BITAR ƊAFI A TASRIFIN HAUSA*

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1. Gabatarwa

Harshen Hausa ɗaya ne daga cikin harsunan gidan Cadi na Yamma, yayin da kakan harsunan gidan Cadi ya kasance daga cikin harsuna 'yan tsatson *Afroshiya*. Harshen Hausa ya kasance mai halayyar ɗafi a cikin harsuna kumburau (Greenberg 1963). Sannan kuma harshe ne mai sauƙin koyo da saurin mamaya; kamar yadda yake ci gaba da zama harshen sadarwa da na ƙasa a Yammaci da wasu manyan biranen nahiyar Afrika (Schon 1862; Rufa'i 1977; Jaggar 2001).

Masana kimiyyar harshe da tasrifi a ƙirar kalma ta Hausa sun yi amannar cewa ɗafi muhimmin sinadari ne wajen samar da kalmomi mabambanta kuma masu dangantaka da juna, imam ta fuskar kumburi ko tsira ko ninki ko ma a wasu lokutan harɗantawa. Masana tasrifin Hausa, irin su Bagari (1986) da Jinju (1981) da Bello (1981) da Newman (2000) da Jaggar (2001) Abubakar (2001) Fagge (2004) da Mamman (2011) da Sani (2011) da Al-Hassan (2011a, 2011b) da sauransu, sun haɗu a kan cewa ɗafi ko ɗofane ko liƙi ƙarin harafi ko haruffa ne da ake mannawa/haɗawa da ɓangarori daban-daban na saiwa ko tushe ko kalma don ƙera (samar da) wata sabuwar kalmar da take da kusanci da ta asali. A gefe guda za a yarda cewa dangantakar tsakanin ɗafi da saiwa/tushe, dangantaka ce ta jini da tsoka.

Saiwa wani ginshiƙin ɓangare ce na kalma da ba ta taɓa canja siga ta kowane hali; idan kuwa an taɓa ta za a rasa asalin kalmar ne kacokan (Matthews 1974; Crystal 2008). A Hausa ana iya gane saiwa ta fuskoki biyu: shafe wasalin ƙarshen kalma (misali: *yaar-oo, gid-aa, aj-ii*); idan kuma babu wasali, kalmar duka ta zama saiwa (misali: *takanas, maalam, tabbas, bam*). Tushe yana kamance da saiwa domin kuwa akwai 'yar sarƙaƙiya wajen rarrabe tsakaninsu – wato dai daga tushe ake fara jin amon zahirin kalma (Aronoff da Fudeman 2011). Tushe yana iya samun sauyi sakamakon ɗafi wanda ta nan za a fahimci cewa sarƙaƙƙiyar kalma tana tofowa daga sassauƙar kalma (Haspelmath da Sims 2010). Dangane da samar da

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kalma, rukunin kalma buɗaɗɗe, wanda ya ƙunshi ginshiƙan ajin kalmomin (misali: suna da aikatau da sifa da amsa-kama da bayanau) shi ne yake bayar da gudummawa a tasrifi wajen karɓar sinadaran ɗafi domin a ƙera kalmomi masu dangantaka da juna. Har wa yau, sinadaran ɗafi a jikin tushe da saiwa sukan nuna cewa wasu kalmomi suna da miƙaƙƙu/kafaffun sigogin ɗafi, yayin da wasu kuwa sukan zama masu fanɗararrun zubi, wato suna samun wata siga daban a tattare da su (Bagari 1986; Mamman 2004; Umar 2008). A tasrifance, ɗafi yana da muhimmiyar rawa takawa, ko ma ana iya cewa ba a ƙare maganar tasrifi ba tare da an yi batun ɗafi ba. Dangane da haka, babbar manufar wannan maƙala ita ce, yin duba tare da nazari kan sake iyakance ta'arifi da kuma ire-iren ɗafi a Hausa.

2. Ire-iren ɗafi a Hausa: Tsantsamewa

La'akari da abin da ya gabata, idan muka duba ayyukan kimiyyar harshe da tasrifin Hausa za a lura da cewa batun ɗafi ya faro cikin nazarce-nazarcen masana daban-daban a harshen Hausa. Dukkan ayyukan sun yi amannar cewa Hausa harshe ne kumburau mai halayyar ɗafi. Sai dai, tambayar a nan ita ce, ɗafi iri nawa ne a Hausa?

