

THE PLURAL MORPHEMES IN HAUSA

BY

MOHAMMED AMASA IDIARO

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

(T.E.S.L.)

Department of Education

Ahmadu Bello University

Zaria

December, 19 78

This independent study has been read and approved
as meeting the requirements of the Department of
Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.


Staff Project Adviser


Staff Evaluator

External Examiner

DEDICATION

To my parents who made it possible for me
to speak three languages fluently and have
a smattering knowledge of two others.
I am grateful.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ii
Acknowledgement.....	iii
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Title of study...	1
1.2 Statement of Problem	1
1.3 Justification of problem..	2
1.4 Methodology.....	4
1.5 Scope of the study.....	5
CHAPTER 2. Review of related literature	6
CHAPTER 3. Analysis of materials..	26
CHAPTER 4. Summary of Findings and	33
conclusion.....	
Bibliography.....	38

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My thanks go to my supervisor, Dr. J.O. Nyiakura whose tirelessness, capacity for hardwork and very humane approach to scholarship were a great source of inspiration to me.

Similarly, I wish to thank Dr. T. Adeyanju whose very demanding but scholarly handling of the subject Contrastive Linguistic Analysis imbued me with the desire to embark on this project.

I am also indebted to all the authors I consulted in carrying out this exercise and to the Department of Nigerian and African languages A.B.U. Zaria.

Finally, I thank Peter K. Madaki who typed the manuscript.

In some languages, say English, the notion of plurality can be achieved through zero change or zero morpheme. The word 'sheep' for instance, retains its form both in singular and in the plural, in Hausa there must be a change in word form before the idea of plurality is conveyed. This is true of all countable nouns, even some uncountable nouns like water 'ruwa' are pluralised pronominally in some Hausa dialects. One may hear 'wa su' being used to describe water in certain Hausa circles, say in Katsina or Sokoto.

This study will try to examine the possibility of putting forward a simple but definite statement with regard to the formation of plurals in Hausa.

1.3 Justification of the problem

Hausa language is widely spoken in Nigeria as it is in most parts of Africa. Millions of Nigerians have it as their LI and yet other millions have it as their second first language or merely as second language. The importance of this language as a means of communication and education cannot be over-emphasized.

But given the scientific peculiarities of the language when compared with other languages, especially with English- which enjoys official patronage as a language of education, administration and advanced commerce- the need to carry out studies on specific aspects of the language in order to shed more light on its structures, becomes very apparent. The fact that Nigeria is discreetly looking for a lingua franca, makes the study of any Nigerian language most welcome. This is because there is every possibility that the exercise may result in improving the learnability of the language. In addition to this, the exercise may add to the pool of language data made available by Contrastive linguistic Analysis (CLA).

1.4 Methodology

The researcher made use of radio-cassette to interview Hausa speakers-both native and non native speakers of the language- this enabled him to compile a list of plural forms and their usages. The exercise took him to markets where he interviewed traders, businessmen and women, buyers, as well as all sorts of characters who frequent our markets.

The aim of going to the market was to see how noun plurals were formed and used in the market. This enabled the researcher to compare plural formations and usages later on in the study for similarities and differences, which in turn made it possible for the researcher to come up with some generalisations at the end of the study.

Interviews were conducted in schools and colleges for the purpose of finding out how certain words that are peculiar to school and college environments are used and how they take their plural forms. Administrators were also interviewed in their places of work in order to find out how words that are peculiar to administration are used and how their plural forms are generated.

Books, especially those that were written by renowned scholars in the field of Hausa language-like Skinner, Galadanci, Bargery, Abraham, Taylor, and Kraft and Kirk-Greene-were consulted.

Reference was also made to the works of eminent linguists like Lado, Banathy, pit Corder, Di Pietro and Adeyanju in order to draw from their wealth of experience in language behaviour in general.

1.5 Scope of the study

Research activities centred principally on standard Hausa i.e. Kano Hausa. However, to underscore some specific points a brief mention is made of Katsina and Sokoto Hausa.

Out of the numerous aspects of Hausa that could be considered for study, the writer has chosen the notion of plurality because of the multiple nature of the Hausa plural. This aspect is very fascinating and the current exercise should be seen as the writer's effort to get language scholars to share this fascination with him. The study covered a period of six months two of which were spent in the field.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

There are many writers-few of whom are scholarly- in the field of Hausa grammar, but for the purpose of this study an attempt would be made to examine the works of Merrick, Taylor, Westermann, Kraft and Kirk-Greene, Bargery and Abraham in connection with the chosen topic.

