

TARNAKIN JERIN GWANON AMO GA CUNKOSON BAKAKEN MARABAR GABAR HAUSA

(“Sonority Hierarchy Constraint on Hausa Abutting Consonants”)

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1. Gabatarwa*

A cikin wannan takarda zan yi bayani ne a kan rawar ganin da Tarnakin Jerin Gwanon Amo ke takawa wajen jerin gwanon cunkoson bakaken marabar gabar Hausa. Ba shakka an dade da gano cewa Hausa ba ta da cunkoson bakake a gaba, watau (“consonant cluster”), amma tana da cunkoson bakake a marabar gaba, watau (“abutting consonants”). Ba fariya ba, a iya sanina, sama da shekara dari da aka fara bincike a harshen Hausa, ban taɓa ganin inda wani ya yi cikakken bincike a wannan fage na cunkoson bakake a marabar gaba ba. Don haka zan iya cewa wannan shi ne bincike na karon farko a wannan fage da na ambata a sama. Kuma ina fata wannan zai buɗe kofa ga sauran masu sha’awar kara faɗaɗa bincike a wannan fagen.

Za a kasa wannan takarda kamar haka. Kashi na farko zai yi bayani ne a kan ire-iren yadda jerin bakaken marabar gaba yake tare da ba da dalilan da ya sa ya kamata su zamo a hakan. Jerin bakaken marabar gaba ba kawai suna haɗuwa ba ne kara zube sakaka, a’ a kowanne da inda ya kamata ya zo a layi. Misali, kalmar *tsafta*, an sami /f/ ta zo kafin /t/ a manne, watau /f.t/ amma ba inda za ka sami kalmar Hausa da harafin /t/ ya zo manne a bayan harafin /f/, watau misali ba **tsatfa* ko **katfa* da sauransu. Abin tambaya a nan shi ne Me ya sa /f.t/ za su iya haɗuwa amma /t.f/ ba za su haɗu ba? A nan ne zan fito da Tarnakin Jerin

* Ina miƙa godiyata ta musamman ga shehunan malamaina Paul Newman (Malam Sabo) da kuma Mu’azu Sani Zariya don shawarwarin da suka ba ni wajen kammala wannan takarda. Lalle kam na amfana sosai da gyare-gyaren da suka ba ni.

Gwanon Amo da kuma nuna irin rawar ganin da yake takawa wajen kansancewa ko rashin kasancewar jerin gwanon cunkoson bakafke a marabar gaba wajen gina kalmomin Hausa da sarrafa kalmomin aro.

Kashi na biyu kuwa zai tattauna ne a kan yadda Hausa ke sarrafa baƙin kalmomi musamman na Turanci don su dace da tsarin sautin Hausa, watau “Hausa phonological system”.

Kashi na uku kuwa zai yi tsokaci ne kan alaƙar da Tarnaƙin Jerin Gwanon Amo da wannan takarda ta fito da shi (dangane) da sauran dokokin tsarin sautin Hausa da suka shafi wannan fage. A kashi na huɗu kuwa wanda shi ne na ƙarshe zai ɗan yi bayani ne a kan irin tsarmin wasalin (“epenthesis”) da ya kamata a zaɓa wa kalmar aro tare da hasashen irin launin tsarmin wasalin.

A ƙarshe, wannan takarda za ta rufe da jawabin kammalawa tare da ba da shawarwarin irin sauran binciken da ya kamata a ci gaba da yi don fadada wannan fage. Haka kuma za a yi amfani da alamar lamba # don nuna farko da kuma ƙarshen kalma, zan kuma yi amfani da alamar ɗugo watau . don nuna marabar gaba. Misali, kalmar *tsafta* za ta zama kamar haka: #*tsaf.ta*#, ka ga a nan harufan /f/ da /t/ suna manne da juna, amma a marabar gaba. Daga ƙarshe kuma alamar tambaya ? na nuna kalmar duk da cewa ba ta da ma’ana a Hausa, amma ba ta saɓa wa sigar tsarin sauti ko tasarifi na Hausa ba.

2. Sigar Jerin Baƙaƙen Marabar Gaba

Babu shakka kowa ya dubi zubi da tsarin kalmomin (1a–e) ya san kalmomin Hausa ne kuma akwai su a cikin ƙamus na Hausa tare da ma’anarsu. Amma in ka dubi na (2a–e) za a ga cewa su ma zubi da tsarinsu irin kalmomin Hausa ne, sai dai kash! ba za ka same su a kowane irin ƙamus na Hausa ba kuma ba su da ma’ana, watau an sami gibi mara dalili, watau da Turanci (“accidental gap”). Daga ƙarshe in aka lura da jerin kalmomin (3a–e), za a ga cewa ba su hau zubi da tsari na kalmomin Hausa ba, kuma bugu da ƙari babu su a cikin ƙamus na Hausa ballantana ma a ba su ma’ana, wannan kuma ana ce masa (“systematic gap”).

