1. Introduction

What is now known as the Hausa grade system is a comprehensive classification of Hausa verb forms first presented by F. W. Parsons in 1960. As acknowledged by Parsons himself, the grade system is the most systematic and internally consistent approach to Hausa verbs heretofore developed and as such has gained universal acceptance in the decade since it was first launched. The notion of "grade" has consequently become as natural and important to the Hausaist as the concept of noun class is to the Bantuist.

It is a tribute to the attractiveness and adequacy of Parsons' system as originally presented that it has been accepted not only universally but also uncritically. As a result, the weaknesses that exist in the system have on the whole been overlooked or politely ignored. The grade system is without a doubt the best analysis of Hausa verbs available but, as one should expect, it leaks, has ragged edges, and leaves a number of important questions unanswered.

The purpose of this study is to provide a much-needed critique of the Parsonian system. For some of the inadequacies uncovered, I shall suggest modifications in the grade system itself, taking the general Parsonian framework for granted. This analysis will take up Section 2 of this paper. For other inadequacies, I will offer etymological solutions based on a reconstruction of the Old-Hausa verbal system from

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1The original presentation of the grade system was in Parsons [1960/61]. Further developments and discussions of the system are to be found in Parsons [1962] and Parsons [1971/72]. Throughout this paper, these three articles will be referred to as P1, P2, and P3, respectively. Prior to the appearance of P1, Carnochan [1952] and Lukas [1952] had described the Hausa verbal system using a somewhat similar viewpoint, but Parsons was the first to develop the full system as such.
which the present grade system developed. The description of this historical model, which I have named the VTE system, (Vowel-Tone Class/Extension System), constitutes Section 3 of this paper. In other words, in Section 2, I propose to make synchronic modifications in the grade system so that it works better; in Section 3, I will leave the inadequacies in the present system as such but will provide an alternative way of viewing the Hausa verbal system so as to explain why the anomalies exist as they do.

1.1. Grade system fundamentals. The essence of the grade system is the classification of verbs into seven morphologically distinct forms on the basis of final vowel and tone. Each grade, as so defined, has syntactic and semantic correlates, e.g. 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grade I</td>
<td>jeefaà 'to throw (something)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade II</td>
<td>jeefaa 'to throw at (someone)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade III</td>
<td>zuba 'to spill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade IV</td>
<td>zubèè 'to pour/spill out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade V</td>
<td>zubar 'to pour away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade VI</td>
<td>jeefoo 'to throw (in this direction)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade VII</td>
<td>zûbu 'to be all poured out'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the system, all verb forms are bi-morphemic, being composed of an underlying abstract verbal base without tone or final vowel, e.g. *jeef- and *zub-, plus one of the seven grades, e.g. -aa + Hi-Lo (= grade I) or -oo + Hi-Hi (= grade VI). In principle, all

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2 Actually one should say 'termination' rather than 'final vowel' since grade V verbs end in -VC rather than in -V. All the other grades, however, do end in a vowel.

3 Standard Hausa orthography has been adopted for the Hausa examples with two additions: long vowels are indicated by double letters (short vowels being left unmarked), and low tone, abbreviated Lo, is indicated by a grave accent (high tone, abbreviated Hi, being left unmarked). A low tone on a long vowel is indicated on the first of the two vowels only, e.g./àà/. Falling tone is treated as a sequence of Hi plus Lo on the same syllable, i.e. an unmarked vowel followed by a vowel (or a sonorant) with a grave accent, e.g. /àà/.
verbal bases can occur with any or all of the grade markers; in fact, this is not common, the non-systematic omission of one grade or another usually being the rule.4 Nevertheless, one can ideally treat the abstract verbal bases and the grades as independent freely combinable elements in the formation of actual surface forms. Strictly speaking, therefore, there are no such things as grade II verbs or grade VI verbs; rather, what exists are abstract verbal bases (underlying lexemes) which can be said to "operate" grade II or grade VI as the case may be. In other words, the underlying verbal base is supposed to be neutral as to grade.

1.1.1. Phonological characteristics. The phonological characteristics of the grades—termination (normally final vowel) and tone pattern—are described with reference to three syntactically determined forms: an A form, which is used if no object follows the verb; a B form, which is used if a direct object personal pronoun immediately follows; and a C form, which is used before a direct object other than a personal pronoun.5 In addition, tonal specification requires that the distinction between disyllabic and polysyllabic verb forms be taken into account. It is important to note that (vocalic) termination and tonal pattern are co-occurring, interdependent variables and that it is the combination of the two that serves to define a grade. The following diagram gives a shorthand description of the phonological shape of all the occurring forms of all seven grades.6

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4 In actuality, not only must one indicate what grades are used with what verbs, one must also add specific lexical information for those verbs whose exact meaning cannot be predicted from their derived grade forms.

5 In addition, there is a D form used in pre-dative position which can be left aside for the time being.

6 This diagram is based on the one presented by Parsons [P1:36] with the addition of grade V forms and the correction of the length of the final vowel of the grade VI C form.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Form A</th>
<th>Form B</th>
<th>Form C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Termination</td>
<td>-aa</td>
<td>-aa</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone 7</td>
<td>Hi-Lo-(Hi)</td>
<td>Hi-Lo-(Hi)</td>
<td>Hi-Lo-(Lo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Termination</td>
<td>-aa</td>
<td>-ee</td>
<td>-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone</td>
<td>Lo-Hi-(Lo)</td>
<td>(Lo)-Lo-Hi</td>
<td>(Lo)-Lo-Hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Termination</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone</td>
<td>Lo-Hi-(Lo)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV Termination</td>
<td>-ee</td>
<td>-ee</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone</td>
<td>Hi-Lo-(Hi)</td>
<td>Hi-Lo-(Hi)</td>
<td>Hi-Lo-(Lo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V Termination 8</td>
<td>-ar</td>
<td>-ar (dà)</td>
<td>-ar (dà)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone</td>
<td>Hi-Hi-(Hi)</td>
<td>Hi-Hi-(Hi)</td>
<td>Hi-Hi-(Hi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI Termination</td>
<td>-oo</td>
<td>-oo</td>
<td>-oo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone</td>
<td>Hi-Hi-(Hi)</td>
<td>Hi-Hi-(Hi)</td>
<td>Hi-Hi-(Hi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII Termination</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone</td>
<td>(Lo)-Lo-Hi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Synchronic Modifications in the Grade System

Generally speaking, the variable transitive vs. intransitive cuts across and is independent of the grade system, e.g.,

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7 The tone of quadrisyllabic verb forms is given by copying the initial tone of trisyllabic verbs of the same grade, e.g. (I) ragargazaa 'to smash to pieces' Hi-Hi-Lo-Hi, or (II) tàngàmbayàa 'to ask repeatedly' Lo-Lo-Hi-Lo.

8 In standard Hausa the final consonant of grade V 'causatives' is normally pronounced /r/ in form A and /d/ in forms B and C when followed by the particle /dà/. Historically the final consonant is derived from an /s/, which is still pronounced in some northern and western dialects. Strictly speaking, -ar (dà) does not qualify as a form B termination since it is followed by disjunctive and not direct object pronouns. For a discussion of the true grade V B forms, see Section 2.2.5.
If we exclude the entirely intransitive Grade VII, where the feature of intransitivity is accompanied by other semantic properties of that grade, we find that the only place where the question of transitivity functions as a distinctive variable in discriminating between grades is in the case of grades II and III, e.g.,

9This example, taken from [P2:270], shows that intransitive grade V verbs, although uncommon, do exist.
The distinction between the two grades is not characterized by identifiable semantic features, nor is it accompanied by differences in tone and vowel termination, apart from the length of the final /a/.

The similarities between grades II and III, on the other hand, are numerous and striking:

(i) In citation form, Parsons' form A, both grades end in /a(a)/ and have Lo-Hi tone.

(ii) Trisyllabic verbs of these grades, however, manifest a Lo-Hi-Lo pattern, e.g. tambayàa (II) 'to ask', zàeburà (III) 'to spring forward'. Note by way of contrast, that grade VII, whose disyllabic verbs are also Lo-Hi, utilizes a Lo-Lo-Hi pattern for trisyllabic verbs, e.g. tàaru 'to assemble', kàrànțu 'to be read'.

(iii) Both grades utilize a widespread Chadic /i/ imperative suffix, kàrbi (II) 'Receive (it)!', hàkùri (III) 'Be patient!'. This suffix has a restricted usage in present-day Hausa and seems to be in the process of dropping out of the language altogether. What is significant is that grades II and III are the only ones where it is used at all.

(iv) Neither grade utilizes the nominalizing suffix -waa, e.g.,

(6) àbin dà yakàe kàrbàa (II)
'The thing that he is getting'

yanàa fìtaa (III)
'He is going out'

That is to say, the semantic differences between grade II and grade III verbs are no greater than what one finds between transitive and intransitive verbs belonging to a single grade such as grade I or grade VI.

Within Chadic, Bole [Lukas 1970/71] and Ngizim [Schuh 1972], for example, form the singular imperative with a final /i/ while Kanakuru [Newman 1973] and Tera [Newman 1970] use a final /u/, presumably derived from *i. For a general introduction to the Chadic family and Hausa's place in it, see [Newman and Ma, 1966].

An unexplained difference between the two grades is that the /i/ imperative suffix with grade III is limited to trisyllabic verbs whereas with grade II, it may appear with disyllabic as well as trisyllabic verbs.
cf. àvin dà yakèe tuuràawaa (I)
' The thing that he is pushing'
yanàa fitódwaa (VI)
' He is coming out' (V)

(v) Neither grade can occur before an indirect object, rather it
must "borrow" its pre-dative form from another grade, e.g.,

(7) yaa nèemàa masà yaaròn
'He sought the boy for him'
not
??yaa nèemàa masà yaaròn
sai kà hàkurà masà
'You must be forbearing with him'
not
??sai kà hàkurà masà

On the basis of these similarities and the fact that grades II and
III occur in syntactic complementary distribution, one is led to the
conclusion that these are not two distinct grades of independent status
but rather are submembers of a single grade. Parsons' grade III is
merely the intransitive counterpart of his grade II and vice versa.
According to this modification of the grade system, there are two, not
three, primary grades, both of which contain both transitive and in-
transitive verbs, e.g.

