

Narrative and past habitual sequences in Hausa

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Abstract

Based on the overall properties of narratives, Wald (1987) has proposed that past habitual sequences are conflated narratives and are only minimally different from single-event sequences. The aim of this paper is to test this minimal difference analysis in light of two later studies of Hausa¹ discourse (Brye 1991, Cain 1991) that focus on the structure and peak-marking features of narratives. Using the autobiographical story *Yarintata* (My childhood) by Moussa-Aghali (2000) as its main data source, this paper shows that the peak-marking features found in typical narrative sequences are also found marking peaks in past habitual sequences, so that Wald's (1987) analysis can indeed be maintained.

Keywords: Hausa, narrative peaks, discourse

1 Introduction

Narrative discourse has played a prominent role in African linguistics, not only as main data source for linguistic description, but also because it is believed to have a considerable influence on linguistic structure (cf. the typologies of African languages based solely on their narrative structure; e.g. Longacre (1990)). A narrative is generally considered to involve a string of at least two main clauses describing past events that occurred only once and where the order of the clauses reflects the real or intended temporal order of the events (Adam (1994:92–105) and Wald (1987:483ff, 506), who cites Labov and Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972:361), etc.). This type of narrative, which one may call a typical narrative sequence (TNS), is illustrated next for Hausa:

- (1) *Mu-kà toonè roogò-n, mu-kà aunàa shi, kuma mu-kà kai shì sìtò.*
1P-RP dig cassava-DF 1P-RP weigh 3FS and 1P-RP take 3MS storage
'We dug the cassava, weighed it, and took it to storage.'

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¹Hausa (Chadic) is spoken mainly in Cameroon, Ghana, Niger, and Nigeria. Most examples in this paper are from the life story *Yarintata* or other published sources, while some are constructed sentences tested for grammaticality with native speakers of Katsinanci dialect and Standard Hausa. The transcription follows Hausa standard orthography with some changes. Long vowels are represented as double letters, low tone as grave accent, and falling tone as circumflex accent. High tone is unmarked. Small capitals (B, D, K, Y, R) represent glottalized/laryngealized consonants and the trilled [r]. Written 'f' is pronounced [h] (or [h^w] before [a]) in Katsinanci. The abbreviations are: 1, 2, 3 '1st, 2nd, 3rd person'; CPL 'completive'; COP 'copula'; DF 'definite'; F 'feminine'; IMP 'impersonal'; IPR 'imperative'; IPV 'imperfective'; M 'masculine'; NEG 'negative'; P 'plural'; RI 'relative imperfective'; RP 'relative perfective'; S 'singular'; SBJ 'subjunctive'.

Sentence (1) describes a sequence of three past and single occurrence events presenting them in their real temporal order. What also makes sentence (1) a piece of narrative is that it would typically appear in a larger story (with preceding and following events). In Hausa, clauses expressing single-event sequences normally appear in relative perfective (RP), as indicated in the interlinear gloss.² Given these criteria, TNSs contrast with sequences that describe past events, which, however, have multiple occurrences, as illustrated next:

- (2) *Kullum sai mù toonè roogò-n, mù aunàa shi, kuma mù kai shì sitôo.*
 every day then 1P-SBJ dig cassava-DF 1P-SBJ weigh 3MS and 1P-SBJ take 3MS storage
 ‘Every day we would dig the cassava, weigh it, and take it to storage.’

In sentence (2), the three events described are past and understood to be temporally ordered in the same way as in sentence (1). The difference between the two sentences is that in (2), the clauses carry the subjunctive (SBJ) and the sequence of events is understood to have happened many times. It may be noted that the multiple occurrence interpretation of the events in sentence (2) is due to the subjunctive tense/aspect, not to the adverb *kullum* ‘every day’ (cf. discussion of (21) below; cf. also Tuller (1986:95ff)). Labov (1972:361) claims that in sentences such as (2), the events, strictly speaking, are not temporally ordered, since one event of weighing may precede and follow one event of digging. Consequently, according to Labov, sentences such as (2) would not be narratives but past habitual sequences (PHSs). Wald (1987:484, 502), while discussing a number of languages, including Hausa, rejects Labov’s argument and claims that PHSs imply a narrative and are in fact many instances of the same narrative conflated into one sequence. In this sense, on each particular occasion, the event of weighing in sentence (2) only follows the event of digging.

Since Wald’s (1987) paper however, we have seen major developments in the study of narrative in general and Hausa narrative in particular. For example, Longacre (1983, 1990) proposes that a narrative storyline has three distinct notional phases, an inciting moment, a climax, and a denouement. These notional phases may be formally marked, so that one can distinguish in a storyline the corresponding pre-peak, peak, and post-peak. Longacre shows that languages commonly use recognizable features to formally mark the peak of a story or episode. Indeed, Brye (1991) and Cain (1991), working in the framework of Longacre, identified a number of peak-marking features in Hausa folktale narratives.

²In sentence (i), it is possible to replace the relative perfective with the completive, as illustrated next:

- (i) *Mun toonè roogò-n, mun aunàa shi, kuma mun kai shì sitôo.*
 1P.CPL dig cassava-DF 1P.CPL weigh 3ms and 1P.CPL take 3ms storage
 ‘We dug the cassava, weighed it, and took it to storage.’

Examples (1) and (i) describe the same events and are equally interpreted as sequential, past, discrete, definite/specific, single-occurrence, etc. Nonetheless, they are used in different circumstances. Sentence (i) would be used to report a series of actions to someone entitled to receive such a report, such as a supervisor. It would be told with the expectation that the receiver would acknowledge what happened, take some action, etc. This usage probably results from the current relevance value of completive (cf. Newman (2000:569ff); cf. also Caron (1991:164ff) and Schubert (1971:220f)). The clauses in (i) are not necessarily connected and indeed the apparent ordering of events is not important (i.e., the report could be like a checklist of the activities done, which will be individually appreciated by the supervisor). In contrast, sentence (1) would be used to tell a story where ordering matters. Here the events are reported detached from the present. The contrast between relative perfective and completive sequences seems to be reflected in habitual sequences as well. Indeed, only PHSs using the subjunctive can have true narrative interpretation, i.e., they alone are detached from the present. Habitual sequences with the imperfective allow a present time reading. For example, if the subjunctive in the second clause of sentence (12) is replaced with the imperfective, the sentence would admit a present tense interpretation (cf. *kullum munàa zuwàa tàare munàa koomôowaa tàare* ‘every day we go together and come back together’).

