

ETHNONYMS IN HAUSA

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Hausa ethnonyms, terms indicating a person's origin, ethnic affiliation, or professional or social position, are formed with a prefix *bà-* in the singular and a suffix *-aawaa* in the plural. This paper provides a detailed specification of the segmental and tonal characteristics of these ethnonyms and a comprehensive list of currently acceptable forms. The paper illustrates the semi-productive nature of the construction and the imperfect pairing of forms with *bà-* and *-aawaa*. The use of ethnonyms to indicate 'supporters or followers of a person' is documented as well as the overlooked functioning of ethnonyms as adjectival qualifiers. The paper explores the relationship between the suffix *-aawaa* and the identical suffix found with names of towns and villages. The major conclusion is that *bà-* and *-aawaa* are suppletive derivational markers, the former originally denoting 'person ...', the latter indicating 'community...'.

0. Introduction\*

In Hausa, nouns designating a person's ethnic affiliation, geographical origin, or professional or social position (which I shall refer to as "ethnonyms") are formed by a prefix *bà-* in the singular (masculine or feminine) and a suffix *-aawaa* in the plural, e.g.

(1)	m. sg.	f. sg.	pl.	
	bàhaushèe	bàhaushìyaa	hàusàawaa	'Hausa person/people'
	bàgòobiřii	bàgòobiřaa	goobiřaawaa	'person/people from Gobir'
	bàfaadàa	bàfaadìyaa	fàadàawaa	'courtier(s)'

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\*Hausa examples and judgements of acceptability were provided by Sani Ahmad Sufi, Ismail Junaidu, and, most especially, Sammani Sani, to whom I am most grateful. I would also like to thank Claude Gouffé, Phil Jaggar, and Russell Schuh, who provided constructive suggestions on an earlier draft of the paper.

The *bà-/-aawaa* derivational construction is well known, being found in all descriptive and pedagogical grammars of Hausa. Presumably because it appears to be so regular, it has never received more than cursory attention (see, for example, Abraham [1959:40] or Kraft and Kirk-Greene [1973:192-93]). On closer analysis, however, it turns out that this "well-known" construction has not been adequately described nor properly understood. All of the brief descriptions that one finds are imprecise, incomplete, and/or inexact. The purpose of this paper is to clarify the situation by providing a more detailed, fuller analysis of this formation.

The data analyzed and presented are drawn from the major grammars and dictionaries of Hausa, especially Abraham [1962], works written in Hausa, e.g. Abubakar [1978] and Dankoussou [n.d.], and from speakers of modern-day standard Hausa.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 1 the singular forms are described. In section 2 the plural forms are described along with observations on non-matching singular/plural pairs. In section 3 the question of productivity is discussed followed by the presentation of a new ethnonymic semantic category. In section 4 the adjectival use of ethnonyms is described. In section 5 a hypothesis is developed regarding the status of the *-aawaa* ending as a distinct derivational suffix.

## 1. The Singular

1.1. The *bà...èè* L H\* L form.<sup>1</sup> The most common shape of the masculine singular ethnonym has a prefix *bà-*, a suffix *-èè* (which replaces the root final vowel if any), and a set L H\* L tone pattern. The corresponding feminine singular is normally formed by replacing the suffixal *-èè* by *-\yaa* or *-àa*

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<sup>1</sup>Transcription system: Long vowels are indicated by double letters. Low (L) tone is indicated by /<sup>˘</sup>/ (on the first vowel only of long vowels), falling tone by /<sup>ˆ</sup>/ . High (H) tone is left unmarked. The notation H\* indicates one or more high tones. The tap/rolled R is indicated *ř* while the unmarked *r* represents the contrasting flap. The glottalized consonants are indicated by *ḅ*, *ḉ*, *ḱ*, the digraph *ts* (= [ts'] or [s'] or [č'] depending on dialect), and *'y*. The affricates [č] and [j] (or [ž] in some dialects) are indicated by *c* and *j*, respectively. Note that there is a more or less regular morphophonemic alternation between *sh*, *c*, and *j* before front vowels and *s*, *t*, and *z* or *d* elsewhere.

(see sec. 1.4). Plurals are generally formed using a suffix *-aawaa* (see sec. 2). In the examples in the table in (2) [pp. 304-305], plurals are only given in the case of singulars ending in /jee/ in order to show whether the /j/ represents underlying /z/ , /d/ , or /j/ . The root on which the ethnonym is built is most often a place name or a tribal/ethnic name, but a variety of other roots are also represented.

In two cases, the ethnonym seems to be derived from a plural form of the basic root:

- (3) *bàfataakèè* 'trader' ( < *faṭàakee* , pl. of *fařkee* (= *fałkee* ) 'trader')  
*bàgidaajèè* 'unsophisticated man' ( < *gidàajee* , pl. of *gidaa* 'home')

With a few ethnonyms, the *bà-* prefix and the L H\* L tone pattern are used, but the root-final vowel is not necessarily replaced by *-èè* .

