

ADVANCEMENT AND ASCENSION
TO OBJECT IN HAUSA

By

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O. INTRODUCTION

This paper makes two proposals concerning the relational structure of Hausa. First, it is claimed that Hausa has advancements and ascensions to 2. (see section 1). Locatives, benefactives, and datives can be expressed in two ways: they occur flagged with a preposition and following the patient as in (1) or they occur with ma, preceding the patient, as in (2):^[2]

(1)a. sun looɗà kaayaa gà mootàa
 they+PERF load-I goods on van
 'They loaded some goods in the van'

b. sun shaarè Daakii dan bàakii
 They+PERF sweep-IV room for visitors
 'They readied the room for the visitors'

(2)a. sun looɗàa mà mootàa kaayaa
 they+PERF load-MA van goods
 'They loaded the van with the goods'

b. sun shaarèe mà bàakii Daakii
 they+PERF sweep-Ma visitors room
 'They readied the room for the visitors'

Possessors can follow the possessed nominal as in (3), or they can occur with ma preceding the possessed nominal as in (4):

(3)a. mun faaá kwalbar Mariya
we+PERF break bottle-of+FEM Mary
'We broke Mary's bottle'

b. Audu yaa kashé ákuvár mutáanee
Audu he+PERF kill-IV goat-of+FEM people
'Audu killed some people's goat'

(4)a. mun faaáa má Mariya kwalbaa
we+PERF break-MA Mary bottle
'We broke Mary's bottle'

b. Audu yaa kashée má mutáanee ákuyáa
Audu he+PERF kill-MA people goat
'Audu killed some people's goat'

I propose that clauses like those in (2) involve advancement to 2 while those in (4) involve ascension to 2.

Second, given the analysis posited in section 1, I claim that Hausa makes use of several concepts of object made available within Relational Grammar.^[3] [see section 2]. Hausa rules reference final 2s, metastratal 2s, monostratal 2s, and initial 2s.

Finally, I show that while the analysis in section 1 leads to coherent notions of object and simple rule statements of object properties, alternative analyses which may be proposed for Hausa fail.

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, the advancement and ascension to 2 analysis is referred to as the A2 analysis.)^[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'. Such locative phrases follow the patient (if there is one), as (5b-c) versus *(5d-e) show:

(5)a. Kujée yaa diràa gá Mariya
fly it+PERF drop on Mary
'A fly dropped on Mary'

b. yaa jeefà laakaa gá ginii
he+PERF throw-I mud on wall
'He threw mud on the wall'

- c. yaa Doorâ kaayaa bisâ kêekee
 he+PERF put-I stuff on bike
 'He put some stuff on the bike'
- d. *yaa jeefâ gâ ginii laakaa
 he+PERF throw-I on wall mud
 'He threw mud on the wall'
- e. *yaa Doorâ bisâ Kêekee kaayaa
 he+PERF put-I on bike stuff
 'He put some stuff on the bike'

However, some locatives can appear with ma instead of prepositions like gâ and bisâ; in this case, the locative appears between the verb and the patient, as illustrated in (6a-b) versus *(6c-d):^[5]

- (6)a. yaa jeefâa mâ ginii laakaa
 he+PERF throw-MA wall mud
 'He threw mud on the wall'
- b. yaa Doorâa mâ kêekee kaayaa
 he+PERF put-MA bike stuff
 'He put some stuff on the bike'
- c. *yaa jeefâ laakaa mâ ginii
 he+PERF throw mud -MA wall
 'He threw mud on the wall'

d. *yaa Doorà kaayaa mà kèekee
 he+PERF put stuff -MA bike
 'He out some stuff on the bike'

1.1.2. Benefactives

Benefactives are generally expressed with the preposition dan and appear after the patient as shown in (7):

(7)a. taa jikà tsaabàa dan kàazaa
 she+PERF marinate-I grain for hen
 'She marinated some grain for the hen'

b. sun nèemi sàabaràa dan Mariya
 they+PERF search-II sabara for Mary
 'They looked for a medicinal plant for Mary'

c. *taa jikà dan kàazaa tsaabàa
 she+PERF marinate-I for hen grain
 'She marinated some grain for the hen'

Benefactives also appear with ma preceding the patient as in (8):^[6]

(8)a. taa jikàa mà kàazaa tsaabàa
 she+PERF marinate-MA hen grain
 'She marinated some grain for the hen'

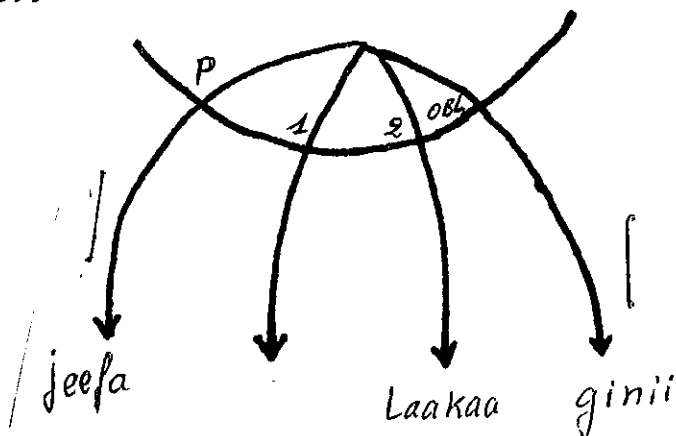
b. sun neemàa/-am mà Mariya sàabaràa
 they+PERF search-MA Mary saabaraa
 'They looked for sabara for Mary'

c. *taa jikà tsaabàa mà kàezaa
 she+PERF marinate-I grain -MA hen
 'She marinated some grain for the hen'

1.1.3. The A2 Analysis of OBLs

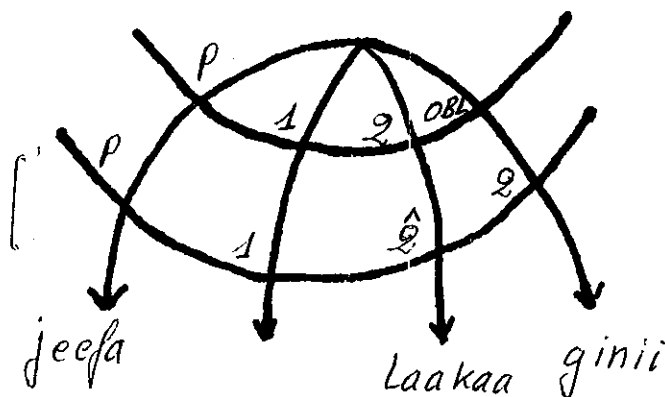
I propose that the clauses in (5) and (7) are monostratal; the locative or benefactive nominal is an OBL, and the patient is a 2, as represented in the stratal diagram for (5b) in (9):

(9).



In contrast, clauses like (6) and (8) are bistratal; the locative or benefactive nominal is an initial OBL which advances to 2, placing the initial 2 en chomage, as represented in the stratal diagram for (6a) in (10):

(10).



1.2. Indirect Object to 2 Advancement

Datives usually appear with ma, as in (11):^[7]

(11)a. mun tankaa ma Audu

we+PERF reply-MA Audu

'We replied to Audu'

b. taa aifaa/-am ma Audu Daa

she+PERF bear-MA Audu son

'She had a child with Audu'

c. naa kooyaa ma Audu taariihii

I+PERF teach-MA Audu history

'I taught Audu history'

d. *naa kooyaa taariihii ma Audu

I+PERF teach history -MA Audu

'I taught history to Audu'

The dative with ma always precedes the patient as (11c) versus *(11d) shows.