Some conservative writers like Captain Merrick who came across Hausa language during their adventure in colonial Africa tend to see the language as essentially uncultivated. They lump the language together with the so-called "primitive" languages and describe it as such.

This is exactly what Merrick did in his book Hausa proverbs. According to Captain Merrick, primitive languages express the notion of plurality through reduplication or through the addition of some words that would signify 'mass'. He argues that the few Hausa plural forms in common use are formed mainly through reduplication. Other methods of pluralisation identified by Merrick are: addition of "ayi" to the singular form, and the addition of the "una" termination to the singular form.

Merrick is of the opinion that the "una" termination is a "recent" phenomenon and speculates that its source may be Arabic. However, he fails to develop this theme in his book.

The fourth method of Hausa pluralisation he advanced is through internal and external change on the singular form. Again, he makes some reference to a possible Arabic influence in his regard but fails to even attempt to prove his case. It is the view of the present writer that assertions without facts cannot provide solid premises on which scholarly conclusions can be based. So Merrick's theory of "Arabic influence"¹ cannot be of much use at this stage.

The four methods of pluralisation as advanced by Merrick are described below:

1		Reduplication		
gona	(farm)	gona-gona*	gonaki	(farms)
		gonagi*		
kwana	(day)	kwana-kwana*		
		kwanakwa*	kwanaki	(days)
		kwanuka*		
gida	(house)	gida-gida*	gidaje	(houses)
tufa	(clothes)	tufa-tufa*	tufafi	(clothes)
bisa(a pack animal)		Bisa-bisa*		
		bisassa*	bisashe	(pack animals)

yatsa (finger)	yatsatsa*		
	yatsotsi*	yatsu	(fingers)
waka (song)	wakaka*	wakoki	(songs)
	waka -waka*		
hanya (road)	hanyaya*	hanyoyi	(roads)
kariya (lie)	kariyaya*	karairai	(lies)
	kariyoyi*		
	karairayi*		
gari (town)	gari-gari*	garuruwa	(towns)

The asteriks show the evolutionary stages of the plurals.

At the time Merrick's work was published, facts about central African languages were scanty, and he admits that he could not trace nor advance any laws governing the change of letters noticed in the examples given above. However, in order to explain the change, he advances "the principle of least effort"² This simply means the softening of harsher sounds to produce the plural form, e.g.

yatsotsi - yatsu

karairayi - karairai

This explanation was quite sensible, plausible and therefore acceptable in 1905.

1. ...

2. Merrick, G. op. cit. P. 108.

But Taylor, Kraft and Kirk-Greene whose works will be examined later, have thrown more light on these changes of letters.

II Addition of "ayi" to the singular form, "ayi" is often shortened to "ai" or "e" as in: dorina (hippo)

dorina-ayi dorinai(hippos)

dorinaye

aboki (friend) aboki-ayi abokai (friends)

aboka-nai

allura (needle) allura-ayi allurai (needles)

giwa (elephant) giwa-ayi giwaye (elephants)

biri (monkey) biri-ayi birai (monkeys)

bira-ye

barawo (thief) barawo-ayi barayi (thieves)

III Addition of "una" to the singular form as in:

sanda (stick) sanduna (sticks)

tulu	(water-pot)	tuluna	(water-pots)
riga	(gown)	riguna	(gowns)
daki	(room)	dakuna	(rooms)

IV Plural formation through internal change: The examples below clearly show this type of change, note the mutations and substitutions and the points of occurrence.

jirigi	(train)	jirage	(trains)
	(plane)		
	(ship)		
sariki	(emir)		
	(king)	sarakuna	(emirs)
doki	(horse)	dawaki	(horses)
akwiya	(she-goat)	awaki	(she goats)
tumkiya	(sheep)	tumaki	(sheep)
dutse	(stone)	duwatsu	(stones)
itace	(wood)	itatuwa	(woods)
mashi	(spear)	masu	(spears)
jijiya	(muscle)	jiwoji	(muscles)

According to Merrick any plural form that does not fall within these four categories should be regarded as irregular. He further goes on to say that more knowledge of related languages is needed in order to be able to classify these irregular plurals properly. Such irregular plurals include:

ido	(eye)	idanu	(eyes)
mutum	(person)	mutane	(people)
mace	(woman)	mata	(women)
hannu	(hand)	hannuwa	(hands)
kaho	(horn)	kahonni	(horns)
zane	(wrapper)	zannuwa	(wrappers)
sa	(bull)	shanu	(cattle)
rakumi	(camel)	rakuma	(camels)
shekara	(year)	shekaru	(years)

Merrick's Hausa Proverbs is an early work, it was first published in 1905, so one can understand the element of generalisation and the lack of scientific finesse in some of his conclusions. But the pioneer value of the book cannot be overemphasized.

