'AND WHAT ABOUT ...?' - TOPICALISATION IN HAUSA

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1.   Introduction

This paper examines the transformational principles and operations
involved in the topicalisation, within simplex Hausa verbal sentences, of
both nominal and verbal elements.[1] Several accounts of the process of fo-
cus, also considered here, have appeared for Hausa, including major studies
by McConvell [1973] and Schachter [1966, 1973] and some references in Par-
sons [1963]. There are also a number of descriptions available of similar
phenomena in related Chadic languages, including, inter alia, Newman [1970,
1974], Schuh [1971, 1972], Burquest [1973], and Hoskison [1975]. However,
apart from some rather brief reports in the latter works, in addition to
one paper by Jaggar [1976], no serious investigation of the equally impor-
tant but very distinctive feature of topicalisation has yet been published
for this group.[2]

The focus to date appears to have been on focus as it were, and the
aim of this present study is to help remedy this situation. In the first
section, the salient semantic properties of the two processes are briefly
compared. However, because topicalisation, like focus, is structurally ex-
pressed in Hausa, the burden of this analysis is concerned with the syntax
of topicalisation. In order to highlight the crucial characteristics of
topicalisation, its syntactic behaviour is contrasted with that of focus
where variations in behaviour make such a contrast illuminating and relevant

to the particular features under consideration. The purpose throughout is to illustrate the relationship between basic and derived sentences by formulating a set of rules which apply to the underlying strings and which account for the eventual surface forms. I hope, in this report, to show that the formation of the two construction types involves different T-rules and suggest a possible way of accounting for these dissimilarities.

By topicalisation I am referring to sentences of the following kind:

(1)   '(as for)[3] Bill, I saw him yesterday'

(2)   '(as for) the girl, she has run away'

As distinct from sentences (3) and (4) which illustrate focus constructions:

(3)   clefting: 'it was Bill I saw yesterday'

                    (with the possible tag '... and not John')

(4)   contrastive stress: 'the girl has run away'

                    (with the possible tag '... and not the boy')

2. Semantic Features

The feature topicalisation [+T] is introduced as an optional stylistic device available in the natural language for transformationally altering both the meaning and constituent structure of an underlying unmarked sentence. In a topic construction in Hausa some item is lifted from a neutral sentence and preposed to position before the sentence subject. The element thereby overtly marked off as a topic or theme and introduced in English by such phrases as 'as for ...' or 'and ...' is here designated the topic element. The ensuing balance will be referred to as the comment.

From a universal semantic point of view the topic element is regarded as supplying old information in the discourse or situation, and the completive comment sentence as providing new and hence more significant information regarding the topic. This should be contrasted with focus constructions where it is the focus element which normally conveys the new data and which is thus of greater communicative importance.[4] The resumptive topic element is also interpreted as being normally fully specific in reference since it is prementioned in the discourse and hence presumed to be known to the interlocutors and is sometimes structurally marked as such.[5]

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[3] Throughout this article, all optional elements, in both Hausa and English, are enclosed in parentheses.

[4] In Hausa, as in English, focussing basically indicates either the contrast of an item with another equivalent item in the discourse or the simple emphatic identification of an item.

[5] Common nouns selected as topics are optionally suffixed with the marker of previous or implied reference, the morpheme -n̄ (masc.), -r̃ (fem.), -n̄ (plural). Proper names are considered specific by definition.
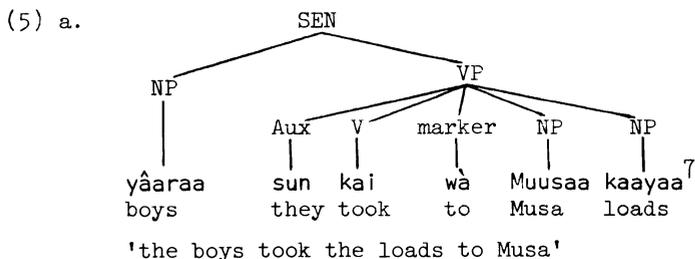
Topic constructions are contextually conditioned and occur either as responses to information questions of the type posed in the title of this paper, and with which they share certain existential presuppositions, or as the continuation of a previous discourse or narration. Examination of Hausa texts and direct work with informants reveal that topic constructions are a common feature of both declarative and narrative contexts in the language.[6]