In contrast to obliques which can be preceded by either ma or a preposition, datives usually appear with ma; (12a) and (12b) are unacceptable because the dative appears with the preposition gà:^[8]

(12)a. *naa kooyàa taariihii gà Audu
 I+PERF teach-I history to Audu
 'I taught history to Audu'

b. *taa àifi Daa gà Audu
 she+PERF bear-II son to Audu
 'She bore a child 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 ma preceding the datives in (13a-b) is stylistically preferred.^[9]

Newman (1982):

(13)a. yaa fàdi láabaarii gà mutáanen dá suká táaru
 he+PERF tell-II news to people that they-REL gather
 á koofár faadá.
 at gate-of+FEM palace

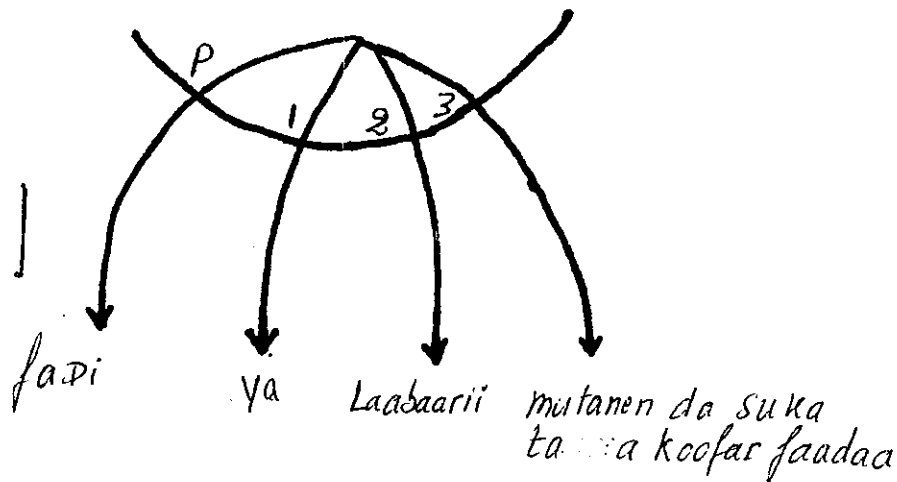
'He told the news to the people gathered at the palace'

b. yaa yaaKê haKôoransá gá yaarôn dá
 it+PERF bare teeth-of+PL-it to boy-DEF+MASC that
 bàì saabáa dá shii ba
 NEG-it+PERF acquaint with him NEG

'He (dog) bared his teeth at the boy he wasn't used to'

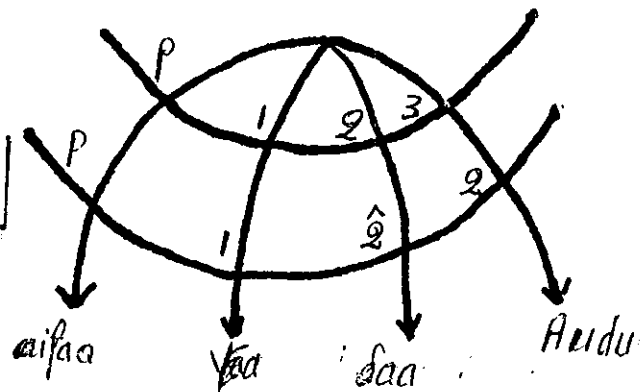
I propose the following analysis for Hausa datives:
 clauses like (13a-b) are monostratal and the dative is an
 initial and final 3, as represented in (14);

(14).



but clauses like (11a-c) are bistratal, the dative is an
 initial 3 which advances to 2 placing the initial 2 en
 chomage as represented for (11b) in (15):

(15).



All dative verbs, except baa 'to give', require ma before the A2-nominal. With baa, the dative follows the verb directly without ma (at least in the Western dialect), as shown in (16):^[10]

- (16)a. *nii baà Audu kuDii*
 I-POT give Audu money
 'I will give Audu some money'
- b. **nii baà má Audu kuDii*
 I-POT give-MA Audu money
 'I will give Audu some money'
- c. *naa nuunâa má Audu hanyâr kâasuwaa*
 I+PERF point-MA Audu way-of+FEM market
 'I showed Audu the way to the market'
- d. **naa nuunâa Audu hanyâr kâasuwaa*
 I-PERF point-I Audu way-of+FEM market
 'I showed Audu the way to the market'

However, in some fixed expressions as in (17a), or when baa is in grade V form as in (17b), the dative appears with gâ:

- (17)a. *an bai Mariya gâ Audu*
 IMP+PERF give-I Mary to Audu
 'Mary was given to Audu (in marriage)'

- b. an baadà kuDii gâ Audu
 IMP+PERF give-V money to Audu
 'Audu was confided the money'

I propose that the clauses in (17) are monostratal like those in (13); while the clauses in (16) are bistratal like those in (11). Thus, the A2 analysis can still be posited for baa like for other dative verbs. The only difference is that when the dative advances to 2 with baa, ma is not required (but see footnote 12).

1.3. Possessor Ascension to 2^[6]

As with obliques, and datives, possessors can be expressed in two ways. First, they can appear in a genitive construction: the possessor follows the possessed nominal -- Hausa is a head-marking language-- as illustrated in (18):

- (18)a. yaa fasà [kwalbar Mariya]
 he+PERF break-I (bottle-of+FEM Mary)
 'He broke Mary's bottle'
- b. yaa hálbi [jikkar Mariya]
 he+PERF kick-II bag-of+FEM Mary
 'He kicked Mary's bag'

Possessors can also appear with ma, in which case they precede the possessed nominal which is left unmarked as in (19):^[11]

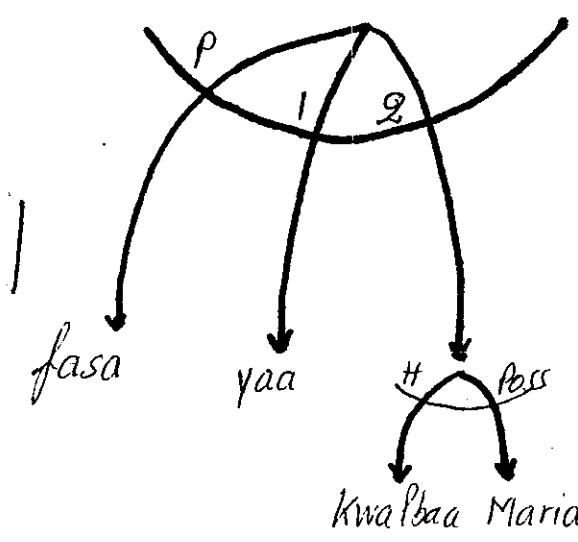
(19)a. yaa fasaa mâ Mariya kwalbaa
 he+PERF break-MA Mary bottle
 'He broke Mary's bottle'

b. yaa halbam mâ Mariya jikkaa
 he+PERF kick-MA Mary bag
 'He kicked Mary's bag'

I claim that in (18) the 2 nominal is the entire possessive phrase as represented in the stratal diagram

(20):

(20).



