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# Syntactic Accommodation within the Verbal Phrase in Hausa

*ABSTRACT: The paper examines syntactic relations within Hausa verbal phrase and shows their surface exponents calling them markers of syntactic accommodation. These markers, encoded within a predicate or situated outside the predicate indicate the types of objects/complements following the verb and help in defining the status of a verb not followed by any objects. The paper classifies exponents of syntactic relations and discusses their functions.*

## 1. Introduction

The Hausa verbal system is composed of two subsystems:

- a) the subsystem of the tense/aspect markers (TAMs) indicated by a preverbal pronoun-aspect-complex, i.e.,

|                  |       |        |                               |
|------------------|-------|--------|-------------------------------|
| (1) <b>yakàn</b> | dāuki | kāyā   | He takes the load.            |
| / 3sg/m/HAB      | take  | load / |                               |
| (2) <b>zāi</b>   | dāuki | kāyā   | He is going to take the load. |
| / 3sg/m/FUT      | take  | load / |                               |
| (3) <b>yā</b>    | dāuki | kāyā   | He took the load.             |
| / 3sg/m/COMPL    | take  | load / |                               |

The TAM conjugation patterns are further differentiated according to the nature of the verbal phrase. The above examples represent the non-continuous TAMs in which the verb is used in its

finite form. There is also a continuous TAM requiring non-finite verbal phrase<sup>1</sup>.

(4) **yanà**                      **ɗaukàr**                      **kāyā**                      He is taking the load.

/ 3sg/m/CONT take/VN/Gen load /

b) the subsystem of verbal forms and their transformations concerning a verb itself, i.e.,

(5) **tā**                      **ɗaukē**                      **shì**                      She took it.

/ 3sg/f/COMPL take 3sg/m/PRON /

(6) **munā**                      **ɗaukā**                      We are taking (it).

/ 1pl/CONT take/VN /

The transformations exemplified in (5), (6) are not connected with verbal inflection. They are due to the complement of the verb. The verbal form has to adjust to the type of the following complement. These transformations show a duality of relations between the predicate and the complement in Hausa. On the one hand, a verb may place restrictions on the occurrence of items dependent upon it; some verbs require certain kinds of complements that follow them, others require two following objects (Furniss 1991: 39). On the other hand, the form of a verb changes according to the type of complement that follows it.

I propose to call the relation between a predicate and its complements in Hausa a 'syntactic accommodation'. I find this term more appropriate than the term 'government'. It is because the term 'government' subsumes two elements; one of them is independent and governs the other which is dependent. The main, independent element can be linked with the other one independently. The form of the dependent element is conditioned by a syntactic marker, which is completely determined by the main element. So the term 'government' is not completely adequate for description of relations between predicate and its complements in Hausa, because it assumes unilateral relation between two elements

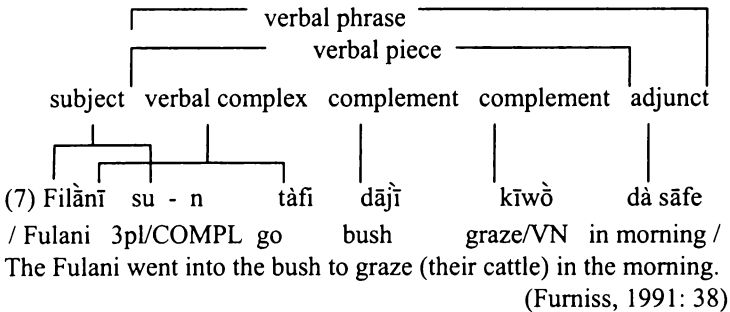
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<sup>1</sup> Terminology concerning TAMs was adopted from Newman (Newman, 2000: 564). For the purpose of this paper it is not necessary to distinguish between finite and not-finite verb phrase environment indicated respectively by non-continuous and continuous TAMs marker. However I will mark different exponents of syntactic accommodation characterising these two types of phrases.

and disregards the change of the verbal form caused by the appearance of the following object.

The term ‘syntactic accommodation’ subsumes the changes of verbal form caused by the following object as well as the governing role of the predicate. It assumes the adjustment of one syntactical item to the other. The main element of the syntactic accommodation is called ‘accommodating’ and the item that is adjusted to it is called ‘accommodated’. The process of accommodation may be described in the following way: one item with a fixed syntactic expectation is checking up the list of different items looking for the one whose syntactic arrangements (dispositions) would suit its expectations. Thus, one syntactic element is adjusted to another one forming a grammatical construction (Saloni, Świdziński, 1998: 111). In contradiction to the government, the accommodation may be bilateral, i.e. both elements forming a syntactic construction are accommodating in a domain of certain categories and accommodated in a domain of the other ones. This feature of accommodation reflects very well the relation between the verb and its complements in Hausa.

For the sake of structure analysis of a Hausa sentence one can distinguish between the term ‘verbal phrase’ and ‘verbal piece’. The term ‘verbal piece’ subsumes a verb and such items that are integral to the behaviour of the verb, which in Hausa comprise objects, complements but not adjuncts (Furniss, 1991: 38). We can state here that the process of the syntactic accommodation is restricted to the verbal piece.



We can decide which element enters the verbal piece by referring to a particular verb valence. Some verbs require one, two or even three complements, others may not allow even one. That's why sometimes locatives enter a verbal piece while sometimes they do not, e.g.,

- (8)  $\overbrace{\text{tā} \quad \text{karàntà} \quad \text{wàsīkà} \quad \text{à}}^{\text{verbal piece}} \quad \text{f ālòn} \quad \text{nàn}$   
 / 3sg/f/COMPL read letter in living-room/Gen Det /  
 She read a letter in the living room.

- (9)  $\overbrace{\text{yā} \quad \text{sā} \quad \text{kāyan} \quad \text{Kabiru} \quad \text{à} \quad \text{ciki}}^{\text{verbal piece}}$   
 / 3sg/m/COMPL put thing/pl/Gen Kabiru in inside  
 He put Kabiru's things inside.

In (8) the omission of the locative noun will cause neither semantic nor syntactic changes of the verb, it will not make the whole construction ungrammatical. In (9) the locative noun *ciki* 'inside' is an obligatory element, as the verb *sā* 'put' requires two complements: Patient and Locative. The omission of Locative would totally change the semantics of the verb.