3. Syntactic Features

Any item basically of a normal simplex sentence, whatever its function, i.e. nominal, verbal, or adverbial, may be marked [+T]. Moreover, exactly the same sentence constituents may assume the feature focus [+F]. In this respect at least, Hausa appears to be less constrained than some of its sister Chadic languages. In Tera for example, it is not possible according to Newman [1970:84] to mark either V or VP with [+F], and in Ngizim [Schuh 1972:229] only the subject may be focussed by special syntactic means. Angas, apparently, like Hausa allows any element to take the feature [+F] [Burquest 1972:31-32], and Hoskison [1975:227-34] reports that Gude allows either [+F] or [+T] of the same constituents as Hausa. Finally, in Kanakuru, Newman [1974:67] says that verbal nouns may contain [+F] since these are really nominal forms lexically related to verbs, from which I assume (?) that verbs may be marked [+F] in the language.

The operation [+T] is applied most commonly in Hausa to nominal elements in the sentence and is performed by a combination of topic preposing and then either topic deletion or pronominalisation in the comment. If, as less frequently happens, a main verb or verb phrase is selected for [+T], then the fronted element is either repeated in full in the comment, or leaves a trace in the form of a pro-verb.

Figure (5a) exemplifies the surface word order of a typical declarative verbal sentence in Hausa, Hausa being an SVO language. The main thrust of this paper is concerned with topicalisation of the constituent items illustrated in this tree diagram.

(5) a.


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                         SEN
          NP                        VP
          |              Aux   V   marker   NP      NP
       yâaraa            sun  kai   wà    Muusaa  kaayaa[7]
       boys            they took   to    Musa    loads
       'the boys took the loads to Musa'
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[6]This may be compared with Tera for example, where, according to Newman [1970:89], such constructions are unnatural in ordinary speech, though employed in story telling.

[7]Hausa has two lexical tones, high and low, plus a falling tone. The

The candidates for [+T] in (5a) include any of the constituent ele-
ments except the bound auxiliary subject pronoun. Examples (5b-f) illus-
trate the full range of possible permutations. The T-rules needed to ac-
count for these surface strings are then presented.

(5) b. NP sbj. [+T]:   yâarân [+T] (dai), sun kai wà Muusaa kaayaa

    '(as for) the boys, they took the loads to Musa'

  c. VP [+T]:   kai wà Muusaa kaayaa [+T] (dai), yâaraa sun kai (sù)

    '(as for) taking the loads to Musa, the boys took (them)'

or d. VP [+T]:   kai wà Muusaa kaayaa [+T] (dai), yâaraa sun yi (shì)

    '(as for) taking the loads to Musa, the boys did (it)'

  e. NP i.o. [+T]:   Muusaa [+T] (dai), yâaraa sun kai masà kaayaa

    '(as for) Musa, the boys took the loads to him'

  f. NP d.o. [+T]:   kaayân [+T] (dai), yâaraa sun kai wà Muusaa suu[8]

    '(as for) the loads, the boys took them to Musa'

Sentences (5b-f) have an underlying form which may be represented thus:

(6)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{SEN} \\
S^1 \quad\quad\quad S^2 \\
\text{TOPIC [+T]} \quad\quad \text{COMMENT} \\
\text{NP} \quad\quad \text{VP} \\
\text{Aux} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{marker} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{NP} \\
\Delta \quad \text{yâaraa sun kai} \quad \text{wà} \quad \text{Muusaa kaayaa}
\end{array}
$$
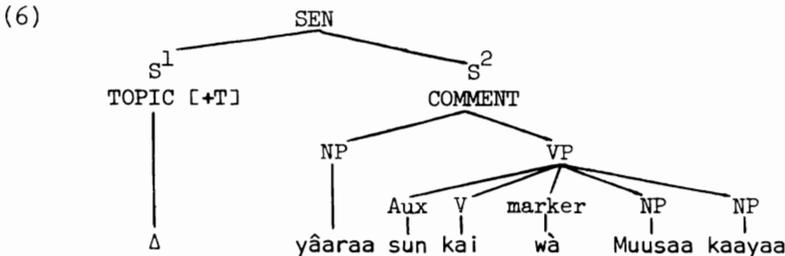
where any of the non-terminal nodes except Aux, and most typically an NP,
may be dislocated leftwards to the position dominated by the feature [+T]
which acts as both a syntactic and semantic marker and which is represented
by the dummy symbol Δ . Other appropriate transformational changes are then
triggered at the same time. The process of [+T], it is suggested, results
in the formation of two distinct sentences in the base component (see figure
(6)), S^1 being the frontshifted topic itself, and S^2 the ensuing comment

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transcription used here is based on Standard Hausa orthography, with the
addition of a grave accent (ˋ) to indicate low tones, and a circumflex (ˆ)
for falling tones. Long vowels are indicated by double letters. The first
example (a) in each set is the related basic sentence. Some of the English
glosses are more or less literal translations of the Hausa examples.

[8] The pronoun form used here is of the disjunctive set. When a direct
object pronoun follows an indirect object in Hausa, it automatically takes
the form of the disjunctive pronoun.

sentence. Syntactic, semantic, and prosodic   evidence in support of this
approach is presented later on in the report.

The above facts indicate that sentences which include an item marked
[+T] in Hausa are subject to the following T-rules:

rule T.1:   obligatorily transports the topic element leftwards to sentence
            initial position, as in (5b-f)

rule T.2:   optionally inserts one of the particles ai , àshee , dai ,
            kàm , kòo , kuma , kùwa , maa immediately to the right of
            the preposed topic element--cf. (5b-f)

rule T.3:   obligatorily retains the Aux tense-aspect--cf. (5b-f)

rule T.4a: replaces an NP topic with an anaphoric pronoun in the comment
            sentence. This reflex pronoun agrees in number and gender with
            its coreferential NP and is always either 3rd person singular
            as in (5e) or 3rd person plural if the NP is a numerical plural
            as in (5f)

rule T.4b: deletes the NP topic in the comment sentence--cf. (5b)

rule T.5:   provides that if the item chosen for [+T] is verbal, then the
            fronted V is converted into a verbo-nominal form and is then
            either repeated in full in the comment sentence (5c) or leaves
            a trace in the form of the finite pro-verb yi 'do, make' in
            the original V slot (5d)

The above, rather simplified T-rules, are examined in greater detail later
on in the study.

Precisely the same elements are susceptible of [+F] in the language,
though a number of different transformational alterations would take place
in the transition from deep to surface structure. Very briefly, and taking
(5f) as an example sentence, the corresponding rules for focus would obli-
gatorily frontshift the d.o. nominal selected, optionally insert the sta-
biliser nee in position after the preposed NP, trigger an obligatory change
in the Aux aspect marker from non-relative to relative,[9] and finally delete
the NP in the balance of the sentence, ending up with (5g):

(5) g. NP d.o. [+F]: kaayaa [+F] (nèe) yâaraa sukà kai wà Muusaa

                       'it's loads that the boys took to Musa'

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    [9]This takes place only where there is a distinction between non-rela-
tive and relative forms, i.e. the perfective and continuous aspects. In
this study, many of the Hausa examples used are in the perfective aspect,
though in fact the process of topicalisation is largely unrestricted as
regards the verbal aspects it may occur in (see Jaggar [1976:67-68]). The
stabiliser has two forms: neẹ (masc. and plural) and ceẹ (fem.). It has
tone polar to the preceding syllable.