Umaru Ahmed's book A School

Certificate Hausa Course describes the following endings as the "commonest"³ ways of pluralisation in Hausa:

- (a) - a (b) - ai (c) - aye
(d) - u (e) - i (f) - ki

The book goes on to give the following examples:

1. kai (head) kawuna (heads)
2. akuya (she-goat) Awakai (she-goats)

3. Ahmed U.B. A School Certificate Hausa Course P.125

3.	Gwauro	(bachelor)	Gwauraye	(bachelors)
4.	sa	(ox)	shanu	(oxen)
5.	bako	(guest)	baki	(guests)
6.	tumkiya	(sheep)	tumaki	(sheep)

The words in bracket are mine.

Even though the book gives a sketchy half-page to "plurals" its generalisation about the subject is dangerously misleading. The six examples given by the author are valid but he ought to have explained the categories of words that take such endings and the changes the words undergo before they take the endings meaningfully. Without such explanation, the learner may believe that by simply using one of the endings suggested, he can form Hausa plurals. If the learner embarks upon the exercise with such a belief, he will not be able to produce meaningful Hausa words, let alone Hausa plurals. For example, the word "mace" (female) given any of the six commonest endings suggested in A school Certificate Hausa Course, will be ridiculous and meaningless.

Writers on language and linguistics should see themselves as scientists who cannot leave anything to chance, they must be precise. In the case of Umar Ahmed's book, the circumstances in which changes occur in words must be thoroughly explained. If a topic cannot be thoroughly explained because of time or space, it should not be touched otherwise there will be confusion in the learning process.

In his book A Practical Hausa Grammar F.W. Taylor agrees that plurals of Hausa nouns are difficult to classify and that it is even more difficult to give reasons why a given noun employs the plural form (s) it does. He submits however, that certain regular features are important enough to provide stabilized "grammatical patterns"⁴ to the learner.

He submits as a thesis that originally Hausa plural forms fall into two classes viz: the plural of paucity and the plural of abundance.

4. Taylor, F.W. A Practical Hausa Grammar . P.81

The plural of paucity deals with small numbers, say, up to ten, while the plural of abundance deals with large quantities. Nowadays however, Taylor observes, the distinction is dropped and arbitrary usage rather than fixed rules determine the choice of plurals.

Plural of paucity is formed by adding one of the following suffixes to the singular form of the noun: aye, una, uwa, and aki;

as in:

kifi	(fish)	kifaye	(fish-plural)
rago	(ram)	raguna	(rams)
hannu	(hand)	hannaye	(hands)
gona	(farm)	gonaki	(farms)

plural of abundance is formed by:

(a) duplicating the last consonantal sound preceded by o and followed by i

e.g. hanya (road) hanyoyi (roads)

waka (song) wakoki (songs)

(b) by adding n + last consonant + una

e.g. ido (eye) idanduna (eyes)

jaka (bag) jakankuna (bags)

(c) by doubling the last consonant + ai

e.g. kasa (earth planet) kassai (earth planets)

sama (sky planet) sammai (sky planets)

(d) by adding uka with or without preceding reduplication of the last root consonant e.g. kauye (village) kauyuka (villages)

kwano (plate) kwanuka (plates)

Taylor draws the attention of his readers to the fact that the same plural termination may be found in both the paucity group and the abundance group. He also gives subsidiary factors and observes the following special features in the process of plural formation.

(a) where t, d, or s, precedes the 'y' of 'ye' the 'y' changes to j, ch, or sh as in:

kuda (fly) kudaje (flies)

kasa (land) kasashe (lands)

However, in words like itache, hanchi and farche, the above observation does not apply. So we have itache (wood-singular) becoming itatuwa (wood-plural) and hanchi (nose) becomes hantuna (noses) while farche (finger nail) becomes farchina (finger nails)

Research has shown however, that popular usage prefers hanchuna to hantuna. Similarly, there is a tendency among educated Hausa elites to introduce zero morpheme in fache, thus making the word serve both singular and plural purposes.

(b) In the presence of two adjacent consonants in the middle of the singular form of a word, its plural form is derived by separating the consonants with a long ā as in:

karfe (iron) karāfa (iron plural)

murfu (fire place) murāfa (fire places)

turke (peg) turaka (pegs)

(c) Singular nouns ending in ya or yi often drop that termination in plural.

e.g.	kibiya	(arrow)	kibau	(arrows)
	tunkiya	(sheep)	tumakai	(sheep plural)
	yarinya	(girl)	yammata	(girls)
	saurayi	(youth)	samari	(youths)

In the last two examples, yarinya and saurayi more than dropped their ya and yi in order to generate their plural forms, they actually went through mutations and substitutions to achieve their plural forms.