The changes in the verbal structure according to the following object as represented in (5) and (6) are connected in great measure with the grade system. All Hausa verbs are divided into seven classes called 'grades' according to distinct morphological structure and semantics (Parsons, 1960, 1962, 1971/72). Each grade is characterised by a tone pattern, verbal ending (which is a semantic 'transmitter'), and sometimes by syntactical restrictions. Each grade (except grades 3 and 7 which are inherently intransitive) subsumes three semantic variants. The verb appears in A-form when it is not followed by the direct object, in B-form when a pronominal direct object occurs straight after it, and C-form when it is followed by a nominal direct object. There is also D-form distinguished for all grades whether transitive, intransitive or mixed, appearing before an indirect object. The table attached below shows the revised and extended grade system (Newman, 2000).

|                       | A-form                        | B-form                           | C-form   | D-form                        |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| grade 0 <sup>2</sup>  | -i H<br>-ā/-ō H               | -ī H<br>-ā/-ō H                  | -i H<br>-ā/-ō H  | -i(-ī) H<br>-ā/-ō H           |
| grade 1               | -ā HL(H) <sup>3</sup>         | -ā HL(H)                         | -a HL(L)   | -ā HL(H)                      |
| grade 2               | -ā LH(L)                      | -ē LH                            | -i LH  | (pds) <sup>4</sup>            |
| grade 3               | -a LH(L)                      |                                  |  | (pds)                         |
| grade 3a              | -a H                          |                                  |  | (pds)                         |
| grade 3b              | -i/-u/-a<br>HL                |                                  |  | (pds)                         |
| grade 4               | -ē HL(H)<br><br>-nyē<br>HL(H) | -ē HL(H)<br><br>-nyē<br>HL(H)    | -e HL(L)<br>-ē HL(H)<br>-nye<br>HL(L)<br>-nyē<br>HL(H) | -ē HL(H)<br><br>-nyē<br>HL(H) |
| grade 5               | -ar H                         | -ar[dà] H<br>-shē H<br>-Ø [dà] H | -ar [dà] H<br><br>-Ø [dà] H                            | -ar [dà] H                    |
| grade 5d <sup>5</sup> | -dā HL                        | -dā HL                           | -dà HL   | -dā HL                        |
| grade 6               | -ō H                          | -ō H                             | -ō H   | -ō H                          |
| grade 7               | -u LH                         |                                  |  | (pds)                         |

Table no 1: Grade system in Hausa (adapted from Newman, 2000: 628).

<sup>2</sup>Grade 0 did not exist in the Parsonian version of the grade system. It was added by Newman (2000).

<sup>3</sup>Notation of tone in parenthesis HL(H) indicates that in the case of two-syllables verbs it is excluded, giving a tone pattern HL while in the case of three-syllables verbs it is included giving tone pattern HLH. Otherwise tones spread from the right to the left. For example, grade 1 verb *ragargàza* 'shatter' with HLH tone pattern surfaces as HHLH (Newman, 2000: 628).

<sup>4</sup>Indication (pds) means that a verb attaches a pre-dative suffix before indirect object (see: 2.2.3).

<sup>5</sup>Grade 5d contains 'decausatives' in which the *dà* particle is fused to the verb suffix (Newman, 2000: 660).

The paper is structured as follows. The following section describes exponents of the syntactic accommodation encoded within a verb. It presents verbs not followed by any complements on a surface structure as well as those followed immediately by objects or complements (accusatives, locative verbs, double object verbs, pre-dative verbs). Next section presents prepositional markers of syntactic accommodation, namely *dà*, *wà* and locative pronouns. I will try to show how these two kinds of syntactic accommodation co-occur and participate in expressing syntactical dependencies between the verb and its arguments.

## ***2. Exponents of syntactic accommodation located in a verb***

The only syntactic exponents of relations in phrases described in this section are situated in the verb. If present in the surface structure, they are connected with the type of the verbal ending as well as with the tone pattern of the verb. In continuous aspect, when the predicate in some syntactical positions is expressed by a verbal noun, such a marker of the syntactic accommodation is the nominalization suffix *-wā* and the suffixed form of the genitive particle *-r* or *-n*.

### ***2.1 Verbs not followed by any object in the surface structure***

There are verbs in Hausa that appear without any object that follows them. Most of them are intransitives that simply cannot take any object. But also verbal phrases including transitive verbs may appear without object following the verb.

#### ***2.1.1 Intransitive verbs***

Intransitives in Hausa are basically defined as verbs that cannot be followed by a pronominal object (Parsons, 1960: 24). What is traditionally called an intransitive verb is a verb which is not followed by any sort of object at all (Parsons, 1960: 25). This definition applies to the so-called one-argument verbs. Their



pronoun. That is why a sentence *nā karàntā* should be translated as 'I read it' not as 'I read', although the surface structure would suggest that the latter translation is correct. In many languages like English and French transitive verbs can be used in an absolute way, i.e. without any object in a deep structure. When we ask a question *what did you do* we can answer it in English *I read* or *I sang*. In Hausa, as we can see from (19), it is not possible:

- |                                    |                            |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (19) A: Mè ka yi jiyà?             | What did you do yesterday? |
| B: *Nā karàntā / Nā yi kàràtū.     | I read. / I did reading.   |
| (20) A: Kā karàntā wannān littāfi? | Did you read this book?    |
| B: Ī, nā karàntā.                  | Yes, I read (it).          |
- (Tuller, 1991: 328)

Transitive verbs have markers, which show that no object follows the verb. If a verbal phrase is in completive aspect the verb takes the A-form. In the continuous aspect such an exponent expressing the absence of the phonetically realised object is the nominalization suffix *-wā*. The suffix is attached to a predicate only if it is not followed by a direct object, e.g.,

- |                     |                            |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| (21) a) tanā rufèwā | She is closing (it).       |
| b) tanā rufè tīgā   | She is closing the window. |

Just like transitive verbs, grade 5 verbs called causative or efferential may appear in a sentence without a phonetically realised object only if this object is known from the context or it is left dislocated. Markers, which show the omission of the object are the same as for transitive verbs, i.e. A-form of the verb in completive aspect and attachment of *-wā* suffix in continuous aspect:

- (22) à jawābīn dà ya gabatar à gāban bābban mashāwartar Mājālisār  
 'Dinkin Dūniyā

in a speech that was addressed to the (members of) general  
 meeting of United Nations

- |                       |                |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| (23) yanā karantār wā | He is reading. |
|-----------------------|----------------|

What is characteristic for this group of the verbs is the fact that a preposition *dā*, which is usually attached to a verb followed by



direct object, does never appear when the object is not realised phonologically.

- (24) a) sun fitar dà mōtā                      They took out the car.  
      b) mē suka fitar?                        What did they take out?

(Newman, 2000: 657)

### 2.1.3 Transitive and intransitive verbal constructions

If both transitive and intransitive verbs can appear without an object, how can we distinguish them? Sometimes this distinction is overtly marked in a sentence. Even if two verbs have the same form they may differ in tone pattern, e.g.,

- (25) a) ruwān yā tāfasà                      The water boiled.  
      b) ruwā nē sukā tafāsà                      This is a water they boiled.

In case of grades 3 and 7 verbs, the intransitivity is marked by the stem final short vowel *-a* or *-u*, e.g.,

- (26) yā fita                                      He went out.  
(27) yā shāwu                                He is drunk.

