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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
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Issues in the Syntax of Hausa Complementation

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Linguistics

by

Lawan Danladi Yalwa

1995

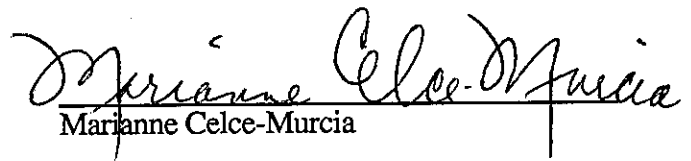
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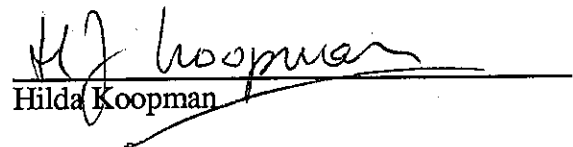
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1995

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS:

(*X)	ungrammatical if X is present
*(X)	ungrammatical if X is not present
*	ungrammatical
Ø	Null element
Ø-cop.	Null copula
1ms.	First person masculine singular
1fs.	First person feminine singular
1pl.	First person plural
2ms.	Second person masculine singular
2fs.	Second person feminine singular
2pl.	Second person plural
3ms.	Third person masculine singular
3fs.	Third person feminine singular
3pl.	Third person plural
1fut.	First future TAM
2fut.	Second future (Potential future) TAM
AdvP.	Adverbial phrase
AIG	Aminu Ibrahim Gusau
AGR	Agreement
AAK	A'isha Ali Kwate
Arb.	Arbitrary Null Subject
Ben.	Benefactive
COMP.	Complementizer
comp.	Complementizer
Cont.	Continuative TAM
Cop.	Copula
CP	Complementizer phrase = S-bar/C"
CTE	Complement Taking Expression
Dat.	Dative marker/particle
Def.	Definite article
DP	Determiner phrase
[e]	Empty/Null NP
ECP	Empty Category Principle
exp.	Expletive
f	feminine
Foc.	Focus marker
FHS	Fatiya Habibu Shu'aibu
GTK	Gaskiya ta fi kwabo
Hab.	Habitual TAM
HS	Habibu Shu'aibu
IDSDK	In Da So Da Kauna
Imp.	Impersonal TAM
INFL.	Inflection/I'
INS	Isa Nuhu Sheshe
IP	Inflectional Phrase = S/I"

KKK	Ka kara karatu
KS-1	Kogin soyayya 1
KYTK	Ka yi ta karatu
LF	Logical Form
m	Masculine
MA	Muhammed Abdu
MJC	Magana Jari Ce
MK	Maikudfi Karaye
Neg.	Negative particle/morpheme
NegP.	Negative phrase
Op	Operator
PC	Pseudo-cleft
pc.	Personal communication
Perf.	Perfective TAM
PF	Phonological form
Pl.	Plural
PP	Prepositional phrase
Prt.	Particle
Q.	Question morpheme/marker
Ref.	(Previous) Reference marker
Rel.-cont.	Relative continuative TAM
Rel.-perf.	Relative perfective TAM
s	Singular
SAK	Safiya Ali Kwate
SGJ-1	Soyayya Gamon Jini 1
SGJ-2	Soyayya Gamon Jini 2
Spec.	Specifier
Subj.	Subjunctive TAM
t	Trace
TAM	Tense, Aspect, and Mood
Tns.	Tense
Top.	Topic NP
TopP.	Topic phrase
TKB	Tura ta Kai Bango
V	Verb
Vintr.	Intransitive verb
Vn	Verbal noun
Vtr.	Transitive verb
X ⁰	Lexical category
X ^{max}	Maximal projection

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Issues in the Syntax of Hausa Complementation.

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

University of California, Los Angeles, 1995

Professor Russell G. Schuh, Chair

This study is a description of some aspects of Hausa complementation phenomenon. The forms and positions of subjunctive propositional complements and nominalized subject complements of certain groups of complement taking expressions/predicates (CTEs) are described within the framework of Government and Binding Theory. I argue that these two types of complements differ in two respects. The first difference between the two is that while subjunctive propositional complements may occur in post-CTE position as extraposed logical subjects, the nominalized complements cannot occur in such position (as logical subjects). The second difference is that while the former cannot occur in pre-CTE position as logical subjects (i.e. in the Spec of IP of the root clause), the latter can. However, both types of complements may occur in

other peripheral positions of a sentence as afterthoughts, topics (in topic phrase position), or as WH-Moved constituents (occurring in the Spec of CP position).

It is also shown that any constituent in the propositional complement (such as subjects, objects [direct, indirect, or oblique]) can be WH-Moved to CP or be topicalized. Furthermore, it is demonstrated that while the constituents in the CP are there as a result of WH-Movement operation, those in the projection of a topic phrase are argued to be base generated there as topics. These claims are tested in chapters 2 through 7. It is hoped that the results of this study would provide some means for testing some of the claims made in some of theories of syntax.

CHAPTER 1. Introduction

1.1 Object of the Study.

The Hausa Language is a member of the Chadic group of the Afroasiatic family of languages which is primarily spoken in Northern Nigeria and Niger Republic. It is the most widely studied language in this group, in aspects of both language and culture. In spite of the scholarly attention it has enjoyed, there are many syntactic issues involving complex structures that are still poorly understood. One such complex construction is complementation. The main purpose of the study then is to provide an in-depth study of the syntax of one aspect of complementation. I will pay particular attention to the syntax of subjunctive propositional complement and nominalized complement. An attempt will also be made to investigate the relationships between these types of sentences with certain NPs occurring as complements of verbs, prepositions, copula and nouns. This will however be very brief.

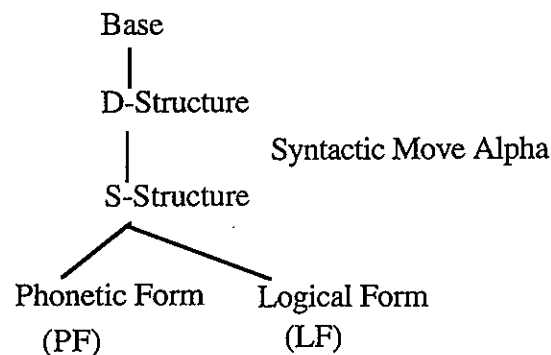
There is very little rigorous study of Hausa complementation. Some of the works which have addressed this are Eulenberg 1972, Bagari 1971, 1972, 1976, Galadanci 1969, 1976, McHugh 1984, Tuller 1986, Dimmendaal 1989 and Abdoulaye 1992. In each of these works, only some general aspects of complementation are described. The interest shown in the Hausa complementation constructions have clearly indicated that there is a need for a complete description of the complement types found in Hausa. This study will be based on the data from spoken Hausa of the Kano dialect, the dialect of the writer himself. In addition, I will also consult earlier works on Hausa syntax, story books, texts and newspapers. The goals of the dissertation are both descriptive and to a certain extent theoretical. It is hoped that the results of the dissertation would provide some means for testing some of the claims made in some of theories of syntax, especially

that of GB whose central concern is to relate aspects of language specific systems with that of the Universal Grammar.

1.2 Theoretical Background.

In this study, I will assume the version of the Transformational Generative Grammar (TGG) which has developed over the years, through the works in the Extended Standard Theory (EST). More specifically, I am referring to the Government and Binding Theory (GBT). This theory particularly assumes that there are four distinct levels of representations that are assigned to sentences. These levels are indicated in (1) which are in essence related by mapping procedures illustrated in the diagram:

(1)



These levels of representations must obey the constraints through the operation of several independent subsystem theories of grammar listed in (2):

- (2)
- a. X-bar Theory
 - b. Theta Theory
 - c. Case Theory
 - d. Government Theory
 - e. Binding Theory
 - f. Bounding Theory
 - g. Control Theory

It is assumed that D-structure is the initial level of syntax which represents a stage where there is always an interface between the syntactic component and the lexicon. This level must specify or observe the lexical properties of each of the individual lexical item in the string of sentence. The representations at this level are projected directly from the lexicon which are only constrained by the principles of the X-bar theory and the theta theory. X-bar theory as developed in Chomsky 1970 and other subsequent works assumes that phrases are projections of lexical categories. That is the head of a phrase X, projects to a maximal projection XP. In other words, each lexical category (N,V, A, P) is an X-max - head of its phrase. That is if X is a lexical category, it must be dominated by a phrasal node XP of the same category. The linear order or rather the position of the head and its complements is however not universal. The essential schema of this relation between the head and its complement can be represented as follows:

- (3) a. $X'' \rightarrow [SPEC \ X'] \ X' *$
 b. $X' \rightarrow X\text{-zero} [Complement] *$

where the * indicates any order. It is plausible to assume that the order of each of the levels of the phrase is parameterized, and by appealing to the interaction of X-bar theory with other sub-theories like Case and Theta theories, it is possible to formulate a simple optimal X-bar schema represented in (3a-b) above (cf. Chomsky 1981, Stowell 1981, Travis 1984, Koopman 1984, Tuller 1986 and the references cited there for theoretical discussions on X-bar theory). Furthermore, Chomsky 1986b extends the X-bar schema to the non-lexical categories INFL and COMP. In that work, Chomsky following Stowell 1981, assumes that INFL is the head of $S = IP$ and COMP is the head of $S' = C''$. The structures of S and S' of (3a-b) above will then be represented as follows:

- (4) a. $S = I'' = [I \ NP [I' \ I \ VP]]$.
 b. $S' = C'' = [C'' [SPEC] [C' \ I'']]$.

Theta theory is concerned with the semantic properties of specific lexical items. It plays an important role in the projection of D-structure directly from the lexicon. In other words, each lexical head (like a verb) will specify the semantic theta roles which it assigns, such as agent, patient, experiencer, etc. (see Koopman 1984 chapter 1). Thus a Hausa verb like *mârā* 'slap' specifies that it assigns an external theta role of agent and an internal theta role of patient. Verbs like *hanā* and *tāmbayā* 'prevent/disallow' and 'ask/question' respectively, assign external theta roles of agent and internal theta roles of patient and theme. These theta roles are projected from the lexical properties of the verbs by the projection principle. Furthermore, the theta roles may be assigned only to a subject or complement of a predicate depending on the subcategorization properties of the head. The positions assigned theta roles by the head are called argument positions (henceforth A-positions), while those that are not assigned theta roles are the non-argument positions (henceforth A-bar/A'-positions). Similarly, those A-positions are assumed to be theta positions, while the A-bar positions are non-theta positions. In principle, theta roles are assigned to A-positions under government (to be discussed briefly soon), and this assignment is regulated or governed by the Theta Criterion as stated in the following:

(A) Theta Criterion:

Each argument receives one and only one theta role, and each theta role is assigned to one argument.

The theta criterion which is assumed to hold at LF is a minimal condition of adequacy. The Projection Principle stated below, extends it into all levels of representations such as the S-structure, the D-structure, and the PF.

(B) Projection Principle:

The theta marking properties of any lexical item must be represented categorically at each syntactic level (i.e. LF, D- and S-structures).

In other words, if a verb assigns a theta role to its complement, the complement is assumed to be present at every syntactic level of the derivation. By virtue of the theta criterion, the complement position must contain an argument. A verb may also theta mark its subject indirectly (cf. Koopman 1984). However, Pesetsky 1982 argues that selection of a complement with a certain semantic role is S-selected. Thus in a sentence like (5) below, the verb *ḥōyē* 'hide/conceal' S-selects a complement with the semantic role of patient:

- (5) [IP Audù yā ḥōye(è) kuḏi-n-sà; [pp à banki]].
Audù 3ms.-perf. hid money-of-him at/in bank

'Audu hid his money at the bank'

It is also claimed that in the optional case C-selection follows S-selection (see Pesetsky 1982). That is, when a head like the verb *ḥōyē* above, S-selects a semantic category $C = kuḏi$, then it C-selects a syntactic category which is the canonical structural realization (CSR) of C. This issue is also raised in Stowell 1981 where he argues that there is a separate theta role of "*proposition*" which actually forms part of the lexical entry of some categories of verbs that subcategorize for S'. Chomsky 1986b proposes that the CSR (proposition) is either a clause or an NP, where the NP will receive a propositional interpretation. Furthermore, in addition to the theta criterion and the projection principle, Chomsky 1981 also proposes that all clauses must have subjects. That is the Extended Projection Principle (EPP). He also proposes that every element at PF and LF must have an appropriate interpretation -- hence the principle of full interpretation (PFI).

(C) Case Theory:

Case theory deals with the distribution of phonetically realized NPs through the assignment of abstract Case. For instance, the verb assigns abstract case to its NP complement, and INFL assigns abstract case to the NP subject, when the clause is tensed. In Hausa for instance, case is assigned in the following contexts:

- (6) a. The subject of an S/IP is assigned nominative Case by Agreement (AGR) contained in the INFL of the sentence.
- b. The object of a verb or preposition is assigned objective case by its head.
- c. The object of a dative morpheme (a clitic of a special type) assigns a dative Case to an NP.
- d. Genitive Case is also assigned by the genitive marker *na/-n* for a masculine singular or plural head, and *ta/-r* for feminine singular head.

Note that in Hausa, unlike in English, there are instances where Case is not assigned under strict adjacency between the assigner and the assignee NP (see Tuller 1984 and Munkaila 1991 for the discussion on this issue). There is also a well-formedness principle which regulates the occurrence of an NP in a particular position. This is the role of the Case filter stated as follows:

(D) Case Filter:

*NP, where NP has a phonetic matrix and is not Case-marked.

The Case filter requires that overt NPs must appear in a position where Case is assigned. The filter is assumed to apply at S-structure. Furthermore, it is assumed that at D-structure, arguments must appear in positions that are theta marked, while at S-structure these arguments, if phonetically realized, must appear in Case-marked positions. Furthermore, it is move-alpha that assures that these conditions are satisfied. In cases

where there is raising with the verbs like '*seem*' or in structures like the passive, the verb only assigns an internal theta role to its clausal complement but not with Case. Similarly, it does not assign external theta role to the subject (cf. Chomsky 1981, Koopman 1984, Stowell 1981 and the references cited there).

(E) Government Theory:

The notion of government is actually the basic structural concept in most of the subtheories of grammar mentioned above. In particular, it deals with the relation between a head and its complement(s). One definition of government in Chomsky 1982:19 is given as follows:

- (7) a. α governs β if $\alpha = X$ max, α C-Commands β , and β is not protected by a maximal projection.
- b. β is protected by a maximal projection if the latter includes β but not α .

Aoun and Sportiche 1983 on the other hand offer the following definition of government as a modification of the one given above:

- (8) α governs β iff they share all the same maximal projections. α is a governor iff α is an X in the X-bar system (i.e. lexical category, [+Tense], and [+AGR]).

The head of the maximal projection XP may be governed from outside if XP is governed (cf. Belletti and Rizzi 1981, and Koopman 1984). Government theory also plays a crucial role in the Empty Category Principle (ECP), which requires that traces be properly governed. Proper government is explained as follows:

- (9) α properly governs β iff α governs β and $\alpha = \text{AGR}$ (Chomsky 1981:250).

(F) Binding Theory:

The theory of Binding in the framework of GBT, is primarily concerned with the relations between anaphors, pronominals and R-Expressions (including WH-traces, NP-traces and PRO) to their antecedents. In earlier GB works, these elements were accounted for by three central notions- namely, (a) coindexation (b) C-Command and (c) governing category. In the version of the BT proposed in Chomsky (1981), it is assumed that it has three principles which are sensitive to the issue of government. These principles or conditions are stated as follows:

- (10) a. An anaphor must be A-bound in its governing category (GC).
- b. A pronominal must be A-free in its GC.
- c. An R-Expression must be A-free (in all domains).

The “governing category” and the notion of bound/free as defined in Chomsky 1981, 1982 are as follows:

- (11) a. α is a governing category for β if and only if α is the maximal projection containing β , a governor of β , and a subject accessible to β . Subject = AGR or [NP, S].
- b. An element α is bound by an element β , if and only if it is coindexed with β and β C-Commands α . If α is not bound, it is then free. •

Note that accessibility is defined as follows, “ α is accessible to β iff β is in the C-Commanding domain of α and coindexing of (α, β) would not violate Principle C of the BT.” Here, the notions “bound” and “free” do not cover only the A-binding, but are extended to include A-bar binding in the sense that bound is replaced by X-bound while free by X-free. Furthermore X-binding is aimed to unify the binding of elements at both

A- and A-bar positions. Thus the revised version of the binding principles given in Chomsky 1986b) are stated as follows:

- (12) a. An anaphor is bound in a local domain.
- b. A pronominal is free in a local domain.
- c. An R-Expression is A-free (in all domains of the heads of its chain).

(G) Bounding Theory:

Bounding theory is concerned with the subadjacency conditions which states how far a category can move in one step under Move α . It is this theory that has been extended and modified in “Barriers” model of Chomsky 1986b.

(H) Control Theory:

There are two ways in which controlled structures are usually viewed. The first one is where a relationship is established between the matrix argument NP (subject or object) and the embedded argument NP. The second way is by determining the relationship between the controller and the embedded predicate. The former way has been the main concern for many syntacticians on this issue of control. The issue is mainly how to predict which NP (subject or object) of the matrix clause is the controller of the embedded subject argument in a control structure. As for the latter concern, the main issue is to determine why only the subject position is controlled and what restrictions are there on the embedded predicate. But the main discussion in control is on the function of the controller NP and the controllee null subject NP of the embedded clause. The theory of control then mainly deals with the choice of antecedent for the embedded null argument *PRO*. In Hausa, the canonical *PRO* is found in nominalized complements as illustrated below:

- (13) Pro an hanà [NP PRO shâ-n bârâsâ à nân].
 Imp.-perf. prohibit drinking-of alcohol at/in here

‘Drinking of alcohol is prohibited/forbidden/not permitted here’

and perhaps in equational sentences where there is no overt pronominal subject as in the

(a) example below:

- (14) a. PRO mālāmī nē Versus b. shī mālāmī nē
 teacher cop. (ms.) he teacher cop.
 ‘He is a teacher’ ‘He is a teacher’

where in (14a) we find *PRO* in subject position if one assumes that copula word is not a Case assigner (see Tuller 1986 for discussion on this issue) and in (14b) we find an overt pronominal subject in the Spec of IP. Note that this is the only instance where we find an independent pronoun occupying the Specifier position of a sentence (see Yalwa 1992 for arguments on this claim). I therefore assume that in sentences with morphological INFL’s only the small *Pro* occurs in the Specifier of the IP as in the clause *Pro an hanà X* ‘one/they do not allow/permit X’. Big *PRO* cannot occur in the specifier position of this clause since subject NPs whether overt or null are governed by the AGR component of the INFL. That only small *Pro* is found there is due to the fact that *PRO* theorem requires that *PRO* should not be governed or Case marked, and in this case the *null* subject is governed by the AGR “*an*” ‘someone/they did’. I will not however touch upon control theory in this dissertation (see Tuller 1986 and Yalwa 1989 for arguments on where it is found in Hausa). Note that in my 1989 paper I claimed that there are two main types of null subject arguments. The ungoverned big *PRO* in contexts mentioned above and the so called small *Pro* that is found in all cases where there is a morphological INFL or where it is governed by a lexical head like a verb or preposition. This small *Pro*

can either be arbitrary or non-arbitrary null subject argument or as a null object argument *Pro*. Let me now give a brief discussion on the small *Pro* (for a full discussion on the distribution of this empty category in Hausa see Tuller 1986 and Yalwa 1989 and the references cited there).

One of the main condition on *Pro* as stated in Chomsky 1982 is that for this empty category to act as the subject NP of a sentence with case etc., as mentioned earlier, it must also be governed by some pronominal features such as person, number, gender, etc. In this regard I follow Jaeggli 1986 and Tuller 1986 for assuming the following condition on “*Pro identification*”:

- (15) An e.c is a *Pro* iff it is governed and coindexed with the features of [Person, Number, Gender, and Case].

This is illustrated in the following examples:

- (16) a. [IP Audù_i yanà sô [IP Àli_j yà shā madarā]].
 Audù 3ms.-cnt. like/want Àli 3ms.-subj. drink milk
 ‘Audu wants Ali to drink some milk’
- b. [IP Pro_i yanà sô [IP Pro_{i/j} yà shā madarā]].
 3ms.-cnt. like/want 3ms.-subj. drink milk
 ‘Audu wants to drink some milk’
 ‘Audu_j wants him_j to drink some milk’

As we can see from the (b) example, small *Pro* occurs in the subject position of both the matrix and embedded clauses. In both cases it is governed by the AGR in the INFL of each clause. Therefore, since the AGR component of the INFL contains the features mentioned above, it is appropriate to consider Hausa as a *Pro*-drop language. It shares most of the properties of *Pro*-drop found in other well known *Pro*-drop languages discussed in the literature. Some of these properties are:

- (17) a. Empty pronouns in both subject and object position.
b. Apparent violation of the that-trace filter.

Hausa however does not have free-inversion. What appears to be an inverted subject is actually an NP that has been uttered as either an afterthought or for the sake of emphasis. In subjunctive clauses as well as impersonal constructions we do not find the big *PRO* in subject position due to the presence of AGR in INFL. This AGR prohibits the occurrence of *PRO* in all Hausa sentences having morphological INFL component in them. Note that with some TAMs, this AGR component can be dropped in certain limited contexts (cf. Tuller 1986, 1987 and the references cited there). Apart from the regular *Pro* which is identified by “full/rich phi-features” in INFL, there are also other types of *Pro*’s. I give a brief discussion on two of these *Pros* below.

(i) Pro as a Quasi-Argument:

This is an expletive Pro subject found in (a) constructions with an extraposed sentential subject (the kind of construction that we will be dealing with in this study) and (b) constructions with atmospheric (or temporal) predicates (see Tuller 1986 and Yalwa 1989 for detailed discussion on these constructions). The following are examples of such constructions:

- (18) a. [IP Proexp. yā kurè [IP Proarb à tàfi can]].
3ms.-perf. be too late Imp.-subj. go there
'It is too late to go there'
- b. [IP Proexp. an yi ruwā na kwānā dà kwānākī bā ---]
Imp.-perf. do rain of day and days neg.
tāre dà [NP PRO tsayāwā ba]].
together with stopping neg.
'It rained for days without stopping'

Chomsky (1981) points out that expletives that function as quasi-arguments have a special role. They are arguments that receive temporal or weather/atmospheric theta-roles and are in the domain of theta-criterion which do not behave very much like referential arguments. Rizzi (1986) also argues that the expletive in a sentence like that in (18b), controls the PRO in the nominalized construction. In addition, a pronominal whose context cannot be recovered can only be a non-argument. He then concludes that quasi-arguments are simply labels for arguments that are non-referential. Note that it is not possible for the 'a' + (TNS) to co-occur with any lexical NP or overt pronominal. For instance we could not have the following if the subject of the embedded clause is assumed to have been moved to the Spec of IP in the matrix clause rather than to the CP:

- (19) * $[\text{IP } \text{Audù}_i \text{ a} \text{ j n } \text{ y i } \text{ tsám m ā n ī } [\text{CP } (\text{cēwā}) [\text{IP } \text{t}_i \text{ wāwā } \text{ n ē}]]]$.
 Audù Imp.-perf. do think that foolish cop.

'Audu was believed to be a fool'

The only instance where we find *a/an/anā* is in a kind of rhetorical expression. And such expressions always exhibit violation of constituent structure of an NP in terms of the agreement between the head and its complements. Such an expression is *Su Audu an yi fushi*, 'they Audu (singular) = he was angry'.

- (ii) Pro as an Arbitrary Null Subject:

Hausa also allows arbitrary null subjects in sentences with morphological INFL. This empty category has the regular features of [+ pronominal, - anaphoric]. The sentence in (20a) illustrates a case with this Pro subject (note also the embedded clause in 18a where the subject is arbitrary):

- (20) a. [IP Proarb_i Agr= a_i-nā fasà kōfà-r].
Imp.-cnt. break door-ref
'Arb (= someone/they) is/are breaking the door'
- b. [IP Pro_i Agr=su_j-nā zāgi-n yārò-n].
3pl.-cnt. abusing-of boy-ref
'They are abusing/insulting the boy'

If we look at the English translations, it is clear that the two constructions differ in that in (20a) the person(s) breaking the door are not known. There is no indication of the gender, person, or number of the people or person involved in doing the action. Whereas in (20b) all these features are specified in the AGR component of the INFL, which also indicates that the persons are definite. Note that Hausa does not have any formal [+plural] marking on the verb. Plurality or otherwise is always indicated in the INFL. Therefore there is no ambiguity in the interpretation of (20b) like the one found in Spanish for instance. I therefore, assume that sentence (20b) exemplifies an active impersonal sentence in which the 'a' appears to function as an identifier of a subject with arbitrary reference roughly equivalent in interpretation to arbitrary *PRO* or 'one' of English; 'on' of French, 'si' of Italian, and 'se' of Spanish. It is however, different from 'si' or 'se' in that it does not cliticize to the verb. It occupies the same position as its referential, definite counterparts discussed above.

the licenser contains the specification of all phi-features, then *Pro* is assigned a definite referential index. In the absence of all these features, then arbitrary reference is assigned to the *Pro*. That is, it is interpreted as an “*unspecified indefinite*” pronominal. I therefore assume that the feature [-specified] is what differentiates the definite clitic pronouns from the impersonal clitic ‘a’ (see Yalwa 1989 for a detailed discussion on this issue). This completes the review of the main concepts of subtheories in the GB theory.

1.3 Organization of the Dissertation.

This dissertation is aimed at providing an in-depth description of Hausa complement structures with the goal of making a significant contribution to the study of Hausa syntax. The complement structures we will be dealing with can be classified into two types according to their surface structure and other syntactic properties, which have close connection with the semantics of the predicate they depend on. These complement structures are: (1) nominalized clauses, (2) subjunctive subject complements of certain predicates that look like English raising predicates such as ‘seem’, ‘likely’, etc. Some of these predicates are *kàm ātā* , *yīwu* , *dācē*, *tabbàs nē*, *dōlè nē* and *watakīlā nē* meaning “*be better, possible, be better, undoubtedly, is necessary/is a must and probably/perhaps*” respectively. These complement types will be illustrated in the overview section.

It is pertinent here to mention that even though the bulk of this study is basically descriptive in nature, I feel that it has some theoretical import as well. This is important because the study will have to deal with the relations between the syntactic and semantic properties of the sentences on the one hand and the relationship between the syntactic component and the morphological component on the other. This is mainly due to the complex nature of the Hausa predicates under study (as we will see in chapters 1 and 2).

Therefore, the theoretical framework to be employed as I mentioned earlier is the so-called EST and Government and Binding as defined in the works of Chomsky 1970, 1973, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1986a, 1986b, 1991, Chomsky and Lasnik 1977 and references cited there). I have chosen to use GB because it provides an explicit descriptive and theoretical analyses of complementation using some assumptions such as Binding, Bounding, Control, Case, Government and other subtheories as described above.

This dissertation is divided into eight chapters. Chapter 2 introduces the general overview of the complement types to be covered in the study. A brief classification of the complement taking expressions will be made based on syntactic properties rather than semantic. This is necessary due to the complex nature of the properties of these Hausa predicates as will be explained in the chapter.

Chapter 3 discusses the complementizer system of Hausa, the interaction of the complementizers and the predicate taking expressions as well as the function of the complementizers in introducing the subjunctive propositional complements of these complement taking expressions. This chapter will provide a full description of the types of complementation patterns introduced by predicate expressions taking subjunctive sentential sentences.

Chapter 4 discusses the role of negation in complementation structures and the constraints that it imposes on negating the subjunctive propositional complements. The scope issue that arises with respect to the position of the negative markers in both root clauses and the subjunctive propositional complements of the predicate expressions will also be briefly discussed.

Chapter 5 examines the role of topicalization in the complementation of subjunctive propositional complements. It will be shown that in addition for the extraposition requirement for the complements of these complement taking expressions,

there is also another option for having their logical subject complements occur as topics or as afterthoughts.

Chapter 6 investigates the nature of WH-extractions of arguments such as subjects and objects of the complements and non-arguments such as VPs and adjuncts out of the complement clauses. In other words the process of WH-extraction of constituents in sentences like cleft/focus, question-word/constituent question, relativization, and pseudo-cleft constructions, as well as the relationship between the WH-extraction and topicalization will be discussed in detail.

Chapter 7 deals with the complementation of nominalized complements. It will be shown that there is a difference between subjunctive propositional complements and nominalized complements with respect to their occurrence in post-predicate and pre-predicate positions. They however have the same properties with regard to their occurrence in positions outside the root clauses. Furthermore, it will be shown that the complement taking expressions to be studied in this dissertation differ from the predicates taking object complements/clauses in the sense that while the former may take nominalized complements as subjects, the latter cannot.

Finally, chapter 8 summarizes the issues discussed in the dissertation. A brief suggestions of topics for further research on other related issues will conclude this study.

1.4 A Brief Overview of Hausa Constituent Structure.

Hausa is a basic SVO language which displays the Pro-drop phenomenon (Tuller 1986). In other words, the subject position cannot contain an overt pronoun in sentences with morphological INFL (see Yalwa 1992 for this proposal). Similarly, Hausa lacks infinitival morphology (but see Newman forthcoming), instead it uses subjunctive clauses or nominalizations to express what would be expressed in English with an infinitive clause. So the subject position (in tensed clauses) cannot be occupied by a big PRO due to

the presence of a subject clitic/agreement pronoun which identifies and assigns nominative Case to the subject NP (cf. Tuller 1986). Furthermore, the agreement clitic/marker occurs in INFL (in both finite and subjunctive clauses), and the COMP may be empty in some complements.

With regard to the pronominal system, it is generally assumed that pronouns have certain distinctive properties apart from their lexical properties. These properties are what is now assumed in the GB works as “phi-features”. The function of these features on pronouns varies from one language to another. Some languages have rich phi-features, while some make very minimal use of them. Hausa is a language that represents the former type. In Hausa, there are several sets of pronouns, the choice of which is determined by syntactic position. There are roughly two main groups of pronouns. The first group consists of pronouns that are called the independent pronouns or the disjunctive pronouns which are traditionally termed as the subject pronouns. Such pronouns are *nī* ‘I’, *kai* ‘you (ms.)’, *kē* ‘you (fs.)’, *shī* ‘he’, *ita* ‘she’, *mū* ‘we’, *kū* ‘you (pl.)’, and *sū* ‘they’. In this study, I assume that these pronouns in the present state of the language actually occur primarily in either the topic position or in the CP in focus position. The independent pronouns are also found as objects of ‘true’ prepositions, objects of negative existential predicator *bābū* ‘there isn’t’ and as conjoined NPs. The independent pronouns usually ‘make reference to an entity present in the shared perceptual environment or rendered salient in some other way’ (Koopman 1984).

Note that these pronouns differ from the subject clitic pronouns which obligatorily follow the grammatical subject. They are those pronouns which contain the phi-features mentioned above. And they are mainly followed by the TAM of the clause. The pronoun and the TAM both occur in the same slot in INFL as mentioned earlier. The second group of pronouns are the subject (clitic) pronouns. These contain the phi-features of the subject

and usually combine with a tense/aspect/mood (TAM) of the clause. The pronoun and the TAM both occur in a separate inflection (INFL) component.

The third group of pronouns is the indirect object pronouns, which are governed by the dative morpheme/particle *ma* as will be illustrated later. The fourth set of pronouns is the direct object pronouns which are governed and Case marked by the verb. The fifth set of pronouns is the possessive pronouns which are linked to a noun with the genitive marker *-n-* for masculine singular and plural nouns, or *-r-* for feminine singular.

The sixth set is the anaphoric pronouns i.e. the reflexives and the reciprocals. The reflexives are composed of the word *kâi* 'head/self' plus the possessive pronouns to mean "X- self", literally "head of X". *Kâi* 'self' can be used alone when no phi-features are relevant. Apart from the above true reflexives, there are also emphatic ones. These are composed of the true reflexives preceded either by the independent pronoun alone as in *nî kâinā* 'I myself' or by the independent pronoun and the preposition *dà* 'with/by' as in *nî dà kâina* 'I myself'. And finally, reciprocal pronoun in Hausa is expressed by using the word *jūnā*, originally meaning 'body', plus the plural possessive pronouns agreeing in phi-features with the NP which binds it, as in *jūnanmù*, *jūnankù*, *jūnansù*, 'each other (of us/you/them)'. However, reciprocals, unlike the reflexives, do not need the possessive pronouns with the phi-features of their binder. Similarly, like the reflexive *kâi*, *jūnā* can also be used alone when phi-features are irrelevant (see Yalwa 1992 for the syntax of Hausa anaphors pronouns and also Newman forthcoming).

1.5 A Brief Survey of Previous Studies and Analyses on Hausa Complement Types and Complementation.

It used to be assumed in the framework of the transformational generative grammar and the EST that sentential complements are generated through the expansion of a NP which occurs in the pre-verbal position. The sentential complement is then moved to

the post-verbal position by the well known obligatory transformational rule of extraposition. This is what made it possible to account for the structure in which the post verbal NP could function as either a subject or object, usually characterized as [NP, S] and [NP, VP] respectively. It was later realized that there is a problem with this analysis, in the sense that not all verbs (predicates) taking NP complements can also take different types of sentential complements and vice versa (cf. Grimshaw 1979). It was then assumed that complementizers behave differently with respect to the type of complement that will follow the verb (this issue with complementizers will be taken up in chapter 3).

In this dissertation, I will assume that there are three main complement types in Hausa. Two with inflectional features (INFL) such as agreement and tense/aspect/mood (TAM) (cf. Schuh 1985a, 1985b and Newman and Schuh 1974 for the discussion on this term), and one with null INFL. The former two are full sentences (tensed and subjunctive complements). The tensed complements can be headed by a overt or null 'that-COMP' or a 'Wh-COMP'. Similarly, the subjunctive can be headed by either overt or null COMP. But unlike in the tensed complement, the tense specification in the subjunctive complement clause is null (Tuller 1986, and McHugh 1984). The nominalized clause is a full S/IP that has been reduced by deleting the INFL components of the clause. The verb is then changed to a nominalized form. The nominalized clause can be either of VP type or an NP type even though this distinction does not matter much with respect to our concern in this thesis. This distinction will be explained in the dissertation wherever needed.

The subject (argument) position of the tensed and subjunctive complements can be occupied by a lexical NP, a null NP, a nominalized NP (or a sentential subject clause in d-structure though). Similarly, the sentential subject can also be moved to the end of the sentence by extraposition. The subject of the nominalized clause however need not be deleted. It may contain an overt lexical NP or a null pronominal (i.e. the big PRO) which may be coreferential with a matrix NP as illustrated in the following sentences:

- (21) a. [IP [NP shâ-n kwâya-r Audù] yā dāmē ni].
 drinking-of drugs-of Audù 3ms.-perf. disturb/worry me
 ‘Audù’s taking drugs disturbs/bothers/annoys me’
- b. [IP Pro inā sô-n [NP PRO hira dà àbòkai-n-ā]].
 1s.-cnt. liking-of chat with friends-of-me
 ‘I like having a chat with my friends’

The various types of complements mentioned above can be summarized as follows:

- (22) a. Full Sentences are:
 Tensed Clauses: (i) [+ AGR, + Tense] or
 (ii) [- AGR, + Tense]
 (ii) Possible only when AGR is dropped.¹
- b. Subjunctive Clauses: [+ AGR, - Tense].
- c. Nominalized Clauses: [- AGR, - Tense].
 (i) VP Type
 (ii) NP Type.

Complements can be governed by verbs and copulas, they can be governed by adverbs, nouns and prepositions. They occur in positions where NPs are found and they function as subjects, objects (direct, indirect or prepositional). But before I go further, I would like to review some of the prior works done on Hausa complementation. I will first begin with Eulenberg 1972.

(A) Eulenberg 1972.

In his dissertation titled “Complementation phenomena in Hausa”, Eulenberg is more concerned with complementation as used in a wider sense. That is in cases where “one linguistic element enters into nexus with another, such as nexus between a verb and its subject and noun phrases whether or not those NPs contain embedded sentences and also the nexus between various grammatical particles and their complements”, (pp. 2). He

himself mentions that he will not attempt an exhaustive description of Hausa complementation, but rather point out some of those facts which he feels deserve particular attention. He began by positing a basic rule of the complementation system as in the following:

(23) NP -----> S

He mentions that this rule recognizes the existence of noun phrases which have the internal structure of sentences both embedded and non-embedded ones. And they can function as complements of verbs and prepositions even though not all verbs may have sentential complements, and some verbs require sentential complements. He thus did not include nouns as among the items that take sentential complements. Another rule he gives is the one in which relative clauses are formed which he calls “relativization rule” formulated as in follows:

(24) NP -----> NP S

The next thing he talks about is the set of rules that are used in Hausa complementation. The first one he discusses is the subject pronoun deletion rule in which a subject pronoun is deleted obligatorily if it contains no more information than its person-aspect prefix. Thus in:

(25) (Shī) yā kāmà dōkī.
 he 3ms.-perf. catch horse
 ‘He caught a horse’

the pronoun *shī* ‘he’, is deleted obligatorily, since its semantic content is fully represented by the prefix *yā* ‘3ms.-perf.’, whereas in:

- (26) Audù yā kām à dōkī.
 Audù 3ms.-perf. catch horse
 ‘Audu caught a horse’

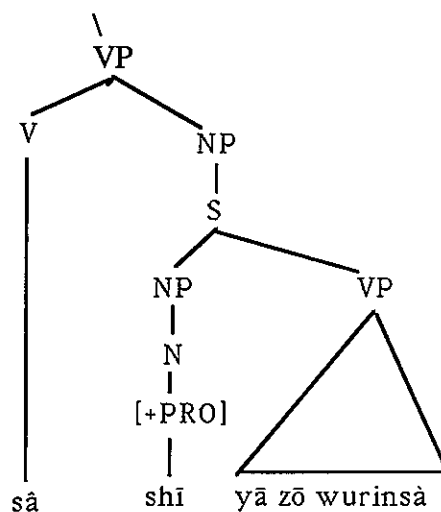
the noun subject *Audu* cannot be deleted without changing the semantic content of the sentence. I will not go into the details on the issue of the non-occurrence of independent pronouns in subject position. For a detailed discussion of this issue (cf. Yalwa 1992). What is interesting in Eulenberg's discussion on this deletion rule is his use of it in sentences embedded as relative clauses and complements as well as to non-embedded sentences. Consider the following sentences:

- (27) a. Sarkī yā sâ Audù yā zō wuri-n-sà.
 Emir 3ms.-perf. make Audù 3ms.-perf. come place-of-him
 ‘The Emir made Audu come to him’
- b. Sarkī yā sâ yā zō wuri-n-sà.
 Emir 3ms.-perf. make 3ms.-perf. come place-of-him
 ‘The Emir made him come to him’
- c. Sarkī yā sâ shi [yā zō wuri-n-sà].
 Emir 3ms.-perf. make him 3ms.-perf. come place-of-him
 ‘The Emir made him come to him’
- d. Sarkī yā sâ [shī yā zō wuri-n-sà].
 Emir 3ms.-perf. make he 3ms.-perf. come place-of-him
 ‘The Emir made him (=he) come to him’

In these examples, the sentence in (27b) is derived from the sentence in (27d) by the obligatory rule of subject deletion. Similarly, the sentence in (27c) is derived from the sentence in (27d) as well, by the optional rule of complement subject raising. That is the subject-raising rule place a copy of the subject of the complement sentence into direct-object position after the matrix verb. He gives the following phrase markers to illustrate

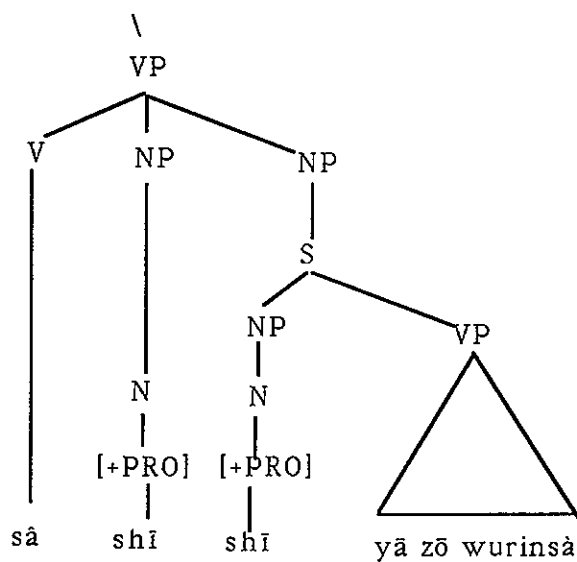
the processes where in (28a) we have a structure before subject-raising while in 28b after subject raising, ignoring the S and subject NP nodes):

(28) a.



‘--- made him come to him

b.



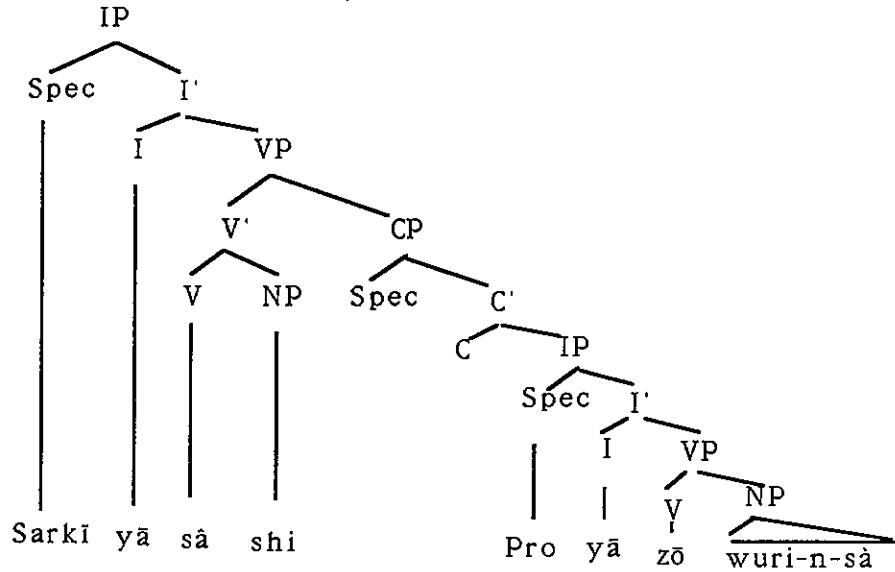
‘--- made him [he] come to him’

The rules have to be ordered as follows:

- (29) a. Subject-raising
 b. Subject pronoun deletion
 c. Subject pronoun incorporation.

According to him “wherever subject-raising applied, object pronoun incorporation would act on the resulting structure to give the raised subject pronoun the surface form of a direct object pronoun ...” (Eulenberg 1972:115). As we can see the processes is too complex. I will therefore assume as is generally assumed in current syntactic description that we need a simplified system of rules which will interact with some sub-system of grammar to account for certain processes that used to be accounted in TGG by positing too many rules. Since I am not concerned with the description of predicates taking object clauses, I leave it open here whether the object pronoun originates from the subject position of the embedded clause as he puts it or it rather occupying its D-structure level, i.e. in object position of the matrix clause. In this sense, where the transitive verbs like *s â* ‘make/cause’ does not surface with an object at the S-structure level, one may assume that the object position is still available and there in an implicit null argument occupying that position. Details aside we may represent sentence (27c) as in the following tree diagram (also details omitted):

(30)



'The Emir made him come to him'

With regard to the sentence in (27d) above, it should be noted that this sentence is not an occurring surface structure if it is assumed that the pronoun *shī* 'he' is in the subject position of the complement. The only way to interpret this sentence is to assume that the pronoun *shī* 'he' is a topic which should not be possible in a complement to the causative verb *sā* 'make/cause'. However, if we assume that there is an implicit argument (which functions more like the object pronoun *shi* 'him' as in (31b) below) before the pronoun, then it is possible to have the pronoun *shī* 'he' in topic. The implicit argument is then an unspecified NP which controls the pronoun in topic as illustrated in the following (see Brody 1987 and the references cited there for the theoretical discussion on implicit arguments):

- (31) a. Sarkī_i yā sâ I_{Aj} [TopP [TOP [NP shī (kàm)]]]_j ---
Emir 3ms.-perf. make (he) he prt.

[IP Proj yā zō wuri-n-sà_i]].
 3ms.-perf. come place-of-him

'The Emir made him (=he) come to him'

- b. Sarkī yā sâ shīj [TopP [TOP [NP shī (kàm)]]j ---
 Emir 3ms.-perf. make (he) he prt.

[IP Proj yâ zō wuri-n-sàj].
 3ms.-subj. come place-of-him

‘The Emir made (= asked/instructed) him to come to him’

Some of the verbs that may also take IA are the control verbs like *barî* ‘allow/let/permit’, *hanâ* ‘prevent/disallow/prohibit’, *kyâlê* ‘allow/let’, *sô* ‘like/want’ etc. Note that even if the notion of IA is not used, the independent pronoun *shī* ‘he’ cannot be in the Spec position of the complement clause as I discussed elsewhere.

