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FROM THE EDITORS

The purpose of this journal is to ensure the early publication of monographs and research work (source and analysis: bibliographies, maps, lexicographic studies, articles) carried out in the Department of African Languages and Cultures. Our Department is currently engaged in work in the fields of linguistics, literature, history and education in North-East, East and West Africa. The journal is primarily meant for disseminating works of the department staff. It starts to be open also for researchers from other centers of African studies who are somehow co-operating with us.

We believe that our work will be useful to specialists both in their own research work and in their teaching. This publication is not a commercial venture, and it is available only through exchange.

We shall be very grateful for all comments on the studies which we publish, for these will provide us with useful guidelines about the direction of our research and teaching.

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Fugitives and the Political Patronages on the Peripheries of the Sultanate of Zanzibar in the 19th Century

Resumé

L'article parle du patronage politique dont bénéficient les esclaves fugitifs (*watoro*), dans la zone d'influence du Sultanat de Zanzibar, au XIX^e siècle. Suite aux changements économiques survenus à cette époque, un grand nombre de personnes furent obligées de quitter leur groupe parental et ethnique. Les esclaves fugitifs constituent une des catégories de ces gens déracinés. Exposés aux attaques de propriétaires d'esclaves, certains choisissaient de vivre à l'écart, dans des bourgades fortifiées, loin des villes et des routes principales. Certains devenaient des pillards: ils attaquaient les caravanes, saccageaient les plantations, se procuraient des captifs, et pratiquaient le commerce d'esclaves. Leur économie avait également des composantes plus légales que celles énumérées plus haut, elles sont pourtant moins bien documentées.

La région costale de l'Afrique de l'Est, dans son développement, manquait de population. Malgré le caractère illégal de la fuite, les *watoro* pouvaient agrandir les réserves de mains d'oeuvre et intégrer les différentes armées. C'est la raison pour laquelle les dirigeants politiques leur offraient leur patronage. Parmi eux, on compte aussi bien des chefs de communautés non-musulmanes de l'intérieur, que des dissidents originaires des anciennes élites de la région, écartés du pouvoir par les Bu Saidi vainqueurs au XIX^e siècle, comme Ahmed Simba al-Nabahani ou Mbaruk bin Rāšid al-Mazrū'i. Les *watoro* qui devenaient leurs clients recevaient souvent des terres et tiraient d'autres bénéfices, en échange du service militaire. Les patrons toléraient les actes de pillage exercés par leurs protégés, apparemment ils en tiraient également profit.

L'administration du sultanat combattait en principe les villages indépendants des *watoro*, mais leur liquidation ou leur soumission s'avéraient souvent très difficile. Certains étaient donc tolérés, et peut-être même soutenus par Zanzibar. De nombreux *watoro* servaient dans l'armée régulière du Sultanat, créée en 1877.

One of the results of the economic boom in the Sultanate of Zanzibar and its hinterland was the growth of uprooted persons living outside the traditional communities and outside the control of the state. This category of people included indebted persons and criminals from the coast, members of those communities that were dispersed and decimated by either slavers or the aggressors of the interior such as Oromo, Maasai and Nguni-related groups (such as 'Maviti' and 'Gangwara') as well as fugitive slaves. They migrated, joined different ethnic communities or borrowed the methods and tactics of their persecutors, pursuing raiding themselves and serving as mercenaries to whoever was ready to hire them.¹ The Swahili term *watoro* (sing.: *mtoro*), literally speaking, referred to fugitive slaves, although in fact the *watoro* group could have included all the above mentioned categories of persons.

Most *watoro* lived at the cost of the coastal communities and in the direct hinterland.² The desertion escalated in the periods of accelerated growth of the plantation sector that took place in the second half of the 19th century. It resulted from the advancing restrictions on slaves' freedom imposed by planters during that time.³ Dur-

¹ E. Steere, *Central African Mission. Its Present State and Prospects*, London 1873, Rhodes House, Oxford, Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), Box A1 (II) A; J. Thomson, "Notes on the Basin of the River Rovuma, East Africa", *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* nms. IV, 1882, 2, p. 75; Steere to Kirk, 31 I 1877, House of Commons. *British Parliamentary Papers* (hereafter: PP) 1878 LXVII/236/1; Archives générales spiritaines [hereafter: AGS], Chevilly-Larue, France, *Tununguo Journal* [Introduction, no pagination].

² R. F. Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa: a Picture of Exploration*, vol. I, s.l., s.d., pp. 97ff.

³ J. Glassman, *Feasts and Riots. Rivalry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856-1888*, Portsmouth-London-Nairobi-Dar es Salaam 1995, p. 109.

ing the same period, following the growth of the caravan trade, there were an increasing number of failed businessmen who were forced to seek refuge inland.⁴ Yet, the settlements of *watoro* were being founded earlier in the century. Johann Ludwig Krapf in his journal of 1848 wrote about a village lying near Shimba Hills south of Mombasa, mostly inhabited by fugitives from the town. Since its residents attacked passing caravans it was considered a major obstacle on the important route between Mombasa and Usambara.⁵

To freemen, the runaway slaves brought to mind violence and banditry, which left its mark in the Swahili vocabulary. In Krapf's dictionary, based primarily on the material collected in the 1840s and 1850s in Mombasa and its vicinity, there is the word *mkimbizi* meaning runaway slave but also:

One who causes people to run off from the road, to escape, because he endeavors to rob them or lay hold of their persons to sell them into slavery. A robber, highwayman, a vagabond, thief.

The dictionary also provides the reader with other information about individuals of that kind:

He never has his hair cut, carries about a large knife, a bow and many arrows, and stays in the woods.⁶

⁴ Rebmann to the Secretary of the CMS. 27 X 1847. Rebmann Letters. Church Missionary Society Archive. Birmingham and London (hereafter: CMS). C A5/O/24/50: J. Thomson, *Through Masai Land: a Journey of Exploration among the Snowclad Volcanic Mountains and Strange Tribes of Eastern Equatorial Africa*. London: S. Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1885, p.70.

⁵ L. Krapf, *Journal of Journey to Usambara*, 15 VII 1848, CMS, C A5/O/16. Krapf mentions another big village of *watoro*: L. Krapf, *Journal*, 29 XII 1849, CMS, C A5/O/16.

⁶ L. Krapf, *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa*, London: Cass 1968, p. 233.

Arguably, even if many fugitives pursued banditry,⁷ the majority aimed at joining the numerous stable and well-organized communities. It was probably due to cultural and psychological factors, but first of all the need for security in the world dominated by slave owners. As Jonathon Glassman argues, the British missionaries and diplomats presented a distorted picture of the objectives of the *watoro*. In his opinion the British were convinced that the slaves desired, above all, an “abstract” personal freedom. This was supposedly due to the misunderstanding of the African perception of the status of a freeman and a slave. In reality, in East Africa the notions overlapped much more than they did in the slave societies of the Western Hemisphere. According to Glassman, the African runaways looked more for a better patron than for “personal freedom”.⁸

Evidently, in Africa the relationship of the patron-client type was not so different from that of the owner-slave type, especially when it came to the so-called *wazalia*, i.e. slaves born on the coast and brought up in its culture.⁹ It seems in 19th century East Africa, the choice of escape from any authority was a risky one. It meant living outside the civilization centres and far from the possibilities created by the participation in the economic life of the region, as that could expose slaves to retrievals attempted by their former owners. Despite the fact that towns were not altogether closed for former slaves,¹⁰ very often the runaways kept themselves far from the coast since there was a danger of being recognized and returned to the master.¹¹ On the other hand, settling alone or in small groups near towns and the main caravan routes could lead to conflicts with the existing communities who still more often accumulated part of their

⁷ W. W. A. Fitzgerald, *Travels in the Coastlands of British East Africa and the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba: Their Agricultural Resources and General Characteristics*, London: Dawsons 1898, p. 130.

⁸ Glassman. *op. cit.*, p. 107.

⁹ It is expedient to note that this category was not numerous among the *watoro*. F. Cooper, *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa*, Yale University Press 1977, p. 219, 240.

¹⁰ Glassman, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

¹¹ Gissing to Wakefield, 2 II 1884, Zanzibar National Archives (hereafter: ZNA) AA 10/2.

wealth in the form of slaves.¹² The choice of the patronage of a 'big man' not only offered physical and economic security but also the chance of entering economic life.¹³

Yet not all the *watoro* were ready to be subordinated to the grandees. The fugitives who were not inclined to robbery and did not want to become clients, settled in places remote from the main town centres of the coast. There is information of the directions of escape undertaken in 1880 by the inhabitants of a few *watoro* villages of Duruma territory. These villages were destroyed by Swahili catchers. Some of the escapees decided to go under the wings of either a patron resident on the coastal zone – *kubo* of the Digo or a scion of the ruling clan of Mbaruk bin Rāšid al-Mazrūʿi. Other *watoro* went to Taita hills – a country about 150 km from the coast – or to the village of Makongoni, lying on the territorial borders of Giriama and Oromo, a few dozen kilometres north-west of Mombasa.¹⁴ In the latter two cases one can suspect that the refugees chose 'abstract freedom' so vehemently called into question by Glassman – it was freedom from both the owner and the patron. Yet the freedom in the country of Oromo or Taita was not absolute and had its price. The right of settlement was to be paid to the hosts in grain and ivory.¹⁵ Thus the affinity between the pre-existing community and the immigrants could bear traits of the patron-client relationship, though, contrary to the nature of the latter, it appears that here the mutual obligations were rather limited and fixed.¹⁶

The information about the runaways from Duruma country is also interesting because agriculture, commerce or hunting were at least an important part of the *watoro* style of life. It contradicts the image of the runaways whose sole sources of subsistence were rob-

¹² Kirk to Granville, 14 XI 1880, The National Archives, London, Foreign Office (hereafter: NA FO) 84/1575.

¹³ J. L. Gibling, *The Politics of Environmental Control in Northeastern Tanzania 1840-1940*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1992, p. 60-70.

¹⁴ Ramshaw to Felkin, 25 XI 1880, CMS G3 A5/O.

¹⁵ Binns to Lang, 15 II 1888, CMS G3 A5/O5.

¹⁶ On the theory of clientelism see: J. Tarkowski, *Patroni i klienci*, Warszawa 1994.

bery and putting others into slavery. Most likely many fugitive communities jumped on the opportunities created by the economic development of the region – produced food, traded, collected items demanded by merchants.

The hostility provoked by the *watoro* among the slave owners can be explained in two ways. First, they obviously raided villages and plantations, stole or destroyed crops and kidnapped slaves whom they subsequently sold to other masters.¹⁷ The sheer presence of the *watoro* restrained planters from bringing new lands into cultivation, as in the area of Takaungu and Lamu. Secondly, the *watoro* set a bad example for other slaves who, when hearing about an alternative for their fate, could escape.¹⁸

The Arabs and Swahili, as well as the members of non-Muslim ethnic groups, used violence in order to recover runaway slaves.¹⁹ *Watoro* defended themselves by building fenced villages, most often in inaccessible areas. If they had good weapons they could make an independent political force capable of defying both slave owners and the Sultan's authority. Some of the refugee communities numbered up to a few thousand inhabitants, i.e. they were more populous than the majority of the big villages of the interior.²⁰ The largest village settlement mentioned in the sources lay in the deep south of the Sultanate of Zanzibar, close to the port of Mikindani. It had between seven and fourteen thousand residents. It was founded about 1886.²¹ The source gives no clue as to whether in the villages of that sort the desire of personal freedom was realized, neither do we know much

¹⁷ Gissing to Kirk, 14 IX 1884, ZNA AA 10/1; Kirk to Granville, 8 V 1884, NA FO 84/1677; Kirk to Granville, 14 XI 1880, NA FO 84/1575; Haggard to Kirk, 8 VII 1884, ZNA AA 10/1.

¹⁸ Haggard to Kirk, 9 IV 1884, ZNA AA 10/1; Gissing to Kirk, 14 IX 1884, ZNA AA 10/1; Haggard to Kirk, 25 VIII 1884, PP 1886 LXVII/42/1 and NA FO 541/26/317/1.

¹⁹ Kirk to Salisbury, 12 XI 1879, PP 1880/LXIX/371; Kirk to Granville, 19 X 1880, NA FO 84/1575.

²⁰ Krapf to Coates, 22 X 1845, L. Krapf, *Letters*, CMS C A5/0 16.

²¹ Bülow to Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft, 20 IX 1888, Bundesarchiv (Berlin), RKA 406, p. 164.

about life in such communities. The only exceptions are the villages which maintained contact with Christian missionaries.²²

The choice of patron was not always one of desperate escapees who fell into dire distress. In fact, the decision about submitting to a big man could be the only reason for escape. In East Africa, where the labour was short, the slaves were often incited to flee so they could be caught and sold, or transformed into formally free clients who, when necessary, served as military aides. The latter method was practiced by the leaders of Bondei country (east of the Usambara mountains) during the period of the civil war in both regions, i.e. from 1867 until the 1890s.²³

The fugitives were often welcomed by the leaders of the communities living along the central East African caravan route, e.g. the *mapazi* of Zaramo. There the *watoro* could feel secure. Their status did not differ much from that of the free newcomers. Similarly, they could obtain permission for a settlement, at first for one or two years on probation, where they cultivated the ground allotted to them by the chief. Afterwards they would obtain wives. Their children were considered free.²⁴

In the acephalous societies the employment of the 'loose people' created a chance for building a centre of power whose influence transgressed the traditional community based on kinship and common cultural institutions. In this manner the founder of the line of chiefs of the Digo people bearing the title *kubo*, Mwana ki Konga and his brother Mwana wa Ngombe, came into ascendancy.²⁵ Sometimes the members of the former ruling class of the coast offered

²² F. Morton, *Children of Ham: Freed Slaves and Fugitive Slaves on the Kenya Coast, 1873-1907*, Boulder-London: Westview Press 1990, p. 86-90.

²³ Glassman, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

²⁴ Holmwood to Smith, 18 VIII 1876, 'Church Missionary Intelligencer' (hereafter: CMI) ns. II, 1877, p. 12.

²⁵ L. Krapf, *Journal of Journey to Usambara*, 15 VII 1848, CMS C A5/O/16. Initially the brothers lived together but, as tradition has it, after a quarrel Mwana wa Ngombe moved to his own village where he accepted fugitives. While the chiefly lineage of Mwana ki Konga survived until the end of the century, there is no information about the successors of his brother after the second half of the century.

protection to runaways. Ahmed Simba, heir of the dynasty of the Nabahanis – former rulers of the Sultanate of Pate – based his position on the *watoro*. His family lost Pate to Bu Sa'īdis in the 1820s. In the early 1860s, Ahmed Simba founded the Sultanate of Witu near the estuary of Tana and Ozi. His pocket state existed at the cost of the Sultanate of Zanzibar and that part of the elites of the northern Swahili coast who recognized the rule of Bu Sa'īdi. Witu became a refuge for the escapees (not exclusively slaves) from the whole of the Lamu archipelago, as well as other parts of the Sultanate of Zanzibar.²⁶ All were treated as freemen. Every newcomer was encouraged to build a hut and cultivate land. A good incentive for this was that Witu had the best lands on the mainland directly opposite the Lamu archipelago. Settlers could also expect to obtain a wife who would originate from one of the neighbouring peoples. In exchange, they were obliged to enter military service for two days a week. Each subject obtained a musket and munitions. Fugitives, to some extent, participated in governing. The governors appointed in every village from among Ahmad's trusted associates had aides, advisors and judges, usually runaway slaves.²⁷

All the villages of *watoro* in the neighborhood of Witu were subjected to the Sultan of Witu in one way or another. According to the British vice-consul in Lamu, John Haggard, all the *watoro* sheltered in Witu lived exclusively by kidnapping. Haggard thought the victims were to be exported to Somalia.²⁸ In the 1880s, a short period of cohabitation between Barghash and Ahmad Simba took place during which the latter received a salary in exchange for catching runaway slaves. When, however, the governor of Lamu demanded from him the dispersal of *watoro* who marauded on plantations belonging to Arabs, he refused, excusing himself by citing the lack of arms and powder.²⁹ Yet the main reason for his indisposition towards living up

²⁶ Materials to the investigation concerning the murder of an Indian in Lamu 21 VI 1877, PP 1877, LXXVIII/313/1.

²⁷ M. Ylvisaker, *Lamu in the Nineteenth Century: Land, Trade and Politics*. Boston: Africa Studies Center, Boston University 1979, p. 87.

²⁸ Haggard to Kirk, 26 XII 1884, PP 1886, LXII/99/1.

²⁹ Miles to Granville, 17 XI 1881, PP 1882 LXV/244.

to the commitment was the fact that hospitality to fugitives was fundamental to his position.

Another leader who offered patronage to *watoro* was the previously mentioned Mbaruk bin Rāšid al-Mazrū'ī. He was the son of the last independent *liwali* of Mombasa. Since the late 1850s until 1896, Mbaruk threatened the social and political order of the town's area. For most of the time he was conflicted with Bu Sa'īdis and then with the British colonial authorities. On the other hand all the Sultans of Zanzibar accepted Ahmad's overrule in Gazi – a Mazrū'ī settlement some 100 km south of Mombasa.³⁰

Being descended from the former political elites of the region, who had ruled a long stretch of the coast for almost hundred years, Mbaruk could initially count on the support of a large part of its residents, who were uneasy about the loss of political and economical status that followed Bu Sa'īdis' takeover. The real advantage brought about by his support was of no consequence. Not unlike Ahmad Simba, Mbaruk chose open conflict with the Sultanate, based on the economic and military potential of the hinterland. He started to ally himself with some of the Mijikenda tribes and some of their 'big men'. At the same time, he used violence and extortion to obtain cattle and slaves at the cost of the Mijikenda.³¹ In the 1870s, even if some communities still collaborated with him, the residents of the hinterland generally considered Mbaruk a parasite.³² As a consequence, the leader had to look for other, more stable, support. He finally found it among the growing population of uprooted peoples, including runaway slaves. *Watoro* were looking for refuge in Gazi as early as the 1840s³³ yet it appears that it was much later when Mbaruk forced settlement on the Digo territory, one of the Mijikenda tribes, having removed the rightful owners of the land.³⁴

³⁰ T.H.R. Cashmore. "Sheikh Mbaruk bin Rashid bin Salim el Mazrui". in: *Leadership in East Africa: Six Political Biographies*, ed. N. Bennett, Boston: Boston University Press 1968, p. 111-137.

³¹ G. David, A Journey to Duruma, 16 XI 1878, CMS CA 5/O/17.

³² *Ibidem*.

³³ Krapf to Coates, 22 X 1845, L. Krapf, *Letters*, CMS C A5/ 0 16.

³⁴ W. F. McKay, A Precolonial History of the Southern Kenya Coast, Boston University 1975 (non-published), p. 192-194.

In the 1880s Mbaruk's forces were attacking almost exclusively Muslim merchants and planters.³⁵ Even earlier his people used to steal the slaves of the Swahili.³⁶ Now they began to rob caravans. The British consul to Zanzibar, John Kirk, wrote in 1886 that Mbaruk's men deprived a group of merchants of goods worth nearly 4000 Maria Theresa Dollars.³⁷ Personally, the rebel went as far as to attack his own kinsmen of the branch of the lineage who settled in Takaungu, north of Mombasa.³⁸ In 1885, tired of his past way of life Mbaruk, having found himself in a seemingly hopeless situation, surrendered to the commander of the Zanzibar regular army Lloyd Mathews and asked him for protection. In conversation with the Anglican bishop Hannington he explained his attitude in recent years saying that:

It was difficult for him to escape from the band of marauders he created himself.

Col. Mathews gave him permission to take residence in Gazi:

Where however a band of the same class of lawless adventurers, runaway slaves and of old retainers of the Mazrui family, soon began to gather about him, and he made a livelihood by levying tribute from the native tribes inland whom he regards as his fundatories.³⁹

It is possible there were many criminal acts attributed to Mbaruk for which he was not responsible. One such case was when his people were charged with the murder of merchants; an act actually committed by runaways residing in the Church Missionary Society station in Rabai.⁴⁰

³⁵ Correspondence of Taylor from Kisulutini [no date], CMI 11, 1886, p. 830; Streeter to Lang, 12 VII 1884, CMS G3 A5/O/81.

³⁶ Kirk to Derby, 4 I 1878, PP 1878-79 LXVI/238.

³⁷ Kirk to FO, 7 VI 1886, NA FO 84/1774.

³⁸ Binns to Milesa, 6 VII 1882, NA FO 84/1622.

³⁹ Kirk to Granville, 3 VII 1885, NA FO 84/1727.

⁴⁰ Gissing to Kirk, 13 II 1884 and 2 III 1884, ZNA AA 1/38.

Combating *watoro* was always one of the main duties of the Sultan's governors in fulfillment of which they were willingly assisted by Muslim planters.⁴¹ Once the escapees were caught they would go to jail and, afterwards, back to the master.⁴² The efficiency of the irregular forces commanded by governors in the struggle with fugitives was most often poor.⁴³ The Baluchis hardly ever dared to attack a larger settlements or groups of *watoro*.⁴⁴

The problems brought up by the *watoro*, especially the fact that so many of them aided rebels such as Mbaruk al-Mazrū'ī and Ahmed Simba, compelled the Sultanate authorities to, more or less, openly accept their settlements. In the early 1860s, in the vicinity of Pangani, an uprising of slaves broke out. As the Zanzibar forces were not capable of coping with the situation, the Sultan Mağīd assigned them a place for settlement. With the permission of the Sultan, a kind of 'Negro republic' was founded near the village Kikowa. The fugitives built a fortress there, with three metre high walls and towers. The 'republic' was in permanent conflict with the Arabs residing in the neighborhood, since it welcomed the escapees from their plantations.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, the sources contain only one reference to the village. Yet this fact does not seem to be unusual. In 1873 a mass escape of slaves took place near Pangani. After the failure of the expedition of the Sultan's army, John Kirk predicted that Barghash would not take any other measures, since the *watoro* did not seem to be a threat to anybody.⁴⁶ In 1874 the Sultan attempted to come to terms with the rebels and allotted a small port to them as a place of settlement.⁴⁷ Glassman quotes his interviewees who claimed Barg-

⁴¹ Ramshaw to Felkin, 25 XI 1880, CMS G3 A5/O; Kirk to Granville, 4 IV 1881, FO 881/4638/12; Hutchinson to Granville, 14 I 1881, NA FO 881/4638/1; Kirk to Granville, 21 I 1884, PP 1884-85 LXXIII/73.

⁴² Gissing to Kirka, 14 IX 1884, ZNA AA 10/1.

⁴³ Kirk to Granville, 9 XI 1883, NA FO 84/1645.

⁴⁴ Kirk to Granville, 8 XII 1873, PP 1875 LXXI/11.

⁴⁵ P. Reichard, *Deutsch-Ostafrika. Das Land und seine Bewohner, seine politische und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung*, Leipzig 1892, p. 120.

⁴⁶ Kirk to Granville, 8 XII 1873, PP 1875 LXXI/11.

⁴⁷ H. Greffuhle, "Voyage à Lamoo", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Marseille* 2, 1878, p. 328.

hash was sending weapons to the colony. However, the historian doubts it himself since the Sultan of Zanzibar, who was one of the bigger planters around, would not expose his property to loss by pursuing the policy of strengthening fugitives.⁴⁸ Even if the doubts are well-founded it is certain that some recognized settlements of the *watoro* obtained aid from the Zanzibar government.⁴⁹

On the territories of Mijikenda, in the vicinity of Mombassa, the runaways' villages benefited from the political support of the Church Missionary Society.⁵⁰ Perhaps the *watoro* perceived the mission as an alternative to the patronage of leaders, such as Mbaruk al-Mazrū'i or Ahmed Simba. The missionary patronage was based on different rules than those described above. Offering roughly the same as the rebels – protection and aid in times of shortage – and, on the other hand, requiring participation in defence of the mission, they did not accepted banditry even if they were not always capable of enforcing the rules in this regard.⁵¹ The Christian missions' means of self-defense were not impressive. Yet, being alien to the religion and culture that prevailed in the Sultanate, they could hope, to some degree, for political protection of its authorities and thus to serve as power brokers against the interests of the subjects of the Sultan. Even if the situation was awkward for the latter there was a positive aspect in it. It created another field of conflict that he could skillfully play out by putting himself in the position of arbiter. Despite the fact that the British Consulate in Zanzibar, on the request of Barghash, fought the sheltering of the *watoro* in the mission stations, many of them resided in them.⁵² The local authorities considered as criminals the missionaries who accepted *watoro* and used them as agricultural workers, claiming they were 'stealing' slaves. Yet instead of prosecuting the Christian communities they were obliged to protect them

⁴⁸ J. Glassman, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

⁴⁹ Kirk to Granville, 14 XI 1880, NA FO 84/1575.

⁵⁰ The issue of the relationship between the *watoro* from the surroundings of Mombasa and the Christian missions has been analysed by Fred Morton, *op. cit.*

⁵¹ Gissing to Kirk, 2 III 1884, ZNA AA 1/3, also: F. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

⁵² Kirk to Granville, 19 X 1880, NA FO 84/1575.

against the enraged slave owners. Not surprisingly, this policy diminished their authority rather than that of the distant Sultan.⁵³

Following negotiation, the missionaries managed to obtain the status of legality for some of the runaway settlements near Mombasa.⁵⁴ In the same region the *watoro* were able to achieve the same without any help. The best example is the village of Fuladoyo, governed by Christian runaway slaves, lying north west of Mombasa. In 1883 it had been destroyed by coastal planters.⁵⁵ When, however, acting hand-in-hand with Giriama warriors, the residents of the settlement demolished the port of Takaungu, its legality became formally recognized.⁵⁶

In explaining the attitude of the Zanzibar state towards the *watoro* one should not overlook the role played by *nizām* – the regular army of the Sultan – organized since 1877 by the British pensioned officer Lloyd Mathews. To a large extent it was created as an instrument of implementation of the anti-slavery laws of 1873 and 1876. Contrary to the actions of local garrisons, it did not fight against the *watoro*. One can even suppose that it silently sided with them.⁵⁷ The policy corresponded well to the cadres of Mathews' army. It absorbed men who, when left to themselves, could easily reinforce the rebel armies or simply rob on their own account. The soldiers were recruited from, among others, prisoners, slaves freed from illegal transport and slaves hired from their owners. At times, fugitives suspected of serious crimes joined the *nizām*.⁵⁸

It is difficult to answer many of the questions related to the desertion of slaves in Sultanate of Zanzibar's sphere of influence. Little is known about the lives of concrete persons who experienced the fate of escape from slavery. One can assume that their mobility be-

⁵³ Hutchinson to Granville, 14 I 1881, NA FO 881/4638/1.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁵ Kirk to Granville, 9 XI 1883, NA FO 84/1645.