The aim of this paper is to test Wald's (1987) claim that PHSs are conflated narratives in light of Longacre's proposals and the peak features approach used by Brye (1991) and Cain (1991) for analyzing Hausa narratives. For this purpose, the paper will essentially seek to identify peak marking features used in an autobiographical life story text that contains both typical narrative and past habitual sequences. We will see that past habitual sequences and typical narratives are characterized by a similar organization into an inciting moment/pre-peak, a climax/peak, and a denouement/post-peak. Furthermore, we will see that the two types of sequences share the same peak-marking features. The paper will conclude that both TNSs and PHSs are fundamentally narratives.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 reviews previous approaches to Hausa narratives. Section 3 presents the various peak features illustrating them in TNSs and PHSs taken from the story *Yarintata*. Section 4 presents a closing discussion on the relationship between TNSs and PHSs.

2 Previous approaches to narrative discourse in Hausa

Hausa narrative discourse has been the subject of a number of studies in various frameworks dealing with its different facets. Thus, Hausa narrative has been studied relative to its overall structure and reference tracking mechanisms (cf. Christopher (1991), Goring (1991), Jaggar (1983), etc.). It has also been investigated from the perspective of its sequential structure (Tuller 1986, Wald 1987) and its peak marking features (Brye 1991, Cain 1991).

The use of the relative perfective in Hausa narrative has naturally been the focus of most studies. The relative perfective is a special tense/aspect paradigm that appears in relative clauses, constituent focus clauses, *wh*-question clauses, and narrative clauses and other past contexts. Indeed, numerous authors have observed that in storyline clauses, Hausa obligatorily uses the relative perfective, instead of the general completive. However, there is disagreement over what exactly is the function of the relative perfective in narrative (and in the other contexts where it also appears; cf. Abdoulaye (2004, 2008)). To better understand the various positions, let us first recall some key aspects of the narrative storyline that can be grammatically expressed. According to Wald (1987:506), a typical narrative must have the following cross-linguistic characteristics:

- (3) a. Distinction in ground, i.e., difference between prominent and background events
- b. Temporal sequence
- c. Reference to the past
- d. Reference to single occurrence events

According to Wald (1987), languages may choose to grammatically encode one or more of these characteristics. Wald (1987:488f), Jungrauthmayr (1983:227), and others think that the relative perfective in Hausa is a sequential/consecutive marker and hence codes the characteristic specified in (3b). However, Schuh (1985a,b), as reported in Tuller (1986:102f, 142f), rejects such an analysis and proposes that relative perfective in Hausa marks single and punctual events, i.e., for Schuh the relative perfective rather encodes the characteristic listed in (3d). Schuh cites the following as an illustration (adapted from Tuller (1986:102f)):

- (4) a. *Ìdan Gizò yaa yi shillòo yaa gàji, sai yà saukoo yà ci*
 when Spider 3MS.CPL do swing 3MS.CPL tire then 3MS.SBJ come.down 3MS.SBJ eat
gyàDaa.
 peanuts
 ‘After Spider had swung all his soul, he would come down and eat some peanuts.’
- b. *Dà sàmàarii ukkù su-kà isa su-kà nèemi sù ga sarkii. A-kà yii mu-sù*
 when youths three 3P-RP arrive 3P-RP seek 3P.SBJ see emir imp-RP do to-3P
isò. Su-kà faaDì su-kà yi gaisuwaa.
 presentation 3P-RP fall 3P-RP do greeting
 ‘When the three youths arrived, they sought to see the emir. They were introduced. They reached the ground and greeted.’

In sentence (4a), the temporal clause (marked by *in/ìdan* ‘if, when’) carries the completive and it is understood that there were many instances of Spider’s swinging and getting tired of swinging. In contrast, in sentence (4b) where the temporal clause carries the relative perfective, each event is instantiated only once. For Schuh (1985a,b) it is naturally this function of marking punctual/single events that allows the relative perfective to appear in typical narrative sequences. A problem in Schuh’s account is that the relative perfective does not exclusively mark one-time events. For example, when one replaces the completive in (4a) with the relative perfective, the sentence would be grammatical, as seen next in (5):

- (5) *Ìdan Gizò ya yi shillòo ya gàji, sai yà saukoo yà ci gyàDaa.*
 when Spider 3MS.RP do swing 3MS.RP tire then 3MS.SBJ come.down 3MS.SBJ eat peanuts
 ‘As soon as Spider had swung all his soul, he would then come down and eat some peanuts.’

Schuh’s account of the contrast between (4a) and (4b) implies that (5), too, with the relative perfective, describes one-time events. This is clearly not the case. The one-time event reading of (4b) is simply a context effect. The difference between sentences like (4a) and (5) is the time interval between the events in the conditional/temporal clause and the events in the main clause. In (5), it is understood that at each occasion, the event of eating immediately follows the event of swinging. For this reason, in Abdoulaye (2008) the relative perfective is taken to be a specific time marker, that is, a tense/aspect category that refers to time but without indicating whether this time is past or future. In a later development, the specific time marker acquired a speech time orientation in narrative storylines and main clauses of dialogical discourse to mark the simple past. In this analysis then, the relative perfective would mark the characteristic in (3c). However, since the relative perfective is used in many other contexts besides narrative storylines, then one cannot say that it has an inherent narrative function.