The next rule he discusses is extraposition from subject position and extraposition from object position. He assumes that the transformation puts a copy of the complement sentence into sentence-final position immediately dominated by the S-node, and then pronominalizes the original complement sentence, leaving the third person masculine singular pronoun *shī* ‘he’, where the complement sentence was located. The sentences he used as examples are:

- (32) a. yā kàmātà mù tàfi.
 3ms.-perf. be fitting 1pl.-subj. go

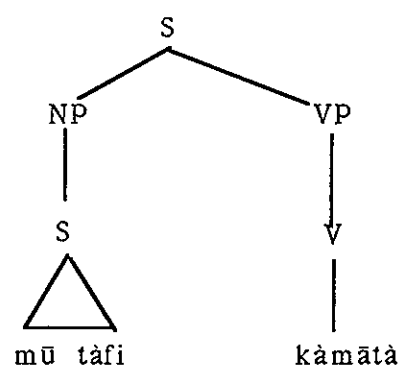
‘It is fitting/better that we go’

- b. nā sanî tanâ nân.
 1s.-perf. know 3fs.-cnt. here

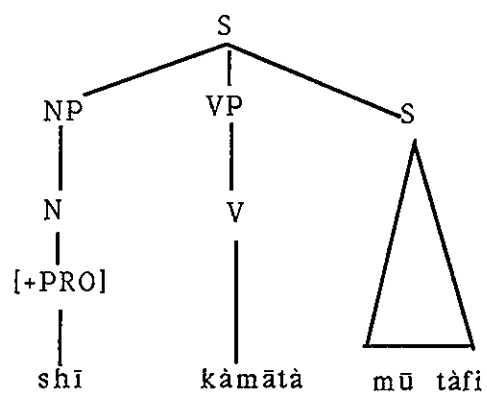
‘I know that she is here’

This, he demonstrates by giving the following phrase markers for extraposition from subject position in (33) and extraposition from object in (34):

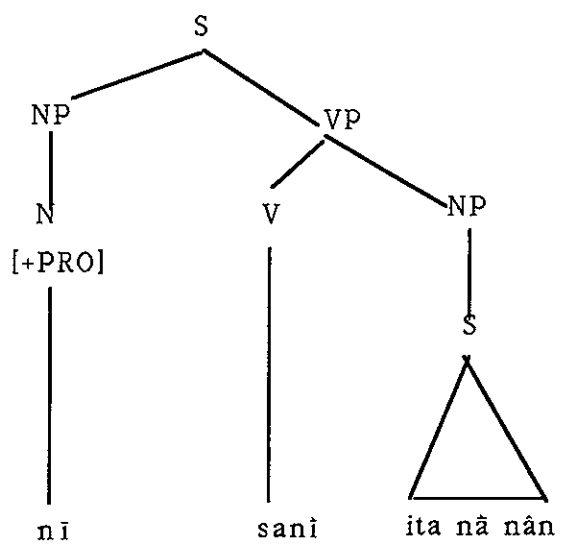
(33) a.



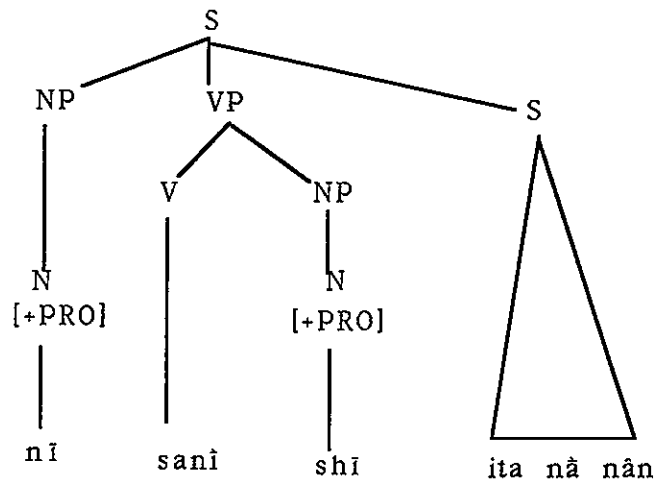
b.



(34) a.



b.



As I mentioned elsewhere no independent pronoun is available in the subject position of a clause with morphological INFL (see Yalwa 1992). So we need not have the abstract pronoun *shī* 'it' in the object position of the verb *sanī* 'to know' (see Eulenberg 1972:117-119). There are at least two ways to account for the sentences *nā sanī* (*ta*)*nā nān* and *nā san (ta)nā nān* 'I know that she is here' without positing the structures given by Eulenberg in (34). The first way to account for these sentences is that we may assume that at the syntactic level there is an 'implicit argument' in object position of the verb *sanī/san* 'to know' which will be coreferential with the subject of the complement clause. This subject can then be deleted under identity with the implicit argument. However, this is unnecessary since at the semantic level it is actually the complement that is really the object of the verb *san/sanī*. That is the semantic object of *sanī* is not the implicit object (or the pronoun posited by Eulenberg), it is the complement. In other words, it is not *her* I know, it is the fact of *her being here*. The only difference between the sentence with *sanī* and that with *san* is that while the former does not require an overt object the latter obligatorily requires an overt object. This is illustrated in the following dialogues:

- (35) A. Bàlā, yāu fa Lawàn zâ-i tàfi Kanõ.
 Bala today prt. Lawan 1fut.-3ms. go Kano
 ‘Bala, indeed Lawan is going to Kano’
- B1: Ai, nā *sanî* Ø. B2: Ai, nā *san* *hakà*.
 prt. 1s.-perf. know prt. 1s.-perf. know that
 ‘Indeed, I know’ ‘Indeed, I know that’
- B3: *Ai, nā *san* Ø.
 prt. 1s.-perf. know
 ‘Indeed, I know’
- (36) A. Bàlā, yāu fa Lawàn zâ-i tàfi Kanõ.
 Bala today prt. Lawan 1fut.-3ms. go Kano
 ‘Bala, indeed, Lawan is going to Kano’
- B1: Ai, nā *sanî* ([(cêwā) [zâ-i tàfi Kanõ]]).
 prt. 1s.-perf. know that 1fut.-3ms. go Kano
 ‘Indeed, I know that he will go to Kano’
- B2: Ai, nā *san* *([(cêwā) [zâ-i tàfi Kanõ]]).
 prt. 1s.-perf. know that 1fut.-3ms. go Kano
 ‘Indeed, I know that he will go to Kano’

Here we can see that while *sanî* may take a null object in (35) *san* on the other hand cannot. Similarly, when the verbs are followed by a clausal object as in (36) the same restriction applies. That is the verb *san* must be followed by a complement while *sanî* does not have to be followed by a complement in response to the A’s statement. So the only difference between *sanî* and *san* is syntactic rather than semantic.

The second way to account for the structures in (34) is to posit an empty subject position occupied by a null pronominal in subject position of the complement as is done in current syntactic descriptions. The verb *sanî* ‘know’, in (34) does not require an overt direct object pronoun as posited by Eulenberg. In fact the examples given by Eulenberg beg for an analysis on whether in these examples there is really a subject to object raising

rule or not. The examples show that a lot must be said about these constructions which unfortunately little is said in Hausa syntactic descriptions (but see Newman forthcoming). I do not intend to discuss this issue of raising to object in this study. I will however talk about extraposition of sentential complements.

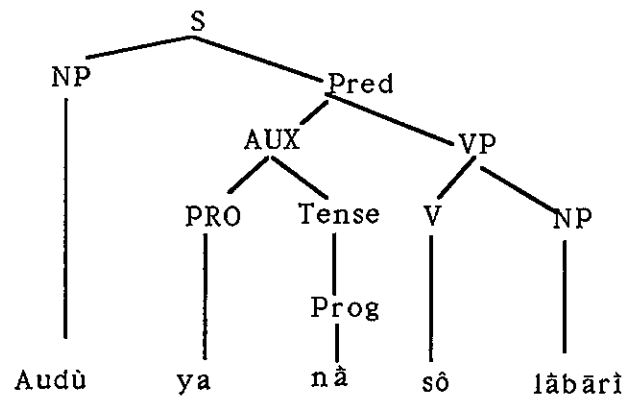
(B) Bagari 1972.

Let me now briefly discuss Bagari's paper of (1972) titled "NP Complementation in Hausa." What he considers NP complementation in Hausa involve both simple NPs and clauses functioning as sentences. Some of the examples he gives are illustrated in the following:

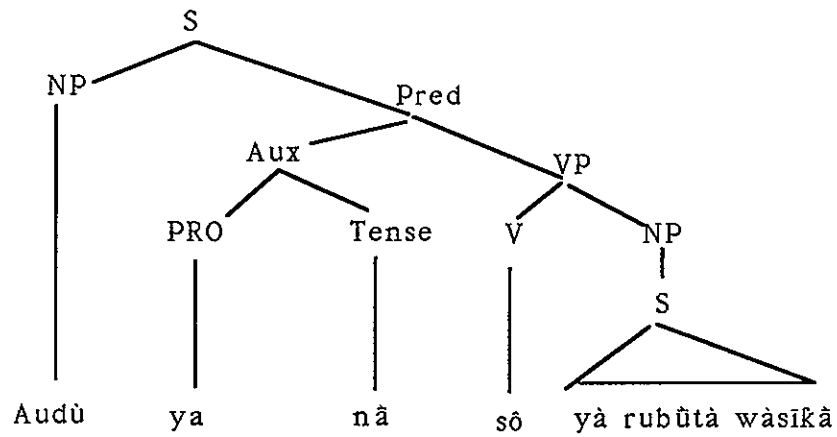
- (37) a. Audù yanã sô-n [lãbãrì-n].
 Audù 3ms.-cnt. liking-of story-def.
 'Audu likes the story'
- b. Audù yanã sô-n [rùbùtu-n wàsìkà].
 Audù 3ms.-cnt. liking-of writing-of letter
 'Audu likes letter-writing' =
 '[Audu likes writing a letter]'
- c. Audù yanã sô(-n) [yà rubùtá wàsìkà].
 Audù 3ms.-cnt. wanting(-of) 3ms.-subj. write letter
 'Audu likes/wants to write a letter'
- d. Audù yā sanì [cêwā [Bālā yā rubùtá wàsìkà]].
 Audù 3ms.-perf. know that Bala 3ms.-perf. write letter
 'Audu knew that Bala has written a letter'

He assigns the following tree diagrams as the simplified structures of the above sentences:

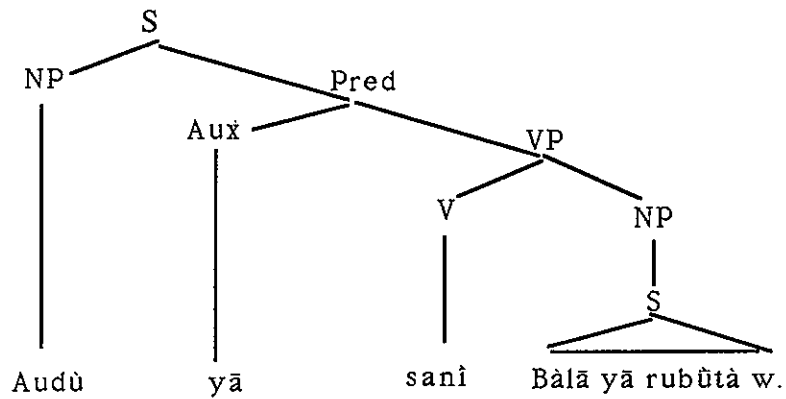
(38) a.



b.



c.



The structure in (b) illustrates where the verb takes a subjunctive complement, while that in (c) takes tensed complement which he calls the *cēwā*-complement. He then describes

the different properties of the two types of complements. This include their distributions and the nature of their embedding. While I am not disputing his claim that all the items in parenthesis are objects of different sorts, there are however some issues he raised which need some elaboration. Some of these are (a) the function of the element he calls genitive link *-n* attached to the matrix verb in (37a-c), and certain sentences which he considers as ungrammatical which are actually perfectly grammatical to me and to the speakers of the standard dialect he described. To him it is the absence of complementizer with some predicates while with others it is its presence that rules out the sentences. Some of these sentences are illustrated in the following (note that the stars in these sentences are his'. See also pages 39-40 of his 1972 paper for details):

- (39) a. *nā yi māmāki-n [yā tāfi].
 1s.-perf. do surprise/wonder-of 3ms.-perf. go/leave
 'I am surprised that he has gone'
- b. *nā ji haushi-n [yā tāfi].
 1s.-perf. feel anger-of 3ms.-perf. go/leave
 'I am angry that he has gone'
- (40) a. *nā daukā [cēwā [gōbe zā-i tāfi]].
 1s.-perf. think/consider that tomorrow 1fut.-3ms. go/leave
 'I thought that he was going tomorrow'
- b. *nā zātā [cēwā [shī dōlō nē]].
 1s.-perf. think that he fool cop.
 'I thought he was a fool'

It is to be noted that all the Kano dialect speakers I consulted with regard to the grammaticality of the above sentences consider these sentences as perfectly grammatical. I will take up this issue in chapter 3 dealing with complementizers. Turning now to the position of the genitive linker *-n*, Bagari claims that verbal nouns like *sô* 'like/want',

take *-n* obligatorily when followed by noun(s), but optionally when followed by sentential complements. Here I will tentatively argue that there are two reasons why the linker is obligatory with verbal nouns taking noun/pronoun complements while optionally with sentential complements. This is due to Case assignment and theta-marking. In other words, since verbal nouns do not have the full feature of [+V], they cannot assign Case to their complements. Since the NP complement requires Case obligatorily, we have to resort to the process of *-na* insertion (cf. Tuller 1986 for full discussion of this rule).

Similarly, since only verbs and prepositions seem to assign Case to their complements (in Hausa) and also theta mark their complements, so the verbal noun cannot theta mark its object. Therefore this genitive linker assigns Case as well as theta marks the object NP. With regard to sentential objects, the theta marking is optional and it is assigned to the whole complement, if we assume that only simple NPs are theta marked obligatorily in Hausa. In fact it is possible that the requirement that the linker that occurs before sentential complements will be relaxed in the speech of generations to come due to grammaticalization processes. There are so many very important issues raised in Bagari's 1972 paper, and in his dissertation of 1976. This involves the use of the particle *dà* as embedded/subordinate clause introducer. Bagari couldn't determine its true function in subordinate clauses and in the nominalized clauses - hence the question mark for its gloss in the examples he gives in the dissertation. I plan to examine them in some details in chapter 3 of this study.

(C) McHugh 1984.

In his paper titled 'the Subjunctive in Hausa: A non-finite verb form' McHugh argues that the traditional description of Hausa subjunctive failed to characterize it correctly in terms of the tense, aspect, and mood system. According to him, Hausa subjunctive is really an inflected non-finite verb form, hence it is not a case of TAM, since

it has the feature [+AGR - TNS]. He demonstrates this by comparing Hausa subjunctive and the infinitive forms of other European languages like English and Portuguese. I am not going to argue on whether the McHugh's characterization of Hausa subjunctive is or is not correct in this study (for a new characterization of Hausa subjunctive, see Newman forthcoming). I will however mention that there are some claims he makes in his paper with regard to the uses of subjunctive with certain predicates whose complements express propositions with truth values. He claims that these predicates never take subjunctive complements. I think that this statement is too strong. Predicates like *cê*, 'say', *fà dā* 'say/tell', *daukā* 'take, consider', *yī tsām mānī* 'think/expect/consider' etc. which he gives in his list of verbs taking complements do take subjunctive complements either as first object or second object in the sentence structure. I will not however discuss the syntax of these predicates in this dissertation since they are all verbs taking object clauses. I will however refer to them where there is a need for that.

(D) Tuller 1986.

With regard to Tuller's work, there isn't much to be said since she dealt with so many issues connected with subordination (both adverbial and non-adverbial ones). There are two issues she did which motivated me to undertake this study and the one I did in 1988 and 1992. These are Binding and Control and the discussion on raising predicates.* With regard to binding, I was able to add more data and analyses in my M.A. thesis. It is to be noted that her work is the only one where one finds something written on Control phenomena in Hausa at the time I started working on this dissertation. My unpublished paper of 1988 then followed dealing with binding and control. Unfortunately I will not be able to talk about binding and control in this study due to constraints on time and space. As for predicates like *kāmātā* and *dōlè (nē)* that may look like raising predicates,

and which actually do not allow raising as is found in English, are going to be the main concern of this study.

(E) Dimmendaal 1989.

Dimmendaal 1989:97-98 however argues that the genitive linkers *-r/-n* and the particle *dā* should be treated as constituents of the matrix clauses. He gives a number of examples to justify his claim. He goes on to say that *dā* operates either as a particle obligatory with matrix verbs, or as a particle which is used in combination with a preceding noun in order to make the complement phrase specific or definite. But there are other cases where it would be difficult to consider *dā* as an obligatory part of the matrix verb as we will see in chapter 3. One thing seems to be clear is that it is a clause introducer and it functions like a complementizer in cases where *cēwā* is not present. If it co-occurs with *cēwā/wai* 'that', it seems then to function more like a preposition -- hence it acts like a Case assigner to the complementizer *cēwā* which is semantically a verbal noun. It may also be possible to consider it as a true complementizer, hence a case of a doubly filled COMP. This conclusion is tentative though. For this reason I intend to examine the distribution of this particle in detail in chapter 3 in an attempt to determine its true function. But before I conclude this overview, let me give a brief discussion on complementation of tensed complements.

1.6 Clauses as Objects of Predicates.

Complements in Hausa can be governed by verbs and copulas, they can be governed by adjectives, nouns and prepositions. They occur in positions where NPs are found and they function as subjects, objects (direct, indirect or prepositional). I begin first with tensed clauses.

1.6.1 Tensed Clause as Object of Predicates.

Tensed clauses in Hausa can occur as complements of either verbs or nouns. The tensed clauses can be headed by different types of complementizers such as *céwā/wai*, *kō*, *idan* etc. meaning “that, whether/if, if” respectively. The following are illustrations of some of the tensed complement types:

(41) (i) As Object of Verb:

- (a) [IP Aabùj tã ðaukà [CP (wai) ----
 Aabu 3fs.-perf. take it/consider/think (that)

[IP Lādi j zā tà sō Bālāk]].
 Ladi 1fut. 3fs. like/love Bala

‘Abu thought that Ladi will like/love Bala’

- (b) [IP Sāni j yā gayā wà Aabùj [CP (céwā) ---
 Sani 3ms.-perf. tell dat.-Aabù that

[IP Proj zā-i sayā matàj mōtā]].
 1fut.-3ms. buy dat.-her car

‘Sani told Abu that he will buy her a car’

- (c) [IP gwamnā j yā sà suj [CP (wai) ---
 governor 3ms.-perf. make them that

[IP Proj zā sù mayō dà kuɗi-n gwamnati-n]].
 1fut.-3pl. return with money-of government-ref.

‘The governor made them to return the government's money’

(ii) As Object Complement to a Noun:

- (a) [IP Proj mun sāmī lābārī-n [CP (céwā) ----
 1pl.-perf. get/find news/information that

[IP Shàgàrij yā cinyē zābê-n]].
 Shagari 3ms.-perf. win election-ref.

‘We heard the news that Shagari has won the election’

- (b) [IP Proj yā yi māmāki-n [CP (wai) ----
 3ms.-perf. do surprise that

[IP mātā-r-sàj tanā dà jūnā biyu]].
 wife-of-him 3fs.-cnt. with body two

‘He was surprise that his wife is pregnant’

- (c) [IP Bintàj tanā zàto-n [CP (wai) [IP Audùj zā-i ----
 Bintà 3fs.-cnt. thinking-of that Audù 1fut.-3ms.

àurē tàj bana]].
 marry her this year

‘Binta thinks that Audu will marry her this year’

- (iii) As Prepositional Object:

- (a) [IP Audùj yā matsā [pp à kân [CP (wai) sai ---
 Audù 3ms.-perf. insist on/about that ought to

[IP Proj yā àuri Bintàj]]].
 3ms.-perf. marry Binta

‘Audu insisted (on the fact) that he ought to marry Binta’

- (b) [IP yârâ-nj sun nācè ?[pp dà [CP (wai) sai ---
 children-def. 3pl.-perf. insist with/about that ought to

[IP bâba-n-sùj yā sai musùj sàbàbbi-n kēkunā]]].
 father-of-them 3ms.-perf. buy dat.-them new-of bicycles

‘The children insisted (about the fact) that their father must buy them new bicycles’

- (c) [IP Audùj yā tilāstā minij [pp à kân [CP (wai) sai ---
 Audù 3ms.-perf. pressure dat.-me on/about that ought to

[IP Proj nā bā shì àgōgō-nā]]].
 3ms.-perf. give him watch-of-me

‘Audu pressured me (about the fact) that I must give him my watch’

1.6.2 Subjunctive Clause as Object of Predicate.

Subjunctive clauses in Hausa can occur as objects of matrix predicates, and also as complements of nouns. The subjunctive complement may also be headed by an overt complementizer with some predicates. The following are given as representative of subjunctive clauses functioning as direct objects of their predicates:

(42) (i) As Object of a Verb:

- (a) [IP Bālājì bà-i dāmu dà [IP Bàrau yà gan shì/k
Bala neg.-3ms. worry with Barau 3ms.-subj. see him

à can ba]].
at/in there neg.

‘Bala did not mind (for) Barau to see him there’ or
‘Bala did not mind Barau’s seeing him there’

- (b) [IP Mubārakì yā sō [CP (cēwā/wai) ---
Mubarak 3ms.-perf. want/like that

[IP Lawànj yà kōmā gidā dà wurì]].
Lawan 3ms.-subj. return home at early

‘Mubarak wanted it that Lawan return home early’

- (c) [IP Sānìj yā nēmi Ràboj [CP (dà) -----
Sani 3ms.-perf. look for Rabo that

[IP Projìj yà bā shì makullì-n gida-n-sà]].
3ms.-subj. give him key-of. house-of-him

‘Sani looked for Rabo to give him the key of his house’

(ii) As Object Complement to a Noun:

- (a) [IP Projì nā bāyar dà izìni-n [CP (cēwā) ---
1s.-perf. give-CAU. permission-of that

[IP Bālājì yà àuri Zàinabù]].
Bala 3ms.-subj. marry Zàinabù

‘I have given the permission for Bala to marry Zainabu’

- (b) [IP Sarkī yanā rōko-n talakāwāj [CP (dà) ---
Emir 3ms.-cnt. begging/asking-of poor/masses that

[IP Proj sù gōyi bāya-n gwamnati-n sōjā]].
3pl.-subj. support=rally behind-of government-of military

‘The Emir begs the masses to support the military government’

- (c) [IP Proj yakàn bātā minī rāi [IP Pro in ga ---
3ms.-hab. damage dat.-me mind-of 3ms.-subj. see

[IP Jātau yanā shā-n giyā]].
Jātau 3ms.-cnt. drinking-of alcohol

‘It makes me angry to see Jatau drinking alcohol’

(iii) As Prepositional Object:

- (a) [IP Pro nā amīncē [pp à kân [CP (cēwā) sai ---
Is.-perf. agreed on/about that prt.=ought to

[IP Āli yà àuri Zāinabū]]].
Āli 3ms.-subj. marry Zainabu

‘I agreed on (the fact) that Ali ought to marry Zainabu’

- (b) [IP Pro zā mù rōki gwamnati [pp à bisà ----
1fut.-1pl. beg/request government on/about

[IP Pro tà ginā manā makaranta-r sakandàrē]]].
3fs.-subj. build dat-us school-of secondary

‘We will request/ask the government to build us a secondary school’

- (c) [IP Lādī tanā baki-n cikī [pp à bisà [CP (cēwā) ---
Ladi 1fs.-cnt. angry on/about that

sai [IP Āli yà ràbu dà ita]]].
ought Āli 3ms.-subj. separate with her

‘Ladi is angry with regard to the fact that Ali must leave her’

1.6.3 Nominalized Clause as Object of Predicate.

Nominalized clauses in Hausa can occur as objects of verbal matrix predicates, and also as complements of nouns. These instances are illustrated in the following:

(43) (i) As Object of a Verb:

- (a) [IP Shūgabā Bushi yā kàgu dà [NP PRO_i cí-n ---
leader Bush 3ms.-perf. eager with eating-of
zàbê-n bana]].
election-of this year

‘President Bush is eager to win this year’s election’

- (b) [IP Lawàni yā bùkàci [NP PRO_i tàfiyà gidā]].
Lawàni 3ms.-perf. need going home

‘Lawan needed to go home’

- (c) [IP Pro_i yā hòrē ni; [pp dà [NP [VP PRO_j gamà
3ms.-perf. warn me with finish
aiki-n-āj dà wuri]]]].
work-of-me with early

‘He warned me to finish my work early’

(ii) As Object Complement to a Noun:

- (a) [IP Pro_i nā yi shāwarà-r [NP PRO_i aure-n ---
1s.-perf. do decision-of marrying-of
yārinyà-r]].
girl-ref.

‘I have decided to marry the girl’

- (b) [IP Pro_i inà dà shà'awà-r [NP PRO_i sàye-n ---
1s.-cnt. with interest-of buying-of
sābuwa-r mōtā bana]].
new-of car this year

‘I have the interest of buying a new car this year’

- (c) [IP Proj sun yi mǎmāki-n [NP PRO_i ziyārà-r ---
1s.-perf. do surprise-of coming-of

Sarki-n Kanò (zuwà) gàri-n-sù]].
Emir-of Kano going/to town-of them

‘They were surprised with the visit to their town by the Emir of Kano’

(iii) As Object of Preposition:

- (a) [IP Proj tā amincē [pp dà [NP PRO_j zuwà-n ----
3fs.-perf. agree/believe with coming-of

su Audù yāulj]].
they Audù today

‘She was certain about Audu (and others)’s coming today’ or
‘She agreed on Audu (and others)’s coming today’

- (b) [IP Proj nā wàhalà matukā [pp à bisà/kân ----
1s.-perf. suffer extremely on/about

[NP PRO_j kòkari-n nēma-r wà Audù aiki-n bankìj]].
attempt-of looking-of dat. Audù work-of bank

‘I suffered a lot/very much in my attempt to get Audu a bank job’

- (c) [IP Proj mun ji dādī [pp danganē dà ----
1pl.-perf. feel good regarding with

[NP PRO_j sāmù-n zama-n lāfiyā à kasa-r-mù]].
getting-of living-of health in country-of-us

‘We were happy regarding achieving peaceful existence in our country’

The above examples in (41-43), show cases where complements are governed by predicates like verbs, copulas, nouns, and prepositions. In the chapters to follow I will give some cases where sentential and non-sentential argument clauses occur as subjects of predicates other than the ones given in the above examples. It will be shown that tensed complements, subjunctive complements, and nominalized clauses can be subjects. Subject arguments can be introduced by *céwā* or *wai* complementizers. They can be

introduced by certain complementizers like *kō* or *dà*. I will however restrict myself to subjunctive and nominalized complements. This concludes my review on works done on Hausa complementation and a general overview of the form of complementation in Hausa. I now turn to the description of subjunctive and nominalized complements occurring as subjects of the complement taking expressions under study in this work.

NOTE TO CHAPTER 1

1. In some TAMs, the marker of subject agreement can be dropped if there is an overt noun phrase subject in the Spec of IP or if there is an antecedent NP outside the IP which shares its phi-features with the AGR in the root IP. If there is not a lexical NP subject, the subject is shown by the agreement marker (a weak pronoun) which cannot co-occur with an overt (independent/strong) pronoun in Spec of IP. A Pro subject cannot occur in Spec of IP if the AGR is dropped and there is no coindexable NP in the higher projection as in topic. This is so because nothing can then identify the Pro as required by the condition on Pro identification (cf. Tuller 1986 and Yalwa 1992).

CHAPTER 2 Predicates with Propositional Subject Complement in the Subjunctive.

2.0 Introduction.

In this dissertation I will discuss the syntax of subjunctive and nominalized complements that function as subjects of certain complement taking expressions (henceforth CTE). Most of these CTEs are predicates that are used to express either deontic or epistemic modalities. In Hausa, the head of the complement taking expression can either be a verb, a particular kind of nominal or a copular word. According to Noonan (1985:127-8), modal predicates in English for instance, can take complements that refer either to future events or states relative to the time reference of the complement taking predicate, or potential events, or states-of-affairs. These predicates therefore take reduced complements like subjunctives and infinitives. In Hausa these predicates normally take subjunctives and nominalized complements, though some may take tensed complements. The infinitive does not occur as a category distinct from subjunctive or nominalized complements.

In this chapter I will give a brief syntactic description on the possible and impossible surface structures of the subjunctive propositional complements and nominalized complements of the CTEs under study. The chapter will be divided into sections. In these sections I will show that the complements to these CTEs cannot occur in the specifier position of the root clause. In subsequent chapters I will examine various constructions that will confirm my claim made in this chapter. That is in surface structure subjunctive propositional complements do not occur in the pre-predicate canonical subject position of these CTEs. I will not however discuss the nature of “Tough Movement Expressions”, Complementation of Hausa Aspectual verbs, or that of the “Experiencer Constructions” in Hausa.

2.1 Propositional Subject Complements in the Subjunctive.

2.1.1 Overall Surface Form of Sentences with Subjunctive Propositional Complements.

It should be mentioned at the outset that the complement to these predicate expressions under discussion, whether it be a subjunctive or nominalized clause has to be compatible with the semantics of the entire matrix predicate (verbal, nominal, or copula). This is not so with the other types of predicates that are directly or indirectly governed by the matrix predicates like those that take object complements. Furthermore, it must also be mentioned that semantically, the modalities of these CTEs blend into each other. So any classification based on semantic grounds will be arbitrary since this study does not concentrate on the semantics of modality but rather on syntactic behavior. In fact most of the expressions belong to one or more groups. A semi-exhaustive list of some of the CTEs I will be discussing in this chapter is given in appendix 1. I will therefore classify them into five main syntactic categories/groups (depending on whether the complement taking predicate is a verb, a noun, or a copular word).

2.1.2 Brief Syntactic Categorization of the CTEs:

In this section, I will confine my discussion to the subject complement function. The following is a brief selection from the list of CTEs taking sentential or nominalized subject:

(1)	(a) <u>INFL. + V(int.) + (PP):</u>	<u>Meaning(s):</u>
	yā càncantà	'It's suitable/fitting/appropriate'
	yā dācē (dà X)	'It's appropriate/proper/suitable (for/with/to X)'
	yā fàskarà	'It is impossible/difficult/hard to'
	yā hàlattà (gà X)	'It is legal/allowed/lawful (for X)'
	yā hàramtà (gà X)	'It is illegal/inappropriate/unlawful (for X)'

yā kāmātā yā kyāutu yā yīwu zâ-i dācê (dà X)	'It is better/necessary/fitting' 'It's better/nice/suitable' 'It will be possible/likely' 'It will be appropriate (for/with X)'
(b) <u>INFL. + V/Vn + (NP)* + (PP):</u>	<u>Meaning(s):</u>
yā fi dācēwā yā fi/yi kyāu yā ragè ruwa-n X yanā bakāntā wà X rāi yanā dāmù-n X yanā yīwuwā yanā bā wà X haushī zâ-i yi/fi kyāu (gà X) zâ-i yi/fi saukī (gà X) zâ-i yi wàhalā/wùyā (gà X) zâ-i bātā wà X rāi zâ-i tāyar wà dà X hankālī	'It's most appropriate/far better' 'It is much better/more suitable' 'It is up to X (to)' 'It displeases X/makes X sad' 'It worries X/makes X unhappy' 'It may be possible/likely' 'It makes X angry/unhappy' 'It will be much better/more suitable/appropriate (for X)' 'It will be easy (for/with X)' 'It will be hard/difficult (for X)' 'It will annoy/distress X' 'It will disturb/pester X'
(c) <u>Yanā =(INFL.) + dà + NP + (PP):</u>	<u>Meaning(s):</u>
yanā dà àmfānī (gà X) yanā dà kyāu (gà X) yanā dà muhimmanī (gà X) yanā dà saukī (gà/à wurin X) (yanā) dà wàhalā/wùyā	'It is important/essential (for X)' 'It is nice/better (for X)' 'It is important/essential (for X)' 'It is easy/simple/not difficult' 'It is hard/difficult/impossible'
(d) <u>NP + nē + (PP):</u>	<u>Meaning(s):</u>
dōlè nē (gà X) hārāmù-n nē (gà X) lāifī nē (gà X) māi yīwuwā nē mūgùwa-r dàbī'ā nē/cē mawùyācī nē (gà X) nufi-n X nē saurā X nē shirmē nē (gà X) tīlās nē (gà X) wājībī nē (gà X)	'It's necessary/obligatory (for X)' 'It is illegal/unlawful (for/to X)' 'It is a sin/crime/unlawful (for X)' 'It is likely/possible/probable' 'It is a bad habit' 'It is difficult/hard/impossible' 'It is X's intention' 'It remains X/it is almost X' 'It is nonsense/foolish/stupid' 'It is necessary/obligatory' 'It is incumbent/necessary'

(wata)kīlā nē
wāutā nē (gà X)

'It is possible/probable/likely'
'It is senseless/foolish/stupid'

There are also negative counterparts of these CTEs. A few examples are given below:

(2) a. NEG. + INFL + V + NEG. + (PP):

Meaning(s):

bà-i càncantà ba
bà-i dācē ba (dà/gà X)
bà-i hàlattà ba (gà X)
bà-i kāmātà ba
bà-i kyàutu ba
bā zā-i yi kyāu ba
bā zā-i yi wùyā/wàhalā ba

'It is inappropriate/improper etc.'
'It is improper/inappropriate'
'It is not lawful (religiously)'
'It is inappropriate/not nice'
'It is inappropriate/improper'
'It will not be good/nice/O.K.'
'It will not be hard/difficult'

(b) NEG. + (Pron. + Prep.) + NP:

Meaning(s):

bā (shi dà) àmfānī
bā (shi dà) kyāu
bā (shi dà) wùyā

'It is not important/useful'
'It is not good/nice/fine/O.K.'
'It is not difficult/hard'

(c) NEG. NP + NEG. + nē + (PP):

Meaning(s):

bā daidai ba nē
bā dōlè ba nē (gà X)
bā hàrāmùn ba nē (gà X)
bā tīlās ba nē (gà X)

'It's not appropriate/right/correct'
'It's not necessary/obligatory'
'It is not illegal/unlawful/forbidden'
'It is not necessary/obligatory'

(d) NEG. + NP + (PP):

Meaning(s):

bā/bābù (wani) aibū
bā/bābù saukī (gà X)
bā/bābù wàhalā (gà X)
bā/bābù kyāu
bā/bābù dādī
bā/bābù lāifī
bā/bābù dōlè/tīlās (gà X)

'There's nothing wrong/no problem/it does not matter'
'It is not easy (for/to X)'
'It is not difficult/hard (for X)'
'It is improper/not good/not nice'
'It is not nice/good/appropriate'
'It is not bad/wrong/improper'
'It is not necessary (for/to X)'

One thing to be clear about is that not all positive CTEs have also the alternative negative counterpart. For instance, some of the CTEs in (2a-c) are strictly the negative counterparts of the positive CTEs. In other words, the negative CTEs in (2b) for instance are the negative counterparts of the positive CTEs of the "have constructions" type, while those in (2c) are the negative counterparts of the 'non-negative copular CTEs'. Some of the negative CTEs illustrated in (2d) however do not have a clear-cut positive counterparts. In other words some of the negative CTEs in this group are ambiguous as to what kind of positive CTE they negate. Consider the following as illustration of this fact:

- | | | | |
|-----|----|----------------------|---|
| (3) | a. | yanǎ dà dǎdī | 'It is nice/good' |
| | b. | yanǎ dà lâifī | 'It is wrong/not good' |
| (4) | a. | bā (shì dà) dǎdī | 'It is not nice/good' |
| | b. | bā (*shì dà) lâifī | 'It is not wrong/bad' |
| (5) | a. | bābù (*shì dà) dǎdī | 'It doesn't have niceness' =
'It is not nice/good' |
| | b. | bābù (*shì dà) lâifī | 'It doesn't have blame' =
'It is not blamable/wrong' |

The negative CTEs in (4) here seem to be the positive counterparts of the positive CTEs in (3). But notice that the negative CTE in (4b) may not be the positive counterpart of the one in (3b). Hence, the negative CTEs in (4) may be the negative counterparts of two different positive CTEs of different constructions. It is clear to see that when the elements in the parentheses are omitted. In this case both the CTEs in (4) could be the negative counterparts of the positive CTEs of "existential construction" type. If however the elements are there, then they are the negative counterparts of the positive CTEs of the "have construction" type. But note further that only (4a) is possible in this sense. With the negative morpheme *bābù*, only the "existential" interpretation is possible when the

elements in the parentheses are omitted. These contrasts indicate that it is not always the case that if one gets a positive form of a CTE, it is also always possible to get the negative counterpart of that CTE.

(6)	<u>Rashì-n (lack of) NP + nē:</u>	<u>Meaning(s):</u>
	Rashì-n ādalci nē	'It is injustice/unfair'
	Rashìn arzikì nē	'It is a display of lack of insolence'
	Rashìn àlbarkà nē	'It is a bad behavior'
	Rashìn dā'ā nē	'It is an act of indiscipline/immoral'
	Rashìn dā'bī'ā nē	'It is a bad habit/behavior'
	Rashìn dauriyā nē	'It is lack of courage'
	Rashìn gaskiyā nē	'It is untrue/a bad act'
	Rashìn ladàbī nē	'It is an act of indispline/impolite'
	etc.	

These nominal CTEs taking subjunctive propositional complements and nominalized clauses are too numerous to give the full list here. They also have a very diverse meanings some of which are overlapping.¹ From this brief list of the CTEs under study, we can see that verbal, nominal, and copular complementation can be categorized into the following order:

- (7)
- a. Complementation by a *verb* as in yā kāmātà, yā dācè, yā càncantà, yā/yā yiwu, etc.
 - b. Complementation by a *verb fi/yi + noun* as in yā fi/yi kyâu, zâ-i fi/yi kyâu, zâ-i fi/yi àmfānī etc.
 - c. Complementation by a *preposition + noun* as in yanā dà wàhalā/wùyā, yanā dà saukī, yanā dà muhim mancī etc.
 - d. Complementation by a *NP + Copula* as in dōlè nē, tīlās nē, wautā nē, rashì-n hankālī nē, rashì-n tùnānī nē.

Note that the complementation patterns given in (7) could further be summarized as in the following:

- (8) a. INFL + Verb (intr.) (yā kāmātà/dācè/cāncantà/yīwu, etc.)
- b. INFL + Verb (tr.) (yā yi/fi kyāu/daidai/wùyā, etc.)
- c. INFL + dà + Noun (yanà dà kyāu/àmfiānī, etc.)
- d. Noun + nē (dōlè/hārāmùn/tīlās/wājībī/watakīlā nē, etc.).
- e. NP (neg.) + Linker (-n) + NP + nē (rashī-n hankālī nē etc.).

The patterns in (7) indicate that the TAM of the CTE is not only in the perfective but other TAM may also be used. Similarly, These forms may also occur with negation. The negative particles can be used to negate the modality of the CTE and the propositional complement or the modality of the whole sentence. This is illustrated in the following negative CTE forms:

- (9) a. bà + INFL + Verb (intr.) ba (bà-i kāmātà/dācè ba, etc.)
- b. bà + INFL + Verb (tr.) ba (bà-i yi/fi kyāu/daidai ba, etc.)
- c. bâ + shi + dà + Noun (bâ shi dà kyāu/àmfiānī, etc.)
- d. bâ/bābù + NP (bābù aibū/àmfiānī/wàhalā/wùyā, etc.)
- e. bâ + Noun + ba + nē (bâ dōlè/tīlās/wājībī ba nē, etc.)

We will see in later sections how these patterns (and others not mentioned here) are used.

2.2 The Form and Position of the Propositional Complement.

2.2.1 The Form of the Complement.

Having given a rough description of these predicate expressions (CTEs) taking clausal complements, I now begin the syntactic description of the subjunctive sentential complement used as a propositional subject. I begin with the form of the complement. In this subsection, I will show that in Hausa the structures represented in (10a-b) are the

surface structural forms of propositional subjunctive subject. I will argue that the structure in (10c) does not exist in Hausa unless there is an intonational break before the CTE, and this will indicate a different syntactic structure.

- (10) a. [[e] CTE (matrix clause) + [Subjunctive Subject Clause]]
- b. [(Cêwa/Wai) + [Subjunctive Subject Clause] + PRO-S-form + Matrix/Root Clause].
- c. *[(Cêwa/Wai) + [Subjunctive Subject Clause] + CTE].

Restricting my discussion on subjunctive propositional complement for the moment, I will tentatively assume that the structures in (10a-b) represent the complementation of subjunctive subject/propositional complement. It is also the structure found in at least three other different but related constructions in surface structures. These constructions are subjunctive subject/propositional clauses in some complex transitive/intransitive patterns of complementation occurring in post-predicate position, nominalized complement constructions, and tough-movement constructions. These constructions will be discussed in separate chapters. I now begin with the positions where such a subjunctive propositional complement may or may not occur with these CTEs.

2.2.2 The Position of the Propositional Complement.

Before I get into my investigation on the interaction of these CTEs and their complements, it is important to mention that subjunctive clauses in Hausa have many general uses. They function as complements of many predicates most of which will take infinitival complements in a language like English. Subjunctive clauses may function as subjects or objects of matrix clauses. It will be shown that the general characteristics of subjunctive subject complement is to occur after the complement taking predicate expression. In other words, in surface structure, these CTEs do not allow their deep

structure subjects to occur in the canonical subject position (Spec of IP). They require their underlying (DS) subject to be moved to their post-position. There are however others where extraposition is optional. Some of these CTEs are those that may take tensed complements in addition of their taking subjunctive complements. This will be explained later. In the course of my description I will try to investigate (a) why subjunctive sentential subject clauses cannot occur in their canonical subject position at S-structure, and (b) the function(s) of subjunctive subject clauses in the post-CTE position. In this regard, I will also discuss issues on the possibilities or otherwise of topicalization/left-dislocation, Wh-movement constructions, including clefting and pseudo-clefting, and other relevant movement transformations in subsequent chapters. In addition, I will also examine the interaction of various TAMs with respect to the syntax of the complementation pattern of CTEs such as *yā kāmātà-group* versus *dōlè nē-group*.

In this section I shall examine the validity of my claims made above. The arrangement of this section is as follows. In 2.2.2.1 I shall examine the position of the postposed subject complement. In this regards, I will argue that it normally occurs in post-CTE position if it is not nominalized. In 2.2.2.2 I show that a nominalized complement does not naturally occur in post-predicate position of the CTEs under study. In 2.2.2.3 I argue that tensed complement cannot occur as a propositional subject of these CTEs. In 2.2.2.4 I discuss some apparent tensed complements of these CTEs where it will be shown that they are actually not the propositional subjects. Similarly, in 2.2.2.5 I will show that in surface structure, a subjunctive propositional subject cannot remain in its canonical deep structure subject position (i.e. specifier of IP). For this claim, I will give a detail description of Hausa complementizer system in chapter 3 showing where the complementizers may or may not occur and its relation with both the root clause and the subjunctive propositional complement. Finally, I shall also examine various transformations in chapters 4-7 to strengthen my claim of this section.

2.2.2.1 Complement Must be in Post-CTE Position.

In this subsection I will explore the syntax of these CTEs and the position of the complements they may take. As we saw in the above selected list of the complement taking expressions, there are a large number of predicates (CTEs) in Hausa taking propositional subjunctive clauses and nominalized clauses as subjects. These CTEs take propositional clauses as their logical subject arguments. I will first begin with the surface structures of *yā kāmātà*, and *dōlè (nē)* groups. My first claim is that the form of the subject complement must be in subjunctive if it is not nominalized. To see this, consider the following examples (where, the arguments of the CTEs are the bracketed subjunctive complement clauses):

- (11) a. [e]_i yā kāmātà [IP Tànî tà biyā hàràjì]_i
3ms.-perf. be fitting Tànî '3fs.-subj. pay tax
'It is fitting/better that Tànî should pay taxes'
- b. [e]_i yā dācē [IP Bālā yà gyārà hali-n-sà]_i
3ms.-perf. be suitable Bālā 3ms.-subj. mend behavior-of-him
'It is fitting/better that Bala should behave appropriately'
- c. [e]_i yā cāncantà [IP masōyā-n sù yi aurē]_i
3ms.-perf. be appropriate lovers-def. 3pl.-subj. do marriage
'It is fitting/appropriate that the lovers should get married'
- d. [e]_i yā kyàutu [IP [e] nà gamà aikî-n-ā]_i
3ms.-perf. be good 1s.-subj. finish work-of-me
'It is better/nice/desirable that I should finish my work'
- e. [e]_i yā yiwu [IP [e] kà zama sarkī]_i
3ms.-2fut. be possible/likely 2ms.-subj. be/become emir
'It is possible/likely that you would become the Emir'

- f. [e]_i yā fi kyāu [I_p [e] mù tàfi gidā yànzul]_i
 3ms.-perf. exceed good/nice 1pl.-subj. go home now
 'It is much better that we should go home now'
- g. [e]_i yanā yiwuwā [I_p [e] kà àuri Bintà]_i
 3ms.-cnt. be possible/likely 2ms.-subj. marry Bintà
 'It is possible/likely that you would marry Bintà' =
 'It is possible/likely for you to marry Bintà'
- h. [e]_i yanā dà wùyā [I_p [e] sù yi aurē bana]_i
 3ms.-cnt. with difficult 3pl.-subj. do marriage this year
 'It is impossible that they would get married this year' =
 'It is impossible for them to get married this year'
- i. [e]_i yanā dà muhim mancì [I_p [e] mù gamà aiki-n]_i
 3ms.-cnt. with importance 1pl.-subj. finish work-ref.
 'It is important that we should finish the work'
- j. bā [e]_i shi dà àmfānī [I_p [e] à tàfi gidā yànzul]_i
 neg. it with importance IMP.-subj. go home now
 'It is useless/unimportant that one should go home now'

In all these examples the subjunctive subject complements have either null or lexical subjects. And they occur in post-CTE position coindexed with the null element in the root clause. Notice that all the CTEs used in the above examples are those containing morphological INFL followed by a nominal or verbal predicate. Copular CTEs may also take subjunctive sentential complement as propositional subject in post-CTE position as illustrated in the following:

- (12) a. [e]_i tīlās nē [I_p Audù yà kōmā gidā]_i
 necessary cop. Audù 3ms.-subj. return home
 'It is necessary/a must that Audù should return home' =
 'Audù must return home'

- b. [e]_i dōlè nē [Ip [e] yà àuri Bintà]_i
 necessary cop. 3ms.-subj. marry Bintà
 'It is necessary that he should marry Bintà' =
 'He must/ought to/should marry Bintà'
- c. [e]_i wājibī nē [Ip Mùsùlmī sù yi Sallàh]_i
 obligatory cop. Muslim 3pl.-subj. do Sallàh Prayer
 'It is obligatory that Muslims perform the (Sallàh) Prayer' =
 'A Muslim must say/perform the (Sallàh) Prayers'
- d. [e]_i hārāmùn nē [Ip [e] mù shā giyā]_i
 unlawful/forbidden cop. 1pl.-subj. drink alcohol
 'It is unlawful that we drink (any) alcohol' =
 'We are prohibited/forbidden to drink (any) alcohol'
- e. [e]_i hàlāk/s/1 nē [Ip [e] kà shā madarā]_i
 lawful cop. 2ms.-subj. drink milk
 'It is lawful/allowed/permitted that you drink milk' =
 'You are allowed/permitted to drink milk'
- f. [e]_i mài yiwuwā nē [Ip [e] nà sàyi sābuwa-r mōtā]_i
 has possibility cop. 1ms.-subj. buy new-of car
 'It is possible/likely that I would buy a new car' =
 'I might possibly buy a new car'
- g. [e]_i watakīlā nē [Ip [e] sù yi aurē bana]_i
 probably cop. 3pl.-subj. do marriage this year
 'It is probable/possible that they would get married this year' =
 'It is probable/possible for them to get married this year'
- h. [e]_i saurā kàdan (nē) [Ip [e] tà gamà aiki-n]_i
 remain a bit more cop. 3fs.-subj. finish work-ref.
 'It remains a little bit (of time) for her to finish the work' =
 'She almost finished the work'
- i. [e]_i rashī-n tūnānī nē [Ip [e] kà ci bāshī-n nan]_i
 lack-of thinking cop. 2ms.-subj. eat loan-ref. that
 'It is a bad idea/foolish that you should get/receive that loan'

- j. bà [e]_i àbi-n kunyà ba nè [ɪp mùtùm yà ----
 neg. thing-of shame neg. cop. person 3ms.-subj.

kwāna à gida-n sùrùka-n-sà]_i
 spend night at home-of in-laws-of him

‘It is not shameful/a shameful thing for a person to sleep overnight at/in his in-laws’ house’

In these examples, all the complements of these copular CTEs occur in the subjunctive just like in the cases with CTEs having morphological INFL. It is therefore clear that in the examples illustrated in (11 through 12), we can see that the subjunctive propositional complement functions as subject of the CTE even though it occurs in the post-CTE position. It also functions as the event/activity which the CTE expresses. That is the subject of the complement is the performer of such activity/event. It can therefore be concluded that these sentences indicate that a subjunctive propositional subject in Hausa always follows the CTE whether the subject complement has an overt or null subject.

