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Hausa Verbal Compounds

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Hausa Verbal Compounds

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Hausa Verbal Compounds

Joseph McIntyre

For Sabine

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Abbreviations

[A*] Abraham's dictionary (1958- 4th impression 1978)
[B*] Bargery's dictionary (1933)
[DW] the Hausa Service of the Deutsche Welle (Voice of Germany) radio station
[Gtfk] Gaskiya ta fi kwabo (Hausa newspaper)
[McIMB*] McIntyre, J. and Hilke Meyer-Bahlburg (1991)
[PJ*] Jaggar's reference grammar (2001)
[PN*] Newman's reference grammar (2000)
[PN/MA] Examples from data collected by Paul Newman and Mustapha Ahmad
[RMN] Roxana Ma Newman: English-Hausa Dictionary (1990)
[-T] = intransitive
[W*] Wolff's reference grammar (1993)
* The number following the initial(s) is the page number

1pl	=	1st p. plural
1s	=	1st p. sg.
2f	=	2nd p. sg. feminine
2m	=	2nd p. sg. masculine
2pl	=	2nd p. plural
3f	=	3rd p. sg. feminine
3m	=	2rd p. sg. masculine
3pl	=	3rd p. plural
4pl	=	4th p. plural (= 'one')
ADJ	=	adjective
Adjnt	=	adjunct
Adv	=	adverb
AdvP	=	adverbial phrase
ALL	=	allative
Ar.	=	Arabic
C	=	consonant
cf.	=	see
ch.	=	chapter
cp	=	person etc. being compared (see ch. 3.2.1.1)
CMP	=	completive aspect
cp.	=	compare
cplx	=	complex
CV(V)	=	consonant and vowel(s)
DET	=	determiner

DO	=	direct object
Engl.	=	English
esp.	=	especially
f.	=	feminine
F	=	Falling tone
FUT	=	future aspect
GH	=	Ghana Hausa
gr	=	grade[1]
gr0	=	a sub-class of irregular verb
gr1	=	a sub-class of regular verb
gr2	=	a sub-class of regular verb
gr3	=	a sub-class of regular verb
gr3a	=	a sub-class of regular verb
gr3b	=	a sub-class of irregular verb
gr4	=	a sub-class of regular verb
gr5	=	a sub-class of regular verb
gr6	=	a sub-class of regular verb
gr7	=	a sub-class of regular verb
H(*)	=	High tone(s)
H-verb	=	regular verb beginning with high tone
I-verb	=	irregular verb
IDP	=	ideophone
IMP	=	imperative
INDPRO	=	independent pronoun
InfPhr	=	infinitive phrase
IO	=	indirect object
.L	=	genitive linker: /-**n**/ suffixed to masculine sg. and plural nouns, /-**r̃**/ suffixed to feminine sg. nouns with final vowel –**a**(**a**)
L(*)	=	Low tone(s)[2]
L-verb	=	regular verb beginning with low tone
Loc	=	locative
m.	=	masculine
mà	=	NIO marker (= **wà**)
ma-	=	a prefix attached to some compounds
N	=	noun
NDO	=	noun direct object

[1] See chapters 1.3.1 and 1.3.2 as well as Appendix 1d for a description of the verbal 'grades'.

[2] The symbol ".L" (= linker) is found in interlinear glosses; the symbol "L" (= low tone/verb) is found in the text.

NDOcplx	=	complex noun direct object
NEG	=	negative marker
NIO	=	noun indirect object
N.L-N	=	noun plus linker plus noun
∅DO	=	frame where no DO immediately follows transitive verb
OH	=	Old Hausa
p./pp.	=	person/persons (in examples)
PAC	=	person-aspect-complex (see chapter 1.2.4)
p.c.	=	personal communication
PDO	=	pronoun direct object
PIO	=	pronoun indirect object
pl.	=	plural
pol.	=	political
POT	=	potential aspect
PREP	=	preposition
PsIMP	=	pseudo imperative
^{q}	=	quality compared (see ch. 3.2.1.1)
REL.CMP	=	relative completive aspect
RHET	=	rhetorical aspect
sg.	=	singular
SH	=	Standard Hausa
so.	=	someone (in examples)
SocO	=	sociative object
STAB	=	stabiliser
sth.	=	something (in examples)
SBJ	=	subjunctive
th.	=	thing
V	=	verb
v*	=	a sub-class of irregular verb (note 1 above)
$V_{[+T]}$	=	transitive verb
$V_{[-T]}$	=	intransitive verb
V[wa]	=	a verb with the morphology: Cà(a)Cà < Ca(a)Càa wà
V+X	=	verbal compound with verb as first member
VC	=	verbal compound
VN	=	verbal noun
VN-L+X compounds	=	compounds with a VN, linker and noun, etc.
VNC	=	verbal noun compound
VOC	=	vocative

Introduction:
Hausa Verbal Compounds and Compounding

Hausa is one of about 130 Chadic languages, belonging in the Afroasiatic phylum. It is spoken mainly in northern Nigeria and southern Niger; the exact number of Hausa speakers is not known, but possibly some 30 million people speak Hausa as a first language and a similar number of speakers use it as a second or third language. Established Hausa migrant communities are found as far away as Ghana, Libya and the Sudan.

In this work I shall examine Hausa verbal compounds. A simple working definition is the following: a Hausa verbal compound is a compound which contains a verb. Discussions about compounds and compounding have centred around the definition of what compounds are and where compounding takes place in the grammar. No one school of thought has prevailed. Perhaps one of the main sources of the differences between various authors is the attempt to offer a universal definition of compounds and compounding. In this thesis I limit myself to Hausa verbal compounds, describing what comprises such a compound.

I shall examine the formations earlier authors on Hausa compounds have discussed, adding two formations which have, up to now, been all but ignored. The various compound types are: V[erb]+X compounds, PAC+V compounds (a PAC is a pronoun indicating tempus, aspect and/or mood), singular and plural **ma-** compounds and verbal noun compounds.In the conclusion I propose a continuum on which Hausa verbal compounds can be considered and discuss the extent to which the various kinds of compound fit this set of criteria.

Various features of Hausa verbal compounds will be discussed. The first feature is phonological: there are three possible markers of the verb in a compound, including one form not found in everyday Hausa speech; furthermore, under certain conditions, the noun direct object of a compound is shortened. The second feature is syntactic: since the internal arguments of the verb(s) in a Hausa verbal compound are satisfied inside the compound, compound syntax can be fairly complex. The third feature is semantic. The lexical meanings of Hausa verbal compounds are often opaque; in other words, the lexical meaning and the literal meaning differ. The various kinds of relationship between the two meanings is systematically described. This description brings us into the realm of cognitive linguistics.

The chapters

Chapter 1 is an overview of compounding and of Hausa verbal compounds. For readers who are not familiar with the Hausa verbal system I outline the main features of this system; I also explain my labels for certain groups of verbs; these labels relate to my description of verbs in compounds; some of them are not the traditional "Hausaist" labels.

In chapter 2 I examine basic verbal compounds: such compounds begin with a verb, have two or more members and/or one or two VPs and may be marked or unmarked. Various markers – the use of the imperative form and tone lowering to mark the verb (the latter is found only in compounds) – are described along with other features found in verbal compounds. (One such feature – the final vowel shortening of some nouns in compounds – is mentioned in this chapter, and explained in chapter 4.)

In chapter 3 further verbal compounds are described: firstly, compounds beginning with a person-aspect-complex, i.e. a pronoun giving information about tense, aspect and mood; the verb(s) in these compounds is (are) unmarked. The second type of compound is the **ma-** compound – compounds, both singular and plural – with a **ma-** prefix; in singular **ma-** compounds the verb is marked. I then examine verbal noun compounds (compounds with a verbal or deverbal noun). The underlying syntax of all three kinds of compound is described.

In chapter 4 features of the compounds seen in chapters 2 and 3 are commented on: final vowel shortening, the imperative verb form, tone lowering and phonological reduction. Final vowel shortening is seen to have an ambiguous status, marking noun direct objects in compounds as well as names. Tone lowering is shown to be a true marker of compounds. Three kinds of phonological reduction in verbal compounds are described, two involving the verb 'give' and a third relating to a number of apparently imperative verb forms which turn out to be phonological reductions of a verb and a particle or preposition.

In chapter 5 relationships between syntactic frames and verb types in verb compounds are discussed, i.e. which kinds of compound are found in which frames and with which type of verb. The main part of this chapter examines "grade 2" verbs in compounds, showing that these verbs have idiosyncratic features. A hypothesis which might explain these idiosyncracies, relates them to a feature of grade 2 verbs which, until recently, had escaped the attention of Hausa scholars.

In chapter 6 I look at Hausa verbal compounds from a cognitive perspective, describing regular metonymic relationships between the the surface form and the lexical meaning of the compound, and commenting on the presence of metaphor and other rhetorical devices in these compounds.

In chapter 7 I briefly summarise the content of the previous chapters and review the features found in Hausa verbal compounds, the cognitive facts (chapter 6) playing an important role here.

The appendices

Appendices 1 (a-d), 2 and 3 (a-c) relate to chapters 1 to 3. How the appendix is organised is described at the beginning of each appendix.