In a departure from previous studies on Hausa narrative, Brye (1991) and Cain (1991) focus on the structure of narratives and use the tagmemic model of discourse analysis developed by Longacre (1990), who distinguishes three narrative phases in a storyline, i.e., the inciting moment, the climax, and the denouement. These notional phases may correspond to three formal structures, the pre-peak, the peak, and the post-peak. Indeed, according to Longacre (1990), narrative storylines have two levels of structure, a deep or notional level and a surface or formal level that are mapped on one another and can explicitly be represented as shown in Table 1:

The inciting moment/pre-peak is made up of storyline clauses that may express script-predictable or otherwise unsurprising events. The climax/peak is the point of maximal tension, i.e., a series of pivotal events in the storyline that have a heightened vividness, and often expressing the unexpected

Deep level:	Inciting moment	Climax	Denouement
Surface level:	Pre-peak	Peak	Post-peak

Table 1: Structures of narrative storylines

(cf. Longacre (1990:58)). At the climax/peak, the listener/reader is usually left wondering what would happen next. The denouement/post-peak is the resolution of the tension created in the climax/peak. The aim of Brye (1991) and Cain (1991) is to identify the formal features that identify a passage as a pre-peak, peak, or post-peak in Hausa folktales. They conjointly find that there are about five features that identify peaks:

- (6) a. Particle *sai* (Brye (1991); only if at sentence-initial position for Cain (1991:49))
- b. Promotion of secondary characters (Cain 1991:49)
- c. Short and simple sentences in relative perfective (Brye 1991, Cain 1991)
- d. Dialogues (Brye 1991)
- e. Unexpected TAMs replacing relative perfective (Brye 1991:55)

The list given in (6) is not exhaustive and this paper will indeed propose other peak features. It should be noted that Brye (1991) and Cain (1991) worked with folktales, whose storyline primarily consists of sequences of punctual and single occurrence events. This paper will use the features approach but consider both typical narrative and past habitual sequences. Would one find the same peak features in past habitual sequences that are present in typical narrative sequences? To explore the issue, this paper uses the autobiographical life story *Yarintata* (Moussa-Aghali 2000). By contrast to a folktale, a life story is expected to contain substantive amount of both simple narrative and past habitual sequences.

3 Peak features in narrative and past habitual sequences in *Yarintata*

The aim of this section is to show that in *Yarintata*, most peak features found in TNSs are also found in PHSs. The section will review four features, including two already proposed in Brye (1991) and Cain (1991) and illustrate their distribution in both types of sequences. The main guiding choice of the peak, beside the markers, is the unexpected nature or the heightened tension of the event. The selected peak, besides expressing unexpected or high tension information, must be preceded by an inciting moment and followed by a denouement.

3.1 Particle *sai* ‘suddenly, simply, just’

Sai in Hausa is a particle with an extensive range of meanings and uses. Depending on the context, it can mean “except, then, nevertheless, in that case, must, than, when, only when, unless, till” (cf. Lukas (1955:108), cited in Attouman (1998:49)). It is very likely that *sai* has undergone a wide grammaticalization process which yielded all its different uses. Regarding narrative discourse analysis,

the main issue is that not all instances of *sai* mark narrative peaks, although all of the meanings just cited may appear in any discourse genre. For this reason, Cain (1991:49) claims that only a sentence-initial *sai* marks peak in narrative. In fact, there are only two basic meanings of *sai*, illustrated in (7) and (8) below, that can be relevant to event sequencing, and only one of these meanings will be considered in this paper in regards to marking the peak. The first *sai* relevant to storyline development can be translated as ‘then’ and is a simple sequence marker that can be used in storylines as well as in procedural texts, i.e., texts that describe how to do something (for example, how to cook a dish). This is illustrated next:

- (7) *In ki-kà zubà ruwaa sai kì rufèe tukunyà-R.*
 if 2FS-RP pour water then 2FS.SBJ close pot-DF
 ‘If you pour water you then close the pot.’

In procedural texts, the question of peak marking is irrelevant, since such texts are not structured like a narrative storyline with a pre-peak, a peak, and a post-peak. The *sai* meaning ‘then’ can also be replaced or combined with alternative, simple consecution-marking particles such as *sànnan* ‘then’ (lit. ‘time-that’), *dadàa* ‘following that’, etc. For example, *sànnan* ‘then’ can replace *sai* ‘then’ in (7) with the same meaning. The second *sai* relevant to storyline development, and which can be considered as the peak marker in narratives, can be translated as ‘suddenly, simply, just’; a meaning that is not usually mentioned in previous studies. This *sai* basically marks surprise and unexpectedness, as illustrated next:

- (8) *Mu-nàa hiira-R-mù (kawài) sai ya taashì ya tàfi.*
 1P-IPV chat-of-1P like.that suddenly 3MS.RP rise 3MS.RP go
 ‘We were chatting when he (with no apparent reason) suddenly stood up and left.’

One difference between *sai* ‘suddenly, simply, just’ and *sai* ‘then’ is that *sai* ‘then’ links up the clause it introduces to the preceding clause in a natural, expected sequence. By contrast, *sai* ‘suddenly, simply, just’ introduces a clause containing an unexpected development, that is, a break from the content of the previous clause, as seen in example (8). In this function, *sai* can be replaced or combined with alternative markers of unexpectedness, such *kawài* ‘only, like that, out of the blue’ (or the other peak markers discussed later in this section). It may be noted that simple consecution-marking particles such as *sànnan* ‘then’ cannot replace *(kawài) sai* ‘(like that) suddenly’ in (8).

Both Brye (1991) and Cain (1991) cite *sai* at the top of their list of peak-marking features. Indeed, *sai*, alone or in combination, figures prominently in TNS peaks in the story *Yarintata*, as illustrated in the following (to facilitate parsing, the Hausa punctuation pattern will be maintained as much as possible in the English free translation):

- (9) *Nan dà nan sai na ga uwa-R yaarò-n taa gudoo, ta zaagoo makumshi-n*
 quickly then 1.RP see mother-of boy-DF 3FS.CPL run 3FS.RP draw case-of
taabà-R-tà dàgà cikin àljiihuu, ta taunà yar taabàa, ta maatsàa mi-ni
 tobacco-of-3FS from in pocket 3FS.RP chew small tobacco 3FS.RP press to-1S
ruwa-n taabà-R nan à wurin dà na ji ciwò. Sai kòo ta faarà
 juice-of tobacco-DF that at place that 1S.RP feel pain suddenly indeed 3FS.RP start
murza-R wurì-n, i-nàa iihùu, i-nàa “wâyoo nii kâinaa! wâayoo innaa! wâyoo
 rubbing-of place-DF 1S-IPV yell 1S-IPV help 1S myself help mother help
bàaba!” Duk dà wànnan bà tà faasàa ba, sai murzaa-taa ta-kèe yîi, wai
 father despite that NEG.CPL 3FS stop NEG only rubbing-of.1S 3FS-RI do seem

don jinii yà zùba dà kyâu koo in saamùu in warkèè dà maza.
 in.order blood 3MS.SBJ spill well in.order 1S.SBJ get 1S.SBJ heal quickly

‘Rapidly I saw the boy’s mother running to me, she drew her tobacco case from her pocket, she chewed some tobacco, and she pressed the tobacco juice where I was wounded. Suddenly, she started rubbing the wound, I was crying, yelling “help to myself, help mother, help father!” Despite all that she did not stop, she was rubbing again and again, in order to cause a good bleeding that would supposedly quicken my healing’ (adapted from Moussa-Aghali (2000:7)).

