1. Introduction

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

Hausa belongs to the Chadic branch of AfroAsiatic languages. Whereas none of the other 170 Chadic languages has more than 200 thousand speakers, Hausa is estimated to be spoken by around 50 million people, ¾ of which live in Nigeria. The Hausa land proper straddles the Niger/Nigeria border, but Hausa communities have settled in Sudan, Cameroon, Togo and Ghana. Moreover, Hausa traders can be found in all big West African cities, and up to North-Africa (Tripoli, etc.). Presently, the Hausa community, which emerged over the centuries through the absorption of heterogeneous populations, is best defined by its common language. This on-going process of integrating vast non-Hausa speaking populations has left its imprint on the language. For example, the Hausa spoken in Bauchi and Zaria does not mark gender. A relatively weak dialect differentiation can be observed spreading from West to East, in stripes with a North-South orientation, with two main groups: Western Hausa, represented by Sokoto, and Eastern Hausa, represented by Kano. Kano Hausa has been chosen as a referent for the elaboration of a standard. The place with the greatest dialect dispersion, and the most “archaic” features is Sokoto, which is probably the origin of the dialect diffusion of the language.

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

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

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¹ This grammatical sketch of Hausa has been written as an annex to the annotated Hausa Corpus transcribed for the CorpAfroAs project (ANR-06CORP).
The current production consists in five periodicals, as well as novels, poetry, drama, textbooks, propaganda leaflets, political and commercial posters, etc.

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

Abbreviations used in the grammar and in the corpus

1.1 Grammar: general abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adj. Adj.</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adv. Adv.</td>
<td>Adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>Adjectival Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Falling tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>Feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GL</td>
<td>Genitive Link</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gr</td>
<td>Grade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>High tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Low tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IP</td>
<td>Infinitive Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Mid tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>Masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pds</td>
<td>Pre-dative Suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>Prepositional Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prep.</td>
<td>Preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH</td>
<td>Standard Hausa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suffix</td>
<td>Suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP</td>
<td>Tone Pattern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.</td>
<td>Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VN</td>
<td>Verbal Pattern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Verb Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WH</td>
<td>Western Haus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZH</td>
<td>Zaria Hausa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2 Corpus: glossing labels (τrx tier)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Label (τrx)</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Associated τge labels and/or examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>red (ʤaː); evil (muːgù)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>formerly (dāː); quickly (dàwゥʁi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV.DEICT</td>
<td>Deictic Adverb</td>
<td>now (jànzu); next_year (bàɗi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV.REL</td>
<td>Relative Adverb</td>
<td>how (jaddà); REL.LOC (indà)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ato</td>
<td>Apotony</td>
<td>IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIRC</td>
<td>Circumfix</td>
<td>AGT (ma-); INS (-i-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>Complementizer</td>
<td>that_is (ʧêːwaː)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conj</td>
<td>Conjunction</td>
<td>if (in); until (har)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>der</td>
<td>Derivation</td>
<td>DIR (-o-); NMLZ (-wa-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET</td>
<td>Determinant</td>
<td>DEF (-ù)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET.INDF</td>
<td>Indefinite Determinant</td>
<td>SOME.PL (wasu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>Exclamation</td>
<td>eh (èː); indeed (âfeː)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FILL</td>
<td>Pause filler</td>
<td>er... (eːːː)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HESIT</td>
<td>Hesitation</td>
<td>gwa:#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hom</td>
<td>Homonymy</td>
<td>COP2 (dà)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDEOPH</td>
<td>Ideophone</td>
<td>strong (kankan); tight (tsantsan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTJ</td>
<td>Interjection</td>
<td>amen (âːmin); no (aːʔà)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>thing (âbù); work (aikì)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.P</td>
<td>Proper Noun</td>
<td>Amina ; Bashir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.V</td>
<td>Verbal Noun</td>
<td>loan ; begging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM</td>
<td>Numeral</td>
<td>Four (hudù)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONOM</td>
<td>Onomatopoeia</td>
<td>mèː; galalan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNG</td>
<td>Person-Number-Gender complex</td>
<td>2SG.M.GEN (ʧi); 1PL.IDP (kuː)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>So_and_So (waːnè)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO.DAT</td>
<td>Dative Pronoun</td>
<td>2.PL (mukù)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO.DEICT</td>
<td>Deictic Pronoun</td>
<td>ANAPH (wànnan); DIST (wanfàn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Label (ge)</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Associated \textit{\ge}x labels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC1</td>
<td>Accusative 1</td>
<td>ACC1 (\textit{-i})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC2</td>
<td>Accusative 2</td>
<td>ACC2 (\textit{-e})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGT</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>CIRC (\textit{ma-})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>PTCL.SYNT (\textit{zâ})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANAPH</td>
<td>Anaphoric</td>
<td>PRO.DEICT (\textit{wannan}) \text{;} PTCL (\textit{dîn})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AOR</td>
<td>Aorist</td>
<td>TAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BKL</td>
<td>Backchannelling</td>
<td>BKL (\textit{m:hm:})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>TAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Copula</td>
<td>PTCL.SYNT (\textit{dà})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTF</td>
<td>Counterfactual</td>
<td>CONJ (\textit{dà:})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>PTCL.SYNT (\textit{wà})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>DET (\textit{-n})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>Diminutive</td>
<td>ADV (\textit{dan})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>Directional</td>
<td>der (\textit{-a:}) \text{;} PTCL.SYNT (\textit{zâ})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>ADV.DEICT (\textit{gân})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>Durative</td>
<td>TAM (\textit{ta})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVD</td>
<td>Evidential</td>
<td>PTCL (\textit{waï})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>PNG (\textit{ita}) \text{;} der (\textit{-annija:})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FILL</td>
<td>Pause Filler</td>
<td>FILL (\textit{ê:::})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOC</td>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>TAM (\textit{jakè})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>Future</td>
<td>TAM (\textit{zâi})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>PNG (\textit{ta:kù})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>TAM (\textit{kàn})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HESIT</td>
<td>Hesitation</td>
<td>FILL (\textit{d:::})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDP</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>PNG (\textit{su:})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>TAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INS</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>CIRC (\textit{-a:})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>PNG (\textit{fi:})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>PTCL.NEG (\textit{bâ:})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NFOC</td>
<td>Non-Focus</td>
<td>TAM (\textit{nà:})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMLZ</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
<td>der (\textit{-wa:})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>TAM (\textit{ja:})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>PL (\textit{-o:Ci})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>ADV.DEICT (\textit{nân}) \text{;} PRO.DEICT (\textit{wannan})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL.LOC</td>
<td>Place Adverb</td>
<td>ADV.REL (\textit{indà})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJV</td>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>TAM (\textit{jà, mú})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>PNG (\textit{fi:, ja:})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>Tense/Aspect/Mood complex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Phonology

2.1 Syllable structure
There are three types of syllable structure in Hausa, divided into light (CV) and heavy (CVV and CVC). Initial vowels and consonant clusters, as well as syllable-internal long vowels are excluded. As a consequence, all words written with an initial vowel in the standard orthography\(^1\) begin in fact with an initial glottal stop: *aiki*, ‘work’ is in fact pronounced [ʔaiki:]. Words ending in a CVC syllable are often ideophones or loanwords.

2.2 Vowels

2.2.1 Quality
Hausa has 5 vowels distributed over 3 degrees of aperture:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Half-open</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/o/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2 Quantity
Length produces five more vowels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Half-open</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/iː/</td>
<td>/eː/</td>
<td>/oː/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/aː/</td>
<td>/uː/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

2.2.3 Changes in quality due to length and distribution:
The phonetic realisation, and more particularly the quality of the vowel, is influenced by length and the situation of the vowel in the utterance. Short vowels are more open, more central, less rounded than long ones. They can be transcribed as follows:\(^2\):

- /aː/ = [a] (open, central, neutral lip position; cf. English *but*, *cut*)
- /aː/ = [aː] (open; half-way between central and back)
- /eː/ = [eː] (front, half-open, neutral lip position; cf. English *bet*, *get*)
- /eː/ = [ɛː] (front, half-open, neutral lip position; cf. French *bébé*)
- /iː/ = [i] (not quite close; not quite front; cf. English *bit*, *lid*)
- /iː/ = [ɪː] (close, front, with retracted lips; cf. French *i/ɪ*)
- /oː/ = [ɔː] (half-open, back, rounded; cf. English *god*)
- /oː/ = [ɔː] (half-close, back, rounded; cf French *peau*)
- /uː/ = [ʊː] (half-way between close and half-close; not quite back; less rounded than /uː/; cf English *book*)
- /uː/ = [ʊː] (close, back, very rounded)

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

- The final -a of the 1SG.GEN pronoun *n*a/*nːa*: *na*, ‘my father’, *ta*: *taː*, ‘my (man’s) gown’;
- The final -o of class 6 verbs (ventive extension);

The diphthongs in the words *kai*, ‘carry’; *hau*, ‘ride’; *kau*, ‘take away’.

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\(^1\) It has been decided to follow the same convention as in the transcription of the *CorpAfroAs* corpus. Examples quoted from (Newman 2000) have been consequently converted to this transcription.

\(^2\) See (Carnochan 88) for a detailed account of Hausa vowels.
2.3 Consonants

Consonants

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
| f | f' | t | s | f' | k | k' | h | \bar{h} | \\
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>s'</td>
<td>d'</td>
<td>k̩</td>
<td>k̩'</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>j'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\end{array}
\]

Comments: the consonant written /f/ in standard orthography is a bilabial whose pronunciation varies according to dialects and sociolinguistic factors: [h̃] in the West; [ʃ] (voiceless bilabial fricative) or [p] (voiceless bilabial plosive) in the East, depending on the social group of the speaker, the variant [ʃ] having a higher social connotation. It is pronounced [ʃ] and transcribed /ʃ/ in the corpus. The consonant written /dʃ/ in standard orthography is realized [j] in the West, e.g. “dʃakì”, ‘donkey’ is pronounced /dʒakì/ in Kano and /gakì/ in Sokoto. It is transcribed and pronounced [ʤ] in the corpus. The standard orthography notes only one /r/. In the corpus, /r/ notes an alveolar trill, and /ɾ/ an retroflex alveolar tap.

2.3.1 Glottalisation

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

Two types of glottalized consonants are generally distinguished in Hausa:

- the ejectives ʔ, ʔ̩, ʔ̩’ and s’ (written “ts” in standard orthography), or voiceless post-glottalized;
- the ejectives b, d, r; also called implosives, or voiced pre-glottalized.

2.3.2 Long or geminated consonants

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

2.3.3 Labialisation and palatalisation of consonants

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

/k/ and /g/ are palatalised in front of front vowels /i/, /i/: /e/ and /e/:. For example, in the words bà:kì:, ‘mouth’ and gidà:, ‘compound’, /k/ and /g/ are palatalised into [bà:kì:] and [gìdà:].

/i/, /i/, /ɛ/, /a/, /ɛ/ and /u/ are realized /i/, /dʒ/, /j/ and /dʒ/ resp. in front of front vowels /i/, /i/: /e/ and /e/:, except in recent loanwords, e.g. tì́i:, ‘street’, a recent loanword borrowed from English via Yoruba.

2.3.4 Velarization of nasals

/n/ is pronounced [ŋ] in front of /k/, /k/, /g/ and /ʔ/. For example, gwàndí:, ‘antelope’, is pronounced [gwàndí:] and dankò:, ‘rubber’, is pronounced [dan[kò:].

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

2.4 Tone

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

Tone has lexical as well as grammatical functions. Some words are opposed only through their tone pattern: kái, 2.SG.M.IDP pronoun vs. kài, ‘head’; su:, vs. sù:, ‘fishing’; kù:kà:, ‘baobab’, vs. ku:kà:, ‘crying’; wùjà:, ‘neck’, vs. wùjà:, ‘difficulty’. Some plurals, imperatives and derivatives are formed by changing the tone pattern only: mà:mà: (LH) ‘wife, sg.’ vs. mà:mà: (HH), ‘wife.


Tone patterns or melodies are associated to words or morphemes. The tones of a melody are assigned to the syllables from right to left: *sunajfe:*^HLLH^ is realised as *sunàjfe:*, ‘names’ with HLLH. If there are more syllables than tones, the last tone is repeated up to the first syllable: *makarantu:*^HL^ is realised as *mákáràntu:*, ‘shools’. Some suffixes have an associated tone pattern that overrides that of the suffixed word, e.g. *riga:* (LH) + *-una:*^HL^ gives *rigunà:, ‘gowns’ (HHL). These suffixes, called tone-integrating suffixes by P. Newman, can be stacked, in which case the melody of the last applied suffix overrides all preceding melodies: *daka:*^HL^, ‘pound’ + *-akke:*^HLLH^ past participle + *-u:*^LH^ plural: *dákà: > dákàkke: > dákàkku:, ‘pounded’ (pl.).

Some grammatical words have “polar tones”; i.e. they have no tone of their own, but instead they carry one that is the opposite of the preceding one. This is the case of the identifying copula *ge:* (L)/ne: (m., pl.): *mo:ta:* *ge:*, ‘it’s a car’ vs. *pi:ga:* *fe:*, ‘it’s a gown’.

