HAUSA DISYLLABIC VERBS:
COMMENTS ON BASE FORMS AND EXTENSIONS*

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This paper seeks to test the premises of Newman's Vowel-Tone
Class/Extension system against the operation of the present­
day Hausa verbal system as the latter is manifested in
the co-occurrence of a verb in more than one base shape (or
in Parsons' terms, the incidence of a verb stem operating
more than one primary grade). The evidence suggests first,
the existence of extensions other than the Applicative having
the same shape as bases; second, that transitivity is a cor­
relate of base shapes in three out of four cases and is a
factor in extension formation; and third, a shape normally
considered an extension (or secondary grade) contains base
forms and two different kinds of extension.

1. Introduction

Parsons [1960/61] outlined a system for verbal behaviour in Hausa in
which a verb "base" (for disyllabic verbs the base consists of CVC-) operates
a particular combination of "grades", the 7 grades being marked by final vowel
(in Grade 5 by final VC) and tone pattern. All verbs in Grades 3 and 7 are
intransitive, all in Grade 2 transitive; Grades 1, 4, and 6 contain both
transitive and intransitive, while Grade 5, having an intermediate status, is
termed "causative". Transitive verbs have four forms: A, with no direct ob­
ject following; B, with personal pronoun direct object following; C, with oth­
er kinds of direct object following; D, with indirect object following. Par­
sons considered the A-form to be the basic form from which the C-form was de­

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derived by a vowel shortening rule. The form of intransitives is classed as A, with a D-form also possible. Grades 1-3 are "primary", 4-7 "secondary" in that they are normally derivative of a primary form. A division of Grades 4-7 into a "secondary" pair 4 and 5 and a "tertiary" pair 6 and 7 is sometimes made to account for third level derivations.

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1.1. The Vowel-Tone Class/Extension system. Newman [1973] proposed amendments to the grade system and at the same time offered an alternative view of the verbal system. His amendments involved the following:

a) the collapsing of Grades 2 and 3 as the intransitive and transitive components of a single grade,\(^1\) incorporating furthermore a group of

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\(^1\)Newman has since dropped this idea [personal communication, 7/3/80].
HiHi intransitives having a heavy first syllable (see Newman [1972]);

b) taking the C-form of the transitive as basic from which the B-form is derived by lengthening of the final vowel. The A-form, subsuming as it traditionally does both the form of intransitives and the form of transitives when the object is deleted, is in some cases identical with the underlying form and in others has a lengthened final vowel and in one instance a change of vowel from /i/ to /a/ [Newman 1973:313-316].

The establishing of the C-form as underlying is a keystone of the alternative view of the verbal system that Newman presents. Newman's alternative is the "Vowel-Tone Class/Extension" (VTE) system. This specifies tone pattern and final vowel for each verb, thereby avoiding Parsons' abstract bases and grade specific tones and final vowel. Extensions, Parsons' secondary grades, superimpose a tone pattern and final vowel on the basic shape of the verb. Newman proposes the VTE system not as a better model of present-day verbal behaviour but rather suggests that it reflects the historical system out of which the present picture, still perhaps best viewed as the modified grade system, developed.

In outlining the VTE system Newman says,

According to the VTE (vowel-tone class/extension) system, a verb has only one basic form. Therefore if a verb operates what looks to be two basic grade forms, it follows necessarily that only one of the grade forms can be truly basic and that the other must be a derived form, i.e. a basic grade plus extension [1973:336-337];

and

...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 [1973:334].

The four phonological classes for disyllabic verbs are set out on the following grid:
1.2. The aims of the paper. This paper seeks to test the VTE system against present-day verbal behaviour, taking for granted Newman's modifications and ground rules. As regards the way in which verbs operate related forms within and outside the phonological grid the following general points are made:

a) It is suggested, contrary to Newman's premise, that in a majority of cases the phonological classes do have syntactic correlates, that is to say they are either transitive or intransitive.

b) It is suggested that co-occurrences of verbs in more than a single base shape can only be explained by both the "hidden" applicative extension and the operation of other "hidden" extensions.

c) A shape outside the basic grid (HiLo -e ) is seen to contain both base forms and an amalgam of the true Totality extension with an Intransitive/Reflexive extension.

2. Co-occurrence of the Same Verb in More Than a Single Base Shape

2.1. The Applicative and the Partitive/Pejorative. As indicated above, Newman [1973] describes an extension, the Applicative, where the phonological
shape of the extension corresponds with the shape of a base, i.e. both base and extension occur within the following grid:

| HiLo -a | HiLo -i |
| LoHi -a | LoHi -i |

Newman [1977] says,

In Newman [1973] I adopted Parsons' analysis, as far as the borrowed G.1's were concerned, but suggested that it was better to describe these D forms in terms of switching GRADES rather than of borrowing grade FORMS .... The explanation I offered for the shift to G.1 was that these G.1's were not really semantically neutral basic verbs, but rather were derived stems containing an applicative extension, whose phonological identity with basic G.1's was due to accidental homonymy19.....

Footnote 19: The existence of this applicative extension hidden within G.1 verbs was first proposed (with some doubt and hesitation) in Newman [1973]. The question only a few years later is not whether some G.1's contain an applicative extension—which now seems certain—but whether there are any G.1 verbs that etymologically are not derived...... [Newman 1977:289].

The Applicative extension is projected by Newman [1973:341] to be "transitivizer, purposive, transferential, action away". If we accept Newman's explanation of the pre-dative (D form) use of Grade 1 (HiLo -a ) as the Applicative extension then the question is raised as to whether the HiLo -a square can be dispensed with entirely as a base shape within the grid.

2.1.1. The need for the HiLo -a square. It would not seem possible to dispense with the HiLo -a square as a base shape in view of the fact that there are many HiLo -a intransitive verbs that do not operate a shape in any other of the grid squares:

1) gîf’tàa 'cross in front' ya gif’ta a gabana 'he crossed in front of me'
2) gîlmàa 'cross in front' ya gîlma a gabana 'he crossed in front of me'
3) gûsàa 'move slightly' ya gus’a kad’in ya ba ni hanya 'he moved a little to make way for me'
4) kóomàa 'return to' ya koma gari 'he returned to the city'
There are, furthermore, a number of transitive HiLo -a verbs that are similarly limited to this shape within the grid, e.g.

