

### Four uses of the relative marking in Hausa

#### 1. Introduction

- The relative marking in African languages: special tense/ aspect forms used in clauses with a focus structure and, sometimes, in narratives (see among others Schachter 1973, Hyman and Watters 1984, Haïk 1990, Bearth 1993).
- Relative marking in Hausa: alternate forms of the perfective and imperfective aspect when some constituent is relativized, focus-fronted or questioned, and also - for the relative perfective - in narrative contexts.

- (1) a. Duk yâarâ-n        **sun**        isa        shìgaa    makaĩantaa.  
 all   children-def   **3p-PFV**   suffice   enter   school  
 'All the children are old enough for school.'
- b. duk yâaran    dà    **su-kà**    isa        shìgaa    makaĩantaa  
 all   children   that   **3p-RP**   suffice   enter   school  
 'all the children who are old enough for school'
- (2) a. Yâara    **su-nàa**    wargii    dà    saabin    kaayan    wàasansù.  
 children   **3p-IPFV**   play   with   new   objects-of   play-of-3p  
 'The children are playing with their new toys.'
- b. Yâara    (nèe)   **su-kèe**    wargii    dà    saabin    kaaya-n    wàasa-n-sù.  
 children   cop   **3p-RI**   play   with   new   objects-of   play-of-3p  
 'It is the children who are playing with their new toys.'
- (3)    Su-wàa    (nee)   **su-kà**    isa        shìgaa    makaĩantaa?  
 pl-who   cop   **3p-RP**   suffice   enter   school  
 'Who is (are) old enough for school?'
- (4)    Sai    duk   yâaran    **su-kà**    isa        shìgaa    makaĩantaa.  
 then   all   children   **3p-SP**   suffice   enter   school  
 'Then (a time came when) all the children became old enough for school.'

- First issue: Origin of the relative marking.
- Second issue: In the general linguistic literature, relative clauses are linked either with the focus constructions (cf. Schachter 1973, Takizala 1973, Walusimbi 1976, Hyman and Watters 1984, Bearth 1993, Reintges 2003: 363, etc.), or with the topic constructions (cf. Justus 1976: 215, Schachter 1976: 500, Kuno 1976: 419, Bresnan and Mchombo 1987: 757f, etc.). What is the situation in Hausa?
- Third issue: The relative marking is used in subordinate and/or out-of-focus clauses. Why can it also be used in narrative clauses that move the story forward? Most accounts assume some similarity between focus structures and narrative (for example, for Tuller 1986 the relative marking in narratives would be motivated by an empty focus operator, see also Creissels 1991: 337, Caron 1991: 170ff, Bearth 1993: 97, 102f, Jaggat 2001: 161ff, 504, etc.).
- Proposals: (1) A presuppositional copula *kèe* is the origin of the relative marking. (2) Two varieties of scene-setting clauses separately gave rise to the relative clauses and the focus constructions. (3) The relative perfective in main clauses (narrative or dialogical discourse) is a grammaticalized simple past, which has a tense-oriented semantics, in contrast to the regular perfect(ive) or the relative perfective found in focus structures.

## 2. Copula *kèe* and nonfocus presupposition marking

Table 1: Distribution of the copulas (nonverbal contexts)

	Assertive contexts	Nonfocus presupposition	Focus presupposition
Location & derived functions	naa	--	kèe
Identification & derived functions	nee/ cee	kèe nan	kèe
Equatl./ nominal predicat.	nee/ cee	--	kèe
General 'be/ exist'	nee/ cee	(ya)-kè	kèe

### 2.1 The copula *kèe*

- Sense of *kèe*: from completing the identification of a referent previously described in absentia to a "no surprise", or an under-the-expectation-level identification.
- *Kèe* contrasts with normal identificational copula *nee/ cee*, or presentational *gàa* 'there is/are', which can identify or present a new referent to the hearer. *Kèe nan* has profiling-like secondary senses such as 'it is over/ finished!', 'this means (= Fr. *donc*)', 'that is just X!', 'soon after' where its presuppositional/ backgrounding functions still surface.

