

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 correlate 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 object following; B, with personal pronoun direct object following; C, with other kinds of direct object following; D, with indirect object following. Parsons considered the A-form to be the basic form from which the C-form was de-

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rived 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.

<u>Form</u>	A	B	C	D	
<u>Grade</u>					
primary					
G.1	HiLo -aa	HiLo -aa	HiLo -a	HiLo -aa	trans and intrans
G.2	LoHi -aa	LoHi -ee	LoHi -i	borrowed G.1, 4, or 5	trans only
G.3	LoHi -a			borrowed G.1, 4, or 5	intrans only
secondary					
G.4	HiLo -ee	HiLo -ee	HiLo -ee/-e	HiLo -ee	trans and intrans
G.5	HiHi -as	HiHi -as	HiHi -as	HiHi -as	causative
tertiary					
G.6	HiHi -oo	HiHi -oo	HiHi -oo	HiHi -oo	trans and intrans
G.7	LoHi -u			borrowed G.5	intrans only

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

¹Newman 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:

<u>final vowel</u>	-a	-i
<u>tone pattern</u>		
HiLo	káamà	wúnì
LoHi	fìtá	sàyí

(Following Newman the form of a verb cited throughout this paper is the C-form of transitives and the A-form of intransitives.)

The majority of extensions—Ventive (G.6), Totality (G.4), Causative (G.5), Decausative (G.5d), Sustenative G.7)—specify a tone pattern and final vowel (or VC in the case of the Causative) distinct from the shapes in the above grid and simply replace the specifications of the base form by the shape of the extension, e.g.

base	<u>plus</u> ventive extension
sàyí (LoHi -i)	sáyóo (HiHi -oo)

In discussing extensions Newman sees a process of phonological reduction by consonant loss from CV suffixing to simply the features final vowel and tone pattern [Newman 1973:342].

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:

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|--------------------------------|--|
| (1) gíftàa
'cross in front' | ya gífta a gabana
'he crossed in front of me' |
| (2) gílmàa
'cross in front' | ya gílma a gabana
'he crossed in front of me' |
| (3) gúsàa
'move slightly' | ya gusa kaɗan 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' |

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| (5) | kúrdāa
'squeeze through' | ya kurḁa ta taga ya fita
'he squeezed through the window and went out' |
| (6) | rúgàa
'rush' | sun ruga cikin ḁaki
'they rushed into the room' |
| (7) | záunàa
'sit' | ya zauna
'he sat down' |
| (8) | gáísàa
'greet' | sun gaisa a hanya
'they exchanged greetings on the road' |
| (9) | gáanàa
'have a chat' | sun gana a hanya
'they chatted on the road' |
| (10) | káràa
'clash' | 'yan dambe sun kara
'the boxers clashed' |
| (11) | láfàa
'die down' | hayaniya ta lafa
'the uproar died down' |
| (12) | nátsàa
'become calm, sink' | kome ya natsa
'everything is calmed down' |
| (13) | nísisàa
'groan, sigh' | hadiri ya nisa
'the storm rumbled' |
| (14) | ríntsàa
'take a nap' | jiya na kwana ban ko rintsa ba
'I spent all last night without sleeping a wink' |
| (15) | tánkàa
'reply' | bai ko tanka ba
'he didn't even reply' |

There are, furthermore, a number of transitive HiLo -a verbs that are similarly limited to this shape within the grid, e.g.

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|------|-------------------------------|---|
| (16) | báḁa
'sprinkle' | ya baḁa yaji a tuwo
'he sprinkled spices on the mush' |
| (17) | ḁáfà
'boil, cook' | mai haḁuri ya kan dafa dutse
'a patient person can cook a stone' |
| (18) | ḁóorà
'put thing on thing' | na ḁora littafi a kansa
'I put the book on his head' |
| (19) | gásà
'grill' | ya gasa doya
'he grilled yams' |
| (20) | gyáarà
'repair' | ya gyara kekene
'he repaired my bicycle' |
| (21) | háḁa
'join, unite' | sun haḁa kai
'they joined forces' |
| (22) | kéerà
'forge' | an kera fartanya
'a hoe was forged' |