(5) kúrḍáa ya kurda ta taga ya fita
'squeeze through' 'he squeezed through the window and went out'

(6) rúug̣áa sun ruga cikin dàki
'rush' 'they rushed into the room'

(7) záunàa ya zauna
'sit' 'he sat down'

(8) gáisàa sun gaisa a hanya
'greet' 'they exchanged greetings on the road'

(9) gáanàa sun gana a hanya
'have a chat' 'they chatted on the road'

(10) káràa 'yan dambe sun kara
'clash' 'the boxers clashed'

(11) láfàa hayaniya ta lafa
'die down' 'the uproar died down'

(12) nátsàa kome ya natsa
'become calm, sink' 'everything is calmed down'

(13) níisàa hadiri ya nisa
'groan, sigh' 'the storm rumbled'

(14) ríntsàa jiya na kwana ban ko rintsa ba
'take a nap' 'I spent all last night without sleeping a wink'

(15) tánkàa bai ko tanka ba
'reply' 'he didn't even reply'

(16) báḍá ya baḍá yaji a tuwo
'sprinkle' 'he sprinkled spices on the mush'

(17) dáfà mai hakuri ya kan dafa dutse
'boil, cook' 'a patient person can cook a stone'

(18) ḍórà na ḍora littafi a kansa
'put thing on thing' 'I put the book on his head'

(19) gásà ya gasa doya
'grill' 'he grilled yams'

(20) gyáarà ya gyara kekena
'repair' 'he repaired my bicycle'

(21) háḍá sun háḍá kai
'join, unite' 'they joined forces'

(22) kéérà an kera fartanya
'forge' 'a hoe was forged'
It would seem more likely that the above examples point to the validity of a HiLo -a base shape within the grid; the grid square containing, at least in recent times, base forms both intransitive (often of movement) and transitive.

2.1.2. Co-occurrences explained as base and applicative extension. If on the basis of the above we postulate a base shape HiLo -a containing both transitive and intransitive verbs, then we need to account for co-occurrences within the grid in terms of the four base shapes and phonologically identical extensions, if we are to follow Newman's premise that "only one of the grade forms can be truly basic and that the other must be a derived form".

2.1.2.1. Co-occurrence LoHi -a ~ HiLo -a. Following Newman's hint that one of the functions of the Applicative is "transitivizer", we can see examples of this transitive extension operating upon LoHi -a intransitive bases. The base form in all cases is intransitive, either in the LoHi -a shape or in its variant HiHi -a where the first syllable is heavy (see Newman [1972]). In the following examples we have clear cut cases of transitive Applicative extensions related to intransitive bases:
a = LoHi - a base
b = HiLo - a Applicative extension

(33) a. cǐká 'fill'
    tulu ya cika 'the jug is full'
b. cǐká Audu ya cika tulu 'Audu filled the jug'

(34) a. jǐká 'become wet'
    wandonsa ya jìkà 'his pants are wet'
b. jìkà Audu ya jìkà wandonsa 'Audu got his pants wet'

(35) a. dǐgà 'drip'
    ruwa ya dǐgà tā indararo 'water dripped from the gutter spout'
b. dǐgà ya dǐgà magani a bakin yaro 'he dropped medicine into the boy's mouth'

(36) a. zǔbà 'pour away'
    mai ya zuba 'the oil spilled'
b. zǔbà ya zuba ruwa cikin kwalba 'he poured water into the bottle'

2.1.2.2. Co-occurrence HiLo - a (intrans) ~ HiLo - a (trans). Accepting "transitivizer" as a function of the Applicative we can account for cases of transitive and intransitive forms of the same HiLo - a verb.

a = HiLo - a intransitive base
b = HiLo - a transitive Applicative extension

(37) a. fàasà 'be cancelled'
    tafiya tā fasa 'the trip has been cancelled'
b. fàasà 'cancel'
    sun fasa tafiya 'they put off the trip'

(38) a. gázà 'fail'
    kudīna sun gaza 'my money fell short'
b. gázà 'fall short of'
    na gaza shi hakuri 'I have less patience than he'

(39) a. kāmà 'take hold'
    wūta tā kama 'the fire took hold'
b. kāmà 'take hold of'
    sun kama Garawo 'they caught the thief'

(40) a. kǐntsà 'be orderly'
    Audu ya kintsà 'Audu sat with his feet drawn back'
b. kǐntsà 'put in order'
    Audu ya kintsà kayansa 'Audu tidied his things'
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(41) a. lootsa
'sag'
soro ya lotsa
'the house sagged'
b. lootsa
'cause to sag'
kabewa ta lotsa rumfa
'the pumpkin plant has made the shelter sag'

(42) a. buusaa
'blow'
iska ta busa
'the wind blew'
b. buusaa
'blow'
ya busa algaita
'he blew the shawm'

(43) a. dagaa
'rise'
Kirjin doki ya daga
'the horse's chest rose'
b. dagaa
'raise'
ya daga hannu
'he raised his hand'

(44) a. dirkaa
'enter unexpectedly'
sun dirka cikin ofishinsa
'they entered his office without warning'
b. dirka
'force in'
ya dirka kibiya cikin taro
'he propelled an arrow into the crowd'

(45) a. garaa
'speed along'
ya gara a guje
'he ran along'
b. garaa
'roll thing along'
ya gara taya
'he rolled the tire along'

(46) a. jirgaa
'move a short distance'
hadiri ya jirga wajen kudu
'the storm has veered southward'
b. jirga
'slew around'
ya jirga tulu gefe
'he rotated the jug sideways'

(47) a. lululaa
'flee'
sun lula
'they fled'
b. lululaa
'let fly'
ya lula kibiya
'he let fly the arrow'

(48) a. motsaa
'approach'
sun matsa kusa da kauye
'they drew near the village'
b. motsa
'squeeze'
ya matsa bakin zobe
'he squeezed the ring together'

(49) a. mootsaa
'move'
yaro ya motsa
'the boy moved'
b. mootsaa
'move'
ya motsa hannu
'he moved his hand'

(50) a. ratsaa
'turn towards'
yara ratsa Kano
'he turned toward Kano'
b. ratsaa
'pass through'
yara ratsa gari
'he passed through the town'
2.1.3. Co-occurrences explained as base and Partitive/Pejorative extension.