- Ɗafi iri biyu: Wato ɗafa-goshi *'prefix'* da *ɗafa-ƙeya 'suffix'*; bayanin hakan ya zo cikin ayyukan Schön (1862) da Bergery (1934) da Abraham (1954) da Jinju (1980) da kuma Smirnova (1982)
- Ɗafi iri uku: Wato an sami ƙarin ɗafa-ciki *'infix'*; bayanin haka na ƙunshe cikin ayyukan Rufa'i (1979) da Bagari (1986) da Newman (2000) da Abubakar (2001) da Sani (2002) da Fagge (2004) da Mamman (2011).
- Ɗafi iri huɗu: Wato sakamakon samun ƙarin ɗafin goshi-da-ƙeya ko ɗafa-goƙeya ko ɗafa-ƙawanya *'circumfix'* wannan na cikin ayyukan Newman (2000) da Umar (2008) da kuma Inuwa (2017);
- Ɗafi iri biyar: Wato inda aka sami ƙarin ɗafin ciki-da-ƙeya ko ɗafa-ciƙeya *'transfix'* bayanin wannan ya zo cikin ayyukan Newman (2000) da Umar (2008) da kuma Al-Hassan (2011a, 2011b)[2].

Daga bayanan da suka gabata, duk da cewa akwai mahawara game da yiwuwar ko akwai ɗafa-ciki a Hausa, wannan maƙala ta bi sahun masanan da suka yarda da cewa akwai wannan ɗafi na ɗafa-

[2] Ko da yake Al-Hassan yana da ra'ayin cewa Hausa ba shi da ɗafa-ciki, sai dai yana tabbatar da cewa akwai ɗafin ciki-da-ƙeya cikin abin da ya kira *'transfixation'*. Wato dai, a nan ba a da nufin cewa ɗafi iri biyar ne a wurinsa.

ciki da ma ƙarin wasu biyu a Hausa; kamar yadda za a gani a nan gaba.

3. Dabarun bincike da ma'aunin nazari

A wannan sashe an bayyana dabarun bincike, wato hanyar da aka bi aka sami *samfuran bayanai* waɗanda suka taimaka wajen gwada wannan nazari. Sannan a gefe guda, an ɗora waɗannan samfuran bayanai a kan wani ra'i da zai bayar da haske wajen yin ƙwanƙwanto.

3.1 Samfuran bayanai

Samfuran bayanan da aka yi amfani da su a wannan nazari an ciro su daga ayyukan Abubakar (2001) da Newman (2000) da Jaggar (2001) da Fagge (2004) da ƙamusoshin Hausa ba tare da yin la'akari da kowane irin karin harshe ba; muddin dai lafazin kalmar na Hausa ne za a gwada a matsayin samfirin bayani, sannan kuma da su ne aka yi ƙwanƙwanto tasrifin Hausa. Haka zalika, da su ne za a yi bayani game da ɗafin Hausa a wannan maƙala.

3.2 Ra'in nazari

Ra'in ƙwayar ma'ana, wato *'Morpheme-based Theory'* (MBT) wanda Stewart (2016:5) ya wassafa, aka ɗauka domin ya bayar da haske ga wannan nazari. Abin da ra'ayin ke shiryarwa a kai shi ne, aikin tasrifin kalmomi ya ta'allaƙa wajen fayyacewa tare da yin ƙwanƙwanto ta hanyar siffanta yadda kwayar ma'ana da yanayin lafazinta ke kasancewa a harshe. Wato dai, ana wassafa yadda ƙwayar ma'ana ke harhaɗuwa bisa wasu ayyanannun dokoki da harshe ya keɓanta da su. Sannan ra'in yana fayyace iyakar saiwa da tushe da kuma yadda suke ƙara sarƙaƙuwa da wasu ƙwayoyin ma'ana kamar irin su ɗafi da raɓau da dai sauransu. Haka su ma Haspelmath da Sims (2010:41) sun kira wannan ra'ayi da 'Morpheme-based Model', inda tunaninsu ya zo daidai da na Stewart (2016:98). Ko da yake kowane bakin wuta da irin nasa hayaƙin, ana iya cewa dukkan ra'o'in sun samo tushe ne daga hasashen Bloomfield (1933) da Hockett (1947, 1954) da kuma Harris (1951), inda aka ci gaba da ɗabbaƙa hasashen[3] zuwa wannan ra'i da wannan nazari ke son ya kalla.

[3] Bloomfield (1933) ya yi batu game da 'Rassa Makusanta wato *'Immediate Constituent'*; Hockett (1947) ya lurar da hanyoyin tasrifi na 'Allura da Zare (AZ) da kuma Zare da Abawa (ZA)' wato *'Item and Arrangement (AI) and Item and Process (IP)'*; shi kuwa Harris (1951:315) ya ayyana wannan lamari ƙarƙashin hasashensa na 'Karikitan Kwayar Ma'ana', wato *'Morphemic (long) Components'*.

4. Kwanƙwanciyar dangantakar ƙwayar ma’ana da ɗafi

A wannan sashe an yi ƙoƙarin fayyace ƙwayar ma’ana (wadda ta ƙunshi saiwa/tushe) da kuma yadda take haɗuwa da ɗafi a harshen Hausa. Lallai, a nan, ba za a manta da cewa wannan dagantaka, dangantaka ce ta jini da tsoka ko kuma a ce ta hanta da jini.