Appendix 1a lists the syntactic functions of verbal compounds, Appendix 1b gives examples of compounds in sentences, while Appendix 1c describes gender and number in verbal compounds. Appendix 1d describes the Hausa verbal system. Here, the "grade system" and the "VTE system" are described – expanding on chapter 1.3 and on the description of verb types in the text. Appendix 1d also describes the differences between finite and nominalised VPs in Hausa as well as imperative forms of the verb; the imperative plays an important role in compounding.

The appendices to chapters 2 and 3 list compounds discussed in those chapters. Appendix 2 lists V+X compounds (where 'X' may be a second verb, an adverb or an object with or without an adjunct). Appendix 3a lists compounds in which the verb is preceded by a "subject pronoun" – a person-aspect-complex giving information about tense, aspect or mood; Appendix 3b lists **ma-** compounds (singular and plural) and Appendix 3c lists compounds containing a non-finite form of the verb, or "verbal noun".

Data, sources, references – and some abbreviations

Various kinds of Hausa verbal compounds are presented here: 581 basic verbal compounds (chapter 2), 71 PAC+V compounds (compounds whose first member is a person-aspect-complex), 31 singular and 17 plural **ma-** verbal compounds as well as 261 verbal noun compounds (chapter 3).

The data for this thesis came from several sources: the largest single source is the work of Mustapha Ahmad (1994) on Hausa compounds (not just *verbal* compounds); almost 400 of my examples are found in his work. This was supplemented by data collected by

Mustapha Ahmad and Paul Newman[1]. Further examples were found during my part-time employment in the Hausa Service of the Deutsche Welle (Voice of Germany) radio station (1983-2000). Here I was able to listen to Hausa speakers live in the studio – and on tape where I was able to double-check certain features informally. A number of verbal compounds used in recent Nigerian politics came from my colleague Mohammed Munkaila (Bayreuth/Maiduguri). Others were found in the major Hausa-English dictionaries: Bargery (1934) and Abraham (1958).

Bargery's (1934) and Abraham's (1958) dictionaries are often quoted in this work. I have taken the liberty of using an abbreviation when quoting them: Bargery (1934) = [B], Abraham's (1958) = [A]. Thus "[B855]" indicates Bargery, 1934, page 855; "[A148]" indicates Abraham 1958, page 148. I have allowed myself the same liberty with the Hausa reference grammars of Jaggar, Newman and Wolff; thus "[PJ44]" refers to Jaggar 2001, page 44, "[PN704]" refers to Newman 2000, page 704, and "[W364]" refers to Wolff 1993, page 364. These abbreviations are used following examples or quotes. In the text the references are written in full where this is stylistically appropriate. I also use the abbreviation [DW] to indicate an example or information given by a colleague in the Hausa programme of the German radio station, Deutsche Welle. (See "Abbreviations", page xix.)

[1] I wish to thank Paul Newman for giving me access to this data while visiting UI Bloomington in September-October 2000. I also wish to thank the University of Hamburg and UI Bloomington for their financial support.

Chapter 1
Overview of Compounding and Hausa Compounds

Hausa is the most widely spoken Chadic language. It is the first language of some 30 million speakers in northern Nigeria and southern Niger, and the second or third language of – possibly – another 30 million people in other parts of West Africa (see Introduction as well as Wolff 1993:1, Newman 2000:1 and Jaggar 2001:1).

Hausa is a tone language in which vowel length also plays an important role. Both features – tone and vowel length – are found as compound markers. A working definition of a Hausa verbal compound (of which there are some 960 examples in Appendices 2 – 3b) was offered in the introduction: A Hausa verbal compound is a compound which contains a verb. The overwhelming majority of Hausa verbal compounds function syntactically as nouns; a handful function as adverbs or adjectives (see Appendix 1a).

This chapter introduces the themes compounds, compounding and Hausa verbal compounds and includes a short description of the Hausa verbal system. In 1.1 I examine compounds and compounding; in 1.2 I offer a description of Hausa verbal compounds and in 1.3 I describe the Hausa verbal system. In section 1.4 I describe the aspect system of Hausa and its relevance to the verbal system and compounding.

1.1 Defining compounds and compounding

What constitutes a compound and where compounding takes place in the grammar have interested many linguists. One obvious question concerns the number of elements in a compound. Carr (1939) and Marchand (1960) suggest compounds are formed with *two words*; Selkirk (1982) and Anderson (1985) limit compounding to two *elements*. Lieber (in Asher 1994:3607) says a compound is "a new lexical item [created by] putting together two freestanding stems or words." Many authors accept that compounds can be formed with a word and a stem (Bloomfield 1939, Selkirk 1982, Di Scioullo and Williams 1987, Spencer 1991). Booij (2002:141) says "The defining criterion for compounding [...] is that in compounding two lexemes are combined into a new lexeme. [...][1]"

[1] Booij (2002:141) adds: "I refer to the notion 'lexeme', and not the notion 'free form' since the consituents of a compound are not necessarily free forms that occur as words."

Spencer (1991:309) does not limit compounding to *two* words: "Compounding [...] is prototypically the concatenation of words to form other words." Similarly, Motsch (in Asher, 1994:5021) says: "Compounds are complex words which have words as constituents." We shall see below (1.2.2) that a Hausa verbal compound may have more than two members.

The subject of this work is Hausa *verbal* compounds. Most Hausa verbal compounds are formed with two words[2] and contain a verb, generally as first member, similar in structure to English *pickpocket* or French *essuie-glace* 'windscreen wiper'; most are marked (e.g. the verb changes tone), in some the verb is nominalised.

I assume that a verbal compound starts life as a verbal phrase (with at least two lexemes, generally a verb and a noun) and, gradually, through a combination of phonological markers and/or changes in meaning (typically becoming non-compositional), the verbal phrase becomes a compound. Describing the lexicalisation of words (not just compounds) Bauer (2001:36) says:

> "Let us say that a word is an EXISTING WORD from the moment it is first coined. The word may be ITEM-FAMILIAR to individual speakers without having become part of the norm of the language. A word is ESTABLISHED once it becomes part of the norm, that is, once it is item-familiar to a large enough sub-set of the speech community."

Bauer (2001:44) suggests that compounds also undergo a gradual shift: "[...] from coinage to lexicalised word [...]".

For Hausa compounds (not just for verbal compounds), Ahmad (1994:132) suggests the following "compound life cycle":

PHRASE >	COMPOUND >	WORD
----------►		
Idiomatic phrases with non-compositional meaning, but which can be divided, separated or re-arranged.	Lexicalised structures marked by lexical integ-rity, non-compositional meaning, and phono-logical features.	Unanalysable words which were once compounds but have now become frozen.

[2] Ahmad (1994:80) says: "An examination of Hausa compounds reveals that they have a variety of morphosyntactic structures. Based on the number of words that participate in the compounding process, many compounds are two-word in structure, others, three, four or more." This statement applies to both verbal and other kinds of compound in Hausa.

In the following sections, I examine basic types of compound, the domain(s) in which compounding is said to occur, their features, compound heads and endocentric vs. exocentric compounds.

1.1.1 Types of compound

Lieber (1994:3607-8) mentions two kinds of compounds: root compounds and synthetic compounds. Root compounds (also called "primary compounds" by some authors) are "[...] all compounds whose heads are not derived from verbs [...]" Spencer (1991:319) describes such compounds as concatenated words, which may or may not be productive, e.g. *bathroom*, *penknife*, *overcoat* and *earring*. Discussing English compounds, Jensen (1990:99) says: "[...] [primary] compounds made of two nouns, two adjectives, or a noun and an adjective are extremely common, easily created, and freely interpreted." He adds: "Compounds containing [...] verbs [...] are far less productive."

Lieber (1994:3608) says synthetic compounds "[...] are most often defined as those whose heads are deverbal". Thus compounds such as *truck driver*, *match-maker*, *hand-made*, *strange-sounding* and *long-tailed* are synthetic. Spencer (1991:324f) describes various approaches to synthetic compounds and says: "[...] there remains a difficulty of deciding what constitutes a synthetic compound". He accepts all the above examples (with the *-er* suffix, with past and present participles) and adds that some authors "[...] would include compounds based on adjective (*machine-readable*)."

Lieber suggests that some synthetic compounds may have a zero affix: "Are English compounds like *air traffic control* or French compounds like *essuie-glace* 'wipe-windshield' = 'windshield wiper' to be classed as root or synthetic?" She argues that "[u]nder an analysis in which *control* or *essuie* are converted from verbs to nouns with a zero affix, they might arguably fit the definition of synthetic compounds." (1994:3608)

Hausa verbal compounds cannot easily be compared to the above: root compounds do not contain verbs and only a few Hausa verbal compounds have an affix (but see chapter 3, section 3.2, on verbal compounds with a **ma-**prefix). I shall refer to the items in my corpus as "verbal compounds" – not as "root" ("primary") or as "synthetic compounds".

1.1.2 The domain of compounding: morphological (lexical) or syntactic?

Where compounding takes place – in which component of the grammar – has been discussed by a number of authors and three possibilities have been proposed: a) compounding is morphological (taking place in the lexicon), b) compounding is syntactic, c) compounding is both morphological and syntactic.

Authors who see compounding as a morphological process – Allen (1978), Roeper and Siegel (1978), Lieber (1980, 1983); Williams (1981), Selkirk (1982), Bauer (1983), and DiSciullo and Williams (1987) – focus on the compound as a word, analysing it as an item in the lexicon[3]. Those who argue that compounding is a syntactic process – Lees (1960), Fabb (1984), Sproat (1985), Roeper (1988), Lieber (1988) and Jensen (1990) – focus on compound formation, analysing internal (syntactic) structures.