(d) Even though scholars are yet to come up with series of related vowels-ablaut series-in Hausa, yet it has been observed that there is a close relationship between the final vowel of the singular and that of the plural. It is unusual to find the same vowel coming before and after the last consonant of the plural.

For example, if the singular ends in 'a' or 'o' the plural takes 'i' and vice-versa.

e.g.	hankaka	(crow)	hankaki	(crows)
	makafa (a blindman)		makafi	(blindmen)
	gatari (axe)	gatura	(axes)	

takobi	(sword)	takubba	(swords)
fitila	(lamp)	fitilu	(lamps)

(e) There are often syllabic changes, disyllabic singulars become trisyllabic in plural. A disyllabic plural is often an abbreviated form.

e.g.	riga	(gown)	riguna	(gowns)
	daki	(room)	dakuna	(rooms)
	jaki	(donkey)	jakuna	(donkeys)

Plurals like Jakai (donkeys) gasu (hairs) kwadi (frogs) mata (wives) 'ya'ya (children) and shanu (cows) are short forms of jakuna, gasuna, kwaduna, mataye, 'yayaye and shanuwoyi. In words like mata (wife) a slight change in tone produces the plural form mātā.

Where irregular forms are noted, it is assumed that it is the singular form that has undergone some phonetic changes while the plural form, which is less used, often retains the old form of the word as in:

mutum	(person)	mutane	(people)
falke	(trader)	fatake	(traders)
barawo	(thief)	barayi	(thieves)
gwauruwa	(divorced woman)	gwagware	(divorced women)
gwauro	(divorced man)	gwauraye	(divorced men)
kai (head)	kawuna	(heads)	

akuya	(nanny goat)	awaki	(nanny goats)
doki	(horse)	dawaki	(horses)

verbal nouns have special characteristics in assuming plural forms-
the whole word is repeated as in:

tadi	(informal talk)	tade-tade	(informal talks)
kuka	(cry)	koke-koke	(cries)
waka	(song)	wake-wake	(songs)
shuka	(seedling)	shuke-shuke	(seedlings)
yaki	(war)	yake-yake	(wars)
rubutu	(writing)	rubuce-rubuce	(writings)
chuta	(disease)	chuche-chuche	(diseases)
	(cheating)		(cheatings)
wanki	(washing)	wanke-wanke	(washing)

It is not clear whether the classification of 'cheating' as a kind of disease 'chuta' is a figurative testimony of the Hausa hatred for cheats. However, what started as a moral protest ended up as a linguistic fact.

Another point worthy of note in Hausa plurals is that in compound nouns only the first element usually changes to indicate plural.

e.g.	jirgin-kasa	(train)	jiragen-kasa	(trains)
	abokin-gaba	(foe)	abokangaba	(foes)
	danuwa	(kinsman)	yanuwa	(kinsmen)
	sarkin yaki	(field marshal)	sarakunan yaki	(field marshals)
	dankasa	(native)	yankasa	(natives)
	giwan-ruwa	(hippo)	giwayen-ruwa	(hippopotami)
	dan-siyasa	(politician)	yan siyasa	(politicians)

Another point is that abstract nouns formed from ordinary nouns are difficult if not impossible to pluralise.

Examples of such difficult words are:

Mutunchi formed from the noun mutun (person), yarantaka (youthfulness) formed from the noun yaro (boy/youth), jaruntaka (bravery) formed from the noun jarumi (a brave person- masculine).

Dietrich Westermann also identifies two main ways of plural formation in Hausa, he describes these two ways in Languages of West Africa as:

1. reduplication of either the whole of the noun or the last consonant with different vowels as in 'gida' (house) 'gidaje' (houses)

(b) the use of suffixes as in hula (cap) huluna (caps) A possible third system of plural formation is through inner vowel change as in 'gulbi' (tream) gulabe (streams)

Both Kraft and Kirk-Greene share Taylor's views about the complex nature of noun pluralisation in Hausa.

In Hausa Kraft and Kirk-Greene advise the learner of Hausa to simply 'memorise' the commonest plural form of a given noun as a way out. Given the numerous nature of Hausa plural forms may be Kraft and Kirk-Greene are right in giving this advice. The question is, how academically acceptable is the advice in view of the fact that people may want to study the language 'scientifically'?