⁵⁶ Handford to Lang, 19 V 1884, CMS G3 A5/O.

⁵⁷ Kitchener to Rosebery, 10 II 1886, NA FO 403 5271/155; R. N. Lyne, *An apostle of Empire. Being the Life of Sir Lloyd William Mathews, K.C.M.G.*, London 1936, p. 51.

⁵⁸ Kirk to Granville, 31 V 1884, NA FO 84/1677; N. Bennett, *A History of the Arab State of Zanzibar*, London 1978, pp. 99, 101.

came greater than that of the majority of free members of traditional communities. The sources do not allow for establishing whether those who chose patrons tended to be faithful to them, or whether they often changed their place of residence.

The mass desertion lent variety to the social landscape of the region and transformed its political situation. The issue is strictly related to the economic development of the East African coast and its hinterland since it was the people who constituted the scarcest agents of production in the region. They were subject to competition between Arab and Swahili planters and the political leaders of the hinterland. The fugitives could threaten the legal order but also to contribute to the development of the area by working as cultivators.

The employment of fugitives enabled the people representing the order from before the rule of Bu Sa'īdis a long resistance to the new state. The desertion was one of the biggest, never resolved, problems of the Sultanate of Zanzibar, who, besides, for many decades was fully capable of utilization, both of the resources of the region and the international situation. It is therefore not surprising that Bu Sa'īdis attempted to assimilate either single runaways or the communities created by them.

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Iambic Templates in Hausa Morphology¹

Resumé

Le travail présenté veut cerner le rôle du pied iambique pour le haoussa, une langue tchadique tonale qui est la langue maternelle pour environ 30 mln des usagés au nord du Nigeria et au sud du Niger. Elle est aussi parlée par 30 mln des habitants des territoires qui s'étendent de l'Afrique de l'Ouest jusqu'au Soudan.

Proposant les analyses diachronique et synchronique de deux classes de mots (celle du nom et celle du verbe) de la langue haoussa, nous supposons que son caractère iambique, bien qu'il n'influence pas directement sur la distribution de tons, détermine considérablement sa morphologie. Ainsi, le pied iambique devient, avec la structure tonale, l'un des deux sous-systèmes de la prosodie de la langue haoussa.

Du côté de la forme, ce travail est basé sur la Théorie de l'optimalité. Néanmoins, nous nous éloignons du modèle standard en formulant directement les conditions prosodiques portant sur la taille de la lexie.

1. Introduction

Metrical theory, grounded in extra-linguistic, rhythmic phenomena found in music and verse recitation, was designed primarily to account for the placement of stress accent (Liberman & Prince 1977; Hayes, 1985, 1995). However, its role has proved to be essential

¹ This paper is based on a Master Thesis carried out under the supervision of Iwona Kraska-Szlenk and Nina Pawlak, to whom I wish to express thanks for their patience and extended discussions. I am also very grateful to Izabela Will, Yakubu Magaji Azare and Hafizu Miko Yakasai for their helpful comments. Naturally, any errors or shortcomings are my sole responsibility.

beyond that: still dealing with word prosody, metrical structure may condition the distribution of tones – languages exhibiting such rhythmic alternations occupy the middle ground between the prototypical tone, and stress accent systems, and are traditionally claimed to have a “rhythmic”, or “pitch accent”. Certain parts of morphology can likewise be defined by metrical structure. In particular, as observed by McCarthy & Prince (1990, 1993a, 1996), the forms shaped by some language-universal morphological processes make reference to language’s prosodic structure, and thus are bound to surface on the basis of a prosodically specified template. One of the default constituents called on by Prosodic Morphology, is a metrical foot.

The following study focuses on tracing the role of metrical structure in Hausa – an Afroasiatic language belonging to the Chadic group, native to around 30 million people in northern Nigeria and southern Niger, and used by some further 30 million speakers in West Africa and as far east as Sudan. This work aims specifically at providing synchronic and diachronic evidence for the role of iambic foot in shaping Hausa morphology.

1.1 Word-prosody and prosodic morphology

It has already been mentioned that the role of metrical structure is not restricted to stress phenomena, as it also affects those prosodic systems which do not reveal a unique, obligatory surface prominence at a word-level. Indeed, tonal patterns of a language may be distributionally conditioned by metrical feet in multiple ways. For example, while Seneca (Chafe 1996) associates high tone only to the heads of metrical feet, Yoruba (Awoyale 2000) allows tones to spread within the foot, making it the tone bearing unit if several conditions are met. Needless to say, the range of possibilities for the extent of utilizing metrical foot is so wide cross-linguistically, that the notion of “pitch-accent” itself, which has traditionally referred to such cases, was recently rejected by Hyman (2006, 2008) as opaque.

Metrical structure has been furthermore argued to determine morphology: McCarthy and Prince (1996) observe that templatic morphological processes (such as reduplication, Semitic-type word formation, truncation) are defined solely in terms of prosodic struc-

ture and thus refer directly to such constituents as Prosodic Word (PrWd), metrical foot (Ft), and a syllable (σ), which can be either light (i.e. monomoraic: σ_μ) or heavy (bimoraic: $\sigma_{\mu\mu}$). According to the authors, “the fact that the templates are bounded by a language’s prosody follows from their being literally built from that prosody” (McCarthy and Prince 1996:5). Regarding the role of metrical structure in shaping templatic morphology, Hayes (1995:47) states that: “typically (though not universally), the kind of foot required by a language’s morphological system is the same as that required by its stress system”. This can be illustrated by reduplication in Manam (Lichtenberk 1983):

(1)	salága	salagalága	‘long’
	moíta	moitaíta	‘knife’
	malabón	malabombón	‘flying fox’
	ulán	ulanlán	‘desire’

Manam is a quantity-sensitive language with a light (CV) vs. heavy (CVV/CVC) syllable distinction. Stress generally falls on the head of the rightmost moraic trochee, it is either ($\sigma'_\mu \sigma_\mu$) as in **sa(lága)**, or ($\sigma_{\mu\mu}$) as in **u(lán)**. Consequently, as predicted by Hayes, the shape of the suffixal reduplicant (underlined in the examples above) is defined in terms of the trochaic foot: **salaga(lága)**, **ulan(lán)**.

Similarly, Yup’ik proximal vocatives are built on the basis of a mono- or disyllabic right-headed (i.e. iambic) foot, which refers directly to the requirements posed by the accent system of the language, whereby heads are marked with the raised pitch (($\sigma_{\mu\mu}$) or ($\sigma_\mu \sigma_{\mu\mu}$); for a full discussion see Woodbury 1985 and McCarthy & Prince 1996):

(2)	Full noun	Proximal vocative
	(A. ḡív)(yán)	(A. ḡíf)
	(Qə.tún)(yáq)	(Qə́t) = (Qə.tún)

Putting Hausa within the frames of the metrical theory as sketched above, we shall argue that, while the distribution of its tones is not overtly stricured by metrical feet, the language reveals high sensitivity to the latter in shaping its morphology.

Before the argument, we highlight the basic facts concerning Hausa prosody.

1.2 The prosodic subsystems

Two prosodic principles – tone and syllable weight – are engaged in shaping Hausa phonology and morphology. Below we briefly characterize these notions.

1.2.1 Tone

Hausa has two contrastive level tones, high (H), e.g. **ǰíníí**² ‘blood’ and low, (L), e.g. **ʔákʷààti** ‘box’, in which a syllable stands for a Tone Bearing Unit. A falling tone (F), realized only on heavy, bimoraic syllables, e.g. **sáá** ‘bull’, is also regarded a distinct toneme, yet the lack of rising tones in the language suggests that the falling contour is historically derived.

The functional load of Hausa tone is not as high as in some Niger-Congo languages like Yoruba or Igbo, yet it is lexically distinctive, as may be illustrated by around one hundred minimal pairs to be found in the language (Pawlak, 1989). Compare the following:

(3)

H vs L

wááwàà ‘fool’

wààwáá ‘many (people)’

F vs. H

kái ‘head’

kái ‘you (m.)’

² The conventional orthography used by Hausaists has been slightly modified here for the special needs of the study: to avoid confusion with consonant clusters, glottalized and palatalized consonants **kw**, **gw**, **ky**, **gy** are transcribed as [**kʷ**, **gʷ**, **kʸ**, **gʸ**], while [**sʼ**, **ʃʼ**] are used for an ejective sibilant and a palato-alveolar fricative - **ts** and **sh** – respectively. To parallel the latter, palato-alveolar affricates (spelled **c**, **j** in Hausa grammars) are transcribed as [**č**, **ǰ**]. Finally, [ʔ] stands for phonemic glottal stop, which is conventionally not represented in word-initial position, and marked as ' elsewhere. Grave and acute accents stand for low and high tones respectively.

However, the grammatical function of tone is far more significant. For example, it can inflect nouns for plurality, e.g. **mààtáá** ‘wife’ cf. **máátáá** ‘wives’, ‘women’; form verbal nouns, e.g. **šáá** ‘to drink’ cf. **šàà** ‘drinking’; modify the meaning of verbs (by changing the ‘grade’), e.g. **zái hàrbécè tà** ‘he will shoot at her’ cf. **táá hárbécè nàmíjì** ‘she shot the husband dead’; mark tense / aspect / mood, e.g. **tááši** ‘to get up’ cf. **tààši** ‘get up!’ (imperative).

1.2.2 Syllable weight

Hausa divides syllables into light and heavy, where monomoraic CV stands for a light syllable, while the heavy class includes bimoraic CVV (the nucleus being either a long vowel or a diphthong) and CVC with a coda consonant. Syllable weight is lexically distinctive, cf. **gà.ríí** ‘town’ vs. **gàà.ríí** ‘millet’; **fá.sàà** ‘to break sth’ vs. **fáá.sàà** ‘to put sth. off’. Likewise, it serves a number of grammatical functions. As argued below, most of them engage metrical structure, and in particular, an iambic foot.

1.3 The question of metrical foot in Hausa

In her survey of African accent systems, Downing (2004) observes that Chadic languages – including Hausa – provide the least tangible evidence for the presence of a metrical accent among the Afroasiatic family. However, while all the Chadic languages are indeed tonal, recent findings may attract research to analyze them in the light of metrical theory. So far the most thoroughly described in this respect is Kera (Pearce 2006, 2007), in which the iambic foot not only shapes word structure, but also serves as a domain for vowel harmony and interacts with tone in a way which is as much subtle as crucial for understanding the tonal system of the language. The foot-tone interaction reveals its not evident presence in Kera in words containing more than two syllables, where – with a few exceptions – each iamb is associated with only one of the three tones, i.e. a tone links to the head and spreads left to the non-head), cf. (**gà.dàà**)(**móó**) (type of bird), (**sáá**)(**tē.rāw**) ‘cat’ (non-heads avoid H-tone spreading – instead M occurs by default, e.g. (**kē.kám**)(**náá**).

As for Hausa, it is worth pointing out that stress accent itself (represented as an acoustic feature) was reported in its earlier grammars, before the linguists established the crucial link between stress placement and metrical structure. For example, Migeod (1914:1) describes Hausa without any reference to tone, stating that “the stress accent is as a general rule on the penultimate syllable” with a partly conditioned switch to the immediately preceding / following syllable. Nearly three decades later, Abraham (1941) analyzed Hausa as a tonal language with “an intimate connection between stress and tone” (Abraham 1941:141). Similar claim was made by Kraft & Kirk-Greene (1973). However, the discussion was cut short by Dresel’s (1977) phonetic study, which has shown that there is no prominence marked by intensity at the word level, and that the two other usual correlates of stress, i.e. high pitch and long duration, may coincide on one syllable, but their co-occurrence is hardly predictable and by no means automatic. Ever since, Hausa is described as a purely tonal language.

The misrepresentation of Hausa prosody by the earlier scholars parallels other African tone languages described previously as exhibiting stress accent, and can be explained as rooted in the inappropriate theoretical apparatus employed – influenced by the accental, native language of the researcher. Downing (2004:102) states that “tone has been notoriously underdescribed for African languages as it is often considered ‘too hard to hear’ by non-native speakers of tone languages”.

On the other hand, Newman (1973) emphasizes the role of syllable weight in Hausa grammar, devoting large part of the paper to plural formation. Interestingly, McCarthy and Prince (1996:8) note that “iambic rhythm is crucially dependent upon the appearance of heavy syllable in a language”. Similarly, in his encyclopedic reference grammar (which contains no discussion of stress), Newman (2000) uses the notion of “rhythmic weight polarity”, mostly with reference to plural nouns and denominal verbs. Let us observe that rhythmic polarity clearly points to the presence of a quantity-sensitive metrical structure, most notably to an iambic foot which, as seen above, tends to enhance durational contrasts. Significantly, di-

rect reference to foot structure in Hausa was recently made in Ali-dou's (1995) account of reduplication and truncation, and Rosenthal's (1999) analysis of nominal plurality.

The following study earns much to the descriptions mentioned above when arguing that, by employing weight, iambic foot structure has been well established in Hausa, aspiring to serve as a significant subsystem shaping its morphology.

At the same time, it is worth stressing that no overt interaction between tone and iambic foot can be observed in the language described: neither the head of a foot attracts H tone to mark prominence (4a), nor is the foot a tone bearing unit in longer words (4b; unlike in Kera described above).

(4)

a. foot-head not marked by H

(HL) (ʔí.dòò) 'eye' vs. (LH) (ǀí.yáá) 'daughter'

b. foot not associated with one tone

(LH)(L) (mà.ráá)(yàà) 'orphan'

(HL)(H) (gú.dàà)(wáá) 'diarrhea'

cf.

(LL)(H) (ʔà.bòò)(káí) 'friends'

(H)(HH) (hán)(zá.ríí) 'haste'

As such, the relation between metrical structure and tone lies outside the scope of our study. Instead, we concentrate on the emergence of iambicity in various morphological categories in Hausa. The role of iambic foot is illustrated in the following chapter which deals with nominals: concentrating primarily on the historical development of the plural formation, we claim that the original role of tone in defining the mentioned category has been supplanted by iambic template. Subsequently, examining the function of iambicity in verbs, we highlight the problem of opacity it faces when confronted with the variation in weight of ultimate syllable. Specifically, while iambic template will be argued to have been established both in the category of denominal verbs (so-called "verbalizer, §3.2) and verb pluractionals (§3.3), in chapter 3.4 we provide a diachronic account

of the opacity, based on a revised version of Parson's "grade system" (Newman 1973). The study concludes that whereas grade-driven variation in weight bleeds iambic structure, the latter still significantly determines the shape of the analyzed formations and thus proves to be a useful tool in explaining morphology throughout the language.

1.4 Methodology

Acquiring the basic tenets of Prosodic Morphology described in 1.2 above, the following study views the facts through the interpretative language of Optimality Theory (henceforth OT, cf. Prince & Smolensky 1993/2004, McCarthy & Prince 1993a, 1994) which postulates that any given surface form is the result of an interaction between universal constraints that are violable and ranked on a language-particular basis. However, we deviate from the standard OT in its approach to requirements on prosodic size. In particular, the Theory prevents such requirements from being accessed directly, making them arise only from the combination of some other constraints (e.g. the disyllabic or bimoraic structure of Minimal Word derives from the requirement that a linguistic unit is defined by Prosodic Word which in turn contains a foot (due to the co-called Prosodic Hierarchy), abetted by FOOT-BIN which constrains feet to be binary under syllabic or moraic terms). On the other hand, following frequency-based analyses by Zipf (1935) and Mańczak (1965, 1969), Kraska-Szlenk (2009) argues that size requirements should be addressed directly as prosodic constraints – pointing to solid functional grounding of such constraints, the author states that "[...] frequent, hence more predictable, linguistic units need fewer cues for their recognition and can afford reduction while minimizing articulatory effort [whereas] augmentation of lexical words to a more conspicuous size makes them more salient in the discourse, which complies with their greater functional value" [Kraska-Szlenk 2009:274].

Both augmentation and reduction phenomena discussed in the study seem to bear out the claim quoted: three salient morphological categories in Hausa – nominal plurals, verb pluractionals, and the so-called verbalizer – will be shown to augment in weight utilizing a

template defined by iambic structure. Closely examining the above categories, we will furthermore demonstrate how constraints on augmentation in lexical words interact with frequency-driven reduction in affixes.

2. Iambic foot in nominal morphology

2.1 Background – canonical word structure in nominals³

While recent loanwords have increased the number of mono- and polysyllabic nominals, monomorphemic words in Hausa typically comprise two syllables. Moreover, most native common nouns and adjectives end in a long vowel, e.g. **rúúwáá** ‘water’, **gàríí** ‘city’, **dányéé** ‘raw, unripe’, **s’ágèèráá** ‘bad-tempered’. As such, the length of a final vowel plays a functional role in that its shortening produces denominal adverbs (cf. **dáréé** ‘night’ vs. **daré** ‘at night’), and may distinguish common nominals from proper names, e.g. **gájééréé** ‘short’ vs. **Gájééré** ‘Short man’, and verbs from deverbal nouns: **gírmá** ‘to grow up’ vs. **gírmáá** ‘bigness’, ‘prestige’.

Concentrating on the metrical structure, most nominal words can be neatly parsed by iambic foot: (**kú.díí**) ‘money’ (**háá**)(**tì.míí**) ‘seal’, (**bóó**)(**kòò**) ‘fraud’ – in fact, as observed by Pearce (2007:70), only 1% of nouns quoted in Newman (2000) contains a sequence of two or more light syllables, which is generally avoided in iambic systems. Most of these are loans, cf. **ʔà.yà.bà** ‘banana’ (<Yoruba), **há.rà.fíí** ‘letter’ (<Arabic). However, neither lengthening nor deletion is attested to avoid potential ill-formed items in simple nominals, which leaves us only with static generalizations. On the other hand, most of the unparsable words undergo repair strategy when forming a plural, cf. gemination in pl. (**há.rúf**)(**fàà**). Indeed, rich inventory of plural classes, and extensive data provided by Hellwig

³ Since non-derived adjectives are morphologically indistinguishable from nouns, for the purpose of our discussion we analyze them together with the latter under the common name, “nominals” (cf. Parsons (1963) who calls adjectives “dependent nominals”). Consequently, while throughout the work we make reference to **noun** morphology, it should be understood that adjectives participate in word-formation processes on the same conditions.

& McIntyre (2000), Newman (1973,2000) *et al*, enable us to trace the emergence of iambicity from diachronic perspective, as well as to thoroughly examine its synchronic role in the category.

2.2 Emergence of iambic template in Hausa plurals

2.2.1 Introduction

There is a number of ways of forming a plural in Hausa. Newman (2000) mentions fifteen major plural classes, which are further divided into more than forty surface forms. Moreover, each singular noun can have more than one plural pattern:

(5)

Singular	Plural
tùdùù ‘hill’	tùddáá = tùddái = túddúnàà
bééráá ‘rat’	béérààyéé = bééràrrákíí

Parsons (1975) observes that certain plural types are losing their productivity in favor of the others, the most common nowadays being **-oo.ii**. A thorough study of this process is provided by Hellwig & McIntyre (2000): having established the relationship among Hausa plurals, they account for the multiplicity of the patterns by tracing their historical development. Through this diachronic perspective, the authors are able to distinguish the gradually-introduced typological principles of Hausa plural formations.

These include:

- change in tone pattern and vowel sequence
- addition of a third consonant not found in the singular form
- reduplication
- suffixation

The first principle above governed already the archaic plurals, and is found throughout all the formations. All the other three are newer developments.

Acquiring most of Hellwig & McIntyre’s remarkable insights, we focus in this chapter on a single factor which, in our view, triggered the establishment of these three principles, i.e. on the emer-

gence of iambically defined size requirement in Hausa plurals. Before so doing, however, it is practical to bring forward the said authors' observations that are most significant for our discussion.

2.2.2 The three systems

Hellwig & McIntyre propose that "classes of approximately the same age make use of the similar formatives [while] classes whose ages differ use different formatives or have reinterpreted an older formative as part of the suffix" (Hellwig & McIntyre 2000:8).

Plurals using similar formatives are grouped into three separate systems. The most archaic formations are included in the "semantic system", as the nouns found here share the basic vocabulary, such as body parts, animals, and domestic items. As for the phonological clues, each particular plural pattern is assigned to the singular according to its tone shape (HL sg > **-aa/-uu** pl.; LH sg > **-ii** pl). The authors note also that the vowel quality of plural suffixes is partially predictable, according to Pilszczikowa-Chodak's (1972) "final vowel contrast": plurals ending in **-uu** are formed on the basis of **-ii/-aa** singulars, whereas those with **-ii** suffix are chosen by **-aa** or **-uu** (from which surface **-oo** is derived (Newman 1990a)).

Regarding the means of formation, a change in tone pattern and vowel sequence of the plurals are the only defining principles in this system, other phonological characteristics being disregarded:

(6) a.	Singular: HL	Plural: H, -aa/-uu
	gĩjìì 'house'	gidáá
	mĩjìì 'husband'	mázáá
	gáá.šìì 'hair'	gáásúú
b.	Singular: LH	Plural: LH, -ii
	fààráá 'locust'	fààríí
	s'ààkóó 'chicken'	s'ààkíí

On the other hand, in the second system, termed "prosodic", it is only the phonological characteristics of the singular noun that serve as the defining criterion. Tone pattern still plays a role here:

-aa.aa plurals, for example, correlate generally with singulars having HL tones, while HH singulars take **-aa.ee**. There are also signs of vowel and consonant quality shaping the plural surface forms. However, as furthermore argued by the authors, the number of radicals has a special significance: “in the case of tri-radical singular nouns [only] tone pattern and vowel sequence are changed. Di-radical singulars are augmented in various systematic ways”. (Hellwig & McIntyre 2000:14). These include reduplication, gemination, or addition of the third consonant (either epenthetic or copied from the root):

(7)

“Three radicals” constraint

a. *addition of a consonant*

	Singular		Plural
	gídáá	‘house’	gídààjéé (< gídààdéé)
	kífíí	‘fish’	kífíààyéé
cf.	gàrkéé	‘flock’	gàrààkéé

b. *gemination*

	Singular		Plural
	rábóó	‘portion’	ràbbái
cf.	máálàmíí	‘teacher’	mààlàamáí

b. *reduplication*

	Singular		Plural
	gàríí	‘city’	gàrúúrúkàà
cf.	gààtáíí	‘axe’	gàátúràà

The authors conclude, after Wolff (1993), that the three-radical requirement derives from the fact that the change in vowel sequence of the plurals never affects the first vowel, being rather applied to the penultimate and the final syllable. The requirement was not present in the former system, in which the plural suffix comprised only one syllable (**-ii**; **-aa**; **-uu**). The prosodic system, on the other hand, came along with the introduction of the long internal

vowel⁴ that augmented plural endings (as in **-aa.ee**). Thus, the third consonant was required to resolve a hiatus (sg. **gídáá** > pl. **gí.dàà.jéé**, but not ***gí.dàà.éé**). However, at least the examples with gemination show that the alleged “three radicals” constraint applies even if only the final vowel is subject to change, and there is no need to brake the hiatus:

(8)

Singular		Plural	
rábóó	‘portion’	ràbbái	*ràbái
túdùù	‘hill’	tùddái	*tùdái
dámìì	‘bundle’	dàmmái	*dàmái
s’iròò	‘sprout’, ‘shoot’	s’irrái	*s’irái

Also, when there already are as many as three radicals in the singular, gemination still occurs:

(9)

Singular		Plural
dàràsíí	‘lesson’	dárússàà
hàràfíí	letter of alphabet	hàrúffàà
šàràđíí	‘agreement’	šàrúđđàà

To account for these examples, Hellwig & McIntyre (2000:19) quote Newman’s (1972) remark that gemination, reduplication and consonant-repetition (as opposed to epenthesis) coincide with the occurrence of a singular with a light first syllable:

(10)

	Singular	Plural
a. <i>Consonant-repetition vs. epenthesis</i>		
	<u>mázáá</u> ‘husband’	mázààjéé (< mázààzéé)
cf.	<u>máátáá</u> ‘woman’	máátààyéé

⁴ The authors call this vowel the “Internal A”, referring to a wider phenomenon of plural formation attested in Afroasiatic languages.

b. *Gemination*

	<u>r</u>ábòò	‘portion’	ràbbái
cf.	<u>ǰ</u>áákùì	‘donkey’	ǰààkái

c. *Reduplication*

	<u>ǰ</u>íkíí	‘belly’	ǰíkúnkúnàà
cf.	<u>ǰ</u>áákùì	‘donkey’	ǰáákúnàà

Returning to the diachronic perspective, the authors point to a plural pattern similar to the one listed in (8) and (10b) (e.g. **ràbbái**): it applies to singulars of the same shape (disyllabic, light first syllable, HL tones) and uses the same suffix, yet displays a different tone pattern: HH. What also varies, is the lack of gemination:

(11)

Singular	Plural
bírìì	bírái ‘monkey’
wús’íyàà (< [†] wús’í)	wús’ái ‘tail’
zúmùù	zúmái ‘close friend, relation’
ǰínyàà (< [†] ǰíní)	ǰínái ‘thigh’

This plural formation is claimed to be archaic and restricted to a small number of basic disyllabic nouns containing a light initial syllable. Moreover, as observed by Newman (2000), contemporary Hausa speakers tend to use other, more productive forms for these singulars (e.g. **ǰínyàà** / **ǰín.yóó.yíí** thigh). Newman adds that this pattern can be related to the **-ai** form which in the same context would make use of gemination, “but they may very well have distinct origin” (Newman 2000:455). Hellwig & McIntyre (2000) lean towards establishing a relationship between the two classes. They explain the difference in tonal shape of these plurals by quoting the observation made by Newman (1997), that some nouns show the correlation between weight of the first syllable and tone pattern:

(12)

S': heavy

a. **Hàu.sàà.wáá** 'Hausa people'

b. **Làà.díí.dí** (<**Láádi**) 'little Ladi'

S': light

Ká.náá.wáá 'Kano people'

ʔí.núú.nú (<**ʔínúú**)

'little Inu'

ʔáu.dúú.dú (<**ʔáudù**) 'little Audu'

Kú.lùù.lú (<**Kúlù**)

'little Kulu'

Plurals of disyllabic ethnonyms (12a.) with a heavy first syllable tend to have an L-L-H tone pattern, while those with a light initial syllable invariably have all H tones. Hypocoristic names formed by reduplication of the last syllable (12b.) have L-H-H tone pattern if the first syllable is heavy. If it is light, the word has an initial H tone, others being unpredictable. Given this, Hellwig & McIntyre argue that gemination, typical of class 2 nouns like **tùddái** 'hill', preceded the change in tone pattern from HH to LH:

(13)

$\text{††tú.dái} \rightarrow \text{†túd.dái} \rightarrow \text{tùd.dái}$

We will not engage in the discussion on tone-weight correspondence here, as it is outside the scope of the study. Suffices to say that as far as proposed by Hellwig & McIntyre, plurals in (11) are related to those in (8), yet they are free of any syllable-weight requirements that could trigger gemination. On the other hand, patterns in (8) reveal weight-sensitivity in such a way that the occurrence of light initial syllable in the singular coincides with the gemination in the plural.

