

## *Tone-Vowel Correlation and “Templatic Effect” in Hausa Plurals*

Pilszczikowa-Chodak (1972) pointed out a regular correlation between vowel height and tone value in Hausa verbs and noun plurals. She suggested that the values of the tones assigned to the final vowels depend on the quality of these vowels. Thus, for example, a [low] tone is assigned to a [+low] vowel whereas a [+high] vowel has a [high] tone. Here below in [1] I give some examples. I limit myself here to plural nouns (the vowels concerned with this correlation are underlined):

[1]	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>		<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
« bicycle »	kèekée	kéekúnàà	« woman »	máatáa	máatàáyée
“dog”	kàréé	kárnúkàà	« axe »	gàatáfi	gáatúràa
“earth”	kásáa	kàsàashée	« stream »	ràafi	ráafúkàa
“gardeb”	gárkáa	gàràakée	“old cow, man”	gúzúmáa	gúzàarée
“itinerant trader”	fàrkée	fàtàakée	“type of drum”	táushi	táfaashée

In his reply to Pilszczikowa-Chodak’s proposals, Newman (1975) brings several counterexamples which do not undergo the generalisation described above. Here are some of them:

[2]	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>		<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
“boy”	yàarò	yàaráa	« clod of corn »	dámii	dámmáa
« friend »	àbòokii	àbòokái	“ring”	zòobèe	zòbbáa
« woman »	màcè	máatáa	“edge”	géefélè	gyáffáa
« wife »	míji	mázáa	« heathen »	ǎnèe	ǎrnáa

I suggest to reconsider Pilszczikowa-Chodak proposals and to re-examine Newman’s counterexamples. I show that the tone-vowel correlation is relevant and that it is morphologically conditioned by a “templatic effect”. This means that only the vowels which are “templatically” derived undergo the correlation. In other words, the vowel-tone correlation takes place in particular domains located in the plural template. These domains are located not only at the end of the template but also inside the template as in the internal plurals (also called internal –A-plurals). I suggest that there are two main domains in the plural forms given in [1]: the first domain is located between R1 and R2 (R = radical consonant) while the second one is located at the end of the form. Here below in [3] I delimit them by brackets (full stops between R positions stand for vowels): [3] **R1.R2.{ }<sub>D1</sub>R3.{ }<sub>D2</sub>**

The first domain (D1) is used to derive internal plurals whereas the second domain (D2) serves to derive external or suffixed plurals (cf. Kihm (2003) for an analysis of Classical Arabic internal plurals by means of an internal domain). In several cases, both domains are activated. My analysis of the tone-vowel correlation and the “templatic effect” is based on the assumption that *all and only vowels inside the two domains in [3] undergo the correlation*. In other words, [+low] vowels which connect inside these domains take a low tone whereas [+high] vowels take a high tone.

In turn, the counterexamples brought by Newman have nothing to do with templatic derivation. They use none of the two domains specified in [3] and thus they do not undergo the generalization suggested by Pilszczikowa-Chodak. Their final vowels simply alternate with their singular counterparts.

Two main consequences :

- i. Tone-Vowel correlation is locally constrained in Hausa plurals.
- ii. There are at least two major classes of plurals in Hausa : (i) those that use templatic derivation (examples in [1]) and (ii) those that use vowel alternation (say apophony) (examples in [2]).

### **References**

- Newman, Paul. 1975. The Non-Correlation of Tone and Vowel Height in Hausa [July 1975]. *Studies in African Linguistics*, Volume 6, Number 2.207-13.
- Pilszczikowa-Chodak, Nina. 1972. Tone-Vowel Height Correlation and Tone Assignment in the Patterns of Verb and Noun Plurals in Hausa [December 1972]. *Studies in African Linguistics*, Volume 3, Number 3.399-421.