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

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

2.5 Intonation

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

- **The Declarative or neutral pattern**, is characterized by declination, accounted for by the general rule of downdrift: “each H tone after a L is a step lower than the preceding H” (Newman 2000:612).

- **Wh-questions** are characterized by a declarative intonation pattern and a L tone + vowel lengthening added to the end of the intonation unit. This L tone changes final H tones to F. It does not change final L^4^.

- **Yes/No questions** are characterized by suspension of downdrift and key raising (↑) of the last H tone and all following L tones^5^.

- **Sympathetic address** is an intonation pattern associated with units beginning with *tò:/ habà:, ‘well’, followed by the name of addressee. They are characterized by a floating L tone added to the end of the name of the addressee.

- **The vocative pattern** is used when calling someone. It is characterized by raised pitch, lesser downdrift and lengthening of the final short vowel of the name of the addressee if it ends in such a vowel.

3. Word structure

The structure of the Hausa word is: < radical + affix>. The affix is composed of at least a final vowel and a tone pattern (TP). The radical *karant-*, ‘read’ is associated with the word ‘teacher’, which has 3 forms: *makarantu:* (n.m.; sufx. -i ; HLH), *makaranta:* (n.f.; sufx. -a ; HLH), *mákáràntu:* (n.pl. ; sufx. -a ; TP BH). The notion of ‘leaning on’ (*dangan-*) is associated with the verb *dangàna:* (v.t.; sufx. -a ; TP HLH, ‘lean, prop, put against’). Through the suffix -a, we get the derived verb *dàngàntà:* ‘to be linked to, comparable to’ (v.t. sufx. -a ; HLH) and the derived noun *dàngàntàkà:* ‘relationship’ (n.f.; sufx. -akà: ; HLH). The affix can comprise and infix, which is frequent in the formation of nominal plurals, as e.g. in the noun *biñi:* ‘city’, pl. *biçà:ne:* (rad. *biçà: ; infix -a: ; sufx. -e ; HLH). Only two prefixes are in use: *ma-* used to derive nouns of agent, place, and instrument, and *ba-* used to form ethonyms.

---

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

5 See also § 17.2.2, p. 51.
4. Information structure

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOPIC</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hawan</td>
<td>doki: dai,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riding</td>
<td>Horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As for riding,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sule</td>
<td>ja: fi ko:wá:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indeed</td>
<td>3S.M.PFV.FOC exceed everyone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1 Topicalisation

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

"The topic belongs to the pragmatic preamble of the utterance, and is separated from the rest by either (a) the intonation; (b) the insertion of a modal particle like dai ‘indeed’, fa ‘well’, kàm ‘really’, kùwa ( = kò( ) ) ‘moreover’, etc. (or a succession of such particles).’ (Newman 2000:6164)

Example (HAU_BC_Conv_01_sp2_442):

[Àh] / LIGATURE / guinea-corn / TOPIC / [we get like ten sacks.] / COMMENT

[As for maize] / TOPIC / [we can get like ... er... fifteen sacks.] / COMMENT

4.2 Focus and subordination

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

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

---

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

7 Edited example.
4.2.1 Focus

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERFECTIVE</th>
<th>CONTINUOUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

4.2.2 WH-Questions

In WH-Questions, the question functions as a request for an identification of the term on which the question is bearing. The whole utterance is subordinated to this term, and the +FOC subject pronouns indicate this subordination. The main question words are: wà:(ne: nè) (m.), wà:(ʧe: gè) (f.), suwà: ne: nè: (pl.) ‘who’; mè:(ne: nè) (m.), mè:(ʧe: gè) (f.), ‘what’; ìnà: ‘where’; jà:ʃe: / jà:ʃe: ‘when’; jà:jà: ‘how’; nàwà ‘how many’; wà:ʃe: (m.) / wà:ʃe: (f.) / wà:ʃà:ni: (pl.) ‘which’.

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

wà:ʃe: hanjà: kikà bì?
Which road did your follow?

5. Syntax of the simple sentence

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mùtûm</th>
<th>ne:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>COP1.NFOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>PTCL.SYNT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It’s a man.

This particular syntactic frame (_____ COP1.NFOC) is what defines a noun in Hausa. Verbs, prepositions, etc. cannot occur in this context. Conversely, verbs and only verbs are compatible with TAMs.

5.1 Non-verbal sentences -- Copulas

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

5.1.1 Identification: ne/ʧe/ne:

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

8 Cf. 6.2.1 & 17.1
When the NP is a pronoun, it belongs to the paradigm of independant pronouns.

**Negative assertion**: The structure is `<bà: X ba nèː/ʧèː>`, `<NEG4a X NEG4b COP1.NFOC>`

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bàː</th>
<th>maʃʧiːʤiː</th>
<th>ba</th>
<th>nèː</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEG4a</td>
<td>snake</td>
<td>NEG4b</td>
<td>COP1.NFOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTCL.NEG</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>PTCL.NEG</td>
<td>PTCL.SYNT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*It isn't a snake.*

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>maʃʧiːʤiː</th>
<th>nèː</th>
<th>?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>COP1.NFOC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>PTCL.SYNT</td>
<td>Q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Is it a snake?*

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

- **-human**: mèːneː nèː (m.); mèːʧeː ʧeː (f.);
- **+human**: wàːneː nèː (m.); wàːʧeː ʧeː (f.); su wàːneː nèː (pl.).

*Nèː* is used if the gendre of the item questioned is masculine or unknown, *ʧeː* if it is feminine.

- **Mèːneː nèː wannàn?** What is this?
- **Wannàn littāːfiː nèː** This is a book.
- **Wannàn kudʧeːrāː ʧeː** This is a chair.
- **Wàːneː nèː?** Who is this? (woman)
- **Wàːʧeː ʧeː?** Who is this? (man)
- **Suwàːneː nèː?** Who are they?

5.1.1.2 **Existence**: àkwai, dà

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

Ex: àkwai ʃuwàː. ‘There is water.’; àkwai álbasàː. ‘There are onions.’; àkwai kudʧiː? -iː; àkwai. ‘-Is there any money? -Yes, there is.’

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dà</th>
<th>dàliːliː</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COP2</td>
<td>reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTCL.SYNT</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*There is a reason.*

When the NP complement is understood, it is replaced by an independant pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-dà</th>
<th>djàɾiːdàː?</th>
<th>-iː</th>
<th>-iː</th>
<th>dà</th>
<th>ita.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COP2</td>
<td>newspapers</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>COP2</td>
<td>3SG.F.IDP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTCL.SYNT</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>INTJ</td>
<td>PTCL.SYNT</td>
<td>PNG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Are there any newspapers? - Yes, there are.*

---

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

10 This copula is related to the preposition dà ‘with’.
The copulas (akwai and dà) can be combined:

- dà àkwai ku ɗiː? - iː, dà àkwai.
- Is there any money? – Yes, there is.

Negation: bâː/baːbù (NEG3). Structure: <bâː/baːbù X>; meaning: <there is/was/will be no X>. In final position, only baːbù is used: Bâː/baːbù māː, ‘There is no petrol’; Àkwai māː? - Àː, baːbù, ‘Is there any petrol? – No, there isn’t.’; Bâː māː? - Àː, àkwai. / -iː, bâːbù., ‘Isn’t there any petrol? – Yes there is (lit. No, there is.). / No (lit. Yes), there is no petrol. / No (lit. Yes) there isn’t.’

When the NP following bâː/baːbù is pronominal, it belongs to the independent pronouns paradigm: Baːfìː = Bâːfì: ‘There isn’t any. (lit. There is no him.)’

5.1.1.3 Presentation: gàː:
Structure: <gàː X>; meaning: <Here is X>:

Gàː kudinkà.
gàː kudìː -n -kà
COP4 money –GEN –2SG.M.GEN
PTCL.SYNT N –PTCL.SYNT –PNG
Here is your money!

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

5.1.1.4 Location: COP + PP
The existence or presentation can be specified in space through a Prepositional Phrase (PP), an adverb or a deictic pronoun (e.g. nân ‘here; ʧân ‘there’).

Dà mutàːneː: fân ?
Are there people there?

Gàː mọːtär gābaːn gidaː.
The car is in front of the house

Baːbù fìː ǎ gidaː.
He isn’t at home.

Àkwai mū ìfìkìn màɡanàr.
We were concerned by the matter (lit. We were inside the talk.)

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

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

-ìnaː mutàːneː? -gàː su.
ìnaː mutàːneː: gàː su
where people COP4 3PL.DPT
PRO.Q N.PL PTCL.SYNT PNG
Where are the people? –Here they are!

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

Ìnaː zàː ka?
WHERE all 2SG.M.ACC
ADV.QUEST PTCL.SYNT PNG
"Where are you going?"

Ja fèː zàː nì màɡadàː nèː.
3SG.M.PFV.FOC say ALL 1SG.ACC Mangaja COP1.NFOC
PNG.TAM V* PTCL.SYNT PNG N.P PTCL.SYNT
He said "I’m going to Mangaja."

He said "I’m going to Mangaja."

He said "I’m going to Mangaja."

He said "I’m going to Mangaja."

He said "I’m going to Mangaja."
Followed by dependant nominal forms (PRO.DPT), it has developed into what looks like a paradigm of
time or modality but only denotes a spatial specification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1. ALLATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affirmative</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- Subject TAM.PNG Verb
  - maːtaː sun tsajàː femme.PL 3PL.PFV.NFOC stop
  The women stopped.

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

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

- Subject TAM.PNG Verb
  - maːtaː sun tsajàː femme.PL 3PL.PFV.NFOC stop
  The women stopped.

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

- Subject TAM.PNG Verbe Object
  - maːtaː sun dafa abinʃʃi femme.PL 3PL.PFV.NFOC cook food
  The women cooked food.

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

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

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

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

---

11 We have not found any instance of this aspect described by Paul Newman (2000:588-90).
12 Subordination is the syntactic manifestation of preconstruction. Cf. Caron 2000.
(PFV.FOC and CONT.FOC) and one which is not (PFV.NFOC and CONT.NFOC). The Subjunctive is not compatible with subordination, and instead the Future (FUT) is used.

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

5.2.1.1 Paradigms

### Table 2. Perfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect (PFV)</th>
<th>Relative Perfect (PFV.FOC)</th>
<th>Negative Perfect (NEG1a.PFV...NEG1b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 s.</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>bân... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>bâkâ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.s.</td>
<td>kin</td>
<td>kikâ</td>
<td>bâki... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>bâl... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>bâtâ... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl.</td>
<td>mun</td>
<td>mukâ</td>
<td>bâmû... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>kun</td>
<td>kukâ</td>
<td>bâkû... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl.</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>sukâ</td>
<td>bâsû... ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>akâ</td>
<td>bâ‘a... ba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 3. Continuous

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Continuous (CONT)</th>
<th>Relative Continuous (CONT.FOC)</th>
<th>Negative Continuous (“have” constructs) NEG2 CONT</th>
<th>Negative Continuous (other constructs) NEG3 CONT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 s.</td>
<td>inâ</td>
<td>nakê / nikê</td>
<td>ba: nà</td>
<td>bâ: ni’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>kanâ</td>
<td>kakê</td>
<td>ba: kà</td>
<td>bâ: ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.s.</td>
<td>kinâ</td>
<td>kikê</td>
<td>ba: kjà</td>
<td>bâ: ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>janâ / finâ</td>
<td>jakê / fikê</td>
<td>ba: já</td>
<td>bâ: fi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>tanâ</td>
<td>takê</td>
<td>ba: tá</td>
<td>bâ: ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl.</td>
<td>munâ</td>
<td>mukê</td>
<td>ba: mà</td>
<td>bâ: mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>kunâ</td>
<td>kukê</td>
<td>ba: kwà</td>
<td>bâ: ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl.</td>
<td>sunâ</td>
<td>sukê</td>
<td>ba: sà</td>
<td>bâ: su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>anâ</td>
<td>akê</td>
<td>ba: â</td>
<td>bâ: a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

ma:ta: (su)jâ: dafâ:wa:

The women are cooking

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

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

\[<ZR>bân, c.g. ni: bân wâ:jô: na: san sâ: ba! 'Me, I was not wise enough to have seen a bull!'\]

\[(HAU\_BC\_Conv\_01\_sp2\_303)\]

\[14\] In Ader Hausa, the Future behaves like the SH Continuous, i.e. the subject pronouns are followed by a nominalised for of the verb. (Caron 1991).
Perfect Continuous
Musa has stopped Musa is stopping

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

Perfect Continuous
sun kaːmà bàɾaunija: sunà: kaːmà bàɾaunija:
They have caught the robber. They are catching the robber.

sun kaːmà: ta
sunà: kaːmà: ta
They have caught her. They are catching her.

Verbal Noun. In the Continuous, some verbs use a nominal form that behaves fully like a noun in so far as it uses a genitive link to form a Noun Phrase with its Direct Object. This is the verbal noun (NV)

Perfect Continuous
sun ʃaː ta bà sunÀ: ʃân ta bà
They have smoked tobacco. They are smoking tobacco.

Action Noun. Action Nouns are a semantic subclass of nouns denoting an action. They are part of the basic vocabulary and have a plural form:

jâ:ɽaː: (su)nà: aikìː / waːƙàː / ɽawaː / kuːka:
The children are working / singing / dancing / crying.

