‘because’, and the difference in meaning results from the conjugation form of the verb used (Subjunctive or Completive, respectively), e.g. *mun zō sabōdà mù yi aikì* ‘we came to work’ and *mun zō sabōdà kã kirã mù* ‘we came because you called us’.

15.7. Exclamations

These include words or short phrases that express strong emotions, sudden reactions, or feelings. Unlike particles and the words discussed above, they stand separate from the rest of the sentence (usually preceding it). They are pronounced with an exclamatory intonation and are marked with an exclamation mark in writing. Here are the most common ones:

a’a!	expression of surprise
af!	indicates sudden surprise
habà!	used in negative persuasion or coaxing; used in contradicting
kâi!	used to express mild disapproval, doubt, or surprise
tô!/tò!	1. OK, that’s all right, 2. Well then
yâuwā!	1. respond to standard greetings, 2. ‘That’s right! Bravo! Well done!’
wâyyō!	expression of deep regret, sorrow, pain; cry for help

CHAPTER XVI

Types of sentences

This chapter summarizes the previously presented rules, showing how they should be combined to form grammatically correct sentences. The point of reference is a sentence with a verbal predicate or another verbal form denoting an action or state. Various types of non-verbal sentences, which have their own rules, are presented in Chapter IV. As a summary, the most common equivalents of the meanings ‘to be’ and ‘to have’ are indicated below:

Mūsā mālāmī **ně** ‘Musa is a teacher’

Mūsā **ně** mālāmī ‘It is Musa who is a teacher’

Lādi mālāmā **cě** ‘Ladi is a teacher’

Bābbar mātсалā **kě nan** ‘It’s a big problem’

Mūsā **yanà dà** gidā ‘Musa has a house’

Mūsā **yanà** gidā ‘Musa is in the house’

Àkwai Mūsā cikin gidā ‘There is Musa in the house’

Gà dōkì ‘Here is a horse’

16.1. Verbal sentence

In linguistic works, an utterance conveying a complete statement that contains one subject and one predicate, is often perceived as a unit to illustrate the basic grammatical rules of the language. The key issue is the sequence of elements such as subject (S), verbal predicate (V), and object (O), which determines the typological profile of the language. In Hausa, such a structure has SVO word order. It should be added that this pattern refers to simple sentences that are stylistically unmarked, e.g.:

Bellò	yā	sāyi	gidā	‘Bello has bought a house’
S		V	O	

When the subject is not expressed in nominal form, it is simply omitted and not replaced by a personal pronoun, i.e. *yā sàyi gidā* ‘he has bought a house’. The pronoun can be dropped because the verb conjugation prefix (see 14.1.) makes the person clear.⁷²

Another structural variant of a simple sentence is a sentence without an object. This option is linked to the category of verb transitivity (see 13.3.). A sentence containing only a subject and a predicate may result either from the use of an intransitive verb as the predicate or from the use of a transitive verb without an expressed object, e.g.:

Bellò yā fādi	‘Bello fell down’
S V –	
Bellò yā sàya	‘Bello has bought’ (something he was going to buy)
S V (O)	

The verb in the finite form consists of conjugational morphemes and the verb base. The morphemes preceding the verb base form a person-aspect complex (referred to as TAM markers), which is comparable to inflectional morphemes in some other languages.⁷³ They should be treated as an integral part of the verb in its conjugated form.

A more in-depth characterization of the Hausa sentence structure is possible when more elements are added, occupying a specific position in relation to the basic elements mentioned above. It is characteristic of the Hausa language that when a sentence contains both a direct object (DO, i.e. noun in Accusative) and an indirect object (IO, i.e. noun in Dative), the latter occupies the position immediately after the verb and before the direct object. Except for a few cases, such as the use of indirect object after the verb *bā* ‘give’, the nominal complement is preceded by the morpheme *wà* ‘to, for’; if the indirect complement is a pronominal, an appropriate set of indirect object pronouns (see 10.1.3.) is used, e.g.:

Bellò yā kāwō wà Mūsā littāfi	‘Bello brought a book to Musa’ (lit. to Musa – a book)
Bellò yā kāwō masà littāfi	‘Bello brought him a book’
Cf. Bellò yā bā Mūsā littāfi	‘Bello gave a book to Musa’ (lit. Musa – a book)

⁷² With this feature, Hausa belongs to the pro-drop languages in which the subject pronoun can be omitted from sentences if the context makes it clear who (what) the subject is (unlike in English, where the pronoun must appear).

⁷³ The person-aspect complex is separated from the verb base in the orthography, and a modal particle (see 15.5.) may be inserted between these two elements.

More extended sentence admits the use of an indirect object after a direct object, but then it is introduced by the preposition *gà*, e.g. *yā fàdī lābārī gā mutānēn dà sukē gōyon bāyansā* ‘he told the news to the men who were supporting him’, cf. *yā fadā wā mutānēn lābārī* (Newman 2000: 468).

In Hausa there are no morphological exponents of nominal inflection; to some extent the syntactic function of a nominal phrase is determined by its position in the sentence, but the strict word order is supplemented by the morphology of the verb and the change of the verb ending before the direct object in pronominal and nominal form and before the indirect object, which is termed as Form A, B, C, and D of the Verb grade system (see 13.3.).

Locative goals can be preceded by a preposition, or can also be expressed by a noun itself; its syntactic function is confirmed by a locative pronoun replacing the noun (*nān*, *cān*), not by the direct object pronoun, e.g.:

- Yā shiga **gidā**_{Loc} ‘he entered the house’
 Yā shiga **cān**_{Loc} ‘he entered there’
 Cf. Yā sàyi **gidā**_{DO} ‘he bought a house’
 Yā sàyē **shì**_{DO} ‘he bought it’

Various verbal phrase modifiers (simple adverbs, prepositional phrases, ideophones) follow the verb phrase, e.g. *sun sàyi mōtā mākōn jiyā* ‘they bought a car last week’, *sun tàfi kāsūwā dà yāransū* ‘they went to the market with the children’.

In Hausa, verbal sentences also include those in which the predicate filling the verb slot has a nominal form, mostly derived from a lexical verb. In the Continuous (see 14.1.2.), the verbal noun is used, therefore the verb *tàfi* ‘go’ is replaced by its verbo-nominal counterpart *tàfiyā*, e.g.:

- Mūsā yanā **tàfiyā** gidā ‘Musa is going to the house’
 cf. Mūsā yā **tàfi** gidā ‘Musa went to the house’

16.2. Sentences with focus

Hausa is characterized by a fixed word order, which means that the order of words is crucial to understanding the message and any change should be noted in the sentence structure. Putting stress on one of the sentence elements and emphasizing it involves moving that element to the beginning of the sentence, in linguistic descriptions termed as “movement to the left periphery” (Jaggar 2001: 494). The highlighted element is usually (though optionally) followed by a copula, which

makes the structure corresponding to a syntactic cleft construction in English. If the nominal direct object is fronting, the sentence *mun ga yārònkà* ‘we saw your boy’ will become *[yārònkà]_{FOC} mukà ganī = yārònkà nē mukà ganī* ‘it was your boy we saw’.

