

Paul Newman, *The Hausa Language. An Encyclopedic Reference Grammar*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press 2000, 760 pp.

The intensive studies on Hausa of recent few decades had to result in creating a comprehensive grammar that would allow us to put on the back shelf the description by R.C.Abraham of more than 40 years ago. Abraham's grammar was esteemed for the richness of linguistic data which, after many years, were still open for creative interpretation. The book under review is the one that is able to cope with this challenge and become the biggest and the most exhaustive description of the Hausa language in modern time.

It is basically a reference grammar, conjoining the achievements in the interpretation of the Hausa language system at all levels, in which there is much place for the author's view on many aspects of the Hausa language and numerous new proposals referring to the description of this language.

The grammar is constructed in quite an innovative way. It is an encyclopedic book covering a wide range of the descriptive features of Hausa with no hierarchy in their arrangement (Impersonal, Sentence Types, Mutuality, Phonology, Linker, Historical Sound Laws, *MAI* and *MARAS* being the examples of the topics). Separate units (numbered from 1 to 80) related to the distinguished topics are presented in alphabetical order. The description basically refers to the variety termed as *Standard Hausa*, although there is a lot of information concerning the dialectal forms. Dialect and historical notes, as well as some discussion statements are separated from the basic text as they are addressed to more advanced readers. The book is distinguished by the enormous wealth of the language data. The statements are illustrated by a large number of examples, documented by extended or even complete lists of the Hausa lexical (phrasal) representatives.

Being a reference grammar, the book is expected to allocate the space and attention according to the achievements and current

research. In this respect, the chapters devoted to plural nouns and verb grades are significantly extended. Newman has presented the investigations of his own, the results of which rearrange and modify the previous views on nominal and verbal morphology. What goes beyond nouns and verbs is also significantly marked by the author's view on Hausa grammar. In the organization of material (and terminology) some traditional Hausaists' labels are no longer used (we will not find the relevant parts of material while searching for the head 'auxiliary verbs', 'causative verbs', 'person-aspect pronouns', 'copula'). It is to note that a wide discussion among Hausaists, concerning word subcategorisation in Hausa, is not reflected here, and therefore Parson's terms *nominals* and *verbals* are not used for classificatory purposes. Particles are grouped under the head "Modal particles" that comprise the 'grammatical particles' or 'markers' (such as *mà* which introduces an indirect object), but not the prepositions that form a distinct class of words. For some other specific words Newman adopts functional terminology, i.e. stabilizer *nē/cē*, predicator *àkwai* (whereas its phraseological counterpart *dà* remains among prepositions). Other non-verbal predicates have been incorporated into the conjugational system (non-verbal continuous paradigm *sunà/sukè*, allative paradigm *zâ su*). 'Aspectual verbs', 'Pro-Verb *yì*' and 'TAM markers' are quite new terms of Hausa descriptive tradition, whereas 'Pluractional verbs' and 'Effential verbs' are already established on the grounds of the earlier works by Newman. This attitude towards the systematization of the Hausa grammar makes the book addressed to a wide circle of linguists and introduces Hausa into comparative linguistics much more effectively than any other Hausa grammar written so far.

The feature that significantly marks the interpretation of the language data and their presentation is the historical context of the present-day forms. Newman sees the Hausa grammatical system (or particular subsystems) as a result of its linear development that has its roots in common Chadic (or even Afroasiatic) inventory. Without such a context, the interpretation of Hausa imperative *jèkà* 'go!' as a verbal paradigm containing an intransitive copy pronoun would be incomprehensible. As for morphological classes, either

nominal or verbal, they are constituted according to the vestiges of their proto-forms, not their contemporary morphological shape. This way of linguistic analysis breaks the boundaries between a synchronic and a diachronic view on the language system and permits seeing it in an ongoing process of its development.

The book not only collects the results of numerous dispersed works on the particular linguistic topics in Hausa, but also introduces important changes to the already functioning statements on Hausa at any level of its grammatical system. Let me comment only some of them that seem to be the most spectacular from the point of view of the Hausaists' descriptive tradition.

Relatively small modifications refer to the presentation of the Hausa phonological system. The proposals established long ago for Standard Hausa at 32 consonantal phonemes, 5 short and 5 long vowels, 2 diphthongs and 3 tones are kept. The two phonemes, i.e. /f/ (together with its palatalised counterpart /fy/, as well as /j/, were put into two alternative articulation positions to indicate their phonetical variability, depending on dialect/idiolect and phonological environment. The table of consonants (p. 392), however, in a vertical line, has no clear-cut distinction between obstruents and fricatives, so the double placement of the above mentioned consonants is somehow ambiguous.

