

# Chapter 4

## Reflexive constructions in Hausa

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This contribution describes reflexive constructions in Hausa (Chadic, Niger, Nigeria). The reflexive pronouns are based on the word *kâi* ‘head, self’, in a possessive construction with a person affix that is coreferential with the clause subject (or sometimes with a preceding direct object or applied object). Subject-coreferential direct objects or applied objects are almost always expressed as reflexive pronouns (with the partial exception of the direct objects of some mental/sensation verbs). Subject-coreferential possessive NPs can optionally be expressed as reflexive pronouns but with an emphasis on the possessive relation. Subject-coreferential locative, benefactive, and instrumental/associative NPs are normally expressed as non-reflexive pronouns but they can also be optionally expressed as reflexive pronouns. The chapter also describes three different constructions that are related to the typical reflexive construction and which may be relevant for an account of its development.

### 1 Introduction

Hausa (Chadic, Niger, Nigeria) generally requires a distinctive marking for coreference between a subject NP and another NP in the minimal clause, in particular when the second NP is a direct object, an applied object, and, optionally, an adnominal possessive pronoun, or the object of certain prepositions. This distinctive marking, the reflexive pronoun, is built on the noun *kâi* ‘head, self’ combined in a possessive construction with a person suffix referring to the antecedent (e.g. *kâ-n-shì* ‘himself’, lit. [self-of.M-3SG.M]). An example is given in (1).

- (1) *Yaa bugè kânshì.*  
3SG.M.COMPL hit REFL.3SG.M  
‘He hit himself.’



In sentence (1), the person/tense/aspect marker *yaa* (or ‘subject pronoun’ in Hausa linguistics) is coreferential with the person suffix *-shi*, which is embedded in a possessive construction with the noun *kâi* ‘head, self’, forming the reflexive pronoun *kânsi* ‘himself’. According to Newman (2000: 529) reflexive pronouns based on a word (ultimately) meaning ‘head’ are widespread among Chadic languages.

This chapter describes the reflexive construction in Hausa, drawing heavily on Newman (2000), who gives the most detailed and exhaustive account of the construction in the language. The chapter also relies on the translation of the questionnaire sentences (Janic & Haspelmath 2023 [this volume]), submitted to the judgment of informants (40 years old and up), as well on data from published sources or collected otherwise, as indicated. The chapter also uses sentences constructed by the author, which are then checked with other native speakers. The data are based on the Katsinanci dialect. Katsinanci was the dialect of precolonial Katsina State, the territory of which today straddles the border between the Republic of Niger (towns of Maradi and Tessaoua) and the Federal Republic of Nigeria (town of Katsina; see the map in Figure 1). It is in a central position between the two main Hausa dialectal clusters, the western and the eastern dialects, but it shares more features with the western dialects (see Wolff 1993: 7; Newman 2000: 1).<sup>1</sup>

The chapter is structured as follows. §2 gives the overview of the pronominal system in Hausa. §3–§4 describe, respectively, the coreference patterns between the subject and the direct object and those between the subject and other syntactic functions. §5 outlines the coreference patterns between non-subject NPs. §6 describes two types of self-intensifiers in Hausa. Finally, §7 discusses the word *kâi* in its usage as ‘self, oneself’ in compounds and fixed expressions.

## 2 Overview of Hausa personal pronouns

Hausa distinguishes various sets of pronouns depending on their syntactic function: the independent pronouns (with a long final vowel or with two syllables), the object pronouns with a reduced form (monosyllabic, and with a short final vowel), and the subject pronouns which combine (and are sometimes fused) with

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<sup>1</sup>The transcription in this chapter follows the Hausa orthography, with some changes. Long vowels are represented as double letters, low tone as grave accent and falling tone as circumflex accent. High tone is unmarked. The symbol ‘ɾ’ represents an alveolar trill distinct from the flap ‘r’. Final ‘ɾ’ generally assimilates to the following consonant. Written ‘f’ is pronounced [h] (or [hw] before [a]) in Katsinanci and other western dialects.

the tense/aspect markers. Some of the sets of pronouns are illustrated in Table 1 (see Caron 1991: 72ff; Newman 2000: 476ff for more details).

The independent pronouns appear in isolation, in topicalization, in nominal emphasis (e.g. *ita Maariyaa* ‘as for Maria’), or as objects of some prepositions (e.g. *dà ita* ‘with her/it’). Direct object pronouns immediately following a verb assume a reduced form with a low or a high tone, as indicated in Table 1 (the forms *shi* vs. *ya* for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine singular are free variants). Besides the regular 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup> person, the subject pronouns also have an impersonal form, with usages similar to French *on*, and for which there are no corresponding independent or direct object forms, as indicated. Since the subject pronouns are often morphologically fused with the tense/aspect markers, they are generally obligatory, whether or not a noun subject is specified in the clause.

However, possessive pronouns are the pronouns most relevant for the structure of the reflexive markers, in particular the adnominal ‘Noun-of-Pronoun’ possessive constructions, which can have both a possessive and a reflexive meaning with the noun *kâi* ‘head, self’, as seen in Table 2 for the Katsinanci dialect.

To better show the structure of the possessive constructions in Hausa, the first column of Table 2 gives the full ‘Noun-of-Noun’ constructions, where a masculine singular possessee noun (*kâi* ‘head’) combines with a masculine and a feminine possessor noun (*Abdù* and *Maariya*, respectively). In this column, the nouns are syntactically linked by a pronoun that refers and agrees in gender and number with the possessee noun *kâi* (with a feminine possessee noun, the linking pronoun would be *ta* [that.of.F], as in *mootàa ta Abdù* ‘the car of Abdu’, lit. [car that.of.F Abdu]; all plural possessee nouns use the pronoun *na*; also, the ‘Noun-of-Noun’ constructions have reduced versions *kâ-n Abdù* ‘head of Abdu’/ *mootà-r Abdù* ‘car of Abdu’ (which do not concern us here). In the second column, the noun *Abdù* is replaced with a possessive pronoun, either *shì/sà* or *yà* [SG.M] (cf. Table 1). In the full ‘Noun-of-Pronoun’ constructions of the second column, a possessive pronoun replaces the possessive noun (lit. ‘head of him/her’). These constructions are reduced in the third column in two ways: If the linking pronoun is reduced (*na* > *-n*), then the derived form is ambiguous between a possessive and a reflexive form, as indicated. If, on the contrary, it is the possessive pronoun that is reduced (*shì/sà* > *-s*) then only the possessive meaning is possible. When the variant *yà* is used, as seen in the second row of the second column, again for many speakers, the resulting reduced forms do not have a reflexive use in Katsinanci dialect, no matter the reduction pattern followed (the western dialects, which only have the *kâinâi* form, also use it as reflexive pronoun; see Caron 1991: 74; see also the discussion in §7). With the 3<sup>rd</sup> person feminine singular pronoun *tà* (in the last row of Table 2), only the linking pronoun reduction



Figure 1: Hausa language and its dialectal areas, based on Newman (2000)

Table 1: Some Hausa pronominal paradigms

Pronouns				
Person	Independent	Direct object	Completive subject	Future subject
1SG	<i>nii</i>	<i>ni/nì</i>	<i>naa</i>	<i>zaa nì/zân</i>
2SG.M	<i>kai</i>	<i>ka/kà</i>	<i>kaa</i>	<i>zaa kà</i>
2SG.F	<i>kee</i>	<i>ki/kì</i>	<i>kin</i>	<i>zaa kì</i>
3SG.M	<i>shii</i>	<i>shi/shì (ya/yà)</i>	<i>yaa</i>	<i>zaa shì/zài</i>
3SG.F	<i>ita</i>	<i>ta/tà</i>	<i>taa</i>	<i>zaa tà</i>
1PL	<i>muu</i>	<i>mu/mù</i>	<i>mun</i>	<i>zaa mù</i>
2PL	<i>kuu</i>	<i>ku/kù</i>	<i>kun</i>	<i>zaa kù</i>
3PL	<i>suu</i>	<i>su/sù</i>	<i>sun</i>	<i>zaa sù</i>
IMPRS	–	–	<i>an</i>	<i>zaa à</i>

Table 2: Attributive possessive constructions in Hausa (3<sup>rd</sup> person singular, Katsinanci dialect)

Full ‘Noun-of-Noun’	‘Noun-of-Pronoun’	
	Full	Reduced
	<i>kâi naa-shì/naa-sà</i> ‘his head’ (lit. ‘head that.of.M-3SG.M’)	<i>kâ-n-shì/kâ-n-sà</i> ‘his head, himself’
<i>kâi na Abdù</i> ‘head that.of.M Abdu’		<i>kâi-na-s</i> ‘his head’
	<i>kâi naa-yà</i> ‘his head’	<i>kâ-n-yà</i> ‘his head’ <i>kâi-nâ-i</i> ‘his head’
<i>kâi na Maariyaa</i> ‘head that.of.M Maria’	<i>kâi naa-tà</i> ‘her head’ (lit. ‘head that.of.M-3SG.F’)	<i>kâ-n-tà</i> ‘her head, herself’

is possible and the form is ambiguous between a possessive and a reflexive form. It may be noted that the reduced forms are more frequent than the full forms.

