

DERIVED DIRECT OBJECTS IN HAUSA

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This paper claims that the Hausa nominal universally believed to be the IO is in fact a DO. Sentences containing *mà*+NP_i have semantically equivalent ones where NP_i appears with a preposition or in a possessive construction. Two rules are proposed that promote locatives, benefactives, datives and possessors to DO status. It is shown how the new DO captures key DO properties at the expense of the logical (patient) DO. Based on these facts and the fact that *mà* behaves like a verbal suffix, it is concluded that *mà* is a new verbal extension to be added as a grade to Parsons' system in lieu of Form D.

Le but de cet article est de montrer que ce que l'on a toujours pris pour l'objet indirect (OI) en haoussa est en fait un objet direct (OD) dérivé. Je montre que les phrases qui contiennent ce soit-disant OI ont des équivalentes où le nominal en question apparaît soit avec une vraie préposition ou bien dans une construction possessive. Je propose deux règles pour promouvoir les nominaux obliques, datifs et possessifs au statut d'OD dans la construction *mà*+SN. Le nouvel OD assume des comportements généralement associés avec l'OD typique. Sur la base de ces faits aussi bien que le fait que *mà* se comporte plutôt comme un suffixe, je conclus que *mà* est une extension verbale qui doit être incorporée comme un nouveau degré dans le système de Parsons, en remplacement de la forme D.

0. INTRODUCTION

What in Hausa is taken as the indirect object construction (Newman 1982) or dative construction (Tuller 1984) in fact does not only involve dative NPs, but also locatives, benefactives and possessors as seen in 1:¹

- 1 a. **Audù yaa aikàa mà Aali wàsiifkàa**
A. 3ms +PERF send-MA A. letter
'Audu sent a letter to Ali.'
- b. **Audù yaa fasàa mà Indoo kwalbaa**
A. 3ms +PERF break-MA I. bottle
'Audu crashed a bottle on Indo'
'Audu broke a bottle for Indo'
'Audu broke Indo's bottle.'

In this paper ² applying the Relational Grammar (RG) framework, I first argue that the NP following *mà* is not an indirect object (IO or 3 in RG) but a derived direct object

¹ A more precise analysis would yield more semantic roles for the nominals appearing with *mà*. Parsons (1971-72) notes deprivatives, malefactives, destinatives, ablatives etc. Some examples are :

- | | |
|--|--|
| i. yaa y(i) manì Karyaa
3ms+PERF do-MA-1s lie
'He lied about me'/He lied to me' | iii. yaa yi(i) mashi wàayoo
3ms+PERF do-MA-3ms trick
'He outsmarted him' |
| ii. an hanàa mashi aikil
IMPERS+PERF refuse-MA-3ms job
'He was denied a job' | iv. yaa yi(i) masù kuukaa
3ms+PERF do-MA-3p crying
'He cried because of them=They made him cry' |

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The work is mostly based on Katsinanci, the dialect spoken in Maradi, Madarounfa (Niger), Jibiya, Birnin Katsina (Nigeria) and other towns throughout the former Katsina State. Katsinanci is classed among the Western dialects (Zaria 1982). In the transcription, long vowels are marked as double letters, low tone as /à(a)/, falling tone as /aà/ or /â/ and high tone left unmarked. The abbreviations used in the glosses are: 1, 2, 3 (1st, 2nd, 3rd person), I, II... (grade 1, 2...), DEF (definite), f (feminine), FUT (future), IMPERS (impersonal), m (masculine), p (plural), PASS (passive), PERF (perfect), PROG (progressive), REFLEX (reflexive), REL (relative), s (SING), NEG (negative).

(DO or 2 in RG).³ I propose two syntactic rules, Advancement and Ascension to 2, which relate sentences such as the above to semantically equivalent ones that do not contain *mà* (section 1). Second, I claim that Hausa grammar needs several concepts of DOs available in RG, namely final 2s, metastratal 2s, and initial 2s which are referred to by syntactic rules. In particular, evidence for the DO status of *mà* NP is the fact that it assumes some DO properties such as reflexivization, pronoun cliticization, transitivity marking, and passivization at the expense of the patient DO (section 2). Finally, as further supporting evidence, the marker *mà* can be shown to be not a free preposition, but an affix on the verb, comparable to Bantu applicative affixes that signal the argument status of initially non-argument NPs (section 3). As a consequence of my analysis, I propose a revision of Parsons' Grade System, where Form D is done away with in favor of a new additional grade.

1. ADVANCEMENT AND ASCENSION TO DIRECT OBJECT

This section illustrates and motivates the advancement analysis of obliques (locatives, benefactives) and datives, and the ascension analysis of possessors. (Hereafter, advancement and ascension to 2 are referred to as A2).⁴

1.1 OBL TO 2 ADVANCEMENT

1.1.1 Locatives

Locative nominals can be expressed with prepositions like *bisà* 'on', *cikin* 'in', *à* 'at, to' and *gà* 'on, against, with'. Locative phrases follow the patient, if there is one, as shown in 2a-b:

- 2 a. *yaa jeefà laakaa gà ginii*
 3ms+PERF throw-I mud on wall
 'He threw mud on the wall.'
- b. *yaa doorà kaayaa bisà kèeke*
 3ms+PERF put-I stuff on bike
 'He put some stuff on the bike.'