Two authors – Bauer (1988) and Spencer (1991) – suggest that there is no clear dividing line between the morphological and the syntactic elements in compounding. Bauer (1988:100) says "[...] compounding has links with syntax as well as with morphology" and: "[...] the dividing line between morphology and syntax is a very fine one, and not necessarily easily drawn." Spencer (1991:309) agrees: "In many respects compounding represents the interface between morphology and syntax *par excellence*" and continues: "[...] we have often no satisfactory, unequivocal way of distinguishing between a compound and a phrase."

Spencer (1991:310) offers three criteria which suggest that compounding is syntactic:

1. Compounding is "[...] typically recursive".
2. Compounds have a constituent structure.
3. "[T]he elements of a compound may have relations to each other which resemble the relations holding between the constituents of a sentence."

Seven criteria suggest that compounding is morphological and takes place in the lexicon (Spencer 1991:312-313):

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[3] Situating morphology in the lexical component of the grammar goes back to Chomsky (1970). These authors subscribe to the "Lexicalist Morphology" theory and see Compounding Rules (CRs) as a subset of Word Formation Rules (WFRs) alongside Derivation Rules (DRs) and Inflectional Rules (IRs). (See Scalise, 1994)

4. Compounds are often lexicalized, subject to semantic drift of a kind associated with stored words, their meaning(s) become(s) non-compositional or even totally idiosyncratic.
5. "[T]here are often lexical restrictions on compounds."
6. Compounds are non-referential.
7. "[N]on-heads of compounds typically fail to be inflected."
8. Compounds have "morphological integrity".
9. Elements of compounds may lose their independence and become affixes or clitics.
10. "There are often phonological processes – e.g. stress rules – that apply to compounds but not to phrases."

In 1.2.3 (below), I examine Hausa verbal compounds in terms of the criteria listed above.

Reviewing his arguments concerning the domain of compounding Spencer (1991:441-2) surmises that:

> "[...] there may not be a single level of grammatical derivation at which compounding occurs, but [...] one and the same set of wellformedness conditions might apply at several, or even all, levels of representation."

Referring to Hausa compounds, Ahmad (1994:8) seems to support this point of view:

> "Although the compound should ideally be a single unit inflectionally, phonologically and syntactically, it does not always exhibit this feature. As such, none of the [phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic] criteria [...] is sufficient by itself to determine a compound but multiple criteria are needed."

Later, however, Ahmad takes the position that compounding is morphological since it "[...] creates new words and word formation is essentially a morphological phenomenon" (1994:18).

In this work I treat compounding in Hausa from both syntactic and morphological perspectives. In chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5, the internal syntactic structure of verbal compounds is discussed as as well as the morphology and phonology associated with verbal compounds. In chapter 6 I look at the relationship between the lexical meaning of a compound and its literal meaning (the latter being closely linked to the internal syntactic structure of the compound).

1.1.3 Compound heads

The notion of "head" has a long history. Jensen (1990:115) says the head of a phrase is the element which "governs the other elements of the phrase." The idea that compounds – including verbal compounds – have heads is now widely accepted. Booij (2002:88) says: "[...] the notion 'head' [...] has a role to play in a proper account of compounding."[4]

The idea that compounds with a verb as first member have a "head" was suggested by Lloyd (1966)[5]. This idea implies that compounds are *left*-headed, an idea that, briefly went out of fashion: Williams (1981:248) claimed that his Right-hand Head Rule was universal, i.e. *all* compounds are right-headed. William's rule has been shown to be limited to compounds in languages such as English. Booij (2002:141) says that "Dutch compounds are right-headed [...]" but that "[...] this does not follow from a universal Right-hand Head Rule, as suggested by Williams [...]" In Italian (see Scalise 1994:2587) the compounds *pomodoro* 'tomato' and *nave traghetto* 'ferry boat' are left-headed, the latter inflecting the left-hand head to form the plural *navi traghetto*. Even English has a few left-headed compounds marking plurality on the left-hand head, e.g. 'mother**s**-in-law'. Compare French *timbre***s**-*poste* (stamp-PL postage) 'stamps' and Hebrew: *bat*-**ey** *sefer* (house-PL book) 'schools'. Scalise (ibid.) says that compounds in Somali may also be left-headed.

Asher (1994:1117) describes the English compounds 'turnkey' and 'dreadnaught' as having "a *verb* as the head element" (my emphasis). Verbal compounds in various languages are considered to be left-headed. Referring to French *coupe-cigare* and Italian *tagliacigari* 'cigar-cutter', Motsch (1994:5021) says: "Words of this type are complex nouns, made up of a verb-lexeme and a noun. Despite the deverbal nature of the head, nowadays most scholars analyze these words as having a lefthand nominal head." As we saw above (1.1.1)

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[4] Bauer (1994:1529) says: "[T]he notions [head and modifier] are not as clear-cut as was once thought, and [...] there may be several head-like notions which conflict." Referring to phrasal constructions (not specifically to compounds) Bauer (1994:1530) – following Zwicky (1985) – suggests that a "prototypical head" would have the following features: hyponymy, subcategorization, morphosyntactic marking, government, concord, distribution equivalence, obligatoriness and characterization.

[5] Lloyd (1966:257, footnote 1) says: "The term 'verb-complement' has the advantage of being inclusive enough to include compounds in which the verb may not be an imperative, while indicating that *the verb is the head of the compound*." (my emphasis)

Lieber (1994:3608) argues that, in "[...] English compounds like *air traffic control* or French compounds like *essuie-glace* [...]" one might argue that "[...] *control* or *essuie* are converted from verbs to nouns with a zero affix [...]", i.e. they have nominalised, deverbal heads.

Bauer (1980) – referring to French verb-noun compounds – argues cogently *against* the idea of a nominalising (agentive) zero affix: the first member of such compounds is a "thème verbal"[6].

Hausa verbal compounds are parallel in structure to words such as *coupe-cigare* and *tagliacigari* or 'turnkey' and 'dreadnaught'. Following Ahmad (1994:53) I describe Hausa verbal compounds as left-headed and leave open the question of whether the head is verbal or nominalised (with a zero affix).

1.1.4 Endocentric and exocentric compounds

Closely linked to the notion of head is the distinction between endocentric and exocentric compounds. *Endocentric* compounds "[...] denote a sub-class of the item denoted by one of their elements." (Bauer, 1988:35) And again: "An endocentric compound denotes a hyponym of the head element in the compound." (ibid:239) Ahmad (1994:10) expresses the hyponymy relationship in syntactic terms: "Endocentric compounds are those that have the same syntactic function as their head"; he also describes the hyponymy relationship as a head-modifier relationship: "In *meathook* for example, hook is the head and meat is the modifier [...] The modifier attributes a property to the head much like an attributive adjective does." (ibid:15)

Another category of compounds is called "exocentric". Ahmad (1994:53-54) says that "Compounds are described as exocentric based on two criteria: syntactic and semantic [...] Semantically, exocentric compounds may have the same function as their head but the referents of the compound do not belong to the same species as the head member."[7] Bauer (1988:35) says that exocentric compounds "[...] denote something which is not a sub-class of either of the elements in the compound, that is they are not hyponyms of either of their elements [...]" and seems to favour a semantic rather than a syntactic

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[6] In practical terms Bauer argues that while such an affix would, on the one hand, be "extrêmement productive", it would, on the other, have to be *restricted* to such compounds. He argues too that, at least in the deep structure, the second element in such compounds in French is a direct object and the first element is a verb. He also points out that most such compounds are masculine because there is no *noun* head to determine feminine gender.

[7] While most authors accept that exocentric compounds have heads, Scalise (1994:2587) argues that they are "headless".

definition: "[n]ames of people, animals and plants are often exocentric." Referring to Dutch compounds, Booij (2002:143) agrees with Bauer's semantic definition, saying "[...] what have been called exocentric compounds [in Dutch] are a specific semantic category of endocentric compounds based on metonymy: a part of an entity is used to refer to the whole entity."

Since verbal compounds do not have the same syntactic function as their head (i.e. they do not function as *verbs*) they *can* be called exocentric compounds[8]. In such compounds the elements may have a predicate-argument relationship, e.g. English *cut-throat* and *pick-pocket* in which "we can clearly distiguish the predicates *cut* and *pick*; as well as the arguments *throat* and *pocket*." (Ahmad, 1994:16). Ahmad gives the following Hausa verbal compounds as examples of exocentric compounds (1994:53)[9]:

dàfàa-dukà	(cook all)	jollof rice
hànà-sallà	(prevent prayer)	type of cap
shàa-zumaamì	(drink honey)	sugar-ant

1.2 Hausa verbal compounds

Hausa verbal compounds have most of the features of compounds described in the foregoing sections: they are lexicalized (and there are lexical restrictions), they are non-referential (the application of this term is defined more closely in 1.2.3 below), they are not inflected, they have morphological integrity and they are phonologically marked. They have a constituent structure similar to that of a sentence (their internal (syntactic) structures are described in 1.2.5).

1.2.1 Previous works on Hausa verbal compounds

My definition of Hausa compounds is based on what earlier authors have accepted: Abraham (1941b), Gouffé (1965), Galadanci (1969, 1972), Ahmad (1994), McIntyre (1995, 1998), Newman (2000) and Jaggar (2001).