Interestingly however, the authors do not include the archaic **-ai** formation in the semantic system, even though it seems to be shaped by similar principles (a change in tone pattern/vowel sequence, no gemination, only basic words affected). Instead, they claim that its surface form is derived. This is supported by Newman's (2000:434) remark, that the shape of **-ai** diphthong is exceptional with respect to other plural suffixes. Hellwig & McIntyre pro-

pose that **-ai** is reduced from **-aayii** < **-aakii** with a remnant of an old determiner⁵, as illustrated by the following example:

(14)

Singular	Attested Plurals
kíbíyàà (< [†] kíbi)	kíbáú ; kíbááwúú ⁶ 'arrow'
	kíbái (< [†] kíbááyí < [†] kíbáákíí)

This suggests that **-ai** plural type developed in an irregular way, contrary to the general tendencies in the prosodic system, where most plurals were subject to augmentation rather than reduction. As for other irregularities found in the system, the authors observe that while the processes of reduplication and gemination were originally designed to apply to the plural forms whose singular counterparts contained a light first syllable, the pattern was later expanded regardless of the syllable weight. Therefore, we have, albeit few, instances of reduplication such as the following:

(15)

Singular	Plural (simple)	Plural (reduplicated)
Bàákíí 'mouth'	báákúnàà	báákúnkúnàà
littááfi 'book'	littààfái	littàttàfái
rààfi 'stream'	rááfúkàà	rááfúffúkàà

Finally, plurals belonging to the last, "suffix system", developed on the basis of patterns found in former systems, and are defined as the ones which disregard the tone pattern, syllable weight, and the number of radicals in the singular. Instead, what determines the choice of plural class is the vowel sequence alone.

⁵ Following Wolff (1993), the authors claim that determiners were once present in Hausa singular nouns, occupying the word-final position. Weakened at a later stage, they survived in plurals as onsets of the final vowels.

⁶ Unconditioned switch from /u/ to /i/ and *vice versa* is highly common in Hausa.

Table 2. Vowel sequence and system 3 plurals (Helwig & McIntyre 2000:34)

Singular	Example	Plural form	Tone patterns of the sg
V* - ii/-uu	máálàmíí	mààlà máí	LLL, LLH(L), LHL(H), LHH(H), HHH, HHL, HLH
V* -aa	dàbáàràà	dàbààrúú	LLH, LHL(H), LHH, HHH, HHL, HLH
aa* - ii/-uu	ʔàgóógóó	ʔágóógúnàà	LLH, LHH
V*-aa	díláá	dílóólíí	LLH(L), LHL(H), LHH, HHH, HHL(H), HLH(L), HLL

The system described consists of three classes:

- a. **-oo.ii**
- b. **-ai (-ii/-uu)**
- c. **-u.naa**

-oo.ii, being the most productive of all plurals in Hausa, is formed by adding two heavy vowels separated by the radical copied from the singular root (plus imposing H tone pattern on the noun): **bàràà > báróóríí** 'servant'. The **-oo.ii** pattern is directly linked to its counterpart found in the prosodic system:

(16)		
Singular	Plural (prosodic system)	Plural (suffix system)
zúúćiyáá	zúkóóćíí < /zúkóótíí/	zúúćiyóóyíí
([†] zúkti) 'heart'		

As shown in (16), the plural **zúkóóćíí** can be regarded older, as it is based on the nowadays absent, non-inflected feminine singular⁷, with **-oo.ii** being separated by the last radical of its root. In the pattern that belongs to the suffix system, the historical singular form is ignored in favor of its feminine form whose suffix (**-iyaa**) is treated as part of the root.

Moreover, the consonant-repetition introduced in the prosodic system and applied only in the phonologically restricted environment (di-radical singulars with a light first syllable), has developed here into a morphological plural formative. It is illustrated in the following example, where a copied radical is underlined (obstruents palatalize before affixes with initial **-ee/-ii**):

(17)

Prosodic system		Suffix system	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
root: CV.C			
- gídáá ‘house’	gídààjée < / gídààdée /	tášàá ‘station’	tásóóšíí
root: CVV.C			
- kíííí ‘fish’	kíífaàyée (* kíífaàfée)	fààráá ‘locust’	fááróóríí

The second class presented here is formed by suffixing **-u.naa** along with the HL tone shape. It is linked to the **-u.aa** pattern found in the prosodic system, yet considered to be a newer development due to the fact that – unlike the “prosodic” affix – it constantly preserves /n/ as the hiatus-braker:

(18)

Prosodic system		Suffix system	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
kòògíí ‘river’	kóógúnàà	bénćìì ‘bench’	bénćúnàà
jààkíí ‘donkey’	jáákúnàà	góóráá ‘gourd’	góórúnàà

⁷ Hellwig & McIntyre treat such forms as masculine. Newman (2000:213) argues they were rather feminine, and received an overt gender-marking suffix at a later stage.

cf.	rààfií	'stream'	rááfúkàà	tùùlúú	túúlúnàà
					'water pot'
	wíílii	'wheel'	wíílúkàà	gàrmáá	'hoe' gármúnàà

The choice of the consonant added to separate the **-u.aa** hiatus was, according to Hellwig & McIntyre, formerly dictated by the nature of the final radical of the base: by way of dissimilation, nouns with the plosives took /n/, while other forms - /k/⁸. Plurals from the suffix system ignore this correlation, which implies that at some point in time, /n/ developed into an integral part of the morphological plural formative: **-u.naa**.

Further evidence that **-u.naa** functions as a separate plural pattern is drawn from the fact that the suffix is attached even to the forms that already contain three radicals in their base:

(19)

	Prosodic system		Suffix system		
	Singular		Plural	Singular	Plural
	jààkíí	'donkey'	jáákúnàà	lárdìi	'province' lárdúnàà
cf.	háršèè	'tongue'	hárússàà	háršèè	hársúnàà
	ćóókàlìí	'spoon'	ćóókúlàà		

In the prosodic system, the pattern surfaces as **-u.naa** only if there are no more than two radicals in the singular – otherwise, it is the last consonant of the root that breaks the **-u.aa** hiatus. This condition is ignored in the parallel plural type found in the suffix system, suggesting that /n/ has become an integral part of the **-u.naa** suffix.

The last class considered to belong to the suffix system adds **-ai** or **-ii/-uu** plus the LH tone pattern. The suffixes are considered to be young, as they pluralize a number of loanwords (with **-ai** suffix

⁸ As noted by the authors, final /w/ also triggered the insertion of /n/. This ambiguous patterning is explained by Newman (1972), who states that in several contexts, /w/ surfaces as a weakened form of /k/. Historically, as argued by Wolff (1993), the two radicals originate in gender-marking determiners – cf. footnote 4.

taking many Arabic loans of three or more syllables), and repluralize the forms found in the second system:

(20)

Singular	Plural (prosodic system)	Plural (suffix system)
gúzú máá ‘cow’	gùzáàmèè	gùzáàmái
gúm kùì ‘fetish’	gùmààkàá	gùmààkái

What will be significant in our discussion further below, all the plurals belonging to the suffix system are argued by the authors to be weight-insensitive (in Newman’s (1972) terms, i.e. the weight of the initial syllable does not trigger any further augmentation). This is summarized in table 3.

To conclude, Hellwig & McIntyre (2000) claim that Hausa plural formations revealed weight-sensitivity in the prosodic system by introducing new principles of augmentation. In particular, a specific syllable structure of the singular correlated with gemination, reduplication or consonant-repetition in the plural. This correlation is argued to be lost in the suffix system, in which plurals are formed by referring exclusively to the quality of a final vowel of their singular counterparts. The principles shaping each plural system are listed below in the table 4.

Slightly revising Hellwig & McIntyre’s (2000) proposals, in the following section we shall argue that the constraint on weight-augmentation did not vanish in the plural system described; on the contrary, the new plurals may surface in the forms present above only if it is fulfilled. Specifically, it will be claimed that since the introduction of the prosodic system Hausa plurals have had to satisfy an iambic template, described in detail below.

Table 3. Suffix system: weight-insensitivity

Syllable shape	Singular	Plural -oo.ii	Singular	Plural -u.naa	Singular	Plural -ai
CV- initial	g'ǎlə 'shawl' gúlàà 'drum stick'	g'ǎlóólíí gúlóólíí	ʔákààwúú 'clerk' kálangúú 'hourglass drum'	ʔákááwúnàà kálangúnàà	wákùlíí 'representative' màkàánikèè 'mechanic'	wàkùlái màkàànikái
CVV- initial	tààs'úuníyáá 'folktale' móótàà 'car'	tààs'úuníyóóyíí móótóóóíí	hùuláá 'cap' kéésòò 'worn-out mat'	húúlúnàà kéésúnàà	kááfríí 'infidel' mààdúgúú 'caravan leader'	kààfrái mààdùgái
CVC- initial	ʔálmààráá 'fantasy' bíndigàà 'gun'	ʔálmááróóíí bíndigóóíí	yánkù 'section' fámfòò 'faucet'	yánkúnàà fámfúnàà	ʔállùúràà 'needle' bùnsùrúú 'he-goat'	ʔállùùrái bùnsùrái

Table 4. Systems of plural formation (with reference to weight-sensitivity)

Systems	Principles
semantic	no weight-requirements change in tone pattern/vowel sequence
prosodic	singular nouns with 3 radicals: change in tone pattern/vowel sequence singular nouns with 2 radicals: change in tone pattern/vowel sequence plus consonant-addition singular nouns with 2 radicals and light first syllable: reduplication, gemination, consonant-copy
suffix	no weight-requirements added consonant reanalyzed as a part of the fixed suffix consonant-copy develops into a general plural formative

2.2.3 The prosodic constraint

The role of a prosodically-defined template in shaping various morphological categories of a language, already mentioned in the introduction, has been widely acknowledged in the literature (treatments of particular languages include Arabic (McCarthy & Prince 1990), Penutian languages (Goldsmith 1990, Archangeli 1983); also for templatic-truncation phenomena see Weeda 1992). This section argues that a templatic requirement has been imposed on Hausa plural system in the course of its development, triggering the introduction of new, augmentation processes aimed at fulfilling the template. Below we specify the shape of this size constraint with reference to Hellwig & McIntyre's remarks discussed in the previous section. Out of the principles of plural formation detailed by the authors, we focus first on the role of gemination and partial reduplication as weight-augmenting processes. Consonant-repetition (as in **da.maa.mee**), while also considered to be an instance of template-driven augmentation, does not add weight by itself and as such will be discussed separately further below.

2.2.4 The argument

It has been noted that Hellwig & McIntyre (2000) accept Newman's (1972) claim that it is the first light syllable of the singular that triggers reduplication/gemination, and, accordingly, the authors treat those plurals which do not apply RED/G in the said context as weight-insensitive:

(21)

	Singular		Plural
a. weight-sensitive	dámì	'bundle'	dàmmái
	íkì	'body'	jíkúnkúnàà
b. weight-insensitive	ʔàkààwúú	'clerk'	ʔákááwúnàà
	màkááníkèè	'mechanic'	màkàànikái
	díláá	'jackal'	dílóólí

What Newman (1972) proposes in particular is that weight-augmentation in the plurals is applied to CV.C- roots to ensure that one has a minimum of two moras in the base to which the suffix is added.

(22)

„Two-moras” requirement		
dá.m-	‘bundle’	dám.mái
μ		μ μ

However, this rule was originally designed to account for weight-addition in -ai pattern, as in (21a), and therefore it does not explain some of the other instances of weight-augmentation. Consider the following:

(23)

Singular	Plural
háďaríí ‘accident’	háďarúrrúkàà
kábàríí ‘grave’	kábárúrrúkàà
šá'aníí ‘affair’	šá'ánúnnúkàà

As seen in (24), the singular root contains two light syllables, i.e. two moras. Nevertheless, the plural is formed by suffixing -u.kaa along with the reduplication:

(24)

há.ďa.ríí	→	há.ďá.rúr.rú.kàà (*há.ďá.rú.kàà)
μ μ		

Geminated forms already mentioned in (9) behave in a similar manner:

(25)

há.rá.fíí	→	há.rúf.fàà (*há.rú.fàà)
μ μ		

Nouns such as above augment in weight and shun the forms that would be expected according to bimoraic requirement. On the other hand, singular roots do not geminate/reduplicate to achieve bimoraicity when pluralized by the following forms, all of which contain two heavy syllables:

(26)

	Singular	Plural	
a. -aa.ee	gí.dáá	gíd.àà.jéé	cf. gí.dáá.dú.wàà ‘house’
b. -aa.uu	gá.bàà	gábààbúú	cf. gáb.bú.nàà, gáb.bái ‘syllable’
c. -aa.aa	hár.šèè	há.ràà.sáá	cf. há.rús.sàà ‘tongue’
d. -oo.ii	sá.màà	sá.móó.míí	cf. sàm.mái ‘sky’

To sum up, “two moras” constraint appears not to survive close scrutiny as a general rule, by not predicting that bimoraic roots use reduplication/gemination as in (23, 25), and that monomoraic roots in (26) strain from it.

Reconsidering the observations made so far, we can state that, when dealing with the root containing no heavy syllables, the plural receives internal weight augmentation only when it is formed by adding:

a. a heavy (-VV) syllable rhyme, eg. -ai

b. combination of a light and heavy rhyme (-V.VV), e.g. -u.aa

In light of the subject of our study, we could paraphrase the generalizations above, stating that reduplication/gemination correlates with those patterns that suffix one iambic foot: ($\sigma_{\mu\mu}$), or (σ_{μ} $\sigma_{\mu\mu}$):

(27)

	Singular	Plural
a. ($\sigma_{\mu\mu}$)-> G	túdúú	tú<u>d</u>dái
b. (σ_{μ} $\sigma_{\mu\mu}$)-> G/RED	číkíí bákàà	čík<u>k</u>únàà bákún<u>k</u>únàà

When the singular root contains at least one heavy syllable, no reduplication/gemination occurs:

- (28) **jààkíí** **jààkái = jáákúnàà**

Moreover, formations that add two heavy syllables – or rather, two iambs – to the root, are not further augmented in weight:

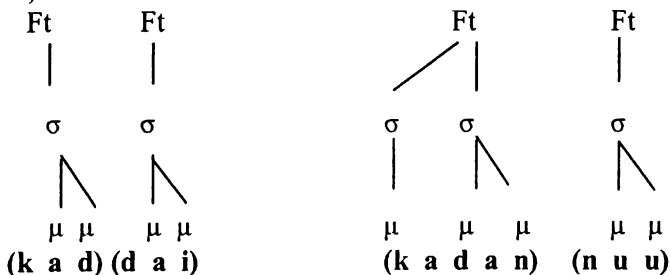
- (29)
- | | Singular | Plural |
|-----------|---------------|-----------------|
| a. -oo.ii | báráà | báróóríí |
| b. -aa.ee | gídáá | gídààǵéé |
| c. -aa.uu | gábàà | gábààbúú |
| d. -aa.aa | háršèè | hàrààsáá |

Interestingly, what the surface forms of the plurals in (27 – 29) have in common is that they consist of two iambic feet:

- (30)
- | | |
|-----------|----------------------------------|
| a. -ai | (tùd)(dái)
(ǵàà)(kái) |
| b. -u.aa | (bá.kún)(kú.nàà)
(jáá)(kúnàà) |
| c. -oo.ii | (bá.róó)(ríí) |
| d. -aa.ee | (gí.dàà)(ǵéé) |

The same characteristic can be furthermore observed in other productive plural formations as well. Wolff (1993:143) lists several distinct plurals designed for a singular noun **kádòò** ‘crocodile’, all of which belong to the post-semantic system. Despite the diversity, all the forms fall under the same scheme mentioned above, as they comprise two iambs: **(kàd)(dái)**, **(kà.dùn)(níí)**, **(kà.dàn)(níí)**, **(kà.dàn)(núú)**, **(kád)(dú.nàà)**, **(ká.dán)(dú.nàà)**, **(ká.dàn)(dá.níí)**, **(ká.dáá)(dú.nàà)**, **(ká.dáá)(dú.wàà)**, **(ká.dóó)(díí)**.

(31)



Indeed, the crucial claim we make below is that a number of productive Hausa plural classes are formed on the condition to have more than one iambic foot. The patterns that attach only one iamb to the root consisting of no heavy syllables, as in (32a) below, need to fulfill this condition by augmenting the base with the use of reduplication or gemination. On the other hand, the absence of these processes in the plurals found in (32b) is due to the fact that, already having two iambs as part of their formatives, they simply do not need to further augment the base.

(32)

a. $-(\sigma_{\mu\mu}), -(\sigma_{\mu} \sigma_{\mu\mu})$: RED/G

dámìì	‘bundle’	(dàm)(mái)	*(dàmái)
s’iròò	‘sprout’, ‘shoot’	(s’ir)(rái)	*(s’irái)
gàríí	‘city’	(gá.rúú)(rú.kàà)	*gá(rú.káá)
jíkíí	‘body’	(jí.kún)(kú.nàà)	*jí(kú.nàà)

b. $-(\sigma_{\mu\mu})-(\sigma_{\mu\mu})$: no further augmentation required

bàràà	‘servant’	(bá.róó)(ríí)
bíkáá	‘baboon’	(bí.kàà)(kéé)

This prosodic requirement is captured formally by two constraints:

(33)

PRWD=2IAMBS
 “Prosodic Word comprises two iambic feet”
 CONTAIN-PRWD
 “lexical word contains Prosodic Word”

For the purpose of the discussion, we will use the constraint CONTAIN-2 IAMBS, “Lexical word contains two iambic feet”, which encapsulates the two above.

Since neither reduplication nor gemination shaped archaic plurals, we could assume that such patterns are free of the prosodic requirement in (33). Indeed, among the oldest plural formations we find several that contain only one iambic foot.

(34)

Singular	Plural
mĩ̀jì	má.záá ‘husband’/ ‘men’, ‘males’
gĩ̀jì	gí.dáá ‘house’

Significantly, at some point in time nearly all such forms simply ceased to function or have been reinterpreted as singulars and acquired another plural. In the following examples the CV.CVV plurals found in Western Hausa (i.e. in the more conservative dialect) have been redefined as singulars in the more progressive, standard variety. The “new” singulars have acquired another plural pattern, already mentioned in (7a), namely **-aa.ee** (Newman, 2000:456).

(35)

Sg: WH

Pl: WH =

Pl: SH

= Sg: Standard Hausa

dúmèè	(dú.máá)	(dú.màà)(méé)	'gourd'
gĩjì	(gí.dáá)	(gí.dàà)(jéé)	'house'
kárèè	(ká.ráá)	(ká.ràà)(réé)	'cornstalk'
kújèè	(kú.dáá)	(kú.dàà)(jéé)	'fly'

On the other hand, most of the archaic plurals formed on the basis of a root consisting of a heavy syllable, while having secondary plurals in other, more productive classes, have not lost their plural reading:

(36)

	Singular	Plural	Alternative plural
a. -uu	gááʃìì 'hair'	gáásúú	gáásóóʃíí
b. -ii	kʷààɗóó 'frog'	kʷááɗíí	kʷááɗúnàà

This can be explained by the fact that the forms in (36), unlike those in (34), meet the "two iambs" constraint: **(gáá)(súú)** 'hair', **(kʷáá)(ɗíí)** 'frog', cf. **(ká.ráá)** 'cornstalk'.

Note also that none of the foregoing archaic patterns is formed by affixing two heavy syllables. Hellwig & McIntyre (2000:11) observe that while in the semantic system only the final vowel is changed, plurals in the prosodic system are formed by additional inserting of a long vowel to the non-initial penult.

(37)

semantic system

prosodic system

Singular

Plural

Plural

gĩjì 'house'**gídáá****gídààǽéé**

We have seen above that the long internal vowel emerged in Hausa along with the prosodic requirement for plurals. Therefore, it could be treated as one of the three developments introduced to fulfill the condition in (33).

We should admit however that in the course of their development, Hausa plurals were not only subject to augmentation, as there are cases of plural patterns that have been phonologically reduced. Most evident among the latter is one of the largest plural classes, namely **-ai**. As mentioned, Newman (2000:434) treats the diphthongal nature of the suffix highly exceptional when compared to other plurals, indicating that it is likely to be historically derived from **-aa.yE** (i.e. either **-aa.yii**, or **-aa.yee**). The reduction phenomenon turns predictable if taken as an example of the invert size/frequency correlation, observed as early as Zipf (1935). Following up on this thought, Kraska-Szlenk (2009:273) argues that while reduction of frequent grammatical morphemes starts in a few of the most frequent lexical items, it is likely to spread by way of lexical diffusion. However, spreading may be “blocked by minimal size requirements [...] leading to the emergence of a phonologically conditioned allomorphy rule”. Formally, reductions of this type may be expressed by constraints on size maximality (Kraska-Szlenk, 2009). Consequently, the constraint responsible for the shortening in **aa.yE > ai** would be formulated as **NO-2σ-aa.yii**. Among the words utilizing the reduced suffix, there is a handful of basic nouns, which violate **CONTAIN-2 IAMBS**, e.g.:

(38)

Singular		Plural
bí.rìì	‘monkey’	bí.rái < [†] bí.ráá.yE
kí.bí.yàà (< [†] kí.bìì)	‘arrow’	kí.bái < [†] kí.báá.yE
wú.s’ìì	‘tail’	wú.s’ái < [†] wú.s’áá.yE

Now, let us recall that the reduced version of the suffix, according to Hellwig & McIntyre (2000), started to function already in the prosodic system – or, as in our proposal, at the time when the minimal size requirement had already been established in plurals.

Therefore, when spreading to other, less frequent lexical items, it could surface unchanged only in those nouns which could simultaneously fulfill CONTAIN – 2 IAMB constraint. On the other hand, when applied to shorter roots, it was accompanied by various repair strategies aimed at fulfilling the requirement on size – these include reduplication and gemination (presumably, at some point in time, the size constraint was so well established in the system that it affected the most frequent nouns as well. These however, retained the “short” version as an alternative):

(39)

	Singular		Plural
a. no change	bùn.sú.rúú ‘he-goat’		(bùn)(sù.rái)
	ḑáá.li.bíí ‘student’		(ḑàà)(li.bái)
b. G	tú.dùù ‘hill’		(tùd)(dái) *(tú.dái)
	kʷá.bòò ‘penny’		(kʷàb)(bái) *(kʷá.bái)
c. RED	bí.sáá ‘packed animal’		(bì.sàì)(sái) *(bí.sái)
	wús’ìì ‘tail’		(wù.s’ài)(s’ái) or (wú.s’ái)

Still, Newman (2000:434) observes that it is polysyllabic words that normally go with **-ai** plural type. On the other hand, most disyllabic words with a light initial syllable are pluralized by **-aa.ce**. Significantly, since there are no other plurals in Hausa that end in /ee/ (and no plurals at all that end in /oo/), Newman claims that **-aa.ce** “is historically secondary, most likely resulting from monophthongization of /-ai/” (diphthongs commonly simplify in Hausa, cf. **ḑiréébàà /ḑiráibàà** ‘driver’, **náiràà = nééràà** (Nigerian currency)):

(40)

Singular	Plural
ká.sáá ‘country/province’	(ká.sàà)(šéé) †(ká.sàà)(sái)
dá.móó ‘land monitor’	(dá.màà)(méé) †(dá.màà)(mái)

As such, **-aa.ɛɛ** class serves as the main allomorph of **-ai**, introduced to fulfill the “two iambs” condition when dealing with shorter singular roots.

What is more, since words that employ **-aa.ɛɛ** pattern consist of two light syllables with a H-tone pattern, it follows that most of the erstwhile plurals which violated the CONTAIN-2 IAMBS constraint have been repluralized by this class, themselves being reformulated as singulars. Needless to say, all of them end in **-aa**, as already seen in (35) above. We consider this archaic plural suffix to be the plausible origin of the co-called “internal A” in Hausa plurals⁹. To sum up this part, below we provide the historical development of **-ai** to **-aa.ɛɛ**:

Table 5.

STEP 1 – SEMANTIC SYSTEM

Singular	Plural 1
bí.rìì ‘monkey’	†bí.ráá

STEP 2 – EMERGENCE OF ‘CONTAIN-2 IAMBS’

Plural 1	→	Plural 2
†bí.ráá		†bí.ráá.yíí

STEP 3 – SPORADIC, FREQ-DRIVEN REDUCTION (‘NO-2σ-aa.yii’)

Plural 2	→	Plural 3
†bí.ráá.yíí		bí.rái

STEP 4 – LEXICAL DIFFUSION (BLOCKED BY MINIMAL SIZE REQ)

	Singular	Plural 1/3	Plural 4
	bùn.sú.rúú ‘he-goat’	(bùn)(sù.rái)	
cf.	dúmèè ‘gourd’	*(dú.máá)	(dú.màà)(méé)
	kùjèè ‘fly’	*(kú.dáá)	(kú.dàà)(jéé)

⁹Under this approach, the original singular form of **ká.sáá** ‘country/province’ would be **†ká.šE** (i.e. **†ká.šíí** or **†ka.šéé**). cf. **gíjìì** ‘house’, pl. **gídáá / gídààjéé**

Now that we established the source of weight-sensitivity in Hausa plural formations, and explained the irregular development of the **-ai** plurals, let us verify whether the patterns found in the “suffix system” are insensitive to weight, as proposed by Hellwig & McIntyre. As mentioned in the previous section, three classes are claimed to belong to this system:

- a. **-u.naa**
- b. **-ai (-ii/-uu)**
- c. **-oo.ii**

Since both, **-u.naa** and **-ai** contain only one iambic foot, they should, according to our assumptions, obligatorily trigger weight-augmentation when attached to the root that lacks iambs. Thus, the most appropriate way of testing their alleged immunity towards the prosodic constraint would be to see how these suffixes deal with the singular roots of CV.C- or CV.CV.C- shape. Recall however, that the authors’ hypothesis on the weight-insensitivity of these forms rests on different claims than ours. Specifically, in their view it is only the initial syllable’s weight in the singular that can reveal whether the plural form is sensitive to weight. Therefore significantly for our discussion, when verifying the character of the examined forms, Hellwig & McIntyre give only those examples of singular stems that, while having a light initial syllable, do also contain an iamb:

(41)

syllable shape	Singular	Stem	Plural
CV-initial	ʔà.kàà.wúú ‘clerk’ ká.lán.gúú ‘hourglass drum’ ʔà.góó.góó ‘watch’	(ʔà.kàà)w (ká.lán)g (ʔà.góó)g	(ʔá.káá)(wú.nàà) (ká.lán)(gú.nàà) (ʔá.góó)(gú.nàà)

	wá.kìi.líí ‘representative’ mà.káá.ní.kèè ‘mechanic’ ʔà.kʷàà.tìi ‘box’	(wá.kìi)l (mà.káá)ní.k (ʔà.kʷàà)t	(wà.kìi)(láí) (mà.kàà)(nì.káí) (ʔà.kʷàà)(tái)
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As seen above, the reason for which the forms do not augment in weight is that they already fulfill the prosodic constraint (CONTAIN-2 IAMBBS).

