

## DOUBLE OBJECT AND INDIRECT OBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS IN HAUSA

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In Hausa there are lexically closed sets of transitive verbs that can occur with double object noun phrases without any overt marker. Most scholarly works on Hausa seem to treat double object verbs as identical to indirect object verbs. Furthermore, the four syntactic environments used in the traditional Parsonian verbal paradigm do not take into account these double object verbs.

Adopting the Parsonian verbal paradigm as further developed by Newman (2000), all the double object verbs fall into the so-called primary grades (grades 0, 1 and 2). This paper examines the syntactic difference between double object NPs and indirect object NPs based on seven syntactic diagnostics: (a) vowel ending; (b) verbal noun formation; (c) combination with grade 7; (d) WH-movement; (e) pronominalization; (f) combination with efferential **-ař** (grade 5); and (g) occurrence with indirect object markers **wà** and **ma**. The double object verbs are classified on semantic grounds into two groups: in the first group the first NP and the second NP are semantically related; in the second the two NPs do not share any semantic attributes. This paper thus claims that by syntactic and semantic criteria the double object NPs behave in a markedly different manner both from each other and from Hausa indirect object verbs.

En haussa, il y a des classes fermées de verbes transitifs qui peuvent se trouver avec un double syntagme nominal objet, sans aucune marque formelle. La plupart des travaux scientifiques sur le haussa semblent traiter les verbes à double objet comme étant identique aux verbes à objet indirect. De plus, les quatre environnements syntaxiques utilisés dans la description traditionnelle des paradigmes verbaux de Parsons ne prennent pas en compte ces verbes à double objet.

En adoptant le paradigme verbal de Parsons, élaboré par Newman (2000), tous les verbes à double objet tombent dans lesdits grades primaires (grades 0, 1 et 2). Cet article examine la différence syntaxique entre les syntagmes nominaux à double objet et les objets indirects, fondée sur sept traits diagnostiques: (a) terminaison verbale, (b) formation de nom verbal, (c) combinaison avec grade 7, (d) mouvement des interrogatifs, (e) pronominalisation, (f) combinaison avec l'efférentiel **-ař** (grade 5) et (g) occurrence avec les marqueurs d'objet indirect **wà** et **ma**. Sur la base des critères sémantiques, les verbes à double objet sont classés dans deux groupes. Dans le premier groupe, le premier et le second syntagme nominal sont en rapport sémantique. Dans le second groupe, les deux syntagmes nominaux n'ont pas d'attributs sémantiques en commun. Sur la base des facteurs syntaxiques et sémantiques, cet article prend la position que les verbes à double objet démontrent un comportement différent, les deux groupes parmi eux, ainsi que par rapport aux verbes à objet indirect.

### 0. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this article<sup>1</sup> is to investigate and describe the properties associated with the various roles of objects occurring in both the double object and indirect object constructions in Hausa. Evidence in support of the distinction between these comes from final vowel ending, verbal noun formation, their combination with grade 7 (i.e., passive), WH-movement, pronominalization, and combination with the efferential extension **-ař**. I also point out the semantic difference between the two NPs in double object verbs on the one hand, as well as the semantic distinction between indirect object and double object verbs on the other.

The paper is organised into five sections. In Section 1, I present a brief review of the classification of Hausa verbs within the Parsonian system. I argue that the classification does not take into account a verb followed by two objects. I also consider another syntactic classification of Hausa verbs based on the types of arguments the verbs are associated

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Low tones are marked with a grave accent over the vowel [aa]; falling tones with circumflex over the tone bearing vowel [âi] and high tones are unmarked.

with. In Section 2 I examine the general properties of the indirect object verbs based on how the indirect objects are introduced and their semantic interpretations. I also consider how the arguments and complements of other verbal constructions are marked.

Section 3 discusses the properties of double object NPs and their semantic classification. Section 4 examines properties of both indirect object and double object constructions based on the seven syntactic diagnostics mentioned above. Section 5 presents the concluding remarks.

## 1. REVIEW OF THE CLASSIFICATION OF HAUSA VERBS

### 1.1 AN OUTLINE OF PARSONS' CLASSIFICATION OF HAUSA VERBS

The first comprehensive classification of Hausa verbs was proposed by Parsons (1960, 1971/1972). This classification divides Hausa verbs into seven morphological categories or grades on the basis of final vowel (with the exception of grade 5, which is a consonant final), and tone pattern. Within the Parsonian framework, the final form of the verb in all the grades is defined with respect to four syntactic contexts—referred to as the *A*, *B*, *C* and *D* *Forms*. The *A* Form is the form of the verb with no following object. The *B* Form occurs when the verb is immediately followed by a pronoun direct object. The *C* Form occurs when verb is immediately followed by noun direct object. Finally the *D* Form is the form of the verb when it is immediately followed by noun or pronoun indirect objects. For a detailed analysis and radical modifications of Parson's classification, see Newman (1973, 2000) and Jaggar (2001).<sup>2</sup> Table 1 below, adapted from Newman (2000:628), presents the latest classification of the Hausa verbal system.

	<i>A Form</i>	<i>B Form</i>	<i>C Form</i>	<i>D Form</i>
Grade 0	<b>-i</b> H <b>-aa/-oo</b> H	<b>-i</b> H <b>-aa/-oo</b> H	<b>i</b> H <b>-aa/-oo</b> H	<b>i(i)</b> H <b>-aa/-oo</b> H
Grade 1	<b>-aa</b> HL(H)	<b>-aa</b> HL(H)	<b>-a</b> HL(L)	<b>-aa</b> HL(H)
Grade 2	<b>-aa</b> LH(L)	<b>-ee</b> LH	<b>-i</b> LH	<b>-aa/-aĩ</b> H
Grade 3	<b>-a</b> LH(L)	—	—	<b>-aa/-aĩ</b> H
Grade 3a	<b>-a</b> H	—	—	<b>-aa/-aĩ</b> H
Grade 3b	<b>-i/-u/-a</b> HL	—	—	<b>-aa/-aĩ</b> H
Grade 4	<b>-ii</b> HL(H)  <b>-nyee</b> H-L-(H)	<b>-ii</b> HL(H)  <b>-nyee</b> H-L(H)	<b>-i</b> HL(L) <b>-e</b> HL <b>-ee</b> H-L-(H) <b>-nye</b> H-L-(L) <b>-nyee</b> H-L-(H)	<b>-ee</b> HL(H)  <b>-nyee</b> H-L-(H)
Grade 5	<b>-aĩ</b> H	<b>-aĩ (dà)</b> H <b>-shee</b> H <b>-∅ [dà]</b> H	<b>-aĩ (dà)</b> H <b>-∅ [dà]</b> H	<b>-aĩ (dà)</b> H
Grade 5d	<b>-daa</b> H-L	<b>-daa</b> H-L	<b>-dà</b> H-L	<b>-daa</b> H-L
Grade 6	<b>-oo</b> H	<b>-oo</b> H	<b>-oo</b> H	<b>-oo</b> H
Grade 7	<b>-u</b> LH	—	—	<b>-aĩ</b> H