If the nominal subject is highlighted, it is also followed by a copula in a relevant gender/number form just like the pronominal subject. The highlighted pronoun then has the form of an independent pronoun, e.g.:

mālāmā cē ta tãfĩ kãsuwā ‘this is the *malama* who went to the market’

ita cē ta tãfĩ kãsuwā ‘she went to the market’ (lit. this is she who went to the market)

Fronting the indirect object is quite specific and involves leaving the indirect object marker (*wà*) in its original position, e.g. (Newman 2000: 193):

Hālīmā (cē) na sayō **wà** zōbē ‘it was Halima I bought a ring for’

All violations of neutral word order require the use of relative forms in the verb if the verb is in the Completive or Continuous in the neutral pattern (see 14.1.3.).

16.3. Conjoined sentences

While a sentence structure having a single verb predicate is considered the pattern of a matrix clause, some other finite verbs or nonfinite verbonominals can expand the boundaries of a single sentence. Structures known as sentences with “auxiliary verbs” are largely characteristic of the Hausa language, although the nature and scope of such verb coexistence vary. Some of these structures will be presented below.

16.3.1. Sentences with aspectual verbs

The verbs followed by a verbal noun to denote such concepts of verbal aspect as inceptive, durative, repetitive, etc. are termed as aspectual verbs (Newman 2000: 64; Jaggar 2001: 546). The complement of the aspectual verb serves as the predicate of the sentence. The verbs most frequently used in this function include:

ci gāba dà ‘continue’, proceed with’, e.g. *sun ci gāba dà kàràtū* ‘they continued their education’

cikā ‘do (too) much often’, e.g. *yā cikā shān giyā* ‘he drinks too much beer’

fārā ‘start, begin (with)’, e.g. *bà à fārā dafā àbinci ba tükuna* ‘haven’t they started cooking food yet?’

- rikà** ‘keep on’, e.g. *kadà kà rikà yîn hakà!* ‘stop doing that!’
sākè ‘repeat, do again’, e.g. *zākà sākè yîn hakà?* ‘will you repeat (doing) that?’
shā ‘do often’, e.g. *mun shā kallō* ‘we watched a lot of things’
yi ta ‘keep on’, *sun yi ta tàfiyà* ‘they were still travelling’

For some verbs called aspectual, the adverbial function or another type of modifier is prevailing, e.g.:

- tafà** ‘have ever done’, e.g. *kā tafà zuwà Afirkà?* ‘have you ever gone to Africa?’
rasà ‘be unable to do’, e.g. *mun rasà ganin sarkī* ‘we were unable to see the chief’
ràbu dà ‘time has passed since’, e.g. *nā ràbu dà ganinsà* ‘I haven’t seen him for some time’

Negation in sentences with an aspectual verb formally refers to the negation of that verb, e.g. *bà tà fārà karàntà littāfīn ba* ‘she hasn’t started reading this book’.

The aspectual verbs usually have other meanings as well, when they appear as main verbs, e.g. *sākè* ‘change’, *cikà* ‘fill’, and take nominal objects.

16.3.2. Sentences with predicative adjuncts

The Hausa equivalent of ‘already’ is the verb *rigā* (= *rigā* = *rigāyā*) ‘precede’, ‘be the first to’, ‘to have already done’ used in the finite form. It is followed by a full sentence. *Rigā* is rarely used in any aspect but the Completive (or corresponding Relative completive). If *rigā* is in the Future or Subjunctive, the verb following *rigā* will be in the Subjunctive, e.g. (Cowan & Schuh 1976: 315):

- an rigā** *an sanad dà nī zākà zō* ‘I had already been informed that you would come’
mè sukà rigā *sukà yī?* ‘what have they already done?’
bà sù rigā *sun zō ba* ‘they haven’t yet come’
zân rigā *in zō* ‘I will have already come’

Conjoined sentences that employ in the first clause certain verbs, such as *dadè* or *jimà* ‘last long’ or *rigā* (= *rigā* = *rigāyā*) ‘precede, have already done’ have “an essentially unitary meaning” (Newman 2000: 140), as in *yā rigā yā zō nān* ‘he was already here’, *nā dadè bàn gan shì ba* ‘I haven’t seen him for a long time’⁷⁴. However, the verbs *dadè* and *jimà*, when used in such complex predicates, may have a second verb in the Continuous, e.g.:

⁷⁴ In this form, sentences with the verbs *rigā* and *dadè* meet the criteria of serial verb constructions, which are not distinguished as a distinct syntactic pattern in Hausa and are also classified as aspectual verbs.

Yā **dadě** yanà aiki ‘he’s been working for a long time’
 Yā **jimà** yanà aiki ‘he has been working for some time’
 Bàì **jimà** yanà kòyon Hausa ba ‘he hasn’t been studying Hausa long’

These two types of sentences are not limited to the possibility of using the mentioned verbs in the first clause. Adjuncts in the form of the finite clause can also be expressed by other verbs, such as *yì maza* ‘do quickly’, *dagè* ‘be obstinate’, *kwāna* ‘spend the night’, as well as phrasal verbs with an ideophone (see 8.4.2.), e.g.:

tā **yì maza** tā kira wannan dattijon ‘she called this gentleman quickly’
 yā **dagè** yā kī zuwà ‘he stubbornly refused to come’
 nā **kwāna** bàn yì barcī ba ‘I couldn’t sleep at night’
 tā **yì fařat** tā tāshì ‘she got up suddenly’

Also, the second type, containing the second sentence in the Continuous, is a typological pattern rather than a lexically determined structure. They are depictive structures, i.e. grammatical constructions where a secondary predicate describes the state of a subject or object during a main verb’s action, e.g.:

yā shārè wàtànnī shidà yanà jinyà ‘he has underwent medical treatment for six months’
 nā kwāna inà kàřàtū ‘I spent the whole night reading’

16.4. Questions

There are several structural types of questions in Hausa. They differ in the presence (or absence) of interrogative elements and the form of the predicate, but also in intonation.

16.4.1. Yes/No questions

Questions for which the answer is ‘yes’ or ‘no’ are constructed like declarative sentences, but differ in intonation. While in declarative sentences the intonation is falling (see 1.4.3.), in interrogative sentences the final high tone (not necessarily the tone of the last syllable) is raised to an extra high tone, e.g.:

yā ↑tāshì?⁷⁵ ‘has he got up?’
 dà ruwā ↑nān? ‘is there any water here?’
 sun tàfī kàu↑yē? ‘did they go to the village?’
 kà zō lā↑fiyā? ‘Are you feeling well?’ (lit. did you come healthy?)

⁷⁵ The extra high pitch of the last syllable may fall sharply at the end.

16.4.2. Questions containing a question word

They are distinguished by the presence of an interrogative pronoun (see 10.2.8.), which may be followed by the copula *nē/cē*. They are also characterized by the use of relative forms of the verb in the Completive and Continuous (see 14.1.3.). Intonation may be rising, but it is not a distinguishing element of this type of question. It is worth noting that the Hausa interrogative pronouns ‘who?’ and ‘what?’ are differentiated by gender/number.

wānē nē (m)/wācē cē (f)? su wānē nē (Pl)? ‘who is it?’

mēnē nē (m)/mēcē cē (f)? ‘what is it?’

wā yakē taimakonkà? ‘who is helping you?’

mē ya fāru? ‘what happened?’

inā sukē tāfiyā ‘where are they going?’⁷⁶

yāushē kakē fārā aikī? ‘when do you start working?’