2.2.2.2 Complement May not be Nominalized in Post-CTE Position.

The question now is can this subject clause be nominalized in post CTE position?

Consider the following examples:

- (13) a. *[e]_i yā kāmātà [NP biyà-n hārājì]_i
 3ms.-perf. be fitting paying-of tax
 ‘It is fitting/better paying the taxes’
- b. *[e]_i yā yīwu [NP aure-n Bintà]_i
 3ms-2fut. be possible/likely marriage-of Bintà
 ‘It is possible/likely Bintà’s marriage’ =
 ‘Bintà’s marriage is likely/possible’
- c. *[e]_i yā fi kyāu [NP tàfiyā gidā yànzul]_i
 3ms.-perf. exceed good/nice/better going home now
 ‘It is much better going home now’

- d. * $[e]_i$ tīlās nē $[NP$ kōmāwā gidā $]$ _i
 necessary cop. returning/going back home
 ‘It is necessary returning/going back home’
- e. * $[e]_i$ watakīlā nē $[NP$ sàye-n sābuwa-r mōtā $]$ _i
 probably cop. buying-of new-of car
 ‘It is probable/possible buying a new car’
- f. * $[e]_i$ rashī-n tūnānī nē $[NP$ cī-n bāshī-n nan $]$ _i
 lack-of thinking cop. eating-of loan-ref. that
 ‘It is senseless/a bad idea getting that loan’

The answer seems to be no. As we can see from these examples, when a nominalized complement occurs in post-CTE position, it cannot be nominalized (with a few restrictions to be discussed in the chapter on complementation of nominalized clauses). In other words, these examples indicate that a subject complement in subjunctive cannot be nominalized when it occurs in post-predicate position of most of the CTEs under discussion. Let me now then turn to the possibility of tensed complements occurring as propositional subject complements to these CTEs.

2.2.2.3 Propositional Complements Cannot be Tensed.

With the exception of a few CTEs under study (see below), complements to these CTEs cannot be tensed as illustrated in the following examples:

- (14) a. * $[e]_i$ yā kāmātā $[IP$ Tankò yā biyā hārājī $]$ _i
 3ms.-perf. be fitting/better Tankò 3ms.-perf. pay tax
 ‘It is/was fitting/better that Tankò paid taxes’
- b. * $[e]_i$ yā kyàutu $[IP$ $[e]$ nā gyārà halī-n-ā $]$ _i
 3ms.-perf. be good 1s.-perf. mend behavior-of-me
 ‘It is/was better/nice/desirable that I behaved appropriately’

- c. * $[e]_i$ yā hāramtā $[Ip [e] kunā$ cī-n ùngùlul $_i$
 3ms.-perf. be unlawful 2pl.-cnt. eating-of vulture
 'It is/was unlawful/disallowed/prohibited that you are eating vulture' =
 'It is/was unlawful/prohibited/disallowed for you eating vulture'
- d. * $[e]_i$ yanā dà wùyā $[Ip [e] zā-i$ yi aurē banal $_i$
 3ms.-cnt. with difficult 1fut.-3ms. do marriage this year
 'It is/was impossible that he will get married this year'
- e. * $[e]_i$ bâ shi dà kyāu $[Ip [e] zā$ kà zāgi mutānē $_i$
 neg. it with good/nice 1fut.-2ms. abuse/insult people
 'It is/was not good that you will abuse/insult people'
- (15) a. * $[e]_i$ tīlās nē $[Ip Aabù tanā$ kōmāwā gidā $_i$
 necessary cop. Aabù 3fs.-cnt. returning home
 'It is/was necessary that Aabù is returning home'
- b. * $[e]_i$ wājibī nē $[Ip [e] kanā$ yī-n Sallāh $_i$
 obligatory cop. 2ms.-cnt. doing-of Sallāh Prayer
 'It is/was obligatory that you are Praying (=Sallāh)'
- c. * $[e]_i$ hārāmùn nē $[Ip [e] kā$ shā giyā $_i$
 unlawful/forbidden cop. 2ms.-perf. drink alcohol
 'It is/was unlawful that you drank alcohol'
- d. * $[e]_i$ rashī-n tūnānī nē $[Ip [e] ka-kān$ ci bāshī-n nan $_i$
 lack-of thinking cop. 2ms.-hab. eat loan-ref. that
 'It is a bad idea/foolish that you get/receive that loan'
- e. * $[e]_i$ bâ ābi-n kunyā ba nē $[Ip [e] zā-i$ kwāna ---
 neg. thing-of shame neg. cop. 1fut.-3ms. spend night
 à gida-n sūrūka-n-sà $_i$
 at home-of in-laws-of him
 'It is not shameful/a shameful thing that a person/one will sleep overnight
 at his in-laws' house'

These examples clearly show that tensed complements cannot occur as propositional subjects to these CTEs under study. If however certain conditions are not imposed most of these sentences will be grammatical. But note that even with this conditions, there are still some dubious cases (see below). I discuss these in the next two subsections beginning first with a brief discussion on some discourse facts.

2.2.2.4 Some Discourse Facts.

Let me now briefly demonstrate why such sentences should be considered as separate sentences. First consider a situation where there are two speakers A and B, where speaker A makes an assertion/statement while speaker B responds to such an assertion/statement, indicating that such a proposition is likely, probable, possible, desirable/better/appropriate, difficult or impossible, etc. That is the CTE can stand alone with empty complement. Consider the following:

- (16) Speaker A: [IP Tankò yā biyā hàrājì].
 Tankò 3ms.-perf. pay tax

‘Tankò has paid the taxes’

Speaker B: Tõ, [IP [e] yā kāmātà].//[bà-i kāmātà ba].
 well/o.k., 3ms.-perf. be better neg.-it be fitting neg.

‘Well, it is better/desirable’ // ‘It is not fitting/desirable’

- (17) Speaker A: Gã wasu [CP wai [IP [e] sū Mùsùlmī nē], ---
 here are some (people) comp. they Muslim cop.

(àm mā) [IP [e] sunā shâ-n giyâ]].
 but 3ms.-cnt. drinking-of alcohol

‘Here are some people who happen to be Muslims and drinking alcohol’

Speaker B: (Kâi!) [IP [e] yā hāramtā ([IP [e] sù shā)]_i.
 what!, 3ms.-perf. be unlawful 3ms.-subj. drink

‘What!, it is prohibited/forbidden (that they should drink (it))’

(18) Speaker A: [IP Audù zā-i yī aurē bàdī].
 Audù 1fut.-3ms. do marriage next year

‘Audù will get married next year’

Speaker B: [IP [e] mài yīwuwā nē]./[bā [e] mài yīwuwā ba nē].
 has possibility cop. neg. has be possible neg. cop.

‘It is possible/probable/likely’ / ‘It is not possible’

(19) Speaker A: [IP Bàlā yanā sô-n Bintà].
 Bàlā 3ms.-cnt. loving-of Bintà

‘Bàlā is in love with Bintà’

Speaker B: [IP [e] watakīlā (nē)].
 probably cop.

‘Well, it is probable/likely’

If we look at these examples, we can see that in a specific discourse context, it is clear that it is possible for speaker A to use a tensed complement, and the speaker B to use a CTE clause, which may either stand alone or be followed by an extra assertion for or against the proposition made by the speaker A. That is the CTE can stand alone with empty complement or be followed by another complement clause as illustrated in (17B). Furthermore, in these examples we can see that the English word “it”, is represented as null in Hausa and has a proposition as its “referent”. Here the proposition to which reference is made is a separate sentence, which just happens to follow. Similarly, when speaker B uses the negative form of the CTEs, the sentences becomes grammatical as illustrated in some of the examples. Now what about subjunctive complements?

We have so far seen that it is possible to put a tensed complement in front of the CTE (with an intonational break). And it is also possible to separate the matrix clause

from the complement clause as the preceding examples illustrate. With regard to the latter case if instead of tensed clause the speaker A uses a subjunctive complement, the sentence becomes ungrammatical with some CTEs depending on the contexts as the following examples illustrate:

- (20) Speaker A: [Ip Audù yà yi aurē bàdí].
Audù 3ms.-subj. do marriage next year

‘Audu should get married next year’

Speaker B: *[Ip [e] mài yìwuwā nè [e]].
has possibility cop.

‘It is possible/likely’

- (21) Speaker A: [Ip Aabù tà dāwō gida-n miji-n-tà].
Aabù 3fs.-subj. return house-of husband-of-her

‘Aabu should return to her husband's house’

Speaker B: *[Ip [e] yâ yìwu [e]].
3ms.-2fut. be possible/likely

‘It is possible/likely’

- (22) Speaker A: [Ip [e] kà sō Bintà].
2ms.-subj. like/love Bintà

‘You should love/like Binta’

Speaker B: *[Ip [e] watakīlā nē [e]].
probably cop.

‘It is probable/likely’

But where a CTE like *yā kāmātā* and those similar to it is uttered, the sentence becomes grammatical as indicated in the following:

- (23) Speaker A: [Ip Tankò yà biyā hārājì].
Tankò 3ms.-subj. pay tax

‘Tanko should pay taxes’

Speaker B: Tõ, [Ip [e] yā kāmātà].
well, 3ms.-perf. be better/desirable

‘Well, it is better/desirable’

- (24) Speaker A: [Ip Aabù tà kōmā gida-n miji-n-tà].
Aabù 3fs.-subj. return house-of husband-of-her

‘Aabù should return to her husband’s house’

Speaker B: [Ip [e] yā dai dācē].
3ms.-perf. prt. be better/suitable

‘It would have been better/appropriate/desirable’

There are also certain instances where an anaphoric elements such as *wannàn/wànnan* ‘this/that’, *hakà(n)* ‘this/thus’, or *yí-n hakà (-n)* ‘doing that/thus’, can be used. These elements refer to the assertion/statement" made by the speaker A. In this situation most of the ungrammatical sentences illustrated above can become grammatical when such a Pro-form is used. These sentences can also be grammatical with subjunctive complement used by the speaker A as a statement as illustrated in the following:

- (25) Speaker A: [Ip Audù kà yi aurē bàdì].
Audù 2ms.-subj. do marriage next year

‘Audu should get married next year’

Speaker B: Tõ, [Ip wannàn zâ-i kāmātà].
well, this 1fut.-3ms. be better/desirable

‘Well, this will be better/desirable’

- (26) Speaker A: [Ip [e] kɪ kōmā gida-n miji-n-ki].
2fs.-subj. return home-of husband-of-you

‘You should go back to your husband's house’

Speaker B: Kâi! Inâ! [Ip wannàn zâ-i yi wùyā].
wow no way this 1fut.-3ms. do difficulty/hard

‘Wow! no way! this will be impossible’

- (27) Speaker A: [Ip Aabù tà sàyi sābo-n gidā].
Aabù 3fs.-subj. buy new-of house

‘Aabu should buy a new house’

Speaker B: [vp yî-n hakàn], [Ip bà zâ-i yi kyâu ba].
doing-of this/thus neg. 1fut.-3ms. do good neg.

‘Doing this, it will not be good/nice’

- (28) Speaker A: [Ip [e] mù tàfi gidā yànzù].
3ms.-subj. go home now

‘Audu should get married next year’

Speaker B: [Ip wannàn bà mài yìwuwā ba nè].
this neg. has possibility neg. cop.

‘This is not possible/likely’

- (29) Speaker A: [Ip Aabù tà dāwō gida-n miji-n-tà].
Aabù 3fs.-subj. return house-of husband-of-her

‘Aabu should return to her husband's house’

Speaker B: [Ip wannàn bà zâ-i yiwu ba].
this neg. 1fut.-3ms. be possible/likely neg.

‘It is possible/likely’

- (30) Speaker A: [Ip [e] kà sō Bintà].
2ms.-subj. like/love Bintà

‘You should love/like Binta’

Speaker B: [IP [VP yî-n hakà] watakīlā nē].
 doing-of this probably cop.

‘Doing this is probable/likely’

It is clear that this brief demonstration indicates that these post-CTE tensed “complements” must be considered as separate sentences.² In these cases the CTE may superficially look like taking tensed complements on the surface, but it is not as demonstrated in the above examples. Note further that, in the above examples we can see that the English word “it”, is null in Hausa and has a proposition as its “referent”. The proposition to which the reference is made is a separate sentence, which just happens to follow. Since it is claimed that a subjunctive complement cannot precede the modal expression, we would not expect a tensed “complement” to appear there either. So, for pragmatic reasons, it would be a little strange for someone to say:

- (31) a. * [IP Audù yā tàfi gidā](,) [IP [e] yanā dà kyâu].
 Audù 3ms.-perf. go home 3ms.-cnt. with good/nice
 ‘(That) Audu has gone home, it is/was nice’
- b. * [IP Bālā zā-i àuri Bintà](,) [IP [e] yā kāmātà].
 Bālā 1fut.-3ms. marry Bintà 3ms.-perf. be better
 ‘(That) Bala will marry Binta, it is better/desirable/fitting’

where the tensed complement can be considered as occurring outside of the root IP, or in the following where it is assumed to occur in the specifier position of the root IP (with or without a pause after the complement):

- (32) a. * [IP Audù yā biyā bāshi-n(,) yanā dà kyâu].
 Audù 3ms.-perf. pay loans-ref. 3ms.-cnt. with good
 ‘(That) Audu paid the loans is/was nice/good’

- b. *_{[IP Bālā zā-i àuri Bintà(,) yā kāmātà].}
 Bāla 1fut.-3ms. marry Bintà 3ms.-perf. be better/fitting
 ‘(That) Bala will marry Binta is better/desirable’

These are all ungrammatical, though one could imagine it as someone uttering it out of thinking to himself. However, it seems to me that this is only acceptable when uttered with an intonational break as indicated with the comma and headed by a complementizer *cēwā* or *wai* “that” (to be discussed later), as opposed to say:

- (33) a. *_{[IP [e] mù biyā bāshi-n(,) yanā dà kyâu].}
 1pl.-subj. pay loans-ref. 3ms.-cnt. with good
 ‘(That) we should pay the loans is/was nice/good’
- b. *_{[IP [e] kī yi aurē bana(,) yā yi kyâu].}
 2fs. do marriage this year 3ms.-perf. do good/nice
 ‘(That) you should get married this year is good’

with subjunctive complement in the specifier of IP which seems bad to me with or without the intonational break (I will take up this matter where they can be transformed to grammatical ones). It is therefore clear now that these tensed sentences (see also the next subsection on some apparent tensed complements) can best be regarded as “afterthoughts” in a kind of right dislocated position, hence, the use of a pause before most of these CTEs. I conclude therefore that they are not complements to the CTEs under study.

2.2.2.5 Some Apparent Cases of Propositional Tensed Complements.

In subsection 2.2.2.3 above we have seen that sentences with tensed complements following these CTEs are ungrammatical. There are however a few instances where we get grammatical ones. The first case involves instances where the

CTE can be followed by a tensed complement optionally headed by a complementizer *cêwā* or *wai* meaning ‘that’ (to be discussed in detail in chapter 3) respectively. Another case is where some of the CTEs may be followed by a pause, an adverbial clause, or sometimes a simple PP. And most of the CTEs that may take such tensed clauses include some of the possibility, probability, likely, and certainty groups such as *mài yiwuwā nē*, ‘it is possible/likely’ *yâ/tâ yiwu*, ‘it is possible/likely’ *watakīlā nē*, ‘it is probability/likely’, etc., as well as some of the experiencer groups like *yanā V wà X NP* ‘it verb X NP’, *yanā V/VN NP* ‘it verb/verbal noun NP’ etc. And in *most* cases there is a pause before the CTEs. With some of the CTEs, the tensed clauses may follow them without necessarily any pause. This is mostly where the complementizer is not present. First consider instances where the CTE is followed by a tensed complement optionally headed by a complementizer *cêwā* or *wai*:

- (34) a. [e]_i yâ yiwu(.) [_{CP} (cêwā) [_{IP} Audù yâ tàfill]_i]
 3ms.-2fut. be possible that Audù 3ms.-perf. leave
 ‘It is possible/likely that Audu has left’
- b. [e]_i yanā bā nì māmākī(.) [_{CP} (cêwā/wai) ---]
 3ms.-cnt. give-dat. me surprise that
 [_{IP} [e] kā kāsà gamà aiki-n dà wurill]_i.
 2ms.-perf. be unable finish work-ref. with early
 ‘It surprises me that you failed to finish the work early’
- c. [e]_i mài yiwuwā nē(.) [_{CP} (cêwā) [_{IP} Àli zâ-i tàfill]_i.
 has possibility cop. that Àli 1fut.-3ms. leave
 ‘It is possible/likely that Ali will leave/go’

Note that the complement clause in (34a) for instance is not an object of the intransitive verb *yiwu*, ‘be possible/likely’, but rather a postposed subject of the whole predicate expression *yâ yiwu*, ‘it will be possible/likely’. It is however similar to other

céwā/wai clauses in the sense that (a) the *céwā/wai* can be deleted, and (b) it is semantically associated with the CTE *yā yiwu*. In these sentences and also in those where there is a pause before the CTE, I assume that the two clauses (i.e. the root -CTE clause and the post-CTE clause) are separate. Note that it is hard to realize the presence of a pause in a written text. It is also plausible to assume that in cases of these apparent tensed clauses following these CTEs, there is actually a “concealed” complement that occurs before the CTEs which has the meaning “one/someone to say/see that” or “to assume/consider that”, “the fact/idea/theory that”. In other words we may assume that the complement is underlyingly there but is omitted in the examples given earlier. Note that the subject of such a complement does not have to be only the impersonal one. Similarly, the verb in the subjunctive complement also does not have to be *cé* ‘say’. The following illustrate the presence of such a concealed complement (see also Mair 1990 for English examples):

- (35) a. $[e]_i$ zā-i dācē(,) $[Ip [e] à$ cé $[Ip [e]$ Audù yā ----
 1fut.-3ms. be suitable Imp.-subj. say Audù 3ms.-perf.
 gamà aikì-n-sà yāu]]_i.
 finish work-of-him today
 ‘It would/will be nice for one to say that Audu has finished his work today’
- b. $[e]_i$ yanà dà wùyā $[Ip [e] à$ cé $[Ip [e]$ zā kà ---
 3ms.-cnt. with difficulty/hard Imp.-subj. say 1fut.-2ms.
 iyà biyà-n bāshì-n dà wurì]]_i.
 be able paying-of loan-ref. with early
 ‘It is/was impossible/unlikely to say that you could pay the loan early’
- c. $[e]_i$ yanà bā nì māmākì(,) $[Cp [e] à$ cé ---
 3ms.-cnt. give-dat. me surprise Imp.-subj. say

[_{IP} Àli **yanà** zāgi-n 'yā'ya-n-sà]]_i.
 Àli 3ms.-cnt. insulting-of children-of-him

'It surprises me to say that (= the fact that) Ali insults/abuses his children'

- d. [_e]_i **yanà** dāmũ-n-ā(,) [_{CP} [_e] à cé ---
 3ms.-cnt. worrying-of-me Imp.-subj. say

[_{IP} [_e] **kinà** tsìkàri-n miji-n-ki à fìlì]]_i.
 3fs.-rel. perf. tickling-of husband-of-you at field

'It worries me if/when you tickle your husband openly'

- a. [_e]_i yā yìwu(,) [_{CP} (cêwā) [_{IP} Audù **yā** tàfì]]_i;
 3ms.-2fut. be possible that Audù 3ms.-perf. leave

'It is possible/likely that Audu has left'

- b. [_e]_i **yanà** bā nì māmākì(,) [_{CP} (cêwā/wai) ---
 3ms.-cnt. give-dat. me surprise that

[_{IP} [_e] **kā** kāsà gamà aiki-n dà wurì]]_i.
 2ms.-perf. be unable finish work-ref. with early

'It surprises me that you failed to finish the work early'

- (36) a. [_e]_i hàrāmùn nē(,) [_{CP} idan [_{IP} [_e] **kā** shā giyà]]_i;
 forbidden cop. if/when 2ms.-perf. drink alcohol

'It is/was unlawful if you drank alcohol'

- b. [_e]_i rashì-n tùnānī nē, [_{CP} idan [_{IP} [_e] **ka-kàn** ci àladè]]_i;
 lack-of thinking cop. if 2ms.-hab. eat pig

'It is a bad idea/foolish if you (habitually) eat pork'

- c. [_e]_i bā àbi-n kunyā ba nē(,) [_{CP} idan [_{IP} [_e] **yanà** ---
 neg. thing-of shame neg. cop. if 3ms.-cnt.

kwāna à gida-n sùrùka-n-sà]]_i;
 at home-of in-laws-of him

'It is not a shameful thing if he sleeps overnight at his in-laws' house'

- d. [e]_i mài yiwuwā nè(,) [C_p idan [I_p [e] yā sàyi mōtā]]_i
 has possibility cop. if 3ms.-perf. buy car
 ‘It is/was possible/likely if/when he has bought a car’
- c. [e]_i mài yiwuwā nè(,) [C_p (cēwā) [I_p Àli zā-i tàfī]]_i.
 has possibility cop. that Àli 1fut.-3ms. leave
 ‘It is possible/likely that Ali will leave/go’

Note that the pleonastic use of the verb ‘say’ and some other verbs of propositional attitude is also very frequent in English as well. Mair (1990:25) provides examples like the following:

- (37) ‘I often think’, Treece said rather smugly, ‘that it’s equally true *to say that genius is an infinite capacity for faking pains*’. (pp. 25 #23).
- (38) ... and *to say that they are - more brutal than any other section of the community* #just/simply isn’t true# - (pp. 25 # 24).

But even Mair herself admits that “strictly speaking, these sentences are slightly incongruous. Only the statement themselves (i.e. the that-clauses) can be true or false, but not the act of saying them” (pp. 25). Furthermore, in a footnote she continues to note that “note that such pleonastic infinitives occur only with predicates expressing absolute truth or falseness but not with those denoting degrees of likelihood (cf. ‘It’s just not probable/likely to say that the earth is flat’). Sentence-initial ‘to say that’ is often similar to idiomatic collocations such as the fact/idea/theory that. It helps speakers to avoid highly marked non-extraposed that-subject clauses (pp. 242)”.

Now, let us consider first, cases where a conditional tensed clause may follow these CTEs:

- (39) a. [e]_i yā dācē(,) [C_p idan [I_p Audù yā àuri Bintà]]_i.
 3ms.-perf. be suitable if/when Audù 3ms.-perf. marry Binta
 ‘It would/will be nice if/when Audu had married Binta’

- b. [e]_i yanā dà wùyā(,) [Cp idan [Ip [e] zā kà iyà ----
 3ms.-cnt. with difficulty/hard if/when 1fut.-2ms. be able
 biyà-n bāshì-n dà wurill_i.
 paying-of loan-ref. with early
 'It is/was impossible/unlikely if you could pay the loan early'
- c. [e]_i yanā bā nì māmākī(,) [Cp idan ---
 3ms.-cnt. give-dat. me surprise if/when
 [Ip Àli yanā zāgi-n 'yā'ya-n-sàll_i.
 Àli 3ms.-cnt. insulting-of children-of-him
 'It surprises me if/when Ali insults/abuses his children'
- d. [e]_i yanā dāmũ-n-ā(,) [Cp idan ---
 3ms.-cnt. worrying-of-me if/when
 [Ip [e] kinā tsīkàri-n miji-n-kì à fīlīll_i.
 3fs.-rel. perf. tickling-of husband-of-you at field
 'It worries me if/when you tickle your husband openly'
- (40) a. [e]_i hàrāmùn nē(,) [Cp idan [Ip [e] kā shā giyàll_i
 forbidden cop. if/when 2ms.-perf. drink alcohol
 'It is/was unlawful if you drank alcohol'
- b. [e]_i rashì-n tùnānī nē, [Cp idan [Ip [e] ka-kàn ci àladèll_i
 lack-of thinking cop. if 2ms.-hab. eat pig
 'It is a bad idea/foolish if you (habitually) eat pork'
- c. [e]_i bā àbi-n kunyā ba nē(,) [Cp idan [Ip [e] yanā ----
 neg. thing-of shame neg. cop. if 3ms.-cnt.
 kwāna à gida-n sùrùka-n-sàll_i
 at home-of in-laws-of him
 'It is not a shameful thing if he sleeps overnight at his in-laws' house'
- d. [e]_i mài yìwuwā nē(,) [Cp idan [Ip [e] yā sàyi mōtāll_i
 has possibility cop. if 3ms.-perf. buy car
 'It is/was possible/likely if/when he has bought a car'

There are however certain cases where even if there is a pause before the CTE, the sentence becomes ungrammatical. The following are ungrammatical:

- (41) a. * $[e]_i$ lallē nē, $[CP \text{ idan } [IP \text{ Audù } \textbf{yanā} \text{ gidā}]]_i$.
 certainly cop. if/when Audù 3ms.-cnt. home
 ‘It is certain if/when Audu is at home now’
- b. * $[e]_i$ tīlās nē(.) $[CP \text{ idan } [IP \text{ Aabù } \textbf{tanā} \text{ kōmāwā } \text{gidā}]]_i$
 necessary cop. if Aabù 3fs.-cnt. returning home
 ‘It is/was necessary if Abu is returning home’
- c. * $[e]_i$ wājibī nē(.) $[CP \text{ idan } [IP [e] \textbf{kanā} \text{ yī-n } \text{Sallāh}]]_i$
 obligatory cop. if/when 2ms.-cnt. doing-of Sallāh
 ‘It is/was obligatory if/when you are Praying’

The ungrammaticality of these sentences may have something to do with the semantics of the CTE and the TAM used in the post-CTE clause (a discussion of this will require an in-depth semantic study of the CTEs and the clauses following them. I therefore leave this issue open). But note that when these sentences are uttered as they are, they seem to be incomplete sentences. However, when they are followed by certain clauses, they then become grammatical. What is important here is that adverbial tensed clauses may follow some of the CTEs under study. When they do however, it should not be construed that they are complements to the CTEs. They are actually adjunct clauses. Here, we may recall that comparable English sentences with predicates like the ones in these Hausa sentences at one time have been claimed that their final clauses (i.e. the conditional clauses) function as “subjects”, but they cannot however be generated by an extraposition rule (see Jackendoff 1977:97). If these “when/if” clauses actually function like subjects in the same way their subjunctive counterparts we saw above do, then it should be possible to front

them. That is to occur in the pre-CTE position. This however is not borne out, since some of the CTEs do not seem to allow this fronting. Consider the following:

- (42) a. [CP idan [IP Audù yā àuri Bintà]], (wannàn lallai),
 if Audù 3ms.-perf. marry Bintà this surely
 [IP [e] yā dācē].
 1fut.-3ms. be suitable/nice
 ‘If/when Audu had married Binta, (this indeed), (it) is nice/good’
- b. [CP idan [IP [e] kinā tsikàri-n miji-n-ki à filli hakà]],
 if/when 2fs.-cnt tickling-of-of husband-of-you at field this
 [IP [e]_i yanā dāmū-n-ā matukā].
 3ms.-cnt. worrying-of-me extremely
 ‘If/when you tickle your husband openly this way, it worries me so much’
- > c. [CP idan [IP [e] zā kà iyà biyà-n bāshi-n dà wuril]],
 if 1fut.-2ms. be able paying-of loan-ref. with early
 [IP [e]_i yanā dà kyāu].
 3ms.-cnt. with nice/good
 ‘If you could pay the loan early, it is nice/good’
- > d. *[CP idan [IP [e] zā kà iyà biyà-n bāshi-n dà wuril]],
 if 1fut.-2ms. be able paying-of loan-ref. with early
 [IP [e]_i yanā dà wùyā].
 3ms.-cnt. with difficulty/hard
 ‘If you could pay the loan early, it is impossible/difficult/hard’
- > e. *[CP idan [IP Àli yā sàyi sābuwa-r mōtā]], ----
 if Àli 3ms.-perf. buy new-of car
 [IP [e]_i mài yiwuwā nē].
 has possibility cop.
 ‘If/when Ali has bought a new car, it is possible/likely’

As we can see from these examples, not all predicates will allow this fronting (compare the sentences in (42a-c) with those in (42d-e). A clear example is *mài yìwuwā nè*, *yanā yìwuwā*, and *yanā dà wùyā* as seen in the above examples. Note that these CTEs and those mentioned in (41) above require another clause or complement in the subjunctive as illustrated in the following:

- (43) a. [CP idan [IP [e] zā kà iyà biyà-n bāshì-n dà wuril],
if 1fut.-2ms. be able paying-of loan-ref. with early
[IP [e]_i yanā dà wùyā [IP [e] sù kai kà kōtù]].
3ms.-cnt. with difficulty/hard 3ms.-subj. take you court
'If you could pay the loan early, it is impossible that they would take you to court'
- b. [CP idan [IP Àli yā/ya sàyi sābuwa-r mōtā]], --
if Àli 3ms.-perf./rel.-perf. buy new-of car
[IP [e]_i mài yìwuwā nè [IP [e] yà bā nì tsōhuwā-r]]_i
has possibility cop. 3ms.-subj. give me old-ref.
'If/when Ali has bought a new car, it is possible/likely that he will give me the old one'

Furthermore, this possibility may sometimes depend very much on the kind of adverbial conditional clause that is used. Let me now turn to other cases where a temporal, manner tensed adverbial clause or a relative clause follows these CTEs. Consider the following:

- (44) a. [e]_i yā yi kyâu [CP tundà ----
3ms.-perf. do good/nice/better since
[IP Audù yā/ya biyā bāshì-n dà wuril]]_i.
Audù 3ms.-perf./rel.-perf. pay loan-ref. with early
'It is/was better/nice since Audu has paid the loans early'
- b. [e]_i yā yi kyâu [CP dà ----
3ms.-perf. do good/nice/better that/for/by

[_{IP} [e] ka gamà aiki-n yâu]]_i.
 2ms.-rel.-perf. finish work-ref. today

‘It is/was much better that/when you completed the work today’

- c. [_e]_i yanā bā nì māmākî [_{CP} yaddà ---
 3ms.-cnt. give-dat. me surprise how

[_{IP} Àli yakē zāgi-n ‘yā’ya-n-sà]]_i.
 Àli 3ms.-rel. perf. insulting-of children-of-him

‘It surprises me how Ali insults/abuses his children’

- d. [_e]_i yanā dāmũ-n-ā [_{CP} duk lōkàcî-n dà ---
 3ms.-cnt. worrying-of-me all time-def. that

[_{IP} [e] kikē tsikàri-n miji-n-kî à fīlī]]_i.
 3fs.-rel.-cnt. tickling-of husband-of-you at field

‘It worries me any time that/whenever you tickle your husband openly’

- e. [_e]_i mài yiwuwā nē [_{CP} tun tūni (mā) ----
 has possibility cop. long long ago prt.

[_{IP} Àli yā/ya sàyi sābuwa-r mōtā-r]]_i
 Àli 3ms.-perf./rel.-perf. buy new-of car-ref.

‘It is/was possible/likely that (long ago) Ali has bought the new car’

These examples indicate that a temporal/manner adverbial tensed clause or a relative clause may follow some of the CTEs as adjuncts. Like in the case of the conditional clauses, it should not be construed that they are complements to the CTEs. This is also clear if the clauses are fronted as in the following:

- (45) a. [_{CP} yaddà [_{IP} Àli yakē zāgi-n ‘yā’ya-n-sà]], ---
 how Àli 3ms.-rel. perf. insulting-of children-of-him

(wannàn lamārī), [Ip [e] yanā bā nì māmākī].
 this issue 3ms.-cnt. give-dat. me surprise

‘The way (= how) Ali insults/abuses his children, this issue surprises me’

- b. [CP lōkàcī-n dà [Ip Audù ya biyā bāshì-n --
 time-def. comp.=when Audù 3ms.-rel.-perf. pay loan-ref.

dà wuril], [Ip [e] yā yi kyâu].
 with early 3ms.-perf. do good/nice/better

‘The time (=when) Audu paid the loan early, it was nice/good/appropriate’

- c. [CP dà [Ip Audù ya biyā bāshì-n ---
 comp.= when Audù 3ms.-rel.-perf. pay loan-ref.

dà wuril], [Ip [e] yā bā nì māmākī].
 with early 3ms.-perf. give me surprise

‘When Audu paid the loan early, it was surprised’

As we can see from these examples, with relative clauses and time adverbial clauses, this fronting is also possible. Note that the clause in sentence (45c) may also be a relative clause where the head noun is omitted. Here if the head noun is present the sentence is grammatical. If however it is omitted the sentence becomes not as good as when it is present, hence the contrast between the last two sentence (see Bagari 1976 for these types of clauses). Note also not all CTEs will allow this fronting just like in the earlier cases we saw with “if/when” clauses. This is illustrated in (46). But these sentences may be improved if another clause/complement follows the root clause or where there is a head noun as in (47b). These clauses must however be considered separate if they are to be considered as grammatical.

- (46) a. *[CP dà [Ip Audù ya biyā bāshì-n' ---
 comp.= when Audù 3ms.-rel.-perf. pay loan-ref.

dà wurill, [IP [e] yanā dà wùyā].
 with early 3ms.-cnt. with difficult/hard

‘When Audu paid the loan early, it was impossible/hard’

- b. *_{[CP tun tūni [IP Àli yā/ya sàyi sābuwa-r mōtā]],}
 long long ago Àli 3ms.-perf./rel.-perf. buy new-of car

[IP [e]_i mài yìwuwā nē].
 has possibility cop.

‘Long ago Ali has bought a car, it is possible/likely’

- (47) a. _{[CP tun tūni [IP Àli yā/ya sàyi sābuwa-r mōtā]].}
 long ago Àli 3ms.-perf./rel.-perf. buy new-of car

[IP [e]_i mài yìwuwā nē [IP [e] yà bā ni tsōhuwā-r]].
 has possibility cop. 3ms.-subj. give me old-ref.

‘Long ago Ali has bought a new car, it is possible/likely that he will give me the old one’

- b. _{[NP máganà-r [CP wai[CP tun tūni [IP Àli yā/ya ---}
 talk/issue-def. that long ago Àli 3ms.-perf./rel.-perf.

sàyi mōtā]]], [IP [e]_i mài yìwuwā nē].
 buy car has possibility cop.

‘The saying that long ago Ali has bought a car, it is possible/likely’

As in the earlier ungrammatical sentences we saw above, another clause/complement of the CTEs must follow the CTEs before the sentences become grammatical. And the whole structure of the sentences would have to be altered an issue which I don’t intend to go into. One thing to note though is that, with predicates taking object clauses, there is no problem for a subjunctive sentence to occur as an adverbial clause. Discussion of this type of construction is also not our concern here (see Bagari 1976 for a detailed description of Hausa subjunctive adverbial clauses in general).

To conclude this subsection, it is clear through the discussion we had so far that even though the sentences exemplified above may superficially look like they are

propositional complements of the CTEs, they are however not. It seems to me therefore, that when these apparent tensed complements occur before these CTEs, they are not in the same sentence as the modal expressions. That is they actually occur as separate sentences, hence, the need for a pause before them. And any of these expressions could be used with a null complement which is understood to have been deleted. The question now is how can this be demonstrated? I turn to this issue now.

2.3 Subjunctive Propositional Complement in Pre-CTE Position.

In the previous sections I have discussed the overall surface form of sentences with CTEs which take subjunctive propositional complements. There, I briefly indicated that the general pattern is for the CTE to take a complement in subjunctive as its logical subject. In this respect I have shown that tensed clauses do not occur as subjects of the CTEs under study (as indicated in examples 14-15 above). But rather these tensed clauses occur as right dislocated afterthoughts) and, that nominalized complements do not occur in post-CTE position of these CTEs as well. And, from the examples given so far, it is clear that the expressions such as *yā kāmātà*, *yā dācē*, *yā fī kyāu*, *dōlè nē*, *mài yīwuwā nē*, *saurā kàḍan (nē)* etc. can take propositional subjunctive complement in their post-predicate position as their surface structure subject. This seems to indicate that all these CTEs require that their logical clausal subject be in their post position. It should be noted that with some speakers, there must be a pause after the CTEs *saurā kàḍan nē*, and, that the copula *nē* after *kàḍan* should be deleted. It is therefore clear that it can be concluded that the examples discussed above indicate that both CTEs with morphological INFL and copular CTEs share the same properties in that (a) the form of their complements must be in subjunctive, (b) the complements cannot be nominalized (with few exceptions to be discussed), and finally, (c) the complements cannot be tensed. The question now is can this propositional subjunctive complement

appear in pre-CTE subject position as the logical subject in surface structure as is the case in a language like English? I turn to this issue next.

2.3.1 Complement Cannot be in Subject (Spec of IP) Position:

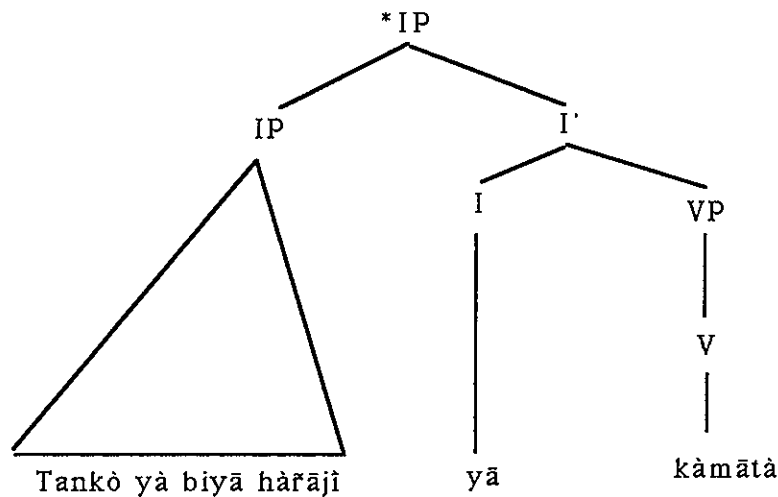
2.3.1.1 Complements of the *yā kāmātà*- group.

It is generally assumed in the literature that sentential subject (with a large number of complement taking predicates) may occur in the pre-predicate position (see Rosenbaum 1967, Hudson 1971, Delahunty 1983, McHugh 1984:4-5 and the references cited there). In Hausa, can a subjunctive propositional subject complement really occur in Spec of IP of the root clause as the logical surface structure subject as is found in English? Consider first the following examples from the *yā kāmātà* -group:

- (48) a. *_{[IP [IP Tankò yà biyā hàràjì] yā kāmātà].}
 Tankò 3ms.-subj. pay tax 3ms.-perf. be fitting/better
 ‘(That) Tanko should pay taxes is fitting/appropriate/desirable’
- b. *_{[IP [IP [e] kù gyārà hali-n-kù] yā dācè].}
 2pl.-subj. repair behavior-of-you 3ms.-perf. be suitable
 ‘(That) you should mend/correct your behavior is appropriate/desirable’
- c. *_{[IP [IP [e] kì tàfi gidā yāu] yā fi kyāu].}
 2fs.-subj. go home now 3ms.-perf. exceed good/nice
 ‘(That) you should go home now is much better’
- d. *_{[IP [IP [e] mù yi atisāyè yānzū] yanā dà kyāu].}
 1pl.-subj. do exercise now 3ms.-cnt. with good/nice
 ‘(That) we should exercise is good’
- e. *_{[IP [IP [e] à sāmī gōrò à L. A.] yanā dà wùyā].}
 Imp.-subj. get/find kola nuts in L.A. 3ms.-cnt. with hard
 ‘(That) a person/one would find kola nuts in L.A. is impossible/difficult’

As is evident from the above examples, the answer to the above question is in the negative. That is in surface structure, subjunctive sentential subject in Hausa cannot remain in its deep structure canonical subject position. Thus the structure of such sentences can be represented roughly in a tree diagram like the following:

(49)



It seems that this structure is not possible because an IP cannot immediately dominate another IP within the same root clause. In fact we will see later that even if it dominates an NP/CP as is assumed in the literature the structure would still be ungenerable unless some kind of transformation is assumed to have taken place.³ This will be discussed in the section on the interaction of the CTEs, the subject complements, and the complementizers.

2.3.1.2 Complements of the Copular CTE-group.

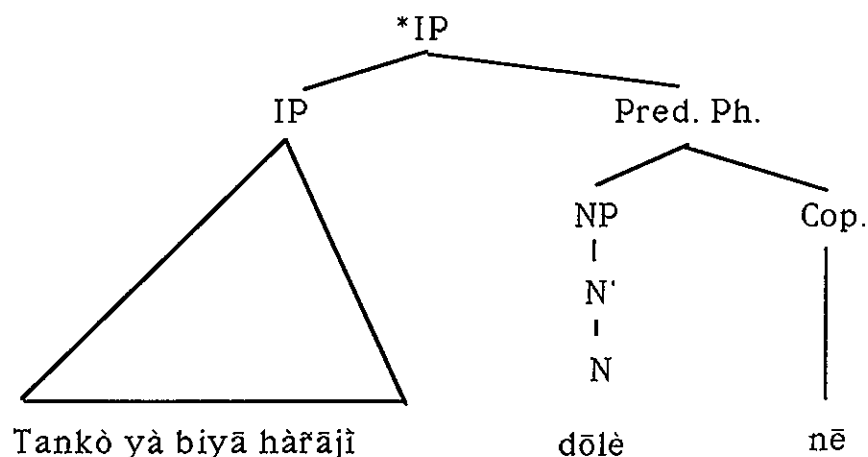
If subjunctive propositional complement cannot remain in its deep structure position in the specifier position of the *yā kāmātà*-group of CTEs, what about the copular ones? In other words do the two types of CTEs differ or behave in the same

manner as we observed above when their logical subjects occur in post-CTE position? To find out this consider the following:

- (50) a. *[_{IP} [_{IP} [e] kà àuri Bintà] dōlè nè].
2ms.-subj. marry Binta necessary cop.
'(That) you should marry Binta is necessary'
- b. *[_{IP} [_{IP} Aabù tà yi Sallàh] wājibī nè].
Aabù 3fs.-subj. do prayer obligatory cop.
'(That) Abu should pray is obligatory'
- c. *[_{IP} [_{IP} [e] kù shā giyā] hàrāmùn nè].
2ms.-subj. drink alcohol unlawful cop.
'(That) you should/for you to drink alcohol is unlawful'
- d. *[_{IP} [_{IP} [e] nà sàyi sābuwa-r mōtā] mài yīwuwā nè].
1s.-subj. buy new-of car has possibility cop.
'(That) I should buy a new car is possible/probable'
- e. *[_{IP} [_{IP} [e] à gamà àbinci] saurā kiris nè].
IMP.-subj. finish food remain a little cop.
'(That) one should finish (cooking) the food remain a little bit of time/is almost'
- f. *[_{IP} [_{IP} [e] kù ci bāshì dà yawā] rashì-n tūnānī nè].
2pl.-subj. eat loan with many lack-of thinking cop.
'(That) you should take too many loans is a bad idea'

Looking at these sentences, it is clear that the same constraint that applies to the *yā kam ātā* -group of CTEs is also applicable to the copular CTEs. This non-occurrence of the subjunctive propositional complement in pre-predicate position (within the root IP) is obligatory even where the subject of the complement is null as illustrated in some of the examples above. The structure of these sentences with copular CTEs as a whole may be represented roughly as follows:

(51)



From the foregoing description we can see that there is no doubt that these CTEs under discussion take subjunctive propositional subjects. But these propositional subjects cannot occur in sentence initial subject position of the complement taking expressions. If they do occur there, the sentence becomes ungrammatical. This is so if we consider the ungrammaticality of the examples in (48 and 50) where it becomes very clear that the subjunctive propositional subjects in Hausa do not occur in pre-CTE (Spec of IP) position in surface structure. Their preferred slot is at the end of the sentence (as we saw earlier in sentences illustrated in (11-12), indicating that all such clauses must in fact be in post-predicate positions at S-Structure. In other words I assume that in normal utterance, they do not occur in the specifier position of the root IP/S as indicated in the above tree diagrams. The question now is can we have a complementizer heading the postposed propositional subject and when the complement occur in pre-CTE position? I will defer this question until in chapter 3 on Hausa complementizers. Before that let me briefly discuss the role/status of the objects occurring after some of the CTEs given in 2.1.1 above.

2.4 On the Status of the NP in the Sequence [e] CTE + P + NP + CP/IP:

In the previous sections, I have shown that subjunctive propositional complements always follow the CTE whether the subject has overt or null subject. The question now is can we have an object NP immediately following the CTE before the postposed propositional complement? In other words will that NP be part of the matrix root clause as object or can it be the subject of the postposed propositional complement where that NP is preceded by such prepositions like *àkân*, *gà*, and *dà* ‘on/about, to/for’, and with/to/for’ respectively? The aim of this subsection is then to find out the answer to this question. My discussion will however be brief.