Table 1.

<sup>2</sup>The first four grades (0–3) are called primary or basic grades, while the remaining grades (4–7) are called secondary or derived grades.

The traditional classification of Hausa verbs into grades accounts for the forms of Hausa verbs only when they occur without an object, or are followed by a direct or indirect object; but the analysis has nothing to say about the forms of the verbs when they are followed by a double object without overt coding—as may be seen from table 1 above.

## 1.2 THE STRUCTURE OF HAUSA SENTENCES

Hausa is an active-accusative SVO (subject–verb–object) language. As pointed out above, the traditional verbal paradigm description, which is based on tone pattern and final vowel suffix, is predicated on four syntactic environments. This is illustrated in example (1), using a grade 2 verb **sàyaa** ‘buy’.<sup>3</sup>

- (1) a. **yaa sàyaa** (A Form)  
 3m.COMP buy  
 He bought (it).
- b. **yaa sàyee ta** (B Form)  
 3m.COMP buy it  
 He bought it.
- c. **yaa sàyi riigaa** (C Form)  
 3m.COMP buy shirt  
 He bought a shirt.
- d. **yaa sayàa wà audù/masà riigaa** (D Form)  
 3m.COMP buy IOM Audu/IOMPRO shirt  
 He bought a shirt for Audu/for him.

The general assumption is that verbs manifest a long final vowel before the A B and D forms and a short final vowel before the C form (cf. Newman 2000, Jaggar 2001). Even though this approach accounts for the form of the verbs in these four syntactic environments, the analysis does not make any attempt to account for the form of the verb when two NP objects follow it. This issue becomes relevant given the fact that some of the verbs in grade 0 that allow double object constructions, such as **kiraa** ‘call’, **biyaa** ‘pay’ and **rigaa** ‘precede’, always appear with a long final vowel rather than the short final vowel one would expect before a nominal NP. Newman (2000:630) states, “Gr0 ending **-aa** do not change the length of the final vowel in different syntactic environments: phonologically the vowel is always long, whether in A, B, C, or D environment”. Consider examples (2)–(4) below:

- (2) **yaa kiraa audù mahàukàcìi**  
 3m.COMP call Audu madman  
 He called Audu a madman.
- (3) **yaa biyaa audù kudii**  
 3m.COMP pay Audu money  
 He paid Audu the money.

<sup>3</sup>For the meanings of unfamiliar grammatical abbreviations, please see the list on p. 54.

- (4) **yaa rigaa audù kudii**  
 3m.COMP precede Audu money  
 He became richer before Audu.

In addition to grade 0 verbs there are other verbs in grades 1 and 2 that can occur with two NPs. The aim of this paper, therefore, is to consider the behaviour of these double object verbs in comparison with indirect object verbs in Hausa.

### 1.3 THE SYNTACTIC CLASSIFICATION OF VERBS

Another approach to analysing Hausa verbs apart from the traditional verbal paradigm (i.e., the grade system), is through an examination of the types of arguments the verbs are subcategorised for. Syntactically, Hausa verbs are divided into intransitive, transitive (monotransitive), dative, sociative, efferential, copular, and double object (ditransitive verbs). For a detailed discussion see Newman (2000) and Jaggard (2001). However, it is generally assumed that there are a number of techniques that languages employ to code the presence of syntactic arguments. For instance, in some Chadic languages such as Lele and Hdi (cf. Frajzyngier with Shay 2002) arguments are coded by the use of prepositions, tone pattern or vowel quality. In Hdi (a Central Chadic language), for example, there are three means by which arguments are differentiated in a clause: (a) position with respect to the verb; (b) preposition; and (c) verbal inflection, which includes extensions added to the verb (cf. Frajzyngier with Shay 2002 for detailed discussion and analysis).

In Hausa there are also a number of formal coding means to indicate the various arguments that are associated with verbs. For instance, Jaggard (1988) argues that the final vowel **-u** in grade 7 verbs codes an affected subject argument; and in grade 4 the long final vowel **-ee** can code the affected argument to have a totality interpretation (cf. Tuller 1996). In addition to the semantic coding of arguments associated with the verb, arguments in Hausa verbs are also marked or introduced by different types of prepositions. Frajzyngier (1985:24) states, “The role of the added argument is not marked on the verb but rather through the system of prepositions and/or word order”. Let us now consider how the arguments and complements of the following constructions are marked.

## 2. INDIRECT OBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS

### 2.1 PREPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

The indirect object marker **wà** or **ma** invariably codes indirect object arguments in Hausa. In other words, the dative/benefactive/malefactive, etc., are additional arguments coded by the preposition **wà/mà** if nominal, or the prefix **ma** if pronominal. This is summarised in (5) and exemplified in (6).<sup>4</sup>

- (5) **wà/mà audù** for/to Audu noun IO  
**masà** for/to him pronoun IO

<sup>4</sup>The use of indirect object marker **wà** vs **mà** introducing a nominal NP depends upon the dialect. For instance, in standard Hausa (and the Kano dialect) **wà** is used; while in northern and western dialects **mà** is used. But all Hausa dialects use **ma** (with high tone) to introduce a pronominal indirect object.