When we turn to consider the co-occurrences of a verb in the HiLo -a and the LoHi -i shape the situation becomes more complex. Firstly, there are verbs operating only the LoHi -i shape within the grid, thus establishing LoHi -i as a base shape:

(51) a. zurmaa
    'collapse'
    rijiya ta zurma
    'the well fell in'

b. zurma
    'cause to fall'
    ya zurma kafa a rami
    'he accidentally stuck his foot in a hole'

(52) bazgi
    'tear off'
    ya bazgi reshe
    'he tore off a branch'

(53) bidfi
    'seek'
    ku bidfi alheri ga mai sakin fuska
    'look for gifts from a smiling face'

(54) ceecfi
    'rescue'
    Allah ya cecei ransa
    'may Allah save his life'

(55) fanshi
    'redeem'
    ya fanshi rigarsa
    'he redeemed his gown'

(56) gajii
    'inherit from'
    ya gaji ubansa
    'he inherited from his father'

(57) jidi
    'go to and fro with'
    ya jidi kaya
    'he went to and fro with the goods'

(58) kallii
    'look at'
    mun kalli sama
    'we looked at the sky'

(59) kwaci
    'take by force'
    mun kwaci kudinsa
    'we wrested away his money'

(60) nemi
    'look for'
    mun nemi gidansa
    'we looked for his house'

(61) saaci
    'steal'
    ya saci kudina
    'he stole my money'

(62) tarfi
    ya tari Audu a kan hanya
(66) yàakì
'make war on'
sun yaki arna
'they waged war against the pagans'

(67) zàrgì
'blame'
ya zargì Audu kan ya yi laifi
'he accused Audu of having committed the crime'

(68) tsìncì
'select, pick up'
ya tsinci sule a bakin hanya
'he found a shilling beside the road'

2.1.3.1. Co-occurrence LoHi -i ~ HiLo -a. Secondly there are many verbs that operate in both shapes, LoHi -i and HiLo -a:

(69) a. bàlì
'split, peel'
ya bali kara
'he peeled the stalk'
b. bàlì
'fasten'
ya bali rigarsa
'he fastened his gown'

(70) a. bugì
'hit'
ya bugi jaki
'he hit the donkey'
b. bugà
'hit, fire'
ya buga bindiga
'he fired the gun'

(71) a. càrì
'throw at'
ya cari barde da mashi
'he threw a spear at the cavalryman'
b. càrà
'throw'
ya cara mashi
'he threw the spear'

(72) a. cìrì
'pull out'
ya ciri ḫusa
'he pulled out the nail'
b. cìrà
'raise'
ya cira hannu
'he raised his hand'

(73) a. dùubì
'look at'
ya dubi sama
'he looked at the sky'
b. dùubà
'look at, inspect'
ya duba aikinsa
'he inspected his work'

(74) a. fàarì
'be first, start'
ya fari ginin simintì a nan
'he was the first to build with cement here'
b. fàarà
'begin'
ya fara aiki
'he began work'

(75) a. figì
'pluck'
ya figi gashin kaza
'he plucked the chicken's feathers'
b. figà
'strip'
ya figa dawa
'he stripped the sorghum'

(76) a. gàatsì
'bite off'
ya gatsì guntun goro
'he bit off a piece of kola'
The nature of the difference in meaning between the two verbs of a pair is not always the same.

For detailed discussion see Pilszczikowa [1969] and Parsons' discussion of "projective-applicative" and "partitive-separative" verbs under the general
heading of "morpho-syntactic verb classes", further referred to in Parsons [1962:265-271]. Were one to consider the above examples as LoHi -i bases operating applicative extensions, then difficulties would arise when one turned to other verbs where the semantic relation between the two forms would seem rather to indicate a HiLo -a base with the LoHi -i form being derivative:

(85) a. ṭūufa
donko tuwo
'stir, drive'
'the mush'
b. ṭuufi
maganata donko Audu
'disturb'
'my words disturbed Audu'

(86) a. dàamà
ta dama fura
'stir'
'she mixed the gruel'
b. dàamf
ya dami malaminsa da tambaya
'bother'
'he bothered his teacher with questions'

(87) a. gàmà
na gama Audu da Ali
'join, finish'
'I introduced Audu and Ali to each other'
b. gàmf
rigar nan ta gami Audu sosai
'suit'
'that gown suits Audu well'

(88) a. kīrba
an kirba fura
'pound'
'the wet flour is pounded'
b. kīrifi
an kirifi Audu
'beat person'
'Audu has been beaten'

(89) a. kòodà
na koda farkanya
'sharpen by beating'
'I sharpened the hoe'
b. kòodì
mun kodi ruwa
'do much of'
'we gulped down water'

(90) a. nīrì
ta nika garin dawa
'grind'
'she ground the sorghum flour'
b. nīkì
malami ya niki almajirinsa
'beat'
'the teacher beat the student'

(91) a. rádà
ya radà magana
'whisper'
'he whispered words'
b. rádi
ya radì Audu
'slander'
'he slandered Audu'

(92) a. rùudà
maganarsa ya radà mutanenmu
'perplex'
'his words perplexed our people'
b. rùudì
ya rudì Audu
'deceive'
'he deceived Audu'

It was precisely the problem of defining which was the basic form and
which derivative that led Parsons in his teaching to consider such verbal pairs as a single stem operating two primary grades. Difficult as it is to generalize, it would nevertheless seem possible to see in each pair an extension of meaning in the LoHi -i form whereby the verb implies partition, separation, or a pejorative sense by which the action is done to the detriment of the object. Admittedly such a characterization of the sense of the extension is, to say the least, approximate, yet it would seem to cover the bulk of the verbs operating these two shapes. It would therefore seem more suitable to treat the HiLo -a form as basic, often with an applicative sense, while the LoHi -i form would be the "Partitive/Pejorative" extension. In the examples above we see the transitive Partitive/Pejorative extension operating upon transitive bases. In the same way that the HiLo -a grid square would include examples of the Applicative extension (33b-51b) and base forms (1-32; 37a-51a; 69b-84b; 85a-92a), so also the LoHi -i grid square would include examples of the Partitive/Pejorative extension (69a-84a; 85b-92b) and base forms (52-68).