In this episode, the first *sai* introduces an expected reaction of an adult seeing a wounded child and hence means ‘then’ (the author got wounded in preceding context). For this reason, all clauses in the first sentence constitute the inciting moment, with the woman coming and doing so far inoffensive actions. But then, suddenly, the woman engages in what the author experienced as the most unexpected and painful phase of the operation. This is encoded in the second clause introduced by *sai* ‘suddenly’, which is here reinforced with the emphatic particle *kòò* ‘indeed’. The third *sai* means ‘only’ and starts the post-peak passage resolving the climax, where the woman just kept doing the operation despite the girl’s pain. Another example of *sai* marking peak in a TNS is given next:

- (10) *Mu-nàa nan, mu-nàa nan, sai dà lookàcii ya yi. Yâaraa sukà yii ta tàaruwaa*
 1P-be there 1P-be there till when time 3MS.RP do children 3P-RP do much gathering
kashii-kashii, su-nàa jiràa, sai can wani maalàmii ya fitoo bàaki-n aji,
 groups 3P-IPV wait suddenly there some teacher 3MS.RP come.out front-of class
ya-nàa rìke dà waDANSU manyà-manyàn tàkàrduu, bà mù ji koomii ba sai:
 3MS-be holding some.P big.P papers NEG.CPL 1P hear nothing NEG only
 “Approchez, approchez candidats et candidates!”
 advance.IPR.2P advance.IPR.2P candidate.MASC.PL and candidate.FEM.PL

‘We were staying [in town], till the time came. Children kept gathering in little groups, they were waiting, and after a long time, suddenly a teacher came out of a classroom, holding some thick papers, we heard nothing but only: “come close come close, all candidates!”’ (adapted from Moussa-Aghali (2000:45)).

The first *sai* means ‘till’ and is not a peak marker. The students took an exam and had to wait for the day the results are due to be proclaimed. The second *sai* introduces the turbulent passage, i.e., the peak, which stretches to the end of the example (in fact, this peak passage continues beyond the quoted data). After waiting at the proclamation place, finally a teacher appears with the results in hand, which starts the high-tension passage. This *sai* is reinforced by another peak-marking figure of speech in the middle of the peak passage, i.e., the exclusion of all options except the valid one: *bà mù ji koomii ba sai...* ‘we heard nothing but only...’ (see Section 3.3; note that the third *sai* means ‘only’ and is not a peak marker on its own). These combined markers highlight the critical moment—the proclamation of the exam results—and the gravity of the teacher’s words. A further example of *sai* marking peak in a TNS is given next:

- (11) *Ya saakè bai wà yaarò-n izini-n yà màaree ni, yà kuma saakè gayàa*
 3MS.RP repeat give to boy-DF permission-of 3MS.SBJ slap 1S 3MS.SBJ again repeat tell
mi-ni. Yaarò-n ya yi duk àbîn dà maalàmî-n ya gayàa ma-sà. Àmmaa wurin
 to-1S boy-DF 3MS.RP do all thing that teacher-DF 3MS.RP tell to-3ms but when
yà màaree ni sai na cêe ma-sà: “Tà taashì. Wàllaahì wannàn gami-n, in
 3MS.SBJ slap 1S suddeny 1S.RP tell to-3MS 3FS.SBJ rise by.God this time-DF if
ka màaree ni, nii maa zâ-n màaree kâ.’
 2MS.RP slap 1S 1S too FUT-1S slap 2MS

‘He again instructed the boy to slap my face, and tell me [the answer] again. The boy did all that the teacher told him to do. But when he was about to slap me, I suddenly say to him: “No way. By God this time, if you slap me, I will slap you too” (adapted from Moussa-Aghali (2000:42)).

In the context of this sentence, a teacher has ordered a pupil to give the correct answer to the author and then, as a punishment, slap her. That happened once, but on the second occasion, the author suddenly rebelled, with *sai* marking the peak passage (second sentence). *Sai*, as stated above, is given on the top of the peak markers list by both Brye (1991) and Cain (1991). This seems to be confirmed for the story *Yarintata*, where examples of *sai* marking narrative peaks in TNSs are almost on every page. Nonetheless, one also finds *sai* ‘suddenly, simply, just’ marking unexpected events in PHSs as well, as illustrated next:

- (12) *Sai na faarà zuwàa tàare dà yàarâ-n nan. [...] Kullum mù jee tàare*
 then 1S.RP start going together with children-DF those every day 1P.SBJ go together
mù koomoo tàare. Wani lookàcii dà saafe, in na taadà rashì-n kunyà-R, sai
 1P.SBJ return together some time morning if 1S.RP raise lack-of shyness-DF suddenly
in cêe baa nì zuwàa makarantaa.
 1S.SBJ say NEG.IPV 1S going school

‘Then I started going [to school] with those children. [...] Every day we go together and come back together. Sometimes on mornings, if I decide to cause trouble, I would simply say I am not going to school’ (adapted from Moussa-Aghali (2000:26)).

The first *sai* in the episode introduces an expected event, i.e., the newly arrived girl has found that other neighbor children are going to the same school as herself and decided to walk with them. The next sentence starts the PHS, where, up to end of the quoted example, the author describes recurrent events. The second *sai* introduces the clause containing an unexpected event, i.e., every now and then, as things seem to go well, the girl would suddenly rebel and refuse to go to school. At this point naturally the reader will wonder what the parents will do next. Example (12) is hence a PHS that is structured like a TNS, with a pre-peak, a peak, and a post-peak (not quoted in the example) and with the same particle *sai* marking the peak. Next we look at dialogues and peak marking in *Yarintata*.