4.1 Kwayar ma’ana da ire-irenta a Hausa

Yana da kyau a wannan gaɓa a fahimci gurbin ɗafi a cikin wannan ra’i na ƙwayar ma’ana, inda daga nan ne kuma aka nazarci yadda ɗafin Hausa yake bayyana a ɗamfare da ita kanta ƙwayar ma’anar. Dubi wannan jadawali mai zuwa kamar yadda McGregor (2009:18) ya kawo cikin bayaninsa game da ƙwayar ma’ana da ire-irenta:

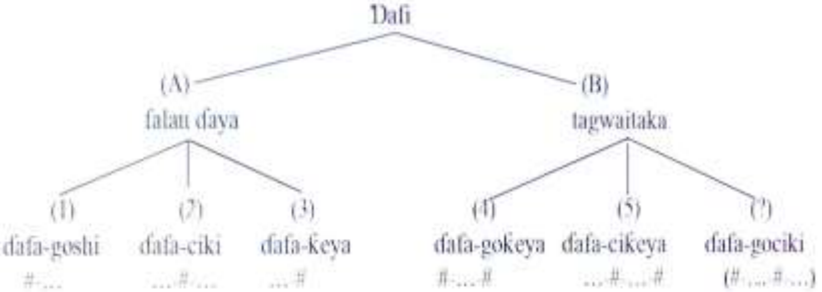
Abin lura a wannan jadawali shi ne, ƙwayar ma’ana *‘morpheme’* ta rabu zuwa ƙwayar ma’ana tsayau *‘free’* da dogarau *‘bound’*; tsayau ta rabu zuwa rukunin kalma buɗaɗɗiya *‘open class’* (mis: *sarki, kama, ƙato, tas, tabbas* d-s) da rufaffiya *‘close class’* (mis: *sai, da, a, fa, ma, don, idan* d-s); a inda ƙwayar ma’ana dogarau ta kasu zuwa ɗafi *‘affix’* (mis: *ma-, ba-, -aa-, -iyaa, -uwa,* d-s) da tushe-dogarau *‘bound base’* (mis: *mai, masu, ɗan, ’yar, ɗin, da, na,* d-s) da dogarau-raggage *‘contracted bound-morpheme’* (mis: *‘ya/yi => y’, ‘na/ni => n’, ‘da => -da’* d-s) da kuma raɓau *‘clitic’* (mis: *-n, -r* d-s). A yayin tasrifin kalmomi a harshen Hausa wannan ra’i na ƙwayar ma’ana yana bayar da haske wajen gane yadda ɓangaren tsayau musamman rukunin kalma buɗaɗɗiya ke shiga sahu su haɗu da ɓangaren dogarau a mafi yawan lokuta tare da ɗafi.

To amma, kafin a tsunduma cikin bayani ɗafi, zai yi kyau a fahimci sauran nau’o’in ƙwayar ma’ana dogarau. Tushe-dogarau yana da tasiri a wajen tsirar da sarƙaƙƙiyar sifa daga suna. Misali

mai + *gidaa* =>*mai gidaa* < *gidaa.* A nan, 'mai' tushe-dogarau ce domin ita kaɗai ba za ta tsaya ta bayar da ma'ana ba har sai suna ko aikatau sun bayyana a bayanta ko ƙeyarta. Haka lamarin yake idan aka sami tsigalau ko harɗaɗɗen suna ta yin amfani da *ɗan/'yar/'yan.* Haka zalika madangaci *ɗin,* wadda ita ma, ba kamar ɗafi ba da za a zai ɗamfaru da rukunin kalma buɗaɗɗiya, dole a sami kalmar suna ta zo gabaninta domin kuwa tsayuwarta ita kaɗai ba tare da jingina da wannan sunan ba, babu wata ma'ana. Misali, *ƙaamus ɗin…, oofis ɗin… bom ɗin…, fom ɗin…, rooket ɗin…, kaset ɗin… dakau ɗin…* d-s. Sai inda ake samun ninki domin jam'anta suna ko sifa daga tilo. Misali, *ajii-ajii* < *ajii, irii-irii* < *iri, kalaa-kalaa* < *kalaa* d-s. Ita kuwa dogarau-ragagge tana zuwa a yanayi na ƙa'idar rubutu ta yadda akan taƙaita ko shafe wasalin ƙarshe na wasu kalmomi da ka iya zama a rukunin kwayar ma'ana tsayau ko dogarau. Misali, *zai/zay** < *zaa ya; tai/tay** < *taa yi; zan* < *zaa na; ban* < *baa ni, ƙaamuusun Hausa* < *ƙaamuusu na Hausa; baada* < *baayar da; kaada* < *kaayar da,* d-s. A (ɗafin) raɓau *-n/-r* ana kallon su ta fuskar tasrifin (ginin) jumla a matakai biyu: imma a tsarin mahaɗin nasaba (mis: *gida**n** Ali, huula**r** maalamii*) ko madangaci (mis: *aji**n**, jaka**r***). Kamar yadda za mu gani a wannan nazari an mayar da hankali kusan a kan rukunin kalma buɗaɗɗiya ne da yadda ɗafi yake samun kansa liƙe/manne/ɗamfare a gurabe daban-daban na jikinta.