Examining the relationship between these two classes and their older counterparts, Hellwig & McIntyre note that it is best described as a continuum. However, we find no forms (apart from those introduced in the semantic system) that do not meet the condition to have at least two iambs. If necessary, all of them augment in weight. Thus, for the lack of evidence to the contrary, we assume that the two formations here are no different than their forerunners with respect to their sensitivity to the prosodic requirement¹⁰.

Consequently, the only formation from the “suffix system” that receives no internal augmentation when confronted with CV.C-roots, is the one which already contains two iambic feet – and, as admitted by the authors, is actually not a suffix – namely **-oo.ii**. Behaving in this manner, it seems to be no different than other endings that contain two heavy syllables, as for example, also very productive **-aa.ee**.

(42)

	Singular	Plural	
a. -oo.ii	dí.làà	dí.lóó.líí	‘jackal’
	gábáá	gá.bóó.bíí	‘joint’
	móó.táá	móó.tóó.číí	< / móó.tóó.tíí /
			‘car’

¹⁰That said, we support Hellwig & McIntyre’s claim that **-u.naa** should be regarded an updated version of **-u.aa** for the reasons other than prosodic, as illustrated by examples (18,19) above.

b. -aa.ee	dá.móó	dá.màà.méé	'land monitor'
	gí.dáá	gí.dàà.jéé <	/gí.dàà.déé/
	súú.náá	súú.nàà.yéé	'house'
			'name'

However, there is indeed a crucial difference between the -aa.ee and the newer -oo.ii pattern: while it is always the consonant copied from the stem that brakes the hiatus in the latter, such repetition occurs in the former only when the initial syllable is light – otherwise, the onset is filled by the least-marked /y/ (compare dá.màà.méé with súú.nàà.yéé, cf. dí.lóó.líí ~ móó.tóó.číí < /móó.tóó.tíí/). Both of the patterns are fully regular.

Hellwig & McIntyre note that consonant repetition generally occurred in the prosodic system in a restricted environment, while in -oo.ii it developed into a morphological plural formative. Applying our hypothesis to the authors' remark, we may observe that in (43a) the consonant is copied from the root if the plural stands within the domain of two iambs, i.e. within the Prosodic Word designed for Hausa plurals. If the plural exceeds the edges of PrWd [marked by square brackets], the least-marked /y/ occurs as the -aa.ee hiatus-breaker (43b):

(43)

	Singular	Plural
a.	dá.móó	[(dá.màà)(méé)]
b.	súú.náá	[(súú)(nàà)](yéé)

On the other hand, as seen in (44), -oo.ii copies the base-final consonant disregarding the prosodic domain.

(44)

gá.báá	[(gá.bóó)(bíí)]
móó.táá	[(móó)(tóó)](číí) < [(móó)(tóó)](tíí)

To account for this observation in a formal way, we suggest that along with augmenting the weight in order to meet the condition that CONTAIN-2 IAMBS, plurals belonging to the prosodic system require that the stem be coterminous with the Prosodic Word mentioned. Now, if the size of the stem is too small, it has to extend as in (43a). The consonant duplicated from the stem therefore aligns with the syllable which, being a part of the plural affix, stands for the second iamb (underlined in (dá.màà)(méé)), i.e. is the last syllable of PrWd.

However, by filling the onset of the mentioned syllable, the consonant would mark the stem boundary within the latter (*[(dá.màà)(m)éé]). This would run against the Strict Layer Hypothesis (Selkirk 1984), which requires that a lower-level unit, here the syllable, be exhaustively contained by the unit which is immediately superordinate (i.e. the foot). Now, our stem is defined by PrWd which in turn comprises two feet. The latter need to parse the lower-level constituents, i.e. the syllables, exhaustively, and therefore their boundaries must not cut across the syllable structure. Thus, to fulfill this requirement, the part of the affixal material which is aligned with the duplicated consonant, needs to be incorporated to the stem: [(dá.màà)(méé)].

Both, morpheme-absorption phenomena, as well as alignment constraints on the interface between prosody and morphology are well grounded in the literature (for the former, see Łubowicz 2006; the latter are thoroughly described in McCarthy & Prince 1993a, 1993b). The constraint responsible for root-extension as in [(dá.màà) (méé)] is formulated as follows:

(45)

ALIGN-PRWD-R

Align(Stem, R, PrWd, R)

“Align the right edge of the stem with the right edge of the PrWd”

In [(súú)(nàà)](yéé) the final consonant of the root (/n/) does not need to duplicate as it already fills the onset of the ultimate syllable of PrWd. Conversely, since the onset of /ee/ lies just outside

the prosodic domain, it holds no interest for ALIGN-PRWD-R. Therefore, the **aa.ee** hiatus is resolved rather by glide-insertion, which is a default strategy operating elsewhere in the language (Schuh 1989):

(46)

báá ‘give’ + áyyàà	→ bààýáyyàà ‘mutual giving’
čí ‘eat’ + ár	→ číyár ‘feed’

Note also that glide-insertion does not operate within the domain of PrWd, as in ***[(dá.màà)(yéé)]** since this would critically violate ALIGN-PRWD-R, which requires that the right edge of the stem cover the boundary of the Prosodic Word¹¹.

Now recall that in the newer, **-oo.ii** form, the glide is not inserted by default in either of the cases. Instead, root-final consonant reduplicates disregarding the prosodic domain that consists of two iambs:

(47)

Singular	Plural	
gá.ḡáá	[(gá.ḡóó)(ḡíí)]	‘joint’, ‘limb’
móó.táá	[(móó)(tóó)](číí) *[(móó)(tóó)](yíí)	‘car’
àl.màà.ráá	[(ál.máá)(róó)](ríí) *[(ál.máá)(róó)](yíí)	‘fable’, ‘fantasy’

¹¹ An alternative approach referring to an iambic template is given in Rosenthal (1999), where the *base* is formed by satisfying two constraints: FOOT-FORM=IAMB, and FINAL-C, thus surfacing as **[damaam]**. This hypothesis poses two problems:

a. FINAL-C states simply that the Prosodic Word (= Rosenthal’s iambic foot) cannot end in a vowel, and thus it provides no explanation for why it is the consonant duplicated from the root that is chosen instead of the least-marked *y*.

b. According to FINAL-C, it is the Prosodic Word that is prohibited from being vowel-final. Since PrWd dominates syllables in Prosodic Hierarchy, the right edge of the PrWd (consisting of iambic foot) coincides with the right edge of the second syllable as in **da.maa]**. The duplicated consonant in Rosenthal’s **da.maa.m** falls outside the PrWd, filling the onset of the following vowel: **da.maa]mee**, and what follows, is at odds with the constraint that should motivate its presence.

We propose that this is due to the fact that **-oo.ii** plural type has kept the alignment constraint while loosing sensitivity to the Prosodic word defined by two iambs. Therefore, the constraint has been reformulated in such a way that it requires the coincidence of edges of the simple stem and the one resulting from plural formation (let's call it Stem_{pl}).

(48)

ALIGN-STEM_{PL}-R

Align(Stem, R, Stem_{pl}, R)

This is illustrated in (49), where the Stem_{pl} is marked by vertical bars:

(49) ALIGN-STEM_{PL}-R

gá.ḡóó.ḡíí	* gá.ḡóó.yíí	'joint'
móó.tóó.číí	* móó.tóó.yíí	'car'
ál.máá.róó.ríí	* ál.máá.róó.yíí	'fable'

2.2.4 Summary

In Newman's (1972) view, adopted in most later analyzes (e.g. Rosenthal 1999, Curtis 2002), "pluralization in Hausa is accomplished by means of two distinct processes: stem preparation, and affix insertion". The first process involves augmenting the stem to the required form, while the second adds a segmental affix along with its tone pattern. Thus, for example the derivation of **ká.fàà.féé** from **ká.fàà** 'hole', consisted of preparing the abstract [?]kaff plus attaching the **-aa.ee** and HLH pattern. Similarly, **tùd.dái** was formed from **tù.dùù** 'hill', by adding the **-ai** suffix plus LH tone melody to the prepared [?]tudd.

By reformulating the prosodic constraint, claimed here to be imposed directly on the output form of the plural, we propose to eliminate the middle, abstract level. Moreover, the current approach, in which the plurals are required to contain two iambic feet, allows us to explain why plurals with one iamb attached (like **-ai**, **-u.aa**)

augment in weight by RED/G (e.g. (dá.rús)(sàà) ‘lessons’), while similar augmentation is not present in forms like (dá.ràà)(sáá), where the affix already contains two iambs.

Next, by acquiring Hellwig & McIntyre’s diachronic approach to Hausa plurals, we have been able to show that the emergence of bi-iambic template has dominated the principles of the former, semantic system consisting solely of tone/final vowel change, and thus laid new foundations for the definition of plural category. Again, reformulation of Newman’s constraint on plurals adopted by the authors, allowed us to show that the forms belonging to the alleged suffix system do not augment in weight only when they fulfill the constraint. Thus, being fully sensitive to the iambic requirement, they can be regarded sub-varieties of the prosodic (specifically, iambic) system, rather than representing a post-iambic stage.

The only class that shows no surface alternations pointing to sensitivity towards the bi-iambic constraint, is -oo.ii. Nevertheless, it has been developed by satisfying the constraint in question. In other words, rather than being “ignorant”, it can be regarded the “ingrate”.

We should stress though, that the role of iambic foot, while crucial in shaping the noun plurals, is not restricted to the above. In the following chapter we demonstrate that while word-formation in verbs is more complex than in nouns, iambicity proves to be an equally significant principle shaping this category.

3. The role of iambicity in verbs

3.1 Background to word structure in verb category

The primary trait distinguishing Hausa simple nouns from verbs is that while in the former both tones and the character of final rhyme are mostly lexical, the role they play in the latter is to far more degree determined by morphology. This asymmetry is stressed by Parsons, who even claims that “whereas in the noun, tone is in the main etymological and ‘free’, in the verbs it is entirely grammatical and linked to the other component of form viz. termination” (Parsons 1960:9). The Parsonian paradigm, in which verbs are ascribed to appropriate terminations, or “grades”, has gained a wide acceptance,

being adopted by most of the subsequent synchronic descriptions of Hausa verbal system (Gouffe 1962; Furniss 1981; 1983; Lukas 1963; Newman 1973, 2000 – cf. his historical model, summarized in chapter 3.4 below; Pilszczikowa 1969; Wolff 1993 et al.; for an alternative synchronic description see McIntyre 2008).

According to this framework, grades may manifest their semantic/grammatical distinctions by changing the tonal shape and weight/quality of the verb's ultimate syllable:

(50)

a. change in final vowel quality

gr3 (**kwáánòò**) **yáá** **ciká** 'the bowl filled'

gr7 (**kwáánòò**) **yáá** **cikú** 'the bowl was filled by someone'

b. change in final vowel weight + quality

gr3a **káurá** 'emigrate'

gr6 **káuróó** 'immigrate'

c. change in tone + final vowel weight + quality

gr1 **sàyí** 'buy'

gr4 **sáyèè** 'buy up'

Tone and weight of the ultima may be further altered in verbs according to syntactic environment. In particular, a verb can surface in four distinct forms depending on whether it is followed by: A – no object, B – personal pronoun direct object, C – any other direct object, or D – indirect object (C-form, which usually ends in a light syllable, is regarded underlying for transitive verbs since Newman (1973)).

Considering the final vowel weight alone, it alternates both within each "grade" and between them. On the other hand, it needs to be emphasized that there is significant divergence with respect to word structure among grades themselves which goes beyond the nature of an ultima: in the light of iambicity, most of the ill-formed items are present in grade 3, which contains a high number of intransitive verbs ending invariably in a short vowel (-a/-i/-u). The class is exceptional in comprising a handful of verbs built of three light (CV.CV.CV) syllables. Interestingly, a number of such words have a

correspondent in other grades (typically in gr1 and gr4) yet with a vowel-syncope, which results in a well-formed iambic structure. This is illustrated by the examples below (verbs appearing in alternative grades retain the original, intransitive spelling if not followed by an object (A-form)):

(51)

a. g3 ~ g1	Iambic parsing
fà.ḁá.kà ‘awake’ ~ fár.kàà	(fár)(kàà)
tà.fá.sà ‘boil’ ~ táf.sàà	(táf)(sàà)
b. g3 ~ g4 (McIntyre 2008)	Iambic parsing
tà.wá.yà ‘shrink’ ~ táu.yèè	(táu)(yèè)
wà.rá.kà ‘get well’ ~ wár.kèè	(wár)(kèè)
yà.ná.kà ‘isolate oneself’ ~ yán.kèè	(yán)(kèè)
cf. kù.ḁú.tà ‘escape’ ~ kúb.čèè = kù.ḁú.čéé	(kúb)(čèè)
mà.ká.rà ‘be late’ = má.kà.réé	

In (51a), the coda-implosive is simplified to /r/ as predicted by Hausa phonology. No reverse strategy (/r/ → /ḁ/) is attested in the language, which suggests that the examples in the right column are syncopeated words derived from grade 3 verbs. As seen in (51c), the deletion may violate well-formedness constraints and produce a marked coda. In sum, we assume that the syncope in grade 1 and 4 aims at avoiding the ill-formed iambic foot.

Similar adjustments are exhibited by other classes as well, such as the “efferential” grade 5 which uniquely ends in a consonant -as – surfacing as -ar in word-final position¹² – e.g. //zúbás// > **zúbár** ‘pour out’: when followed by direct object pronoun, gr5 verbs add final /-ee/, which results in restoring the underlying consonant. However, instead of expected *zúbášéé, one gets **zúbšéé** with the medial short /a/ deleted. Some further examples are given in (52a).

¹² //s/ to /r/ switch is common in Hausa word-finally, e.g. **marasa** > **maras** > **marar** ‘lacking’; **másà** > **mas** > **mar** 3sg. m. indirect object.

Forms with the geminated consonant are found in the same context as well (52b).

(52)

a. vowel-syncope

(**rá.hám**)(**šéé**) **mù** ‘have mercy (on us)’ ***rá.há.má.šéé**

(**wá.hál**)(**šéé**) **sù** ‘cause trouble (to them)’ ***wá.há.lá.šéé**

b. gemination

(**sá.náš**)(**šéé**) **kà** ‘inform (you m.)’ ***sá.ná.šéé**

(**gá.náš**)(**šéé**) **kù** ‘show (you pl.)’ ***gá.ná.šéé**

Finally, while the weight of the final syllable itself is subject to variation, we demonstrate that morphological categories discussed below do utilize iambic foot along with various strategies of avoiding the opacity driven by grade-marking.

3.2 Verbalizer

3.2.1 Background

Hausa is found to derive verbs from nouns and adjectives by means of a very productive suffix appearing in two forms, further divided into five subvariants (Newman 2000:722). The first form, **-an.taa**, is restricted to around 50 verbs. It attaches to the nominal root with no further adjustments (cf. (53b), in which the **-un.taa** variant occurs as partly conditioned by the noun’s ultimate vowel; similarly to plural formation, all the nouns drop the final vowel before the verbalizing suffix).

(53)

a.

fá.ràn.táá ‘whiten, make happy’	< fá.ríí	‘white’
níí.sán.tàà ‘be away from’	< níí.sáá	‘distance’
jàà.gòò.rán.tàà ‘lead, guide’	< jàà.góó.ràà	‘a guide’
kàà.lùù.bà.lán.tàà ‘provoke’	< káá.lúú.bà.léé	‘a challenge’

b.

gúr.gùn.ćée ¹³	‘become lame’ <	gúr.gùù	‘cripple’
dù.hún.tàà	‘become dark’ <	dú.hùù	‘darkness’
cf.			
húú.s'àn.ćée	‘become cantankerous’ <	húú.s'úú	‘cantankerous’

The second variant surfaces in one of the three allomorphs depending on the number and weight of the syllables in the attached root: those containing at least two syllables take **-taa**:

(54)

VERBALIZER		NOUN		ROOT
a. tíí.làs.táá	‘to force’ <	tíí.làs	‘perforce’	/tíí.las/
b. hán.zàr.táá	‘hasten’ <	hán.zá.ríí	‘speed, haste’	/han.za.r/
jàà.híl.tàà	<	jàá.hì.líí	‘ignorant person’	/jaa.hi.l/
	‘be ignorant of sth.’			
c. mà.rái.tàà	<	mà.ráá.yàà	‘orphan’	/ma.raa.y/
	‘become an orphan’			

Syllable structure of the root remains unaltered in derived form in (54a). In (54b), the stray onset consonant is attached to the coda of the preceding syllable. Derived verb in (57c) further shortens the overweighted syllable (***mà.ráái.tàà** > **mà.rái.tàà**).

Examples below suggest however that it is not merely the phonotactics that is altering the shape of the category in question. Roots comprising one heavy syllable and a stray onset do not pattern with the ones found in (54c). Instead, they appear with the **-a.taa** suffix attached:

¹³ The quality of final vowel is solely determined by the “grade” – if the vowel is high, it triggers coronal palatalization as in gr. 4 **gur.gun.cee** (← /gur.gun.tee/)

(55)

VERBALIZER	NOUN	ROOT
s'óó.rà.táá 'frighten' *s'ór.tàà < s'óó.róó 'fear' /s'oo.r/		
báá.kà.čéé 'cheat' *bák.čèè < bàà.káá 'invitation' /baa.k/		

Finally, roots built of a light syllable and a stray consonant form verbs by utilizing the **-aa.taa** ending:

(56)

VERBALIZER	NOUN	ROOT
nù.fáá.tàà 'intend' < nú.fì 'intention' /nu.f/		
s'í.yàà.táá 'impoverish' < s'ì.yáá 'poverty' /s'i.y/		

As shown below, the same pattern holds for verbs assigned to grades having a short ultimate syllable. Grade 3 intransitives illustrate the case:

(57)

VERBALIZER	NOUN	ROOT
a. -ta hà.rám.tà 'be unlawful' hà.rám 'unlawful' /ha.ram/		
b. -a.ta s'òò.rá.tà 'be frightened' s'óó.róó 'fear' /s'oo.r/		
c. -aa.ta fù.sáá.tà 'be angry' fú.šíí 'anger' /fu.s/		

Summarizing the facts above, the **-an.taa** allomorph, which is attached to the root with no further restrictions, occurs as the least productive. As for the constraints found in the other forms, the choice between short **-a.taa** and long **-aa.taa** appears to be conditioned by the occurrence of – respectively – heavy vs. light initial syllable in a root (**s'óó.rà.táá** vs. **nù.fáá.tàà**). Newman (2000) states that what triggers the alternation above is the requirement of “syllable weight polarity”, which aims at producing rhythmic asymmetry between the first two syllables. As seen in (54) however, the requirement does not apply to longer roots – disregarding their quantitative make-up, it is exclusively **-taa** suffix that they attach to; consequently, the stray onset is incorporated to the preceding syllable

(with shortening of the latter, if it is heavy): **hán.zá.ńí** > **hán.zàr.táá**; ***hán.zá.rà.táá**, cf. **nú.fì** > **nù.fáá.tàà**; ***nùf.táá**.

The following section scrutinizes the stated problems, and claims that what underlies the notion of syllable weight polarity is iambicity, shaping the category of denominal verbs as one of the constraints on its size.

3.2.2 Metrical Analysis

Striking similarity between the **-an.taa** and the now-productive **-(aa).taa** form indicates that they are historically related. Indeed, nasal + voiceless consonant sequence is disfavored cross-linguistically, a fact captured formally by the constraint ***NÇ** (Pater 1999, Hayes & Stivers 1996). We suggest that Hausa conforms to this general pattern, assuming that the nasal in **-an.taa** underwent lenition, modifying the suffix form to **-a.taa**¹⁴. Further shortening to **-taa** in longer words appears to have no straightforward phonological explanation (*vide* 61b):

¹⁴From a functional point of view, **-an.taa** > **-a.taa** reduction is aimed at simplifying the suffix's structure, and thus we may assume that it is rooted in the same principle that motivates the further reduction of the morpheme (**-a.taa** > **-taa**, discussed below in the section as an example of the the so-called Zipf's laws).

We should stress that the ***NÇ** constraint seems to be so far restricted in Hausa to the suffix described, which follows from a general tendency of grammatical morphemes to be less stable than lexical items. However, as argued by Kraska-Szlenk (2009) frequency-driven processes are likely to spread by lexical diffusion. It is interesting to note in this respect, that arguments for nasal weakening in Hausa have already been raised in the literature: in his description of a Hausa text written in *ajami* (Arabic script), Piłaszewicz (1992:26) observes that syllable-final /n/ is commonly omitted. Accounting for this, the author claims that a nasal may have merged with a preceding vowel, itself being pronounced very lightly. As such, it could “leave its trace in a lengthened vowel in the writing”.

(58)

a. ROOT SIZE	ROOT	NON-PRODUCTIVE FORM
1 SYLLABLE	fa.r-	fá.ràn.táá 'whiten'
2 SYLLABLES	jaa.go.r-	jàà.gò.ràn.tàà 'guide'
3 SYLLABLES	kaa.luu.ba.l-	kàà.lùù.bà.lán.tàà 'challenge'
b. ROOT SIZE	ROOT	PRODUCTIVE FORM
1 SYLLABLE	ʔuu.w-	ʔúú.wà.táá 'bail out'
	yaa.f-	yàà.fá.tàà 'beckon'
2 SYLLABLES	faa.si.k-	fáá.sìk.táá 'accuse of profligacy'
3 SYLLABLES	al.kaa.wa.r-	ál.káá.wàr.táá 'promise'

Verbs in (58a) are formed by adding the **-an.taa** suffix disregarding the size of the root. On the other hand, the productive **-a.taa** suffix in (58b) shortens to **-taa** when the root contains two syllables or more. Note that the reduction applies even if rendering a highly marked coda in the penultimate syllable (**fáá.sìk.táá** 'accuse of profligacy'; **hà.sáf.tàà** 'apportion', no ***fáá.sí.kà.táá**; ***hà.sà.fá.tàà**).

Accounting for the alternations above, we assume that the **-a.taa** > **-taa** reduction is triggered by the frequent occurrence of the very productive suffix in question. As such, it can be regarded an example of a general invert size/frequency correlation, discussed already in the previous chapter. For the purpose of our discussion, the constraint responsible for the shortening in **a.taa** > **taa** is formulated as NO-2σ-a.taa.

However, as seen in (58b.), morpheme reduction is suspended if it were to yield a word with less than three syllables. It is plausible that the requirement that imposes reduction has no effect on the forms such as **yàà.fá.tàà** 'beckon' as it is dominated by the constraint on the minimal size of the derived verb, which is three syllables, expressed formally as CONTAIN-3σ. This hierarchy is captured by the ranking CONTAIN-3σ >> NO-2σ-a.taa.

The category reveals yet another alternation, which is fundamental to our discussion on iambicity: as shown below, the first syllable of the **-a.taa** suffix is not only subject to total reduction, but also varies in weight depending on the moraic content of the root:

(59)	ROOT SIZE	ROOT	VERBALIZER
a. 2 moras	ʔai.k-	ái.kà.táá	'perform, accomplish'
	gay.y-	gày.yá.tàà	'invite'
b. 1 mora	ku.s-	kù.sáá.tàà	'approach'
	ka.w-	kà.wáá.tàà	'make beautiful'

Bimoraic roots in (59a.) keep the original form of the suffix, while with monomoraic roots, the first syllable of the suffix turns heavy. Crucially, neither CONTAIN-3 σ nor NO-2 σ -a.taa is responsible for the alternation, since they make reference to the syllables only, disregarding their quantitative make-up. Newman accounts for the change in the affix by referring to the notion of "syllable weight polarity". The requirement is also said to work in certain plural noun classes: compare the first two syllables in pl. **čóó.kú.làà** ← **čóó.kà.líí** 'spoon' with the geminated pl. **dá.rús.sàà** ← **dá.rà.síí** 'lesson'. However, we have seen in the previous chapter that what triggers gemination in the latter example is rather the (bi)iambic size constraint imposed on Hausa plurals, which makes other short forms expanded as well, cf. **tú.dùù** 'hill' → **(tuúd)(dáá)** = **(tùd)(dái)** = **(túd)(dú.nàà)** but not ***(tù.dái)**; **dá.rà.síí** 'lesson' → **(dá.rús)(sàà)** but not ***dá(rú.sàà)**.

Consequently, we propose that it is iambicity that underlies the **a.taa** ~ **aa.taa** alternation: putting our observations in the light of the metrical structure, we may observe that the minimally trisyllabic denominal forms contain at least two iambic feet (cf. examples below).

(60)	ROOT	VERBALIZER	
a.	kar.y-	(kár)(yà.táá)	‘deny’, ‘lie’
	bal.g-	(bál)(gà.táá)	‘damage’
b.	ka.w-	(ká.wàà)(táá)	‘embroider’
	wa.d-¹⁵	(wà.dáá)(tàà)	‘enrich’

As seen in (60a), the **-a.taa** suffix remains unchanged when the form already contains two iambic feet. If it is shorter, initial part of the suffix augments in weight, forming a light-heavy iamb with the root. Apparently, what drives the weight augmentation above, is the iambically-defined constraint on size (CONTAIN-2 IAMBS), already seen to be at play in shaping Hausa plurals.