16.4.3. Questions ending in *kō* or *kō bà hakà bà*

Adding the particle *kō* or the more extended phrase *kō bà hakà bà* turns any affirmative sentence into a question. *Kō* (*bà hakà bà*) corresponds in meaning to the phrases ‘did you?/didn’t you?’, ‘isn’t that so?’, e.g.:

zāmù fārā gōbe, **kō**? ‘We start tomorrow, is that right?’

kā rubūta wāsīkā zuwā gā ābōkinkā, **kō**? ‘you wrote a letter to your friend, didn’t you?’

16.4.4. Interrogative adjectives

Interrogative adjectives (‘which’) are listed among interrogative demonstratives (see 10.2.5). They have forms differentiated by gender and number (*wānē*?, *wācē*?, *wādānnē*?) and appear before the noun in nominal phrases. In interrogative sentences, they meet the criteria for using relative forms in both the Continuous and the Completive (see 14.1.3.). Other aspectual forms do not change in these contexts.

wānē mūtūm yakē aikī ā gōnā? ‘which man is working in the field?’

ā **wācē** kāsā sukē yānu? ‘which country are they in now?’

wādānnē yārā sukē barcī? ‘which children are sleeping?’

wācē hanyā zān bī? ‘which road should I follow?’

⁷⁶ With verbs of motion, *inā*? expresses the meaning ‘where to?’

The lexical variant of the adjectival pronoun is a phrase with the noun *irĩ* ‘kind’, i.e. *wàné irĩ* ‘what kind?’ Here, too, the pronoun is differentiated in terms of gender/number, but it is the pronoun itself (and not the *irĩ* element) that determines the rules of agreement, e.g.:

wàné irin àbinci kakè cĩ? ‘what kind of food do you eat?’

wàcè irin dāwā zākā sàyā ‘what kind of guinea corn are you going to buy?’

wàðannè irin mōtōcī sukè tàfiyā à hanyā? ‘what kind of cars are on the road?’

16.5. Complex sentences

There are two main types of complex sentences: coordinate sentences (or compound sentences), which connect two or more independent clauses of equal importance using coordinating conjunctions, and subordinate sentences, which contain two or more clauses at least one of which is subordinate to the main clause.

In Hausa, coordinate and subordinate clauses are largely linked by conjunctions, although unlinked connections are also the norm in some types of structures.

16.5.1. Clause coordination

Combining coordinate clauses into compound sentences in Hausa is typically realized via simple juxtaposition, e.g. *nā ci nā kòshi* ‘I’ve eaten (and) am full’. This can be considered a structural peculiarity, especially since in the noun phrase coordination (within a clause), the phrases are linked by the preposition *dà* ‘with’ (see 15.6.). As a supplementary means, the relation of coordinate or consecutive actions can be marked with a modal particle, for example, **kuma** ‘also’, e.g. *mun zō gidā (kuma) mun ci àbinci* ‘we came home and ate the meal’.

Other relations within clause coordination are expressed by conjunctions. These include the alternative **kō** ‘or, either’ (see 15.6.) and **àmmā** (see 15.4.) expressing contrastive clausal coordination. The conjunction **kō** can appear not only between two clauses, but also before the first one. The modal particles *kuma*, *mā* or *kùwa* (usually equivalent to ‘else in this context’) further strengthen the message, similarly **àmma** can have an extension (*duk dà hakà* ‘in spite of that, nevertheless’, e.g.:

(**kō**) kanā zuwā **kō** kùwa bā kà zuwā? ‘are you coming or aren’t you coming’

yā yi kōkārī, **àmma** (duk dà hakà) yā kāsā ‘he made an effort, but (nevertheless) failed’

Coordinate sentences often express unitary meaning (see 16.3.2.), e.g.:

kôgī yā kai yā kāwō ‘the river is in flood’ (lit. the river came, the river arrived)
lallai Yēsù yā mutù yā tāshì ‘really, Jesus rose from the dead’ (lit. he died, he rose)

16.5.2. Clause subordination

Subordinate clauses contained within complex sentences are of different types, such as temporal, conditional, causal, and purposive, and differ according to their structure. They are primarily identified by conjunctions (subordinators) and the required change in the verb form when used.

Time clauses have many conjunctions, appropriate to meanings. The meaning ‘when,’ is expressed by the conjunction *dà* and its extended variants *lōkàcîn dà*, *yàyîn dà*, *sā’àn dà* (lit. time, when). They function in relative environment (see 10.2.6.), therefore verbs that follow them must be used in the Relative completive or Relative continuous, e.g. (Newman 2000: 556):

bā mǎ gidā *lōkàcîn dà* suka zō ‘we weren’t at home when they came’
sā’àn dà mukà dāwō, (sai) mukà gayǎ musù lābārǐ ‘when we returned,
we told them the news’

Other temporal conjunctions have the following equivalents in Hausa (the examples extracted from Newman 2000: 557f, see also 15.6.):

- ‘if/when’: *idan*, *in*; the verb is used in completive aspect (*sun*), even if the action refers to the future or the past, e.g. *idan kā zō gōbe, zān bā kà littāfīn* ‘when you come tomorrow, I’ll give you the book’,
- ‘as soon as’: *dà zārar (cēwā)*, *dà cēwā*, (lit. with saying), *dà*; the verb is used in completive aspect; when the temporal clause goes first, the main clause is introduced with *sai* (see 16.6.), e.g. *dà zārar kun dāwō, zāmù tāshi* ‘as soon as you return, we will leave’,
- ‘until’: *har* and *sai* followed by a tensed sentence; “*har* pushes the action forward, sometimes with an implied causal relation between the events, whereas *sai*, which often occurs with an expressed or implied negative, focuses on the stopping point” (Newman 2000: 560), e.g. *mun yi aikì har mun gàji* ‘we worked until (with the result that) we became tired’, *mun yi aikì sai (dà) mukà gàji* ‘we worked until we became tired (then we stopped)’,
- ‘after’: *bāyan* plus a sentence in the Completive or *bāyân dà*, *bāyan dà* plus a sentence in the Relative completive (*sukà*), e.g. *bāyan sun dāwō, mukà fīta* = *bayan dà sukà dāwō, mukà fīta* ‘after they came back, we left’,

- ‘before’: **kāfin** plus a sentence in the Subjunctive, e.g. *kāfin in gan kà nā ji lābārìnkà* ‘before I saw you I had heard of you’,
- ‘since’: **tun dà** plus a sentence with a relative (usually completive) aspect of the verb, e.g. *tun dà mukà isō, bà mù gan shì ba* ‘since we arrived, we haven’t seen him’.

Conditional sentences have distinct exponents for different types of conditions, corresponding to the following English equivalents:

- ‘if/when’ **idan, in... (sai)**, e.g. *idan gàrī yā wāyē zāmù tàfi* ‘when dawn comes we’ll go’; *idan yā jē gōnā, sai yā barcī* ‘when(ever) he went to the farm, he would sleep’,
- ‘if...then’: **dā... dā** used at the beginning of both the hypothetical and consequence clauses, e.g. *dā nā sanì, dā bàn fādī hakà* ‘had I known, I would not have said that’,
- ‘even if’: **kō** plus a full clause, e.g. *kō bà kà san nì ba, nā dai san kà* ‘even if you don’t know me, I know you’,
- ‘although, even though’: **kō dà yakè** plus a full clause, e.g. *kō dà yakè an fārà ruwā, sai mù fita* ‘even though it started raining, we should go out’.

