



# Interactions entre morphologie verbale et structure informationnelle en haoussa

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# Interactions entre morphologie verbale et structure informationnelle en haoussa

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Le haoussa est une langue tchadique appartenant au phylum Afro-Asiatique, parlée par environ 50 millions de locuteurs en Afrique de l'Ouest, essentiellement au Nigéria et au Niger. Le haoussa est une langue SVO, avec une forte morphologie, dont un exemple frappant est donné par les procédés de formation du pluriel nominal. Les TAM sont marqués par un complexe pré-verbal qui inclut une marque de personne obligatoire, indexée au sujet. Ce complexe (glosé PNG.TAM) opère comme un mot indépendant que la tradition grammaticale haoussa appelle 'pronom sujet'. Les paradigmes de pronoms sujets se divisent en deux séries : une série compatible avec la focalisation, les questions partielles, et les subordonnées relative, et une série non-compatible.

Nous présentons ci-dessous un survol de la partie de la grammaire haoussa concernant ces phénomènes. Ce texte est extrait de : Caron, B. (2012). Hausa Grammatical Sketch. In Mettouchi, A., Vanhove, M. & Caubet, D. (eds.), *The CorpAfroAs Corpus*. ANR CorpAfroAs: a Corpus for Afro-Asiatic languages. [<http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00647533>]

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## A. Intonation

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

- **The Declarative or neutral pattern** is characterized by downdrift, accounted for by the general rule that “each H tone after a L is a step lower than the preceding H” (PN:612).
- **Wh-questions** are characterized by a declarative intonation pattern and a L tone + vowel lengthening added to the end of the intonation unit. This L tone changes final H tones to F. It does not change final L<sup>1</sup>.
- **Yes/No questions** are characterized by suspension of downdrift and key raising (↑) of the last H tone and all following L tones<sup>2</sup>.
- **Sympathetic address** is an intonation pattern associated with units beginning with **tô**: ‘okay, I see’ / **habà** ‘never, stop now!’, followed by the name of addressee. They are characterized by a floating L tone added to the end of the name of the addressee.
- **The vocative pattern** is used when calling someone. It is characterized by raised pitch, lesser downdrift and lengthening of the final short vowel of any name of an addressee ending in such a vowel.

## B. Information structure

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

Ex 1.

TOPIC	COMMENT		
	FOCUS	PRECONSTRUCT	
<b>Hawan doki dai,</b> riding horse indeed As for riding,	<b>Sulè: ne:</b> Sule COP it’s Sule	<b>ja</b> 3S.M.PFV.FOC who	<b>fi ko:wa:.</b> exceed everyone beats them all (PN, <i>op.cit.</i> )

### 1 Topicalization

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

*“The topic belongs to the pragmatic preamble of the utterance, and is separated from the rest by either (a) the intonation; (b) the insertion of a modal particle like dai ‘indeed’, fa ‘well’, kàm ‘really’, kùwa (= kò(:)) ‘moreover’, etc. (or a succession of such particles).” (PN:616<sup>3</sup>)*

<sup>1</sup> Newman (2000:493) identifies this phenomenon as a question-morpheme (“q-morpheme”), and refuses to consider it as part of the intonation pattern.

<sup>2</sup> See also § **Erreur ! Source du renvoi introuvable.**

<sup>3</sup> As for all examples taken from (Newman 2000), the transcription has been adapted following CorpAfroAs conventions.

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

[Ah]<sub>FILLER</sub>, [guinea-corn]<sub>TOPIC</sub>, [we get like ten sacks.]<sub>COMMENT</sub>  
 [As for maize]<sub>TOPIC</sub>, [we can get like ... er... fifteen sacks.]<sub>COMMENT</sub> ([HAU\\_BC\\_CONV\\_01\\_SP2\\_442-50](#))<sup>4</sup>:

## 2 Focus and subordination

When an element of a sentence is focused (contrastive emphasis with identification), it is moved to the beginning of the sentence, and the subject pronoun associated with the verb is selected from a subset of paradigms characterized as focus-compatible<sup>5</sup>. Syntactically, the clauses identified by this subset of pronouns are characterized as being subordinated to the focused element. Pragmatically, their referential value is a backgrounded preconstruct. Those that are compatible with focus [+FOC] are labelled FOC in the glosses; those that are incompatible [-FOC] are labelled NFOC. Wh-Questions are another instance of focus constructions, with the question word appearing at the start of the sentence. Two types of sentences are associated with [+FOC] subject pronouns: (1) sentences with focus; (2) Wh-Questions.<sup>6</sup>