2.2. Metaphoric intransitives and homonyms. In considering pairs of verbs as base plus extension (Applicative or Partitive/Pejorative) we have still to account for a number of examples that on the face of it contravene or at least stretch Newman's premise that "...only one of the grade forms can be truly basic and that the other must be a derived form, i.e. a basic grade plus extension" [Newman 1973:336-337].

2.2.1. Co-occurrence HiLo -a (trans), LoHi -i (trans), HiLo -a (in-trans). Some verbs operate a HiLo -a transitive and a LoHi -i transitive form as base and extension, but also operate a HiLo -a intransitive form with only tangential or metaphoric connection with the presumed base. The question arises as to whether they are best viewed as two separate lexical entries (cf. examples under 2.2.3), one as basic and one with extension, or as one base form with two extension forms, the one transitive (Partitive/Pejorative) and the other intransitive.
transitive base
Partitive/Pejorative transitive extension
intransitive: separate base or metaphorical extension?

(93) a. hárba
'shoot'
yaharba kibiya
'he shot an arrow'
b. hárbi
'shoot at'
yaharbi kare
'he shot at the dog'
c. hárbàa
'begin to ripen'
lemu ya harba
'the orange has begun to ripen'

(94) a. kùosà
'suffice, fill'
rubutu ya kòsa ni
'I've had enough writing'
b. kùosí
'fill'
hankali bai kòshi Audu ba
'Audu isn't quite all there' ('sense hasn't filled Audu')
c. kùosàa
'become ripe, become exasperated'
gwanda ta kósa
'the papaya is ripe'

(95) a. sàaba
'break, contravene'
yasa ba alkawari
'he broke the promise'
b. sàabí
'disobey'
yasa ba malaminsa
'he disobeyed his teacher'
c. sàaabá
'miss, not find s.o.'
sun saba a hanya
'they missed each other on the road'

(96) a. tûurà
'push'
yataura keke
'he pushed the bicycle'
b. tûurf
'knock against'
yaturi yaro
'he knocked against the boy'
c. tûuràa
'be well advanced'
aiki ya tura
'the work is well-advanced'

(97) a. nàusà
'pound'
taxausa fura
'she pounded the fura'
b. nàushí
'punch'
yanausi Audu
'he punched Audu'
c. nàusàa
'rush off'
sun nausa kudu
'they rushed to the south'

(98) a. dîrkà
'force in'
ya dîrka kibiya cikin taro
'he shot an arrow into the crowd'
b. dîrkí
'pierce'
ya dîrki Audu da mashi
'he stabbed Audu with a spear'
c. dîrkàa
'enter unexpectedly'
ya dîrka cikin ofishinsa
'he unexpectedly came into his office'
2.2.2. Co-occurrence HiLo \(-a\) (trans) and HiLo \(-a\) (intrans) not readily classified as intransitive base with transitive Applicative extension.

a = HiLo \(-a\) transitive base

b = HiLo \(-a\) intransitive metaphoric extension

(99) a. ázà \(\sim z\) na aza litta fi bisa tebur
'put thing on thing' 'I put the book on the table'

b. ázàa \(\sim z\) na aza ba za ka zo ba
'think' 'I didn't think you would come'

(100) a. rákà \(\sim k\) na raka Audu har gida
'accompany' 'I accompanied Audu all the way home'

b. rákàa rigar nan ta raka wata guda
'last some time' 'this gown has lasted for a month'

(101) a. sheèkà \(\sim k\) ta sheèka ruwa a kas
'pour' 'she poured water on the ground'

b. sheèkàa sun sheèka a guje
'leave suddenly' 'they tore off on the run'

(102) a. tûrzà \(\sim r\) ya turza kafarsa a yashi
'stamp' 'he stamped his foot in the sand'

b. tûrzàa sun turza
'make great effort' 'they made a great effort'

The intransitives sheèkàa and tûrzàa can be explained as metaphorical extensions after the manner of, 'he shot/screamed/took/zipped/flew off to town'. Such metaphor would also explain the intransitive operation of náusàa (97c), and dîrkàa (98c).

The examples (99-102) suggest a transitive base with a metaphoric intransitive extension. This would lend support to the view that the examples (93-98) are best explained as, in each case, a single base form with two derived forms, the one Partitive/Pejorative and the other Metaphoric Intransitive.

2.2.3. Homonyms. The difference in meaning between the two forms of what appears to be one verb is sometimes so great that it would seem more plausible to treat them as entirely separate lexical items.\(^2\)

\(^2\)Newman points out that further evidence for treating such pairs as these as separate bases is provided by the existence of distinct secondary verbal nouns for some of the forms [personal communication, 7/3/80].
Rausa Disyllabic Verbs

\[ a = \text{LoHi} \quad -i \]
\[ b = \text{HiLo} \quad -a \text{ transitive} \]

(103) a. \text{sheekr} \quad \text{va shekei magani}
'sniff, smell' \quad 'he smelled the medicine'

b. \text{sheeka} \quad \text{ta sheka ruwa a kas}
'pour' \quad 'she poured the water on the ground'

(104) a. \text{tsargi} \quad \text{sun tsargi mutanen Yamma}
'show hostility to' \quad 'they are hostile toward the people of the West'

b. \text{tsargà} \quad \text{ya tsarga rake}
'split, cut' \quad 'he split the sugar cane'

(105) a. \text{zàagì} \quad \text{ya zagi dan'uwa}
'insult' \quad 'he abused his peer'

b. \text{zàagà} \quad \text{ya zaga gari}
'go round' \quad 'he went around the town'

(106) a. \text{kàarì} \quad \text{ya kari aikinsa}
'complete, finish' \quad 'he finished his work'

b. \text{kàarà} \quad \text{ya kara kudi}
'increase, add more' \quad 'he added more money'

(also \text{kàarf} \quad \text{ya kari gona})
'increase' \quad 'he added onto the farm'