- (4) *bàduukùu* 'leather worker' ( < ? )  
*bàfaadàa* 'courtier' ( < *faadà* 'palace') = *bàfaadèè*  
*bàhagòo* 'left-handed person' ( < *hagu* 'left')  
*bàkanòo* 'man from Kano' = *bàkanèè*

1.2. The *bà...ii* form. Some ethnonyms take a suffix *-ii* instead of or as an alternative to the more common *-èè* ending. The corresponding feminine nouns end in *-aa* , e.g. *bàdàurii/bàdàuraa* 'man/woman from Daura'. Unlike the *bà...èè* forms, all of which have a fixed L H\* L tone pattern, the *bà...ii* (and corresponding *bà...aa* ) forms exhibit varying tone patterns which generally preserve the underlying lexical tone. Three syllable words commonly have L L H, while four syllable words show up as L L L H or L H L H; but these would seem to be resulting outputs rather than set patterns.

- (5) *bà'abzìni* 'man from Asben' ( = *bà'abzìnèè* )  
*bà'àjanàbii* 'man outside the circle of affinity' ( < Ar. *ajnaḇī* 'foreign, alien')  
*bàdùuniyìi* 'worldly person' ( < *duuniyàa* 'world')  
*bàdàurii* 'man from Daura' [*dàuraa*]  
*bàfillaatàni* 'Fulani man'  
*bàgòobifìi* 'man from Gobir' [*gòobifì*]  
*bàgumàlii* 'man from Gumel' [*gumàl*] ( = *bàgumalèè* )

(2) Ethnonyms of the pattern bà...èè L H\* L

bà'aboořèè	man of Fulani clan so named	bàkutumbèè	man of this Kano clan
bà'abzinèè	man from Asben	bàkwaniikèè	joker
bà'aadařèè	man from Adar	bàkwayamèè	Kwayam man
bà'agadashèè	man from Agadez	bàkaadiřèè	adherent of Kadiriyya Islamic sect
bà'amiřkèè	American	bàkauyèè	villager
bà'arèè	northerner ( < 'arèewa )	bàlaařabèè	Arab
bà'askařèè	soldier	bàmaagujèè	"pagan" Hausa man (pl. maaguzaawaa )
bàbadèè	Bade man	bàmaalikèè	(1) adherent of Maliki Islamic sect, (2) man from Dan Lema
bàbambadèè	beggar, praise singer	bàmangèè	Manga man
bàbarbarèè	Kanuri ("Beriberi") man	bàmařaadèè	man from Maradi
bàbarkwanèè	joker	bàmasařèè	Egyptian ( < Masàř )
bàboolèè	Bole man	bàmundubèè	man of this Fulani clan
bàbuushèè	man from Busa	bànasaařèè	Christian/European
bàcuucanèè	domestic slave	bànufèè	Nupe man
bàdakkarèè	Dakarkari man	bàřahaajèè	man of this Fulani clan (pl. řahaazaawaa )
bàdamagarèè	man from Damagaram	bàřinjèè <sub>1</sub>	Fulani farm slave (pl. řinjàawaa )
bàdaamèè	right-handed man	bàřinjèè <sub>2</sub>	butcher (NW dialect) (pl. řindàawaa )
bàdambajèè	man of this Fulani clan (pl. dambazaawaa )		
bàfařanshèè	Frenchman		
bàfaařishèè	Persian ( < Faařisà )		

bàgwandarèe	Gwandara man	bàsarkèe	man from Sarka
bàgwanjèe	man from Gwanja (pl. gwànjàawaa )	bàsuudaanèe	Sudanese
bàhabashèe	Ethiopian ( < Habashà )	bàsullubèe	man of this Fulani clan
bàhadèejèe	man from Hadejia (pl. hadèejaawaa )	bàtaasayèe	man from Tasawa
bàhaushèe	Hausa man	bàtijjaanèe	adherent of Tijaniyya Islamic sect
bà'indiyèe	Indian	bàtoorankèe	man of this Fulani clan
bà'israa'iilèe	Israeli	bàtuuřèe	European ( < Tuuřai )
bà'itaaliyèe	Italian	bàtuřkèe	Turk
bàjaamushèe	German ( < Jaamùs )	bàwahaabiyèe	adherent of Wahhabi Islamic sect
bàjapanèe	Japanese	bàwanganrèe	man from Mali kingdom
bàjukunèe	Jukun man	bàyahudèe	Jew
bàkabèe	man from Kebbi	bàyamalèe	Yemenite ( < Yamàl )
bàkatsinèe	man from Katsina	bàyařabèe	Yoruba man
bàkoonèe	aborigine of Zaria	bàzabařmèe	man from Zabarma
bàkudèe	southerner	bàzamfarèe	man from Zamfara
bàkuntubèe	= bàkutumbèe	bàzaariyèe	man from Zaria

bàgwaarii	'Gwari man'
bàjàařii	'"Jarawa" man' (term applied by the Hausa to at least two different tribes of the Jos Plateau area)
bàtèeřii	'Tera man'
bàwàřjii	'Warji man'
bàzawàrii	'suitor to a (bà)zawàraa ('widow or divorcee)'
bàzazzàgii	'man from Zazzau' ( < *Zagzàg )