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|------|-----------------------------------|---|
| (23) | lííkà
'stick, attach' | na lííkà takarda jikin bango
'I stuck the paper on the wall' |
| (24) | mánnà
'press together, attach' | na manna takarda jikin bango
'I stuck the paper on the wall' |
| (25) | rábà
'divide, separate' | ya raba goro
'he divided out kola' |
| (26) | shúukà
'sow' | ya shuka gyada
'he planted peanuts' |
| (27) | sóosà
'scratch' | ya sosa kafa
'he scratched his foot' |
| (28) | sóoyà
'fry' | ya soya nama
'he fried meat' |
| (29) | rээрà
'sing' | ya rera waka
'he sang a song' |
| (30) | tóofà
'spit' | ya tofa yawu
'he spit saliva' |
| (31) | záanà
'draw' | ya zana doki a jikin bango
'he drew a horse on the wall' |
| (32) | zúgà
'blow, incite' | ya zuga wuta
'he fanned the fire (with a bellows)' |

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. cìkà tulu ya cika
 'fill' 'the jug is full'
- b. cíkà Audu ya cika tulu
 'fill' 'Audu filled the jug'
- (34) a. jíkà wandonsa ya jìka
 'become wet' 'his pants are wet'
- b. jíkà Audu ya jìka wandonsa
 'wet' 'Audu got his pants wet'
- (35) a. dígá ruwa ya díga ta indararo
 'drip' 'water dripped from the gutter spout'
- b. dígà ya díga magani a bakin yaro
 'pour in drops' 'he dropped medicine into the boy's mouth'
- (36) a. zùbá mai ya zuba
 'pour away' 'the oil spilled'
- b. zúbà ya zuba ruwa cikin kwalba
 'pour' '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. fáasàa tafiya ta fasa
 'be cancelled' 'the trip has been cancelled'
- b. fáasà sun fasa tafiya
 'cancel' 'they put off the trip'
- (38) a. gázàa kudìna sun gaza
 'fail' 'my money fell short'
- b. gázà na gaza shi hakuri
 'fall short of' 'I have less patience than he'
- (39) a. káamàa wuta ta kama
 'take hold' 'the fire took hold'
- b. káamà sun kama òarawo
 'take hold of' 'they caught the thief'
- (40) a. kíntsàa Audu ya kintsa
 'be orderly' 'Audu sat with his feet drawn back'
- b. kíntsà Audu ya kintsa kayansa
 'put in order' 'Audu tidied his things'

- (41) a. lóotsàa soro ya lotsa
'sag' 'the house sagged'
- b. lóotsà kabewa ta lotsa rumfa
'cause to sag' 'the pumpkin plant has made the shelter sag'
- (42) a. búusàa iska ta busa
'blow' 'the wind blew'
- b. búusà ya busa algaita
'blow' 'he blew the shawm'
- (43) a. dágàa Kirjin doki ya daga
'rise' 'the horse's chest rose'
- b. dágà ya daga hannu
'raise' 'he raised his hand'
- (44) a. dírkaa sun dírka cikin ofishinsa
'enter unexpectedly' 'they entered his office without warning'
- b. dírka ya dírka kibiya cikin taro
'force in' 'he propelled an arrow into the crowd'
- (45) a. gáràa ya gara a guje
'speed along' 'he ran along'
- b. gárà ya gara taya
'roll thing along' 'he rolled the tire along'
- (46) a. jfírgàa hadiri ya jirga wajen kudu
'move a short distance' 'the storm has veered southward'
- b. jfírgà ya jirga tulu gefe
'slew around' 'he rotated the jug sideways'
- (47) a. lúulàa sun lula
'flee' 'they fled'
- b. lúulà ya lula kibiya
'let fly' 'he let fly the arrow'
- (48) a. mátsàa sun matsa kusa da kauye
'approach' 'they drew near the village'
- b. mátsà ya matsa bakin zobe
'squeeze' 'he squeezed the ring together'
- (49) a. móotsàa yaro ya motsa
'move' 'the boy moved'
- b. móotsà ya motsa hannu
'move' 'he moved his hand'
- (50) a. ráatsàa ya ratsa Kano
'turn towards' 'he turned toward Kano'
- b. ráatsà ya ratsa gari
'pass through' 'he passed through the town'

- (51) a. zúrmaà rijiya ta zurma
 'collapse' 'the well fell in'
- b. zúrma ya zurma kafa a rami
 'cause to fall' 'he accidentally stuck his foot in a hole'