(107) a. \text{rèenì} \quad \text{ta reni yaro}
'look after' \quad 'she looked after the child'

b. \text{rèenà} \quad \text{ya rena mutanenmu}
'belittle, despise' \quad 'he belittled our people'

(108) a. \text{yàafì} \quad \text{ya yafi wanda ya cuce shi}
'forgive' \quad 'he forgave the one who cheated him'

b. \text{yàafà} \quad \text{ya yafa alkyabba}
'throw over' \quad 'he threw on the burnous'

This would also seem to be the explanation for such co-occurrences as the following:

(109) a. \text{fàrkà} \quad \text{ya farka rigata}
'rip up' \quad 'he ripped up my gown'

b. \text{fàrkàa} \quad \text{ya farka daga bàrci}
'wake up' \quad 'he woke up from sleep'

2.3. \text{Summary}. The examination so far of co-occurrences spread across the grid suggests the existence of the following:
2.4. **Transitivity.** Newman [1973:329-330] suggests that transitivity does not function as a critical variable in the basic classification of Hausa verbs and gives examples of both transitive and intransitive verbs in three out of the four phonological classes of the grid. He says,

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.

\[(44)\]

- **Hi-Lo -a verbs:**
  - tr. *kaama* 'to catch', *dafâ* 'to cook'
  - intr. *zauna* 'to sit', *tisayâ* 'to stand'
- **Hi-Lo -i verbs:**
  - tr. *sanî* 'to know', *barî* 'to leave'
  - intr. *faadî* 'to fall', *mutû* 'to die'
- **Lo-Hi -i verbs:**
  - tr. *nêemi* 'to seek', *sàyî* 'to buy'
  - intr. *tàfi* 'to go', *gâjî* 'to tire'

The LoHi -a verbs, all of which are intransitive, constitute an exception, probably resulting from a merger of the transitive verbs of that class with the transitive LoHi -i verbs. [Newman 1973:329-330]

Yet in terms of the spread of verbs across the seven categories formed according to the criteria of phonological class plus transitivity there is considerable variation, variation in the productivity of the categories with the majority of verbs falling into just four categories:
Hausa Disyllabic Verbs

HiLo - a transitives
HiLo - a intransitives
LoHi - i transitives
LoHi - a intransitives

Of the other possibilities, LoHi - i intransitives number only three (Rooshi 'be sated', gaji 'be tired', taff 'go'); HiLo - i transitives number only five (barli 'leave', sanli 'know, sakli 'release', fadii 'say', samu 'receive'); HiLo - i intransitives number only seven (wuni 'spend the day', tasha 'stand up', faddi 'fall', baaci 'be spoiled', mutu 'die', gudu 'run', hafi 'give birth').

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>trans</th>
<th>intran</th>
<th>trans</th>
<th>intran</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HiLo</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>5 verbs</td>
<td>7 verbs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LoHi</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>3 verbs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The grid omits a number of verbs with HiHi tone pattern:

kusa 'be about to' kira 'call'
zama 'become' riga 'precede'
jira 'wait for' bya 'pay'

As Newman [1973] points out, certain HiHi -a verbs can be assigned to the LoHi -a box. These are a series of intransitive HiHi -a verbs with an initial heavy syllable and a short final vowel, e.g. buuya 'hide', girma 'grow up', suum 'faint', tsira 'escape'. The bulk of LoHi -a verbs have an initial light syllable while both shapes share the features short final vowel, intransitivity, and the method of verbal noun formation. There are only a few counterexamples: sau 'get down' and nuuna 'ripen' with LoHi tone pattern and kusa 'be about to' and zama 'become' with HiHi tone pattern.

As for HiHi transitics there are only four: jira 'wait for', kira 'call', riga 'precede', bya 'pay'. In the case of the first three there are alternative verbs with A-forms (jiraayaa, kiraayaa, rigaayaa).
which would suggest an original three syllable structure apocopated to the anomalous forms with HiHi tone pattern. R.G. Schuh proposes [personal communication] that these verbs be categorized at some historical, if not synchronic, level as HiLoHi transitives with an historical change rule: *âyâa > ââ. Bîyâa would seem to be an exceptional form.

Following Newman's premise that in the VTE system base shapes had no syntactic or semantic correlates, but that extensions did or could have, we have suggested here that a transitive extension, the Applicative, was limited to intransitive bases and that the converse was true for the Metaphoric Intransitive extension. In section 3 it is proposed that there is evidence to suggest a further "hidden" extension within the grid, again having syntactic correlates.

3. The Intransitive/Reflexive Extension HiLo -i/-e

3.1. Base form HiLo -i. Turning to a grid square hitherto set aside, HiLo -i, containing only eleven verbs, 6 intransitive and 5 transitive, it is possible to trace evidence of an extension which, in this case, is intransitive.

In Old Hausa there were base form HiLo -i intransitives:

(110) ɓâacî 'become spoilt'
(111) ɓâadî 'fall'
(112) gûdû³ 'run away'
(113) mútû³ 'die'
(114) tâashî 'get up'
(115) yînî/wûnî 'spend the day'
(116) hâifû³ 'give birth'

Extensions operated upon these bases:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Extension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɓâacî</td>
<td>Applicative ɓâatà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruwa ya ɓacî</td>
<td>ya Bata ruwa 'he spoilt the water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'the water is spoilt'</td>
<td>Metaphoric Intransitive ɓâatàà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali da Audu sun Bata</td>
<td>'Ali and Audu have fallen out'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³The final vowel _-u_ is a secondary replacement for the underlying final _/i/_, see Newman [1973:329].
Yet the picture remains limited to the forms of only seven extant intransitive HiLo -i verbs. Transitive HiLo -e verbs will be considered later.

