2 The various semantic connotations of these nouns are actually observed at the deeper semantic level in those varieties where both the de-nominal reduplicated nouns and their simple noun counterparts occur.

3 Some of the de-nominal reduplicated nouns with 'resultative' meaning need further explanation:
   a) akfkd is of the termite family, the word is derived from akd 'a kind of caterpillar'.
   b) Idide 'earthworm' is usually found after ide 'flood' (from rains) has dried up.
   c) In the Onitsha dialect of Igbo 9g~g9 'gladness' is what a beneficiary has for receiving 9g9 'kindness' of any sort.

References


Dialect Variation in the Treatment of Hausa Words with Final Low-Low Tone

by Paul Newman and Ismail Junaidu

0 Introduction

Hausa has two level tones, H(igh), which is unmarked, and L(low), indicated d(Quantity), plus a F(alling) tone, indicated ̂. Considering only the two final syllables of polysyllabic nouns, one finds that three of the four possible combinations of level tones occur freely and commonly, namely H-H, H-L, and L-H. Examples such as zoomoo 'hare', jininaa 'ostrich', futskaa 'face', coolataa 'spoons', wandoo 'trousers', and manonjii 'farmer' can be multiplied at will. [Note: In the examples, long vowels are indicated by double letters, short vowels by single letters. The symbol ̂ represents the rolled/tap R, which in Standard Hausa contrasts with the retroflex flap, indicated /R/.]

As is well known in Hausa studies, the sequence L-L at the end of lexical items is relatively rare. Leben (1971) pointed out that when the final vowel is long, final L-L in Hausa is practically non-existent, recent loanwords such as sakandaPee 'secondary school' being an exception. In addition, since common nouns of whatever tone pattern seldom end in a short final vowel (cf. Carnochan 1951, Gouffe 1965), it follows that final L-L nouns in general will necessarily be few in number. Words of that form do, however, exist, e.g. gwado 'blanket', ayaba 'banana(s)', beegi/a 'bugle'.

Given that final L-L is such a marked phonological pattern, one would expect that it might be subject to dialectal variation: this turns out to be the case. The purpose of this paper is to report on the treatment of words with final L-L in the Katsina [Kts] dialect. Taking as a starting point Standard Hausa, in which the words in question appear with an invariant L-L tone, we shall describe their more complicated realizations in Katsina, where the tones manifest interesting alternations. We begin with the examples in (1).
(1) Kano Kts Kano Kts 

dbi dhu thing dhahe dahu basket

gwάdό gwάdό blanket aydago ayahe plantain

gyάle gyάle shawl ayahe ayahe banana

Kάаza Kάаza tin kwάnγιri kwάnγιri railway tie

macé macé woman Zάмfάra Zάмfάra Zamfara

Mına Mina Mina Mina Mina Mina Mina Mina Mina Mina

Misáu Misáu Mina

Kάаza Kts Kts Kano Kts

beegi gааa bugle gааa gааa type of gown

bиrкi kубi bricklayer shee/a shee/a announcement

kуаа/gаа kуаа/gаа prostitute tаllа tаllа hawking goods

lahάа lаhάа Sunday Fиikά Fиikά Fika

mаngwάdό mаngwάdό mango Gwάмбe Gwάмбe Gombe.

oodále oodále orderly tаzаrɡádi tаzаrɡádi fragrant herb

In Katsina, the citation form of all the above words has final L-H tone. This “citation form” is the form in which these words appear when occurring in sentence final position, i.e. before pause, e.g.

(2) mаа таа mаan mаngwάdό? Who will buy a blanket?

bаа tаа sуu gуάdό bаа. She didn’t buy a blanket.

kа bаа rаа dаdа dаfаjаа. Tin is more valuable than lead.

wааntа gуάdό mаa nа dаdа nеe This is an expensive shawl.

bаа tаа sуu gуάdό bаа. She didn’t buy a blanket.

bаа tаа sуu gуάdό bаа. She didn’t buy a blanket.

lаа tаа nа mаn gуаа dаfаjаа. Give me a basket or a mat.

sуu mаа nа kуаа/gаа bаа? She is not a harlot.

1.2. In non-final position, all the words exhibiting the pattern in (1) have L-L tone (subject to additional specifications below), e.g.