(1a) birni	(1b) talge	(1c) barka	(1d) fuska	(1e) tsafta
(2a) ?marnu	(2b) ?gulge	(2c) ?zarko	(2d) ?saska	(2e) nafto
(3a) *binri	(3b) *tagle	(3c) *bakra	(3d) *fuksa	(3e) *tsatfa

Wannan takarda za ta yi tsokaci a kan ire-iren kalmomin (1) da na (3) ne kawai don amsa wannan tambaya: Me ya sa kalmomin (1) suke karɓaɓɓu amma na (3) ba karɓaɓɓu ba? A nan, kalmomin (2) ba su a cikin ƙamus na Hausa amma ba su

keta wata ka'ida ta tsarin sauti ko tasarifi na Hausa ba, don haka ba mu da magana a kansu domin harshen ne kawai ya sami wannan gibi na tsautsayi ba da niyya ba. Amma bambancin kalmomin (1) da na (3) lalle kam suna buƙatar bayani domin rashin karbuwar kalmomi na (3) yana da dalili a sigar tsarin sauti da tasarifi na Hausa.

A nan za a ga ashe cunkoson bakafen marabar gaba ba kawai sakaka suke kara zube ba, suna da nasu tsarin na bi-biyar juna. To kuma a nan ne ya kamata na gabatar da wani tarnaƙi da zai warware wannan matsala. Kamar yadda masana tsarin sauti suka bayyana, amo yana da wani jerin gwano da ya kamata ya kasance. A Hausa, tarnaƙin amon da ke gudanar da kasancewa ko rashin kasancewar jerin cunkoson bakafen marabar gaba na dangana da taikaitaccen Tarnaƙin Jerin Gwanon Amo kamar yadda yake a (4) tare da yadda aka fadafa bayaninsa a (5)

(4) *dangin wasulla > ruwantau > 'yan hanci > takurau*

Don kara fito da wannan tarnaƙi baro-baro a fili, to ga yadda cikkaken jerin gwanon amon Hausa zai zama a lamba (5):

(5) *dangin wasulla (wasulla > sulalau) > ruwantau (raa-kafe da raa-buje > 'yan jirge) > 'yan hanci (balebe > hantacciya) > taakurau (zozau > 'yan buga)*

In aka duba da kyau za a ga jerin misalan sautuka da suka dace da waƙanda ba su dace ba kamar yadda ya zo a (6) ya danganta ne da tarnaƙin da yake lamba (5). Watau, karfaɓɓun kalmomin sun bi jerin gwanon tarnaƙin (5), amma kalmomin da ba su karbu ba, lalle kam za a ga sun saba wa wannan tarnaƙi da aka fito da shi a wannan takarda kamar yadda yake a (5)

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------|
| (6) a. zozau – 'yan buga | fuska, tsafta |
| *'yan buga – zozau | *fuksa, *tsafta |
| b. ruwantau – zozau | tarfa, salsala |
| *zozau – ruwantau | *tafra, *tasla |
| c. 'yan hanci – zozau | gamsu, danshi |
| *zozau – 'yan hanci | *gasmu, *kafna |
| d. 'yan hanci – 'yan buga | hanta, gamba |
| *'yan buga – 'yan hanci | *katna, *habma |
| e. ruwantau – 'yan buga | kwabaa, talge |
| *'yan buga – ruwantau | *tabla, *sagla |

Wannan ya nuna mana cewa duk lokacin da aka samu cunkoson baƙaƙen marabar gaba, lalle kam *bakin keyar gaba* watau (“coda”), ya zama amonsa ya ɗara na *bakin goshin gaba*, watau (onset) kenan kamar yadda yake a (5). Ga wannan doka a lamba (7).

(7) Lalle ne amon *bakin keyar gaba* ya ɗara *bakin goshin gaba* da suke manne da juna a marabar gaba

Da ma tuni an faɗa a baya cewa shekaru aru-aru Hausa ta hana cunkoson baƙaƙe a cikin gaba, watau ba dama a samu cunkoson baƙaƙen keyar gaba ko na goshin gaba a cikin gaba ɗaya kamar yadda yake a Turanci. Ita wannan doka za a bayyana ta a takaice a lamba (8).