(8) Grade I Grade II (modified)

Tr. kaamàa såyaa
' to catch' ' to buy'

Intr. zaunàa ìììà
' to sit' ' to go out'

13 The suppletion of pre-dative forms, which Parsons refers to as
"borrowing", is discussed in detail in [P3], from which the examples are
taken [P3:79]. The double ?? indicates an ungrammatical utterance.
The collapsing of grades II and III into a single grade raises a notational problem, namely how to refer to the new combined grade. Since it would be confusing to refer to the combined grade simply as grade II—although this would be accurate—I suggest using II\text{m} with the subscript \text{m} indicating 'modified'. If it be necessary to refer separately to the submembers of this grade—the former grades II and III—they should be indicated II\text{t} ('Two-transitive') and III ('Two-intransitive'), respectively.

2.1. Hi-Hi disyllabic 'irregular' verbs. Among the 'irregular' verbs excluded by Parsons from the grade system is a sizeable set of disyllabic Hi-Hi verbs, e.g.,

(9)  

\begin{verbatim}
  buuya  'to hide'
  farga  'to comprehend'
  girma  'to grow up'
  kwaana 'to spend the night'
  kaara  'to cry out'
  kaura  'to change residence'
  kuuna  'to be scorched'
  ridda  'to apostasize'
  saura  'to remain'
  suuma  'to faint'
  tuuba  'to repent'
  tslira 'to escape'
  tsuufa 'to age'
  kusa   'to draw near'
  zama   'to become'
\end{verbatim}

Unlike true 'exceptions' or truly irregular words, these verbs constitute an internally regular set with systematically shared features:

\footnote{To this list one could also add a number of examples from the Tibiri dialect (cited by Gouffé [1965:201] that are not found in standard Hausa.}
(i) They all have Hi-Hi tone.
(ii) They all end in short /a/. \(^{15}\)
(iii) They are all intransitive.
(iv) They all form verbal nouns by lengthening the final vowel rather than by adding the suffix \(^{1}waa\).

These features take on a more significant cast when one notes that except for the tone pattern, all of these features equally characterize grade III (i.e. the former grade III), e.g.,

(10) 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hi-Hi Grade III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>finite verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaa suuma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he fainted'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verbal noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yanaа suumaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he is fainting'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Parsons [P3:88] has already suggested that these verbs might be considered tonally irregular grade III forms. In fact, one can go further than this. If one takes into account a phonological variable hitherto overlooked, then the Hi-Hi tonal pattern turns out to be expectable rather than aberrant.

This other variable, whose importance in Hausa I have demonstrated elsewhere [Newman 1972], is 'syllable weight', i.e., the distinction between heavy and light syllables. If we turn our attention away from the final vowel (which normally serves as the distinctive criterion for grade distinctions) and look instead at the first syllable, we find that the intransitive Hi-Hi verbs almost always have a heavy first syllable, i.e., CVV or CVC, while the generally acknowledged grade III verbs normally have a light first syllable, e.g.,

\(^{15}\)This significant phonetic fact, not indicated in the major Hausa dictionaries, was first pointed out by Carnochan [1952].
(11) Hi-Hi (Heavy $\delta$):

- buuya 'to hide'
- kaura 'to migrate'
- farga 'to comprehend'

(See (9) for further examples)

Grade III (Light $\delta$):

- birra 'to ripen'
- ci'kka 'to be filled'
- d'ga 'to drip'
- isa 'to be sufficient'
- j'ka 'to become moist'

- nuka 'to ripen'
- r'ka 'to become developed'
- ruba 'to decay'
- d'ra 'to leap down'
- kau from kawa 'to get away'

In the case of the Hi-Hi verbs, there are only two counterexamples to the syllable weight rule which would have to be treated as exceptions: kusa 'to draw near' and zama 'to become'. The Lo-Hi counterexamples, while also not numerous are nevertheless more disturbing, e.g., sauka 'to alight', nuuna 'to ripen, be done', bu'lla (usually bu'lloo) 'to appear suddenly', yarda 'to agree'.

We do know that the final syllables of sauka and nuuna (and perhaps also bu'lla <*b'll-na?*) are etymologically suffixes while yarda is a borrowing of recent vintage from Arabic; but admittedly this does not alter the fact that synchronically they violate the syllable weight rule. Nevertheless I would argue that one cannot ignore the very general (if imperfect) correlation that exist between syllable weight and tone, and that the explanatory value of incorporating these Hi-Hi verbs into a pre-existing grade in a systematic manner greatly outweighs the cost of the few exceptions created in so doing. In place of the treatment of the Hi-Hi verbs as a supposedly irregular set floating outside the grade system, I would analyze them as a regular, phonologically conditioned sub-class of grade III. The verbs such as sauka would then constitute the tonally irregular set. With these changes, the much enlarged grade IIIm now has the following composition and structure:
2.2. **Transitive verbs.** Transitive verbs in all grades have three syntactically determined forms: an A form used when no object follows; a B form used before personal pronoun objects; and a C form used before other direct objects, e.g.,

(13)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>A form</th>
<th>B form</th>
<th>C form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gr. I</td>
<td>yaa kaamàa</td>
<td>yaa kaamàa shì</td>
<td>yaa kaamàa dookiì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'He caught (it)'</td>
<td>'He bought (it)'</td>
<td>'He caught the horse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. II</td>
<td>yaa sàyaa</td>
<td>yaa sàyì dookiì</td>
<td>yaa sàyì sàyì dookiì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'He bought (it)'</td>
<td>'He caught the horse'</td>
<td>'He bought the horse'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.1. **Interrelationship.** The question to be asked is how to describe the interrelationship between these forms. This question has two interdependent components, namely, (a) which form should be chosen as the basic form? and (b) what kind of rules are needed to derive the other forms from the one chosen as basic?

Following the tradition of the great Hausa lexicographers [Bargery 1934, Abraham 1962], Parsons [P1] adopts the A form, the
normal citation form, as his basic representation for verbs. Since the final vowel of B forms is always identical to that of A forms—with the exception of the irregular /aa/--/ee/ change in grade IIIt—no special rule is needed to derive one from the other. To handle the C forms, Parsons postulates a vowel shortening rule that we can symbolize as

\[(14) \quad VV \rightarrow V/\_\_\_d.o.[-pn].\]

In Parsons' words, "Form C is a reduction of Form B, i.e. it has undergone a phonetic loss in the shortening of the terminal vowel" [Pl:23]; or, stated differently, "Shortness in the vowel termination is an exponent of transitivity to an object that is not a personal pronoun" [Pl:15].

2.2.2 Final vowel shortening. With few exceptions, Hausa scholars have readily accepted the idea that there is a rule in Hausa whereby verb final long vowels are shortened before noun objects. Nevertheless, verb final long vowels before noun direct objects do exist, e.g.,

\[(15) \quad (a) \quad yaa \ daukoo \ kaayaa \quad 'He lifted the loads'\]
\[(b) \quad an \ bincikëe \ måganåa \quad 'One has investigated the matter'\]
\[(c) \quad mû \ jaa \ mootåa \quad 'Let's pull the car'\]
\[(d) \quad zaa \ tà \ kiraa \ käwarta \quad 'She will call her friend'\]

There are a number of reasons why examples such as these did not originally deter Parsons from formulating his shortening rule:

(i) At the time of his original formulation of the grade system, Parsons erroneously thought that the C form of grade VI verbs ended in short -o and thus fell within his general rule [Pl:30, 36]. Parsons has subsequently acknowledged this error [P3:51] but without recognizing its import, since he adds parenthetically that the long -oo is "exceptional therefore among C forms".

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16 See Parsons [P3:54] for this form with the long final vowel and the difference between it and the normal grade IV, an bincikëe måganåà.
(ii) The 'intensive' grade IV with the long vowel before noun objects was not known at the time of Parsons' original paper and thus could not have been taken into account. The first explicit mention of this variant of grade IV is to be found in Parsons' own recent article [P3:54-55], although as Parsons comments one can now look back and find scattered examples of this construction in earlier works.17

(iii) In Parsons' original paper, there was no attempt to include monosyllabic verbs nor 'irregular' forms such as the transitive Hi-Hi verbs (jiraa 'to wait for', kiraa 'to call', biyaa 'to pay', rigaa 'to precede'). Since these verbs fell outside the grade system, they could be ignored in formulating what looked to be a valid shortening rule within the grade system.

2.2.3. Alternative to shortening. The reasons given above are an attempt to explain how it was originally possible to believe in the existence of a pre-noun vowel shortening rule. Nevertheless, when we take into account our cumulative knowledge to date, which includes the classes of counter-examples illustrated in (15), we are forced to conclude that Parsons' vowel shortening rule is invalid. Contrary to what was earlier thought, verb final vowels do not automatically shorten before noun objects. In fact, it now appears that there are as many classes of verbs that have long vowels before noun objects as have short, e.g.,

(16)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>(a) Short -V</th>
<th>(b) Long -VV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gr. I</td>
<td>yaa kaamâ yaardo</td>
<td>Hi-Hi yaa kiraa yaardo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'He caught the boy'</td>
<td>'He called the boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. II</td>
<td>yaa sâyî naamâ</td>
<td>Gr. VI yaa sayco naamâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'He bought meat'</td>
<td>'He bought (and brought) meat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17 According to Parsons, the credit for discovering this construction belongs to Professor David W. Arnott. Gouffé [personal communication] confirms having also found this construction both in standard Hausa and in the Tibiri dialect.
Since it is clear that pre-noun vowel shortening is not an automatic process in Hausa, then either we have to adopt an ad-hoc shortening rule to handle the verbs in column (a) or else we have to look for an alternative solution.