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:

- (52) b̂azgí ya b̂azgi reshe
 'tear off' 'he tore off a branch'
- (53) b̂idí ku bidí alheri ga mai sakin fuska
 'seek' 'look for gifts from a smiling face'
- (54) ĉèecí Allah ya ceci ransa
 'rescue' 'may Allah save his life'
- (55) f̂ànshí ya fanshi rigarsa
 'redeem' 'he redeemed his gown'
- (56) ĝàají ya gaji ubansa
 'inherit from' 'he inherited from his father'
- (57) ĵidí ya jidi kaya
 'go to and fro with' 'he went to and fro with the goods'
- (58) k̂àllí mun kalli sama
 'look at' 'we looked at the sky'
- (59) k̂wàací mun kwaci kudínsa
 'take by force' 'we wrested away his money'
- (60) n̂èemí mun nemi gidansa
 'look for' 'we looked for his house'
- (61) ŝàací ya saci kudína
 'steal' 'he stole my money'
- (62) t̂àrí ya tari Audu a kan hanya

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| | b. | gáatsà
'bite at, into' | ya gatsa goro
'he bit into the kola' |
| (77) | a. | gòogí
'brush against' | akwiya ta gogi zana
'the goat brushed against the screen' |
| | b. | góogà
'rub thing on thing' | ta goga fure a bakinta
'she rubbed tobacco flowers on her teeth' |
| (78) | a. | hàkí
'dig out' | ta ha'ki dankali
'she dug out potatoes' |
| | b. | há'ká
'dig' | ya ha'ka rami
'he dug a hole' |
| (79) | a. | hàrbí
'shoot at' | ya harbi tsuntsu
'he shot a bird' |
| | b. | hárbà
'shoot' | ya harba kibiya
'he shot an arrow' |
| (80) | a. | jèéfí
'throw at' | ya jefi kare da dutse
'he threw at the dog with a stone' |
| | b. | jééfà
'throw' | ya jefa mashi
'he threw a spear' |
| (81) | a. | júuyí
'copy' | ya juyi takarda
'he copied the document' |
| | b. | júuyà
'turn' | ya juya randa
'he turned the pot' |
| (82) | a. | kòorí
'drive away' | ya kori bauna
'he drove away the buffalo' |
| | b. | kóorà
'drive forward' | ya kora shanu
'he drove the cattle along' |
| (83) | a. | kwàbí
'unhaft' | ya kwabi ruwan magirbi
'he unhafted the hoe blade' |
| | b. | kwá'ba
'haft' | ya kwaba gatari
'he hafted the axe' |
| (84) | a. | mùrdí
'twist out' | ya murdi kusa
'he twisted out the nail' |
| | b. | múrdà
'twist' | ya murda hannun yaro
'he twisted the boy's hand' |

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. tũukà ta tuƙa tuwo
 'stir, drive' 'she stirred the mush'
- b. tũukí maganata ta tuƙi Audu
 'disturb' 'my words disturbed Audu'
- (86) a. dáamà ta dama fura
 'stir' 'she mixed the gruel'
- b. dàamí ya dami malaminsa da tambaya
 'bother' 'he bothered his teacher with questions'
- (87) a. gámà na gama Audu da Ali
 'join, finish' 'I introduced Audu and Ali to each other'
- b. gámí rigar nan ta gami Audu sosai
 'suit' 'that gown suits Audu well'
- (88) a. kírbà an kirba fura
 'pound' 'the wet flour is pounded'
- b. kírbí an kirbi Audu
 'beat person' 'Audu has been beaten'
- (89) a. kóodá na koda fartanya
 'sharpen by beating' 'I sharpened the hoe'
- b. kòodí mun kodí ruwa
 'do much of' 'we gulped down water'
- (90) a. níká ta níka garin dawa
 'grind' 'she ground the sorghum flour'
- b. níkí malami ya níki almajirinsa
 'beat' 'the teacher beat the student'
- (91) a. rádá ya rada magana
 'whisper' 'he whispered words'
- b. ràdí ya radí Audu
 'slander' 'he slandered Audu'
- (92) a. rúudá maganarsa ta ruda mutanenmu
 'perplex' 'his words perplexed our people'
- b. rúudí ya rudí 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 (intrans). 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.