But in sentences (19), the possessor is no longer in a genitive construction. In line with the A2 analysis, I consider these sentences to be bistratal. In the first stratum the possessor is a head modifier, but in the

- b. *yaa azâa fa mâ kèeke kaayaa
 he+PERF put indead -MA bike stuff
 'He indead put some stuff on the bike'
- c. Mariya taa aikâa mâ har Audu
 Mary she+PERF send-MA even Audu
 'Mary sent (s.th.) even to Audu'
- d. *Mariya taa aikâa har mâ Audu
 Mary she+PEF send even -MA Audu
 'Mary sent (s.th.) even to Audu'

Also, ma behaves differently from all other prepositions in that it is obligatorilly stranded if the dative is preposed in cleft constructions as illustrated in (23):

- (23)a. kèekya (nèe) ya azâa mâ kaayaa
 bike (be+MASC) he+REL+PERF put-MA stuff
 'It is on the bike that he put some stuff'
- b. *mâ kèekya (nèe) ya azâa kaayaa
 -MA bike (be+MASC) he+REL+PERF put stuff
 'It is on the bike that he put some stuff'
- c. gâ kèekya (nèe) ya azâ kaayaa
 on bike (be+MASC) he+REL+PERF put-I stuff
 'It is on the bike that he put stuff'

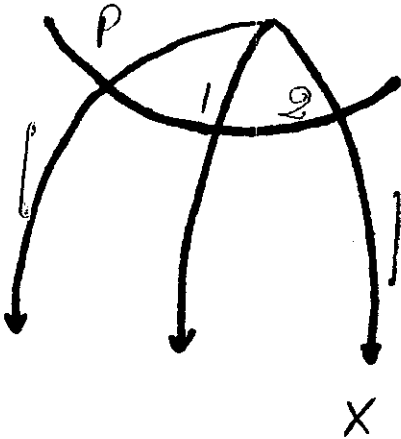
- d. *kèekya (nèe) ya azà kaayaa gá
 bike (be+MASC) he+REL+PERF put-I stuff on
 'It is on the bike that he put some stuff'
- e. bisà teebùr ta cée ká Doorà sanhòo
 on table she+REL+PERF say you+SUBJ put bucket
 'On the table, she said, you should put the bucket'
- f. *teebùr ta cée ká Doorà sanhòo bisà
 table she+REL+PERF say you+SUBJ put bucket on
 'On the table, she said, you should put the buck.'

These facts show that ma is not a preposition-like particle, but rather an element--probably 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 ma 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 some Bantu Languages such as Kinyarwanda (see Gary and Keenan 1977, Kimenyi 1980).^[13]

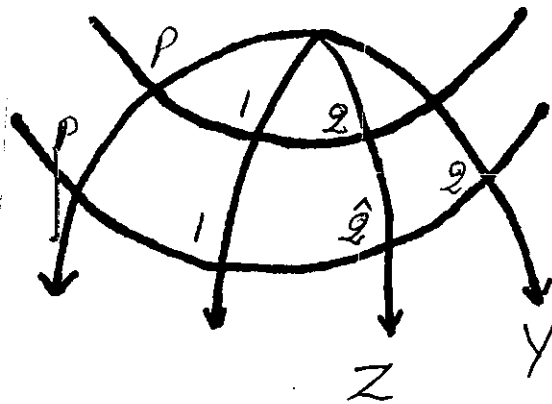
2. Properties of Objects

The analyses proposed 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 [X in (24a)]; two additional types are the A2-nominal and the 2-chomeur [Y and Z in (24b)]:

(24)a.



(24)b.



However, as often evidenced in RG discussions of syntactic levels [e.g., Perlmutter 1982], the nominals X, Y, and Z can collectively or selectively be referred to by rules. In particular, I propose that the following concepts of object are relevant to the analysis of Hausa structure:

- (25)a. Final 2s (X and Y)
- b. Metastratal 2s (X, Y, and Z)
- c. Monostratal 2s (X)
- d. Initial 2s (X and Z)

This section shows that the above concepts make the rule statement easier.

2.1. Final 2s

Final 2s are monostratal 2s and A2-nominals as seen in (25). First, I show that these nominals have a transitivity exponent marked on the verb. Secondly, they are always cliticized on the verb if they are pronominal.

Finally, they can be reflexives with the subject as antecedent. In this respect, monostratal 2s and A2-nominals contrast with 2-chomeurs, which lack all the above properties.

2.1.1. Transitivity Exponents

In grade I and II, verbs followed by a patient direct object end in -á or -i as in (26):

(26)a. taa liiKá hootunáa gá ginii
she+PERF nail-I pictures on wall
'She nailed some pictures on the wall'

b. sun Déebi tsaabár Mariya
they+PERF take-II grain-of+FEM Mary
'They took some of Mary's grain'

According to Parsons (1960, 1961), grade I -á and grade II -i are exponents of transitivity that mark the verb if it is followed by a direct object; otherwise, these markings are not found, like in the advancement structure where the verb is followed by the A2-nominal, as in (27):

(27)a. taa liiKáa má ginii hootunáa
she+PERF nail-MA wall pictures
'She nailed some pictures on the wall'

b. *taa liiká mà ginii hootunaa
she+PERF nail-MA wall pictures
'She nailed some pictures on the wall'

c. sun Deebam mà Mariya tsaabaa
they+PERF take-MA Mary grain
'They took some of Mary's grain'

d. *sun Dèebi mà Mariya tsaabaa
they+PERF take-MA Mary grain
'They took some of Mary's grain'

Under the A2 analysis, a verb is marked -á or -i if followed by a monostratal 2; and it is marked -ma if followed by the A2-nominal.

In contrast to final 2s, there is no exponent of transitivity or any marker on the verb referring to a 2-chomeur. This nominal can delete or prepose without any effect on the verb as in (28):

(28)a. mun aikaa mà Mariya (kuDii)
we+PERF send-MA Mary (money)
'We sent money to Mary'

b. kuDii (nèe) muká aikaa mà Mariya
money (be+PLUR) we-REL+PERF send-MA Mary
'It is money that we sent to Mary'

I consider the absence of a transitivity exponent on the verb in (28) to be an indication that kuDii is not a final 2, but a 2-chomeur. The rule of transitivity marking can be stated as in (29):

(29). mark a verb followed by a final 2 with:

-a/i for monostratal 2s

-ma for A2-nominals (Except with baa.)

2.1.2. Clitics

If the monostratal 2 is a pronoun, it automatically cliticizes onto the verb. An independent pronoun is impossible as (30a) versus (30b) shows:

(30)a. mun halbâa ta
we+PERF shoot-I it
'We shot it (a gun)'

b. *mun halbâ ita
we+PERF shoot-I it
'We shot it (a gun)'

Also, the A2-nominal cliticizes on the verb suffixed with -ma if it is pronominal, as in (30):

(31)a. mun aikâa matâ
we+PERF send-MA her
'We sent (s.th.) to her'

- c. *mun aikâa mâ ita
 we+PERF send-MA her
 'We sent (s.th.) to her'

In contrast to final 2s, 2-chomeurs never cliticize, as (32b) shows; even if the A2-nominal is clefted and the 2-chomeur appears after the verb, as *(32d) shows:

- (32)a. mun aikâa mâ Mariya ita
 we+PERF send-MA Mary it/her
 'we sent it/her to Mary'
- b. *mun aikâa mâ Mariya ta
 We+PERF send-MA Mary it/her
 'We sent it/her to Mary'
- c. Mariya (cèe) mukâ aikâa mâ ita
 Mary (be+FEM) we-REL+PERF send-MA it/her
 'It is to Mary that we sent it/her'
- d. *Mariya (cèe) mukâ aikâa mâ ta
 Mary (be+FEM) we-REL+PERF send-MA it/her
 'It is to Mary that we sent it/her'

Under the A2 analysis, the cliticization rule is easily stated as in (33):

- (33). Only final 2s cliticize on their predicate.

2.1.3. Reflexives

The reflexive pronoun is made up of the morphemes 'ka-n + clitic pronoun' which literally means 'head of me', 'head of you' etc. Here also, final 2s contrast with 2-chomeurs in that they can be reflexives referring to the subject while 2-chomeurs cannot. The monostratal 2, the A2-nominal and the 2-chomeur are respectively illustrated in (34a-c):

(34)a. Audu yaa kai kaḥshi

Audu he+PERF bring REFLEX

'Audu brought himself there'

b. Audu yaa aadinaa mā kaḥshi

Audu he+PERF spare-MA REFLEX

'Audu spared himself (s.th.)'

c. *Audu yaa kai mā sarkii kaḥshi

Audu he+PERF bring-MA emir REFLEX

'Audu brought himself to the emir'

To express the sense of 'Audu brought himself to the emir', one has to block A2 and have the patient as monostratal 2, as in (35):

(35). Audu yaa kai kaḥshi wajen sarkii

Audu he+PERF bring REFLEX place-of+FEM emir

'Audu brought himself to the emir'

Here again, the A2 analysis allows us to formulate a straightforward rule, as in (36):^[14]

(36). Reflexive nominals must be final 2s.