1.3. Final -ii vs. final -èe . At present in standard Hausa, the bà...ii formation is essentially limited to the small number of ethnonyms listed in (5). Earlier, however, this formation must have been more prevalent. Thus, in the major dictionaries (which reflect the Hausa language of a half century ago), one finds numerous bà...ii ethnonyms corresponding to the -èe forms required (or strongly preferred) by modern Hausa speakers. Compare the forms in (6) with the modern counterparts listed in the table in (2) [pp. 304, 305].

(6) bàgabàshii	'easterner' ( < gabàs )
bàjukùunii	'Jukun man'
bàkwayàmii	'Kwayam man'
bàmàalìkii	'Malikite' ( < màalìki )
bàmasàřii	'Egyptian' ( < masàř )
bàřùumàyii	'man from Birnin Ruma'
bàsuudàanii	'Sudanese man'
bàtàasàyii	'man from Tasawa'
bàzàmřàrii	'man from Zamfara' [zàmřàrà]

In addition, there are -ii forms in the dictionaries without acceptable bà- constructions of either type nowadays, e.g.

(7) *bàkàtaagùunii	'man from Katagum'
*bàsàmbàanii	'slave of Arab traders' <sup>2</sup>
*bàyàmii	'westerner'
*bàzàamàanii	'modern man'

<sup>2</sup>This is the form and meaning as provided by Bargery [1934:91]. Abraham [1962:87] gives bàsambaanee with the meaning 'a person with an Arab father and a Hausa mother'.

When one looks carefully at all the bà...ii ethnonyms, i.e. those in (6) and (7) as well as those in (5), one can see that the choice between bà...ii and bà...èè originally must have had a phonological determination. The rule seems to have been that bà...ii was required if the underlying root already ended in -i(i) (e.g. bàgwaarii < gwaari ) or if it ended in a consonant (e.g. bàgumàlii < gumàl ). With roots ending in -a(a) , both -ii and -èè occurred, the choice apparently being determined by the tone of the penultimate syllable: if it was low, the suffix was high tone -ii , if it was high, the suffix was low tone -èè ,<sup>3</sup> e.g.

- (8) bàdàurii < dàuraa 'man from Daura'  
 bàzàmfarìi < zàmfarà 'man from Zamfara'  
 bàhaushèè < hausa 'Hausa man'  
 bàkatsinèè < kàtsinà 'man from Katsina'

In all other cases, i.e. when bà...ii was not specifically, phonologically called for, the more general bà...èè L H\* L form was used.

1.4. The feminine forms. Feminine forms corresponding to the masculine singular ethnonyms with final -èè use a suffix -ìyaa (or -ùwaa following a rounded vowel) or -àà . As suggested by Bagari [1977:8], the -ìyaa variant can be thought of as -àà added to the full masculine stem, whereas the -àà variant is added to the ethnonymic base less the masculine final vowel, e.g. bàkatsinìyaa < bàkatsinèè + -àà ; bàkatsinàà < bàkatsin- + -àà . Note, however, that in this instance the feminine ending always has the form -ìyaa with L H tone regardless of the segmental or syllabic structure of the base. Thus the ethnonymic construction does not exactly follow the general rules of feminine derivation and inflection elaborated in Newman [1979]. Most works on Hausa treat the -ìyaa suffix as standard; if -àà is mentioned at all, it is

<sup>3</sup>Jaggar [1981:52-53, 57] comments on possible \*/i(i)/ to /e(e)/ changes in Hausa, with low tone being an apparent conditioning environment. In this case one might hypothesize that the original ethnonymic suffix was \*/-ii/ , with varying tone, and that the low tone \*/-ii/ subsequently lowered to /-èè/ , thereby giving us the morpheme alternants we have today. If this should prove to be so, it would provide one of the rare examples in the linguistic literature of vowel height being conditioned by tone.

described as a (Sokoto) dialect variant. Apparently -àa is much more common and widespread than one has been led to believe, even in standard Hausa. With most ethnonyms, feminine forms with final -ìyaa and final -àa are equally acceptable, as illustrated in (9). With some, however, final -àa is required, or strongly preferred, while with others the ending -ìyaa(-ùwaa) is required/preferred, as illustrated in (10).