(8) *\$BB da kuma *BB\$

Da waɗannan dokoki da aka bayyana a sama tare da ɗan bayanin da aka yi ya ba da hasken amsa tambayar da aka yi a baya cewa me ya sa kalmar tsafɗa ta ke karɓaɓɓiya a Hausa amma *tsafɗa ba karɓaɓɓiya ba. Jerin gwanon *t.f* a kalmar tsafɗa ya saba wa dokar tarnaƙi ta (5) da kuma ta (7); domin lalle baƙin /t/ ya gaza na /f/ a amo kamar yadda yake a (5), don haka kalmar ba za ta karɓu ba. Amma jerin gwanon *f.t* a kalmar tsafɗa ta karɓu domin baƙin /f/ yana sama da na /t/ a amo. Haka in aka duba waɗannan kalmomi na (9) za a ga duk inda cunkoson baƙaƙen marabar gaba yake, to baƙin keyar gaba ya ɗara baƙin goshin gaba amo, sabanin jerin kalmomi na (10) in da baƙin keyar gaba ya gaza baƙin goshin gaba amo.

(9) fus.ka, gam.su, gwan.ki, far.kaa, kal.ma, fiz.ge, sar.ki, kar.ta, bir.ge, gam.ji, gam.zaki, Tal.ba, tal.ge, kal.ma, faw.ce, kaw.na, baw.ta, am.sa, Gam.bo

(10) *fuk.sa, *ga.smu, *gwak.ni, *fak.ra, *kam.la, *fig.ze, *sak.ri, *kat.ra, *big.re, *gaj.mi, *gaz.maki, *Tab.la, *tag.le, *fac.we, *bat.wa, *Gab.mo

Yanzu kuma lokaci ya yi da a yi magana a kan baƙin /r/ da na /n/ a wannan wuri saboda ’yar rikirtarwa da suke da ita. Baƙin /n/ na zuwa kafin baƙin da ya ɗara ta amo kamar yadda ya zo a misali na (11).

(11) a. kanwa, b. kanya

Idan za a yi la'akkari da ƙa'idar (5) da (7), ya kamata a ce waƙannan kalmomi na (11) su zama ba karɓaɓɓu ba domin /w/ ya ɗara /n/ amo, amma ga shi ba haka ba ne. Wannan yana faruwa ne saboda ita /n/ kullum na naso ne da baƙin da ya zo gabanta, don haka a furuci ba a faɗar /n/ kamar yadda take ita kaɗai. Wannan abu ne sananne da ba ya buƙatar dogon bayani a kai.¹

3. Sarrafa Baƙin Kalmomi

A wannan kashi za a yi tsokaci ne a kan yadda Hausa ke sarrafa baƙin kalmomin da suka shigo mata masu cunkoson baƙaƙe a gaƙa. Ga misalan kalmomin Larabci a (12) da na Turanci a (13):

(12)	<i>Larabci</i>	<i>Hausa</i>
a.	Badr	(yaƙin) badar
b.	qibla	ƙibila
c.	al'asr	la'asar
d.	ƙabru	ƙabari
e.	Abubakr	Abubakar
(13)	<i>Turanci</i>	<i>Hausa</i>
a.	library	laburare
b.	doctor	daftan
c.	secretary	sakatare
d.	taxi [taksi]	tasi
e.	England	Ingila

Idan aka duba waƙannan misalai na (12) da (13), za a ga yadda kalmar ta zo daga harshen farko ba haka ta kasance a Hausa ba. Domin da ma sananniyar ƙa'ida ce a Hausa cewa in ta ari wata kalma, to lalle ne ta daidaita ta inda za ta iya hawa tsarin sauti da tasarin harshen daram.

¹ Amma inda matsalar take a baƙin /r/ ne, wanda ita ma na zuwa kafin baƙin da ya ɗara ta amo kamar yadda misalai na (i) suka nuna a fili. (i) a. karkarwa b. karya c. kuturwa. A nan za a ga cewa duka /r/ biyu da muke da su, watau raa-kaɗe da raa-buje, duk sun gaza baƙaƙen sulalau /w/ da /y/ amo, amma duk da haka kalmomin sun karɓu. A fili za a ga kamar wata ce babba, amma ba haka ba ne, a tarihance jerin gwanon *n.w / n.y* da *r.w / r.y* suna haɗe da ɗafan jinsin mace na (i)yaa ko (u)waa kamar yadda yake a misalin kare da kar-ya. Don neman ƙarin cikakken bayani duba Newman (1979 shafi na 197-226) ko kuma Newman (2000 shafi na 213-215).

To a nan kowa ya sani tuni Hausa na amfani da tsarmin wasali, ko canza wani baki da wani, ko share shi da dai sauran hanyoyin daidaita kalma. Abin lura a nan shi ne, kowa ya yarda Hausa na yin waɗannan abubuwa ne don kaucewa cunkoson baƙaƙe na gaɓa da babu a Hausan. Wannan shi ne bayanin da aka saba shekaru da yawa.