- a = HiLo -a transitive base
 b = LoHi -i Partitive/Pejorative transitive extension
 c = HiLo -a intransitive: separate base or metaphoric extension?
- (93) a. hárbà ya harba kibiya
 'shoot' 'he shot an arrow'
 b. hàrbí ya harbí kare
 'shoot at' 'he shot at the dog'
 c. hárbàa lemu ya harba
 'begin to ripen' 'the orange has begun to ripen'
- (94) a. kóosà rubutu ya kosa ni
 'suffice, fill' 'I've had enough writing'
 b. kòoshí hankali bai koshi Audu ba
 'fill' 'Audu isn't quite all there' ("sense hasn't
 filled Audu")
 c. kóosàa gwanda ta kosa
 'become ripe, become exasperated' 'the papaya is ripe'
- (95) a. sáabà ya saba alkawari
 'break, contravene' 'he broke the promise'
 b. sàabí ya sabi malaminsa
 'disobey' 'he disobeyed his teacher'
 c. sáabàa sun saba a hanya
 'miss, not find s.o.' 'they missed each other on the road'
- (96) a. túurà ya tura keke
 'push' 'he pushed the bicycle'
 b. tùurí ya turi yaro
 'knock against' 'he knocked against the boy'
 c. túuràa aiki ya tura
 'be well advanced' 'the work is well-advanced'
- (97) a. náusà ta nausa fura
 'pound' 'she pounded the fura'
 b. nàushí ya naushi Audu
 'punch' 'he punched Audu'
 c. náusàa sun nausa kudu
 'rush off' 'they rushed to the south'
- (98) a. dírkà ya dírka kibiya cikin taro
 'force in' 'he shot an arrow into the crowd'
 b. dírkí ya dírki Audu da mashi
 'pierce' 'he stabbed Audu with a spear'
 c. dírkàa ya dírka cikin ofishinsa
 'enter unexpectedly' '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 na aza littafi bisa tebur
 'put thing on thing' 'I put the book on the table'
 b. ázàa na aza ba za ka zo ba
 'think' 'I didn't think you would come'
- (100) a. rákà 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. shéekà ta sheka ruwa a kas
 'pour' 'she poured water on the ground'
 b. shéekàa sun sheka a guje
 'leave suddenly' 'they tore off on the run'
- (102) a. túrzà ya turza kafarsa a yashi
 'stamp' 'he stamped his foot in the sand'
 b. túrzàa sun turza
 'make great effort' 'they made a great effort'

The intransitives shéekàa and túrzàa 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 dírkàa (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

²Newman 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].

a = LoHi -i

b = HiLo -a transitive

- (103) a. shèékí 'sniff, smell' ya sheki magani 'he smelled the medicine'
 b. shéékà 'pour' ta sheka ruwa a kas 'she poured the water on the ground'
- (104) a. tsàrgí 'show hostility to' sun tsargi mutanen Yamma 'they are hostile toward the people of the West'
 b. tsárgà 'split, cut' ya tsarga rake 'he split the sugar cane'
- (105) a. zàagí 'insult' ya zagi ðan'uwa 'he abused his peer'
 b. záagà 'go round' ya zaga gari 'he went around the town'
- (106) a. kàarí 'complete, finish' ya kari aikinsa 'he finished his work'
 b. káarà 'increase, add more' ya kara kudi 'he added more money'
 (also káarí 'increase' ya kari gona) 'he added onto the farm'
- (107) a. rèení 'look after' ta reni yaro 'she looked after the child'
 b. réenà 'belittle, despise' ya rena mutanenmu 'he belittled our people'
- (108) a. yàafí 'forgive' ya yafi wanda ya cuce shi 'he forgave the one who cheated him'
 b. yáafà 'throw over' ya yafa alkyabba 'he threw on the burnous'

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

- (109) a. fàrkà 'rip up' ya farka rigata 'he ripped up my gown'
 b. fàrkàa 'wake up' ya farka daga barci 'he woke up from sleep'

2.3. Summary. The examination so far of co-occurrences spread across the grid suggests the existence of the following:

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

Of the other possibilities, LoHi -i intransitives number only three (*kòoshí* 'be sated', *gàjí* 'be tired', *tàff* 'go'); HiLo -i transitives number only five (*bàrì* 'leave', *sàni* 'know', *sákli* 'release', *fáǎi* 'say', *sáamù* 'receive'); HiLo -i intransitives number only seven (*wúnì* 'spend the day', *táashì* 'stand up', *fáadí* 'fall', *báacì* 'be spoiled', *mútù* 'die', *gúdù* 'run', *háifù* 'give birth').