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[8] There seems to be no universally accepted definition of "exocentric" and I find Fabb's (1998:67) comment apt for present purposes: "[T]he distinction between endocentric and exocentric compounds is sometimes a matter of interpretation, and is often of little relevance."

[9] The transcription of Hausa is as follows: **aa**, **ii**, etc. = long vowel, **a**, **i**, etc. = short vowel; **à(a)** = low tone, **â(a)** = falling tone, high tone is unmarked; **ɓ, ɗ** = laryngeal implosives, **ƙ** = ejective, **r̃** = apical tap/roll. The abbreviation "SH" is used for Standard Hausa, the dialect generally found in Hausa newspapers and radio stations and in the data presented here.

Abraham (1941b:13) is the first author to mention "[...] figurative compounds consisting of a verb and a noun." Gouffé (1965) was the first to mention "final vowel shortening", a feature closely associated with both compounding and naming in Hausa (see chapter 4.1). Galadanci (1969, 1972) described the basic structures of Hausa compounds – including verbal compounds – and the kinds of (nominal) phrases in which they appear. Ahmad (1994) was the first to devote a whole book to the subject of compounding in Hausa – including verbal compounds (Ahmad 1994: chapter 3 and pages 88-92); his work is the source of many of the observations on Hausa compounds found in the reference grammars of Newman (2000) and Jaggar (2001).

1.2.2 What's in a (Hausa verbal) compound?

A universal definition of what constitutes a compound would have to account for the composition and function of compounds in *all* languages (see Spencer 1991 and Scalise 1994). As we have seen (1.1), some authors argue that a compound may only have two words or elements. Some authors argue that certain kinds of phrases (or structures) are not proper compounds. Fabb (1998:76) uses the term "lexicalised phrases" for English and French compounds "[...] which contain typically syntactic components [such as a] preposition [or an] article [...]" Motsch (1994:5022) says: "[...] imperative-sentence names [are not] compound[s] in the strict sense." Fleischer and Barz (1995:213-214) call compounds with imperative verbs "Konversion von Sätzen" (conversion of sentences) and suggest that, in German, the form may not be imperative, rather it *could be* a 1st person singular. Spencer (1991:427), commenting on the implications of a similar definition of compounding proposed by Di Sciullo and Williams (1987) says "[...] a language like French probably has no compounding at all." However, Spencer distances himself from this position (1991:478, n.4) and most authors accept "imperative-sentence names" such as French *essuie-glace* as compounds. Many Hausa verbal compounds have an imperative verb form.

Describing Dutch compounds, Booij (2002:148) says: "It is not only NPs that occur within compounds: we also find sentences, sometimes in the form of imperative sentences [...] within compounds [...]" He gives the following examples:

[ban-de-bom]$_S$-demonstratie ‘ban the bomb demonstration’
[blijf-van-mijn-lijf]$_S$-huis
‘*lit.* stay away from my body home ‘women’s shelter’
[doe-het-zelf]$_S$-winkel ‘do it yourself shop’[10]

Knappert (1965) analyses compounds in eight Bantu languages and says (1965:215) “By far the commonest type of compound is the one that consists of: noun prefix + (verb stem + noun).” and suggests that such a formation “[...] is a ‘phrase reduced to word status’” Apart for a few compounds (chapter 3.2), Hausa compounds do not occur with a prefix; however a verb and a following noun are widely found.

Authors who have written about Hausa compounds (1.2.1 above) accept the formation – a verb and a following noun – as a compound rather than a lexicalised phrase. Many of these compounds have more than two members. Ahmad (1994:80) does not regard the number of words in a compound as significant: “No empirical evidence is found to suggest that the number of words per se is the critical factor in determining the function or behavior of compounds.” He compares French and Hausa verbal compounds, giving *cessez le feu* and *mise au point* as examples, pointing out that these are “[...] syntactic phrases, complete with function words and inflected items.” (1994:80) I offer a working definition of Hausa *verbal* compounds below (1.2.8)[11].

1.2.3 Features of Hausa verbal compounds

In section 1.1.2 (above) we saw ten features typical of compounds or compounding suggested by Spencer (1991:310-313). Here I shall show their relevance to Hausa verbal compounds.

1. The first suggestion is that compounding is “[...] typically recursive”, i.e. one can add elements of the same word class. Thus “student film society” can be extended to “student film society committee scandal inquiry”. This rule is not directly relevant to Hausa verbal compounds. Although we

[10] Booij (2002:149) says that, in some such compounds, two verbs can be “[…] conjoined, with or without a conjunction […]”, e.g. [luister-en-kijk]geld ‘*lit.* listening and watching money radio/TV licence’. He adds: “[…] in the case of V-coordination it is not words, but verbal stems that are coordinated, without an inflectional ending […]”

[11] One word of caution is in order here: Hausa verbal compounds are not “phrasal verbs”. Ahmad (1994:26-7) takes exception to an article on “compound verbs” (Grabka and Pawlak 1989) which turn out to be “phrasal verbs”. Ahmad argues (ibid:126) that, despite their sharing some features with compounds, Hausa phrasal verbs “are not yet compounds”.

sometimes find two verbs in a two member verbal compound, we have two VPs and not the head-modifier relationship found in "student film society", e.g. **fàaɗi-tàashi** (fall stand.up) 'struggle'.

2. Compounds have a constituent structure "which in general is dependent on the way the compound is built up". This feature is found in all Hausa verbal compounds.
3. "[T]he elements of a compound may have relations to each other which resemble the relations holding between the constituents of a sentence. The three important relations are head-modifier, predicate- argument, and apposition." In most Hausa verbal compounds we find the "predicate-argument" relation: **hànà-sallà** (prevent prayer) 'baseball cap'.
4. Compounds are subject to semantic drift of a kind associated with stored words, and their meaning(s) become(s) non-compositional or even totally idiosyncratic. A Hausa verbal compound can take two or more meanings and meanings can change (or become obsolete) over time. The above example (**hànà-sallà**) has an earlier meaning: 'wisp of hair on forehead of Filani women' – which, like a baseball cap, prevents Muslim prayer, where the forehead has to touch the ground.
5. "[T]here are often lexical restrictions on which compounds are permitted, resulting in 'paradigmatic gaps' [...]", e.g. *rainfall* and *snowfall* but not **sleetfall* or **hailfall*. This is true of Hausa verbal compounds: the word **sallàa** specifically means 'one of the five obligatory daily prayers'. Other words for prayer, e.g. **àddu'àa** '(extra) prayer' or **fàrillàa** 'religious duty' are not found in such compounds, e.g. ****hànà-àddu'àa** (prevent extra.prayer) or ****hànà-fàrillàa** (prevent religious.duty).
6. Compounds are non-referential. This criterion, as proposed by Spencer (1991:312) is true of Hausa verbal compounds inasmuch as "[...] the non-heads of [...] compounds never refer to specific objects". In the example **hànà-sallà**, **sallàa** is not specific and could not be substituted by a (feminine singular) pronoun **ta** 'it'. Ahmad (1994:35) calls this feature "substitution restriction". However, at another level, the criterion of "non-referentiality" does not apply to Hausa verbal compounds: in chapter 6 I describe the relationship between the *form* of the compound and its *referent*, analysing

this relationship (also mentioned by Ahmad 1994:53) in terms of metonymy.

7. "[N]on-heads of compounds typically fail to be inflected. Thus neither an ex-pickpocket nor any of his earlier victims could be called a *pickedpocket*." (Heads and non-heads in Hausa verbal compounds are discussed in 1.1.4). None of the elements in a Hausa verbal compound can inflect.
8. Compounds have "morphological integrity: their elements can't be split up by other words or phrases, for example, by parentheticals". This feature is found in Hausa verbal compounds; thus ****hànà-wà-mutàanen-Kanòo-sallàa** (prevent people.of Kano [from] praying) or ****hànà-maa-sallà** (prevent also prayer) are not acceptable. Ahmad (1994:29f) calls this feature "lexical integrity" and specifically mentions "word order restriction" and "fixedness" in this context, i.e. not all phrase structures appear in compounds and once a phrase has become a compound it is fixed. The phrase structures appearing in Hausa compounds are described below (1.2).
9. One feature mentioned above is not found in Hausa compounds, viz., that elements of compounds lose their independence and become affixes or clitics. Nevertheless, there are "frozen compounds" whose identity as verbal compounds has been forgotten, e.g. **ƙyûuyaa** 'laziness' (< **ƙiyà-wùyaa** 'refuse hardship').
10. Finally, there are often "[...] phonological processes that apply to compounds but not to phrases" (Spencer 1991:313), e.g. stress rules. As mentioned above the verb in Hausa verbal compounds is often phonologically marked.