4.2 Ɗafi da Ire-irensa a Hausa

A wannan ɓangare za a kawoƙwayar ma'ana dagarau ɗafi a tasrifin Hausa tare da misalan yadda sukan sami kansu ɗamfare/maƙale jikin ƙwayar ma'ana tsayau rukunin kalma budaɗaɗɗiya – wato, inda ake da saiwa/tushe. Kamar yadda aka gani a ƙwayar ma'ana, ɗafi ma na da ire-irensa biyar (5) a Hausa kamar haka:



Domin a fahimci yadda lamarin yake za a ɗauki kowane ɗaya daga cikin waɗannan ɗafe-ɗafe daki bayan daki tare da gwada su

kan samfuran bayanai na kalmomin da suka dace da kowanensu a Hausa.

(A) ***Na falan ɗaya:-*** wannan kashi ya rabu zuwa ire-iren ɗafi guda uku a Hausa, inda akan aiwatar da shi da zarar an sami saiwa/tushe sannan kai tsaye ɗafa-goshi ko ɗafa-ciki ko ɗafa-ƙeya ya shiga sahu ɗaya da saiwar ko tushen. Duba waɗannan tebura masu zuwa:

1. Ɗafa-goshi

	Ɗafa-goshi	***Saiwa/Tushe***	***Kalma ⟹***	***Sabuwar kalma***
a)	*Ba-*	*Kan√oo*	*Kanoo*	*Bakanoo*
		Nuf√ee	*Nufee*	*Banufee*
		ƙauy√ee	*ƙauyee*	*baƙauyee*
b)	*ma-*	*jeem√aa*	*jeemaa(a.r1)*[4]	*majeemaa*
		saaƙ√aa	*saaƙaa(a.r1)*	*masaaƙaa*
		zaun√aa	*zaunaa(a.r3)*	*mazaunaa*
c)	*BWB-*	*daf√aa*	*dafaa(a.r1)*	*daddafaa*
		kaam√aa	*kaamaa(a.r1)*	*kakkaamaa*
		jeef√aa	*jeefaa(a.r1)*	*jejjeefaa*

A wannan tebur na (1) za a lura da yadda aka samar da sababbin kalmomi ta hanyar ƙara wa tushe ɗafa-goshi. A misali na (1a) daga sunayen wurare an tsirar da sunayen mutumin da yake mazaunin wurin ta yin amfani da ɗafa-goshi *ba-*. A misalan (1b) daga tushen aikatau aka tsirar da wasu kalmomi na sunayen wurin da ake yin wannan aiki, yayin da aikatau a (1c) suka zo cikin yanayin ninki-ragagge don nuna cewa an yi wani aiki sau da yawa, ba sau ɗaya ba.

[4] Wannan na a matsayin aikatau ɗan rukuni na 0 - 7.

2. Ɗafa-ciki

	Saiwa	*Ɗafa-ciki*	*Tushe*	*Kalma ⇒*	*Sabuwar kalma*
a)	*bar√*	*-aa-*	*dee*	*bardee*	*baraadee*
	gur√		*guu*	*gurguu*	*guraaguu*
	ƙyam√		*ree*	*ƙyamree*[5]	*ƙyamaaree*
	mur√		*huu*	*murhuu*	*muraahuu*
	sark√		*kii*	*sarkii*	*saraakii*
b)	*ka√*	*-B^n-*	*daa*	*kadaa*	*kaddaa*
	ƙa√		*nee*	*ƙanee*	*ƙannee*
c)	*zaa√*	*-BWB-*	*mee*	*zaamee(a.r4)*	*zaamammee*
	raa√		*mee*	*raamee (a.r4)*	*raamammee*
	tsuk√		*kee*	*tsuukee(a.r4)*	*tsuukakkee*

A wannan tebur na (2) za a lura da yadda aka gwada samfuran bayanai da ke ɗaukar ɗafa-ciki a Hausa. A misalan (2a) za ga inda ɗafa-ciki *-aa-* ta zo domin jam'anta wasu kalmomi daga tilo. A (2b) kuwa harafin baƙi ne mai nannage (wato, shadda) a matsayin ɗafa-ciki ke hafar da sauyin yanayin kalma da ma'anarta – wato dai daga tilo zuwa jam'i. Sai kuma in a (2c) za a ga ɗafa-cikin ninki-ragagge ya sauya aikatau ɗan rukuni na 4 zuwa sifa 'yar-aikatau.