2.2.4. Base forms. According to Parsons, "Form A is the form under which a verb is quoted in isolation and cited in both dictionaries, and this may therefore logically be considered as the basic form" ([Pl:23], underline mine). Without denying that the A form is the standard citation form, one can still question whether there is any reason to consider this form logically or analytically basic. It would be equally logical, and, I would suggest, analytically sounder to treat the pre-noun C form as basic. One would thereby eliminate the need for an ad-hoc vowel shortening rule, since the length of the verb final vowel in pre-noun position would already be specified by the basic representation, e.g.,

(17)  yaa kaamə yaaroö < *kaamə 'to catch'
      'He caught the boy'

      yaa bi sarkii < *bi 'to follow'
      'He followed the chief'

Cf. yaa sayoo ràagoo < *sayoo 'to buy and bring'
      'He bought the ram'

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18 The underlying representation of intransitive verbs, which do not operate a C form, must be established by extrapolation from the form of transitive verbs of the same grade. For the exclusively intransitive grade VII, the actually occurring A form can be adopted as the basic form in the absence of compelling reasons to choose otherwise.
The vowel length of B forms would then be provided by a general exceptionless rule requiring that all verb final vowels before personal pronoun objects be long,\textsuperscript{19} e.g.,

\begin{align*}
& (18) \quad \text{*yaa kaamà shì} \quad \Longrightarrow \quad \text{yaa kaamàa shì} \\
& \quad \text{*yaa bi shì} \quad \Longrightarrow \quad \text{yaa biì shì} \\
& \quad \text{*yaa sayoo shì} \quad \text{\textquoteleft He bought it\textquoteright} \\
& \quad \text{\textquoteleft He caught him\textquoteright} \\
& \quad \text{\textquoteleft He followed him\textquoteright} \\
& \text{\textquoteleft already long\textquoteright}
\end{align*}

2.2.5. /ee/ - lengthening. In the case of grade II\textsc{t} verbs (the so-called 'changing verbs'), the vowel lengthening before pronoun objects is accompanied by the well-known change in the vowel quality from /i/ to /ee/, e.g.,

\begin{align*}
& (19) \quad \text{*yaa sòoki shì} \quad \Longrightarrow \quad \text{yaa sòokee shì} \\
& \quad \text{\textquoteleft He stabbed him\textquoteright} \\
& \quad \text{\textquoteleft He will help us\textquoteright}
\end{align*}

Whatever the historical explanation for this change, synchronically it probably requires an ad-hoc rule in anybody's system. However, what has not been generally observed is that the use of /ee/ as a pre-object pronoun termination is not limited to grade II\textsc{t} verbs. The parallel use of /ee/ as a pre-pronoun form is also found as a regular alternative B form of grade V verbs, e.g.,\textsuperscript{20}

\begin{align*}
& (20) \quad \text{yaa zubshee shì} \quad \text{\textquoteleft He poured it out\textquoteright} \\
& \quad \text{yaa baashee tà} \quad \text{\textquoteleft He gave it away\textquoteright} \\
& \quad \text{yaa fishshee sù} \quad \text{\textquoteleft He took them out\textquoteright}
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{19}The tone of B forms needs no special treatment since it is either identical to that of their corresponding underlying forms, or derivable from them by a general tone rule (see section 2.2.6., especially footnote 27).

\textsuperscript{20}In western dialects, this /ee/ also appears in the pre-pronoun form of the irregular verb ganii 'to see', e.g. yaa ganee shì he saw him', cf. standard Hausa yaa gan shì.
The identity of the pre-pronoun /ee/ found in grade IIIt and grade V has not been appreciated because of the erroneous assumption that in the latter case there existed a suffix of the form -(s)shee.\textsuperscript{21} It is evident on closer analysis that the putative -shee suffix is nothing but the underlying causative marker -(a)s plus the pre-pronoun vowel /ee/. Compare the following underlying representations of A, B, and C forms of grade V verbs with their common surface realizations:

\begin{verbatim}
(21) Underlying | C form | B form | A form
---|---|---|---
' to pour out' | *zub-as (då) | *zub-s-ee | *zub-as
Surface | zubad då | zubshee | zubar
' to take out' | *fit-as (då) | *fit-s-ee | *fit-as
Surface | fitad då | fishshee | fitar
' to inform' | *san-as (då) | *san-ass-ee | *san-as
Surface | sanad då | sanashshee | sanar
' to give away' | *baa-as (då) | *baa-s-ee | *baa-as
Surface | bayad då | baashee | baayar
' to feed' | *ci-as (då) | *ci-s-ee | *ci-as
Surface | ciyad då | clishee | ciyar
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{21}"Before an objective personal pronoun the syllable -she may be suffixed to the verb, the da being omitted" [Bargery 1934:xxxii]. Even Parsons, who noted an element of parallelism between the pre-pronoun form of grade IIIt and grade V verbs [P3:195], persisted in this error: "[The causative has] a completely synonymous by-form in which an extra hightoned syllable, or suffix -shee is added, either to the full form in -as or to the apocopated form represented by the verbal base" [P3:55].
As can be seen from the above, generation of the surface form requires a number of minor adjustments: deletion of the vowel from the -(a)s suffix, insertion of epenthetic /y/'s, addition of weight to certain syllables, and change in the pronunciation of abutting and final consonants. The use of the /ee/ before pronoun objects, while perhaps not predictable, is straightforward and regular, suggesting that neither this B form nor the 'irregular' B form of grade II is really so different from the B forms of the other grades. One can certainly say that whatever other complexities there might be, all of the pre-pronoun vowels are long, i.e., the rule of final vowel lengthening before personal pronoun objects stands intact as a well verified, actively productive rule in Hausa.

2.2.6. Derivation of A forms. Having adopted the C form as basic and having generated the B forms by a general vowel lengthening rule, we are left with the problem of the A forms, i.e., the normal citation forms as well as the forms used when the verb is not immediately followed by a direct object (either because the verb is intransitive

---

22 Parsons [P2:263-64] tries to explain the internal /y/ found in the causatives of monosyllabic verbs, such as baayas and ciyas, either by his invented "law of apophonic buffer" or else by postulating the /y/ as part of the verbal base. Both explanations are wrong. The correct explanation explicitly considered and rejected by Parsons, is that the /y/ is simply an epenthetic transition between the preceding and following vowels, i.e. a "semi-voyelle de liaison", to use Gouffe's phrase [1962:187]

23 The syllable preceding the syllable -shee must be heavy. If it is not already heavy, it must be made so either by lengthening the vowel, e.g. *cishee --- ciishee, *gajishee --- gajiishee, or by geminating the following consonant, e.g. *sanashee --- sanashshee, *karantashee --- karantashshee. These processes were already noted by Gouffe [1968/69:13] without, however, the benefit of syllable weight as a unifying concept. Note that this gemination required for purposes of syllable weight should not be confused with that resulting from the assimilation of an underlying root final /t/, e.g. *fit-shee --- fishedee, *bat-shee, --- bashshee. Interestingly, the heavy syllable requirement also characterizes the 'short form' of the causative allowed with certain verbs, e.g. zub då, fid då, ciि då (not ??cil då), gajiि då (not ??gaji då), shigaa då (not ??shiga då).
or because the object has been permuted or deleted). Unfortunately it does not seem possible to relate the A forms to the underlying forms by a proper generative rule. Instead, one has to be content, for the time being at least, with a small number of descriptive statements that account for the facts, but without getting at the underlying processes involved:

(i) Grade I, grade IV, and the dialectal 'de-causatives' (Gr. Vd), all of whose underlying forms have a short final vowel, have A forms with a long final vowel.

(22) Underlying form   |   A form
*kaamà (I)   |   kaamàa  "to catch"
*zaunà (I)   |   zaunàa  "to sit"
*rufè (IV)   |   rufèe  "to close"
*fashè (IV)   |   fashèe  "to break (intr.)"
*maidà (Vd)   |   maidàa  "to return sth"
*kaadà (Vd)   |   kaadàa  "to fell, overpower"

(ii) The A forms of grade II verbs also end in a long vowel. The striking characteristic of this grade, however, is the unusual replacement of the underlying final /i/ by /aa/.

(23) Underlying form   |   A form
*sàyi      |   sàyaa  "to buy"
*nèemi      |   nèemaa  "to seek"

---

24 The term 'de-causative' was coined by Gouffé [1962:198] for the dialectal 'causative' found with the fused suffix -dà.

25 The change of /i/ to /ee/ before pronoun objects, while not now phonologically automatic, must originally have been phonological in nature, the determining factors being length, tone, and/or stress. The /i/ → /aa/ change, on the other hand, being due to the accidental merger of two morphologically distinct verb classes, probably never had a phonological basis. Thus the relationship between these two vowels should not really be described in terms of a process rule but rather in terms of static, distributionally defined alternation.
(iii) With other verbs, namely grades III, VI, VII as well as most of the various classes of verbs outside the grade system, the final vowel of the A form is identical to that of the underlying form, e.g. (Underlying and A form):

(24)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying</th>
<th>A Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shiga (III)</td>
<td>'to enter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suuma (III)</td>
<td>'to faint'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koomoo (VI)</td>
<td>'to return'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tåaru (VII)</td>
<td>'to assemble'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaa</td>
<td>'to pull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kì (II)</td>
<td>'to refuse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiraa (II)</td>
<td>'to call'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tåfe (VI)</td>
<td>'to go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faadï (VII)</td>
<td>'to fall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutù</td>
<td>'to die'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As far as tone is concerned, the A form is the same as the underlying form with two exceptions. Trisyllabic grade I and IV verbs, which have Hi-Lo-Lo tone in underlying representation, exhibit Hi-Lo-Hi tone in their A forms. This change is not, however, a specific property of these grade forms. Rather, it is an automatic result of a general tone-raising rule described by Leben [1971] which is triggered by the final vowel lengthening of the A forms of these grades. 27

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26 In final position monosyllabic i-verbs tend to be pronounced with a long vowel followed by a glottal stop, e.g. [yaa kii?] 'He refused'. As pointed out by Gouffé [1965:199] the true length of verb final vowels can be determined by using the negative as a frame, e.g. [bâi kî ba] 'He didn't refuse'.