- (6) a. **àli yaa aikàa wà sarkii wàsiikàa**  
 Ali 3m.COMP send IOM chief letter  
 Ali sent a letter to the king.
- b. **àli yaa aikàa masà wàsiikàa**  
 Ali 3m.COMP send IOMPRO letter  
 Ali sent a letter to him.

In the above the examples, the indirect object NP precedes the direct object NP, and is coded by an indirect object marker. Thus if the word order is reversed and the IO markers **wà/ma** are used to code the direct object NP, ungrammatical sentences result, as in (7):

- (7) a. **\*àli yaa aikàa wà wàsiikàa laadi**  
 Ali 3m.COMP send IOM letter Ladi  
 Ali sent a letter to Ladi.
- b. **\*àli yaa aikàa ma wàsiikàa shi**  
 Ali 3m.COMP send IOMPRO letter PRO  
 Ali sent him a letter.

The indirect object NP can be interpreted as benefactive, goal, or malefactive, depending on the lexical semantics of the stem and the grade selected (cf. Munkaila 1990, Newman 1983, Newman 2000). Thus, the following statements and examples from Newman 2000:286 capture the relevant interpretations of indirect object NPs:

Indirect objects in Hausa express a wide range of meanings, which in English are often marked by the use of different prepositions. The exact semantic interpretation in Hausa depends on the verb grade, the nature of the individual verb, and the general contexts, e.g.:

- sun neemam masà aikii** They sought work for him (benefactive/for)  
**zâi sayoo mân yaadii** He's going to buy me some cloth (benefactive/for)  
**yakàn aràa wà yâraa kèèkè** He lends the kids bicycles (dative (recipient) / to)  
**sun kwaacèe manà kaayaa** They stole the goods from us (malefactive/on)  
**taa soomèe minì** She fainted on me (malefactive/on)  
**an shirbùnaa masà mâi** They applied/rubbed oil on him (affected/on)  
**naa sookàa matà maashii** I stabbed a spear into her (affected/into)  
**sun yi musù dàariyaa** They laughed at them (goal/at).

## 2.2 THE EFFERENTIAL CONSTRUCTION

The term efferential is used by Newman to refer to grade 5 verbs (alias causative in the Parsonian classification). The argument associated with the efferential is coded by the suffix **-aĩ** and preposition **dà**, which is used to introduce the overt object. According to Newman (1983:408) the efferential suffix **-aĩ** has two functions: one semantic, coding the action away; and the second grammatical, that of changing an intransitive verb into a transitive one (cf. Bagari 1977 for discussion and analysis of different types of Hausa causatives). Consider the following examples:

- (8) **yaa shig-aĩ dà kùjèeruu**  
 3m.COMP enter-EFF.SX EFF.PREP chairs  
 He brought the chairs in.
- (9) **naa koy-aĩ dà ðalibai hausa**  
 1sg.COMP teach-EFF.SX EFF.PREP students Hausa  
 I taught the students Hausa.

### 2.3 THE SOCIATIVE CONSTRUCTION

The arguments of sociative verbs are coded by the preposition **dà** ‘with’. Jaggard (2001:432) states, “Sociative verbs have the complex constituent structure lexical verb plus the sociative preposition **dà** ‘with’, and the following headed NP is analysable as a prepositional object. Soc-verb construction thus has the configuration V<sub>soc</sub> [**dà** NP] PP, and a pronoun takes the independent form”. Consider the following examples:

- (10) **kin huutàa dà wàhalàa**  
 2f.COMP rest SOC difficult  
 You’re free of trouble.
- (11) **naa amìncee dà ita**  
 1sg.COMP agree SOC her  
 I trust her.

(Data from Jaggard 2001:433).

### 2.4 INTRANSITIVE VERBS

Furthermore, the different types of prepositional phrases in Hausa also code complements of some intransitive verbs, such as the locative preposition **à** ‘at’, the ablative preposition **dàgà** ‘from’, the viative preposition **ta** ‘via’, and the instrumental preposition **dà** ‘with’. Consider the following examples:

- (12) **ɓàrawòn yaa shigoo ta taagàa**  
 thief.DET 3m.COMP enter via window  
 The thief entered through the window.
- (13) **yàaraa sun zoo dàgà kanò**  
 children 3pl.COMP come from Kano  
 The children came from Kano.

## 3. THE DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTION

### 3.1 SYNTACTIC CONSIDERATIONS

Judging from the above examples one would naturally expect that whenever there are verbs occurring with double object NPs, there must be a means of coding at least one of the NPs. However, it turns out that this is not the case with respect to Hausa verbs in the double object construction. That is to say, the verb allows for the presence of two arguments without any additional coding means. Newman (2000:685) called this class of verbs “double object verbs”. He states, “A small number of verbs, which

I am calling double object verbs (= ditransitive verbs), allow (or require) two successive objects, where the first is syntactically a d.o. and not an i.o”.

Adopting the Parsonian verbal paradigm as developed by Newman (2000), all the double object verbs fall into the so-called primary grades (grades 0, 1 and 2). Double object verbs in grade 0 are **ci** ‘eat’, **fi** ‘exceed’, **kiraa** ‘call’, **biyaa** ‘pay’ and **rigaa** ‘proceed’. Examples are as follows:

- (14) **bintà taa fi audù kudii**  
Binta 3f.COMP exceed Audu money  
Binta is richer than Audu.
- (15) **àlkaalii yaa ci sulè tàaraa**  
judge 3m.COMP eat Sule fine  
The judge fined Sule. (Newman 2000:686)
- (16) **abdù yaa kiraa jummai kaañùwà**  
Abdu 3m.COMP call Jummai whore  
Abdu called Jummai a whore.
- (17) **naa biyaa audù kudii**  
1s.COMP pay Audu money  
I paid Audu money.

Double object verbs in Grade 1 are **tayàa** ‘offer’, **ɗaràa** ‘exceed’ and **naɗàa** ‘appoint’, as shown in the examples below.