However, some locatives can appear with *mà* instead of prepositions like *gà* and *bisà*; in this case, the locative appears between the verb and the patient, as in 3a-b:

- 3 a. *yaa jeefàa mà ginii laakaa*
 3ms+PERF throw-MA wall mud
 'He threw mud on the wall.'
- b. *yaa dooràa mà kèeke kaayaa*
 3ms+PERF put-MA bike stuff
 'He put some stuff on the bike.'

³ For the presentation and discussion of basic RG-concepts, see Perlmutter and Postal (1977, 1983).

⁴ There is another type of applicative advancement to 2 such as in:

- | | |
|--|---|
| a. <i>yaa sòoki ràagoo dà maashii</i>
3ms+PERF stab-II ram with spear
'He stabbed the ram with a spear.' | b. <i>yaa sookà maashii gà ràagoo</i>
3ms+PERF stab-I spear on ram
'He stabbed the spear into the ram.' |
|--|---|

In a., the patient *ràagoo* is DO, in b. the instrumental *maashii* is the DO and the patient is demoted to oblique (Newman p.c.). This gr.2 vs. Hi-Lo-a applicative contrast involves instrumentals only, and not datives, possessors or other obliques. A similar partition can be found in Bantu languages such as discussed for Chichewa in Alsina and Mchombo (1990).

Note: Not all locatives advance to 2, however. The general requirement for a locative to advance is its ability to be somehow ‘affected’ (Newman 1982) by the event. Thus, the most prone to advance are animates, with *gà*; then inanimates with *gà* or *bisà* and, less often, those with *cikin* and *à*:

- ia. **yaa sàa kùjèeruu cikin ðaakii** iia. **yaa kai kudii à London**
 3ms + PERF put-I chairs inside-of + m room 3ms + PERF bring money to
 London
 ‘He entered the chairs into the room.’ ‘He took some money to London.’
 ‘He put chairs in the room (as equipment).’ b. ***yaa kai mà London kudii**
- b. **yaa sàa mà ðaakii kùjèeruu**
 3ms + PERF put-MA room chairs
 ‘He put chairs in the room.’
 *‘He entered the chairs into the room.’
- iiia. **yaa kai yaaKii à London** b. **yaa kai mà London yaaKii**
 3ms + PERF bring war to London
 ‘He brought war to London.’

1.1.2 Benefactives

Benefactives are generally expressed with the preposition *don* (or *dan*) and appear after the patient only as in 4:⁵

4. **sun nèemi maagàni dan Indoo**
 3p + PERF search-II medicine for Indo
 ‘They looked for medicine for Indo.’

Benefactives also appear with *mà* preceding the patient as in 5:

5. **sun neeman mà Indoo maagàni**
 3p + PERF search-MA Indo medicine
 ‘They looked for medicine for Indo.’

1.1.3 The A2 analysis of obliques

I propose that sentences 2 and 4 are monostratal; the locative or benefactive nominal is an initial OBL, and the patient is a 2, as represented in the single stratum diagram for 2a in 6:

6. P 1 2 OBL
 jeefà yaa laakaa ginii

In contrast, clauses like 3 and 5 are bistratal; the locative or benefactive nominal is an initial OBL which advances to 2, placing the initial 2 en chômage, as represented in the two strata diagram for 3a in 7:

7. P 1 2 OBL
 P 1 2chô 2
 jeefà yaa laakaa ginii

⁵ Inanimate benefactives or possessors generally do not advance:

- ia. **taa aadinà ruwaa dan dāshee** iia. **yaa hãlbi taayàr mootàa**
 3fs + PERF spare-I water for plant 3ms - PERF kick-II tire-of + f car
 ‘She saved some water for the plant.’ ‘He kicked the tire of the car.’
- b. **? taa aadinàa mà dāshee ruwaa** b. **? yaa halbam mà mootàa taayàa**

1.2 INDIRECT OBJECT TO 2 ADVANCEMENT

Datives usually appear with *mà*, always preceding the patient⁶ as shown in 8:

- 8 a. *mun tankàa mà Audù*
 1p +PERF reply-MA Audu
 'We replied to Audu.'
- b. *taa kooyàa mà Audu taarihiì*⁷
 3fs +PERF teach-MA Audu history
 'She taught Audu history.'

In contrast to obliques, for which A2 is optional, datives usually have to advance. 9 is odd because the dative appears with the preposition *gà*:

9. *?naa kooyà taarihiì gà Audu*
 1s +PERF teach-I history to Audu
 'I taught history to Audu.'