2.2. Metastratal 2s

Vis-a-vis the following three properties, the monostratal 2, the A2-nominal, and the 2-chomeur behave alike. The concept of metastratal 2-- that is a 2 in any stratum-- can be used to characterize this class of nominals.

2.2.1. Verbal Noun Suffix Blocking

In the progressive, future, and habitual, a verbal noun--rather than a verb-- is used following the auxiliary; this is most evident with grade II verbs as shown in (37):

(37)a. mun hálbi jikkaa

we+PERF kick-II bag

'We kicked the bag'

b. munáa halbaj jikkaa

we-be kicking-of+FEM bag

'We are kicking the bag'

c. jikkaa (cée) mukée halbaa

bag (be+FEM) we-REL+PROG kicking

'It is the bag that we are kicking'

The monostratal 2 in (37b) follows the VN taking the genitive marker. When the 2 is preposed, as in (37c), the genitive marker is not present; however, the verb still is a VN different from the plain verb in (37a). With grade I verbs, the VN morphology--the suffix -vaa-, is apparent only if the monostratal 2 is preposed, as in (38):

(38)a. munâa aikâ kuDii
 we-be sending money
 'We are sending money'

b. kuDii, munâa aikâavaa
 money we-be sending
 'Money, we are sending (it)'

Considering the case of grade II verbs, Bagari (1971) makes the generalization that the progressive, future or habitual takes a VN, whether or not it is followed by a 2. To accommodate (38a) he proposes that the presence of a monostratal 2, morphologically, blocks the suffix -vaa; but that the suffix is there underlyingly.

However, the property of -vaa blocking also characterizes the A2-nominal and the 2-chomeur as shown in (39) and (40) respectively: [15]

- (39)a. munâa aikâa mâ Mariya
 we-be sending-MA Mary
 'We are sending (s.th.) to Mary'
- b. *munâa aikâamâwaa Mariya
- c. Mariya (cêe) mukêe aikâamâwaa
 Mary (be+FEM) we-REL+PROG send-MA-waa
 'It is to Mary that we are sending (s.th.)'

- (40)a. Mariya (cêe) mukêe aikâamâ kuDii
 Mary (be+FEM) we-REL+PROG send-MA money
 'It is to Mary that we are sending money'
- b. *Mariya (cêe) mukêe aikâamâwaa kuDii
- c. kuDii, Mariya (cêe) mukêe aikâamâwaa
 money Mary (be+FEM) we-REL+PROG send-MA-waa
 'Money, it is to Mary that we are sending (it)'

In contrast to metastratal 2s, 3s and OBLs cannot block the suffix as shown respectively in (41) and (42):

- (41)a. Mariya (cêe) zaa â baadâwaa gà Audu
 Mary (be+FEM) FUT IMPERS giving to Audu
 'It is Mary that is about to be given to Audu'
- b. *Mariya (cêe) zaa â baadâa gà Audu

(42)a. munâa aikâawaa (â) London
 we-be sending (to) London
 'We are sending (s.th.) in London'

b. *munâa aikâa (â) London

The rule for -waa blocking is simply stated as in (43):

(43). Only (metastratal) 2s block -waa.

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 kâ/kêe (for perfect and progressive) appears. When monostratal 2s, A2-nominals or 2-chomeurs are clefted, a copy following the verb is impossible, as in (44)-(46):

(44)a. KuDii (née) mukâ aikâa
 money (be+PLUR) we-REL+PERF send-I
 'It is money that we sent'

b. *kuDii (née) mukâ aikâa su

(45)a. Mariya (cée) mukâ aikâa maâ
 Mary (be+FEM) we-REL+PERF send-MA
 'It is to Mary that we sent (s.th.)'

b. *Mariya (cée) mukâ aikâa mata

(46)a. kuDii (née) mukà aikâa mâ Mariya
 money (be+PLUR) we-REL+PERF send-MA Mary
 'It is money that we sent to Mary'

b. *kuDii (née) mukà aikâa mâ Mariya su

In contrast to final 2s and 2-chomeurs, when 3s and OBLs are clefted, a copy is required, as in (47):

(47)a. kèekya (née) mukà azâ kaayaa gâree shi
 bike (be+MASC) we-REL+PERF put stuff on it
 'It is on the bike that we put stuff'

b. *kèekya (née) mukà azâ kaayaa gâ __

With the concept of metastratal 2 the cleft copy rule can be stated as in (48):

(48)a. Metastratal 2s have no copy in clefts.

b. 3s and OBL have an obligatory copy in clefts.

2.2.3. Verb Clefting

We saw above how various NPs in a sentence can be clefted. Hausa also allows the verb to cleft, in which case a "copy" verb--yii 'to do'-- obligatorily cross-references the verb (Tuller 1984).^[16] When the sentence contains a monostratal 2, an A2-nominal or a 2-chomeur, these nominals appear with the clefted verb before the copula, as in (49)-(51):

(49)a. aikà kuDii (nèe) mukà yi
sending money (be+MASC) we-REL+PERF do
'It is sending money that we did'

b. *aikàa (nèe) mukà yi kuDii

(50)a. aikàa mà Mariya (nèe) mukà yi
sending-MA Mary (be+MASC) we-REL+PERF do
'It is sending (s.th.) to Mary that we did'

b. *aikàa mà (nèe) mukà yi Mariya

(51)a. aikàa mà Mariya kuDii (nèe) mukà yi
sending-MA Mary money (be+MASC) we-REL+PERF do
'It is sending money to Mary that we did'

b. *aikàa mà Mariya (nèe) mukà yi kuDii

In contrast to final 2s and 2-chomeurs, 3s and OBLs can optionally appear stranded at the end of the sentence, as in (52):

(52)a. fitaa dà Audu (nèe) mukà yi
going with Audu (be+MASC) we-REL+PERF do
'It is going out with Audu that we did'

b. fitaa (nèe) mukà yi dà Audu

c. baada' Mariya gâ Audu (nee) akâ yi
 give-V Mary to Audu (be+MASC) IMPERS+REL+PERF do
 'It is giving Mary to Audu that someone did'

d. baadâ Mariya (née) akâ yi gâ Audu

Like the rules for verbal suffix blocking and copies in NP clefts, the rule for NP stranding in verb clefts can be stated using the concept of metastratal 2 as in (53):

(53). Metastratal 2s cannot be stranded in verb clefts;
 3s and OBLs can optionally be stranded.

2.3. Monostratal 2s

This section deals with passives and shows the relevance in Hausa of the notion of monostratal final 2.

Passive is expressed by grade VII where the direct object is promoted to subject (with the adequate subject agreement) and the verb is suffixed -u with the tone pattern (...-L)-L-H (Parsons 1960, 1961, Jaggard 1981). However, only a monostratal 2 can be subject of a passive clause, as in (54):

(54). kuDii sun àiku
 money it+PLUR+PERF send-PASS
 'The money is sent'

Neither the A2-nominal nor the 2-chomeur can be passive subjects as *(55a) and *(55b) shows: [17]

(55)a. *Mariya taa àiku (mà) kuDii
Mary she+PERF send-PASS-MA money
'Mary was sent money'

b. *kuDii sun àiku mà Mariya
money it+PLUR+PERF send-PASS-MA Mary
'The money was sent to Mary'

The A2 analysis can restrict the passive rule in Hausa to apply only to monostratal 2s, as in (56):

(56). Only monostratal 2s can advance in passives.