This writer rejects the advice of the writers of Hausa on the ground that one cannot go round a problem and pretend that it does not exist.

Finding simple 'rules' of plural formation in Hausa is a problem and it should be tackled realistically with all the modern weapons in the linguistic armouries of language scientists. This should be our approach to the problem rather than try to find an easy way out.

This writer however, acknowledges the scholarship of Messrs Kraft and Kirk-Greene which is quite evident in their book Hausa. Kraft and Kirk-Greene identify four 'major' classes and several 'minor' classes of Hausa noun plurals in their book.

Class I This is the largest plural group and it is characterised by " o -- i " ending which replaces the original singular ending. However, between the o and the i, the final consonant of the singular form reappears.

e.g. hanya (road) hanyoyi (roads)
taga (window) tagogi (windows)

Class II This class of plural ends with " u -- a " sound which replaces the singular ending. And more often than not the singular consonants n, w, or k, appear between the 'u' and the 'a'

e.g. ganga (drum) ganguna (drums)
abu (thing) abubuwa (things)
kwano (plate) kwanuka (plates)

Class III This is the group that is characterised by a---e ending, with 'y' invariably found between the 'a' and the 'e' This is said to be a very old group indeed because it contains the oldest and commonest nouns in the language. Where the 'y' does not appear, you have the consonant introducing the final syllable of the singular form, making a second appearance.

e.g. tsuntsu (bird) tsuntsaye (birds)
birni (city) birane (cities)
wuka (knife) wukake (knives)

Class IV This group has ai, au, *i* or u suffix for its ending. Singular nouns made up of more than two syllables belong to this group. Before adopting any of the above suffixes some nouns reduplicate their final syllable.

e.g.	biri	(monkey)	birai	(monkeys)
	labari	(news)	labarai	(news)
	tsöfo	(old)	tsoffi	(old plural)
	jaki	(donkey)	jakkai	(donkeys)

There are also what Kraft and Kirk-Greene call 'minor' classes of Hausa noun plurals. These include:

(a) those that terminate with a/u

e.g.	kurtu	(recruit)	kurata	(recruits)
	gunki	(idol)	gumaka	(idols)
	dutse	(stone)	duwatsu	(stones)
	kafa	(foot)	kafafu	(feet)

(b) Nouns with 'ma' prefix indicating agent or doer of an action, have plurals that terminate with 'a'

e.g.	mawaki	(singer)	mawaka	(singers)
	matafiyi	(traveller)	matafiya	(travellers)
	maroki	(begger)	maroka	(beggars)

yatsa	(finger)	yatsu	(fingers)
-------	----------	-------	-----------

(e) Reduplicative plurals:

kala	(loan word-colour)	kala-kala	(all colours)
launi	(colour)	launi-launi	(all colours)
en'e	(native authority)	en'e-en'e	(native authorities)

(f) Specifiers and kinship plurals that form a class of their own:

(i) Specifiers

wani	(certain thing) (or person)	wasu	(certain things) (or people)
wannan	(this)	wadannan	(these)
wancan	(that)	wadancan	(those)
kowanne	(every one)	kowadanne	(Plural)

(ii) Kinship

da	(son)		
'ya	(daughter)	'ya'ya	(children)
uba	(father)		
uwa	(mother)	iyaye	(parents)
wa	(elder brother)	yayye	(elder brothers) (or sisters)
ya	(elder sister)		
kane	(younger brother)	Kanne	(younger brothers) (or sisters)
kanwa	(younger sister)		

To the above class belongs the Hausa relative includers "wanda" and "wadda" Unlike English language which boasts of three relative includers "who" "whom" and "which" as well as one possessive includer "whose", Hausa has only one relative includer "wanda" which does the work of all the English includers mentioned above. This point has been properly treated in Dr. Adeyanju's appendix to his paper "Contrastive Analysis and language Education in Nigeria" In the said appendix, Dr. Adeyanju ^o _h pointedly observes that even though Hausa includers are few, they serve all purposes and also have number and gender distinctions. Not **many** languages have these distinctions, English certainly hasn't.

For example, the Hausa includer "wanda" refers to a singular masculine object, while "wadda" refers to its feminine counterpart. Both includers ^s _h have a common plural "wadanda".

ANALYSIS OF MATERIALS.

As a result of the extensive interviews carried out in market places, public offices, schools and colleges in Kano, Katsina and Zaria cities, the following methods of forming Hausa plurals were found to be very common.