27 Leben's rule states that a word final sequence of Lo-Lo is automatically changed to Lo-Hi if the second Lo is long, i.e.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Lo Lo} & \rightarrow \text{Lo Hi} \\
\text{[+long]} & \rightarrow \text{[+long]}
\end{align*}
\]

Note that this rule also accounts for the surface tone of the B form of trisyllabic grades I and IV, where the lengthening of the final vowel results in the inadmissible Lo + long Lo sequence. While Leben has not discussed the matter in the following terms, I would suggest that his process rule, which serves to eliminate phonologically ungrammatical words that appear in intermediate structure, is the corollary of a rigid phonotactic rule prohibiting underlying forms of the shape ...Lo | Lo | #. [+long]

If this analysis is correct, then the choice of a short final vowel in the underlying form of grade I and IV verbs becomes obligatory since forms such as *karântâa and *daakâtâa could not appear as underlying representations in the lexicon.
Polysyllabic grade II verbs constitute the other exception to the general identity of underlying forms and A forms as far as tone is concerned.

While the underlying tone pattern of trisyllabic grade II verbs (both the former Gr. II and Gr. III) is Lo-Lo-Hi, the A forms have Lo-Hi-Lo tone.

Unlike the previous case, where the tone change was phonologically conditioned, this tone change is morphologically specific—witness the fact that polysyllabic grade VII verbs, which also have underlying Lo-Lo-Hi tone, retain that tone pattern in their A forms, e.g.,

2.3 Grade interrelationships. The discussion so far has been concerned only with the internal composition and morphological make-up of the individual grades. I would now like to turn to the question of interrelationships between the grades.

As originally conceived by Parsons, the grades could "occur only in complementary syntactic distribution to one another" [Pl:29], i.e. the grades were taken to be mutually exclusive, a verb not being able
to operate more than one grade at a time. While this is true on the whole as a shallow empirical description, it is an erroneous definitional statement. The grades are normally mutually exclusive, not for syntactic or semantic reasons, but rather for very practical phonological reasons, namely the impossibility of a word ending simultaneously in different vowels or simultaneously exhibiting two different tone patterns. Since vowel termination and tone pattern are usually the sole markers of grade distinctions, grades cannot normally co-occur. However, where phonologically possible—as in cases where grades are overtly marked by means other than just vowel termination and associated tone pattern—simultaneous combinations of grades do occur, e.g.,

(28) Basic Verb | One Derived Grade | Combination of Grades
--- | --- | ---
\( j\)aa | ja\( n\)y\( e \)e (IV) | ja\( n\)y\( o \)o (IV + VI)
'to pull' | 'to pull all' | 'to pull all here'
\( s\)haa | sh\( a \)n\( y\)\( e \)e (IV) | sh\( a \)n\( y\)\( y \)u (IV + VII)
'to drink' | 'to drink up' | 'to have drunk up'
\( m\)ay\( a \) | maid\( a \) (Vd) | maidoo (Vd + VI)
'to return' | 'to return sth' | 'to return sth here'
\( f\)i\( \dot{a} \) | fidd\( a \) (Vd) | fidd\( u \) (Vd + VII)
'to go out' | 'to take out, eject' | 'to have been taken out'

Admittedly the 'de-causative' (indicated Vd) is a dialectal form; however, it does not seem unfair to insist that a system as broad and encompassing as the grade system should be able to handle dialectal variation, especially since Parsons has specifically pointed to the pan-dialectal validity of the grade system as one of its major attributes. In any case, these de-causatives plus the non-dialectal -\( n\)\( y\)ee grade IV

\[28\]"It appears however to be an established fact...that in the main...the verbal grade system that I have described applies uniformly—morphologically, syntactically and semantically—throughout the whole Hausa speaking area (hence, I may add, its great significance for historical and comparative studies)" [P3:207].
forms show that the potentiality for combining grades clearly exists even if only rarely put into practice. Moreover, one can cite the existence of 'double causatives' such as ciisad (dà) 'to feed' or 'causative de-causatives' such as mайдad (dà) 'to return sth' as further indication that the building of grades on top of one another is a natural process for Hausa speakers and cannot be excluded in principle from the general framework of the grade system.

2.3.1. **Hierarchical relationships.** The last synchronic modification I wish to make within the grade system as such concerns the hierarchical relationship between the grades. As a means of organizing the grades with respect to one another, Parsons has grouped them into Primary (grades I, II, III), Secondary (IV, V) and Tertiary (VI, VII) e.g. [P2:247 and P3:195]. Other scholars (notably Gouffé [1962:186] and Pilszczikowa [1969:15]) have preferred to set up two groups of grades only, i.e. primary (I, II, III) vs. non-primary (IV, V, VI, VII), an arrangement which Parsons casually accepts "as sufficient for purely pedagogic purposes" [P2:247]. In support of the decision to collapse the secondary and tertiary grades into a single group, I would insist that the dichotomous grouping is truly fundamental and has nothing to do with pedagogic convenience. The terms "Basic" for the primary grades and "derivative" for the non-primary grades, used by Pilszczikowa, captures the essence of this dichotomy. The basic grades are generated directly from underlying verbal bases, whereas the derivative grades are generated not from the abstract verbal bases themselves but rather from the basic grade forms. As Parsons has said in evidence against himself, "These secondary and tertiary grades are all derivative in all but a strictly morphological sense" [P2:262]. Of course, the establishment of a dichotomous framework does not preclude further subdivisions within

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29 Parsons has not yet given a full explanation of his three-way division, but he has indicated that the division is related to the fact that "no grade form of the verb can derive its meaning, either inclusively or exclusively...from a grade that does not rank above it—either at one or two steps removed—in the gradational hierarchy" [P2:257].
each group so that the distinction between secondary and tertiary verbs (or whatever labels one might prefer to use) could be retained at a subsidiary level to handle matters such as the combinability of derivative grades.

2.4. Modified grade system. We can now summarize the structure of the grade system incorporating the modifications made above. The Hausa grade system is a classification of Hausa verb forms into six grades (with dialectal subvariants). All of the grades, except grade VII, contain both transitive and intransitive verbs. The first two grades, grade I and IIm (which combines the former grades II and III plus Hi-Hi intransitive verbs) constitute the primary or basic grades. The other four grades (grades IV, V, VI, and VII) constitute a group of non-primary or derivative grades. Within this derivative group, the grades can be further subdivided into 'secondary' (IV and V) and 'tertiary' (VI and VII). The derivative grades commute morphologically with basic grades, but at a deeper syntactic/semantic level, they must be considered as derivatives of them. These derivative grades are also usually morphologically contrastive among themselves, but where phonologically possible, combinations of a 'secondary' and a 'tertiary' grade do occur. Combinations of two 'secondary' or two 'tertiary' grades are not allowed.

This modified system can be diagrammed as follows (cf. [Gouffé 1962:186, 200]:

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|}
\hline
\text{BASIC GRADES} & \\
\hline
\text{Grade I} & \\
\hline
\text{Grade IIm} & \text{II + III} \\
\hline
\text{DERIVATIVE GRADES} & \\
\hline
\text{SECONDARY GRADES} & \\
\hline
\text{Grade IV} & \\
\hline
\text{Grade V (including 'de-causative')} & \\
\hline
\text{TERTIARY GRADES} & \\
\hline
\text{Grade VI} & \\
\hline
\text{Grade VII} & \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]
The Origins of the Hausa Grade System

Section 2 of this paper contains a number of synchronically motivated modifications in the grade system as formulated by Parsons. Throughout that section of the paper, the basic correctness of the grade system is taken for granted. The various changes suggested are thus intended as a contribution to the theory of the grade system rather than as a competing theory.

In this section of the paper, I will examine a number of more serious inconsistencies and inadequacies in the grade system, particularly with reference to the basic grades. In order to account for these anomalies, I will present an analysis which departs radically from the now universally accepted Parsonian theory. Unlike the grade system, which is a good description of the way the modern Hausa verbal system generally works (and an idealized picture of the way one would think it ought to work in its entirety), my analysis is based on an internal and comparative reconstruction of the verbal system that pre-dated the development of the grade system. To the extent that this development has not fully taken place, and remnants of the earlier system persist, my analysis can be viewed as a synchronic alternative to the standard grade system. However, since the 'present' is only an arbitrary moment extracted from a continuum of history and since historical linguistic events take place over a stretch of time (not at a point in time), it is not always so easy to determine whether the description of a particular phenomenon should be considered synchronic or historical. Therefore in explaining my analysis of the Hausa verbal system—be it precursor or alternative to the grade system—I will employ the historical present tense throughout, with temporal ambiguity considered fortuitous.

3.1. Organizing principle. The organizing principle of the grade system can be expressed by the following rule:

(30) Verb $\rightarrow$ Verbal Base + Grade.

where Verb is a complete verbal form (such as koorè 'to chase away' or fitoo 'to come out'), Verbal Base is an abstract lexical entry without
tone or final vowel (e.g. *koor- 'to chase', *fit- 'to go/come out'), and grade is one of the seven grades described in section 1.1, consisting of a final vowel (or -VC in the case of the causatives) and an associated tone pattern, plus particular semantic properties (e.g. -e/Hi-Lo 'totality grade (IV)' or -oo/Hi-Hi 'Ventive grade (VI)'.