3.2. HiLo -e base forms: the Intransitive/Reflexive and the Totality extension. If, however, one looks at the verbs occurring in the shape HiLo -e outside the grid (Newman's Totality extension; Parsons' Grade 4, often characterized as conveying the idea of "completeness, thoroughness") one can see the modern reflexes of many of the verbs originally of the HiLo -i shape. Grade 4, a secondary grade, has come to amalgamate the true Totality extension with intransitive base forms of the shape HiLo -i and an Intransitive/Reflexive extension. This form of poaching is still to be seen in the general expansion of Grade 4 at the expense of basic verbs. That is to say, the six intransi-

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4I am grateful to Paul Newman for drawing this to my attention. The phenomenon has also been commented on by Parsons (1971/72:77, fn.65).
tive HiLo -i verbs still extant are stubborn reminders of the form that has been replaced in the case of many verbs by the -e termination of Grade 4.

The evidence in support of this contention is to be found in one of the lacunae in the grade system. There are a considerable number of HiLo -e (Grade 4) intransitive verbs that do not operate a corresponding form inside the grid, i.e. they are secondary forms without primary forms, this in direct contravention of Gouffé's premise that secondary forms are derived from primary forms [Gouffé 1962:185]. In Newman's terms these examples of the Totality extension have no base form within the grid, unless one were to reconstruct non-extant forms in every case. Parsons, in reply to Gouffé, recognized the lacuna terming such verbs "defective" secondary forms [Parsons 1962:262].

3.2.1. Base form HiLo -e. If we accept an -e alternate to the HiLo -i base form then we can incorporate verbs of this shape previously considered extension or secondary grade forms:

HiLo -i/-e intransitive bases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb (HiLo)</th>
<th>Meaning (HiLo)</th>
<th>Verb (HiLo)</th>
<th>Meaning (HiLo)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(117) daa'gee</td>
<td>&quot;insist, strive&quot;</td>
<td>ya dage ya Ri zuwa</td>
<td>'he stubbornly refused to go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(118) dun'gee</td>
<td>'be overcast'</td>
<td>gari ya dunde</td>
<td>'the sky is overcast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(119) ran'tse</td>
<td>'swear'</td>
<td>ya rantse da sunan Allah</td>
<td>'he swore by the name of Allah'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(120) wuc'ee</td>
<td>'pass'</td>
<td>ya wuce tα Kofar gari</td>
<td>'he passed through the towngate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(121) nook'ee</td>
<td>'draw back'</td>
<td>maciji ya noke</td>
<td>'the snake drew back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(122) kum'ee</td>
<td>'close up'</td>
<td>cikinsa ya kume</td>
<td>'he is constipated'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(123) lay'ee</td>
<td>'run away'</td>
<td>Barawo ya laye</td>
<td>'the thief ran away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(124) raash'ee</td>
<td>'loiter'</td>
<td>Audu ya rashe</td>
<td>'Audu loitered about'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(125) saan'ee</td>
<td>'become dry and useless'</td>
<td>tα samiya tα sane</td>
<td>'the tamarind has dried up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(126) tauy'ee</td>
<td>'shrink'</td>
<td>rigma tα tauye</td>
<td>'the gown shrank'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.2. Transitive forms. Some base form intransitives operate a transitive form in addition:

a = HiLo -i/e intransitive
b = HiLo -i/e transitive

(129) a. wáayèe  
   'dawn, become enlightened'  
   kan Ali ya waye  
   'Ali has become enlightened'

b. wáayè  
   'enlighten'  
   malami ya waye kan Ali  
   'the teacher enlightened Ali'

(130) a. tóoshèe  
   'be stopped up'  
   kunnensa ya toshe  
   'his ear is stopped up'

b. tóoshè  
   'stop up'  
   bari mu toshe ramin  
   'let's stop up the hole'

(131) a. tsúukèe  
   'draw together'  
   bakinsa ya tsuke  
   'his lips are pursed'

b. tsúukè  
   'draw together'  
   ya tsuke baki  
   'he pursed his lips'

(132) a. dáurèe  
   cikin wahala duka sai da ya daure  
   'endure'  
   'in any difficulty does he persevere'

b. dáurè  
   'endure'  
   ya daure wahala  
   'he endured the difficulty'

The transitive forms of these base form intransitives are perhaps a development arising after the intransitives had merged in shape with the Totality extension.

3.2.3. The Intransitive/Reflexive extension. In the same way that we have (a) basic HiLo -a verbs and verbs operating the Applicative HiLo -a extension and (b) basic LoHi -i verbs and verbs operating the Partitive/Pejorative LoHi -i extension, so also there are co-occurrences that point to transitive base forms operating a HiLo -e Intransitive/Reflexive extension, e.g.
a = transitive base
b = Intransitive/Reflexive extension

(133) a. dáatá  
'be equal to'
'Audu ya data Ali'  
'Audu is Ali’s equal'
b. dáacèë  
'suit'
'abin da ka yi bai dace ba'  
'what you did is not fitting'

(134) a. wàatsà  
'scatter'
'zaki ya watsa garken shanu'  
'the lion scattered the herd of cattle'
b. wàatsèë  
'scatter'
'garken shanu ya watsa'  
'the herd of cattle scattered'

(135) a. dàukì  
'pick up'
yà dàuki fensir  
'he took a pencil'
b. dàukèë  
'be removed'
'ruwan sama ya dàuke'  
'the rainstorm has passed on'

(136) a. Bàrkà  
'rip'
itacen nan ya Bàrka rigata  
'this wood has ripped my gown'
b. Bàrkèë  
'burst'
'riga ta Bàrke'  
'the gown tore'

(137) a. kàfà  
'erecet, establish'
yà kafa gemu  
'he grew a beard'
b. kàfèë  
'become stuck'
mota ta kafe  
'the car is stuck'

(138) a. cìizà  
'bite'
yà cìza hannuna  
'he bit my hand'
b. cìijèë  
'become jammed'
'giyar mota ta ciye'  
'the car's gearshift jammed'

(139) a. kàryà  
'snap'
yà karya icce  
'he broke the stick'
b. kàryèë  
'become broken'
kafarsa ta karye  
'his leg is broken'

(140) a. dàarà  
'split'
yà dara Kwarya  
'he split a calabash'
b. dàarèë  
'scatter, become cracked'
'mutane sun dare'  
'the people scattered'

(141) a. dùsà  
'make blunt'
yà dusa kaifin wuKà  
'he blunted the knife's edge'
b. dùshèë  
'become dim, faint'
muryarsa ta dushe  
'his voice became faint'
3.2.4. The Intransitive/Reflexive and the Totality extension. The proposition would be that in Middle Hausa there was an Intransitive/Reflexive extension, the phonological shape of this extension now having merged with that of the Totality extension. The Totality extension could be applied to both transitive and intransitive bases.