There are certain instances where we find an extra NP between these CTEs and the postposed propositional complement. One such case is where an oblique or direct object follows the CTE (verbal, nominal, or copular word). First consider a case where a CTE with morphological INFL is followed by a PP:

2.4.1 CTEs with Morphological INFL (Verbal-Type):

- (52) a. [e]_i yā kāmātà [pp à gārē m̀̀j] ----
 3ms.-perf. be fitting/better to/for us

[IP [e]_j m̀̀ biyā hàrājì dà wurì]_i
 1pl.-subj. pay tax with early

‘It is fitting/better for us to pay taxes early’

- b. [e]_i yā kāmācē kà; [IP [e]_j kà dainà kurbāwā]_i
 3ms.-perf. be fitting you 2ms.-subj. stop sipping

‘It is better/fitting/desirable for you to stop drinking (alcohol)’

- c. [e]_i yā kāmāci Bàrau; ----
 3ms.-perf. be fitting/better Bàrau

'It is better/fitting for Barau to stop drinking (alcohol)'

- 'It is desirable for the students to give a concerted effort in/towards their studies'**

- 'It appropriate/desirable for you to help each other'**

- 'It appropriate/desirable for the people to help each other'

- 'It is fitting/better for Bala/him to behave appropriately'**

(53) a. [e]_i zâ-i fi dâcêwâ [pp dà sũj]/[pp dà mutânê-n_j] -
1fut.-3ms. exceed suitability to they to people-ref.

[_{IP} [e]_j sù dīngà zīyartà-r jūnā]_i
 3pl.-subj. keep on visiting-of each other

‘It will be more appropriate/proper/desirable for them/the people that they keep visiting each other/we visit each other more often’

- b. [e]_j yanā dà muhim mancì [pp à gārē kī]_j -----
 3ms.-cnt. with importance to you

[_{IP} [e]_j kī àuri mijī na gārī]_i
 2fs.-subj. marry husband of good/reliable

‘It is important for you to marry a reliable/good husband’

- c. bā [e]_j shi dà àmfānī [pp à gārē kà]_j ---
 neg. it with importance to you

[_{IP} [e]_j kà dīngà zāgī-n mutānē]_i
 2ms.-subj. keep on abusing-of people

‘It is useless/unimportant for you that you keep abusing/insulting people’

In these examples we can see that a PP can occur between the CTE and the postposed subject complement. The PP is part of the root clause though. Note that for some speakers, the sentences are much better if some of the CTEs are immediately followed by a CP/IP rather than being separated by a PP or when there is a pause before the PP, which may also indicate that the PP is part of the root clause. Other CTEs with morphological INFL that may take PP + CP/IP include the following: *zā-i yī kyāu gā* ‘it will be nice to/for X’, *zā-i yī saukī gā X* ‘it will be easy to/for X’, *zā-i yī wùyā/wāhalā gā X* ‘it will be hard/difficult/impossible for X’, *yā fī kyāu gā X* ‘it is much better for X’, *yanā dà àmfānī gā X* ‘it is important/useful to/for X’, *yanā dà kyāu gā X* ‘it is nice/good for/to X’, *yanā dà muhim mancì gā X* ‘it is important/essential to/for X’, *yanā dà saukī gā X* ‘it is easy for X’, *yanā dà wùyā/wāhalā gā X* ‘it is hard/difficult/impossible for X’, *bā shi dà àmfānī gā X* ‘it is not important for X’, *bā shi dà àmfānī/kyāu/muhim mancì* ‘it is not important/nice/essential for X’, *yanā bā wā X māmākī/haushī* ‘it

surprises/annoys X', *yanā dà ban haushī/māmākī gā X* 'it is annoying/surprising to X', *yanā gīgītā X* 'it frightens X', *yanā yīwuwā gā X* 'it is possible/likely for X', etc. Now let us consider cases with copular CTEs:

2.4.3 Copular CTEs.

- (54) a. $[e]_i$ tīlās nē [pp à gārē shī_j] [IP [e]_j yà jē gidāl_i
 necessary cop. to/for him 3ms.-subj. go home
 'It is necessary/obligatory for him to go home'
- b. $[e]_i$ dōlè nē [pp à gārē kī_j] [IP [e]_j kī biyā ---
 necessary cop. to you 2fs.-subj. pay
 bāshī-n-ā dà wurī_i
 loan-of-me at early
 'It is necessary on/upon you that you should pay back the loans early'
- c. $[e]_i$ bābba-n nauyī nē [pp à kân kù_j] [IP [e]_j kù ---
 big-of responsibility cop. on you 2pl.-subj.
 tàimākā wà jūnā_i
 help dat. each other
 'It is a big responsibility on/upon you that you should help each other'
- d. $[e]_i$ wājibī nē [pp à kân mù_j] [IP [e]_j mù yi Sallāh_i •
 obligatory cop. on/upon us 1pl.-subj. do prayer
 'It is obligatory on/upon us that he pray/to pray'
- e. $[e]_i$ hārāmùn nē [pp à gārē mù_j] [IP [e]_j mù shā ---
 forbidden cop. to us 1pl.-subj. drink
 giyā à kōwànè hālī_i
 alcohol in/at any/every condition/state
 'It is forbidden for us to drink (any) alcohol under whatever/any condition'

- f. [e]_i rashì-n tùnānī nē [pp à gārē kà]_j ----
 lack-of thinking cop. to/from you

[IP [e]_j kà ci bāshì-n nan]_i
 2ms.-subj. eat loan-ref. that

‘It is a bad/foolish idea for you to get/receive that loan’

- g. bā [e]_i àbi-n kunyā ba nē [pp gà mùtùm]_j--
 neg. thing-of shame neg. cop. to/for person

[IP [e]_j yà kwāna à gida-n sùrùka-n-sà]_i
 3ms.-subj. spend night at home-of in-laws-of him

‘It is not shameful that a person sleep overnight at/in his in-laws’ house’

Like cases with verbal or nominal CTEs, these examples with copular CTEs also follow the same pattern. In other words a PP can occur between the copular word and the postposed prepositional complement. The PP is part of the root clause though, and it is always optional. Note that with copular CTEs, there are few CTEs that tend to lower the grammaticality of the sentence (for some speakers) when the CTEs take a PP which is then followed by a CP or IP. These sentences are illustrated in (55) below. The PP is also always optional.

- (55) a. ?[e]_i mài yìwuwā nē ?[pp à gārē nì]_j [IP [e]_j nà] ----
 has possibility cop. to/for me 1ms.-subj.

iyà sàye-n sābuwa-r mōtā]_i
 be able buying-of new-of car

‘It is possible/likely for me that I may be able to buy a new car’

- b. ?[e]_i watakīlā nē ?[pp gà masōyā-n]_j -----
 probably/perhaps cop. to lovers-ref.

[IP [e]_j sù yi aurē yānzul]_i
 3pl.-subj. do marriage now

‘It is probable/possible for the lovers to get/be married now’

c. ?[e]_i saurā kiris (nē) [pp à gārē nì]_j -----
 remain a little bit cop. to/for me

[IP [e]_j nà gamà àbincî-n]_i
 1s.-subj. finish food-ref.

‘It remains a little bit (of time) for me to finish (cooking) the food’

From these examples, it became clear that CTEs like *hàramùn nē*, *hàlâs nē*, *wājibī nē* etc., may subcategorize for a PP followed by a CP or IP. However, they preferably take PPs + IPs not PPs + CPs. While CTEs like *hàrāmùn nē*, *hàlâk nē*, *wājibī nē*, are optionally S-bar deleting predicates, CTEs like *mài yīwuwā nē*, *saurā kiris nē*, and a few others not mentioned do not freely take a PP + CP like the other copular CTEs exemplified in (53-55) above. In fact for most speakers *mài yīwuwā nē* and *saurā kiris nē* do not even take a PP object except of course in a parenthetical expression like *saurā kiris nē, à ganin Aabù, tà gamà aiki-n* ‘It remains a little bit of time, according to Aabù/in Aabù's opinion, for her to finish the work’ (see chapter 3 on complementizers).

Finally, it should also be noted as I mentioned earlier, that there seems to be some differing grammaticality judgment on this issue. Some speakers reject the sentences in (55) for instance, some accept it, while still others are not sure whether the PP should be there or not. I therefore have to admit here that I have no clear-cut solution to this problem. It might be a lexical or morphological problem which I am not going to get into. I therefore use question marks before the sentences because of the native speakers' differences with respect to their grammaticality judgments. This indicates that these CTEs may actually prefer to take just bare IP complements where the S-bar/CP is assumed to have been deleted. The question is can the object of the preposition or the object that is directly govern by a verb function as the subject of the subjunctive propositional complement? I briefly discuss this issue now.

2.4.4 A PP Object Cannot be both the Object of the Prep. and at the Same Time the Subject of the Subjunctive Propositional Complement.

The main reason for bringing these examples is to find out if the noun complements to the prepositions such as *gà* (+ noun) 'to/for', *à gārē* (+ pronoun), 'to (+ pronoun)', *àkân* 'on/about/with regard to', *dà* 'with', or the NP governed by the matrix verb as in *kàmāci Abdù* or *kàmācē shì* may function as the subjects of the complement clauses as we find in a language like English where the preposition 'for' may sometimes be used as a complementizer in a 'for-to' complements.

2.4.4.1 Some Constituency Tests.

In the previous subsection I have indicated that in Hausa, a preposition and a noun following it form one constituent, that is, a PP. Therefore, those CTEs allowing PPs which may be followed optionally by a complementizer (as we shall see later) are not totally S-bar deleting CTEs in Hausa. I therefore assume that in Hausa there are no structures like the following for both CTEs with morphological INFL and copular CTEs:

- (56) a. * $[e]_i$ yā kāmātà $[CP$ gā $[IP$ mutānē-nj sù biyā
 3ms.-perf. be fitting/better for people-ref. 3pl.-subj. pay
 hārājī]]i
 'It is fitting/better for the people to pay taxes'
- b. * $[e]_i$ yanā yiwuwā $[CP$ gā $[IP$ Audùj yà sādu dà
 3ms.-cnt. be possible/likely to/for Audù 3ms.-subj. meet with
 Bintà à Kanò]]i
 Bintà in Kano
 'It is possible/likely for Audù to meet Binta in Kano'

- (57) a. **[e]_i wājibī nē [CP à kân [IP kōwāj yà yi Sallāh]]_i*
obligatory cop. on everyone 3ms.-subj. do prayer
'It is obligatory on every one that he/she should pray/do the Prayers'
- c. **[e]_i dōlè nē [CP (à) gārē [IP nīj in tàfi dà wuril]]_i*
necessary cop. to me 1s.-subj. leave/go with early
'It is necessary for me that I should leave/go early' =
'It is necessary for me to leave/go early'
- c. **[e]_i mài yīwuwā nē [CP gà [IP Audùj yà sàyi gidāl]]_i*
has possibility cop. to/for Audù 3ms-subj. buy house
'It is possible/probable/likely for Audu to buy a house'

These examples show that a preposition like *gà/à gārē* 'to/for', can never govern the subject of the postposed complement across the IP. This indicates that it is not a complementizer. The prepositional phrases clearly are complements to the matrix predicate and the complement must follow them. This is clearer in the following where both sentences are ungrammatical when the PP is moved to the end of the sentence and the object of the preposition is bound by the subject of the complement:

- (58) a. **[e] yā kāmātā [IP [e]_i yàj biyā hārājī ---*
3ms.-perf. be fitting 3ms.-subj. pay tax
[pp gà Audùj]].
for/to Audù
'It is better that he pay taxes to/for Audù'
- b. **[e] yā kāmātā [IP Audùj yàj biyā hārājī ----*
3ms.-perf. be fitting Audù 3ms.-subj. pay tax
[pp gārē shīj]].
for/to him
'It is better that he pay taxes to/for Audù'

Another piece of evidence that can be used to test this claim involves the possibility for fronting of the PP/AdvP to the beginning of the sentence. Consider the following:

- (59) a. [TP [TOP [pp gà Tankò_i]], [IP Pro yā kāmātà ----
for Tankò 3ms.-perf. be fitting/desirable
[IP [e]_{i/j} yā biyā hārājì]].
3ms.-subj. pay tax
'For Tanko, it is better that he_{i/j} should pay taxes'
- b. [TP [TOP [pp gà Audù_i]], [IP [e] tìlàs nē ----
for Audù necessary cop.
[IP [e]_{i/j} yā kōmā gidā]].
3ms.-subj. return home
'For Audu, it is necessary that he_{i/j} should return home'
- (60) a. [CP [pp gà Tankò_i nē [IP Pro ya kāmātà --
for Tankò cop. 3ms.-rel.-perf. be fitting/desirable
[IP [e]_j yā biyā hārājì]].
3ms.-subj. pay tax
'It is/was to Tanko_i that it is better that he_j pay the taxes'
- b. [CP [pp gà Audù_i nē [IP [e] tìlàs Ø ---
for Audù cop. necessary cop.
[IP [e]_j yā bā dà kudî-n]].
3ms.-subj. give-CAU. money-ref.
'It is to Audu_i that it is necessary tthat he_j should give the money'

These examples indicate that the PP can be topicalized (where the NP is set off by a pause) or Wh-moved to COMP by clefting. Notice that with clefting, the person who is to carry out the event/activity in the complement clause is someone other than the person in that is wh-moved to COMP. Whereas in the case of topicalized NP, the performer of the action to be carried out can either be the topicalized NP or someone else as indicated in the

(61) a. *_{[IP [CP [pp gà Tankò [IP Pro yà biyā hàràjì]]] ---}
for Tankò 3ms.-subj. pay tax

yā kāmātà].
3ms.-perf. be fitting/desirable/better

'For Tankò to pay taxes (it) is fitting/better/desirable'

- (62) a. *_{[TP [TOP [pp gà Tankò] [_{IP} Pro yà biyā hàràjì fall],}
for Tankò 3ms.-subj. pay tax prt.

[_{IP} [e] yā kāmātà].
3ms.-perf. be fitting/desirable/better

'As for Tanko to pay taxes, (it) is fitting/better/desirable'

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These examples show that when such wh-fronting or topicalization is done the sentence becomes ungrammatical. Since this movement operation is not possible, it then confirms our claim that the NP of the PP is not part of the propositional complement and cannot be subject of the complement as well. These sentences also indicate that Hausa does not have a homophonous complementizer like the English *'for'* which may function as both a true preposition and a complementizer 'for'. (see Bresnan 1972:77-92, Thompson and Silva 1977 and the references cited there). In Hausa, when a preposition like *gà* occurs after a CTE, the NP after it must be an oblique object. The NP does not function as both the oblique object and at the same time the nominative subject of the propositional complement. If however the preposition is not there, the NP after the CTE is the subject of the complement clause. Furthermore, an object NP governed by the CTE (as in CTE + NP + CP/IP) is always part of the root clause.

2.4.5 General Conclusions.

The above examples show that the prepositions that head the object NP just before the CP/IP do not behave like the English preposition *"for"* or *"of"*. If Hausa has such prepositions the above sentences in (61-62) should be grammatical. However, these sentences will not be grammatical even if the preposition + NP are separated by a pause intonationally. That is if there is a break before the complement clause headed by the prepositions and the root IP, and whether the sequence is topicalized, clefted, or pseudo-clefted (these processes will be discussed in chapters 4-5). Other tests that can be used involve the binding and control relationships between the object PP and a subject or object occurring in the complement clause. For the moment it is possible to assume that there does not seem to be any syntactic evidence to show that in Hausa, in a sequence of a preposition + NP, such an NP object could be considered as the subject of the

propositional subject complement, or that a preposition like *gà* can occur in the COMP position governing the specifier position of an IP of the root clause (see Rosenbaum 1967:106, and Thompson and Silva 1977 for discussion of English 'for' where it is claimed that the English preposition 'for' in comparable contexts given above is a complementizer and at the same time the subject of the complement is also the object of the preposition).

Finally, it should be noted however, that this view on English subject clause of the type "*for + NP + infinitive*" is also disputed. Many scholars assume that the preposition in such a sequence is a 'true' preposition and the NP is its object forming a PP. The subject of the complement clause is deleted under identity with the prepositional object (for this view or otherwise, see Aijmer 1972:91, Lasnik and Fiengo 1974:563, Menzel 1975:207, Bresnan 1972[1979]:264, Buyskens 1987, Eagleson 1972, Faraci 1974, and Jørgensen 1975:134, 1981, 1982 and the references cited there).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

¹ It is to be noted that CTEs like *yā kasàncē*, 'it happened', *yā nūnà àlāmà-r/àlāmu-n*, 'it appears/indicates', *yā fitō à fili*, 'it appears clearly/it is clear', which may take infinitival clauses in languages like English, cannot take subjunctive clauses in Hausa. The only CTE above that may take subjunctive sentential subject is *kasàncē*, but only when the INFL of the CTE is in the TAM other than the perfective, especially the future or continuative TAMs. In other words, it is possible only when the event/activity described in the propositional subject is not realized, hence, the non-occurrence of perfective TAM in the CTE if it is followed by a subjunctive complement. This possibility of *kasàncē* to take subjunctive propositional complement is illustrated in the following:

- (i) [e] *yanā iyà kasàncēwā* ---
 3ms.-cnt. be able to becoming/happening/turning out
- [_{IP} *mùtùm yà sāmī rahamā*] *in yā yi iri-n wànnan aiki-n.*
 person 3ms.-subj. get/find mercy if 3ms.-pst. do kind-ref. that work-ref.
 'It could happen for a person to be blessed (with mercy) if he has done such a work/activity'
- (ii) [e] *yā iyà kasàncēwā* ---
 3ms.-2fut. be able to being/becoming/happening/turning out
- [_{IP} *mùtùm yà sāmī rahamā*] *in yā yi iri-n wànnan aiki-n.*
 person 3ms.-subj. get/find mercy if 3ms.-pst. do kind-of. that act/work-ref.
 'It could happen for a person to be blessed (with mercy) if he has done such a work/activity'

- (iii) [e] zâ-i iyà kasàncêwā -----
 1fut.-3ms. be able being/becoming/happening/turning out
 [ɪp [e] mù iyà sāmù-n rahamā ta yî-n iri-n wannàn aikì].
 1pl.-subj. be able getting-of mercy by doing-of type-of this act
 'It could happen that we might be blessed by doing this kind of activity'

² Note that with some of these CTEs, the ungrammaticality of constructions may be due to some semantic mismatch between the CTE and the tensed complements. In other words, there may be a requirement of "TAM matching" between the two clauses. That is if the CTE is perfective, in most cases the clause will also preferably be in perfective. If the CTE has progressive TAM, the complement may also occur in progressive or future TAM. Similarly, if the CTE is in the future TAM, the complement may also take a future or progressive TAM. With the latter two, this is understandable, since both progressive and future TAM are usually required with an undetermined propositional complements. And this is why in cases where a subjunctive occurs, it is also possible for future or progressive TAM to occur. I will not however go into this issue since doing so will take me off the course.

³ According to some speakers, some of these sentences can be acceptable only when certain contexts are provided. Some of such contexts are (a) where the speaker is talking to him/herself, (b) where the subjunctive sentence is uttered with a high pitch, in a kind of reprimanding manner, or, (c) as an advise to the addressee. But even these few speakers claim that the most natural way to utter all the sentences is for the complement sentence to occur in post-CTE position.

CHAPTER 3 The System of Hausa Complementizers Heading Subjunctive Propositional Complements.

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter I shall give a descriptive survey of some of the complementizers and particles introducing complements and clauses. By a survey I mean that the description is not going to be a complete one since this dissertation is mainly on subjunctive propositional complements and nominalized complements of CTEs under discussion. The chapter is therefore concerned with two issues. The first is to present a description of complementizers, since there is a need to set up grammatical category of complementizers in any description of complementation, and the second is to establish the facts that in normal utterance, the presence of Hausa complement introducing words such as *cêwā* 'that', *wai* 'that', *kadà/kar* 'lest', *kō* 'whether', *kō dā*, 'even if', *kō dā* 'even when/if', *kō (... kō)* 'either/whether ...X... or ..Y', and the subordinate introducing word *dā* 'with/that/when/which/for/to etc.', which may all may head a subjunctive propositional complement does not always make such a sentence grammatical.

In this regard, I will show that a subjunctive propositional complement (whether it has a null or overt subject) never requires any governing preposition like *gā* 'to/for' or *dā* 'with/that/to/for' from the COMP position. And that is the case whether the complement is in post-CTE or pre-CTE positions and this is also the case whether such complement is assumed to be in a position outside of the root clause or remains in its logical subject position (i.e. Spec of IP). My aim is therefore to discuss the relationship between these complementizing and clause introducing morphemes, the CTEs, and the subjunctive propositional complement in either post-CTE or pre-CTE positions. Discussing the role of these complementizing morphemes and particles with object complements will however be briefly touched on where there is only a need for that.

3.1 Defining the Terms: A Brief Review of the Literature.

The term complementizer was first introduced by Rosenbaum (1967) where he considers words like '*that, for-to, if, whether, and POSS-ing*', to be the formatives/morphemes that introduce complements. Since then, many linguists have adopted this term. Bresnan (1970, 1972) in particular used this term, and also introduced the term COMP to be a position where the complementizers are found. She introduced COMP as a category label heading its own projection $S' \rightarrow COMP\ S$ as the structure of every sentence whether it is an embedded clause or a main clause. This has been the position taken by many grammarians. There is however many controversies as to how many complementizers may occur in a single COMP position or even the structure of the COMP itself (see Bresnan 1972, Chomsky 1973, Huang 1977, Grimshaw 1977, Grimshaw 1979, Grimshaw and Bresnan 1978, Goldsmith 1981, and Reinhart 1978, 1980, and particularly 1982). All these authors at least agreed on one thing. And this thing is the fact that the COMP is the position which contains complementizers (whatever formative is considered as a complementizer, and irrespective of what properties this element may have). There have been several analyses on how complementizers are represented in deep structure and how they may appear in surface structure (see MacCawley 1988 volume 1 and the references cited there for a review of such positions taken by many linguists working on English complementation).

With regard to sentential subjects however, it has been generally assumed that in a language like English for instance, the grammatical roles of subject filled by a simple NP in a pre-predicate position can also be filled by an embedded complement headed by a complementizer like '*that*' or '*for ...to*', (see Rosenbaum 1967 for English, and Bagari 1972:35-46 for Hausa). And this depends whether the complement is a tensed, infinitival, or nominalized one. One thing that has to be noted though is the fact that, some of the

points raised with regard to the position of complementizers and the complements they head (together with the transformations involved) may only be applicable to English. For instance in Hausa, with predicates taking object complements, the occurrence of these complementizing words such as *cêwā* and *wai* is very common though not obligatory overt but with the CTEs under study here, the occurrence of such complementizing words (and others mentioned above) with subjunctive propositional complement (when it occurs in its logical pre-CTE position) is not as common as in the case of predicates taking object clauses (see Bagari 1972, Tuller 1986, and Dimmendaal 1989 for discussion on complementizers, particularly with object complements).

3.2 The Complementizers of Hausa: The Surface Facts.

In most Hausa descriptions on complementation, words like *cêwā*, *wai* ‘that’, *kō* ‘whether’, *kō ...kō* ‘either .. or ...’, *kadà/kar*, ‘lest’ *don/dômin* ‘in order/so that/because’, *dà* ‘with/that/to/for’, and various prepositions are considered to be complementizers (cf. Bagari 1972, 1976, Tuller 1986, Dimmendaal 1989, and the references cited there). While it is well documented that a lot of CTEs taking subjunctive object complements are regularly headed by these complementizing words, very little has been said about the relationship between these complementizing words and CTEs like *yā kāmātà*, *dōlè nē*, etc., which take subject propositional complements. In this chapter it will be shown that subjunctive propositional complements to these CTEs may also be headed by some of these complementizing words more regularly than expected. I will only deal with *cêwā* ‘that’, *wai* ‘that’, *dà* ‘with/that/to/for’, and the particle *kō* with its various functions as well as where it co-occurs with another *kō* as conjunctions *kō ...(kō)* ‘either/whether ...X ... or ...Y’. The negative clause introducing particle *kadà/kar* ‘lest’ will however be dealt with in a different chapter dealing with the issue

of negation within the CTEs and the subjunctive propositional complements. I shall now give a description of these complementizing words one by one.

3.2.1 The Status of Cêwā Complementizer.

There has been a considerable discussion on complements introduced by the formative *cêwā* in Hausa descriptions on complementation. This formative has the meaning of ‘saying’ when it is not used as a complementizer. It is actually derived from the word *cê* ‘to say’, and therefore a verbal noun or nominalized form of the verb. But syntactically, it seems to have at least some of the functional category properties of “complementizer”, in that its literal meaning ‘saying’ is obviously lost in many of the contexts where it occurs. In these cases the meaning of *cêwā* when used as a complementizer is just ‘that’. *Cêwā* however, is not a “neutral” complementizer like English ‘that’ or French ‘que’, and use of it is not only optional, but in fact, the option of using it is far less frequent than its use in texts to introduce subject complements, such as complements of *yā kāmātā*, *dōlè nē*, etc., or even the object complements to such predicates like *sanî* ‘to know’, *sô* ‘want/like’ in older texts. There is however a tendency by modern writers (especially the younger generation), and in spoken utterances to use it more often with object complements than is usually expected (see for example the novel by Dan’azumi Bāba Cēdiyar ‘Yangùrāsā, “Rikicin Dūniyā”).¹

3.2.1.1 Cêwā as a Morpheme Introducing Varieties of Clauses.

While the majority of predicates taking complements or clauses introduced by the formative/clause introducer *cêwā* are tensed (where the TAMs make independent statements in the “real-world”, and even where the TAM is of the future type), there are however a significant number of subjunctive complements that are also introduced by this

complementizing word. Here the subjunctive “tends to carry the notion that the action/event is contingent upon some other notion (Furniss 1991:99-100)”. Such predicates taking subjunctive complements/clauses include *gàrgàdā* ‘warn/admonish’, *nēmā* ‘seek’, *ūmartā* ‘order’, *shāwartā* ‘advise’, to mention just a few (see Parsons 1981, Bagari 1972, 1976, Furniss 1991, Jaggar 1992 and the references cited there for discussions on these types of complements). These and other semantic categories of predicates not mentioned regularly introduce object complements with *cēwā* as the complementizing word. Perhaps a few examples will illustrate:

- (1) a. Audù yā fadā [Cp cēwā [Ip Àli zā-i gāyyacē shi]].
 Audù 3ms.-perf. mention saying=that Àli 1fut.-3ms. invite him
 ‘Audù said that Àli will invite him’
- b. yârâ-n sun tsayâ [Cp cēwā [Ip [e] sun maidō --
 children-def. 3pl.-perf. insist saying=that 3pl.-perf. return
 manà dà kuḏi-n-mù]]. (Furniss 1991:100).
 dat.-us with money -of-us
 ‘The children insisted that they had paid us back our money’
- (2) a. Sarkī yā gārgādē kù [Cp cēwā ----
 Emir 3ms.-perf. admonish you saying=that
 [Ip [e] kù biyā hàrāji-n]].
 2pl.-subj. pay tax-def.
 ‘The Emir admonished/warned them that they should pay the taxes’
- b. yârâ-n sun tsayâ [Cp cēwā [Ip [e] mù mayar --
 children-def. 3pl.-perf. insist saying=that 1pl.-subj. return
 musù dà kuḏi-n-sù]]. (Furniss 1991:100).
 dat.-them with money-of-them
 ‘The children insisted that we should pay them back their money’

These examples indicate that *cêwā* is functioning as a complementizer introducing an object complement. The examples in (1) indicate where the complementizing word introduces tensed object complements while in (2) it shows where subjunctive object complements are headed by the same complementizing word. Note that the verb *cê* “to say” itself, can be the main predicate taking a complement and such a complement cannot be directly introduced by the complementizing word *cêwā*. Nor can it be possible even where there is another NP separating *cê* and the complement (unless of course there is a performance error in spoken utterance which is usually heard from time to time). Consider the following sentences where the complements of *cê* in (3) are with tensed TAM while those in (4) are with subjunctive TAM:

- (3) a. Audù yā *cê* [_{CP} Ø [_{IP} Àli zâ-i gàyycē shi]].
 Audù 3ms.-perf. say Ø Àli 1fut.-3ms. invite him
 ‘Audù said that Àli will visit him’
- b. *Audù yā *cê* [_{CP} *cêwā* [_{IP} Àli zâ-i gàyycē shi]].
 Audù 3ms.-perf. say saying=that Àli 1fut.-3ms. invite him
 ‘Audù said that Àli will visit him’
- (4) a. Sarkī yā *cê* [_{CP} Ø [_{IP} [e] kù biyā hārāji-n]].
 Emir 3ms.-perf. say comp. 2pl.-subj. pay tax-def.
 ‘The Emir said that you should pay the taxes’
- b. *Sarkī yā *cê* [_{CP} *cêwā* [_{IP} [e] kù biyā hārāji-n]].
 Emir 3ms.-perf. say saying-of=that 2pl.-subj. pay tax-def.
 ‘The Emir said that you should pay the taxes’

These examples show that with both tensed and subjunctive complements of the predicate *cê*, the complementizer *cêwā* cannot be overtly present. Hence the ungrammaticality of the (b) examples. Note that the verb here introduces clauses of indirect discourse.

following types:

- 'Suppose/say, "that you would keep waking up early in the morning", you would certainly be able to finish the work in one month'

complement is a subject or an object one. This will be clearer in the discussion of the

examples to follow. For now I will just assume that there is an indication that this complementizer may have some semantic value (see Bresnan 1972[9]:70-77 for the English complementizer ‘that’ and its semantic role).

3.2.1.2 Cêwā as a Complementizer in Post-CTE Position.

I begin first with the instances where the *cêwā* complementizing word introduces subjunctive propositional complements in post-CTE-position. The sentences in (6-7) below illustrate where the subjunctive propositional complement may occur with the (optional) complementizer *cêwā* in post-CTE position:

- (6) a. [e]_i yā kāmātà [CP (cêwā) [IP [e] mù biyā hàràjì]]_i
 3ms.-perf. be fitting that 1pl.-subj. pay tax
 ‘It is fitting/better/desirable that we should pay taxes’
- b. [e]_i yanā yìwuwā [CP (cêwā) [IP [e] nà àuri Dìjell]]_i
 3ms.-cnt. be possible that 1s.-subj. marry Dìje
 ‘It is possible/likely that I will marry Dìje’
- c. [e]_i yanā dà muhim mancî [CP (cêwā) -----]
 3ms.-cnt. with importance that
 [IP [e] kî gamà aikî-n banall]_i
 2fs.-subj. finish work-def. this year
 ‘It is important that you finish the work this year’
- (7) a. [e]_i dōlè nē [CP (cêwā) [IP [e] yà àuri Bintà]]_i
 necessary cop. that 3ms.-subj. marry Bintà
 ‘It is necessary that he should marry Bintà’
- b. [e]_i mài yìwuwā nē [CP (cêwā) [IP [e] nà sàyi mōtā]]_i
 has possibility cop. that 1ms.-subj. buy car
 ‘It is possible/likely that I would buy a car’

- c. [e]_i shìr mē nē [CP (cēwā) [IP [e] kà yi rītāyā yànzull]_i
 nonsense cop. that 2ms.-subj. do retire now

'It is nonsense/stupid/foolish that you retire now'

In all these sentences, the subjunctive propositional complements are headed optionally by the complementizer *cēwā*. But it should be mentioned that with some speakers, usually the sentences are much better without the complementizer, hence, the optionality of *cēwā*. Semantically, it only shows the meaning that the propositional complement it heads is a “fact” in the sense that the event/action to be carried out by the subject referred to in the complement of the CTE is a fact. Note that when *cēwā* occurs between the root CTE and its post-posed complement, there is usually a tendency to have a little pause before the CTE, indicating that the complements to such CTEs might sometimes be right dislocated ones as they may also be left dislocated structures when they occur in pre-CTE position. But see Tuller 1986:166 who claims that “complementizers must be present in the complement of *radā* ‘whisper’, and *bā māmākī* ‘give surprise’. According to her, lack of complementizer forces a reading where the complement of *radā* (for instance) is a direct quote”. As the above examples show, this is not always so, especially with the experiencer predicates like *yanā dādādā/farāntā rān* X ‘it pleases X’, *yanā dā ban shā’awā* ‘it is interesting’, etc. I will take up this issue in the chapter on topicalization of subjunctive propositional complements. Let me now turn to *cēwā* complementizer introducing subjunctive propositional complement in pre-CTE position.

3.2.1.3 *Cēwā* as a Complementizer in Pre-CTE Position.

As I mentioned earlier, the presence of the complementizer *cēwā* to head such a subjunctive propositional complement does not seem to save the sentence from being ungrammatical (but see McHugh 1984 and Bagari 1972 on *cēwā* complements). The sentence can be grammatical if there is however a pause after the complement clause and,

whether the complement is headed by *cêwā* or not. Consider the following illustrating this fact:

- (8) a. [CP (cêwa-r)² [IP Tankò yà biyā hàràjì]], ---
 saying-of.=that Tankò 3ms.-subj. pay tax
 [IP [e] yā kāmātà].
 3ms.-perf. be fitting/better/desirable
 ‘(The fact/saying/assertion) that Tankò should pay taxes is desirable’
- b. [CP (cêwā) [IP [e] kù shā giyā]], ---
 that 2pl.-subj. drink alcohol
 [IP [e] yā hàramtā].
 3ms.-perf. be unlawful
 ‘(The fact/saying/assertion) that you should drink alcohol is forbidden’
- c. [CP (cêwā) [IP [e] in fid dà kâinā dāgà lâifî-n]], --
 that 1s.-subj. get out with myself from fault-def.
 [IP [e] yā zama dōlè (nē) à gārē ni].
 3ms.-perf. become necessary cop. to me
 ‘(The fact/saying/assertion) that I should free myself from the allegation is desirable/necessary’
- (9) a. [CP (cêwa-r) [IP [e] kà àuri Bintà]], ----
 saying-def.=that 2ms.-subj. marry Bintà
 [IP [e] mài yiwuwā nē].
 has possibility cop.
 ‘(The fact/saying/assertion) that you should marry Bintà is possible/likely’
- b. [CP (cêwā) [IP [e] nà kōm à gidā], [IP [e] tīlās nē].
 that 1s.-subj. return home necessary cop.
 ‘(The fact/saying/assertion) that I should return home is necessary’

- c. [CP (cêwā) [IP [e] à tunà bāya]], [IP [e] rōkō nē].
 that imp.-subj. remember past begging cop.
 ‘(The fact/saying/assertion) that one should remember the past is desirable’

If there is no comma (as in writing), or an intonational break (as in a spoken utterance), the sentence becomes unusual and is mostly rejected. To see this, consider the following examples with *cêwā* complementizer introducing the complement and without a pause before it:

- (10) a. *[IP [CP (cêwa-r) [IP Tankò yà biyā hàrājì]] ----
 saying-def.=that Tankò 3ms.-subj. pay tax
 yā kāmātà].
 3ms.-perf. be fitting/better/appropriate
 ‘(The fact/saying/assertion) that Tankò should pay taxes is appropriate’
- b. *[IP [CP (cêwā) [IP [e] à sāmī gōrò à L. A.]] --
 that IMP.-subj. get/find kolanuts in L.A.
 yanā dà wùyā].
 3ms.-cnt. with hard/difficulty
 ‘(The fact/saying/assertion) that a person/one would find kolanuts in L.A. is impossible’
- (11) a. *[IP [CP (cêwā) [IP Audù yà kōmā gidā]] dōlè nē].
 that Audù 3ms.-subj. return home necessary cop.
 ‘(The fact/saying/assertion) that Audù should return home is necessary’
- b. *[IP [CP (cêwā) [IP [e] nà sàyi mōtā]] mài yiwuwā nē].
 that 1s.-subj. buy car has possibility cop.
 ‘(The fact/saying/assertion) that I should buy a new car is possible/likely’

The following are therefore rough representations of the two types of structures of these sentences where (12a) represents sentences with morphological INFL while (12b) represents structures with copular predicate phrase:

- (12) a. * $[\text{IP} [\text{CP} [\text{C} \text{ COMP} [\text{IP} \text{ X}]]] [\text{I}' \text{ AGR VP/NP}]]$.
 b. * $[\text{IP} [\text{CP} [\text{C} \text{ COMP} [\text{IP} \text{ X}]]] [\text{PredP. NP COP.}]]$.

Where CP is assumed to be in Spec of IP of the root clause.

The above sentences clearly show that the subjunctive propositional complements to the CTEs under study do not seem to occur in the specifier position of the root clause, but rather in the peripheral position of the IP. Since the COMP position may or may not be filled as our examples indicate, it is then clear that the CTEs taking subjunctive propositional complement are both S and S-bar taking predicates. When the complementizer *cêwā* occurs in COMP, it just introduces the propositional complement as a “fact”. That is the complementizer has the meaning of ‘the fact that/the saying or assertion that’. This assertion can either be made by somebody else reported by the speaker or by the speaker him/herself. Similarly, this proposition is what the CTE expresses, appraises, or comments about, whether it is a positive or a negative one. The *cêwā* complementizer then adds the meaning of ‘*definiteness*’ (see Bresnan 1972:70-77). That is the definiteness is on whether the proposition is already determined or yet to be determined in a future occurrence. Furthermore, this assertion is a reported fact rather than something to be disputed about (see also Dimmendaal 1989:100-101). It is therefore plausible to assume that the complementizer *cêwā* has some semantic value which is to “*definitize*” the propositional content of the complement.

3.2.2 The Status of Wai Complementizer.

The main meaning of the particle *wai* is ‘they/one (impersonal) say’. Unlike *cêwā* however, this word seems to be a “*pure*” complementizer. That is, it is not related to any known noun, verb or preposition. The only context that may indicate its nounness is when it is reduplicated as *waiwai*, meaning ‘a gossip/rumor’ in a sentence like: *nā jī*

an cê lâbārīn waiwai nē “I heard that the story is a rumor”. That is why *wai* always carries the meaning of “reported or second hand information”. Syntactically, the meaning of *wai* when used as a complementizing word is just ‘that’. Semantically, however, there is a distinction between *wai* and *cêwā* complementizers, when they are used to introduce a complement/clause in either pre-predicate or post-predicate positions. This difference, though not really a profound one, may be an indication that these complementizers may have some semantic differences with respect to the complements they introduce. This issue will be clearer in the discussion to follow in the general discussion on the two complementizers.

3.2.2.1 Wai as a Particle Introducing Varieties of Clauses.

Wai can be used to introduce varieties of phrases and clauses which may fill subject or object positions. For instance phrases introduced by *wai* may occur in certain positions as appositional NPs or function as clause adjuncts at the end of clauses. That is, it may function as a “*phrasifier*” in clauses with parenthetical expressions (see Kraft 1963:159 volume 2 for the definitions of these terms). Let us consider simple cases as in the following:

- (13) a. [e] mun sāmē su [Ip [e] sunā wani wāsā] ---
 1pl.-perf. find them 3pl.-cnt. certain game
 wai (shī) Marwā.
 comp. it Marwa
 ‘We found them playing a certain game called/known as Marwa’
- b. bâ shi yīwuwā [Ip mūtūm yà ji tàusàyi-n ---
 neg. it be possible person 3ms.-subj. feel pity-of

wani], wai don sãbõ. (KYTK, p.38).
 someone comp. because-of acquaintance/familiarity

‘It is not possible for a person to feel pity for someone just because of acquaintance’

In these examples *wai* is functioning as a phrase introducer occurring within an appositional NP, or as an adjunct NP or clause. *Wai* may also act as an introducer of object clauses. It may also optionally be preceded or followed by some Wh-words or by the complementizer *cêwã*. Discussion on this type of complementizer orderings will be taken up later. The following illustrate one example of such use of *wai* as a complementizer:

- (14) [IP [e] an bā dà ùmàrni-n [CP (cêwã) wai ---
 Imp.-perf. give-CAU. order-of saying=that that
 [IP [e] à kōri Darmân dàgà Nàjēriyà]], ---
 Imp.-subj. drive away Darmân from Nigeria
 [CP don shī [CP wai [IP bā òa-n kasā ba nè]]].
 because he that neg. son-of country neg. cop.

‘An order was given to expatriate Darman from Nigeria just because it was alleged that he is alien/not a Nigerian’

Wai may also function as an introducer of subordinate clauses after propositional and mental attitude verbs. Basically all the predicates that can take clauses introduced by *cêwã* complementizer (as illustrated above in the section on *cêwã*) may also allow *wai* to introduce such clauses. It may also function as a complementizer optionally followed by another adverbial complementizer *dõmin/don* with the meaning of “in order that/so that”. That is, it may co-occur with *don/dõmin* to introduce purpose clauses with subjunctive TAM as in the following sentences illustrate:

- (15) a. Hajiyā Gānā cẽ takẽ kai tà makarantā ---
 Hajiyā Gānā cop. 3fs.-rel.-perf. take her school

wai don kar à bar tà tà tàfi ita kađai,
comp. comp. neg. IMP.-subj. leave her 3fs.-subj. go she alone

tà hàđu dà Gide sù yi zàncē. (SGJ-1:17).
3fs.-subj. meet with Gide 3pl.-subj. do chat

'It is Hajiya Gana that takes her to school, so that she is not left alone to go alone to meet Gide so that they have a chat'

- b. bà-i kāmātà [IP [e] kà wulākàntà talakāwā ba
neg.-3ms. be fitting 2ms.-subj. belittle poors neg.

[CP wai (don) [IP [e] kà nūnà(a) [IP [e] kà fī
comp. comp. 2ms.-subj. show 2ms.-perf. exceed

sù àbi-n hannu]]].
them things-of hand

'It is not appropriate to treat the poor so harshly/badly in order to show (them/others) that you are wealthy'

Finally, *wai* may also function as an introducer of any independent clause by occurring at the beginning of the sentence. Consider the following:

- (16) a. [CP wai [CP hānkākā (nē) [IP bā yā yī-n kwai]]].
comp. crow cop. neg. 3ms.-cnt. doing-of egg

'It is said/they say that it is crow that does not lay eggs'

- b. [CP wai [IP [e] dōlè nē [IP [e] kà sà wāndō]]].
comp. necessary cop. 2ms.-subj. wear pants

'It is said that it is necessary that you should wear pants'

- c. ta yāyā zā à yi à cē [CP wai [IP [e] yā -----
by how 1fut.-imp. do imp.-subj. say that 3ms.-perf.

fī kyāu [IP mùtūm yā yi àmfānī dà ----
exceed good/nice person 3ms.-subj. do/make use with

kwakwalwarsà [pp bà tãre dà sanì-n zūciyā ba]]]?
 brain neg. together with knowing-of heart neg.
 (SGJ-2:72).
 ‘...how can it be the case/possible that it is much better for a person to
 think without the knowledge of his heart’?

The above discussion so far indicate the various functions of the particle *wai*. The examples given so far have shown that *wai* is a kind of general formative whose occurrence is not restricted to only one position. It is shown that it can occur in sentence initial or medial positions. But its role as complementizer introducing propositional complements to the CTEs under study is yet to be established. I turn to this issue now beginning with its occurrence in post-CTE position as a complementizer.

3.2.2.2 *Wai* as a Complementizer in Post-CTE Position.

Even though syntactically, wherever *cēwā* occurs *wai* may also occur in that same position (especially in post-CTE position), *wai* however has a different semantic role. It can introduce many types of subordinate clauses or simple clauses in sentence initial position, since its main function is to show a kind of “uncertainty or a non-committed” state of affairs about the proposition of the CTE. Let me first discuss its role in introducing the subjunctive propositional complement in postposed position (i.e. at the end of the sentence). Consider the following:

- (17) a. [e]_i yā kāmātà [Cp (wai) [Ip Tànī tà biyā hàrājī]]_i
 3ms.-perf. be fitting that Tànī 3fs.-subj. pay tax
 ‘It is fitting/better/desirable that Tànī pay taxes’
- b. [e]_i yā hàramtā [Cp (wai) [Ip [e] mù ci shāhō]]_i
 3ms.-perf. be unlawful that 1pl.-subj. eat hawk
 ‘It is unlawful/disallowed/prohibited that we hawk/falcon’
- c. [e]_i yanā dà muhim mancī [Cp (wai) -----
 3ms.-cnt. with importance that

[_{IP} [_e] kù ga gwamnà à gidā]]_i
 2pl.-subj. see governor at home

‘It is important that you see the governor at home’

- d. [_e]_i yanà dà kyâu [_{CP} (wai) -----
 3ms.-cnt. with good/nice that

[_{IP} [_e] yà tàimàki gàjiyàyyū]]_i
 3ms.-subj. help destitutes/poor

‘It is good/nice that he should help the needy/poor’

- (18) a. [_e]_i dōlè nē [_{CP} (wai) [_{IP} Àli yà àuri Bintà]]_i
 necessary cop. that Àli 3ms.-subj. marry Bintà

‘It is necessary that Àli should marry Bintà’

- b. [_e]_i watakilà nē [_{CP} (wai) [_{IP} [_e] kà ci zābê-n]]_i
 perhaps/probably cop. that 2ms.-subj. eat election-def.

‘It is probable/likely that you will win the election’

- c. [_e]_i mài yiwuwā nē [_{CP} (wai) [_{IP} [_e] nà sàyi mōtā]]_i
 has possibility cop. that 1ms.-subj. buy car

‘It is possible/likely that I would buy a car’

- d. [_e]_i bâ àbi-n kunyâ ba nē [_{CP} (wai) -----
 neg. thing-of shame neg. cop. that

[_{IP} [_e] kî kwāna à gida-n sùrùkai]]_i
 2fs.-subj. spend night at home-of inlaws-of him

‘It is not shameful for you to sleep overnight at/in inlaws' house’

These examples show that both CTEs with morphological INFL and copular CTEs can be followed by *wai* complementizer introducing their subjunctive propositional subjects. Note that the occurrence of *wai* in post-CTE position is optional just like in the case of *céwā* complementizer we saw earlier. Let me now turn to its occurrence in pre-CTE position introducing subjunctive propositional complements.