(4) kуаа tаа dаdа dаfаjаа. Tin is more valuable than lead.

wааntа gуάdό mаa nа dаdа nеe This is an expensive shawl.

bаа tаа sуu gуάdό bаа. She didn’t buy a blanket.

bаа tаа sуu gуάdό bаа. She didn’t buy a blanket.

lаа tаа nа mаn gуаа dаfаjаа. Give me a basket or a mat.

sуu mаа nа kуаа/gаа bаа? She is not a harlot.

1.3. When followed by the Stabilizer (nee!cее), a marker used in identificational and equational sentences and for indicating focus, both L-H and L-L occur. (The tone of the Stabilizer itself is polar, i.e. opposite that of the final tone of the immediately preceding word.) If the erstwhile L-L word plus the stabilizer occur at the end of the sentence, then the L-H pattern on the noun is called for. If, on the other hand, the tonally variant word preceding the stabilizer occurs earlier in the sentence, one normally gets L-L. The sequence L-H is also possible, but in that case there is some degree of prominence added to the noun, e.g.

(5) a. gаааlе cее bаа is a big gown.

mаа nеe tаа nа nа dаdа nеe It’s a basket.

bаа tаа sуu gуάdό bаа. She didn’t buy a blanket.

mаа nеe tаа nа nа dаdа nеe It’s a basket.

bаа tаа sуu gуάdό bаа. She didn’t buy a blanket.

mаа nеe tаа nа nа dаdа nеe It’s a basket.

bаа tаа sуu gуάdό bаа. She didn’t buy a blanket.
Newman/Junaidu, Dialect Variation in the Treatment of Hausa Words

Kano Kts Kano Kts
gli bu thing diabu diaku basket

gyale gyale shawl diyaba ayaba banana

dzi dzi tin kwangiri kwangiri railway tie

daka daka woman Zanfar Zanfar Zanfar

Min d Mina Min

Min Kts Min Kts

Mina Mina Minu

Bisal bisal bugle gishe gishe type of gown

Kano Kts Kano Kts

biski biski bricklayer sheila sheela announcement

kaa caval kaapwa prostitute silla silla hawkings goods

lahadi lahadi Sunday Fika Fika Fika

mungwu mungwu mango Gwamb Gwamb Gombe.

oodale oodale orderly
tazargade tazargade fragrant herb

In Katsina, the citation form of all the above words has final L-H tone. This "citation form" is the form in which these words appear when occurring in sentence final position, i.e. before pause, e.g.

1.1. Interrogative sentences in Hausa are marked, inter alia, by the lengthening of sentence final vowels (Newman and Newman 1981), Some dialects also add a final floating L tone "q morpheme", especially in WH questions. In Katsina, this L tone is added to the word manifesting its final L-H, thereby resulting in a surface sequence of L-F, e.g.

1.2. In non-final position, all the words exhibiting the pattern in (1) have L-L tone (subject to additional specifications below), e.g.

2. In Katsina, the expression of all the above words has final L-H tone. This "citation form" is the form in which these words appear when occurring in sentence final position, i.e. before pause, e.g.

3. Interrogative sentences in Hausa are marked, inter alia, by the lengthening of sentence final vowels (Newman and Newman 1981). Some dialects also add a final floating L tone "q morpheme", especially in WH questions. In Katsina, this L tone is added to the word manifesting its final L-H, thereby resulting in a surface sequence of L-F, e.g.

4. If the erstwhile L-L word plus the stabilizer occur at the end of the sentence, then the L-H pattern on the noun is called for. If, on the other hand, the tonally variant word preceding the stabilizer occurs earlier in the sentence, one normally gets L-L. The sequence L-H is also possible, but in that case there is some degree of prominence added to the noun, e.g.

5. When followed by the Stabilizer (nee!cee), a marker used in iden-
tificational and equational sentences and for indicating focus, both L-H and L-L occur. (The tone of the Stabilizer itself is polar, i.e. opposite that of the final tone of the immediately preceding word.) If the erstwhile L-L word plus the stabilizer occur at the end of the sentence, then the L-H pattern on the noun is called for. If, on the other hand, the tonally variant word preceding the stabilizer occurs earlier in the sentence, one normally gets L-L. The sequence L-H is also possible, but in that case there is some degree of prominence added to the noun, e.g.
Newman/Junaidu: Dialect Variation in the Treatment of Hausa Words

(6) a. gůla'da ta arwo yaa fucée The shawl she borrowed is lost.
    b. wata shěla dá aká yá taa báa ni múamaka D An announcement
        that was made surprised me.
    c. wanti bifikila dá suka sánti yaa zoo A bricklayer they know came.