- |      |                        |      |                 |  |
|------|------------------------|------|-----------------|--|
| (9)  | bà'aboořìyaa           | =    | bà'aboořàa      | 'woman of this Fulani clan'                      |
|      | bà'abziniyaa           | =    | bà'abzinaa      | 'woman from Asben'                               |
|      | bàbarbarìyaa           | =    | bàbarbaraàa     | 'Kanuri ("Beriberi") woman'                      |
|      | bàkatsiniyaa           | =    | bàkatsinaa      | 'woman from Katsina'                             |
|      | bànuřìyaa              | =    | bànuřàa         | 'Nupe woman'                                     |
|      | bàsakkwacìyaa          | =    | bàsakkwataàa    | 'woman from Sokoto'                              |
| (10) | bàfillaatàa            | (not | *bàfillaacìyaa) | 'Fulani woman'                                   |
|      | bàřahaazàa             | (not | *bàřahaajìyaa)  | 'woman of this Fulani clan; type of bori spirit' |
|      | bàfaadìyaa             | (not | *bàfaadaa)      | 'woman courtier'                                 |
|      | bàhagùwaa              | (not | *bàhagwàa)      | 'left-handed woman'                              |
|      | bàkanùwaa or bakanìyaa | (not | *bàkanaa)       | 'woman from Kano'                                |

Feminine forms corresponding to the masculine ethnonyms with final high tone -ii automatically take the suffix -aa. Since the feminine ending -aa added to high tone -ii is realized as -àa (see Parsons [1963] and Newman [1979]), the surface form would be exactly the same whether one analyzed the -aa as being added to the masculine stem or to the ethnonymic base.

- |      |               |                       |                    |
|------|---------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| (11) | bàdàuraa      | (masc. bádàurii)      | 'woman from Daura' |
|      | bàfillaatànaa | (masc. báfillaatànii) | 'Fulani woman'     |
|      | bàgòobiřaa    | (masc. bàgòobiřii)    | 'woman from Gobir' |
|      | bàzawàraa     | (masc. bàzawàrii)     | 'widow, divorcee'  |

"Exceptions" with -ìyaa should be viewed as regular formations from postulated masculine stems with final -èè, e.g.

- |      |                |                  |               |
|------|----------------|------------------|---------------|
| (12) | bàgwaarìyaa    | ( < *bàgwaarèè ) | 'Gwari woman' |
|      | (cf. bågwaarii | 'Gwari man')     |               |

bàzazzagìyaa ( < \*bàzazzagèè ) 'woman from Zazzau'  
 = bàzazzàgaa ( < bàzazzàgìi )

## 2. The Plural

2.1. The -aawaa H\* form. The plural ethnonym is formed by a suffix -aawaa which is added to the underlying root, i.e. the singular less the bà- prefix, the final vowel, and the associated tone. In a few cases, singular and plural pairs use slightly variant bases. The tone pattern for most plural ethnonyms is all high regardless of the shape of the corresponding singulars.

(13)	sg	pl	
	bàkanòò	kanaawaa	'Kano people'
	bàsakkwacèè	sakkwataawaa	'Sokoto people'
	bàgabashèè	gabasaawaa	'easterners'
	bàgòobifìi	goobiřaawaa	'Gobir people'
	bàtaasayèè	taasaawaa	'Tasawa people'
	bà'arèè	'arewaawaa	'northerners'

2.2. The -aawaa L L H form. Some plural ethnonyms have a LLH pattern instead of the more common H\* pattern. With one exception, the LLH plurals are all 3-syllable words with a heavy initial syllable, i.e. CVV or CVC (see Newman [1972]). Words of other shapes automatically have H\* tone. Thus a word such as goobiřaawaa is necessarily all high because it has more than three syllables, whereas kanaawaa is predictably all high because the initial syllable is light. The syllable-number, syllable-weight factors specify what words *may* have L L H tone; they do not determine what words actually exhibit this. Of the words that satisfy the canonical requirements, only some have L L H while others have H H H. As far as I have been able to determine, the choice is lexically specific and not phonologically conditioned in any way. (My guess is that historically, L L H was the required tone pattern for this phonological class and that H H H represents a shift to the more common H\* pattern.) Not surprisingly, given the non-automatic nature of the choice, there is a degree of individual and dialectal variation in the tone pattern actually used with particular stems. The following comprehensive list of 3-syllable, heavy initial syllable -aawaa forms is divided into two depending on the tone pattern pre-

(14) The -aawaa L L H form

dàttàawaa	'elders'
dùukàawaa	'leather workers'
fàadàawaa	'courtiers' (Abr. LLH = HHH)
gàřdàawaa	'novice students' (Islamic school)
gwànjàawaa	'people from Gwanja'
gwàaràawaa	'Gwaris'
hàusàawaa	'Hausas'
kòonàawaa	'indigenes of Zaria' (Abr.)
kùuřàawaa	'young pupils' (Islamic school)
kàuyàawaa	'villagers'
rìndàawaa	'butchers' (NW dialect)
rìnjàawaa	'farm slaves of Fulani'
tùuřàawaa	'Europeans' (Abr. LLH = HHH)
gìdàadàawaa	'unsophisticated people' ( < gidaa 'home' ) <sup>4</sup>