In aka lura da kyau abin ya wuce nan. Misali, ɗauki (13b), za a ga ko a Turancin kalmar *doctor* na da gaɓa biyu, to in ko haka ne, me ya sa Hausawa suka ƙi barinta a haka, sai da suka canza harafin /k/ ya koma /f/? Ni a nan ba wani dalili ba ne ya jawo hakan illa kalmar ta saba wa doka ta (7). Saboda me? Saboda haɗuwar *k.t* a manne ba ta cikin tsarin sautin Hausa domin /k/ ya gaza /t/ amo, don haka aka canza /k/ ɗin da harafin /f/ wanda ya ɗara na /t/ amo. Inda kuma za a san wannan magana haka take shi ne, in aka sami inda baƙaƙen biyu suka haɗu a ita kalmar ta asali, kuma baƙaƙen ba su saba ƙa'ida ta (7) ba, to wannan kalmar haka Hausa za ta bari, ba za ta sa wani wasali ko canza harafin ba kamar yadda ta yi a kalmar *doctor*. Kwatanta (14) da (15) don fito da misalan ɓaro-ɓaro:

(14)	<i>Turanci</i>	<i>Hausa</i>
a.	computer	kwamfyuta
b.	television	talbijin
c.	plank	filanki
d.	minister	minista
e.	ice cream	askirin
(15)		
a.	governor	gwamna
b.	doctor	daftan

Abin da ake cewa a nan shi ne, a misali na (14), duk baƙaƙen da suka haɗu a kalmomin Turancin sun dace da ƙa'ida ta (7) don haka da suka zo Hausa ba wani canji da ake buƙata. Amma a misalai na (15) da yake haɗuwar baƙaƙen ta saba wa ƙa'ida ta (7), lalle sai sun sami ɗaya daga cikin hanyoyin daidaita kamar yadda misalan (15) suka nuna. Don haka ba daidai ba ne a ce wai Hausa na raba cunkoson baƙaƙe don kawai ba ta da cunkoson baƙaƙen a gaɓa kawai, a'a, har da ma ƙoƙarin kauce wa saba waɗannan ƙa'ida da wannan takarda ta fito da ita a (7) kamar yadda ya gabata. Wataƙila za a iya cewa tsarmin wasali ne kaɗai ya shafi maganar raba cunkoson baƙaƙe kai tsaye, amma sauran hanyoyin daidaita kalmomin aro suna da alaƙa mai ƙarfi da abin da wannan takarda ta fito da shi na tarnaƙin jerin gwanon amo a cunkoson baƙaƙen marabar gaɓa.

Daga cikin hanyoyin da Hausa take bi don kauce wa ka'idojin da wannan takarda ta fito da shi sun haɗa da musayar baƙi kamar yadda aka misalta a (15). Haka kuma akwai tsarmin wasali wanda ya kasu gida uku; akwai na farkon gaba (16), akwai kuma na tsakiyar gaba (17) sannan akwai na karshen gaba (18). Daga karshe akwai sharewa ko yar da baƙi wanda shi kuma ya kasu gida biyu: akwai share bakin tsakiyar gaba (19), sannan kuma akwai na karshe gaba (20).

(16) *Tsarmin wasalin farkon gaba*

	<i>Turanci</i>	<i>Hausa</i>
a.	glass	gilashi
b.	brush	burushi
c.	scale	sikeli
d.	driver	direba
e.	price	farashi

(17) *Tsarmin wasalin tsakiya*

	<i>Turanci</i>	<i>Hausa</i>
a.	headmaster	(s)hedimasta
b.	railway	reliwe
c.	signal	sigina
d.	typewriter	tafireta
e.	microphone	makurofo

(18) *Karin wasalin karshe*

	<i>Turanci</i>	<i>Hausa</i>
a.	stamp	sitamfi
b.	bench	benbi
c.	bank	banki
d.	change	canji
e.	plank	filanki

(19) *Share bakin tsakiyar gaba*

	<i>Turanci</i>	<i>Hausa</i>
a.	loud speaker	lasifika
b.	handkerchief	hankici
c.	sandpaper	samfefa
d.	grand valve	garambawul
e.	crankshaft	karanshaf

(20) *Share bakin karshen gaba*

	<i>Turanci</i>	<i>Hausa</i>
a.	communist	kwaminis
b.	carrots	karas
c.	(bank) draft	diraf
d.	belt	bel
e.	yeast	yis

Babu shakka waƙannan misalai suna buƙatar bayani filla filla. Tuni dai an yi bayani game da misalai na (15) inda ake samun canjin baƙi da wani baƙin wanda aka nuna ana canjin ne don samo baƙin da ya fi baƙin goshin gaƙar da ke manne da shi amo. Kamar yadda misalai na (18) suka nuna yadda ake kara wasali a ƙarshen kalmar aro, misalai na (16)-(17) kuwa suna magana ne a kan tsarmin wasali tsakanin cunkoson baƙaƙe tun da Hausa ba ta da shi. Bayani kan wane irin wasali ya kamata a sa a tsakanin baƙaƙen abu ne da yake buƙatar wani bincike mai zaman kansa, wanda a yanzu ba za mu iya yi ba. Su ko misalai na (19)–(20) na magana ne game da share baƙi daga baƙaƙen da suke manne da juna. To a nan ma fa share wannan baƙi ba kawai sakaka yake ba, shi ma da nasa tsarin. Idan aka yi la'akkari da duk misalan (19)–(20) za a ga ana share baƙin da ya gaza ɗayan amo ne, ba wai kowanne aka ga dama ake yar wa ko sharewa ba.