Reason clauses can be verbal or nonverbal; they usually occur in final position; the equivalents of two types of subordinators initiating reason clauses are as follows (examples extracted from Jaggat 2001: 637f, see also 15.6.):

- ‘because’: **sabōdā, dōmin (don)**, e.g. *an zābē shì kawàì don yanā dà kudī* ‘he was elected simply because he had money’,
- ‘since, as’: **tun dà yakè**, e.g. *tun dà yakè bá ka dà lōkacī yānzū, zān dāwō gōbē* ‘since you don’t have any time now, I’ll come back tomorrow’.

Purpose clauses have the same subordinator as reason clauses (**dōmin/don**) but it is used with a different verb form, i.e. by verb in the Subjunctive:

- ‘in order to’: **dōmin, don**, e.g. *nā zō dōmin in gayā masà lābārìn* ‘I came to tell him the news’.

16.5.3. The complement clauses

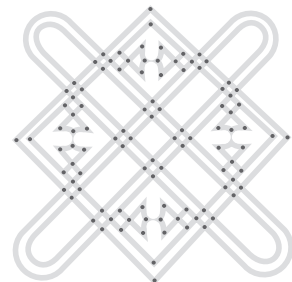
The Hausa complement clauses are characterized by the use of **cēwā** introducing ‘that’ complements (see 15.4.), e.g. *nā ji cēwā yā mutà* ‘I heard that he died’. *Cēwā* (lit. saying) is a grammaticalized form of the verbal noun for *cē* ‘to say’ that fits into the systemic representation of converbs in the Hausa language (Amha & Dimmendaal 2006: 412).

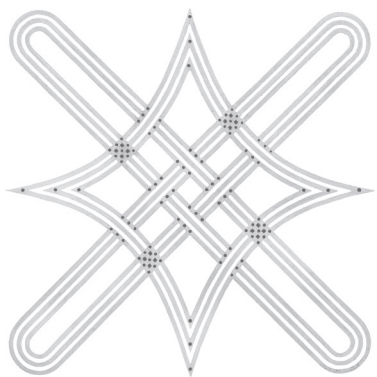
The main clause followed by the complementizer usually contains some mental verbs of perception (*ji* ‘think, believe’, *sanì* ‘know’, *yàrda* ‘agree’, *gānè* ‘discover’) or ‘persuasion verbs’ (*tsayà* ‘insist’, *gàrgadā* ‘warn’), as well as verbs expressing speaking (other than *cê*), such as *gayà* (*wà*) ‘to tell’, e.g.:

nā san **cêwā** yārā zā sù zō ‘I know (that) the children will come’
 yārān sun tsayà **cêwā** sun yi ladābī ‘the children argued that they were polite’
 nā gānè **cêwā** karyā kakè yī ‘I realized that you were lying’

The complement clause can also occur without *cêwā* or another type of surface marker (e.g. *dà*), e.g.:

Nā yi īmānì (*cêwā*) dūniyā zātā yi kyāu nān gāba ‘I believe the world will become better’





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Appendices

Appendix No 1 Patterns of noun plurals

Class 1: -OXI)H

a) type -ōCī)H

b) type -ō-ī)H / -ā-ī

Class 2: -ai)LH

a) type -ai)LH

b) type -ā-...ai)LH

c) type -aiCai)HLH

Class 3: -AXE)HLH

a) type -āCē)HLH

b) type -āyē)HLH

c) type -ā-ē)HLH

Class 4: -(A)XA)HLH

a) type -Gā)HLH

b) type -āCā)HLH

c) type -ā-ā)HLH

d) type -ā)HLH (HLLH)

Class 5: -AXU)HLH

a) type -ā-ū)HLH

b) type -āCū)HLH

Class 6: -UXA)HL

a) type -unā)HL

b) type -ukā)HL

c) type -uwā)HL

d) type -u-ā)HL

Class 7: -AXI)LH

a) type -annī)LH

b) type -aCCī)LH

c) type -a(i)kU)LH

d) type -ā-ī)LH

Class 8: -AXI)HLHH

a) type -ēCanī)HLHH

b) type -ēCaCī)HLHH

c) type -CVC-...akī)HLHH

d) type -CVC-...a-ī)HLHH

Class 9: -U/-I)LH

a) type -ū)LH

b) type -ī)LH

Class 10: -Va ⇒ -Vβ

a) type -V ⇒ (-ū)H

b) type -V ⇒ (-ī)H

c) type -V ⇒ (-ai)H

d) type -V ⇒ (-ā)H

Class 11: -āwā)LH ~ HH

Class 12: x 2 (REDUP)

Class 13: -e)LH x 2 (REDUP)

Class 14: x 2)H – L (REDUP)

Class 15: -CiCī x 2)H – H

Appendix No 2

Plural forms correlated with the dictionary codes

(following [Newman 2007])

tashà f <-oCi> ‘station’	Pl tashōshī
kāsuwā f <-oCi> ‘market’	Pl kāsuwōyī
dālibī m <-ai> ‘student’	Pl dālibai
mālāmī m <-ai> ‘teacher’	Pl mālāmai
jākī m <-ai, -una> ‘donkey’	Pl jākai, jākunà
gadō m <-aCe> ‘bed’	Pl gadājē
kasā f <-aCe> ‘country’	Pl kasāshē
wāwā m <-aye> ‘fool’	Pl wāwāyē
birnī m <a-e> ‘city, town’	Pl birānē
shūdī Adj m <-Ca, -aye> ‘blue’	Pl shūdā, shūdāyē
hūlā f <-una> ‘cap’	Pl hūlunà
kōgī m <-una> ‘river’	Pl kōgunà
kauyē m <-uka> ‘village’	Pl kauyukà
cūtā f <cūtuttukà, e2> ‘disease’	Pl cūtuttukà, cūce-cūce
hannū m <hannuwā, -aye> ‘hand’	Pl hannuwā, hannāyē
cōkālī m <u-a> ‘spoon’	Pl cōkulà
fūrē m <-anni> ‘flower’	Pl fūrānnī
rīgā f <-una> ‘gown, robe’	Pl rīgūnà
Àlhajī <-ai> ‘a pilgrim’	Pl Àlhāzai
mōtā <-oCi> ‘motor vehicle’	Pl mōtōcī
kujērā f <-u> ‘chair’	Pl kujērū
āl’ādā f <-u> ‘custom’	Pl āl’ādū
ḅarāwō m <-i> ‘thief’	Pl ḅarāyī
Bāhaushē m <-awa> ‘Hausa’	Pl (LH) Hāusāwā
ākāwu m <-una; x2> ‘clerk’	Pl akāwunà, ākāwu-ākāwu
ginī m <-e2> m ‘building’	Pl gīne-gīne
zūciyā f <-oCi, zukātā> ‘heart’	Pl zūciyōyī, zukātā
cikī m <-Cuna>	Pl cikkunà

Appendix No 3
ANSQ – Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality
and their derivatives