Some verbs are inherently neutral with regards to the transitivity, ex. *fāsà* 'postpone', *kārē* 'finish'. But when we put them into two different verbal constructions we will see a difference in their behaviour, i.e. the transitive verbs are in their C-form not in A-form (see: 2.2.1), e.g.,

- (28) a) tàfiyā tā fāsā                      The journey was postponed.  
      b) yā fāsà tàfiyā                      He postponed the journey.  
(29) a) àikī yā kārē                      The work was finished.  
      b) an kārē àikī                      (They) finished the work.

The terms 'transitive' and 'intransitive' apply primarily to the types of verbal constructions and not to the subcategories of the verb roots (Newman, 1971: 188). So a transitive sentence is the one whose verbal phrase contains a direct object present in the surface structure or not realised phonologically but present in the deep structure. According to this definition the following example shows two structurally different sentences:

- (30) a) yā kōnē                                It burned.  
      b) yā kōnē                                He burned (it).

(Newman, 1971: 188)

In (30a) the marker of transitivity is encoded in the opposition of A-form in which the verb is used to B-form and C-form. The verb in (30b) does not show such an opposition.

#### 2.1.4 *Intransitive verbs with status complement*

This group of verbs comprises some intransitives expressing a transformation to another state. This transformation may be understood in a physical sense or it may be perceived as a mental transformation, a change into another state of being. The latter one is represented by so called 'linking verbs' (Ščeglov, 1970: 147). They link two nominal phrases standing on their left and right sides, namely subject and complement which are referred to the same item. Their occurrence in a verbal phrase is essential for the grammaticality of construction:

- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| (31) Binta tā zama sarauniyā   | Binta became queen.<br>(Furniss, 1991: 80, 81) |
| (32) sukā kōmō kàmar mahàukàtā | They became just like mad.                     |
| (33) wannàn yā zama àbin tsòrō | It became terrifying.<br>(Ščeglov, 1970: 147)  |

Some motion verbs may govern the dynamic noun or participle with the final *-ē* denoting the change of physical state:

- |                     |                                      |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (34) yā kwāntā cīwō | He became sick.                      |
| (35) yā tāshì tsàye | He stood up.<br>(Ščeglov, 1970: 147) |

Verbs like *tāshi* 'stand' and *fārka* 'get up' may be linked with a noun expressing the state from which the subject has just got out:

- |                     |                                     |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (36) yā tāshì cīwō  | He recovered from illness.          |
| (37) yā farkā barcī | He woke up.<br>(Ščeglov, 1970: 147) |

The marker of syntactic accommodation of verbs with a status complement is A-form co-occurring with the non-continuous TAM<sup>6</sup> and indicating no syntactical relation between a verb and its complement. The valence of a verb plays also an important role. Although these verbs are intransitive they require a nominal phrase after a predicate.

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<sup>6</sup> These verbs can occur only in finite verb phrase environment.

#### 2.1.4 Non-finite verbal phrase without an object

In the non-finite verb phrase environment (after continuous TAMs), instead of a regular verb, a verbal noun is used as a predicate<sup>7</sup>. Verbal nouns are divided into two groups according to their syntactical behaviour: strong and weak ones. The latter ones are formed through the addition of *-wā* suffix and may occur in a no-object-following-verb environment:

(38) *bā mā kōmōwā*                      We are not coming back.

(39) *mè takè daurèwā?*                  What is she tying up?

(40) *sunà karântāwā*                      They are reading it.

(Newman, 2000: 700)

Strong verbal nouns are formed in various ways other than adding a *-wā* suffix. They occur in a phrase whether they are followed by a direct object or not (see: 2.1.1).

The suffix *-wā* is added to the verb stems in grades 1, 4, 5, 6 and 7. For those grades *-wā* is a marker denoting that no object occurs after a predicate because of intransitivity or because of deletion. Grades 0, 2 and 3 verbs and a few irregular verbs have verbal nouns others than *-wā*. These verbal nouns are used in their underlying forms (without a linker) if no object follows them.

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<sup>7</sup> After the continuous TAM, apart from a verbal noun, two other word classes may appear, i.e. 'deverbal nouns' (nouns derived from verbs which syntactically behave like common noun) and 'dynamic nouns' (nouns expressing an action, having no verbal counterparts). Some verbs have two corresponding verbal nouns. In literature they are referred to as primary and secondary verbal nouns. Both of them may function as a predicate in a continuous aspect. But each of them demands different syntactic rules to be used:

(1) *yanà awòn hatsī = yanà aunà hatsī* She is weighing the corn.  
[secondary]                      [primary]

(2) *sunà đínkin hùlā = sunà đínkà hùlā* They are embroidering caps.  
[secondary]                      [primary]

(Newman, 2000: 703)

A predicate in Hausa, whether verbal or nominal, contains the information about the type of the syntactic relations it forms within the verbal piece. If a verbal phrase does not contain any object or complements or there are no syntactical relations between a verb and the following complement, the verb which is a head of such a phrase may take one of the following forms:

|             |                    |                          |
|-------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| finite verb | transitive         | A-form                   |
|             | intransitive       | A-form                   |
| verbal noun | weak verbal noun   | verbal stem + <i>-wā</i> |
|             | strong verbal noun | underlying form          |

*Table no 2: Exponents of syntactic accommodation in a verbal phrase not followed by an object.*

## 2.2 Verbs followed by an object

In this paragraph I will discuss a syntactic behaviour of the verbal phrases containing direct object and a shape of the verbs which occur before indirect object. I will show that the exponents of relation between a predicate and its objects are encoded within a verb and indicated by transformations of the verbal ending and its tone pattern.

### 2.2.1 Accusative verbs

Through the term accusative verb I understand a verb followed obligatorily by a direct object whose semantic role is Patient. Syntactic marker, which is an exponent of this relation, is situated in a verb. It is connected with a change of the verbal ending and its tone pattern. So we can say that its objects conjugate a verb. To illustrate this phenomenon we will use as an example grade 2 verb *hàrbā* 'shoot' in different syntactic environments:

- (41) a) *yā hàrbē shì*                      He shot him.  
       b) *yā hàrbi Daudà*                He shot Dauda.

In the first sentence (41a) the verb is followed by a pronominal direct object and its final vowel is changed to *-ē* (the verb takes the B-form). Nominal direct object (41b) forces the grade 2 verb to change the final vowel into *-i* and makes it shorter (a verb takes the C-form). B-form must be followed immediately by a direct object pronoun, and nothing can intervene between. C-form can be

separated from its object (Newman, 2000: 639). Any of the modal particles as well as a locative pronoun can be interposed between the verb and the nominal direct object:

- (42) *yā hàrbi m̃ā gīwā*                      He even shot an elephant.

Pronominal direct object is a clitic bound tightly to the verb and it enters the verbal tone pattern<sup>8</sup>. In non-imperative sentences its tone depends on the tone of last syllable of the verb. If a preceding syllable is high the pronoun is realised as low, and when the last syllable of the verb is low the tone of pronoun is high<sup>9</sup>:

- (43) *yā kashè shi*                      He killed him.