In some cases however, especially if the dative is a heavy nominal, it can appear with *gà* as Parsons (1971, 1972) and Newman (1982) have noted; thus *gà*, and not *mà*, preceding the datives in 10a-b (from Newman 1982) is stylistically preferred.⁸

- 10 a. *yaa fàfi làabaariì gà mutàanene dà sukà*
 3ms +PERF tell-II news to people that 3p-REL +PERF
tàaru à roofàr faadà
 gather at gate-of +f palace
 'He told the news to the people gathered at the palace.'
- b. *yaa yaa kè ha kòoransà gà yaaròn dà*
 3ms +PERF bare teeth-of +p-his to boy-DEF +M that
bàì saabàa dà shiì ba
 NEG-3ms +PERF acquaint with 3ms NEG
 'He (dog) bared his teeth at the boy he wasn't used to.'

I propose the following analysis for Hausa datives: clauses like 10a-b are monostratal and the dative is an initial and final 3, as represented in 11:

⁶ In some dialects *mà* NP can follow the patient (Jaggar p.c.)

⁷ Things are different for *baà* 'give'. For Parsons, before a noun, *wà* is optional with *baà* in Standard Hausa, and absent in western dialects. Also, before a pronoun, there is no marker for all dialects. Based on the tonal difference between the pre-pronominal high-toned *baa* and the pre-nominal modulated *baà* forms (sometimes *bàa* in the West, see Newman and Abdoulaye 1989), Newman contends that the IO marker *wà* is simply fused with the verb and all that remains is the falling tone on the pre-nominal *baà* form. These details are summarized in the following table:

	Western dialects		Standard Hausa	
<u>other verbs</u>				
+ Noun	<i>mà</i>		<i>wà</i>	
+ Pronoun	<i>ma</i>		<i>ma</i>	
<u>Verb <i>baà</i></u>				
	Parsons	Newman	Parsons	Newman
+ Noun	0	([˘])	<i>wà</i> /0	<i>wà</i> /([˘])
+ Pronoun	0	0	0	0

⁸ 'Heavy' NPs can still be equally expressed both with *gà* and as A2 nominals as shown below (from Newman):

- a. *yaa yaa kè ha kòoransà gà bàbban bàakoo*
 3ms +PERF bare-IV teeth-his to important visitor
 'He (dog) bared his teeth to the important visitor.'

- b. *yaa yaa kèe wà/mà bàbban bàakoo ha kòoransà*

For Parsons (1971-72) and Newman (1982), sentence a. is derived by NP extraposition (or shift) from sentence

b. Finally, in grade 5, datives with *gà* are not uncommon (see 32 for example).

11. P 1 2 3
fàdì yaa làabaariì mutàanen

but clauses like 8a-b are bistratal, and the dative is an initial 3 which advances to 2 in the second stratum, placing the initial 2 en chòmage as represented for 8b in 12:

12. P 1 2 3
P 1 2chô 2
kooyàa taa taariihii Audù

1.3 POSSESSOR ASCENSION TO 2

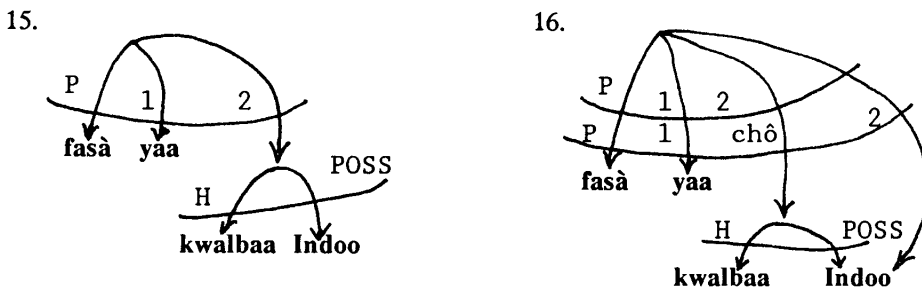
As with OBLs and locatives, possessors are expressed in two ways. First, they can appear in a genitive construction; the possessor follows the head nominal as in 13:

13. **yaa fasà [kwalbar Indoo]**
3ms +PERF break-I [bottle-of +f Indo]
‘He broke Indo’s bottle.’

Possessors can also appear with **mà**, in which case they precede the possessed nominal which is left unmarked as in 14:⁹

14. **yaa fasàa mà Indoo kwalbaa**
3ms +PERF break-MA Indo bottle
‘He broke Indo’s bottle.’

In 13, the DO is the entire possessive phrase and the sentence is monostratal. But in 14, the possessor is no longer in a genitive construction. In line with the A2 analysis, I consider this sentence to be bistratal. In the first stratum the possessor is a head modifier, but in the second stratum, it ascends to 2. The head nominal cannot revalue to 2 and is put en chòmage. Sentence 13 can be represented as in the stratal diagram 15, and sentence 14 as in 16:



2. PROPERTIES OF OBJECTS

The analyses in section 1 make possible several -- not one, as in traditional Hausa studies -- notions of direct object. One type of object is the monostratal 2 (the ‘2’ in 17a).