1.4. Nouns modified by a following relative clause introduced by the
particle dà manifest L-L tone, e.g.

(7) a. gůla'ndá wánda ta arwo yaa fucée = (6a)
    b. wata sheela wàddá aká yá taa báa ni múamaka = (6b)
    c. an kuwuru shělu wánda yì fì wàndánsì kyùu They brought a
        basket that was better than those.

1.5. So far, all of the examples displaying tonal alternation have
been of simple words ending in their localcAL short final vowel. Words
containing a suffixal linker or previous reference marker never keep
the final low tone. Possessed masculine nouns (marked by -n) and femi-
nine nouns (marked by G [= gemination]) all have a high tone on the
word-final syllable, e.g.

(8) a. gwadon Muusaa Muna's blanket
    b. beegilakki your bugle
    c. hudunka your basket
    d. mandunno my mango
    e. sīliitisa her advertisement
    f. gū lántsi my banana.

    Words containing the previous reference marker (-n masculine/-i
feminine) end in a Falling tone, this being a realization of H on the
final vowel of the noun plus the L tone of the marker itself, e.g.

(9) a. gwadon the basket
    b. shiellá the announcement
    c. kuurvti the harlot.

Nouns modified by relative clauses introduced by the particle dà
normally employ the previous reference marker. Those words ending
in a L-H sequence should thus exhibit a Falling tone (cf. (9)). In rapid
speech, however, the F+L combination found on the head noun plus
the dà commonly simplifies to H+L, e.g.

(10) a. kūdd dà ta sayoo the tin ore that she bought (= kūdd dá ...)
    b. bifikila dá suka sánti the bricklayer whom they know
        (= bifikila dà ...)
    c. sheelad dà aká yì the announcement that was made (= sheelád dà ...)
        gūafàn dà zaa su báa ni the gown that they are going to give me
        (= gūafàn dà ...).

2. We now turn to the set of words in (11), all of which are trisyllabic
and have a heavy penultimate syllable: These can be contrasted with
the items in (1), which we have been discussing so far.

(11) a. Kano
    b. agūlā agūlā step-child
    c. akālā akālā lead rope for camel
    d. barinda barinda speculation
    e. fānskēke fānskēke pancake powder
    f. kubelē kubelē bean paste cake
    g. talēkā talēkā common man.
(b) wannin gôrê cee dà na fi xô This is the big gown that I like most.

wannin gôrê nee mai ci'âdu This is an expensive shawl.
dâddâ nee ta sosoy. It is a basket she brought
mu'cê cee ta hîlfaa It's a girl she gave birth to.
sun cêe yairinyâ? kusâwâ ceeâmma karyaa nê. They said the
girl is a harlot, but it's a lie.
sheerkarunjîya Minâ cêe muîî wucê. It was Minna we passed by
two days ago.

kàsà cêe âkêe saamiu àjihî Filâtîso = kàsà cêe âkêe ... Tin one
gets in Plateau State.

1.4 Nouns modified by a following relative clause introduced by the
particle dà manifest L-L tone, e.g.

(6) a. giyele dà ta arro yaa fâxâ. The shawl she borrowed is lost.
b. wata sheeîlâ dà akâ yî taa bâa ni múâmâskîi. An announcement
that was made surprised me.
c. wani bîfkitâ dà sukkà sànti yaa zoo. A bricklayer they know came.

If, on the other hand, the relative clause is introduced by a sub-
ordinating pronominal form (wândâ/wàddâ 'the one who/which'), the
noun appears with L-H tone, e.g.

(7) a. giyêlê wàndâ ta arroo yaa fàccêe = (6a)
b. wata sheêêlâ wàddà akâ yî taa bâa ni múâmâskîi = (6b)
c. an kusowoo shéêdâ wàndâ yà fi wàdâncà fi yîdû. They brought a
basket that was better than those.

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akâlâ akâla lead rope for camel
barînda barînda speculating
fansâkke fansâkke pancake powder
küleê küleê bean paste cake
talâkâ talâkka common man.
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In Kts, the citation tone has become lexicalized, with the result that these words retain the final L-H in all environments, sentence-final or not, e.g.

(12)

talakkt nee He's a commoner.
bab akalsa ba cee It's not a lead rope.
kaawoo akalsa Bring a lead rope.
waaw akalsa A step-son came yesterday.
dan barinda da na samii A speculator whom I know.
fankan daa kiraarree Pancake powder and perfume.
bab naa cin kulaa I don't eat bean paste cake.
baa naa cin kulaa I don't eat bean paste cake.