Daga ƙarshe, ya kamata a faɗakar game da rashin haɗuwar baƙaƙen 'yan buga mabambanta (“different stops”) da gwarman baƙaƙe (“double consonants and diagraphs”) a matsayin baƙaƙen marabar gaba, kamar su yadda (21) suka nuna.

(21) *d.k.; *k.d; *k.b; *g.b; *ɓ.d; *d.ɓ; da *gygw, *gwgy, *shts, * tssh, *gwsh, *kyts, ds

Wannan an taƙaita shi kamar haka: *XY inda X da Y suna da siffar tsarin sauti (“features”) iri ɗaya.

4. Alakar Tarnakin Jerin Gwanon Amo da Sauran Dokokin Tsarin Sautin Hausa

A wannan sashi kuma za a ɗan yi bayani ne a kan alakar tarnakin jerin gwanon amon da wannan takarda ta fito da shi (5) da sauran dokokin tsarin sautin Hausa. Da farko za a fara da abin da kowa ya fi sani da Dokar Klengenheben wadda take sassauta baƙaƙen 'yan hanɗa su koma wasalin /u/ kamar yadda misalan (22) da (23) suka nuna.

(22) 'Yan hand'a:

a.	talakci	=	talauci (talaka)
b.	hagni	=	hauni (hagu)
c.	zuciya	=	zuuciya (zukata)
d.	haƙre	=	haure (haƙori)
e.	baƙna	=	bauna (baƙane)

(23) Leƙawa:

a.	Abdu	=	Audu
b.	kabri	=	kauri
c.	safka	=	sauka
d.	amre	=	aure
e.	af!	=	au!

Abin lura a nan shi ne, wannan daɗaɗɗiyar doka ba wani abu take cewa ba illa kalmomin (22) sun saba wa dokokin na (5) da na (7) na wannan takarda, don haka lalle waɗannan baƙaƙe da suka gaza na gabansu amo a sama musu waɗanda suka ɗara na gaban amo, shi ya sa aka ɗauki harafin /w/. Me ya sa aka zaɓi wannan baƙi na /w/ da ire-irensu, abu ne da shi ma yake buƙatar bincike mai zaman kansa.

Haka in aka kula da wasu misalan kamar na (24), su ma sun yi daidai da na (22) da (23) wajen kauce saba wa waɗannan ƙa'idoji na (5) da na (7).

(24) a.	*fatke	=	falke (= farke)
b.	*annabta (daga annabi+ta)	=	annafta
c.	*ɗalibta (daga ɗalibi+ta)	=	ɗalifta
d.	*zubda	=	zufda

A nan za a ga dokar Klingeneben ba ta yi amfani ba, domin ta kasa sassauta leƙawa su koma /w/ kamar yadda suka yi a (23) (Newman 2000). Wataƙila wani zai iya cewa wannan ya faru ne saboda leƙawa a nan ba a asalin kalma suke ba, ɗafau ne ("affixes"). In ko haka ne, to lalle ana buƙatar wata takarda mai zaman kanta don ta tabbatar da bambancin baƙaƙen asalin kalma ("lexical consonants") da baƙaƙen nahawu, watau ("grammatical consonants") da Turanci. Amma a wannan takarda babu wata matsala ko neman hasashe domin leƙawan misalai na (24) dole su koma 'yan atishawa ("fricatives") wanda sun ɗara baƙaƙen da ke manne da su a gaba amo. Yin haka sai ya dace da abin da muke da'awa a dokoki na (5) da na (7). Haka kuma Newman (2000) ya nuna cewa dokar Klingeneben

ta bambanta da ta dokokin ninki (“laws of reduplication”) kamar yadda misalai na (25) suka nuna.

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|------|----|-------------------------|---|---------|
| (25) | a. | *fik-fike (= fika-fiki) | = | fiffike |
| | b. | *sak-saka | = | sassaka |
| | c. | *bug-buga | = | bubbuga |
| | d. | *daf-dafa | = | daddafa |
| | e. | *laɓ-laɓe | = | lallaɓe |

Wannan bambanci bai shafi wannan takarda ba, domin dai babu misalan da suka saba wa wannan da’awa da wannan takarda ta fito da shi na tarnaƙin jerin gwanon amo. Haka dai labarin yake da ’yan tsinin harshe (“coronals”) a misalai na (26) ba sai na sake wani dogon bayani ba.