3.2.4.1. Totality extension: transitive HiLo -a and LoHi -i.

a = transitive base
b = transitive Totality extension

(146) a. kāmā
   'catch'
   ya kama ƙarawo
   'he caught the thief'

b. kāmè
   'take firm hold of'
   ya kame ƙarawo
   'he firmly held the thief'

(147) a. čikà
   'fill'
   ya cika tulu
   'he filled the jug'

b. čikè
   'fill right up'
   ya cike tulu
   'he filled the jug to the brim'

(148) a. sayf
   'buy'
   ya sayi shinkafa
   'he bought rice'

b. sayè
   'buy up'
   ya saye shinkafa
   'he bought up the rice'
(149) a. *baabí*  
'break, cut open' ya *baabí gwangwani*  
'he opened the tin'  
b. *baabè*  
'break, cut right open' ya *baabè gwangwani*  
'he cut the tin wide open'  

(150) a. *míną*  
'streetch out' ya *mína kafa*  
'he stretched his legs'  
b. *míkè*  
'streetch right out' ya *míkè kafa*  
'he stretched his legs right out'  

3.2.4.2. Totality extension: intransitive LoHi -a and HiLo -a.

a = intransitive base  
b = intransitive totality extension  

(151) a. *cīká*  
'fill'  
randa ta *cika*  
'the pot is full'  
b. *cīkè*  
'fill right up'  
randa ta *cike*  
'the pot is full to the brim'  

(152) a. *fītā*  
'go out'  
yaro ya *fita*  
'the boy went out'  
b. *fīcè*  
'go right out'  
yaro ya *fice*  
'the boy went right out'  

(153) a. *tsfírā*  
'escape'  
Gayaro ya *tsira*  
'the thief escaped'  
b. *tsèéè*  
'escape clean away'  
Gayaro ya *tseere*  
'the thief got clean away'  

(154) a. *baabé*  
'break open'  
gwangwani ya *baabe*  
'the tin broke open'  
b. *baabè*  
'break right open'  
gwangwani ya *baabè*  
'the tin split wide open'  

(155) a. *míkè*  
'spread toward'  
kogi ya *mikè tèku*  
'the river spread toward the sea'  
b. *míkè*  
'spread as far as'  
kogi ya *mikè tèku*  
'the river extended to the sea'  

(156) a. *zürmè*  
'collapse'  
rijiya ta *zurma*  
'the well collapsed'  
b. *zürmè*  
'collapse completely'  
rijiya ta *zurme*  
'the well fell completely in'  

(157) a. *lōotsàà*  
'sag'  
soro ya *lotsa*  
'the house sagged'
b. lòotsèe
'sag and break'
soro ya lotse
'the house sagged and tumbled down'

In each case the Totality extension simply follows the base in terms of transitivity. On the other hand, the Intransitive/Reflexive extension is limited to transitive bases.

3.2.5. Two examples of bases and their extensions. If we look at the spread of forms for such a verb as 'fill' (33), (147), and (151), and if we think in terms of base and extensions, we see a single intransitive base with three possible extensions, one of which operates a truly "secondary" Totality extension:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Extension</th>
<th>2nd Extension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cìká</td>
<td>Partitive/Pejorative cìkì</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulu ya cika</td>
<td>ya cìki barkono</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'the pot is full'</td>
<td>'he cornered the market in peppers'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Totality</td>
<td>cìkèe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tulu ya cìke</td>
<td>'the pot is brim full'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Applicative</td>
<td>cìkà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ya cìka tulu</td>
<td>ya cìke tulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'he filled the pot'</td>
<td>'he filled the pot to the brim'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb 'cut' (144) operates extensions upon a transitive base:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yánkà</th>
<th>Partitive/Pejorative yánkì</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ya yanka nama</td>
<td>ya yanki nama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he cut up the meat'</td>
<td>'he cut off some meat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Totality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ya yanke kan kaza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intransitive/Reflexive yánkèe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>igiya ta yanke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.6. The congruence between the Totality and the Intransitive/Reflexive. The congruence between the Totality extension and the Intransitive/Reflexive extension often gives rise to the two forms often extant:
a = transitive base
b = transitive Totality extension
c = Intransitive/Reflexive extension

(158) a. dúsà
   'make blunt'
   ya dusa kaifin wuƙa
   'he dulled the blade of the knife'

b. dūshè
   'make completely blunt'
   ya dushe kaifin wuƙa
   'he completely blunted the blade of the knife'

c. dūshèe
   'become blunt, dim'
   muryarsa ta dushe
   'his voice became dim'

(159) a. kāryā
   'snap'
   ya karya icce
   'he snapped the stick'

b. kāryè
   'snap, break apart'
   ya kanye icce
   'he broke the stick in two'

c. kāryèe
   'snap, break apart'
   icce ya karye
   'the stick snapped'

It follows that intransitive base forms LoHi -a and some HiLo -a can only operate Totality extensions of the HiLo -e shape, whereas transitive bases within the grid LoHi -i and some HiLo -a can operate either or both the Totality and the Intransitive/Reflexive extensions of that shape.

3.3. LoHi -i intransitive verbs. There are only three verbs in this category; they are nevertheless very common:

(160) tàffì
   'go to'

(161) gàjì
   'be tired'

(162) dùòoshì
   'be replete'

Recently, Newman [1979] has picked up a suggestion made by Parsons to the effect that both tàffì and gàjì are apocopated forms of trisyllabic verbs *tàffyà and *gàjìya no longer extant. If we can therefore leave aside these two verbs we are left only with dùòoshì and it would seem more sensible to treat this as an exceptional form and thus leave out the LoHi -i intransitive square from the grid.