3. In Standard Hausa, one finds a small number of recent loanwords from English that end in L-L and have a long final vowel. In Kts, these words end in L-F tone, e.g.

(13)

Kano Kts
lootaree lootaree lottery
disfensaree dispensary, clinic
elemenaree elementary school
fisamaree primary school
maajistaree magistrate
sankandaree secondary school.

The L-F pattern is retained in all environments; it is not subject to morphotonemic alternation, e.g.

(14)

bab ci lootaree ba He didn't win the lottery.
disfensaree tax koonee The clinic burned down.
zaa shiga sankandaree They entered secondary school.

Polysyllabic words with final /e/ that end in L-L in Standard Hausa are also L-F in Kts, e.g.

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(15)

Kano Kts
ambulain ambulain envelope
falmirin falmirin waistcoat
tambulain tambulain drinking glass
cocilin cocilin flashlight.

As in the case of the words with the long final vowel, the L-F in Kts is invariant and appears as such regardless of the position of the word in the sentence, e.g.

(16)

bab sayoo ambulain ba I didn't buy envelopes.
tocilin dinsa ba ta da kyyu His flashlight is not any good.
falmirin cee It's a waistcoat.
kaawoo mii tambulain Bring me a glass!

4. The small set of words in (17) are unusual in that they vary in final vowel length as well as in tone, e.g.

(17)

Kano Kts
faakila sikooni la'la taakila first class
sikin kilal la'la taakila second class
sikinki la'la taakila third class.

In citation form, both variants are used. Otherwise, the form with final L-F is used in final, pre-pausal position and the form with final L-L is used elsewhere, e.g.

(18)

gana faakila Here is the first class.
naa fii sikooni la'la I prefer second class.
bab sikooni la'la nee, taakila nee It's not first class, its third class.
jingi da ya shigo faakila nee The train he entered was first class.

Note that at the end of a phrase the L-F variant is preferred over the L-L form even though it is in sentence medial position, e.g.
In Kts, the citation tone has become lexicalized, with the result that these words retain the final L-H in all environments, sentence-final or not, e.g.

(12) talaklro nee He's a commoner.  
baa akila ba cee It's not a lead rope.  
kaawoo akila Bring a lead rope.  
wani agiila ya zoo jay A step-sion came yesterday.  
dan barinda da na samii A speculator whom I know.  
fankeke da tirilree Pancake powder and perfume.  
bnn ci kileele ba I didn't eat bean paste cake.  
baa nna cfn kileele I don't eat bean paste cake.

3. In Standard Hausa, one finds a small number of recent loanwords from English that end in L-L and have a long final vowel. In Kts, these words end in L-F tone, e.g.

(13) Kano Kts  
lootarree lootarree lottery  
disfensaree disfensaree dispensary, clinic  
elemenaree elementaree elementary school  
siwaamaree siwaamaree primary school  
maqistaree maqistaree magistrate  
sakandaree sakandaree secondary school.

The L-F pattern is retained in all environments; it is not subject to morphotonic alternation, e.g.

(14) bai ci lootarree ba He didn't win the lottery.  
disfensaree taakone The clinic burned down.  
sun siwa sakandaree They entered secondary school.  
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Polysyllabic words with final /n/ that end in L-L in Standard Hausa are also L-F in Kts., e.g.
5. Up to this point, in contrasting the phonological behavior of words in Katsina vs. Standard Hausa, we have been focusing on individual lexical items with underlying final L-L tone. Differences between the dialects also show up with words of other tonal shapes that contain a possessive pronoun. As is well known, all of the possessive pronoun clitics in Hausa except for the 1st person singular have the shape CV with a short vowel and low tone, e.g. zánténtá 'her wrapper' (lit. 'wrapper-of-her'). If the noun being possessed ends in a low tone, the result is naturally a final L-L sequence. In Kts. these forms undergo the same alternation as the monomorphemic items in (1) already dealt with, i.e. they surface as L-L in non-final position and L-H before pause (or before a Stabilizer which is in final position), e.g.

(20) a. taagámmú taa laálaacee Our window has become messed up.
    dookíntā yaa fasáá mátā Her horse has become lost.
    báa móókxwá ba cée It is not their car.
    bit'intá née báa naákí òbú It is her pen not yours.
    b. náa go fushákí I see your face.
    záa wántí zánténtá He will wash her wrapper.
    taagámmú cée It is our window.