The description of the allophonic use of vowels is considerably richer than in previous works, the conditions, however, are still defined individually, not as rules. Since vowels carry the suprasegmental features, let me mention that only the basic contrast between long and short vowels is marked by the transcriptional rules adopted in the work. "Half-long vowels with glottal stop in pre-pausal position" appear in their underlying pattern (either short or long). Another transcriptional convention in marking the vowel length is adopted for syllables with a falling tone; they have no diacritic for the vowel length. Two phonotactic rules explain this convention but this new orthographic proposal may be misleading for the readers.

The description of the phonological system summarises the results of linguistic research in this matter of the last few decades. The most impressive achievements refer to the reconstruction that

goes far beyond Klingenberg's law in recognising historical processes in the development of the language. Newman himself has created several new laws responsible for the changes affecting consonants, vowels, tones and syllabic structure, which are now placed together in a systemic presentation (Chapter 34) and play an important role in the interpretation of the present-day forms. Among the modifications due to historical explanations there is a view to separate /'y / from the set of glottalized phonemes and treat it as a palatalised /d ʎ i.e. /d y/ notwithstanding its phonetic realisation as a semivowel.

The morphology of nouns and verbs relies on the recognized phonological and morphophonological processes. In rich linguistic material some of them have reached a new dimension, i.e. palatalization (Chapter 54: 6.4) is not reduced to its phonological context only, but finds its justification in the morphological segmentation of words and their historical changes. In this attitude, palatalization is not an automatic and regular phonological process; there are instances in which it is 'blocked', both in contemporary and in earlier words.

In the presentation of nouns, Newman goes far beyond the earlier achievements of his own. Fifteen major classes do not classify the Standard Hausa noun plural forms but seem to capture the essence of morphological differentiation of Hausa plurals as a whole. Consonantal 'slots' and vowel pattern acquiring the set of tonal contour and plural ending reflect the broad Afroasiatic and Chadic context of the Hausa plural formation. Rich exemplification and documentation of the recognized processes have many references to the investigations by E. Wolff; some details, however, contradict his statements, like for example that on the plural type – u-ā (HL) (p. 447). Some particular historical interpretations of the plural forms, for example *idānū* 'eyes' as derived from the stem //'-d-n // (that was proposed by H. Jungraithmayr and Ibriszimow) have been questioned (p. 444).

In the presentation of verbs, Newman refers to the system of verb grades postulated in the 1960s by F.W. Parson. The system operates very successfully in pedagogical works on Hausa; it is also the point of reference for all treatments of the Hausa verbal system.

Now Newman proposes a substantial modification of this system, yet with retaining its fundamental structure. The main modificational properties are as follows:

- establishing a new grade which is placed as grade “0” and does not shift the numbering of subsequent grades which remain the same,
- additions and internal modifications of the grades marked by the letters added to the numbers (e.g. 3A),
- including the D-form into the paradigm of syntactic contexts determining the morphological variations of verbs,
- the newly re-modelled grade system is not only the subject of morphological and syntactic subcategorisation of verbs, but also of their reconstruction.

Apart from “0”-grade verbs (such as *bi* ‘follow’, *ci* ‘eat’, *fi* ‘exceed’, *ji* ‘hear, feel’ and other ‘irregular’ verbs), some other ‘non-grade’ verbs were incorporated into the system by putting them into other traditional grades, most of them in the grade 3. With these modifications, the grade system is now referring to almost the entire lexical inventory representing the Hausa verbs. One should mention, however, that ten other basic verbs were left outside the system. They are: *ganī* ‘see’, *sanī* ‘know’, *barī* ‘leave’, *kusa* ‘draw’near’, *zama* ‘become’, *hau* ‘mount’, *kai* ‘take’, *bā/bai* ‘give’, *jē* ‘go’, *zō* ‘come’. Judging from what we know (or rather what we still do not know) about the latter groups of verbs, leaving them apart the recognized processes of the creation of the verbal system makes Newman’s proposal reliable rather than not fully elaborated.

As for the regularity of the D-form within the grade system, it was secured by morphological independence of the pre-dative suffix (pds) –aC (p. 283), which is no longer a ‘borrowed’ suffix of the grade 5 form. The only problem is that the language practice not always provides the paradigm working in the creating of acceptable structures (as described by Laurice Tuller in 1990).

Another significant modification of the earlier results in the description of Hausa refers to verbal nouns. The remarkable specification made on the syntactic grounds is that the category of

verbal nouns covers only the nominalized verbs, whereas other varieties of nominalized forms are distinguished as deverbal nouns. The classification of verbal nouns is a new proposal that combines syntactic and morphological criteria, retaining their basic differentiation in terms of structural properties. Hence, it is first a twofold division between weak and strong verbal nouns, differentiated farther in their morphological shape according to the parameter of stem-derived and base-derived verbal nouns. The classification is far from simple, but its deep diachronic perspective permits explaining many 'irregularities' of the verbal nouns characteristic of the previous groupings. One should notice that the well-established term "secondary verbal nouns" is no longer productive in this classificatory division.