<i>Noun (ANSQ)</i>	<i>Adjective in singular</i>	<i>Adjective in plural</i>
dādī ‘pleasantness, niceness’	dāddādā m/f ‘nice’	Pl dādādā
fādī ‘breadth, width’	fārfādā = fāffādā m/f ‘broad’	Pl fādādā
kaifī ‘sharpness of edge’	kākkāifā m/f ‘sharp’	Pl kaifādā
kaushī ‘roughness’	kākkāusā m/f ‘rough’	Pl kausāsā
kamshī ‘sweet smell, perfume’	kākkāmsā m/f ‘fragrant’	Pl kamsāsā
karfī ‘strength in action, force’	kākkārfā m/f ‘strong’	Pl karfādā
kwārī ‘strength of substance’	kṵwākkwārā ‘strong’	Pl kwārārā
nauyī ‘heaviness, light’	nānnauyā m/f ‘heavy’	Pl nauyāyā
sanyī ‘(damp) coolness’	sānsanyā m/f ‘cool’	Pl sanyāyā
sāukī ‘lightness’	sāssaukā m/f ‘easy’	Pl saukākā
zāfī ‘heat’	zāzzāfā m/f ‘hot’	Pl zāfādā
zākī ‘lavour, sweetness’	zāzzākā m/f ‘sweet’	Pl zākākā
zurfī ‘depth’	zūzzurfā m/f ‘deep’	Pl zurfādā
mūni ‘ugliness, evil’	mūmmūnā	Pl mūnānā
kyāu ‘goodness’, ‘fine appearance’	kyākkāwā	Pl kyāwāwā

Appendix No 4

The most common adjectives with their gender forms and plurals

<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Plural form</i>
algàshī m	algàsā f	‘light green’	Pl <-ai> (cl. 2a) àlgàsai
bàbbā m	bàbbā f	‘big’	Pl mân्या
baḱī m	baḱā f	‘black, dark’	Pl <-aCe> (cl. 3a) baḱàḱē
bēbē m	bēbiyā f	‘deaf mute’	Pl <-aye> (cl. 3b) bēbāyē
dōgō m	dōguwā f	‘tall, long, high’	Pl <-aye> (cl. 3b) dōgāyē
dānyē m	dānyā f	‘raw’, ‘uncooked’	Pl <-u> (kl. 9a) dānyū = dānyū
farī m	farā f	‘white’	Pl <-aCe> (cl. 3a) farārē
gājērē m	gājērā = gājēriyā = gājērūwā f	‘short’	Pl <-u> (cl. 9a) gājājērū
gurgū m	gurgūwā f	‘cripple, lame’	Pl <a-u> (cl. 5a) guràgū
huntū m	huntūwā f	‘naked’	Pl <-aye> (cl. 3b) huntāyē
jā m	jā f	‘red’	Pl <-aye> (cl. 3b) jājāyē
kānkanē, kānkanī m	kānkanūwā f	‘little’	Pl kanānā, kānkananā
kāramī m	kāramā f	‘little’	Pl kanānā
kātō m	kātūwā f	‘huge’ (person)	Pl <-Ca> (kl. 4a) kātā, kātī
kōrē m	koriyā f	‘green’	Pl <-aye> (cl. 3b) kōrāyē Pl <Ca> (cl. 4a) kwārā
mūgū m	mūgūwā f alt. mugunyā f	‘evil, very bad’	Pl <-aye> (cl. 3b) mūgāyē, miyāgū Pl <-a-u> (cl. 5a) mwiyaḡū > miyāgū
mūhimmī m	mūhimmiyā f	‘important’	Pl <-ai> (cl. 2a) mūhimmai
sābō m	sābuwā f	‘new’	Pl <-aCC> (cl. 7b) sàbabbī, sàbbi
shūdī m	shūdīyā f	‘blue’	Pl <-Ca> (cl. 4a) shūddā Pl <-aye> (cl. 3b) shūdāyē
tsōho m	tsōhuwā f	‘old’	Pl <-aCCi> (cl. 7b) tsōfāffī

Appendix No 5

Personal pronouns

Object pronouns

Independent pronoun reference	Direct object pronouns	Indirect object pronouns
1. (nī)	ni/nì	minì/mîn/manì
2. (m) (kai)	ka/kà	makà/mā/mâ
2. (f) (kē)	ki/kì	miki
3. (m) (shī)	shi/shì	masà/mishi/mâs/mâr
3. (f) (íta)	ta/tà	matà
1. Pl (mū)	mu/mù	manà/mamù/munà
2. Pl (kū)	ku/kù	mukù
3. Pl (sū)	su/sù	musù

Possessive pronouns

Independent pronoun reference	Bound genitive pronouns (m/Pl)	Free possessives (m/Pl reference)	Bound genitive pronouns (f)	Free possessives (f reference)
1. (nī)	-nā	nāwa	-tā	tāwa
2. (m) (kai)	-nkà	nākà	-rkà	tākà
2. (f) (kē)	-nkì	nākì	-rkì	takì
3. (m) (shī)	-nsà/-nshì/ (-nasà) <nai>	nāsà/nāshì	-rsà/-rshì / (-tasà) <tai>	tāsà/tāshì
3. (f) (íta)	-ntà/(natà)	nātà	-ntà /(natà)	tātà
1. Pl (mū)	-nmù	nāmù	-rmù	tāmù
2. Pl (kū)	-nkù	nākù	-rkù	tākù
3. Pl (sū)	-nsù	nāsù	-rsù	tāsù

Appendix No 6

Non-personal pronouns

Demonstratives and relatives (the **wa**-words)

	masculine	feminine	Plural
1. this (by me)	wannàn	wannàn	wadānnân
2. that (by you)	wānnan/wānnan	wānnan/wānnan	wādānnan/wādānnan
3. that (there)	wancàn	waccàn	wadāncân
4. that (distant)	wāncan/wāncan	wāccan/wāccan	wādāncan/wādāncan
5. which?	wànè	wàcè	wādānnè
6. which one?	wānnē	wāccē	wādānnē
7. who, which, that	wāndà/wandà/ wāndà	wāddà/waddà/wāddà/ waccè/waccè	wadāndà/wadāndà
8. some/other	wani	wata	wa(dān)su
9. so-and-so	wānè	wancè	su wānè/ su wancè

Source: Newman 2000: 147.

Universal and interrogative pronouns

	Universal forms	Question Words
everyone, whoever	kōwā	wā who?
everything, whatever	kōmē	mē what
everywhere, wherever	kō'inā	īnā? where?
always, whenever	kōyāushē = kōyāushè	yāushē = yāushè when?
each, whichever one(s)	kōwānnē, kōwāccē kōwādānnē	wānnē, wāccē wādānnē whichever?
every, whichever	kōwànè, kōwàcè, kōwādānnè	wànè, wàcè, wādānnè which?
however much/many	kō nawà	nawà how much/many?
in every, whatever way	kō(ta)yāyā	yāyā how?

Source: Newman 2000: 622.