2.4. Initial 2s

This section shows that Hausa grammar also needs the notion of initial 2 which encompasses monostratal 2s and 2-chomeurs. Initial 2s contrast with A2-nominals, 3s, and obliques with respect to topicalization and yes-no questions.

In topicalization, the monostratal 2 and the 2-chomeur can optionally have a pronominal copy if they are inanimate. But the copy is obligatory if they are animate; (57) and (58) respectively illustrate inanimate and animate monostratal 2 (in clauses (a)) and 2-chomeur (in clauses (b)).

- (57)a. kuDii, mun aikâa (su)
 money we+PERF send-I (it-PLUR)
 'Money, we sent (it)'
- b. kuDii, mun aikâa mâ Mariya (su)
 money we+PERF send-MA Mary (it-PLUR)
 'Money, we sent (it) to Mary'

- (58)a. Audu, mun aikâa *(shi)
 Audu we+PERF send him
 'Audu, we sent him'
- b. Audu, mun aikâa mâ Mariya *(shi)
 Audu we+PERF send-MA Mary him
 'Audu, we sent him to Mary'

However, a copy is obligatory for topicalized A2-nominals, 3s, and obliques whether they are animate or inanimate; (59) illustrates an inanimate A2-nominal and (60) an inanimate locative: [17]

- (59). mootâa, mun loodâa ma *(tà)
 car we+PERF load-MA it
 'car, we load it (with s.th.)'

- (60). kuDii, mun tâfi dâ *(suu)
 money we+PERF go-III with it-PLUR
 'Money, we went with it'

As in topicalization, inanimate monostratal 2s and 2-chomeurs can optionally have a copy in yes-no questions. The copy is required if they are animate, as in (61):

(61)a. kun aikâ kuDiî?
you+PLUR+PERF send-I money-Q
'did you send money?'

b. ii! mun aikâa (su)
yes we+PERF send (it-PLUR)
'yes! we sent it'

c. kun aikâ Audùu ?
you+PLUR+PERF send Audu-Q
'did you send Audu?'

d. ii! mun aikâa *(shi)
yes we+PERF send him
'yes! we sent him'

But for A2-nominals, 3s, and OBLs, the copy is required whether they are animate or inanimate, as in (62):

(62)a. kun loodâa mâ mootâa ?
you+PLUR+PERF load-MA van-Q
'did you load the car (with s.th.)?'

- b. *iɪɪ mun loodâa ma*(tâ)*
 yes we+PERF load-MA it
 'yes! we load it (with s.th.)'
- c. *kun liiKâ hootunâa gâ ginii?*
 you+PLUR+PERF nail-I pictures on wall-Q
 'Did you nail the pictures on the wall?'
- d. *iɪɪ mun liiKâa gâree *(shi)*
 yes we+PERF nail-I on it
 'Yes! we nailed (them) on it'

With the notion of initial 2, the rule of copy in topicalization and yes-no questions can be stated easily as in (63):

- (63)a. A copy is optional for inanimate initial 2s;
 b. It is obligatory for all other nominals.

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 phenomenon 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 relational facts in various languages. The Hausa data shows that a linguistic theory needs multiple notions of object as well.

2.5. Summary of Object properties

The chart in (64) summarizes the concepts of object relevant to Hausa.

(64). PROPERTIES	NOMINALS
Transitivity Exponents	
Cliticization	FINAL 2s
Reflexives	
Verbal Suffix Blocking	
Copy in NP Cleft	METASTRATAL 2s
Stranding in Verb Cleft	
Passive	MONOSTRATAL 2s
Copy in Topicalization	
Copy in yes-no questions	INITIAL 2s

3. Alternate Analyses

We have seen in section 2 that simple rules are stated under the A2 analysis. This section presents two alternative analyses of Hausa clause structure: the IO

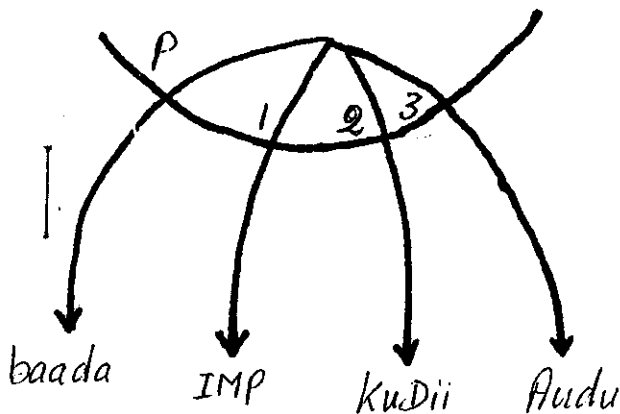
analysis and the Double Object analysis. I show that they are inadequate in that they fail to give generalized rules for word order and the various object properties seen in section 2.

3.1. The IO Analysis

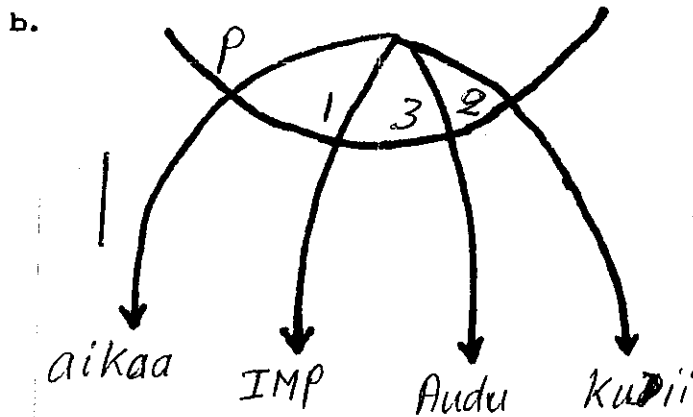
This analysis, which is implicit in many Hausa studies where the A2-nominal is called IO, takes the A2-nominal to be a 3 flagged with the free particle ma. Such a proposal then posits two 3 slots with two different prepositions: one with ga following the patient and the other with ma preceding the patient as in (65) and (66):

- (65)a. an baadâ kuDii gâ Audu
 IMPERS give-V money to Audu
 'Audu was confided the money'

b.



(66)a. an aikaa mâ Audu kuDii
 IMPERS send-MA Audu money
 'Audu was sent the money'



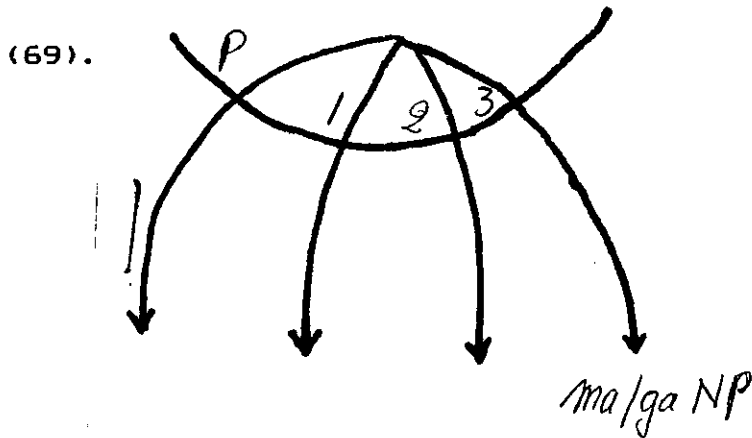
This analysis faces two types of inadequacies. First, it cannot state a general rule for word order. In view of the stratal diagrams in (65)-(66), the word order rule under this analysis would be (67):

(67). 1 + P + 3 + 2 + 3

In contrast to the IO analysis, under the A2 analysis it is possible to formulate a word order rule with one slot for each grammatical relation, as in (68):

(68). 1 + P + 2 + cho + 3

The second problem with IO analysis relates to the statement of rules for object properties. Under this analysis, Hausa clause structure can be represented as in (69):



IO analysis will need to resort to disjunctive statements in order to account for the distribution of the object properties, as in (70):