⁹ Possessor ascension out of initial unaccusatives or OBL locatives is possible as shown in ib. and iic:

- ia. **kàakar Audu taa mutù**
grandma-of+f Audu 3fs+PERF die
‘Audu’s grandma died.’
iia. **yaa yaaɓà laakaa gà mooyàr Indoo**
3ms+PERF put-I mud on car-of+f Indo
‘He put some mud on Indo’s car.’
b. **kàakaa taa macèe mà Audu**
‘Audu’s grandma died on him.’
b. **yaa yaaɓàa mà mootàr Indoo laakaa**
c. **yaa yaaɓàa mà Indo laakaa gà mootàa**

As noted in Parsons (1971-72), clauses can contain only one **mà** NP; there can be only one A2 per clause. For example, in ii, either the possessor or the OBL can advance to 2, never both:

- iii. ***yaa yaaɓàa mà (mà) Indoo mootàa laakaa**
3ms+PERF put-MA (MA) Indo car mud
‘He put some mud on Indo’s car.’

Two additional types are the A2 nominal and the 2 chômeur (the '2chô' and the second stratum '2' in 17b):

17a.	P	1	2	3	17b.	P	1	2	3
						P	1	2chô	2

However, as often evidenced in RG discussions of syntactic levels (for example Perlmutter 1982), the three objects above can collectively or selectively be referred to by syntactic rules. In particular, I propose that the following concepts of object are relevant to the analysis of Hausa syntax:

- 18 a. Final 2s: = monostratal 2 and A2 nominal.
 b. Metastratal 2s: = monostratal 2, A2 nominal and 2 chômeur.
 c. Initial 2s: = monostratal 2 and 2 chômeur.

The rest of this section shows that the above concepts make rule statements simpler.

2.1 FINAL 2S

This subsection illustrates instances where the 2 chômeur loses key DO properties such as transitivity marking, cliticization, reflexivization and passivization after the advancement or ascension to 2 of an oblique, dative or possessor NP. The new DO captures the above properties (although in a partial way for the passive). This transfer of DO properties is the strongest evidence in favor of the DO status of the *mà* NP.

2.1.1 Transitivity exponents

According to Parsons (1960), grade 1 *-à* and grade 2 *-i* are exponents of transitivity that mark the verb if followed by a DO as seen in 19:

- 19 a. *taa bugà hootunàa gà ginìi*
 3fs +PERF nail-I pictures on wall
 'She nailed some pictures on the wall.'
- b. *sun dèebi tsaabàr Indoo*
 3p +PERF take-II grain-of +f Indo
 'They took some of Indo's grain.'

These exponents are not found if the verb is followed by an A2 nominal, even if the former DO is following as seen in 20:

- 20 a. *sun dèebam mà Indoo (tsaabàa)*
 3p +PERF take-MA Indo (grain)
 'They took some of Indo's grain.'
- b. **sun dèebi mà Indoo tsaabàa*

Under the A2 analysis, a verb is marked *-à* or *-i* if followed by a monostratal 2; and it is marked *-mà* if followed by the A2 nominal. In contrast to these final 2s, there is no exponent of transitivity or any marker on the verb referring to a 2 chômeur.

2.1.2 Clitics

As is well known, a pronominal monostratal 2 cliticizes automatically onto the verb. An independent pronoun is impossible as DO as shown in 21:

21. *mun halbàa ta/*ita*
 1p +PERF shoot-I 3fs/*3fs
 'We shot it (a gun).'

The licensed *ta* is a clitic object pronoun, while *ita* belongs to the free pronouns set. A pronominal A2 also cliticizes on the verb (suffixed with *-mà*) as in 22:

22. *mun* *aikàa* *matà/*mà ita*
 1p+PERF send-MA-3fs/MA 3fs
 ‘We sent (s.th.) to her.’

In contrast to final 2s, 2 *chômeurs* never cliticize, even if they are adjacent to the verb; this is shown in 23:

- 23 a. *mun* *aikàa mà Indoo ita/*ta*
 1p+PERF send-MA Indo 3fs/3fs
 ‘We sent it to Indo.’
- b. *Indoo cèe mukà* *aikàa mà ita/*ta*
 Indo be+_f 1p-REL+PERF send-MA 3fs/3fs
 ‘It is to Indo that we sent it.’

2.1.3 Reflexives

The reflexive pronoun is made up of the morphemes (*kai+n >*) *kân* + clitic pronoun which literally means ‘head of me’, ‘head of you’ etc. Here also, final 2s contrast with 2 *chômeurs* in that they can be reflexive, referencing the subject, while 2 *chômeurs* cannot. The monostratal 2, the A2 nominal and the 2 *chômeur* are respectively illustrated in 24a-c:

- 24 a. *Audù yaa* *kai kânshì*
 Audu 3ms+PERF bring REFLEX
 ‘Audu took himself (somewhere).’
- b. *Audù yaa* *aadinaa mà kânshì maagàni*
 Audu 3ms+PERF spare-MA REFLEX medicine
 ‘Audu saved himself some medicine.’
- c. **Audù yaa* *kai mà sarkii kânshì*
 Audu 3ms+PERF bring-MA emir REFLEX
 ‘Audu took himself to the emir.’