1.2.4 The internal arguments of the verb in the compound

Verbs in Hausa verbal compounds satisfy their internal arguments inside the compound. Each of the following pairs of examples is a compound and a finite sentence with the same verb(s), object(s) and adjunct as the compound. The sentences are complete, finite VPs with a person-aspect-complex (a subject pronoun which expresses tense, aspect and mood – see 1.4 below for examples) as first member. To the right of the compound is its literal (interlinear) meaning in brackets and its lexical meaning; the translation of the parallel sentence is to the right of the sentence. Where the meaning of these sentences is metaphorical the gloss – or part of it – is in "quotes".

bìi-bango[12]	(follow wall)	leakage along the wall
yaa bi bangoo		he went along (by) the wall
ci-naakà-ìn-ci-nàawa	(eat yours I eat mine)	confederation
kà ci naakà ìn ci nàawa		eat yours (and) I'll eat mine
cìkà-bàakin-guzumaa	(fill mouth.of old.cow)	stunted corn
kà cikà bàakin guzumaa!		fill the mouth of the old cow!
dàfàa-dukà	(cook all)	jollof rice
taa dafà dukà		she cooked everything
dàfaa-ni	(cook me)	unscrupulous debtor
yâa dafàa ni		he'll probably "cook me"
gài-dà-yàaya	(greet[13] elder.sister)	small present
kì gai dà yàayaa		greet your elder sister
hàřbaa-rùugaa	(shoot run)	a single-shot gun
ya hàřbaa ya ruugàa		he shot and ran
kàs-kaifi	(kill sharpness)	medicine against cuts
zâi kas kaifii		it'll blunt the sharpness
kashè-wàndoo	(kill trousers)	in: **zaman ~** unemployment
sunàa kashè wàndoo		they're "killing trousers" i.e. are unemployed
ƙàarèe-dangì	(finish family)	type of arrow poison
an ƙaarèe dangìi		the whole family was killed
shàa-raaɓa	(drink dew)	calf of leg
sun shaa raaɓaa		they drank dew
rùuɗà-kùyàngi	(confuse slave.girls)	redness of sky before sunset
zaa sù ruuɗà kùyàngii		they will confuse the slave girls

Apart from compounds with a verbal noun (chapter 3.3), satisfying the internal arguments of the verb in the compound is an important characteristic of Hausa verbal compounds.

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[12] The final vowel shortening of the nouns **bangoo**, **yàayaa**, **kaifii**, **dangìi**, **kafii** and **kùyàngii** – marked in the compounds – has no place in the finite sentences; final vowel shortening is discussed in 4.1.

[13] The particle **dà** is felt to be part of the grade 5 verb (see 1.3.1 below) and is disregarded in the interlinear gloss.

1.2.5 What kind of words are Hausa verbal compounds?

We saw above (1.1) that compounds undergo a gradual shift "[...] from coinage to lexicalised word [...]" (Bauer, 2001:44). Once lexicalised, most Hausa verbal compounds function as nouns – names of people, animals, plants and e.g. charms, although there are a few adjectives, adverbs and numerals[14]. Their restricted function – mainly names – seems to fit with Fabb's statement (1998:82) that compounds are "[...] less syntactically active than phrases: [they] are relatively inert."

I do not enlarge on this theme here; a sample of verbal compounds in actual Hausa sentences is offered in Appendix 1b.

1.2.6 Gender and number of Hausa verbal compounds

The gender and number of Hausa compounds has been discussed by several authors: Galadanci (1969:225f), Ahmad (1994:99f), Newman (2000:110f) and Jaggar (2001:124f). Here I summarise the most important features of this discussion as they apply to Hausa *verbal* compounds. (For further information, see Appendix 1c.)

In principle, Hausa verbal compounds do not mark gender or number[15]. Gender is assigned either pragmatically – according to the gender of the person referred to in the compound – or by analogy (see Ahmad 1994:99-110).

The following example is pragmatic:

tàttàɓà-kunne (touch [repeatedly] ear) great grandchild

If the referent (great grandchild) is a boy, the compound is masculine; if the referent is a girl, the compound is feminine.

The following example is one of analogy:

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[14] Ahmad (1994:3) says that, of his 1100 examples (including compounds which are not verbal compounds), 1050 (95%) function as nouns, 29 (3%) as adverbs and 21 (2%) as adjectives.

[15] This rule too has an exception: a little known compound **jèe-ka-faadà** (go.you palace) is given as both singular and plural in the dictionary (Abraham, 1958:421). So far so regular! However, two feminine forms (**jèe-ka-faadùwaa** and **jèe-ka-faadìyaa**) are given as well as a plural form (**jèe-ka-fàaduu**). To my knowledge, these forms are *only* found in the dictionary: The word in regular use is **jàkaadàa** 'messenger, ambassador' (f. **jàkaadìyaa** and pl. **jàkàaduu**). (Perhaps **jàkaadàa** is a "clipped" and "frozen" form of **jèe-ka-faadà**.) A further exception is **gàatuutùu** (< **gàa-tuutùu** lit.: see excrement) 'slow-witted person' (see [B372]) with the feminine form **gàatuutùwaa** – but no plural.
The situation in Bantu languages is different. Knappert (1965:211) says: "Most compound nouns can form a plural."

hànà-sallà	(prevent prayer)	baseball cap

A baseball cap is a type of cap and the basic word for cap in Hausa – **hùulaa** – is feminine, thus **hànà-sallà** has feminine gender.

Unlike common nouns, verbal compounds in Hausa do not have a plural form (see Ahmad 1994:112-114; see also Galadanci 1969:117-8). Number is "marked" by a simple numeral or phrase in apposition to the compound (following it – as numerals in Hausa normally do):

hànà-sallà biyu	(prevent prayer two)	two baseball caps
tàttàɓà-kunne dà yawàa	(touch.REP ear with quantity)	many great grandchildren

One small group of compounds – those with a **ma-**prefix – are divided into singular and plural compounds. I argue in chapter 3 (3.2.4) that, while there are some singular/plural pairs, the plural **ma-**compounds are not necessarily the plural form of the singular **ma-**compounds, i.e. the relationship does not simply involve inflection of the singular forms.

1.2.7 Hausa verbal compounds: productivity and age

In terms of quantity the most productive compounds have a verb and a noun direct object: 359 of 581 V+X compounds. (See Appendices 2-3 for the list of compounds, their internal syntax and tables summarising this information.)

The idea that productive forms are younger is seductive but cannot always be proved. Sometimes, however, the meaning of a compound suggests that it is old, e.g.:

bùuɗà-rùmbu	(open cornbin)	forcible confiscation of corn during famine
bàa-mayàaƙaa	(give-to warriors)	stomach of ruminant

The above examples seem to have originated in pre-colonial times but no exact date can be given – certainly, no date which would give an idea as to how productive such compounds were at an identifiable time in the past.

The lexical meanings of the relatively unproductive singular **ma-**compounds (chapter 3.2 and Appendix 3b) allow one to say that they are fairly old; these meanings often name an official (pre-colonial) position in the emir's hierarchy or relate to slavery:

magàa-takàr̃daa	(ma-see paper)	secretary
majìi-tàusàyin baawaa	(ma-hear sympathy.of slave)	one feeling pity for slaves

A few Hausa verbal compounds – called "frozen" or "fused" compounds – have lost their original form (V+X) and look like single words; such developments require time, but there is no precise information as to the actual age of these compounds:

fàrgàbaa (< **fàaɗi-gàba**)	(fall forwards)	fear, anxiety
jàkaadàa (< **jèe-ka-faadà**)	(go-to palace)	messenger, ambassador
ƙyûuyaa (< **ƙiyà-wùya**)	(refuse suffering)	indolence, laziness
shùugàbaa (< **shìga-gàba**)	(enter forwards)	leader[16]

1.2.8 Definition of a Hausa verbal compound

Most Hausa verbal compounds are V+X compounds expressing a "predicate-argument" relation; most have two words but some have more than two. Most compounds are marked, some are unmarked. In marked compounds the verb changes tone and, in many compounds, the noun direct object undergoes final vowel shortening; a few marked compounds have a **ma-** prefix. Some unmarked compounds begin with a person-aspect pronoun, other unmarked compounds have a nominalised verb (verbal noun).

Ahmad (1994:28) defines a Hausa compound as: "[...] a complex word that comprises two or more independent words and whose meaning is mostly non-compositional". He offers a second definition (in order to "determine what a compound is as opposed to a phrase"): "a group of words that behave morphosyntactically and semantically as a unit" (ibid:28).

I define Hausa verbal compounds as follows:

> A Hausa verbal compound is a complex word that comprises two or more independent words, one of which is a verb. Generally the verb is the first word in the compound, occasionally it follows a person-aspect complex or a **ma-** prefix; some compounds have a nominalised verb. Most compounds are phonologically marked. The meaning of the compound is mostly non-compositional.

1.3 The Hausa Verbal Grade System

Since the present theme is Hausa *verbal* compounds an understanding of the Hausa verbal system is indispensable if the reader is to follow

[16] Ahmad (1994:138) says: "Many Hausa speakers are not aware that words like **shùugàbaa** 'leader' [...] were compounds."

the analyses in chapters 2 to 5. In the following section I outline the basics of the system and describe two differences between my terminology and the accepted termininology. (Appendix 1a offers more information on this system.)

Hausaists describe the verbal system in terms of the "grade system". The terms "grade" and "grade system" were first suggested by Parsons (1960). Shortcomings in the grade system led Newman (1973) to suggest both reforms to that system and to propose a radically new system. Here I outline Parsons's grade system and Newman's reforms (1.3.1) and describe two departures I make from accepted terminology (1.3.2 and 1.3.3).

1.3.1 Grades and forms; extensions and semantics

Parsons's (1960; see also 1962 and 1971/72) description of the Hausa verbal system organises regular Hausa verbs into seven grades; these are defined primarily on the basis of tone pattern and final vowel (or, in grade 5, a final consonant). Theoretically a grade is built on an abstract stem, tone pattern and final vowel being added to this stem to give the verb its form in the grade.