The reflexive forms in Table 2 are clearly ‘Head’ reflexives in Faltz’s (1985: 32f, 44) typology, given their composite nature incorporating a head noun, a linking pronoun, and a possessive pronoun. Nonetheless, they will be referred to as “reflexive pronouns”, following a usage now established in Hausa literature (see also Caron 1991: 74; Newman 2000: 522; Jaggar 2001: 413; but see Wolff 1993: 117 for a different label). Following a recent proposal (Wolff 1993: 117); see also Will 2019). I assume that the meaning of *kâi* as ‘self’ (instead of ‘head’) is the meaning relevant to the reflexive pronouns (see the discussion in §7). Also, to simplify the data presentation, the reflexive pronouns will be glossed globally as ‘REFL’ plus the person features (e.g. *kânshì* [REFL.3SG.M], instead of *kâ-n-shì* [self-of.M-3SG.M]). Finally, although Table 2 focuses on the 3<sup>rd</sup> person, the pronouns for all persons in Table 1 have corresponding reflexive pronouns, as we will see in the data throughout the chapter. The next section looks at subject/object coreference.

### 3 Subject and direct object coreference

In conformity with the general tendencies (see Haspelmath 2023: 8 [this volume] and references therein), sentences in Hausa with coreferring subject and direct object require – with a few exceptions – a distinctive reflexive marking. The following subsections present the basic uses of the reflexive pronouns, the contrast between exact and inclusive coreference, the contrast between extroverted and introverted verbs, and the contrast between body-part and whole-body actions.

#### 3.1 Basic uses in subject-object coreference

Nearly all transitive verbs in Hausa require the reflexive form of the direct object when it is coreferential with the subject. This is illustrated in (2).

- (2) a. *Taa yàbi kântà.*  
3SG.F.COMPL praise REFL.3SG.F  
'She praised herself.'
- b. *Ta-nàa yàbo-n kântà.*  
3SG.F-IPFV praise-of.M REFL.3SG.F  
'She is praising herself.'
- c. *Mutàanê-n sun kashè kânsù.*  
people-DEF 3PL.COMPL kill REFL.3PL  
'The men killed themselves.'
- d. *Yaa reenà kânshì.*  
3SG.M.COMPL belittle REFL.3SG.M  
'He lost confidence in himself/renounced his ambitions.'
- e. *Naa ga kâinaa cikin maduubii.*  
1SG.COMPL see REFL.1SG in mirror  
'I saw myself in the mirror.'

The sentences in (2) illustrate basic direct object structures. Notably, most Hausa researchers consider that *kântà* in the imperfective sentence (2b), where it appears formally as the “possessor” of the verbal noun *yàboo* ‘praising’, is the sentence’s direct object (it can be focused or questioned like the object of the basic verb *yàbi* ‘praise’ in (2a), but unlike true adnominal possessive nouns like *Abdù* in *gidan Abdù* ‘the house of Abdu’). Except for the verb *ga/gan/ganii* ‘see’ in (2e), the reflexive pronouns in sentences (2) are obligatory. In sentence (2c), like in its English equivalent, the men could have killed themselves deliberately

or by accident, separately or together (mutuality would require the reciprocal marking *juunaa* ‘each other’). When a non-reflexive pronoun is used as direct object, then a disjoint reference interpretation is obligatory. This is illustrated in (3).

- (3) a. *Taa<sub>1</sub> yàbee tà<sub>2</sub>*  
 3SG.F.COMPL praise 3SG.F  
 ‘She praised her.’  
 b. *Mutàanê-n<sub>1</sub> sun kashèe sù<sub>2</sub>*  
 people-DEF 3PL.COMPL kill 3PL  
 ‘The men killed them.’

Sentences (3a–3b) correspond to sentences (2a) and (2c), respectively. One may note that the reflexive pronoun, being morphosyntactically a noun, behaves like regular nouns in triggering the pre-nominal form of the verb (hence the contrast between *yàbi* and *yàbee* ‘praise’; see Newman 2000: 627 for a complete description). Besides typical direct objects, the reflexive pronouns also occur in atypical direct object positions, such as in double object constructions, or as object of complex predicates, as seen in (4–5).

- (4) a. *Taa hanà kàntà kwaanaa.*  
 3SG.F.COMPL deny REFL.3SG.F sleep  
 ‘She prevented herself from sleeping.’  
 b. *Yaa biyaa kànshì Nairàa goomà.*  
 3SG.M.COMPL pay REFL.3SG.M Naira ten  
 ‘Ali payed himself ten Nairas.’  
 (5) a. *Abdù yaa mayar\_dà kànshì waawaa.*  
 Abdu 3SG.M.COMPL return.CAUS REFL.3SG.M idiot  
 ‘Abdu turned himself into an idiot.’  
 b. *Abdù yaa maidà kànshì waawaa.*  
 Abdu 3SG.M.COMPL return.CAUS REFL.3SG.M idiot  
 ‘Abdu turned himself into an idiot.’

In sentences (4a–4b), the reflexive pronouns are dative/deprivative arguments (*hanà* basically means ‘deny’) and such arguments, when present, are the true direct objects of the verbs, not the theme arguments, which are placed away from the verb. Example (5a) illustrates a complex causative predicate, made up of the basic verb *mayà* ‘replace, repeat’ and the particle *dà* in a close-knit syntax. The

two parts can in fact merge into one word, as shown in the equivalent sentence (5b).

As reported in Newman (2000: 524), a reflexive pronoun can alternate with a coreferential non-reflexive pronoun in direct object position with verbs he characterized as ‘mental/sensation’ verbs. This is illustrated in (6–7).

- (6) a. *Naa ganee ni cikin maduubii.*  
 1SG.COMPL see 1SG in mirror  
 ‘I saw myself in the mirror.’  
 b. *Naa ga kâinaa cikin maduubii.*  
 1SG.COMPL see REFL.1SG in mirror  
 ‘I saw myself in the mirror.’
- (7) a. *Sai Bàlki<sub>1</sub> ta gan tà<sub>1/2</sub> cikin fim.*  
 The Balki 3SG.F.RP see 3SG.F in film  
 ‘Then/suddenly, Balki saw herself in the movie.’  
 (cf. *Sai Bàlki ta ga kântà cikin fim.*)  
 b. *Yâara<sub>1</sub> sun jii sù<sub>1/2</sub> cikin reediyò.*  
 children 3PL.COMPL hear 3PL in radio  
 ‘The children heard themselves on the radio.’  
 (cf. *Yâara sun ji kânsù cikin reediyò.*)

In examples (6a–6b), in the 1<sup>st</sup> person, a non-reflexive pronoun can alternate with a reflexive pronoun with the same interpretation. For the 3<sup>rd</sup> person in (7a–7b), a non-reflexive pronoun can refer to the subject or to some other participant, giving rise to a disjoint reference interpretation. The alternative sentences given with reflexive pronouns are naturally unambiguous. There are, however, some strong restrictions on the alternation. For example, Newman (2000: 524) lists 13 verbs allowing the alternation. Secondly, subject-coreference with a non-reflexive pronoun is more acceptable in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person than in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person. For example, in Katsinanci dialect, the coreferential 3<sup>rd</sup> person non-reflexive pronoun is restricted to about six verbs: *ganii* ‘see’, *jii* ‘hear, feel’, *soo* ‘want’, *sàamu* ‘find (oneself in a situation)’, *gaanèe* ‘recognize’, and *san* ‘be aware (of one’s own inclinations)’. Also, as hinted at in Newman (2000: 524), the subject-coreferential 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun is also restricted to the Completive (with an anterior value) and the perfective aspect. This is illustrated in (8).

- (8) a. *I-nàa jîi-naa dàazu à cikin reediyò.*  
 1SG-IPFV hear-of.M.1SG moment at in radio  
 ‘I was hearing myself a while ago on the radio.’

- b. *Su<sub>1</sub>-nàa jî-n-sù\*<sub>1/2</sub> dàazu à cikin reediyò.*  
 3PL-IPFV hear-of.M-3PL moment at in radio  
 ‘They were hearing them a while ago on the radio.’

Examples in (8), in the imperfective aspect, show a contrast between the 1<sup>st</sup> person in (8a), where a subject-coreferring non-reflexive pronoun is possible, and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person in (8b), where a disjoint reference interpretation of the pronoun is obligatory. These restrictions are in accordance with the general tendency whereby the 3<sup>rd</sup> person requires the reflexive marking more than the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person (for a discussion see Haspelmath 2008: 43 and references cited there).<sup>2</sup>

### 3.2 Contrast between exact and inclusive coreference

As reported in Newman (2000: 524), Hausa marks the contrast between exact coreference, e.g. between a singular subject and an agreeing singular reflexive pronoun, and inclusive coreference between a singular subject and a plural reflexive pronoun. This is illustrated in (9).