In case of two syllable verbs tone pattern remains unchanged but if we consider an example including three-syllable verb *tàmbayà* 'ask' we will notice that according to the following object the tone pattern of the grade 2 verb must be changed:

- (44) a) *yā tàmbàyē shi*                      He asked him.  
       b) *yā tàmbàyi Daudà*                      He asked Dauda.

Accusative verbs, other than those belonging to grade 2, do not change so much under the influence of the following object. Final vowel of the grade 1 and grade 4 verbs are shortened before a nominal direct object. Grade 1 and grade 4 verbs, having at least three syllables, change also their tone pattern, e.g.,

- (45) a) *tā kāmà ta*                      She caught her.  
       b) *tā kāmà bērā*                      She caught a mouse.

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<sup>8</sup> If a pronominal object is moved away from the verb (because of the left dislocation or addition of an indirect object preceding direct object) it causes a shift of pronouns. Direct object pronouns are replaced with independent pronouns, e.g.,

- (1) a) *yā bōyè ta*                      He hid her.  
       b) *yā bōyè minì ita*                      He hid her for me.  
       (2) a) *an kashè ta*                      She was killed.  
           b) *ita cè akà kashè*                      It is she who was killed.

<sup>9</sup> In some cases however the pronoun is homotonic with the preceding syllable; after polysyllabic verbs (the ones having at least three syllables) with final *-ā* whose penultimate syllable has high tone, and after polysyllabic verbs with final *-ē* whose prepenultimate syllable has high tone (Parsons, 1960: 14), e.g., *Nā karàntā shi* 'I have read it'.

- (46) a) yā hadiyē shì                      He swallowed it.  
       b) yā hadiyè māgānī                He swallowed the medicine.

Syntactic accommodation of the grade 6 verbs is unmarked. Their morphology and tone pattern remain unchanged regardless of the kind of the direct object following them:

- (47) a) tā kāwō shì                      She brought it.  
       b) tā kāwō rīgā                      She brought the gown.

One-syllable verbs with final vowels *-ā* or *-ō* belonging to grade 0 also remain unchanged in different syntactic context. One-syllable verbs with verbal ending *-i* change their form before pronominal direct object. Their final vowel becomes long, e.g.,

- (48) mun fī sù wāyō                      We are smarter than them.

(Newman, 2000: 631)

There some irregular verbs which do not belong to any grade and which change their structure before direct object in a specific way. These verbs are: *ganī* 'see', *barī* 'leave' and *sanī* 'know'. Two latter ones lose their final vowel before direct object. The verb *gani* before pronominal direct object takes the form *gan*. When it is followed by a nominal direct object its form is *ga*:

- (49) a) nā san Audù                      I know Audu.  
       b) nā san shì                      I know him.  
       (50) a) yā ga àbōkinsà                He saw his friend.  
           b) yā gan shì                      He saw him.

In the non-finite verb phrase environment accusatives belonging to grades 1, 4 and 6 are expressed by a regular finite verb when a direct object follows them. If no object occurs after them, they are replaced with a weak verbal noun (see: 2.1.5):

- (51) a) sunā karàntāwā                They are reading (it).  
       b) sunā karàntà littāfī              They are reading the book.  
       c) sunā karàntā shi                They are reading it.

Other accusatives, in the non-finite verbal phrase, are replaced with a strong verbal noun. Followed by an object, they obligatorily take a linker (52). This linker, i.e. the genitive particle *-r* or *-n*, is an exponent of syntactic accommodation indicating the occurrence of

the direct object. If the object is replaced by a pronoun, it belongs to a genitive set (53):

- |                       |                        |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| (52) tanà kòyon Hausa | She is studying Hausa. |
| (53) yanà tàmbayàrtà  | He is asking her.      |

### 2.2.2 Double accusatives

Double accusatives are verbs that may take two objects. They differ syntactically from other double-object verbs in such a way that each of its objects may function as a direct object in a distinct sentence. Regardless of which of these objects follow the verb, the latter is expressed in C-form:

- |                                   |                                |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (54) a) yā tàmbàyi Audù lăbārinsà | He asked Audu about his story. |
| b) yā tàmbàyi Audù                | He asked Audu.                 |
| c) yā tàmbàyi lăbārinsà           | He asked about his story.      |

### 2.2.3 Pre-dative verbs

The term 'pre-dative verbs' embraces all the verbs (whether transitive, intransitive or efferential) appearing before an indirect object introduced with the syntactic marker *wà*. In this position a verb takes D-form or pre-dative suffix. The D-form of the verb belonging to a particular grade is the same as A-form of the verb in this grade (see: table no 1). Grades 2, 3 and 7 do not have a D-form as such but rather make use of a pre-dative suffix before the indirect object (Newman, 2000: 268). The suffix usually has the shape  $-aC)^H$ , i.e. it is a tone integrating suffix which changes the tone of all the syllables to high. The final consonant is generally *-m* before the *mà* morpheme or before the indirect object pronouns, and *-r* before *wà* (Newman, 2000: 640):

- |                                 |           |                                       |
|---------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| (55) mē ya aukam masà?          | (grade 7) | What happened to him?                 |
| (56) kunà nemam masà aikṛ?      | (grade 2) | Are you looking for a job for him?    |
| (57) kunà nēmar wà yārōnā aikṛ? | (grade 2) | Are you looking for a job for my boy? |
- (Newman, 2000: 640)

What is characteristic for pre-dative verbs is that they occur only as finite verbs, whether they follow continuous or non-continuous TAMs. Any type of the verbal nouns cannot replace them. That is why their exponents of the syntactic accommodation, i.e. D-form and pre-dative marker, are invariable, regardless of the TAMs.

So there are just four types of the verbal form that can appear before the indirect object, i. e. verbs with final *-aC* or *-ō* and high tones or verbs with final *-ā* or *-ē* and tone pattern HL(H).

As pre-dative verbs may appear only before the indirect object and they co-occur with a prepositional syntactic marker *wà*, I will describe their use, more detailed, in a section concerning prepositional exponents of the syntactic accommodation (3.2).

|                  | finite verbal phrase  | non-finite verbal phrase  |
|------------------|---|---|
| accusative verbs | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• C-form &gt; pronominal object</li> <li>• B-form &gt; nominal object</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• finite form of verb (B or C-form)</li> <li>• strong verbal noun + genitive linker <i>-r/ -n</i></li> </ul> |
| pre-dative verbs | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• pre-dative suffix</li> <li>• D-form</li> </ul>                                 | _____   |

Table no 3: *Markers of syntactic accommodation situated in a verb followed by an object.*

### 2.3 Locative verbs

By the term ‘locative verb’ I understand the verb that takes a locative complement. Locative complement, denoting the direction ‘towards’, is not introduced by any preposition because the information about the place towards which the action was done is encoded in the verb. Locative verbs such as *tàfi* or *fùskantà* can be translated respectively as: ‘go to’ and ‘come close to’. Locative verbs are represented by intransitives called ‘motion verbs’ as well as by some transitive verbs. Locative noun that follows a motion verb may express destination (58), point of departure (59) or something else according to the semantics of the particular verb (60):

(58) *sukā isa wani kàuyè*                      They reached a village.