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

PERFECTIVE	CONTINUOUS
<b>ja:ròn [ja:]</b> <sub>PFV.NFOC</sub> <b>t̥fi na:mà: d̥sijà</b> the boy ate meat yesterday ()	<b>ja:ròn [(ja)nà:]</b> <sub>CONT.NFOC</sub> <b>t̥fin na:mà: à kà:suwa:</b> the boy is eating meat at the market.
<b>ja:ròn (ne:) [ja]</b> <sub>PFV.FOC</sub> <b>t̥fi na:mà: d̥sijà</b> THE BOY ate meat yesterday	<b>ja:ròn (ne:) [(ja)kè:]</b> <sub>CONT.FOC</sub> <b>t̥fin na:mà: à kà:suwa:</b> THE BOY is eating meat at the market.
<b>na:mà: (ne:) ja:ròn [ja]</b> <sub>PFV.FOC</sub> <b>t̥fi d̥sijà</b> the boy ate MEAT yesterday	<b>na:mà: (ne:) ja:ròn [(ja)kè:]</b> <sub>CONT.FOC</sub> <b>t̥fi: à kà:suwa:</b> the boy is eating MEAT at the market.
<b>d̥sijà (ne:) ja:ròn [ja]</b> <sub>PFV.FOC</sub> <b>t̥fi na:mà:</b> the boy ate meat YESTERDAY	<b>à kà:suwa: (nè:) ja:ròn [(ja)kè:]</b> <sub>CONT.FOC</sub> <b>t̥fin na:mà:</b> the boy is eating meat AT THE MARKET.
<b>t̥fin na:mà: (ne:) ja:ròn [ja]</b> <sub>PFV.FOC</sub> <b>ji d̥sijà</b> the boy DID eat meat yesterday	<b>t̥fin na:mà: (ne:) ja:ròn [(ja)kè:]</b> <sub>CONT.FOC</sub> <b>ji: à kà:suwa:</b> <b>t̥fin na:mà: (ne:) ja:ròn [(ja)kè:]</b> <sub>CONT.FOC</sub> <b>(ji:) à kà:suwa:</b> the boy IS eating meat at the market.

Ex 3.	<b>ta nan nè: akà sa:mo: basa:wa //</b>
	via ANAPH COPI 4.PFV.FOC get.DIR Basawa //
	[Is it there] <sub>FOCUS</sub> [one finds the Basawas] <sub>PRECONSTRUCT</sub> ? ( <a href="#">HAU_BC_CONV_01_SPL_174</a> ) <sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Edited example.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 10.2 for TAM and Subject Pronouns (PNG).

<sup>6</sup> At a lower level, [+FOC] TAM's are also typically associated with relative clauses.

<sup>7</sup> This example shows that Focus can appear in declarative as well as interrogative sentences (Yes/No questions).

## b) WH-Questions

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

Ex 4. *tò: jàjà: kukè: dà / dabbo:bi: kuma /*  
 well how 2PL.CONT.FOC with / cattle.PL too /  
*makijà:ja: //*  
 cattle\_driver.PL //  
 Well how do you [do] with... animals and cattle drivers? ([HAU\\_BC\\_CONV\\_01\\_SP1\\_213-6](#))

## c) Relative clauses

Relative clauses occur only post-nominally. Their structure is REL+ embedded clause (with no change in the word order). The TAM in the embedded clause is chosen from the paradigms that are compatible with Focus. The REL is *dà* or a relative pronoun containing *dà*, e.g. *wandà, jaddà, indà*, etc. The antecedent of the relative must have some degree of definiteness; usually it bears the definite article suffix *-n/-r/-n* (<ZR>`n)

Ex 5. *jànzù ma: màgàná: -rì dà akè: jì: ja: ko:nè: /*  
 now even speech -DEF REL 4.CONT.FOC doing 3SG.M.PFV.NFOC dry\_up /  
 Right now, what we were talking about [i.e. the river, *lit. the speech that* we were doing] has dried up. ([HAU\\_BC\\_CONV\\_01\\_SP2\\_659](#))