The remainder of this paper examines, in turn, the topicalisation of nominal and verbal sentence constituents of the kind exemplified above, illustrating at the same time the productivity of the T-rules thus far formulated. The mutually exclusive rules T.4a and T.4b are of particular interest and are given special considerations since they contain conditions on their obligatory and optional application depending on the construction type.

3.1.   Topicalisation of nominal elements. Selection of nominals for [+T] is by far the most common process and has a high textual frequency in Hausa.

3.1.1.   Subject NP [+T]. The subject function is marked by its position to the left of the main verb.

(7) a.   Haliimà taa taashì

  'Halima has left'

   b.   Haliimà [+T], taa taashì

   c.   Haliimà [+T] (kùwa), taa taashì

   d.   (ita) Haliimà [+T] (kùwa), taa taashì

   e.   (ita) Haliimà [+T], taa taashì

   f.   Haliimà [+T] (kùwa), (ita) taa taashì

   g.   (ita) (kùwa) Haliimà [+T], taa taashì

   h.   Haliimà [+T], (ita) taa taashì

   i.   Haliimà [+T], (ita) (kùwa) taa taashì

  [gloss for (7b-i)] '(as for) Halima, she has left'

Sentences (7b-i) illustrate the entire collaboration of T-rules and rull range of surface permutations which are possible when an NP assumes [+T]. Furthermore, as the single English gloss indicates, all the above grammatical strings are, for all practical purposes, semantically equivalent stylistic variants and convey the same information. I hesitate to say "identical", however, for two reasons, In the first place, some informants feel that the optional presence of a reflex disjunctive pronoun as in the strings (7d-i) lends more force to the topic nominal. And secondly, when such a pronoun occurs to the right of its coreferential NP, as in (7f), (7h), and (7i), it may indicate different presuppositions by placing selective contrast on the topic, i.e. conceding the possibility that others may perform a different action.

(7b-i) reveal that when the subject NP of an unmarked sentence assumes the feature [+T], the basic word order remains unchanged and there is free alternation between replacement rule T.4a and deletion rule T.4b. This is assuming, as I do here, that the topicalisation rules reintroduce the NP in the base and then either pronominalise or erase the now redundant NP before it achieves surface realisation, thus generating such deep structure strings as "as for Halima, Halima has left."

Rule T.4a optionally operates to replace the subject NP with an ana-
phoric pronoun of the disjunctive set, either in position to the right of
the coreferential NP as in (7f), (7h), and (7i), or to the left, apposi-
tionally as it were, as in (7d), (7e), and (7g). Both backward and forward
pronominalisation are thus possible. Notice that the disjunctive pronoun
may occur either immediately before, as in (7g) and (7i), or after (7f) the
particle optionally inserted under rule T.2.

Moreover, if (7a) were subjected to a [+F] transform, we might obtain
(7j):

(7) j. (ita) Haliimà [+F] (cee) ta taashì

        'it's Halima who has left'

Cf. Ngizim and Kanakuru where a subject NP marked [+F] is postposed over V
into the predicate. In a parallel topic construction, however, Kanakuru uses
fronting apparently [Paul Newman, personal communication].

When a subject NP contains the feature [+T], and neither T.4a nor T.2
are applied, but rule T.4b is chosen as in (7b), in which Equi-NP deletion
has taken place, then the only indication of [+T], in spoken Hausa at least,
is acoustic pause in performance following the topic, indicated throughout
with a comma, and perturbation of the normal sentence downdrift.