To express the sense ‘Audu took himself to the emir’, the A2 rule has to be blocked and the patient be monostratal 2, as in 25:

25. *Audù yaa* *kai kânshì gà saarkii*
 Audu 3ms+PERF bring REFLEX to emir
 ‘Audu took himself to the emir.’

2.1.4 Passive

Passive is expressed by grade 7 where a logical DO appears as subject, and the verb is suffixed by *-u* with the tone pattern (...L)-L-H (Parsons 1960). Passive sentences, however, cannot contain an A2 nominal as shown in 26:

- 26 a. *kud'ii sun* *àiku* (*gà Audu*)
 money 3p+PERF send-PASS (by Audu)
 ‘The money is sent (by Audu).’
- b. **kud'ii sun* *aikam mà* *Audù*
 money 3p+PERF send-PASS-MA Audu
 ‘The money was sent to Audu.’

Thus, a 2 *chômeur* cannot be a passive subject. The A2 nominal, however, does appear as a passive subject, although less freely than a monostratal patient DO. Thus, A2 passive sentences seem to be best if the verb is in progressive or future form (see Jaggar 1988 for the two types of passives in Hausa):

- 27 a. **Audù baayà àikuwaa kudii à haalin yànzù**
 A. NEG +3ms +PROG send-PASS money at circumstances-of +m now
 'Audu cannot be sent money at this time.'
- b. **Yaaròn nan bà zaî kòoyu ba** (Parsons 1971-72:197)
 boy-of that NEG FUT-3ms teach-PASS NEG
 'That boy is unteachable.'
- c. **Audù baàya bàayuwaa kaashii (gàree kà)**
 A. NEG +3ms +PROG give-PASS beating (by 2ms)
 'Audu cannot be punished (by you).'

For the four properties reviewed in this subsection, the monostratal patient DO and the A2 nominal behave the same as opposed to 2 *chômeur*. With the final 2 notion, one can state a simple rule for all the above properties:

28. Only final 2s can have transitivity exponents, be cliticized on the verb, and be reflexives or passive subjects.

2.2 METASTRATAL 2S

Vis-à-vis the following three properties, the monostratal 2, the A2 nominal, and the 2 *chômeur* behave alike. the concept of metastratal 2 -- that is a 2 in any stratum -- can be used here to characterize them, as opposed to OBLs and 3s.

2.2.1 Verbal Suffixes Blocking

In the progressive and future, the verbal noun (VN) form of the verbs is used following the auxiliaries *nàa/kèe* or *zaa*. With grade 1 verbs, the VN morphology -- the suffix --`waa -- is apparent only if the monostratal 2 is preposed, as in 29:

- 29a. **munàa aikà kudii** b. **kudii, munàa aikàawaa**
 1p-PROG send-I money money 1p-PROG send-I
 'We are sending money.' 'Money, we are sending (it).'

Bagari (1971) makes the generalization that the progressive always takes a VN. For 29a then, he proposes that the presence of a DO blocks the suffix --`waa; but that the verb is still a VN (see also Gregersen 1967, Wolff 1984). There exists, in the Western dialects, a morpheme *waa*, which is widely believed to have no relationship with the regular VN suffix (Newman p.c., Jaggar p.c.). This *waa* appears often after *mà* when no A2 nominal or 2 *chômeur* follows. Just like the VN suffix, *waa* never shows up so long as one of the above nominals follows. This is shown in 30 and 31 for A2 nominal and 2 *chômeur* respectively:¹⁰

¹⁰ The post-*mà waa* alternates with *-àà* and both appear even in the perfect as in:
Indoo cèe mukà aikàa màà/màwaa 'It is to Indo that we sent (s.th.).'
 Indo be+f 1p-REL+PERF send-MA

As far as I am aware, no one has explained why the post-*mà waa* should be. I propose here that both *waa* and --`waa function as VN suffixes in their respective contexts, although they are of different origin and, in other ways, different in behaviour as well. This amounts to saying that A2 nominals always require the verb to be replaced with its VN (the same is also suggested for gr.2 verbs in note 15). For Parsons (1971-72) and Newman (1973, 1991), the verb replacement in gr.2, gr.3 and gr.7 is effected by changing grade or by a special extension. I claim that, in the western dialects at least, in all grades, a shift from verb to VN is involved instead.

- 30 a. **munàa aikàa mà(*waa) Indoo**
 1p- PROG send-MA Indo
 'We are sending (s.th.) to Indo.'
- b. **Indoo cèe mukèe aikàamàwaa**
 Indo be +f 1p-REL +PROG send-MA
 'It is to Indo that we are sending (s.th.)'
- 31 a. **Indoo cèe mukèe aikàamà(*waa) kudfi**
 Indo be +f 1p-REL +PROG send-MA money
 'It is to Indo that we are sending money.'
- b. **kudfi, Indoo cèe mukèe aikàamàwaa**
 money Indo be +f 1p-REL +PROG send-MA
 'Money, it is to Indo that we are sending (it).'