3. Ɗafa-ƙeya

	Saiwa/tushe	*Ɗafa-ƙeya*	*Kalma ⇒*	*Sabuwar kalma*
a)	*aik√a(a)*	*-waa*	*aikaa(a.r1)*	*aikaawaa*
b)	*bakw√ai*	*-nii*	*bakwai*	*bakwainii*
c)	*baaw√aa*	*-iyaa*	*baawaa*	*baiwaa*[6]

[5] Duba dokar Klingenheben wato 'Klingenheben's Law' (1927/8) cikin Newman (2000) da Abubakar (2001) da kuma Jaggar (2001) domin ƙarin bayani.

[6] A zahiri za a ga wannan kamar ɗafa-ciki, amma ba haka lamarin yake ba. Akwai wasu

d)	*dood√oo*	*-anniyaa*	*doodoo*
	doodanniya		
e)	*Jaamus*	*-ancii*	*Jaamus*
	Jaamusancii		
f)	*baɗ√a(a)*	*-B_3a(a)*	*baɗaa(a.r1)*
	baɗaaɗaa		
	shaar√a(a)		*shaaraa(a.r1)*
	sharaaraa		
	tsaal√a(a)		*tsaalaa(a.r1)*
	tsalaalaa		
g)	*roob√aa*	*-ooB_3ii*	*roobaa*
	rooboobii		
h)	*raay√aa*	*-aB_3Bee*	*raayaa(a.r1)*
	raayayyee		
	makar√aa	*-aB_4Bee*	*makaraa(a.r3)*
	makararree		
i)	*faat√aa*	*-aB_3Bakii*	*faataa*
	faatattakii		
j)	*tabbas*	*-ii/-aa*	*tabbas*
	tabbacii/tabbataa		
	maalam	*-ii/-aa*	*maalam*
	maalamii/maalamaa		
k)	*jaak√ii*	*-aa/-ai*	*jaakii*
	jaakaa/jaakai		

A wannan tebur na (3) za a lura da yadda aka kawo samfiran bayanai da ɗafa-ƙeya ke ɗamfaruwa jikin saiwa ko tushensu. Kusan ana iya cewa sinadaran ɗafa-ƙeya sun fi kowane nau'in ɗafi yawa a Hausa. Kuma akwai kalmomin masu ɗimbin yawa a Hausa da za a iya samawar ƙarƙashin kowane misali na ɗafa-ƙeya da aka kawo. Sannan kuma a lura cewa ba waɗannan ne kaɗai sinadaran ɗafa-ƙeya a harshen ba. Sai dai, kamar yadda za a lura a (3c) tushen kalma tilo namiji ya haɗu da ɗafin ƙeya na *-iyaa,* saɓanin ɗafin ciki na *-i-* wajen kumbirar da kalmar domin samar da jinsin tamatar *baawaa.* Wato daga *baawaa* + *iyaa* > *baawiyaa* bayan 'share wasali' a kan iyakar ƙwayar ma'ana; *baawiyaa* > *bawyaa* bayan 'sauƙaƙe lafazi' a gaɓa ta biyu inda aka 'cire wasali' na /i/ sai kuma 'gajarta dogon wasali' na gaɓar farko /aa/ zuwa 'wasali mai aure' /au/; wato *bawyaa*/bauyaa* kamar yadda yake a karin harshen Arewa; sannan ta sauya zuwa *baywa**/*baiwa* ta hanyar 'rawar yammata' a sauran

matakai na dokar sauyin sauti cikin ilmin tasrifin (tsarin) sauti waɗanda suka haddasa wannan lamari. Duba Newman (2000:211) don ƙarin bayani.

kare-karen harshe. A (3f) kuwa za a fahimci yadda gaɓar ƙarshe ta aikatau ɗan rukuni na 1 ta maimatu ta hanyar ninki-ragagge, inda ta nuna cewa aikin ya maimaitu fiye da sau ɗaya. Kwatanta wannan da *yaa baɗa yaajii a abincin ⇒ yaa baɗaaɗa yaajii a abinci.*

(B) ***Na tagwaitaka:-*** kamar na falan ɗaya, ya rabu zuwa kashi uku, amma a Hausa zuwa ya rabu zuwa kashi biyu. Abin nufin nufi da zarar an sami saiwa/tushe, sai ɗafi iri biyu – ɗafa-goshi da ɗafa-ƙeya ko kuma ɗafa-ciki da ɗafa-ƙeya – a lokaci guda su haɗu ko shiga jikin saiwar ko tushen domin samar da wasu kalmomi masu dangantaka da juna. Duba waɗannan tebura masu zuwa:

4. Ɗafa-goƙeya ko ɗafin goshi-da-ƙeya

	Ɗafa-goshi	*Saiwa/tushe*	*Ɗafa-ƙeya*	*Kalma*
	⇒ Sabuwar kalma			
a)	*Ba-* *Bagoobirii*	*Goobir*	*-ii*	*Goobir*
b)	*Ba-* *Ba'aadaree*	*Aadar*	*-ee*	*Aadar*
c)	*Ba-* *bahagoo*	*hag√uu*	*-oo*	*haguu*
d)	*ma-* *magoogii*	*goog√aa*	*-ii*	*googaa*
e)	*ma-* *matabbataa*	*tabbas*	*-aa*	*tabbas*
f)	*ma-* *mashaayaa*	*sh√aa*	*-yaa*	*shaa*
g)	*BWB-* *zazzaafaa*	*zaaf√ii*	*-aa*	*zaaafii*

A wannan tebur na (4) za a lura da yadda aka ɗafi irin biyu ɗafa-gashi da ɗafa-ƙeya suka samar da wasu sabbin kalmomi. Daga (4a – 4g) za yadda sinadaran ɗafin goshi-da-ƙeya daban-daban suka shiga sahu guda da saiwa/tushe. Kuma irin wannan ɗafi akwai kalmomi masu yawa da ake samarwa da shi a Hausa da suka haɗa da sunan ɗan gari ko ƙasa da sunan ma'aikaci da na abin gudanar da aiki da sunan wuri ko muhalli da sauransu.

5. Ɗafa-ciƙeya ko ɗafin ciki-da-ƙeya

	Saiwa	***Ɗafa-ciki***	***Tushe***	***Ɗafa-goshi***	***Kalma***	***⟹ Sabuwarkalma***
a)	*sar√*	*-aa-*	*kii*	*-unaa*	*sarkii*	*saraakunaa*
b)	*gar√*	*-ee-*	*maa*	*-anii*	*garmaa*	*gareemanii*
c)	*kur√*	*-aa-*	*maa*	*-ee*	*kurmaa*	*kuraamee*
d)	*kul√*	*-aa-*	*kii*	*-ai*	*kulkii*	*kulaakee*
e)	*haɗa√*	*-u-*	*rii*	*-aa*	*haɗarii*	*haɗuraa*
f)	*gar√*	*-BWB-*	*damaa*	*-ii*	*gardamaa*	*gardandamii*
g)	*lada√*	*$-u^{n}-$*	*bii*	*-aa*	*ladabii*	*ladubbaa*

A wannan tebur na (5) za a lura da yadda aka gwada samfiran bayanai masu zuwa da ɗafin ciki-da-ƙeya a Hausa. Ana samin wannan nau'in ɗafi a yawancin kalmomin Hausa idan an buƙaci mayar da suna tilo jam'i. Za kuma a lura cewa daga (5a–5g) akwai sinadarai na ɗafin ciki-da-ƙeya mabambanta. Sai dai a lura cewa ba waɗannan ne kaɗai sinadaran ba.

4.3 Ɗafi na daban a Hausa

A ƙarƙashin wannan sashe za a yi nazari wasu lamura na daban da suka kasance tattare da harshen Hausa baya ga ire-iren ɗafi har guda biyar da aka wassafa. Ko da yake ɗabi'a ta farko tana da gurbi cikin harshen; ta biyu kuwa mun sami samfurin bayani guda ɗaya tak da harshen ke da shi. Zai yi kyau a kalli waɗannan lamura da idon basira domin a rarrabe da waɗannan ɗabi'u.

4.3.1 Ɗafa-gociki ko ɗafin goshi-da-ciki

Ko da yake a wasu harsuna irin su *Semitic* da *Berber* daga cikin harsuna dangin *Afroshiya* ana ayyana tasrifinsu da 'tsarin shigar da wasula tsakanin baƙaƙe' wato *'root-and-pattern system'* kuma akwai irin wannan ɗafi. Duba waɗannan misalai cikin harshe Larabci a (6):

6a) hlƙ√+ …-u-…(-u-)… ⟹ hul(u)ƙ 'hali' ⟹ + a-…-aa-… 'ahlaaƙ 'halaye'

jsm√+ …-i-…(-i-)… ⟹ jis(i)m 'jiki' ⟹ + a-…-aa-… 'ajsaam 'jikkuna'

mlk√ mulk 'sarauta' + …-a-…-i-…⟹ malik 'sarki'; a-…-aa- ⟹ 'amlaak 'sarakai'

6b) ghyl√-ghy-l ⟹ + a-…-u-… aghyul 'jaki' ⟹ i-…-a-… ighyal 'jakuna'