- (18) **naa tayà rùigaa naiřà goomà**  
1s.COMP offer shirt naira ten  
I priced the shirt (at) ten naira (i.e., I offered ten naira for the shirt).
- (19) **sun naɗà audù shùugàbaa**  
3pl.COMP appoint Audu leader  
They appointed Audu (as) their leader.
- (20) **bintà taa ɗarà kànde tsawoo**  
Binta 3f.COMP exceed Kande height  
Binta is taller than Kande.

The double object verbs in grade 2 are **ròoki** ‘ask’, **zàafi** ‘elect’, **ɗàuki** ‘consider’, and **sâa** ‘put’. Consider the following examples:<sup>5</sup>

- (21) **yaa ròoki bàla goořò**  
3m.COMP ask Bala kolanuts  
He asked Bala (for) kolanuts.
- (22) **taa sâ audù fushii**  
3f.COMP put Audu angry  
She made Audu angry.

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<sup>5</sup>Because of the nature of this grade it is not surprising that some grade 2 verbs allow double object NPs. Note that the grade has different final vowel endings in all three syntactic contexts (A, B and C), and requires a pre-datival suffix before the D form (see Jaggard and Munkaila 1995).

- (23) **zaa mù zàbee shì shùugàbaa**  
 FUT 1pl elect him leader  
 We will elect him (our) leader.
- (24) **sun ðàuki audù waawaa**  
 3pl.COMP consider Audu fool  
 They consider Audu a fool.

In all the above examples we see that the two NPs follow the verb without any overt marker. In terms of linear order, the word order is fixed; that is to say we cannot alter the positions of the two NPs. Hence all the following examples are ungrammatical:

- (25) **\*yaa biyaa kudfi bàla**  
 3m.COMP pay money Bala  
 He paid money to Bala.
- (26) **\*yaa kiraa waawaa muusa**  
 3m.COMP call fool Musa  
 He called Musa a fool.
- (27) **\*yaa ròoki goořò bàla**  
 3m.COMP ask kolanuts Bala  
 He asked Bala for kolanuts.
- (28) **\*sun nadà shùugàbaa audù**  
 3pl.COMP appoint leader Audu  
 They appointed Audu their leader.
- (29) **\*taa fi kudfi audù**  
 3f.COMP exceed money Audu  
 She is richer than Audu.

This fact that the two NPs can occur without any overt coding raises the following questions: Firstly, is there any syntactic or semantic factor governing the order of the two NPs? Secondly, are there any syntactic or semantic differences between double object verbs and indirect object verbs in Hausa? According to Frajzyngier (2001) in Lele (a Chadic language) the verbs in the double construction may be followed by two NPs without any overt marker. However, he says: "In such a construction the first noun phrase is the beneficiary of the event and the other is the direct object. If the verb is such that the benefit/detriment is not an inherent part of its meaning, the direct object follows the verb and the dative/benefactive argument is marked by the preposition **bé**". This is illustrated in examples (30) and (31) respectively (data from Frajzyngier 2001:130).

- (30) **na-y né-y kùryò**  
 HYP-3m make.FUT-3m stranger  
 He will make him a stranger, i.e., he will be treated as a guest.
- (31) **síndè wéy wò bé toron-do**  
 Sinda cook mush DAT daughter-3f  
 Sinda cooked mush for her daughter.



Therefore, in Lele the distinction between double object and dative is based on semantic factors. Thus Frajzyngier writes:

The coding of two arguments following the verb without any preposition is allowed only if the meaning of the verb involves an activity for the benefit or the detriment of the human argument. The coding of the dative through the preposition is deployed only when the inherent meaning of the verb does not involve the benefit or the detriment of the human argument. There is thus a complementarity between the two means of coding the dative. (Frajzyngier 2001:130.)

Whitney (1982, 1983) attempts to provide a syntactic distinction between the double object construction and indirect object construction in English. She argues against a unified analysis for the two constructions. According to Whitney there is no need to propose a unified analysis for the English indirect object construction in (32)–(33) and other English double object constructions such as those in (34)–(35).

- (32) a. Paul sold his linguistics book to Kitty.  
b. Paul sold Kitty his linguistics book.
- (33) a. John bought a book for Mary.  
b. John bought Mary a book.
- (34) a. We elected John president by acclamation.  
b. \*We elected president to/for John by acclamation.
- (35) a. This only cost me a quarter.  
b. \*This only cost a quarter (to) me.

Whitney claims that the double object constructions (34)–(35) above behave both in a markedly different manner from each other and from the English indirect object construction in (32b) and (33b). For example, while the double object construction in (34) can have a derived nominal form as shown in (36), nominalization is blocked in the case of the English indirect object construction (32b) and (33b), as shown in (37a) and (37b) respectively:

- (36) our electing of John president
- (37) a. \*the selling of Kitty linguistics book  
b. \*John's buying of Mary a book

Amongst the other arguments Whitney cited against giving a uniform analysis for both indirect object and other double object constructions is the relation between the indirect object construction and other movement rules, such as WH-movement, Topicalization, It-clefting, and Complex NP-shift. Whitney points out that it is possible for the underived double object constructions to interact freely with the above mentioned rules, as examples (38b–e) below demonstrate.

- (38) a. Double NP: We poured John a drink.  
b. Move-WH: Who did we pour a drink?  
c. Top: John, we poured a drink.  
d. It-Cleft: It was John we poured a drink.  
e. Complex NP-shift: We poured a man we met only yesterday a drink.

The indirect object constructions, on the other hand, cannot interact at all with such movement rules, as shown in examples (39b–e) below. For an alternative analysis of English double object constructions, see Hudson (1992).

- (39) a. Indirect object construction: John gave Mary a book.  
 b. Move-WH: \*Who did John give a book?  
 c. Top: \*Mary, John gave a book.  
 d. It Cleft: \*It was Mary that John gave a book.  
 e. Complex NP-shift: \*John gave a book the man on the bus.

Before we look at the syntactic difference between Hausa indirect object and double object verbs, let us consider the semantic classification of double object verbs.