To be precise, we should add that while the iambic requirement expands the moraic content of the verbalizing suffix when necessary, it cannot enforce any further enhancements by changing the number of syllables:

(61)	ROOT	VERBALIZER	
a.	koo.ka.r-	(kóó)(kàr)(táá)	*(kóó)(ka.ràà)(táá) ‘endeavor’
	jaa.hi.l-	(jàà)(híl)(tàà)	*(jàà)(hì.láá)(tàà) ‘be ignorant of sth.’
b.	ga.jec.r-	(gá.jàr)(táá)	*(gá.jéé)(rà.táá) ‘shorten’
	ma.raa.y-	(mà.rái)(tàà)	*(mà.ràà)(yá.tàà) ‘become an orphan’

In the examples above, verbalized forms contain three syllables parsed by no less than two iambs already when adding the reduced version of the suffix. Verbs in (61b) further shorten the pe-

¹⁵Originally, the noun based on this root was **wadaa** ‘wealth’, yet, possibly due to its relatively infrequent occurrence with respect to the verb, its etymology has been lost and thus the more accepted form nowadays is the deverbal **wadaataa**.

nult¹⁶. Significantly, the constraint on bi-iambic parsing does not modify the minimal, trisyllabic structure to optimize the foot form (not **(kóó)(ka.ràà)(táá)* but *(kóó)(kàr)(táá)*). This suggests that, while crucially important for the formation of verbalized forms, iambicity requirement is dominated by the two primary constraints mentioned above (CONTAIN-3σ >> NO-2σ-a.taa >> CONTAIN-2IAMBS).

One final proviso has to be made as to the force of CONTAIN-2IAMBS. Forms in (61) reveal that the reduction in size of the suffix may enforce some modifications in the root (cf. vowel shortening in *ma.raa.y* → *mà.ráí.tàà* instead of *mà.ràà.yá.tàà*). Iambic requirement, on the other hand, can only expand the syllable weight in the suffix, having no access to alter the shape of the root (compare the weight augmentation in the suffix: *ba.r- + a.taa* > *(ba.raa)(taa)* ‘obtain by begging’, with no such adjustments found in the root in *faa.si.k- + a.taa* > *(fáá)(sìk)(táá)*, **(fá.sìk)(táá)* or **(fáá)(sì.táá)* ‘accuse of profligacy’).

In other words, the original shape of the root is maximally preserved at the cost of canonical iambic parsing, being violated only by the constraint on the maximal size of the suffix. Consequently, verbalizer’s shape apparently depends on the following ranking of constraints: CONTAIN-3σ >> NO-2σ-a.taa >> IDENT-ROOT >> CONTAIN-2IAMBS >> IDENT-AFFIX.

To sum up this part, we propose that it is CONTAIN-2IAMBS that triggers light-heavy alternation in the suffix. Let us recall however, that the weight asymmetry between the root and the suffix is also present when the particular verb grade makes the final syllable short:

¹⁶ The overweighted syllable in *gá.jèèr.táá* further shortens and centralizes to *gá.jàr.táá* (short mid vowels automatically neutralize to /a/ in Hausa in non-final position).

(62)

	ROOT SIZE	ROOT	VERBALIZER
a.	1 mora	fù.s-	fù.sáá.tà 'be angry'
b.	2 morass	s'òò.r-	s'òò.rá.tà 'be frightened'

Morpho-syntactically conditioned shortening of the final syllable applies to all verbs in Hausa, including the denominal forms. However, though their prosodic structure has been modified, verbalized words – as in (62) – maintain the same light-heavy syllable alternation in the first syllable of the suffix as in words ending with a long vowel. Violation of the requirement on bi-iambic parsing (e.g. (fù.sáá)tà 'be angry', (s'òò)rá.tà 'be frightened') does not trigger any adjustments that one would expect (e.g. lengthening of the (ante)penult and marking the final syllable extrametrical, cf. *(s'òò)(ráá)<tà>, *(fùù)(sáá)<tà>).

Opacity of the metrical structure in (62) could be claimed to be driven by constraint ordering (in which shortening of an ultima takes place only after weight-expansion motivated by CONTAIN-2IAMBS).

Another way to address the problem of opacity is to view the alternation as triggered by analogy, which binds the -aa.ta(a) ~ -a.ta(a) allomorphs with the mono- and bimoraic roots respectively. Such an analysis hinges on the claim that originally, the weight of verb's ultima was free of any morpho-syntactic properties and thus fulfilled the constraint CONTAIN-2IAMBS which triggered the -a.taa > -aa.taa augmentation – we elaborate on this hypothesis in chapter 3.4. As such, the new template could be viewed as a sole beneficiary of the bi-iambic foot structure which historically defined the category of denominal verbs.

Alternatively, given that the augmentation occurs in the first foot of a word (cf. (zà.wáá)tà 'be terrified'), yet another approach would ask to reconsider the above definition of the iambic constraint by limiting its size (and changing the subject of its application): an updated version of the constraint would assert that the stem which serves as the base for the verbalized form – abbreviated in the examples below as S₁ – contains at least one iambic foot (for the purpose

of the discussion, the revised size constraint is formulated as CONTAIN-IAMB). Part of the suffixal material (the initial syllable nucleus, underlined in **s'òò.ṛá.tà** ‘be frightened’) is incorporated to the stem by the principle of syllable integrity, discussed already in the previous chapter, and therefore can be manipulated to meet the “one iamb” requirement.

(63)

a. S_1 with at least one iamb: no weight-expansion

$[[(\mathbf{yùn})]_{\omega 1 (S_1)} \mathbf{wá.tà}]_{\omega 2}$ ‘be hungry’

$[[(\mathbf{kùn})]_{\omega 1 (S_1)} \mathbf{yá.tà}]_{\omega 2}$ ‘be ashamed’

b. S_1 unparsable: weight-expansion in the suffix

$[[(\mathbf{wù.yáá})]_{\omega 1 (S_1)} \mathbf{tà}]_{\omega 2}$ ‘be difficult’ ***wù.yá.tà**

$[[(\mathbf{wà.dáá})]_{\omega 1 (S_1)} \mathbf{tà}]_{\omega 2}$ ‘be well off’ ***wà.dá.tà**

$[[(\mathbf{zà.wáá})]_{\omega 1 (S_1)} \mathbf{tà}]_{\omega 2}$ ‘be terrified’ ***zà.wá.tà**

Admittedly, further shortening of the suffix to **-taa** would also produce a base with one iamb (as in $*[(\mathbf{wù})]_{\omega 1 (S_1)} \mathbf{tá}$). We assume that such forms are excluded due to the presence of the aforementioned constraint on the minimal size of the denominal stem (which equals $\omega 2$ in the examples in (63)), that is three syllables (CONTAIN-3 σ).

3.2.3 Summary

In its original version, the title category was formed by adding the **-an.taa** suffix to the root without any further requirements. Subsequently, the suffix underwent frequency-driven simplification, its further reduction to **-taa** being suspended only by the constraint on minimal size of the word (CONTAIN-3 σ) (cf. **jàà.híl.tàà** ‘be ignorant of sth.’, but **ká.wàà.táá** instead of $*\mathbf{káu.tàà}$ ‘embroider’).

Most notably, the contemporary form reveals sensitivity to weight, as the **-a.taa** suffix undergoes expansion determined by the moraic content of the root. All the plausible accounts of this phenomenon hinge on the crucial role of metrical structure.

The constraint already argued to be responsible for augmenting the productive plural nouns (CONTAIN-2 IAMB) may be claimed to underlie the **-a.taa ~ -aa.taa** alternation. However, such an analysis requires further elaboration to address the opacity caused by grade-driven final vowel shortening. Two approaches tackling this issue – derivational and analogy-based – assume different synchronic status of the (bi)iambic constraint: while the former suggests that CONTAIN-2 IAMB is synchronically active, in the latter it serves as a historical motivation for the development of a template (in which “light” roots pattern with the “heavy” suffix and *vice versa*). Finally, an alternative analysis avoids the problem of opacity by restricting the size constraint to the base comprising one iamb (CONTAIN-IAMB).

The last approach mentioned seems to be best suited to explain the synchronic role of iambicity in the title category. On the other hand, a diachronic analysis of pluractional verbs that we develop in the ensuing section, provides evidence that the constraint CONTAIN-2 IAMB, seen to augment noun plurals – could have shaped the structure of verbs as well.

3.3 Pluractional verbs

3.3.1 Background

The very productive category in question (*Pluralform des Verbum* in Westermann 1911, “intensive” in Abraham 1941, “pluractional” in Newman 1989 and all the subsequent descriptions of this category in Hausa and other Chadic) typically indicate an action which is multiple, iterative, frequentative, distributive, or extensive – exact meaning being determined by the context¹⁷.

Considering their shape, pluractional verbs are derived mainly by reduplicating the simple stems, and are subject to the same morphosyntactic paradigm described in the introduction to this chapter.

¹⁷ For this reason, only the simple stems will be glossed here when given in citation forms

(64)

a. **yáá kákkààmá béérààyéé** ‘he caught the mice (all of them or one by one)’

cf. **káámà** ‘catch’ gr1 (H-L-(H)), C-form

b. **mún kákkáámóó yáàráá** ‘we caught the children and brought them here’

cf. **káámóó** ‘catch and bring’ gr6 (H), C-form (all of them or one by one)

The nature of reduplication in pluractionals has varied in time. Newman (1989, 2000) distinguishes two major types with this respect:

Table 5.

REDUPLICANT	PRODUCTIVITY	EXAMPLES
-CVC- INFIX (NEWMAN 2000) (analyzed as -CVCV SUFFIX in NEWMAN, 1989)	MARGINAL	má.kà.lée → má.kál.kà.lée ‘attach’
CVC- PREFIX	FULL	tàm.bá.yàà → tàt.tàm.bá.yàà ‘ask sb.’

As seen in the preceding table, the most productive principle is prefixal CVC reduplication. In turn, the strategy to infix the CVC duple (or add a CVCV suffix, as analyzed earlier by Newman; cf. discussion which follows) is hardly common, with many verbs having lost their pluractional reading as well as the non-derived counterparts (and thus are called the “frozen pluractionals”), yet some – their application restricted to trisyllabic simple verbs – are still active.

Note that one of the basic traits indicating that “frozen” verbs functioned historically as pluractionals is the use of reduplication, which still serves to augment the verb base in synchronically productive pluractional forms. There are, however, some other formations that parallel the ones mentioned with respect to three following features:

- internal augmentation
- loss of originally encoded semantics
- loss of non-derived counterparts

On the other hand, their means of augmentation is not attested in synchronic pluractional forms. Moreover, semantically bleached, they offer no credible signs of being members of this category. Thus, Hausaists generally do not recognize them as such. Notwithstanding the above questions, Newman (1990b:97) analyzes these verbs as “other possible frozen pluractionals”, distinguishing two main formation principles:

- 1) Medial gemination¹⁸, e.g. **kwál.là.fáá** ‘long for’
- 2) /aa/-insertion, onsetted by the reduplicated consonant,
 - a. prefixal, e.g. **wáá.wà.sáá** ‘scramble for’
 - b. infixal, e.g. **fí.yàà.yéé** ‘go moldy’

If we assume that the two formations in question constitute, along with reduplication, one category of pre-modern pluractionals, we should note that they draw on the same principles of formation that shaped the plural nouns at the so-called “iambic stage” described in chapter 2. We elaborate on this thought further below.

Now as already mentioned, in the course of their development, pluractionals have retained reduplication as the only means of formation, the duple being further moved to the prefix. Newman (2000:427) argues for the same origin of the two forms. Claiming that the pre-modern forms placed the duple in the antepenultimate position, the author observes that when dealing with disyllabic simple verbs, such reduplication resulted in placing the CVC sequence

¹⁸ The author mentions that pluractionals in other Chadic (specifically in Pero and other languages from Bole group) are also augmented by gemination.

word-initially (coda consonant neutralized according to the rules described in Newman 2000:234). A thorough analysis of Hausa reduplication by Yakasai (2006) calls for a similar approach:

(65) ANTEPENULTIMATE REDUPLICATION

trisyllabic stem

tá.fà.sáá → **tá.fár.fà.sáá** ‘boil sth.’

cf. disyllabic stem

fá.sàà → **fár.fà.sáá** ‘break sth.’

According to the above authors, the pattern was later reformulated so that the prefixal reduplication started to function as the norm (note also that full assimilation of the reduplicated coda consonant, earlier phonologically conditioned, has developed into a general rule):

(66)

PREFIXAL REDUPLICATION

fá.sàà → **fáf.fà.sáá** ‘break sth.’

tá.fà.sáá → **tát.tá.fà.sáá** ‘boil sth.’

tàm.bá.yàà → **tàt.tàm.bá.yàà** ‘ask sb.’

The claim for the common source of pluractional reduplication is originally made in Newman (1989), where the author assumes that pre-modern pluractionals use suffixal -CVCV reduplication. According to this approach, the switch to the prefix was encouraged by the fact that original roots in derived verbs are more deformed by the regular phonological processes than the duple itself (cf. coda neutralization in the first syllable). Language user was thus prone to regard the deformed root as the affix. The misinterpretation made the rule reformulated, which subsequently led to diffusion regardless of the base structure:

fítá → fír.fí.tá 'go out'bú.gàà → búb.bú.gàà 'beat'ʔgí.zàà → gír.gì.záá 'shake'zàà.bú.ràà → zàz.zàà.bú.ràà 'jump up'

In sum, we may assume that originally, pluractionals employed three principles of formation: reduplication (RED), gemination (G), and the insertion of long /aa/ (A-INS). Subsequently, RED started to serve as the only means of formation, the duple being further moved to the prefix.

The ensuing section analyzes pluractional verbs in the light of prosodic structure, providing evidence that iambicity played a key role in shaping pre-modern pluractionals and contributed to the establishment of the prefixal template, by which the contemporary forms are defined.

The description is based on the data provided by Newman (1989, 1990, 2000). For convenience, the verbs are cited in grades that end invariably in long vowel, and are in A-form (i.e. without the following object), used conventionally in Hausa dictionaries and grammars.

3.3.2 Metrical analysis

It has already been noted that pre-modern pluractionals draw on the same principles of formation as “iambic” noun plurals. This fact may encourage us to look for iambic footprints in derived forms starting from the group mentioned.

Before we begin our analysis, it is necessary to state that a close scrutiny of the pre-modern forms encounters difficulties as some of the derived verbs were stripped of their originally encoded semantics, and many of the simple stems that served as sources for the derivation no longer exist – Newman calls this group of verbs “frozen pluractionals”. Nevertheless, there are cases in which the “frozen verb” can be assigned to the now-occurring simple stem, though with their relation being phonologically and semantically bleached. Furthermore, pre-modern formation can still be found to play synchronically active role in shaping pluractionals. As will be

shown below, a close examination of all of such verbs reveals that their structure is constrained by iambicity.

Newman (2000:519) observes that “the penultimate vowel of frozen pluractionals is invariably short, i.e. there is a metrical opposition between the heavy antepenultimate syllable and the light penult”. If necessary, long penult shortens in derived forms. Following examples illustrate the alternation:

(68)

yáy.yà.fáá	‘sprinkle’	cf. yáá.fàà	‘sprinkle’, ‘scatter’
dàì.dá.yàà	‘strip off epidermis’	cf. dàà.yáá	‘strip off bark’
dán.dà.náá	‘measure’	cf. dáá.nàà	‘taste’
s’ás’.s’à.láá	‘do excessively’	= s’áá.làà	
kír.kí.ràà	‘invent’, ‘start’	cf. kéé.ràà	‘manufacture’ ¹⁹

In (68), long stem-initial vowel in simple verbs alternates with a short penult in derived cognates (yáá.fàà → yáy.yà.fáá). While under Newman’s (1989) approach the shortening would be driven by the restrictions on the shape of the -CV.CV suffix itself, observe that in quadrisyllabic pre-modern forms, initial syllable remains short as well:

(69)

SIMPLE STEM			PLURACTIONAL
zàà.ká.làà	‘eat greedily’	=	zà.kàl.ká.làà
dàà.gá.zàà	‘eat lots of sth.’	=	dà.gàr.gá.zàà
čáá.bù.léé	‘be muddy’, ‘slushy’	=	čá.bál.bà.léé
dáá.mù.léé	‘be muddy’	cf.	dá.mál.mà.léé ‘be confused’

¹⁹ ee → i switch is fully regular as medial short vowels /o/, /e/ do not occur in Hausa non-finally.

Pluractionals in (68) and (69) display a (light-)heavy-light-heavy metrical alternation. Shortening of the penultimate (e.g. 63) and initial (69) vowel enhances the durational contrast between the syllables in derived verbs²⁰. It was mentioned in the introduction to the study that, according to Iambic/Trochaic Law (Hayes 1995), syllables contrasting in duration form groupings with final prominence.

Similar kind of metrical asymmetries is constantly preserved in the still-active forms (i.e. the ones with pluractional reading preserved): in the examples below, where verbs are derived from stems with a closed initial syllable – all of them being Arabic loanwords with internal geminates – the coda undergoes deletion, thus creating a light-heavy-light-heavy iambic pattern:

(70)

hál.là.káá	‘destroy’	→	há.lál.là.káá	*hál.lál.là.káá
šáw.wà.ráá	‘ponder’	→	šá.war.wà.ráá	*šáw.war.wà.ráá

Let us also note that the prosodic structure of both geminated, and “internal /aa/” verbs – regarded by Newman (1990) as other representatives of frozen pluractionals – is conditioned in the same way as of the pre-modern reduplicated verbs.

Regarding the shape of G-verbs (in most cases, it is sonorants that are geminated), they consist typically of three syllables, the

²⁰ Since all the quadrisyllabic reduplicated verbs are derived from simple forms with a long initial /aa/, we could alternatively assume that the alleged simple forms are actually alternative pluractionals produced by /aa/-insertion: **†dà.gá.zàà** → **dà.gà.r.gá.zàà** or **dàà.gá.zàà**.

However, as mentioned further below in the paper, /aa/-insertion is regarded to be applied uniquely to disyllabic simple stems (Newman 2000:520), and none of such examples is found to have an alternative reduplicated pluractional.

Nevertheless, we do find at least one example in support of the hypothesis above, where the geminated trisyllabic pluractional has an alternative verb with /aa/ insertion:

súl.lù.ḡéé = **sáá.lù.ḡéé** = **súl.ḡèè** (< **†sú.lù.ḡéé**) ‘peel off’.

second being invariably short (vowels in capitals given in the right column indicate that their actual length is unknown):

(71)

PLURACTIONAL VERB

SIMPLE VERB

kwáz.zà.báá	‘pester’	=	kwá.zà.báá
dál.là.fáá	‘stick close to’	←	[†] dÁ.lÀ.fáá
k^wál.là.fáá	‘long for’	←	[†] k^wÁ.lÀ.fáá
dín.nì.káá	‘fill with smoke’	←	[†] dÍ.nÌ.káá
gáy.yà.ráá	‘suffer trouble’	←	[†] gÁ.yÀ.ráá
ʔás.sà.fáá	‘look after carefully’	←	[†] ʔÁ.sÀ.fáá
súl.lù.béé	‘peel off’	=	súl.bèè < [†] sÚ.lÛ.béé

(Note also **dár.rà.šéé** ‘sit relaxed’, with an alternative, reduplicated form: **dá.rár.rà.šéé**)

Similar metrical conditions are imposed on the verbs augmented by long /aa/ prefixed to the stem (72a). Conversely, in the forms that insert long /aa/ to the penult (as in 72b), it is the first syllable that is constantly preserved short²¹. According to Newman (2000:520), the category consists of trisyllabic derived verbs, in which the long /aa/ is onsetted by the consonant copied from the disyllabic stem:

(72)

PLURACTIONAL VERB

SIMPLE VERB

a. Prefixal /aa/

wáá.wà.sáá	‘scramble for’	←	[†] wÁ.sáá
gàà.gá.ràà	‘be impossible’	←	[†] gÁ.ràà
ràà.rú.màà	‘grab’, ‘snatch’	←	[†] rÚ.màà
láá.lù.báá	‘grope’	←	[†] lÛ.báá

²¹Short vowel in forms like (75a) stands either for /a/, or /u/, while in (75b): /a/, /u/ or /i/.

b.	Infixed /aa/		
	fí.yàà.yéé	‘go moldy’	← †fí.yéé
	ñí.ḃáá.ḃàà	‘drink large amount of’	← †rí.ḃàà
	sú.làà.láá	‘sneak into’	← †sù.láá
	tá.kàà.kéé	‘establish mastery over’	← †tà.kéé
	sà.ḃáá.ḃàà	‘go stealthily’	← †sá.ḃàà
	mà.láá.làà	‘flow or spread over’	← †má.làà

To sum up this part, pre-modern pluractionals constantly preserve syllable-weight asymmetry. When necessary, reduplicated forms shorten the initial/penultimate syllable to enhance the durational contrast. Newman (1990:96) argues that “shortening takes place in line with the metrical rhythmic feel of pluractionals”. According to Newman (2000:437) and Jaggar (2001:282) the feel is iambic.

(73)

IAMBIC PARSING IN PRE-MODERN REDUPLICATED PLURACTIONALS

(a) trisyllabic: $(\sigma_{\mu\mu})(\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu\mu})$

(b) Quadrisyllabic: $(\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu\mu})(\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu\mu})$

(àì)(dá.yàà)

(zà.kàl)(ká.làà)

(s'ás')(s'à.láá)

(dà.gàr)(gá.zàà)

(šá.war)(wà.ráá)

(čá.bál)(bà.léé)

(há.lál)(là.káá)

(dá.mál)(mà.léé)

Penultimate (68,73a), as well as word-initial (69,73b) vowel reduction aims at the enhancement of durational contrast within the canonical $(\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu\mu})$ iambic foot. Reduplication abetted by the constraint on iambic parsing yields bi-iambic formations. Other frozen pluractional verbs share the same shape: (wáá)(wà.sáá), (sú.làà)(láá), (kʷál)(là.fáá). The assumption on the same prosodic

structure constraining pre-modern pluractional verbs and iambic plural nouns is borne out.

Now that we established the role of iambicity in pre-modern derived verbs, it is worth to note that the structure preserved in such forms points to the fact that at some point in time, iambicity emerged in simple verbs as well. Consider the following:

(74)				
SIMPLE VERB				PLURACTIONAL VERB
a.	tár.s'èè	'smash'	→	tá.rár.rà.s'éé
	hài.fáá	'give birth'	→	hà.yàì.yá.fàà
b.	táu.šèè	'press down on'	cf.	tá.kʷár.kʷà.šéé 'be weighed down by age'
c.	súl.ḃèè	'peel off'	=	súl.lù.ḃéé = sáá.lù.ḃéé
d.	kár.yàà	'break'	→	ká.ráì.rà.yáá
	(cf. g3 kà.rá.yà)			

Pairs in (74) are idiosyncratic: disyllabic simple verbs correspond to reduplicated pluractionals consisting of four syllables. Verbs in (74b) are unarguably cognates, yet phonologically they vary from each other quite substantially: vowel-syncope in the simple disyllabic verb made the labialized consonant – preserved in the derived quadrisyllabic form – loose its onset position. Consequently, it was neutralized in the simple verb's coda according to the so-called Klinghenben's Law²² ([†]**tá.kʷá.šéé** → /**tákʷšéé**/ → **táu.šéé**). Phono-

²² "Klinghenben's Law" refers to a set of historical rules aimed at neutralizing codas in Hausa (for a detailed discussion, see Newman 2004). According to these rules:

a. velars and labials weakened to /u/: **záu.ḃàà** 'move aside' < [†]**zák.ḃàà**, cf. doublet **záá.kù.ḃáá**; **ḃáu.réé** 'marriage' = **ḃám.réé** in Western Hausa, cf. **ḃá.már.yáá** 'bride'

b. coronals changed to rolled r: **fár.kàà** 'wake up' = **fà.ḃá.kà**

It is interesting to note that among those of the items affected by KL which can now be reconstructed, most originally consisted of a sequence of two or more light syllables, i.e. were ill-formed under iambic structure, e.g. **záu.ḃàà** < [†]**zá.kù.ḃáá**; **ḃáu.réé** < **ḃá.ma.réé**; **fár.kàà** = **fà.ḃá.kà**. Thus, it is reasonable to ask whether KL was a by-product of iamb-driven vowel deletion. We leave this question open.

logical distance reflects slight semantic divergence between two verbs, and may explain the loss of originally encoded, pluractional reading in the derived form.

Quadrissyllabic pluractionals are formed on the basis of trissyllabic verbs. Furthermore, **kà.rá.yà**, a grade 3 counterpart for the syncopated verb gl **kár.yàà** found in (74d), suggests that the vowel which underwent reduction was light, i.e. the original base for the derived form **ká.rái.rà.yáá** was [†]**ká.rà.yáá**. The reason standing behind the rule of syncope is obvious in the light of metrical theory: iambic languages strain from a sequence of two light syllables – a repair strategy is employed to avoid it and to produce a well-formed foot. Vowel-reduction phenomenon is widely embraced in iambic languages. Formally, constraints responsible for the exhaustive iambic parsing are PARSE-σ and FOOTFORM=IAMB. They require that the partially parsed ^{*}**ká(rà.yáá)** or the ill-parsed (**ká.rà**)(**yáá**) be shunned in favor of (**kár**)(**yàà**).

Newman (2000:428) reconstructs the stems from which the pluractionals in (74a) are derived as **//ta.ra.ʃee//**, **//ha.ya.faa//**. Similarly, the base for **tá.k^wár.k^wà.šéé** ‘be weighed down by age’ is plausibly **//ta.k^wa.šee//**, and for **súl.lù.béé** = **sáá.lù.béé** ‘peel off’ - **//su.lu.bee//**. Reduction of the light penultimate syllable is fully predictable under the constraint on iambic parsing.

Observe that iambic requirement – revealed by the alternations above – emerged in simple verbs only after it was established in derived forms, as we find the pre-modern, bi-iambic pluractionals built on the basis of CV.CV.CVV simple verbs. This is illustrated below:

(75)

a. STEP I

PRE-IAMBIC SIMPLE VERB

[†] ká.rà.yáá	‘break’
[†] tá.rà.s’éé	‘smash’
[†] hà.yàì.yá.fàà	‘give birth’
[†] tá.k^wár.k^wà.šéé	‘press down on’
[†] súl.lù.béé	‘peel off’

IAMBIC PLURACTIONAL

→ ká.rái.rà.yáá
→ tá.rár.rà.s’éé
→ hà.yàì.yá.fàà
→ tá.k^wár.k^wà.šéé
→ súl.lù.béé = sáá.lù.béé

b. STEP II

PRE-IAMBIC SIMPLE VERB

PARSE-σ, FOOTFORM=IAMB

†ká.rà.yáá	‘break’	→	kár.yàà
†tá.rà.s’ée	‘smash’	→	tár.s’ée
†hà.yá.fàà	‘give birth’	→	hài.fáá
†tá.kʷà.šée	‘press down on’	→	táu.šée
†sú.lù.bée	‘peel off’	→	súl.bèè

Through these development stages we are able to explain the idiosyncrasies found in the relation between the present simple verbs and their pre-modern pluractional counterparts. Significantly, the two steps above reveal that the role of iambicity increased in verbs in the course of their development, since the metrical requirement – established first in derived forms – paved its way to simple stems.