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

Ex 6. *àkwai wani àbù -n tsò:ro: dà mukà tabà: gani: //*  
 COP3 some.M thing -POSL fear REL 1PL.PFV.FOC touch see //  
 there is something terrible that we saw. ([HAU\\_BC\\_CONV\\_01\\_SP2\\_123-4](#))

With numerals:

Ex 7. *kàman fè:kaṙà: biju dà sukà wufè: /*  
 like year two REL 3PL.PFV.FOC pass\_by /  
 over the past two year (the two years that have elapsed) ([HAU\\_BC\\_CONV\\_01\\_SP2\\_410](#))

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

## C. Verbal sentences – TAM marking

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

PNG.TAM Verb  
 Ex 8. *sun tsajà:*  
 3pl.pfv.nfoc stop  
 They stopped. (BC)

Actually, (17) is truncated through the ellipsis of the lexical subject, leaving only the agreement morpheme, or light subject (PNG=3PL), within the PNG.TAM complex.

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

	Subject	PNG.TAM	Verb
Ex 9.	<b>ma:ta:</b>	<b>sun</b>	<b>tsajà:</b>
	femme.PL	3pl.pfv.nfoc	stop
	The women stopped. (BC)		

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

	Subject	PNG.TAM	Verb	Object
Ex 10.	<b>ma:ta:</b>	<b>sun</b>	<b>dafà</b>	<b>àbinfi</b>
	femme.PL	3pl.pfv.nfoc	cook	food
	The women cooked food. (BC)			

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

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

Added to this three-way contrast, Hausa has two Futures - a (simple) Future (FUT) and a Potential or Indefinite Future (FUT.INDF) - a Habitual (HAB), and a Rhetorical (RHT<sup>8</sup>).

Hausa has developed special paradigms for verbs used in subordinate clauses. Subordination is linked to Wh-Questions, relative clauses and focus<sup>9</sup>. Thus, it has two Perfect and two Continuous paradigms, one which is compatible with focus, Wh-Questions and relativization (PFV.FOC and CONT.FOC) and one which is not (PFV.NFOC and CONT.NFOC). The Subjunctive is not compatible with subordination; the Future (FUT) is used instead.

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

## 1. PNG.TAM Paradigms

TABLE 1. PERFECT

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

<sup>8</sup> We have not found any instance of this aspect described by Paul Newman (2000:588-90).

<sup>9</sup> Subordination is the syntactic manifestation of preconstruction. Cf. Caron 2000.

TABLE 2. CONTINUOUS

	Continuous (CONT)	Relative Continuous (CONT.FOC)	Negative Continuous (“have” constructs, NEG2 CONT)	Negative Continuous (other constructs, NEG3 CONT)
1 s.	<i>inà:</i>	<i>nakè: / nikè:</i>	<i>ba: nà:</i>	<i>bâ: ní<sup>10</sup></i>
2 m.s.	<i>kanà:</i>	<i>kakè:</i>	<i>ba: kà:</i>	<i>bâ: ka</i>
2 f.s.	<i>kinà:</i>	<i>kikè:</i>	<i>ba: kjà:</i>	<i>bâ: ki</i>
3 m.s.	<i>janà: / jinà:</i>	<i>jakè: / jikè:</i>	<i>ba: jà:</i>	<i>bâ: ji</i>
3 f.s.	<i>tanà:</i>	<i>takè:</i>	<i>ba: tà:</i>	<i>bâ: ta</i>
1 pl.	<i>munà:</i>	<i>mukè:</i>	<i>ba: mà:</i>	<i>bâ: mu</i>
2 pl.	<i>kunà:</i>	<i>kukè:</i>	<i>ba: kwà:</i>	<i>bâ: ku</i>
3 pl.	<i>sunà:</i>	<i>sukè:</i>	<i>ba: sà:</i>	<i>bâ: su</i>
4	<i>anà:</i>	<i>akè:</i>	<i>ba: à:</i>	<i>bâ: a</i>

Etymologically, the Continuous is derived from a locative construction meaning “be at X” where X is an infinitive, a verbal noun expressing an action, or an action noun. The Continuous subject pronouns are also used in nonverbal predication where they are followed by locative or possessive constructions. When the nominal or pronominal subject is explicit, the PNG index of the subject pronoun can be omitted:

Ex 11. *ji: kè: fī: dà ni: /*  
 3SG.M CONT.FOC feeding APPL 1SG.IDPT /  
 he is the one feeding me ([HAU\\_BC\\_CONV\\_01\\_SP2\\_238](#))

Unlike all other paradigms<sup>11</sup>, the Continuous subject pronouns are followed by an Infinitive, a Verbal Noun (NV), or an action noun. Depending on their morpho-syntactic class (cf. § 14.1), verbs will use Infinitives and/or Verbal Nouns to form a Continuous TAM.