In the language, the structural division of an utterance into a topic
and a comment seems to be a major constituent break in surface structure
and results in unusual pitch perturbation.[10] This applies whatever the sen-
tence function of the topic element. The following facts illustrate this
distinctive suprasegmental feature of topicalisation. The pitch pattern
of the neutral declarative sentence may be roughly represented as follows:

(8) a. 'yaataa zaa tà dafà ruwaa   'my daughter will boil some water'

$$\begin{bmatrix} - & - & - & & - & & \\ & & & - & & - & - & - \end{bmatrix}$$

If, however, we choose to topicalise the subject NP of (8a) ('yaataa) then
(8b), with the accompanying pitch contour, is one of the possible outcomes:

(8) b. 'yaataa [+T], zaa tà dafà ruwaa   '(and) my daughter, she will
                                              boil some water'

$$\begin{bmatrix} - & - & \# & - & & & \\ & & & & - & & \\ & & & - & & - & - & - \end{bmatrix}$$

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[10]A feature already noted by McConvell [1973:24]. For an interesting
discussion of the effect that other large surface structure breaks have on
downdrift patterns in Hausa, see Meyers [1976:Chapter 3].

As revealed by the rough auditory representation, a pause, indicated by
the symbol # , intervenes between the topic and the comment. In (8b) the
high tone first syllable of the comment (zaa) is at the same pitch as the
utterance initial high tone ('yaa) and serves to initiate a new sentence
downdrift pattern. This should be compared with (8a) where the predicate
initial high tone syllable (zaa) has a pitch somewhat lower than the sen-
tence initial high tone ('yaa), since it is part of the normal neutral down-
drift. In other words, the unusual features of acoustic pause and pitch
perturbation may be the only criteria for disambiguating such orthographi-
cally identical surface constructions, the one neutral, the other contain-
ing a topicalised subject NP.

Furthermore, the same features may also differentiate strings which
are the outcomes of different transforms, [+T] and [+F] applied to the base,
but which are again identical in surface form. Sentence (8a) for example
could itself be the result of a focus transform of the same subject NP,
'yaataa , and with the same tone contour as the neutral sentence.

The suprasegmental properties associated with the topic/comment, old
versus new data break, serve in effect as clues to the surface structure
of the utterance. Moreover, I believe that these facts lend support to
the theory that utterances in which a chosen topic is dislocated leftwards
may be analysed as consisting of two full sentences, the second of which
(the comment) is characterised by a new and separate sentence downdrift.
I shall return to this matter shortly.

If the topic element selected is equated with a constituent NP other
than the subject of the unmarked sentence, i.e. to the right of V, it is
automatically preposed over V and the subject by movement rule T.1. The
result in all cases is deviant surface word order.

3.1.2. Indirect object NP [+T]. Normally an i.o. is marked by the mor-
pheme wà/ma- and appears in immediate postverbal position.

(9) a. mun ɗankàa wà maasinjàa wàsiiƙaa

    'we entrusted a letter to the messenger'

  b. maasinjàa [+T], (ai) mun ɗankàa masà[11] wàsiiƙaa

    'the messenger, (well) we entrusted a letter to him'

(10) a. an yi wà kujèeraa fentìi

    'the chair has been painted'

  b. kujèerâr [+T] (kùwa), an yi matà fentìi

    '(and) the chair, it's been painted'

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[11]A low-level morphophonemic readjustment rule provides that the indir-
ect object marker wà , when followed by a personal pronoun, be realised as
ma- , which is the actual occurring form in the Kano dialect.

When an indirect object NP assumes [+T], replacement rule T.4a is obligatory, at least in the Kano dialect upon which this report is based, and pronominalises the right-hand NP in the comment sentence as in (9b) and (10b). Nor does the animate/non-animate dichotomy seem to affect the choice of rule here as it does when a direct object takes [+T] (see below). This choice should be contrasted with the parallel focus construction where deletion rule T.4b is obligatory,[12] resulting in (10c) where no pronominal trace appears:

(10) c.   kujèeraa [+F] (cèe) akà yi wà fentìi

       'it's the chair that has been painted'

