

Research Article

Bayani A Kan Wasu Abubuwa Da Suke Faruwa Ga 'Dafi A Hausa Daga

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Article History

Received: 04.12.2019

Accepted: 11.12.2019

Published: 18.01.2020

Journal homepage:

<https://www.easpublisher.com/easjehl>

Quick Response Code



Abstract: Most of the works on the aspect of Hausa morphology are descriptives. Theoretical analyses are rare. For this reason, the article intended to look at some post syntactic operations during word formation in Hausa language with emphasis on affixes. These post syntactic operations include: Fusion, fission, impoverishment, morphological merger, linearization, ornamentation, syncretism, competition and blocking, allomorphy and productivity. The topics will be discussed from Distributed morphology point of view as explained in details Halle & Marantz (1993, 1994), Halle (1997), Marantz (1997), Embick (2010, 2015).

Keywords: Hausa, Affixes, Post-syntactic Operations

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GABATARWA

A nazarin kirar kalma babu abin da ya fi ban sha'awa da burgewa, kamar 'Dafi'. Watakila, wannan ya sa Spencer (1991:14) ya yi wannan furuci cewa "

"Affixation is morphology par excellence' ma'ana:

"Dafi madara ce ta ilimin kirar kalma mai ban sha'awa".

Duk wanda yake son nazarin dafi (a fahintar wannan takarda) akwai bukatar ya lura da waɗannan abubuwa biyar, su ne:

- Ma'anar dafi a harshen da ake nazari
- Nau'o'insa
- Yadda ake samar da dafin.
- Abubuwan da suke faruwa ga dafi.
- Alaƙarsa da mai masaukinsa wato 'saiwa'.

Daga cikin abubuwan da suke faruwa wajen samar da dafi (wanda shi ne taken takarda) akwai:

- Dayantawa (fusion)
- Biyuntawa (fission)
- Shafewar ma'ana (Impoverishment)

- Kulli na kirar kalma (Morphological merger) da Jerantawa (Linearization)
- Karin kwayar ma'ana (ornamentation)
- Sajewa (syncretism)
- Gasa da shingewa (competition& blocking)
- Jirwayen tsarin sauti (allomorphy)
- Yalwa (productivity).

Duk waɗannan abubuwa ne da suke faruwa bayan tsarin ginin jumla ya kare aikinsa (postsyntactic operations). A taƙaice, a wannan takarda za a bisu ɗaya bayan ɗaya tare da kawo ma'anar kowannensu da kuma misalai. An raba takardar zuwa waɗannan sassa: (a) 1.0 gabatarwa da (b) 2.0 Bayani a kan abubuwan da suke faruwa ga dafi a Hausa da (c) 3.0 kammalawa da (d) Manazarta.

Abubuwan da Suke Faruwa Ga Dafi a Hausa¹

Ma'anar Dafi A Hausa

Dafi asali 'yantacciyar kwayar ma'ana ce mai aiki irin na nahawu, wadda sai daga baya ne take bayyana a zahiri ko a badini a matsayin turkakiyar kwayar kalma wadda ba saiwa ba, kuma wadda kuma da ake dafawa a wani amintaccen muhalli na turken kalma (Saiwa ko kalma). Ana dafa dafi ne, domin ajinta saiwa ko sauya ajin ko kuma, don yin wani karin bayani irin na nahawu, sannan dafi, yakan kasance jagora a cikin kalma.

Dafi a Hausa ya kasu gida biyu.

a) Dafi ajintau: Dafi ajintau dafi ne wanda yake nuna ajin saiwar kalma, ko kuma ya sauya ajin kalma. Misali:

(1) i- kaamaawaa

Kalmar 'kaamaawaa' tana kunshe ne da sakakkiyar saiwa ($\sqrt{2}$ Category-neutral) da kuma ajintai guda biyu na aikatau da na suna bayan aikatau (vp & np categorizers). Sannan su ne nau'in dafi *ajintau mai sauki*. Domin a nan bayan aikin ajintawar ba wani aiki da suke yi. Amma idan aka ce 'gidaa', tana kunshe da saiwa daya ' \sqrt{gid} ' da dafin '-aa'³ wanda yake aikin nuna ajin suna da karin fayyace jinsin namiji da kuma nuna adadin tilo. Wannan shi ne *ajintau mai sarkakiya*.