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

The simple Future is made of a TAM zaː (etymologically derived from a verb ‘to go’) followed by a dependant PNG paradigm, in a reverse order from what obtains in the other subject pronouns.
For the Habitual, as is the case for the Continuous, when the nominal subject is explicit, the PNG can be omitted:

\[ mài \text{ kitsòː (t)əkàn zoː nàn ṛən Lahàdì. } \]

*The hairdresser usually comes here on Sundays.*

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

5.2.1.2 TAM - Semantics

**The Perfect** (PFV.NFOC) has the general meaning of a completive aspect. It is used only in non-relative, affirmative sentences and expresses actions that were completed or had achieved a resultative state prior to the time locus. Generic events, such as expressed in proverbs, make use of the completive. Stative verbs (love, understand) and impersonal complement-taking verbs also use the Perfect. (Newman 2000:571)

\[ Jaː \text{ kàmaː tà kà bijaː hàraː ðiː. } \]

*You should pay taxes.*

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

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

**Relative clauses**

\[ fiː \text{ nèː bàː ĕː ðoːː -n dà mukàː hàŋgəː. } \]

*He is the thief that we saw.*

**Wh-Questions**

\[ jàwːeː kukà gaməː? \]

*When did you finish?*

**Focus**

---

It wasn’t a gazelle you killed, it was a duiker.16

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

$sukà$ $ji$ $fiːː$ $sukà$ $fiːː$ $masalla$: $ğiː$, $sukà$ $duː$: $ka$ $kashè$ $ba$, $gàda$ $ğiː$.

They got ready, they entered the mosque, they stooped.

**The Continous** subject pronouns have two separate types of uses:

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

$Sunà$ $ga$: $moːtaː$.

They are repairing my car.

They can also express normal, customary or habitual actions.

$Raːna$: $tanà$ $fitːː$ $daː$ $gàbà$s $ne$.

The sun rises in the east.

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

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

$ʤiːja$ $munà$ $Kanòː$.

Hier nous étions à Kano.

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

$kinà$ $sànje$ $da$ $saː$ $bon$ $zanèː$?

Are you wearing a new wrapper?

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

$Tàlaːtu$ $taːnjà$ $da$ $zoː$ $bè$.

Talatou a une bague.

The same ‘have construct’ can express a quality:

$àbinʃ$ $taːnjà$ $da$ $daː$ $ɗi$ $bèː$.

La nourriture est bonne.

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

$za$ $kà$ $dʒi$ $màː$ $taː$ $ko$ $kùwa$?

Will you listen to me yes or no? (lit. or else)

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

$ʤiːja$ $zàn$ $tāfì$ $ofis$ $sai$ $zàːzàːbiː$ $taː$ $kaː$ $mà$ $ni$.

Yesterday I was going to leave for the office when I had a bout of fever.

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

$wàːtaː$ $la$ $màː$ $saː$ $daː$ $woː$.

May be the drum players will come back.

It is found in proverbs:

$koːwa$ $ja$ $hadjè$ $tāʃàːja$ $ja$ $kwaː$ $na$ $tsàje$.

Whoever swallows a pestle will spend the night standing.

---

16 Examples adapted from Newman (2000 :572)
17 Cf. § 10.2.2, Deverbal statives
It is used for hidden threats:

\[ \text{mà: gàmu!} \]

We’ll meet again! (and you’ll see!!)

Most commonly, it is found in answer to greetings:

\[ \text{Kà gaidà gida!:} \]

Greet you people!

\[ \text{Sà: ji!} \]

I will! (lit. They will hear!)

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

\[ \text{wà: zài täimāke: mà?} \]

Who will help us?

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

\[ \text{takàn dje: fò:gfì: lo:kàfì: lo:kàfì:}. \]

She goes to church from time to time.

\[ \text{dà: fàn, nakàn ji aiki: na awà: go:mà fà: bìju ko:wàfè rà:na:.} \]

At that time, I used to work twelve hours a day.

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

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

(2000:589)

\[ \text{ìna: nakà: sakà?} \]

Where on earth could I put (it)?

\[ \text{nìi: kadài kà: iyà hâkà.} \]

Only I could do this.

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

\[ \text{Allàh jà sà: kà da:wò: lo:fìjà:]. } \]

May God help you to come back in good health!

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

\[ \text{In an gàdjà, ko: à çà:na sai à hu:tà:.} \]

When you are tired, even in the sun, you rest.

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

\[ \text{Jakàn zaunà: gìndin wàta là:fìjà: à ko:fàr giàinsà, jà:çà: kàmàr àrbà’in sù ke:wàjè: fì.} \]

He used to sit at the foot of a tree in front of his house, and children, like forty of them, would surround him.

6. **Nouns and Noun Phrases**

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

6.1 The Head

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
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<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dʒaːki:</td>
<td>dʒaːka:</td>
<td>dʒaːkai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faːfi:</td>
<td>faːqa:</td>
<td>faːrəːge:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dʒiŋgi:</td>
<td>dʒiŋgi:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goːna:</td>
<td>goːnàːki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- donkey (n.)
- white (adj.)
- vehicle (n.)
- farm (n.)

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

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

Ex. (a): /a/= feminine

| goːràː | bamboo  | gwiːwàː | knee               |
| raːna: | sun, day | faːdàː  | emir’s palace      |
| kuːkàː | baobab   | làːzàːdà| commission         |
| sàːrùː| fallow   | wùyàː   | difficulty         |
| saːràː | hour     | daːwàː  | guinea-corn        |

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

| tsuntsu: | bird     | kàːrèː: | dog                |
| goːrò:   | cola nut | bòːrìː: | cult of possession|
| kàiː     | head     |         |                    |

However, a certain number of feminine nouns end in another vowel than /a/, e.g. màːcè, ‘wife’; tèːku,
‘sea’; gwamnatì, ‘government’, etc. Masculine nouns ending in /a/ are more numerous:

| bàːkà: | bow      | bàːyaː: | back               |
| dawàː | bush     | dumàː:  | calabash fruit     |
| gàːba: | chest    | gìdaː:  | compound           |
| gì::::: | pride, large size | gòːràː | gourd               |
| gùdaː: | lump in tuwo | gùːgaː | well pail          |
| hàːkàː | craziness | kàːrùː | guinea-corn stalk  |
| kàːya: | load     | kuːkaː: | cry; complaint      |
| kàːdaː: | fly (n.)  | kwàːna: | day (24h)           |
| laːdàː: | salary, reward | màːmaː | breast             |
| naːmà: | meat     | ñùwaː:  | water              |
| saːnà: | name     | saːràː: | remains            |
| wàːtàː | moon     | wàːsaː: | game               |
| yàːwàː: | quantity | wùyàː:  | neck               |
According to Newman (2000:210), Hausa has a toneless suffix -a: marking the feminine, taking its tone from the immediately preceding one. Following certain phonological rules, this same suffix has the following variants: -ja: -wa: -i`ja: and -uwa:18.

(he:be)::HH (a)::H he:bi'a: dumb and mute
(shu:di)::HH (a)::H shu:di`a: blue
(kat:i:u)::HH (a)::H kat:i`wa: enormous
(ba:ku):HH (a)::H ba:kuwa: foreign

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

(1) The final vowel of the singular is dropped when the plural affix is added.
(2) The tone pattern of the plural replaces the tones of the singular and is distributed over the plural in a right to left manner with the leftmost tone continuing to spread over all available syllables.
(3) When occurring before suffixal front vowels (i: and e:) the alveolar consonants t, s, z, and, less regularly, d palatalize to ʧ, f, and ʤ respectively (both z and d becoming ʤ), e.g. bisa: ‘pack animal’ has the reduplicated plural form bisa:`fe: (PL4 <-a-Ce) where the final syllable fe: derives from se:). In the same vein, w palatalizes to j: e.g. the plural of ba:qa:wo: ‘thief’ is ba:qa:`ji: (PL14 <-e:).
(4) The palatal consonants ʧ, f, and ʤ occurring in the singular before word-final i: and e: generally depalatalize to t, s and z respectively, when followed by a plural suffix beginning with a non-front vowel, e.g. ʤa:ni: ‘nose’, plural hantun: (PL19 <-un:>).
(5) C3 stands for the third consonant of the stem. Otherwise, capital C represents a copy or doubling of the preceding consonant. If it occurs before a front vowel (i: or e:) it appears in palatalized form as indicated above in (3).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 9. PLURAL CLASSES20</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PL1</td>
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<tr>
<td>PL2</td>
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<td>PL8</td>
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<td>PL9</td>
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<td>PL10</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| PL11                    | -à:ifì: with full reduplication [L-H - L-H], e.g. gì:wà/ɡì:wà:ge-ci:wà:ge ‘illness’. (If the stem

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18 Newman (2000:210) describes 2 other derivative feminine suffixes (-i`ja: and -ju`) limited to a small number of nouns.
19 Adapted from Newman (2007:xv)
contains three consonants, the à vowel is omitted, e.g. wàhalàː/wàhàlʧe-wàhàlʧe; ‘difficulty’).

| PL12 | -ùnàː [H-L], e.g. gikiː/ɡıkkuːːa: ‘belly’ |
| PL13 | -e with full reduplication [L-H – L-H], e.g. ɡamʃe/-ɡamʃe-ɡamʃe ‘superstition’ |
| PL14 | -ː [L-H], e.g. tɔɾaː/chatɔːː ‘star’ |
| PL15 | -oːCi: [all H], e.g. laːgaː/laːgoːgi: ‘window’, moːtaː/moːtoːjiː ‘car’. |
| PL16 | -ːu: [L-H], e.g. kudʃeːruː/kuːdʃeːru: ‘chair’ |
| PL17 | -aː [H-L], e.g. ɡoːkɔː/ɡoːkula: ‘spoon’. (The final consonant of the plural is often doubled, especially when the initial syllable of the stem contains a short vowel, e.g. daráːsiː/darusáː ‘lesson’). |
| PL18 | -ukàː [H-L], e.g. laːjiː/laːjukkà: ‘lane’ |
| PL19 | -nà: [H-L], e.g. riqguː/riːqunːa: ‘gown’ |
| PL20 | Full reduplication, e.g. ãkàː/wuː/ãkà:wuː ‘clerk’ |

6.1.2 Compound nouns

The head of a NP can be a compound noun, i.e. two or more words joined in such a way as to make a single lexical unit, e.g. faʃar- hàːlaː (lit. white-GL cap) ‘civilian’. They behave like ordinary nouns insofar as they are sensitive to gender and number.

The internal structure of these compound nouns follow various patterns:

- **Noun-linked compounds**: N-GL N, e.g. dan-sàndaː ‘policeman’ (son.GL-stick); ãboːkin gàːba: ‘enemy’ (friend.GL-enmity);
- **Adjective-Noun compounds**: baʃin-cikiː (black-belly) ‘sadness’; ðʃan-karʃeː (red-iron) ‘copper’;
- **Verbal compounds**: bãːnàː-sàllà (prevent-prayer) ‘baseball cap’; dàfàː-dúkà (cook-all) ‘Jollof rice’; fàːdi-kàː-mutà (fall-you-die) ‘chinaware’;
- **Phrasal compounds**: bàbbaː-dà-djàkà: (Mr. Big-with-bag) ‘marabou stork’; jaːkiː-dà-djàhìlÌʃi: (war-with-ignorance) ‘adult literacy program’;
- **Agentive compounds**: magàː-tàkàrdaː (one who sees-paper) ‘scribe’; mafàː-ʧuːwa: (one who drinks-water) ‘rainbow’;
- **Sentential compounds**: bàː-hàjàː (there is no-hiring) ‘public toilet’; kàːkàː- nikàː-ʃi (how-1RHET-do) ‘dilemma’.

6.1.3 Conjoined nouns

Nouns conjoined through coordination can function as NP head.

6.1.3.1 ‘And’

Simple coordination is done through the conjunction dà, ‘and’, e.g. gidaː dà moːtaː ‘a house and a car’; kàzaː dà kàzaː ‘So-and-So’. In principle, the number of SN that can be conjoined is limitless. The first term can be preceded by a dà, e.g. dà Bellò dà Musà: ‘Bello and Musa’; dà zaːkaː dà dàːmisà: ‘a lion and a leopard’. When pronouns are conjoined with a noun, the pronoun comes first: in the case of pronouns; the order is 1st, then 2nd then 3rd persons, e.g. fiː dà Musà: ‘him and Musa’; itu dà Binta ‘she and Binta’; dà niː dà fiː/ituːsuː ‘me and him/she/them’.

6.1.3.2 ‘Or’

Disjunction is marked by ko: and follows the same rules as dà, e.g. Liːnin ko: Tàlätà: ko: Làːràːba: ‘Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday’; koː bìju koː ukàː ‘two or three’; niː koː kai, ‘me or you’.

NB: Not only simple nouns but whole NP’s can be conjoined, e.g. faʃin tsantsuː dà doːguwar bifìʃà: ‘a white bird and a big tree’; ràːgò: daʃa dà tumaːkiː goːmà ‘a ram and ten sheep’.