(15) The -aawaa H H H form

boolaawaa	'Boles'
buusaawaa	'people from Busa' (Abr.)
dauraawaa	'people from Daura' (Abr. LLH)
gwandaawaa	'people from Gwandu' (Abr.)
jaařaawaa	'Jarawas'
mangaawaa	'Mangas'
ningaawaa	'people from Ningi' (Abr.)
řaashaawaa	'Russians'
řuumaaawaa	(1) 'Romans'; (2) 'people from Birnín Ruma'
sarkaawaa	'people from Sarka'
siinaawaa	(1) 'people from Sinai'; (2) 'Chi- nese'
teeřaawaa	'Teras'
tuřkaawaa	'Turks'
wařjaawaa	'Warjis'
yaaraawaa	'chief jailors' (Abr.)
yařbaawaa (= yařabaawaa)	'Yorubas'
yoolaawaa	'people from Yola'

ferred (or required) by my Hausa assistants. Additional forms and alternative tone patterns found in Abraham [1962] are indicated (Abr.).

2.3. Non-matching bà- and -aawaa . While the usual pairing is bà- 'singular' and -aawaa 'plural', it is not absolute. There are a number of singular ethnonyms which do not have corresponding -aawaa plurals or have them only as alternatives. Either they have no real plural, i.e. the plural is expressed by a paraphrastic construction, or else they form the plural by means of other noun pluralization patterns, e.g.

(16)	sg	pl	
	bàbadèe	badèebadii ( = badaawaa )	'Bades'
	bàbarbarèe	barèebarii	'Bornu people'
	bàdakkarèe	dakàrkarii	'Dakarkaris'
	bàdaamèe	no pl.	'right handed person'
	bàduukùu	bàdùukai ( = dùukàawaa )	'leather workers'
	bàdùunìyii	no pl.	'worldly person'
	bàfillaatàni	filàanii	'Fulanis'
	bàfařanshèe	fàřànsai ( = fařansaawaa )	'French'
	bàhagòo	bàhàgwai or bahagwàayee	'left handed people'
	bàsaraakèe	saraakunàa	'title holders'
	bàsuudaanèe	mutàanen Sùudân	'Sudanese'
	bàtijjaanèe	'yan tìjjàaniyyàa	'followers of Tijaniyya sect'
	bàzazzàgii	zagèezagii ( = zazzagaawaa )	'people of Zazzau'

(Note: mutàanen is the plural of mùtumìn/mùtuunìyař 'man/woman of'; 'yan is the plural of dān/'yař 'son/daughter of'.)

Conversely, a number of words have -aawaa plural ethnonyms without (or with seldom used) corresponding bà- singulars. In some cases the root noun itself is used in the singular without an affix; in others, the ethnonym is indicated by a compound, usually formed with mùtumìn/mùtuunìyař 'man/woman of'.

(17)	sg	pl	
	'ànnabìi	'annabaawaa	'prophets'
	dattìijò	dàttàawaa ( = dàttìijai )	'elders'
	dòogarìi	doogaraawaa ( = dòogàrai )	'Emir's bodyguards'

gařdìi	gãřdàawaa	'novice Islamic students'
kuuřìi	kùuřàawaa	'young Islamic pupils'
talàkà	talakaawaa	'commoners'
yaarìi	yaaraawaa	'chief jailors'
(bà)zawàraa	zawaraawaa	'widows, divorcees'
mùtumìn Raashà	řaashaawaa	'Russians'
mùtumìn Sin	siinaawaa	'Chinese'
mùtumìn Siinà	siinaawaa	'people of Sinai'
mùtumìn Wùdil	wudilaawaa	'people of Wudil'
mùtumìn 'Yoolà	yoolaawaa <sup>5</sup>	'people from Yola'
đan baařikì	baařikaawaa ( = 'yan baařikì )	'servants/employees of Europeans; city slickers'
?	kwararrafaawaa	'Kwararafa people'

### 3. Productivity of Ethnonymic Forms

3.1. Limitations on productivity. In sections 1 and 2, large numbers of examples were given. One reason was to illustrate the semantic range of words having the morphological form of ethnonyms. Another was to document recognized and acceptable ethnonymic words. This is important since one cannot simply take any place name, for example, and form an ethnonym from it. Although the construction is morphologically regular to a great extent, it is not totally productive. Thus, with the following countries—just to mention a few—the corresponding bà-/aawaa ethnonyms were rejected. Instead, the intended meaning was expressed by mùtumìn/mutàanen X 'man/people of X' or đan/'yan kasař X 'son/children of the country of X'.

Caadì	'Chad'	Nìijêř	'Niger'
Kàmàřu	'Cameroon'	Pàkìstân	'Pakistan'
Kwangò	'Congo, Zaire'	Sàalìyôo	'Sierra Leone'
Màřookò	'Morocco'	Shâm	'Syria'
Nàijeeřiyàa	'Nigeria'	Tuunàs	'Tunisia'

<sup>5</sup>The form yoolaawaa with initial /y/ was insisted upon even though the name of the town was acknowledged to begin with the glottalized /'y/.