b) Dafi ba-ajintau: Ya kunshe dafi mai nuna: mallaka da nasaba da nuna muhallin sifa da abin da ya gabata da lokaci da taki. Misali:

(2) i- riigarsa

ii- huular karfee

iii- farar huulaa

iv- riigar

v- yaa tafi

Bayan haka, abubuwan da suke faruwa lokacin samar da dafi da bayan samar da shi, su ne za a tattauna a sashe na gaba, wato 2.2

¹ Wannan nazari yana gudana ne, ta lura da manyan akidoji biyu: (a) Akidar rarrabewa ko bambantawa a tsakanin gundarin ma'ana da gundarin furuci wato 'separation hypothesis' da Ingilishi..(b) Sannan da daidaitawa a tsakanin tsarin ginin kalma da tsarin ginin jumla.

² Alama ce mai nuni ga 'saiwa' ta ginin kalmomi a harshe.

³ A zahiri babu gida namiji balle mace, kagaggen al'amari na nahawu wato da Ingilishi shi ne 'Grammatical Gender' Kramer (2009, 2014) ta yi faffadan bayani a kan batun.

Dayantawa (Fusion)

Asalin kalmar 'dayantawa' daga 'daya' ne, sai aka dauko sakakkiyar saiwarta 'day-' aka dafa dofanen '-anta' da '-wa', sai aka sami 'dayantawa' wato dai suna ne 'dan aikatau'. Da ingilishi dayantawa shi ne 'fusion'.

Halle & Marantz (1993:116) sun ba da ma'anarta kamar haka:

"Fusion takes two terminal nodes that are sisters under a single category nodes and fuses them into a single terminal node"

Fassara:

"Dayantawa yana daukar gundarin kwayoyin ma'ana biyu waɗanda suke 'yan uwa ne karkashin aji daya, sai a kulla su a matsayin kwayar ma'ana daya kuma kwayar kalma daya". Muhammad (2016:5) ya bayyana ma'anarsa kamar haka:

"Fusion simply fuses features into single terminal node".

Fassara: "Cikin sauki, abin da ake kira dayantawa, kulli ne da ake yi na kwayoyin ma'ana cikin kwayar ma'ana daya".

Saboda haka, dayantawa tana nufin inda harshe ya dauko gundarin ma'anoni daban-daban waɗanda suke iya zama tare sai a kulla su a matsayin kwayar ma'ana daya⁴, sai kuma a cusa su cikin tubali daya a matsayin kwayar kalma daya⁵. Misali

(3) 'wataa'

A misali na (3), kalma ce 'suna' 'tilo' 'namiji'. An zaɓo suna daga bangaren azuzuwan kalmomi, 'tilo' kuma daga 'adadi' sai kuma 'namiji' da aka zaɓo daga 'jinsi'. Gaba dayansu aka kulla su wuri daya a matsayin kwayar ma'ana daya kuma cikin kwayar kalma a matsayin dafi daya wato '-aa'. Wannan shi ne dayantawa. Sai kuma shi dafin ya zaɓo saiwar ' \sqrt{wat} ' a matsayin mai yin karin bayani na dafin. Wannan ya nuna Hausa tana zaɓo gundarin ma'ana na ajintau (suna ko sifa) ta haɗa da adadi (tilo ko jam'i) da kuma jinsi (namiji ko tamata) ta hanyar kulla su wuri daya⁶ a matsayin kwayar ma'ana daya wadda za ta bayyana a matsayin kwayar kalma kuma dafi daya. Misali:

4 a) gidaa gidajee

b) faraa fararee

⁴ A fahintar ra'in wannan bincike, kwayar ma'ana daya wato 'morpheme' tana kunshe da wasu gundarin ma'anoni 'features'. Kamar 'suna' da 'adadi' da 'jinsi'.

⁵ Ba abin mamaki ba ne, a sami gundarin ma'ana daya a matsayin kwayar ma'ana kuma kwayar kalma daya.