- (9) a. *Màccê-n<sub>1</sub> taa yàbi kânsù<sub>1+x</sub>*  
 woman-DEF 3SG.F.COMPL praise REFL.3PL  
 ‘The woman praised herself and the others in her group.’  
 b. *Yaa<sub>1</sub> kaarè kânsù<sub>1+x</sub> dàgà muugù-n zàrgii.*  
 3SG.M.COMPL protect REFL.3PL from serious-of.M charge  
 ‘He defended himself and the others in his group against a serious charge.’

Besides the direct object position, Newman (2000: 524) shows that the inclusive reflexive pronoun is also possible in the applied object position (see §4.1 below).

<sup>2</sup>The intransitive motion verbs *jee* ‘go’ and *zoo* ‘come’ can immediately be followed by a pronoun agreeing with the subject, a pronoun known as the Chadic ‘intransitive copy pronoun’ (the pronoun is more common in other Chadic languages; e.g. *sun jee sù makarantaa*, lit. ‘they went they to school’, see Newman 2000: 479; Jaggar 2001: 407 and references cited there). In another variant of the phenomenon, a possessive pronoun agreeing with the subject is adjoined to nominalized intransitive motion and stance verbs (e.g. *yaa koomàdawa-r-shì makarantaa*, lit. [he.COMPL returning-of-him (i.e. he returned) to school]). Reflexive pronouns are not possible in both cases.

### 3.3 Contrast between extroverted and introverted verbs

Reflexive marking in Hausa is apparently sensitive to the contrast between extroverted and introverted verbs (on this contrast see Haspelmath 2008: 44 and references cited there). With the extroverted verbs, defined as verbs expressing socially antagonistic actions, such as in Hausa *ciiji* ‘bite’, *hàlbi* ‘shoot’, etc., reflexive marking is obligatory in case of coreference. This is illustrated in (10).

- (10) a. *Kàree yaa cìiji kànshì.*  
 dog 3SG.M.COMPL bite REFL.3SG.M  
 ‘The dog bit itself.’  
 b. *Yaarinyàa taa tsàni kàntà.*  
 girl 3SG.F.COMPL hate REFL.3SG.F  
 ‘The girl hates herself.’  
 c. *Dan\_sìyaasàa yaa sòoki kànshì.*  
 politician 3SG.M.COMPL criticize REFL.3SG.M  
 ‘The politician criticized himself.’  
 d. *Soojà yaa hàlbi kànshì.*  
 soldier 3SG.M.COMPL shoot REFL.3SG.M  
 ‘The soldier shot himself.’

Besides the obligatory reflexive marking in all sentences (10), one can also note that extroverted sentences can have a simple ‘Subject + Verb + Object’ structure. By contrast, introverted verbs, defined as verbs expressing body-care actions and the like, may not appear in a simple ‘Subject + Verb + Object’ structure in their autopathic use. This is illustrated in (11).

- (11) a. *Yaròo ya-nàa [yi-n] wankaa.*  
 boy 3SG.M-IPFV do-of.M wash  
 ‘The boy was washing himself.’  
 b. *Yaarinyàa taa yi wankaa.*  
 girl 3SG.F.COMPL do wash  
 ‘The girl washed.’  
 c. *Yaa yi askii.*  
 3SG.M.COMPL do haircut  
 ‘He had a haircut (at the barber).’ Or: ‘He did a haircut (to himself).’  
 d. *Abdù yaa sàa kaayaa.*  
 Abdu 3SG.M.COMPL put.on clothes  
 ‘Abdu got dressed (dressed himself).’

- e. *Abdù yaa shiryàa.*  
 Abdu 3SG.M.COMPL prepare  
 ‘Abdu got ready.’

Sentence (11a) is in the imperfective aspect, but the predicate *wankaa* ‘wash, bathe, shower’ is more like an action noun that is the direct object of an understood generic verb *yi* ‘do’ (see Newman 2000: 281; Jaggar 2001: 171). Indeed, the underlying *yi* ‘do’ verb is obligatory when the sentence is in the Completive, as seen in (11b–11c) (in fact even in the imperfective, *yi* is acceptable in the negative, e.g. *bâi yîn wankaa* ‘he doesn’t wash’ or if *wankaa* is modified, e.g. *mun iskè yanàa yî-n wani irîn wankaa* ‘we find him washing himself in a peculiar way’). In (11d) the sentence does have the structure ‘Subject + Verb + Object’ but the object is not coreferential with the subject. Finally in (11e) the sentence is intransitive. In all cases, a reflexive pronoun is not possible. It is possible however to express the introverted action with a reflexive pronoun in the applied object position, as seen in the following (for more on the applied object, see §4.1).

- (12) a. *Yaròo ya-nàa mà kânshì wankaa.*  
 child 3SG.M-IPFV APPL REFL.3SG.M wash  
 ‘The boy is washing by himself/on his own.’  
 (= *Yaròo yanàa wankaa dà kânshì*)
- b. *Yaa yi mà kânshì askii.*  
 3SG.M.COMPL do APPL REFL.3SG.M haircut  
 ‘He did a haircut by himself.’  
 (= *Yaa yi askii dà kânshì*)

Sentences (12) are used in contexts where it is assumed that the subject referent ordinarily cannot carry out the action but, as it happens, they did (for example a child may be too young to perform the action alone). These sentences, as indicated, are semantically equivalent to the ‘by himself’ emphatic sentences discussed later in §6.1, but formally they involve a bona fide reflexive pronoun in a verbal argument position, as we will see in §4.1. To summarize, it can be said that overall Hausa clearly marks the contrast between extroverted and introverted verbs, and that only the former regularly require the reflexive pronoun in autopathic contexts.

### 3.4 Contrast between body-part and whole-body actions

Actions on specified body-parts are expressed in Hausa in a simple ‘Subject + Verb + Object’ structure, as seen in (13).

- (13) a. *Yaa askè geemèe/ geemè-n-shì.*  
 3SG.M.COMPL shave beard beard-of.M-3SG.M  
 ‘He shaved (himself).’ Or: ‘He had his beard shaved (at the barber).’
- b. *Yaa wankè kâi/ kâ-n-shì.*  
 3SG.M.COMPL wash head head-of.M-3SG.M  
 ‘He cleaned his head.’
- c. *Yaa wankè jikii/ jiki-n-shì.*  
 3SG.M.COMPL wash body body-of.M-3SG.M  
 ‘He did a quick toilet.’ (Lit. ‘He cleaned his body.’)
- d. *Yaa shaacè kâi/ kâ-n-shì.*  
 3SG.M.COMPL comb head head-of.M-3SG.M  
 ‘He combed his head [hair].’

In sentences (13), simple verbs are followed by their direct objects expressing a body-part. There is hence a clear contrast with whole-body autopathic actions, which are expressed with the verb *yi* ‘do’ plus a nominal (a verbal or an action noun) specifying the action, as seen in (11–12) above (one may consider sentence (11c) to describe an action viewed holistically although it concerns the head only, in contrast to sentence (13a) with a specified body-part *geemèe* ‘beard’). A possessive pronoun referring to the subject can be adjoined to the body-part noun in sentences (13), as indicated, although this is wholly unnecessary in normal contexts. One may note that even with the possessive *kânshì* ‘his head’, sentences (13b) and (13d) are not really ambiguous, i.e. they do not have the reflexive meaning ‘he washed himself’ or ‘he combed himself’, respectively.<sup>3</sup> Sentence (13c) illustrates an expression *wankè jikii* ‘have a quick toilet’ which, despite using the noun *jikii* ‘body’, in fact refers to the cleaning of the limbs and face. Similarly, in sentence (13d) the hair is combed.

To conclude this section, one can say that in Hausa the use of a reflexive pronoun is obligatory for a direct object coreferential with the subject, except with a few mental/sensation verbs. Hausa also does not allow a reflexive pronoun in subject function.

<sup>3</sup>Sentence (13b), with *kânshì*, can take the reflexive meaning only in the context of a ceremonial cleansing. For example, in a marriage, a groom is ceremonially ‘washed’ normally by female relatives (see *sun wankè angò* ‘they washed/cleansed the groom’). But a groom can also choose to retire aside and throw the ceremonial water on himself and, in that case, sentence (13b) with *kânshì* ‘himself’ can be used to describe the situation. (13b), still with *kânshì*, can also be used in the sense ‘he cleared himself (of some accusations).’

## 4 Coreference between the subject and various semantic roles

Besides the direct object position, reflexive pronouns can also appear in positions not directly governed by the main verb. This section reviews the applied nominal position, the possessive NP, and the objects of various prepositions. The section also looks at long distance coreference cases.

### 4.1 Recipients and other *mà/wà*-marked applied nominals

The applied nominal is the direct object of the applicative marker *mà/wà*, a free particle that stands in a close-knit syntactic relation with the verb (see Tuller 1984; Abdoulaye 1996; Newman 2000: 280). The applied object assumes a variety of semantic roles, chiefly the recipient role, but also the benefactive, malefactive, locative, and possessor roles, and other minor unspecified roles (most of these roles also have their proper, i.e. non-applied, morphosyntax, as discussed later in this section). Applied nominals that are coreferential with the subject are most naturally expressed as reflexive pronouns, as seen in (14).