**Infinitive.** The infinitive is characterized by the nominalising suffix *-wa:* applied to the lexical form of the verb, i.e. the Perfect, when the verb is not followed by a Direct Object<sup>12</sup>:

	Perfect	Continuous
Ex 12.	<i>Mu:sa: ja: tsajà:</i>	<i>Mu:sa: janà: tsajà:-wa:</i>
	Musa has stopped	Musa is stopping

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

	Perfect	Continuous
Ex 13.	<i>sun ka:mà bàraunija:</i>	<i>sunà: ka:mà bàraunija:</i>
	They have caught the robber.	They are catching the robber.
	<i>sun ka:mà: ta</i>	<i>sunà: ka:mà: ta</i>
	They have caught her.	They are catching her.

**Verbal Noun.** In the Continuous, some verbs use a nominal form that behaves fully like a noun in so far as it uses a possessive link (POSL) *-n* to form a Noun Phrase with its Direct Object. This is the verbal noun (NV), cf. *ja:* ‘drink’ and its NV *jā:* (m.)<sup>13</sup>.

	Perfect	Continuous
Ex 14.	<i>sun ja: ta:bà</i>	<i>sunà: fân (&lt; jā:-n) ta:bà</i>
	They have smoked tobacco.	They are smoking tobacco.

<sup>10</sup> = <ZR> *bân*, e.g. *ni: bân wà:jo: na: san sâ: ba!* ‘Me, I was not clever enough to have seen a bull!’ ([HAU\\_BC\\_Conv\\_01\\_SP2\\_303](#))

<sup>11</sup> In Ader Hausa, the Future behaves like the SH Continuous, i.e. the subject pronouns are followed by a nominalized form of the verb (Caron 1991).

<sup>12</sup> /˩/ stands for a floating Low tone which combines with a final High tone of the verb to produce a Falling tone.

<sup>13</sup> In Standard Hausa, the Possessive Link is *-n* for masculine and *\*-t, -n* in Zaria Hausa.

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

Ex 15. *karfè: takwàs munà: aiki: //*  
o'\_clock eight 1PL.CONT.NFOC work //  
[Sometimes we would stay there,] by seven o'clock we were working.  
([HAU\\_BC\\_CONV\\_04\\_SPI\\_1086](#))

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

Ex 16. *tô: ai do:lè kà ji aiki: //*  
well indeed must 2SG.M.SBJV do work //  
Well, you had to work. ([HAU\\_BC\\_CONV\\_04\\_SPI\\_1103](#))

TABLE 3. SUBJUNCTIVE

	Subjunctive (SBJV)	Negative Subjunctive (NEG5.SBJV)
1	<i>in</i>	<i>kadâ/kâr in</i>
2m	<i>kâ</i>	<i>kadâ/kâr kâ</i>
2f	<i>ki</i>	<i>kadâ/kâr ki</i>
3m	<i>jâ</i>	<i>kadâ/kâr jâ</i>
3f	<i>tâ</i>	<i>kadâ/kâr tâ</i>
1p	<i>mù</i>	<i>kadâ/kâr mù</i>
2p	<i>kù</i>	<i>kadâ/kâr kù</i>
3p	<i>sù</i>	<i>kadâ/kâr sù</i>
4	<i>â</i>	<i>kadâ/kâr â</i>

TABLE 4. FUTURE

	Future (FUT)	Negative Future (NEG1a.FUT... NEG1b)
1	<i>zân / za: ni</i>	<i>bâ/bà: zân ... ba / bâ/bà: za: ni ... ba</i>
2m	<i>za: kâ</i>	<i>bâ/bà: za: kâ ... ba</i>
2f	<i>za: ki</i>	<i>bâ/bà: za: ki ... ba</i>
3m	<i>zâi / za: jâ</i>	<i>bâ/bà: zâi ... ba / bâ/bà: za: jâ ... ba</i>
3f	<i>za: tâ</i>	<i>bâ/bà: za: tâ ... ba</i>
1p	<i>za: mù</i>	<i>bâ/bà: za: mù ... ba</i>
2p	<i>za: kù</i>	<i>bâ/bà: za: kù ... ba</i>
3p	<i>za: sù</i>	<i>bâ/bà: za: sù ... ba</i>
4	<i>za: â</i>	<i>bâ/bà: za: â ... ba</i>