⁶ Da Ingilishi ana kiran wannan al'amari 'Bundling of features or features bundling'

Kalmar gidaa da kalmar 'gidaajee' duka suna da saiwa 'gid-'⁷. Idan aka cusa suna da adadin tilo da jinsin namiji waɗanda dukkansu suna cikin daɗin '-aa', sai a samar da cikakkiyar kalma 'gidaa'. Idan kuma aka dafa daɗin '-aajee' mai dauke da suna da adadin jam'i ba takamaiman jinsi, to, sai a samar da cikakkiyar kalma 'gidaajee'. Haka abin yake idan saiwar 'far-' ake magana a kan ta. Idan aka kara mata daɗin '-aa', sai a samar da sifa 'faraa' wadda take da adadin tilo da jinsin tamata. Idan kuma daɗin '-aaree' aka kara wa saiwar 'far-', sai a samar da kalmar sifa 'faraaree' wadda take da adadi amma ba jinsi.

Biyuntawa (Fission)

Kalmar biyuntawa daga 'biyu' ne, an dauki saiwarta ne wato 'biy-' aka dafa mata 'unta' da kuma 'wa', aka tayar da cikakken gininta na 'biyuntawa' wato 'fission' da Ingilishi. Har wa yau, Halle & Marantz (1993:116) sun ba da ma'anarsa kamar haka: '... a given node may be fissioned into two'.

Fassara: '...kwayar ma'ana dāya tana iya rabuwa gida biyu'.

Abin da take nufi shi ne bayan an samar da kwayar ma'ana daga gundarin ma'anoni wajen bayyanarsu (Spell-out), a matsayin kwayar kalma dāya, sai a sami akasi ta zo a wurare biyu cikin kalma maimako wuri dāya. A Hausa, bayan an zabo ajin suna da adadin jam'i, ana kulla su a wuri dāya a matsayin kwayar ma'ana dāya. To maimakon ta zo a muhalli dāya, sai ta rabu kuma ta zo muhalli biyu na saiwa. Dalilin cewa dāya ce ta rabu, shi ne, da za ka yi amfani da dāya ka bar dāya, ba za a sami biyan bukata ba ta sadarwa. Misali idan aka dauki saiwar 'gulb-' aka cusa mata daɗin '-aa-' kawai, za a sami 'gulaab-', Bahausha ba zai gane abin da kake nufi ba, dole sai an kara dāyan wato daɗin '-ee', bayan 'gulaab-', sai a sami 'gulaabee' wato suna kuma jam'i.

5 a) turaamee

b) kutaaree

Abin da ya faru a nan misali na (5), shi ne, daɗin ajintau ne da adadin jam'i. Maimakon ya zo a karshen saiwa, sai ya zo a tsakiyar saiwa da karshenta. Asali sayyun kalmomin su ne da 'turm' da 'kudur-'. Sai suka koma, 'turaamee' da 'kutaaree', da aka dafa musu daɗin '-aa-' wato ajintau-jam'i, a cikinsu da karshensu.

⁷ Wannan saiwa ce, a ra'in wannan bincike 'saiwa' ba ta da ma'ana balle yin wani aiki na nahawu, sai an ajinta ta. (Embick, 2012,2015), Panagiotidis (2011,2014).

Shafewar Ma'ana (Impoverishment)

Shafewar ma'ana tana faruwa ne, inda aka shafe wata kwayar ma'ana, ta kwayar kalma wadda can asali akwai ta saboda wani dalili na tsarin nahawun harshe. Fabrigas (2005:27) ya ba da ma'anar shafewar ma'ana kamar haka:

"..Impoverishment, Grammar deletes features from the bundle of a syntactic terminal node".

Fassara: .. shafewar ma'ana, a cikin tsarin nahawu yake shafe wasu gundarin ma'anoni daga kunshiyar ma'anoni na kwayar ma'ana".

Misalin kalmar 'jaakij' da 'jaakaa' da 'jaakunaa'. A daɗin '-ii' yana nuna ajin suna da adadin tilo da kuma jinsin namiji. Daɗin '-aa', yana nuna ajin suna adadin tilo da jinsin mace. Sai '-unaa', shi ma yana nuni ne ga ajin suna da adadin jam'i. Ya kamata a ce akwai jinsin maza zalla da na mata zalla, kamar yadda yake a sauran harsuna (kamar larabci). Abin tambaya a nan, shi ne, me ya sa babu jinsin maza zalla ko mata zalla? Greenberg (1963:90) ya ansa wannan tambaya kamar haka:

Universal 37: A Language never has more gender categories in non-singular numbers than in the singular. This latter statement may be illustrated from Hausa, which has a masculine and feminine gender distinction in the singular but not in the plural. The opposite phenomenon, to my knowledge, never occurs.