Appendix No 7

Verb Grade System

Grade	A-Form	B-Form	C-Form	D-Form
0	-i H -ā/-ō H	-ii H -ā/ō H	-i H -ā/-ō H	-i(i) H -ā/-ō H
1	-ā HL(H)	-ā HL(H)	-a HL(L)	-ā HL(H)
2	-ā LH(L)	-ē LH	-i LH	(pds)
3	-a LH (L)			(pds)
3a	-a H			(pds)
3b	-i/-u/-a			(pds)
4	-ē HL (H) -nyē HL (H)	-ē HL (H) -nyē HL (H)	-e HL (L) -ē HL (H) -nye HL (L) -nyē HL (H)	-ē HL (H) -nyē HL (H)
5	-ar H	-ar [dà] H -shē H -Ø [dà] H	-ar [dà] H -Ø [dà] H	-ar [dà] H
5d	-dā HL	-dā HL	-dā HL	-dā HL
6	-ō H	-ō H	-ō H	-ō H
7	-u LH			(pds)

Source: Newman 2000: 628.

Appendix No 8

Verbal nouns (selected forms)

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Verbal noun</i>	<i>Verb</i>	<i>Verbal noun</i>
àikā ‘send (someone)’	àikē	kērā ‘forge, smith’	kīrā
ārā ‘borrow (something)’	arō	mārā ‘slap’	mārī
aurā ‘marry (someone)’	aurē	nūfā ‘head towards a place’	nufī
bincikā ‘investigate’	bincikē	nūnā ‘show, point out’	nūnī
būgā ‘hit, beat’	bugū	rāinā ‘care for a child’	rāinō
bōyē ‘hide (something)’	bōyō	rainā ‘malign, deprecate’	rainī
cīzā ‘bite’	cīzō	rasā ‘lack or fail to do something’	rashī
dadā ‘increase’	dadī	rikē ‘grasp, keep’	rikō
dōkā ‘beat, hit’	dūkā	rōkā ‘beg, request’	rōkō
dūbā ‘look at’	dūbā	rufē ‘close’	rufī
ḏaukā ‘take (up), carry’	ḏaukā	sātā ‘steal’	sātā
ḏaurē ‘tie up’	ḏaurī	sāurārā ‘listen’	sāurārē
ḏībā ‘dip out’	ḏībā	sāyā ‘buy’	sāyē
ḏīnkā ‘sew’	ḏīnkī	shārē ‘sweep’	shārā
fādā ‘tell, say’	fadī	shiryā ‘prepare’	shirī
fasā ‘break’	fashī	sōkā ‘pierce, stab’	sūkā
gādā ‘inherit (from)’	gādō	tāfī ‘go, go to’	tāfiyā
gārgadā ‘warn’	gārgādī	tāmbayā ‘ask’	tāmbayā
ginā ‘build’	ginī (cf. also <i>gināwā</i>)	tsārā ‘arrange’	tsārī
gūdā ‘run away from’	gudū	tsimā ‘soak, steep’	tsimī
gyārā ‘repair’	gyārā (cf. also <i>gyārāwā</i>)	tūkā ‘drive (a car)’	tūkī
hārbā ‘shoot at’	harbī	yābā ‘praise’	yābō
jēfā ‘throw at’	jīfā	yānkā ‘cut off a piece of something’	yānkā
karāntā ‘read, study’	kārātū	yānkā ‘cut up’	yānkā
kōyā ‘learn’	kōyō	zāgā ‘insult, criticize’	zāgī
kārā ‘increase’	kārī	zātā ‘think, suppose’	zātō

Verbal nouns of one-syllable verbs

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Verbal noun</i>	<i>Verb</i>	<i>Verbal noun</i>
sâ ‘put, place’	sâwā (sâ shi)	cê ‘say, tell’	cêwā
kai ‘take to’, ‘reach’	kâiwā (kai shi)	hau ‘mount, climb’	hawā
jā ‘pull, drag’	jâ	shā ‘drink’	shâ
sō ‘like, want, love’	sô	yi ‘do, make’	yî
bi ‘follow’	bî	ci ‘eat’	cî
fî ‘exceed, surpass’	fî	ji ‘hear’	jî
kî ‘refuse, hate’	kî	bā ‘give to’	bā
zō ‘come’	zuwâ	(cî) ‘overtake’	cîm (mà)
jē ‘go to’	zuwâ, tâfiyâ	(î < iy) ‘overpower’	îm (mâ)

Appendix No 9

TAM markers

	Completive	Relative completive	Continuous	Relative continuous	Subjunctive	Future	Habitual	Potential
1. nī	nā	na	inà [’nà]	nakè <nikè>	ìn /nà	zân / zānì	nakàn/ nikàn	nâ
2. m kai	kā	ka	kanà	kakè	kà	zākà	kakàn	kâ
2. f kē	kin	kikà	kinà	kikè	kì	zāki	kikàn	kyâ
3. m shī	yā	ya	yanà <shinà>	yakè <shikè>	yà <shì>	zâi / zāyà	yakàn	yâ
3. f ita	tā	ta	tanà	takè	tà	zâtà	takàn	tâ
1. Pl mū	mun	mukà	munà	mukè	mù	zāmù	mukàn	mâ <mwâ>
2. Pl kū	kun	kukà	kunà	kukè	kù	zākù	kukàn	kwâ
3. Pl sū	sun	sukà	sunà	sukè	sù	zāsù	sukàn	sâ <swâ>
Imp.	an	akà	anà	akè	à	zā’à	akàn	â

Negative TAM markers

	Completive/ Relative completive	Continuous/ Relative continuous	Subjunctive	Future	Habitual	Potential
1. nī	bàn...ba / (bà nì...ba)	bā nà <bân>	kadà in / kadà nà	bà(a) zân...bà bà(a) zā nì...ba	bâ nakàn...ba / bâ nikàn...ba	bà nâba
2. m kai	bà kà...ba	bā kà	kadà kà	bà(a) zā kà...ba	bâ kakàn...ba	bà kâba
2. f kē	bà kì...ba	bā kyâ	kadà kì	bà(a) zā kì...ba	bâ kikàn...ba	bà kyâba
3. m shī	bâi...ba / ba yà...ba	bā yâ <bâi>	kadà yà <kadà shì>	bà(a) zâi...bà bà(a) zā yà...ba	bâ yakàn...ba	bà yâba
3. f ita	bà tà...ba	bā tâ	kadà tà	bà(a) zā tà...ba	bâ takàn...ba	bà tâ...ba

	Completive/ Relative completive	Continuous/ Reative continuous	Subjunctive	Future	Habitual	Potential
1. Pl mū	bà mù...ba	bā mǎ <bā mwǎ>	kadà mù	bà(a) zā mù...ba	bǎ mukàn...ba	bà mǎ...ba <mwǎ>
2. Pl kū	bà kù...ba	bā kwǎ	kadà kù	bà(a) zā kù...ba	bǎ kukàn...ba	bà kwǎ...ba
3. Pl sū	bà sù...ba	bā sǎ <bā swǎ>	kadà sù	bà(a) zā sù...ba	bǎ sukàn...ba	bà sǎ...ba <swǎ>
Imp.	bà à...ba	bā à	kadà à	bà(a) zā à...ba	bǎ akàn...ba	bà à...ba