### 3.2 THE SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION OF DOUBLE OBJECT VERBS

Based on semantic criteria, the double object verbs can be classified on the basis of the kind of relationship existing between the two NPs. Adopting this method the double object verbs can basically be divided into two groups: The first are those verbs where the second NP denotes an attribute of the first NP. These verbs are **kiraa** ‘call’, as in (16); **zàbi** ‘elect’, (23); **ɗàuki** ‘consider’, (24); **sâ** ‘put’, (22); and **nadà** ‘appoint’, (19). For instance, **sun kiraa Audù waawaa** ‘they called Audu a fool’. Being a fool is one of Audu’s alleged attributes. In addition to the semantic attributes, the two NPs agree in terms of number and gender. Here it is plausible to assume that because the two NPs are semantically and grammatically related, there is no need for the verb to have an extra means of coding to introduce the second NP.

In the second group the two NPs are pragmatically independent (i.e., do not share a common semantic feature). The verbs in this group are **fi** ‘exceed’, as in (14); **ci** ‘eat’, (15); **biyaa** ‘pay’, (17); **tayà** ‘offer’, (18); and **ròki** ‘ask’, (21). Each argument in these examples has its own semantic interpretation. For instance, with the verb **ròki** ‘ask’, the first NP can be interpreted as deprivative; while with the verb **ci** ‘eat’, the first NP can be interpreted as malefactive. This group seems to be exactly like Lele, cited above, where two NPs can follow the verb without any overt marker if the meaning of the verb involves an activity for the benefit or the detriment of the human argument. Therefore it is logical to argue that there are two main semantic factors that allow the two NPs to follow the verb without any overt coding. One is a shared semantic attribute; and the second type is what I may call *resultative*. With regard to the word order arrangement of the two NPs, we have seen that the human argument NPs must always precede the non-human NPs.

The difference between the second group and indirect object verbs marked with preposition **wà** or **ma** is that the semantic interpretations of indirect NPs as benefactive, malefactive, goal, deprivative, affected, etc., depend to a large extent on the inherent properties of the verb grade. See §2 above.

### 4. THE SYNTACTIC DISTINCTION BETWEEN HAUSA DOUBLE OBJECT AND INDIRECT OBJECT VERBS

The syntactic difference between double object NPs and indirect object NPs will be considered in terms of seven syntactic diagnostics: (a) vowel ending, (b) verbal

noun formation, (c) occurrence with grade 7, (d) WH-movement, (e) pronominalization, (f) combination with efferential **-aĩ** (grade 5), and (g) occurrence with indirect object markers **wà** and **ma**. We consider each in turn.

#### 4.1 FINAL VOWEL ENDING

We have already seen that indirect object markers **wà** and **ma** code indirect object nominal and pronominal, respectively. However, there is no such overt marker in the double object construction. For the sake of exposition let us once again consider the two constructions. Example (40) shows the indirect object construction, and example (41) shows a double object construction:

(40) **yaa sayàa wà audù rìigaa**  
 3m.COMP buy IOM Audu shirt  
 He bought a shirt for Audu.

(41) **yaa tayà rìigaa naiřà goomà**  
 3m.COMP offer shirt naira ten  
 He priced the shirt (at) ten naira (i.e., he offered to pay ten naira for the shirt).

In the indirect object construction the verbs (with the marginal exception of grade 0 **-i** for some speakers) always have a long final vowel in the D form, whether the indirect object NP is present or is moved—as illustrated below.

(42) a. **yaa aikàa wà audù wàsiikàa**  
 3m.COMP send IOM Audu letter  
 He sent Audu a letter.

b. **audù nee ya aikàa wà wàsiikàa**  
 Audu STB 3m.RELCOMP send IOM letter  
 It is to Audu he sent a letter.

With regard to double object constructions, with some verbs the final vowel is short when the two NPs are present; but if the first NP is moved, the final vowel becomes long. Newman (2000:686) states, “In double object construction, it is clear that the first object is the true syntactic d.o. and that the second has the status of an oblique object”. If the first object NP is moved, with the result that the second object immediately follows the verb, a finite verb ends with long final vowel **-aa** (i.e., A form) and not a short final vowel **-a** (C form). Consider the following example:

(43) **kànde cèe bintà ta ðaràa (v1-A) tsawoo** (Data from Newman 2000:686.)  
 It is Kande that Binta is a little taller than.  
 (Not **\*kànde cèe bintà ta ðara (v.1-C) tsawoo.**)

(44) a. **rìigaa cee ya tayà naiřà goomà**  
 shirt STB 3m.RELCOMP offer naira ten  
 It is the shirt that he priced (at) ten naira.  
 b. **\*rìigaa cee ya tayà naiřà goomà**  
 shirt STB 3m.RELCOMP offer naira ten  
 It is the shirt that he priced ten naira

Once again it needs to be pointed out here that this vowel-shortening rule applies only to double object verbs in grades 1 and 2. Double object verbs like **kiraa** ‘call’ and **biyaa** ‘pay’ in grade 0 do not undergo the final vowel shortening.

#### 4.2 VERBAL NOUN FORMATION

Verbal nouns in Hausa are normally formed with the continuous tense aspect marker. Traditionally, they are divided into two types: weak vs strong, or **waa** verbal nouns vs non-**waa** verbal nouns (cf. Newman 2000 and Jaggar 2001 for a detailed analysis). The general description with regard to **-waa** verbal nouns is that **-waa** appears when there is no following direct object; or, put in another way, the **-waa** gets deleted when the verb is immediately followed by a direct object, as shown below.

- (45) a. **yanàa aikà-waa** (without DO)  
 3m.CONT send-VN  
 He is sending (it).  
 b. **yanàa aikà wàsiikàa** (with DO)  
 3m.COMP send.VN letter  
 He is sending a letter.

In those constructions where the verbal noun is followed by an indirect object NP, the verb always appears without the **waa** suffix even if the indirect object NP is moved, as shown in examples (46a,b); whereas (46c) is ungrammatical when the suffix **waa** is used.