3.2.2.3 Wai As a Complementizer in Pre-CTE Position.

Like in the case of *cêwā* complementizer, *wai* may also head a subjunctive propositional complement in pre-CTE position, and there does not seem to be a difference in grammaticality whether it is present or not. The sentence will be grammatical as long as there is an intonation break before the propositional complement. This is illustrated in the following:

- (19) a. [IP [CP (wai) [IP Tankò yà biyā hàràjì]], ---
 that Tankò 3ms.-subj. pay tax
 [IP [e] yā kāmātà].
 3ms.-perf. be fitting/better/desirable
 ‘(The fact/saying/assertion) that Tankò should pay taxes is fitting/appropriate’
- b. [IP [CP (wai) [IP [e] in fid dà kâinā dàgà
 that 1s.-subj. get out -CAU. with myself from
 lâifî-n]], [IP [e] yā zama dōlè (nē) à gārē ni].
 fault-def. 3ms.-perf. become necessary cop. to me
 ‘(The fact/saying/assertion) that I should free myself from the allegation is desirable/necessary’
- (20) a. [IP [CP (wai) [IP Audù yà àuri Bintà]], -----
 that Audù 3ms.-subj. marry Bintà
 [IP [e] mòi yiwuwā nē].
 has possibility cop.
 ‘(The fact/saying/assertion) that Audù should marry Bintà is possible/likely’
- b. [IP [CP (wai) [IP [e] kà ki biyà-n hàràjì-n ---
 that 2ms.-subj. refuse paying-of tax-def.

‘(The fact/saying/assertion) that you would refuse/fail to pay the taxes early is foolish/senseless’

(21) a. *[_{IP} [_{CP} (wai) [_{IP} [e] à sãmi gōrò à L. A.]] ---
that IMP.-subj. get/find kolanuts in L.A.
yanã dà wùyā].
3ms.-cnt. with hard/difficulty
'(The fact/saying/assertion) that a person/one would find kolanuts in L.A.
is impossible'

b. *[_{IP} [_{CP} (wai) [_{IP} Audù yà kōmã gidā]] dōlè nē].
that Audù 3ms.-subj. return home necessary cop.
'(The fact/saying/assertion) that Audù should return home is necessary'

(22) a. *[_{IP} [_{CP} (wai) [_{IP} [e] à sãmi gōrò à L. A.]]] -----
that IMP.-subj. get/find kolanuts in L.A.
[_{IP} [e] yanã dà wùyā].
3ms.-cnt. with hard/difficulty
'(The fact/saying/assertion) that a person/one would find kolanuts in L.A.
is impossible'

b. *[_{IP} [_{CP} (wai) [_{IP} [e] nà sàyi sãbuwa-r mōtã]]] ----
that 1s.-subj. buy new-of car

[_{IP} [e] m̀ai yiwuwā n̄ẽ].
has possibility cop.

'(The fact/saying/assertion) that I should buy a new car is possible/likely'

The rough representations of the two types of structures of these sentences represented in (12) for *cẽwā* complements can also be used to represent those introduced by *wai* complementizer. It should be noted that even though syntactically, where *cẽwā* occurs *wai* may also occur there (especially in post-CTE position), *wai* however has a different semantic role. It can introduce many types of subordinate clauses or simple clauses in sentence initial position, since its main function is to show a kind of “uncertainty or a non-committed” state of affairs about the proposition of the CTE (be it appraisal or not). Furthermore, it may be shifted to many positions in a sentence, a fact that is not possible with *cẽwā*. Let me now turn to the general discussion and interaction of the complementizing words *cẽwā* and *wai*.

3.2.3 General Discussion on Cẽwā and Wai Complementizers:

The examples discussed above clearly show that in Hausa, subject complements have a tendency to occur with certain complementizers, particularly the *cẽwā* and *wai* complementizers, contrary to what is assumed in other works on this topic (see Bagari 1972:41, sentences 42a-c). In this paper, Bagari claims that sentences like the following are grammatical where the complementizer *cẽwā* does not occur before the CTE:

- (23) a. yā kāmātà mù ga (cẽwā) lallai ---
 3ms.-perf. be fitting/better 1pl.-subj. see comp. emp.-prt.
- hakà dín bà tà fãru ba. (Bagari's # 39).
 this emp.-prt. neg. 3fs.-perf. happen neg.
- ‘It is better that we should see that this really does not happen’ =
 ‘We must see for certain that this does not really happen’

- b. yā kāmātà mù ga lallai hakà dīn
3ms.-perf. be fitting/better 1pl.-subj. see emp.-prt. this emp.-prt.

bà tà fāru ba. (Bagari's # 41a).
neg. 3fs.-perf. happen neg.

'It is better that we should certainly see that this does not happen'

- c. yā kāmātà mù ga hakà dīn lallai
3ms.-perf. be fitting/better 1pl.-subj. see this emp.-prt. emp.-prt.

bà tà fāru ba. (Bagari's # 41b).
neg. 3fs.-perf. happen neg.

'It is better that we should see that this does not really happen'

- d. yā kāmātà mù ga hakà dīn ----
3ms.-perf. be fitting/better 1pl.-subj. see this emp.-prt.

bà tà fāru ba lallai. (Bagari's # 41c).
neg. 3fs.-perf. happen neg. emp.-prt.

'It is better that we should see that this does not happen really/surely'

- e. yā kāmātà lallai mù ga hakà dīn ---
3ms.-perf. be fitting/better emp.-prt. 1pl.-subj. see this emp.-prt.

bà tà fāru ba. (Bagari's # 41d).
neg. 3fs.-perf. happen neg.

'It is better that we should really see that this does not happen'

- f. yā gayā wà 'yan-jàrīdū (cēwā) wai jihà-r-sà ---
3ms.-perf. tell dat. reporters comp. comp. state-of-him

bā tā sāmù-n tàimakō isasshē. (Bagari's # 40).
neg. 3fs.-cnt. getting-of aid enough

'He told the reporters that his region/state does not get enough aid'

According to Bagari, when the complementizer is "deleted" then the particle "*lallai*" (which I consider to be an adverb), may seem to function like complementizers (note that he considers deletion rather than insertion of the complementizer *cēwā*, for this argument see Bagari 1972:39-41). But as he correctly puts it, this is not usually the case since the

particle/adverb can be moved around in various places in the sentence, a fact that is not possible with complementizers (note that Bagari tries to compare the distributional differences between the complementizer *cêwā* and the adverbial particle *lallai* in the sentences in (23)). For this reason, according to him, the sentences in (24) below are all ungrammatical because *cêwā* being a complementizer and not an emphatic particle like *lallai* cannot be moved around in a sentence (compare with the sentences in (23) above). Therefore, the complementizer *cêwā* cannot occur before the CTE introducing the propositional complement as in (24c), head a root clause as in (24a), or occur at the end of a sentence as in (24b):

- (24) a. *yā kāmātà mù ga hakà dīn cêwā ---
 3ms.-perf. be fitting/better 1pl.-subj. see this emp.-prt. comp.

bà tà fāru ba.
 neg. 3fs.-perf. happen neg.

‘It is better that we should see that this does not happen’ =
 ‘We must see for certain that this does not happen’

- b. *yā kāmātà mù ga hakà dīn
 3ms.-perf. be fitting/better 1pl.-subj. see this emp.-prt. comp.

bà tà fāru ba cêwā.
 neg. 3fs.-perf. happen neg. comp.

‘It is better that we should see that this does not happen’ =
 ‘We must see for certain that this does not happen’

- c. *yā kāmātà cêwā mù ga hakà dīn ---
 3ms.-perf. be fitting/better comp.=that 1pl.-subj. see this emp.-prt.

bà tà fāru ba.
 neg. 3fs.-perf. happen neg.

‘It is better that we should see that this does not happen’ =
 ‘We must see for certain that this does not happen’

Bagari states that the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (24a-c) is due to the fact that “the complementizer has one position only in relation to the embedded sentence, viz. it always immediately precedes the complement sentence, and, wherever the sentence is moved (by extraposition), it takes the complementizer with it (Bagari 1972:41)”. While it is true that *cêwā* cannot be inserted at the end of a sentence like (24b) where it does not head a complement, it is however certainly possible for *cêwā* to be inserted in (24a and c). I find these sentences grammatical. This is also the case with *wai* when it is inserted in the same position where *cêwā* is inserted. It is therefore my belief that the complementizers *cêwā* and *wai* may optionally be inserted between the CTE and the propositional complement as seen in the earlier examples discussed so far. Usually these complementizers may occur with many complement taking predicates that would regularly take other types of complements (i.e. those taking object complements refer to sentences in (1-2 and 6-7) above on *cêwā* complementizer, and (17-18) for *wai* complementizer for instance.³ There we can clearly see that these complementizers may be inserted in post-CTE position introducing a postposed subjunctive propositional subject. In all these sentences, the complementizers may however be null or empty. And in cases where the complementizer is null it must be assumed that the IP is outside the root clause. The predicate then acquires the status of a S-bar deleting one whether it is verbal, nominal, or copula.

Similarly, we have seen from the data presented so far that in Hausa, when the subject complement occurs in pre-CTE position and there is no pause before the CTE, the sentence is considered odd, hence ungrammatical. It does not matter whether there is a complementizer or not heading the subjunctive propositional subject. One may however speculate that sentence initial complementizers must be inserted because they provide a clear indication that the following noun, verb or copula are subordinate. This reasoning is clearer with *cêwā* than with *wai*. The reason may be due to semantics rather than

syntax. The question now is how can we show any syntactic and/or semantic difference(s) between these two complementizers? I turn to this issue now.

Apart from introducing the complement clause in sentence initial position, these complementizers may also introduce the root CTE-clause first and then followed by the complement, where the complement is in postposed position (i.e. at the end of the sentence). Recall that in our earlier discussions both *cêwā* and *wai* complementizers may be inserted to introduce subjunctive propositional complements in pre-CTE position. But when such a propositional sentence is in a postposed position, only *wai* is possible to occur at the beginning of a sentence introducing the root CTE-clause. This is a very clear instance where the two types of complementizers differ. Consider the following as illustration of this fact (see also the sentences in 14 and 16 above):

- (25) a. [IP [CP *wai* [IP [e] *yā* *kāmātà*]]](,) [IP [e] *kì* *tàfi*].
 that 3ms.-perf. be fitting/better 2fs.-subj. go
 ‘(They say it that) it is fitting/appropriate. (That) you should go/leave’
- b. [IP [CP *wai* [IP [e] *tīlās* *nē*]]](,) [IP [e] *mù* *kōmā* *gidā*].
 that necessary cop. 1pl.-subj. return home
 ‘(They say it that) it is necessary/a must. (That) we should return home’
- (26) a. *[IP [CP *cêwā* [IP [e] *yā* *dācè*]]](,) ---
 that 3ms.-perf. be suitable/appropriate
 [IP [e] *kà* *gyārà* *hali-n-kà*].
 2ms.-subj. mend behavior-of-you
 ‘(The fact/saying/assertion) that it is desirable/fitting/better. (That) you should behave appropriately’
- b. *[IP [CP *cêwā* [IP [e] *dōlè* *nē*]]](,) --
 that necessary cop.

‘(The fact/saying/assertion that) it is necessary. (That) Audu should marry Binta’

(27) a. [IP [CP cêwa(r)/wai [IP [e] yā kāmātā ---
that /that 3ms.-perf. be fitting/better/desirable
[IP Tànî tà biyā hàràjì]]], [IP [e] bà-i dāmē tà ba].
Tànî 3fs.-subj. pay tax neg-it worry her neg.
‘(The fact/saying/assertion) that it is desirable/fitting that Tànî should pay taxes, (it) does not bother her’

b. [IP [CP cêwā/wai [IP [e] yā dācē [IP Bālā yā ---
that/that 3ms.-perf. be suitable Bala 3ms.-subj.
gyārà hali-n-sà]]], [IP [e] yanā dà kyâu].
mend behavior-of-him 3ms.-cnt. with good/nice
‘(The fact/saying that) it is fitting/better that Bala should behave appropriately (it) is nice/good’

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may occur in a COMP position adjacent to each other. In this instance some of the marginally grammatical or odd sentences above can become fully grammatical either when the complementizer like *cēwā* precedes *wai* or vice versa. Consider the following:

- (28) a. [IP [CP cêwa(r) wai [IP [e] yā kāmātà ---
that that 3ms.-perf. be fitting
[IP [e] tà tàfi gidālll], [IP [e] bà-i dāmē tà ba].
3fs.-subj. go home neg.-3ms.-perf. worry her neg.
‘The fact/saying that it is desirable that she should go home, (it) does not bother her’
- b. [IP [CP cêwa(r) wai [IP [e] tīlās nē [IP Audù yà ---
that-def. that necessary cop. Audù 3ms.-subj.
kōmā gidā gòbēlll], [IP [e] yā yi daidai].
return home tomorrow 3ms.-perf. do right/correct
(The fact/saying that) it necessary/a must that Tankò should return home tomorrow, (it) is right/appropriate’

In (28), the complementizer *cêwā* comes first. And it has the meaning of “the fact/saying that”. That is what it introduces is a fact even though the proposition that follows is also headed by the complementizer *wai*. That proposition introduced by *wai* is a mere hearsay according to the speaker and he/she does not commit himself/herself to the truth of the proposition. Similarly, in (29) below where the complementizer *wai* comes first, we get the same function of *wai*.

- (29) a. [IP [CP wai cêwa(r) [IP [e] yā kāmātà ---
that that 3ms.-perf. be fitting/better

[IP [e] tà tàfi gidā]]], [IP [e] bà-i dāmē tà ba].
3fs.-subj. go home neg.-3ms.-perf. worry her neg.

'As they say, the fact that it is desirable/fitting that she should go home,
(it) does not bother her'

- b. [IP [CP **wai** *cêwa(r)* [IP [e] *tîlàs* *nē* [IP [e] *mù* ---
that that-def. necessary cop. 1pl.-subj.
*kōmā gidā gōbe]]], [IP [e] *yā* *yi daidai*.
return home tomorrow 3ms.-perf. do right/correct
‘(As they say, the fact that) it necessary that we should return home tomorrow is right/appropriate’*

Note also when the subjunctive propositional complement occurs in pre-CTE position, *cêwā* may occur in sentence initial position introducing the complement, while *wai* may also introduce the root clause appraising/commenting about the complement sentence. If the two complementizers are however reversed, the sentence becomes ungrammatical as indicated in (30).

- (30) a. [IP [CP **cêwar** [IP Tankò *yà* *biyā hārājìl*], ---
that-def. Tankò 3ms.-subj. pay tax
[CP **wai** [IP [e] *yā* *kāmātà*]].
that 3ms.-perf. be fitting
‘(The saying/assertion that) Tankò should pay taxes (they say) (it) is desirable/appropriate’
- b. [IP [CP **wai** [IP Tankò *yà* *biyā hārājìl*], ---
that Tankò 3ms.-subj. pay tax
[CP ***cêwā** [IP [e] *yā* *kāmātà*]].
that 3ms.-perf. be fitting/better/desirable
‘(They say that) that Tankò should pay taxes is desirable/appropriate’

It is clear from these sentences that these complementizers have semantic roles rather than just syntactic ones. This possibility of having two complementizers adjacent to each other, and probably in one COMP position is not as expected in syntactic theory (but see Reinhart 1978 for Hebrew and Riemsdijk and Williams 1986:161. I return to this issue later). Perhaps one may assume that they actually occupy different COMP positions,

hence, we have a case of stacked or iterative CPs rather than one single COMP position. I have no solution to offer with respect to this issue. Furthermore, this possibility of having two or more complementizers adjacent to one another does not only apply to the combination of *céwā* and *wai* occurring in the same (or different) COMP node(s), but also possible with other combinations of complementizers and particles as we shall see below with the particles *dā* and *kō*.

In conclusion, we have observed that a full sentence can be introduced by *wai*, where *wai* can either function as a general clause introducing particle or as a full complementizer. As for *céwā* however, it can only introduce a subordinate clause and cannot occur anywhere in a sentence like *wai*. The reason for this is clear: *wai* means “what follows is second-hand information or a claim that the speaker, is not necessarily reporting as correct or true”, whereas *céwā* literally means ‘saying’, though it could also be translated as ‘that’. Historically speaking, and probably even in modern Hausa, what follows *céwā* is a complement to the verb *cé*, ‘say’, but since *céwā* is a verbal noun, not a conjugated verb, it cannot stand alone as the matrix verb of a sentence. This difference is even clearer in simple sentences like the following where sentences in (34a-b) are contrasted with those in (31c-d):

- (31) a. [CP *wai* [IP *hànkākā* *bā* *yā* *yī-n* *kwai*]].
 that=they say crow neg. 3ms.-cnt. doing-of eggs
 ‘They say/reported) that a crow does not lay eggs’
- b. [CP *wai* [IP [e] *kā* *zō* *dā* *wurī*]].
 that 2ms.-subj. come with early
 ‘You have been asked to come early/they say you should come early’
- c. * [CP *céwā* [IP *hànkākā* *bā* *yā* *yī-n* *kwai*]].
 that=saying crow neg. 3ms.-cnt. doing-of eggs
 ‘That a crow does not lay eggs’

- d. *_{CP} cêwā [_{IP} [e] kà zō dà wurill].
 that 2ms.-subj. come with early
 ‘That you should come early’

I therefore conclude that the two complementizers are different semantically while similar in some syntactically determined contexts, especially in post-CTE position, where both *cêwā* and *wai* may occur in that same slot.

3.3 The Status of Dà as a Complementizer.

In this section I will explore the function of the particle *dà*. Specifically, I will provide evidence that it can function as a complementizer introducing propositional complements of the CTEs under study. But before I do that, it seems to me that there is a need to show its other functions as a conjunction, a preposition of various sorts, as well as a general subordinate clause introducer morpheme. In the case where it function as a complementizer I will rely heavily on the discussions made in Bagari 1976 and Dimmendaal 1989. I begin first with its functions other than as a complementizer.

3.3.1 Dà as a Conjunctive Particle ‘and’ (NP + dà + NP).

The particle *dà* is one of the most functional words in Hausa syntax. This is so due to the fact that it has numerous functions and meanings depending on where it is used and in which type of construction it is found (see Kraft 1963 and 1970 for a detailed discussion on the uses of the particles *dà* and *sai*). *Dà* may be used as NP conjoiner and as a preposition of various sorts such as '*with, of, for, and to*'. In what follow I present some of these uses of the particle *dà* in various sentence types. The particle *dà* may be used to conjoin NPs, or NPs and other maximal projections. This is illustrated in the following:

- (32) a. [e] yā dācē [IP [NP Audù dā Bintà] sù tàfi gidā].
 3ms.-perf. be suitable Audù and Bintà 3pl.-subj. go home
 'It is appropriate that Audù and Bintà should go home'
- b. [IP [NP cî-n nāmà-n ùngùlu] dā [NP shâ-n giyà]] ---
 eating-of meat-of vulture and drinking-of alcohol
 yā hàramtā à gārē mù].
 3ms.-perf. be unlawful/forbidden to us
 'Eating vulture's meat and drinking alcohol is forbidden for us'
- c. [e] rashî-n tûnânî nè(,) [NP kai dā mâtâ-r-kà] ---
 lack-of thinking cop. you and wife-of-you
 [IP [e] kù kârîi bāshî-n nan dā ruwā].
 2pl.-subj. accept loan-def. that with water=interest
 'It is senseless that you and your wife to take/accept that loan with interest'

In these sentences we can see *dā* conjoins nouns as in (32a), nominalized clauses as in (32b), and a pronoun and a noun phrase as in (32c). The conjunctive particle *dā* cannot however be used to conjoin sentences. The following is therefore ungrammatical (see also Bagari 1972:37 footnote 6 for further discussion):

- (33) *[e] yā dācē [IP Audù yà tàfi gidā] dā (kuma)
 3ms.-perf. be suitable Audù 3pl.-subj. go home and also
 [IP [e] yā dāukō môtâ-r-sà].
 3ms.-subj. take car-of-him
 'It is appropriate that Audù should go home and he should bring his car'

3.3.2 *Dā* as a Preposition 'with/at/by/in' etc. (NP + *dā* + NP).

The particle *dā* may be used as a preposition of various sorts as illustrated in the following:

- (34) a. [e] yanà bā nì shà'awà [Ip [e] nà ga Bintà ---
 3ms.-cnt. give me interest 1s.-subj. see Bintà
 [pp dà sābuwa-r mōtā].
 with new-of car
 'It makes me feel great/good/happy to see Bintà with a new car'
- b. bâ shi dà kyâu [Ip [e] kì dingà ràbuwā dà ---
 neg. it with good/nice 2fs.-subj. keep on separating with=from
 da-n-kì [Cp in [Ip [e] zā kì zō nân gidâ-n]].
 son-of-you if 1fut.-2fs. come here house-def.
 'It is not good that you should keep on separating (yourself) from your child if you are coming to this house'
- c. [e] yā kāmātā [Ip [e] mù jē can dà yām ma]].
 3ms.-perf. be fitting 1pl.-subj. go there at evening
 'It is better that we go there in the evening'

3.3.3 Dà as a Complement/Subordinate Clause Introducer:

The status of *dà* as a subordinate clause introducer and the constructions containing it have received a considerable discussion in Hausa syntactic descriptions on complementation phenomenon. Apart from its function as a noun/NP conjoiner and a preposition as illustrated above, *dà* may also functions as a sort of a “general complementizer” for a variety of clauses, including relative clauses, certain adverbial clauses, and certain object complements. However, its status as a complementizer in certain constructions is not without a problem. This is particularly clear where it heads a subjunctive complement or clause of certain predicates. The problem is actually due to the fact that there is no infinitive form of the verb in Hausa, and in places where an infinitive would be expected a *dà* followed by a subjunctive or nominalized complements are usually found (see Kraft 1963, 1970, Bagari 1976:151-164; Tuller 1986, Furniss 1991,

Abdoulaye 1992, and Jaggar 1992 a detailed discussion on *dà* as a clause introducer of various types).

Let me now briefly explore the contexts where *dà* occurs in several types of constructions mentioned above. I will begin first by reviewing two earlier descriptions on *dà* as a marker for subordination. These are Dimmendaal 1989:97-98 and Bagari 1976. Dimmendaal claims that the particle *dà* should be considered as a constituent of the matrix clauses in sentences like the following:

- (35) a. mènē nē niyyà-r macìjī *dà* [shīgā ciki-n gizò]?
 what ID goal-of snake with entering inside-of gizo
 (Dimmendaal # 33 pp. 98)
 'What is the snake's idea behind entering Gizo?'
 b. lōkàci-n aurē kē nan *dà* [yīn kwai]. (Dimmendaal # 34)
 season-of marriage cop. there with doing-of eggs.
 'The season of marriage and laying of eggs is thus'
 c. inā murnā *dà* [gani-n yaddā]. (Dimmendaal # 35)
 1s.-cnt. pleasure-of with seeing-of how
 'I am pleased with seeing how'

According to him the particle *dà* is obligatory when a noun is followed by a VP-type complement as in (35a-c) above. Furthermore, *dà* may also function as an obligatory particle with some verbs as in the following:

- (36) a. yā aikā *dà* sākō [cēwā sù dainā yāke-yākel.
 3ms.-perf. send with message that 3ms.-subj. stop fighting
 (Dimmendaal # 27, pp. 96).
 'He sent a message that they should stop fighting'
 b. bà-i kùla *dà* [kō nawà sukà mutù] ba.
 neg.-3A care with if how many 3A die neg.
 (Dimmendaal # 30)
 'He did not care however many met with their death'

He concludes that the particle *dà* “can be combined with complementizers but it is incompatible with an S-bar complement type ... (Dimmendaal 1989:98)”. While it is correct to consider *dà* as part of certain matrix predicates (sociative verbs, see Parsons 1981:354-370) like *kùlā (dà)*, *lūrā (dà)* ‘observe/pay attention/care etc.’, *māntā (dà)* ‘forget (about/with)’, *tunā (dà)* ‘remember (with)’, *rābu (dà)* ‘part (with)’, *amīncē (dà)* ‘agreed (with)’, *aikā (dà)* ‘send (with)’ etc., the obligatoriness of *dà* is by no means always the case when some of them take object complements/clauses (see also Jaggar 1992:35-36, and Furniss 1991:84-87).

Similarly, in such sentences as those in (35) above, the particle *dà* is sometimes obligatorily deleted when the nominalized complement is preposed as in (37a) (depending on the predicate used) but optional when the complement is a sentential one. In fact even in sentences like (37b-c), the particle is optional as in (38). Consider the following:

- (37) a. *yā aikā sākō [CP cēwā sù dainā yāke-yāke].*
 3ms.-perf. send message that 3ms.-subj. stop fighting
 ‘He sent a message that they should stop fighting’
- b. *bài kùla [CP kō nawà [IP [e] sukà mutù]] ba.*
 neg.-3A care if how many 3pl.-rel.-perf die neg.
 ‘He did not care however many met with their death’
- c. *[e] yā māntā dà maganà-r.*
 3ms.-perf. forget with/about talk-def.
 ‘He forgot about the matter/issue’
- d. *[e] yā māntà maganà-r.*
 2ms.-perf. forget talk-def.
 ‘He forgot the matter/issue’
- (38) a. *[CP [NP shīgā ciki-n gizò nē]]i [NP niyyà-r macijī tī].*
 entering-of inside-of gizò cop. goal-of snake
 ‘It is entering inside Gizò that is the idea of the snake’

- b. [CP (dà) [NP gani-n yaddà sukè nè]i ---
 with seeing-of how 3pl.-rel.-cnt. cop.
 [IP [e] nakè murnà t_i].
 1s.-rel.-cnt. happy/please
 ‘It is (with) seeing how they that I am pleased’
- c. [CP (dà) [IP [e]_i sù dainà yàke-yàke nè]] ---
 with 3pl.-subj. stop fighting cop.
 [IP [e] ya aikà sākō garē sù_i].
 3ms.-rel.-perf. send message to them
 ‘It is that they should to stop fighting that he sent a message’

As we can see particle *dà* can be deleted with certain verbs when followed a noun object. Similarly, with sociative verbs like *māntā (dà)*, *aikā (dà)*, it is usually the case that the *dà* is preferably retained when it is followed by a subjunctive clause as illustrated in the following:

- (39) a. [e] kā māntā [CP (dà) [IP [e] kà zō dà shī]].
 2ms.-perf. forget with/about/that 2ms.-subj. come with it
 ‘You forgot (about the fact) that you should come with it’
- b. [e] mun aikà sākō [CP (dà) [IP [e] sù dainà fadā]].
 1pl.-perf. send message that 3pl.-subj. stop fighting
 ‘We sent a message that they should stop fighting’
- c. [e] yā aikā dā sākō [CP (dā) (cēwā) [IP [e] sù ---
 3ms.-perf. send with message comp. that 3pl.-subj.
 dainà yàke-yākē-n]].
 stop fighting-def.
 ‘He sent with a message that they should stop the fightings’

These sentences show that *dà* may sometimes function like a preposition which goes with the matrix verb while in other cases it functions as an independent word more like a

complementizer. While it is not my goal to argue for or against the conclusion reached by Dimmendaal with regard to the status of *dà* in the examples he gives, it seems to me however that the conclusion that *dà* should be considered as a constituent of the matrix clause does not help us much in identifying its function in such sentences. There are instances where it is preferred if not required to occur in the COMP position away from the matrix predicate. But I leave this issue here.

So far, my discussion just indicates that *dà* can be used as a preposition meaning “with/for”, a connector of NPs or of a matrix predicate, and as a subordinate clause introducer where it functions as a complementizer. Its status as a complementizer introducing subjunctive propositional complement however is not yet discussed. Let me now examine other uses of *dà*.

3.3.4 Dà as a Neutral Complementizer (Bagari 1976).

I will now turn to its function as a subordinate clause introducer. As mentioned earlier, I will here rely heavily on the discussions made in Bagari 1976. Bagari identifies three major constructions where *dà* is used to introduce subordinate clauses of relative clauses, some adverbial clauses, and nominalized clauses. What follows is a brief discussion of these clauses and some comments about them (for a detailed discussion of *dà* in these constructions see Parsons 1981, and Bagari 1976:151-164):

3.3.4.1 Dà Introducing Relative Clauses.

The particle *dà* can function as a complementizer which introduces relative clauses of various types. Its closest translation equivalent in English is ‘*that*’. Consider the following as illustration of some of its occurrences as a complementizer:

- (40) a. [CP [NP mùtumì-n_i] [C dà] [IP [e] ya kàmātà ---
person-def. comp. 3ms.-rel.-perf. be fitting
[IP [e] kà ganī t_i]]]......
2ms.-subj. see
‘The person who it is better that you should see’ =
‘The person who is fit/desirable for you to see ...’
- b. [CP [NP wuri-n_i] [C dà] [IP [e] ya dācē ---
place-def. comp. 3ms.-rel.-perf. be suitable
[IP [e] kī zīyartā t_i]]]......
2fs.-subj. visit
‘The place that/where it is appropriate for you to visit ..’
- c. [CP [NP àbí-n_i] [C dà] [IP [e] ya wājàbà ---
thing-def. comp. 3ms.-rel.-perf. be compulsory
à gārē kà, shī nē
to you it is
‘The thing that is compulsory for you, it is’ =
‘What is compulsory for you, it is’
- d. [CP [NP lōkàcí-n] [C dà] [IP Audù zâ-i zō ---
time-def. comp. Audù 1fut.-3ms. come
[IP [e] bâ (shī dà) tabbàs]]].
neg.it with certainty
‘The time that Audù would come (it) is not certain’ =
‘When Audù would come is not certain’

just a relative clause maker which does not have any reference in phi-features with the head noun in the CP of the relative clause. It is clear from these examples that the relative clause introducer in Hausa is the same irrespective of what the head noun is and it is undoubtedly a complementizer as described in many analyses of Hausa relative clause formation (see Bagari 1972, 1976, Rufa'i 1983, Tuller 1986, and Abdoulaye 1992).

3.3.4.2 Dà Introducing Adverbial Clauses.

Apart from its role in functioning as a relativizer, the particle *dà* can also be used to introduce certain adverbial clauses. Consider the following:

- (41) a. [e] zâ-i yi kyâu [Ip [e] kâ biyâ hârājî], ----
 1fut.-3ms. do good/nice 2ms.-subj. pay tax
 [Cp dà [Ip lōkaci-n biyâ yā isō]].
 comp.=as soon as time-of paying 3ms.-perf. arrive
 'I would be nice to pay the taxes as soon as the time to pay (it) has arrived'
- b. [e] yā bā nì māmākì [Cp dà ----
 3ms.-perf. give me surprise comp.=when/by
 [Ip [e] kukà ki gaisāwā dà jūnā]].
 2pl.-rel.-perf. refuse greeting with each other
 'I was surprised when you refused to greet each other'
- c. [e] gāra [Ip [e] mù kōmā gidā [Cp dà ---
 would be better to 1pl.-subj. return home comp.=than
 [Ip [e] mù shā iri-n wannan wāhalā]].
 1pl.-subj. drink type-of this difficulty
 'We would rather go back home than experience this kind of difficulty'
- d. [e] dōlè nē [Ip [e] kù shā ruwā nan dà nan], ---
 necessary cop. 2pl.-subj. drink water there and there

[CP dà (zārar) [IP rānā tā fādī]].
 comp. the moment sun 3fs.-perf. fall

'It is necessary that you should break your fast as soon as the sun sat'

- e. [e] wājibī nē à gārē mù [CP (dà) [IP [e] mù yi ---]
 obligatory cop. on/to us that 1pl.-subj. do

aiki-n Hajj], [CP dà [IP [e] mun sāmī isāssu-n kudī]].
 work-of Hajj comp. 1pl.-perf. get enough-of money

'It is obligatory on us that we should perform the pilgrimage (to Mecca) as soon as we have sufficient money (to do so)'

As Bagari (1976:155) correctly puts it, the clauses introduced by the particle *dà* do not contain any reflex of any NP in the main clause and the clause itself can be fronted:

- (42) a. [CP dà [IP lōkàci-n biyà-n hārāji yā karātō]], ---
 comp. time-of paying-of tax 3ms.-perf. approach

[IP [e] zā-i yi kyāu [IP [e] kà biyā shī]].
 1fut.-3ms. do good/nice 2ms.-subj. pay it

'As soon as the time for paying taxes arrived, it would be nice to pay it'

- b. [CP dà [IP [e] kukà ki gaisāwā dà jūnā]], ---
 comp.=when 2pl.-rel.-perf. refuse greeting with each other

[IP [e] yā bā nī māmākī]].
 3ms.-perf. give me surprise

'When you refused to greet each other, I was surprised'

- c. [CP dà [IP [e] mù shā iri-n wannān wāhalā]], ----
 comp. 1pl.-subj. drink type-of this difficulty

[IP [e] gāra [IP [e] mù kōmā gidā]].
 it would be better to 1pl.-subj. return home

'Rather than to experience this kind of difficulty, we should better go back home'

- d. [IP dà (zārar) [IP rānā tā fādī]], [IP [e] dōlè nē -
 comp. the moment sun 3fs.-perf. fall necessary cop.

[_{IP} [e] kù shā ruwā nan dà nan]].
 2pl.-subj. drink water here and there

‘The moment the sun set, it is necessary that you should break your fast’

- e. [_{CP} dà [_{IP} [e] kun sāmī isāssu-n kuḏī]], [_{IP} [e] wājibī
 comp. 2pl.-perf. get enough-of money obligatory

nē à gārē kù [_{CP} dà [_{IP} [e] kù yi aiki-n Hajī]].
 cop. on/to us that 2pl.-subj. do work-of Pilgrimage

‘As soon as you have sufficient money, it is obligatory that you should perform the pilgrimage (to Mecca)’

These types of adverbial clauses may also be introduced by *dā* when they are nominalized. There may also be some tense restrictions with certain TAMs. Space will however not allow me to go into this issue now (see Bagari 1976:155-157 for details).

3.3.4.3 Dā Introducing Subject and Object Complements.

The status of *dā* as a complementizer that has generated a number of analyses is where it is used to introduce subject and object sentential complements as well as nominalized clauses. Like in the other cases we saw on the uses of *dā* introducing subordinate adverbial clauses of various sorts, I will also here depend very much on the discussion in Bagari 1976. Bagari 1976 analyzes the particle *dā* as a kind of neutral subordinate clause marker. The following show such uses of *dā* :

- (43) a. sai iyāla-n Yāgwalgwāl sukā ūmārci Gide ---
 then family-of Yagwalgwāl 3pl.-rel.-perf. order Gide
 [_{CP} dà [_{IP} [e] yā zō sù tàfi gidā]]. (SGJ-1:15).
 that 3ms.-subj. come 3pl.-subj. go home
 ‘...then the Yagwalgwāl's family ordered Gide that he should come (out) so that they go home’
- b. Jī-n hakà, sai ya sâ wānnan likitā -----
 hearing-of this then 3ms.-rel.-perf. make this doctor

ya zō ya bâ Fàrfēsā shāwara-r dà --
 3ms.-rel.-perf. come 3ms.-rel.-perf. give professor advice-def. that

yà kyālē wadānnan yārā sù ci-gàba dà ---
 3ms.-subj. let these children 3pl.-subj. continue with

sōyayyā-r-sù. (SGJ-1:14).
 love-of-them

‘On hearing this, the doctor then advised the professor that he should let these children continue with their love/romance’

- c. Sarkī yā gārgādē sù [Cp (dà) [Ip [e] sù biyā --
 Emir 3ms.-perf. admonish them that 3pl.-subj. pay

hārāji-n dà wuril].
 tax-def. with early

‘The Emir admonished them to pay the taxes early’

- d. ... sànnan kuma tā ga nā matsu dà ----
 and then also 2fs.-perf. see 1s.-perf. press comp.=with

in yi aurē. (SGJ-2:20).
 1s.-subj. do marriage

‘And then she realized that I was pressed hard/eager to/wanted very much to get married’

- e. ‘yan siyāsā sun tīlāstā wà shūgābā-n [Cp dà ----
 politicians 3pl.-perf. force dat. leader-def. comp.

[Ip [e] yā yi ritāyā à wannàn shēkarā]].
 3ms.-subj. do retirement in this year

‘The politicians have forced the president to retire in this year’

- f. [e] yā dōkantā [Cp (dà) [Ip [e] à rantsar dà --
 3ms.-perf. eager/anxious that IMP.-subj. swear with

shī shūgābā-n kasā]].
 him leader-of country

‘He was anxious/eager that he would be sworn in as president’

In these sentences it is clear that the particle *dà* introduces subjunctive sentential complements as arguments of the predicates *bā dà ūmàrnī* ‘give order’, *gàrgadā* ‘admonish/warn’, *màtsu* ‘be pressed hard/anxious’, *tīlāstā* ‘force/coax’, *dōkantà* ‘be eager/anxious’, and also *yi allà-allà* ‘be eager/anxious’ not illustrated here. The fact that these subjunctive sentences are complements of these predicates can be seen from the possibility of replacing them with their nominalized counterparts or even with simple noun phrases. Consider the following:

- (44) a. *hùkūmā tā ūmārcē sù [pp dà [Ip [e] gamà aiki-n --*
 authority 2fs.-perf. order them with finishing work-def.
à yāu dī-n nān]].
 at today adv.-prt.-def. here
 ‘The authority has ordered them to finish the work this very day’
- b. *Sarkī yā gārgādē sù [pp dà [NP [e] biyà-n hàrājì-n]]*
 Emir 3ms.-perf. admonish them with paying-of tax-def.
 ‘The Emir admonished them to pay the taxes/with paying taxes’
- c. *[e] yā dōkantà [pp dà [NP hawa-n kujëra-r mulkì]]*
 3ms.-perf. be eager with climbing-of chair-of rule
 ‘He is eager/anxious to be on the throne of power’
- (45) a. *hùkūmā tā ūmārcē sù [pp dà [NP aikī tukùru]].*
 authority 3fs.-perf. order them with work great/alot
 ‘The authority ordered them to work very hard’
- b. *Allāh yā gārgādē mù [pp dà [NP yī-n Sallāh]].*
 Allāh He-perf. admonish us with doing-of prayer
 ‘Allāh Has admonished us with praying’
- c. *[e] yā dōkantà [pp dà [NP shūgabanci-n]].*
 3ms.-perf. eager/anxious with leadership-def.
 ‘He was eager/anxious for the leadership’

While it is not possible to front the subjunctive sentential complements as correctly argued for by Bagari 1976:157-8, it is however possible to wh-move the whole *dà* complement as a cleft as in (46). This is also possible with their nominalized counterparts. But it is not grammatical when it is topicalized as in (47). The following illustrate these instances:

- (46) a. [CP [C dà] [IP [e] sù biyā hàrāji-n dà wuri nē]]_i --
 comp. 3pl.-subj. pay tax-def. with early cop.
 [IP Sarkī ya gàrgàdē sù t_i].
 Emir 3ms.-rel.-perf. admonish them
 'It was that they should pay the taxes that the Emir admonished them'
- b. [CP [C dà] [IP [e] rantsar dà shī shūgàbā nē]]_i --
 comp. swearing-CAU. with him leader cop.
 [IP [e] ya dōkantà t_i].
 3ms.-rel.-perf. be eager
 'It was (with) swearing him in as the president that he is eager'
- (47) a. *[TOP [C dà] [IP [e] sù biyā hàrāji-n dà wuri fa]](,) •
 comp. 3pl.-subj. pay tax-def. with early prt.
 [IP Sarkī yā gàrgàdē sù].
 Emir 3ms.-perf. admonish them
 'As for them that they should pay the taxes, the Emir admonished them'
- b. *[TOP [C dà] [IP [e] rantsar dà shī shūgàbā (kàm)]](,) •
 comp. swearing-CAU. with him leader prt.
 [IP [e] yā dōkantà].
 3ms.-perf. be eager
 'As for him being sworn in as president, he is eager'

Note that the object clauses alone cannot be fronted leaving the particle *dà* behind. This may indicate that the particle itself is not part of the predicate of the matrix IP, but rather

(48) a. *_{[CP [C Ø [IP [e] sù biyā hàràjì-n dà wuri nè]ᵢ}
 comp. 3pl.-subj. pay tax-def. with early cop.
 [IP Sarkī ya gàrgàdē sù [C dà [IP tᵢ]]].
 Emir 3ms.-rel.-perf. admonish them comp.

b. *_{[CP [C Ø] [_{NP} [e] rantsar dà shī shūgàbā nē]]_i} ---
comp. swearing-CAU. him leader cop.

[_{IP} [e] ya dōkanta [_C dà [_{IP} t_i]].
3ms.-perf. be eager comp.

(49) a. *[_{TOP} [_{IP} [e] sù biyā hàrāji-n dà wuri (kàm)]_i(.) --
 3pl.-subj. pay tax-def. with early prt.
 [_{IP} Sarkī yā gàrgàdē sù [_C dà [_{IP} t_i]].
 Emir 3ms.-perf. admonish them comp.

b *_{[TOP [C Ø [NP [e] rantsar dà shī shūgàbā (kàm)]]}_{i(,) ---}
comp. swearing-CAU. him leader prt.

[_{IP} [e] yā dōkantà [_C dà [_{IP} t_i]].
3ms.-perf. be eager comp.

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- (50) a. [CP [IP [e] sù biyā hàràjì-n dà wuri nè]]_i ---
3pl.-subj. pay tax-def. with early cop.
[IP Sarkī ya gàrgàdē sù [CP dà [yī l_i]]].
Emir 3ms.-rel.-perf. admonish them comp. doing
'It is that they should pay the taxes early that the Emir admonished them'
- b. [CP [NP [e] rantsar dà shī shūgàbā nè]] ----
swearing-CAU. him leader cop.
[IP [e] ya dōkantà [CP dà [IP [e] à yī]]].
3ms.-rel.-perf. be eager comp. IMP.subj. do
'It is swearing him in as the president that he is eager (for someone) to do'
- (51) a. [TOP [IP [e] sù biyā hàràjì-n dà wuri (kàm)]], ----
3pl.-subj. pay tax-def. with early prt.
[IP Sarkī yā gàrgàdē sù [CP dà [hakà]]].
Emir 3ms.-perf. admonish them comp. thus
'As for them that they should pay the taxes early, the Emir admonished them for/with that'
- b. [TOP [NP [e] rantsar dà shī shūgàbā kàm]], [IP [e] yā
swearing-CAU. him leader prt. 3ms.-perf.
dōkantà [CP dà [IP [e] à yī masà hakà-n]]].
be eager comp. IMP.-subj. do to-him thus-def.
'As for swearing him the president, he is eager for one to do that for him'

From these examples we can see that subjunctive sentential subjects (adverbial and non-adverbial ones) and nominalized/gerundive complements/clause, as well as simple NPs may be introduced by the particle *d'ā*. And these complements may or may not be fronted depending on the type of derived structure one gets and, also depending on the contexts as well. There are however some tense restrictions which I do not plan to get into here (see Bagari 1976:158-159 for such discussions).

What is important here is the fact that the particle *dà* in these constructions functions as a complement or clause introducer. With some predicates, *dà* is obligatory, with some it is optional, while with others it is completely disallowed. Bagari 1976:161 argues that in cases where it is either obligatory or optional involve non-adverbial subordinate clauses. Whereas in cases where it is disallowed or integrated as a preposition involve instances where the clause is an adverbial one. And he goes on asserting that “the reason why the neutral subordinate *dà* is either disallowed or integrated into a preposition in subordinate adverbial clauses has to do with the fact that adverbial clauses are generally introduced by semantically significant prepositions which can themselves function as subordinators. Therefore, when the neutral subordinator *dà* co-occurs with such adverbial prepositions, it becomes redundant and so it is either deleted or merged with the preposition (Bagari 1976:162)”. Note that the complementizer *dà* may also co-occur with other complementizers *cêwā* and *wai* as illustrated in the following:

- (52) a. [e] mun ròkē sù [Cp (dà) (cêwā) [Ip [e] sù taimàkā
 1pl.-perf. beg them with that 3pl.-subj. help
 wà jūnā]].
 dat. each other
 ‘We asked/begged them that they should help each other’
- b. Sarkī yā gàrgādē mù [Cp (dà) (cêwā) [Ip [e] mù ---+
 Emir 3ms.-perf. admonish us with that 1pl.-subj.
 dainà sūkà-n gwamnatì]].
 stop criticising-of government
 ‘The Emir admonished us to stop criticizing the government’
- c. [e] yā dōkantà [Cp (dà) (wai) ----
 3ms.-perf. be eager with that

[_{IP} [e] yà zama shūgàba-n kasā]].
 3ms.-subj. become leader-of country

‘He was eager that he would become the head of state’

- d. Bintà ta kàlli kenne-n-tà Audà dà Garba,
 Bintà 3fs.-rel.-perf. look younger brothers-of-her Audù and Garba

sànnan ta àikē sù dà sù jē sù ---
 then 3fs.-rel.-perf. send them COMP. 3pl.-subj. go 3pl.-subj.

ɗaukō matà jàka-r-tà. (SGJ-2:51).
 take for-her bag-of-her

‘Bintà looked at her brothers, Audù and Garba, and she sent them to go and bring to her her bag’

As we can see from these examples, the particle *dà* may either occur alone or co-occur with the complementizers *cēwā* and *wai*. Note the optionality of both formatives. And there does not seem to be any reason to argue that *dà* in these sentences is part of the predicates *rōkā*, *gàrgadā*, or *dōkantà*. The question now is can this particle *dà* also introduce subjunctive propositional complements of the CTEs under study? I turn to this issue now.

3.3.5 Dà Introducing Subjunctive Propositional Complements in Post-CTE Position.

Having discussed the function of the particle *dà* in various types of constructions, let me now investigate its function in introducing other types of nominalizations. The *dà* complementizing particle can be used to introduce subjunctive propositional complements. Consider the following sentences: ⁴

- (53) a. don kùwa ràyuwa-r-ki zā ki shiryā sai wandà --
 comp. adv.-prt. life-of-you 1fut.-2fs. plan except one who
- kikà ga [_{IP} [e]_i yā dācē [_{CP} dà [_{IP} [e] ki ---
 2fs.-rel.-perf. see 3ms.-perf. be suitable comp. 2fs.-subj.

zaunà dà shī]]_i
live with him

(SGJ-2:50).