In principle every base should be able to occur with every grade. As is well known, this is seldom the case, although the deficiencies have never been pointed to as a flaw in the theory. Some of the missing grade forms are in fact without significance, being due to accidental omission or to semantic incompatibility between the verbal base and the particular grade. Very often it is unclear whether a non-occurring grade form is 'ungrammatical' or simply not attested. This is especially true with regard to the derivative grades.

3.1.1. Lacunae. When we turn our attention to the basic grades, we find lacunae that cannot be discounted so easily. Compare the following verbs which occur exclusively either in grade I or in grade IIIm, but not in both:

(31) (a) Gr. I w/out IIIm: 30
   keeràa 'to smith' dafàa 'to cook' kaamàa 'to catch'
   gamàa 'to finish' zaunàa 'to sit' òsayàa 'to stand'
   huuràa 'to blow on'

(b) Gr. IIIm w/out I:
   nèemàa 31 'to seek' zàtatàa 'to think' fìta 'to go out'
   fàdàa 'to tell' cètìa 'to rescue' bìra 'to ripen'
   suuma 'to faint'

In examples such as these one is dealing not with accidental gaps, but with real unexplained absences. In these cases the assignment of

30 To avoid the unfamiliar, the Hausa examples are given in their usual citation form rather than in their presumed underlying form.

31 The verb nèemà, like certain other grade IIit verbs, uses a grade I form in pre-dative position. The reasons for this are described later and do not affect the examples given here.
the verb to one basic grade rather than the other appears to be an intrinsic property of that verb, i.e., the theoretical independence of verbal base and grade is lacking. The verbal base *fit-, for example, requires grade III and disallows grade I, while with the base *tsay-, the opposite is true. The forms ?fitàa and ?tsàya are not merely missing, they are impossible. Thus, one seems to be forced back to the old idea that fit, for example, does not merely operate grade III but rather is inherently a grade II verb.

3.1.2. Monosyllabic verbs. The limitation of verbal bases to one basic grade—in no way allowed for in the grade system as it now stands—can be illustrated in an equally striking fashion by considering the status of monosyllabic verbs. In Parsons' early writings, monosyllabic verbs such as shaa 'to drink', jaa 'to pull', ci 'to eat', bi 'to follow', etc. were excluded from the grade system. In his latest paper [P3], Parsons correctly observes that since these verbs operate derivative grades in a more or less regular manner and since they are some of the most common verbs in the language, they should be incorporated into the system. In doing this, however, he commits a grave logical error. Faced with the problem of deciding to which basic grades to assign these monosyllabic verbs, Parsons decides to ignore morphological considerations and ends up by assigning them to grades I or II on the basis of semantic characteristics of the base. Using the criterion of "semantic analogy", he assigns jaa 'to pull', yi 'to do', and bi 'to follow', among others, to grade I, and shaa 'to drink', ci 'to eat', ji 'to hear/feel', etc. to grade II[t [P3:92n]. This, however, is contrary to the entire theoretical framework of the system whereby bases and grades are supposed to combine in a relatively free manner, each contributing its own semantic components. Bases are not supposed to be assigned to particular grades—this is a return to the Abraham/Bargery type of verb classification from which Parsons escaped—rather they are supposed to be neutral, free-floating morphemes, so to speak, that can only achieve surface realization by the selection and incorporation of a grade.
Even if one were willing to overlook the theoretically illogical basis upon which individual monosyllabic verbs were assigned to particular grades, one would still have to account for the fact that none of these verbs can occur in more than one basic grade, a restriction that again seems lexically intrinsic and not accidental. Furthermore, by completely ignoring final vowel or other phonological considerations in the assignment of monosyllabic verbs to basic grades (e.g. jaa and bi to grade I and shaa and ci to grade II), the normal mechanisms for shifting from one grade to another are no longer available. We know, for example, what a grade I verb corresponding to fita (III) would look like even though it does not actually occur; but how would one go about changing shaa into a grade I or jaa into a grade II?

In short, the price that Parsons has had to pay in order to incorporate the monosyllabic verbs into his system has been the introduction of theoretical inconsistencies and contradictions that violate the very foundations upon which the grade system is built.

3.1.3. Counterinstances. According to the grade system, a verbal base is thought to be entered in the lexicon without tone or final vowel. The basic/generalized meaning of the word is carried by this underlying form, e.g. *koo- 'to chase', *zub- 'to spill/pour', *say- 'to buy/sell'. The tone and termination, which constitutes the grade, add their semantic properties to the base but do not change its essential meaning, e.g., koorée (IV) 'to chase away', zubar (V) 'to pour out', sayoo (VI) 'to buy and bring'. As Parsons says, "[unlike in nouns] whose two components of form, tone and termination, are independent variables, a change of either component or both (the base in either case remaining the same) does not, with rare exceptions, constitute a lexical change, i.e. a change of basic meaning" ([Pl:10], underline mine). Parsons, uncharacteristically, does not footnote these 'rare exceptions' and,

32 Also no longer available is the ability to identify a grade form unambiguously on the basis of its unique and distinctive phonological characteristics.
as far as I am aware, has not mentioned them since. The 'exceptions' that I have pulled together, while admittedly not numerous, are nevertheless significant and cannot simply be swept under the rug. To draw an important methodological distinction, these so-called 'exceptions' are not properly speaking 'exceptions', but rather are 'counterinstances' to a basic principle of the grade system.

The counterexamples consist in pairs of verbs, in which the difference between a grade I and grade IIIm form of the 'same' verbal base is accompanied by a difference in the basic meaning of the verb. In other words, with these pairs, a change in basic grade does not merely modify the meaning of a semantically generalized base, rather the grade assignment plays a crucial role in determining the very definition of the individual members of each pair. In some cases a pair is defective in that a derivative grade is now normally (or obligatorily) used in place of one of the basic grades. Nevertheless where it has been possible to determine without question to which basic grade the form in question is related, I have used these derivative forms in making up a grade I/IIIm pair. In recognition of the importance of these counterinstances, I have illustrated all the pairs listed below with sample sentences provided by native Hausa speakers.

(32) gamaa (I) 'to finish, to complete'
gamaa (IIIm) 'to please, to suit'

(32a) dāa kaa zoo dāa kaa gamā aikīn
 'If you had come you would have finished the work'

(32b) rīiga rī taa gāmee shī
 'The robe suited him'

(Note: The grade IIIm was allowed but a grade V or a double causative was considered more common, e.g.,
 taa gamshee shī 'It suited him' or
 taa gamsad dā Garbā 'It suited Garba'.)

(33) kimaa (I) 'to wind on (a large turban)'
* kimā (IIi) 'to be in a quiet rage'
(33a) yaa kimà rawànni
'He wound on a turban'
(33b) âlkaali yaa kimèe
'The judge sat close-mouthed (with anger)'
(Note: My Kano assistants insisted on the grade IV form; the presumed underlying grade III verb is listed in Bargery.)
(34) kwâbbàa (I) 'to insert tool into handle'
kwâbâa (IIIt) 'to prevent s.o. from speaking or doing sth'
(34a) yaa kwâbbà gàatatì à kootàà
'He inserted the axe into the handle'
(34b) kà kwâbbà yiààòàà in bààkìì sun zoo
'Keep your child quiet when the guests come'
(35) kaaràa (I) 'to increase'
kaaraa (IIIt) 'to finish'
(35a) an kaarà àlbaàshimmàù
'They have increased our wages'
(35b) aikìì yaa kaarèe
'The work is finished'
(Note: The verb 'to finish' is normally used as a grade IV. Bargery, however, does give the grade IIIt form, which he illustrates with ban kaari ganinsa ba 'I haven't finished looking at it'.)
(36) rainààa (I) 'to despise, belittle' (verbal noun rainìì)
ràinàa (IIIt) 'to look after, care for' (verbal noun ràinoo)
(36a) kadà kà ci kà rainààa
'Do not eat and belittle (what you have eaten)'
(36b) taa rànin màràayàà
'She took care of the orphan'
(37) sheekààa (I) 'to winnow'
shèekàe (IIIt) 'to sniff'
(37a) taa sheekà hàtsìì à hanyàà
'She winnowed the corn by the road'
naa sheekh kamshin turaaree
'I sniffed the scent of the perfume'

waasaa (I) 'to hone, sharpen'
*waasaa (IIt) 'to sack, plunder, loot'

yaa waasaa wukaa
'He sharpened the knife'

an waashè gidansà kap
'They have looted his house entirely'

tsiiràa (I) 'to impale'
tsiira (IIi) 'to escape'

an tsiirè mài la'fil
'The wrongdoer was executed (by impaling on a stake)'

bàraawon yaa tsiira
'The thief escaped'

yaaàaa (I) 'to spread'
yàaaàaa (IIt) 'to skim off sth'

àlmàajíransà sun yaaàà àddiínìì
'His disciples spread the religion'

yaa yàaddì kùnuu
'He skimmed the film off the surface of the gruel'

yaaafàaa (I) 'to scatter seed, for sowing, to throw over the shoulder'
yàaafàa (IIt) 'to forgive'

yaa yaaafàa iríi à goonaà
'He scattered the seed for sowing on the farm'

màlgidaana yaa yàaafee nì
'My master forgave me'

(Note: In place of the grade IIIt, a grade IV with a dative was considered more natural, i.e.

yaa yaafèe mìnì  'He forgave me'.)

zaagàa (I) 'to go round a place'
zàagaa (IIt) 'to insult'
'He went around to the back of the market'

'Do not insult your co-wife'

With a number of potential examples, it was difficult to decide whether one was dealing with wide-ranging polysemy ultimately relating to a common lexical base, or whether the different grade forms were actually derived from independent, unrelated lexical bases. The pairs listed above, culled from a considerably longer list, represent pairs in which the semantic contrast is quite clear-cut and about which a number of standard Hausa speakers were in agreement that distinct lexical bases were involved. While there could be an error here or a difference of interpretation there, the list as a whole must be accepted for what it is, namely a collection of natural, everyday Hausa verbs which theoretically should not contrast with one another if the grade system operated in the ideal way it is supposed to.