3.2 Dialogues

In the context of narratives, whether folktales or life narratives, a dialogue, no matter its particular aim (information, giving orders, threats, etc.), is typically a direct engagement between the story’s characters. It is a pivotal moment in a story, where what is said may raise tension and leave the reader/listener wondering what may happen after the exchange. For this reason, Brye (1991) lists dialogues among the peak markers in Hausa stories (cf. also Longacre (1990:27, 42) for other languages). Dialogues (which can in fact sometimes be the simple direct quotation of one character) appear in TNSs in *Yarintata*, as already illustrated in example (10). In that example, the words said by the teacher raise the tension to a climax. However, dialogues also appear in PHSs, as seen in the following:

- (13) *Dà mun isoo, sai wâ-n ùbaa-naa yà tàmbàyee mù, “Kun daawoo*
 as.soon.as 1P.CPL arrive then brother.of father-of.1s 3MS.SBJ ask 1P 2P.CPL return
dàgà kurmùwâ-R koo?” Sai muu dukà mù cêe, “Aa’aa!” Shii kòo, gàa shi, duk
 from swimming-DF right then 1P all 1P.SBJ say no 3MS indeed here.is 3MS all

jiki-n-mù yaa yi farii, kuma gàa idàanù-n jaa jàawur.
 body-of-1P 3MS.CPL do white and here.is eyes-DF red all red

‘As soon as we come, my uncle would ask us, “You are back from swimming, aren’t you?” Then we would all of us say, “No, no!” However, it was evident, all our bodies were muddy, and our eyes reddened [by dirty waters]’ (adapted from Moussa-Aghali (2000:18)).

This example follows a description of how the author and other children were forbidden from going to swim in a pond and regularly violated the interdiction. When they return home and confront their uncle, there is a maximum of tension and the reader clearly may wonder what the uncle will do next. Another example of dialogues in a PHS is given in (14):

- (14) *Wani lookàcii, in uwaa-taa ta ga zâ-n fita, sai tà cêe, “Kêe, inaa zâa ki wàrhakà?” Nii kòò in cêe, “Makarantaa mànàa.” Sai tà cêe, “Yaushè ki-kà fitoo dàgà makarantâ-R har kî cêe zaa kî koomàa? BìDi indà ki-kà tsugùnnaa har raanaa tà yi sanyii, tundà bàa kee zaa kî buuDèe makarantâ-R ba. Koo màalâma-n-kù bà sù taashì dàgà kwaanaa ba yànzù.” Sai in zaunàa in yii ta wàasaa.*
 some time if mother-of.1S 3FS.RP see FUT-1S go out then 3FS.SBJ says 2FS where go 2FS this time 1S indeed 1S.SBJ say school of course then 3FS.SBJ say when 2FS-RP come from school-DF till 2FS.SBJ say FUT 2FS return seek where 2FS-RP squat till sun 3FS.SBJ do coolness since NEG 2FS FUT 2FS open school-DF NEG even teacher-of-2P NEG.CPL 3P wake from sleep NEG NOW then 1S.SBJ sit 1S.SBJ do much play

‘Some other times, if my mother sees that I am about to go out, she would say: “Hey you, where are you going at this hour?” And I would say: “To school of course.” She would say: “How come you just come from school and now you say you want to go back? Find yourself a place to rest till the sunshine decreases, since you are not the one opening the classrooms. Not even your teachers have finished taking their siesta yet.” I would then sit and play.’ (adapted from Moussa-Aghali (2000:27)).

Despite the elaborate exchanges, this episode, too, describes events that have happened many times. In context, the author relates how she enjoyed going to school with other children (since that involved playing games on the way) to the point where she would leave home very early. That, on many occasions, prompted an exchange with her irritated mother. As discussed in Section 4, it is very likely that dialogues in PHSs are not meant to imply that the exact same dialogue is repeated every time and may simply illustrate just one occurrence. The next section looks at a frequent figure of speech used in peaks in *Yarintata*.

3.3 Exclusion of all options except one

Another rhetorical technique in Hausa narrative is to emphatically exclude all options except the valid option, which is then emphasized. This is usually done by combining the negation of a general/universal expression with *sai* (or with alternative markers such as *kawàì* ‘only’, *in bàa* ‘if not’, etc.). An example of this narrative technique in a TNS is illustrated as follows:

- (15) *Don, bà-n mâncee ba dà wata raanaa à Tiliyà, mu-nàa kaadì-n magaryaa, dà nii dà yàaraa àbùkkai-naa, sai na taashì na shìga*
 because NEG.CPL-1S forget NEG with some day in Tiliya 1P-IPV throw-of magaryaa fruits with 1S with children friends-of.1S then 1S.RP rise 1S.RP enter

kàrkashi-n uwa-R magaryaa, wai nii, in tsuntoo duwàatsuu. Wani yaaròo, Da-n
under-of mother-of magarya seem 1s 1s.SBJ gather stones some boy son-of
makwàbta-n-mù bà-i san dà nii ba, sai ya taashì ya jeefà
neighbors-of-1P NEG.CPL-3MS know with 1s NEG then 3MS.RP rise 3MS.RP throw
buutàlii. Buutàlì-n nan bà-i faadàa koo`inaa ba, sai bisà kafàa-tàa, ya
bottle bottle-DF that NEG.CPL-3MS land anywhere NEG only on leg-of.1s 3MS.RP
yankèè ni, na yii ta kuukaa.
cut 1s 1s.RP do much cry

‘Because, I have not forgotten one day at Tiliya, we were shaking *magarya* fruits, some of my friends and me, I then rose and went under the *magarya* tree, with the intention of gathering some rocks. Some boy, a neighbor of us did not take notice of me, he rose and threw a bottle [in the *magarya* tree]. That bottle landed nowhere, but only on my leg, it cut me, and I kept crying.’ (adapted from Moussa-Aghali (2000:6)).