	-a		-i	
	trans	intrans	trans	intrans
HiLo			5 verbs	7 verbs
LoHi	none			3 verbs

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

<i>kúsá</i>	'be about to'	<i>kíráa</i>	'call'
<i>zámá</i>	'become'	<i>rígáa</i>	'precede'
<i>jíráa</i>	'wait for'	<i>bíyáa</i>	'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. *búuyá* 'hide', *gírmá* 'grow up', *súumá* 'faint', *tsfírá* '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: *sàuká* 'get down' and *nùuná* 'ripen' with LoHi tone pattern and *kúsá* 'be about to' and *zámá* 'become' with HiHi tone pattern.

As for HiHi transitives there are only four: *jíráa* 'wait for', *kíráa* 'call', *rígáa* 'precede', *bíyáa* 'pay'. In the case of the first three there are alternative verbs with A-forms (*jìráayàa* , *kìráayàa* , *rìgáayàa*)

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: *àyáa > áa . Bíyáa 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) | ḡáacì | 'become spoilt' |
| (111) | fáadì | 'fall' |
| (112) | gúdù ³ | 'run away' |
| (113) | mútù ³ | 'die' |
| (114) | táashì | 'get up' |
| (115) | yínì/wúnì | 'spend the day' |
| (116) | háifù ³ | 'give birth' |

Extensions operated upon these bases:

<u>Base</u>	<u>Extension</u>	
ḡáacì	Applicative	ḡáatà
ruwa ya ḡaci	ya ḡata ruwa	
'the water is spoilt'	'he spoilt the water'	
	Metaphoric Intransitive	ḡáatàa
	Ali da Audu sun ḡata	
	'Ali and Audu have fallen out'	

³The final vowel -u is a secondary replacement for the underlying final /i/ , see Newman [1973:329].

<u>Base</u>	<u>Extension</u>	
fáadì	Applicative	fáadà
rana ta fadì 'the sun has set'	ya fadà ni da fadà 'he fell to fighting with me'	
gúdù	Partitive/Pejorative	gùjí
Ali ya gudu 'Ali ran away'	Ali ya guji zaki 'Ali ran from the lion'	
táashì	Applicative	táasà
Audu ya tashi 'Audu got up'	ka tasa Audu 'let Audu get up'	
	Metaphoric Intransitive	táasàa
	yaro ya tasa 'the boy has grown'	
	Partitive/Pejorative	tàashí
	ta tashi Audu 'she got Audu up'	
háifù	Partitive/Pejorative	hàiff
Ladi ta haifu 'Ladi has given birth'	Ladi ta haifi dá namiji 'Ladi has given birth to a boy'	

Yet the picture remains limited to the forms of only seven extant intransitive HiLo -i verbs. Transitive HiLo -i 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.⁴ That is to say, the six intransi-

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

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------------|---|
| (117) | dáagèe
'insist, strive' | ya dage ya ki zuwa
'he stubbornly refused to go' |
| (118) | dúndèe
'be overcast' | gari ya dunde
'the sky is overcast' |
| (119) | rántsee
'swear' | ya rantse da sunan Allah
'he swore by the name of Allah' |
| (120) | wúcèe
'pass' | ya wuce ta kofar gari
'he passed through the towngate' |
| (121) | nóokèe
'draw back' | maciji ya noke
'the snake drew back' |
| (122) | kúmèe
'close up' | cikinsa ya kume
'he is constipated' |
| (123) | láyèe
'run away' | Barawo ya laye
'the thief ran away' |
| (124) | ráashèe
'loiter' | Audu ya rashe
'Audu loitered about' |
| (125) | sáanèe
'become dry and useless' | tsamiya ta sane
'the tamarind has dried up' |
| (126) | táyèe
'shrink' | riga ta tauye
'the gown shrank' |