- (5) a. (Wannàn) Abdù kèe nan.  
 this Abdu be.at there  
 'This is Abdu (whom I just talked to you about).'
- b. Diyaa-taa kèe nan.  
 daughter-of.1s be.at there  
 'That was my daughter.' (hearer witnessed interaction between speaker and referent)
- c. Sakkwato dai kèe nan.  
 Sokoto indeed be.at there  
 'That's indeed Sokoto town (no matter your expectations).'
- (vs. *Sakkwato dai cèe* 'that's indeed Sokoto (not some other town)')

### 2.2 Three main types of scene-setting clauses

Table 2: Three types of scene-setting clauses (RM = rel. marking):

- The copular SSCs: [dà + *ya-kè* + clause] + main clause  
 [as it-**be** I am sick] I didn't go
- The reduced SSCs: [dà + **RM**-clause] + main clause  
 [as I am-**RM** sick] I didn't go
- The reduced, *dà*-less SSCs: Profiled-main clause + [(dà) + **RM**-clause]  
 what's wrong, [(that) you-**RM** cry]?

- Copular SSC: *-kè* as general 'be/ exist' copula, derived from the identificational (locative) *kèe* (on the development of copulas see Heine 1997: 72, 205, Devitt 1990: 103). In this construction *dà* stems from a temporal/ causal subordinator *dà* 'at, on (day, time), when'.

#### 2.2.1 The copular scene-setting clauses with *ya-kè* 'it is'

- (6) Dà ya-kè sun kaarè aiki-n an biyaa sù tun jiyà.  
 as it-is 3p.PFV finish work-def one.PFV pay 3p since yesterday  
 'As they have finished the work, they were payed since yesterday.'

- The copular SSCs allow most of the tense/ aspects in their embedded clause, except the subjunctive, the eventual, and the imperative (cf. Abdoulaye 1997: 315).

- (7) a. Dà ya-kè su-nàa zuwàa/ zaa sù zoo/ sùu zoo/ su-kàn zoo...  
 as it-is 3p-IPFV coming/ FUT-I 3p come/ 3p.FUT-II come 3p-HAB come  
 'As it is the case there are coming/ are going to come/ will come/ usually come...'
- b. \*Dà ya-kè sù zoo/ su-kàa zoo...  
 as it-is 3p.SUB come/ 3p-EVE come  
 'As it is the case that they come/ in case they come...'

### Functions of the copular SSCs

- The copular SSCs, matter-of-factly, evoke a known/ presupposed state of affairs in connection with a following, a preceding, or a concomittant state of affairs, which is asserted.
- (8) a. Bàlki taa baĩ gidaa bùudfe don yâara sunàa zuwàa.  
 Balki 3fs.PFV leave house open because kids 3p-IPFV coming  
 'Balki left the house open because the children will be coming.'
- b. Bàlki taa baĩ gidaa bùudfe tun dà yâara su-nàa zuwàa.  
 Balki 3fs.PFV leave house open since kids 3p-IPFV coming  
 'Balki left the house open since the children will be coming.'
- c. Bàlki taa baĩ gidaa bùudfe, dà ya-kè yâara su-nàa zuwàa.  
 Balki 3fs.PFV leave house open as it-is kids 3p-IPFV coming  
 'As it is the case that the children will be coming, Balki left the house open.'
- (9) a. Dà ya-kè sun zoo bàara, bana muu zaa mù tàfiyàa.  
 as it-is 3p.PFV come last.year this.year 1p FUT I 1p go  
 'As they came last year, this year it is our turn to go (visit them).'
- b. Tun dà sun zoo bàara, bana muu zaa mù tàfiyàa.  
 'Since they came last year, this year it is our turn to go (visit them).'

### 2.2.2 The reduced SSCs: First use of the relative marking

- (10) a. [Dà ya-kè Aishà ta-nàa sôn shubkà gyàdɔaa], (ai) ta-nàa saaran daajii.  
 as it-is Aishà 3fs-IPFV want plant peanuts well 3fs-IPFV cut bush  
 '[As Aisha wants to plant peanuts], she clears the bush.'
- b. [Dà Aishà ta-kèe sôn shubkà gyàdɔaa] (ai) ta-nàa saaran daajii.  
 as Aisha 3fs-RI want plant peanuts well 3fs-IPFV cut bush  
 '[As Aisha wants to plant peanuts], she clears the bush.'
- (11) a. [Dà ya-kè uwa-ĩ-tà taa daawoo], (ai) ta-nàa dàariyaa yànzù.  
 as it-is mother-of-3fs 3fs.PFV return well 3fs-IPFV laugh now  
 '[As her mother is back] she is happy now.'
- b. [Dà uwa-ĩ-tà ta daawoo] (ai) ta-nàa dàariyaa yànzù.  
 as mother-of-3fs 3fs.RP return well 3fs-IPFV laugh now  
 '[As her mother is back] she is happy now.'
- (12) a. [Dà ya-kè zaa sù koomàa kàu yèe], sun sayãr dà mootà-ĩ-sù.  
 as it-is FUT 3p return village 3p.PFV sell car-of-3p  
 '[As they will be moving to rural areas], they have sold their car.'
- b. [Dà zaa sù koomàa kàu yèe], (ai) sun sayãr dà mootà-ĩ-sù.  
 as FUT 3p return village well 3p.PFV sell car-of-3p  
 '[As they will be moving to rural areas], well, they have sold their car.'