Together with the seven grades Parsons defined four (syntactic) forms: his A form is the citation form and is the basic form both of transitive verbs where no object directly follows the verb and of intransitive verbs. The A form is also the form from which other forms are derived: the B form precedes a pronoun direct object, the C form precedes a noun direct object and the D form an indirect object (pronoun or noun); some intransitive verbs also have D forms. The final vowel of a transitive verb varies in quality and/or quantity (long or short) according to the kind of object it precedes. Grade 5 verbs have a final consonant **-r̃** and, when preceding a direct object, are followed by a particle **dà** considered to belong with the verb[17].

In grades 1, 4 and 6 there are both transitive and intransitive verbs; in grades 2 and 5 there are only transitive verbs, in grades 3 and 7 only intransitive verbs. Grades 1 to 3 were considered to be "primary grades", grades 4 to 7 were "secondary grades". Primary grades were considered as basic, with no semantic "extras"; grades 4-7 contained semantic extensions.

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[17] As can be seen in Table 1, grade 5 verbs have, alongside the regular form ending in **-r̃**, two other possible forms: a) a **-shee** form, originally considered to be a B form but often heard in Standard Hausa as a D form and b) a short form which does not appear in the A form (i.e. it must always have an object).

In primary grades the verb has a basic meaning; in secondary grades the verb adds a meaning to its basic meaning: grade 4 verbs express "totality", grade 5 verbs are "causative" and transitivise intransitive verbs, grade 6 verbs express "motion hither"; grade 7 verbs express a passive and/or a "sustentative" meaning ("sustaining" the action expressed in the basic verb). Verbs only occur in secondary grades when the stem has a verb in a primary grade; however, irregular verbs (verbs outside the grade system) can also act as the basis for a verb in a secondary grade.

Grades and forms can be seen in Table 1:

Table 1: Grades and forms according to Parsons (1960):

Forms: **Grades**:	*A form*	*B form*	*C form*	*D form*
1. 2-s: HL-**aa/a**	**cikàa**	**cikàa**	**cikà**	**cikàa**
3-s: HLH-**aa/a**	**kaɗàntaa**	**kaɗàntaa**	**kaɗàntà**	**kaɗàntaa**
2. 2-s: LH-**aa/ee/i**	**kòoraa**	**kòoree**	**kòori**	gr. 1, 5, 4
3-s: LH-**aa/ee/i**	**kàɗantàa**	**kàɗàncee**	**kàɗànci**	gr. 1, 5, 4
3. 2-s: LH-a	**fìta**	--	--	gr. 1, 5, 4
3-s: LHL-a	**kàɗantà**	--	--	gr. 1, 5, 4
4. 2-s: HL-ee/e	**kaatsèe**	**kaatsèe**	**kaatsè(e)**	**kaatsèe**
3-s: HLH-ee/e	**kaɗàncee**	**kaɗàncee**	**kaɗàncè/-ee**	**kaɗàncee**
5. 2-s: HH-ɗ̃ dà	**gayaɗ̃**	**gayaɗ̃ dà**	**gayaɗ̃ dà**	**gayaɗ̃ wà...dà**
H-shee	--	**gaishee**	--	**gaishee wà..dà**
H dà	--	**gai dà**	**gai dà**	**gai wà..dà**
3-s: HHH-ɗ̃ dà	**kaɗantaɗ̃**	**kaɗantaɗ̃ dà**	**kaɗantaɗ̃ dà**	**kaɗantaɗ̃ wà..dà**
HHH-shee	--	**kaɗantasshee**	--	**kaɗantasshee wà..dà**
6. 2-s: HH-oo	**sayoo**	**sayoo**	**sayoo**	**sayoo**
3-s: HHH-oo	**kaɗantoo**	**kaɗantoo**	**kaɗantoo**	**kaɗantoo**
7. 2-s: LH-u	**bùgu**	--	--	gr. 1, 5, 4
3-s: LLH-u	**kàɗàntu**	--	--	gr. 1, 5, 4

Key: (2-s) = disyllabic; (3-s) = trisyllabic; H/L = high/low tone syllable
"gr.1, 5, 4" means these verbs take a D-form from grade 1, 5 or 4.

In 1973 Newman suggested significant reforms to the grade system and, in a second section of the same publication, made a radically new proposal. His "vowel-tone class" system was specifically seen as a historical – and implicitly comparative – description of the Hausa

verbal system. Newman porposed "basic" (verbs with no semantic content) and verbal "extensions" (which add an extra semantic element). This reform allowed a "loosening up" of the analysis of Hausa verbs. However the grade system survived – warts and all – as a widely accepted nomenclature for Hausa verbs and as a pedagogical device. In practice, Hausaists integrate the grade and the "vowel-tone class" systems[18].

In Appendix 1d the above description is expanded on for those not familiar with the Hausa verbal system.

1.3.2 H-, L- and I-verbs

In the present work, I introduce new labels in my description of verbs. I divide Hausa verbs into "H-", "L-" and "I-verbs": H- and L-verbs are regular, I-verbs are irregular. Four morphosyntactic features distinguish H- and L-verbs: a) tone, b) the morphology of verbs preceding indirect objects, c) the formation of verbal nouns and d) the morphosyntax of VPs in non-finite contexts.

The first feature – tone – gives H- and L-verbs their names: the tone of the first syllable of "H-verbs" (grades 1, 4, 5 and 6) is high (H); the tone of the first syllable of "L-verbs" (grades 2, 3, 3a and 7) is low (L)[19]. The second feature relates to indirect objects: when preceding indirect objects, H-verbs retain their form: HL(H) in grades 1 and 4 and H* in grades 5 and 6; in contrast, when preceding an indirect object, L-verbs "borrow" the form of a H-verb.

The third feature relates to the formation of verbal nouns: H-verbs form their regular verbal noun with a -`**waa** suffix (the low tone /`/ in -`**waa** indicates that the syllable preceding **waa** has a low tone or a falling tone - falling tones ending low). L-verbs do not take this suffix, rather, transitive L-verbs (grade 2) use the form of the verb in the ∅DO frame and/or an unpredictable nominalised form as their regular

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[18] In his reference grammar of Hausa Wolff (1993) takes the grade system as a starting point but re-analyses the Hausa verbal system along the lines proposed by Newman (1973) and followed by Furniss (1981, 1983); see also Wolff (1984). With some innovations, the grade system is the basis of the descriptions of the Hausa verbal system in the grammars of Newman (2000) and Jaggar (2001) as well as in Caron's (1991) grammar of Ader Hausa (a Niger dialect). See Appendix 1d, sections 1.3 and 1.4.

[19] According to the tone pattern, grade 3a verbs are not L-verbs: they have a HH tone pattern. However, both grade 3 and grade 3a are intransitive, their final vowel is a short **-a**, that of their verbal noun a long –**aa**; both "borrow" a H-verb form when preceding an indirect object. Newman (1973:305f) suggests that the difference in tone is a function of syllable weight: HH verbs have a heavy first syllable, LH verbs (with exceptions) have a light first syllable.

verbal noun; intransitive L-verbs (grades 3, 3a and 7) lengthen their final vowel: –**aa** (preceded by an epenthetic -**w**- in grade 7). The fourth feature – the morphosyntax of VPs in non-finite contexts – relates to the third: the non-finite VP will simply be the verbal noun – if no direct or indirect object follows. However, if the verb is followed by a direct object, H-verbs retain the form of the finite verb while L-verbs use their verbal noun and suffix a linker. When a verb is followed by an indirect object, it is *always* a H-verb (see the second feature, above) and retains its finite form.

The term "I-verb" names irregular verbs. I use Parsons's definition of irregular verbs and include groups which have been re-labelled as "v* verbs", "grade 0" and "grade 3b" verbs, labels suggested by Newman (2000) and Jaggar (2001). Like H-verbs, I-verbs begin with a high tone, however, in all other respects they are hybrid:

Most v* verbs – both transitive and intransitive – have their own form when preceding an indirect object (like H-verbs) but v* verbs do not form their verbal noun with a -`**waa** suffix (like L-verbs) and, like L-verbs, the verbal noun of a transitive v* verb suffixes a linker when preceding a direct object in a non-finite VP.

Grade 0 verbs (all transitive) have their own form when preceding an indirect object (like H-verbs); but, like L-verbs, they do not form their verbal noun with a -`**waa** suffix and, like L-verbs, the verbal noun adds a linker when preceding a direct object in a non-finite VP.

The (intransitive) grade 3b verbs[20] "borrow" the form of a H-verb when preceding an indirect object (like L-verbs). The verbal noun of gr3b verbs varies: three verbs seem to have a verbal noun with a -`**waa** suffix (as in H-verbs), two have a verbal noun ending with (low tone) –**wàa**; the remaining four lengthen the final vowel (like intransitive L-verbs).

For further information, see Appendix 1d (sections 1.5 and 2).

1.3.3 Hausa verb forms and syntactic frames

My grouping verbs under the headings "H-verbs", "L-verbs" and I-verbs" is accompanied by a further departure from the traditional terminology used to describe Hausa verbs. When describing verbal syntax – whether in compounds or in normal verbal phrases – I do not use the terms "A, B, C and D forms", I use the term "frame" and

[20] These verbs have a HL tone pattern and final vowels -**à**, -**ì** or -**ù**. Using semantic criteria Frajzyngier and Munkaila (2004:20) classify both grade 3a and grade 3b verbs as L-verbs. I classify grade 3a verbs as L-verbs and grade 3b verbs as I-verbs. This difference is discussed in chapter 5.3.4.3.

describe syntactic variation as ∅DO-, PDO- and NDO-frames alongside PIO- and NIO- as well as "basic intransitive" frames[21].