The simple Future (Table 5) is made up of a TAM *za*: (etymologically derived from a verb ‘to go’) followed by a PNG from the object paradigm, in a reverse order from what obtains in the other subject pronouns.<sup>2</sup>

TABLE 5. INDEFINITE FUTURE<sup>14</sup>

	Indefinite Future FUT.INDF	Neg. Indef. Future NEG1A FUT.INDF... NEG1B
1	<i>nâ:</i>	<i>bâ nâ:... ba</i>
2m	<i>kâ:</i>	<i>bâ kâ: ... ba</i>
2f	<i>kjâ:</i>	<i>bâ kjâ: ... ba</i>
3m	<i>jâ:</i>	<i>bâ jâ:...ba</i>
3f	<i>tâ:</i>	<i>bâ tâ: ... ba</i>
1p	<i>mâ:/mwâ:</i>	<i>bâ mâ:/mwâ: ... ba</i>
2p	<i>kwâ:</i>	<i>bâ kwâ: ... ba</i>
3p	<i>sâ:/swâ:</i>	<i>bâ sâ:/swâ: ... ba</i>
4	<i>â:</i>	<i>bâ â: ... ba</i>

TABLE 6. HABITUAL

	Habitual HAB	Neg. Habitual NEG1A HAB...NEG1B
1	<i>nakàn</i>	<i>bâ nakàn ... ba</i>
2m	<i>kakàn</i>	<i>bâ kakàn ... ba</i>
2f	<i>kikàn</i>	<i>bâ kikàn ... ba</i>
3m	<i>jakàn</i>	<i>bâ jakàn ... ba</i>
3f	<i>takàn</i>	<i>bâ takàn ... ba</i>
1p	<i>mukàn</i>	<i>bâ mukàn ... ba</i>
2p	<i>kukàn</i>	<i>bâ kukàn ... ba</i>
3p	<i>sukàn</i>	<i>bâ sukàn ... ba</i>
4	<i>akàn</i>	<i>bâ akàn ... ba</i>

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

TABLE 7. RHETORICAL (RH)

1	<i>nikà:</i>
2m	<i>kakà:</i>
2f	<i>kikà:</i>
3m	<i>jakà:</i>
3f	<i>takà:</i>

<sup>14</sup> The Negative Indefinite Future has many dialect variants. Cf. (Newman 2000:586).



1p	<b>mukà:</b>
2p	<b>kukà:</b>
3p	<b>sukà:</b>
4	<b>akà:</b>

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

## 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 reached a resultative state prior to the temporal locus. Generic events, such as expressed in proverbs, make use of the Perfect. Stative verbs, e.g. ‘love’, ‘understand’, and impersonal complement-taking verbs (cf. Ex 26 below) also use the Perfect.

Ex 17. **Ja:**                    **kàma:tà**            **kà**                    **bija:**    **hàra:ɗji:**  
 3S.PFV.NFOC    BE\_PROPER    2SG.M.SBJV    PAY    TAXES  
 You should pay taxes. (BC)

**THE RELATIVE PERFECT** (PFV.FOC) has two main uses:

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

Ex 18. **lo:kàfji:**    **-ń**            **dà**            **sukà**                    **zo:**    /  
 time    -def    rel    3pl.pfv.foc            come    /  
  
**mè:**    **nè:**                    **fà:ɾu**    **à**    **wuɾi:**    **-ń**    //  
 what    cop1.nfoc            happen    at    place    -def    //  
 When [lit. at the time when] they came, what happened there ?  
 (HAU\_BC\_CONV\_01\_SP1\_028-9)

- Wh-Questions

Ex 19. **ta**            **jà:jà:**                    **akà**                    **sa:mù**    **ga:nuwa:**    **-ń**            **nan**                    //  
 VIA    HOW                    4.PFV.FOC            GET    RAMPART    -DEF    ANAPH                    //  
 [...] how was it that we got that city wall ? (HAU\_BC\_CONV\_02\_SP1\_169)