More striking even is the absence of *bà-*/-*aawaa* ethnonyms corresponding to well-known cities and towns within Hausaland itself and neighboring areas, e.g.

- (19) Azàre, Bauci, Bici, Dambattà, Fùntuwà, Gùsau, Gwàmbè, Gwandu, Jaahùn, Jèega, Kàduuna, Kataagùm, Kàzaure, Leemà, Maarù, Mìsàu, Rano, Ringìm, Sòobaa, Yàashii

With "tribal" names the ethnonymic construction seems less constrained. It appears that the plural suffix *-aawaa* can be added to almost any tribal name if the resulting output "sounds all right". Thus in anthropological, historical, and linguistic studies of areas where Hausa serves as a lingua franca one finds names of peoples given as Barawa, Burumawa, Butawa, Gerawa, Gerumawa, Kirifawa, Pa'awa, Sayawa, Shirawa, etc. But even here there are lexically determined limits such that in any particular case one cannot predict whether an ethnonymic form will be accepted or not. In general, new forms with *bà-* are more reluctantly accepted than the corresponding *-aawaa* forms.

The ethnonyms built on roots other than place names or ethnic terms, e.g. *bàfaadàa* 'courtier', *bàhagòo* 'left handed person', *bàkwaniikèe* 'joker', constitute an essentially closed set. These forms are instructive in that they free us from the fixed idea that *bà-* is strictly a marker of ethnicity or origin and allow us to view *bà-* as a more general individuating marker indicating a person who is defined as or characterized by some feature. In this sense *bà-* is comparable to the words *ɗan*/'*yaĩ*/'*yan* 'son/daughter/children of' which form nominal compounds indicating a person's origin, profession, or activity, e.g. *ɗan* *kalloo* 'spectator' (< *kalloo* 'looking'), '*yaĩ* *kandò* 'Kano woman', '*yan* *kàasuwa* 'market traders' (< *kàasuwa* 'market').<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>The semantic/functional similarity of *bà-* and *ɗan*/'*yaĩ*/'*yan* has real historical significance. Comparative evidence indicates that originally *bà-* also must have meant 'daughter (of)' (perhaps also 'son of'). In the subbranch of West Chadic to which Hausa belongs, Bole [R. G. Schuh, personal communication] has *bá* 'daughter' and *bèe* 'son'; Karekare [M. Schuh 1973] has *bàa* 'daughter', which also serves as a diminutive and agential marker; and Ron-Bokkos [Jungraihtmayr 1970] has *fú/fè* 'daughter/children'. In all these languages the *\*ba* root coexists with and competes with the widespread root

3.2. Followers/supporters of. One use of the ethnonymic construction that is alive and productive is one which, surprisingly, has been overlooked in the literature. This is the use of *bà-/aawaa* with personal names to indicate followers of or supporters of, often, but not necessarily, in a political context. The limitation on productivity is essentially a matter of phonological compatibility as felt by native Hausa speakers. As with other ethnonymic neologisms, forms with *-aawaa* are created easier and are accepted more readily than corresponding *bà-* forms. The following list illustrates acceptable ethnonyms of this type, either terms that have actually been heard or were deemed possible.

(20) sg			
	<i>bàhaaŕuunee</i>	<i>haaŕuunaawaa</i>	'supporter(s) of Haruna'
	no sg.	<i>muusaawaa</i>	'supporters of Musa'
	<i>bàyaakubèè</i>	<i>yaakubaawaa</i>	'supporter(s) of Yakubu'
	<i>bàyuusufèè</i>	<i>yuusufaawaa</i>	'supporter(s) of Yusufu'
	<i>bàzainabèè</i>	<i>zainabaawaa</i>	'supporter(s) of Zainabu'
	<i>bà'imoodèè</i>	<i>'imoodaawaa</i>	'supporter(s) of Michael Imoudu's political faction of the PRP'
	<i>bàmondalèè</i>	<i>mondalaawaa</i>	'supporter(s) of Mondale'
	?	<i>reaganaawaa</i>	'supporter(s) of Reagan'

#### 4. Adjectival Uses

The ethnonyms in Hausa are invariably translated as nominals: 'an Egyptian', 'a woman from Katsina', 'courtiers', etc. In fact, many of them may be used adjectivally. When functioning as attributive adjectives, they precede the head noun, with which they must agree in gender and number. Like other pre-noun modifiers, the ethnonymic adjectives obligatorily take a suffixal linker

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\**laawo* 'boy, child' (cognate with Hausa *yaaròo*). What must have happened early in Hausa language history is that *bà-* as an independent word was crowded out by *yaaròo* 'child' and by *ɗaa/'yaa* 'son/daughter' (the reflex of another reconstructable West Chadic form \**d-y-*), but was retained as a bound derivational marker, e.g. *bà-kanòo* 'Kano man' < \*child of Kano. The absence of a genitival linker between the *bà-* and the following noun is consistent with Schuh's [1974] hypothesis that old Hausa had an inalienable possessive construction with kin terms formed by direct juxtaposition.