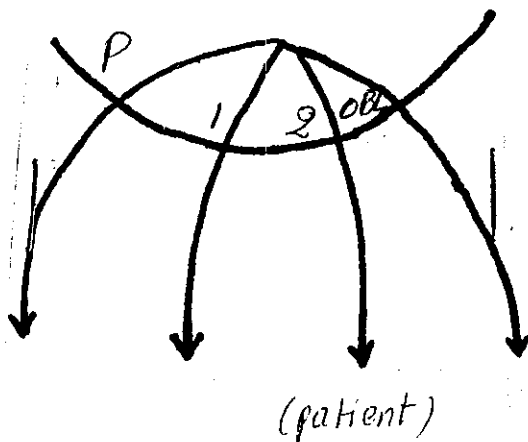
(70) A2 analysis	IO analysis
a. Final 2s	3s with <u>ma</u> , 2s (except non-adjacent to the verb)
b. metastratal 2s	all 2s and 3s with <u>ma</u>
c. monostratal 2s	2s (except non-adjacent to the verb)
d. Initial 2s	2s

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

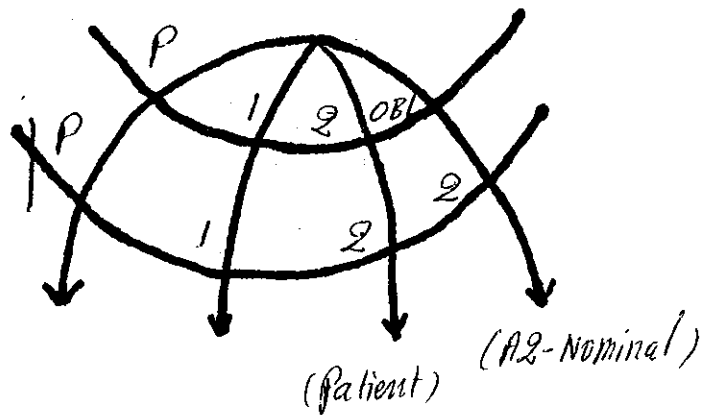
3.2. Double Object Analysis

The Double Object analysis takes the patient in a monotransitive clause to be a 2. However, when another nominal advances or ascends to 2, the initial 2 is not put en chomage. The result is a clause containing two 2s, in violation of the Stratal Uniqueness Law (Perlmutter and Postal 1983). Under the Double Object analysis, (1) and (2) are represented by the stratal diagrams in (71):

(71)a. = (1)



b. = (2)



The basic difficulty for the Double Object analysis is that the ma NP and the patient in (71b) behave differently: the A2-nominal has a transitivity exponent, can be

reflexive, and can cliticize on the verb, while the patient has none of these properties. The Double Object analysis will need complicated rules for these properties, as shown in (72):

(72).	A2 analysis	Double Object analysis
a.	Final 2s	2s (except non-adjacent to verb)
b.	Metastratal 2s	Metastratal 2s
c.	Monostratal 2s	Monostratal 2s
d.	Initial 2s	Initial 2s

The notion of 2-chomeur allows the A2 analysis to limit 2-hood to final 2s and thus state these rules referencing them in a simpler manner.

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 ga. Also, possessors appear as A2-nominals or as modifiers in a genitive construction. For the A2 analysis, the A2-nominal in advancement constructions is the final 2 while the patient is a 2-chomeur.

Also, the levels of syntactic structure posited within RG allow straightforward rule statements in Hausa; Thus, rules can refer to final 2s, metastratal 2s, monostratal 2s and initial 2s.

Some alternative analyses of Hausa clause structure were shown to lead to complicated or disjunctive rule statements. In this respect, the A2 analysis is superior to the IO or the Double Object analyses.

This paper brings a new perspective in the study of Hausa by focusing on the mechanisms by which various NPs advance or ascend to 2 with ma. Also, the proposition that ma is an A2 marker similar to those ones found in Bantu languages contrasts with the uncertainty of its status through Hausa studies.

NOTES

[1] Hausa, a SVO language, belongs to the Chadic branch of Afroasiatic (Greenberg 1966 and Newman 1976, 1977a). It is spoken mainly in Nigeria and in the Niger Republic. This study is based on the Maradi speech commonly classed in the Western dialect (Zaria 1982).

The transcription and segmentation used here follow that encountered in most Hausa works: they differ from the official orthography in that long vowels are marked by a double letter, low tone as /á(a)/, falling tone as /aá/ or /aC/, and high tone left unmarked. In this paper, the capitals represent the orthographic "hooked" letters for the glottal consonants. Here is the list of abbreviations used in glossing the Hausa examples:

DEF	definite	PERF	perfect
FEM	feminine	PL	plural
FUT	future	POT	potential
IMP	impersonal	PROG	progressive
MASC	masculine	REFLEX	reflexive
PASS	passive	SUBJ	subjunctive

[2] The Hausa verb system as proposed by Parsons (1960) and amended by Newman (1973, 1983), has seven

"grades" specified by a verbal ending and a tone pattern. These grades have semantic and syntactic correlates as shown in the chart below:

Grades	tone	ending	meaning	valence
I	H-L	-a	applicative	trans./intrans.
II	L-H	-i	partitive	transitive
III	L-H	-a	autonomous	intransitive
IV	H-L	-e	completive	trans./intrans.
V	H-H	-ar da	efferential	trans./intrans.
VI	H-H	-oo	ventive	trans./intrans.
VII	L-H	-u	passive	intransitive

The first three grades are considered to be basic, from which the others are derived. In an idealized system, any verbal root should be able to "operate" any grade, but except for some rare verbs, pragmatic constraints intervene to prevent this. In this study, I focus mainly on grades I and II with only occasional references to the other grades.

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

[4] A more precise analysis would yield more semantic roles for the nominals appearing with ma. Parsons

(1971, 1972) notes a deprivative, malefactive, destinate, ablative etc. Some examples are:

- (i) yaa yi ma-ni Karyaa
he+PERF do-MA I lie
'He lied about me' or 'He lied to me'
- (ii) an hanàa ma-shi aikii
IMP+PERF refuse-MA him job
'He was denied a job'
- (iii) yaa yii ma-shi wàayoo
he+PERF do-MA him trick
'He outsmarted him'
- (iv) yaa yii ma-sù kuukaa
he+PERF do-MA they crying
'He cried because of them = they made him cry'

[5] 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 likely to advance are the animates, generally expressed with gâ; the next are the inanimate locatives with gâ and bisâ and, less often, those with cikin and â as in:

- (i)a. yaa sâa kùjêerruu cikin Daakii
 he+PERF put-I chairs in room
 'He entered the chairs into the room' or
 'He put chairs in the room (as equipment)'
- b. yaa sâa mâ Daakii Kujêerruu
 he+PERF put-MA room chairs
 'He put chairs in the room'
 *'He entered the chairs into the room'
- (iii)a. yaa kai kuDii à London
 he+PERF bring money to London
 'He brought some money in London'
- b. *yaa kai mâ London kuDii
- (iv)a. yaa kai harii à London
 he+PERF bring war to London
 'He brought war in London'
- b. yaa kai mâ London harii
 he+PERF bring-MA London war
 'He brought war in London'

[6] For benefactives and possessors, animacy seems to regulate the advancement in the following way: an inanimate benefactive or possessor generally doesn't

advance, an animate is equally good in either way as shown below ((i-ii) for benefactive and (iii-iv) for possessor):

(i) taa aadiná ruwaa dan dáshee
she+PERF spare water for plant
'She spared some water for the plant'

(ii) ?taa aadinaa má dáshee ruwaa

(iii) yaa háłbi taayár mootáa
he+PERF kick tire-of+FEM car
'He kicked the tire of the car'

(iv) ?yaa halbam má mootáa taayáa

[7] With grade II verbs, two verbal endings are found before ma: -áa and -am. Parsons (1971, 1972) relates them to grade I and grade V respectively. For him, since grade II cannot be used before ma, one has to "borrow" grade I, or V forms subject to some conditions:

(i) áifi (G.II) ---> aifáa + ma (G.I)
---> aifar + ma (G.V)

Newman (1973, 1977b) rejects the idea of grade borrowing and explains the predative G.II as suffixed with *-aa, a no longer productive "extension" with the meaning

"applicative". According to him, it is only an accident that it resembles grade I citation form, which also ends in -aa. Same line of reasoning for "borrowed" G.V: the -m comes in fact from a non productive "destinative extension" *-in. Cognates of these non productive extensions can be seen at work in other Chadic languages.