(a) plural formation through the use of 'aye' as a suffix added to the last consonant of the singular form of a noun. Sometimes 'aye' is abbreviated to read 'ai' or 'a'

as in:

biri	(monkey)	biraye	(monkeys)
cokali	(spoon)	birai cokalai	(spoons)
alkali	(judge)	alkalai	(judges)
dogari	(bodyguard)	dogarai	(bodyguards)
aboki	(friend)	abokai	(friends)
boka	(wizard)	bokaye	(wizards)
dorina	(hippo)	dorinai	(hippos)
bera	(mouse)	beraye	(mice)
uwa	(mother)	uwaye	(mothers)
tsuntsu	(bird)	tsuntsaye	(birds)
hebe	(dumb person)	bebaye	(dumb people)
kifi	(fish)	kifaye	(fishes)
ruwa	(body of water)	ruwaye	(bodies of water)

(b) Pluralisation through the addition of 'una' to the last consonant of the noun: 'una' may be abbreviated to U and often assimilation of sound takes place as would be seen in some of the examples below:

daki	(room)	dakuna	(rooms)
rago	(ram)	raguna	(rams)
hula	(cap)	huluna	(caps)
wando	(trouser)	wanduna	(trousers)
sirdi	(saddle)	sirdina	(saddles)
yatsa	(finger)	yatsu	(fingers)
fata	(skin)	fatu	(skins)
keke	(bicycle)	kekuna	(bicycles)
takarda	(paper)	*takardu	(papers)
fegi	(loanword-peg)	feguna	(pegs/plots)
riga	(gown)	riguna	(gowns)
kogi	(river)	koguna	(rivers)
tafki	(pond)	tafkuna	(ponds)
ganga	(drum)	ganguna	(drums)
laya	(charm)	layu	(charms)
maye	(wizard/witch)	mayu	(wizards/witches)
agogo	(watch/clock)	agoguna	(watches/clocks)
randa	(water-pot)	randuna	(water-pots)

Note that it is because of the assimilation of sound that the word 'sirduna' reads 'sirdina'

The 'una' group of plurals is one of the largest groups and most loan words are pluralised in this manner.

(c) By far the largest group of plurals is the one with 'o --i' ending, these vowels replace the final vowel of the singular form. The final consonant of the said singular form reappears between the o and the i in another form. Many loan words go plural in this way:

tuta	(flag)	tutoci	(flags)
mota	(car)	motoci	(cars)
oda	(order)	odoji	(orders)
wagunu	(waggon)	wagunoni	(waggons)
kasuwa	(market)	kasuwoyi	(markets)
tasha	(station)	tashoshi	(stations)
waya	(wire)	wayoyi	(wires)
fensir	(pencil)	fensirori	(pencils)
rediyo	(radio)	rediyoyi	(radios)
minista	(minister)	ministoci	(ministers)

The consonantal changes mentioned above whereby 't' becomes c; and d,z become j; s, becomes sh; and w, becomes y; are adequately explained by Taylor in his Hausa Grammar and by Kraft and Kirk-Greene in their Hausa.

Taylor says it is the influence of a preceding consonant that causes the change. Thus if a 'd' precedes a 'y' the latter invariably becomes j in plural. The plural form of the noun kuda (fly) for instance, has to be kudaje and not kudaye. Similarly, kasa (earth) in plural cannot be kasaye but kaseshe. Other examples are: miji (husband) maza/mazaje (husbands), kaza (fowl) kaji (fowls) mace (female) mata (females). Kraft and Kirk-Greene say that the following consonants t, d, z, s, and w appearing before a, o or u change before a final i or e to c, j, sh and y respectively. To buttress their assertion they cited examples of well known verbs that clearly show the changes:

sata	(steal)	saci	(stole)
ciza	(bit)	ciji	(bite)
fansa	(redeem)	fanshi	(redeem)
canji	(loan word-change)	chanja	(change)

(d) Pluralisation by the addition of 'uwa' to the singular form.

hannu	(hand)	hannuwa	(hands)
kunne	(ear)	kunnuwa	(ears)

There are not many nouns in the above group, in some cases plurals that have been achieved after reduplication of consonants before the application of the 'uwa' suffix, are forced into this group even though they belong to another group.

For example, 'zannuwa' (wrappers) and 'kafafuwa' (feet) derived from 'zane' and 'kafa' respectively, were not got until the last consonants of the singular forms were reduplicated before the suffix 'wa' was used.