Note that possessed words in Kts with underlying final L-L tone will already have been changed into L-H, as shown earlier in (8), and thus will not undergo the alternation illustrated in (20), i.e.

(21) gwóddó + náá → gwóddónká your blanket NOT *gwóddónká
    áddání + náá → áddáníntá her basket NOT *áddáníntá
    béggílá + náá → béggílámání our bugle NOT *béggílámín.
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(20)

a. taagammu taa laalacee Our window has become messed up.
dookinta yaa macee mata Her horse has become lost.
b. naa ga fushkzkkaa I see your face.
biironta naa naakki ba It is her pen not yours.

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(21)

* * *
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1 For most analytical purposes, the Falling tone can be viewed as a
combination of H+L on a single syllable. Indications that the F is in some
sense a unitary contour tone are discussed in Newman (1992, in press).

2 On the basis of the phonotactic gap and the existence of certain
morpheme alternants, Leben proposed that Hausa had an active process
rule, now referred to as low-tone-raising (LTR), whereby word-final L-L
went to L-H if the final vowel was long. The synchronic validity of this
rule has been challenged by Newman and Jaggar (1989a); see also the
observations by Schuh (1989) and the comments in reply by Newman
and Jaggar (1989b).

3 With proper names, on the other hand, short final vowels are the
norm.

4 The description provided here reflects the speech and linguistic
knowledge of Dr. Ismail Junaidu, a native of Katsina. To determine how
far his tonal usage is found geographically and the extent to which other
speakers exhibit deviations from his particular pattern would require a
full-scale dialect study that is yet to be carried out.

5 Interestingly, in a now probably forgotten footnote, Hodge (1947:
35n) noted that his Katsina informant had an L-L/L-H alternation with
the two words abU ‘thing’ and mace ‘woman’ (mistakenly transcribed
macee with a long final vowel).

6 The -i appears as such in final position. In non-final position, it
completely assimilates to and becomes a geminate with the immediately
following consonant, e.g. ayabi taar yi ‘landa ‘The bananas are too
expensive’; bán ga kaawód bá ‘I didn’t see the prostitute’.

7 In SH, this word is masculine, e.g. disféndé sáa koomée.

8 The dictionaries generally give this word as ñúkúkú; the pronun-
ciation without the ñú is now becoming standard.

9 The specification of “final” as meaning phrase-final rather than
utterance-final probably also applies to the forms described earlier
manifesting tonal alternation, e.g. ifkei uyuva, ámmu bátaa goobáa
‘There are bananas, but no guavas’, cf. bá a kaawóy uyuva ba, tai daa
goobáa ‘They didn’t bring bananas, only guavas’.

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1 For most analytical purposes, the Falling tone can be viewed as a combination of H+L on a single syllable. Indications that the F is in some sense a unitary contour tone are discussed in Newman (1992, in press).

2 On the basis of the phonotactic gap and the existence of certain morpheme alternants, Leben proposed that Hausa had an active process rule, now referred to as low-tone-raising (LTR), whereby word-final L-L went to L-H if the final vowel was long. The synchronic validity of this rule has been challenged by Newman and Jaggar (1989a); see also the observations by Schuh (1989) and the comments in reply by Newman and Jaggar (1989b).

3 With proper names, on the other hand, short final vowels are the norm.

4 The description provided here reflects the speech and linguistic knowledge of Dr. Ismail Junaidu, a native of Katsina. To determine how far his tonal usage is found geographically and the extent to which other speakers exhibit deviations from his particular pattern would require a full-scale dialect study that is yet to be carried out.

5 Interestingly, in a now probably forgotten footnote, Hodge (1947: 35n) noted that his Katsina informant had an L-L/L-H alternation with the two words abū 'thing' and mace 'woman' (mistakenly transcribed macee with a long final vowel).

6 The -i appears as such in final position. In non-final position, it completely assimilates to and becomes a geminate with the immediately following consonant, e.g. ayabdt taq c'anda 'The bananas are too expensive'; bān ga kauwo dba 'I didn't see the prostitute'.

7 In SH, this word is masculine, e.g. dispersēe taq koomēe.

8 The dictionaries generally give this word as faskīlā; the pronunciation without the /i/ is now becoming standard.

9 The specification of “final” as meaning phrase-final rather than utterance-final probably also applies to the forms described earlier manifesting tonal alternation, e.g. ikwāt ayabha, ammaa baatai goobā 'There are bananas, but no guavas'; cē bā d kawooc ayabha ba, tai dai goobā 'They didn't bring bananas, only guavas'.

References