[8] Although nowadays datives are expressed with ma, historical data suggests that ma appeared recently, at least in some contexts. Newman (1982) reported some data recorded in 1862 and 1885 by Schön where nominal datives are expressed under gâ preposition. Some examples are given below:

(i) ya gwada ga dansa
 he+PERF show-I to son-of+MASC-him
 'He showed (s.th.) to his son'

(ii) suka kawo labari ga sarki...
 they-then bring-VI news to emir
 'They then brought the news to the emir'

Today, the correct sentences are:

(iii) yaa gwadâa mâ Dansâ
 he+PERF show-MA son-of+MASC-him
 'He showed (s.th.) to his son'

(iv) suká kaawoo má sarkii láabaarii
 they-then bring-VI emir news
 'They then brought the news to the emir'

However, sentence (i) is still grammatical with the meaning "He tried (it) on his son".

Also, as Parsons (1972) notes, if the ma form is ambiguous the dative is expressed with gá. For example:

(v) naa sayar ma-shi dá dookii
 I+PERF sell-V-MA him V horse

means: a) "I sold my horse to him" or b) "I sold his horse on his behalf/to his detriment". To avoid misunderstanding, one might use (vi) for the a) meaning and (vii) for the b) meaning:

(vi) naa saidá dookii gáree shi
 I+PERF sell-V horse to him

(vii) naa saidá dookii dóominshi
 I+PERF sell horse sake-of+MASC-him

[9] Some "heavy" NPs can still be equally expressed both with gá and as A2-nominal as in (i) (from Newman 1982):

(i)a. yaa yaaKé haKóoransá gá bábban báaKoo
 he+PERF bare teeth-his to important visitor
 'He (dog) bared his teeth to the important visitor'

b. yaa yaaKée wá/má bábban báaKoo haKóoransá

For Parsons (1971, 1972) and Newman (1982), sentences like those in (i-a) are derived by NP extraposition (or shift) from sentences originally containing ma like those in (i-b).

[10] According to Parsons, in the Eastern dialect, an A2 marker--wá--can optionally appear with baa or bai. But if the A2-nominal is a pronoun, there is no marker (true in both dialects). However, Based on diachronic and comparative data, Newman argues that baa is archaic in retaining the original Chadic word order where bare pronominal datives follow the verb as direct objects, preceding the patient; while nominal datives follow the patient with an overt IO marker. Based on the tonal difference between the pre-pronominal high-toned baa and the pre-nominal baá forms (sometimes báa in the West), he suggested that the IO marker wá is not "optional" in the Eastern dialect or "absent" in the Western dialect. For him, this marker is simply fused with the verb and all that remains is the falling tone on the pre-nominal baá form. These details are summarized in the following table:

(1)

	Western dialect	Eastern dialect
<u>other verbs</u>		
+ Noun	má	wá
+ Pronoun	ma	ma

Verb baa

	Parsons Newman		Parsons Newman	
	-----		-----	
+ Noun	0	(')	wá/0	wá/(')
+ Pronoun	0	0	0	0

[11] Possessor ascension out of an initial unaccusative 2 or out of an OBL locative is possible as suggested by (i-b) and (ii-c):

(i)a. Káakar Audu taa mutù
 grandma-of+FEM Audu she+PERF die
 'Audu's grandma died'

b. káakaa taa macée mà Audu
 grandma she+PERF die-MA Audu
 'Audu's grandma died on him'

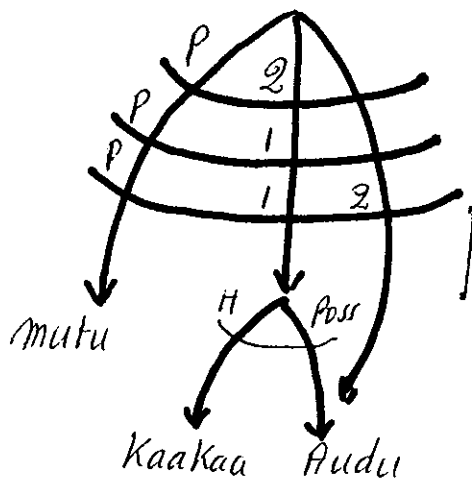
(ii)a. yaa yaaBá laakaa gè mootár Mariya
 he+PERF put-I mud on car-of+FEM Mary
 'He put some mud on Mary's car'

b. yaa yaaBaa mâ mootâr Mariya laakaa
 he+PERF put-MA car-of+FEM Mary mud
 'He put some mud on Mary's car'

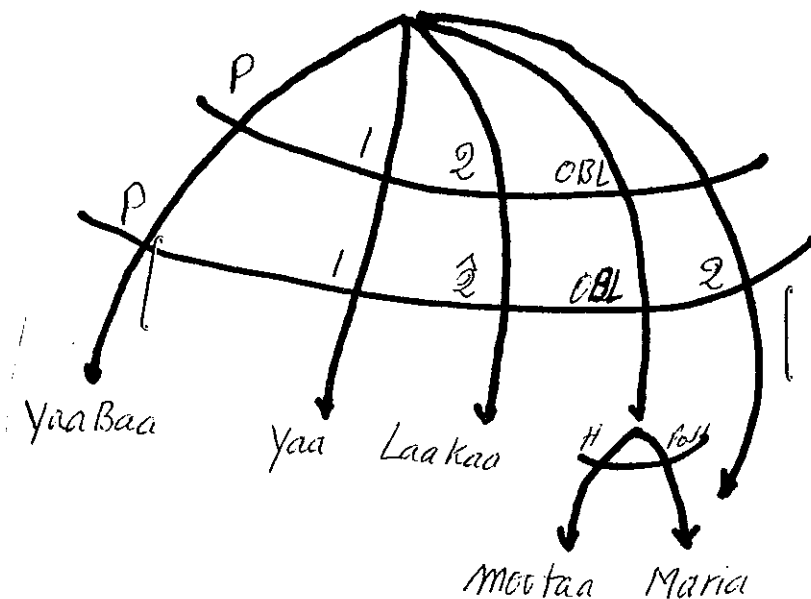
c. yaa yaaBaa mâ Mariya laakaa gâ mootâa
 he+PERF put-MA Mary mud on car
 'He put some mud on Mary's car'

However, the ascension analysis in both (i-b) and (ii-c) would violate one of two laws of RG (Perlmutter and Postal 1983): The Relational Succession Law (RSL) if direct ascension to 2 is posited (as in (iii)); or the Chomeur Advancement Ban (CAB) or the Oblique Law if the RSL is up-held (as in (iv)):