Table 3: Regular and relative imperfective and perfective

	Imperfective (all dialects)	Relative imperf. others / west	Perfective (all dialects)	Relative perfective others / west
1s	inàa	nikèe/ nikà	naa	na/ niC
2ms	kanàa	kakèe/ kakà	kaa	ka/ kaC
2fs	kinàa	kikèe/ kikà	kin	kikà/ kinkà =kiC
3ms	yanàa = shinàa	yakèe = shikèe/ shikà	yaa	ya/ yaC
3fs	tanàa	takèe/ takà	taa	ta/ taC
1p	munàa	mukèe/ mukà	mun	mukà/ munkà
2p	kunàa	kukèe/ kukà	kun	kukà/ kunkà
3p	sunàa	sukèe/ sukà	sun	sukà/ sunkà
one	anàa	akèe/ akà	an	akà/ ankà

In identificational constructions and the copular SSCs, *kèe* is glossed as the copula 'be (at)'. In the reduced SSCs and other verbal clauses (verbal relative clauses, wh-questions, NP focus, narrative), one is dealing with tense/ aspect markers, i.e., the relative perfective/ imperfective and the simple past. For a history of *-kà* see Newman (2000: 571).

### Functions of the reduced SSCs

- Reduced SSCs are restricted to expressing presupposed and realis events with the clause in the relative perfective, the relative imperfective or the future I (and negative forms):

### 3. Development of relative clauses from copular and reduced SSCs

- (13) a. àbincin dà yakè yâara bâa su cii  
 food-def that 3ms-be chikdren neg.IPFV 3p eat  
 'the food that children don't eat'
- b. àbinci-n dà yâara bâa su cii  
 food-def that chikdren neg.IPFV 3p eat  
 'the food that children don't eat'
- (14) a. wa-d-dà ta-kè taa san aiki-n sòosai  
 one-def-that 3fs-be 3fs.PFV know work-def well  
 'the one who knows the job well'
- b. wa-d-dà ta san aiki-n sòosai  
 one-def-that 3fs.RP know work-def well  
 'the one who knows the job well'
- (15) mutàanee wadà-n-dà a-kà gayyadoo  
 people ones-def-that one-RP invite  
 'the people that were invited'  
 (cf. *mutàanee wad'andà sukè an gayyadoo sù*)

- Copular SSCs > copular CSCs > copular RCs  
 Reduced SSCs > reduced CSCs > reduced (and regular) RCs
- Development of the relative clauses both at the functional and the formal level.

#### 3.1 From parenthetical SSCs to Constituent-Specifying Clauses (CSCs)

- (16) a. Dà ya-kè (kai) kaa kaarè aiki-n-kà, ka-nàa iyà tàfiyàa.  
 as it-is 2ms 2ms.PFV finish work-of-2ms 2ms-IPFV can go  
 'As it is the case you have finished your work, you can go.'
- b. Kai, dà ya-kè kaa kaarè aiki-n-kà, ka-nàa iyà tàfiyàa.  
 2ms as it-is 2ms.PFV finish work-of-2ms 2ms-IPFV can go  
 'You, as it is the case you have finished your work, you can go.'

c. Kai dà ka-kè kaa ƙaarè aiki-n-kà, ka-nàa iyà tàfiyàa.  
 2ms as 2ms-is 2ms.PFV finish work-of-2ms 2ms-IPFV can go  
 'You having finished your work, you can go.'

d. Kai dà ka ƙaarè aiki-n-kà, ka-nàa iyà tàfiyàa.  
 2ms as 2ms.RP finish work-of-2ms 2ms-IPFV can go  
 'You being the one having finished his work, you can go.'