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6.1.4 The Genitive Construction

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

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

- **gida: na saƙìki:** the chief’s house
- **gida-n saƙìki:** the chief’s farm
- **go:na: ta saƙìki:** the chief’s houses
- **go:na-r saƙìki:**
- **gidà:dje: na saƙìki:**
- **gidà:dje:n saƙìki:**

NB: (a) the suffixation of the GL to long final vowels, e.g. **go:na-r** creates a close vowel (CVV>CV) entailing the shortening of the vowel, e.g. **go:na:’a**; (b) likewise, the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ are simplified, e.g. **kjân (<kjā:j–n) ja:rìnja:** ‘the beautiful girl’ (lit. the beauty of the girl) **mân (<mā:j–n) fa:nu:** ‘butter’ (lit. oil of cow); (c) the use of the –n form has been extended to feminine words that do not end in /a/, e.g. **gwannəti-n Inglà:** ‘the English government’, where gwannəti (f.) ends in /i/.

The bound form of the GL (–n/–r/–n) is the default form. The free form (na/ta/na) is used when the possessed object is understood or separated from the possessor. This is the case when, the possessed object is topicalized, e.g. **mo:ta:n nàna, ta saƙìki:** fà: ‘that car is that of the chief’. It is also used to form ordinal numerals, with the structure N – GL – NUM, e.g. **li:ta:fi: na bi:nà:** ‘the second book’, or to express measurement or evaluation, e.g. **na:nà: na sì:sì:** ‘meat for a shilling’, ﬁ:ga: ta nairà: du:bù: dá ṭà:bì: ‘a dress of one thousand and five hundred naira’.

6.2 Pre-nominal elements

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

6.2.1 Demonstratives

The label « demonstrative » is used by P. Newman as an umbrella term to cover all the determinants beginning with a wa- morphemes. Some function only as pronouns, e.g. wannà: ‘which one?’, some only as determiners, e.g. wannà dokì: ‘which horse?’ and others function both as pronouns and determiners, e.g. wannà:ja: fi kjā:u. ‘This one is best.’; wannà: bìcrò: ja: fi kjā:u ‘This ballpoint pen is best.’

### Table 10. Demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>F.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
<th>RX</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this (by me)</td>
<td>wannà:</td>
<td>wannà:</td>
<td>wàddànnà:</td>
<td>PRO.DEICT</td>
<td>DET.DEICT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this (by you)</td>
<td>wannan</td>
<td>wannan</td>
<td>wàddannan</td>
<td>PRO.DEICT</td>
<td>DET.DEICT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that (there)</td>
<td>wannfùn</td>
<td>wannfùn</td>
<td>wàddànfan</td>
<td>PRO.DEICT</td>
<td>DET.DEICT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that (distant)</td>
<td>wannfùn</td>
<td>wannfùn</td>
<td>wàddànfan</td>
<td>PRO.DEICT</td>
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<td>which one?</td>
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<td>who, which, that</td>
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<td>wannà:</td>
<td>wàddà:</td>
<td>PRO.REL</td>
<td>WHO, WHICH, THAT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

23 The na/ta: variant with a long /a:/ is combined to the suffixed genitive pronouns to form the paradigm of the Independent Genitive Pronouns (cf. Table 16, § 8).
The morphemes we have glossed DEICT can appear pronominally in the heavy wa-prefix forms above, but also post-nominally without the wa- prefix, e.g. waʧʧàn kà:suwa: = kà:suwar ʧan ‘that market’\(^{24}\). They are related to the adverbs nân, ʧân, nan, ʧan, with the same meaning. The 2\(^{nd}\) term in the series, corresponding to the nan adverb, on top of its ‘there by you’ meaning, has a frequent anaphoric function, hence our gloss ANAPH in the corpus. See Newman (2000:147-151) for a full description of the uses, meanings and distribution of these demonstratives in Standard Hausa.

### 6.2.2 Pronouns as pronominal determiners

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

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{an} & \text{jabà:} & \text{wà} & \text{fi:} \\
4.PFV.NFOC & \text{praise} & 3SG.M(PRO.IDP) & \text{judge.DEF}
\end{array}
\]

They praised him the judge. (idem)

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

### 6.2.3 Universal quantifiers

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

The distributive quantifier ko:wané (f. ko:wàʧè, pl. ko:wàɗànnè) ‘every, whichever’ is another pre-nominal specifier, e.g. ko:wané mutà:mun ‘each man’, ko:wàʧè kasa: ‘each country’.

### 6.2.4 The isolator dàya

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

### 6.2.5 Adjectives as pre-nominal modifiers

The typical pre-nominal modifier is a simple attributive adjective. Its structure is <Adjective-GL N>. The adjective agrees in gender and number with the noun, and can be preceded by the diminutive dàn/yàr/yàn, e.g. fàddàn r:i:gu:nd: ‘blue gowns’ (ADJ.PL-GL.PL N.PL), dàn kàrafà n:ju:bo: ‘a little boy’ (DIM.M ADJ.M-GL N). Adjectives can be stacked, e.g. zungureri:jar tso:ju:war fàgu mo:tà: ‘a very long old white car’ (ADJ.F-GL.F ADJ.F-GL.F ADJ.F-GL.F N)\(^{26}\)

### 6.3 Post-nominal elements

#### 6.3.1 Post-nominal specifiers

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

##### 6.3.1.1 Definite article

What corresponds to the English definite article is the anaphoric suffix –n/ʔ-r/ŋ (m./f/pl/) glossed ANAPH in the corpus. The choice of the –n or –r form follows the same rules as for the GL, i.e. –r is suffixed to feminine nouns ending in /a/, and –n elsewhere, e.g. bàkàn the bow (<bàka: (m.) –n), go:djàr

---

\(^{24}\) Cf. below under post-nominal determiners.

\(^{25}\) dummutà:ne] : the pronominal quantifier duk is often realised as duG, with its final consonant assimilating with the initial consonant of the noun.

\(^{26}\) Newman (2000:371)
‘the mare’ (< goːɗìjaː (f.) – ̀r), ùngùlûn ‘the vulture’ (<ùngùlu (f.) –̀n), goːɗijoːjîn ‘the mares’ (< goːɗijoːjiː (pl.) –̀n).

6.3.1.2 Demonstrative determiners
The heavy forms of the pre-nominal deictics seen above27 occur post-nominally in the invariable light form nàn ‘this’ (PROX), nànn ‘that near you, that previously mentioned’ (ANAPH), ìja ‘that there’ (DIST), ìja ‘that over there’ (DIST2). They follow directly the noun suffixed with a GL, or a noun plus the connective di- plus a GL, e.g. do:ki:n nàn ‘this horse’, ìja:nàn ‘that gown’ (near you, or previously mentioned), gidà:dèjìn ìja ‘those houses there’, ìfe:k din nàn ‘this check’. The forms nàn and ìja are realised nàn and ìja resp. when following a H tone.

6.3.1.3 Possessives
Possession, in the order < Possessed Possessor >, and where the possessed object is the head noun, is indicated by a post-head noun or clitic pronoun28 preceded by the GL. –n/-s/-t, e.g. ìja:nàr èkà ‘Sule’s gown’ (< ìja: -n), do:ki:nà ‘his horse’ (< do:ki: -n –sà), ìfe:k din àr ‘her check’. If the possessive is not attached to the head noun, the GL appears as na/ta/- prefixed to the genitive pronouns, or na/ta before the noun, e.g. do:ki:n nàn na:sà ‘this horse of his’; ìja:nàr ìja ‘the gown of Sule’s’.

6.3.1.4 Numerals and other quantifiers
Cardinal numbers and other quantitative specifiers such as the determiners dukù ‘all’29, dá jàwà: ‘plenty’, the interrogative navà: ‘how many’, as well as ideophones, directly follow the head noun, e.g. nài:rà: dàbù: ‘one thousand naira’; so:du:di: jàwà: ‘many soldiers’ (lit. ‘soldiers with plenty’), mangwàrò nàvà: ‘how many mangoes’?; yàmma:ta: dukù ‘all the girls’; mutà:ne: tìndìn ‘tons of people’ (‘people IDEOPH’).

Ordinal numbers are introduced by the free GL na/ta/na, e.g. ba:bi: na ukà ‘the third chapter’; bábbàn ja:ki:n du:njìjì: na bìjì ‘the Second World War’ (lit. big-of war-of world of two”). When combined with other determiners, they come last: mà:na:ta: tu ukà ‘my third wife’ (lit. ‘wife-my of three”).

6.3.2 Post-nominal modifiers
6.3.2.1 Adjectives
Post-nominal adjectives directly follow the noun they qualify. All adjectives occurring pre-nominally can occur post-nominally and be preceded by the diminutive dan/yàr/yàn, e.g. kwàli: bábbà ‘la large carton’; tumà:ki: yàn kanà:nà: ‘wee small lambs’. Post-nominal adjectives follow the specifiers, e.g. kwàli: nàn bábbà ‘this large carton’.

6.3.2.2 Genitival nouns

6.3.2.3 The mai construction
The particle mài (pl. mà:si) ‘owner of’, and its negative counterpart mà:jìsì = mà:jìsì = mà:jìsìG where G geminates with the following consonant; pl. mà:jìsìa:) followed by a series of nouns expressing a quality30, will be used to attribute this quality to a noun, e.g. ja:rinjì: mài khù ‘a beautiful girl’, ji:dèjìja: mài ri: ‘a deep well’, jà:ra: mà:jìsìa: hànkàlì: ‘senseless children’.

27 See Table 10 Demonstratives, § 6.2, p. 20).
28 See § 8, p. 25 for the full paradigm of suffixed (Table 15) and independant (Table 16) possessive pronouns.
29 See § 6.2.3, p. 21 for the pre-nominal duk form.
30 These nouns belong to a phonologically and semantically distinct class named “Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality” by F. Parsons. Cf (Parsons 1955) and (Newman 2000:13-18).
6.3.2.4 The comparative modifier construction
Along the same model, as mài, a comparative qualtifative construction involves the short agentive31 maʃi: (pl. maʃija:) ‘lit. the one exceeding’ plus an object, e.g. moː tà: maʃi:tsa:da: ‘the most expensive car’.

6.3.2.5 Prepositional phrases
Nouns may be modified by a post-head prepositional phrase, e.g. wani te:bùr à daːkiːna: ‘a table in my room’; daːlìbi: à dzaːmiːː ‘a university student’ (lit. ‘a student at university’).

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

6.3.2.7 Relative clauses
Relative clauses occur only post-nominally. Their structure is REL+ embedded clause (without any change in the word order). The TAM in the embedded clause is chosen from the paradigms that are compatible with Focus. The antecedent of the relative must have some degree of definiteness, most of the time it is suffixed with the definite article ːn/-eːn. The REL is dà or a relative pronoun containing dà, e.g. wàndôn, jàdà, indà, etc., e.g. gàː / wàndôn fàː [na sùjaː] ‘here are [the trousers [that [I bought]]’ (where wàndôn < wàndoː -n). Other degrees of determination are possible, e.g. wani jàːròː: dà ja kí taːfí ‘some boy who refused to get up’; duːtsèn càːn dà zaː mì hau ‘that mountain that we’re going to clim’; koːwà: dà kàkù gàni ‘whoever you may see’, etc.

6.3.2.8 The wai construction
The particle wai introduces proper nouns as part of a post-nominal modifier meaning ‘called X’, e.g. wàta mace wai Laːdì ‘a woman called Ladi’33.

7. Nominal derivation

7.1 ma- Agents, Place and Instruments
The H-tone prefix ma- is used to derive nouns of agent, place and instrument from a verb, e.g. manòːmiː ‘farmer’; madyeːmiː ‘tannery’; massasiː ‘harvesting tool’.

7.1.1 Agent nouns
All agent nouns use the same H-tone ma- prefix. In addition, masculine singulars add a suffix –ʃiːLH, which results in H-(L)-(L)-L-H tone patterns. Feminine singulars use the suffix –juːLH. The plural suffix is –s: LH resulting in the same tone pattern as the masculine.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Agent Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginàː</td>
<td>build</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dinkàː</td>
<td>sew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyeːmàː</td>
<td>tan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kērìː</td>
<td>forge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noːmàː</td>
<td>farm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tìnaː</td>
<td>dye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saːkàː</td>
<td>weave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sasàkkàː</td>
<td>sculpt wood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31 Cf. § 7.1.1.
32 cf. 10.2.2.
33 Cf. its other uses as the particle glossed EVD (Evidential) in the corpus, found at the beginning of an utterance to cast a measure of doubt on what follows. It is translated in English by ‘it is said that...’. The same particle becomes a complementizer introducing reported speech. Reduplicated, it becomes the full noun waiwai ‘rumour, hearsay’.
Some verbs, belonging mostly to grade Ø, have a dissyllabic short form, with H-L tone pattern, that can be used only if followed by an object or a locative goal. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Place Noun(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maʧ: ʰàmà:nà:</td>
<td>a treacherous person (lit. eater trust)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʧ: ʰàrù:kà:</td>
<td>a follower of the Emir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mazè: ʰàqà:</td>
<td>a town-goer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madʃe: ʰílìmà:n</td>
<td>a cinema-goer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Place Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aikàta</td>
<td>ma’ai:kata: factory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bàbùbugà</td>
<td>ma’bùbuga: spring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dje’mà: tan</td>
<td>madje:ma: tannery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fàkà: lie in wait for</td>
<td>mafàkà: shelter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa’ruta: hunt</td>
<td>ma’fa’ruta: hunting ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karànta: read</td>
<td>makarànta: school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sàlla:tà: perform the daily prayers</td>
<td>masalla:fi: mosque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fi: eat</td>
<td>ma’fi:jà: a small roadside eating place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plural of –i: place nouns, when it exists, is formed with the ʰai suffix, e.g. masàllà:ta: (sg. masàllà:fi:)’mosque’. The plurals of a: place nouns are more varied, e.g.: ma’ai:kátà: (<ma’ai:kata: u:) ʰai ‘factory’; ma’fa’ruta: (<ma’fa’ruta: a:) ʰai ‘hunting ground’; ma’fi:jà: (<ma’fi:jà: -o:fi:) ʰi ‘a small roadside eating place’. Some of these nouns use 2 or all of these plural forms34.