(e) by adding aki to the singular form:

kwana (day) kwanaki (days)

gona (farm) gonaki (farms)

Sometimes before 'aki' is added there has to be some reduplication of the last consonant as in:

kaya (load) kayayyaki (loads)

gawa (corpse) gawawwaki (corpses)

Still in some cases complete replacement of consonants must take place before aki is added as in:

tunkiya (sheep) tumaki (sheep)

akwiya (she-goat) awaki (goats)

doki (horse) dawaki (horses)

(f) Plurals formed by adding n+ last consonant + una, this process is common with disyllabic singular.

ido	(eye)	idanduna	(eyes)
jaka	(bag)	jakankuna	(bags)
kada	(crocodile)	kadanduna	(crocodiles)

(g) Plurals formed by doubling the last consonant and adding ai to it.

kasa	(earth-planet)	kassai	(earth planets)
sama	(sky-planet)	sammai	(sky planets)
magaji	(village head)	magaddai	(village heads)
mudu	(measure)	muddai	(measures)
ludayi	(wooden spoon)	luddai	(wooden spoons)
kwado	(lock)	kwaddai	(locks)

(h) Plurals formed by adding uka with and without reduplication of the last consonant. Reduplication of the final consonant of nouns in the process of pluralisation is very common at Sokoto and Katsina:

laifi	(fault)	laifuffuka	(faults)
kauye	(village)	kauyuka	(villages)
rami	(hole)	ramuka	(holes)
zance	(speech)	zantuttuka	(speeches)
kwano	(plate)	kwanuka	(plates)

kare	(dog)	karnuka	(dogs)
aiki	(work)	ayyuka	(works)
gari	(town)	garurruka	(towns)
sule	(loanword shilling)	sululluka	(shillings)
tafki	(pond)	taffuka	(ponds)
rafi	(stream)	rafuka	(streams)

(i) Pluralisation by separating two adjacent consonants with a long ä.

karfe	(iron)	karafa	(irons)
sirdi	(saddle)	sirada	(saddles)
murfu	(fireplace)	murafa	(fireplaces)
turke	(peg)	turaka	(pegs)

The above ways of pluralisation are the ones observed to be most common among Hausa speakers in the course of this research.

The researcher wants to reiterate, however, that Hausa language is very rich and very widely used, so there may be several other ways of plural formation that future research may bring to light.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

In the course of this study the following facts were confirmed:

(a) that unlike most other languages (European and African alike) Hausa has invariably more than one plural form for its noun.
e.g. the plural form of the noun doki (horse) can be dawaki or dawakai, contrast this with the English "horses" or the french " les cheraux" or the yoruba "awon esin" or the igbo "inyinya".

In all the languages mentioned there is only one plural form for the noun "horse"

(b) that Hausa, like English, but unlike most other Nigerian languages uses suffix to convey the idea of plurality.

e.g. uwa (mother) uwaye (mothers)

So in Hausa plurality is a function of the word, the form of the noun either changes to reflect plurality as in doki[→] dawaki or a vowel replacement takes place at the end of the word as in kwado[→] kwadi.

It is imperative that the word undergoes a kind of physical change before the idea of plurality is conveyed.

(c) that three principal ways of plural formation in Hausa are quite common, viz: deletion and substitution, duplication of whole noun or of the last consonantal sound, and the use of suffix.

e.g. (i) barawo (thief) barayi (thieves)

(ii) en'e (native authority) en'een'e (native authorities)

sama (sky-planet) sammai (skies planets)

(iii) sirdi (saddle) sirdina (saddles)

(d) that a plural form may be used in respect of a singular subject to denote rank or outstanding quality.

e.g. the use of the royal 'mu' (we)

the chief may say "zamu duba al'amarin" (we will look into the matter), instead of saying "zan duba al'amarin" (I will look into the matter).

Again, while referring to a great man who has just died, one can say "maza sun kwanta" (men have fallen/slept) meaning a great man has died.

Similarly, as a kind of indulgence an elderly person may refer to a boy as "samari" instead of the usual "saurayi". The same elderly person may call a young girl "yammata" instead of "yarin'ya" which is the normal way of addressing a girl.

(e) that a singular form may be generically used as in "su kan bace wurin neman kudi" (they often get lost morally-in their bid for wealth).

As already mentioned, the use of suffix is one of the ways in which the Hausa plural is formed. In addition to the use of suffix however, plural formation can be obtained through deletion and substitution. In some cases radical changes are affected in the form of the noun in order to generate its plural form.

To get the plural form of 'hannu' (hand) for instance, one merely adds the suffix 'wa' to the word and one gets 'hannuwa' (hands). But to get the second type of plural i.e. 'hannaye' one has to remove the last 'u' in hannu and replace it with 'aye'.