- (16a): A normal copular SSC serves as background to the main clause. Its subject need not be sentence topic.
- (16b): The copular SSC is preceded by the sentence topic *kai* '2ms'. The SSC is ambiguous between characterizing the topic and serving as the background to the main clause.
- (16c): The pronoun in the "SSC" agrees with the topic *kai*, and the intonationally integrated Constituent Specifying Clause (CSC) specifies the topic and puts it in emphasis.
- (16d): The reduced CSC (intonationally integrated) specifies the topic and puts it in contrast: the sentence singles out an individual from a set, who validates the predication in the CSC.

### 3.2 CSCs with otherwise unidentifiable constituents: A case of relative clauses

(17) a. Wa-d-dà ta-kè taa ƙaarè aiki-n-tà ta-nàa iyà tàfiyàa.  
 one-f-that 3fs-is 3fs.PFV finish work-of-3fs 3fs-IPFV can go  
 'The one who has finished her work can go.'

b. Wa-d-dà ta ƙaarè aiki-n-tà ta-nàa iyà tàfiyàa.  
 one-f-that 3fs.RP finish work-of-3fs 3fs-IPFV can go  
 'The one who has finished her work can go.'

- The unspecific pronoun *wàa* cannot appear alone as topic. In (17a-b) the CSCs specify, identify, and put the pronoun in contrast: the sentence is used in a context where other persons exist that potentially would not have finished their work. These CSCs are RCs.

(18) a. Yàara, dà ya-kè sun isa shigaa makaĩantaa, an ƙubùutaa su.  
 kids as it-is 3p.PFV suffice enter school one.PFV write 3p  
 'The children, as they are old enough for school, were registered.'

b. Yàara, dà su-kà isa shigaa makaĩantaa, an ƙubùutaa su.  
 kids as 3p-RP suffice enter school one.PFV write 3p  
 'The children, as they are old enough for school, were registered.'

c. Yàaran dà su-kè sun isa shigaa makaĩantaa an ƙubùutaa su.  
 kids that 3p-be 3p.PFV suffice enter school one.PFV write 3p  
 'The children that are old enough for school were registered.'

d. Yàaran dà su-kà isa shigaa makaĩantaa an ƙubùutaa su.  
 kids that 3p.RP suffice enter school one.PFV write 3p  
 'The children that are old enough for school were registered.'

- (18a-b): With parenthetical SSCs, a topic noun must be independently identifiable.
- When an otherwise identifiable noun is followed by a CSC, it gets more specification, sometimes with emphasis: Speaker A: *Abdù yaa cèe yàa tànyee ni* 'Abdu said he will help me'; Speaker B *habàa, Abdùn dà ya tàfi Kanò!* 'come on, which Abdu, who is gone to Kano!'; *Allàn dà ya yii shì yaa àmshee shì* 'the God that created him took him back'; *hùulaĩ nàan dà Bintà ta baa ni kyàutaa taa fi sauran huulunàanaa* 'this cap that Binta gave me as a present is better than all my other caps.'
- (18c-d): The CSCs specify, identify, and contrast an unidentifiable noun, i.e., they are RCs.

Table 4: Interaction between identifiability and the SSCs/ CSCs

	Copular SSCs (free)	Reduced SSCs (free)	Copular CSCs (Integrated)	Reduced CSCs (Integrated)
Personal pronouns	SSCs	SSCs	Topic specifying (emphasis)	Topic specifying (emphasis/contrast)
Identified nouns	SSCs	SSCs	Topic specifying (emphasis)	Topic specifying (emphasis/ contrast)
Pronoun <i>waa</i>	--	--	RCs (identification)	RCs (identification)
Unidentified nouns	--	--	RCs (identification)	RCs (identification)

- (19) a. Giiwa-ĩ dà mu-kà ganii gidan kalloo ta-nàa dà girmaa.  
 elephant-def that 1p-RP see zoo 3fs-have bigness  
 'The elephant we saw in the zoo is big.'
- b. Mâce-n dà ta zoo jiyà taa kaawoo sàakoo dàgà Lòme.  
 woman-def that 3fs.RP come yesterday 3fs.PFV bring message from Lome  
 'The woman who came yesterday brought a message from Lome.'