Negative TAM markers in some specific structures

	Allative ('go to')	Locative construction	Possessive construction
1. nī	bà zā nī...ba <zān>	bā nǎ	bā nī / bān
2. m kai	bà zā ka...ba	bā kǎ	bā ka
2. f kē	bà zā ki...ba	bā kyǎ	bā ki
3. m shī	bà zā shī...ba <zā ya>	bā yǎ	bā shī / bā ya / bāi
3. f ita	bà zā ta...ba	bā tǎ	bā ta
1. Pl mū	bà zā mu...ba	bā mǎ	bā mu
2. Pl kū	bà zā ku...ba	bā kwǎ	bā ku
3. Pl sū	bà zā su...ba	bā sǎ	bā su
Imp.	bà zā a...ba	bā à	bā a

Appendix No 10

Morphological transformations of the verb base form

Verbs by grades	Pluractional	Imperative	Verbal noun	
			without IO	followed by DO
0. ci	cicci	ci!	cî	cî-n
1. kāmā	kakkāmā	kāma!	kāmāwā	kāmā/kāmā
2. nēmā	nënnēmā	nēmi!	nēmā	nēma-n
3. shiga	shisshiga = shisshiga	shiga!	shigā	—
4. yankè	yayyànkē	yànkē!	yankèwā	yankè/yankè
5. sayar	sassayar	sàyar!	sayâr wā	sayar (dà)
6. kāwō	kakkāwō	kàwō!	kāwōwā	kāwō
7. fāru	fāffarù	fāru!	fāruwā	—

Index

- Abstract noun 135, 137
- Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality* (ANSQ) 39, 85, 86, 142, 205
- Adjectival past participle 34, 76, 84
- Adjectival phrase 81, 82, 86, 87, 121, 122, 127, 139
- Adjective 38, 45, 67, 70, 74, 81–83, 85–91, 97, 99, 122, 124, 132, 135, 136, 195, 205, 206
 - augmentative 79, 83, 84
 - basic 56, 81–84, 87, 88
 - derived 32, 40, 84–86
 - diminutive 79, 84
 - reduplicated 88
- Adjective of sensory quality 85
- Adjunct 98–100, 193, 194
- Adverb 38, 39, 89, 90, 92–98, 181
 - basic 89, 92
 - derived 92
 - reduplicated 94
- Adverbial phrase 89, 91, 92, 100
- Agent noun 132, 133
- Arithmetic calculations 46, 107
- Aspect 38, 40, 47, 51, 87, 108, 161–165, 172, 190, 192, 193, 197, 198
- Aspectual verb 180, 192, 193
- Assimilation 32, 33, 35, 75, 86, 140, 175
- Associated characteristics 136
- Clause coordination 186, 196
- Clause subordination 119, 183, 185, 186, 188, 196, 197
 - complement clause 183, 198, 199
 - purpose clause 198
 - reason clause 198
 - time clause 197
- Complementizer 183, 187, 199
- Compleitive 51, 52, 87, 108, 119, 161–163, 166–168, 188, 192, 193, 195, 197, 198, 212
- Complex sentence 125, 196, 197
- Compound 94, 96, 118, 119, 121–123, 125, 128–130, 133, 167, 196
 - nominal compound 90, 121–124, 129, 146, 174
 - verb-based compound 124
- Conditional sentence 182, 198
- Conjoined sentence 99, 192, 193
- Conjunction 103, 107, 119, 167, 169, 174, 182, 183, 185–188, 196, 197
- Consonant 21–30, 32, 33, 35, 43, 55, 62, 140, 175, 176
 - glottalized 28, 29
 - labialized 24, 29, 171, 175
 - palatalized 29, 64, 67, 171
- Continuous 46, 47, 52, 95, 100, 119, 161–168, 191–195, 197, 212
- Copula 16, 36, 42–46, 109, 120, 174, 177, 178, 191, 192, 195
- Currency 107
- Definite article 35, 37, 104, 116, 117
- Deictic particle *din* 117
- Demonstrative 37, 43, 45, 56, 90, 91, 114–117, 120, 125, 195, 208
- Determiner 43, 81–83, 86, 87, 109, 114, 116–120, 130, 174–176
- Deverbal stative 34, 95, 96, 163, 182
- Diphthong 23
- Efferential 157
- Ethnonym 78, 131, 132
- Exclamation 174, 185, 187, 188

- Focus 42, 44, 89, 120, 191
 Function word 174, 178
 Future 51, 52, 91, 108, 161–163, 165,
 170, 172, 182, 193, 197, 212
 Gender 41, 42, 54–60, 81, 108, 117, 118,
 120, 122, 133, 138, 159, 174, 177,
 195, 196, 206
 – feminine 43, 44, 50, 54–60, 70, 76,
 81, 82, 84, 85, 88, 104, 106, 111, 112,
 120, 131, 133, 135, 137, 138, 166,
 174–177, 206, 208
 – gender assignment 54–58, 124
 – masculine 43, 44, 54–59, 70, 73, 81,
 82, 104, 106, 111, 112, 124, 131, 133,
 135, 138, 139, 174–177, 206, 208
 Genitive linker 34, 35, 43, 55, 59, 106,
 112, 116, 117, 121, 161, 164, 165,
 174–176, 181, 183
 Glottal stop 23, 25, 26, 28, 58
 Grade 0 verb 147, 149, 209, 214
 Grade 1 verb 144, 147–152, 154, 156,
 157, 160, 209, 214
 Grade 2 verb 34, 41, 42, 144, 147–149,
 151, 152, 154, 160, 209, 214
 Grade 3 verb 147–149, 153, 155, 160,
 209, 214
 Grade 4 verb 144, 147–149, 151, 154,
 155, 160, 209, 214
 Grade 5 verb 33, 35, 147–149, 155–157,
 160, 209, 214
 Grade 6 verb 145, 147–149, 157, 160,
 209, 214
 Grade 7 verb 147–149, 157, 160
 Grammaticalization 43, 128, 129, 174
 Greetings 18, 19, 27, 31, 104, 108, 151,
 185, 186, 188
 Habitual 161, 162, 171, 212, 213
 Hypocoristic 141
 Ideophones 29, 39, 83, 87, 96–98, 105,
 117, 127, 191
 Idiomatic phrasal verb 126, 128, 130
 Imperative 50, 124, 125, 146, 162, 168,
 172, 173, 214
 Infinitive 158, 164
 Instrument noun 65, 132, 134
 Interrogative 31, 45, 114, 120, 166, 178,
 184, 186, 195, 195
 – adjective 195
 – demonstrative 117, 195
 – pronoun 56, 119, 120, 166, 195, 208
 Intonation 30, 31, 184, 186, 188, 194, 195
 Language name 134, 135
 Lexicalization 128, 129
 Lexicalized sentences 124, 125
 Location noun 65, 132–134
 Locative construction 46, 47, 165, 213
 Locative phrase 46, 179
 Modal particle 174, 183, 184, 186, 187,
 190, 196
 Mood 38, 40, 161, 168
 Multifunctional word 98, 174, 178, 185
 Multiverb construction 52, 99, 100
 Mutuality 135
NAN/CAN 90, 116
 Negation 46, 49, 119, 161, 165, 170–173,
 183, 193
 Nominals 38
 Non-verbal sentences 44–53, 110, 177, 189
 – existential 48, 50
 – identificational 44
 – locative 46, 47, 51, 89
 – presentational 50
 – possessive (to have) 47, 50
 – ‘to be’ 44, 46, 47, 50–53, 177, 189
 – ‘to have’ 46, 51, 53, 189
 – ‘to go (somewhere)’ 51
 Noun plural 10, 12, 34, 61, 66, 67, 76,
 78, 203
 Numeral 38, 90, 97, 102–106, 117, 185
 – cardinal number 102–106
 – ordinal number 105, 106
 Object 33–35, 96, 110, 111, 141, 143–148,
 164, 165, 172, 189–194, 207
 – direct 37, 42, 48–50, 59, 110, 111,
 136, 143–148, 151, 152, 156, 157,
 180, 190–192
 – indirect 33, 42, 110, 111, 146–148,
 151, 152, 156, 157, 180, 184, 190–192