In this episode, the peak, i.e., the point of maximum tension, follows the throwing of the bottle. The peak passage is marked by *bài faadàa koo`inaa ba, sai...* ‘it landed nowhere but only...’ This is indeed a frequent rhetorical device in *Yarintata* and can be seen illustrated in example (10) above, where the teacher’s words are similarly introduced by the negation of a universal expression in combination with *sai* ‘only’, i.e., *bà mù ji koomii ba sai...* ‘we heard nothing but only...’ (cf. also Moussa-Aghali (2000:40) for another example). It happens that this peak marking rhetoric is also used in PHS, as illustrated in (16):

- (16) *Dà an cêe sauran yan kwàanàkii mù koomàa daajì-n-mù, wà-n*
as soon as IMP.CPL say remain few days 1P-SBJ return bush-of-1P brother-of
ùbaa-naa yaa rìgaa yaa shiryà bukkookin dà zaa mù zaunàa ciki. In mu-kà
father-of.1s 3MS.CPL already 3MS.CPL ready huts that FUT 1P stay in if 1P-RP
rìgaa mu-kà tàfi, inshaa Àllaahù, baa màa koomôowaa in bàa an yankè hatsii
already 1P-RP go by God NEG.IPV 1P return if NEG IMP.CPL cut millet
dà daawàa ba, kuma an roorè waakee, an sâa dukà cikin rumbunàa.
and sorghum NEG and IMP.CPL harvest bean IMP.CPL put all in granaries
‘When it is only a few days before we go back to the bush, my uncle would have already prepared the huts we will live in. Once we go, then by God, we would not come back [to town] except after millet and sorghum have been harvested, beans have been harvested, and everything stored in granaries.’ (adapted from Moussa-Aghali (2000:16)).

This episode describes recurrent events, centered on the annual migration to settle in the fields during the rainy season. In the peak passage, the unexpected fact that the author’s family stays in the bush for the entire rainy season is emphasized with the expression *baa màa koomôowaa in bàa...* ‘we do not come back except when...’

3.4 Reference to reader/listener

Longacre (1990:96) reports that in some African languages, a narrator can choose to refer directly to a character in the story using the second person. This is also a frequent feature of Hausa oral narratives and can be used irrespective of the animacy or humanness of the story character. This can be illustrated in the following (cf. also Abdoulaye (1996:136ff)):

- (17) a. *Bàlki dà ta ganee sù, sai ta jee ta Bàacee sù.*
 Balki when 3FS.RP see 3P just 3FS.RP go 3FS.RP insult 3P
 ‘When Balki saw them, she just went and insulted them.’
- b. *Kee Bàlki dà ki-kà ganee sù, sai ki-kà jee ki-kà Bàacee sù.*
 2FS Balki when 2FS-RP see 3P just 2FS-RP go 2FS-RP insult 3P
 ‘When Balki saw them, she just went and insulted them.’ (lit. ‘You Balki when you saw them, you just went and insulted them.’)
- c. *Kee Bàlki dà ki-kà ganee sù, jee BàatàR sù.*
 2FS Balki when 2FS-RP see 3P go.PRV insult.PRV 3P
 ‘When Balki saw them, she just went and insulted them.’ (lit. ‘You Balki when you saw them, just go and insult them.’)

The three sentences in (17) would be equivalent in a story, as shown by the identical translation. In all three cases indeed, the narrator tells the story of characters who are not present. In the first sentence, *sai* is the peak-marking particle, meaning ‘suddenly, simply, just’, since the event in the second clause is unexpected (for example, in this sentence one cannot replace *sai* with the simple consecution marker *sànnan* ‘then’ and keep the unexpectedness meaning; cf. discussion in Section 3.1). It may also be noted that without the particle *sai* ‘suddenly, simply, just’, sentence (17a) would imply that the event of insulting is a natural development in the story. So, *sai* does indeed mark unexpectedness in (17a). The second sentence, in addition to *sai*, also refers to the story’s character in the second person. The last sentence, too, refers to the character in the second person, using the imperative. The last two sentences are more emphatic, giving an extra prominence to the events reported. One may note that when reference to a character with second person is done through the use of the imperative, as in (17c), then the particle *sai* is not necessary to mark the passage as peak, and the sentence nonetheless has a greater emphasis. That is, in narrative storylines the imperative is stronger than *sai* as a marker of unexpectedness. These rhetorical techniques are not used in *Yarintata* as far as I can tell. However, in PHSs, the author very frequently uses another technique that consists in referring to the reader/listener of the story using the second person, and so implicating him/her in the story in varying degrees. First the reader/listener can be incorporated into the story’s stage as an observer. This is illustrated in (18):

- (18) *Dà mun isa, kàakaa-taa taa dan huutàa kàDan, sai kà ga*
 as soon as 1P.CPL arrive grandmother-of.1S 3FS.CPL little rest little then 2MS.SBJ see
taa taashì, ta-nàa shìrye-shìryen dafà tuwoo tundà taa rigaa taa baadà
 3FS.CPL rise 3FS-IPV prepare cook food since 3FS.CPL already 3FS.CPL give
hatsii an yoo ma-tà gàarii.
 millet IMP.CPL do to-3FS flour

‘As soon as we arrive, and my grandmother had rested a bit, you would see her suddenly get up, preparing herself to cook staple food since she had already secured the necessary flour.’ (adapted from Moussa-Aghali (2000:14)).

In this example of a PHS, the first two clauses refer to the characters of the story, the author and her grandmother. The higher subject of the third clause, however, refers to the reader (*sai kà ga taa taashì* ‘you would see her suddenly get up’). This reference to the reader, just like the use of the second person in (17) above, serves to emphasize the events in the peak, i.e., in (18) the old grandmother is not expected to get active again shortly after traveling some distance.

Another PHS example is provided in (19):

- (19) *Lookàcin dà ya-kè wâ-n ùbaa-naa kèe tâfiyàa dà nii, tòo rân nan kà*
 time that 3MS-be brother-of father-of.1s RI going with 1s ok day that 2Fs.SBJ
tabbàtaa, koo dà saafiyaa kèe waayèewaa, yaa rìgaa yaa shiryà
 be.sure even when morning RI brighten 3MS.CPL already 3MS.CPL ready
dooki-n-sà sarai.
 horse-of-3Ms all

‘On days when it is my uncle that is taking me, well that day you can be sure, as soon as it is morning, he has already prepared his horse.’ (adapted from Moussa-Aghali (2000:13)).

Here, the reader is referred to in the first clause after the temporal clause, where he/she is invited to be sure of the following event (that the uncle readies himself very early), which is hence emphasized. In examples (18) and (19), the reader is incorporated into the story’s stage as a simple, stationary observer.