Finally, we have seen in the introduction to this chapter that in modern pluractionals, RED started to serve as the only means of formation, and the reduplicant was moved to the prefix. As mentioned, Newman (2000) attributes this switch to the fact that such pre-modern, infixal reduplication actually surfaced as word-initial when applied to stems consisting of less than three syllables (e.g. frozen báb.bà.kée ‘uproot’ ← ³bá.kèè). Thus, at some point in time, the new template developed on analogy with short verbs. Indeed, reduplication in verbs may be considered prone to such a switch, since, as pointed out by Pawlak (1998), mono- and disyllabic verbs are among the most frequently used in Hausa. More generally, Newman (2000:409) states that “the norm for basic monomorphemic words [in Hausa] is disyllabic”²³.

Interestingly, examples of simple verbs is given in (75b), re-constructed on the basis of the structure preserved in pre-modern, iambic pluractionals, show that Hausa in fact once consisted of a

²³ Among monomorphemic, historically non-derived Hausa verbs, we found none that would exceed three syllables.

larger number of verbs containing more than two syllables. These were subsequently shortened due to the emergence of iambic requirement in simple, non-derived forms. This is illustrated below.

(76)

RED – PRE-IAMBIC SIMPLE VERB > IAMBIC SIMPLE VERB – RED 2

- a. **sá.rár.rà.kéé** ← [†]**sá.rà.kéé** ‘intertwine’ **sár.kèè** → **sás.sàr.kéé**
tá.rár.rà.s’ée ← [†]**tá.rà.s’ée** ‘smash’ **tár.s’ée** → **tát.tàr.s’ée**
gí.rír.rí.má ← [†]**gí.rí.má** ‘grow up’ **gír.má** → **gíg.gír.má**
b. **sá.k^wár.k^wà.čéé** ← [†]**sá.k^wà.čéé** ‘be slack’ [†]**sáu.čèè** → **sás.sàu.čéé**²⁴

Thus, it is not without reason to argue that iambicity actually contributed to the establishment of the new template in pluractionals inasmuch as it got rid of CV.CV.CV(V) structures, deemed ill-formed: reformulation of RED-placement on analogy with short verbs was encouraged by the increase in the number of disyllabic forms.

Admittedly, we do still have some ill-formed simple verbs in the language, such as **gú.s’ù.ráá** ‘break into pieces’, or **rí.kì.táá** ‘confuse’. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that all of such words utilize pre-modern, “iambic” pluractional formation as an alternative to the prefix. The resulting structure – unlike the modern form which leaves a syllable unfooted/ill-parsed – is fully parsable in iambic fashion:

(77)

- | | SIMPLE VERB | IAMBIC PLURACTIONAL | PREFIXAL PLURACTIONAL |
|-----|------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| | < gú >(s’ù.ráá) | (gú.s’ús’)(s’ù.ráá) | (gúg)< gú >(s’ù.ráá) |
| | ‘break into pieces’ | | |
| or: | (gú.s’ù)(ráá) | | or: (gúg)(gú.s’ù)(ráá) |
| | < rí >(kì.táá) | (rí.kír)(kì.táá) | (rír)< rí >(kì.táá) |
| | ‘confuse’ | | |
| or: | (rí.kì)(táá) | | or: (rír)(rí.kì)(táá) |

²⁴ RED 2 **sás.sàu.čéé** is itself a frozen pluractional, which suggests that the RED reformulation is not a new development.

<rí>(kì.ḍáá) (rí.kír)(kì.ḍáá) (rír)<rí>(kì.ḍáá)

‘metamorphose’

or: (rí.kì)(ḍáá)

or: (rír)(rí.kì)(ḍáá)

<há>(ḍí.yáá) (há.ḍíí)(ḍí.yáá) (háh)<há>(ḍí.yáá)

‘swallow’

or: (há.ḍí)(yáá)

or: (háh)(há.ḍí)(yáá)

<má>(kà.léé) (má.kál)(kà.léé) (mám)<má>(kà.léé)

‘attach’

or: (má.kà)(léé)

or: (mám)(má.kà)(léé)

In fact, close examination of the data suggests that the application of pre-modern pluractional formation is nowadays in great part restricted to the forms such as above. In other words, it seems that the productivity of pre-modern pluractionals has decreased proportionally to the decrease in the number of ill-formed simple verbs, i.e. its status in the contemporary language is as marginal as the occurrence of CV.CV.CVV forms.

3.3.3 Summary

At its earliest stage of development, pluractional formation most probably employed the same principles of augmentation as “iambic” plural nouns, which include reduplication, gemination and insertion of internal /aa/. Likewise, it revealed full sensitivity towards iambicity, which can be drawn on the basis of rhythmic asymmetries preserved constantly in the frozen forms. Moreover, both frozen and productive RED-pluractionals are proved to utilize vowel/consonant deletion in order to enhance durational contrast between the syllables. Needless to say, derived verbs surface with two iambic feet, as shown below:

(78)

SIMPLE VERB

kál.là.mée 'sweet talk s.o.'**šáw.wà.ráá** 'ponder'**yáá.fàà** 'sprinkle', 'scatter'**ďàà.yáá** 'strip off bark'

PLURACTIONAL VERB

→ **(ká.lál)(là.mée)**→ **(šá.wár)(wà.ráá)**cf. **(yáy)(yà.fáá)** 'sprinkle'cf. **(ďài)(ďá.yàà)** 'strip off epidermis'

Furthermore, pluractionals themselves provided us with further evidence for historical modifications that took place in simple verbs: a number of derived forms are created on the basis of simple verbs which subsequently underwent vowel-deletion (accompanied by regular phonological adjustments). Basing on external evidence (cf. grade 1 **kár.yàà** vs. **kà.rá.yà** still occurring in the "conservative" grade 3, and reflecting the original base [†]<**ká**>(**rà.yáá**) from which the pluractional **(ká.rái)(rà.yáá)** is derived), we have shown that the rule of syncope is aimed at avoiding the forms that would leave a syllable unfooted. The phenomenon of vowel-deletion described above suggests that, subsequently to derived forms, iambicity emerged in simple verbs as well.

Finally, an increase in the number of disyllabic verbs strengthened the motivation for reformulating the RED-placement to the prefix. On the other hand, while some of the ill-formed simple verbs still occur in the language, all of them utilize the pre-modern pluractional formation, which makes the output neatly parsed, unlike the prefixal template (cf. 80).

* * *

Having provided the evidence for the emergence of iambicity in Hausa verbs, let us now return to a more general issue, mainly to the problem of final syllable weight: it was emphasized in the beginning of this section that all the examples of simple and pluractional verbs above would – for convenience – be cited invariably with a long final vowel. We need to bear in mind, however, that the weight of the ultimate syllable in Hausa verbs is morpho-syntactically de-

terminated, and therefore is subject to variation. Consequently, when derived forms engaging penultimate vowel-shortening take a grade with a light ultima (e.g. grade 1 in C-form, **tát.tà.rà** ‘collect things’, cf. **táá.rà** ‘collect’), the resulting structure undermines our claim on iambicity triggering such modifications, thus raising the problem of opacity. We address this problem in the following chapter. Specifically, drawing on the claim made by Newman (1973) about the nature of Hausa “grades”, or “extensions”, we hypothesize that by the time iambic structure has been established in pre-modern pluractionals, the final syllable of a verb was actually free of any semantic/syntactic roles that would alter its weight, thus willing to serve as the head of an iambic foot.

3.4 Problem of the final-syllable weight: Newman’s extensions

Acknowledging the Parsonian grade system for its usefulness as a frame of reference for (almost) all Hausa verbs, Newman (1973) provides an insightful critique of its very foundations²⁵. Accounting for all the inconsistencies of the grade paradigm, the author develops an alternative, historical model of Hausa verbal system along the lines of the pattern found in other Chadic languages.

In particular, Newman notes that Chadic verbs can be divided into two (lexically arbitrary) groups according to the final vowel quality. Thus, verbs usually end either in low **-a** or in a non-low vowel (**-i**, **-u**, or **-ə**). This dichotomy is expressed in Hausa by grades 1 and 2 respectively (the distinction, illustrated by the pair **káámà** ‘break’ gr1 vs. **ɗàukí** ‘take’ gr2, manifests itself in a pre-noun C-form, which is therefore regarded underlying). Unlike in Parsonian

²⁵ At the core of the grade system developed by Parsons lies the assumption that a verb (such as **fitóó** ‘come out’) consists of an abstract base (**/fit-/**) with its general semantics encoded. The base is stripped of its tone shape and final vowel, provided only by one of the seven grades which may further modify the meaning (e.g. H tone **-oo** “ventive grade (VI)”). Two main consequences follow from this statement:

- 1) every base can occur with every grade
- 2) the grades are mutually exclusive (i.e. only one can be attached to a base at a time).

grade system, the above-mentioned final vowels are regarded lexically specific, rather than morphologically determined²⁶.

Moreover, what is crucial for our hypothesis which follows, the author observes that generally in Chadic, the meaning of “basic” verbs may be optionally modified/expanded by adverbial-like extensions. In languages like Tera, these extensions surface as distinct adverbial particles (e.g. **bara** in **mbukə bara** ‘throw away’, cf. **mbukə** ‘throw’). In others, such as Margi, they are derivational suffixes, e.g. **kʷàsənyà** ‘eat up’ cf. **kʷàsə** ‘eat’.

A substantial difference between Hausa and its cousins lies in the fact that the “grades” in the former are usually marked by final vowel and tone pattern alone. As a consequence, they cannot simultaneously manifest their presence on one verb (i.e. a verb cannot appear with two tone patterns or two vowel terminations), while other Chadic allow the extensions to combine freely with basic verbs. This claim can be verified by the cases in which grades are marked by some additional elements, and thus the combination of grades may occur:

(79)

	Basic Verb	Grade	Grade Combination
a.	čí ‘eat’	činyè gr 4 ‘eat up’	činyú gr 4+7 ‘have eaten up’
b.	fitá ‘go out’	fid.dàà gr 5d ‘take out’	fid.dú gr 5d+7 ‘have been taken out’

In (79a), a “totality” extension (which corresponds to grade 4 in Parsons’ paradigm) appears with a -C.CV suffix as a variant used with monosyllabic verbs (e.g. **čí** ‘eat’ + **-nye** *totality* → **činyè** ‘eat up’) and as such it may co-occur with other extensions (e.g. **-u** *sus-*

²⁶ In his earlier approach, Newman (1973) considered tones as being lexically distinctive as well, yet in Newman (2000), tonal patterns are claimed to be (at least historically) determined by transitivity: a-verbs were transitive if HL and intransitive if LH (eg. **cikà** ‘fill’ vs. **ciká** ‘be filled’), while with i-verbs, the case was opposite: LH verbs were transitive (e.g. **nèemí** ‘seek’), and HL- intransitive (e.g. **fááfí** ‘fall’).

tentative : ċinyú ‘have eaten up’), avoiding the risk of being totally erased on the surface. The case is similar with the “decausative” grade 5d, marked by -dàà suffix (79b).

Accounting for the restrictions (which are considered peculiar in the light of the extensions’ nature in other Chadic languages), Newman states that in modern Hausa, extensions have become radically reduced and eventually “fused into the verb”, which made them hardly possible to combine with each other. The author adds though, that “before the modern period, Hausa extensions must also have had a greater degree of combinatory freedom” (Newman 1973:321), which implies that they were minimally of -CV shape.

Newman furthermore notes that the consequences of the extreme phonological reduction of Hausa extensions went far beyond the co-occurrence restriction: for example, some extensions have merged with the basic (a-and i-) verbs²⁷, distorting a clear-cut distinction between the two classes.

To sum up, Newman (1973) argues that Hausa extensions were originally longer, as in other Chadic languages, and therefore the verb’s ultimate vowel was free of any morpho-syntactic properties. Subsequently, the extensions were phonologically reduced, leading to a situation in which the verb’s ultima has lost its lexical properties. The author states that “once this happened, it could not have been long before basic verbs would be stripped of their final vowel [...], which would then become the property of stem formatives” (Newman 1973:331).

As seen above, phonological reduction of extensions made verbs bleed in two ways: it restricted the opportunity of their co-occurrence, and made the distinction between two basic verb classes

²⁷ Two such extensions are distinguished. The first one, “partitive-displacive”, “indicates that the action affects a part of the object or involves removal or displacement of the object” (Newman 2000:681). Since the reduced form nowadays ends in -i (plus LH tone shape), it has merged with the basic i-class. The second, termed “applicative”, “directs the action onto the object (...) or onto a location” (Newman 2000:681). Surfacing synchronically with final -a and a HL tone pattern, it is indistinguishable from the basic a-verbs.

opaque. We argue that what has also become opaque because of the reduction is the iambic template used in verbal categories described: Referring to Newman's observations, we hypothesize that during the establishment of iambic requirement in pre-modern pluractionals, the final syllable of the verb was free of any morphological roles that would alter its weight, thus willing to serve as the head of the iambic foot. The parsing was possible for, should the verb be determined for the roles mentioned above, they were encoded in the extensions which at the time were *cliticized* to the verbal stem. Our hypothesis can be illustrated by reference to the archaic form of "totality" extension, which nowadays still operates some monosyllabic verbs, e.g. **šán.yè** 'drink up' (cf. **šáá** 'drink'). Given the insights made by Newman (1973), we can assume that at an earlier period extensions exhibiting such a structure could have been as well attached to longer forms, as in **†yáy.yà.fán.yè** 'scatter all the seeds', which allowed for the pluractional verb to be parsed bi-iambically: **†(yáy)(yà.fán)yè** (cf. modern **yáy.yà.fè**).

Subsequent merging of the radically reduced extensions with the stem, accompanied by iambically driven reduction in the size of CV.CV.CV(V) words, made Hausa verbs exceptional in having such a considerable functional load encoded in a relatively short word structure. This only encouraged reformulating of pluractionals to prefixal reduplication, considered far less interfering in the internal structure of the short verbal stem than the older principles. On the other hand, longer stems retain the pre-modern type of reduplication as an alternative to the prefix (cf. [**rí.kì.ḍáá**] 'metamorphose' → [**rír** [**rí.kì.ḍáá**]] vs. [[**rí.kír.kì.ḍáá**]]).

5. Conclusion

The study has developed a synchronic and diachronic analysis of the role of iambic template in defining various morphological categories in Hausa. By tracing the historical development of noun plurals, we were able to establish that, at the earliest stage, the latter was determined solely by the tone shape along with the vowel quality. Subsequently, the emergence of bi-iambic template has laid new

foundations for the definition of plural category, serving as the main principle of its formation.

Similarly, a close examination of two morphological categories found in verbs – namely of pluractionals and the so-called “verbalizer” – provided us with robust evidence that iambicity has been established as one of their defining principles.

In chapter 3.2 we demonstrated that the verbalizing suffix, which was originally the sole formation principle of denominal verbs, underwent frequency-driven reduction. Consequently, a minimality constraint has been established in the category to ensure its salience, thus creating **-a.taa** ~ **-taa** suffix allomorphy. As also presented, the morpheme undergoes further (**-a.taa** → **-aa.taa**) augmentation determined by the moraic content of the root. We argue that it is iambic requirement on size that triggers the alternation.

As presented in (3.3), rhythmic asymmetries do occur in pluractional verbs as well. Following Newman (1989, 1990), we assumed that originally the category made reference to three means of augmentation (RED, G, A-insertion), similarly to iambic plural nouns, and surfaced with two iambic feet. Moreover, the idiosyncrasies found among the present simple verbs and their pre-modern pluractional counterparts (cf. disyllabic **hài.fáá** ‘give birth’ vs. quadrisyllabic **hà.yài.yá.fàà**) suggest that once the inventory of ill-parsed CV.CV.CVV forms was larger. Subsequently, such items underwent vowel-syncope, their original structure being preserved only in derived verbs/ “conservative” grade 3. This phenomenon reveals that the role of iambicity increased in verbs in the course of their development, since the metrical structure – originally constraining derived forms – paved its way to simple stems (as illustrated by the historical development of **hà.yá.fàà** > (**hà.yài**)(**yá.fàà**) > (**hái**)(**fàà**) ‘give birth’).

However, we highlighted that unlike in noun category, iambic foot structure found in verbs is subject to opacity caused by weight variation in the ultimate syllable. While the variation itself is driven by morpho-syntactic, rather than lexical properties characterizing final vowel in Hausa verbs, we proposed – after Newman (1973) –

that this idiosyncrasy is primarily due to radical reduction of morpheme extensions, which have eventually fused into the verb stem.

As such, the reduction is one of many irregular developments found throughout the language's morphology. Two other examples of this phenomenon, namely the aforementioned **-taa** verbalizer, and **-ai** – one of the largest plural classes in the language – are assumed to be driven by general invert size-frequency correlation, thoroughly described in the literature (cf. Zipf 1935; Mańczak 1965, 1969; Kraska-Szlenk 2009), which in Hausa led to suffix allomorphy (**-a.taa** ~ **-taa**; **-aa.ee** ~ **-ai**). Similarly, as shown in (3.4) the reduction in grade-extensions accompanied by the historical iambic-driven shortening in verb stem, made the verbal structure substantially decreased, and as such – encouraged pluractionals to move reduplication to the prefix. On the other hand, longer verbs still augment in the fashion established earlier.

To sum up, while the reduction in function morphemes has generally made the iambic template bleed, the latter – being well established in the system – constantly preserves the drive to define the morphological categories. Conflict between the two phenomena has produced a range of allomorphy rules, to the joy of linguists and pain of language-learners. As such, iambicity may prove to be a useful tool in explaining Hausa morphology.

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Marriages in Ethiopia

Resumé

Le mariage semble être un élément commun à tous les milieux culturels dans le monde. Cependant, dans chacun de ces milieux, le mariage est perçu différemment. On dit souvent que l'Éthiopie est – ou l'était au moins jusqu'à présent – un bastion du christianisme. On pourrait donc croire que l'institution du mariage dans ce pays ressemble à celles des autres pays chrétiens. Pourtant les mariages en Éthiopie ont un caractère bien plus africain. On y accepte des liaisons variées, pas toujours sanctionnées juridiquement (conformément avec la loi européenne) et pas toujours monogamiques.

Cet article parle des différents types de mariage pratiqués en Éthiopie depuis des siècles. Aussi bien les voyageurs du XIX-ème que les chercheurs du XX-ème siècles ont remarqué la diversité des liaisons et la facilité avec laquelle les Éthiopiens se marient et se divorcent. On a distingué six principaux types de liaisons et de nombreux types mineurs. De plus, chaque couche sociale préférerait un seul type de liaison. Les mariages contractés par le clergé et l'aristocratie étaient différents de ceux contractés par la bourgeoisie ou encore par les commerçants.

L'Éthiopie est un pays diversifié au niveau ethnique et la multiplicité culturelle fait que les coutumes liées au mariage sont très différentes. Les mariages chez les chrétiens d'Amhara n'ont rien à voir avec ceux des communautés musulmanes des Afars ou des Somaliens. Certains pratiquent ainsi «la taxe matrimoniale» tandis que d'autres doivent faire preuve de courage et de ruse pour gagner les faveurs des parents de l'élue de leur cœur. De nombreuses coutumes décrites dans l'article ne se pratiquent plus, alors que d'autres ont toujours lieu.

1. General remarks

The institution of marriage seems to be the common element of all cultures around the world. Nevertheless, in every culture the institution of marriage is treated differently. According to our European thinking, term "marriage" is a coherent term. Marriage is usually understood as a relationship between a man and a woman that forms a base of the family, which provides biological and cultural continuity of the mankind. However laws and customs regarding marriage vary depending on the community. Most cultures consider marriage as monogenic and heterosexual relationship. In European cultural circle marriage is a legal institution and in most religions it is a sacramental institution.

It is often said that Ethiopia is, or at least was until the revolution of 1974, a bastion of Christianity¹. Yet, marriages in Ethiopia have more African character. In Africa marriages are not only those relationships that have been contracted in front of a civil servant, priest or a person who has sanctioned power. Also those relationships that have been contracted in a traditional way receive the marriage status. Many different types of marriages are permissible, not necessarily sanctioned by law (according to European thinking) and not always monogenic. It is very common that an Ethiopian has a wife with whom he was married according to the law (religious or secular one) and many concubines. That is generally acceptable and such a situation is not a cause of ostracism.

The institution of marriage in the Ethiopian Empire, due to its African character, was one of the issues that interested Western travelers in particular when they visited 19th century Ethiopia. Thanks to travelers like Aleksander Ksawery Bułatowicz, James Bruce, Ludwik hr Huyn, Józef Kalmer and Charles Rey we have a clear picture of how Ethiopian ceremonies and wedding traditions looked like. 20th century scholars like Richard and Helen Pankhurst, Edward Ullendorff, Reidulf K. Molvaer and Donald N. Levine have scientifically described types of marriages that can be found in Ethiopia, ways in which they are contracted and legal principles on which they func-

¹ Bińkowski A. (1987), 15f.

tioned. Thanks to those two types of sources we can have a reliable description of institution of marriages in Ethiopia.

2. Types of marriages in Ethiopia

Ethiopia is one of the oldest African countries. It is also one of the few that had its own legal system. The book of *Fitha Negest* deals with criminal and civil laws while *Sirate Mengist* deals with the customs and etiquette of Ethiopian people. The twenty fourth chapter of *Fitha Negest* is about the institution of marriage. It consists of all injunctions and rules that concern the family. In this chapter it is clearly said who and on what grounds can be married. It is written that one cannot marry nuns, women older than 60 years and those who were sentenced for adultery. One can only have three wives during one's lifetime and concubinage is strictly forbidden. Except monogenic no other relationships are allowed².

The law of kings, *Fitha Negest*, was not strictly obeyed even by Ethiopian rulers. As an example can serve *ytēgē* T'aitu,³ who has been married four times before she became a wife of emperor Menelik II in a *k'al kīdan* ceremony with emperor Menelik II. According to the law *ytēgē* should not be married because *Fitha Negest* allows Ethiopian people only for three marriages during their lifetime.

Based on the information found in *Fitha Negest*, Edward Ullendorff, a British scholar interested in Ethiopia, distinguished three types of marriages.

The most common type of marriage is a *sirat* marriage. Usually a marriage ceremony is preceded by a long time of betrothal. It is also common that in some, mostly rural areas of Ethiopia marriages are arranged by parents of both sides even when the future spouses are only children. This long time of betrothal allows the future bride

² *Fitha Negest. Nibabuna tīrgwamēw* (1969/1970); English translation by Paulos Tzadua (1966), 130-154.

³ *Ytēgē* T'aitu Birhan (ca.1850-11.02.1918), the fourth wife of emperor Menelik II. She has played an important role in Ethiopia, especially during her husband's illness. She took part in the battle at Adwa. More about this subject: Bartnicki A., Mantel-Niećko J. (1987), 312-315 and Kluesza M. (2005).

reach the age when she will be able to have children. The wedding itself is a civil ceremony. Priest is not needed because the ceremony is led by *danya* – a judge or a civil servant. He has also power to issue a divorce.

Another, also very common, type of marriage is *demos*. It is often confused with prostitution, because this kind of relationship is based on a contract between man and woman. For a settled period of time a woman agrees to cohabit with a man and act as his wife. For that she receives salary either in money or in grain. The marriage can be prolonged (with the agreement of both sides) or finished at any time by both man or woman. It is strictly formal relationship and in case of man's death, the woman has no right to his heritage. However, children from that relationship are eligible for the inheritance. This type of marriage is often contracted by people who already have a spouse. The *demos* marriage often occurs among merchants in cities and, in the past it was common among warriors. A man, during his stay in a city, can hire himself a wife. Furthermore, he can marry her every time he will be in the city. According to Ullendorff neither the Ethiopian Orthodox Church nor Ethiopian political elites are in favor of this type of marriage⁴.

The type of marriage that carries the greatest commitment is called *k'al kīdan*. This is a type of religious ceremony called *bek'warban*. The ceremony consists of joint communion called *k'warban*. This type of marriage, in contrast to those mentioned before, is irrevocable under the threat of excommunication. According to Ullendorff, it is exactly because of this aspect that *k'al kīdan* marriage is "[...] frequently chosen by elderly people who have long been united in civil marriage and now feel sure that divorce can safely be ruled out in their case"⁵. This church ceremony is often contracted by ruling classes and clergy. Priests can only get married before they are ordained, never after. In addition, they can have no more than one wife and in case of her death, they cannot remarry⁶.

⁴ Ullendorff E. (1960), 178f.

⁵ *Ibidem*, 179f.

⁶ Pankhurst R. (1990), 36.

Edward Ullendorff has published results of his research about marriages in Ethiopia in 1960. Thirty two years later another researcher interested in this country has distinguished yet another three types of marriages that can be observed among peoples of Ethiopia. Between 1988 and 1989 Helen Pankhurst was doing field research in Menz (eastern Ethiopia). One of main goals of her research was assessing how the revolution in 1974 changed lives of the Ethiopian people.

Except for those mentioned by Ullendorff, *semanya* is a very popular type of marriage among the inhabitants of Menz. The marrying couple signs a quasi-contract, commonly known as a contract of equals. Also two witnesses, who are present during the ceremony, sign this contract. This type of marriage is usually arranged by both families, and until recently, there was a tendency to marry off eleven or thirteen-year-old girls⁷. Such young girls were not prepared, both physically and mentally, to start a family, so in those situations a *k'ot assir* marriage is applied. The *k'ot assir* marriage is also appropriate where there are not many boys in future bride's household. The future husband comes to work and live in the house of the girl. He helps her family until the girl is mature enough to give birth. Then bride and groom can arrange a *semanya* ceremony.

Term *t'ilf* is used to all marriages in Ethiopia that have not been arranged. In the past, this term was used for those marriages by kidnapping. The abduction might have been spontaneous or planned by one or both partners. The bride to be was usually abducted by the future groom and his friends when she was alone; that is, when she was going for water. During the abduction, it was acceptable for the girl to scream and try to escape even if the abduction was planned and she had nothing against the kidnappers. Term *t'ilf* is also used for all marriages that have not been arranged and there were no ceremonies. The abduction might also be a prelude to a *semanya* marriage. That kind of marriage can often be observed in situations when the families of future spouses (either both or one of them) are too poor to prepare a decent wedding.

⁷ Lvova E. (1997), 577-584.