A point worth noting here, and revealed by (9b) and (10b), is that the "exclamatory" particles ai and àshee are post-pausal, i.e. the comma pause occurs after the topic but before the particle which thus initiates a new downdrift itself (see (9b)). Furthermore, these exclamatory particles may occur to the left of the topic as may the conjunction àmmaa which can, according to Neil Skinner [private communication], be used as a topic marker. "Modality" particles on the other hand, all of which may convey slightly different meanings and presuppositions, are all prepausal. Notice too that a combination of both a modality and exclamatory particle is possible, thus:

(11) a. gidân yaa ƙoonèe

      'the house has burned down'

    b. gidân [+T] (kùwa), (àshee) yaa ƙoonèe

       '(and) the house, (well) it's burned down'

3.1.3. <u>Direct object NP [+T]</u>. The d.o. is marked by post-verbal position and morphological changes in V termination.

(12) a. mun ga yaaròn   b. yaaròn [+T] (kòo), mun gan shì

      'we saw the boy'   '(as for) the boy, we saw him'

(13) a. sun bùgi kàrên   b. kàrên [+T] (kùwa), sun bùgee shì

      'they beat the dog'   '(as for) the dog, they beat him'

(14) a. yaa wankè rìigâr   b. rìigâr [+T] (kàm), yaa wankèe ta

      'he washed the gown'   '(and) the gown, he washed it'

                      c. rìigâr [+T] (kàm), yaa wankèe

                        '(and) the gown, he washed'

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[12] My findings on this specific point are at variance with Schachter [1973:23-24] who says that pronominalisation is in fact permissible here in the "out-of-focus clause".

The above facts show that when the topic is under identity with a direct object NP the conditions on deletion or pronominalisation seem to be determined by whether the NP is of the category [+animate] or [-animate]. If the NP contains the feature [+animate] as in (12a) and (13a), then rule T.4a only may apply and fills the original direct object slot with a copy pronoun as in (12b) and (13b). If, however, the NP is [-animate] as in (14a), then either T.4a is again chosen giving (14b), or T.4b applies to zero the NP in the comment, yielding (14c). The majority of my Hausa informants still preferred pronominalisation to full NP reduction though, and some felt that a reflex pronoun added force to the referent NP [-animate].

However, if we apply [+F] to (14a), for example, then deletion rule T.4b is again compulsory, regardless of whether the NP is [+animate] or [-animate], resulting in (14d):

(14) d. rìigaa [+F] (cèe) ya wankèe

'it's a gown he washed'

The admittedly limited data so far presented clearly indicate that there are important differences in behaviour between topicalisation and focus. Of particular interest I think is the way in which the operation of NP reduction rules differs in the two processes.

The syntactic pattern which has emerged may be summarised as follows: generally speaking, if a nominal of whatever sentence function is marked [+T] and so dislocated leftwards, it is then preferably and in most cases obligatorily pronominalised in the comment sentence. If, however, the same left-hand element corresponds to the focus of the sentence, then it is deleted in the out-of-focus clause. What then, we must ask, are the conditions which determine these varying rules, and how can these dissimilarities be adequately characterised and accounted for?

The explanation, I suggest, is not to be found in the specific grammatical function of the NP as Schachter [1973:23] proposed for focus constructions at least. Rather it is to be found in the fact that the topic/comment dichotomy constitutes a major break in structure and serves in effect to divide the utterance into two distinct sentences. In other words, the preposed topic is not part of the prime sentence in deep structure but a full sentence in its own right, as illustrated in diagram (6), and so needs pronominal support in the comment sentence. On the other hand, the focus/out-of-focus dichotomy does not constitute such a major break since the focus itself remains part of the underlying sentence and hence does not require to be picked up with a trace. Full Equi-NP deletion thus takes place. These contrasting features may indeed be of a universal nature, and certainly seem to be reflected in English.

Furthermore, I think that additional evidence of a semantic nature may be cited in support of this proposal. In a focus construction the focus element carries a relatively heavy semantic load, and in supplying as it

does new data of greater communicative importance, overshadows the remainder of the sentence.[13] For this reason, there is no semantic motivation for picking it up with a reflex in the out-of-focus clause. In a topic construction on the other hand, the topic element bears a comparatively light semantic load, constituting old and hence less prominent information, and so needs to be picked up with a pronominal copy in the comment sentence.