7.1.3 Instrument nouns
With the same H tone ma- prefix, Instrument nouns are masculine with a –i: suffix and a all-H tone pattern. The plural is regular with a ʰai suffix. They designate an object associated with the verb they are derive from.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Instrument Nouns (sg./pl)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>du:bi: examine</td>
<td>mabú:bi: / àdú:bi: mirror</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka:mà: catch</td>
<td>makà:mi: / màkà:mai weapon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kullè: lock</td>
<td>makullè: / màkullèi key</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.2 Ethnonyms
The term ethronym covers a series of nouns starting with bà- prefix denoting a person’s place of origin, nationality, ethnicity, occupation or social group. Masculines have a –e:j suffix spreading to the left up to the prefix, e.g. Bàgumalè: ‘a man from Gumel’ (Gumàl); Bàzamfa: ‘a man from Zamfa’ (Zàmfa). Some ethnonyms have different final vowels, e.g. Bàkanò: ‘a man from Kano’; bàdùkù: ‘a leather worker’.

The feminine is formed by adding –a: to the masculine, without replacing the existing suffix. The realisation follows the rules –e:j+a: > -jà: and –o:j+a: > -òwa:; e.g. Bàgumalè: (m.) / Bàgumlà:jà: (f.) ‘a man / woman from Gumel’; Bàkanò: (m.) / Bàkanùwa: (f.) ‘a man / woman from Kano’. The plural is formed

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34 Newman (2000:58)
by adding –awaː to the lexical base, without the ba- prefix, e.g. Bàgumalèː (m.) / Gumalaːwaː (pl.) ‘man / people from Gumel’.

8. Personal Pronouns

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>IDP</th>
<th>ACC</th>
<th>DAT</th>
<th>GEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>niː</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>mini/miː/muː</td>
<td>-na/-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s.m.</td>
<td>kai</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>makà/miː</td>
<td>-kà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s.f.</td>
<td>keː</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>miki</td>
<td>-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s.</td>
<td>fiː</td>
<td>fi</td>
<td>masà</td>
<td>-sà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f.</td>
<td>ita</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>matà</td>
<td>-tà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p.</td>
<td>muː</td>
<td>mu</td>
<td>manà</td>
<td>-mü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p.</td>
<td>kuː</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>mukù</td>
<td>-kü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p.</td>
<td>suː</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>musù</td>
<td>-sù</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

dàː niː kai nèː.
If I were you

janàː dàuke dà suː.
He is carrying them.

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

kadà kà kafːː mu!
Don’t kill us!

bà mú kiːqaː kà ba.
We did not call you.

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

An 4.PFV.NFOC build house

Anàː 4.IPFV.NFOC building-GEN house

Anàː 4.IPFV.NFOC build DAT king house

Anàː 4.IPFV.NFOC build DAT king house

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

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

36 This particle is written as a separate word in standard Hausa orthography, so as to distinguish it from the –waː nominalizer forming verbal nouns.
The genitive pronoun indicates possession. It is suffixed to the possessed object through the Genitive Link –n/- (GL)r. For the 1st person, the GL is integrated to the pronoun, and the pronoun has a H tone, contrary to the other persons. The final –a is long, except in sentence-final position where it is short, e.g. moː tàː taː 'my car', An saʧʧì moː tàː 'They stole my car.' vs. moː tàː taːɓaːʧʧì. 'My car has broken down.' The word kâi ‘head’ suffixed with a genitive pronoun, is used to form the reflexive: munʧʧù kânmù ‘we’ve wronged ourselves” (kânmù ‘ourselves’ < kâi –n –mù, head –GL–1PL.PNG.GEN))

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 16. INDEPENDANT GENITIVE PRONOUNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s. M.&amp; Pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná:wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. Verbs and Verb Phrases

9.1 Verb grades

Verb classes, called verb grades in Hausaist tradition since (Parsons 60), are morpho-syntactic classes determined by their morphology, tone pattern, and distribution.

The nature of the object following the verb influences its form and determines the various classes: (i) zero object ; (ii) pronominal object (PNG.ACC); (iii) nominal object (/___N); dative object. Depending on their tone pattern and their suffix (mostly vocalic, with the exception of one consonantal suffix, -ar), 7 verbal grades have been established by F. Parsons (op.cit) to which P. Newman has added a grade Ø and introduced 3 subclasses: grades 3a and b, and grade 5d. The following table is a summary of the system following Newman (2000:628).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 17. VERB CLASSES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade Ø   -i: H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 2    -a: L-H-(L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 3    -a L-H-(L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 3a   -a H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 3b   -i/-a: H-L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 4    -e: H-L(H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-fe: H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.1.1 Primary Grades

**Grade Ø** consists of basic H-tone monosyllabic verbs ending in /i/, e.g. ʧi ‘eat’ or /aː/, e.g. ʤaː ‘pull’, plus a small group of H-tone CiCaː verbs, e.g. kiɽaː ‘call’.

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

**Grade 2** comprises only transitive basic verbs, e.g. sàjaː ‘buy’ (sàjì /___N and sàjé /___PNG.ACC).

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

9.1.2 Secondary grades

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

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

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

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

All secondary grades have nominalised forms with the suffix -̀waː.

9.2 Imperatives

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

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

### Table 18. Grade 1 & 2 Imperatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/Ø</th>
<th>/PNG.ACC</th>
<th>/N</th>
<th>/PNG.DAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Catch!</td>
<td>Catch them!</td>
<td>Catch the thief!</td>
<td>Catch the thief for me!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr2</td>
<td>-i L-H</td>
<td>-e: L</td>
<td>-i L-H</td>
<td>-ac L-H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>taimaki!</td>
<td>taimakè: mu!</td>
<td>taimaki já:ra!</td>
<td>tajam mini dà fi!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help (X)!</td>
<td>Help us!</td>
<td>Help the children!</td>
<td>Give it back to me!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 9.3 Auxiliaries

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

*bu: já: so:(n) zijartär surùkansá*

He doesn't like to visit his in-laws.

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

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

#### 9.3.1.1 Modal auxiliaries

**Intersubjective:** (will, causation, permission, acceptation, etc.), e.g. so: ‘want’ sà: ‘cause’ baçi: ‘allow’ járda ‘agree’ kì ‘forbid’ hanà ‘prevent’

**Epistemic:** ijà: ‘can’; ñasà: kà:sà:; gazà: ‘cannot’; fàskaà ‘be difficult to...’

**Deontic:** jánfàntà: da:fe:; kà:ma: ‘be proper’; kjàntù ‘be better’

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

#### 9.3.1.2 Aspectual auxiliaries


### 10. Adverbs and Prepositional phrases

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

(i) predicates of nonverbal sentences, e.g. da:ki:na: janà: dab då na:tà ‘my room is right next to her’; fà:dà:wà: sunà zàune kusa då sarkì: ‘the councillors are seated close to the chief’.

(ii) locative goals of motion verbs, e.g. mù tàfi gùn ‘let’s go there!’
modifiers in the structure N-GL Adv, e.g. fuːgàban daːzu ‘the leaders of the movement’ (lit. leaders of just now); kitʃun-ziːʧi ‘ambition’ (lit. jealousy of in the heart)

modifiers of predicates, appearing at the end of the VP, e.g. inàː sōntà ainùn ‘I love her very much.’; tanàː aikìː sànnu sànnu ‘She is working very slowly.’

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

\[
\text{\[feːkaràr àlif dà daqùː tarà dà sittin\]}_{\text{TOPIC}} \text{Naːdyeːriːjùː [taː]_{\text{REV}} sàːmi mulkin kài.}
\]

In 1960, Nijeria gained independance

\[
\text{\[diʃiː jàːm[a]_{\text{SPEC}} [sùkà]_{\text{REV}} daːwoː.}}
\]

YESTERDAY AFTERNOON they came back.

10.1 Basic adverbs

Basic space adverbs. daːma ‘righ-hand side’; hagu = hagun ‘left’; àqɛːwa: ‘north’; kudu ‘south’; gabàs ‘east’; yàmma ‘west’; kusa ‘nearby’. The interrogative spatial adverb is ina: ‘where?’; the universal quantifier is koːina: ‘everywhere’.

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

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

There exist other adverbs relative to the time locus of the utterance, e.g. kàːfeːɡàːriː, wàfɛːɡàːriː: ‘the following day’

\[
\text{\[kùḻìm, dàːibbean, òtùtùr ‘always’.}}
\]

The interrogative temporal adverb (ADV.Q) is jaːfe, jaːfeː: ‘when?’; the universal quantifier is koːjaːfe, koːjaːfeː: ‘whenever’.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 19. BASIC TIME ADVERBS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PAST</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dàː ‘formerly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tùni ‘long ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bàːzù ‘not long ago, just now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jàːnzu ‘now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fàːn ‘then, then later’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fàːn ‘then later’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Manner adverbs. We will name but a few manner adverbs, e.g. ainùn ‘very much’; daidai ‘exactly’; duk41 ‘entirely’; hakà = hakàn ‘thus’; kawai ‘only, merely’, etc.

---

40 There is no adverb corresponding to ‘the previous day’. Instead, the expression anàː gòːbe + fut (lit. they were tomorrow...), e.g. anàː gòːbe zaː sù tâːʃʃiː ‘the day before their departure...’ (lit. they were tomorrow they will leave)

41 Cf. § 6.2.3, p. 21 for the prenominal (duk) and post-nominal (dukà) related specifiers.
Other adverbs. The adverb ko: modifies NP, VP and adverbials (both PP and AP)\(^{42}\). Here is an example modifying a PP: ko: dá wuka: bà zài kafè: fi bù ‘Even with a knife, he would not be able to kill it.’ 
dàn/yàrùù ‘little’ is an adjectival modifier, and its invariable form dàn works as an adverbial predicate modifier, e.g. kà dà kàtù: ‘Wait a little!’.

10.2 Adverb derivation

10.2.1 Denominal adverbs

Many adverbs are derived from body part nouns, nouns of places and time through one or several of the following processes: (i) shortening of the final vowel ; (ii) dropping of the feminative suffix; (iii) change of tone to HH; (iv) addition of a tone-integrating suffix –e\(^{[3]}\). More examples:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{màsù} & : \text{ja: sò:ke: fi à zu} \text{ùù} \\
\text{the spear pierced him in the heart.} & (\text{< zu} \text{ùù} \text{ja: ‘heart’}) \\
\text{ju: zo: à kafà} & \\
\text{he came on foot (‘kafà: ‘foot, leg’)} \\
\text{sunà} & : \text{aikà à bà hànfi} \\
\text{they are working tooth and nail’ (lit. at mouth and at nose)} & (\text{< bà: ‘mouth’; hànfi: ‘nose’})
\end{align*}\]

10.2.2 Deverbal statics

Statives are a subclass of adverbs derived from verbs by means of a tone-integrating suffix –e\(^{[3]}\), e.g. mütù ‘die’ > mütè ‘dead’; zaunà: ‘sit’ > zaunà: ‘seated’. More examples:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ju: ba} & \text{r ko} \text{fà: à bù \text{ùù}} \\
\text{He left the door open.} & \\
\text{kà wù \text{ko} \text{fà: à rufè \text{ùù}} ko \text{ùù}} & \\
\text{Bring him here dead or alive.} &
\end{align*}\]

10.3 Reduplication

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

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

**Attenuative reduplication**\(^{43}\): mainly concerned are denominative locative adverbs, e.g. ba\text{jà: ‘behind’} / ba\text{ja ba\text{jà: ‘a bit behind’}; samà ‘above’} / samà samà ‘a bit above’.

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

10.4 Prepositional Phrases

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

**Time PPs**\(^{44}\), e.g. ma\text{làmìn ja: gàmmà: [kà sì: fim zìwàn dà libà\text{ùù}] ‘The teacher arrived before the coming of the pupils.’; bà zà ì rùfù: bà [sai ba\text{jan karfè: bìjìr.] ‘They won’t close until (lit. after) five o’clock.’

**Place PPs**, e.g. ja: wùfè: gàba dà mu: ‘he passed in front of us’, na: sà: me: sù [à fà mòkàràn tà:s] ‘I found them [at school].’