Verbs in ∅DO-frames are transitive; no direct object immediately follows the verb. In a PDO-frame the verb precedes a pronoun direct object, in a NDO-frame the verb precedes a noun direct object. In a PIO-frame the verb precedes a pronoun indirect object, in a NDO-frame the verb precedes a noun indirect object. The "basic intransitive" frame has an intransitive verb; some intransitive verbs also appear in PIO- and NIO-frames.

I prefer the term "frame" to "form" for two reasons: the first reason is a practical one: in this work I use the term "form" when describing the forms which mark *verbs in compounds* (chapter 2.1); the term "form" would be confusing if used to refer both to verb forms in compounds – which are phonologically marked – and to the forms described in 1.3.1 above – which are morphosyntactic. The second reason is because, when using the terminology "B form", etc., we generally refer – at least implicitly – to a phrase containing a verb *and* an object and not simply to the form of the verb. (When appropriate, I use the term "form" to refer to the morphological form of a verb.)

One further observation about terminology should be made: I use the term "basic intransitive frame" rather than "A form". In Parsons's system the latter was used to label either a transitive verb with no object immediately following (∅DO) or an intransitive verb. I prefer different labels for the two functions.

Thus instead of four terms (A, B, C and D forms) I use six terms: ∅DO-, PDO-, NDO-, PIO-, NIO- and basic intransitive frames. Transitive verbs have ∅DO-, PDO-, NDO-, PIO- and NIO-frames; intransitive verbs occur in the basic intransitive frame and some in the PIO- or NIO-frame. I find my terminology expresses the different relationships between transitive and intransitive verbs and their objects or complements more clearly.

1.4 The syntactic complexity of Hausa verbal compounds

The six syntactic frames in Hausa (see above, 1.3.3) are all found in verbal compounds: NDO- and PDO-, NIO and PIO- as well as ∅DO– and basic intransitive frames.

Most verbal compounds have one VP; most are two-member compounds. Most compounds with one VP are two-member

[21] Jaggar (1982) used the term "frame" instead of "form" without specifying the syntactic (phrase) aspect of the term. Dimmendaal (1987) and McIntyre (1993) used it explicitly as a syntactic term, but it didn't catch on.

compounds with a NDO following the verb, but other objects are also found.

In most verbal compounds the verb has an imperative form; the use of this form is discussed in chapter 2.1.1. (The alternatives – tone lowering and a non-marked, finite, form are discussed in chapters 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 respectively.) All forms in the following examples are imperative, with the exception of **kwàn** – in **kwàn-gàba-kwàn-baaya** – which is tone lowered.

Here, three two-member compounds with a NDO, PDO and NIO respectively:

àmsà-amo	(answer sound)	loudspeaker
dàfaa-ni	(cook me)	unscrupulous debtor
bàa-mayàaƙaa	(give warriors)	stomach of ruminant

The PIO-frame is an exception here: there are no *two-member* compounds in this frame. In most examples an NDO follows the PIO, e.g.:

bàa-ni-ƙwaryaa	(give me calabash)	quarrel

Two-member compounds with one VP and a ∅DO-frame or a basic intransitive frame are followed by an ideophone (IDP) or a simple adverb (ADV). Here, two examples with a transitive verb and two with an intransitive verb:

kwàashi-kwàràf	(fetch loosely [IDP])	weak p. or thing
sàa-ɗakà	(put in.room [ADV])	concubine
tàashi-tsam	(rise suddenly [IDP)	children's game
tàashi-laafiyàa	(rise in.health [ADV])	type of gown

Compound syntax can be quite complex, even in compounds with one VP. Following the verb we may find a complex NDO (first example), an indirect object *and* an NDO (second example) or an NDO with an adjunct (third example):

cìkà-bàakin-guzumaa	(fill mouth.of old.cow)	stunted corn[22]
cìree-mîn-ƙayàa	(pull.out for.me thorn)	children's game
sàa-bàbba-saatàa	(make big.one stealing)	type of large bean

In a few compounds a person is addressed directly. Here, the form of address precedes the verb which is followed by a PIO and a NDO:

malam-bùuɗaa	(sir open	butterfly
manà-littaafii	for.us book)	

[22] This complex NDO is formed with a noun, a genitive linker **-n** (attached to the first noun) and a second noun: **bàakin guzumaa** 'mouth.of old.cow).

Compounds with two VPs are generally more complex than those with one VP. A few such compounds however are two-member compounds – simply two verbs:

fàaɗi-tàashi	(fall stand-up)	struggle
kai-kaawoo	(take bring)	movement

Some compounds with two VPs are simply syntactic "doublets"; here a verb plus NDO followed by a verb plus NDO:

shaa-gàarii	(drink flour	wastrel
ɗau-gàlmaa	take hoe)	

The next example has the same syntax as the above except that the verb in the second VP is preceded by a person-aspect-complex (PAC):

ci-naakà-ìn-ci	(eat yours 1.SBJ eat	confederation
nàawa	mine)	

In the next example the PAC in the second VP is negated (**kaɾ̃**):

ci-kaɾ̃-kà-mutù	(eat NEG 2m.SBJ die)	tasteless food

In the second VP we even find an occasional relative clause:

gàa-su-gàa	(see them see	mess
yaddà-sukè	how they.are)	

In some compounds the second VP does not contain a verb; in its place, we find the word **bâa** 'there is no(t)':

ɗàuki-bâa	(take there.is.no	confrontation
daɗìi	addition)	V+bâa+N

One compound with two VPs has an adverb following the (repeated) verb (**kwan** < **koomàa** 'go, return to'). Otherwise, adverbs, ideophones and adjuncts are not found in compounds with two VPs:

kwàn-gàba	(go forward	in: **~ gàree shì**
kwàn-baaya	(go backward)	he is inconsistent

There is *a single* compound with three VPs (the verb **shaa** 'drink', three times):

shaashàashaa	(drink drink drink)	witless fool

Chapter 2
Basic Verbal Compounds: Morphology, Phonology, Syntax and Verb Types

In the previous chapter Hausa verbal compounds were defined as compounds containing a verb, generally as first member (chapter 1.2.8). The term "basic verbal compounds" refers to compounds where the verb is the first member: V+X compounds. These compounds are the most numerous and the most productive.

In this chapter, I describe the morphology, phonology and internal syntax of basic verbal compounds. There are 581 such compounds in my sample (see Appendix 2).

2.1 Verb markers in Hausa verbal compounds

In most Hausa verbal compounds, at least the first syllable of the verb has low tone, i.e. the verb has either an imperative form (see 2.1.1) or a tone lowered form (see 2.1.2). In some compounds the verb is unmarked, retaining its finite form (see 2.1.3). These markers were identified by Abraham (1934), Gouffé (1965), Galadanci (1969) and Ahmad (1994)[1]. I follow Ahmad's terminology.

2.1.1 Use of the imperative

In most of the verbal compounds described in this chapter the verb is marked with the imperative form (384 from 581 compounds[2], an inflected form in which the verb carries a low tone on at least the first syllable[3] and which is used to express affirmative commands, etc. to a

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1 Abraham (1934:13) says: "These low tones are [...] employed in figurative compounds consisting of a verb and a noun, expressing 'that which does so and so'; these are vague [...] sentences, not particularising any time, present, past or future [...]". Abraham also noticed the unmarked verbs (ibid:13). Gouffé (1965:207) says: "[…] un verbal monosyllabique à ton haut prend le ton bas, un verbal disyllabique de schème haut-bas prend le schème bas-bas, etc." Neither Abraham (1934) nor Gouffé (1965) distinguished between tone lowered and imperative forms. Galadanci (1969:33-4) distinguishes between "Imperative Type", "Anomalous Type" and "Finite Verbal Type"; these types parallel what Ahmad calls "imperative", "tone lowered" and "unmarked".

2 In chapter 4.3.3 I discuss 16 compounds with "pseudo-imperative" verb forms.

3 All previous authors on Hausa compounds (see chapter 1.2.1) accept these forms as imperatives. There are other possible interpretations: Lieber (1994:3608) suggests that the verb in French compounds is nominalised – by a ∅ suffix; Bauer (1980) argues *against* both ∅ suffix and imperative in French compounds and proposes the term "thème verbal" (see chapter 1.1.3).

single person. (Affirmative commands to more than one person as well as negative commands are expressed with a subject pronoun – a person-aspect-complex – in the subjunctive.)

I treat the imperative form in compounds as a *pragmatic* marker of the verb in the compound. In chapter 6, this function – giving commands, etc. – is seen to play an important role in the cognitive description of verbal compounds (especially the use of metaphor and metonymy).

The fact that the low tone is common to both imperative and tone lowered forms (see 2.1.2 below) may be accidental. In chapter 4 I claim that tone lowering is the true marker of verbal compounds and briefly raise the question of whether tone lowering has developed from the imperative (see chapter 4.2.1.2, especially footnote 23).