‘.. because it is your life that you are going to plan. Except the person whom you consider that it is fitting/better for you to live with= it is only you who will determine the person you think is best suitable to you’

- b. [e]_i yā cāncantà [CP (dà) [IP [e] sù yi ---
3ms.-perf. be fitting/appropriate comp. 3pl.-subj. do

aurē à wannàn shēkarā]]_i
marriage at/in this year

‘It is fitting/appropriate for them to/that they get married in this year’

- c. [e]_i yā hàramtā [CP (dà) [IP [e] kù ci àladē]]_i
3ms.-perf. be unlawful comp. 2pl.-subj. eat pig

‘It is disallowed/forbidden/prohibited for you to/that you eat pork’

- d. [e]_i yanā dà muhimmançì [CP (dà) [IP [e] mù gamà
3ms.-cnt. with importance comp. 1pl.-subj. finish

aiki-n-mù à yâu dīn nān]]_i
work-of-us at today emp.-prt. here

‘It is important that we finish our work this very day’

- (54) a. [e]_i wājibī nē [CP (dà) [IP [e] kù yi Sallāh kullum]]_i
obligatory cop. comp. 2pl.-subj. do Sallāh every day

‘It is obligatory that you perform the (Sallāh) Prayer everyday’

- b. [e]_i hàrāmùn nē [CP (dà) [IP [e] mù shā giyā]]_i
forbidden cop. comp. 1pl.-subj. drink alcohol

‘It is forbidden/prohibited for us to drink (any) alcohol’

- c. [e]_i saurā kàdan nē [CP (dà) [IP [e] tà gamà àbincî-n]]_i
remain a little cop. comp. 3fs.-subj. finish food-def.

‘It remains a little bit of time for her to finish (cooking) the food’

- d. [e]_i bâ àbi-n kunyā ba nē [CP (dà) -----
neg. thing-of shame neg. cop. comp.

[_{IP} [e] à kwāna à gida-n sùrùkai]]_i
 IMP.-subj.spend night at home-of inlaws-of

‘It is not shameful/a shameful thing that/for a person to sleep overnight at inlaws’ house’

These examples indicate that it is possible to have the complementizer *dà* introducing the propositional subject in post-CTE position. However, the occurrence of *dà* as a complementizer on the other hand is not as free as that of *céwā* and *wai* complementizers. That is, it has very limited occurrences with the CTEs under study, in the sense that many people tend or even prefer to leave it out. In other words, while it is clear from the above examples that the particle *dà* can introduce subjunctive propositional complements of the CTEs under study, this is not however the general pattern, since there are certain CTEs that do not allow the presence of *dà* to head their subjunctive propositional complements. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, there is no overwhelming agreement by native speakers with regard to the grammaticality of some of the sentences introduced by *dà*. Some of these examples are the following:

- (55) a. *_i[e]_i yâ yiwu [_{CP} dà [_{IP} [e] tà kōmā gidā]]_i
 3ms.-2fut. be possible/likely comp. 3fs.-subj. return home

‘It is possible/likely that she would return home’

- b. *_i[e]_i yanā yiwuwā [_{CP} dà [_{IP} [e] nā gamā aiki-n]]_i
 3ms.-cnt. be a possibility comp. 1s.-subj. finish work-def.

‘It is possible that I will finish the work today’

- (56) a. *_i[e]_i mài yiwuwā nē [_{CP} dà [_{IP} [e] nā sàyi mōtā]]_i
 has possibility cop. comp. 1s.-subj. buy car

‘It is possible/likely for me to buy a car’

- b. *_i[e]_i watakīlā nē [_{CP} dà [_{IP} [e] kù yi aurē yāu]]_i
 probable/perhaps cop. comp. 2pl.-subj. do marriage today

‘It is probable that you would get married this year’

Note that, here one cannot make a general conclusion by imposing the issue of ‘transitivity’ of the predicates in the root clause. That is to assume that a verb like *kàmātà* is intransitive, and so cannot select a CP headed by a complementizer. And that nouns like *kyâu*, *wùyā*, *dācēwā* etc. also cannot select a CP headed by *dà* in the sense that they cannot theta-mark the CP since they are non-verbals. This cannot be right since a verb like *kàmātà* can take other complementizers like *cēwā* and *wai* and may also take a direct object by been used transitively (see below). This also applies to the nominal CTEs or the copular ones. Furthermore, other intransitive verbs like *dācē*, *kyàutu* and *yīwu* also may select *cēwā* and *wai* complementizers. And *dācē* itself can select a CP headed by *dà*. The only consistent pattern observed above is that most of the CTEs that reject *dà* are among the ‘possibility’ and ‘probability’ group. Perhaps, this problem may best be explained by stipulating that the possibility or otherwise for any CTE to select a CP headed by *dà* is the lexical property of each individual CTE.

However, one interesting thing to note is that with most of the CTEs under study, the complementizing particle *dà* may introduce their extraposed propositional subject complements when there is an “object” in the root clause. In other words some of the CTEs that reject *dà* in the above examples may allow it now when there is an object NP or PP/AdvP intervening between them. Consider the following:

- (57) a. [e] yā kāmācē kà_i [Cp (dà) [Ip [e]_i kà dainà
 3ms.-perf. be better you comp. 2ms.-subj. stop/cease

 kurbāwā]].
 sipping=drinking alcohol

 ‘It is better/fitting for you to stop drinking (alcohol)’
- b. [e] yā cāncāncē kù_i [Cp (dà) [Ip [e]_i kù ----
 3ms.-perf. be fitting/suitable you comp. 2pl.-subj.

taimàkà wà jūnā]].
 help dat. each other

‘It appropriate/desirable for you to help each other’

- c. [e] yanā dà kyâu [pp à gārē kī] [CP (dà) -----
 3ms.-cnt. with good/nice to you comp.

[Ip [e]_i kī àuri mijī na gārī]].
 2fs.-subj. marry husband of good/reliable

‘It is nice for you to marry a reliable/good husband’

- d. [e] yanā dà muhim mancī [pp gā Aabū] ----
 3ms.-cnt. with importance to/for Aabū

[CP (dà) [Ip [e]_i tà sàyi mōtā bana]].
 comp. 3fs.-subj. buy car this year

‘It is important to/for Aabū that she buy a car this year’

- e. [e]_i bā shi dà kyâu [pp à gārē kà] [CP (dà) ---
 neg. it with good/nice to you comp.

[Ip [e]_i kà dīngā zāgi-n mutānē]]_i
 2ms.-subj. keep on insulting/abusing-of people

‘It is not good/nice/appropriate for you that you keep abusing/insulting people’

- (58) a. [e] tīlās nē [pp à gārē shī] [CP (dà) [Ip [e]_i yā ---
 necessary cop. to/for him comp. 3ms.-subj.

kōmā gidā bana]].
 return home this year

‘It is necessary/obligatory for him to return home this year’

- b. [e] hārāmūn nē [pp à gārē mū] [CP (dà) ---
 unlawful cop. to us comp.

[Ip [e]_i mù shā giyā à kōwànè hālī]].
 1pl.-subj. drink alcohol in any condition

‘It is forbidden for us to drink alcohol under whatever/any condition’

- c. [e] mài yiwuwā nē [pp à gārē ni_i] [CP (dà) -----]
 has possibility cop. to/for me comp.
 [IP [e]_i nà iyà sàye-n sābuwa-r mōtā-r yāu]].
 1ms.-subj. be able buying-of new-of car-def. today
 'It is possible/likely for me that I may be able to buy a new car today'
- d. [e] rashì-n dā'à nē [AdvP à kasāshe-n Afirkà] [CP (dà) -
 lack-of etiquette cop. in countries-of Africa comp.
 [IP mùtùm yà ci àbinci dà hannu-n hagu]].
 person 3ms.-subj. eat food with hand-of left
 'It is (showing of) lack of good manners in African countries for a person to eat with a left hand'
- e. [e]_i bā àbi-n kunyā ba nē [pp gā mùtùm_i] [CP (dà) ---
 neg. thing-of shame neg. cop. to/for person comp.
 [IP [e]_i yà kwāna à gida-n sùrùka-n-sà]].
 3ms.-subj. spend night at home-of inlaws-of him
 'It is not shameful/a shameful thing that a person sleep overnight at/in his inlaws' house'

It is clear from the above description that it is possible for the complementizing particle *dà* to occur between most of these CTEs and the subjunctive propositional complement which occurs in post-CTE position. And the majority of them with or without an intervening object. It is shown that not all CTEs however, allow this possibility. Furthermore, even though such CTEs allowing this pattern are very few, such possibility is not the most widely used one. Speakers tend to do away with the complementizer *dà*. And not only *dà*, even the other complementizers discussed earlier (i.e. *cēwā* and *wai*) are preferably omitted. But this does not mean that *dà* never occurs in a sequence like [e] CTE + (NP/PP) + *dà* + [COMPLEMENT]. The data discussed so far show that all of these CTEs may select a CP headed by *dà* if there is an intervening object NP, a PP or an AdvP. I therefore conclude that the particle *dà* here is a complementizer and it may

introduce a subjunctive propositional complement in post-CTE position just as it does for subordinate adverbial clauses and relative clauses discussed earlier.

3.3.6 Dà Introducing Propositional Complements in Pre-CTE Position.

Let me now turn to the complementizing particle *dà* introducing propositional complements in pre-CTE position. The following are just two examples from both types of CTEs with or without an intonational break before the propositional complements adjoined to the root IP:

- (59) a. *_{[IP [CP dà [IP Tankò yà tàfi]]](,) ([e]) yā kāmātà].}
 comp. Tankò 3ms.-subj. go 3ms-perf. be fitting
 ‘That Tankò should go/leave is fitting/appropriate’ =
 ‘For Tankò to leave/go is fitting/appropriate’
- b. *_{[IP [CP dà [IP Audù yà kōmā gidā]]](,) ([e]) tilàs nē].}
 comp. Audù 3ms.-subj. return home necessary cop.
 ‘That Audù should return home is necessary’ =
 ‘For Audù to return home is necessary’

One thing we can see from these examples is that *dà* cannot occur in pre-CTE position. In other words, it cannot introduce a subjunctive propositional complement in pre-CTE position with the meaning of either ‘*that X should do Y*’ or ‘*for X to do Y*’, and this is whether the complement is assumed to be in the specifier position of the root IP or in the peripheral position of the IP. That is these sentences will also be ungrammatical even if the complements occur in the CP as clefts as in (60) or occur in topic as topicalized CPs as in (61). This is illustrated in the following:

- (60) a. *_{[CP [C dà [IP Tankò yà biyā hàrājì nē]] ---}
 comp. Tankò 3ms.-subj. pay tax cop.

[IP [e] ya kà m ā t à].
3ms.-rel.-perf. be fitting/better

‘It is/was that Tankò should pay taxes (that) is fitting’

- b. *[CP [C dà [IP Audù yà kō m ā gidā nē]] ---
comp. Audù 3ms.-subj. return home cop.

[IP [e] tī lās nē].
necessary cop.

‘It is/was that Audù should return home (that) is necessary’

- (61) a. *[TP [TOP [C dà [IP Tankò yà biyā hà r ā jī kà m]]], ---
comp. Tankò 3ms.-subj. pay tax prt.

[IP [e] yā kà m ā t à].
3ms.-perf. be fitting/better

‘(As for) that Tankò should pay taxes, it is fitting/appropriate’

- b. *[TP [TOP [C dà [IP Audù yà kō m ā gidā kà m]]], ---
comp. Audù 3ms.-subj. return home prt.

[IP [e] tī lās nē].
necessary cop.

‘(As for) that Audù should return home, it is necessary’

It is very clear then that *dà* cannot introduce propositional complements of these CTEs in pre-CTE position. Note that this is the same problem we found with object complements earlier (see the examples in 48-49 above).

3.3.7 General Discussion and Conclusions on the Particle *Dà*

The description given so far shows that the particle *dà* in some cases functions as a complement or clause introducer (a complementizer) and in other cases functions as a conjunction or preposition of various types. One interesting thing to note is that the conclusion reached by Bagari (1976) is that the particle *dà* should be regarded as a

neutral marker of subordination. While he does not mention its categorical status as a complementizer, he however concludes that it functions just like the English “to-complementizer” (see the table on page 164 of Bagari 1976). It is this line of argument that I take. That is, I consider this particle as a complementizer. I assume that the particle *dà* introducing subjunctive object complements discussed above is actually a complementizers like *cēwā* and *wai*. In fact *dà* is the only word that is used to join NP’s, to mean ‘with’, to introduce relative clauses, and to introduce various kinds of “temporal” and “cohesive” adverbial clauses.

As for *dà* introducing sentential complements, it is actually *expanding* in its scope. This is clear if one looks at older texts, even from earlier in this century, one would find much less use of *dà* or any other overt complementizer with sentential complements. In other words, it seems to me that the use of overt complementizers in general, and *dà* in particular, is expanding, possibly as a result of contact with English. One source of this expansion could be from the print and broadcast media, where a lot of the news-type stuff is translated from English. This expansion probably could be directly shown in Hausa by careful text counts comparing earlier and more recent printed literature, particularly in the Hausa newspapers like “*Gaskiyā Tā Fi Kwabō*”, “*Ālfijir*”, “*Ālbishir*”, “*Nāsīhā*”, “*Āmānā*”, “*Āl-mīzān*”, “*Himmā*”, “*Fitilār Kàtsinā*”, “*Zumā*”, “*Magōrī*”, and Hausa journals like “*Hàntsi*”, “*Rānā*”, and “*Lōkaci*”, (thanks to Professor Schuh for this very important suggestion). Since most of the “real language” examples used in this thesis come from the writer and his contemporaries as well as modern texts by younger authors, it is not surprising that the CTEs under study, and also some of the mental and psychological attitude verbs as well as some of the manipulative verbs are shown to select the complementizers *cēwā*, *wai* and *dà* more regularly than expected (see for instance, the examples rejected by Bagari when the predicate selects *cēwā* complementizer).

Furthermore, these complementizers have a clear semantic role as earlier suggested. *Cêwā* being a more regular complementizer introducing complement clauses of numerous types of predicates (especially the assertive and some perception verbs taking object complements). *Wai* is a more general complementizer introducing similar complements as those of *cêwā*, but with the added meaning of a “reported or second hand information”. Information which the speaker is not committed to it, hence, a mere hearsay. While *dā* on the other hand is mostly found with predicates taking subjunctive object complements with mostly the general meaning “that”. And it is expanding its status as a complementizer especially in the language use of the younger generation.

3.4 The Status of the Particles *Kō* and *Kō* (...*Kō*).

The particle *kō* has several functions in Hausa syntax. It may function as a complementizer. It may function as a “conjunction” for NPs, clauses, sentences, as well as other various grammatical categories. Furthermore, it may co-occur with some interrogative words to form Wh-expressions or indefinites quantified NPs. And finally, it may introduce any kind of independent sentence whether it is a “statement” or a “yes/no” question. In the discussion to follow, I will examine each of these various occurrences of the particle *kō* (see also Meyers 1974:247-264 for similar discussion on *kō* based on its uses as a *modality* particle). I will attempt to show that its occurrence with subjunctive propositional complement does not necessarily always make it a complementizer. In other words it may function as a complementizer or a “disjunctive correlative”.

3.4.1 *Kō* as a General Introducer of Clauses in a Yes/No Question Context.

The particle *kō* may be used to introduce varieties of clauses which require an answer with a yes or no. The main function of it here is to use politeness in asking a

question (note that the word *shin*, a discourse particle, may also be used for the same purpose and may also co-occur with *kō*). The general meaning of *shin* is ‘by the way’, ‘do you happen to know’, etc., and it has the function of introducing questions of doubt). Consider the following where *kō* is used as a question morpheme:

- (62) a. *kō* [IP [e] *nà* *kāwō mukù ruwā* [IP [e] *kù* *shā*]]?
 Q. 1s.-subj. bring dat.-you water 2pl.-subj. drink
 ‘Could/should I bring you some water to drink?’
- b. [IP *yārò-n yà* *wankè mōtā-r*] *kō*?
 boy-def. 3ms.-subj. wash car-def. Q.
 ‘Should the boy wash the car?’
- (63) a. (*shin*) *kō* [IP [e] *kā* *sāmi Audù à gidā kùwa*]?
 Q. Q. 2ms.-perf. find Audù at home prt.
 ‘(By the way) did you in fact find Audù at home?’
- b. [IP [e] *zā kì bā nì rānce-n kudī*] *kō*?
 1fut.-2fs. give me lending-of money
 ‘You would lend me some money, wouldn’t you?’
- (64) a. *kō* [IP [NP *zuwà-n gwamnā gidā-n-ā*] *yā* *yi kyāu*]?
 Q. coming-of governor house-of-me 3ms.-perf. do nice/good
 ‘Did the governor’s coming to my house was appropriate/o.k.?’
- b. [IP [NP *shā-n giyā*] *hārāmùn* *nē*] *kō*?
 drinking-of alcohol unlawful/forbidden cop. Q.
 ‘(Is it the case that) drinking alcohol is forbidden/prohibited?’

Observe that *kō* in these sentences introduces several types of clauses. In (62) it introduces subjunctive clauses, in (63) tensed clauses, and in (64) nominalized clauses. Note that in the (b) examples it occurs at the end of the sentences. When it occurs at the end of the whole clause/utterance, it functions as a reduced clause for *kō bā haka ba*

nē “isn’t it thus/so?” which gives the sentence the equivalent of the English tag question (see Cowan and Schuh 1976:200 and 217 for details). Note further that the particle *kō* here is operating as an introducer of a question (see Meyers 1974:254 where it is argued that it is not necessarily a question word itself). Similarly, apart from *kō* being a particle introducing a sentence that requires the addressee to respond with an answer as either *yes* or *no*, it is usually the case for the remaining part of the answer to be optional. In other words one could respond to such question in (67a) and (69b) above as indicated in the following:

- (65) a. I, ([IP [e] *kà*) [VP *kāwō* *manà* *ruwâ-n* [IP [e] *mù* *shā*]].
 yes 2ms.-subj. bring dat.-us water-def. 1pl.-subj. drink
 ‘Yes, (bring us the water to drink’
- b. I, ([IP [NP *shâ-n* *giyâ*]) *hārāmùn* *nē*]).
 yes, drinking-of alcohol forbidden cop.
 ‘Yes, drinking alcohol (it) is forbidden/prohibited’

It also functions as a complementizer like the Q-morpheme used in the literature except that the Hausa Q-morpheme is overt not an abstract element in the deep structure (see Klima 1964, Baker 1968, 1978:118-124 and 1989 for this usage for English, and also Schuh 1974, Cowan and Schuh 1976:86 for a very clear discussion on the particle *kō*, used as a clause introducer). It is therefore clear that the function of *kō* in these sentences is to introduce a clause as well as a complementizer, and it can be omitted just like the case other complementizers we saw earlier. Note that if it is not inserted there, the sentences will still be grammatical, and here the “question intonation” strategy being sufficient enough to illicit a ‘yes/no’ answer. Consider the following:

- (66) a. [IP Tàní tà yi barcī har gōmà shā biyu-n rānā]?
 Tàní 2fs.-subj. do sleep until ten and two-of day
 ‘Should Tàní sleep until 12.00 noon?’
- b. [IP [NP cí-n nāmà-n àgwāgwa] hàrāmùn nē]?
 eating-of meat-of duck unlawful cop.
 ‘Is eating duck meat forbidden?’

The above examples indicate that *kō* as a particle introducing clauses of yes/no question. The particle may be omitted as long as question intonation strategy is used. However, the use of *kō* makes the question to be more of a polite one. In other words, its presence merely makes the deference overt. I therefore assume that *kō* in these contexts is a complementizer as well as a general particle introducing a “yes/no” question, irrespective of the TAM of the clause it introduced. Note that the fact that it introduces an element of politeness cannot be an argument against its complementizerhood. This is so, since many complementizers have independent meaning beyond their purely syntactic function. Unlike in English, it seems to be the case that Hausa has an overt Wh-complementizer, *kō*, that can fill the SPEC position of a CP when the CP is the root clause of a yes/no question. This is particularly of some interest inasmuch as people have been proposing underlying complementizers in this position for English since the late 1960’s at least (see Baker 1978 and Karttunen 1977). The *kō* here is an overt complementizer not just an *empty* Wh-operator. Before discussing its other functions let me investigate its function in introducing subjunctive propositional complements.

3.4.1.1 *Kō* in Pre-CTE Position as a Question Introducer.

Kō as a question operator may introduce a propositional subjunctive complement in pre-CTE position with the meaning of either ‘*is it the case (that)?*’ or ‘*is it so?*’. Like in the case of the complementizer *cēwā* or *wai* introducing subjunctive propositional

complement in pre-CTE position, the complement introduced by *kō* must be outside the root IP in order for it to be grammatical in normal expected utterance. The following sentences are therefore grammatical:

- (67) a. [CP *kō* [IP [e] *nà biyā hàrājī*]], [IP [e] *yā kāmātā*]?
 Q. 1s.-subj. pay tax 3ms.-perf. be fitting
 ‘Is it in fact the case that I should pay taxes, (it) is desirable/fitting?’
- b. [IP [e] *mù shā giyā*](,) [IP [e] *hārāmùn nē*] *kō*?
 1pl.-subj. drink alcohol unlawful cop. Q.
 ‘For us to drink alcohol, (it) is forbidden/prohibited, isn’t it?’

Similarly, if the particle *kō* introduces the root clause (i.e. the CTE-clause), where the subjunctive propositional complement of the CTE is postposed, it is also the root clause and what follows it that is questioned or inquired about. That is, the sentence as a whole is of a *yes/no* type even though it is only the root clause that is headed by the particle *kō*. In other words, the particle may have a wide scope over the whole utterance. Consider the following:

- (68) a. *kō* [IP [e] *yā kāmātā*] [IP [e] *mù biyā hàrājī*]?
 Q. 3ms.-perf. be fitting 1pl.-subj. pay tax
 ‘Is it desirable/appropriate that we should pay taxes?’
- b. [IP *Àadō yā dācē*] [IP [e] *yā zama sarkī*] *kō*?
 Àado 3ms.-perf. be appropriate 3ms.-subj. become emir Q.
 ‘Àdo is fit to become the Emir, isn’t he/it so?’
- (69) a. *kō* [IP [e] *tīlās nē*] [IP [e] *nà kōmā gidā gōbē*]?
 Q. necessary cop. 1s.-subj. return home tomorrow
 ‘Is it necessary that I should return/go back home tomorrow?’

- b. [IP [e] hàrāmùn nē [IP [e] mù shā giyà]] kō?
 forbidden cop. 1pl.-subj. drink alcohol Q

‘It is forbidden for us to drink alcohol, isn’t it so?’

These examples illustrate the fact that *kō* introduces a *yes/no* question, and it is the clause immediately following *kō* as well as the complement that is inquired about. This is so since the complement is in the scope of the matrix expression (with expressions like *yā kāmātà* or *tīlās (nē)*, their very function is as a sort of operator on their complement), the complement must also be in the scope of the *kō* question marking complementizer. And as we saw above with the simple cases of *kō* introducing various clauses, *kō* here is also just an optional question operator particle/complementizer, since it does not have to be overt to make a question. Question intonation strategy alone can be used to elicit a *yes/no* answer. Note further that the occurrence of *kō* in pre-CTE position also requires (optionally) a pause before the subjunctive propositional complement or the root clause it introduces. (We will see later that the correlatives *kō* ... *kō* may also require such conditions).

3.4.1.2 *Kō* in Post-CTE Position as a Question Introducer.

In a normal simple declarative “statement” *kō* as a question particle meaning “is it the case that/so” cannot occur in post-CTE position introducing a postposed subjunctive propositional complement. The following sentences are therefore all ungrammatical:

- (70) a. *[e]_i yā kāmātà kō [IP Tànî tà biyā hàrājì]_i
 3ms.-perf. be fitting Q. Tànî 3fs.-subj. pay tax

‘It is fitting/better/desirable that Tànî should pay the taxes’

- b. *[e]_i dōlè nē kō [IP [e] yà àuri Bintà]_i
 necessary cop. Q. 3ms.-subj. marry Bintà

‘It is necessary that he should marry Bintà’

If however the root clause is uttered with a question intonation and is followed by an intonational break, the particle *kō* can occur before the CTE introducing the postposed complement of the CTE. In this case also both the root clause and the complement are questioned. Note that here the two clauses may be considered as separate. Consider the following:

- (71) a. [e] yā kāmātà, [Cp kō [Ip [e] tà biyā hàràjì-n]]?
 3ms.-perf. be fitting Q. 3fs.-subj. pay tax-def.
 ‘Is it fitting/better/desirable that/whether she should pay the taxes?’
- b. [e] bâ shi dà kyâu, [Cp kō (wai) [Ip [e] à ci àladè]].
 neg. it with good Q. that IMP.-subj. eat pig
 ‘Is it not good/appropriate that/whether one should eat pork?’
- (72) a. [e] tīlās nē, [Cp kō (sai) [Ip [e] yà yi azùmī]]?
 necessary cop. Q. prt.=should 3ms.-subj. do fasting
 ‘Is it necessary that he should do fasting?’
- b. [e] bâ àbi-n kunyā ba nē, [Cp kō (wai) ----
 neg. thing-of shame neg. cop. Q. that=they say
 [Ip [e] à kwāna à gida-n sùrùkai]]?
 IMP.-subj. spend night at home-of in-laws
 ‘Is it not shameful/a shameful thing that/whether a person should sleep
 overnight at/in in-laws?’

These sentences show that *kō* may occur as a clause introducing word in post-CTE position but with some constraints. Namely, that (a) there should be an intonational break before the CTE preceding the particle and (b) there should be a question intonation accompanying the utterance. Notice that some adverbial particles or even the complementizer *wai* or *cêwā* may follow or precede the particle *kō* just before the postposed complement introduced by *kō*. When the CTE is negated *kō* may have as well

the meaning of a Wh-complementizer “whether” as we can see in the (b) sentences of (71) and (72) above. Note further that just like in the simple cases we saw earlier *kō* here functions as a general clause introducer, hence, a complementizer. And since it is an overt Wh-operator, it may be omitted freely as long as the “question intonation” strategy is employed.

3.4.1.3 Discussion of the Question Introducing Particle *kō*:

If we look at the function of *kō* as an operator particle introducing sentences or clauses in a yes/no sentence, and where the particle has the meaning of ‘*is it the case that*’, ‘*is it so*’, we can say that the sentence(s) introduced by it can all be considered as “independent sentences”. That is, in the root CTE, the speaker is trying to solicit a suggestion or an advice. Such an appraisal or comment can either be made by him/herself, or as mentioned earlier, it could be a case where he/she is just reporting to the listener what someone else has said. And this is the case whether that proposition is true or not. When the operator particle occurs in sentence initial position heading a subjunctive propositional complement, the speaker is also indeterminate as to the truth value of the propositional content which the CTE is appraising or commenting about. When this is the case, it is the root clause that the doubt is all about rather than on the propositional complement. And as in the previous cases, the speaker seeks a suggestion, advice, or opinion from the listener to help him/her make a final decision about the proposition. In other words, the doubt is on the propositional complement in post-CTE position. Similarly, in a tag question case for instance, the speaker is asking the listener as to whether the event/action expressed in the utterance should or should not be carried out, or whether the appraising/comment expressed by the CTE is true or not.

Furthermore, as we saw in the case of *cêwā* and *wai* complementizers earlier, where there is a possibility of having one complementizer introducing one clause in pre-CTE position and another introducing another clause in post-CTE position, the question operator particle *kō* (also a complementizer) can also participate in these kinds of processes. Consider the following:

- (73) [CP *kō* [IP [e] *dōlè* *nē*, [CP (*cêwā/wai*) [IP [e] *kà* *tàfi*]]]]?
 Q. necessary cop. that 2ms.-subj. go
 ‘Is it necessary, that you should go/leave?’

However, when the subjunctive propositional complement occurs in pre-CTE position, only *wai* can occur before the root clause and this is the case whether the complement is assumed to be in Spec of IP of the root clause or outside of it in a dislocated position. Note however that *cêwā* cannot occur in the CP. Consider the following:

- (74) [CP *kō* [IP *Tankò yà* *biyā hàràjì*]](,) [CP *wai/*cêwā* ----
 Q. *Tankò* 3ms.-subj. pay tax that/that
 [IP [e] *yā* *kāmātà*]]?
 3ms-perf. be fitting

‘Is it the case that Tanko should pay taxes, that it is desirable/appropriate?’

- (75) [IP [CP *cêwa(r)* [IP *Tankò yà* *biyā hàràjì*]], [CP *kō* ---
 saying-def.=that *Tankò* 3ms.-subj. pay tax Q.
 [IP [e] *yā* *kāmātà*]]?
 3ms.-perf. be fitting

‘(The fact/saying that) Tanko should pay taxes, is it desirable/appropriate?’

- (76) [IP [CP *wai* [IP [e] *mù* *shā giyā*]], [CP *kō*[IP [e] *hàrà mùn nē*]]?
 that 1pl.-subj. drink alcohol Q. forbidden cop.

‘(They say that) we should drink alcohol, is it forbidden/prohibited?’

The subject complement and the root clause should however be considered as separate sentences, since each can stand by itself as an independent sentence. One final issue on the function of *kō* as a question introducer is its ability to indicate disjunctive nature of yes/no questions. It is well known that 'yes/no' questions semantically tend to indicate the occurrence of a question in an embedded matrix clause which may indicate either negative or positive disjunction. In other words the underlying form of a yes/no question implies something like the following (see Karttunen 1977):

- (77) *kō* Āli yà biyā hàrājì (*kō* kadà yà biyā)?
 Q. Āli 3ms.-subj. pay tax or neg. 3ms.-subj. pay

'Is it (the case) that Āli should pay taxes or is it not the case that he should pay?' =
 'Is it (the case) that Āli should pay taxes or is it not the case that X should pay?'

Here we may assume that the second disjunct is omitted but it is the first *kō* which functions as a general interrogative operator. Hence, it has scope over the whole utterance, and we may assume that it occurs in the Spec of CP, and it is the WH-complementizer 'whether'. Note that when the second clause is not omitted, then the whole utterance is an alternative or disjunctive questions which indicates a choice between two propositions in which one must be responded to (I will discuss this in the next section).

In conclusion to this subsection, it is clear that from the examples discussed so far, that the particle *kō* can occur sentence initially or medially (as long as there is an intonation break before the clause it introduces). The fact that it may be followed by other particles or complementizers in particular, may indicate that its general function is to introduce constituents as well as function as a complementizer. It is a complementizer since at least from the examples we saw so far Hausa allows "doubly filled" complementizer positions (see the interaction of *cēwā*, *wai*, and *dà* discussed earlier).

Before moving to its function as a “correlative” where it co-occurs with another *kō*, let me now investigate other uses of *kō*.

3.4.2 *Kō* as a Conjunctive Particle Meaning ‘or’.

The particle *kō* may be used to conjoin/link NPs, clauses, and complements. The most common way to use it is to put it before each of the elements that are conjoined. It may come either at the beginning of the constituents that are joined or somewhere within such constituents, especially simple NPs. Consider first the following involving simple cases of conjunction with *kō* having the meaning “or”:

- (78) a. [e] yā dācē [Ip [e] kà sàyi [Np Honda kō Toyota]].
 3ms.-perf. be proper 2ms.-subj. buy Honda or Toyota
 ‘It better/appropriate that you should buy Honda or Toyota’
- b. [CP [Np rīgā [AdvP bakā kō farā]] (cē)] [Ip [e] ya -----
 gown black or white cop. 3ms.-rel.-perf.
 kāmātā [Ip [e] kà sà yāu]].
 be fitting 2ms.-subj. wear today
 ‘It is a black or a white gown that you should wear today’
- (79) a. [e] yā dācē [Ip [e] kù biyā hārājìl kō ----
 3ms.-perf. be suitable 2pl.-subj. pay tax or
 ([Ip [e] kù biyā) [Np jangālì]].
 2pl.-subj. pay cattle-tax
 ‘It is desirable that you should pay poll-taxes or (you should pay) the cattle-taxes’
- b. [e] bā àbi-n kunyā ba nē [Ip [e] à kwāna --
 neg. thing-of shame neg. cop. IMP.-subj. spend night

à gida-n sùrùkai], kō mā [Ip [e] à shā furā à can].
 at home-of in-laws-of or even IMP.-subj. drink gruel at there
 'It is not shameful/a shameful thing for a person/someone to sleep
 overnight at/in in-laws' house or even to drink gruel there'

From these examples, we can see that the particle *kō* can be used to join clausal complements as in (79a-b), NPs as in (83a), or AdvPs as in (78b). Another function of *kō* is where it co-occurs with the particle *dā* or *dà* in concessive adverbial clauses. Here it introduces concessive and other conditionals which has little to do with our discussion of complementizers heading clausal complements. And in fact discussing these types of clauses would take me way off the theme of this thesis. I would just assume that the *kō* in introducing these clauses occurs in the CP as a complementizer (see Kraft 1963, Meyers 1974:256-258 and Cowan and Schuh 1976:216, Bagari 1972:41-42, Meyers 1974:258-259, Bagari 1976, Tuller 1986:81-87, Furniss 1991:111-113, and Jaggar 1992:127-129 for more discussion on this particular function of *kō* with the particles *dā*/*dà* with its various meanings).

3.4.3 The Kō ... (Kō) Construction Meaning 'either/whether...or' or as a Conjunction Meaning 'even if/when'.

The particle *kō* may occur in a sequence to introduce clauses and complements. In this case the sequence *kō* ... *kō* functions as correlative particles, and is used to introduce and conjoin two or more constituents. Usually they have the meaning of "either/whether-S/NP/AdvP/PPor ...S/NP/PP/AdvP", and "even-S/NP/PP/AdvP ... or .. S/NP/AdvP/PP". I will first begin by showing the function of *kō* in introducing complements of the CTEs that this thesis is about. In the following sentences, the correlative *kō* .. *kō* is used to conjoin a series of complements:

- (80) a. [e] yā kāmātà(,) kō [IP Tànî tà biyā hàràjì],
 3ms.-perf. be fitting either Tànî 3fs.-subj. pay tax
 kō (kō/kùwa) [IP [e] à daurē ta].
 or prt IMP.-subj. tie/imprison her
 'It is fitting/better/desirable that either Tànî pays the taxes or she be imprisoned'
- b. bâ [e] shi dà kyâu(,) kō [IP [e] kà zâgi mutânē],
 neg. it with good either/whether 2ms.-subj. abuse people
 kō (kuma) [IP [e] kà yi dà sū].
 or prt. 2ms.-subj. do with them
 'It is not good/appropriate either/whether you should abuse/insult people or back-bite on/about/against them'
- (81) a. [e] hàrà mùn nē(,) kō [IP [e] mù shā giyâ], kō ----
 unlawful cop. either 1pl.-subj. drink alcohol or
 [IP [e] mù sayar dà ita], kō m̄ ----
 1pl.-subj. sell-CAU. it or prt.=even
 [IP [e] mù bāyar dà ita gā wani].
 1pl.-subj. give-CAU. it to someone
 'It is prohibited for us either to drink (any) alcohol, or to sell it, or even to give it to someone'
- b. [e] bâ àbi-n kunyâ ba nē(,) kō [IP [e] à kwāna --
 neg. thing-of shame neg. cop. either Imp.-subj. spend night
 à gida-n sùrùkai], kō m̄ [IP [e] à shā furā à can]. •
 at home-of in-laws-of or even IMP.-subj. drink gruel at there
 'It is not shameful/a shameful thing for a person either/whether to sleep overnight at/in in-laws' house or even to drink gruel there'

It is in this order that the sequence of the two *kō*'s combinely, function as conjunctions. Furthermore, as these sentences show, the function of the correlatives in such structures is to introduce as well as to conjoin sentences, clauses, NPs, AdvPs etc. They do not seem to function as complementizers like *cēwā*, *wai*, or even the complementizer *dà*. In

other words, the correlatives with the meaning of ‘*either/whether ... X ... or ... Y*’; ‘*even... X ... or ...Y...*’, may allow clauses or subjunctive propositional complement(s) to occur in such a sequence. Note that in this instance, there must be another complement separating the first *kō* meaning ‘either/whether’ and the second *kō* with the meaning ‘or’. It is only when we have such a structure that the sentence becomes grammatical (whether there is a pause before the CTE or not).

The particle *kō* may occur in pre-CTE position where the initial *kō* may either mean ‘whether’ or ‘either’, while the subsequent one or more *kō* following the first one invariably means ‘or’. Consider first the following examples where it introduces the first alternative from set(s) of alternatives out of the postposed subjunctive propositional complements or clauses (note that here also the sequence of *kō ... kō ...* has the meaning ‘either/whether ... X .. or ...Y’):

- (82) a. *kō* [Ip Tànî tà biyā hàràjî], *kō* [Ip [e] à ----
 either/whether Tànî 3fs.-subj. pay tax or IMP.-subj.
 daurè ta], wannàn àbù lalle, [Ip [e] yā kāmātà].
 tie/imprison her this thing prt.=surely 3ms.-perf. be fitting
 ‘Whether/either Tànî should pay the taxes or she should be imprisoned,
 surely/in fact this thing, (it) is desirable/fitting/better’
- b. *kō* [Ip [e] mù shā giyā], *kō* [Ip [e] mù sayar dà .
 either/whether 1pl.-subj. drink alcohol or 1pl.-subj. sell-CAU.
 ita], *kō* mā [Ip [e] mù bāyar gà wani], -----
 it or prt.=even 1pl.-subj. give-CAU. to someone
 [Ip duk [e] hàrà mùn nē à gārē mù].
 all unlawful/forbidden cop. on/upon us
 ‘Whether/either for us to drink (any) alcohol, or we sell it, or we even
 give it to someone else, all this (it) is forbidden/prohibited for us’

The particle *kō* meaning ‘whether’, or ‘either’ may also introduce a root-CTE clause first, and then followed by the clauses or complements connected by the other *kō*. This is illustrated in the following:

- (83) a. *kō* [Ip [e] *yā* *kāmātà* [Ip *Tànî* *tà* *biyā* *hàràjî*],
 whether/either 3ms.-perf. be fitting *Tànî* 3fs.-subj. pay tax
 kō (*mā*)[Ip [e] *bà-i* *kāmātà* *ba*], *wannàn* *lamàrî*, -
 or prt. neg.-3ms.-perf. be fitting neg. this issue
 [Ip [e] *bà-i* *dāmē* *tà* *ba*].
 neg.-it worry her neg.

‘Whether/either it is desirable/fitting that *Tànî* should pay taxes, or it is not desirable/appropriate, this issue, (it) does not bother her’

- b. *kō* [Ip [e] *tīlās* *nē* [Ip [e] *kì* *kōmā* *gidā* *gōbe*]], ---
 whether necessary cop. 2fs.-subj. return home tomorrow
 kō *mā* [Ip [e] *bā* *tīlās* *ba* *nē*], [Ip [e] *bā* *àbi-n* ---
 or prt.=even neg. necessary neg. cop. neg. thing-of
 dāmuwā *ba* *nē* *gà* *hukūmār* *makarantā*.
 worry neg. cop. to authority-of school

‘Whether/either it is necessary that you should return home, or it is not necessary, it does not worry the school authority’

In these examples, the speaker is giving alternatives with regard to the truth content or the occurrence of the proposition. He/she is reporting/presenting to the listener alternative propositions either of which could be what the CTE expresses, and which he/she does not need/solicits any response from the listener. That is the speaker does not have any interest with regards to the contents of the alternatives. He/she has a different one of his/her own. In this instance, the use of the correlatives is different from the one we saw earlier in the sense that in the former one, there is a set of alternatives to be chosen, while in the latter, none of the alternative is to be chosen. Note that here the first *kō* can either be translated

as “either” or “whether”, in which case it functions as a wh-word. The question now is can *kō* function as a true wh-complementizer? I turn to this issue next.

If only one single *kō* occurs in post-CTE position with function to conjoin the CTE-clause and the postposed subjunctive complement, the sentence becomes ungrammatical as illustrated in the following:

- (84) a. * $[e]_i$ yā dācē $[_{CP}$ kō $[_{IP}$ Tānī tà biyā hārājī $]_i$
 3ms.-perf. be proper or/whether Tānī 3fs.-subj. pay tax

‘It is fitting/appropriate or/whether Tānī should pay the taxes’

- b. * $[e]_i$ dōlè nē $[_{CP}$ kō $[_{IP}$ $[e]$ yà àuri Bintà $]_i$
 necessary cop. whether 3ms.-subj. marry Bintà

‘It is necessary whether he should marry Bintà’

The only instance where the initial *kō* may function more like a WH-complementizer is where the root clause is negated as we saw in the previous discussions in the examples of (80b) and (81b) above. The question now is can this conclusion be applied in the context where one of the correlatives occur in sentence initial position introducing a root-CTE clause or propositional complement? That is, can it function just as a clause/complement introducer without having the function of complementizing such a clause/complement? I turn to this issue now.

As we saw in the above examples on *kō* ... *kō* as correlatives, a single *kō* may also be used to introduce a ‘Wh-clause’ where the predicate is a wh-complementizer taking one, or where the CTE-clause of the predicates under study is a negated one as we saw in some examples earlier. However the function of *kō* as a Wh-complementizer is limited with respect to the CTEs under study. The following are a few examples illustrating this limited use of *kō* as a true Wh-complementizer in post-CTE position

(note that these sentences would be much better with *kō* in the Spec of CP as indicated in the examples, see also footnote 5):

- (85) a. [e] bà-n sanì ba [CP kō [IP [e] yā dācē ---
neg.-1s.-perf. know neg. whether 3ms.-perf. be appropriate
[IP [e] in sayar dà mōtā-t-ā à wannàn shēkarā]].
1s.-subj. sell-CAU. car-of-me in this year
'I do not know whether I should sell my car this year'
- b. [e] bà-n fàhìnci [CP kō wāi [IP [e] ya ----
neg.-1s.-perf. understand whether who 3ms.-rel.-perf.
kāmātà [IP [e] nà zābā [t_i] shūgābā]] ba.
be fitting/desirable 1s.-subj. elect leader
'I do not know who it is that it is desirable for me to elect as the president'
- c. Àli bà-i gānè [CP kō mēi [IP [e] akà cē ---
Àli neg.-3ms.-perf. know whether what Imp.-rel.-perf. say
[IP [e] dōlè nē [IP [e] yā sàyā t_i] ba.
necessary cop. 3ms.-subj. buy neg.
'Àli didn't understand what (was it) that he was asked/told to buy'
- (86) a. [e] shìr mē nè [CP kō mē [IP [e] zā kà yi [t_i]],
nonsense/foolish cop. whether what=whatever 1fut.-2ms. do
[IP [e] kà tūntūbi Audù].
2ms.-subj. seek opinion Audù
'It is nonsense/foolish that whatever you plan to do that you should contact/seek the opinion of Audù'
- b. [e] rashì-n tūnānī nè [CP (wai) [CP kō mēi [IP [e] zā kà -
lack-of thinking cop. that whatever 1fut.-2ms.
yi [t_i]], [IP [e] kà yī (shì) à gùrgùje].
do 2ms.-subj. do it in hastiness
'It is senseless that whatever/every thing you are going to do, that you should do it in a haste'

- c. [e] yā cāncantà [CP (cēwā/wai) [CP kōwāi ----
 3ms.-perf. be appropriate that whoever
 [IP [e] ka ganī [t_i] [IP [e] kà bā shi ita]]].
 2ms.-rel.-perf. see 2ms.-subj. give him her

‘It is appropriate that whoever you see, you should give it to him’

Notice that the sentence in (85) contains predicates that select a wh-complementizer (due to effect of negation), even though the clause introduced by *kō* is the root CTE clause that contains the predicate (*sanî* ‘know’) that does not seem to select a wh-complementizer. Notice that in all these cases the clause introduced by the question word/Wh-word *kō*, is not the direct complement of the CTE but rather the clause intervenes between the complement of the CTE and the CTE itself. Similarly, in (85-86b), the first *kō* may be translated as ‘whether’, or ‘either’, just like in some of the cases we saw in the discussion on correlatives. The question now is can a single *kō* be used to introduce subjunctive propositional complements or root clauses other than in cases like (85-86) as well? In other words, can the particle *kō* function as a wh-complementizer? The answer seems to be yes, and this involves an instance where there is an NP head followed by *kō*. Consider the following:

- (87) a. [IP [CP mǎganà-r [C kō [IP [e] yā kāmātà ---
 talk-def. whether 3ms.-perf. be fitting
 [IP Tànî tà biyā hàràjî]]]], [IP [e] bà-i dāmē tà ba].
 Tànî 3fs.-subj. pay tax neg-it worry her neg.
 ‘The saying/assertion/issue (of) whether it is desirable/fitting that Tànî should pay taxes, (it) does not bother her’
- b. [IP [CP cēwa-r [C kō [IP [e] dōlè nē [IP [e] kà ---
 saying-of=that whether necessary cop. 2ms.-subj.

àuri Bintà]]]], [IP [e] àbù nē mài kyâu].
 marry Bintà thing cop. one having good

‘The saying/assertion whether it is necessary for you to marry Bintà is a good thing/appropriate/desirable’

In these examples, the particle *kō* functions as a true Wh-complementizer occurring in the complementizer position, while the head noun is in the Spec of CP. The speaker here is not giving alternatives for a choice to be made by the addressee, but rather stating his/her opinion with regard to the truth content of the proposition. He/she is reporting/presenting to the listener his/her decision between one or more propositions made either by the addressee or someone else. Note that in the correlative constructions, the first particle may also have the meaning ‘whether’ as we saw earlier. But there, there is a presentation of alternatives from which one proposition is to be chosen or where both the alternatives are not to be chosen by the speaker.

Note further that *kō* may also combine with some adverbials and/or ideophones to form expressions like *kō kàḍan*, *kō kiris*, ‘not a bit/little’, *kō kas* ‘not a bit/none’, or interrogative expressions like *kō ((ta) hālin) yâyâ/kâkâ* ‘((by) whatever condition of/by any condition/way, or by all means/any how’. These expressions can be used in sentences like in the following:

- (88) a. bà-i cāncantà [IP [e] kà ci mutunci-n-tà] ba, --
 neg.-3ms.-perf. be suitable 2ms.-subj. eat honor-of-her neg.
kō kàḍan.
 even a little
 ‘It is inappropriate/undesirable that you should badly treat/humiliate Aabù at all’
- b. [CP [NP àbî-n [C dà [IP [e] ka yi]]], *kō kàḍan*,
 thing-def. that 2ms.-rel.-perf. do even a little

[NegP. bà [IP [e] daidai ba nè]].
neg. correct/right neg. cop.