3.2 New classificatory model. In order to provide an explanation for anomalies such as the above, I propose to offer a new model for the classification of Hausa verbs as an alternative to the Parsonian grade system. The keystone to my system is that tone and final vowel must be treated as integral components of the lexical entry of verbs. The verb tone and final vowel are considered lexically specific (and not morphologically or grammatically determined) just as is the case with the consonants and internal vowel(s). Lexical entries would thus look like *zaunà 'to sit', *kaamà 'to catch', *nèemì 'to seek', *fìta 'to go out', as opposed to Parsons' *zauna-, *kaam-., *nèem- and *fìta-.
Having assigned underlying verbs with full phonological specification, they can be then fully classified on the basis of their phonological shape. The former basic grades I, II, and III (with their supposed but illusive semantic correlates) thus become inoperative and can be eliminated entirely. Unlike the grades, these phonological classes are not considered to have semantic correlates.  

3.2.1. Variables: tone & final vowel. The phonological classification is based on the two variables, tone and final vowel. There are two crucial matters here. First, we have to reaffirm the decision made in section 2.2.4. on internal grounds not to accept the dictionary/citation form of Hausa verbs as the underlying representation. Instead we will either adopt an actually occurring form C (i.e. the pre-noun form) as underlying or else postulate a related though possibly non-occurring form. In the case of grade IIt, the result of this analysis is that these verbs now end in /i/ in underlying form and thus the distinction between grade I and grade IIt verbs—formerly thought to be tonal—can be seen to be a manifestation of a more widespread Chadic distinction between a-final and ε-final verbs. Secondly, we have to allow tone and final vowel to be treated as independent rather than co-varying variables. Thus a verb with underlying final -a can have either Hi-Lo tone, e.g. *dafa 'to cook' or Lo-Hi tone, e.g. *fita 'to go out', the tonal difference being distinctive, not redundant.

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34 This explains why all attempts to provide a unified semantic characterization of grade II (e.g. [Lukas 1963/64] and [Pilszczikowa 1969]) have ended in failure. Unlike grades IV and VI, which are semantically definable, grade II, like grade I, is an arbitrary phonological class.

35 An important finding of the Comparative Chadic Syntax Project [P. Newman, R. Newman, and R. Schuh] was the discovery that Proto-Chadic had two and only two major classes of polysyllabic verbs, a-verbs and ε-verbs. This dichotomy, reconstructible for the proto-language, is still easily seen in many Chadic languages, e.g. Ngizi'm [Schuh 1972] and Tera [Newman 1970], as well as Hausa.

36 The identity of the final vowels results from the adoption of the C form as basic.
If we then take the final vowels -a and -i and the tone patterns Hi-Lo and Lo-Hi as independent variables available for the formation of basic verbs, we come up with a 2 x 2 system which produces four phonological classes, e.g.

\[(a) \quad (c)\]

\[(b) \quad (d)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(43)</th>
<th>a-verbs</th>
<th>i-verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hi-Lo</td>
<td>*kaamá (a)</td>
<td>*faadí (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*'to catch'</td>
<td>*'to fall'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo-Hi</td>
<td>*fíta (b)</td>
<td>*nèemi (d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*'to go out'</td>
<td>*'to seek'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Given this basic grid, we find that most 'irregular' Hausa verbs fall naturally into place. Thus táfí 'to go' gájí 'to tire', kóoshí 'to be replete', automatically fall within the Lo-Hi i-verb box (43d) along with the former grade II verbs. Box (43c) naturally accommodates the Hi-Lo i-verbs, e.g. barí 'to leave', saní 'to know', wuní/yiní 'to spend the day', taashí 'to get up', faadí 'to fall', báaci 'to spoil'. Verbs such as mutú 'to die' and gudú 'to run' (and possibly haifù 'to give birth') can also be placed in this class, the final /u/ being merely a secondary replacement for the underlying final /i/. Box (43a) includes all the former grade I verbs while box (43b) contains the former grade III verbs. The Hi-Hi 'grade III' verbs will also be included in box (43b) as a phonologically distinct subclass in the same way that the u-final verbs were assigned to box (43c).

Consistent with the general position taken in this paper that transitivity does not function as a critical variable in the basic classification of Hausa verbs is the fact that these phonological classes contain both transitive and intransitive verbs, e.g.,

\[\text{37With the Hi-Lo i-verbs, the A form regularly ends in a long vowel if the verb is transitive, short if the verb is intransitive. The underlying form of the transitive verbs is presumed to end in short -i, e.g. *barí, *sani, even though the C form occurs without the final vowel, i.e. yaa bar aikinsa 'He left his work'.}\]
330

(44) Hi-Lo a-verbs: tr. *kaamâ 'to catch', *dafa 'to cook'
intr. *zaunâ 'to sit', *tsayâ 'to stand'

Hi-Lo i-verbs: tr. *sanî 'to know', *barî 'to leave'
intr. *faadî 'to fall', *mutu 'to die'

Lo-Hi i-verbs: tr. *nêemî 'to seek', *sâyi 'to buy'
intr. *tâfi 'to go', *gâji 'to tire'

The Lo-Hi a-verbs, all of which are intransitive, constitute an exception, probably resulting from the merger of the transitive verbs of that class with the transitive Lo-Hi i-verbs.

3.2.2. Monosyllabic verbs. The a/i dichotomy not only allows us to treat "exceptions" such as tâfe and wunî in a natural manner it also provides a principled basis upon which most monosyllabic verbs can be classified. In place of Parsons' pseudo-semantic assignment of jaa, yi and bi to grade I and shaâ, ci and ji to grade II, we can now divide the monosyllabic verbs on a strictly phonological basis according to the lexically intrinsic final vowel, e.g.,

(45) a-Verbs:38 baa 'to give, jaa 'to pull', kaa (dâ) 'to fell',
shaa 'to drink', taa(dâ) 'to raise', yaa 
'to come' (irregular imperative only), yaa (dâ)
'to throw away'.

(46) i-Verbs: bi 'to follow', ci 'to eat', fi 'to exceed',
'i (+ dative) 'to impose one's will', ji 'to hear',
ki 'to refuse', yi 'to do'.39

38 Since all of the monosyllabic a-verbs have an underlying long vowel and all of the disyllabic Hi-Lo and Lo-Hi a-verbs have an underlying short vowel, we can overlook the difference in length and treat them all as belonging to a single class.

39 In addition, the three verbs jee 'to go', soo 'to want', and buu (dâ) 'to knock down' each fall into a one-member subclass within the general phonological category of monosyllabic verbs. Synchronically the verb zoo 'to come' can be treated as a non-basic grade VI form corresponding to jee although etymologically this analysis is not valid. (The verb zoo comes from *zakâ while jee is related to the root *daa, still to be seen in the grade VI form daawoo 'to return here'). The falling tone verbs saâ 'to put' and ceê 'to say' can be treated as irregular disyllabic verbs, Hi-Lo a-verb and grade IV, respectively.
Unlike the disyllabic verbs, which utilize two tone patterns Hi-Lo and Lo-Hi, all of the monosyllabic verbs belong to a separate Hi tone class. The addition of the monosyllabic verbs expands the 2 x 2 system illustrated in (43) into a 2 x 3 system, utilizing two final vowels and three tone patterns. In place of Parsons' three primary grades with innumerable verbs unaccounted for, we thus have a system of six phonologically determined classes capable of accommodating almost all basic verbs in the Hausa language, e.g.

(47) VOWEL CLASSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TONE CLASSES</th>
<th>a-Verbs</th>
<th>i-Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hi (Mono-syllabic)</td>
<td>shaa</td>
<td>cí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi-Lo</td>
<td>kaamâ</td>
<td>taashî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo-Hi</td>
<td>fita suuma</td>
<td>sâyi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3. The derivative grades. Most of the specific modifications needed to improve on Parsons' analysis of the derivative grades were treated in section 2. All that is needed here is a brief discussion of conceptual differences concerning the derivative grades resulting from the different way in which we view the basic verbs.

3.3.1. Verbal extension. In Parsons' analysis, the derivative grades and the basic grades receive a unified treatment. Morphologically they are all considered to be of comparable status. The basic grades and the derivative grades are taken to differ from one another in

40 Verbs of more than two syllables are also limited to these two tone patterns, although the surface manifestations vary somewhat.
degree but not in kind.

As discussed above (section 2.3.1), I consider the basic verbs and the derivative grades to have a different conceptual status entirely. The basic verbs are fully specified, complete lexical forms. The derivative grades are morphologically complex forms containing optional semantic additions to the basic verbs. Since I have already done away with the basic grades (I, II and III) and replaced them by semantically empty vowel/tone classes, and since I reject the analysis of the basic and derivative grades as being in "complementary syntactic distribution to one another" [Pl:29], it would only serve to confuse matters for me to continue to utilize the term "grade" in my treatment of Parsons' grades IV, V, VI and VII. I will therefore drop the term "grade" for these derivative forms when being considered in the context of my system and replace it by the term "extension" a term which is widely used in describing similar phenomena in other Chadic languages. Using descriptive names in place of grade numbers, we can equate the two systems of reference as follows:

(48) Derived Grade = Verbal Extension

Gr. IV = Totality Extension
Gr. V = Causative Extension
Gr. Vd = De-causative Extension
Gr. VI = Ventive Extension
Gr. VII = Sustentative Extension 41

Since my model of the Hausa verbal system is based on the fundamental distinction between the phonologically defined basic verb classes and the derivative, optional extensions, I have chosen to call it the VTE (Vowel-Tone Class/Extension) system.