6c) fark√+ee ⟹ farkee + ba-...-aa- ⟹ bafaraakee (bafataakee).*

A samfurin bayani na (6a) za a lura da cewa harsunan *Semitic* kamar a Larabci akwai inda ake samun irin waɗannan ɗafin goshi-da-ƙeya da kan shiga sahu guda da saiwa/tushe a lokaci guda. Sai kuma a harshen *Berber* shi ma yana irin wannan halayya ta ɗafin goshi-da-ƙeya cikin misali na (6b). Wannan dalilin ne ya sanya a jadawalin ɗafi da ya gabata (§:4.2) aka yi alamar tambaya, domin a iya binciken da aka yi, a iya cewa Hausa bai da irin wannan ɗafi. Ko da yake, (6c) zai iya zama wata hujja guda ta irin wannan ɗafi, idan an kwatanta da sauran, aka lura za a ga yadda tushen *farkee/falkee* ta tsirar da 'sunan matsayi/sana'ar mutum' daga 'suna mutum'. Amma ga wasu misalai da Newman (2000:423) ya wassafa dangane da 'jam'antaccen aikatau' a Hausa ta hanyar ragaggen ninki inda ya gwada cewa ana iya samun ɗafin goshi-da-ciki amma ba lokaci guda ba. Ga misalan kamar haka a tebur na (7).

7)	ɗafa-goshi ɗafa-ciki	tushe ⟹	1	2	3
7a)	*BWB- -BWB-*	*rikit√aa(a.r1)*	*rirrkitaa*	*rikirkitaa*	*rirrikirkitaa*
7b)	" "	*maƙal√aa(a.r1)*	*mammaƙalaa*	*maƙalƙalaa*	*mammaƙalƙalaa*
7c)	" "	*haif√aa(a.r2)*	*hahhaifa*	*hayayyafaa*	*?hahhayayyafa*

An ciro samfirin waɗannan misalai daga Newman (2000:428) inda ya kira wannan lamari da *hyperpluractionals.* Idan an lura za a fahimci cewa tsarinsu bai yi kama da misalai na (6a) da (6b) da kuma (6c) ba, domin kuwa *ɗafin ninki* ba "lokaci guda" suka shiga jikin tushen misalai na (7) ba. Lallai za a lura da hakan, saboda ganin ɗafin ninki na ɗafin goshi-da-ƙeya a mataki na uku, yana nuna cewa ba rasa irin wannan ɗafin a Hausa kamar yadda ya zo a misalai na (6c). Dalili kuwa (7c) ma bai gama sajewa da wannnan yanayi ba, duk da cewa akwai yiwuwar samun irin wannan lamari a wasu kalmomin aikatau ɗin Hausa. Yayin da (7a) da (7b) suke da ma'ana iri guda a kowane ɗaya daga matakan nan uku, amma (7c) kuwa na

bayyana cewa akwai ɗan bambancin ma'ana da rukunin aikatau a tsakanin mataki na ɗaya a.r2 da na biyu a.r3.

4.3.2 Tarin ɗafi

Za a iya kallon wannan lamari ta fuskoki biyu: 1) ko dai ya zama yadda ɗafe-ɗafe suke yi wa saiwa/tushe shigar 'rubdugu' domin samar da sarƙaƙƙiyar kalma a harshe (duba Katamba 2011:52); 2) ko kuma ya kasance wani lamari na daban da za a sami ɗafe-ɗafe sun shiga jiki saiwa/tushe ta goshi da ciki da kuma ƙeya a lokacin guda. A wannan nazari mun kalli lamarin ta fuska ta biyu kamar yadda wannan nazari ke son fayyacewa. Wannan lamari ko a Hausa ma samfirin bayani ɗaya tak muka samu da irin wannan yanayi. Duba wannan masala mai zuwa:

8a) (i) *sark√+ii* ⟹ *sarkii* ⟹ *basaraakee*

8a) (ii) *sark√+ii* ⟹ *sarkii* ⟹ *saraakii* ⇔ *basaraakee*

8b) *duuniy√+aa* ⟹ *duuniyaa* ⟹ *baduunayii* ⇔ *baduuniyee*

8c) *fatakc√+ii fatakcii* (fataucii)* ⟹ *fatak-* ⟹ *bafataakee*

A wannan samfurin bayani na (8a, i) za a lura da cewa daga tushen kalmar da ke nufin sunan gama-gari na mutum da ya kasance mai jagorantar al'umma a tsarin mulki na gargajiya an tsirar da sunan mutum mai muƙamin ko matsayi ta hanyar gudanar da mulki/jagoranci irin na sarki. Abin lura ta fuskar ɗafi shi ne, yadda tushen kalmar ya tsiru ta yin amfani da ɗafa-ƙawanya tare da ɗafa-ciki a lokaci guda. Sai dai, ana iya ƙin kallon wannan, ta inda (8a, ii) ke nuni da cewa ƙila sai da aka far samar da *saraakii* sannan aka tsirar da *basaraakee.* To amma, kalmomin biyu duka a wani lokacin suna da ma'ana guda a wani muhallin yayin da suka sha bamban a wani (duba CNHN 2006). A misali na (8b) za a lura da yadda wannan lamari ya faru a lokaci guda cikin tushen farko na *duuniyaa.* Sai dai, mai maimakon dogon wasali na ɗafa-ciki a wannan kalma kuwa gajere ne ya zo. Kamar yadda Kamusun Hausa ya ayyana, dukkan sabbin kalmomin biyu suna da ma'ana amma siga daban. A (8c) kuwa akwai yanayin tsayin gaɓa da karin sauti iri guda [KSSK] da (8a), gaɓoɓi biyun farko gajeru, biyun ƙarshe kuwa dogwaye. Sai dai ana iya kallon bambancin tushen (8c) da karin sautin [KSKS] in an kwatanta da sauran; wato, akwai lamura biyu da suka bayyana. Na farko, sai da aka 'gutsire' wani ɓangare na tushen farko daga ƙeyar kalma, sannan aka sami ɗafa-goshi da ɗafa-ciki da kuma ɗafa-ƙeya a lokaci guda; na biyu kuwa shi ne, kamar yadda lamarin yake a (8b) kafin shigar da dogon wasalin *-aa-* na ɗafa-ciki da kuma a (8c) kafin shigar gajeren wasalin *-a-* na ɗafa-ciki, in an lura za a ga

tuwasun sun sauya zuwa wani yanayi mai ɗafi iri uku lokaci guda, inda wasulan asali na kowannensu ya sauya a gaɓar kusa da ta ƙarshe dalilin zuwa ɗafa-ciki.

A taƙaice dai, wannan nazarin ya ayyana waɗannan kalmomin masu irin wannan tsari da masu ‘ɗafi na daban’ a Hausa. Sai dai, wannan ba sabon abu ba ne cikin harsunan *Semitic* da na *Berber*, kamar yadda aka sami irin waɗannan misalai a harshen Larabci *rwh√ => ‘arwaahu; ktb√ => maktabah*. Haka kuma a ƙarƙashin *ɗafi na daban* ko *tarin ɗafi*, kamar yadda ƙwanƙwanciyar ta nuna an sami kalmar *bafatakee* ta zo a gurabe guda biyu. Amma abin izina a nan shi ne tushen kalma. Wato dai, idan an ɗauki *farkee/falkee > bafataakee* to wannan kalma tana ƙarƙashin ɗafi na daban a Hausa; ko kuma ya kasance bayan tushen *falkee > fataakee > fatak(cii) > bafataakee*; ke nan za a ga *bafataake* ta faɗo ƙarƙashin tarin ɗafi. Saboda haka, ko ma dai ya lamarin yake, ba za a yi mamaki ba idan an sami irin waɗannan lamura na shigar ɗafi ko wasula ta ɓangarori uku na kalma a lokaci guda da nufin samar da wata sabuwar kalma mai dangantaka da ta farko a Hausa. Wannan zai iya tabbatar da cewa harshen Hausa na da tsarin tasrifi na ‘shigar da wasula tsakanin baƙaƙe’ wato abin da ake kira da *root-and-pattern system or templatic pattern*.

5. Kammalawa

Daga ƙarshe, za a fahimci yadda wannan maƙala ta yi bitar ɗafin Hausa inda aka fara ayyana cewa harshen yana da ɗafi iri biyu – wato, ɗafa-goshi da ɗafa-ƙeya. Amma nazarce-nazarcen da suka biyo baya sun tabbatar da cewa harshen na da wasu ƙarin ire-iren ɗafi. Ko da yake, a hannu guda, wasu sun toge kan cewa babu ƙarin ɗafi daga biyun da aka fara ganowa, yayin da a ɗaya hannun, wasu ayyukan kuwa sun haɗu a matsayi guda da binciken wannan maƙala. Sai dai, duk da cewa akwai ayyukan da suka zo daidai da wannan nazari, manufar wannan bincike ita ce lallai masana tasrifin Hausa su yi duba tare da yin la’akari da ire-iren ɗafi guda biyar kamar yadda aka kowa cikin wannan maƙala. Bugu da ƙari, a wannan maƙala an kalli tasrifin Hausa bisa “tsarin shigar da wasula tsakanin baƙaƙe”, musamman ma idan aka yi la’akari da sashen ɗafi na tagwaitaka a harshen Hausa kamar yadda sauran harsunan gidan *Semitic* da *Berber* ke da irin wannan tsari.

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