3.4. HiLo -i transitive verbs. The postulation of an intransitive HiLo -i/e base and extension form does not account for the group of five transitive verbs whose A-forms are to be found in the grid square, namely,
(163) bárli 'leave'
(164) sánli 'know'
(165) sákli 'release'
(166) fádiì 'say'
(167) sàamùù 'obtain'

Following Newman's premise that the C-form is basic to the shape of the verb, we can see that the underlying form of these verbs is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base shape (pre-nominal object form)</th>
<th>Deleted Direct Object Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bár</td>
<td>bárìì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sán</td>
<td>sánìì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sákìì</td>
<td>sákìì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fádìì</td>
<td>fádìì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sàamìì</td>
<td>sàamùù</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of bárìì and sánìì we have exceptions whose base forms are monosyllabic and therefore do not fall within the grid. In the case of sákìì, fádìì and sàamùù we have simple LoHi -ì (Grade 2) transitive verbs with irregular ø object forms.

4. Transitivity as a Correlate of Base Shapes

If the transitive HiLo -ì and the intransitive LoHi -ì verbs can be removed from the grid, then we are left with a modified picture in which transitivity is a correlate of 3 out of the 4 grid squares and plays a major role in extension formation across grid squares:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BASE SHAPES</th>
<th>EXTENSIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-à</td>
<td>-ì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trans</td>
<td>HiLo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intrans</td>
<td>intrans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HiLo</td>
<td>{Applicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intrans</td>
<td>LoHi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HiLo Metaphoric Intrans</td>
<td>Intransitive/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intrans</td>
<td>LoHi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trans</td>
<td>Pejorative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Partitive/
5. **Basic and Derived Forms**

It is possible to postulate a 2 level model for the verbal system as it operates within the Grid:

Level 1 shows base shapes;

Level 2 shows the extensions that operate within the grid itself.

An indication is then given of the operation of some extensions outside the grid, namely the Totality and the Sustenative.

**LEVEL 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level 1</th>
<th>-a</th>
<th>-i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HiLo</td>
<td>(trans)</td>
<td>(trans)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>káamà 'catch'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(intrans)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jírgàa 'slew around'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LoHi</td>
<td>(intrans)</td>
<td>(trans)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cìkå 'be full'</td>
<td>sàyí 'buy'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**LEVEL 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level 2</th>
<th>-a</th>
<th>-i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HiLo</td>
<td>Applicative (trans)</td>
<td>Intrans/Reflexive (intrans)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Metaphoric (intrans)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LoHi</td>
<td>Partitive/Pejorative (trans)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BASE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Applicative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**HiLo** -a intrans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HiLo</th>
<th>-a intrans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gáràa 'roll along'</td>
<td>gárà 'roll (thing)' (cf. 37-51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LoHi</td>
<td>-a intrans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cìkå 'be full'</td>
<td>cìkå 'fill' (cf. 33-36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HiLo</td>
<td>-i intrans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gáacì 'be spoiled'</td>
<td>gáatà 'spoil' (cf. 3.1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**BASE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HiLo</th>
<th>-a trans</th>
<th>EXTENSION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ázà</td>
<td>'put on top of'</td>
<td>ázàa 'think' (cf. 93-102)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kárýà</td>
<td>'break'</td>
<td>kárýée 'be broken' (cf. 133-145)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LoHi</td>
<td>-i trans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dàukf</td>
<td>'take'</td>
<td>dàukée 'pass by'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HiLo</th>
<th>-a trans</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ballà</td>
<td>'hook up'</td>
<td>ballié 'unhook' (cf. 69-92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LoHi</td>
<td>-a intrans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cìká</td>
<td>'be full'</td>
<td>cìkí 'corner market'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HiLo</td>
<td>-i intrans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gúdù</td>
<td>'run'</td>
<td>gùjí 'run away from' (cf. 3.1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further extensions operate on the forms indicated under Levels 1 and 2:

**BASE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HiLo</th>
<th>-a trans</th>
<th>EXTENSION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bádà</td>
<td>'sprinkle on'</td>
<td>bádéé 'cover by sprinkling' (cf. 146)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zúrmàa</td>
<td>'collapse'</td>
<td>zúrmée 'collapse completely' (cf. 156-157)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cìká</td>
<td>'be full'</td>
<td>cìkée 'be full to the brim' (cf. 151-155)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sàyí</td>
<td>'buy'</td>
<td>sàyè 'buy up' (cf. 148-149)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HiLo</td>
<td>-a Applicative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cìká</td>
<td>'fill'</td>
<td>cìkè 'fill to brim'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**HiLo - a Metaphoric**

dìrkàa 'enter unexpectedly'
dìrkée 'enter unexpectedly'
6. Summary

By testing the premises of Newman's VTE system against present-day verbal behaviour this paper has tried to trace some features of the development of the Hausa verbal system and thereby to make sense of the ways in which particular verbs operate particular sets of forms (grades). The paper is limited in that it deals only with disyllabic verbs and it relies entirely upon Hausa without reference to any comparative data.

The tentative conclusions of the paper are:

(i) In 3 out of 4 cases, Newman's phonological classes, referred to here as "base shapes", have syntactic correlates, i.e. they are either transitive or intransitive. Transitivity is also a factor in the selection of extensions that a base may operate.

(ii) If we accept Newman's premise that "if a verb operates what looks to be two basic forms, it follows necessarily that only one of the grade forms can be truly basic and that the other must be a derived form, i.e. a basic grade plus extension" [1973:336-337], than we have to postulate other extensions (Partitive/Pejorative, Metaphoric Intransitive) as well as the Applicative that have the same shapes as bases. An alternative is to think in terms of verb stems operating more than one base shape without an indication of primacy for any one form, rather in the way Parsons classified verbs as operating 1, 2 or 3 primary grades.

(iii) The present-day Grade 4, the Totality extension, is in fact an amalgam of HiLo -a base forms with an Intransitive/Reflexive extension and the true Totality extension, this having come about through the merger of HiLo -i with HiLo -e.

Sustenative (intransitive extension upon transitive bases)

HiLo -a trans
hádá 'join'  
LoHi -i trans
tsìnčí 'select'
HiLo -a Applicative
cíkà 'fill'
LoHi -i Partitive/Pejorative
jùyì 'copy'

hádu 'meet, be joined'
tsìnű 'be selected'
cíkú 'be filled up'
jùyú 'be copied'
REFERENCES