41 The term "Sustentative" (i.e. "having fully sustained or being capable of sustaining, the transitive action of the verb") is taken from [P3:77-78].
3.3.2. Extensions and derived grades. The morphological characteristics of the extensions are identical to that of the corresponding derived grades, i.e. Totality ends in -aye/e with Hi-Lo-(Hi) tone, Ventive ends in -woo/oo with Hi-Hi-(Hi) tone, etc. The only difference—again a conceptual and not a substantive one—concerns the way in which the morphological features of the grade/extension are incorporated into the derived verb stem. In Parsons’ system the termination and tone of the grades are added to an inherently terminationless and toneless base, e.g.,

(49) *say- + e/Hi-Lo ==> sayê (IV)

According to my analysis, the phonological characteristics of the extensions are superimposed on and override the underlying final vowel and tone pattern assumed to be an intrinsic part of the base, e.g.,

(50) *sàyi + e/Hi-Lo ==> sayê

Verbs in my system thus behave just like nouns where the 'free' tone and final vowel of underlying singular words are also erased (or overridden) in derivational and inflectional forms (see [Newman 1972]). Compare, for example, the formation of Ventives from basic verbs with the formation of plurals from singular nouns:

(51) Verb: koomâ (Hi-Lo a-final) + Ventive ==> koomoo
tâfi (Lo-Hi i-final) + Ventive ==> tafoo
Noun: dâaâkî (Hi-Lo i-i-final) + p1 ==> dâaakunàa
raâgoo (Lo-Hi oo-final) + p1 ==> raâgunàa

3.3.3. Historical system. In section 2.3, it was suggested that the grade system as a synchronic description should be liberalized to permit a verb to operate more than one derivative grade at a time. Actually, one of the striking differences between the derivative grades of present-day Hausa and the extension system of closely related languages, such as Bole [Lukas 1971] and Kanakuru [Newman 1973], is the fact that the Hausa extensions have become so reduced phonologically that, with few exceptions, they cannot combine with one another. However, before the modern period, Hausa extensions must also have had a greater degree
of combinatory freedom, and thus this feature must necessarily be built into the VTE system. As a simplifying measure, I will assume (probably not entirely correctly) that the four (or five, if one counts the de-causative separately) extensions found in Hausa today existed in the historically earlier VTE system and that the restriction against the co-occurrence of two 'secondary' or two 'tertiary' extensions also held at the time.

3.4. Features of VTE system. Combining the discussions of the basic verbs and the extensions, we can now summarize the essential features of the VTE system. According to this system, a Hausa verb is made up of a basic verb form with or without an optional extension. The basic verb form is entered in the lexicon complete with final vowel and tone. On the basis of these two variables, verbs are assigned uniquely to one of six phonological classes. No verb can belong to more than one basic class. The classes are all arbitrary phonological classes with no syntactic or semantic correlates that can be considered a property of the phonological class as such. The verbal extensions, by contrast, are purely optional additions that serve to expand or modify the meaning of the basic verb. The use of particular extensions with particular verbs depends simply on semantic plausibility and lexically specific co-occurrence restrictions and is not controlled by high level rules. Unlike the basic verb forms, the extensions are not mutually exclusive. Subject to certain poorly understood restrictions, combinations of extensions may be employed simultaneously with the same verb. The VTE system is pictured as having five extensions (four with one subdivision). This number, however, has no significance since the extensions constitute an open-ended category capable of expanding by the addition of new extensions (e.g. the 'de-causatives').

In Newman [1971] I suggested that de-causatives, such as fiddâ, maiddâ etc., were old forms and that standard Hausa had innovated in re-analyzing the suffix dâ as an independent particle. As far as shallow history is concerned, I now suspect that my analysis was wrong and that some kind of accretive process took place, starting with a free morpheme dâ. I am still not convinced, however, that the matter is closed nor that we can simply accept the derivation of the de-causatives from the short-form causatives at face value.
or contracting by the loss or re-analysis of an earlier extension (e.g., the defunct -ka extension, now found only as a fused component of certain verbs, e.g., wankà 'to wash', farkà 'to awaken', sàuka 'to get down').

The following diagram representing the VTE system should be contrasted with the diagram of the grade system presented in (29) at the end of section 2.

(52)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOWEL-TONE CLASSES</th>
<th>EXTENSIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>Totality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi</td>
<td>shaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi-Lo</td>
<td>ci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo-Hi</td>
<td>kaamà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>taashì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hi-Lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fìta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sàyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(=Gr. IV)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(=Gr. V)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>De-causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fiddà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(=Gr.Vd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ventive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>taasoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(=Gr. VI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sustentative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shàawu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(= Gr. VII)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5 From VTE system to grade system. The VTE system just described represents what I would consider to be a fairly accurate reconstruction of the Hausa verbal system as it existed at a not too distant period in the past. In some respects, moreover, this reconstructed system provides a better framework for understanding present-day Hausa than does the better known grade system. However, when one looks in depth at the workings of the Hausa language as it now exists, taking into account many facts purposely ignored earlier in this paper, one has to admit that however elegant the VTE system may be, it cannot be adopted in toto as the synchronic description of the Hausa verbal system. If one
accepts some modified version of the grade system as being a generally accurate characterization of modern Hausa, and if one accepts the historical validity of the VTE system, then the obvious historical question that comes to mind is how did the change from one system to the other take place and in what did it consist.

The key to this question lies in a reconsideration of the relationship between grade I and grade IIIm (especially grade IIIt) verbs. According to the VTE system, a basic verb has a set phonological shape (including tone and final vowel) which it manifests unless an optional extension is added to it. The same lexeme cannot have more than one basic form, i.e., the system includes no mechanism whereby a Lo-Hi i-verb, for example, could be changed into a Hi-Lo a-verb. Since the verb forms that Parsons classifies as grades I and IIIm are treated in the VTE system as basic, unalterable forms, it should not be possible for the same verb to occur both as a grade I and as a grade IIIm. But we know that not only does this happen but that it is extremely common and perfectly normal. In fact, one of the major advances of the grade system over all previous classifications of Hausa verbs was the ability to account in a systematic way for the many Hausa verbs that function both as grade I's and as grade IIIm's. Thus if we can explain how verbs came to operate more than one basic grade, we will have found the key to the origin of the grade system.

It is not yet possible to give a full answer to this question nor to account for all cases where the same lexeme occurs both in grade I and grade IIIm. However, I can offer an explanation for some such cases, and in so doing open the way for further discoveries in the same direction.

3.5.1. Applicatives. According to the VTE system, a verb has only one basic form. Therefore if a verb operates what look to be two basic grade forms, it follows necessarily that only one of the grade

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43 For a comprehensive list of verbs that operate both grades I and IIIt, see Piłszzczikowa [1969].
forms can be truly basic and that the other must be a derived form, i.e. basic grade plus extension. Most scholars (e.g. Lukas [1963/64] and Parsons) have assumed that between grades I and IIIt, grade I represented the least marked, most neutral form and that the grade IIIt was derivative to it in some undefined sense.

There are cases, however, where this supposed hierarchy is reversed and, moreover, where the grade I form can be analyzed as derivative not merely in some amorphous sense, but in the same manner as a normal derivative grade (i.e. consisting of a basic verb plus extension). The discovery that some grade I forms contain a hidden extension was first claimed by me about three years ago on the basis of admittedly sketchy evidence. Thanks, however, to Parsons' recent article on the Hausa verbal system [P3], we now have a substantial body of evidence pointing to the existence of derivative grade I forms. The part of Parsons' paper that relates directly to this discovery is his discussion of the pre-dative forms of grade IIIm verbs.

An interesting feature of grade IIIm verbs (discussed by Parsons in great detail) is their inability to be used in pre-dative position. Instead, they must "borrow" forms from other grades (namely I, IV and V) when occurring in that environment, e.g.,

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44 "In subsequent articles we shall come to the conclusion that high-low is the basic disyllabic verbal pattern and that the low-high pattern represents an inversion of meaning as well as of tone" [P1:33].

45 Lukas [1963/64:178-79], for example, describes pairs where the grade IIIt adds a partitive sense to the basic meaning carried by the grade I verb, e.g. jeemá 'to tan', jeemi 'to tan some of'; tooyá 'to burn', tooyi 'to burn part of'.

46 This discovery was first announced in October, 1970 in a lecture delivered at Indiana University entitled "The Origin of the Hausa Grade System".

47 The examples are taken from [P3:78ff].
Grade IIm  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic verb (IIm)</th>
<th>Borrowed Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fâdî to say</td>
<td>fâdâa to tell to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gâyî to say</td>
<td>gâyâa to tell to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sâyî to buy</td>
<td>sâyâa to sell to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rôoki to beseech</td>
<td>rookâa to beg of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ârî to borrow</td>
<td>ârâa to lend to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kôoyî to learn</td>
<td>kôoyâa to teach to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yârda to agree</td>
<td>yardâa to agree to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hâkûra to be patient</td>
<td>hakûraa to be patient</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The choice of the grade to be borrowed is restricted by a number of rules [see P3]; the one which concerns us here is that a grade I can be borrowed as a pre-dative form only if the verb does not otherwise operate grade I. That is to say, there are a number of grade IIm verbs for which--contrary to the classical grade system--the option of shifting to a grade I is not normally available. These are the verbs which employ a grade I form in pre-dative position. In these cases it is obvious that the grade IIm and borrowed grade I forms have a different status: the former are free basic forms, the latter are syntactically restricted, dependent forms. These verbs are thus not true examples of neutral verbal bases that can freely operate both major basic grades, I and IIm, as generally assumed; rather, they are intrinsically grade IIm verbs (mostly Lo-Hi i-verbs in my system) which happen to make use of a grade I form in a particular syntactic environment, e.g.,
Whether in my system or in the grade system, it seems unnatural to have what are supposed to be basic verbs (grade I) syntactically restricted and relegated to a subordinate status. The explanation, provided by the discovery of a hidden extension, is that these so-called 'borrowed' grade I forms are not basic grade I verbs (i.e. underlying Hi-Lo a-verbs), as they appear to be, but rather represent a derivative grade (i.e. basic verb + extension) where the phonological identity to true grade I verbs is accidental. Since a major function of this previously undetected extension is to effect the application of the action of a verb onto an indirect object, I suggest that it be called the 'Applicative' extension. Interestingly, Parsons [P3:80n] questioned in passing whether the 'borrowed' grade V forms might be a distinct grade from the standard causative grade V but it never occurred to him to ask the same question about the 'borrowed' grade I's in relation to the true grade I's.