Fassara:

Ka'idar bai-dāya ta 37: Harshe ba ya taɓa nuna ajin jinsi a wuraren da ba adadin tilo (wato jam'i) ba, fiye da yadda yake nunawa a tilo. Wannan furuci yana iya zama gaskiya a Hausa, saboda harshe ne wanda yake bambanta jinsin namiji da jinsin tamata a matakin tilo, ba a matakin jam'i ba. A iya sanina kishiyar haka, ba ta taɓa faruwa ba.

Wannan ya isa ya zama hujja cewa Hausa ba ta nuna jinsi a matakin jam'i. Irin wannan al'amari ne ake kira shafewar ma'ana wato 'Impoverishment' da Ingilishi a ra'in kira-jumla-sak (Distributed Morphology).

6a) huulaa da huulunaa

- b) riigaa da riigunaa
c) jikkaa da jikkunaa

A wadannan misalai na (6), dofanan '-aa' duk suna nuna ajin suna da adadin tilo da jinsin mace, amma da aka je jam'intawa babu jinsi sai kurum ajintau da adadi. Saboda Hausa ba ta nuna jinsi a matakin jam'i. An shafe gundarin kwayar ma'anar jinsi (Gender feature) ne aka bar saura⁸.

Kulli Na Kirar Kalma Da Jerantawa (Morphological Merger & Linearization)⁹

Kulli na kirar kalma yana bayani ne, a kan abubuwan da suke faruwa lokacin kulla tubalan kwayoyin kalma (wato dofanai) a harshe. Noyer & Harley (1999:5) sun ba da ma'anarsa kamar haka:

Morphological merger proposed first in Marantz (1984) was originally a principle of well-formedness between levels of representation in Syntax.

Fassara:

Kulli na kirar kalma wanda ya fara kawo shi a fagen nazari shi ne 'Marantz (1984). Asali kullin doka ce ta samar da nau'in jumla mai ma'ana a dukkan matakan bayyana fasalin jumla wadanda ake da su.

Kulli ya kasu gida biyu akwai: (a) Kulli na ciki (Internal merge) da (b) Kulli na waje (External merge). Kulli na ciki, shi ne inda harshe yake dawko tubalin dafi da turken saiwa sai ya kulla su wuri daya a matsayin kalma. Misali:

- 7 a) gidaa
b) faraa
c) kaamaa

Wadannan kalmomi, an gina su ne ta amfani da tubali biyu. Wato tubalin saiwa da na dafi. Kamar haka: '√gid-' da '√far-' da '√kaam-'. Sai kuma, dafin suna '-aa' da dafin sifa '-aa' da kuma dafin aikatau '-aa'. Babban abin da wannan yake nunawa shi ne, akwai jinsin dofanen da a kodayaushe a jikin turken¹⁰ saiwa

⁸ Ba harshen Hausa kadai yake nuna wannan halayya ta shafe kawara ma'anar jinsi a wurin jam'i ba, har a harshen Rasha kanwar ja ce kamar yadda Bobaljik (2015: 8-9) ya bayyana.

⁹ Ganin cewa suna da kusanci, ya sa aka hadè su wuri daya.

¹⁰ Abin da wannan bincike yake kira 'turke' shi ne da Ingilishi 'Base' Bauer (1988:238), ya ba da ma'anar

ake kulla su. Haka ma, kulli na waje, kulli ne da ake yi a tsakanin turken kalma da na dafi. Misali:

8a) tiilasta

b) kaamaawaa

A nan, dafin '-ta' an kulla ta ne ga turken kalmar suna 'tiilas Ø'. Ita ko '-waa'an kulla ta ne ga jikin kalmar aikatau. Ta farko, '√tiilas Ø'. Ma'ana kalma ce da aka gina da saiwa da kuma boyayyen dafin suna. Sai 'kaamaa' da aka gina saiwar '√kaam-' da dafin aikatau '-aa'. To sai aka kulla dafin '-ta' ga turken 'tiilas', ita ko '-waa' ga turken 'kaamaa'. A nan wannan ya nuna ga turken kalma kawai ake kulla su, ba ga turken saiwa ba.