#### 4. Development of out-of-focus clauses from reduced, *dà*-less SSCs

- The reduced SSCs appear in a variety of specialized emphatic/ contrastive contexts where the copular SSCs are not used: Supplying an explanation for a given event, suggesting a reason for a given event with a yes/ no question, inquiring about the reason for a given event with an information question, directing hearer's attention to a situation adversative to or consistent with a current activity (the given event), etc. In some cases the subordinator *dà* is omissible.
- (20) a. Dà ki-kèe yaawò dà ita, bàkì san ba bàa ta laafiyàa?  
 as 2fs-RI walk with 3fs neg.PFV 2fs know neg neg.IPFV 3fs healthy  
 'Don't you know that she is sick, for you to walk around with her?'  
 (= *Bàkì san ba bàa ta laafiyàa, (dà) kikèe yaawò dà ita?*)
- b. Dà ki-kèe gudùu, laafiyàa?  
 as 2fs-RI running healthy  
 'What happened, for you to be running like this?'  
 (= *Laafiyàa, (dà) kikèe gudùu?*, vs. *don mèe kikèe gudùu?* 'why are you running?')
- c. Dà ka-kè nan tsàye, mèe ka-kèe sòo?  
 as 2ms-be there standing what 2ms-RI want  
 'What do you want, standing there?'  
 (= *Mèe kakèe sòo, (dà) kakèe nan tsàye?*)
- d. Ka-nàa ganin hadarii (kuma) ka-kèe fiddoo kaayaa.  
 2ms-IPFV see storm and 2ms-RI take.out wares  
 'You see the storm (coming) and yet you are getting the wares out!'  
 (= *Kakèe fiddoo kaayaa kanàa ganin hadarii!*)
- In emphasis (cf. (20a-c)), the subordinator *dà* is most readily dropped if the SSC follows the assertion clause. In the contrastive context (20d), the subordinator is normally always omitted.
  - Sometimes, the profiled clause may fit as a constituent in the SSC. In this case, the *dà*-less version looks like an "extraction" constituent focus (and the profiled clause contrasts with similar unnamed clauses, not the SSC):
- (21) a. Dà su-kà maidoo ma-kà kaayaa, don kà sauyàa ma-sù (nee).  
 as 3p-RP return to-2ms wares because 2ms.SUB exchange to-3p cop  
 'As [reason] they returned the wares to you, it was for an exchange.'

b. Don kà sauyàa ma-sù (nee), dà su-kà maidoo ma-kà kaayaa.  
 because 2ms.SUB exchange to-3p cop as 3p-RP return to-2ms wares  
 'As [reason] they returned the wares to you, it was for an exchange.'

c. Don kà sauyàa ma-sù (nee) su-kà maidoo ma-kà kaayaa.  
 because 2ms.SUB exchange to-3p cop 3p-RP return to-2ms wares  
 'It is in order that you exchange them that they returned the wares to you.'  
 (cf. *sun maidoo makà kaayaa don kà sauyàa masù*  
 'they returned the wares to you so that you to exchange them')

- Sentences (21a-b) are made up of two subordinate clauses, well separated by a pause. The asserted clause in (21a) is more emphatic than it is the case in (21c).
- (21c): The two clauses are intonationally integrated and the subordinator *dà* is obligatorily omitted. This sentence is also a typical constituent focus construction in Hausa.
- When simple phrases referring to events/ entities are emphasized or contrasted, only the "extraction", *dà*-less constituent focus constructions are attested. Again, the profiled events/ entities contrast not with their presupposed clause, but with similar unnamed events/ entities:

(22) a. Shaarè d'aaki-n (nee) na yi d'azu.  
 sweep room-def cop 1s.RP do a.while  
 'Cleaning the room is what I did a short while ago.'  
 (cf. *naa shaarè d'aaki d'azu* 'I cleaned the room a while ago')

b. Dambe a-kèe yîi nan yanzu.  
 boxing one-RI do there now  
 'It is boxing matches that are being held there nowadays.'  
 (cf. *anàa dambe nan yanzu* 'boxing matches are being held there nowadays')

c. Ita (cèe) ta tàfi gàrii. d. Waa-cee cèe ta tàfi gàrii?  
 3fs cop 3fs.RP go town who-f cop 3fs.RP go town  
 'It is she who went to town.' 'Who is it who went to town?'  
 (cf. *taa tàfi gàrii* 'she went to town')

## 5. Conclusion

- The relative marking in Hausa, as appears in reduced SSCs, out-of-focus clauses, and relative clauses, derives from the copula *kèe*, which marks nonfocus presupposition.
- Typical relative clauses in Hausa specialized as identificational devices out of the Constituent Specifying Clauses that emphasize or contrast their head NP.
- "[Focused Constituent] + [Out-of-focus clause]" constructions in Hausa developed from "[Clause 1] + [Clause 2]" constructions, where [Clause 1] is highly emphasized or contrasted against [Clause 2].

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