A more complicated example is one of the plural forms of 'yatsa' (finger) which is 'yatsotsi'. It can be easily seen that apart from replacing the last 'a' in 'yatsa', as many as three phonemes are introduced as replacements before the plural is formed.

Hausa items, item variants and distribution are also unlike those of other languages, say English. It is possible for the item variants of some languages to be heard and not seen, Hausa variants are both heard and seen.

For example, the item 'aye' which gives the plural 'kifaye' from 'kifi' has the variant 'ai' which gives the plural 'birai' from 'biri'. The point becomes clearer when one compares the foregoing example with the English item /z/ with its /-s/-z/and/-is/ allomorphs. with the exception of ^{the} variant /-s/ all the others are mostly heard but not seen; as in /wɔ:z/stɔ:s/ and /rɔ:zɪs/.

Any discussion of Hausa plural formation would be incomplete without highlighting one of the peculiar but interesting aspects of the Hausa language.

This point of interest is that Hausa plural forms force plurality in the adjectives and determiners that go with them. This writer thinks that this characteristic is unique and deserves special attention from linguists.

In the phrase "bakaken riguna" the plural form "riguna" has forced plurality into the adjective "baki" so we have "bakake". In English the phrase reads "blacks gowns" not "black gowns" which is what it should be in English, since the plural noun "gowns" does not force plurality on the adjective black.

Similarly, in the phrase "manyan mutane" the plural form "mutane" has forced plurality into the determiner "babba-n" changing it into "manya-n"

This last point is important enough to join the five other chief points observed in this study. It can therefore, go down as point (f):

(f) that Hausa plural forms force plurality in the adjectives and determiners that go with them.

In conclusion, while this researcher does not claim to have come up with something entirely new-unless readers think he has; it is his hope that whatever additional light this exercise has thrown on Hausa plural morphemes will help scholars and students alike in understanding this difficult aspect of Hausa language. It is hoped also that this work will be of use in the field of contrastive linguistic Analysis. (CLA). For it is the belief of the writer that students of language who happen to come across this research cannot

fail to notice areas of similarities and differences between the language described here and the languages they speak or study.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. Hodge, Carleton Taylor. "An outline of Hausa Grammar"
supplement to language J.L.S.A.
Vol. 23, 4 Oct-Dec. 1947
Waverly Press, Inc. Baltimore.
2. Kraft, C.H. "A study of Hausa Syntax"
Vol. 11 Hartford studies in
Linguistics Hartford Seminary
foundation,
Hartford. 1963.
3. Galadanci, M.K.M. An Introduction to Hausa Grammar
Longman Nigeria Ltd. 1976.
4. Skinner, N. A Grammar of Hausa
NNPC Zaria, 1977.
5. Abraham, R.C. (Captain) The Principles of Hausa Govt.
Printer Kaduna, 1934.
6. Kraft, C.H. et-al, Hausa
Hodder and Stoughton, 3rd
impression, 1976.
7. Westermann, Dietrich; Languages of West Africa
O.U.P. 1952.
8. Taylor, W.F., A Practical Hausa Grammar
O.U.P. 1944.
9. Lado, Robert; Linguistics Across Cultures
The University of Michigan Press,
12th Printing 1976.

10. Banathy, Bela H; "The Potentials and Limitations of Contrastive linguistic Analysis" 1969.
Document. Resume Presented to 1978 CLA class at A.B.U. Zaria by Dr. T. Adeyanju.
11. Merrick, G. (Captain) Hausa Proverbs Negro University Press New York, 1969.
12. Adeyanju, Thomas K. "Contrastive Analysis and Language Education in Nigeria" Paper presented at National language symposium in Kaduna, 1977.
13. Ahmed, Umaru B. A school Certificate Hausa Course The Northern Nigerian Publishing company Zaria, 1977.
14. Pit Corder, S. Introducing Applied Linguistics Penguin Education Middlesex England, 1973
15. Adeyanju, Thomas. K. "Contrastive Analysis and English as a second language" Given as a handout to 1978 CLA Class at ABU by the author.

16. Di Pietro, Robert, Language structures in Contrast
1971.
17. Adeyanju, Thomas K. "Contrasting Syntax"
1978 CLA class handout at ABU Zaria.
18. Zarruk, R.M. "Dangantakar Hausa da Larabci"
A paper presented at Hausa
language and culture seminar held
at Bayero University Kano in July
1978.
19. Pride, J.B. The Social Meaning of Language
O.U.P. London, 1974.
20. McIntosh et-al., Descriptive and Applied Linguistics
Longmans Green and Co. Ltd., London,
1966.