3. Wedding ceremony among the Amhara people

The Amhara people live in central highlands of Ethiopia. Through many years they were the dominating ethnic group in the country, but now they comprise only one third of country's population. Amhara are farmers and their social structure was based on considerable class diversity determined by the amount of land owned.

In Amhara culture, tradition requires that boy's parents find him a wife. Before they start negotiations concerning the marriage, parents precisely check whether they are not related with the girl's family. In the past, the check was conducted for seven generations back, but now this number has been reduced to five. Moreover, not only relationship by lineage is verified, but also so-called social kinship. This means that if the boy's godparents are anyhow connected with the future bride's family it is impossible for the marriage to get approval. Another important issue is virginity of the chosen girl.

When it is proved beyond doubt that future spouses are in no way related, the boy's parents send a match-maker, whose task is to persuade girl's parents. After they agree, a meeting of parents is arranged. In the past, it was not the match-maker who negotiated in the name of parents but the boy's friends. This custom was observed and described by two German travelers, Józef Kalmer and Ludwik hr. Huyn, who in the 19th century visited the Ethiopian Empire. In their book *Abisynja. Ognisko niepokoju* they wrote: "A traveler can often find young men storming a hut on horseback or on foot, shooting and shouting; it is not an attack, but groom's match-makers who are storming the bride's house to 'abduct' her and then to be happily received with joy. Previously, abducting women in Christian Abyssinia was a common practice; today it is merely ceremony".⁸

When parents agree on the conditions, young couple engage. Fiancés start wearing special kind of ornament, that shows that none of them is single and they are meant for each other. When the youngsters are mature enough to get married, parents decide on the

⁸ Huyn hr. L., Kalmer J. [1936], 155.

amount of dowry and the equipment each spouse gets; parents and the elders decide what presents and in what order the future husband should give to his future parents-in-law. The date of wedding is settled, during which the boy and the girl will meet for the first time. Before the ceremony, the boy sends his fiancée a new dress and some money. In the past, a young girl had to be 'examined' by an elderly woman, who 'knew the things' in order to find out whether she is a virgin. If she was not – the engagement was void, the wedding was canceled and girl's whole family was covered in shame. Nowadays this custom fades.

The essence of wedding preparations is collecting alcohol, *t'ella* (traditional Ethiopian beer), *tej* (traditional Ethiopian honey wine) and preparing sauces and dishes that are essential at every party. This is the task of bride's relatives.

Three days before the ceremony, the fiancée arrives. She stays in the house of a neighbour of the groom's family, where there she awaits ... the best man. Upon his arrival, he promises the bride to protect her – now and after the wedding – against violation of the law by her husband. In order to be able to carry out his promise, the best man has a special permission to enter into the house of the newlyweds. However, if he abuses their hospitality, he will be punished and banished from community.

The wedding feast takes place without participation of the bride and the groom. Afterwards the marriage contract is read out and the master of ceremony delivers a special formula: "The married couple should keep the contract that bounds them no matter what evil they might encounter".⁹ After several rounds of blessings everyone present cement the word of oath with sacramental "Amen". Next, a procession is formed to go and pick the bride. The groomsman brings the bride outside from the neighbor's house and he sits her on a mule. She is totally covered in veil. He sits himself behind and opens a big umbrella over her. After the arrival to the house of parents-in-law the bride hides herself in a corner of the house behind a curtain. Next the best man leads the groom to his future wife. Once he finds her, the wedding ceremony finishes and a wedding feast begins. It

⁹ *Ibidem*, 156

lasts until there is food and drink. After the wedding ceremony, the groom takes his wife to his parents' house.

Yets'agula gīzē, which is the term for Ethiopian honeymoon, lasts from week up to three months, depending on the wealth of husband's family. During this period, the best man lives with the couple. The wife cannot leave the house of her parents-in-law during the day, and she can only go out at night. After the honeymoon, the couple comes back to girl's parents where they stay for some time. Also during that period the best man lives with them. The marriage is considered as concluded when (during its first year) woman becomes pregnant or both sides like each other so much that they decide to stay together even though they do not have a child.

Usually, despite begin in a formal relationship the husband has sexual relations also with other women. However, a man may be subjected to peer pressure if he acts otherwise and be called a hen-pecked husband. If he refuses to go out with his friends to see other women, not only will he be called a hen-pecked husband, but also his actions may become a source of rumours about his sexual orientation.

Interestingly, the wives are completely aware of their husbands' infidelity; in fact, they return the favour. In contrast to men however, women do not flaunt with their affair for fear of violent reaction from their husbands and even being thrown out of their own houses. Women tolerate their husband's affairs as long as they are their 'personal matter' and do not undermine the stability of their marriage and man's lover is not related to his wife.

4. Marriage among the Afar and Somali people

The Afar people who live in northeast Ethiopia are nomads who in 10th century converted to Islam. According to the laws of this religion, every man can have up to four wives, but only the wealthiest can profit from this privilege.

In times of the Ethiopian Empire, a man who wanted to marry had to bring special gifts for the father of the chosen woman. Among those gifts were a shield, a lance, an empty bottle for storing water and a piece of skin to sit on while praying. Next step were negotia-

tions about the quality and quantity of animals that are supposed to be offered to the father. If both sides reached an agreement, the father gave his permission for marriage. The type of gifts depended on the man's personal wealth. They could vary from 10 to 100 camels and/or from 100 to 400 goats and sheep. If the man was not wealthy enough, he had to gain or steal the agreed number of cattle.

Józef Kalmer claimed that in times of the Ethiopian Empire, in addition to offering cattle a man had to kill at least one enemy and he had to prove this act by bringing the enemy's genitals. According to one of the authors of *Abisynia...*, it was a barbarian custom whose sources are both "material and life motives: the lack of water on desert. A man, setting up a house and raising children, had to provide conditions for his family. In desert water means life; there is very little of it so there was a necessity of depriving one's life to create a possibility of existence for another".¹⁰

Once the father of the girl accepts gifts (as well as his future son-in-law), a wedding ceremony can be prepared. Marriage can be granted by a local *qadi* or *hadji*. If there is no one near of that kind, "just someone who can read Quran."¹¹ Next, the newlyweds go on horseback to the men's hut. It is very common among Afar people that a man builds his hut just before he gets married. Wife's first responsibility is to bring husband a goat or a sheep which he kills in accordance with the rules of Quran. The woman dips her right hand in animal's blood and sprinkles doors of the hut. She smears rest of the blood onto her forehead. Next the woman enters the hut followed by the man who is holding a whip. He whips her three times. This ritual symbolizes his dominant role at home and in marriage. A woman who starts to cry during those whips is ridiculed by the whole village. After those rites, the man and the woman are accepted by the community as a married couple.

Just like Afar people, the Somalis who live in Ethiopia are nomadic people of Muslim faith. There are six different major clans among the Somali people: Dir, Darood, Isaaq, Hawiye, Digil and

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 158.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

Rahanweyn. Among those only the Darood clan lives in Ethiopia. Nowadays Somali people constitute six percent of Ethiopia's population.

Same as in the Afar culture, when a man wants to marry he must to offer guns and other everyday objects to the girl's father. However, in contrast to customs of other peoples, after accepting the future son-in-law, there are no negotiations about the amount of cattle to be offered. Firstly, a beautifully dressed woman, previously anointed with fragrant oils which are supposed to arouse desire of the chosen man, is taken for a trip on horseback. After she returns, negotiations start. If they end up with success – the marriage is considered to be arranged.

Betrayed Afar man gets his revenge when he receives a goat from wife's lover as a compensation and his adulterous wife takes a ritual bath. In contrast, a betrayed Somali man throws his wife out of the house and she has to start living as a *dillo* – a wandering prostitute, while her lover is forced to pay a fine of ten camels.

5. Wedding ceremony among Oromo people

Oromo people are one of Cushitic ethnic groups that live in southern Ethiopia. Nowadays they constitute 34 percent of Ethiopia's population. Virtually all of them are Muslims, with the majority belonging to the Sunni branch. Oromo people are farmers or cattle breeders. Among Oromo there is a strong belief that a boy aged 16 to 18 should find himself a wife, and a girl aged 12 to 16 is ready to get married. As in the case of the Afar and Somali people, the law of Oromo allows for polygamy, which is indeed very common.

Having chosen a girl, the man goes with a match-makers to her house, where they are treated with meat, coffee and bread, which they brought before. If the girl's father is in favor of the marriage, he calls for his neighbors and his daughter, the future bride, starts to dance with her friends. After they finish, her fiancé offers her a ring on a string of glass pearls. If the girl hangs the string on her neck marriage is officially concluded. Father of the bride receives from 6 to 80 oxen as a compensation for the loss of his daughter. Next day, the father sends those oxen along with other presents to his new-

lywed daughter. If a father hesitates to give his daughter permission to marry, she can always run away with her lover. In that case, the council of elders will also consider them as a marriage couple.

In case of a big difference in material status between the two families, the girl may resort to so called *assena*. The ceremony of *assena* consists of the girl jumping over the fence that is built around her boyfriend house and stands in front of the door of his hut until she is invited in. Usually inviting the girl is accompanied by loud protests of the boy's parents. The misuse of this custom led to evolution of a new custom in an attempt to preclude *assena*. A wealthy Oromo family builds extremely high fence that should stop girls from poor families from jumping over it. However that caused a counter-reaction on the part of the poor families with girls. They started sending six and eight-year-olds to perform *assena*, because it is easier for them to climb over and jump from the fence. Thus, these girls look for boys to be their husbands among twelve-year-olds. A marriage between children is also considered lawful and the young couple has their own hut built.

Among Oromo people, who are Muslims, a marriage ceremony is performed by *imam* and those Oromo who do not belong to any monotheistic religion are married by making an oath called *racco*. A *racco* ceremony consists of pouring animal's blood over a woman and applying butter onto her body. After this ceremony she is considered to be inseparably united with her husband. This means that even after his death children born to a woman are considered her dead husband's descendants.

According to Józef Kalmer and count Huyn there was a custom among Oromo men that allowed them to exchange wife with each other. The custom was called *zigbah*. In exchange for a sheep or an ox, Oromo man could hire other man's wife.¹² Another custom observed among these people was lending a wife to a guest who came for a visit. Authors of *Abisynja...* claim that in the past the same custom used to be seen among Amhara. Oromo women also can demand to borrow someone else's husband. In case if a woman

¹² *Ibidem*, 162.

does not have a husband and she would like to have children, she can demand a strong and brave man from the same tribe who could become a father of her children and pass them his strength.

5. Divorces

Divorces are very common in Ethiopia and it is not hard to get one. It is not, however, due to weakening of family values and transience of feelings among Ethiopians. Rather, it is because (quoting count Ludwik Huyn) inhabitants of Ethiopia "in theory consider marriage irrevocable but in practice they feel that being faithful to one woman during whole life is more than their flesh and blood can stand."¹³

The only type of marriage that cannot be annulled is a *k'al kī-dan* marriage. In any other case one can divorce when:

1. One of the spouses wants to become a monk or a nun.
2. One of the spouses refused to have sexual intercourse.
3. The wife is possessed by the devil.
4. One of the spouses is in prison or there is no information about his/her whereabouts.
5. Single life is "less burdensome".
6. Woman is planning assassination of her husband or she knows about one and she does not inform him about it.
7. Man sleeps with other woman in a different city¹⁴.

Divorce is the last resort, after diplomatic attempts to reconcile the two parties led by their friends fail and husband says to wife: "This marriage is resolved". Next, all gifts and home accessories are divided between spouses. Man and woman confirm in front of witnesses that they do not wish to be married anymore and their marriage is annulled. The divorce is preceded by drafting and signing of the act that describes division of the property and arrangements about custody over children.

According to Aleksander Ksawery Bułatowicz, a Russian officer who, intermittently, spent four years in Ethiopia, if a divorce

¹³ *Ibidem*, 154.

¹⁴ Based on *Fitha Negest* ..., op. cit.

was caused by unfaithfulness of one of the partners, the betrayed partner has a right to half of the total assets.¹⁵ The divorcees are allowed to marry other people almost immediately after they get divorce. However their next marriages cannot be accompanied by any kind of preliminary ceremonies.

As it is very easy to get divorced and atmosphere in the family often changes, the situation of children is often uncertain. The rule is that a woman takes care of children up to five years and then their father looks after them. It happens that after divorce the woman takes an infant with her and the older child stays with the husband. Woman can get married for the second time and have other children. In case of second divorce, all children (even those from the previous marriage) are left to the second husband.¹⁶

As it was already mentioned, Ethiopia lies at the junction of two cultures – Christian and African. Interpenetrating traditions result in a rather colourful social life of Ethiopians, which from our, European point of view is quite complicated. Nowadays Ethiopia (like all of Africa) undergoes a process of rapid urbanization, which weakens the bonds between individual and the community which he or she comes from. Everything transforms. Traditions change and taboos fade. However the institution of marriage stays more or less the same. Still, in Ethiopia one can find different types of marriages, although it is very rare for them to be arranged. On the other hand, it is still important that both partners are accepted by their corresponding families.¹⁷ One rule that remained unchanged is that one has to find a husband or wife out of their clan (the rule of exogamy). Since in small communities people are bound with each other in many different ways, sudden globalization favors finding a partner outside one's family circle.

¹⁵ Bułatowicz A. (2000), 91.

¹⁶ In the case of leaving children in the place where they have been brought up manifests the African element of Ethiopian culture. According to African customs children are 'common good' of the whole community. More about this subject, see: Wrzesińska A. (2005), 77-103, Wrzesińska A. (1994), 37-52 and Szupejko M. (2004), 41-50.

¹⁷ Ibidem. More about this subject: Levine D.N. (1972), 123-127; and Lvo-va E. (1997).

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Reviews

Sergio Baldi, *Dictionnaire des emprunts arabes dans les langues de l'Afrique de l'Ouest et en swahili*, Paris: Karthala, 2008, 622 pp.

The Author has become well known in the area of African studies through his numerous articles on language contact in the Sahel-Saharan zone, and especially on Arabic loans in African languages. Now, his long-term achievements have been summarized in a huge dictionary of Arabic loans in West African languages and in Swahili.

The importance of such work lies in documenting the manifestation of Arabic culture in many African countries in the domain of social organization, religion and economy. Arabic loans create morpho-phonologic subsystems within African languages and they are recognizable through their special phonemes and characteristic morphemes in word structure. However, many Arabic words became naturalized in African languages and are treated as native words (it is seen while coining new words in the process of modernization of lexicon) so that they are hardly identified as loans in present-day structures.

The book under review examines more than 3.000 Arabic words borrowed into nearly 130 languages (regarding alternative grouping such as Bambara and Mandingo, Zarma and Songhay, it is 133 target languages). They are mostly languages of West Africa; Swahili, the most important language of Eastern Africa, represents another contact area. Examples for some Central African languages, such as Lingala and Sango, are also noted.

The dictionary is preceded by the Bibliography of previous works on Arabic loanwords in African languages. The register is rich and it contains various bilingual dictionaries and works that mostly

document individual languages (it includes 30 Sergio Baldi's papers examining Arabic loans in particular languages).

The dictionary is organized according to the Arabic roots that are listed in the Arabic alphabetical order. Main entry is therefore an Arabic word, written in Latin script, that is followed by its equivalents (with all their possible modifications and semantic shifts) in African languages. The arrangement is not so clear for loans that came into the African languages in their contextual (grammatically modified) forms, such as the Hausa word *àrbà'in* and Swahili word *arobaini* 'forty' that are traced back to the original Arabic word *arba'ūn* in its Accusative case form *arba'in*. All items are listed under the Arabic letter *Rā'* where they follow the entry *rub'*, pl. *arba'* '(one) fourth' and later on the sub-entry *arba'a* 'four'. Separate entries under *Rā'* are also created with *rasūl* 'envoy', *risāla* 'message' and *mursal* 'messenger', as they are original Arabic words for Hausa *ràsūlū*, Swahili *risala* and Migama *mùrsállé* respectively.

With all complications related to the identification of entries and their sequence, it is to mention that the dictionary is well-organized in terms of cross-references. The main entries are numbered and they can be also identified through the indexes in which they are listed in Latin order: index of Arabic words, index of French equivalents, and index of scientific (mostly Latin) terms. However, the dictionary data are not fully transmitted to the indexes, therefore the above mentioned word *rub'* is put on the list of Arabic words, whereas *arba'a* not.

The dictionary is terminated with *Addenda* that contain "mots d'origine non arabe parfois donnés pour arabes". These are words that mostly have no etymological relation with the classic Arabic roots and they are not treated as direct borrowings, although they are indicated in context of Arabic influences in the sources. As the sources are not homogenous, Sergio Baldi denies the Arabic origin of some words (*aku* 'parrot', *ašana* 'matches') or gives explanations for a wide distribution of such words like *tumbāk* or *tihg* 'tobacco' and *ġemel* 'camel' across languages in which both Arabic and other African languages (Hausa, Kanuri, Fulfulde, Yoruba) were involved. Concerning the interpretation of origin, this part might be controver-

sial and not fully investigated (cf. three original words for 'kolanut', i.e. *gôro*, *gôrá*, *gôro*), but the distribution of some words (roots) clearly documents the common cultural area of West Africa, in which Arabic was not only the source of borrowings but also a 'transmission belt' for regional properties and values.

The dictionary is a significant achievement in collecting the data on implementing the Arabic words into African languages. The Author denies some statements of the source material and gives them his own interpretation. Therefore, the Hausa word *wàsíkà* and the Kanuri *wotíya* 'letter' are now placed with the Arabic word *waṭīqa* 'document, paper', not with *biṭāqa* 'sheet (of paper)', as it was stated in previous works. Also the Hausa word *kāsuwā* is traced back to the Arabic *sūq* 'market' and is not treated as a Kanuri loan, though it came to Hausa via Kanuri.

The sources of data are well documented and the arrangement of material is clear. The adopted methodology of presenting the data is innovative as it combines the lexicographic tradition of Arabic and African studies in making dictionaries. Comparative lists of reflexes of the Arabic words in different African languages are new source and inspiration for further research. However, the users have to possess at least basic knowledge of Arabic, as well as some experience in African linguistics.

The book is especially interesting for the specialists in African linguistics dealing with reconstruction and other aspects of historical development. It will be also a source of historical interpretations in other areas of African studies, mostly focused on contacts between Africa and Islamic world.

Nina Pawlak

Wilhelm J. G. Möhlig, Jekura U. Kavari, *Reference Grammar of Herero (Otjiherero)*. "Southern African Languages and Cultures" 3, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2008, 371 pp.

Herero (Otjiherero), spoken in Namibia by almost two hundred thousand people, belongs to these fortunate Bantu languages whose lexicon and grammar started to be documented in the mid nineteenth century and have been gradually updated until now. Most recently, before the publication of the present book, two small

grammatical sketches of Herero appeared, one by Ohly (1999) and the other one by Möhlig, Marten and Kavari (2002). The latter has been developed by Möhlig and Kavari into a comprehensive reference grammar of the volume, larger than all previous publications, which constitutes thus the most detailed description of Herero. Apart from a brief introductory chapter, the book consists of four parts divided into smaller sections: "Phonology and Prosodology" (chapters 2-4, pp. 19-79), "Morphology" (chapters 5-7, pp. 81-206), "Syntax" (chapters 8-12, pp. 207-287) and "Texts" (pp. 289-308). "Bibliography" (pp. 309-314) covers mostly the previous works on Herero and some additional references on other Bantu languages. There is also an Otjiherero-English and English-Otjiherero glossary (pp. 315-347), an index of topics (pp. 349-353) and an appendix of tables illustrating nominal concords and verbal tense/aspect markers (pp. 357-371).

Part one of the book is divided into three major chapters (2-4) out of which the first two ("Phonology" and "Prosodology") provide a synchronic description, while the third one ("Historical Phonology and Prosodology") deals with similar issues treated from the diachronic perspective. The synchronic account of the phonemic inventory and morphophonological processes is rather sketchy, while more explanation is provided by the historical analysis in the latter chapter. Hence, an existence of a remarkable series of dental coronals, contrasting in Herero with alveolars, is attributed to a historical loss of the vowel contrasts and a change from a seven-vowel system to the present five-vowel system, whose effect was also, as in other Bantu languages, an emergence of fricatives (p. 61f.). Synchronically observed interesting tonal contrasts correlate with an earlier stage vowel length contrast (lost in contemporary Herero) and the rule of tonal doubling on the subsequent mora. In general, the historical analyses are convincing as to the internal facts of Herero, as well as to its relation to other Bantu languages. The authors use a comparative method based on dialectometrical computations to argue that Herero shares fewer features with the neighbouring languages (Owambo cluster) than could be expected, while exhibiting considerable closeness to the geographically remote languages of

Savannah Eastern Bantu or even Swahili, which sheds light on the language's history and its present status of an "island" among other Namibian languages. The chapter also contains regular sound correspondences between Herero and Guthrie's Common Bantu taken by the authors as a proto-language.

Given the complexity of Bantu morphology, the second part of the book is the most extended one, divided into chapters on nouns (ch. 5, pp. 81-114), determiners, qualifiers and quantifiers (ch. 6, pp. 115-144) and verbs (ch. 7, pp. 145-206). The chapter on nouns begins with the discussion of noun class system, which in Möhlig and Kavari's analysis consists of twenty noun classes covering the basic classes 1-15, with additional 1a/2a (for kinship terms) and 15a (for paired body parts), class 19 (abstract concepts) and locative classes 16-18. It is a little surprising that the abstracts with the prefix *ou* are treated as a separate class 19 and not as class 14 (reserved in the book for plurals of class 13), which would have better complied with the general Bantuist tradition and which was previously proposed for Herero by Ohly (1999). The next issue in this chapter receives a rather unusual heading of "nominal inflection" and covers diversified processes of prefixation and tonal changes involved (among others) in the augmented nouns and vocatives, as well as in copulative, predicated, connective and possessive constructions. The chapter ends with a detailed discussion of nominal derivation. The next chapter 6 is devoted to the discussion of adjectives, numerals, various kinds of pronouns and nouns used as qualifiers. The chapter on verbs begins with the presentation of the morphology and basic functions of verbal extensions and their combinations, which are in Herero very similar to Swahili and other Bantu languages. After that, the structure of the verbal complex is discussed, compound tenses and defective 'be' and 'have' – all these also parallel the facts known from other Bantu.

The syntax part of the book is very elaborated, too. The authors organize the data using the traditional descriptive notions such as, for example, direct/indirect object, as well as some terminology and diagrams reminiscent of a simple version of a phrase structure grammar. This makes the discussion generally clear and accessible to

any reader. In the opening chapter ("Basic Sentences", pp. 208-234), after explaining the structure of the main syntactic units (NPs, VPs), the basic types of simple clauses are discussed. This is followed by a small chapter called "Short Predications" (pp. 237-242) which encompasses copulative and predicative expressions, imperatives, optatives, vocatives etc., and next, by a chapter on interrogative sentences (pp. 243-254). "Compound Sentences" (pp. 255-278) are discussed in their many types in great detail, but the presentation of the material is sometimes a little obscured by the inclusion of transformational account (the derivation of compound sentences from simple clauses in particular steps, as e.g. on p. 263) which is perhaps not necessary in the book of this kind, especially since no commitment to a particular syntactic theory is explicitly made. A brief chapter on different kinds of focus (pp. 279-287) closes the syntax part of the book.

The "Texts" part of the book consists of two short narratives and two fragments from school books, providing samples of four different literary genres. Each piece is followed by an English translation and also by a detailed interlinear glosses.

In general, Möhlig and Kavari's study constitutes a valuable source to examine intricacies of various aspects of Herero and contains a considerable amount of novel material, too (e.g. on tone, focus). The presentation of the data is usually clear and it is particularly noteworthy that all Herero examples are marked for tone. In some cases, however, a reader may become a little confused due to various inaccuracies or errors; they occur above all in the first two chapters on phonology which constitute the weakest part of the whole book. One problem is the use of many *ad hoc* expressions which appear in place of widely accepted terminology, e.g. *syllable centre* (p. 20) instead of *syllable nucleus* (or *peak*), *prenasal consonants* (p. 24) instead of *prenasalized consonants*, *amalgamated* (p. 29) instead of *fused*, *tonetic* (p.30) instead of *tonal*. Quite unnecessary seem the made-up terms as *prosodology*, *prosodological*, *prosodemes*, while what is really meant has the tradition in the Bantu literature as *tonology*, *tonal*, (*underlying* or *phonemic*) *tones*. Unconventional notations do not help, either. For example, a special

dash is used for a downstep (p. 41) and not an exclamation mark, which is a typically used symbol for this purpose; on the other hand, the exclamation mark is used in the book to note an extra high tone (p. 40), which is typically indicated in the literature by a quotation mark, but that sign is used in the book as a notation of the primary stress (p. 41). The text is full of confusing mistakes of various kinds. For example, the explanation on the bottom of page 27 concerning the gliding of the high vowels is contradicted by the examples on the following page; similarly, the statement about the behaviour of the dental nasal on page 38 is immediately contradicted by the examples on the same page. Some of the analyses and explanations are unclear as, for example, the discussion of the glides *y* and *w* in some contexts; the reader is not sure, whether words as *-pya* 'be burning' and similar ones contain a rising diphthong or a complex onset, since it is first said: "high vowels *i* and *u* lose their syllabicity", but then that "they must not be confused with the consonants" (p. 20). Tonal analyses sometimes seem unconvincing and *ad hoc*; it would have been much better if the substantial corpus of literature on Bantu tonology were more acknowledged and used as inspiration as, for example, in the case of the floating low tone assumed to be present in the underlying representation (p. 42f.), while its occurrence seems to be surface-driven, since it serves to separate two adjacent high tones, a phenomenon well-known in Bantu tonology (the so-called "buffer low"). But these critical remarks should not undermine the value of the book and its importance for Herero and Bantu studies.

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Iwona Kraska-Szlenk

Anja Oed, Uta Reuster-Jahn (eds), *Beyond the Language Issue. The Production, Mediation and Reception of Creative Writing in African Languages*, „Meizner Beiträge zur Afrikaforschung“ 19, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2008, 293 pp.

The book contains 26 articles, most of which are based on papers presented at the 8th International Jahnheinz Jahn Symposium on African Literatures at the University of Mainz, 17th-20th November 2004. Jahnheinz Jahn (1918-1973) symposia, inaugurated in the year of the library's foundation based on his personal collection in 1975, are meant to provide a platform for international scholars of African literatures and to enhance dialogue between them. The 8th International Jahnheinz Jahn Symposium in 2004 was dealing with the production, mediation and reception of creative writing in African languages. Some 40 scholars from 20 countries in Africa, Europe and USA discussed the problems connected with the literature in more than 20 African languages.