- (14) a. *John yaa bàa (wà) kànshi shaawaràa.*  
 John 3SG.M.COMPL give APPL REFL.3SG.M advice  
 ‘John advised himself/changed his mind.’
- b. *Sun aikoo mà kànsù wàsiikàa.*  
 3PL.COMPL send APPL REFL.3PL letter  
 ‘They sent a letter to themselves.’
- c. *Yaarinyàa taa dafàa mà kântà àbinci.*  
 girl 3SG.F.COMPL cook APPL REFL.3SG.F food  
 ‘The girl cooked for herself.’
- d. *Yaa zoo yaa ganar mà kànshi àl’amàrî-n.*  
 3SG.M.COMPL come 3SG.M.COMPL see APPL REFL.3SG.M situation-DEF  
 ‘He came and saw the situation for himself.’

Sentences (14a–14c) illustrate recipient and benefactive nominals expressed as reflexive pronouns following the applied marker *mà/wà* (the applied marker is normally omitted with the verb *bàa* ‘give’, as seen in 14a). Sentence (14d) shows that a mental/sensation verb, *gani* ‘see’, requires a reflexive applied object pronoun under subject coreference (by contrast, we have seen in the discussion of 6–7 that mental/sensation verbs can allow a non-reflexive subject-coreferential

direct object pronoun). When the non-reflexive pronoun is used in the applied object position, then a disjoint reference reading is normally obligatory, as seen next in (15), unless there is a partial coreference between a singular subject and a plural applied object pronoun, as illustrated in (16).

- (15) a. *John<sub>1</sub> yaa baa shì<sub>\*1/2</sub> shaawaràa.*  
 John 3SG.M.COMPL give 3SG.M advice  
 ‘John advised him.’
- b. *Sun<sub>1</sub> aikoo mà-sù<sub>\*1/2</sub> wàsiikàa.*  
 3PL.COMPL send APPL-3PL letter  
 ‘They sent them a letter.’
- c. *\*Naa jaawoo ma-nì wàhalàa.*  
 1SG.COMPL draw APPL-1SG troubles  
 ‘I invited troubles on myself.’
- (16) a. *Naa<sub>1</sub> bâa kânmu<sub>1+x</sub>/ baa mù<sub>1+x</sub> wàhalàa.*  
 1SG.COMPL give REFL.1PL give 1PL troubles  
 ‘I (uselessly) tired us.’
- b. *Kaa<sub>1</sub> jaawoo mà kânkù<sub>1+x</sub>/ ma-kù<sub>1+x</sub> wàhalàa.*  
 2SG.M.COMPL draw APPL REFL.2PL APPL-2PL troubles  
 ‘You invited troubles on yourself and your associates.’
- c. *Yaa<sub>1</sub> jaawoo mà kânsù<sub>1+x</sub>/ ma-sù<sub>?1+x/2</sub> wàhalàa.*  
 3SG.M.COMPL draw APPL REFL.3PL APPL-3PL troubles  
 ‘He invited troubles on himself and his associates.’ OR: ‘He invited troubles on them.’

Sentences (15a–15c) show that a non-reflexive pronoun in the applied position, despite matching agreement features, cannot be coreferential with the subject. Sentence (15c) in particular shows that the non-reflexive pronoun is not possible even for the 1<sup>st</sup> person (the same is true for the 2<sup>nd</sup> person as well). But in plural pronoun constructions, as illustrated in (16a–16b), the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person may allow a non-reflexive subject-coreferential pronoun in the applied position, while for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person the reflexive pronoun is strongly preferred by speakers, as seen in (16c).

#### 4.2 Possessive NPs

When a possessive NP is coreferential with the subject, Hausa requires a simple possessive pronoun in basic, pragmatically neutral sentences, as illustrated in (17).

- (17) a. *Taa<sub>1</sub> dàuiki laimà-r-tà.<sub>1/2</sub>*  
3SG.F.COMPL take umbrella-of.F-3SG.F  
‘She took her umbrella.’  
b. *John<sub>1</sub> ya-nàa karàntà littaañi-n-shi.<sub>1/2</sub>*  
John 3SG.M-IPFV read book-of.M-3SG.M  
‘John is reading his book.’  
c. *Maatâ-n<sub>1</sub> sun shaarè ðaaki-n-sù.<sub>1/2</sub>*  
women-DEF 3PL.COMPL sweep room-of.M-3PL  
‘The women swept their rooms.’

As shown in (17), the simple possessive pronoun can be coreferential with the subject or not. Nonetheless, and as Newman (2000: 525) notes, the coreference between the subject and the possessive pronoun can also be expressed as a reflexive pronoun, but with a marked emphasis, as seen in (18).

- (18) a. *Sun ginà gida-n-sù.*  
3PL.COMPL build house-of.M-3PL  
‘They built their house.’  
b. *Sun ginà gida-n kânsù/ gidaa na kânsù/*  
3PL.COMPL build house-of.M REFL.3PL house one.of.M REFL.3PL  
*gida-n-sù na kânsù.*  
house-of.M-3PL one.of.M REFL.3PL  
‘They built their own house.’  
c. *Ûbaa-naa na kâinaa! (cf. \*ùba-n kâinaa/\*ùbaa na kâinaa)*  
father-of.M.1SG one.of.M REFL.1SG  
‘Hey you my dear [for me alone] ‘uncle’!’

Sentence (18a), with a non-reflexive pronoun, has a pragmatically neutral interpretation, just like sentences (17). By contrast, sentence (18b) has a reflexive pronoun in a reduced, a full, or a double possessive construction. In all three options, sentence (18b) contrasts with sentence (18a) by being more emphatic and, naturally, the more profuse the formal means used, the greater the emphasis. Indeed in appropriate contexts, the emphasis can even imply an exclusive use by the possessor of the possessed object, beyond the state of possession itself. In particular, the double possessive appositional construction, i.e. the 3<sup>rd</sup> option in (18b), is the one that mostly implies the exclusive use of the possessed object by the possessor. So, sentence (18c) expresses – jokingly – the exclusive use meaning and the shorter reflexive constructions cannot be used, as indicated

(the expression is used to affectionately greet a familiar – but unrelated – senior person; the senior person greeted can in fact reply *dīyaa-taa ta kâinaa* ‘my dear own ‘niece’, i.e. other kin relations can be used, but always between unrelated people). To summarize, Hausa likely does not have genuine reflexive adnominal possessives and sentence (18b) can be compared to English sentences with the emphatic possession marker *own* (see Haspelmath 2008: 51 for discussion).

### 4.3 Locatives

Hausa uses basic and derived prepositions to express static locative relations. The derived prepositions are generally homophonous with locational nouns that are formally heads of a possessive constructions taking as ‘possessor’ the NP expressing the location ground (see *baaya-n iccèe* ‘behind the tree’, lit. [back-of.M tree]). Most of these possessive constructions have grammaticalized towards a prepositional phrase structure and no longer have the behavioral properties typical of true possessive constructions (see Abdoulaye 2018: 48f). When the location ground NP is coreferential with the subject, a non-reflexive pronoun must be used. This is illustrated in (19).

- (19) a. *Ta<sub>1</sub> mayar\_dà yaarò baaya-n-tà<sub>1</sub>/ \*baaya-n kântà<sub>1</sub>*  
 3SG.F.RP return.CAUS child back-of.M-3SG.F back-of.M REFL.3SG.F  
 ‘She moved the child behind her.’  
 b. *Ka<sub>1</sub>-nàa\_dà aikii gàba-n-kà<sub>1</sub>/ \*gàba-n kânkà<sub>1</sub>*  
 2SG.M-have work front-of.M-2SG.M front-of.M REFL.2SG.M  
 ‘You have much work to do [in front of you].’

These sentences show that a locative ground NP coreferential with the subject cannot be a reflexive pronoun. There is hence a contrast between locative phrases based on the possessive construction and genuine possessive constructions which at least admit an emphatic reflexive pronoun optionally. The locative phrases based on the possessive constructions also contrast with locative phrases based on simple prepositions which, sometimes, allow a reflexive pronoun, as noted by Newman (2000: 522f). This is illustrated in (20–21).

- (20) a. *Ta<sub>1</sub> ga wani macijii kusa gàree tà<sub>1/2</sub>/ \*gà kântà<sub>1</sub>*  
 3SG.F.RP see one snake near on 3SG.F on REFL.3SG.F  
 ‘She saw a snake beside her/herself.’  
 b. *John<sub>1</sub> ya ajè littaaƴii neesà dà shì<sub>1/2</sub>/ \*kânshì<sub>1</sub>*  
 John 3SG.M.RP put.down book away to 3SG.M REFL.3SG.M  
 ‘John put a book away from him.’