a = transitive base

b = Intransitive/Reflexive extension

- (133) a. dáatà Audu ya data Ali
 'be equal to' 'Audu is Ali's equal'
- b. dáacèè abin da ka yi bai dace ba
 'suit' 'what you did is not fitting'
- (134) a. wáatsà zaki ya watsa garken shanu
 'scatter' 'the lion scattered the herd of cattle'
- b. wáatsèè garken shanu ya watse
 'scatter' 'the herd of cattle scattered'
- (135) a. ðaukí ya ðauki fensir
 'pick up' 'he took a pencil'
- b. ðaukéè ruwan sama ya ðauke
 'be removed' 'the rainstorm has passed on'
- (136) a. ðáarkà itacen nan ya ðarka rigata
 'rip' 'this wood has ripped my gown'
- b. ðáarkèè riga ta ðarke
 'burst' 'the gown tore'
- (137) a. káfà ya kafa gemu
 'erec, establish' 'he grew a beard'
- b. káfèè mota ta kafe
 'become stuck' 'the car is stuck'
- (138) a. cíizà ya ciza hannuna
 'bite' 'he bit my hand'
- b. cíijèè giyar mota ta cije
 'become jammed' 'the car's gearshift jammed'
- (139) a. káryà ya karya icce
 'snap' 'he broke the stick'
- b. káryèè kafarsa ta karya
 'become broken' 'his leg is broken'
- (140) a. dáarà ya dara kwarya
 'split' 'he split a calabash'
- b. dáarèè mutane sun dare
 'scatter, become cracked' 'the people scattered'
- (141) a. dúsà ya dusa kaifin wuƙa
 'make blunt' 'he blunted the knife's edge'
- b. dúshèè muryarsa ta dushe
 'become dim, faint' 'his voice became faint'

- (142) a. nárkà ta narkà mai
'melt' 'she melted the oil'
- b. nárkèè mai ya narkèè
'melt' 'the oil melted'
- (143) a. fásà ya fasa dutse
'break, smash' 'he smashed the stone'
- b. fáshèè kwalba ta fashe
'become broken' 'the bottle shattered'
- (144) a. yánkà ya yanka nama
'cut' 'he cut the meat'
- b. yánkèè igiya ta yanke
'be cut' 'the rope broke'
- (145) a. tsáagà ya tsaga goro
'split' 'he split a kola'
- b. tsáagèè bango ya tsage
'be split' 'the wall is cracked'

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. káamà ya kama ñarawo
'catch' 'he caught the thief'
- b. káamè ya kame ñarawo
'take firm hold of' 'he firmly held the thief'
- (147) a. cíkà ya cika tulu
'fill' 'he filled the jug'
- b. cíkè ya cike tulu
'fill right up' 'he filled the jug to the brim'
- (148) a. sáyí ya sayi shinkafa
'buy' 'he bought rice'
- b. sáyè ya saye shinkafa
'buy up' 'he bought up the rice'

- (149) a. *ḡaaḡí* ya *ḡaḡi* gwangwani
'break, cut open' 'he opened the tin'
- b. *ḡaaḡè* ya *ḡaḡe* gwangwani
'break, cut right open' 'he cut the tin wide open'
- (150) a. *mííkà* ya *mííkà* kafa
'stretch out' 'he stretched his legs'
- b. *mííkè* ya *mííkè* kafa
'stretch right out' '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. *cìkà* randa ta cika
'fill' 'the pot is full'
- b. *cíkèè* randa ta cike
'fill right up' 'the pot is full to the brim'
- (152) a. *fítá* yaro ya fita
'go out' 'the boy went out'
- b. *fíccèè* yaro ya fice
'go right out' 'the boy went right out'
- (153) a. *tsíirá* ḡarawo ya tsira
'escape' 'the thief escaped'
- b. *tséerèè* ḡarawo ya tsere
'escape clean away' 'the thief got clean away'
- (154) a. *ḡaaḡá* gwangwani ya *ḡaḡa*
'break open' 'the tin broke open'
- b. *ḡaaḡèè* gwangwani ya *ḡaḡe*
'break right open' 'the tin split wide open'
- (155) a. *mííkà* kogi ya *mííkà* tekú
'spread toward' 'the river spread toward the sea'
- b. *mííkèè* kogi ya *mííkèè* tekú
'spread as far as' 'the river extended to the sea'
- (156) a. *zúrmàa* rijiya ta zurma
'collapse' 'the well collapsed'
- b. *zúrmèè* rijiya ta zurme
'collapse completely' 'the well fell completely in'
- (157) a. *lóotsàa* soro ya lotsa
'sag' 'the house sagged'