(59) *yā tāshì makarantā*                      He set off from school.



(60) *yā wucè gārī*

He crossed the city.

(Ščeglov, 1970: 144)

Only a noun denoting place can fill the slot of the locative complement<sup>10</sup>. If one wants to express a movement toward a person, an animate noun must be introduced with the words *wurī* 'place' and *wajē* 'side' or the preposition *gā* 'to', 'for', e.g.,

(61) *nā dāwō wajen bābanka* I came back to my father's place.

In continuous aspect some motion verbs behave just like transitive verbs. They occur without *-wā* suffix before the complement:

(62) *sunā isō Ingilā = sunā isōwā Ingilā* They are reaching England.

(Ščeglov, 1970: 144)

Locative noun may immediately follow some transitive grade 1 and grade 2 verbs which encode the semantic meaning of 'coming closer' and 'looking at something'.

(63) *nā gābāci Kano*

I approached Kano.

(64) *nā kūsānci gidā*

I've nearly reached home.

(65) *yā dūbā bāyā*

He looked backwards.

(66) *nā lēkà wàje*

I peeped outside.

(Pilszczikowa, 1969: 32, 70)

As we can see from the above examples these verbs before a place noun take a C-form as before a direct object. Actually, the place noun following the verb may be treated as a direct object, i.e. it can be replaced by a direct object pronoun and make the verb change to B-form. But it may be treated, as well, as a common place-noun and be replaced with demonstrative pronouns *nān* and *cān*. In this case the verb keeps the C-form:

(67) a) *mayāka sun dikāki gārī* The raiders approached the town.

b) *mayāka sun dikākē shi* The raiders approached it.

c) *mayāka sun dikāki cān* The raiders approached there.

<sup>10</sup> Nominal locative object may be replaced by demonstrative pronoun *nān* or *cān*, e.g., *yā shiga gidā* 'He entered the house' > *yā shiga cān* 'He entered there'.

## 2.4 Double object verbs

Double object verbs are followed by two complements standing one after another in a fixed order. No surface markers determine the syntactic role of these complements. To disclose their role in a phrase we have to know the valence of the verb which is a head of this phrase. For example to translate correctly the sentence *an naḍā shi sarkī* 'they appointed him emir' we have to know that the first nominal phrase is referred to a person touched by the action, and the second noun is referred to the position a person was appointed to. This information is not marked by any morpheme in the verb structure. Only the knowledge of the valence of the verb *naḍā* will allow us to understand the role of its arguments.

Double object verbs can be divided into a few groups according to the type and role of the complements they take. One of these groups contains motion verbs. They are followed by a destination complement which must be represented by a place word. The second nominal is a purpose complement and its syntactic category is limited to the verbal noun or dynamic noun (Furniss, 1991: 79), e.g.

- (68) *mun tāfi (kàsuwā) (sàyen nāmā)*      We went to the market to buy  
meat.

The parenthesis indicates that the occurrence of these complements is optional and each of them or even both may be deleted.

Another group of double-object verbs are transitive, locative verbs. The first object is the direct object represented by an animate noun while the second one takes the role of the destination complement and must be filled with a place word:

- (69) *wani lōkàcin ta kàn àikē shi kàsuwā*      Sometimes she sends him  
to the market.  
(70) *Allàh yā kai shi wani wuri*      God let him reach one  
place.

There is also a group of double object transitive verbs. The first of two complements is a direct object and semantically a Patient. The role of the second one may differ according to the valence of the particular verb. It can be the concrete noun identifying a feature of character or physical feature:

(71) Bintă tā fi Audù bàsīrā

Binta is smarter than Audu.

(72) tā sâ shi bakin ciki

She made him upset.

(73) nā gazā shi hàkurī

I am not as patient as he is.

The position after the direct object can be also filled by a verbal noun or dynamic noun (see: footnote 6) denoting the action:

(74) zāfin dūkàn har ya sâ yāròn nan kūkā. The pain of a beating made this boy cry.

(Furniss, 1991: 76)

(75) kadà kà hanā Bintă sākèwā

Don't interrupt Binta in dressing up.

Two complements standing after verbs like *naḏā* 'appoint', *kirā* 'call', *ḏaukā* 'take on', *jūyā* 'turn' are referred to the same item. Ščeglov (1970: 140) called these verbs 'transformation verbs' because the second nominal is often an animate object describing an effect of transformation:

(76) An ḏaukē shi māsinjā

He was taken on as a messenger.

(77) Audù yā naḏā Sūlēmānù ma'aji

Audu appointed Sulemanu treasurer.

(Furniss, 1991: 75, 76)

Verbs of multiplication and division require the second nominal to be a numeral or an expression of quantity which function as a manner complement:

(78) nā kasà gyāḏā kashī gōmā

I divided up the groundnuts into ten piles.

(79) zā mù ninkà wannan takārdā biyu

We are going to fold this piece of paper into two.

(Furniss, 1991: 75)

## 2.5 Conclusion

In this section, I described verbal phrases not followed by any complements and those followed immediately by one or two complements. In the first case the absence of the object following the verb indicates that the verb is intransitive or it is transitive or efferential but because of some reasons its object is not phonologically realised. Some syntactic markers may help us in distinguishing these phrases. Ending vowels *-u* and *-a* indicate

intransitivity, A-form of the grade 2 verbs, i.e. ending vowel *-ā* together with the tone pattern LH(L), indicates transitivity while the verbs with final consonant *-r* must be efferential. But in case of many verbs belonging to grades 1, 4, 6 there are no obvious markers, and as long as we do not know the context in which phrases containing these verbs occur we may not be able to state if the sentence is intransitive or transitive. And so the phrase *yā wucē* may be translated into two ways 'he passed' or 'he overtook (it)' and nothing in the verbal structure indicates which interpretation would be correct.

Markers of the verbs followed by an object or complement are encoded in the verbal ending, the tone pattern and the requirements of a particular verb. In the case of accusatives, the verbal structure changes according to the type of direct object. The B-form of a verb is a very clear marker of the syntactic accommodation. Although in the case of some grades it may be identical with the A-form of the verb, contrarily to the A-form it always co-occurs with a set of direct object pronouns. These pronouns are also markers of the syntactic accommodation as they must follow the verb immediately, and they form one tonal pattern with the verb. The C-form is also an exponent of syntactic accommodation indicating occurrence of the nominal object. The pre-dative suffix or D-form occurs only before indirect object. Changes of the verbal structure are relevant only in the case of one-object verbs. The second complement, when it occurs in a phrase, has no influence on the morphology of the verb. Its syntactical status may be decoded through the valence of particular verb. Similar, the only way of decoding the role of complements following intransitives is to know syntactic requirements of the particular verb. These requirements play an important role when there are no overtly marked exponents of the syntactic accommodation (morphology and tone pattern of intransitives remains unchanged regardless of the type of the following complement). The verb specifies a lexical category of complements (NP or VN/DN), its thematic role and semantic classes of nouns representing complements (place-noun, abstract noun, animate noun, etc.).