In contrast to metastratal 2s, 3s and OBLs cannot block the suffixes as shown respectively in 32 and 33:

- 32 a. **kudfi nèe zaa à baadàawaa gà Audù**
 money be +p FUT IMPERS give-V to Audu
 'It is money that is about to be given to Audu.'
- b. ***kudfi nèe zaa à baadàa gà Audù**
- 33 a. **munàa aikàawaa à London**
 1p- PROG send-I to London
 'We are sending (s.th.) to London.'
- b. ***munàa aikàa à London**

2.2.2 Copy in NP Clefts

In clefting, NPs appear in initial position and are optionally followed by the copula *nee/cee*. Also, the relative marker *kà/kèe* (for perfect and progressive) appears. When monostratal 2s, A2-nominals or 2 *chômeurs* are clefted, a copy following the verb is impossible, as seen in 34-36:

34. **kudfi nèe mukà aikàa (*su)**
 money be +p 1p-REL +PERF send-I (3p)
 'It is money that we sent.'
35. **Indoo cèe mukà aikàa màa (*tà)**
 Indo be +f 1p-REL - PERF send-MA (3fs)
 'It is to Indo that we sent (s.th.).'
36. **kudfi nèe mukà aikàa mà Indoo (*suu)**
 money be +p 1p-REL +PERF send-MA Indo (3p)
 'It is money that we sent to Indo.'

In contrast, clefted 3s and OBLs require a copy, as shown in 37:

37. **kèeke nèe mukà azà kaayaa gàree *(shì)**
 bike be +m 1p-REL +PERF put-I stuff on-3ms
 'It is on the bike that we put stuff.'

- 43 a. **kud̄ii, mun aikàa (su)**
 money 1p+PERF send-I (3p)
 'Money, we sent (it).'
- b. **Audù, mun aikàa *(shi)**
 Audu 1p+PERF send-I 3ms
 'Audu, we sent him.'
- 44 a. **kud̄ii, mun aikàa mà Indoo (suu)**
 money 1p+PERF send-MA Indo (3p)
 'Money, we sent (it) to Indo.'
- b. **Audù, mun aikàa mà Indoo *(shii)**
 Audu 1p+PERF send-MA Indo 3ms
 'Audu, we sent him to Indo.'

A copy is required for topicalized A2 nominals, 3s and obliques whether they are animate or inanimate; 45 illustrates an inanimate A2 nominal and 46 an inanimate associative:¹²

45. **mootàa, mun loodàa ma*(tà)**
 car 1p+PERF load-MA-3fs
 'The car, we load it (with s.th).'
46. **kud̄ii, mun tàfi dà *(suu)**
 money 1p+PERF go-III with 3p
 'Money, we went with it.'

In yes-no questions also, inanimate monostratal 2s and 2 chômeurs can optionally have a copy. The copy is required if they are animate. Below, 47a illustrates a reply involving an inanimate monostratal 2 or 2 chômeur, 47b illustrates the same nominals with an animate reference.

- 47 a. **ii! mun aikàa (mà Indoo) (shii)**
 yes 1p+PERF send-I (MA I.) (3ms)
 'Yes! we sent it to Indo.'
- b. **ii! mun aikàa (mà Indoo) *(shii)**
 yes 1p+PERF send-I (MA I.) 3ms
 'Yes! we sent him (to Indo).'

For A2 nominals, 3s and OBLs, a copy is always required, as seen in the replies in 48:

- 48 a. **ii! mun loodàa ma*(tà)**
 yes 1p+PERF load-MA-3fs
 'Yes! we load it (with s.th).'
- b. **ii! mun bugà hootunàa gàree*(shi)**
 yes 1p+PERF nail-I pictures on-3ms
 'Yes! we nailed pictures on it.'

¹² Even though datives can follow **baà** without **mà**, they are still A2 nominals, not monostratal DOs. This is shown by the fact that they require a copy in topicalization even if they are inanimate, just like A2s with **mà** and unlike true initial 2s following the same **baà**:

- | | |
|---|---|
| i. dàshee, an baa *(shi) ruwaa
plant, IMPERS+PERF give-MA 3ms water
'The plant, someone watered it.' | ii. dàshee, an baadàa (shi) wàje
plant, IMPERS+PERF give-V (3ms) out
'The plant, someone gave it out.' |
|---|---|

With the initial 2 notion, the topicalization and yes-no questions copy rule is statable as in 49:

49. A copy is optional for inanimate initial 2s; it is obligatory for all other nominals.

2.5 INADEQUACY OF THE IO ANALYSIS

This analysis, which is implicit in many Hausa studies (e.g. Newman 1982) where the A2 nominal is called IO, takes the A2 nominal to be a 3, flagged with the free particle *mà*. Such a proposal then posits two 3 slots with two different prepositions: one slot with *gà* following the patient and the other with *mà* preceding the patient as in 50 and 51:

50 a. **an** **baadà** **kufii** **gà** **Audù**
 IMPERS +PERF give-V money to Audu
 'Audu was given the money.'

b. 1 P 2 3

51 a. **an** **aikàa** **mà** **Audù** **kufii**
 IMPERS +PERF send-MA Audu money
 'Audu was sent the money.'