- (21) a. *Taa<sub>1</sub> shaafà fentii gàree tà<sub>1/2</sub>/ gà kântà<sub>1</sub>*  
 3SG.F.COMPL rub paint on 3SG.F on REFL.3SG.F  
 ‘She rubbed paint on her/herself.’  
 b. *Sun<sub>1</sub> jaawoo bàrgoo bisà suu<sub>1/2</sub>/ kânsù<sub>2</sub>*  
 3PL.COMPL draw blanket on 3PL REFL.3PL  
 ‘They pulled the blanket over them/themselves.’

In sentences (20–21), the particles *gà* ‘on’ (*gàree* before pronoun), *dà* ‘with, and, to’ are basic prepositions (without an evident source). *Bisà* ‘on, on top of’ is derived from the noun *bisà* ‘top, sky’ (see *bisà-n-shi* ‘its top part’ or ‘on it’), but it can be used without possessive marking and behaves like basic prepositions. Sentences (20) require a non-reflexive pronoun even when subject-coreference is intended, as indicated by the ungrammaticality of a reflexive pronoun. This may be due to the fact that the sentences express a non-contact locative relation. Although this needs to be investigated more, one can see that in sentences (21), which express a contact location, a locative NP, which is coreferential with the subject, can be a reflexive or a non-reflexive pronoun. However, in sentences (21) a non-reflexive pronoun is still the most natural option.

#### 4.4 Benefactives with preposition *don* ‘for’

§4.1 showed that benefactive NPs can be expressed as applied nominals. They can also be expressed as objects of the preposition *don* ‘for, for the sake of’. Under subject-coreference, the benefactive argument is most naturally expressed as a reflexive pronoun, although the non-reflexive pronoun is also possible. This is illustrated in (22) (see also Newman 2000: 524f).

- (22) a. *Taa<sub>1</sub> sàyi littafii don kântà<sub>1</sub>/ ita<sub>1/2</sub>*  
 3SG.F.COMPL buy book for REFL.3SG.F 3SG.F  
 ‘She bought a book for herself/for her.’  
 b. *Yaarò<sub>1</sub> yaa dafà àbinci don kânsù<sub>1</sub>/ shii<sub>1/2</sub>*  
 boy 3SG.M.COMPL cook food for REFL.3SG.M 3SG.M  
 ‘The boy cooked food for himself/for him.’  
 c. *Naa ginà gidaa don kâinaa/ nii.*  
 1SG.COMPL build house for REFL.1SG 1SG  
 ‘I built a house for myself/for me.’  
 d. *(To) don kânkà!/ Don kânsù!/ Don kânsù!*  
 OK for REFL.2SG.M for REFL.3SG.M for REFL.3PL  
 ‘OK, (that’s) your problem!/His problem!/Their problem!’

In sentences (22a–22c) the reflexive pronoun is preferred, even for (22c) with a 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun. When a non-reflexive 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun is used, it is naturally ambiguous between subject-coreference and disjoint reference, as indicated. Examples (22d) show that the benefactive phrase with the reflexive pronoun can be used as an idiomatic expression (which can be used by a speaker after hearing someone rejecting sound advice). In this expression, the reflexive pronoun cannot be replaced with a non-reflexive pronoun (i.e. *don kuu* would mean ‘for you’, not ‘that’s your problem’).

#### 4.5 Instrumental, associative and other oblique NPs

In §3.1 (see discussion of sentence 4) we saw that causative Verb-*dà* constructions take true direct objects, which are expressed as reflexive pronouns in subject-coreference contexts. However, *dà* is a multipurpose free particle which, in its basic functions, marks the comitative and the instrumental relations (it also marks ‘and’-conjunction, a function that does not concern us here). In these basic functions, *dà*, like other oblique markers, can optionally take a reflexive complement. This is illustrated in (23).

- (23) a. *Naa gamàa da nii/ kâina.*  
1SG.COMPL include with 1SG/ REFL.1SG  
‘I included myself.’
- b. *Balki<sub>1</sub> taa gamàa dà ita<sub>1/2</sub>/ kânta<sub>1</sub>.*  
Balki 3SG.F.COMPL include with 3SG.F/ REFL.3SG.F  
‘Balki included her/herself.’
- c. *Balki<sub>1</sub> taa yi shaawaràa gâme dà ita<sub>1/2</sub>/ kânta<sub>1</sub>.*  
Balki 3SG.F.COMPL do advice about with 3SG.F REFL.3SG.F  
‘Balki made a proposal concerning her/herself.’

It may be noted that in (23a–23b), the reflexive pronoun is the best option in case of subject-coreference. When a non-reflexive 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun is used, as in (23b–23c), it can be coreferential with the subject or refer to another participant. It may also be noted that the reflexive pronouns in (23) are not emphatic pronouns and one must distinguish them from the adverbial self-intensifier constructions, which are also built with *dà*-phrases (see §6.1).

#### 4.6 Long-distance coreference

When a higher subject is coreferential with an NP in the lower clause, a non-reflexive pronoun is obligatorily used when the second NP is a subject, a direct

object, an applied object, or a prepositional object. In fact, the only cases of long-distance reflexives concern a position inside the adnominal possessive construction or a long-distance coreference mediated by an understood lower subject in a non-finite clause. This is illustrated in the following (sentence 25b adapted from Newman 2000: 523).

- (24) a. *Taa*<sub>1</sub>            *azà*    [(*\*kântà*<sub>1</sub>) *ta*<sub>1/2</sub>-*nàa* *dà* *isàssun kudù*].  
           3SG.F.COMPL think REFL.3SG.F 3SG.F-have enough money  
           ‘She thought that she had enough money.’
- b. *Yaa*<sub>1</sub>            *soo* *Bintà*<sub>2</sub> *tà*            *zàabee shì*<sub>1/3</sub>/ *\*zàabi kânshì*<sub>1</sub>/  
           3SG.M.COMPL want B.        3SG.F.SBJ choose 3SG.M choose REFL.3SG.M  
           *zàabi kântà*<sub>2</sub>  
           choose REFL.3SG.F  
           ‘He wanted Binta to choose him/\*himself/herself.’
- (25) a. *Yaa*<sub>1</sub>            *soo* *Bintà*<sub>2</sub> *tà*            *sàyi hòoto-n shì*<sub>1/3</sub>/  
           3SG.M.COMPL want B.        3SG.F.SBJV buy photo-of.M 3SG.M  
           *kânshì*<sub>1</sub>  
           REFL.3SG.M  
           ‘Abdu wanted Binta to buy his picture/his own picture.’
- b. *Abdù*<sub>1</sub> *yaa*            *tàmbàyi Bintà*<sub>2</sub> [*hanyà-r* [*kaarè kânshì*<sub>1</sub>/  
           Abdu 3SG.M.COMPL ask        B.        way-of.F protect REFL.3SG.M  
           *kântà*<sub>2</sub>]]  
           REFL.3SG.F  
           ‘Abdu asked Binta how to protect himself/herself.’
- c. *Abdù*<sub>1</sub> *yaa*            *tàmbàyi Bintà*<sub>2</sub> [*hanyà-r* [*kaarè shì*<sub>1/3</sub>/ *tà*<sub>2/3</sub>]]  
           Abdu 3SG.M.COMPL ask        B.        way-of.F protect 3SG.M/ 3SG.F  
           ‘Abdu asked Binta how to protect himself/herself/him/her.’

In sentences (24a–24b), the coreferential lower subject (pronoun *ta*- [3SG.F]) and direct object (pronoun *shì* [3SG.M]), respectively, cannot be expressed as reflexive pronouns. By contrast, the coreferential adnominal possessive argument can be a reflexive pronoun but with an emphatic meaning, as seen in (25a). In sentence (25b), the main verb is followed by two object NPs. The second NP (in first brackets) contains a possessive construction with *hanyàa* ‘way’ as head and an adnominal non-finite clause (inner brackets). The direct object of the non-finite clause, when coded as a reflexive pronoun, can refer to main subject (*Abdù*) or the main direct object (*Bintà*). In this case, the referent of the main subject or the

main direct object would, respectively, be understood to be the agent of the verb *kaarè* ‘protect’. When simple pronouns are used as direct objects of *kaarè*, as seen in (25c), then these pronouns can refer to Abdu, Binta, or someone else. If the pronoun refers to Abdu, then Abdu cannot be the understood agent of verb *kaarè*, and similarly with Binta. In other words, sentence (25b) may not illustrate genuine long-distance coreference (see the discussion in Haspelmath 2023: 7 [this volume], note 15).

## 5 Coreference between non-subject arguments

In Hausa, coreference between non-subject arguments is most naturally expressed with non-reflexive pronouns or, alternatively, with a reflexive pronoun. The coreference relation can take place between a direct object, an applied object, or a prepositional object on the one hand, and an adnominal possessive pronoun or a prepositional object, on the other hand. This is illustrated in the following (see also Newman 2000: 523 for similar data).