As far as the syntax is concerned, it is this level of the grammatical structure that significantly differentiates Newman's work from any Hausa grammar. There are chapters arranged specifically for their syntactic information. Chapter 75. Verb Subcategorization contains new syntactic classification of verbs. The criteria adopted for the differentiation of classes are not homogenous, and therefore they may be treated as a deepened analysis of the syntactic properties of Hausa verbs rather than their classification. In contrast to the morphological analysis, it is the synchronic data (including transformational properties) that are mostly responsible for distinguishing the relevant oppositions (as, for example, between sociatives and efferentials). Some inconsistency between the classificatory properties of the verb and its contextual use is to be noted. For example, *mântā* is listed among the sociative verbs (*mântā dà* 'forget', p. 689, p. 637), whereas the sentence example with this verb is without the marker *dà* (p. 633).

Quite a remarkable innovation in the treatment of syntactic categories refers to infinitives, not postulated in the previous descriptive proposals for Hausa. However, Newman does not determine infinitive verbs, but only infinitive phrases that obligatorily contain an expressed object. One can agree with the interpretation that the phrase *yā iyà karàntà littāfin* 'he is able to read the book' contains an infinitive phrase, whereas *littāfin dà ya*

iyà karàntâwā 'the book that he is able to read' alters it into a corresponding weak verbal noun, but this interpretation is restricted only to a part of verbal lexicon and is referred only to one type of the verbo-nominal morphology. The possibility to replace 'the infinitive' by the phrase containing a verbal noun (for example *shân giyà* 'drink(-ing) beer' - with no other possibility to use a verb in this case) makes this interpretation narrow. The broader context of the syntactic accomodation within the verbal phrase in Hausa supports the earlier statements that the morphological changes of the verbal (or verbo-nominal) form are their syntactic variations within the same category. The use of different verbal forms in the equivalent structures finds its justification in adopting the system of marking object with a verb which is known as a rule for some African languages but not clearly defined for Hausa so far.

All important and newly interpreted topics of the book are difficult to be mentionned. Apart from the essentials of the language, there are also some more specialized subjects, such as Afterthought (Right Dislocation), Cognate Accusative, as well as Linguistic Play (Language Games).

One can ask whether something is left for further researchers of Hausa since such a huge and comprehensive work has appeared. The internal analysis and Chadic associations seem to be investigated thoroughly and in detail. The inspirations for a new treatment may come from external (but not Chadic) data. Areal influences are especially important in syntax and they are not fully recognized so far. Also lexical borrowings from Songhay await the enrichment of data (cf. Chapter 44).

Possibly the young computer-trained generation of readers will easily accept a file-like way in organization of the material. Those who are accustomed to the traditional sequence of grammatical information may be lost, the more so as the system of linkage does not operate successfully. The index is very poor and, very often the important information is missing (the index would not lead us to the separate chapter of verbal nouns, which is on p. 699). The noted missprints are for: 'neighbouring', p. 398; Grabka (instead of Grabna), p. 260 and p. 745; *motā*, p. 543.

The appearance of *The Hausa Language. An Encyclopedic Reference Grammar* by Paul Newman marks the new period of Hausa linguistics and establishes a new position of the Hausa language in general linguistic investigations. The scale of grammatic interpretations, classifications and reconstruction makes Hausa a leader in African studies tradition. At the same time, the richness of the language data accessible for linguistic studies creates a new stage of inspiration for further theoretical studies on Hausa and on the language structure in general.

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Rainer VOßEN, *Die Khoe-Sprachen. Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der Sprachgeschichte Afrikas*, "Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung", vol. 12, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 1997, 536 pp.

In a broadly-conceived current of African studies of the late 20th century, which are directed towards comparative research and reconstructions of language communities based on synchronic data, Rainer Voßen's book is of special importance. First of all, because it covers the Khoisan family, the smallest language family in Africa, which is in danger of further decreasing in number or even extinction and which does not receive much attention from contemporary researchers. At the same time, the book includes an in-depth description of new unknown Khoisan languages based on fieldwork

The subject matter of the book is a comparative description and reconstruction of languages of the Khoe group, regarded as the central group in the Khoisan family. Only part of the linguistic material comes from the existing descriptions which focus on several languages (Nama, !Ora, Xiri from the Khoekhoe subgroup, and on the Kxoe language from the subgroup distinguished as Non-Khoekhoe (*Nicht-Khoekhoe*). Most part of the material comes from the author's own investigations and covers very little known or utterly undocumented other Khoe languages, including //Ani, Buga,