Ita ko jerantawa, tana ba da bayani ne a kan wane tubali ne ake fara samarwa? Sannan ina ne, tabbataccen muhallinsa a cikin kalma? Wannan bincike ya gano cewa bangare na farko da ake fara samarwa na kalma shi ne 'dafi'. Dalili kuwa, a nan neake samun ma'ana ta suna ko sifa ko aikatau ko kuma bayanau. Sannan dafi ne yake da hakken zafo saiwar da yake ganin ta dace, sai jerantawa ta kai saiwa muhallinta na dindindin wanda za ta yi aiki. Misali, Hausa tana zafo gundarin kwayar ma'anar 'suna' da 'adadin tilo' da 'jinsin mace' ta kunsu su wuri daya a matsayin kwayar ma'ana, sai a cusa su cikin '-aa' a matsayin dafi¹¹. Daga nan dafin '-aa' sai ya shigo rumbun sayyun kalmomi, ya zafo saiwar 'jaak-' a matsayin wadda za a kulla su tare, su ba da kalma. Ita ko daga nan, jerantawa ita take da hakken kai saiwar bangaren hauni (hagu) na dafin domin samar amintacciyar kira. Wato sai ta ba da kalmar 'jaakaa'.

Karin kwayar ma'ana cikin dafi (Ornamentation)

Dafi a harshe yakan sami kari na ma'ana a dalilin samun kansa a wani muhalli. Har wa yau Noyer & Embick (2007:305) a kan wannan batu, sun ce

turke kamar haka: "Base: A base is any item to which affixes may be added. Roots and stems are special types of base. A base is sometimes termed **operand**". Fassara: Turke: Turke shi ne duk wani tubali wanda ana iya fara masa dafi. Da turke da tushe duk nau'o'i ne na turke na musamman. A wasu wurare ana kiran turke 'ginshiki'. Aronoff & Fudeman (2005:235), sun ce 'Base: The root or stem to which affix attaches' Fassara: 'Turke: Shi ne saiwa ko tushe inda zaa dafa dafi'.

¹¹ Dafin da yake nuna suna da tilo da mace, ba daya ba ne, suna da yawa, harshe yana zafo wanda ya fi cancanta. A nahawun samau (Generative Grammar) karkashin Minimalisanci (Minimalism) ana kiran al'amarin 'Numeration', wato 'zaɓen gundarin ma'anoni'.

“..certain morphemes are added at PF”.

Fassara: “..akan kara wasu kwayoyin ma’ana kafin a kai matakin karshe na furucinsu”.

Kamar‘Jituwa’ (agreement feature) tana daga cikin ma’anar da ake samun karinta musamman a cikin fasali na jumla. Karin ma’anar yana iya kasancewa ko na sharadin kwaikwayo (copying) ko kuma na dacewa a muhallin da ta zo (contextual). A kira-jumla-sak ana kiran waɗannan kwayoyin ma’anar da Ingilishi ‘Dissociated morphemes’, wato kwayoyin ma’ana masu zuwa daga baya. Misali

9a) jaakij ne

b) kaama¹² zoomoo

A misalan da suke sama, bayan aikin nuna ajin suna da adadi da kuma jinsi wanda daɗin ‘-ii’ yake yi har wa yau, shi ne madugun nuna jituwa ta kwaikawayo domin kalmar ‘nee’ ta zo ne a dalilin dacewarsu ta fuskar adadin tilo da jinsin namiji. Wannan ne sharadin kwaikwayo. Da za ka ce ‘*jaakij cee’ za a sami matsala domin babu daidaito na jinsi, sai dai a ce ‘jaakii nee’. Haka ma, bayan nuna aikatau da daɗin ‘-a’ yake yi, har wa yau, shi ne aka dorawa masa alafalanci abin da zai biyo baya, wato ko wakilin suna ko maf’uli boyayye ko suna maf’uli ko kuma na sigar kauce (passive). A nan, sai ya kasance maf’uli suna ne, ya dace ya biyo baya ba wakilin suna ko wani na daban ba. Wannan ne, kari na cancanta. Ka ga a nan, dofanan biyu wato ‘-ii’ da ‘-a’ an kara musu wata kwayar ma’ana ta ‘jituwa’¹³ wadda can farko babu ita.