- (46) a. **sunàa aikàa wà audù wàsiikàa**  
 3pl.CONT send IOM Audu letter  
 They are sending Audu a letter.  
 b. **audù sukèe aikàa wà wàsiikàa**  
 Audu 3pl.REL.CONT send IOM letter  
 It is Audu they are sending a letter to.  
 c. **\*audù sukèe aikà-waa wà wàsiikàa**  
 Audu 3pl.REL.CONT send-VN IOM letter  
 It is Audu they are sending a letter to.

By contrast, when the first NP of a double object verb is moved, the verbal noun allows a **-waa** suffix, as illustrated in example (47a); while (47b), lacking the **-waa** suffix, is ungrammatical.

- (47) a. **audù nee sukèe nadà-waa sarkii**  
 Audu STB 3pl.REL.CONT appoint-VN chief  
 It is Audu they are appointing as chief.  
 b. **\*audù nee sukèe nadà sarkii**  
 Audu STB 3pl.REL.CONT appoint chief  
 It is Audu they are appointing as chief.

We now turn to those verbs that do not use the **-waa** suffix for their verbal noun formation, but rather exhibit a variety of shapes (the so-called strong or derived verbal

nouns). These verbs, when followed by a syntactic direct object, require a linker, as shown in example (48).

- (48) **sunàa sàya-n goořò**  
 3pl.CONT buy-LIN kolanut  
 They are buying kolanuts.

With double object constructions the verb ends with a linker **-n**. However, if the first object is moved and a second object immediately follows the verb, the use of the linker produces an ungrammatical sentence, as shown in example (49c) below.

- (49) a. **sunàa biya-n audù kudfi**  
 3pl.GEN.CONT pay-LIN Audu money  
 They are paying Audu money.
- b. **wàa sukèe biyaa kudfi**  
 who 3pl.REL.CONT pay money  
 Whom are they paying the money?
- c. **\*wàa sukèe biya-n kudfi**  
 who 3pl.REL.CONT pay-LIN money

By contrast, no linker is required before indirect object constructions, even if the indirect object NP is moved. In fact the use of the linker produces an ungrammatical sentence, as shown in (50c).

- (50) a. **yanàa sayàa wà audù goořò**  
 3m.CONT buy IOM Audu kolanuts  
 He is buying Audu some kolanuts.
- b. **audù yakèe sayàa wà goořò**  
 Audu 3m.REL.CONT buy IOM kolanuts  
 It is Audu that he is buying kolanuts for.
- c. **\*audù yakèe saya-n wà goořò**  
 Audu 3m.REL.CONT buy-LIN IOM kolanuts

#### 4.3 USE OF GRADE 7

Here we will examine what happens when double object and indirect object verbs co-occur with grade 7, which partially overlaps with the function of passives in English. But we will first take a brief look at how the passive operates on simple transitive verbs in Hausa. Passive verbs in Hausa are formed by the attachment of the passive morpheme **-u** to the verb stem, with the resulting disyllabic verb having a L-H tone pattern. For example, **buudèe** ‘open’, vs **bùudu** ‘be completely opened.’ It has been convincingly argued in Jaggar (1981a, 1981b, 1988, 2002) that Hausa has passive verbs (“affected-Subject” verbs in Jaggar 2001), which can be derived from their active counterparts. Jaggar identifies two different types of passives in Hausa, namely, “Perfective-Passives” and “Imperfective-Passives”. Example (51b) illustrates a perfective-passive and (51a) its active counterpart.

- (51) a. **audù yaa gyaarà mootàa**  
 Audu 3m.COMP repair car  
 Audu repaired the car.
- b. **mootàa taa gyàaru**  
 car 3f.COMP repair.PASS  
 The car was completely repaired.

Sentence (52b) below illustrates an imperfective-passive, with (52a) being the corresponding active form.

- (52) a. **audù yanàa gyaarà mootàa**  
 Audu 3m.CONT repair car  
 Audu is repairing the car.
- b. **mootàa tanàa gyaarù-waa**  
 car 3f.CONT repair-PASS  
 The car can be repaired.

The question then is, can both indirect object NP and the direct object NP become the subject when the verb is passivized? The answer is No. That is, neither of the NPs (IO or DO) can become the subject of the passive sentence. Thus sentences (53b) and (53c) are ungrammatical.

- (53) a. **audù yaa nuunàa wà laadì / matà littaañii**  
 Audu 3m.COMP show IOM Ladi / IOMPRO book  
 Audu showed a book to Ladi/her.
- b. **\*laadì taa nùunu wà littaañii**  
 Ladi 3f.COMP show.PASS IOM book  
 Ladi was shown a book.
- c. **\*littaañii yaa nùunu wà laadì**  
 book 3m.COMP show.PASS IOM Ladi  
 A book was shown to Ladi.

In the case of double object verbs only the first direct object NP and not the second can become the subject NP when the verb is passivized. Consider examples (54) and (55). The (a) sentences represent the active form. The (b) sentences, where the first NP becomes the subject of the passive, are grammatical. The (c) sentences, on the other hand, where the second NP becomes the subject of the passive, are ungrammatical.

- (54) a. **sun ròoki audù kudfi**  
 3pl.COMP ask Audu money  
 They asked Audu for money.
- b. **audù baa yaa ròoku-waa kudfi à haalin yànzù**  
 Audu NEG 3m.COMP ask-PASS money PREP manner now  
 Audu cannot be asked for money now.
- c. **\*kudfi baa yaa ròoku-waa audù à haalin yànzù**  
 money NEG 3m.COMP ask-PASS Audu PREP manner now  
 Money cannot be asked of Audu now.

- (55) a. **sun**      **ɗàuki**    **audù waawaa**  
          3pl.COMP consider Audu fool  
          They considered Audu a fool.
- b. **audù baa yaa**      **ɗàukuwaa waawaa**  
          Audu NEG 3m.COMP considered fool  
          Audu cannot be considered a fool.
- c. \***waawaa baa yaa**      **ɗàukuwaa audù**  
          fool      NEG 3m.COMP take      Audu

#### 4.4 WH-MOVEMENT

In the case of WH-movement both indirect object and direct object NPs can be WH-moved, as demonstrated in examples (56b) and (56c).