- (26) a. *Yaa*<sub>1</sub>                      *nuunàa mà Màari*<sub>2</sub> *hòoto-n-tà*<sub>2/3</sub>/ *hòoto-n*  
    3SG.M.COMPL show    APPL M.            photo-of.M-3SG.F photo-of.M  
    *kântà*<sub>2</sub>  
    REFL.3SG.F  
    ‘He showed Mary her picture/a picture of herself (her own picture).’
- b. *Muusaa*<sub>1</sub> *yaa*                      *yii wà Abdù*<sub>2</sub> *zancee gàme dà shii*<sub>1/2/3</sub>/  
    Musa    3SG.M.COMPL do APPL A.            talk    about with 3SG.M  
    *kânshì*<sub>1/2</sub>  
    REFL.3SG.M  
    ‘Musa spoke with Abdu about himself.’

Sentence (26a), with the reflexive pronoun *kântà*, implies that the photo likely pictures Mary, whereas this reading is not obligatory with the non-reflexive pronoun *tà*. In (26b), the (non-emphatic) reflexive pronoun *kânshì* can only refer to either of the nouns, i.e. *Muusaa* or *Abdù*. The non-reflexive pronoun *shii* can refer to either noun or a third understood participant. Sentence (26b) shows that Hausa reflexive pronouns are not exclusively subject-oriented.

## 6 Self-intensifiers

We have already seen in §4.2 that adnominal possessive reflexive pronouns can put emphasis on the possessive relation (see *mootàr kânshì* ‘his own car’). New-

man (2000) discusses at length two other emphatic constructions in Hausa that are related to the reflexive constructions and which are referred to in typological studies as adverbial and adnominal self-intensifiers (see König & Siemund 2000: 43). This section is largely based on Newman's account, although I will use the general terminology. The section presents the two types of constructions, in turn.

## 6.1 Adverbial self-intensifiers

According to Newman (2000: 526), what he calls 'pseudoemphatic' reflexives are prepositional phrases with the preposition *dà* 'with, and, to, etc.' followed by an (apparent) reflexive pronoun which is coreferential with the sentence subject. Semantically, they emphasize the fact that the subject referent did an action or underwent a process on their own, by themselves. This is illustrated in (27–28).

- (27) a. *Yàaraa sun koomàa gidaa dà kâ-n-sù.*  
 children 3PL.COMPL return home with self-of.M-3PL  
 'The children returned home by themselves.'
- b. *Wutaa taa mutù dà kâ-n-tà.*  
 fire 3SG.F.COMPL die with self-of.M-3SG.F  
 'The fired died out on its own.'
- (28) a. *Yàaraa dà kâ-n-sù su-kà koomàa gidaa.*  
 children with self-of.M-3PL 3PL-RP return home  
 'The children returned home all by themselves.'
- b. *Yàaraa sun koomàa gidaa dà gudù/ dà tàimako-n*  
 children 3PL.COMPL return home with running with help-of.M  
*mutàanee.*  
 people  
 'The children returned home running/with help from others.'
- c. *tàimako-n kâi (dà kâi)*  
 help-of.M self with self  
 'self-help (all by oneself)'

Newman (2000) calls the reflexive-like forms in (27) 'pseudoemphatic' because he believes they are bona fide reflexive pronouns in an adjunct structural position and which are coreferential with the subject. He notes that they typically appear near or at the end of the sentence. He also notes that they can be focus-fronted, just like any other clause constituent, as seen in (28a). Furthermore, (28b) shows

that they can alternate with manner phrases introduced with the same preposition *dà* ‘with, and, to’. Nonetheless, it is clear that the reflexive pronouns in (27–28) signal emphasis and should be characterized accordingly. They are indeed used in contexts where a speaker believes the hearer does not expect the subject referent to be able to carry out the action on their own. Nonetheless, one may not consider them to be true reflexive pronouns. Indeed, example (28c) shows that *kâi* meaning ‘self’ can appear without an adnominal possessive pronoun, i.e. a coreference with an antecedent noun is not required to mark the emphasis. These forms are very likely the Hausa instantiation of the adverbial self-intensifiers and can be glossed literally as ‘with self-of-pronoun’, marking more precisely the emphatic meaning ‘with (just) the self, all alone’ (see König & Siemund 2000: 44 who refer to this use of the intensifiers as the exclusive ‘alone’ use; for more on *kâi* as ‘self’ see next section). Sentence (28a), without the intensifier, would have no implication on how the children returned home. Newman (2000: 529) also notes that for an even greater emphasis, the intensifier can combine with true reflexive pronouns, as seen in (29).

- (29) a. *Bintà taa zàrgi kântà dà kâ-n-tà.*  
 Binta 3SG.F.COMPL accuse REFL.3SG.F with self-of.M-3SG.F  
 ‘Binta charged herself knowingly, deliberately.’  
 b. *Sun kaaràa wà kânsù kudîi (suu) dà kâ-n-sù.*  
 3PL.COMPL augment APPL REFL.3PL money 3PL with self-of.M-3PL  
 ‘They raised their pay all by themselves, deliberately.’

Sentences (29a–29b) have, respectively, a direct object and an applied object reflexive pronoun combined with the emphatic *dà*-phrase, here underlining the deliberate aspect of the action. As Newman (2000: 527) notes, an independent pronoun can optionally precede the *dà*-phrase, as seen in sentence (29b). In such cases, Newman (2000) proposes that the *dà*-phrase is not an independent sentence constituent but is simply adjoined to the pronoun. This construction then comes close to the second type of emphatic reflexive pronouns, which Newman (2000) also believes are adnominal adjunctions, and which are presented next.

## 6.2 The adnominal self-intensifiers

Indeed, according to Newman (2000), the genuine reflexive-like emphatic pronouns are not sentence-level constituents, that is, they do not fulfill a semantic or syntactic role in the clause. Instead, they always appear in apposition next to a noun or pronoun. Functionally, they seem to signal a scalar ‘even X’/‘X himself’

emphasis or contrast. This is illustrated in the following (see also Newman 2000: 527).

- (30) a. *Bellò (shii) kânshì yaa san bâi\_dà gaskiyaa.*  
 Bello 3SG.M EMP.3SG.M 3SG.M.COMPL know NEG.3SG.M.have truth  
 ‘[Even] Bello himself knows he is wrong.’
- b. *Sun ruusà makarantâ-ƙ (ita) kântà.*  
 3PL.COMPL break.up school-DEF 3SG.F EMP.3SG.F  
 ‘They destroyed the school itself.’
- c. *Dàalibâ-n duk su-kà gudù, àmmaa maalàmî-n shii kânshì*  
 students-DEF all 3PL-PF run but teacher-DEF 3SG.M EMP.3SG.M  
*ya tsayàa.*  
 3SG.M.RP stay  
 ‘The students all ran away, but the teacher himself stood.’

In (30a–30b), the self-intensifier follows the modified noun, with an optional (but preferred) pronoun between the two. The pronoun becomes obligatory if the modified noun is omitted or positioned after (or away from) the intensifier (e.g. *shii kânshì* ‘he himself’, *shii kânshì Bellò* ‘Bello himself’). Consequently, one can easily formally distinguish the adverbial self-intensifier (see §6.1) from the adnominal self-intensifier, no matter their position in the sentence (see discussion of 31–32 below). Semantically, the adnominal self-intensifiers seem to primarily signal emphasis and, secondarily, contrast, but both in the background of a scalar context. For example, sentence (30a) expresses a clear scalar emphasis: i.e. adversaries and all other people, as expected, think Bello is wrong; however, and quite unexpectedly, Bello, too, knows he is wrong. As for sentence (30b), while it can be used in contexts where no other building was destroyed, it nonetheless supposes an understood scalar background, i.e. if a school can be destroyed, then other less important buildings might as well. This account is then similar to the one given in a number of studies, such as Edmondson & Plank (1978), Primus (1992), Kibrik & Bogdanova (1995), as cited in König & Siemund (2000: 47–48), however, reject this type of account, citing as evidence English data on which sentence (30c) is modeled. They would argue that in (30c), it is fully expected that the referent of the marked noun (*maalàmî* ‘the teacher’) is the one not afraid to face a danger. Nonetheless for Hausa, it can also be noted that sentence (30c), like sentences (30a–30b), still has a scalar context: the marked noun refers to an entity situated at the higher end of a scale. The only difference is that sentence (30c) expresses a contrast (between the scaled entities ‘students’ and ‘teacher’;

see also sentence 32b below). That the adnominal self-intensifiers may express both emphasis and contrast should not be surprising, since in general focus studies too, the same formal means can signal various pragmatic situations (such as when a cleft construction is claimed to signal new information focus, contrastive focus, and exhaustive listing focus). Nonetheless, this preliminary account may not extend to other languages like English, or even crosslinguistically, where the uses of the self-intensifiers are more diverse (see König & Gast 2006: 224) than appears to be the case in Hausa (at least pending further data).

Adnominal self-intensifiers can be reinforced in a number of ways, for extra emphasis. They can also have idiomatic uses. This is illustrated in (31–32).