Sajewa (Syncretism)

Sajewa muhimmin batu ne a nazarin kirar kalma, musamman a ra’in kira-jumla-sak (Distributed Morphology). Embick (2015:113) ya bayyana ma’anarsa kamar haka:

The term syncretism is used differently in different description and analytical traditions. In this book, it refers to situations in which distinct

syntacticosemantic environments (i.e sets of synsem features bundled into a morpheme) show the same phonological exponent.

Fassara: Kalmar ‘sajewa’ ana amfani da ita ta fuskoki daban-daban kamar yadda aka saba gani a nazarce-nazarce daban-daban. A cikin wannan littafi, abin da ake nufi shi ne yanayi ne wanda gundarin ma’ana na muhalli daban-daban (wato shi ne inda gundarin ma’ana na tsatson tsarin ginin jumla da ainihin ma’ana ake kulla su, a matsayin kwayar ma’ana ɗaya) kuma suke nuna tsarin furuci ɗaya.

Sajewa ta kasu gida biyu: Akwai mai cikakken tsari da ragaggen tsari. Mai cikakken tsari (Systematic syncretism) ita ce mai nuna gundarin furuci ɗaya kuma ma’ana ɗaya. Misali:

10a) huulunaa

b) riigunaa

c) bargunaa

A nan, dofanan da aka ja wa layi a misali na (10), siffarsu ɗasa kuma ma’anarsa ɗaya wato nuna cewa saiwar sun ace kuma jam’i. Sai kuma sajewa mai ragaggen tsari (non-systematic syncretism), wato inda aka sami, ma’ana ɗaya furuci daban ko kuma furuci ɗaya amma ma’ana daban. Misali:

11a) bukkookii

b) shugabannii

c) sayaa

d) faraa

Misalan dofanan farko (a,b) wato ‘-ookii’ da ‘-annii’ duk ma’anar da suke nunawa ɗaya ce wato bayan nuna ajin sayyun, sai kuma jam’i amma kuma furuci ya sha bamban. Amma, sai ga shi an sami daɗi furucinsu ɗaya sai dai ma’anarsa ta bambanta domin na farko aikataune, mai bi masa kuma sifaa misalin (c) da na (d).

Gasa Da Shingewa (Competition & Blocking)

Gasa da Ingilishi shi ne ‘competition’.Ana samun gasa ne ga tubalai (kamar daɗi) masu aiki ɗaya, sannan kowanne yana gasar ne da manufar a zaɓe shi a matsayin zakara, kuma a sanya shi a muhallin da zai yi aiki. Dalilan zaɓen ɗaya, a bar ɗaya, yana faruwa ne saboda fifikon cancantarsa ta fuskar nahawu (Competition for grammaticality). Misali:

12a) gulaabee

b) riigunaa

¹² A ra’ayin wannan bincike cewa wannan daɗi ‘giredi’ kamar rage masa matsayin ne domin da shi ne saiwar take zama aikatau, saboda haka ajintau ne na aikatau ‘verbalizer category’. Sannan a tsarin nazarin kira-jumla-sak, ana fara ginin jumla daga matakin sakakkiyar saiwa ‘neutral root’ da daɗin ajintau ‘categorizer affix’, ba daga matakin kalma ake somawa ba, kamar yadda aka saba a tsarin nazari na farko. Kuma shi ne ake kira ‘phase-based analysis’ wato tsarin nazari kula da kananan tubalai. Ba za ka ce dole, sai an biyo da wani abu ba, baya ga saiwar da daɗin ajintau ba.

¹³ ‘Agreement feature’ da Ingilishi.