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

\[\text{42 We have seen how this has been lexicalised for the formation of universal quantifiers through the structure ko: + Question word.}\]

\[\text{43 See the same phenomenon with adjectives, §11.3.4 Reduplicated adjectives, p. 33.}\]

\[\text{44 Cf. §12, p. 33 for an inventory of prepositions}\]
Instrument PPs use the preposition *dà* with concrete nouns, e.g. *sun daṳे: fi dà igìja: ‘they tied him with a rope’.

### 11. Adjectives

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

#### 11.1 Syntax

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

11.1.1 The attributive function

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 20. ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pre-nominal</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do:ki: (m.) horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo:ta: (f.) car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See § XXX for more about these structures.

11.1.2 The predicative function

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

  his horse is white

  his caftan (f.) is white

11.1.3 Comparison

Comparison is expressed through the verb *fi* ‘exceed’ and the structure <X fi Y adj>, e.g. *Su:le: fi M:usa: tsə: peeled: ‘Sule is taller than Musa’ (lit. Sule exceeds Musa (in height)).


#### 11.2 Basic adjectives

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

---

*mafì: is a short agent noun derived from *fi* ‘exceed’. See § 7.1.1, p. 23.*
TABLE 21. BASIC ADJECTIVES

| baƙiː, baƙaː, baƙàːƙeː | black |
| bàbba, bàbba, mânjaː | big |
| doːgoː, doːguwaː, doːgwàːjeː | long |
| danjeː, danjaː, dànjuː | raw, fresh, green |
| fariː, fàraː, fàræːreː | white |
| gàiːreː, gàiːraː = (gàiːriːa = gàiːruwaː), gàiːruː | short |
| huntuː, huntuwàː, huntuːjeː | naked |
| jaː, jàː, jàːjìːjeː | red |
| koːrèː, koːrìːa, koːràːjeː | green, unripe |
| kàmaːmaː, kàmaːmaː, kàmàːmai | weak |
| kàtòː, kàtùwaː, kàttaː | huge |
| kàŋkanèː, kàŋkanùwaː, kànaːnàː | small |
| kàræmiː, kàramaː, kànaːnàː | small |
| kàzaːmaːiː, kàzaːmaː, kàzàːmai | dirty |
| kuːlumiː, kuːlumaː, kuːlùmàːjeː | stingy |
| muːguː, muːgiwaː = (muːgunjàː), mijàːguː = (muːgàːjeː) | evil |
| ràːwàjìː, ràːwàjàː, ràːwàːjuː | yellow |
| saːboː, saːbuwaː, sàːbàbbiː | new |
| shùːdìː, shùːdjàː, shàddàː | indigo blue |

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

mun təːrə wənī tsoːhoː.
We met an old man.

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

mun kàːmà wənī tsoː:hoː doːkiː.
we caught an old horse

Table 22 below lists some of these noun/adjectives:

TABLE 22. NOUN/ADJECTIVES

| bàːkoː, bàːkuwaː, bàːkiː | stranger, host |
| beːbeː, beːbijaː, beːbàːjeː | dumb |
| bàraːwòː, bàræunijaː, bàràːjiː | robber |
| kùrmaː, kùrmaː, kùræːmeː | deaf |
| màkàːhòː, màkàunijaː, màkàːfiː | blind |
| tsoːhoː, tsoːhuwaː, tsoːfàffìː | old |
| jaːròː, jaːrinjàː, jàːraː | young |

11.3 Derived adjectives

11.3.1 Agentive adjectives

We saw in § 7.1.1, p. 23 how agent nouns are derived from verbs with a ma- ... -iː affix and a H-(L)-H tone pattern, e.g. manɔːmiː (m.) ‘farmer’ (< /nom/ ‘to farm’). Many of those derived from intransitive verbs can also function as adjectives, e.g. matsiːjìːfì (adj.) ‘poor, destitute’, mahɔːkɔːfì (adj.) ‘mad’. Example: wani mahɔːkɔːfìn direːbà ‘a mad driver’; mahɔːkɔːtan kɔrɔːkà ‘mad dogs’.

11.3.2 Past Participles

Adjective past participles are produced from verbs by means of the tone-integrating suffix –<aCCe> <LHH where CC represents a geminated copy of the preceding consonant. The feminine counterpart has an -iya suffix, and the plural is –– <LHH, e.g. dafafaf/ dafafifya / dafafiju: ‘cooked’ (< dafà: ‘cook’); ṭubufafaf/ ṭubufafifya: / ṭubufafiju: ‘written’ (< rubuːtaː ‘write’).
11.3.3 Adjectives of Sensory Quality


11.3.4 Reduplicated adjectives

A very productive derivation produces adjectives by full reduplication of common nouns with where X stands for the original noun, e.g. *shortening of the final vowel of the original noun. The semantic result is an adjective meaning X-like.

For example, from the noun *Intensive trisyllabic adjectives are derived from a set of nouns na med Abstract Nouns of Sensory ‘inside’);

generally preceded by a basic preposition such as *a*

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For example, from the noun *Intensive trisyllabic adjectives are derived from a set of nouns na med Abstract Nouns of Sensory ‘inside’);

generally preceded by a basic preposition such as *a*

12. Prepositions

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

12.1 Basic prepositions

The inventory of basic Hausa prepositions is as follows: *à* ‘at, in, on’; *dà* ‘with’; *dàgà* ‘from’; *bisà* ‘on, about’, *fa:fe:* ‘except’; *gà/gà:* ‘by, in, near, in connection with, in relation to’; *har* ‘up to, until’; *hàttà:* ‘including’; *iju:* ‘as far as’; *ilà:* ‘except’; *kà:fin (=kà:fin) ‘before’; *sàbò:* ‘because of, on account of’; *sài* ‘except, until’; *ta* ‘via, by means of, by way of’; *tun* ‘since’; *wàr* ‘like’; *jà:* (= i) ‘like, among’; *zuwà* ‘to’.

Many of these basic prepositions function also as conjunctions. Except for *gà* which takes the form *gà:* when followed by a direct object pronoun (PNG.ACC), e.g. *gà:* tua ‘by her’, all basic prepositions take independants pronouns as complements, e.g. *sàbò:* dà tua ‘because of her’.

12.2 Compound prepositions

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

12.3 Genitive prepositions

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

Genitive preposition take possessive pronouns as complements, e.g. kànsù ‘on them’; *fi:kintà* ‘on it’.

13. Universal Quantifiers

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

---

46 Parsons (1955).
47 Newman (2000:46)
13.1 The global universal duk/dukà
The global quantifier duk/dukà, ‘all’ can occur as a determiner, a pronoun and an adverb. Example as an adverb:

duk ka: ha:a: mini lo:kàjì: à banza:
You’ve entirely wasted my time. (Abraham 1959:229b)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>UNIVERSALS</th>
<th>QUESTION WORDS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>everyone, whoever</td>
<td>ko:me:</td>
<td>wà: ‘who?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>everything, whatever</td>
<td>ko:me:</td>
<td>mè: ‘what?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>everywhere, wherever</td>
<td>ko:ina:</td>
<td>ina: ‘where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>however much/many</td>
<td>ko:nawà</td>
<td>nawà: ‘how much/many?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in every, whatever way</td>
<td>ko:(t)à:jà:jà:</td>
<td>jà:jà: ‘how?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whoever despises the small has never stepped on a scorpion.

Allà: ja: san ko:me:
God knows all.

Anà: ganìnsù (à) ko:ìna:
They were seen everywhere.

In this well you get water all the time.

This man will get money anyhow.

However many his cows may be, the king’s will be more.

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

= Abìn ñà: su:ka: ñà:da:, dukà, kà:tì: ñè:
Whatever they may have said, it’s a lie.

= Duk lo:kàsìn ñà ka zo: nà:n, ...
= Lo:kàsìn ñà ka zo: dukà, ...
Whenever you come here, you’ll get cola nuts.
Wherever we looked, we only saw water.

Whatever way you turned the switch of the lamp, it would light up.

However much money they give me, it will be enough.

14. Ideophones

Ideophones constitute a word class defined by its semantic and phonological properties, rather than by its syntactic properties. In other words, they do not make a part of speech that could be compared with nouns, verbs, or prepositions. They are “descriptive of sound, colour, smell, manner, appearance, state, action or intensity... [that is, they are] vivid vocal images or representations or visual, auditory and other sensory or mental experiences”

They are characterized by their high specificity of meaning and collocation. They function primarily as adjectives and adverbs, and are associated with expressive pronunciation, i.e: extra forcefulness or loudness, and often intonational break, indicated in the examples below by a comma and an arrow:

|aßin dà ja ba: ni danje: nèːʃfataf.  
The thing that he gave me was fresh, really so. |
|jaː faːdà: ruwaː, fàndʒum.  
He fell in the water, splash. (Newman 2000:256) |

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

15. Complex sentences

15.1 Coordination

15.1.1 ‘And

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

mun gị mun jaː  
We ate (and) we drank.

Muːsaː jaː: djeː jaːaːwoː.  
Musa went (and) he came back

ripe tuːgaː tükün, kaːnà mù tàfi  
Close the window first, then we can go.

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

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

Bintà tanà: kàràːtuː {tanàː kuma sæuːʁaːʃen re:djòː} |

---

Binta was studying [and listening to the radio]

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

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

\[
\text{bà za: tà} \rightarrow \text{tà} \rightarrow \text{ tàfi sìni: mà: ba}
\]

She is not going to meet her friends and go to the movies

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

\[
\text{na:} \rightarrow \text{ ka: sai} \rightarrow \text{ ga kà: su} \rightarrow \text{ ko: }
\]

I climbed the baobab tree and then I saw the village

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

\[
\text{Janà:} \rightarrow \text{ figà: sa} \rightarrow \text{ are: wà: }
\]

He was reading when people came in.

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

\[
\text{Janà:} \rightarrow \text{ wà: }
\]

He was fiddling while Rome was burning. (Newman 2000:139)

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

\[
\text{Janà:} \rightarrow \text{ figà: sa} \rightarrow \text{ ja gan tà: }
\]

He was going in when he saw her.

15.1.2 ‘Or’

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

\[
zài da:wò: nàn dà awà: biju ko: zài bugà: mànà wajà: \rightarrow \text{ He will come back at 2 or he will call us.}
\]

\[
ko: ka: zo: ko: bà kà zo: ba, bài dà:me: ni ba. \rightarrow \text{ Que tu viennes ou non, ça m’est égal.}
\]

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

\[
au ka: zo: au bà kà zo: ba, bài dà:me: ni ba. \rightarrow \text{ Whether you come or not, I don’t care.}
\]

\[
imma: dai sù bija: ni jànzù ko: kuma mà ji rìginà:. \rightarrow \text{ Either they pay me now, or we’ll fight.}
\]

\[
imma: kà ji hàkà imma: kadà kà ji, ò:ho. \rightarrow \text{ Whether you do it or no, I don’t care.}
\]

15.1.3 ‘But’ and ‘however’

\[
àmma: \rightarrow \text{ and àmma: duk dà hàkà conjoin two clauses while contrasting them.}
\]

\[
mun tò:ke: fi àmma: ja: kì \rightarrow \text{ We asked him but he refused.}
\]

\[
fì: bà: Mùsùlmi: ba nè: àmma: (duk dà hàkà) jànzù: azùnì:. \rightarrow \text{ He is not a Muslim, however he fasts.}
\]
15.2 Subordination

15.2.1 Conjunctions

15.2.1.1 har and sai ‘until’

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{zân ijà tsajà:wa: } & \text{har ka: gamà:} \\
\text{I will wait until you have finished.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ğl:wọ: ja: } & \text{ğl karfiını̇ har ja: kafë: ta.} \\
\text{The illness weakened her up to the point that she died.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sun ji aikìi: } & \text{har sun gàʤi.} \\
\text{They worked so much that they got tired.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bà zân ijà hawan wannàn ginà: ba sai an sakà tsà:na:} \\
\text{I won’t be able to climb this wall unless a ladder is put up.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ja: } & \text{ğğ: saì ka: gamà aikìn za: kà tåfi gida:} \\
\text{He said « It’s only after you have finished your work that you can go home. »}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bà za: } & \text{kà daʤa: daʤa nàn ba sai ka: bija:} \\
\text{You’re not going to leave until you have paid.}
\end{align*}
\]

15.2.1.2 dà ‘when, rather than’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dà mukà gâba:fe: sù sai sukà gudù.} \\
\text{When we approached them, they ran away.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ja: } & \text{fi áràha: à sàje: fi nàn dà à tåfi Kanò:.} \\
\text{It’s cheaper to buy here rather than go to Kano.}
\end{align*}
\]

15.2.1.3 ba:jàn (dà) ‘after’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ja: } & \text{zo: ba:jàn ka: bar gida:.} \\
\text{He came after you had left the house.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ba:jàn sun fita mun bu:đe kwalin.} \\
\text{After they had left, we opened the parcel.}
\end{align*}
\]

15.2.1.4 dò:miŋ (=don)

This conjunction has two meanings:

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{an daurë: fi don } & \text{[ja:]} \text{PFV.NFOC gudù.} \\
\text{They tied him up because he had escaped.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{an daurë: fi don } & \text{[kadà jà]} \text{SBJV gudù.} \\
\text{They tied him up so that he wouldn’t escape.}
\end{align*}
\]

15.2.1.5 ìdaŋ (=in) ‘if’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{idàn kà: } & \text{ğğ:fe: mù za: mù òa:mà:.} \\
\text{If you cheat us, we’ll get back at you.}
\end{align*}
\]

15.2.1.6 kà:fin = kà:fin (=kà:miŋ = kà:miŋ) ‘before’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kà:fin mù hu:tù: saì mì kammàlài aikìn.} \\
\text{Before we rest we must finish the work.}
\end{align*}
\]

---

49 Newman 2000:134

50 As for most conjunctions, these two words can function as prepositions as well, e.g. sai gò:be : ‘bye bye’ (lit. until tomorrow); an ji hanjà: daʤa Kanò: har Dàuʧa: ‘they built a road from Kano to Daura’. 
15.2.1.7 kàmar (= tàmkar) ‘as if’
na: dëj kàmar zàn ji amai.
I feel as if I’m going to vomit.