- (31) a. *Bellò shii dà kâ-n-shì yaa san gaskiyaa.*  
 Bello 3SG.M with self-of.M-3SG.M 3SG.M.COMPL know truth  
 ‘Bello, really he himself, knows the truth.’  
 b. *Bello shii kân\_kânshì yaa san gaskiyaa.*  
 Bello 3SG.M EMP-EMP.3SG.M 3SG.M.COMPL know truth  
 ‘Bello, really he himself, knows the truth.’
- (32) a. *Wâỵyoo mu(u) kâṇmù!*  
 alas 1PL EMP.1PL  
 ‘Alas, poor us!’  
 b. *Kee kâṇkì/ dà kâ-n-kì zaa\_kì kunnà wutaa à nân!*  
 2SG.F EMP.2SG.F with self-of.M-2SG.F FUT-2SG.F light fire at here  
 ‘How come you [who should know better] would light a fire in this place!’

In (31a), the subject noun *Bellò* is followed by a reinforced adnominal self-intensifier *shii dà kânshì*, which clearly contains the adverbial intensifier *dà kânshì* (see §6.1). The pronoun *shii* is obligatory, hence the noun *Bellò* cannot be followed by just *dà kânshì*. Semantically, the modified noun in (31a) is emphasized, as indicated. Sentence (31b) shows that adnominal self-intensifiers can be partially repeated (or, more likely, reduplicated prefixally), for an even greater emphasis. The partial repetition/reduplication device seems not to be available to the adverbial self-intensifiers (in fact to no other reflexive or reflexive-like construction). I will follow Newman (2000: 527) in separating out the two formal types of self-intensifiers and globally gloss the adnominal self-intensifiers as EMP, plus the person features (see also discussion of sentences 38 below). Nonetheless, as reported by other researchers (see Wolff 1993: 117), it seems that speakers have come to make the two types of self-intensifiers overlap (see sentence 31a, 32b, but

also sentence 38b below with its double meaning). Sentences in (32) show that adnominal self-intensifiers can partake in fixed or idiomatic expressions (sentences like 32b are generally used for scolding, i.e. the referent of the pronoun *kèe* [2SG.F], in contrast to all other relevant people, should know that fire should not be lit at the place).

In conclusion, Hausa uses forms akin to reflexive pronouns as adverbial and adnominal intensifiers to mark, respectively, the ‘by himself’-action emphasis and the scalar ‘even X’/‘X himself’ emphasis or contrast.

## 7 The meanings of *kâi* ‘head, self’

In Hausa, as in many other languages in the area,<sup>4</sup> the word for ‘head’ has many derived meanings, including: ‘intelligence’, ‘consciousness’, ‘mind’, ‘person’, and ‘self, oneself’ (see Will 2019 for a review). Indeed, in Hausa the noun *kâi* ‘self, oneself’, independently of the reflexive pronouns in Table 3, can appear alone in many nominal compounds, semi-fixed verbal expressions, and even proverbs.<sup>5</sup> Some of the *kâi*-based compounds and idiomatic expressions are illustrated in (33).

- (33) a. *àbu-n kâi/ (àbù) na kâi*  
           thing-of.M self           thing one.of.M self  
           ‘property, wealth, own item’  
       b. *kiishì-n kâi*  
           jealousy-of.M self  
           ‘self-protection’  
       c. *sô-n kâi*  
           loving-of.M self  
           ‘selfishness’

<sup>4</sup>See, for example, Bernard & White-Kaba (1994: 39) for Zarma.

<sup>5</sup>Some *kâi*-based proverbs one can find in dictionaries and the internet are: *iyà ruwa fit dà kâi* ‘saving oneself is the measure of one’s swimming skills’, lit. ‘swimming [is] saving self’ (a proverb used to mean one should first test oneself before claiming an expertise; a variant of which is: *koowaa ya fid dà kâi naa-sà shii nèe gwàni* ‘whoever saves himself is the expert’, using a full [self that.of.M-3SG.M] possessive construction.); *yàbon kâi jaahilcìi* ‘bragging is shallowness’, lit. ‘praise of self [is] ignorance’; *girman kâi rawànin tsiyaa* ‘pride is destructive’, lit. ‘big-ness of self/head [is] turban of poverty’; *anàa ta kâi bàa a ta kaayaa* ‘one should attend to the most urgent issue first’, lit. ‘while saving the self, one does not care about properties’. The proverbs usually shed the functional words, like copulas (see Newman 2000: 164f), the light verb *yì* ‘do’ (see Newman 2000: 281; Jaggar 2001: 171), or even reduce phonological material (cf. *ruwa* above vs. the full form *ruwaa* ‘water’).

- d. *yii ta            kâi*  
do one.of.F self  
'save oneself'

The expressions in (33a–33c) are compound nouns which, like any noun, can be used independently of any previously mentioned referent (for example as subject in *sôn kâi yaa yi yawàa gidan nân* 'there is too much selfishness in this house', for the compound in 33c; for a crosslinguistic investigation of the reflexive compounds, see König 2013). Sentence (33d) presents an idiomatic expression. Compounds based on *kâi* 'self', both with predictable or less predictable meanings, are numerous. Some frequent examples cited in the dictionaries are: *batàn kâi* 'confusion', lit. 'loss of self'; *incin kâi* 'independence, autonomy'; *sanin ciwòn kâi* 'self-care', lit. 'knowing of pain of self' (cf. also *ciwòn kâi* 'headache'); *gir-man kâi* 'pride, vanity', lit. 'big-ness of self' (though this may also be 'big-ness of head'); *jîn kâi*, 'pride, vanity' lit. 'feeling of self'; *sâa kâi* 'volunteerism', lit. 'putting self' (cf. *aikìn sâa kâi* 'voluntary work'); etc. These expressions and compounds can sometimes keep their idiomatic reading even when *kâi* is adjoined to a possessive pronoun (e.g. *kâ-n-shì* [self-of-3SG.M]) referring to the sentence subject. This is illustrated in (34–35).

- (34) a. *Yaara su-kà yi ta kâ-n-sù.*  
children 3PL-RP do one.of.F self-of.M-3PL  
'The children bolted away/escaped threat.' OR  
'The children did their own [chair].' (i.e. 'they made one [chair] for themselves')
- b. *Koo-waa yà yi ta kâ-n-shì!*  
even-who 3SG.M.SBJV do one.of.F self-of.M-3SG.M  
'Every man for himself!' (cf. Fr. *sauve-qui-peut!*); OR  
'May everyone make his own [chair].'  
'May everyone follow his own way.'
- (35) a. *Abdù yaa nuunà iri-n [kiishì-n kâ]-n-shì.*  
Abdu 3SG.M.COMPL show type-of.M protection-of.M self-of.M-3SG.M  
'Abdu displayed his art of self-protection.'
- b. *Abdù, à yi kiishì-n kâi/ \*kâ-n-kà!*  
Abdu IMPRS.SBJV do protection-of.M self/ self-of.M-2SG.M  
'Abdu, you should protect yourself.'

- c. *Abdù, kà yi kiishì-n kâ-n-kà!*  
 Abdu, 2SG.M.SBJV do protection-of.M self-of.M-2SG.M  
 ‘Abdu, you should protect yourself.’

Sentences (34) illustrate the expression *yi ta kâi* ‘save self’ given in (33d). In both sentences (34a–34b) the idiomatic meaning is still recoverable even though *kâi* is adjoined to a possessive pronoun referring to the subject. The sentences however are ambiguous, with possible true reflexive readings, as indicated. Sentence (35a) shows that the compound *kiishìn kâi* ‘self-protection’, too, can take an adnominal possessive pronoun (see also *irìn [kiishìn kâ]n Abdù* ‘Abdu’s way in self-protection’, with an adnominal possessive noun). The compound structure is also clear in (35b) where an impersonal subject-pronoun occurs with a specified referent, yet the sentence cannot license an adnominal possessive pronoun. However, with a matching 2<sup>nd</sup> person subject-pronoun, as in (35c), an adnominal possessive pronoun is possible and one gets a typical reflexive construction, no matter how one might analyze the sequence *kiishì-n kâ-n-kà* (as a compound ‘self-protection of you’, or as a reflexive pronoun ‘protection of yourself’). The typical reflexive reading is more easily available when the compound or fixed expression has a transparent meaning, as seen in the following case (examples adapted from Newman 2000: 523).

- (36) a. *Abdù yaa tàmbàyi Binta hanyà-ɾ kaarè kâi.*  
 Abdu 3SG.M.COMPL ask Binta way-of.F protect self  
 ‘Abdu asked Binta about how to protect oneself [way of self-protection].’  
 b. *Abdù yaa faɗàa wà Binta hanyà-ɾ kaarè kânshì/*  
 Abdu 3SG.M.COMPL tell APPL Binta way-of.F protect REFL.3SG.M  
*kântà.*  
 REFL.3SG.F  
 ‘Abdu told Binta about how to protect himself/herself.’