A waɗannan misalai na (12), kowace saiwa an dafa mata dofanen da ya dace da ita. Wannan ya sa aka sami amintacciyar kira mai ma'ana. Da za a sauya wannan tsari na kirar waɗannan kalmomi, misali '*riiaagee da '*gulbunaa'. Ba sai an fada ba, dofanen da aka dafa ya haifar da rusasshiyar kira. Haka ma, wani lokaci akan sami zabin son mai sadarwa (Competition for use) (Embick 2008:61-62). Misali

13a) kasidooji

b) kasiiduu

A waɗannan misalai na (13), akwai dafi biyu, wato '-ooji' da '-uu'. Sannan kowanne ya ba da kira madaidaiciya. Haka kuma, duk lokacin da za a yi zaɓen zakara (Winner) ba a son wanda ya zarce (overspecified). ko kuma wanda ya kasa (underspecified) da kuma wanda ya saba gaba daya (conflict feature) (Siddiqi, 2006, 2009). Gasa ita take haifar da shingewa 'Blocking', domin duk tubalin dafin da aka zaɓa aka saka a wani muhalli, wannan zai ba shi damar shingace masu adawa da shi. Shingewa a fahintar Aronoff (1976:43) "the non occurrence of form due to simple existence of another". Fassara: 'rashin zuwan wani tubali saboda kawai wani tubalin a wurin'. Misali:

14a) jaakii jaakaa jaakunaa

b) farii faraa faraaree

c) gidaa *gidanyagidaajee

d) bargoo *barganyaa bargunaa

Abu na farko da za a fahinta daga waɗannan misalai na (14), shi ne, Hausa harshe ne wanda yake da sigogi daban-daban masu nuna adadi da jinsi. Wannan ya sa duk lokaci da za a samar da wata siga ta jinsi ko ta adadi to lalle za a fuskanci matuƙar gasa a tsakaninsu. Sannan kuma, akwai shinge domin misalan (c) da (d) ba su da jinsin mace kamar yadda aka nuna a misalan (14a) da (14b). Wani ƙarin bayani shi ne, jinsin namiji da aka jingina 'gidaa' da 'bargoo' ba na haƙiƙa ba ne ƙagagge ne domin a zahiri babu gidaa namiji babu gidaa mace, haka ma 'bargoo' abubuwa ne sandarru marasa rai, saboda haka jingina musu jinsin namiji, jinsi ne kawai irin nahawu 'Grammatical Gender' kamar yadda Kramer (2009,2014) ta bayyana.

Jirwayen Tsarin Sautin kirar kalma (Allomorphy)

Jirwayen tsarin sauti wani al'amari ne muhimmi a fagen nazarin alaƙar ɓangarorin ilimin kimiyyar harshe (Linguistic interface). Ga abin da Embick (2015:170) ya ce game da shi:

The term allomorphy is sometimes used to refer to any variations in phonological

shape that morphemes undergo when they are combined. Allomorphy can be suppletive or phonological"

Fassara:

Kalmar jirwayen tsarin sauti a wasu lokuta ana amfani da shi domin nuna duk wani bambanci na fasalin gundarin tsarin sauti wanda ya shafi ƙwayoyin kalma idan aka kulla su. Jirwayen tsarin sauti zai iya kasancewa na tsarin sauti da wanda ba na tsarin sauti.

Dafi shi ne madugu uban tafiya da yake kulla alaƙa tsakanin kirar kalma da tsarin sauti (Sani 2011:5). Akasarin jirwayen tsarin sauti da kirar kalma yana da alaƙa da nasu. Misali:

15 a) gidaajee

b) birii

Bayanin da za a yi a nan dangane da misali na (15), shi ne, asalin kalmar gidaajee daga kalmar 'gidaa' aka samo ta. Da aka zo samar da jam'i ya kamata ta kasance 'gidaadee', amma saboda dokar tsarin sauti wadda take nuna duk inda wasali /e/ ya gabaci baƙin /d/, yana nashe shi zuwa sautin /j/, wato dai, an sami inda wasali yake nashe baƙi. Sannan kada a manta, wannan wasali da baƙin sun zo ne a matsayin dafi, a nan abin ya faru. Haka ma, asali kalmar tana da tsarin karin sauti sama-sama 'gidaa' amma da aka dafa mata dafi mai nuna jam'i sai tsarin ya sauya zuwa sama-ƙasa-sama¹⁴. Kalmar 'birii' dafinta mai nuna ajinta da adadinta da jinsinta shi ne '-ii', yana da kusanci sosai da wasalin saiwar wato 'i' ka ga ke nan, ya zama jituwar wasali (Vowel harmony)¹⁵.