The re-analysis of the so-called borrowed grade I's as Applicatives allows us to look at the problem of the pre-dative forms of grade IIim in a different light. The suppletion of forms can now be seen to derive from a general rule requiring that all grade IIim verbs add an extension in pre-dative position. Individual grade IIim verbs differ as to which extension(s) they take—whether Applicative, Totality or 'Borrowed V'—but the use of an extension is obligatory. As illustrated by Parsons,

\footnote{The reasons for the phonological identity are given in footnote 53.}
\footnote{For this term, I am indebted to Jungraithmayr [1969] where a similar (perhaps cognate?) extension is described for the Ron languages.}
\footnote{As I hope to demonstrate in another paper, Parsons' suspicion was correct: the borrowed grade V's and the causatives are etymologically distinct. The borrowed grade IV's, on the other hand, are grade IV verbs. Their introduction as a pre-dative substitution for grade IIim verbs is probably related to their on-going expansion throughout the Hausa verbal system at the expense of other grades (cf. [P3:77n]).}
\footnote{The obligatory use of an extended verb in constructions containing a dative is not unknown elsewhere in Chadic. In Bole, for example, the addition of an indirect object in the perfective necessitates the use of a Ventive instead of the neutral verb.}
but not analyzed by him as such, some grade IIim verbs allow a choice between pre-dative extensions depending upon the meaning intended, e.g.,

(55) Basic IIim Verb Verb + Extension
yaa bugi kàree yaa bugàa musù ankùwà
'He struck the dog' 'He clapped the handcuffs on them'

(b) Borrowed V
dà kà bugam masà kàree gwàmmà
   kà bugam masà dàa
   'It were better you struck his child than his dog'

(a) Applicative:
yaa sooki ràakumìi yaa sookàa minì wùkàa
   'He stuck a knife into me'

(b) Borrowed V
   yaa sookam minì ràakumìi
   'He stabbed my camel'

(56) yaa sòoki ràakumìi
'He stabbed the camel'

So far, all our examples have been of Applicatives functioning as pre-dative replacements of grade IIim verbs. As we would expect of a true extension, we can also cite examples of Applicatives in other syntactic environments, e.g.

(57) Basic Verb Applicative
yaa jèefì kàree yaa jeefà cèk
   'He threw at the dog'
   'He threw his cheque (on the counter)'

yaa shùuri yaaroò yaa shurà fàafàa
   'He kicked the boy'
   'He kicked out his leg'

52 These examples are taken from [P3:81].
(57) cont.

Audù yaa faadī́
'Audu fell'

tàuluu yaa cīka
'The pot is filled'
sândaa taa karyèe
'The stick broke'

Audù yaa faadàa ruwa
'Audu threw himself into the water'
yaa cīkà tàuluu
'He filled the pot'
yaa karyà sândaa
'He broke the stick'

(Totality form < basic IIi verb *karya(?)

The above examples are particularly valuable in that they broaden our concept of the semantic content and syntactic potentiality that must have characterized the Applicative extension before it phonologically merged with basic Hi-Lo a-verbs and thereby lost its independent existence. In trying to reconstruct the essence of this extension, it is worth noting that in other Chadic languages, e.g. Bole [Lukas 1971], a single extension often serves to cover the same general semantic/syntactic range as the Hausa Applicative, i.e. transitivizer, purposive, applicative, action away, etc.

Given the identification of the Applicative as an optional extension, there arises a tantalizing little question, suggested to me by Professor Paul Schachter [personal communication]. Since Applicatives and grade I verbs (i.e. basic Hi-Lo a-verbs) are analyzed as being structurally distinct, their surface identity being merely a phonological accident, shouldn't it be possible for grade I verbs to operate the Applicative extension just like other basic verb classes? Admittedly the detection of such Applicatives would pose a problem, since the derived Applicatives and the underlying basic forms would be phonologically indistinguishable. Nevertheless, their hidden existence might still be recoverable in certain cases where the semantic content and syntactic function of a single grade I form appeared to extend over a range that elsewhere was partitioned between a basic form and an Applicative. On this basis, I would tentatively suggest the following as examples of Applicatives derived from basic grade I verbs:
3.5.2. Transformed VTE extension. In sum, I would argue that the verbal extension that I am calling the Applicative did exist in old Hausa and that this extension explains a large number of the cases where, in violation of the VTE system, the same verbal base is found in more than one basic verb form. While other factors may yet be uncovered which prove to be as important as the Applicative, the discovery of this hitherto unrecognized extension opens up a new line of inquiry and permits us to develop a reasonable model of the mechanisms involved in the transition from a VTE type system to a grade type system. With the phonological merger of the Applicative and the Hi-Lo a-verbs, the unique assignment of basic verb forms either to the i-class or the a-class broke down. At approximately the same time, the other extensions must also have become phonologically reduced,\(^{53}\) with the result that the manipulation of tone and final vowel became a normal mechanism by which to alter the meaning of a

\(^{53}\)Originally all of the extensions must have been marked by a CV suffix, as is the rule with other Chadic languages, e.g. Margi [Hoffmann 1963]. (In fact, CV suffixes still survive in Hausa in certain monosyllabic verbs, e.g. ci-άye, shaa-woo, jàa-wu.) Subsequently, the consonant was lost (except with monosyllabic verbs), leaving only the final vowel and tone. By analogy with the other extensions, we can thus reconstruct the Applicative as having been of the form *Cά, the vowel /a/ and the Lo tone being almost certain. Since Applicatives would have had an overt CV suffix (whatever that C might have been), they originally would have been clearly distinct from basic Hi-Lo a-verbs, the Applicatives having the shape CVC(V)Cά compared with CVCά for the basic verbs. With the loss of the suffixal consonant, the Applicative (like the other extensions) would have been left with its tone and final vowel as its sole phonological properties. However, since these same phonological properties were already to be found in basic Hi-Lo a-verbs, they lost their distinctive value, with the result that the Applicative as an independent, freely functioning extension disappeared.
verb. Since the manipulation of these variables also extended to basic verb forms (due to the merger with the Applicatives), it was inevitable that verb tone and final vowel should lose their lexical significance. Once this happened, it could not have been long before basic verbs would be stripped of their final vowel and tone, which would then become the property of stem formatives. As amply illustrated throughout section 3 of this paper, the process is still far from complete—witness the many Hausa verbs, e.g. the monosyllabics, that still hang on tenaciously to their lexically specified tone and final vowel—but it has pervaded the system to such an extent as to bring about the demise of the earlier VTE system and its transformation into the Hausa verbal system that we know today.

4. Summary

This paper constitutes a detailed study of the Hausa verbal system, viewed both synchronically and diachronically. In section 2, I analyzed weaknesses and minor inconsistencies in the grade system as proposed and developed by Parsons, and offered a number of modifications. These modifications included:

(i) the incorporation of intransitive Hi-Hi verbs into grade III;
(ii) the collapsing of grades II and III into a single grade labelled l1m);
(iii) the adoption of the pre-noun form of transitive verbs as the basic underlying form of verbs and the rejection of a pre-noun vowel shortening rule;
(iv) the re-establishment of a clear-cut distinction between the basic grades (I + IIm ( = II + III) and the derivative grades (IV, V, VI, VII); and
(v) the relaxation of the requirement that the grades be mutually exclusive so as to permit simultaneous operation of two derivative grades.

In section 3, I took an even more critical look at the grade system and exposed a number of more fundamental contradictions and
inadequacies in the system. These included:

(i) the limitation of verbs to one basic grade;
(ii) the existence of pairs where the shift from one basic grade to another resulted in a complete lexical replacement rather than the limited semantic modifications provided for by the system; and
(iii) the total inability to incorporate monosyllabic verbs and other common 'exceptions' within the framework of the grade system.

To explain these anomalies, I developed a model of the Hausa verbal system considered as precursor to and, to some extent, as alternative to the grade system. This system, referred to as the VTE (Vowel-Tone Class/Extension) system, was based on the rejection of the basic grades as conceived in the grade system and their replacement by semantically empty, strictly phonological classes, defined in terms of final vowel (-1 or -a) and tone (Hi, Hi-Lo, or Lo-Hi). In contrast to the grade system, basic verbs in the VTE system were analyzed as having final vowel and tone as an integral part of their underlying lexical representation. In the context of the VTE system, the derivative grades were analyzed as optional extensions that functioned as syntactic/semantic additions to (never substitutions for) the basic verbs.

Finally, the question was asked how to reconcile the reconstruction of the VTE system (which does not permit a verb to operate more than one basic grade) with the fact that many verbs now do occur both as grade I and grade IIIm. The answer to this question was provided by the discovery that verbs that now appear as a single class of Hi-Lo a-verbs (= Gr. I) etymologically represented two distinct classes: true basic Hi-Lo a-verbs, and now a phonologically-merged extension called the Applicative. The discovery of this previously unrecognized extension not only permitted the explanation of the particular problem
at hand, but it opened up new lines of research into the historical processes by which the VTE system came to be transformed into a grade-type system.

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