- (56) a. **audù yaa**      **aikàa wà laadì wàsiikàa**  
          Audu 3m.COMP send IOM Ladi letter  
          Audu sent Ladi a letter.
- b. **wàa audù ya**      **aikàa wà wàsiikàa?**  
          who Audu 3m.RELCOMP send IOM letter  
          Who did Audu send a letter to?
- c. **mèe audù ya**      **aikàa wà laadì?**  
          What Audu 3m.RELCOMP send IOM Ladi  
          What did Audu send to Ladi?

Equally, both NPs in double object verbs can undergo WH-movement, as illustrated in examples (57b) and (57c).

- (57) a. **sun**      **naɗà**    **audù sarkii**  
          3pl.COMP appoint Audu chief  
          They appointed Audu as emir.
- b. **wàa sukàa**      **naɗàa sarkii?**  
          Who 3pl.RELCOMP appoint chief  
          Who did they appoint as emir?
- c. **mèe sukàa**      **naɗàa audù?**  
          What 3pl.RELCOMP appoint Audu  
          What did they appoint Audu (as)?

#### 4.5 PRONOMINALIZATION

When the direct object of an indirect object verb is pronominalized, it takes the independent form, as in (58).

- (58) a. **sun**      **kwaacèe masà suu**  
          3pl.COMP confiscate IOMPRO it  
          They confiscated them from him.

b. **zân kawoo wà audù ita**

1sg.FUT bring IOM Audu it  
I'll bring it for Audu.

c. **yaa sayàa matà shii**

3m.COMP buy IOMPRO it  
He bought it for her.

The second object of the double object verb, on the other hand, cannot be pronominalized, as shown in (59).

(59) a. **\*sun biyaa audù shii**

3pl.COMP pay Audu it

b. **\*zan kiraa laadù ita**

1sg.FUT call Ladi it

c. **\*yaa ròoki bàla shii**

3m.COMP ask Bala it

Instead, the proform **hakà** 'so, like that, the same, thus', etc. is used to replace the second NP of the double object construction (cf. Jaggar 2001). Consider the following examples:

(60) a. **sun kiraa shì hakà**

3pl.COMP call him so  
They called him so.

b. **sun sâ / nadâa shì hakà**

3pl.COMP put / appoint him thus  
They have put/appointed him thus.

c. **kâr kî dâukee nì hakà**

NEG 2f.SUBJ take me that  
Don't treat me like that. (Jaggar 2001:424.)

4.6 COMBINATION WITH EFFERENTIAL **-aĩ** (GRADE 5)

Another syntactic difference between double object and indirect object verbs is the fact that the verb followed by the double object NPs cannot take the efferential extension **-aĩ**, as illustrated in (61).

(61) a. **\*yaa biy-aĩ dà audù kudii**

3m.COMP pay-EFF PCL Audu money

b. **\*yaa tay-aĩ dà riigaa naiřà goomà**

3m.COMP offer-EFF PCL shirt naira ten

c. **\*sun nad-aĩ dà audù sarkii**

3pl.COMP appoint-EFF PCL Audu chief

d. **\*yaa rook-aĩ dà bàla goořò**

3m.COMP ask-EFF PCL Bala kolanut



- e. \***sun**      **ɗauk-aĩ**      **ɗà audù waawaa**  
 3pl.COMP consider-EFF PCL Audu fool

By contrast, the indirect object can freely co-occur with extension **-aĩ** as illustrated in (62). The preferred construction in such cases is the one in which the verb is followed by the suffix **-aĩ** and then by the indirect object marker **wà**, coding the presence of the dative argument; and finally by the marker **ɗà**, coding the presence of the affected argument.<sup>6</sup>

- (62) a. **yaa**      **say-aĩ wà ɗà audù riigaa**  
 3m.COMP say-EFF IOM PCL Audu shirt  
 He sold the shirt for/to Audu.
- b. **sun**      **ɗauk-aĩ wà ɗà audù kaayaa**  
 3pl.COMP take-EFF IOM PCL Audu loads  
 They took the load for Audu.
- c. **yaa**      **ciy-aĩ wà ɗà audù dookii**  
 3m.COMP feed-EFF IOM PCL Audu horse  
 He fed the horse for Audu.
- d. **sunàa**      **zub-aĩ wà ɗà audù ruwaa**  
 3pl.CONT pour-EFF IOM PCL Audu water  
 They are pouring out water for Audu.

The fact that double object verbs do not permit the efferential **-aĩ** extension provides us with another important diagnostic feature for distinguishing between indirect object verbs and double object verbs in Hausa.

#### 4.7 CO -OCCURRENCE WITH INDIRECT OBJECT MARKERS **wà** AND **ma**

Finally, it is possible under certain semantic conditions for the double object to co-occur with the indirect object. Newman (2000:686) states, “When semantically appropriate, the double object construction can also have an indirect object”. The IO is shown in parentheses in the following examples:

- (63) a. **muusaa zâi biyaa (mini) sulè fâm biyu**  
 Musa will pay Sule two pounds (for me).
- b. **an naɗfâa (manà) gambo sarkii**  
 They appointed Gambo chief (for us).

Although sentences such as the two above are considered to be grammatical, they are felt to be clumsy, and for this reason the indirect object tends to be avoided by using some appropriate paraphrase—for example, a prepositional phrase:

<sup>6</sup>Other possibilities include the following: (i) where the marker **wà** and **ɗà** follow each other; (ii) to use **ɗà** twice; or (iii) to omit **ɗà**.

(i) **yaa shigaĩ wà ɗà audù mootàa** He entered the car for Audu.  
 (ii) **yaa shigaĩ wà audù ɗà mootàa**  
 (iii) **yaa shigaĩ wà audù mootàa**

- (64) **muusaa zâi biyaa sule fâm biyu (don nii)**  
Musa will pay Sule two pounds (on my behalf).

In fact using a nominal indirect object NP almost renders the sentence unacceptable:

- (65) **?muusaa zâi biyaa (wà laadi) sulè fâm biyu**  
Musa will pay Sule two pounds (for Ladi).