15.2.1.8 ko: ‘event if’
Even if Audu is tired, he will finish his work.

15.2.1.9 ko: dà ‘as soon as’
ko: dà ja gàhà hannu:, jà: ra: sukà dainà màganà:
As soon as he raised his hand, the children stopped talking.

15.2.1.10 ko: dà (yakè) ‘although’
Although you are getting ready to go, I have something to tell you.

15.2.1.11 màimakon ‘instead of’
màimakon sù ra, kà: ruwa: sukà jì.
Instead of decreasing, they have increased.

15.2.1.12 muddìn ‘as long as’
As long as he comes to this house, there will always be problems.

15.2.1.13 sabò: dà ‘because’
I am angry because you are late.

15.2.1.14 tàmkar (=kàmar): as if
She is walking around as if she had been made a queen.

15.2.1.15 tun
This conjunction has two meanings:
(i) ‘while’, e.g.
kà fa: dà mušu tun sunà: nàn
Tell them while they are here.
(ii) ‘even before’ when followed by kà: fin ‘before’ or a negative clause, e.g.
na: gamà aikì: tun kà: fin kà zo: = tun bà kà zo: ba
I finished the work (even) before you arrived.

15.2.1.16 tun dà ‘since (temporal)’
tun dà mušu iso:, bà mù gàn fi: ba.
Since we arrived, whe haven’t seen him.

15.2.1.17 tun (dà yakè) ‘since (factive)’
tun dà jakè bà kà rìga: ka: gajà: màsà ba, sai kà fa: xà:.
Since you haven’t told him yet, you might as well do nothing.

15.3 Completives
Completives are clauses functioning as the direct object of (i) a full verb (ii) a nominal predicate
(iii) an impersonal verb.
(i) munà: so: n sù tâfì Kàno:.
We want them to go to Kano
(ii) na: sà: râi wài zài zo:.
I hope he will come. (lit. I have set heart that...)
(iii) ja: kjàutu in gamà aikì: na:.
It is better I finished my work.

Non-verbal, copular constructions can introduce completives. Example :
It was stupid for Musa to take a credit.

### 15.3.1 Completives following full verbs or predicates

In this section, we will see completives introduced by full verbs, e.g. ʧe: ‘say’, sə: ‘want’; or nominal predicates, e.g. tsàmma:ni: ‘think’, sə: râi ‘hope’.

#### 15.3.1.1 Verbs of thought or speech

Complement clauses of verbs of speech other than ʧe: are often introduced by the complementizers ʧe:wa: or wai.1 Example:


The district chief will recommend them to pay taxes.


He denied being a thief.

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


The chief said you should pay taxes.


He added that the general will attend the ceremony himself.

The other complementizer is wai. Examples:

sun ji tsàmma:ni: wai za: sù sâ:mi hânjâr figa:.

They thought they would find a way to get in.


I heard they did not appoint him chief.

bàn ji zâton (wai) za: tà zô: wu:rin nân ba.

I did not think she would come here.

#### 15.3.1.2 dà predicates

Some predicates use the complementizer dà. Examples:

mun ji fa:rin ʧîki: dà kukà zô:.

We hare happy that you came.

an aminfe: wà Audù (dà / ʧe:wa:) jà zama sa:kî:.

Audu has been allowed to become chief.

#### 15.3.2 Complements of impersonal verbs

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

ja: kâma:tà (wai) sâmâ:rin nân sù ji au:pe:.

These young people should get married.

janà: dà muhimmanja: mû gamà aikìn bana.

It is important to finish the work this year.

ja: kâma:tà Bàɾ̃uu jà dainâ kurbâ:wa:.

It is proper that Barau should stop drinking.

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

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

---

1 Cf. § 6.3.2.3 & note 33, p. 22.
15.4 Adverbial clauses

15.4.1 Time
Three types of temporal relationship will be examined:

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

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

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

**Juxtaposition**

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

\[
\text{\[janàː\]3S.M.IPFV.NFOC wàːsa \text{Birnin Rùm \[janàː\]3S.M.IPFV.NFOC } \text{ƙoːnèːwa}:
\]

*He was fiddling while Rome was burning.* (Newman 2000:139)

\(\Sigma 1 \\Sigma \)º(\(\Sigma 1\)).

In this structure, the adverbial coordinator \(\text{sai} \) ‘then’ set at the beginning of the second clause, stresses the punctuality of the irruption of a process against the background of a Continuous TAM.

Example:

\[
\text{\Àsùbâː nàːjiː saː na } \text{ʤînaː } \text{buːsà wani } \text{ābù } \text{kàmar } \text{kàho}\.:
\]

*Dawn was pointing when I heard they were blowing something like a horn.* (S.U. 33 § 3)

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

\[
\text{ʤîn } \text{faːwàrâː } \text{taːsà } \text{saː akà } \text{baːrì}\
\text{When hearing his advice, they stopped.}
\]

\(\text{dà } \Sigma 2 \)º(\(\Sigma 1\)).

dà stands for \(\text{dà} \) itself and all the compound conjunctions containing \(\text{da} \), e.g. \(\text{loːkàcîn } \text{dà} ; \text{saː } \text{\'àd } \text{dà} ; \text{yàyìn } \text{dà} ; \text{zaːmànnìn } \text{dà} ; \text{saː } \text{dà} \) when’ ; \(\text{tun} \) ‘while’. The compound conjunctions are built on the pattern \(< \text{ time Noun-Gl } \text{dà} > \). Then can all be translated by ‘when’.

If the \(\text{dà} \) introduces a [-FOC] Perfective or Continuous, the meaning will be habitual or potential. Examples:

---

52 See § 15.1 on paratax and coordination.

53 In \(\Sigma 1 \)º \(\Sigma 2 \), \(\Sigma 1 \) stands for the subordinate, \(\Sigma 2 \) for the main clause while \(\)º represents the limit between the two clauses.
If you meet, and he sets his dogs on you, go straight on as if you have overtaken him, ...
(MJC, I, 16, last §)

When they were eating with a neighbour, the neighbour would become all grumpy. (MJC II, 16, l.1)

The order of the subordinate and main clauses can be inverted, e.g. $<\Sigma_1 \circ muddin \Sigma_2 >$. Example:

Ja gaji: masu abin da ja faru dukar ga djanginsa sa:’ad da suna: tsakijar Kwarar. He told him all that had happened to their boat when they were in the middle of the Niger river. (MJC I 128, 1)

The same narrative meaning obtains with a nominal predicate or an infinitive in $\Sigma_2$

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

Dà dji: wadannan màlaganun fa sai na fa:’ar sa:’ar wa: a ëaina:, fë:wa:... When I heard these words indeed, I began to say to myself that... (S.U. p. 31)

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

(It’s only) when we went to Kano that we saw them.

Put out the fire while it is still small.

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

(Tun) tanà: kàrama:; ijà:jentà sukà mutà. While she was still young her parents died.

Tun ja:’ro: janà: kàrami: jakà: la:la:fe:wa:... It’s when he is still young that a child turns bad.

muddìn $\Sigma_2$[PFV.FOC] $\circ \Sigma_1$ ‘when’

In a narration, muddìn ($= muddàr$) introduces a [+FOC] Perfective and means « when ». 

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

$muddìn \circ \Sigma_1 [\text{CONT.XFOC}]$ ‘as long as’

In non-narrative contexts, muddìn ($= muddàr$) introduces a [–FOC] Continuous and means « as long as ».

Jàjà: za: mù mànta: dà fi: muddìn muna: tunà:wo: dà ràn dà ja: ji fàma: dà dja: màs? How could we ever forget him as long as we remember the day that he resisted the Germans? (Abraham)
Kadà kù járda muddìn kunàː dà saŋan numfaʃiː.
Don’t accept as long as you have some breath left.

15.4.1.2 Succession
In narration, the consecutiveness of events expressed in two independant clauses can be underlined by adverbial connectors like sai, dàgà nan sai, saːˈàn nan = saˈàn nan = sân nan, kaːnà = kaːnàː, etc. meaning ‘then’. Followed by a [+FOC] Perfective, they characterize a narration; followed by a Subjunctive, they characterize an ethnographic, gnomic description.

\[
sai, saːˈàn nan
\]

mazansù sun sàkeː sù, dàgà nan sai sukà ji ta jaːwòː.
After their husbands had died, they started to travel.

\[
jaː ji fèːkaː ukà, saːˈàn nan taːba ta kaːpèː.
He took three snuffs and then the tobacco was finished.
\]

\[
kaːnà/kaːnàː
\]

Sàpkiː ja dàgà kànsù zàmàːnìː: gùdaː, kaːnà ja amsàː: wà Màːkau ʧèːwàː jaː járda.
The king raised his head for some time, then he answered Makau that he agreed.

Variant : ... tükàːna  kaːnà/kaːnàː = first... then

\[
Jànzù, àbìn dà na fi sòː tükàːna kà baː ni ṣàwùː; kaːnàː, in hankàliːnaː jaː koːmoː, nàː baː
kà làː:baːrin zùwàːnəː à wànnàn bìgiːtè.
Now, what I would prefer first, is for you to give me some water, then, when I have recovered, I will tell you how I came to this place.
\]

15.4.1.3 Posteriority
The posteriority relationship is specified in relation to a temporal point t which is used as a departure point. In relation to this t, temporal posteriority is expressed as <after t, Y>, <since t, Y> When a process is used as reference point of anteriority, various conjunctions are used, e.g. baːjan dà ‘after’, tun dà, dàgà ‘since’, koː dà, dà ʧèː(waw), dà zaːːrar ‘as soon as’, etc. In these constructions, the first clause (the temporal clause) is introduced by a conjunction, the main clause being optionally introduced by sai.

\[
baːjan \Sigma_{PFV,NFOC} || (sai) \Sigma_1 = \text{‘after... then...’}
\]

\[
baːjan dà \Sigma_{PFV,FOC} || (sai) \Sigma_1 = \text{‘after... then...’}
\]

\[
Baːjan sun gùaː ṣàwùːaː sai ja kàrìː ni ja ʧèː... 
After they had finished greeting, he called me and told me... (SU p. 29)
\]

Baːjan dà akà ʤìːmàː sai ja amsàː matà...
After some time, he answered her...

\[
tun dà \Sigma_{1,FOC} || \Sigma_2 = \text{‘since ...’}
\]

\[
tun dà + \text{Relative Perfective or Imperfective means ‘since’}. \text{Examples :}
\]

\[
Tun dà sukà ʧàːikìː, bà mù gan sù ba.
Since they have started working, we haven’t seen them.
\]

\[
Àmmaː tun dà su kè Kàtàr koː ʧèːwòn kài bàːta jìː ba.
But, since they had been born, Katar had never had even a headache.
\]

\[
koː dà : \Sigma_{1,PFV,FOC} || (sai) \Sigma_2 = \text{‘as soon as... then...’}
\]

\[
Koː dà sukà dàːwɔː sai mukà tafìː.
As soon as they came back, we left.
\]
As soon as they have come back, we will leave.

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

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

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

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

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

The anteriority relationship is specified in relation to a temporal point t which is used as an arrival point (goal). In relation to this t, temporal anteriority is expressed as <before t, Y> or <t until X>. t can be the moment of speech, as is the case in the adverbs dâ ‘formerly’, dâzu ‘a while ago’, tuni ‘a long time ago’, tikùn(a) ‘first’, and the adverbial locutions har jà zuwà jànzù, har jànzu, har jàu, har ilà jàu ‘up till now’. But on top of the moment of speech, a process can be introduced as the reference point of anteriority through various conjunctions, e.g. har, sai ‘until’; tun gàban, kà:fìn ‘before’. Examples:

\[ \text{Sl} || \text{har S2_{Pfv}}. = \text{‘until’} \]

Keep it until you need it!

They kept it until they needed it.

We won’t leave until they come back.

They kept it until they needed it.

Mun gamà aikìn tun bài zo: ba.
We finished the work before he arrived (lit. as he had not arrived yet).

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

Σ1 || kàːfin Σ2_{SBJV} = ‘before

Kàːfin mù đye: Kanò: sai akà figa dakà.
Before we went to Kano, people had gone home.