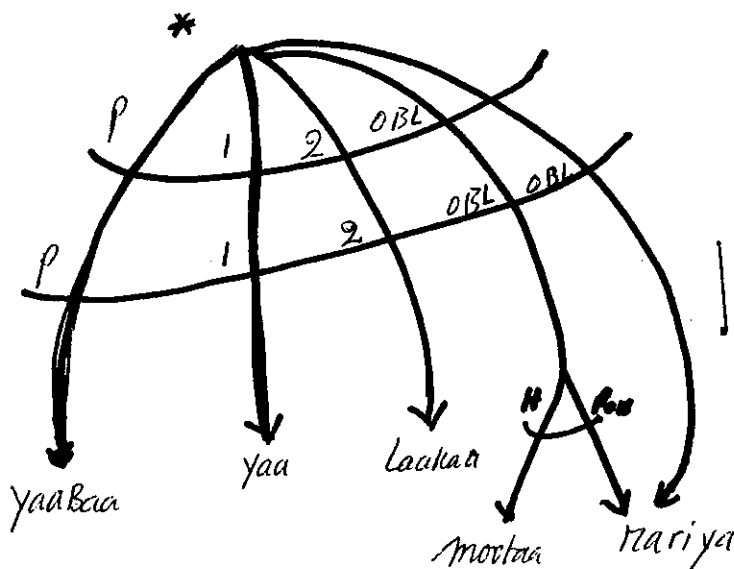
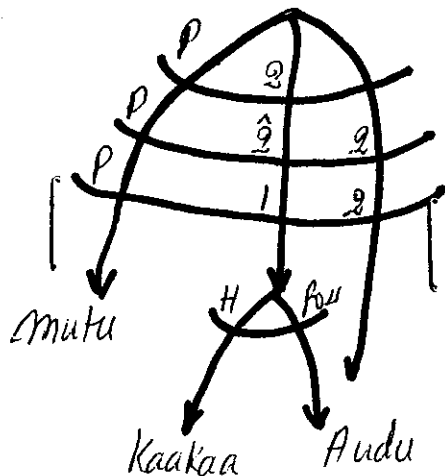
(iii)a. = (i-b)



b. = (ii-c)



(iv)a. = (i-b)



Another alternative is to posit the notion of "affectee" or adverse dative which can advance to 2 without violating any of these laws. However, further investigation maybe needed to solve the problem.

I found no data suggesting an ascension out of an initial 1 or out of a 3.

(v)a. mootar Mariya taa sheekaa
 car-of+FEM Mary it+PERF speed
 'Mary's car speeded away'

b. *mootaa taa sheekaa ma Mariya

(vi)a. an baada Mariya ga yaaron Musa
 IMP+PERF give-V Mary to son-of+MASC Moses
 'Mary was given to Moses' son'

b. *an baa ma Musa Mariya ga yaaroo

Also, As noted by Parsons (1971, 1972), a clause can contain only one ma NP; in other words there can only be one advancement to 2 per clause even if more than one nominal can advance. For example, in (ii), only either the possessor or the OBL can advance to 2, never both as in:

(vii) *yaa yaaBaa mâ (mâ) Mariya mootaa laakaa
 he+PERF put-MA Mary car mud
 'He put some mud on Mary's car'

[12] Incidentally, sentence (19a) is three-ways ambiguous. It can also relate to the sentences below by locative (in (i) sentence) or benefactive (in (ii) sentence) advancement:

(i) yaa fasâ kwalbaa gâ Mariya
 he+PERF crash-I bottle on Mary
 'He crashed a bottle on Mary'

(ii) yaa fasâ kwalbaa dan Mariya
 he+PERF break bottle for Mary
 'He broke a bottle for Mary'

[13] According to Newman (1982), ma is historically an old possessive marker. He arrived at this conclusion based on comparative data: in related languages, the cognate of ma still functions as a possessive marker as seen in table (i):

(i).

Hausa	Kanakuru	Sura
mani 'to me'	mono 'my/ mine'	mɔna 'mine'
makà 'to you'	mongo 'your/yours'	mɔya 'yours'
maki 'to you'	monji 'your/yours'	miyi 'yours'
etc		

[14] The existence of "emphatic" reflexive with oblique NPs should be noted. They are controlled by the subject as in:

- (i) yaa zoo dà kaṅshi
he+PERF come with REFLEX
'He came by himself' or 'He (Emir) came himself'
- (ii) yaa zoo dan kaṅshi
he+PERF come for REFLEX
'He made his mind to come'

[15] If the preposed NP is an A2-nominal, -vaa suffix alternates with -aa as in (i):

- (i) Mariya cée mukée aikàa maá/máwaa
Mary be+FEM we-REL+PROG send-MA
'It is to Mary that we are sending (s.th.)'

Also, with an A2-nominal, -vaa/-aa can appear in the perfect aspect as in (ii) (in contrast to monostretal 2

for which -waa appears only in progressive, future, and habitual):

- (ii) Mariya cée muká aikáa maá/máwaa
Mary be+FEM we-REL+PERF send-MA
'It is to Mary that we sent (s.th.)'

This suggests perhaps that the -waa after ma and the one after a bare verb are not the same (cf. Newman 1982). The important point however seems to be that the A2-nominal and the monostratal 2 behave alike in blocking not only -waa but also other particles as in (v) and (viii):

- (iii) yaa ji / jiyáa
he+PERF hear / hear
'He heard'
- (iv) yaa ji máganáa
he+PERF hear speech
'he heard a voice'
- (v) *yaa jiyáa máganáa
- (vi) yaa Ki / Kiyáa
he+PERF refuse / refuse
'He refused'

(vii) yaa Kii mata aikii
 he+PERF refused MA-her work
 'He refused to work for her'

(viii) *yaa Kiyaa mata aikii

[16] Contrary to Tuller (1982, 1984), I don't consider yii to be a "copy" verb. The clefted verb is always a VN, and like the plain nominals, it can have a pronominal copy following yii in topicalization as in:

(i) aikà kuDii kài mun yii (shii)
 sending money yeah we+PERF do (it)
 'Sending money, yeah! we did (it)

(ii) aikàawaa kài mun yii (tâa)
 sending yeah we+PERF do (it)
 'Sending (s.th.), yeah! we did (it)

Thus, one would rather consider yii as a simple default verb because a sentence cannot be without a verb.

[17] As our analysis predicts, the A2-nominal, most of the time, does not advance to 1 with baa; while the patient can with baa in grade V form (Gouffe's "Decausative" 1962) as in (iv) versus (ii):

(i) an baa Musa kuDii
 IMP+PERF give-MA Moses money
 'Someone gave Moses the money'

(ii) *Musa yaa bàayu kuDii
Moses he+PERF give-VII money
'Moses was given the money'

(iii) an baadà kuDii gà Musa
IMP+PERF give-V money to Moses
'Someone confided the money to Moses'

(iv) kuDii sun bàadu gà Musa
money it+PERF give-VII to Moses
'The money was confided to Moses'

However, in the fixed expression:

(v) an bàa Musa kaashii
IMP+PERF give-MA Moses punishment
'Someone punished Moses'

it is possible to have Musa as passive subject but only in the progressive, especially in the negative (to underline the fact that "Musa cannot be punished"):

(vi) Musa baà ya bàayuwaa kaashii (gàree ká)
Moses NEG+he+PERF give-VII-WAA punishment (to you)
'Moses cannot be punished (by you)'

(vii) Musa nàa bàayuwaa kaashii (gàree káa)?
Moses be give-VII-WAA punishment (to you)-Q
'I doubt Moses can be punished (by you)'

(viii)*Musa nâa bâayuwaa kaashii (gâree kâ)

'Moses can be punished (by you)'

Thus, even in this expression, Musa cannot be passive subject in the other aspects, in the affirmative or in the negative. I consider the fact that --except in the expression above-- the dative with baa cannot be passive subject to support the analysis that it is an A2-nominal. Also, as a further support, even if the dative is inanimate, it requires a copy in topicalization, unlike inanimate initial 2s as (ix) versus (x) shows:

(ix) iccêe, an baa *(shi) (ruwaa)
plant, IMP+PERF give-MA *(it) (water)
'The plant, someone watered it'

(x) iccêe, an baadâa (shi) wâje
plant, IMP+PERF give-VII (it) out
'The plant, someone gave it out'

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