- Palatalization 33, 34, 63, 72, 77, 79, 84, 152, 154
- Particle 35, 36, 38, 41, 44, 98, 117, 155, 165, 169, 173, 174, 176, 177, 182–188, 190, 195, 196
- Phoneme 21–26, 29, 30, 33, 58, 76, 139, 140
- Pluractional 32, 42, 139–141, 155, 214
- Plural class 12, 62, 70, 76
- ‘Plural of plural’ 73
- Polarization 36, 37, 44, 110
- Potential 41, 147, 161, 162, 171, 172, 212, 213
- Prefixal formation 131
- *bà-* prefix 56, 131
 - *dan* prefix 136, 138
 - *ma-* prefix 56, 65, 85, 130, 132, 133, 138
 - *mài/maràs* prefix 136–138
- Preposition 33, 35, 38, 42, 47, 50, 90, 92–96, 99, 103, 106, 109, 110, 113, 120, 123, 146, 147, 151, 153–157, 165, 169, 174, 177–182, 185–188, 191, 196
- basic 92, 94, 178, 179, 182
 - genitive 92–94, 128, 178–182
 - spatial 42, 92, 180
- Pronoun 35, 37, 38, 42, 43, 59, 105, 108–114, 117–120, 145, 146, 151, 156, 159, 162–168, 171, 172, 179, 180, 187, 190–192, 196, 208
- direct object 42, 48–50, 59, 110, 111, 143, 144, 146, 147, 151, 156, 157, 191, 207
 - independent 42, 109–113, 118, 146, 147, 156, 192, 207
 - indirect object 42, 110, 111, 146, 147, 156, 157, 184, 190, 191, 205
 - non-personal 109, 114, 208
 - personal 43, 45, 109, 113, 147, 162, 176, 179, 190, 207
 - possessive 16, 104, 111–113, 159, 165, 176, 207
- Question 31, 40, 48, 50, 51, 53, 59, 92–94, 97, 107, 108, 166, 184, 186, 194, 195
- question word 80, 120, 195, 208
- Reciprocal 41, 113
- Reflexive 41, 113
- Relative 27, 31, 37, 90, 114, 118–120, 161, 162, 167, 169, 179, 192, 195, 197, 198, 208
- completive 119, 162, 166–168, 193, 195, 197, 212, 213
 - continuous 47, 119, 162, 166–168, 195, 197, 212, 213
 - pronoun 37, 56, 118, 119, 167
- Sentence intonation 30
- Semivowel 22, 24, 26, 30, 32–34, 63, 67, 77, 81, 133, 135
- Subjunctive 100, 125, 161, 162, 168, 169, 173, 183, 186–188, 193, 198, 212, 213
- Spatial meaning 90, 92, 178, 180
- Suffixal formation 131, 134
- *-au* suffix 136
 - *-ayyā, -ēCēniyā* suffix 135
 - *-cī/-ancī* suffix 134, 135
 - *-ta, -Vnta, -(a)ta* suffix 136
 - *-tā, -cī, -takā* suffix 35, 135
- Syllable 22, 27, 29–37, 58, 64, 75, 76, 84–86, 110, 116, 118, 127, 140–146, 152, 157–159, 172, 173, 177, 194, 211
- modifications 34
 - structure 16, 28
- TAM marker 12, 38, 43, 44, 46, 47, 59, 98, 120, 161–166, 168–172, 184, 190, 212, 213
- Tense 38, 40, 51, 161, 163, 168
- Tone 21, 22, 27–31, 35–37, 44, 48–51, 61, 62, 68, 70, 71, 73, 74, 77, 78, 84, 110, 115, 116, 118, 124, 129, 133, 140, 141, 144, 147, 150, 151, 153, 155, 157, 159, 162, 165, 168, 170–173, 177, 184, 194

- tonal pattern 27, 28, 30, 39, 61, 62, 65, 67, 69, 76, 78–81, 85, 95, 97, 110, 115, 124, 132–134, 141, 142, 147–149, 152, 153, 158, 173, 184
- tonal processes 36
- Tone-integrating suffix 62, 84
- Universal ('every') 114, 119
- Verb 32–42, 52, 84, 87, 93, 95–100, 124–131, 190–195, 197–199, 209, 211, 214
 - irregular 12, 42, 143, 145, 146, 151, 153, 157, 160
 - monosyllabic 66, 67, 124, 126, 133, 143, 144, 147, 149, 155, 158, 159
 - sociative 147, 151, 153, 154
- Verb base 124, 129, 136, 143, 146, 147, 154, 156, 161, 190, 214
- Verb conjugation 12, 38, 52, 161–163, 168, 171, 172, 187, 188, 190
 - Verb grade 12, 33–35, 40–42, 110, 140, 143–158, 160, 173, 191, 209, 214, see also Grade 0–7
 - primary 41, 148, 150, 153, 154
 - secondary 148, 153, 155
 - Verbal noun 12, 36–38, 98, 123, 137, 146, 158–160, 163, 164, 166, 180, 183, 187, 191, 192, 198, 210, 211, 214
 - „strong” 159, 160
 - „weak” 159, 160
 - Verbalizing suffix 136
 - Verbals 38
 - Vowel 21–23, 26, 33–36, 54, 55, 89, 110, 129, 141, 148, 175, 176
 - vowel length 21, 22, 26, 27, 144, 160
 - alternation of root vowels 36
 - Word order 89, 167, 189, 191, 192
 - Yes/No question 31, 166, 194

This book stands out as one of the first Hausa grammars designed explicitly with pedagogical purposes in mind. It offers a clear, user-friendly structure, supported by well-organized tables and illustrative examples that make even complex rules easier to grasp. The layout allows quick access to key grammatical patterns, which is especially valuable for learners navigating the intricacies of the language.

A key strength is its contrastive approach, highlighting structural differences between Hausa and European languages – especially English – while also addressing mismatches in grammatical terminology. This helps learners better understand not only how Hausa works, but also why certain structures may not align with what they already know.

Each chapter adopts a focused, selective treatment of topics such as adjectives, non-verbal sentences, noun plurals, verb conjugation, and word formation. Rather than aiming for exhaustive coverage, the book emphasizes practical challenges, exceptions, and alternative perspectives, which are often overlooked in traditional grammars. This approach encourages more flexible and creative language use.

In its compact and accessible form, the book fills a significant gap in Hausa language learning resources. It is an invaluable tool for students seeking both clarity and depth, as well as for anyone interested in understanding the language beyond surface-level communication.

From the review by Izabela Will

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