b. 1 P 3 2

This analysis faces two types of inadequacies. First, it cannot state a general rule for word order. In view of the diagrams in 50b-51b, the general word order rule under this analysis would be 52:

52. 1 + P + 3 + 2 + 3

In contrast, under the A2 analysis it is possible to formulate a word order rule with one slot for each grammatical relation, as in 53:

53. 1 + P + 2 + *chô* + 3

The second problem with the IO analysis relates to rules statements for object properties. Under this analysis, one will need to resort to disjunctive statements in order to account for the distribution of the object properties, as shown in 54:

54.	<u>A2 analysis</u>	=	<u>IO analysis</u>
	Final 2s	=	3s with <i>mà</i> , 2s (except when non-adjacent to the verb)
	Metastratal 2s	=	all 2s and 3s with <i>mà</i>
	Initial 2s	=	2s

Thus, only the rules for topicalization and yes-no questions are statable as simply as in the A2 analysis. For the remaining rules, the A2 analysis is superior and preferable to IO analysis.

In conclusion, an adequate grammar of Hausa needs the set of notions of object I have proposed. However, Hausa is not an extraordinary language in this respect. Berinstein (1986) shows similarly how a grammar of K'ekchi needs four notions of 3s (IOs) to account for the phenomena like case marking and person agreement. Also Perlmutter (1982) argues for the need of a linguistic theory where at least four notions of subject will be recognized to account for the relational facts in various languages. The Hausa data shows that a linguistic theory needs multiple notions of object as well.

3. MA under the A2 analysis

The morpheme **mà** is often taken to be a preposition or, at least, a separate element (see e.g. Newman 1982); this view is also reflected in the standard orthography. However, Parsons (1971, 1972), Gouffé (1981), Tuller (1984) and Bature (1988), among others, have suggested that **mà** could be a verbal suffix. For example, in constituency tests, modal elements can intervene between **mà** and the advanced NP, but not between **mà** and the verb.¹³ This is illustrated in 55:

- 55 a. **yaa azàa mà fa kèeke kaayaa**
 3ms +PERF put-MA indeed bike stuff
 'He indeed put some stuff on the bike.'
- b. ***yaa azàa fa mà kèeke kaayaa**
- c. **Indoo taa aikàa mà har Audù**
 Indo 3fs +PERF send-MA even Audu
 'Indo sent (s.th.) even to Audu.'
- d. ***Indoo taa aikàa har mà Audu**

Also, **mà** behaves differently from all other prepositions in that it is obligatorily stranded if the dative is preposed in cleft constructions as illustrated in 56:

- 56 a. **kèeke nèe ya azàa mà -- kaayaa**
 bike be +m 3ms +REL +PERF put-MA stuff
 'It is on the bike that he put some stuff.'
- b. ***mà kèeke nèe ya azà -- kaayaa**
- c. **gà kèeke nèe ya azà kaayaa --**
 on bike be +m 3ms +REL +PERF put-I stuff
 'It is on the bike that he put stuff.'
- d. ***kèekya nèe ya azà kaayaa gà --**

These facts show that **mà** is not a preposition, but rather an element -- actually a suffix -- which is bound to the verb. Considering the fact that it appears when thematically various nominals advance or ascend to 2, I propose that **mà** is chiefly an advancement or ascension marker. In this respect, it is comparable to the applicative marker that is suffixed onto the verb when OBLs advance to 2 in Bantu languages such as Kinyarwanda (see Gary and Keenan 1977, Kimenyi 1980). If, as I believe, this is true, then **mà** should be considered an extension in the verbal system of Hausa, just like any other grade.¹⁴ So far A2 verb forms have wrongly been represented as 'Form D' of the grade system (Parsons 1960) as seen in 57, with the verb 'to shoot':

57.	Form A	B	C	D
	(no object)	(+ pron.)	(+ noun)	(+ dative)
Grade 1	halbàa	halbàa	halbà	halbàa
Grade 2	hàlbaa	hàlbee	hàlbi	halbam ¹⁵
etc.				

¹³ Newman (1991) presents dialectal data where **mà** can be preceded by a modal or follow the NP in cleft. These few dialects (Bauchi, Kurfey), cannot be handled in this analysis.

¹⁴ The idea that the grades may be added to is not new. Newman (1973) claims that their list is logically open-ended. He also notes that grades can be combined (cf. **janyoo**, from **jaa**+**-nyee**+**-oo** 'pull'). Thus, the fact that the newly proposed extension is always built on other grades is not a new issue either.