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|------|----|-------------|---|----------|
| (26) | a. | *mats-matsa | = | marmatsa |
| | b. | *had-hada | = | harhada |
| | c. | *kats-katsa | = | karkatsa |
| | d. | *kas-kashe | = | karkashe |

Daga ƙarshe zan rufe wannan sashi da tsokaci a kan alaƙar wannan bincike da tasarifin Hausa. Hada dafau masu farawa da baƙi na buƙatar bayani ko yaya yake? Misali, in za a ƙara wa wata kalma harafin dafau a ƙarshe, galiban Hausa na yar da wasalin ƙarshe na asalin kalmar kamar yadda misalai na (27) suka nuna.

- | | | | | | | |
|------|----|-------|----------|----|--------|----------|
| (27) | a. | mota | mot-oci | f. | ƙane | ƙan-wa |
| | b. | yaro | yar-a | g. | dako | dak-a-ta |
| | c. | adali | adal-ci | h. | Kano | Kan-anci |
| | d. | yaro | yar-inta | i. | cika | cik-owa |
| | e. | saya | say-e | j. | buwaya | buway-i |

Amma in aka duba misalai na (28) lamarin ya sha bamban. A nan za a ga wasu wuraren an bar wasalin asalin kalmar, wani wurin kuma an share shi. To me ya sa hakan yake faruwa? Amsa a nan ita ce, wannan yana faruwa ne saboda dacewa ko rashi dacewa da ƙa’idoji na (5) da na (7). Dauki misalai na (28) don ƙarin bayani.

- | | | | | |
|------|----|----------------|---|-------------|
| (28) | a. | karantaa + waa | = | karantaawaa |
| | b. | muuguu + waa | = | muuguwaa |
| | c. | cikaa + sa | = | cikaasa |

- d. **awoo** + naa = **aw**-naa
 e. **aadalii** + cii = **adal**-cii
 f. **tayaa** + makoo = **tay**-makoo
 g. **taraa** + koo = **tar**-koo
 h. **shariiƙi** + taa = **sharif**-taa
 i. **saafee** + makoo = ***saf**-makoo = **sammakoo**
 j. **abookii** + taa = ***abook**-taa = **abow**-taa (= **abootaa**)

A misalai na (28a)–(28c) dole a bar wasullan asalin kalmar domin in aka share su kamar yadda aka yi a (27), to kalmomin za su kasance kamar haka: ***karantwa**; da ***mugwa** da ***ciksa**. Harafin /t/ ya zo bayan /w/ ya saba wa dokoki na (5) da na (7) domin /w/ ya dafa /t/ da na /g/ amo. Haka lamarin yake da ***ciksa** inda harafin /s/ ya dafa na /k/ amo. To amma in aka duba misalai na (28d) da (28e) lamarin ya sake fitowa fili. A kalmomin *awoo* da *aadalii* an share wasullan domin baƙaƙen da aka bari in sun haɗu da dafau na *-na* da *-ci*, baƙin ƙarshen kalmomin sun fi na dafan amo, don haka sun dace da ƙa’idojinmu na (5) da na (7). Haka labarin yake a sauran misalai na (28f)–(28h). In ko aka lura da ragowar misalan (28i) da na (28j), za a ga an sami canjin /f/ zuwa /m/ da kuma canjin /k/ zuwa /w/. Wannan ya faru ne don cika ƙa’idar nan ta (7) wadda take cewa lalle baƙin ƙeyar gaba ya dafa na goshin gaba amo, don haka ***safmakoo** da **aboktaa** suka zama ba ƙarɓaɓɓu ba don /f/ ta gaza /m/ amo, haka ma /k/ ya gaza /t/ amo, ko kuma a ce duk /k/ da /t/ ’yan buga ne mabambanta.²

5. Zaben Tsarmin Wasali

A wannan sashi za a yi ɗan ƙoƙari ne a kan irin yadda mutum zai kirdaji (“predict”) irin tsarmin wasalin da ya kamata a sa wa kalmar aro mai cunkoson baƙaƙe a gaba. Za a gina wannan kirdado a kan rikidar wahainiyar (“context colouring”) da tsarmin wasali yake yi don ƙoƙarin daidaita baƙuwar kalma don ta dace da tsarin sautin Hausa. Amma tsokano rigima babba za a yi domin wannan fagen yana buƙatar cikakken bincike mai zaman kansa ba sharar fage irin wanda zan yi yanzu ba.

² A ganin Paul Newman, share wasalin ƙarshe na tushe ko rashin share shi bai shafi wannan tarnaƙi ba kamar yadda nake so na nuna. Newman na ganin wannan abu ne da ya shafi tasarifi (“morphological formation”) ba tarnaƙin amo ba (“phonological strength”). A gaskiya maganarsa tana da ƙanshin gaskiya, sai dai kawai in ce wannan ya zama wani fage da yake buƙatar wani bincike don tabbatar da gaskiyar lamarin ko akasin hakan.