/-n/ (masculine singular and plural) or /-ɲ/ ( < \*-t ) (feminine singular), e.g.

- (21) bà'abzinèn dookli 'Asben horse'  
 bàfaařishèn bàřgoo 'Persian blanket'  
 bàhagòn mùtùm 'left-handed man'  
 bàkwaniikèn yaaròò 'practical-joking boy'  
 bàřuumèn takòobii 'Roman sword'  
 bàbarbaràř wukaa 'Bornu(-type) knife'  
 bàfařanshìyař miyàa 'French dressing'  
 bàkanìyař kwaryaa 'Kano(-type) calabash'  
 bàlaařabiyař shèekaràa 'Arabic year (354 days)'  
 bàmaagujiyař rawaa 'pagan (Maguzawa) dance'

When used adjectivally, the ethnonyms often denote a quality associated with the related noun rather than preserving the literal meaning, e.g.

- (22) bà'aboořèn mùtùm 'shy, unsophisticated man'  
 ( < bà'aboořèe 'man of this pastoral Fulani clan' )  
 bà'arèn mùtùm 'straightforward man'<sup>7</sup>  
 ( < bà'arèe 'northerner' )  
 bàfaadiyař máganàa 'flattering, sycophantic talk'  
 ( < bàfaadiyaa 'courtier' )  
 bàgwaariyař màcè 'non-Hausa-speaking woman'  
 ( < bàgwaariyaa 'Gwari woman' )

In some cases the ethnonymic "adjective" is used alone as a common noun (cf. English "cantaloupe", "champagne", "china", "damask", "hamburger"), e.g.

- (23) bàbarbaràa 'type of knife or sword' (originally from Bornu)<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup>It should be emphasized that the ethnonym need not be used as an attributive modifier to have a secondary adjectival meaning, e.g. shii bà'arèe nee 'he's a straightforward person', shii bàfilaatànii nèe 'he's shy, modest' (literally 'a Fulani').

<sup>8</sup>In standard Hausa, the word takòobii 'sword' is masculine and thus the feminine form bàbarbaràa is anomalous. However, the word is a loan from

bàgòobiřaa	'type of Mercedes' (with design similar to Gobir facial markings)
bàzabařmèe	'fringed honeycomb cloth'
bàzàmřàrii	'medicinal plant' ( = rài dòore )

Whereas ethnonyms normally form the plural by dropping the *bà-* and adding *-aawaa* , ethnonymic adjectives tend to build their plurals on the *bà-* stem, e.g.

- (24) *bà'àbzìnan dàwàakai* 'Asben horses'  
 (not \**abzìnaawan dàwàakai* )  
*bà'àbòõřan mutàanee* 'unsophisticated people'  
*bàřũuman takubbàa* 'Roman swords'  
*bàbàrbàrun wukàakee* 'Bor̄nu knives'  
 (not \**barèebarin wukàakee* )  
 cf. *gìdàadàawan mutàanee* 'unsophisticated people'  
 (pl. of *bàgìdaajèn mùtùm* )

##### 5. The Ending *-aawaa* as a Derivational Suffix Indicating 'community'

Most Hausa grammars, e.g. Kraft and Kirk-Greene [1973:250], treat *-aawaa* as an inflectional ending comparable to *-unàa* , *uwàa* , *-kii* , *-(n)nii* , *-ai* , and all the other plural morphemes in Hausa. The form *hàusàawaa* 'Hausa people', for example, is viewed as the plural of *bàhaushèe* 'Hausa person' in the same way that *kàakànnii* 'grandparents' is (correctly) viewed as the plural of *kàakaa* 'grandparent'. I would suggest that this standard analysis is incorrect. The suffix *-aawaa* is not really a plural marker; rather, it is a derivational affix semantically akin to *bà-* . In other words, *bà-* and *-aawaa* are independent derivational affixes that have come to behave as if they were grammatically paired. The Hausa ethnonymic construction thus exhibits suppletion of the kind that one finds, for example, in Dutch occupational forms such as *koopman* 'merchant' vs. *kooplui* 'merchants' and *zeeman* 'sailor' (lit. 'sea-man') vs. *zeelui* 'sailors' (lit. 'sea-people'), where *-lui* (or the

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Berber, where it would have been feminine, and in Katsina (and presumably other northern dialects) the word is still grammatically feminine despite the final *-ii* , which is normally restricted to masculine nouns.

equivalent variant *-lieden*) is not the plural of 'man' but rather is a separate root (cognate with German *Leute*) meaning 'people'. Viewing *bà-* and *-aawaa* as suppletive derivational affixes helps explain the imperfect pairings of *bà-* and *-aawaa* forms, observed earlier in the paper, and the differences in their morphological productivity. This analysis also allows one to equate the *-aawaa* suffix found in plural ethnonyms with the phonologically identical suffix commonly found in place names.