In another example, however, the reader can be slightly more involved, as seen in (20):

- (20) *Sabòodà hakà dà naa cikè maakò, sai kàakaa-taa ta waje-n uwaa tà*
 because this when 1S.CPL fill week then gradmother-of.1s of side-of mother 3Fs.SBJ
shiryàa mi-ni koomàawaa gidaa. Lookàcin dà na taashì tâfiyàa, zoo kà ga
 prepare to-1s return home time that 1S.RP rise going come.IPR 2MS.SBJ see
taashì-n hankàlii: koo inaa ka-kè, ka-nàa jîn yâaraa su-nàa iihù-n kaamù-n kàajin
 rise-of mind even where 2MS-be 2MS-IPV hear children 3P-IPV yell-of catch-of hens
dà zâ-n tâfi dà suu.
 that FUT-1S go with 3P

‘For this reason when I had stayed for a week, my maternal grandmother would then prepare my return journey home. When I am about to go, come see a tumultuous scene: wherever you are, you could hear children yelling and catching the hens that I will take with me.’ (adapted from Moussa-Aghali (2000:15)).

In this example, which again is a PHS, the reader is referred to three times in the second sentence, most of which constitutes the peak passage. First, the reader is invited to place himself/herself into the story’s stage to “see” the events. Then the reader is allowed to move to any place in the story stage, this time to “hear” the racket made by the children. This incorporation of the reader/listener in the story’s stage is in fact a way of emphasizing the reported events and making the story more vivid.

It should be noted that in all PHS examples where the reader is referred to, the reference is not just a simple metalinguistic device one may find in English, such as ‘you know’, ‘you see’, ‘do you understand?’, etc. Indeed, metalinguistic devices, such as ‘you know’, may serve to fill up pauses (cf. Newman (2000:546)) or make sure that the interlocutor understands the story. Formally, too, the metalinguistic devices are “parenthetical,” i.e., they are not integrated into the structure of the story’s sentences. By contrast, in (18)–(20), the reader/listener is the subject of verbs that are integrated into the structure of the story’s sentences as predicates taking direct objects or subordinate complement clauses (cf. *sai kà ga taa taashì* ‘you would see her suddenly get up’ in example (18)). Although the author of *Yarintata* always uses the masculine singular form of the second person *kà* ‘you masc. sing.’ (which is also the generic second person), it is my impression that in oral stories, feminine singular (*kì* ‘you fem. sing.’) or second person plural (*kù* ‘you plur.’) can also be used to adapt to the audience. Finally, it should be noted that I found this rhetorical technique only in PHSs. Indeed, examples (18)–(20) report events that have happened many times. It is my impression that

the technique cannot be used in single events sequences. Indeed, when the reader/listener is placed in the story's stage in TNSs, the interpretation will be that he/she is a true participant in the story. For this reason, sentence (18) contrasts with the following TNS with the relative perfective:

- (21) *Dà mu-kà isa, kàakaa-taa ta dan huutàa kàdan, sai ka ga taa*
 when 1P-RP arrive grandmother-of.1s 3FS.RP little rest little then 2MS.RP see 3FS.CPL
taashì, ta-nàa shìrye-shìryen...
 rise 3FS-IPV prepare
 'when we arrived, and my grandmother rested a bit, you saw her suddenly get up, preparing...'

In (21), as the translation indicates, the speaker states that the referent of the second person pronoun did see the grandmother. Reference to the reader in a TNS apparently is fine only if the verb following the second person reference is in the subjunctive, as seen in examples (24) and (25) below. However, in these examples, *kàn kà cêe mée* 'quickly' (lit. 'before you can say a word'), and *sai kà cêe* 'as if, like' (lit. 'you would say') are rather fixed expressions and do not place the reader/listener into the story's stage. The possibility of placing the reader/listener into the story's stage then may be one of the few differences between PHSs and TNSs. Why should there be such difference between the two types of sequences would be a matter for further research. Nonetheless, despite this minor difference, it is clear that examples (18)–(20) show that PHSs are structured like typical narratives and have the same peak-marking features.

Before closing this section, it must be noted that there are many peak features in *Yarintata* (and in Hausa narratives in general) beyond the four features discussed in detail in this section. These include repetition and use of interjections, as illustrated next:

- (22) *Nan dà nan, sai na ga taa nùfi gida-n maalàmi-n-mù. Ta jee ta sàamee*
 quickly then 1S.RP see 3FS.CPL head house-of teacher-of-1P 3FS.RP go 3FS.RP get
shì ta yii ta zaagii, ta yii ta zaagii; inshaa Àllaahù, bà tà ragàa
 3MS 3FS.RP do much insult 3FS.RP do much insult by God NEG.CPL 3FS leave
ma-sà koo akaiifa-R suusàa ba.
 to-3MS even nail-of scratching NEG

'Rapidly, I suddenly saw my mother setting towards our teacher's home. She went and found him and kept insulting him, kept insulting him; by God, she did not have mercy for him.' (adapted from Moussa-Aghali (2000:44)).

- (23) *Wata raanaa dà ya sàami Daya dàgà cikin-mù, kaatò dà shii, dòomin yaa*
 some day when 3MS.RP get one from among-1P big with 3MS because 3MS.CPL
azà rawàni, innaalillaahì, nii bà-n maa san mù zâ-n cêe ba.
 put turban by.God 1S NEG.CPL -1S indeed now what FUT-1S say NEG

'One day when he caught one from us, a big one, because he is aged enough to wear a turban, by God, I don't even know what to say.' (adapted from Moussa-Aghali (2000:41)).

- (24) *Tôo, su-nàa cikin wannàn gardamàa sai gaa wani matàfiyii... Ai kòo, raanaa*
 ok 3P-be in this dispute then here.is some passer-by well indeed sun
sai ta buudoo haskee dà zaafi-n-tà wâr wâr. Habàa! Kàn kà cêe mée, sai
 just 3FS.RP open light and heat-of-3FS very hot wow before 2MS.SBJ say what then
gàa shi...
 here.is 3MS

‘They were in the middle of this argument when some passer-by came.... Well indeed, the sun suddenly beamed its light and its heat. Wow! Before you can say a word, here he is...’ (adapted from Schuh and Yalwa (1999:95)).