Da farkon akwai abin da mai karatu ya kamata ya ɗan sani game da shi kansa tsarmin wasali. Masana tsarin sautin harsuna sun gano cewa sigar tsarin furucin (“phonetic feature”) tsarmin wasali ɗan alamtuwan baƙi ne (“minimally marked”), kuma yana ɗaukar hoton launin da ke biye ko gaba da shi (Ito 1986, Lowenstamm and Kaye 1986). Bugu da ƙari kuma, masanan tsarin sautukan dai sun nuna cewa, bincike na sauran harasan duniya ya nuna cewa wasalin gaba na *-i* shi ne wasalin asali (“default”) aka fi zaɓa don ya zama tsarmin wasali. Wasu harsunan sukan zaɓi baƙin sulalau na *-y* wanda yake takwaran wasalin *-i* ne (McCarthy & Prince 1993, Prince & Smolensky 2004).³

Wannan magana ko ta sake tabbatuwa a Hausa, domin yawancin tsarmin wasali a Hausa shi ne *-i*. Kuma shi wannan baƙi na *-i* ya zo ne a farkon gaba, tsakiya ne ko kuma ƙarshen gaba.

(29) *Farkon gaba:*

a.	glass	=	gilashi
b.	stamp	=	sitam
c.	scale	=	sikeli
d.	driver	=	direba
e.	premier	=	firemiya

(30) *Tsakiyar gaba:*

a.	headmaster	=	hedimasta
b.	singlet	=	singileti
c.	ice cream	=	askirin
d.	England	=	ingila
e.	signal	=	sigina

(31) *Karshen gaba:*

a.	stamp	sitamfi
b.	bucket	bokiti
c.	garage	gareji
d.	clutch	kuloci
e.	card	kati

³ Tuni aka yi bayani game da baƙin /r/ cewa ya zame mana togaciya, don haka misalai kamar haka ba mamaki ba don ganin /r/ ta ɗara /w/ amo ba, wanda ya kamata a ce kalmomin ba su sami karɓuwa ba.

kuturu +wa ko -aa	=	kuturwaa
karee + yaa ko -aa	=	karyaa

To amma fa ba haka abin yake ko da yausha ba, a wasu wuraren za a sami tsarmin wasalin yakan zama na *-a* ko *-u* kamar yadda misalai na (32) da (33) suka nuna a jere.

(32) *Wasalin -a*

a.	spare	=	safaya	a	<i>farkon gaba</i>
b.	price	=	farashi	a	<i>farkon gaba</i>
c.	private	=	farabiti	a	<i>farkon gaba</i>
d.	secretary	=	sakatatare	a	<i>tsakiyar gaba</i>
e.	Abubakar	=	Abubakar	a	<i>tsakiyar gaba</i>
f.	Badr	=	badar	a	<i>tsakiyar gaba</i>
g.	Isra'el	=	Isira'ila	a	<i>ƙarshen gaba</i>

(33) *Wasalin -u*

a.	clutch	=	kuloci	u	<i>farkon gaba</i>
b.	trouser	=	turoza	u	<i>farkon gaba</i>
c.	brush	=	burushi	u	<i>farkon gaba</i>
d.	plot	=	fuloti	u	<i>farkon gaba</i>
e.	microphone	=	makurofo	u	<i>tsakiyar gaba</i>
f.	railway	=	reluwee	u	<i>tsakiyar gaba</i>

Tun da a misalai na (32) da (33) an samu wasu wasullan ban da na *-i*, to lalle kam ya kamata a ce me ya sa hakan yake faruwa. Shin wannan haka yake sakaka ko shi ma yana da nasa tsarin? A haƙiƙa, ba haka yake sakaka ba, akwai doka da ya kamata a kiyaye kafin tsarmin wasali. A nan za a fito da dokar tsarmin wasali a Hausa ta zama kamar haka (34).

(34) *Tsarmin wasali na rikidar wahainiya da launin wasalin da ke daf da cunkoson baƙaƙen baƙuwar kalmar.*

Wato abin da nake nufi a nan shi ne, in an zo za a raba cunkoson baƙaƙe na gaƙar baƙuwar kalma, tsarmin wasalin da za a saka yana d'aukar launin wasalin da ya fi kusa da na asalin wasalin da yake cikin ita kalmar ta asali. Ka dubi misalai na (32) za ka ga lalle wasalin asalin kalmar na da tasirin wajen irin wasalin da aka tsarma. Watau, in kalmar na da wasalin *-a* ko wanda yake makamancinsa a siga a dama ko hagu na gaƙar da za a tsarma wasalin, to sai a sa wasalin *-a*. In ko wasalin kalmar na da *-u* ko mai makamancin sigarsa, to sai a sa wasalin irin na *-u* d'ɓin kamar yadda misalai na (33) suka nuna. Wannan shi ne rikidar wahainiyar da

tsarmin wasali yake yi, domin ita wahainiya tana rikida ne da irin launin abin da ta taka ko take a kai a lokacin.