The most important issue here is whether it is possible to use the indirect markers **wà** and **ma** to code the first nominal and pronominal NPs in the double object verb. With some double object verbs like **biyaa** ‘pay’, **ròoki** ‘ask’ and **kiraa** ‘call’, it is indeed possible:

- (66) a. **yaa biyaa audù kudfi**  
3m.COMP pay Audu money  
He paid Audu money.
- b. **yaa biyaa ni bashina**  
3m.COMP pay me loan.POSS  
He paid me the money he owed me.
- c. **yaa ròoki audù goořò**  
3m.COMP ask Audu kolanut  
He asked Audu (for) kolanuts.
- d. **yaa ròokee shi goořò**  
3m.COMP ask him kolanuts  
He asked him (for) kolanuts.
- e. **yaa kiraa audù jaaròo**  
3m.COMP call Audu boy  
He called Audu a boy.
- f. **yaa kiraa shi jaaròo**  
3m.COMP call him boy  
He called him a boy.

Newman (2000:686) argues that “In double object construction, it is clear that the first object is the true syntactic d.o. and that the second has the status of an oblique object”. Newman does not explicitly define his term “true syntactic object” as opposed to a non-true syntactic object. One assumes that the distinction is based on the syntactic behaviour of the two NPs, in the sense that only the first NP and not the second can become the subject NP when the verb is passivized (see §4.1). And when the first NP immediately follows the verb, the verb ends with a long final vowel. If, on the other hand, the first NP is moved, with the result that the second NP immediately follows the verb, the verb ends with a long final vowel (see §4.3).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup>Note that the long versus short vowel contrast does not apply to these verbs. Furthermore, either of the two NPs can immediately follow the verb functioning as the so-called true syntactic direct object (cf. Newman 2000). Consider the following examples:

- a. **yaa biyaa audù** ‘He paid Audu’; and **yaa biyaa kudfi** ‘He paid money’.  
b. **yaa ròoki audù** ‘He asked Audu’; and **yaa ròoki kudfi** ‘He asked for money’.

However, in all the above examples (66a–f), the first NP can semantically be interpreted as the indirect object NP and the second NP as the direct object. Therefore, these verbs allow the presence of dative arguments without the markers **wà** and **ma**. A piece of evidence that supports the claim that these verbs can operate with overt or covert indirect object markers is provided by the fact that if the indirect object markers **wà** and **ma** are used, the semantic interpretations of the above sentences change from the dative/recipient meaning to a benefactive meaning, as illustrated in the following examples.<sup>8</sup>

- (67) a. **yaa biyaa wà audù kudfi**  
 3m.COMP pay IOM Audu money  
 He paid the money on behalf of Audu.
- b. **yaa biyaa minì bashina**  
 3m.COMP pay IOMPRO loan  
 He has paid my debt for me.
- c. **yaa rookàa wà audù goořò**  
 3m.COMP ask IOM Audu kolanut  
 He asked some kolanuts on behalf of Audu.
- d. **yaa kiraa wà audù yaaròo**  
 3m.COMP call IOM Audu boy  
 He called a boy for Audu.

Another difference between sentences (66c) and (67c) is that in the latter there is an additional argument in the proposition beyond those for which the verb is subcategorized in its unmarked form. That is, the person from whom the kolanuts will come.

Table 2 below summarizes the various syntactic properties of double object and indirect object verbs presented in the preceding sections.

	Indirect Object	Indirect NP	Direct NP	Double Object	First NP	Second NP
Final vowel		<b>-aa</b>	<b>-aa</b>		<b>-a/-aa</b>	<b>-aa</b>
Verbal noun		–	–		+	–
Passive		–	–		+	–
WH-movement		+	+		+	+
Pronominalization			+			–
Extension <b>-ař</b>		+	+		–	–

Table 2.

<sup>8</sup>These verbs behave like the verb **baa** ‘give’, which also occurs with indirect object nominals without the marker **wà**, as in (i); and with the indirect object pronoun, use of the marker **ma** makes the sentence ungrammatical, as in (ii). Thus, the pronoun must follow without the marker **ma**, as in (iii):

- (i) **yaa baa audù kudfi** He gave Audu money.  
 (ii) \***yaa baa manì kudfi** He gave me money.  
 (iii) **yaa baa ni kudfi** He gave me money.

## 5. CONCLUSION

In this paper I have discussed some of the syntactic diagnostic properties that distinguish double object verbs from indirect object verbs; namely, final vowel ending, verbal noun formation, passivization, WH-movement, pronominalization and co-occurrence with the derived extension **-aĩ**. Some of these syntactic properties do seem to follow because of the presence of indirect object markers **wà** and **ma** introducing both the nominal and pronominal indirect object NPs. In contrast, the double object NPs follow the verb without any overt markers. The seven syntactic diagnostics reveal an interesting asymmetry between double object verbs and indirect object verbs in Hausa. For instance, neither NP in the indirect object construction can become the subject NP in the passive. In the case of the double object construction, the first NP can become the subject of the passive clause. Another syntactic difference between the two constructions is that indirect object verbs can freely interact with the efferential extension **-aĩ**, while such interaction is blocked with the double object verbs. Furthermore, we observed that the double object NPs could be divided into two types based on the semantic association between the two NPs. I have argued that, because of the semantic attributes and the grammatical relationship in terms of gender, number and agreement existing between the first NP and the second, the two NPs could follow the verb without any overt marker. Finally I have shown that, contrary to Newman (2000), the first NP following the verbs in **kiraa** ‘call’, **biyaa** ‘pay’ and **ròokì** ‘ask’ is in fact semantically an indirect object and not a direct object. These verbs can operate with or without the indirect object markers **wà** and **ma**. Without the indirect object markers the indirect object NP is interpreted as a dative/recipient argument; but when the indirect object markers are inserted, the indirect object NP acquires a benefactive meaning.

## SOME GRAMMATICAL ABBREVIATIONS

COMP.....	completive	PREP .....	preposition
CONT .....	continuous	REL .....	relative
EFF .....	efferential	SOC.....	sociative
IOM.....	indirect object marker	STB .....	stabilizer
IOMPRO .....	indirect object pronoun	SX.....	suffix
LIN .....	linker	VN .....	verbal noun

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