It is suggested, therefore, that the choice between copying the topic NP in topic constructions and chopping the NP in focus constructions is governed by a combination of mainly structural but also suprasegmental and semantic factors of the kind outlined above.

3.2. <u>Topicalisation of the verb or verb phrase</u>. Attaching [+T] to V or VP is a legitimate if rather rare feature of the language. It is certainly not as natural or common as selecting V/VP to be the focus of an utterance or as the topicalisation of nominal items and has a very low textual frequency. The following sentences, however, provide pertinent and interesting examples of this feature:

(15) a. mukàn fìta wani lookàcii

     'we go out sometimes'

   b. fìtaa [+T], (ai) mukàn fìta wani lookàcii

     'going out, (well) we go out sometimes'

   c. fìtaa [+T], (ai) mukàn yi wani lookàcii

     'going out, (well) we do sometimes'

   d. fìtaa [+T], (ai) mukàn yii tà wani lookàcii

     'going out, (well) we do it sometimes'

(16) a. sun sàyi àbinci jiyà

     'they bought food yesterday'

   b. sàyen àbinci[+T] (kòo), sun sàyaa jiyà

     '(as for) buying food, they bought yesterday'

   c. sàyen àbinci [+T] (kòo), sun sàyee shì jiyà

     '(as for) buying food, they bought it yesterday'

   d. sàyen àbinci [+T] (kòo), sun yi jiyà

     '(as for) buying food, they did yesterday'

   e. sàyen àbinci [+T] (kòo), sun yii shì jiyà

     '(as for) buying food, they did it yesterday'

What we see in (15)-(16) is that when [+T] is attached to V or VP, rule

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[13]Schachter [1973:40-45] discusses this point in some detail.

T.1 frontshifts the constituent(s) and then rule T.5 applies to convert V into a verbo-nominal form. V is then either repeated in full in the comment sentence, whether intransitive as in (15b) or transitive as in (16b) and (16c)', or it leaves a copy in the form of the finite pro-verb yi , and in the original V slot, as in (15c) and (16d). In the latter case, the preposed verbal noun may be repeated with an anaphoric pronoun of the direct object set following the pro-verb as in (15d) and (16e).

A corresponding [+F] transform of (16a) would give (16f):

(16) f. sàyen àbinci [+F] (nèe) sukà yi jiyà

'it's buying food they did yesterday'

Notice that unlike [+T] transforms, V may not be repeated in full when marked [+F] but simply leaves the substitutive yi . Nor is an anaphoric element possible under [+F] as it is with [+T], a feature roughly comparable to the contrastive behaviour of nominals under the two processes.

4.   Summary and Conclusions

The main thrust of this paper has been an investigation of the scope and importance of topicalisation in Hausa, contrasting the process at the same time with the salient features of focus. I hope to have shown that the transition from deep to surface structure involves well-established but differing operations in the two constructions types and have suggested that this surface assymetry, especially with regard to NP reduction, may be accounted for on the basis of syntactic, suprasegmental, and semantic criteria. The study shows that the complex T-rules necessary to generate topic constructions are only partially identical to those needed for focus constructions. Indeed, perhaps the only consistently applied transformational rearrangement common to both processes is that the dislocated item travels leftwards to sentence initial position.

Limited space has meant that the analysis is incomplete. No consideration has been given to topicalisation within complex, equational, or existential constructions, nor to the combination and co-occurrence of these transforms. The complicated behaviour of adverbials under topicalisation has also been ignored. Nonetheless, it is hoped that the data and analysis presented here will prove useful and stimulating to scholars interested in the syntax of other Chadic languages, in particular that of emphatic transforms. Also that this paper will prompt similar research into what is, in Hausa at least, a highly distinctive and most productive process.

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