‘What you did is completely undesirable/wrong’

- c. kō ta hāli-n yāyā, [NegP. bà [IP [e] zā-i yìwu ---
even by condition-of how neg. 1fut.-3ms. be possible

[IP [e] in bā kà mōtā-t-ā] ba].
1s.-subj. give you car-of-me neg.

‘By no means would it be possible at all that I should give you my car’ =
‘There is no way that I should give you my car’

- d. bà-i kāmātà [IP [e] yà bā kà ruwā-n] ba,
neg.-3ms.-perf. be fitting 3ms.-subj. give you water-ref. neg.

kō kiris/kis/dis.
even a little

‘It is not desirable that he should give you the water, even a little/drop (of it)’

As we can see from these examples *kō* here introduces some adverbial expressions just like the way it introduces simple NPs we discussed in (3.4.3) above, except that there is an element of inherent negation in the expression like *kō kàdan/kiris*. However, the expressions *kō yāyā/kākā* need a special treatment in the sense that almost all interrogative words may co-occur with *kō* (see footnote #5 below for some list of them).

Another regular combination of *kō dà* is with the relative INFL as in *kō dà yakè* meaning ‘even though’, and is used in sentences like the following:

- (89) a. [IP kō dà yakè [IP [e] tā yi makà lāifī],
even with 3ms.-rel.-cnt. 3fs.-perf. do dat.-you wrong

[IP [e] bài kāmātà [IP [e] kà zāgē tà ba]].
neg.-3ms.-perf. be fitting 2ms.-subj. insult/abuse her neg.

‘Even though she did you wrong, it is not appropriate to insult/abuse her’

- b. [IP [e] shìr mē nè [IP [e] kī ci bāshì-n nan]],
foolish/nonsense cop. 2fs.-subj. eat loan-ref. that

'It is stupid/foolish to take that loan, even though you are in (financial) difficulties'

Finally, the clause introducing particle *kō* may also interact with other complementizers like *cēwā* and *wai*. The particle may either precede or follow these complementizers depending on the type of sentence used. That is, whether it is a “statement” or a “yes/no” question type as illustrated in the following (we may note that the English translation here may not be a grammatical English sentence):

- If however these sentences are read or pronounced as “statements”, the sentences will be ungrammatical, irrespective of the order of the complementizers and the particle $k\bar{o}$ and, whether they occur in pre-CTE or post-CTE positions.

To conclude this subsection, we have seen that *kō* does not always have the function of a complementizer. In other words, it does have the meaning 'whether/if', as well as the correlative meaning 'either-S... or-S/NP/PP' etc. Its use as a complementizer is mainly where it has an 'exclusive' or 'dubitative' sense as regard to the reference to the proposition or event in the complement that is expressed in the root CTE. Note that in the literature, the word 'either', itself is assumed to be related to the complementizer 'whether' (see Bresnan 1972:65-66). This assumption can sometimes be applied to Hausa wh-complementizer *kō*, since it can also be used to introduce object complements of the wh-types (to be discussed later). It is in this case that it has the meaning of 'whether/if' or where there is one or more propositions which the speaker is disputing, and he/she is coming up with his/her own decision with regard to the propositional content expressed in the CTE. Its full discussion as a Wh-complementizer will however take me beyond my present goal. I therefore leave its discussion as such.⁵

3.5 General Conclusions.

From the foregoing discussion, we have seen that the complementizer *cêwā* mainly introduces complements of 'strongly assertive' predicates and 'reported utterances'. The function of *wai* complementizer on the other hand, is much clearer in the sense that it introduces a sentence which add a meaning of non-commitment with respect to the truth value of the assertion that follows (see Dimmendaal 1989:96-97 for valuable discussion). In this case, the speaker is just reporting an assertion which he/she credited it to someone and, he/she does not associate him/herself with the validity of the proposition. It is just a hearsay or second-hand information. This complementizer also adds the meaning of uncertainty, surprise, or disputation with respect to the propositional content of the subject complement.

The particle *kō* may add the meaning of uncertainty, indetermination, or solicitation about either the truth value of the complement or for seeking an opinion from the listener about making a choice between two or more alternative propositions. And it may also function as a wh-word meaning ‘whether’ or an operator of a Wh-question. The clause introducer *dà* does not introduce the propositional subject complements of some of the CTEs under discussion in post-CTE position. In fact it never occurs in pre-CTE position except as noted earlier, where the complement sentences/clauses that occur in pre-CTE position, are clefted (or topicalized which are signaled by a pause before the complement/clause). And this is the case whether there is a complementizer or not. This is an indication that it is the “focus” feature that is relevant in these cases. If however the subject complement is not sentence initial but is in post-CTE position, all complementizers can be more readily omitted with all CTEs as indicated in chapter 2. The meanings connected with each individual complementizer or an operator might suggest that these morphemes are not just fillers of the COMP slot, but rather add cohesion to the relationship between the CTEs and their propositional complements or clauses (as in various adverbial clauses touched on in the previous discussions).

Finally, it becomes clear then that it is plausible to assume that subjunctive sentential subjects in Hausa do not occur in pre-CTE (Spec of IP) position in surface structure unless they are followed by a pause indicating that they are actually at the peripheral position of the root clause. Their preferred slot is at the end of the sentence, indicating that in normal utterance, all such clauses must in fact be in post-predicate positions at S-Structure. In other words I assume that in normal utterance they do not occur in the specifier position of an IP/S of the root clause as indicated in the schema (12) above. This is so whether the subject complement is headed by a complementizer or not. (I will later provide more evidence that show that they actually occur in other places peripheral to the root IP). I have also demonstrated how these complementizers may

interact with one another. And some of them may co-occur adjacently, either in the same COMP position or in separate COMPs of the same sentence, a process that is not well defended by the GB theory.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

¹ The complements of *cêwā* may follow a wide variety of CTEs, that belong to a variety of semantic classes. These include (a) propositional attitude predicates like *amincē* 'trust/agree/believe', *yàrdā* 'agree/approve/believe/consent', *ɗaukā* 'consider/take (it) that', *yī tsāmmānī* 'think/suppose', *zātā* 'think/imagine', etc., (b) desiderative predicate like *yī fātā* 'hope', *sō* 'wish (not in the sense of 'want/like)', (c) utterance predicates like *fāɗā* 'tell to/mention', *gayā* 'tell to/inform', *bayyānā* 'explain/describe', *kārā (dā)* 'added with/by/continued with/by', *yī àlkawārī* '(make/do) promise', *alkalwārtā* 'promise to', (d) predicates of knowledge and acquisition like *gānē* 'understand/come to know', *sani* 'know', *fāhimtā* 'understand/realize', *ganī* 'realize/come to understand (when used in non-perception context)', *zātā* 'think/imagine', (e) experiencer and commentative predicates like *jī tsōrō* '(feel) fear', *ɗāmu (dā)* 'worry (about/with)', *yī murnā* 'be happy/pleased', *jī haushi* 'feel/be angry', *yī bakin ciki* 'be angry/regret'.

² Note that the -r here is the genitive linker meaning 'of', and not the definite or referential marker. This is clear because of the tone, which would be falling if it were the definite suffix -r. The use of this genitive linker is very common in the dialect used in this thesis. In some Hausa dialects they do not use it with the complementizer *cêwā* (see Bagari 1972:37 footnote number 7).

³ Note that it is also possible to insert the complementizers *cêwā* and *wai* before the CTEs under study as well as with object embedding predicates, like the "dynamic nouns" and some "mental/psychological attitude verbs" mentioned in Bagari 1972:39-40. In other words the following sentences considered to be ungrammatical by Bagari, are all grammatical to me:

- (a). *nā yī māmākīn Ø yā tàfi. (Bagari's #35b).
1s.-perf. do surprise-of 3ms.-perf. leave/go
'I am surprised (that) he has gone'
- (b). *nā jī haushi-n Ø yā tàfi. (Bagari's #36b).
1s.-perf. feel anger-of 3ms.-perf. leave/go
'I am angry/sad (that) he has gone'
- (c). *nā ɗaukā cêwā gōbe zā-i tàfi. (Bagari's #37b).
1s.-perf. consider that tomorrow 1fut.-3ms. leave/go
'I thought (that) he was going tomorrow'
- (d). *nā zātā cêwā shī dōlō nē. (Bagari's # 38b).
1s.-perf. think that he fool cop.
'I thought (that) he is a fool'
- (e) yā zātā [*cêwā bā zā-i zō dà wuri ba] (Dimmendaal 1989:103 # 54)
3ms.-perf. think that neg. 1fut.-3ms. come with early neg.
'He thought that he will come early'

It is therefore perfectly grammatical to have a null/empty complementizers in post-predicate position of the sentences in (a and b). That is they may or may not be inserted in the COMP position. Similarly, it is also grammatical to insert the complementizers *céwā* and *wai* before the predicates of the sentences in (c-e). For further discussion on this issue, see Bagari 1972:39-41 and Dimmendaal 1989:103-105.

⁴ It is to be noted that in some of these sentences I place an asterisk or question mark in front of the complementizer *dā*. This is to indicate that there are some dialectal and/or idiolectal differences among the speakers I consulted with regard to the acceptability of the sentence with *dā* introducing the subjunctive propositional subject. Therefore judgments on these sentences are hazy.

⁵ Another very important function of the particle *kō* is where it may combine with other NPs to form compound wh-expressions and simple quantified NPs. In the former case (with *kō* written as a separate word), the *kō* serves as the introducer of a clause (a complementizer occurring in the SPEC of CP) and *wā* (*nē nē*), *mē* (*nē nē*) as NP's within the clause. Other expressions of these forms include *kō wā/kō wā(nē nē)* (m.); *kō wā(cē cē)* (f.); *kō su wā(nē nē)* (pl.) 'whoever'; *kō mē/kō mē(nē nē)* 'whatever'; or 'whichever'; *kō wānnē (nē)*; *kō wāccē cē (f.)*; *kō wādānnē nē (pl.)* 'each'; 'every'; 'everyone'; 'any'; 'anyone'; *kō inā (nē)* 'wherever'; 'everywhere'; 'anywhere'; *kō yāushē (nē)* 'whenever'; 'anytime'; 'every time'; 'always'; 'all the time'; 'no matter when'; *kō yāyā (nē)* or *kō ta yāyā* 'no matter how'; 'however'; 'in every way'; 'in whatever way'; *kō dā yakē* 'although'; 'even though'; 'even if'; etc. And the latter case where they are simple quantified NP's are *kōwā* 'everyone/each one' and *kōmē/kōmai* 'everything/anything'. While this chapter is not on the morphology of these wh-expressions and quantified NP it seems to me that a syntactic and/or semantic distinction needs to be made between *kō wā* vs. *kōwā* and *kō mē* vs. *kōmē*. And I believe that they have different syntactic properties. For me, and in most spoken utterances one would hear the sentences with *kō wā* and *kō mē* rather than just with *wā* or *mē* (cf. most of the description on these Wh-expressions and quantified NP's as in Tuller 1986). Space will not however allow me to discuss the syntax of these words here (for a detail discussion of these expressions see Bagari 1976 especially chapter 4, Cowan and Schuh 1976:276-7, Parsons 1981:554; 556; and 589-601, and Jaggar 1992:118-123). I will take up this matter in the section on Wh-movement.

CHAPTER 4 Negation of the Matrix CTE Clauses and their Subjunctive Propositional Complements

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the form and function of negation within these CTEs and their complements. I will also examine the syntactic and semantic relationship between them. This description will basically be on (a) the position/function of the negative particles within the root clause, (b) the position and function of the negative words within the complements, and (c) the scope of negation within the CTE clause and the complement where necessary. Other transformational operations will be used where need be in order to determine the scope of the negation within the root clauses and their complements.

4.1 The Forms of the Negative Morphemes.

There are about seven ways to indicate negation in Hausa. Five ways involve the use of the discontinuous negative morphemes *ba(a) ... ba* (or its variants with one *ba* or *bābù/bā* used for the negative existential construction). The sixth way involves the use of the negative adverb *kaɗà/kâr* ‘lest’ which is the only negative marker used to introduce imperatives/commands in the subjunctive (see Newman 1971 for historical derivations of these negative morphemes), and the seventh way is the use of an “inherent negative lexical word” within a subjunctive complement or tensed clause (see Kraft 1963/70, Newman 1971:183-195, Newman and Newman 1977, and Abdulkadir 1991 for the discussion of the first six types of negations). We may recall that in chapter 2 I introduced the patterns of negation of the CTEs under study where I indicated that the TAM of the CTE does not only occur in the perfective TAM, but also with other TAMs as well. The negative particles/morphemes can be used to negate the modality of the CTE,

the modality of the propositional complement, or the modality of the whole sentence depending on the scope of the negation.

4.1.1 Negation in Simple Sentences.

The negative markers are used to negate tensed, subjunctive, nominalized, and copular clauses as well as nouns and other constituents. With the discontinuous negative morphemes *ba ... ba* however, the relative word order of the second negative morpheme (henceforth NEG-2) and the element(s) it co-occurs with is not strict. For instance, NEG-2 may be placed before or after the copular word. The other negative morphemes on the other hand always occur in sentence initial position. And the type of sentence used will determine which type of negative marker(s) is to be used. That is whether it is the discontinuous one or the single one. There is never a negative sentence (synchronically) with only the final NEG-2 in Hausa. It is the NEG-1 that is always obligatory in order to have a negative sentence or constituent. The following is a rough representation of the surface word order of the Hausa negative sentences:

- (1) NP NEG-1 Predicate (NEG-2) (ADV)
- (2) NEG=*kadà* CP/IP (ADV)

The type of negation in (1) indicates that the constituent negation used is of the entire predicate if the discontinuous negative markers are used, which may or may not include sentence level adverbial phrase(s) or simple adverbial PPs. The surface word order in (2) represents the form of negation of subjunctive and imperative sentences by using the negative marker *kadà* “lest”. In this case the scope of negation ranges over the whole sentence, and this I consider to be a “sentence negation”. The position of the “lexical negative” words which may occur in the complement clause is not represented here. I will defer the discussion on the *kadà* and the *lexical negative* words until later sections.

Before I discuss the negation of the CTEs under study and their complements, let me illustrate some simple cases of negation for exposition. Consider first the following:

- (3) a. [IP Audù bà-i zō makarantā ba].
 Audù neg.-3ms.-perf. come school neg.
 'Audù didn't come to school'
- b. [IP yârâ-n bâ/bà zā sù zō ba yâu].
 children-def. neg. 1fut.-3pl. come today neg. today
 'The children will not come today'
- c. [IP Àli bâ wāwā ba nē].
 Àli neg. stupid/foolish neg. cop.
 'Àli is not stupid/a fool'
- d. [IP Aabù bà ta dà mijì].
 Aabù neg. 3fs.-cnt. with husband
 'Aabù does not have a husband/is not married'
- e. [IP Audù bā yā zuwā makarantā].
 Audù neg. 3ms.-cnt. going school
 'Audù does not go/is not going to school'

These sentences illustrate the use of these negative morphemes with various TAMs except that they cannot be used with the subjunctive TAM. Note that in Hausa, a negated constituent may also be focussed. I turn to this issue next.

4.1.2 Negative in Focus.

When a constituent like an NP is focussed i.e. preposed, the negative marker may either precedes the NP or follows the NP. This depends on what is intended to be negated and the kind of negation used. In what follows I give a partial description on the placement of negation in focus construction (I discuss focus and other Wh-constructions in chapter 5).

In Hausa a constituent in a sentence may be focussed to CP. This is shown in (4) where in (a) the subject is focussed, in (b) the goal object is focussed, while in (c) it is the VP that is focussed. Note that here VP must be nominalized when it undergoes this movement. And the evidence for the movement is the change of the INFL from *yā* to *ya* and the insertion of the focus marker *nē/cē* :

(4) NPFOCUS CLAUSE:

- a. [CP Audù_i *nē* [IP t_i *ya* jē makarantā]].
 Audù cop. 3ms.-rel.-perf. go school
 ‘It is Audù who went to school’
- b. [CP makarantā_i *cē* [IP Audù *ya* jē t_i]].
 school cop. Audù 3ms.-rel.-perf. go
 ‘It is the school that Audù went’
- c. [CP zuwā makarantā_i *nē* [IP Audù *ya* yi]].
 coming/going school cop. Audù 3ms.-rel.-perf. do
 ‘It is coming/going to school that Audù did’

In these sentences no negation is involved. Only a NP is focussed. Another instance where NP is focussed and the clause is negated is represented in (5), where the discontinuous negative markers are used to negate only the clause:

(5) NPFOCUS *ba* CLAUSE *ba*:

- a. [CP Audù *nē* [IP t_i *bà yà* zō makarantā *ba*]].
 Audù cop. neg. 3ms.-rel.-perf. come school neg.
 ‘It is Audù who didn’t come to school’
- b. [CP makarantā_i *cē* [IP Audù *bà yà* jē t_i *ba*]].
 school cop. Audù neg. 3ms.-rel.-perf. go neg.
 ‘It is school that Audù didn’t go’

- c. [CP zuwâ makarantâj nê [IP Audù bà yà yi ball].
 coming school cop. Audù neg. 3ms.-rel.-perf. do neg.
 ‘It is coming to school that Audù didn’t’

Here the focussed NP then is out of the scope of negation. Such a focussed constituent may also be negated excluding the clause. This is illustrated in the following:

(6) *bâ* NPFOCUS *ba* CLAUSE:

- a. [CP bâ Audùj bà nê [IP t_j ya zô makarantâ]].
 neg. Audù neg. cop. 3ms.-rel.-perf. come school
 ‘It is not Audù who came to school’ = ‘Someone did, but not Audù’
- b. [CP bâ makarantâj ba cê [IP Audù ya jê t_j]].
 neg. school cop. neg. Audù 3ms.-rel.-perf. go
 ‘It is not school (where) Audù went’ = ‘But he did go somewhere’
- c. [CP bâ zuwâ makarantâj ba nê [IP Audù ya yi]].
 neg. coming school neg. cop. Audù 3ms.-rel.-perf. do
 ‘It is not coming to school that Audù did’ = ‘But he did something else’

In these sentences the discontinuous negative morphemes flanked the focussed NP in the focus position (i.e the CP). And the scope of the negation is restricted to the focussed NP. The rest of the clause is not affected. In other words the event of clause is not negated. The interpretation of (6a) for instance, is thus: “it is not Audu who came to school, somebody *did* come, but not Audù”. Another instance where there is a somewhat similar interpretation is represented in (7). Here both the focussed constituent and the clause are negated:

(7) *bâ* NPFOCUS CLAUSE *ba*:

- a. [CP *bâ* Audù *nē* [IP *tᵢ* yà zō makarantā *ba*]].
 neg. Audù cop. 3ms.-rel.-perf. come school neg.
 ‘It is not Audù who came to school’ =
 ‘Someone did come to school, and he is not Audù’
- b. [CP *bâ* makarantāᵢ cē [IP Audù ya jē *tᵢ* *ba*]].
 neg. school cop. Audù 3ms.-rel.-perf. go neg.
 ‘It is not school (where) Audù went’
- c. [CP *bâ* zuwâ makarantāᵢ *nē* [IP Audù ya yiᵢ *ba*]].
 neg. coming school cop. Audù 3ms.-rel.-perf. do neg.
 ‘It is not coming to school that Audù did’

The sentences in (7) and those in (6) have essentially the same structure. There may however be some subtle differences in meaning between these two, but the difference is not between what is negated and what is not negated. Another structure where both focussed NP and clause are negated is represented in (8):

(8) *bâ* NPFOCUS (*ba*) *ba* CLAUSE *ba*:

- a. [CP *bâ* Audùᵢ (*ba*) *nē* [IP *tᵢ* *bâ* yà zō -----
 neg. Audù neg. cop. neg. 3ms.-perf. come
 makarantā *ba*]].
 school neg.
 ‘It is not Audù who didn’t come to school’ =
 ‘Audù did, but someone didn’t’
- b. [CP *bâ* makarantāᵢ (*ba*) cē [IP Audù *bâ* ya ---
 neg. school cop. neg. Audù neg. 3ms.-rel.-perf.
 jē *tᵢ* *ba*]].
 go neg.
 ‘It is not school (where) Audù didn’t go’ =
 ‘He went somewhere’

- c. [CP b̂ zuŵ makarant̂i (ba) n̂ [IP Audù b̂ ---
 neg. coming school neg. cop. Audù neg.
 ya yi b̂]].
 3ms.-rel.-perf. do neg.

‘It is not coming/going to school that Audù didn’t do’

As we can see from these examples, the meaning involved is no different from that of (7) since here also both the focussed NP and the clause are negated. Both elements are within the scope of the negation. The interesting thing here is that the parenthesized (*ba*) is not needed, meaning that the final *ba* is serving as NEG-2 for both the NEG-1’s. While the sentence is grammatical with or without the parenthesized (*ba*), it is however preferable to omit it. However, there may be a subtle meaning difference parallel to the bracketed alternatives just above. One final thing to be noted however is that when the interpretation of the negation is intended to include both the focussed NP and the clause, the whole sentence must contain both NEG-1 and NEG-2 if the sentence is of the type that requires the use of the discontinuous negative markers. In other words one cannot use the normal predicate negation as in the following:

- (9) a. *[CP b̂ Audù n̂ [IP t_i ya ĵ makarant̂ Ø]].
 neg. Audù cop. 3ms.-rel.-perf. go school neg.
 ‘It is not Audu who went school’
- b. *[CP b̂ makarant̂i n̂ [IP Audù ya ĵ t_i Ø]].
 neg. school cop. Audù 3ms.-rel.-perf. go neg.
 ‘It is not home (where) Audù went’
- c. *[CP b̂ zuŵ makarant̂i n̂ [IP Audù ya yi Ø]].
 neg. coming school cop. Audù 3ms.-rel.-perf. do neg.
 ‘It is not coming/going to school that Audu did’

These sentences are out since the second negative (NEG-2), is not present at the end of the clause. If it is there at its original slot, the sentences would be grammatical as we saw in the previous examples. Having exemplified how negative morphemes work in simple sentences, let me now investigate how it works with the CTEs under study.

4.1.3 Negation of Matrix Clauses (i.e. CTE Root Clauses) and their Complements.

When a root clause is negated the meaning of the action/event within the complement clause may or may not be affected. This depends very much on the meaning of the root CTE and the kind of negation used in both the root clause and the subject complement. In other words the meaning of the modality within the root CTE may affect the truth value of the proposition or the occurrence of events, that is performed by the subject of the complement. And this is so whether the subject of the complement is controlled by another NP in the higher clause or not. Matrix predicates may be interpreted with a semantic equivalence like “it is not the case that IP/CP”. This is a constituent negation of a sentence type. That is only the constituent(s) enclosed by the negative markers is/are affected. Consider the following examples:

- (10) a. [e]_i bà-i kāmātà ba [IP [e] kà zāgi mutānē]_i.
neg.-3ms.-perf. be fitting neg. 2ms.-subj. insult people
‘It is not fitting that you should insult/abuse people’
- b. [e]_i bā zā-i yi kyāu ba [IP [e] mù tāfi gidā yānzul]_i.
neg. 1fut.-3ms. do good neg. 1pl.-subj. go home now
‘It will not be nice/good that we should go home now’
- c. [e]_i bā shi dà àmfānī [IP [e] kù shā giyā]_i.
neg. it with importance 2pl.-subj. drink alcohol
‘It is useless/not important that you should drink alcohol’

- d. [e]_i bà dōlè ba nè [IP [e] ki àuri Àli]_i.
 neg. necessary neg. cop. 2fs.-subj. marry Àli

‘It is not necessary that you should marry Ali’

- e. [e]_i bà àbi-n kunyà ba nè [IP [e] nà kwāna ---
 neg. thing-of shame neg. cop. 1s.-subj. spend night

à gida-n sùrùkai-n-ā]_i.
 at/in home-of in-laws-of-me

‘It is not a shameful thing for me to spend night at my in-laws’ house’

In each of the above sentences, only the root clause (i.e. the CTE-clause) is negated. We may then assume that it is not the entire sentence (i.e. the root clause and its propositional complement) that is negated, but the interpretation of the whole sentence would be something like “for every ‘proposition X’, it is not the case that Y should do X”, even though the negation occurs in the root clause. The scope of negation is however restricted to the root clause only, hence a narrow scope interpretation.

Both root clause and its subjunctive propositional complement may also be negated. Here the entire sentence is negated and has the semantic equivalent of “for every ‘proposition X’, it is not the case that Y should do X (= IP/CP)” as well. I consider this negation as the “sentence negation” type in contrast to the “constituent S” type we saw in (10). There may however be a subtle difference between the previous case and this one, due to the fact that the discontinuous negative morphemes flanked the whole sentence. It is to be noted though that the positioning of NEG-2 at the end of the sentence does not change the meaning of the complement as the following simple examples show:

- (11) a. [e]_i bà-i kāmātà [IP [e] kà zāgi mutānē]_i ba.
 neg.-3ms.-perf. be fitting 2ms.-subj. insult people neg.

‘It is not fitting that you should insult/abuse people’

- b. [e]_i bã dōlè nè [IP [e] kì àuri Àlì]_i ba.
neg. necessary cop. 2fs.-subj. marry Àli neg.

‘It is not necessary that you should marry Ali’

- c. [e]_i bã àbi-n kunyà nè [IP [e] nà kwāna
neg. thing-of shame cop. 1s.-subj. spend night

à gida-n sùrùkai-n-ā]_i ba.
at/in home-of in-laws-of-me neg.

‘It is not a shameful thing for me to spend night at my in-laws’ house’

- d. Tànīmù ya cê, [IP [e]_i bã zâ-i yi dādī ---
Tanimu 3ms.-perf. say neg. 1fut.-3ms. do nice

[IP [e] à cê [IP [e] nā fadā miki à nân]_i ba].
Imp.-subj. say 1s.-perf. tell to-you at here neg.

‘Tanimu said, “it will not be nice that I should tell you (it) here”’

The negation here is over the whole utterance. That is it is not restricted to the root clause. It is therefore clear from these examples that in Hausa it is possible to negate the root clause alone or the root clause together with its propositional complement, and there is no real semantic difference between the two ways of placing the negative operators. However, if the subjunctive propositional complement is negated alone by using the negative morpheme *ba(a) ba* or its variants, the sentence becomes ungrammatical. Note the gloss in the INFLs of the examples in (12). Here it is the subjunctive TAM in the propositional complement that is negated by the negative operators *bã ... ba*. The negation is not intended for complements with other TAMs. If it were, these sentences would be grammatical. So the following are ungrammatical:

- (12) a. *[e] yà kāmātà [IP [e] bã kà zāgi mutānē ba].
3ms.-perf. be fitting neg. 2ms.-subj. insult people neg.

‘It is not fitting that you should insult/abuse people’

- b. *[e] dōlè nē [IP [e] bā kī àuri Àli ba].
 necessary cop. neg. 2fs.-subj. marry Àli neg.

‘It is not necessary that you should marry Àli’

The general constraint I propose here (though not new in the literature), is that the negative operator *ba(a)* *ba* or its variants are never used to negate subjunctive complement as indicated in the following:

- (13) *[X *ba(a)* Y (*ba*)* (Z)]

Where Y is in subjunctive TAM and the second *ba* precedes or follows Z.

The discontinuous negative morpheme *ba(a)* ...*ba* or its variants may also occur in sentences with extensions of adverbial clauses of various sorts. However, it is the discontinuous type that is of interest here, since the crucial negative particle is the final one (i.e. NEG-2). As we saw earlier with simple indicative sentences, the second *ba* (NEG-2) does not seem to have a fixed slot in the VP. This seems to be the case even where there is an adverbial clause following the subjunctive complement. Consider first cases where NEG-2 occurs between the complement and the adverbial clause:

- (14) a. [e]i bā-i hàramtā [IP [e] kù ci nāmà-n ---
 neg.-3ms.-perf. be forbidden 2pl.-subj. eat meat-of

àgwāgwā]i bā [AdvP à kullum].
 duck neg. at/in every day

‘It is not forbidden/prohibited for you to eat duck meat everyday’

- b. [e]i bā-i dācē [IP [e] kà ci kōmē]i bā
 neg.-3ms.-perf. be appropriate 2ms.-subj. eat anything neg.

[CP kàfin [IP [e] à yī makà tiyātà-r]].
 before 1pl.-subj. do to-you operation-ref.

‘It is not good/desirable that you should eat anything before they operate on you’

- c. [e]_i bā zā-i kyàutu [IP [e] kà bar ni à nân]_i--
neg. 1fut.-3ms. be nice/appropriate 2ms.-subj. leave me at here
- ba [CP bāyan [IP [e] nā gyārā makà mōtā-r tākà]].
neg. after 1s.-perf. repair to-you car-ref. of-you
- 'It is not appropriate that you should leave me here after I have repaired your car'
- d. [e]_i bā dōlè nē [IP [e] kà kōmā gidā]_i ba [CP kō dā
neg. necessary cop. 2ms.-subj. return home neg. even if
- [IP [e] mun gamà aiki-n nāmù]] [AdvP dà wuril].
1pl.-perf. finish work-ref. of-us with early
- 'It is not necessary that you should return home after we finished our work early'
- e. [e]_i bā lallai nē [IP [e] mù yi fushī dà manajā-n]_i
neg. necessary cop. 1s.-subj. do be angry with manager-ref.
- ba [CP sabōdā [IP [e] yā hanā mu bāshī-n]].
neg. because 3ms.-perf. prevent us loan-ref.
- 'It is not necessary that we should be angry with the manager because he denied us the loans'
- f. [e]_i bā zā-i yiwu [IP [e] kà dingā shā-n giyà]_i
neg. 1fut.-3ms. be possible 2ms.-subj. keep drinking-of alcohol
- ba [CP duk lōkàcī-n [C dà [IP [e] zā kà zō Masallācī]]].
neg. any time-def. that 1fut.-2ms. come mosque
- 'It is not appropriate that you should drink alcohol this very day'

The NEG-2 may also occur at the end of the whole utterance as illustrated in the following sentences:

- (15) a. [e]_i bā-i hàramtā [IP [e] kù ci nāmā-n ---
neg.-3ms.-perf. be forbidden 2pl.-subj. eat meat-of
- āgwāgwal_i [AdvP à kullum] ba.
duck at/in every day neg.
- 'It is not forbidden/prohibited for you to eat duck meat everyday'

- b. [e]i bà-i dācē [IP [e] kà ci kōmē]i ---
neg.-3ms.-perf. be appropriate 2ms.-subj. eat anything
- [CP kāfin [IP [e] à yi makà tiyātà-r]] ba.
before 1pl.-subj. do to-you operation-ref. neg.
- ‘It is not good/desirable that you should eat anything before they operate on you’
- c.ya kāmà cē matà bà tà kyāutā ba, don ----
he started telling to-her neg. she be appropriate neg. because
- bà-i kāmātà [CP in [IP wāsā zā tà yi masà]],
neg.-3ms.-perf. be fitting if playing 1fut.-2fs. do to-him
- [IP [e] tà ringà tsōkalà-r-sà [CP à lōkàcī-n [C dà ---
she keeps on teasing-of-him at time-def. that
- [IP [e] yakē gānāwā dà Ubangi]] ba. (SGJ-1:4)
3ms.-rel.-cnt. meeting with God neg.
- ‘...he started telling her that it is not an appropriate behavior from her, because it is not appropriate that if she is going to play jokes/tease with him that she does that when he is meeting with God (i.e. when he puts/preoccupied himself/all his thoughts and prayers towards God)’
- d. [e]i bà zā-i kyāutu [IP [e] kà bar ni à nān]i--
neg. 1fut.-3ms. be nice/appropriate 2ms.-subj. leave me at here
- [CP bāyan [IP [e] nā gyārā makà mōtā-r tākà]] ba.
after 1s.-perf. repair to-you car-ref. of-you neg. .
- ‘It is not appropriate that you should leave me here after I have repaired your car’
- e. [e]i bà dōlè nē [IP [e] kà kōmā gidā]i [CP kō dā
neg. necessary cop. 2ms.-subj. return home even if
- [IP [e] mun gamà aikì-n nāmù]] [AdvP dà wuri] ba.
1pl.-perf. finish work-ref. of-us with early neg.
- ‘It is not necessary that you should return home after we finished our work early’

- f. [e]_i bā lallai nè [IP [e] mù yì fushī dà manajà-n]_i
 neg. necessary cop. 1s.-subj. do be angry with manager-ref.

[CP sabòdà [IP [e] yā hanā mu bāshì-n]] bā.
 because 3ms.-perf. prevent us loan-ref. neg.

'It is not necessary that we should be angry with the manager because he denied us the loans'

As we can see from these sentences, the second negative *bā* may either occur before or after the adverbial clauses with little if any meaning difference. The only difference is the preference for it to occur in the root clause where the sentence initial *bā(a)* (NEG-1) and the clause final *bā* (NEG-2) both function in placing the matrix predicate in the scope of negation (to be discussed later), or where the second *bā* occurs before the complement preceding the adverbial clause as illustrated in (14) above. There are however, a few cases where there seems to be a problem when NEG-2 comes at the end of the adverbial clause, even though NEG-2 may seem to appear anywhere in the VP of the matrix clause, but its occurrence is preferably at the immediate position before the complement not after the adverbial phrase. This involves cases where certain particular prepositions/adverbs head the adverbial clause. The following are a few examples of such cases:

- (16) a. *[e]_i bà-i dācē [IP [e] yà biyā hàrājì-n]_i ---
 neg.-3ms.-perf. be proper 3ms.-subj. pay tax-ref.

bàllē [IP [e] à cē [IP [e] zā à dāurē shì]] bā.
 much less Imp.-subj. say 1fut.-Imp. imprison him neg.

'It is/was not appropriate that he should pay the taxes, much less to say that he be imprisoned'

- b. *[e]_i bā mài yiwuwā nè [IP [e] nà sāmē shì]_i
 neg. one having possibility cop. 1s.-subj. find him

[CP kō-dà-yakē [IP [e] yanā gidā à yànzul] bā.
 even-with-it-is 3ms.-cnt. home at now neg.

'It is not possible that I would find/get him even though he is home now'

- c. ?*[e]_i bā hārāmùn nē [IP [e] kà ci nāmà-n àkuyā]_i
 neg. forbidden cop. 2ms.-subj. eat meat-of goat

[AdvP màimako-n na àladè] bā.
 instead-of of pig neg.

‘It is not forbidden for you to eat goat meat instead of that of pig’

The sentences in (16a-c) are ungrammatical because the second *ba* (NEG-2) cannot be placed beyond the end of the maximal projection of which it is a part (and in these cases, beyond the end of the root clause). This is so because the elements *bàllē*, *kō dà yakè*, and *màimakon* all introduce clauses outside the root clause (i.e. they introduce adjunct clauses). Note that the sentence in (16c) may sound like a grammatical sentence, but not all the people I consulted reject it, hence the asterisks and the question mark. A lot of them insist that the second *ba* (NEG-2) should not be at the end of the sentence. It may occur either in the root clause or after the postposed complement. Therefore, the statement made above also holds for (16c) where *màimakon na àladè* is actually a nominalization of a clause *màimakon kà ci na àladè*, which would be a clause outside the root clause. These facts and those discussed earlier therefore indicate that the position of the second *ba* (NEG2) in the sentence is sometimes fixed and sometimes not, depending on what follows the postposed complement of the CTE, and also the type of the CTE used in the root clause. One thing to note though is that whatever the position of the second *ba* (i.e. whether it occurs between the postposed subjunctive propositional complement and the adverbial clause, or at the end of the whole sentence containing the adverbial clause, there does not seem to be a significant change in meaning as long as the first *b(a)* occurs in the root CTE clause.

4.2 The Status of the Prohibitive *kaɗà/kâr* as a Negative Morpheme.

4.2.1 *Kaɗà/kâr* in Simple Sentences.

In the previous subsections I have indicated that a subjunctive clause or complement cannot use the negative markers found elsewhere that use *ba(a) ..ba* or its variants. In order to negate such a complement a general negator of subjunctive must be used. This morpheme is the prohibitive *kaɗà/kâr* which is a special adverbial particle used to introduce a negative command in subjunctive.¹ Unlike the discontinuous negative morpheme(s) and its other variants, *kaɗà* always comes at the beginning of the sentence that it negates. Hence, *kaɗà* is used by a speaker to express his/her mood toward the propositional content of the sentence it introduces. In this section I describe the function of this morpheme in simple sentences and in complex sentences. Before I get into that let me briefly discuss the form of imperatives and hortative sentences.

There are basically two ways to form an imperative sentence in Hausa. The first type is the one in which a special form of a verb is used and this is the only type of Hausa verbal sentence where a preverbal subject is never used. Note that, imperative verb forms are characterized by tonal changes, i.e. it is not just the absence of a subject pronoun which distinguishes imperative from other TAMs. This tonal change is much clearer with verbs having two or more syllables, which having a low and high or a low and low tonal patterns.² The second type is one in which a preverbal subject is used with or without an overt lexical subject. In this form of the imperative all person subjects (i.e. nouns or pronouns) can be used. And it has a hortative meaning. In addition, the preverbal pronoun is always in the subjunctive TAM which must share all the phi-features of the subject NP whether it is in Spec of IP or outside of it (see Cowan and Schuh 1976:122-123, 334-335, Jaggar 1992:93-98 for a detailed discussion of these verbs and the

constructions in which they occur). Here are a few examples where the first type is indicated in (17) and the second type in (18):

- (17) a. shigō dāki-n!
come in/enter room-ref.
'(You should) come/enter into the room!'
- b. gāmà aiki-n nākà dà wuri!
finish work-ref. of-you with early
'(You should) finish your work early!'
- (18) a. [IP [e] kà shigō dāki-n]!
2ms.-subj. enter room-ref.
'(You should) come into the room!'
- b. [IP [e] kī gāmà aiki-n nāki dà wuri]!
2fs.-subj. finish work-ref. of-you with early
'(You should) finish your work early!'

These sentences are used as imperatives/commands whether there is an overt subject or not just as in English (see Pelmutter and Soames 1979, McCawley 1988). These imperative and hortative forms can be negated by placing the prohibitive *kadà* at the beginning of the sentence to negate the command. But as mentioned earlier, unlike the *ba(a)* negative morphemes, the complement that *kadà* introduces and negates must always be in the subjunctive. Using negative subjunctive is then a way in which to express negative imperative and negative exhortations in Hausa. These usages are illustrated in the following (compare the contrast between the sentences in (19) with earlier sentences in (3) above:

- (19) a. [IP kadà [e] kà shigō dāki-n]]!
lest=neg. 2ms.-subj. enter in room-ref.
'You should not come into the room!'

- b. [IP *kadà* [e] *kì* *tàfi gidā*]]!.
 lest=neg. 2fs.-subj. go home
 ‘You should not go home!’
- c. [IP *kadà* [e] *kù* *shā giyā à kō'inā*]]!.
 lest=neg. 2pl.-subj. drink alcohol at anywhere
 ‘You should not drink alcohol at anywhere’
- d. [IP *kadà* [e] *mù* *yi fadā dà sū*]]!.
 lest=neg. 1pl.-subj. do fighting with them
 ‘Don't we quarrel with them/we should not quarrel with them’
- e. [IP *kadà* *Àli yà* *yi gyātsā à nân*]]!.
 lest=neg. *Àli* 3ms.-subj. do belch at here
 ‘*Àli* should not belch here’
- f. [IP *Àli kadà* *yà* *tàfi gidā gōbe*]]!.
 Àli lest=neg. 3ms.-subj. go home tomorrow
 ‘*Àli* should not go home tomorrow’

Notice the alternative placement of the subject *Àli* in (19e-f). Here there is no difference in meaning whether *Àli* precedes or follows *kadà*. In some cases the use of a sentence with *kadà* is synonymous with the meaning of the one negated by the other negative morphemes. For instance, in the following sentences, the interpretation is semantically the same:

- (20) a. [IP *kadà* [e] *à* *yi rantsuwā dà Allāh à kân karyā*]].
 neg.=lest Imp.-subj. do swearing with Allāh on falsehood
 ‘No false swearing in the name of Allāh=God’
- b. *bandā* (*yî-n*) *rantsuwā dà Allāh à kân karyā*.
 without/excluding doing-of swearing with Allāh on falsehood
 ‘No (doing/making of) false swearings in the name of Allāh’

Finally, *kaḍà* may be used to introduce negative subjunctive complements to nouns and purpose clauses where it is often translated in English as ‘lest’. In this case it is usually preceded by a purpose clause complementizer *don/dõmin*, having various meanings like ‘in order that’, ‘so that’, etc. This use of *kaḍà* is illustrated in the following sentences:

- (21) a. [e] nā rubûtà sākô-n [CP (don) [IP kaḍà [e] nā ---
 1s.-perf. write message-ref. comp. lest 1s.-subj.
 mântā shi]].
 forget it
 ‘I wrote down the message/note so that I don’t forget it’
- b. [IP [e] mun sanar dà kū [CP (don) [IP kaḍà [e] kū ---
 1pl.-perf. inform you (pl.) comp. lest 2pl.-subj.
 yi rashi-n ladabī]].
 do lack-of respect
 ‘We informed you so that you do not misbehave’
- c. [e] kū tàfi dà rîga-r ruwā [CP (don) [IP kada ---
 2pl.-subj. go with gown-of-rain comp. lest
 [e] kū shā dūkà-n ruwā]].
 2pl.-subj. drink beating-of water=rain
 ‘Take a rain coat lest you get soaked (from rainfall)’
- d. [e] mù tàfi dà wuri [CP (don) [IP kaḍà wani yà ---
 1pl.-subj. go with early comp. lest someone 3ms.-subj.
 rigā mù sàye-n-tà]].
 precede us buying-of-it
 ‘Let’s go quickly lest someone else buy it before us (=we reached there)’
- e. [e] sukà kāmà mazā, [IP kaḍà dai à yi ---
 3pl.-rel.-perf. catch men lest prt. Imp.-subj. do

zànce-n mātā].
talking-of women

(Abraham 1959:174).

‘Then they captured males, not to mention women’

In summary to this subsection, we have so far seen that the morpheme *kadà* serves to negate only subjunctive complements or clauses of various types. These include imperative, hortative, object clauses and some adverbial clauses in the subjunctive. The question now is can it also be used to negate the subjunctive propositional complements of the CTEs under study? I turn to this issue in the next subsection.

4.2.2 Kadà/kâr in Post-CTE Position.

In this subsection I will discuss the use of *kadà/kar* negative marker that introduces and negates subjunctive complements to the CTEs like *yā kāmātā* and *dōlè nē*. In other words I will investigate its behavior when the complement occurs in either pre-CTE or post-CTE positions. This morpheme seems to have the clearest meaning among all the other complementizers and other clause introducing particles discussed so far. It has a clear-cut meaning of negating the subjunctive propositional complement which the CTE expresses, appraises, or comments about. The negative marker expresses a negative condition with respect to the propositional content of the subject complement (see Dimmendaal 1989:102). And when this negative marker is omitted, the truth value of the whole modality of the proposition is affected, in the sense that the complement is devoid of negation unless there is a lexical negative word in it. Consider the following examples where the sentences in (22-23) show how the subjunctive propositional complement is negated by using the negative subjunctive marker *kadà* (note that a complementizer may occur between the CTE and the complement introduced by *kadà*, as indicated in some of the examples):

- (22) a. [e]_i yā kāmātà [CP (wai) [IP kadà Tànî tà ----
 3ms.-perf. be fitting that lest Tànî 3fs.-subj.
 biyā hàrāji-n]]_i
 pay tax-ref.
 'It is fitting/better/desirable that Tànî should not pay the taxes'
- b. [e]_i yā kyàutu [CP (cêwā) [IP kadà [e] nà ---
 3ms.-perf. be good/desirable that lest 1s.-subj.
 yi fushî dà mǎganà-r-sà]]_i
 do angry with talk-of-him
 'It is better/nice/desirable that I should not be angry with what he said'
- c. [e]_i yanā dà muhim mancî [CP (cêwa-r [IP kadà ---
 3ms.-cnt. with importance that lest
 [e] mù nūnà fushi-n-mù dà yawà]]_i
 1pl.-subj. show anger-of-us with many/much
 'It is important that we do not show to much of our anger'
- d. [e]_i yanā dà kyâu [CP Ø [IP kadà [e] kî zǎgē shî]]_i
 3ms.-cnt. with good/nice lest 2fs.-subj. abuse him
 'It is good/appropriate that you should not abuse/insult him'
- e. [e] bà-i dāmē nî ba [CP kō [IP [e] sù cî ---
 neg.-3ms.-perf. bother me neg. whether 3pl.-subj. eat
 àbincî-n]], kō [IP kadà [e] sù cî (shî)].
 food-ref. or lest 3pl.-subj. eat it
 'It does not bother me whether they eat the food or not'
- (23) a. [e]_i wājibî nē [CP (cêwā) [IP kadà [e] kî shā giyā]]_i
 obligatory cop. that lest 2fs.-subj. drink alcohol
 'It is obligatory that you should not drink alcohol'
- b. [e]_i dōlè nē [CP (wai) [IP kadà [IP [e] sù tàfi gidā]]_i
 necessary cop. that lest 1pl.-subj. go home
 'It is necessary that they should not go home'

- c. [e]_i shirmē nè [CP (cêwa-r) [IP kadà [e] mù nèmi ---
obligatory cop. that lest 1pl.-subj. seek

haki-n-mù dàgà hùkūmā]]_i
rights-of-us from authority

‘It is foolish/stupid/nonsense that we should not seek our rights from the authority/government’

- d. [e]_i rashì-n tùnānī nè [CP (cêwā) [IP kadà [e] kà ----
lack-of thinking cop. that lest 2ms.-subj.

kàrfi bāshì-n nan]]_i
take/receive/get loan-ref. that

‘It is a bad idea/foolish for you not to take that loan’

These examples show that the negation of the subjunctive complements of these CTEs with the prohibitive *kadà* behave exactly like that of the predicates we saw earlier. However, there is some problem here. Some CTEs that we would expect to allow this kind of negation do not do so. For instance, in the sentences in (24) below, some of the sentences are ungrammatical either due to (a) the presence of inherent negation contained within the noun or verb of the root clause (like the intransitive verb *hàramtā* and the noun *wù yā*), (b) having double negation in root and complement clauses, (c) the occurrence of CTEs indicating non-realized action/event in the root clause, or (d) where the CTE with morphological INFL is from the “possibility, likely, or probable” group (Note that some of these sentences would be grammatical if the CTE clause and the negated complement are considered as separate sentences):

- (24) a. *[e]_i yā *hàramtā* [IP kadà [e] kù yi azùmī]]_i
3ms.-perf. be forbidden lest 2pl.-subj. do fasting
‘It is/was unlawful/disallowed/prohibited that you should not do fasting’
- b. *[e]_i yā *yìwu* [CP Ø [IP kadà [e] yà zama sarkī]]_i
3ms.-2fut. be possible lest 3ms.-subj. be/become emir
‘It is possible/likely that he will not become Emir’

- c. * $[e]_i$ yanà yiwuwā [_{CP} Ø [_{IP} kadà [e] kà àuri Bintà]]_i
 3ms.-cnt. be possible/likely lest 2ms.-subj. marry Bintà
 'It is possible/likely that you should not marry Binta'
- d. * $[e]_i$ yanà dà wùyā [_{CP} Ø [_{IP} kadà [e] sù tàfi gidā]]_i
 3ms.-cnt. with difficult lest 3pl.-subj. go home
 'It is impossible for them not to go home'

Like in the cases of complements of CTEs with morphological INFLs, the following with copular CTEs are also ungrammatical due to the same reasons mentioned above:

- (25) a. * $[e]_i$ hārāmùn nē [_{CP} (cēwā) [_{IP} kadà [e] mù ci ---
 unlawful cop. that lest 1pl.-subj. eat
 nāmà-n àladè]]_i
 meat-of pig
 'It is unlawful for us not to eat pork'
- b. * $[e]_i$ mài yiwuwā nē [_{CP} Ø [_{IP} kadà [e] nà sàyi ---
 has possibility cop. lest 1ms.-subj. buy
 sābuwa-r mōtā]]_i
 new-of car
 'It is possible/likely that I will not buy a new car'
- c. * $[e]_i$ watakilā nē [_{CP} Ø [_{IP} kadà [e] sù zō yāu]]_i
 probably cop. lest 3pl.-subj. do today
 'It is probable/possible that they should not come today'
- d. * $[e]_i$ saurā kàdan (nē) [_{CP} Ø [_{IP} kadà [e] tà gamā]]_i
 remain a bit more cop. lest 3fs.-subj. finish
 'It remains a little bit (of time) for her not to finish'

The above piece of data clearly indicate that there are some restrictions with regard to the use of the negative marker *kadà* to negate the propositional complements of some types

of root CTEs. The restrictions are not uniformly applicable to all the expressions. There are differences between the expressions as we have shown through out our discussion. One such differences can be found in using two different negative markers in the same sentence, an issue which I discuss in the next subsection.