### 3. Prepositional exponents of syntactic accommodation

In the previous section I described the markers of syntactic accommodation encoded in the verb. In this section I will show prepositional syntactic markers: *dà*, *wà*, *gà* and locative prepositions: *à*, *dàgà*, *zuwà*, *ta*. All of them define the syntactic function of objects or complements. Some of them may have different syntactic functions while others are unifunctional.

#### 3.1 *Dà as an exponent of syntactic accommodation*

The preposition *dà* is often used as a linker between the verb and its object or complement. Its occurrence is conditioned by syntactic requirements and usually does not cause any change of the meaning. Contrary to other prepositional syntactic markers, its function is not homogenous.

##### 3.1.1 *Dà as an efferential marker of grade 5 verbs*

*Dà* as a syntactic marker co-occurs with efferential grade 5 verbs<sup>11</sup>. It appears straight after the verb which is followed by an object (80), (81). In A context, when no object follows the verb, the preposition *dà* can never be used (24):

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<sup>11</sup> Grade 5 verbs are quite peculiar in the Hausa verbal system. Their morphology and syntax differ from the morphology and syntax of the other verbs. They have a unique verbal term -VC, namely: *-ar* or *-as*. Some of these verbs have two morphologically different but semantically the same forms: *sayar (dà)* = *sai (dà)* 'sell', *tsayar (dà)* = *tsai (dà)* 'put down', *mayar (dà)* = *mai (dà)* 'return'. All their syllables carry a high tone and this tone pattern does not change according to various syntactic conditions. In a segmental structure one can distinguish the following morphological forms depending on the object:

- |  |                            |
|--|----------------------------|
| a) dōkĩ nē dà mukà sayar                                 | This is the horse we sold. |
| b) mun sayar dà shī =<br>mun saishē shì = mun sai dà shī | We sold him.               |
| c) mun sayar dà dōkĩ =<br>mun sai dà dōkĩ                | We sold the horse.         |

(80) *munà sayar dà dōkī*                      We are selling the horse.

(81) *yā mayar dà shī*                      He turned it.

Grade 5 verbs have an alternative form with *-shē* suffix which introduces the complement without *dà*<sup>12</sup>. The use of the suffix is limited within this group of verbs to one syntactic environment, i.e. occurrence of pronominal object after the verb. This limited use makes this suffix one of the clearest markers of the syntactic accommodation in the Hausa verbal system:

(82) *sun fisshē shī*<sup>13</sup>                      They took him out.

The preposition *dà* seems to be integrated with the grade 5 verbs. But it does not appear in many syntactical environments. I have already mentioned some of them, i.e. after *-shē* suffix or when no object follows the verb. It happens also that a preposition *dà* is omitted because a pronominal object follows it, even if the verbal ending remains unchanged:

(83) *abindà ya sabkar shī*      ...the events that led to his fall from power  
(Abdoulaye, 1996: 120)

In many Hausa dialects, the characteristic feature of the grade 5 verbs is the presence of the consonant *-s* that plays the same role as the suffix *-ar* in standard Hausa: it is an efferential marker. These dialects do not use the preposition *dà* as an element linking the predicate with an object. The following examples from the Guddiri and Ader dialects illustrate this phenomenon:

(84) a) *nā saishē tà dà wuri*                      I sold it early.

b) *yāu nā saisi kāyānā dà wuri*                      Today I sold my goods early.

(Newman, 2000: 654)

(85) *nā saisà dōkī*                      I sold the horse.

(Caron, 1991: 27)

Preposition *dà* may be optionally deleted if an indirect object follows the verb:

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<sup>12</sup> Only those grade 5 verbs whose first syllable has a short vowel and the second consonant of a verbal stem is non-velar may attach *-shē* suffix.

<sup>13</sup> If the nominal object situated after a preposition *dà* is replaced by a pronoun, it is always an independent pronoun, e.g., *yā gaisar dà ita* 'He greeted her'. But if a pronominal is situated right after the verb because it takes *-shē* suffix, it is expressed by direct object pronouns.

Many scholars broadly discussed the role of the preposition *dà* occurring after the efferential grade 5 verbs. Some treated this preposition as an integral part of the verb while the others believed it was just a syntactic marker. Abraham represents the first ones. He describes *dà* as a verb suffix disappearing when the verb stands in an isolated position. According to this rule, in his dictionary (Abraham 1962) grade 5 verbs are always quoted together with *dà* preposition. Abdoulaye shares similar opinion (1996: 119). He thinks that preposition *dà* is a characteristic exponent of the grade 5 verbs while the verbal ending *-ar* is just a possessive linker between an inherent verbal stem and *dà* preposition. He supports his point of view with such arguments: preposition *dà* appears obligatorily between the verb and its object, especially a nominal object. Formal variants of the grade 5 verbs (e.g., *gai dà = gaisar dà* 'greet') reject the suffix *-ar* keeping just *dà* preposition. Efferential constructions of grades 1, 4, 6 verbs use only *dà* preposition as their efferential marker. Newman (2000: 657) presents quite a different view. According to him, *dà* is not a part of the verb. This preposition appears when the syntactic structure demands it. As a proof he quotes the sentence: *àkuyā kām yā sayar ta* 'this is a goat he sold (it)' which is grammatically correct unless there is no *dà* preposition following the verb. He believes that *dà* is not a preposition carrying any semantics. It is not an efferential marker of grade 5 verbs, either. It is an empty morpheme and this is a process of morphological adaptation of verbs with final consonant that caused its occurrence. I think that the preposition *dà* together with *-ar* suffix is a kind of double morpheme characteristic of the grade 5 verbs. The *-ar* suffix has only one function: it is a marker of efferentiality as a semantic category. Apart from serving as an efferential marker, the preposition *dà* functions as a syntactic marker which appears only if there is an object following the verb. Even if one of these morphemes (*-ar* or *dà*) is omitted within a phrase its efferential meaning is still clear:

(87) *mě sukà fitar?*

What did they take out?

(88) *Abdù yā mai dā kēken Āli*

Audu returned Ali's bike.