In (36a) with the bare expression *kaarè kai* ‘self-protection’, the person that needs to protect themselves can be Abdu, Balki, or some other person, while in (36b), with a reflexive pronoun, Abdu (with *kânshì*) or Balki (with *kântà*) are referred to by the reflexive pronoun, in a typical reflexive construction. Other semantically transparent *kâi*-based compounds and expressions are: *kaa\_dà kâi* ‘falling all by oneself [self-defeat]’; *kashè kâi* ‘suicide’ (lit. ‘kill self’, cf. *kisà-n kâi* ‘murder’, lit. ‘killing-of head/person’); *binciken kâi* ‘self-exploration’; *àmɓànin*

*kâi* ‘self-benefit’ (i.e. doing something for one’s own sake); *tàimakon kâi* ‘self-help’, etc. Some of these can be reinforced with the ‘by himself’ adverbial intensifiers seen in §6.1: *binciken kâi dà kâi* lit. ‘self-exploration by self’, *tàimakon kâi dà kâi* lit. ‘self-help by self’ (see also Newman 2000: 523). As suggested already in §6.1, these reinforced compounds show that both *dà kâi* and *dà kânshì* can mark the ‘by himself’ emphasis. Finally, there is at least one case where *kâi* ‘self’ appears embedded in typical reflexive constructions, i.e. when the plural form *kaawunà* ‘selves’ is used, as seen in the following (sentence 37a from a radio broadcast and 37b from Jaggar 2001: 383; see also Abdoulaye 2018: 45).

- (37) a. ...*na aamulàa dà tsaftàa dà kuma kaarè kaawunà-n-mù*  
 one.of.M practice with hygiene and also protect selves-of.PL-1PL  
*dàgà cî-n naamá-n beeràayee...*  
 from eating-of.M meat-of.M rodents  
 ‘...[appeals made to us] for practicing hygiene and protecting  
 [restraining] ourselves from eating rodents...’
- b. *Zaa mù wankè kaawunà-n-mù dàgà zàrgi-n dà a-kèè*  
 FUT-1PL clear selves-of.PL-1PL from charge-of.M that IMPRS.RI  
*ma-nà.*  
 APPL-1PL  
 ‘We will clear ourselves of the accusation against us.’
- c. *Daya baayan daya, su-kà zwaagè kaawunà-n-sù dàgà harakà-r.*  
 one after one 3PL-RP extract selves-of.PL-3PL from matter-DEF  
 ‘One by one, they extracted themselves from the matter.’

Sentences in (37), with the plural form *kaawunà* ‘selves’, have a special semantics. Indeed, they tend to imply individualized actions by many people. This is clear in sentences (37a) and (37c), where it is understood that people performed the action separately and at various times. According to Newman (2000: 485), the building of the reflexive pronouns uses only the singular *kâi* and this claim would be true if indeed it applies only to the reflexive pronouns that solely mark coreference between arguments, that is, without an added semantics or an emphasis. Indeed, if the regular reflexive pronoun *kânmu* ‘ourselves’ (lit. ‘our-self’) is used in (37a–37b), as is possible, then the sentences would not have the individualized actions reading.

Although most Hausa researchers assume that the reflexive pronouns are directly based on the meaning ‘head’ (see Caron 1991: 74; Newman 2000: 529; Jaggar 2001: 413; Pawlak 2014: 147f; for a general proposal in this regard see Faltz 1985:

32f,109f), a few sources have instead explicitly linked the reflexive pronouns with *kâi* meaning ‘self’ (e.g. Wolff 1993: 117; Will 2019: 161). The data presented in this section show indeed that the meaning of ‘self’ may be relevant for an account of the development of the typical reflexive pronouns. Self-intensifier forms, too, are sometimes evoked as possible sources of reflexive pronouns (see König & Siemund 2000: 44; Schladt 2000: 105f; and Haspelmath 2023: §11.2 [this volume] for discussions) and this proposal may be relevant for Hausa as well. We have seen in §6 that Hausa has two types of self-intensifiers. There is some evidence in the Katsinanci dialect that adnominal self-intensifiers are formally closer to typical reflexive pronouns than adverbial self-intensifiers. Indeed, adnominal self-intensifiers and reflexive pronouns tend to have less flexibility in their choice of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine singular pronoun variants, as given in Table 2, and so contrast with adverbial self-intensifiers and the *kai* ‘self’ found in compounds and idiomatic expressions, as seen in (38).

- (38) a. *Koo-waa yà yi ta kâ-n-shì/ kâ-n-yà/*  
 even-who 3SG.M.SBJV do one.of.F self-of.M-3SG.M self-of.M-3SG.M  
*kâi-nâ-i!*  
 self-of.M-3SG.M  
 ‘Every man for himself!’ (cf. sentence 34b above)
- b. *Bello yaa jee makarantâ-r dà kâ-n-shì/*  
 Bello 3SG.M.COMPL go school-DEF with self-of.M-3SG.M  
*kâ-n-yà/ kâi-nâ-i.*  
 self-of.M-3SG.M self-of.M-3SG.M  
 ‘Bello went to the school by himself.’ (Also: ‘Bello himself went to the school.’)
- c. *Bello yaa ga kânshì/ ?kânyà/ ?kâinâi cikin*  
 Bello 3SG.M.COMPL see REFL.3SG.M REFL.3SG.M REFL.3SG.M in  
*maduubii.*  
 mirror  
 ‘Bello saw himself in the mirror.’
- d. *Bello shii kânshì/ ?kânyà/ \*kâinai yaa san*  
 Bello 3SG.M EMP.3SG.M EMP.3SG.M EMP.3SG.M 3SG.M.COMPL know  
*gaskiyaa.*  
 truth  
 ‘Bello himself knows the truth.’

- e. *Bello shii kân\_kânshì/ \*kân\_kânyà/ \*kân\_kâinai*  
 Bello 3SG.M EMP-EMP.3SG.M EMP-EMP.3SG.M EMP-EMP.3SG.M  
*yaa san gaskiyaa.*  
 3SG.M.COMPL know truth  
 ‘Bello, really he himself, knows the truth.’

As shown in Table 2, the Katsinanci dialect has four reduced variants for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine singular possessive pronoun, three of which are relevant for our discussion here (the *kâi-na-s* ‘his head’ variant is marginal even for typical possessive constructions). All speakers consulted agree without hesitation that the three variants are grammatical with *kâi* ‘self’, as seen in (38a), and with the adverbial self-intensifiers, as seen in sentence (38b). This result, together with the fact that *dà kâi*, lit. ‘by self’, can alone mark emphasis (e.g. *binciken kâi dà kâi* lit. ‘self-exploration by self’), supports analyzing the ‘by himself’ emphatic constructions as having the literal comitative meaning ‘with (just) his self’, i.e. ‘alone’. By contrast, speakers are less firm in their judgments with the reflexive pronouns and the adnominal self-intensifiers. All speakers consulted immediately favor the form *kânshì* for both constructions, as seen in (38c–38d), respectively. Most consulted speakers tolerate *kânyà* for both constructions. By contrast, *kâinai* is acceptable for the reflexive pronouns but is rejected by most speakers for the adnominal self-intensifiers. Finally, for all consulted speakers, in sentence (38e), the adnominal intensifier reinforced with partial repetition/reduplication (see sentence 31b above) can only have the *kânshì* form.

## 8 Conclusions

This contribution has shown that Hausa distinctively marks coreference between the subject and another NP in the same minimal clause using reflexive pronouns formally based on the possessive construction ‘*kâi* + -n + Pronoun’, lit. ‘self + of + Pronoun’, where the pronoun is coreferential with the clause subject (or sometimes with a preceding direct object or applied object). Subject-coreferential direct objects are almost always expressed as reflexive pronouns (with the exception of the direct objects of some mental and sensation verbs). Subject-coreferential applied objects are also always expressed as reflexive pronouns, except for the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons, where a non-reflexive pronoun is possible. Subject-coreferential locative NPs are always expressed as simple pronouns with prepositions derived from location nouns, but they can also be reflexive pronouns with simple, non-derived prepositions. Similarly, prepositional phrases with *dà* ‘with,

and’ basically accept simple pronouns, but they also allow the reflexive pronouns, particularly in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person. Subject-coreferential possessive NPs can optionally be expressed as reflexive pronouns but they then have a special ‘own’-emphasis on the possessive relation. The chapter also described three different constructions that are related to the typical reflexive constructions: compounds and semi-fixed expressions involving *kâi* ‘self’, adverbial self-intensifiers marking the ‘by himself’ emphasis, and adnominal self-intensifiers marking the scalar ‘even X’/‘X himself’ emphasis and contrast. These three constructions may be relevant for an account of the origin of the typical reflexive pronouns in Hausa.

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## Abbreviations

This chapter follows the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie et al. 2008). Additional abbreviations used are:

APPL1	applicative 1 (locative or recipient applicative, -an)
APPL2	applicative 2 (benefactive or transferred item applicative, i-)
EMP	emphasis
IMPRS	impersonal
RI	relative imperfective
RP	relative perfective

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