- (163) bá̀r̀i 'leave'
- (164) sá̀ǹi 'know'
- (165) sá̀k̀i 'release'
- (166) fá̀d̀i 'say'
- (167) sá̀ám̀ù³ '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:

<u>Base shape (pre-nominal object form)</u>	<u>Deleted Direct Object Form</u>
bá̀r	bá̀r̀i
sá̀n	sá̀ǹi
sá̀k̀í	sá̀k̀i
fá̀d̀í	fá̀d̀i
sá̀ám̀í	sá̀ám̀ù

In the case of bá̀r̀i and sá̀ǹi we have exceptions whose base forms are monosyllabic and therefore do not fall within the grid. In the case of sá̀k̀i , fá̀d̀i and sá̀ám̀ù we have simple LoHi -i (Grade 2) transitive verbs with irregular ∅ object forms.

4. Transitivity as a Correlate of Base Shapes

If the transitive HiLo -i and the intransitive LoHi -i 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:

BASE SHAPES		EXTENSIONS	
	-a	-a	-i
HiLo	{ trans	{ Applicative	Intransitive/ Reflexive
	{ intrans	{ Metaphoric Intrans	
LoHi	intrans	LoHi	Partitive/ Pejorative
	trans		

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

	-a	-i
HiLo	(trans) <i>káamà</i> 'catch' (intrans) <i>jírgàa</i> 'slew around'	(intrans) <i>wúnì/wúcèè</i> 'spend the day'/'pass by'
LoHi	(intrans) <i>cìkà</i> 'be full'	(trans) <i>sàyí</i> 'buy'

LEVEL 2

	-a	-i
HiLo	{ Applicative (trans) { Metaphoric (intrans)	Intrans/Reflexive (intrans)
LoHi		Partitive/Pejorative (trans)

BASE

HiLo -a intrans
gáràa 'roll along'
 LoHi -a intrans
cìkà 'be full'
 HiLo -i intrans
ḡáacì 'be spoiled'

EXTENSIONApplicative

gárà 'roll (thing)' (cf. 37-51)
cíkà 'fill' (cf. 33-36)
ḡáatà 'spoil' (cf. 3.1)

BASE

HiLo -a trans
 ázá 'put on top of'

HiLo -a trans
 káryà 'break'
 LoHi -i trans
 ðàukí 'take'

HiLo -a trans
 bállà 'hook up'
 LoHi -a intrans
 cìkà 'be full'
 HiLo -i intrans
 gùdù 'run'

EXTENSIONMetaphoric Intransitive

ázàà 'think' (cf. 93-102)

Intransitive/Reflexive

káryèè 'be broken' (cf. 133-145)

ðàukée 'pass by'

Partitive/Pejorative

bàllí 'unhook' (cf. 69-92)

cìkí 'corner market'

gùjí 'run away from' (cf. 3.1)

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

BASE

HiLo -a trans
 báðà 'sprinkle on'
 HiLo -a intrans
 zúrmàà 'collapse'
 LoHi -a intrans
 cìkà 'be full'
 LoHi -i trans
 sàyí 'buy'
 HiLo -a Applicative
 cíkà 'fill'
 HiLo -a Metaphoric
 ðírkàà 'enter unexpectedly'

EXTENSION

Totality (transitivity determined by
 the base)

báðè 'cover by sprinkling' (cf. 146)

zúrmèè 'collapse completely' (cf. 156-157)

cíkèè 'be full to the brim' (cf. 151-155)

sàyè 'buy up' (cf. 148-149)

cíkè 'fill to brim'

ðírkèè 'enter unexpectedly'

		<u>Sustenative</u> (intransitive extension upon transitive bases)
HiLo -a trans		
háǎǎ 'join'	háǎǎ	'meet, be joined'
LoHi -i trans		
tsìncí 'select'	tsìntú	'be selected'
HiLo -a Applicative		
cǎkà 'fill'	cìkú	'be filled up'
LoHi -i Partitive/Pejorative		
jùǎf 'copy'	jùǎyú	'be copied'

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], then 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 -e 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.

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