(Newman, 2000: 657; Abdoulaye, 1996: 115)

However, the omission of both morphemes, i.e. *dà* and *-ar* within the same verbal phrase, in each case would lead to ungrammaticality:

- |                              |                         |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (89) *tā sai wà Audù kèkentà | She sold Audu her bike. |
| (90) *Bintà tā gai mù        | Binta greeted us.       |

### 3.1.2 *Efferential constructions of grades 1, 4, 6 verbs*

*Dà* is an element introducing the object after grade 1, 4, 6 verbs forming efferential constructions:

- |                                   |                               |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (91) yā aikà dà kwallō cikin rāgā | He shot the ball at the goal. |
| (92) yā shigō dà mōtā à hankālī   | He drove the car carefully.   |

On the one hand, *dà* as the only marker of efferentiality is used obligatorily in every syntactic context. On the other hand, the preposition *dà* is a syntactic element introducing the complement, thus it cannot be left alone at the end of the phrase. It must be firmly tied up with a nominal or pronominal complement. These restrictions lead to the conclusion that efferential grade 1, 4, 6 verbs cannot be used without a complement. The latter cannot be omitted even if it is known from the context. When the complement is topicalized and left dislocated, its pronominal ‘trace’ appears obligatorily after the verb:

- |   |                                       |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| (93) a) Abdù yā wucè dà kèke cikin gidā   | Abdu put a bike into his house.       |
| b) kèke nè Abdù ya wucè dà shī cikin gidā | It is a bike Abdu put into his house. |

(Abdoulaye, 1996: 141)

After the continuous TAM, the weak verbal noun with nominalization suffix *-wā* precedes the preposition *dà*<sup>14</sup>:

- |                             |                         |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| (94) yanā aikèwā dà takārdā | He is sending a letter. |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|

The relation between a verb and its object introduced with *dà* preposition is strong enough not to let any constituent (an indirect object is an exception) enter between them:

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<sup>14</sup> However, the grade 6 efferential verbs can be used in the finite form after the continuous TAM., e.g., sunā bullō dà *dābārā* ‘They are introducing a plan’.



- (95) \*yâra sun wucè cikin zaurè dà kāyā      The kids brought the goods into the entrance.  
(Abdoulaye, 1996: 130)

### 3.1.3 Sociative verbs

Some verbs belonging to different grades require using the preposition *dà* as an obligatory element linking the predicate with a complement. They are called sociative verbs (Newman, 200: 689; Abdoulaye 1996). In such case the preposition *dà* may be semantically empty or it may express a concrete meaning 'with':

- (96) shī nè ya kulà dà sū      It is he who took care of them.  
(97) iyàyentà sukà hàdu dà hatsàrin mōtā      Her parents had a car accident.

From the syntactic point of view, the preposition is tied up with the following nominal phrase. Together, they form a constituent which may be separated from the verb:

- (98) dà kàramar mātārshī nè Abdù ya ràbu      It is his younger wife that Abdu divorced.

With some sociative verbs referred to as 'mental verbs' the preposition *dà* is semantically empty and its deletion is admissible, e.g.,

- (99) nā tunà dà shī = nā tunà shi      I remember him.  
(Abraham 1962: 900)

With other sociative verbs it is used obligatorily and its omission results in ungrammaticality (if a verb is intransitive) or in change of meaning (if a verb is transitive), e.g.,

- (100) a) Abdù yā shiryà dà Āli      Abdu reconciled with Ali.  
b) Abdù yā shiryà Āli      Abdu got Ali prepared/ready (for something).  
(Abdoulaye, 1996: 128)

After the continuous TAM the sociative verb is replaced by a weak verbal noun or particle with final *-ē*, e.g.,

- (101) yanà kulāwā dà mutānensà      He looks after his own people.  
(102) tanà rikē dà jinjirī kàramī      She is carrying a small baby.

### 3.1.4 Instrumental constructions

Preposition *dà* can be a marker of the instrumental case. *Instrumentalis* introduced with *dà* can appear directly after intransitive verbs:

(103) *yā ɓarkè dà kūkā*                      He burst into tears.

(104) *yā shēkè dà dāriyā*                      He burst out laughing.

As we can see from these examples intransitive verbs together with instrumental case form fixed phrases. The possibility of replacing particular elements of these phrases with another ones is very restricted or even impossible.

*Instrumentalis* can be tied up with transitive verbs. In such cases it follows a direct object:

(105) *kadà yā dāmē shì dà tàmbayà*                      He should not bother him  
with questions.

(106) *Kābirù yakè bin Lārai dà kallō*                      Kabiru is following Larai  
with his sight.

### 3.2 *Wà as a dative marker*

*Wà / mā*<sup>15</sup> particle is a syntactic marker of the indirect object. In comparison with other Hausa prepositions *wà* has a fixed role. Parsons (1957) believes it is a marker of dative case. Abdoulaye calls it 'independent particle', which is added next to a verb and is followed by the applied nominal phrase. This nominal phrase behaves syntactically just like a direct object and semantically it can be a possessor, a benefactive, a malefactive, and an affected locative (Abdoulaye, 1996: 132). Indirect object may be replaced only by indirect object pronouns<sup>16</sup>:

(107) *yā biyā masà kuɗin kàràtū*                      He paid for his studying.

(108) *tā gayà musù wànnan làbārē*                      She told them this news.

Indirect object is situated straight after the verb, before the direct object. *Wā* particle is so strongly tied up with the predicate

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<sup>15</sup> *Mā* is a dialectal version of *wà*.

<sup>16</sup> Indirect object pronouns are formed with *ma* particle with a high tone and possessive pronouns. However, the consonant of the particle usually becomes the same as the consonant of the suffixed pronoun, e.g., *manì>mini* (1sg), *masù>musù* (3pl).



*Wà* is not the only marker of the indirect object. It coexists with a transformation of morphological structure of the verb which takes the D-form or the pre-dative suffix<sup>17</sup> (see: 2.2.3).

### 3.2.1 *Gà as a contextual variant of wà*

The exponent of the indirect object *wà* may be sometimes replaced with the preposition *gà* 'to', 'regarding to', 'for', 'on'. Complements introduced with *gà* are situated after the direct object:

(118) sun kāwō littāfinsù *gà* Audù They brought books for Audu.

(Furniss, 1991: 66)

When followed by a pronominal object, *gà* changes its form to *gārē*:

(119) sun kāwō littāfinsù *gārē* ni They brought books for me.

(Furniss, 1991: 66)

Pronoun *gà* is used interchangeable with *wà* in most Hausa dialects in the function of an indirect object marker. It is often used when an indirect object is an extended phrase and it is better to put it at the end of a phrase with *gà* marker to clarify the meaning of the sentence:

(120) yā aikè sàkon tà'āziyyarsà *gà* mutānen wānnan *gārī* dà kuma  
wadānda sukā fitō nēsà

He sent a letter of condolence to the habitants of this town and  
to those who came from afar.

### 3.2.2 *Dative verbs*

The term 'dative verbs' applies to those verbs whose object semantically functions as a Patient but syntactically is expressed as an indirect object. This class includes irregular verbs *cim mà* 'overtake', *im mà* 'control' which have *mà* rather than *wà* indirect

<sup>17</sup> In the case of some grade 2 verbs it is not enough to add the pre-dative suffix, but it is necessary to switch to another grade, namely grade 1 (Newman, 2000: 534), e.g.,

a) zā mù nēmi aikì We will seek work.

b) zā mù nēmà wà àbōkinkà aikì We will seek work for your friend.

object marker, as well as some regular verbs mostly the grades 1 and 4 verbs: *amìncē* ‘trust’, *bâutā* ‘worship’:

(121) *yā cim mà bŭrinsà*                      He achieved his goal.

(122) *yanā bâutā wà iskōkī*                He worships spirits.