¹⁵ This is Parsons' borrowed grade 5 form or Newman's destinative, pre-dative form. It is not specific to **mà**+NP context. With a Lo-Lo tone pattern, grade 2 verbs can show an assimilated final consonant in their 1st and 3rd person B form, as seen below, (and 59):

Consistent with the idea that *mà* is an extension is the fact that Form D in 57 above does not represent the same type of information as Forms A, B and C. A closer look at Form D reveals that it has its own Forms A, B and C as seen in 58 below (see also Eulenberg (1972):

- 58 a. *sun loodàa wà/mà mootàa (hatsii)*
3p+PERF load-MA van (millet)
'They loaded the van (with millet).'
- b. *sun loodàa matà (hatsii)*
3p+PERF load-MA 3fs (millet)
'They loaded it (with millet).'
- c. *mootàa cee sukà loodàa maà/màwaa*
van be +f 3p-REL +PERF load-MA
'It is the van that they loaded (with s.th).'
- d. *mootàa cee sukà loodàa maà/mà hatsii*
van be +f 3p-REL +PERF load-MA millet
'It is the van that they loaded with millet.'

My proposal for the grade system revision is as in 59 where the 8th grade is the *-ike* form already discussed by Parsons (1971-72),¹⁶ and the 9th grade, the new A2 extension:

-
- ia. **Indoo taa bùgee shi/bùgàs shi**
I. 3fs+PERF hit-II 3ms/hit-II 3ms
'Indo hit him.'
- b. **sàyàt ta!/*sàyèe ta!**
(OK in Standard Hausa, see Jaggar 1982)
buy-II 3fs/buy-II 3fs
'Buy it!'

I take the verb final consonant to be the feminine possessive linker *-r*. The Hi-Hi pre-*mà*+NP form is probably the grade 2 primary VN plus the feminine possessive linker *-r* (that the linker may be involved is also suggested as a possibility in Jaggar 1985; on other affinities between pronoun DOs and A2 nominals markings, see Wolff 1984). Other forms similar to gr.2 Form D are just plain, non borrowed gr.5 with A2. Below is the gr.1, gr.2 and gr.5 full range of possible A2 constructions associated with the verb 'throw', an instrument (or theme) and a location (or target), both in possessive phrases:

- ii. **taa jèeffi mootar sarkii dà fensir kin Audù**
3fs throw-II car-of+f emir with pencil of A.
'She threw at and hit the emir's car with Audu's pencil.'
- b. **taa jeefam mà sarkii mootàa dà fensir kin Audù**
'She threw at and hit the emir's car with Audu's pencil.'
- c. **taa jeefà fensir kin Audù à mootàr sarkii**
- d. **taa jeefàa mà mootàr sarkii fensir kin Audù**
- e. **taa jeefàaa mà sarkii fensir kin Audù à mootàa**
- f. **taa jeefàa mà Audù fensir à mootàr sarkii**
'She threw Audu's pencil at/in the emir's car.'
- g. **taa jeefam dà fensir kin Audù à mootàr sarkii**
- h. **taa jeefam mà Audù dà fensir à mootàr sarkii**
'She threw away Audu's pencil at/in the emir's car.'

Both a. and b. are in gr.2 as one can judge by their close meaning. In b. the possessor *sarkii* advances to 2, triggering the gr.2 VN and the linker. c. has the derived Hi-Lo-a form (Newman p.c.) with the instrumental *fensir* as DO. All the remaining sentences, including the gr.5 form in g., are derived from c. as shown by their similar meaning. Both g. and h. are gr.5 forms with even closer meanings; h. in addition operates gr.9 with *Audu* advancing to 2.

¹⁶ I include the *-ike* extension as #8 because it can be the base for an A2 construction:

- sun wankikee mà Indoo kwaanoonii**
3p+PERF clean-VIII-MA Indo dishes
'They completely washed Indo's dishes and came back.'

In fact, despite its numbering, this extension is probably a secondary grade (cf. *karyakoo* as cited in Parsons (1971-72:54). Grade 9, on the other hand, is a candidate for another quaternary component in the grades hierarchies.

59.	Grade	Tone	Form A	Form B	Form C
	1	HL	-aa	-aa	-a
	2	LH	-aa	-ee/VN	-i
	etc				
	8	HLL	-ikee	-ikee	-ikè/ikee
	9	H(L)L/HHL	VN-maà/màwaa	VN-ma	VN-mà/wà

4. CONCLUSION

This paper presented a Relational Grammar approach to Hausa syntax. It is shown that advancement and ascension to 2 exist in this language. Locatives and benefactives can be expressed both as obliques or as A2 nominals. Datives are generally expressed as A2 nominals, but in particular contexts they can appear as 3s with the preposition *gà*. Also, possessors appear as A2 nominals or as modifiers in genitive constructions. For the A2 analysis, *mà* NP is the final 2 (DO), while the patient is a 2 *chômeur*. Also the multiple levels of syntactic structure posited within the RG allow straightforward rule statements in Hausa; thus, rules can refer to final 2s, metastratal 2s, and initial 2s. This paper brings a new perspective in the study of Hausa by focussing on the mechanisms by which various NPs advance or ascend to 2 with *mà*. Also the proposition that *mà* is an A2 applicative marker similar to those found in Bantu languages contrasts with the uncertainty of its status through Hausa studies. Based on the analysis of DO properties and the behaviour of *mà*, I conclude that Form D in Parsons' grade system is wrong and should be replaced by a new grade: the A2 applicative extension.

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