The Symposium was able to acknowledge that the creative writing in African languages is by no means a marginal phenomenon. According to Anja Oed, the author of an introduction (pp. 9-32), it is time to recognise that the literature in African languages „[...] forms an integral, vital and exciting part of African literatures and, accordingly, deserves a much informed critical attention as literary texts written in English, French, or Portuguese” (p. 11). In 1982, 40% of all literary titles in the Jahnheinz Jahn Library were written in one of 31 African languages. In 2008, the Library was holding literary works in 69 African languages.

This collection of papers has been divided into five sections: literary production, publishing, mediation, readership, and readings. All those phenomena are briefly discussed in the introduction. The distribution of the articles between the five sections is quite arbitrary as they are rather heterogeneous in character.

The section dealing with the „Literary production” contains six articles. Christine Glanz in „The production, mediation and reception of creative writing in Luganda: a challenging endeavour” (pp. 25-32) deals with about 130 years writing in Luganda, which for decades had much better status than any other Ugandan indigenous

language but its position was weakened by the political changes after independence. It is only since the beginning of the 1990s that professional writing in Luganda and the book industry started to recover. Crispin Maalu-Bungi in his contribution titled „Written literature in Congolese languages” (pp. 33-40) is concerned with the origin and principal genres of written literature in Kiluba, Kikoongo and Lingala. He admits that the written literature in French is today more developed and better known by the speakers of some 212 native languages in Congo. In „Kimbundu literature: origins and continuity” (pp. 41-51) Kiba-Mwenyu aims at elucidation of the origin of the Kimbundu native literature, which is the only literary language in Angola. Farouk Topan, the well-known Tanzanian playwright and scholar, in his essay titled „The expanding world of the Swahili writer” (pp. 53-59) attempts to explore some aspects of mediation in relation to the Swahili writer and his world. Problems of the Swahili literature are also raised by Mikhail D. Gromov in his article titled „The Swahili novel on the turn of the centuries: recent trends and perspectives” (pp. 61-66). The author claims that the pulse of creative writing in Swahili seems to have shifted to Kenya. Nowadays even the majority of Tanzanian books are printed by Kenyan publishing houses. Young novelists represent an experimental trend: their point of anxiety is the future of the entire humankind. Thomas Geider in „A survey of world literature translated into Swahili” (pp. 67-84) aims at drawing attention to works regarded as „world literature”, which were translated into Swahili. Apart from Shakespeare the geopolitical constellation brought into Tanzania the translations of Russian humanist classics. Translations of the growing number of African literary texts into Swahili are also taken into account.

In the „Publishing” section five contributions have been inserted. Walter Bgoya in his article titled „The endeavour of publishing: its limits of success with Swahili readers” (pp. 87-94) admits that over the last decade publishing in East Africa has made considerable progress. However, financial returns from the Kiswahili language book trade are not, except for the text books, big enough to guarantee vitality of the industry. According to the author, reading Kiswahili creative works has been dwarfed by promotion of English

to the detriment of the native language. „Publishing and market for African-language books in the diaspora” (pp. 95-103) by B. Akin-tunde Oyetade is a short account of the author’s personal experience in writing, publishing and marketing African languages and literatures books in London. The paper by Uta Reuster-Jahn titled „The choice of new generation: Swahili entertainment literature from Ndanda Mission Press 1990-2005” (pp. 105-117) is based on the reading of books that had been published within an entertainment programme of the Ndanda Mission Press (a publishing unit of the Benedictine Abbey in Mtwara Region) as well as on information obtained in interviews. During 1990 some 160 titles were published but the high output of the Swahili literature books was not matched by sales figures. Jeff Oppland in his sketch „The newspaper as empowering medium of Xhosa literature” (pp. 119-129) points out that the creative literature written in Xhosa by adults for adult readers, in genres and on subjects of their own choosing, first emerged from mission presses in 1837. Xhosa authors could express themselves more freely in newspapers than in books. One of them was an outstanding poetess Nontsizi Mqgwetho. Her literary output numbers over 90 poems that are briefly presented in the contribution. „Creative writing in Kinyarwanda” (pp. 131-142) is discussed by Jean Chrysostome Nkejabahizi who draws readers’ attention to three points: why the major part of Rwandan literature is written in Kinyarwanda, why creative writing in Kinyarwanda is relatively little known, and why creative writing in Kinyarwanda is not taught at schools.

The third section of the book is named „Mediation”, which „[...] is concerned with introducing and attracting readerships (as well as book buyers) to creative writing in African languages in various ways and for different reasons” (p. 17). It opens with an article by Alain Ricard titled „Creative writing in African languages: writers, scholars, translators” (pp. 145-151), which was presented at the beginning of the 8th Jahnheinz Jahn Symposium. He insists on creation of the literary milieu in African languages, and on opening up the languages to the rest of the world literature. In „Attitudes towards African languages and African-language literatures in edu-

cation: the case of Malawi” (pp. 153-162) Francis Moto critically examines views and reactions of parents, teachers, educationists, Ministry of Education officials and the Malawian society at large regarding the question of African-language literature in education. He shows that the views and reactions of educational stakeholders towards Malawian languages and Malawian literatures written in indigenous languages are largely negative. Among strategies to promote African-language literature he suggests translation of the internationally acclaimed works into local languages. The title of an article by Dinah K. Itumelang is self-explanatory: „Teaching Setswana literature in post colonial-Botswana: past, present and future” (pp. 163-170). The author realises that because emphasis has always been on Setswana as a communication language, the newly written literary texts tend to be of low quality. Akinwumi Işola in his article „A key to Africa’s own ‘bank of images’” (pp. 171-178) discusses the problems faced by the African-language literature, giving the example of Nigeria. He concludes: „What writers in African languages need now is a holistic approach to the problem of Africa’s endangered cultural heritage” (p. 178). His creative writing is discussed by Anja Oed in her article „Expanding readerships: Akinwumi Işola novel *O Le Ku* and its video film adaptation” (pp. 179-188). She is concerned with video film adaptations as a strategy to expand the audience of creative writing in Yoruba.

The section of „Readership” contains five articles. The first one by Euphrase Kezilahabi, the well-known Tanzanian novelist and poet, is titled „The house of everydayness: Swahili poetry in Tanzanian newspapers” (pp. 191-199). The author points out that one basic characteristic of Swahili poetry is its quotidian nature that connects it to the daily lives of the people. To prove it he selects a poem „Maji ya Kifuu” (Water in coconut shell) composed by a poet bearing Mimi (Me) pseudonym. Alina N. Rinkanya in her article „Sheng in Kenya: an alternative medium for indigenous creative writing” (pp. 201-208) casts a look at the attempts to create literary works in Sheng and Engsh – two versions of an urban tongue, which have existed in the major cities of Kenya for a few decades. In the late 1980s attempts were made to write full-length literary pieces in

Sheng. In „Breaking out, speaking out: youth, Islam and the production of indigenous Hausa literature in northern Nigeria” (pp. 209-217) Abdalla Uba Adamu tries to analyse the development of Hausa literature as part of global media flows. He distinguishes four generations of creative writing in Hausa and then concentrates on the fourth one focusing on love stories. Memory Chirere in his essay „Ignatius Mabasa’s *Mapenzi* and innovation in the Shona novel: the Zimbabwean response” (pp. 221-225) sets out to explore the innovativeness of a recent piece of the Shona literature. It strays across various genres – prose, poetry, epistle, dream, song – as it unfolds. „African-language writing comes of age: the dawning of an era” (pp. 227-232) by Daniel P. Kunene shows the political turbulence in South Africa after the release of Nelson Mandela from prison in 1990. It was captured by Nhlanhla Maake who has taken bold steps to turn the Sesotho literature into modern settings, both geographically and politically.

At the beginning of the last section titled „Readings” an article by Ernest N. Emenyonu has been placed: „The dynamics of creativity and reception: the Igbo language novel from Pita Nwana to Toni Ubesie” (pp. 235-241). The article focuses on various stimulating dynamics of creativity in the Igbo-language novel in 1933 by the legendary Pita Nwana (father of the Igbo-language novel) to the present. An analysis of the well-known Shona novel is proposed by Maurice Taonezvi and Flora Veit-Wild in their paper titled „Rereading *Feso*: the first Shona novel as a nation builder” (pp. 241-251). The novel by Solomon Mutswairo is part of the national memory of Zimbabwe. Together with some other Shona literary works it is mentioned once more in the next paper by Maurice Taonezvi Vambe titled „Shona literature and the creation of an alternative reading ‘public’ in Zimbabwe” (pp. 253-261). A survey and analysis of Shona literature reveals the richness and diversity of the themes treated. In „‘The horns of my thoughts are fastened together in a knot’: transformations of ‘humanity’ in Swahili and Shona literature” (pp. 263-274) Alena Rettová shows how the concept of ‘humanity’ has been reflected in contemporary written literature in those two African languages. The volume closes with an article by Lutz

Diegner titled „Answers to ‘glocalisation’ in Swahili fiction: Chachage’s *Makuadwa Soko Huria* and Wamitila’s *Bina-Adamu!*” (pp. 275-282).

In an appendix the reader will find the programme of the 8th International Jahnheinz Jahn Symposium. At the end of the book there are short notes on contributors. It is visible from them that the authors from Africa are very well represented: articles of seventeen Africans have been published in the book. Works cited by them enlarge our knowledge of trends in the literary study in Africa. It is only a pity that the contributions of scholars from outside Africa are rather scarcely taken into account and quoted by the African contributors to the volume.

Stanisław Piłaszewicz

Herrmann Jungraithmayr, Philibus I. Diyakal, *Lyang lu. One Thousand and One Proverbs, Idioms and Sayings in Mushere (N. Nigeria). With Grammatical Outline and Vocabulary*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2008, 326 pp.

Lyang lu, the first words of the book in the Mushere language might be rendered in English by „Poetic speech of the house”. Mushere has been classified in the Sura-Gerka or Angas-Sura group of the West Chadic languages. Both Sura from Panyam and Angas from Pankshin region were the first Chadic languages which began to be studied by Prof. H. Jungraithmayr as early as in 1962. The Mushere people, some 37.000 souls in number, inhabit today eleven villages in a hilly area some 30 km north-west of Pankshin, which is the capital of the Pankshin Local Government in the Plateau State of Nigeria.

In his further research activities H. Jungraithmayr made an effort to collect data on Chadic languages of the Republic of Chad, and it was only in 1996, after a long passage of time that he returned to Pankshin. In this town he made the acquaintance with Mr. Philibus Diyakal, a native speaker of Mushere, who was „[...] fully aware of the importance and necessity of documenting and preserving his mother tongue in which he clearly recognizes embodied the historical, cultural and spiritual heritage of his people” (p. 13). Mr. Diyakal

was a praiseworthy, very dedicated and engaged informant and collaborator. On Prof. Jungraithmayr's request he passionately engaged in collecting proverbs, idioms and sayings among elders from his own village (the name of which is not mentioned) and from speakers of Mushere living in Pankshin. Thanks to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Goethe Universität Stiftung and financial support of the former governor of Plateau State, Mr. Philibus Diyakal was able to come twice (in 2004 and 2006) to Frankfurt am Main in order to complete the basic editorial work on the publication.

Until the publication of the book Mushere had not been reduced to writing: no grammatical study existed before. Therefore the authors decided to precede the main bulk of their work by a grammatical outline (pp. 21-54), which contains observations and remarks on the grammatical structure of the language. The main purpose of the outline[...] is to assist those readers who wish to comprehend the linguistic structuring of the proverbial sayings" (p. 21).

Mushere has six short and five long vowel phonemes, four phonemic tone levels, and as many as 53 consonants, which – according to Prof. Jungraithmayr's hypothesis – should classify it among the innovative Central Chadic languages. Still it is situated linguistically between Sura/Mwaghavul and Mupun on the one hand, and Angas on the other, all belonging to the West Chadic languages. Besides the remarks on phonology, the grammatical outline provides condensed notes on morphology, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, negation and numerals.

The numbered proverbs, idioms and sayings spread over 179 pages (pp. 55-233). Each of them is presented in four shapes: 1. presentation in Mushere, 2. interlinear, word-by-word translation into English, 3. literal English translation, and 4. free English rendering of the underlying meaning. As it was stated in an introduction (pp. 17f.) speaking with and in proverbs is a deep-rooted characteristic of African mentality and behaviour. Nobody utters criticism or critical admonition in a direct manner, but rather makes use of a figurative language and enigmatic sayings, which refer to events and social features well-known to the particular ethnic groups but not to

the readers from outside. Therefore, free English rendering of the underling meaning is absolutely necessary. Even this free rendering sometimes requires additional elucidation, which can be found under 998 „Explanatory notes” (pp. 235-241).

The book is provided with a Mushere-English (pp.244-290) and English-Mushere (pp. 291-326) vocabularies. Besides their primal destination, they fulfil still another role: thanks to them each proverb, idiom and saying can be easily located through its key-word(s).

Mushere is an endangered language. The old generation is still familiar with the tongue, using it in everyday life. It is not the case with the young people who tend to dilute the genuine Mushere by also using Hausa and English, and even sometimes mixing all the three. The authors are right when saying that quite a number of proverbs and sayings may well derive directly from Hausa, which is the *lingua franca* of Northern Nigeria. Here are few examples: entry 49. „What old men see while sitting, surpasses what young men see even when they climb a tree” has its Hausa equivalent *Abin da babba ya gani yana kasa, yaro ko ya hau rimi ba zai gan shi ba*; entry 86. „Lack of knowing surpasses night darkness” – *Rashin sani ya fi dare duhu*; entry 234. „If fire has caught the beard of your brother, you will rub water on it” – *In ka ga gemun danuwanka ya kama wuta, zuba wa naka ruwa*; entry 246. „Leaving faeces inside the stomach does not drive away the hunger” – *Barin kashi a ciki ba ya maganin yunwa*; entry 292. „Only God knows how to quench fire which started in the water” – *Gobara daga kogi magani nata Allah*, etc.

The further search and presentation of such Mushere-Hausa equivalents would be an exciting and illuminating exercise, which the authors have left for a future generation. What they have done is an excellent and urgent work: they have carefully collected and reduced to writing proverbial and idiomatic wisdom of the Mushere people which might otherwise fall into oblivion.

Stanisław Pilaszewicz

Sergio Baldi, *Devinettes Masa*, „Studi Africanistici. Serie Ciado-Sudanese” 2, Napoli, Università degli Studi di Napoli „L’Orientale”, 2008, 89 pp.

The booklet contains 58 riddles of the Masa people who occupy today both riversides of the Logone river. They live on the right Cameroon bank, and spread towards the Chari river on the Chadic bank. They speak the Masa language, *vùn māsàna*, known also as Massa, Masana and Banana: there are some 109.000 speakers in the Republic of Chad and 103.000 speakers in the Federal Republic of Cameroon.

In an introductory part (pp. 11-26) the author refers, in a concise way, to the language name, presents the geographical situation of the Masa people and that of their neighbours, and gives an outline of the Masa history. Few paragraphs deal with the Masa language and reflect a long-lasting discussion on its classification as belonging to a group of languages in the Biu-Mandara branch or constituting a separate branch of the Chadic languages. Sergio Baldi proposes a classification of the northern sub-group of the Masa languages but the question of their status on a higher level seems to remain unsettled. In the further part of the introduction the reader will find some superficial information on the syllabic structure, vowels, consonants and tons of Masa.

The riddles occupy an important place in African oral literature. This is also the case of Masa, although one is rather surprised when learning that in this language there is no special word designating this literary genre: the riddles are recognised by some initial formulae. All the riddles presented in the booklet have been gathered by the author in Cameroon. He was assisted by a number of native speakers: their names and professions are indicated on p. 20f. but the dates of interviews are not given. One can guess that it was in 2005: this date is mentioned in *avant-propos* on p. 9. The introductory part closes with an exhaustive bibliography (pp. 21-26).

The essential part of the work contains 59 riddles recorded in Yagoua. The Masa version of each riddle is followed by an interlinear word-to-word translation into French and then by its literary version. The proverbs which are deeply plunged in the Masa meta-

phoric thought are given cultural explications. Peculiarities of the Masa environment, the local species of flora and fauna, customs and social institution of the people are explained in the footnotes. They are both the author's observations as well as knowledge coming from the earlier works on Masa.

The booklet is provided with an index of key-words (p. 72-74), a Masa-French index (p. 75-80), a French-Masa index (p. 81-86), and an index of scientific names for plants and animals (p. 87). In an easy way it allows the reader to make acquaintance with the elements of Masa culture and their life style.

Stanisław Pilaszewicz

Mermier F., Morin D., Rouaud A., *Eros en mer Rouge*. "Pount. Cahiers d'études. Corne de l'Afrique – Arabie du Sud" 2, Bièvres: Les Éthiopiens Associés, 2008, 163 p.

The *Pount* is a new yearly periodical specializing in humanities issued in France in cooperation with l'Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (INALCO) which focuses on the cultures of the Horn of Africa (Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia) and Southern Arabia (Oman, Yemen). It is a seemingly new publication; however, its publishers *Les Éthiopiens Associés* claim continuity with the periodical of the same title founded by Robert Ferry which circulated in Djibouti in 1966-1986. *Les Éthiopiens Associés* itself is a non-profit association founded in 1992 in Debre Markos, Ethiopia, to promote the scientific knowledge of the countries situated in the Red Sea basin. It encourages publications in the field of human science such as archeology, art, biography, ethnology, geography, history, linguistics, literature, philology, religion and sociology. Apart from the *Pount* it publishes a gazette *La Lorgnette du Bab el-Mandeb* where one can find news about interesting books and other publications that focus on this part of the world.

The first issue of the *Pount* appeared in 2007 and was fully dedicated to the history of Djibouti and in particular that of Robert Ferry. In the second issue bearing the intriguing title "Eros en mer Rouge" all articles concern the subject of love, affection and sexuality in the Red Sea basin seen from various perspectives.

Frédéric Martel is the author of the first contribution entitled *Citron mon amour* (pp. 9-19). While looking for cultural representations of the romantic associations in the Ethiopian folk songs he found an interesting metaphorical figure of "lemon" which is used among the Amhara people in a whole variety of amorous contexts. The second article, *Charmate charmouta* (pp. 20-53), focuses on the topic of prostitution in Ethiopia from a philological angle and traces the practice to the times of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Alain Rouaud analyzes various Amharic terms to define a prostitute but the greatest emphasis is given to the term *šarmuta*, of which a comprehensive etymology is given with the scrutiny of its Arabic or even French roots. The number of dictionaries consulted by the author in the course of writing is rather impressive. In the third article *Quand un Afar parle de sexe* (pp. 55-67) Didier Morin explores oral poetry of the Afar people pointing to the extrovert ways in which they express their sexuality. Next is Franck Mermier's socio-anthropological study based on a survey carried out in Yemen in 1983-86 *L'éducation sentimentale à Sanaa: une evocation* (pp. 68-83). It depicts a sexual consciousness among the young people in the urban environment of Sanaa taking into consideration various cultural aspects of the Muslim society including that of chewing *qat* – a plant of desire. The fifth contribution by Susanne Dahlgren *Sexualités et espace public à Aden* (pp. 85-107) belongs to a current research trend on the subject of public sphere in the modern-day Islamic world and in particular it discusses the problem of sexual segregation in Aden – past and present

There follows a short document (pp. 109-113) found in the archives of French consulate in Dire Dawa written on 20 April 1937 by the then consul André Pâris. It contains an interesting comment on the law forbidding interracial relationships which was introduced by the Italian occupants in Ethiopia.

The only article the topic of which is neither love nor sexuality is *Täfäri and Mohamedally: a picture and its history* (pp. 114-125) written in English by Wolbert Smidt. It is a historical inquiry regarding the involvement of India, in particular that of an Indian Muslim

merchant Mohamedally, in Ethiopia based on an unknown photograph dated 1905 found in a private Hulton-Deutsch collection.

The last part of the *Pount* includes literary proposals and reviews. The first recommendation by Alain Rouaud (pp. 127-137) is very well suited for this publication as it is the translation of the book *Letum aynägaläñ* (2000/2001) by Səbhat Gäbrä-Əgziabher, the author famous for his scandalizing writings. *Les nuits d'Addis Abəba* (2004) was translated into French by the writer himself and Francis Falceto. The second book, suggested by Didier Morin (pp. 139-147), is a biography written by Colette Dubois and Jean-Dominique Pénel of a prominent entrepreneur and politician Saïd Ali Coubèche who played an important role in the colonial Djibouti, *Saïd Ali Coubèche – la passion d'entreprendre*. This is followed by reviews of five books (pp. 149-163): Shelagh Weir's *A Tribal Order: Politics and Law in the Mountains of Yemen* (2007), Steven C. Caton's *Yemen Chronicle. An Anthropology of War and Meditation* (2005) (by F. Mermier), Gabriele vom Bruck's *Islam, Memory and Morality in Yemen: Ruling Families in Transition* (2005) (by S. Camelin), Fasil Giorghis's & Denis Gérard's *The City and Its Architectural Heritage. Addis Ababa 1886-1941* (2007) (by A. Gascon) and Alain Leterrier's *Treize jours de soleil* (1999) (by A. Rouaud).

In 2009 the third issue of the *Pount* appeared with the title *Étranger (I)* which is dedicated to the broad subject of 'outsiders' in the area of the Red Sea basin. The enterprise of the French scholars is certainly worth taking note of, as it provides a fresh insight on a highly scientific level into the diverse issues concerning the cultures of the Horn of Africa and Southern Arabia.

Ewa Wolk

Jerzy Zdanowski, *Slavery in the Gulf in the First Half of the 20th Century: A Study Based on Records from the British Archives*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Askon, 2008, 231 pp.

Jerzy Zdanowski has written a study on one of the most important problems of the 20th century, mainly slavery. He deals with the first half of the century and focuses on the area of the Persian Gulf. The source material comes from the British Archives, which

provide rich material covering many aspects of the history of the British dominated area. The socio-economic system of the area was based on slavery, thus the introduction of the British anti-slavery policy resulted in changes within the system. The main topic of the study is the problem of the manumission of the slaves, the procedures that followed a request for obtaining freedom and the options available for those who were granted it. The author also delves into the question of the advantages and disadvantages of being a slave *vis-a-vis* a free person.

The book contains an introduction describing the history of slavery within the Persian Gulf and the situation at the turn of the 20th cent.: "Slaves, pearls and the British in the Persian Gulf at the turn of the 20th century", three chapters: I: "Manumission certificates" (pp. 45-84), II: "The slaves" (pp. 85-136), III: "The British" (pp. 137-180), conclusions (pp. 181-183), a bibliography (pp. 184-190) and annex: "The list of slaves whose statements were recorded at the British Agencies" (pp. 191-231). The book also includes a two-page (pp.9f.) glossary which explains some Arabic terms, in most cases those related to slaves and pearl-diving, as well as various political terms (such as *the Majlis* – the Persian Parliament) and geographical terms (like *the Swahili coast*). Additionally, it contains some photographs – among them a picture presenting a manumission certificate (p. 75). A map of the Arabian Sea region is included on p. 35, and some tables presenting data concerning, among other things, the sex and origin of slaves or the number of statements applying for manumission in various years between 1921 and 1949. The tables are detailed and provide data for those who seek more detailed information regarding the topic. The same can be said about the material presented in the annex: the list of statements, names of slaves who made the statements with information about their place of their birth, where they came from, age, the date and reason for making an application. All this information can hardly be considered interesting for most of those who read the book; however, it presents very detailed source material for scholars interested in the topic.

In historical monographs dealing with non-European regions and cultures the problem of transcription, including the transcription

of local names, seems to remain a difficult issue. This is especially true if the source material was written in languages different to those spoken locally. Jerzy Zdanowski was also faced with this problem and solved it by preserving the original forms as they are to be found in the British documents. An exception is made for the most widely known and common names, which occur in the book in their commonly accepted form in English. This decision, which may provoke objections from philologists, seems to have been the optimal one.

The weakest point of the book is its editorial part with a number of printing errors.

The topic discussed by the author is a complex one. The detailed documentation of the slaves seeking manumission allows for the observation of varied images of human fate which brought these people to lose their freedom. The differences based on sex or origin are obvious. Other differences are related to the manner of the slaves being purchased by their masters: they were either captured within their homelands – the Horn of Africa or the interior of the Arabian Peninsula, or even as far away as in Georgia or Armenia – and sold, but also sold by their families or even born into slavery. Even the slaves who had already been granted their freedom could be sold again, or else re-slaved by the heir of the master who had freed his servants. Some of the stories do not accommodate the generally accepted image of slavery. Zdanowski mentions the example of a slave who sold other slaves (p. 97).

The work done by slaves was related mainly to pearl-diving which was the main industry in the Gulf. Another large group of slaves were house servants. Jerzy Zdanowski provides information concerning the rules regulating both the work and lives of the slaves.

The British had dealings with the politically fragmented and vast area of the Persian Gulf and this is another problem presented in the book, i.e. the political relations between the British and local rulers. They resulted in treaties regulating slavery and the slave trade. (The first agreement which partially related to slavery and the slave trade was signed with the sheikhs of Trucial Oman. It stated that the signatories would restrain from taking coastal slaves of Africa or elsewhere and was signed in 1820 (p.31), i.e. thirteen years

before the Slavery Abolition Act was introduced by the British Parliament in 1833).

The author comes to the conclusion that the anti-slavery policy introduced by the Great Britain was highly effective (p. 181). At the same time, he emphasizes the "serious repercussions" (p. 182) caused by such an approach of the British towards the issue of slavery. Zdanowski mentions the disruption of the pearl business or re-enslavement of freed Africans, as well as the kidnapping of children with the view of using them for pearl-diving, abandoned by those who had obtained their freedom. The most important conclusion, however, seems to be the statement that the "common opinion of the soft nature of slavery in the Muslim world can hardly be shared after reading the statements [while applying for manumission – H.R.]." It seems that such an opinion, often expressed also in reference to slavery in Africa, should be reconsidered.

Another vital conclusion made by the author states that slaves though "being formally freed, [...] had a long way to go to achieve social emancipation" (p. 183).

Jerzy Zdanowski's book makes an important contribution to our historical knowledge. It deals with problems which we consider "global" when speaking about contemporary matters. The problem of slavery and the socio-economics of the Persian Gulf at the turn of the 20th cent. influenced a much wider area than only the Persian Gulf itself. The problem had an impact on many levels: on political or cultural aspects (e.g. British domination) but also ideological ones (e.g. the perception of slavery in different cultures). Jerzy Zdanowski provides us with documents and opinions which are important sources of information about the world at the turn of the 20th cent.

Hanna Rubinkowska