- Focus

Ex 20. **dà**            **no:ma:**    **-ń**            **ja**                    **dò:gaɾà**  
 WITH    FARMING    -DEF    3SG.M.PFV.FOC            RELY  
  
**ko:**    **kùwa**    **jakàn**                    **ji**    **wani**            **àbù**    //  
 OR    AS\_FOR    3SG.M.HAB            DO    SOME.M    THING    //  
 Was it on farming that he was relying, or did he do something else?  
 (HAU\_BC\_CONV\_01\_SP1\_078)

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

Ex 21. **sukà**                    **ji**            **firi:**,                    **sukà**                    **figa**            **masalla:ɗfi:**,  
 3PL.PFV.FOC            DO    PREPARATION            3PL.PFV.FOC            ENTER            MOSQUE  
  
**sukà**                    **du:kà:**  
 3PL.PFV.FOC            STOOP\_DOWN  
 They got ready, they entered the mosque, they stooped down. (PN:573)

**THE CONTINUOUS** (CONT and CONT.FOC) subject pronouns have two separate types of uses:

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

Ex 22. **tà:re** **kukè:** **sàna:'à:** **-n** **no:ma:** **dà** **su:** //  
 TOGETHER 2PL.CONT.FOC PROFESSION -POSL FARMING WITH 3PL //  
 Were you farming TOGETHER with them? (Lit. Is it together that you were farming with them?) (HAU\_BC\_CONV\_01\_SP1\_050)

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

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

Ex 23. **kà:wu:** **-na:** **janà:** **wannàn ùnguwa:** **-n** **fulà:ni:** //  
 uncle -1sg.pos 3sg.m.cont.nfoc prox quarter -posl Fulanis //  
 my uncle, he is in this Fulani Quarter. (HAU\_BC\_CONV\_01\_SP2\_198)

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

Ex 24. **ita** **ma:** **tanà:** **zàune à nân** /  
 3sg.f even 3sg.f.cont.nfoc staying at prox /  
 As for her, does she live here [...]? (HAU\_BC\_CONV\_01\_SP1\_007)

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

Ex 25. **tò:** **fì:** / **janà:** **dà** **já:ra:** **nè:** **kàman -kà** //  
 well 3sg.m / 3sg.m.cont.nfoc with child \pl cop1.nfoc like -2sg.m //  
 Well he, does he have children like you? (HAU\_BC\_CONV\_01\_SP1\_048-9)

The ‘have construct’ can also express a quality:

Ex 26. **àbinfì** **janà:** **dà** **da:dí:**  
 FOOD 3SG.CONT.NFOC WITH PLEASURE  
 The food is tasty. (BC)

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

Ex 27. **allà:** **dai** **fì** **ka:ra:** **manà** **la:fijà:** //  
 GOD INDEED 3SG.M.SBJV INCREASE 1PL.BEN HEALTH //  
 May God keep us in good health. (HAU\_BC\_CONV\_04\_SP1\_1182)

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

Ex 28. **sei** **mù** **ɕje:** **mù** **kai** **fì** **kà:suwa:** //  
 THEN 1PL.SBJV GO 1PL.SBJV CARRY 3SG.M MARKET //  
**fì:** **ma:** **mù** **ɕje:** **mù** **sajar** //  
 3SG.M EVEN 1PL.SBJV GO 1PL.SBJV SELL.CAUS //  
 [When we had cooked the doughnuts] we took (them), carried (them) to the market.  
 Actually, we went to sell (them). (HAU\_BC\_CONV\_01\_SP2\_107-9)

**THE FUTURE** expresses future and/or intentional actions or events. It occurs in both main and subordinate propositions.

Ex 29. **an** **ɕjimà:** **fa** / **ina:** **za:ki** **ɕje:** //  
 4.pfv.nfoc spend\_time indeed / where fut.2sg.f go //  
 Later on, where will you go? (HAU\_BC\_CONV\_03\_SP2\_026-8)

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

Ex 30. **zâi dâuka: -i hukunfi: à kâi -n -ki //**  
 FUT.3SG.M TAKE -ACC1 PUNISHMENT AT HEAD -POSL -2SG.F //  
 [...] he will punish you. (HAU\_BC\_CONV\_03\_SP2\_058-60)

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

Ex 31. **wâtâki:là makâdâ: sâ: da:wo:**  
 maybe drummers 3pl.fut.indf come  
 Maybe the drum players will come back. (PN:587)

It is found in proverbs:

Ex 32. **ko:wa: ja hadfjè tabarja: jâ: kwa:na: tsâje**  
 WHOEVER 3SG.PFV.FOC SWALLOW PESTLE 3SG.FUT.INDF SPEND\_NIGHT STANDING\_UP  
 Whoever swallows a pestle will spend the night standing. (Evil will rebound on the doer.)  
 (ibid.)