Kàːfin kuma ji iso: sai dâ tà’asâr ta ji sànsanja:..
Before he arrived, the evening had already become cool.. (MJC I, 124, § 1)

Mù taʃ fi kàːmin watà: jà fîto:..
Let’s leave before the moon rises.

tun Σ1_{CONT,FOCUS} || har Σ2_{PFV,FOCUS/SBJV}:

Tun anà: ganinskà hâ sakà baʃe:..
We kept looking at them until they disappeared. (MJC II, p.197)

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

15.4.1.5 Measuring time

The measuring of time is done through complex syntactic constructions involving verbs like đimà: (gr1) ‘and
daʃe: (gr4) ‘spend some time’ and some derived adverbial expressions like đim kàdaːn, bà à

daʃe: ba sai ... ‘a little later... ’, etc. Examples:

À dà akà đimà: kàdaːn, Saʃki: ja gê:...
A little later, the king said...

daʃim kàdaːn sai ja koːmo:..
A little later, he came back.

Wannàn ja: fàʃu dà daʃe:wa:..
This happened a long time ago.

Precise quantitative evaluation is done through lexical items like jàu (adv.), ‘now’ ràbu (gr7) ‘be

separated’ and its derived noun ràbo:, etc. Examples:

I left Kano three years ago.

It’s been three weeks since I came back from Kano.

Na: gan fî watà: ukù dà sukà wuʃe:..
I saw him three months ago.

I’m the one who gave birth two weeks before her.

Kwa:nà: ukù bän gan fî ba.
I haven’t seen him for three days.

15.4.2 Reason, Consequence and Purpose

Two types or adverbial clauses express reason: (1) “because” clauses ; (2) “since” clauses, the latter

introducing the idea that the “reason” is a well-known, obvious, previously established fact.

15.4.2.1 Reason = ‘because’

“Because” adverbial clauses are introduced by sabò:daː (≈sàːbiːli: dà) or dò:min/don. They are full clauses

with general non-focus TAM. They can appear before or after the main clause.

I went to his place because I know him.
Don mun sà:mi hanjàː mukà zoː.
It’s because we found a path that we went.

Bàn tàfi ba sabòːdà an ji ūwàː.
I did not go because it had rained.

15.4.2.2 Reason = ‘since’
“Since” adverbial clauses are introduced by (tun) dà (jakè), with the reduced forms tun dà, dà, and dà jakè, followed by [-FOC] Perfective and Continuous.

Dà jakè kanàː nàn, sai kà taimàkeː nì.
Since you are here, give me a hand.

Tun dà jakè mun màkàrafà, sai mù fàːtàː jànzù-jànzù.
Since we are late, let’s start at once.

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

tun dà [an] PFV.NFOC kiː aː sù, sun bar aikìnsù
Since (given that) they were called, they stopped their work.

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

15.4.2.3 Consequence : har / har dà
Har “until” denotes a terminal point in a spatial, temporal or logical perspective. The consecutive meaning is an extention of this basic semantic property. har does not require any particular TAM.

Jaː gádʒì ainún har báː ijaː ʧìː gâba ba.
He was so tired that he could not continue.

Fùlùr báː taː dà haskeː, har maː baː nàː ijaː káːruːtuː dà ita.
The light was so weak that I could not read.

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

Naː zoː in gajàː makà ləːbaːrin.
I came to tell you the news.

Naː baː fì ūwàː jàː faː.
I gave him some water for him to drink.

More commonly, purpose clauses are introduced by sabòː dà or dòːmin / don followed by the Subjunctive.

Jaː zoː don jà gan nì.
He came to see me.

Sukà zoː sabòːdà sù jì mini ban kwaːnaː.
They came to say good-bye to me.

15.4.3 Concession and Condition
In all those constructions, the order between main and subordinate clauses is free.

15.4.3.1 Concessives
Concessive clauses (‘although, even though’) are introduced by koː dà jakè (= duk dà jakè = duk dà cêːwaː) plus a full clause and use a general (non-focus) TAM.

Bài zoː ba koː dà jakè dàː maː ʧeː zàːi zoː.
He did not come, although he had said he would.
Even though they had been to my house before, they got lost.

15.4.3.2 Regular conditionals

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

\[
\text{In ja: zo:, sai kà tambâje: fì.}\n\]
If he comes, ask him.

\[
\text{In kanà: sò:, zàn tâimâke: kà.}\n\]
If you want, I’ll help you.

\[
\text{In ka fàdà: ka: fità.}\n\]
Speak and you’re free (lit. If you speak, you have gone out).

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

\[
\text{in na kò: jì Hausa zà: nì Nà: dì: rìjà:.}\n\]
When I learn Hausa, I’ll go to Nigeria.

\[
\text{idan kidà: ja: sakè:, rawà: sai tà sa: kè:}\n\]
Whenever the rhythm changes, the dance changes.

15.4.3.3 Restrictive conditionals

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

\[
\text{Namìdì hà: tì kò: no: nè:, sai an taunà: za: à san ja: dìnsà.}\n\]
Man is like pepper, it’s only if you chew it that you feel its strength.

\[
\text{Sai an dàdè: akà san hali:.}\n\]
It’s only with time that you know (people’s) character.

15.4.3.4 Counterfactual conditionals

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

\[
\text{Dà: an tambâje: nì, dà: na: jàrda.}\n\]
If I’d been asked, I would have agreed.

\[
If you drank alcohol, I would have said that you have drunk and you are drunk.

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

\[
\text{dà: gubà: sukà bà: tà, dà: ta: hadìje:}\n\]
If it was poison they had given her, she would have swallowed (with focus on gubà:)

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

15.4.3.5 Concessive conditionals

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

\[
\text{Kò: na: sa: mì: bà zàn ba: kà ba.}\n\]
Even if I find some, I won’t give you any
Even if it rains, I won’t go tomorrow.

15.4.3.6 Hypothetical concessive conditionals
Conditionals introduced by ko: dà: “even if” combine the meaning of concessive conditionals with a counterfactual value attached to the protasis. Example:

Even if we had known you were here, we would not have come.

Ko: dà: Ha:midù zài bijo: ta nän, ki gajà: masà na: wufè:
If by chance Hamidu came this way, tell him I’ve gone.

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

Ko:wa: ja: gê wà:ke:, fìkinsà zài kùmbu:ra
Whoever eats beans, his stomach will swell.

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

Whatever the type of gown you are going to buy, we have it.

16. Negation

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

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16.1 NEG1. TAMS other than the continuous and subjunctive55
The discontinuous negation bà/bà ... ba occurs with TAMS other than the continuous and the subjunctive. The first part of the morpheme (bà/bà) occurs just before the TAM. The second part (ba) occurs at the end of VP, after core arguments of the verb, but before circumstancials. Short basic adverbs tend to be included inside the syntactic scope of the negation.

Ja:rinjà: bà tà da:wà: ba
The girl did not return.

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

dà ni: dà kai bà mà: zaunà: tâ:xe fìkin àma:nà: ba
Me and you, we won’t live together peacefully.

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

54  Cf. Table 23 Distributive Universals (§ 13.2, p. 34).
55  Cf the TAMs and their meaning, Tables 2 to 8 (§ 5.2.1.1, p. 12 ff.).
The length of the 1st part of the morpheme varies with dialects and idiolects. In SH, it is (1) always short in the perfective and the future; (2) usually short in the allative and the potential; (3) normally short but also long in the future; (4) normally long but also short in the habitual.

16.2 NEG2. Negative continuous TAM
Like the subject pronouns of the continuous, the negative marker has a L tone and a long –aː. It negates locatives and statives, as well as continuous verbal sentences. Examples:

\[ \text{Bellò ba: jà: }[\text{da:wò:wa}]_{\text{VP}} \]
Bello is not coming back.

\[ \text{bankì: ba: jà: }[\text{nân à wannàn }\text{ti:ti}]_{\text{ADVP}} \]
The bank is not on this road.

\[ \text{so:dì:di: ba: }[\text{sà: }\text{fù: }\text{bindigo: }\text{gù:sù}]_{\text{ADVP}} \]
The soldiers don’t have their guns.

16.3 NEG3. Existential and HAVE sentences
bâː / baːbù is the negative counterpart of àkwai. It negates (a) existential sentences (b) “have” sentences:

(a) bâː mài = baːbù mài
There is no petrol.

(b) Laːdì bâː ta dà laːfijàː
Ladi is not well.

16.4 NEG4. (non-verbal) sentences and NP
The disjunctive bâː ... ba negative marker negates the copula neːftːneː in all its uses (a) as sentence copula (a) as focus marker. In both cases the second marker is inserted between the copula and the constituent it is attached to. Examples:

(a) bâː kaːsaː baː ñfː
It is not a puff-adder

itu bâː yàːtaː baː ñfː
She is not my daughter.

(b) bâː baːruːwːaː baː ñèː suːkà kaːmːàː
It is not a thief that they caught.

bâː keːke bâː ñèː Bâːlaː ja saːjːàː wà yàːyũsà
It is not a bicycle Bala bought his children.

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

bâː wai mutːə nən sun baː tâː dàːrjːaː baː ñèːː aː; Æː; tũnũːrːaː ta suːkà jː.
It is not the case that these men made her laugh; no, irritating her they did. (Newman 2000:363)

16.5 NEG5. Subjunctive
The prohibitive marker kadâ (=kâr) serves to negate sentences with a subjunctive TAM. The meaning will vary beyond that of prohibitive itself, according to the numerous contexts in which the positive counterpart of the subjunctive occurs. Examples:

kadâ ki baː fì kɔːmeː!
Don’t give him anything!

kadâ / kâr mû taimːàːkː səː!
Let’s not help them!

tàfì dâː làːmːàː: don kâr ðɔwːaː jà baː kâːftː!
Take an umbrella lest you get soaked!
17. Question

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

17.1.1 Question words


wà:ne: nè:?
Who is it?

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

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


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

mè:ne: nè: wannàn?
What is this?

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


wàʧè mo: tà: ʧe: ta fi tsà:da:?
Which car is the cheapest?

wàɗânne hu: lunà: kakè: sajârwa:?
Which caps are you selling

‘which one(s)’ (pro): wànne: m., wàʧʧe: f., wàɗânne: pl.

wàʧʧe: (ʧe:) za: kà zà:ba:?
Which one are you going to choose?

wànne:/ wàʧʧe:/ wàɗânne:?
Which one(s)?

‘where?’ ìna:

ìna: ja:рон?
Where is the boy?

ìna: ta täfi?
Where did she go?

‘when?’ jàuʧe / jàufè:

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

jàuʧe (ne:) za: à sa: kè bu: دق makaran?:
When will the school be opened again?

‘how?’ (ta) jàːjà:

jàːjà: kikè:ʤì:?
How do you feel?

ta jàːjà: kukà sä:mi wurin ʧìga:?
How did you manage to enter?
The q-morpheme

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

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

Examples:

wàː zǎi fìta +ː → wàː zǎi fìtâː? 
Who will come? (tone and length added)

jàufə ta haihù +ː → jáufə ta haihùː? 
When did she give birth? (length added)

mèː sukà sajar +ː → mèː sukà sajâr? 
What did they sell? (tone added)

ìnaː ka ga jàːrən? 
Where did you see the boy? (vacuous addition) (op.cit)

17.2 Yes/No questions

Yes/No questions preserve the word order of the declarative sentence but are marked in one or more of the 4 following ways: (1) by addition of the q-morpheme; (2) by question intonation; (3) by a sentence-final interrogative tag; and (4) by a sentence-initial interrogative word. (Newman 22000:497ff.)

17.2.1 The q-morpheme

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

17.2.2 Question intonation

Despite a dialectal as well as individual variation in the intonation of Yes/No questions in Hausa, one can characterize the intonation of such questions as follows:
The main feature of the “classic” pattern (described in standard grammars) is key raising (=register shift) before the last H tone of the sentence. The key raising raises the pitch of the H tone and also of succeeding L tones. (A final H-L sequence, for example, surfaces as something that sounds like an extra-high pitch followed by a high or mid.) (Newman 2000: 497)

17.2.3 Sentence-final question tags
The particles koː, ba, neː, kùwa, fàː function as sentence-final question tags. When key raising applies, they will surface with a long vowel and a falling tone, e.g. kaː dỳi bàː ? (< ba+ː ) ‘Did you hear?’; jaː àurù Aiʃɔ nèː? (< neː+ː )

17.2.4 Sentence-initial interrogative words
The three interrogative words found at the initial of Yes/No questions are: koː (cf. the disjunctive koː ... koː ... ‘either ... or’), anjàː (for questions introducing a serious doubt) and fin (for questions seeking confirmation).

koː Musà nàː nàn?
Is Musa here?

anjà hakà ne?
Is that really so?

fin koː kaː san an kaːrəː manà álùː fiː watàn nàn?
Did you know our salary was raised this month? (Newman 2000:501)

17.3 Indirect questions
Indirect questions are introduced by koː followed by a wh-question word. Examples:

bàn san koː wàː ja ji hakà ba
I don’t know who acted this way.

bài gajàː mini koː nawà zàn biːjaː ba
He did not tell me how much I will pay.

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

Inàː sòː in saniː koː zàː rùfì.
I want to know if he will go.

Sai saʃkìː ja tàmbàjeː fi in janâː sòn jà zaunàː wàʤensà.
Then the king asked him if he wanted to sit by him
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