5.1. The *-aawaa* toponymic suffix. There are a large number of towns and villages in Hausaland (as well as quarters of towns) which are formed with a suffix *-aawaa*. Most have all high tone. These *-aawaa* toponyms are built on a wide variety of roots: personal names, tribal names, titles, common nouns, verbs, and even simple place names (see Gouffé [1967:125-26]), e.g.

(25) Muusaawaa	Muusaa	(proper name)
Bindaawaa	Bìndau	(proper name)
Naa'ibaawaa	naa'ibii, pl. nàa'ìbai	'deputy'
Ya'fiimaawaa	yà'fiimà	'prince'
Amaryaawaa	'amaryaa	'bride'
Manoomaawaa	manòomii, pl. manòomaa	'farmer'
Tamburaawaa	tamburàa	'large bowl-shaped drums'
Tsanyaawaa	tsanyàa	'cricket'
Ruugaawaa	ruugàa	'to flee'
Gagaraawaa	gàagarà	'to be impossible'
Dauraawaa	Dàuraa	(name of town)

Like all names of towns and villages in Hausa, the place names in *-aawaa* are all grammatically feminine and command feminine singular concord, e.g.

- (26) Tamburaawaa *tanàa dà* 'ya'f kàasuwaa mài kyâu.  
 'Tamburawa (she) has a good little market.'
- Muusaawaa, *mutàanentà jàa'ũmai nèe*.  
 'As for Musawa, its (lit. her) men are brave.'
- (cf. Muusaawaa *sun* koorèe Yaakubaawaa  
 'Musa's supporters (they) drove out Yakubu's supporters.')

It has generally been assumed, without much serious thought on the matter, that toponyms such as Dauraawaa were derived from nominal phrases containing plural ethnonyms, e.g. (biřnin/gàrin/řauyèn) Dauraawaa '(the city/town/village of) the people from Daura'. There are, however, a number of problems with this literalist approach. For example, Dauraawaa as a place name has H H H tone, cf. the sometimes L L H ethnonym. All -aawaa toponyms are grammatically feminine whereas one might have expected them to be masculine since the agreement should have been with the presumed underlying masculine head nouns biřnii , gàrii , or řauyèè . Moreover, in the case of many place names such as Ruugaawaa , Tamburaawaa , and Tsanyaawaa , the presumed plural ethnonyms neither exist in fact nor seem possible. A better solution to the interpretation of these toponyms presents itself when one recognizes that the suffix -aawaa is not intrinsically a plural marker attached to ethnonyms, but rather is a derivational suffix denoting 'community'. As in English, the concept of 'community' can apply equally to a place or to a social group of people sharing common characteristics or interests. The names of towns such as Dauraawaa and Ruugaawaa are not derived from ethnonymic phrases; rather, they are formed directly from their underlying roots by use of the -aawaa ethnonymic/toponymic 'community' suffix. When used as toponyms, words with -aawaa are all grammatically feminine singular, as is true of non-derived place names such as Kanđo and Kàtsinà . When used as ethnonyms, they are all grammatically plural (semantically either plural or, often with tribal names, collective). This being the case, in order to express the idea of a single individual belonging to a particular community or ethnic group Hausa has to resort to other means, namely the use of the construction with the prefix bà- 'person of/child of'. Instead of describing hàusàawaa 'Hausa people' as the plural of bàhaushèè , it is preferable to treat it as a derivational form on its own, of which bàhaushèè is a suppletive singulative/individuate. The "true" plurals of bà- forms are to be seen in significant pairs such as bàhagò/ bàhàgwaì 'left-handed person/people' and in adjectival ethnonyms such as bà'abzinèè/bà'abzìnai 'Asben'.

## 6. Conclusion

This paper was intended as a full morphological study of Hausa ethnonyms, taking into account form, function, and, to a lesser extent, etymology. The first aim was to provide a detailed description of the form of Hausa ethnonyms with *bà-* and *-aawaa*. One interesting finding was that the now more common *bà...èè* forms have a set derivational tone pattern (L H\* L) while the now rarer *bà...ii* forms tend to preserve underlying lexical tones. The plural forms with *-aawaa* all use set tone patterns, usually H\* but also L L H in the case of some three syllable words with a heavy first syllable. A second aim was to point out hitherto neglected meanings and functions of the ethnonyms. The open-ended use of ethnonyms to indicate 'supporters or followers of' was described as well as their important use as adjectival qualifiers. (The "ethnonymic adjectives", which were barely touched on in this paper, present a number of interesting questions of morphology and lexical semantics that deserve fuller study.) A third aim of the paper was to analyze the relation between the ethnonymic prefix *bà-* and the presumed plural marker *-aawaa*. The imperfect pairing of *bà-* and *-aawaa* forms and the comparison of *-aawaa* with an identical toponymic suffix led to the conclusion that *-aawaa* was a derivational and not an inflectional marker. That is, *bà-* and *-aawaa* are suppletive derivational markers, synchronically closely related in function and meaning, but historically independent, the one indicating 'person', the other 'community'.

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