Yalwaá (Productivity)

Yalwa al'amari ne muhimmi a nazarin kirar kalma, wanda duk akasarin littafai masu koyar da limin kirar kalma suke ware babi guda domin yin bayaninsa. Kadan daga cikin waɗannan ayyuka su ne: Aronoff (1976) da Bauer (1983,1988, 2001) Katamba (1993) da Haspelmath (2002, 2010) da Aronoff & Fudeman

¹⁴ Wannan ne Newman (1986) ya kira 'Tone-integrating affix' wato dafi mai sauya akalar tsarin karin sauti na farko.

¹⁵ Schane (1973:52) ya bayyana ma'anar jituwar wasali kamar haka: 'Vowel harmony is a case in which vowels agree in certain features'. Fassara: *Jituwar wasali* al'amari ne, wanda ake samun wasula sun jitu ta wasu fuskoki.

(2005, 2011) da McCarthy(2002) da Plag (2003)¹⁶ da sauransu. Amma kash! A nazarin kirar kalmomin Hausa yalwa babu shi, wato ba a kai can ba, musamman a akasarin littafan karatu (Kamar Fagge (2004,2013) da Newman (2000) da Abubakar (2001) da Jaggar (2001) da Sani (2002) da Amfani (2007)). Bauer (2001:211) dangane da ma'anar 'yalwa' ya ce

"Productivity" deals with a number of new words that can be coined using a particular morphological process.."

Fassara:

"Yalwa" ta magana ne a kan dɓimbin sababbin kalmomi da za a iya kirkirowata yin amfani da wata kebabbiyar hanyar kirar kalma.."

Malamin ya bayyana wasu hanyoyi biyu na gane 'yalwa' a kirar kalma su ne "Availability" wato 'yawa' da "Profitability" 'farin jini wajen amfani (da shi ga masu harshe). Katamba (1993:67) ya ce "Productivity is a matter of degree" Fassara "Yalwa" al'amari ne mai mataki hawa-hawa". Lalle 'Dafi' a fagen samar da kalmomi, hanya ce mai matuƙar yalwa a Hausa. A wani lokaci a kan sami wani dafi yana da yalwa. Ga abin da Du & Zhang (2010: 60) suka ruwaito (an ciro batun ne, daga Bauer (2001;12)):

"..an affix to be used to coin new complex words is referred as productivity" Fassara

'Dafi wanda za a iya amfani da shi don kirkarar kalmomi masu sarkakiya shi ma, ana ce masa 'yalwa'. Misali:

Dubi wadannan misalai:

16a) san>

sanɪ>sananne>sananniya>sanannnu>masani>

masaniya>masana

b) riguna> wanduna> alluna> barguna>

jakuna> tarkuna>bankuna>

hukuna>jikkuna> dɔnkuna .

A wadannan misalai na (16a) an ga irin yadda saiwar 'san' ta nuna dabi'ar yalwa wajen samar da kalmomi takwas. Sai kuma, misali (16b) inda aka ga yadda dafin ajintau mai kunshe da jam'i wato '-una' ya taimaka wajen samar da kalmomi goma.

KAMMALAWA

A takaice, al'amarin da ya shafi abubuwan da suke faruwa ga 'Dafi' abu ne mai fadi da ban sha'awa. Sannan wadannan 'yan misalai da aka goya a karkashin kowanne ya kara fitowa da abin da suke nufi. Sannan

¹⁶ Littafin da aka wallafa kacokan a kan wannan ɓangare na ilmin kimiyyar harshe guda ɗaya ne kawai, wato 'Morphological Productivity' na Laurie Bauer (2001).

batutuwan da aka kawo za su zama jagora ga mai son zurfafa nazari a kan dafi. Baya ga haka, daga cikin abubuwan da suke faruwa an gano cewa dai, akwai waɗanda suke faruwa kafin bayyanar dafi, da kuma bayan samuwar dafi. Haƙiƙa, Spencer (1991:14) ya yi gaskiya da ya kira 'Dafi' cewa "Affixation is morphology par excellence" ma'ana "Dafi madarar ilmin kirar kalma ce mai ban sha'awa".

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