In aka yi la'akkari da sigar waƙannan wasulla guda biyu, watau na asalin kalmar aron da shi tsarmin wasalin da aka sa wa ita kalmar Hausa, za a ga kam lalle akwai rikidar wahainiya tsakaninsu.⁴

6. Jawabin Nadewa

A wannan takarda an fito da yadda sigar baƙaƙen marabar gaƙar Hausa suke bisa zubi da tsarinsu tare da nuna cewa ba haka suke kara zube ba. Kuma a takardar dai an ga alaƙar Tarnaƙin Jerin Gwanon Amo ya yi tasiri a kan wasu dokokin tsarin sautin Hausa da tasarifiinta. Wannan ya taimaka wajen rage wasu dokokin zuwa doka ɗaya da aka fito da ita a (7).

Haka kuma takardar ta yi tsokaci a kan wasu matsaloli don faɗaɗa wannan bincike. Kuma an nuna waƙannan matsaloli suna buƙatar bincike mai zaman kansa.

Misali, an nuna me ya sa aka zaɓi wannan baƙi na /w/ da ire-irensu wajen sassauta furucin harafi kamar yadda dokar Klingeneben ta tanada abu ne da shi ma yake buƙatar bincike mai zaman kansa.

An yi hasashe kan cewa wataƙila wani zai iya cewa wannan ya faru ne saboda leɓawa a nan ba a asalin kalma suke ba, ɗafau ne. In ko haka ne, to lalle ana buƙatar wata takarda mai zaman kanta don a tabbatar da bambancin baƙaƙen asalin kalma (“lexical consonants”) da baƙaƙen nahawu, watau (“grammatical consonants”) da Turanci. Ko kuma a ce tarnaƙin jerin gwanon amo yana da tasiri ne kawai ga baƙaƙen asalin kalma ban da na ɗafau. Kowanne mutum ya zaɓa, abu ne da yake buƙatar hujja mai ƙarfi.

Daga ƙarshe kuma wannan takarda ta ɗan yi mtsokaci dangane da irin tsarmin wasalin da ya kamata a sa wa kalmar aro. A nan kuma an nuna cewa tsarmin wasalin na samun tasiri da irin wasalin da ke cikin baƙuwar kalmar ta yadda yake ɗaukar hoton launin wasalin baƙuwar kalmar.

Fata a nan, wannan takarda za ta zaburar da sauran masu bincike musamman a wannan fanni da aka bar shi a baya. Bugu da ƙari, tun da wannan takarda ita ce kamar ta farko wadda ta feɗe sigar cunkoson baƙaƙen marabar gaɓa da yanayin tsarmin wasali filla filla, babu shakka kurakurai da gyare-gyare ba sai an faɗa ba, suna nan rututu.

⁴ Ba ni da wani dalili mai ƙarfi da za a iya faɗa game da samuwar wasullan -a ƙarshen gaɓa a yanzu kamar yadda misalai na (32g) da na (32h) suka nuna

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Sonority Hierarchy Constraint on Hausa Abutting Consonants

(English Summary)

Hausa does not have true consonant clusters (i.e., sequences of two or more consonants functioning as syllable onsets or codas). It does, however, have abutting consonants where the consonantal coda of one syllable is followed by the onset of the next. Words borrowed into Hausa are generally modified to fit into the language's pre-existing phonological system. For example, elimination of clusters in the source word usually involves some adjustments such as epenthetic insertion and segmental replacements or deletion. In section 1 of the paper, I show that abutting consonants sequencing in Hausa is severely and systematically limited by a Hausa Sonority Hierarchy namely, *Vocoids* (vowels > glides) >

liquids (lateral and flap/trill)) > *nasals* > *obstruents* (fricatives > stops). Based on this hierarchy one can state a general sonority constraint rule for Hausa that “Codas must be higher in *sonority* than adjacent abutting Onsets.”

Section 2 sets out the strategies employed to eliminate consonant clusters found in borrowed words, mainly from English. These strategies may apply in syllable-initial, syllable-medial, or syllable-final position.

Section 3 deals with the interaction of the Sonority Constraint with other Hausa phonological rules. In particular, Klingenheben’s Law, the Law of Codas in Reduplication, and the treatment of codas in morphological processes are discussed.

Finally, section 4 attempts to predict the choice of the epenthetic vowel used to avoid unwanted clusters in loanwords based on the contextual coloring of the neighboring vowel.

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