(Newman, 2000: 689)

### 3.3 Locative prepositions

Locative prepositions function as syntactic markers of the place nouns. They mostly appear after locative verbs but they can also appear after a direct object of regular transitive verbs with directional meaning, e.g.,

(123) *giwa tā dikāka zūwà kògī don shan rūwā*

The elephant approached the river to drink water.

Locative complement (locative preposition + NP) may consist of the following elements: preposition, space noun and place noun (Pawlak, 1986: 4):

(124) *tā tsayā à tsakar gidā* She stopped in the middle of the house.

|             |       |       |
|-------------|-------|-------|
|             |       |       |
| preposition | space | place |
|             | noun  | noun  |

The space noun is linked with the place noun with a short form of a genitive particle, namely *-r* or *-n*, e.g., *gēfēn hanyā* ‘road’s edge’. Some space nouns require markers other than the genitive particle, i.e. prepositions *dà* or *gà*, e.g., *kusa dà bishiyā* ‘close to the tree’. So the scheme of a verbal phrase is the following:

|   |   |   |   |                |   |                   |   |                |
|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|-------------------|---|----------------|
| V | + | P | + | N (space noun) | + | <i>-n/-r (dà)</i> | + | N (place noun) |
|   |   |   |   | NP             |   |                   |   |                |
|   |   |   |   | PP             |   |                   |   |                |

The locative preposition is a part of the prepositional phrase which is a locative complement. This complement is strongly tied up with the verb. The verb requires a specific preposition to be used and decides which preposition should be used obligatorily and which can be omitted.

Locative prepositions are connected with locative verbs. However, in most cases there is no need to use them after a locative

verb because the information about the direction is encoded within the verb, e.g., *tàfì* 'go to', *tsayã* 'stop somewhere'. In some syntactical contexts, the pronoun is essential for the construction. It occurs when we want to change the direction encoded in the verb. Verbs like *fitō* 'go out', *dāwō* 'come back', *tahō* 'go and come back', linked with a direction 'towards', require using of locative pronouns when this direction is changed:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (125) <i>yā fitō dāgà cikin mōtā</i>            | He got out from the car.                    |
| (126) <i>yanā tahōwā dāgà gidan maƙwābtansā</i> | He is coming from his<br>neighbours' house. |
| (127) <i>yā dāwō dāgà aikì</i>                  | He came back from<br>work.                  |

Locative pronouns often appear after verbs expressing a state, like *kwàntā* 'lie down', *zaunā* 'sit down'. Although the pronoun *à* 'at', 'on' is encoded in their semantic structure and its use is not obligatory, it is preferable to put this pronoun after the verb:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (128) <i>yanā tsayē à gēfèn mōtār</i>  | He is standing at the car.                 |
| (129) <i>sukā zaunā à bākin bukkār</i> | They are sitting at the edge<br>of a tent. |

The locative preposition appears when a verb and a locative complement are separated from each other by an extended phrase. In such case, leaving a locative complement without a preposition may lead to difficulties in interpreting the sentence:

- (130) *tā aikā dà kwāfen wannān wāsīkà zuwā gā shùgàbànnin  
jàm'iyyār*  
She sent a copy of this letter to the leaders of the political party.

The locative preposition may optionally occur after some transitive, locative verbs. The verb takes the C-form.

- (131) *nā gābāci zūwā masallācī* I approached the mosque.  
(Pilszczikowa, 1969: 32)

Some verbs describing an action connected with a specified direction are tied up with locative prepositions:

- (132) *nā tsiyāyi rūwā dāgà būtā* I poured out some water from the  
kettle.  
(133) *an angāzā yārō à rīgìyā* A boy was pushed into a well.

(Pilszczikowa, 1969: 76, 67)

In the above examples, locative complements introduced with prepositions are a part of the verbal piece. They are necessary for a full semantic and syntactic realisation of a verbal phrase. For example, the verb *angàza* 'push somebody somewhere' requires two objects: semantic Patient and Locative. If we would like to omit the second object and express the idea of pushing somebody without stating the direction into which the action was done, we would use another verb *àngazà* 'push somebody' for example: *an àngàjī mùtum har yā yi tàgà tagā* 'The man was pushed in such a way that he lost his balance'. Some of these directionally oriented verbs may be linked with two locative prepositions. Each of these prepositions specifies the meaning of a verb in a slightly different way:

(134) a) *yā kōri awākī zūwà makīyāyā*    He drove the goats to  
pasture.

b) *yā kōri awākī dàgà lambu*    He drove away the goats  
from the garden.

(Pilszczikowa, 1969: 36)

### 3.4 Conclusion

In phrases described in this section, the most important marker of the syntactic accommodation is the preposition. Taking into account its kind and its position in a phrase let us display the role of the complement it is connected with. We can divide phrases containing a preposition into two groups. In the first group the preposition is the only marker of the syntactic accommodation. Although the verb requires the use of a preposition, the latter is syntactically tied up with the following nominal phrase. Together, they form a prepositional phrase which, as a constituent, can be moved away from the verb:

(135) *à gadō nē takē zàunē*    This is a bed he is sitting on.

(136) *dà uwarsà nē ya kulà*    This is his mother he took care of.

The second group of verbs contains efferentials and pre-dative verbs followed by *wà* preposition. In this group, in most cases, prepositions (i.e. *dà* and *wà*) are not the only markers of the syntactic accommodation; they co-occur with changes of morphological structure of the verb. The preposition is tied up with a verb rather than with a complement. The preposition and the following

complement do not form a prepositional phrase and they cannot be moved away from the verb:

- (137) \***dà mōtā** nē ya sayar      This is a car he sold.  
 (138) \***wà Audù** nē ya dafà àbinci      It is for Audu he cooked the food.

Among prepositions described in this section, *dà* is the one that plays the most various roles. It can be an efferential marker, an instrumental case marker, it can be a dummy preposition or it may have a concrete meaning 'with'. Its syntactical position is quite unstable. It may appear straight after a verb or after a direct object. It may be an obligatory element of a phrase or it may be deleted according to the context. It forms an independent constituent together with a complement or it is strictly connected with a verb. The preposition *wà* has much more stable role. Together with an applied nominal phrase, it appears just after a verb, before any other object or complement. This preposition is strongly tied up with a verb. Even if the nominal phrase it is followed by is moved, the preposition itself remains after a verb. Locative pronouns added to a nominal phrase form a locative complement. On the one hand, locative prepositions are strongly tied up with nominal phrases. Together, they compose a constituent being an independent syntactic element. On the other hand, it is the verb that requires a specified locative pronoun and decides whether this pronoun should be used obligatorily or optionally.

### *Abbreviations and symbols used in this paper*

|       |                    |
|-------|--------------------|
| HAB   | habitual aspect    |
| CONT  | continuous aspect  |
| COMPL | completive aspect  |
| FUT   | future aspect      |
| TAM   | time-aspect marker |
| Gen   | genitive marker    |
| Det   | determiner         |



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