It is used to express latent threats:

Ex 33. **kjâ: gâmu dà ji: /**  
 2SG.M.FUT.INDF MEET WITH 3SG.M /  
 Well, (sooner or later) you will see him [he has already said he will punish you.]  
 (HAU\_BC\_CONV\_03\_SP2\_057)

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

Ex 34. **kâ gai dà gîda**  
 2SG.M.SBJV GREET WITH HOME  
  
**sâ dji**  
 2PL.FUT.INDF HEAR  
 - Greet your people! (lit. Greet [them] at home!) - I will! (lit. They will hear!) (BC)

**THE HABITUAL** denotes a habit, without any explicit reference to time.

Ex 35. **akân sa:mù matsala: iji: -ñ na wânnan //**  
 4.HAB GET PROBLEM TYPE -DEF POSL PROX //  
 We usually get that kind of problem. (HAU\_BC\_CONV\_01\_SP2\_667)

**THE RHETORICAL.** This little-studied set of subject pronouns cannot be used outside subordination, and has no negative form. The third person PNG can be omitted when a nominal subject is present. The Rhetorical, which does not appear in our corpus, has been described by Paul Newman as follows: “It is used primarily in set expressions, idioms, epithets, proverbs, compounds, and such, but not exclusively so. [...] The rhetorical implies doubt or even a dare with respect to the possibility of achieving some action. It is often best translated with such English modals as ‘should’ or ‘could’. As the name indicates, it is commonly used in rhetorical questions or statements” (2000:589)

## Résumé-Conclusion

- 1) Concepts assertion-préconstruction. Les séries qui apparaissent dans le contexte [+focus] marquent la préconstruction de la relation prédicative qu'ils déterminent. Ils ne font pas l'objet de l'assertion de l'énoncé où ils apparaissent. L'assertion porte ailleurs (le prédicat de la principale ; l'identification du terme focalisé). Du point de vue informationnelle, l'information du prédicat préconstruit est mise en retrait (backgrounded).
- 2) Dans la narration : l'emploi narratif de l'Accompli II (Relative Perfect) marque une série d'événements discrets, ponctuels, organisés chronologiquement dans l'ordre de leur énonciation. Leur repérage spatio-temporel découle de l'espace narratif (Aoristique) dans lequel ils sont plongés. L'Aoristique est formé d'intervalles bornés-fermés sans chevauchement (pas de parfait dans l'Aoristique, pas d'état résultant). La seule option qui reste est le repérage réciproque des intervalles par la consécution.
- 3) Dans les 2 cas (Subordination et Narration), les séries II (relative TAM's) indiquent que le repérage de la relation prédicative préconstruite est à chercher ailleurs que dans l'énoncé où ils apparaissent. Soit dans le contexte informationnel (background), soit dans l'espace aoristique (narratif).

## Annexe : Comments on (Hyman & Watters 1987)

2.1.3. Hausa. As is well known from numerous grammars of Hausa, a Chadic language spoken primarily in Northern Nigeria and Niger, the completive and progressive aspects are each characterized by two suppletive allomorphs found in complementary distribution:

(13)		[-focus]		[+focus]	
	[+CPL]	...sú-kà tàfí		sú-n tàfí	'they went'
	[+PROG]	...sú-kèè tàfíyàa		sú-nàa tàfíyàa	'they are going'
	cf. FUTURE	záa sù tàfí		swáà tàfí	'they will go'

Hausa is primarily an aspect language. The [-focus] forms indicated for the

completive and progressive aspects are generally found when preceded either by the head of the relative clause in which they occur or by a focused nonverbal element. The [+focus] forms are not found in these environments. Although two future forms are distinguished, it is not clear whether they should be interpreted as parallel to the preceding aspectual forms.<sup>7</sup> As we shall see in the following Bantu examples, it is common for the future to be the only tense not having focus variants.