In (22), the most prominent event, the mother’s insulting the teacher, is repeated (cf. also Longacre (1990:50) on repetition as a narrative technique). In (23), the author uses an interjection and conveys the idea that the event is indescribable. Sentence (24) has a complex peak marking, combining interjections (*ai kòò* ‘well indeed’, *habàa!* ‘come on, wow’), *sai* ‘suddenly, simply, just’, and reference to the reader (cf. *kàn kà cêe mêe*, lit. ‘before you can say a word’, i.e., ‘quickly’).

Another peak feature used in *Yarintata*, but only in TNSs, is what one may call “emphatic negation of positive events”, i.e., the negation for emphasis purposes of a clause that however is intended to be construed as positive. This is illustrated in (25):

- (25) *Dà jîn hakà, sai na yi farat na shigèe bukkàa. Wurin in tuurà iccèe, bàa*
on hearing this then 1S.RP do swift 1S.RP enter hut while 1S.SBJ push wood NEG
sai tukunyà-R màì talgii ta juuyèe bisà gàree nì ba! Sai kòò na faarà iihùu,
just pot-DF hold gravy 3FS.RP spill on at 1S NEG then indeed 1S.RP start cry
i-nàa birkìdoodooniyaa sai kà cêe wad-dà a-kèe fiddàa mà idòo.
1S-IPV roll like 2MS.SBJ say one-that IMP-RP take.out to eyes

‘On hearing this, I then stood up and entered the hut. While trying to push the wood, the pot of gravy spilled over me [lit. *not that the pot of gravy spilled over me*]! I immediately started crying, I was rolling on the ground you would say [= as if] someone was taking my eyeballs out.’ (adapted from Moussa-Aghali (2000:19)).

In this sentence, the most unexpected event, the hot pot spilling over the author’s body, is framed in the discontinuous negative marker *bàa- -ba* ‘not’, a marker normally used to negate nominals or nominalized clauses (cf. *bàa Abdù ba* ‘not Abdu’). Nonetheless, the author wants to stress that the event in fact happened. This narrative device may possibly be used in some other African languages as well (cf. Vallette (1988:11ff) for the Fula language). Oral narratives may also use intonation, rhythm, and body gestures to mark peak passages.

To summarize, this section reviewed four formal features of peaks in Hausa sequential constructions, i.e., particle *sai*, dialogues, exclusion of all options except one, and reference to reader/listener. We saw that all four peak-marking features appear in TNSs as well as in PHSs. The next section provides some further remarks on the relationship between TNSs and PHSs.

4 Discussion

The data discussed in Section 3 show that Wald’s (1987) claim that PHSs are conflated narrative is supported by the fact that PHSs turn out to have the same structure as TNSs, i.e., they can have a pre-peak, a peak, and a post-peak corresponding, respectively, to the inciting moment, the climax, and the denouement. Furthermore, the same formal features that mark peaks in TNSs also mark peaks in PHSs. In this section, we will consider these findings and adduce further evidence showing that PHSs and TNSs very likely differ only by the obvious fact that TNSs showcase single occurrence events, while PHSs report multiple occurrence events.

Wald (1987) considers that PHSs have a narrative implication, i.e., on each occasion, the set of events are as temporally ordered as in TNSs. There is indeed some evidence showing that sometimes, PHSs are equivalent to TNSs. For example, Wald (1987:502) shows that a PHS can be articulated

with a TNS in contexts where a PHS is expected. One of the examples he cites shows that a question referring to a PHS ('how do you make your spending money?') can be answered with a TNS, i.e., the respondent gave one specific case of how he secured himself spending money ('like yesterday...when I came back my dad gave me a dollar...'). In *Yarintata*, we actually have one case of an atypical PHS that incorporates a single event, as shown in the following example (adapted from Moussa-Aghali (2000:14)):

- (26) *Dà ìsa-R-mù, sai yà hau dookì-n-sà, yà kuma sâa à haudâa ni*
 on arrival-of-1P then 3MS.SBJ mount horse-of-3MS 3MS.SBJ and order IMP.SBJ haul 1S
baaya-n-sà, sànnan mu-kà kaamà hanyàa.
 behind-of-3MS then 1P-RP start road

'Soon after our arrival, he would mount his horse, he would have me hauled up behind him, then we started our journey.'

In this example, the first two clauses describe recurrent events in a typical PHS, using the subjunctive. However, the third clause appears with the relative perfective *mu kà* '2p RP', and, in this context, has a single event interpretation (to maintain the PHS reading, the subjunctive *mù* '2p.SBJ' must be used). Here, the narrator may have slipped and shifted from recounting past habitual events to focusing on one instance of the trip preparation. This insertion of a single event in a PHS, how inadvertent it may be, shows the affinity between PHSs and TNSs. Another indication of the implication of a TNS in every PHS is the use of dialogues in PHSs. As seen in example (10), elaborate exchanges between story characters can be embedded in PHSs, although the reader/listener knows that the same exact dialogue could not have happened over and over again.

Given the shared structure and formal markers seen in Section 3 and the fact that PHSs and TNSs may be equivalent (or, more precisely, a PHS implies a TNS), one may conjecture that they have the same functions in story-telling. Indeed, they both can select and present some events as more prominent than others in the sequence. In this sense, they may be equally exciting and suspenseful and use the same emphasizing features to rivet the readers/listeners' attention to unexpected events, engage them in the story, and rouse their emotions.

5 Conclusion

Studies of narrative discourse tend to consider that only sequences describing single occurrence events are true narratives and so make a clear distinction between TNSs and PHSs. However, Wald (1987), taking issue with this idea, contends that PHS are in fact conflated narratives and that there is hence a minimal difference between PHSs and TNSs (that is, the obvious difference that PHSs, with their subjunctive marking, refer to multiple-occurrence events, while TNSs refer to single-occurrence events). This paper tested Wald's claims and, based on the examination of the autobiographical story *Yarintata*, shows that PHSs and TNSs indeed have the same structure and share the same peak markers in Hausa. This supports Wald's (1987) claims that a TNS underlines every PHS and that there is no fundamental distinction between the two. In our opinion, the two types of sequences probably also have the same discourse functions although this remains to be confirmed in future more detailed studies.

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