4.2.3 Multiple Negative Markers in a Clause/Sentence.

In this subsection, I will discuss sentences in which there are both *b(a) ... ba* (or its variants) and the subjunctive negative marker *kadà* in the same sentence. With some CTEs it is possible, while with some this combination causes the negated sentence to be ungrammatical. In this case if the CTE clause and the propositional complement that is negated by *kadà* are considered as two different sentences or separate sentences, then this kind of negation is possible. But even here there is a restriction with respect to the position of the NEG-2. With some CTEs, it may occur either in the (root) clause or in the *kadà* clause, while with some it can only occur in the root clause. Consider first cases where the two types of negatives occur in the same sentence with NEG-2 in the root clause and the sentence is grammatical:

- (26) a. [IP [e]_i b̂â-i kàmātà ba [CP (wai) ---
neg.-3ms.-perf. be fitting neg. that
[IP kadà [e] kù biyā hàrājì]]_i.
lest 2pl.-subj. pay tax
'It is undesirable that you should not pay taxes' = 'You should pay'
- b. [IP [e]_i b̂â zâ-i kyàutu ba [CP (wai) [IP kadà ----
neg. 1fut.-3ms.be nice neg. that lest
[e] mù biyā hàrājì]]_i.
1pl.-subj. pay tax
'It will not be nice/fitting that we should not pay taxes' =
'It would be nice that we should pay'

- c. [e]_i bā àbi-n kunyà ba nē [CP (wai) [IP kadà ---
 neg. thing-of shame neg. cop. that lest
 [IP [e] à kwāna à gida-n sùrùkai]]_i;
 Imp.-subj. spend night at home-of in-laws
 'It is not shameful/a shameful thing for a person not to sleep overnight
 at/in in-laws' house' i.e. 'One should spend the night there, and it is not a
 shame to do so'

Here it appears that negating the root clause imposes a selection on the kind of negation that will appear in its propositional complement. It seems that for such a sentence to be grammatical, the NEG-2 must occur in the same root CTE clause. If however the second negative (NEG-2) occurs at the end of the whole sentence, the sentence becomes less acceptable by some speakers as illustrated in the following (note that some speakers accept these sentences as fully grammatical, while others consider it as not so good):

- (27) a. ?[IP [e]_i bā-i kāmātà [CP (wai) [NegP kadà ----
 neg.-3ms.-perf. be fitting that lest
 [IP [e] kù biyā hārājī]] ba]_i.
 2pl.-subj. pay tax
 'It is undesirable that you should not pay taxes'
- b. ?[IP [e]_i bā zā-i yīwu [CP (wai) [NegP kadà ---
 neg.1fut.-3ms. be possible/likely that lest
 [IP [e] kà tàfi gidā yāu]] ?ba]_i.
 2ms.-subj. go home today neg.
 'It will not be possible that you should not go home today'
- c. ?[IP [e]_i bā rashì-n tūnānī nē [CP (wai) [NegP kadà ----
 neg. lack-of thinking cop. that lest
 [IP [e] kà kārbi bāshì-n nan]]_i ba]_i.
 2ms.-subj. take/receive loan-ref. that neg.
 'It is not a bad/foolish idea that you should not to take that loan'

- d. ?[IP [e]_i bā àbi-n kunyā nē [CP (cēwā) [NegP kar ---
 neg. thing-of shame cop. lest

[IP [e] à kwāna à gida-n sùrùkai]]_i ba]_i.
 Imp.-subj. spend night at home-of in-laws neg.

‘It is not shameful/a shameful thing for a person not to sleep overnight
 at/in in-laws’ house’

These sentences indicate that NEG-2 must not be at the end of the whole sentence for all speakers, hence the use of the question mark in these sentences. Some of the speakers consulted prefer to have sentences where there is an immediately following subjunctive complement or where the NEG-2 is in the root clause and a lexical negative verb in the complement. In fact they are uncomfortable with the use of *kadà* when NEG-2 is at the end of the whole sentence.³

But these same speakers also accept sentences with inherent negative expression(s) in the root clause and then *kadà* introducing its complement in post-CTE position. For instance, in the following sentences it is possible to have grammatical sentences even in cases where there is a double negation in the sentence. That is negative CTE/inherent negative word of the root clause followed by *kadà* complement clause. With certain CTEs however, the NEG-2 of the disjunctive negative morpheme, must occur in the root clause as in the earlier examples we saw. Consider the following:

- (28) a. [e]_i rashì-n tùnānī nē [IP kadà [e] kà kàrbì ----
 lack-of thinking cop. lest 2ms.-subj. receive/take

bāshi-n nan]_i
 loan-ref. that

‘It is a bad/foolish idea for you not to get/receive that loan’

- b. [e]_i bā rashì-n tùnānī ba nē [CP Ø [IP kadà ----
 neg. lack-of thinking neg. cop. lest

[e] kà kàrbī bāshī-n nan]]_i
 2ms.-subj. take/receive loan-ref. that

‘It is not a bad/foolish idea that you should not to take that loan’

But the occurrence of NEG-2 in the root clause does not always make this kind of negation possible since there are cases where even if NEG-2 is in the root CTE clause or at the end of the whole sentence, the sentence will still be ungrammatical due to semantic mismatch between the meaning of the CTE and that of the content of the propositional complement as illustrated in the following:

- (29) a. *[e]_i bā zā-i yi muhim mancī ba [CP (wai) [IP kadā ----
 neg. 1fut.-3ms. do importance neg. that lest

[e] kà zāgi mutānē]]_i
 2ms.-subj. abuse people

‘It is not be important/essential for you not to abuse/insult people’

- b. *[e]_i bā tīlās ba nē, [CP (wai) [IP kadā ----
 neg. necessary neg. cop. that lest

[e] kī kōmā gidā]]_i
 2fs.-subj. return home

‘It is not necessary that you should not return home’

- c. *[e]_i bā wājībī ba nē [CP (cēwā) [IP kadā ----
 neg. obligatory neg. cop. that lest

[e] mū shā giyā]]_i
 1pl.-subj. drink alcohol

‘It is obligatory that we should not to drink (any) alcohol’

Note that the same situation is obtained even with some predicates that take object clauses as in the following example from Abraham 1959:51 which is ungrammatical due to the double negation, i.e. negative verb *hanā* ‘prohibited/disallowed/forbidden’ in root

clause and *kadà* negating the object clause (note though that for Abraham, this is grammatical):

- (30) **[e]* an *hanà* mu [_{IP} *kadà* *[e]* mù *shā* *bārāsā*].
 Imp.-perf. prevent us lest 1pl.-subj. drink liquor/alcohol
 ‘We’ve been forbidden to drink liquor/alcohol’

Note that the ungrammaticality of some of the sentences we saw above is not the norm with copular CTEs, since it is possible with some copular CTEs for the second *ba* to occur at the end of the whole sentence as illustrated in the following (see also CTEs with morphological INFL above):

- (31) a. *[e]*_i *bā* dōlè *ba* nē [_{CP} (cēwā) [_{IP} *kar* *[e]* *kà* *ci*
 neg. necessary neg. cop. that lest 2ms.-subj. eat
 nāmà-n gafiyā]_i
 meat-of bandicoot
 ‘It is lawful/allowed/permitted for you not to eat meat of bandicoot’
- b. *[e]*_i *bā* dōlè nē [_{CP} (wai) [_{IP} *kar* *[e]* *kà* *ci* ---
 neg. necessary cop. that lest 2ms.-subj. eat
 nāmà-n gafiyā]]]_i *ba*.
 meat of bandicoot neg.
 ‘It is lawful/allowed/permitted for you not to eat meat of bandicoot’

To conclude this subsection, it is clear that the above pieces of data show that the negative subjunctive marker *kadà/kar* may be used to negate the subjunctive propositional complement of most of the CTEs under study. And those CTEs that resist this pattern of complementation are those of the possibility/likely and probability group, and in cases where some of the CTEs with morphological INFL occur in the negated form. One thing to note however, is that the negative subjunctive marker *kadà/kar* does not seem to be

as free as the other clause introducing particles and the complementizers *cêwā* and *wai* that we discussed in the previous chapter. That is, not all CTEs allow *kadà* to head their propositional subjunctive complement in post-CTE position. For instance, some CTEs whose propositional complement is headed by *kadà/kar* are grammatical, some are totally ungrammatical (due to some semantic mismatch, like double negation, i.e. negation in both the root clause and in the complement or the presence of an inherently negative word in the complement (to be discussed more below), while some are marginally grammatical.

The interplay of the syntax and semantics of the CTEs and the complement with negation is surely very complex. Drawing a generalization for their behavior will however take me well beyond the goal of this dissertation. Perhaps the problem has something to do with the kind of CTE that appears in the root clause as indicated in various examples above. This issue will be taken up in the future research. This ends my discussion on *kadà* in post-CTE position. The question now is how do we express negation of the propositional complements of these CTEs where *kadà* won't work? Before discussing this issue however let us see the possibilities of having *kadà* in pre-CTE position.

4.2.4 Kadà/kâr in Pre-CTE Position.

The *kadà/kar* negative marker cannot occur in pre-CTE position more freely* as *cêwā* and *wai* complementizers do. That is, it cannot introduce a propositional subject complement in pre-CTE position with the meaning of '*should not*' unless there is some qualification after the root clause or when the two clauses are considered separate. Since this pattern is not found in normal structures I am dealing with, I will defer further discussion of it until in the section on its interaction with other complementizers. I will therefore just give two examples to illustrate what I mean here for it not occurring in pre-

CTE position. The following sentences are grammatical with or without a pause before the root-CTE (as long as the two clauses are considered as separate or the complement is a topic):

- (32) a. [IP *kadà* Tankò yà biyā hàrājì (fa)]]],/. ---
 lest Tankò 3ms.-subj. pay tax prt.
 [IP [e] yā kāmātà].
 3ms.-perf. be fitting/better
 ‘(That) Tankò should not pay taxes, (it) is fitting/desirable’
- b. [IP *kadà* [e] kà kōmā gidā (kām)]]],/.
 lest 2ms.-subj. return home
 [IP [e] tīlās nē].
 necessary cop.
 ‘(That) you should not return home is necessary/obligatory’

When the negative marker *kadà/kar* occurs in sentence initial position, introducing the subjunctive propositional complement, the sentence sounds odd when there is no pause before the complement. The only possible way to make it grammatical is when *kadà/kar* negates only the subjunctive propositional sentence without the root clause. And in this case it is not a complement but rather a simple negative “imperative” sentence, and *kadà/kar* being the subjunctive negative marker. Nothing more now needs to be said about it. I now turn to the issues relating to lexical negative verbs that serve the purpose of negating complements where *kadà* won't work.

4.2.5 The Use of Lexical Negative Words in Complements Where *Kadà* Won't Work.

In the previous sections, we have seen how *ba(a)* ... *ba* (and its variants) and *kadà* are used to negate sentences of different types of predicates. In the section on

kaɗà occurring in post-CTE position we observed that there are certain CTEs that do not allow *kaɗà* to negate their propositional complements due to either the intrinsic nature of the CTEs, or semantic mismatch between the CTEs and the propositional contents of their complements. In this subsection I will briefly look at the use of certain “lexical negative” words that will serve the same purpose of *kaɗà* in negating the propositional complements of those CTEs that do not allow it to negate their subjunctive complements.

There are in Hausa some words that are inherently negative in nature of their meaning. Most of these verbs are what I elsewhere call aspectual/modal verbs (see Pilzsczikowa 1960, Jaggar 1977, Parsons 1981, Yalwa 1991, 1994, Newman (forthcoming) for a detailed discussion of them). Some of these verbs include *ɗainà* ‘cease/stop doing’, *fāsà* ‘postpone/fail to’, *gazà* ‘fail to do/fall short of/be below in sth./be unable’, *kāsà* ‘fail to/fall short of/be insufficient/be unable to’, *kī* ‘refuse’, *kārè* ‘finish doing’, *ràbu (ɗà)* ‘not to do as usual’, and *rasà* ‘lack/be without/fail to do’, etc. just to mention a few. Semantically, these predicates are interpreted as having negative component in their meaning. And their presence in a complement or root CTE may bring about difference in meaning in the whole sentence. The following are a few examples in their use as root predicates:

- (33) a. [e] mun *rasà* [CP àbî-n [C dà [IP [e] zā mù yill]].
 1pl.-perf lack/fail thing-def. that 1fut.-3ms. do
 ‘We are unable to do the thing that we are going to do’=
 ‘We don’t know what to do’
- b. [e] yā *ɗainà* [NP shâ-n wàhalâ].
 3ms.-perf. ceases/stop drinking-of=experiencing difficulty
 ‘He no longer/ceased to experience difficulties’

- c. Audù yā gazà [SC ni (à) kudī].
 Audù 3ms.-perf. be below me in money
 'Audu is not as rich/wealthy as I am'
- d. [e] kā ki [NP jī-n mǎgānà-r mahàifi-n-kà].
 2ms.-perf. refuse hearing-of talk-of father-of-you
 'You refused/failed to listen to your father/what your father said'
- e. [e] tā ki [IP [e] tà ji mǎgānà-t-ā].
 2fs.-perf. refuse 3fs.-subj. hear talk-of-me
 'She refused/failed to listen to me/what I said (to her)'

With the exception of *kī*, all the other predicates take a nominalized complement only as object. Notice that in each of these sentences there is an element of negation even though no regular negative morpheme is used. In order to reverse this negativity, a negative morpheme can be used. The negative morpheme can be the *ba(a)* type or the subjunctive negative marker *kadà*. When *kadà* is used though, the TAM of the clause must be changed to subjunctive. This is illustrated in the following:

- (34) a. [e] bà mù rasà [CP àbî-n [C dà [IP [e] zā mù yil] ba.
 neg. 1pl.-perf. lack/fail thing-def. that 1fut.-1pl. do neg.
 'We were not unable to do the thing that we are going to do'=
 'It is not the case that we don't know what to do'
- b. [e] bà-i dainà [NP shâ-n wàhalà] ba.
 neg.-3ms.-perf. ceases/stop drinking-of=experiencing difficulty
 'He didn't ceased from/stop experiencing difficulty/hardship'
- c. [e] kadà [e] kà ki [NP jī-n mǎgānà-r mahàifi-n-kà]
 lest=neg. 2ms.-subj. refuse hearing-of talk-of father-of-you
 'You should not refuse/fail to listen to your father/what your father said'
- d. [e] kadà [e] tà gazà [SC ki à kī-n wàhalà].
 lest=neg. 2fs.-subj. fall short of you (3fs.) in hating-of difficulty
 '(Don't let her be below you in hating experiencing hardship'

As we can see from these examples, these aspectual and modal verbs can co-occur with negative morphemes. The function of negation here is to counter the meaning of the proposition expressed by the lexical negative words, i.e. from negative to positive assertion or command. Note that these negative predicates may also occur in sentences with the CTEs like *yā kāmātā*, *māi yiwuwā nē* etc. When they do occur in a negative sentence, they lose their negative meaning as we saw above. That is the sentence may lose its negativity to indicate a strong affirmative sense of the sentence. But when they occur in non-negative sentence, they take the function of the negative markers. In fact most of the CTEs that do not allow *kadā* to negate their complements, would now allow negation of such complements when one of these lexical negatives occur in their complements. The use of these negative verbs is illustrated first with CTEs having morphological INFL in (35) and those of copular types in (36):

- (35) a. [e]_i yā *hāramtā* [Ip [e] kù *dainā* *gaisāwā*
 3ms.-perf. be forbidden 2pl.-subj. cease/stop greeting
 *dā jūnā*_i
 with each other
 ‘It is forbidden that you should stop greeting each other’ =>
 ‘You are expected to resume greeting each other’
- b. [e]_i yā *yiwu* [Ip [e] yā *kī* *sō-n* *zama* *sarkī*_i
 3ms.-2fut. be possible 3ms.-subj. refuse liking-of becoming Emir
 ‘It is possible/likely that he will refuse to like becoming Emir’
- c. [e]_i yanā *dā wūyā* [Ip [e] kà *gazā* *nī* *kuḏī*_i
 3ms.-cnt. with difficult 3pl.-subj. be below me money
 ‘It is impossible that you will not have as much money as I have’
- d. [e]_i zā-i *bā* *nī māmākī* [Ip [e] kī *rasā* ---
 1fut.-3ms. give me surprise 2fs.-subj. fail to

sāmù-n aiki-n à nan Kanò_i .
getting/finding-of work-ref. at there Kano

'It will surprise me that you will fail to get that job in Kano'

- e. [e]_i yanà bā ni haushī [Ip [e] ki kāsà gamà ---
3ms.-cnt. give me anger 2fs.-subj. fail finish

àbincî-n à cikin awā biyu_i .
food-ref. in hour two

'It makes me mad that you will be unable to finish the food in two hours'

- (36) a. [e]_i hārāmùn nē [Ip [e] kù dāinā layyā]_i
unlawful/forbidden cop. 2pl.-subj. cease/stop layya

'It is forbidden for you to stop doing the (religious) sacrifices (of animals)'

- b. [e]_i m̄ai yīwuwā nē [Ip [e] nà gazà sāmù-n ----
has possibility cop. 1ms.-subj. fail to getting-of

dama-r sàye-n sābuwa-r mōtā-r]_i
chance-of buying-of new-of car-ref.

'It is possible/likely that I will not be able to get the chance of buying the new car'

- c. [e]_i watakilā nē [Ip [e] sù ki yī-n aurē banal]_i
probably cop. 3pl.-subj. refuse doing-of marriage this year

'It is probable/possible that they would not be getting married this year'= 'It is probable/likely that they would refuse to be married this year'

- d. [e]_i saurā kàdan (nē) [Ip [e] tà kāsà gamāwā]_i .
remain a bit more cop. 3fs.-subj. be unable finish

'It remains a little bit (of time) for her to be unable to finish the work'= 'She almost failed to finish (it)'

These lexical negative verbs may also occur in the complements of negativized CTEs as in the following:

- (37) a. [e]_i bà-i kāmātā [Ip [e] kà rasà ----
neg.-3ms.-perf. be fitting 2ms.-subj. fail to

tàimako-n-sà]_i ba.
 helping-of-him neg.

‘It is better that you should not fail/not to help him’

- b. [e]_i bâ shi dà kyâu [IP [e] kà dainà ziyartà-r-mù]_i
 neg. it with good/nice 2ms.-subj. stop/cease visiting-of-us

‘It is not good/appropriate for you to stop visiting us’

- c. [e]_i bâ tìlàs ba nê [IP [e] kì kī kōmāwā gidā]_i
 neg. necessary neg. cop. 2fs.-subj. refuse returning home

‘It is not necessary that you should refuse to return home’

- d. [e]_i bâ wājibī ba nê [IP [e] mù kī bā kà ita]_i
 neg. obligatory neg. cop. 1pl.-subj. refuse give you it

‘It is not obligatory that we should not to give it to you’

In some cases the combination of *kadà* and a lexical negative verb in one sentence may generate an ungrammatical sentence as the following sentences show:

- (38) *[e]_i zâ-i bā nī māmākī [IP *kadà* [e] kī *kāsà* ---
 1fut.-3ms. give me surprise lest=neg. 2fs.-subj. be unable to

gamà aiki-n nan dà wuril]_i.
 finish work-ref. that with early

‘It will surprise me that you would not be unable to finish that work early’

The interesting thing to note here is that while it is easy in English to say “it is possible that he will not become Emir,” by using the negative marker ‘not’, a comparable Hausa sentence like that cannot be expressed by using the negative marker *kadà* as in (**yā yīwu kadà yā zama sarkī*) or as in the preceding sentences.⁴

Similarly, the CTE *yanā dà wuyā* which refuses to allow *kadà* to negate its complement as we saw earlier now may be followed by an adverbial clause in TAM other than the subjunctive. Note that I assume that the adverbial clause is not a direct

complement of the CTE. Rather it is an adjunct. Evidence for this is when the adverbial clause is placed at the beginning of the sentence. The ungrammaticality of such a sentence in (39e) suggests itself. I therefore assume that there is a “concealed” subjunctive clause with perhaps an impersonal subject as indicated in (39d). And in fact most of the people consulted have offered both forms (see footnote 3). That is with the concealed subjunctive complement or with the adverbial clause (note that some of the English glosses might be ungrammatical, but the Hausa sentences are certainly grammatical):⁵

- (39) a. [e] yanā dà wù yā [CP idan [IP [e] bà sù kō mā --
3ms.-cnt. with difficult if neg. 3pl.-perf. return

gidā ba bana]].
home neg. this year

‘It is impossible (for it to be the case that) they haven’t gone home this year’ = ‘They did go home this year’ OR
‘It is impossible if they would not return/go back home this year’

- b. [e] yanā dà wù yā [CP idan [IP [e] bà zā sù tàfi gidā
3ms.-cnt. with difficult if neg. 1fut.-3pl. go home

ba à wannàn shēkarà]].
neg. in this year

‘It is impossible if they would not go home in this year’ =
‘They would go home this year’

- c. *[CP idan [IP [e] bà sù tàfi gidā ba bana]] ---
if neg. 3pl.-perf. go home neg. this year

([IP [e]) yanā dà wù yā].
3ms.-cnt. with difficult

‘If they haven’t really gone home this year, it is impossible’ =
‘If they had not gone home this year, it would be impossible’

- (40) a. [e] yanā dà wù yā [IP [e] bà sù jē gidā ba yāu].
3ms.-cnt. with difficult neg. 3pl.-perf. go home neg. today

‘It is impossible (for one to say) that they haven’t gone home today’ =
‘They did go home today’ OR
‘It is impossible if (one say that) they will not go home today’

- b. [e] bà-n san [àbí-n dà [zâ-n cê]] ba.
 neg.-1s.-perf. know thing-def. that 1fut.-1s. say neg.

‘I don’t know what I will say’

It is clear from these examples that the principles of negation are the same. These respective pairs in (41-42) mean essentially the same thing and all are grammatical. In the case of subjunctive complement clauses, the option to use negative operator *kadà* is not always available with a lot of CTEs, so in this case the negative verb is the only option, and a natural option given the fact that Hausa likes this type of construction as is evidenced in the examples given in this subsection.

4.2.6 The Interaction of *kadà/kâr* with Other Complementizers.

If we look at the interaction of *kadà/kâr*, and complementizers like *cêwā* and *wai*, as well as the clause introducing particles *kō* and *dà*, we can see that it is possible to have some of these complementizers and particles to co-occur with it adjacent to one another (we have already seen cases where it co-occurs with the purpose clause complementizers above). Note that it is not my goal to argue here whether the negative particle is a complementizer or not. But for those who consider it as a complementizer, this is another evidence that in Hausa one could have two or more complementizers in the COMP position. I leave this issue to further research at some time. Consider first where complementizers *cêwā* and *wai* co-occur with *kadà/kâr* in post-CTE position (I use NegP here just for convenience):

- (43) a. [e]_i yā kāmātà [CP wai/cêwā [NegP kadà ---
 3ms.-perf. be fitting that /that lest
 [IP Tànî tà biyā hàràjì]]_i.
 Tànî 3fs.-subj. pay tax

‘It is fitting/desirable that Tani should not to pay the taxes’

- b. [e]_i dōlē nē [C_P wai/cêwā [N_{egP} kadà -----
 necessary cop. that/that lest

‘Is it necessary that he should not marry Binta’

[IP [e] kà àuri Bintà]]_i.
2ms.-subj. marry Bintà

'It is necessary (not to be the case that) you should marry Binta'

Similarly, the order of the particle/Wh-operator *kō* followed by *kadà* is possible while *kadà* followed by *kō* is odd in a "yes-no" question sentence type. Compare the sentences in (46) with those in (47) which are ungrammatical:

- (46) a. [IP [CP kō [NegP kadà [IP Tankò yà biyā hàràjì]]], ---
Q. lest Tankò 3ms.-subj. pay tax

[IP [e] yā kāmātà]?
3ms.-perf. be fitting

'(Is it the case that) that Tanko should not pay taxes (it) is desirable/appropriate?'

- b. [IP [CP kō [NegP kadà [IP Audù yà kōmā gidā]]], ---
Q. lest Audù 3ms.-subj. return home

[IP [e] tīlās nē]?
necessary cop.

'(Is it the case that) that Audu should not return home, (it) is necessary?'

- (47) a. *[IP [NegP kadà kō [IP Tankò yà biyā hàràjì]]], ---
lest Q. Tankò 3ms.-subj. pay tax

[IP [e] yā kāmātà]?
3ms.-perf. be fitting

'(Is it not to be the case that) that Tankò should pay taxes, (it) is desirable/appropriate/better?'

- b. *[IP [NegP kadà kō [IP Audù yà kōmā gidā]]], ---
lest Q. Audù 3ms.-subj. return home

[IP [e] tīlās nē]?
necessary cop.

'(Is it not to be the case that) that Audù should return home (it) is necessary?'

There is also a possible complex order where two complementizers and *kadà* may occur in a row. I will not however discuss this pattern for space and complexity reasons. The following are just a few examples of such possibilities:

- (48) a. [IP [CP *céwā*-r *wai* [NegP *kadà* [IP *Tankò yà* ---
 saying-def.=that that lest *Tankò* 3ms.-subj.
 biyā hārājì]]]], [IP [e] *yā* *kāmātà*].
 pay tax 3ms.-perf. be fitting
 ‘(The fact/saying/assertion, (as they say)) that *Tankò* should not pay taxes,
 (it) is desirable/appropriate’
- b. [IP [CP *céwā*-r [NegP *kadà* [CP *wai* [IP *Audù yà* ----
 saying-def.=that lest that *Audù* 3ms.-subj.
 kōmā gidā bana]]]], [IP [e] *yanā* *dà kyâu*].
 return home this year 3ms.-cnt. with nice/good
 ‘(The fact/saying/assertion, as they say), that *Audù* should not return
 home this year, (it) is good/fine/O.K.’

In conclusion, it is clear that the facts presented here with regard to the interaction of complementizers and other clause introducing particles is not different from what has already been explained in the previous chapter on complementizers. And the only interesting thing is the co-occurrences of two complementizers in the same CP as in [*céwā wai/wai céwā + kadà + IP*] or when the two complementizers are separated by *kadà* as in [*céwā kadà wai + IP*]. Since *kadà* itself is not a complementizer like *céwā* or *wai*, it is not surprising that the complementizers *céwā/wai* can precede it, filling a COMP position that was empty in a clause with *kadà* alone. It is also not surprising that *wai* can follow *kadà*, since it is a fact that *wai* can be slipped into places other than clause boundaries. This is not possible with *céwā* as illustrated earlier in chapter 3 on complementizers. It is my belief that *kadà* is not a real complementizer but rather a negator of subjunctive clauses. It is used to change the

modality of the complement clause, a function that is not always available with *cêwā* or *wai*. Let me now turn to the scope issue regarding negation of the CTEs and their subjunctive complements.

4.3 Scope of Negation in Root CTE Clauses and their Subjunctive Complements.

4.3.1 Broad and Narrow-Scope Negations.

In the following subsection I will be concerned with the issues of scope of negation and the problems of determining it. There are problems of ambiguity that may arise where indefinite NPs and quantifiers are negated. A potential problem of scope is where the negative words are placed in both the root and complement clauses, most of which I have discussed in various subsections above. I will not however discuss the problem of scope in negated universal quantifiers. Rather I will discuss the issue of the determination of scope in simple and complex negative sentences where *ba(a) ... ba* (and its variants), *kadā*, and lexical negative verbs are used to negate sentences with CTEs under study.

Since the constituent to be negated may be flanked by the discontinuous negative morphemes *ba(a) ... (ba)* or preceded by one of its variant *ba(a)* or the negative subjunctive marker *kadā*, the scope of the negation could then be regarded as moving, from left to right, since the presence of a negative operator is always necessary at the beginning of the sentence not at the end of it. Recall that I assume that there is a “NegPhrase” that dominates all the constituents that are flanked or preceded by the negative operators. In other words the constituents are actually dominated by the NegPhrase, and they fall into the scope of the negative morpheme(s) (I have not however given any evidence on how a Negphrase should be generated in Hausa negative sentences. This is due to the scope of the dissertation (for discussion on this issue, see

Abdulkadir 1991). Since any major constituent in Hausa can be negated, the scope of negation then can either be broad or narrow. In a narrow-scope negation, the negation may only affect the root clause. This kind of negation occurs with all the CTEs under study. The complements to these CTEs may be interpreted as true with respect to the opposite truth value of the CTEs, i.e. whether the CTE clause is negated or is in the affirmative. The CTE clause is then interpreted as ‘what is conveyed/expressed in the complement, it is not the case that this is so’. The proposition is supposed to be the opposite of what the matrix CTE supposes. Consider the following contrasts between the (a) and the (b) sentences:

- (49) a. [e]_i yā kāmātà [IP [e] kà sàyi mōtā-r]_i.
 3ms.-perf. be fitting 2ms.-subj. buy car-ref.
 ‘It is fitting/desirable that you should buy the car’
- b. [e]_i bà-i kāmātà ba [IP [e] kà sàyi mōtā-r]_i.
 neg.-3ms.-perf. be fitting neg. 2ms.-subj. insult car-ref.
 ‘It is not fitting/desirable that you should buy the car’
- (50) a. [e]_i yā zama dōlè nē à gārē ni [CP (dà) ---
 3ms.-perf. be necessary cop. on/to me that
 [IP [e] nà kōmā gidā bana]]_i.
 1s.-subj. return home this year
 ‘It is necessary for me to return home this year’
- b. [e]_i bà-i zama dōlè nē à gārē ni ba ---
 neg.-3ms.-perf. become necessary cop. on/to me neg.
 [CP (dà) [IP [e] nà kōmā gidā bana]]_i.
 that 1s.-subj. return home this year
 ‘It is not necessary for me to go home this year’

In these examples we can see that the meaning of the modality is different in each pair of the sentences. In (49a) and (50a) the meaning is equivalent to saying that “there is something X and it is the case that X is fitting/necessary, while in (49b) and (50b) it is directly the opposite of (49a) and (50a). It is equivalent to saying that “there is something X (to be done by Y), and it is not the case that X is fitting/necessary”. Note that in the (a) examples, the meaning of the complements does not have the implication that the event/action in it is absolutely carried out. It might have taken place where the speaker is reporting its occurrence prior to his/her reporting. On the other hand it might not have taken place. And here the speaker is reporting to the listener that it is fitting or necessary that it should take place at sometime in the future. Where the comment/appraising in the root clause is negative, it is exactly the opposite of the previous sentence. In other words the complement of the negated CTE is now outside the implication of fitting or necessity is the case, but rather the possibility of it not been the case. This kind of meaning is also applicable to the possibility and obligatory group of CTEs. Consider the following:

- (51) a. [e]_i mài yìwuwā nè [IP [e] sù zō yâu]_i.
 has possibility cop. 3pl.-subj. come today
 ‘It is possible that they would come today’
- b. [e]_i bâ mài yìwuwā ba nè [IP [e] sù zō yâu]_i.
 neg. has possibility neg. cop. 3pl.-subj. come today
 ‘It is not possible/likely that they would come today’
- (52) a. [e]_i dōlè nē [IP [e] kī kōmā gidā yâu]_i.
 necessary cop. 2fs.-subj. return home today
 ‘It is necessary that you should return home today’
- b. [e]_i bâ dōlè ba nè [IP [e] kī kōmā gidā yâu]_i.
 neg. necessary neg. cop. 2fs.-subj. return home today
 ‘It is not necessary that you should return home today’

In (51a), the epistemic case, the implication is that “there is some event/action X, such that the occurrence of X is a possibility”. Its counterpart in (51b) however, says that “there is something X, such that the occurrence of X is not possible (i.e. is not the case that it is possible)”. Similarly, in (52a), the deontic necessity case, the implication says that “there is some event/action X, such that the occurrence of X must be the case (i.e. it must occur)”. Whereas in (52b) such event/action in the complement is not the case (to be). That is it is permitted but it does not have to be necessary for it to happen. The propositional content here is affected by the information modality of the root CTE and this interrelationship between the two clauses has important consequences for the meaning and form of the complementation. In these negative forms, we can see that the scope of the negation is “narrow”, even though both the root clauses and the propositional complements are semantically affected. It is also a constituent negation of a sentence type as indicated earlier. The fact that something is not necessary is a consequence of saying that one may do it but it does not have to be the case that it is necessary. These readings can be summarized as follows (cf. this is based on Ransom 1986:170 system of negation using modal logic):

- (53) a. If “possible (X)”, > implies “not necessary (X)”
 b. If “not possible (X)”, > implies “necessary not (X)”

In other words if something is not possible, it is equivalent to saying that it is necessary for it not to be the case. A parallel definition can be used for deontic possibility:

- (54) a. If “allowed (X)”, > implies “not obligatory (X)”
 b. If “not allowed (X)”, > implies “obligatory not (X)”

Which implies that if something is not permitted or allowed, it is equivalent to saying that it is obligatory for it not to be the case (cf. Ransom 1986:170). In all these cases the scope

of the negation is narrow in the sense that it is only the root clause that is negated. The negative marker does not have a domain beyond the root clause. There are however cases where both the CTE clause and its complement may be affected by negation. These involve instances where the propositions are interpreted as true irrespective of the negative nature of the root CTE. In other words, there is a reverse of negation as explained earlier. In such instances there is usually a negative verb in the complement that is used or where the subjunctive negative operator *kadà* is used. In both cases, these negative elements co-occur together with the *ba(a) ... ba* negative operators in the same sentence. The following illustrate these points:

- (55) a. [e]_i yā kāmātà [NegP kadà [IP [e] kà tàfi]]_i.
 3ms.-perf. be fitting lest=neg. 2ms.-subj. go/leave
 ‘It is fitting/desirable that you should not go/leave’
- > b. [e]_i bà-i kāmātà [NegP kadà [IP [e] kà tàfi]]_i ba*
 neg.-3ms.-perf. be fitting lest=neg. 2ms.-subj. go neg.
 ‘It is not fitting/desirable that you should not go/leave’=> meaning:
 ‘It is desirable that you should go/leave’
- (56) a. [e]_i yā zama dōlè nē à gārē nì [CP (dà) ---
 3ms.-perf. be necessary cop. on/to me that
 [NegP kadà [IP [e] nà kōmā gidā bana]]_i.
 lest=neg. 1s.-subj. return home this year
 ‘It had been necessary on me that I shouldn’t return home this year’
- b. [e]_i bà-i zama dōlè nē à gārē nì ba* ---
 neg.-3ms.-perf. become necessary cop. on/to me neg.
 [CP (dà) [NegP kadà [IP [e] nà kōmā gidā bana]]_i ba*.
 that lest=neg. 1s.-subj. return home this year
 ‘It had not been necessary on me that I should not return home this year’

In (55a) and (56a) the root clauses are in the affirmative while their complements are negated with *kadà*. Here it is only the complements that are affected and the scope of negation (a narrow one), is restricted to the complements only. In (55b) and (56b) however, both the root clauses and their subjunctive propositional complements are affected. Here the scope of negation is “broad” in the sense that its domain is from the beginning of the sentence to the end of it (I use asterisks to indicate that NEG-2 may occur in either positions shown, see also earlier discussion in the section regarding its placement in various positions in a sentence). This same implication is possible where there is a lexical negative verb in the subjunctive propositional complement as illustrated in the following:

- (57) a. [e]_i yā kāmātà [IP [e] kà kī tàfiyà gidā]_i.
 3ms.-perf. be fitting 2ms.-subj. refuse going home
 ‘It is fitting/desirable that you should refuse to go home’ => meaning
 ‘It is desirable/fitting that you should better stay’
- b. [e]_i bà-i kāmātà [IP [e] kà kī tàfiyà gidā]_i ba
 neg.-3ms.-perf. be fitting 2ms.-subj. go going home neg.
 ‘It is not fitting/desirable that you should refuse to go home’ => meaning
 ‘It is desirable that you should go’
- c. [e]_i yā kāmātà [kadà [IP [e] kà kī tàfiyà gidā]_i.
 3ms.-perf. be fitting lest 2ms.-subj. refuse going home
 ‘It is fitting/desirable for you not to refuse to go home’ => meaning
 ‘It is desirable that you should go’
- (58) a. [e]_i yā zama dōlè nē à gārē nī [CP (dà) ---
 3ms.-perf. become be necessary cop. on/to me that
 [IP [e] nà kī kōmāwā gidā bana]]_i.
 1s.-subj. refuse returning home this year
 ‘It became necessary for me that I should refuse to return/go back home
 this year’ => meaning
 ‘It is necessary that I should not go back (I should stay)’

- b. [e]_i yā zama dōlè nē à gārē ni [CP (dà) ---
 3ms.-perf. be necessary cop. on/to me that

[NegP kadà [IP [e] nà ki kōmāwā gidā bana]]_i.
 lest=neg. 1s.-subj. refuse returning home this year

‘It became necessary on me not to refuse to return/go back home this year’ => meaning ‘It is necessary that I should go back home’

- > c. [e]_i bà-i zama dōlè nē à gārē ni [CP (dà) --
 neg.-3ms.-perf. become necessary cop. on/to me that

[NegP kadà [IP [e] nà ki kōmāwā gidā bana]]_i ba.
 lest=neg. 1s.-subj. refuse returning home this year neg.

‘It had not been necessary for me that I should not refuse to return/go back home this year’ => meaning

‘It is not necessary for me that I shouldn’t go back home’

- d. [e]_i yā zama-n mī-n dōlè [CP (dà) ---
 3ms.-perf. become-cl. dat-me necessary that

[NegP kadà [IP [e] nà ki kōmāwā gidā bana]]_i.
 lest=neg. 1s.-subj. refuse returning home this year

‘It became necessary on me that I shouldn’t refuse to return/go back home this year’ => meaning ‘It is necessary for me that I should go back home’

4.4 General Conclusions.

We have seen that several negative operators can be used in Hausa to negate different types of sentences. The discontinuous negative marker *ba(a) ... ba* or its variants can be used to negate simple or complex sentences. They cannot however be used to negate subjunctive clauses either simple or complex. In order for a subjunctive clause or complement to be negated a special subjunctive negative operator *kadà* ‘lest’ must be used. Where it cannot be used, special lexical negative verbs can be used to take the function of *kadà*. The negative operator *kadà/kar* may also introduce and negate a propositional complement in post-CTE position. It may also occur in pre-CTE position

only in some stylistic constructions, or when it heads and negates a simple imperative sentence.

Finally, we have also observed that when a root clause (i.e. a CTE-clause) is negated, the negation may either affect the root clause alone in which case we get a narrow-scope reading or it may also affect the complement clause where we get a broad-scope reading. In the former case the root clause is flanked by the negative markers *ba(a) ...ba* or its variants or the subjunctive negative marker *kadà*. In the latter case it is the whole sentence (root clause and the complement that are flanked by the discontinuous negative markers (or where its variant is used which has the function of spreading its scope all the way to the end of the whole sentence), or where the subjunctive negative marker *kadà* or a lexical negative verb is used in the subjunctive propositional complement. In this case it is also possible to get an instance where the entire construction is negated which contradicts the earlier presupposition or expectations and at the end resulting in no contradiction (see Ransom 1986:172 for similar cases in English).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

¹ Note that in the descriptions of this morpheme *kar*, it is usually cited as having a falling tone. Apart from this regular *kâr* there is also *kar* with a high tone which results due to a simple phonological process (the usual tonal simplification HL # L -> H L) whereby *kâr* + Pronoun [+Low Tone] -> *kar*. However, when *kâr* is followed by a noun, then the tone does not simplify. These two forms are illustrated in the following:

- (i) [e] yā kāmātà [NegP kar [IP [e] kà tafi gidā yâu]] [*kar]
 3ms.-perf. be fitting lest 2ms.-subj. go home today
 ‘It is better that you should not go home today’
- (ii) [e] yā kāmātà [NegP kâr [IP Audù yà tafi gidā yâu]] [*kar]
 3ms.-perf. be fitting lest Audù 3ms.-subj. go home today
 ‘It is better that you should not go home today’

² Monosyllabic verbs on the other hand are of a mixed nature with respect to imperative forms. Some have two alternatives, where one form has a high tone and the other has a low tone. Others have only one form with either high or low tone (see Yalwa 1983 unpublished, Newman in preparation, and also Jaggar 1992, and Jaggar in preparation for discussion of these forms of the imperative verbs).

³ Some speakers consulted didn't like the sentences in (27). One such speaker is my wife who offered the following sentences instead:

- (i) [e] bà-i kāmātā [IP [e] à cé [IP kadā [e] kù biyā hārājī ba]].
 neg.-3ms.-perf. be fitting Imp.-subj. say neg. 2pl.-subj. pay tax neg.
 'It is not desirable/appropriate that it should be the case that you shouldn't pay the taxes'
- (ii) [e] bà-i kāmātā ba [IP [e] kù ki biyā-n hārājī ba].
 neg.-3ms.-perf. be fitting neg. 2pl.-subj. refuse paying-of tax neg.
 'It is not desirable/appropriate that you should refuse to pay the taxes'

It appears that for this speaker there should not be a double negation of the postposed complement if it is immediately embedded to the root clause, hence the rejection of the sentences in (27). As for the example in (i) the second *ba* is allowed to occur at the end of the whole sentence because there is an intervening clause between the CTE clause and the postposed complement. I must however mention then that there is no one clear-cut solution to this issue of NEG-2 occurring at the end of the whole sentence, even though it is clear that the complement is in the scope of negation in which case the position of NEG-2 should not affect the grammaticality of the sentences, see other examples below where the sentences are grammatical with NEG-2 at the end. I will take up the issue of the presence of a subjunctive clause before the *kadā* clause and the presence of an auxiliary verb in the postposed complement in the next subsection.

⁴ A way to salvage this problem of ungrammaticality (especially with the CTEs of the possibility, probability, and likely group) is to use other TAMs like future and perfective in the propositional complement rather than the subjunctive, or to use an adverbial clause (see chapter 2 for such discussions). The following are a few examples of such uses:

- (i) [e] yā yiwu [IP [e] bā zā-i zama sarkī ba].
 3ms.-2fut. be possible/likely neg. 1fut.-3ms. become emir neg.
 'It may be possible that he will not become Emir'
- (ii) [e] yā yiwu [IP [e] bā-i zama sarkī ba].
 3ms.-2fut. be possible/likely neg.-3ms.-perf. become emir neg.
 'It may be possible that he did not become Emir'
- (iii) [e] yā yiwu [IP [e] bā-i zama sarkī ba].
 3ms.-perf. be possible/likely neg.-3ms.-perf. become emir neg.
 'It was be possible/likely that he did not become Emir'

In these sentences, the embedded clause is negated using the *ba(a) ... ba* discontinuous negative markers. The interesting thing here is the use of sequence of tenses. In (i) and (ii) it is not necessary to have tense matching between the root CTE and that of the complement. In (iii) however, the tenses must match. Hence, one cannot use the future TAM in the complement because this root CTE has indicated that the action has already taken place. This is in contrast with a CTE like *yā kāmātā* which must take a complement in subjunctive even though the CTE indicates a completed action (see chapter 2 for details on tensed complements that follow the CTEs under study).

⁵ Note that when the TAM is in the first future for instance, the negative marker in the adverbial clause may either be the long vowel *bā* or the short vowel one *bā*. But if the TAM is in the perfective, it can only be the low tone *bā*.