2.1.1.1 Disyllabic and trisyllabic imperative forms

The first syllable of a disyllabic Hausa verb in the imperative has a low tone, e.g. **kàamaa**, **kàshee**, **gàsoo**. In grade 1 and grade 4 (henceforth gr1, gr4, etc.) with a NDO and in gr2 verbs with a PDO the verb is LL (e.g. **hànà**, **ƙàarè**, **cùuɗèe**). Trisyllabic verbs are infrequent in compounds; those found are all gr1 verbs in the NDO-frame with a LLL tone pattern[4]. No quadrisyllabic verbs are found in compounds.

A full list of the imperative forms of Hausa verbs is given in Appendix 1d, section 3.

The compounds given below have verbs with an imperative form: **cìkà** and **rùuɗà** precede a NDO, **dàfaa** precedes a PDO; **hàr̃baa** is in a ∅DO-frame. (In **rùuɗà-kùyàngi** the compound final noun undergoes final vowel shortening; this theme is discussed in chapter 4.1.)

cìkà-bàakin guzumaa	(fill mouth.of old.cow)	stunted corn
dàfaa-ni	(cook me)	unscrupulous debtor
hàr̃baa-rùugaa	(shoot run)	a single-shot gun
rùuɗà-kùyàngi	(confuse slave.girls)	redness of sky before sunset

Trisyllabic H-verbs (e.g. **caaɓùlaa**) have low tone on all three syllables when preceding a NDO; trisyllabic L-verbs (e.g. **zàaburàa**) have low tone on the first two syllables:

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[4] A number of trisyllabic verbs in compounds are grade 2 verbs which have "switched" to grade 1 (see chapter 5.2.3.4).

càaɓùlà-kaashi	(tread.on shit)	clogs
zàabùri kàryaa	(cause.to.leap.forward bitch)	type of sleeve-less shirt

2.1.1.2 Monosyllabic imperative forms and a possible ambiguity between imperative and tone lowering

The imperative forms of monosyllabic verbs in compounds deviate somewhat from the rule of a low tone on the first syllable. (See Appendix 1d, section 3.) In fact, in all frames except the PDO-frame the imperative form has a high tone, e.g.:

∅DO: **shaa!**	(drink)	drink!
NDO: **shaa ruwân!**	(drink water.the)	drink water!
PIO: **bii masà Audù!**	(follow for.him A.)	follow A. for him!
NIO: **kai wà Audù wannàn!**	(take to A. this.one)	take this to A.!
[-T]: **zoo nân!**	(come here)	come here!
PDO: **kài ta**	(take it)	take it!

Jaggar (1982; see also 2001:446-451) describes an idiolectal variation in which some speakers change the tone of the imperative in (mainly) monosyllabic I-verbs in order to add insistence or emphasis; this is reported for all frames except the ∅DO-frame. In the NDO-, PIO-, NIO- and basic intransitive frames the tone of the verb changes from the canonical high tone to a low tone; in the PDO-frame, the tone changes from the canonical low tone to a high (the pronoun remaining high), e.g.

NDO: **shàa ruwân!** drink the water, or else ….!
PIO: **bìi masà Audù!** follow A. for him!
NIO: **kài wà Audù wannàn!** take this to A (for goodness' sake)!
[-T]: **zòo nân** come here (or else)!

PDO: **kai ta** take it (for goodness' sake)!

This reversal of the canonical tones gives rise to a possible ambiguity in classifying the tone of the verb in a compound with a NDO- or basic intransitive frame (the ambiguity does not arise in compounds in other frames). This ambiguity occurs because a low tone imperative has the same form as the tone lowered compound form (see below, 2.1.2). However, the ambiguity is purely formal. The use of low tone in such frames to express insistence or emphasis does not carry over into compounding. Thus in NDO- or basic intransitive frames I classify compound verbs with a low tone as tone lowered[5].

[5] Although he does not refer to this ambiguity, Ahmad (1994) makes the same classification.

2.1.2 Tone lowering, vowel lengthening and phonological reduction

Tone lowering is found on the first verb in 194 basic verbal compounds. This marker is only found in compounds. Ahmad (1994:58) describes tone lowering as follows:

> "Phonologically marked compounds are characterised by a set L[ow] tone pattern on the first member of the compounds [...] Most of the Hausa compounds that exhibit this tonal alternation have a verb as the first member."

The fact that tone lowering affects a few two-member compounds whose first member is an adjective, noun or numeral (chapter 4.1.2) underlines its importance as a marker of compounds.

Tone lowering affects some H- and I-verbs and some intransitive L-verbs; it is often accompanied by vowel lengthening (see 2.1.2.1).

2.1.2.1 Tone lowering and final vowel lengthening; mono- and disyllabic verbs

Some gr1 and gr4 (H-) verbs, some intransitive L-verbs and some I-verbs are tone lowered in compounds. The verb in most tone lowered compounds lengthens its final vowel; this marks them as verbs in compounds.

Tone lowering of gr1 and gr4 H-verbs (and lengthening of the verb final vowel) gives forms such as **dàfàa** (< gr1 **dafà** 'cook') or **ƙàarèe** (< gr4 **ƙaarè** 'finish'), e.g.:

dàfàa-dukà	(cook all)	jollof rice
ƙàarèe-dangì	(finish relatives)	type of arrow poison

(In all examples the compound is written in boldface; an interlinear gloss is given between the compound and the English gloss.)

Two intransitive L-verbs (gr3 **tàfi** 'go' and **tùma** 'run') are found with tone lowering and final vowel lengthening:

tàfii-dà-gidankà	(go with house.of.you)	mobile phone
tùmàa-dà-gàyya	(jump with revenge)	biting black ant

The monosyllabic I-verbs **bi** 'follow', **ci** 'eat', **fi** 'exceed', **ji** 'hear, feel', and **ƙi** 'refuse' are found with tone lowered forms and final vowel lengthening when preceding a NDO, e.g. **bìi** as in **bìi-bango** (below). Monosyllabic I-verbs (with a canonical long vowel) simply lower the tone: e.g. **jaa** 'pull' and **soo** 'like, love, want' become **jàa** and **sòo**; disyllabic I-verbs with a canonical long vowel lower the tone on both syllables, e.g. **rigaa** 'precede' becomes **rìgàa**:

bìi-bango	(follow wall)	leakage along the wall
jàa-gira	(pull eyebrow)	eyebrow pencil
rìgàa-kafì	(precede stockade)	prevention

2.1.2.2 Tone lowering of phonologically reduced disyllabic verbs

Phonological reduction of the verb is often found in verbal compounds; such reduction *precedes* compounding[6]. Phonologically reduced forms (or "clipped verbs" [PN676-7]) are used frequently in everyday speech. Many gr5 verbs have clipped forms, e.g. **gai dà** (< ***gay dà** < **gayaɾ̃ dà** 'greet') as do some gr4 verbs, e.g. **kas** (< **kashè** 'kill') and **ƙaɾ̃** (< **ƙaarè** 'finish'). In the examples below the "clipped verbs" **gài-dà**, **kàs** and **ƙàɾ̃** are marked by tone lowering[7]:

gài-dà-yàaya	(greet elder.sister)	small present
kàs-kaifi	(kill sharpness)	medicine against cuts
ƙàɾ̃-dangì	(finish family)	1) arrow poison 2) type of weaver bird

2.1.3 Unmarked compounds

Some 38 V+X compounds – all H-verbs – have a verb which does not undergo tone lowering or have an imperative form; the verb retains its finite form, e.g.:

kashè-wàndoo	(kill trousers)	in: **zaman ~** unemployment

Unmarked V+X compounds have the same morphology and syntactic structure as "infinitive phrases", i.e. "[...] nonfinite phrase[s] containing a finite verb stem." [PN288] (see chapter 5.3.1).

2.2 Basic verbal compounds: syntactic frame, verb type and phonological marker

In this section basic verbal compounds are described in terms of syntactic frame, verb type and phonological marker. Transitive verbs in compounds appear in ∅DO-, PDO-, NDO-, PIO- and NIO-frames.

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[6] I do not accept Ahmad's assertion (1994:64-65) that phonological reduction is a formal marker of compounding. While there are *nominal* compounds where the reduced form is only found in the compound (e.g.: **ban-ɗaakìi** < **baayan ɗaakìi** (lit.: behind hut) 'toilet', or **gajen-hàƙurii** < **gàjeeren hàƙurii** (lit.: short patience) 'impatience'), to my knowledge, *all* verbs which are found with a phonologically reduced form in a compound are also found with this form *outside* of compounding (see examples above). In some cases, both forms are found in compounds, e.g.: **kas**/**kashèe** 'kill', **ƙaɾ̃**/**ƙaarèe** 'end'.

[7] Like Ahmad (1994:58-61) I classify low tone clipped verbs in compounds as tone lowered, not imperative. Both Newman [PN268] and Jaggar [PJ449-50] say that the normal imperative form of these verbs is low but accept that high tone imperative forms are heard; here they vary slightly as to the details.

Intransitive verbs appear in their basic form. (No intransitive verbs are found in PIO- or NIO-frames in compounds, although some intransitive verbs allow indirect objects.)

The examples are classified according to verb type: H-, L- or I-verb (see 1.3.2). In chapter 5 the significance of this classification – the extent to which verbal compounds reflect the verbal grade system – will be described. (NB. In compounds with two VPs, the compound is classified according to the verb type of the verb in the *first* VP.)

The description below proceeds according to the number of examples found in each frame, starting with the transitive NIO- and PIO-frames (with few compounds), through the PDO- and ∅DO-frames, basic intransitive frames and NDO-frames (the most numerous). Examples are also grouped according to the kind of marker on the verb (tone lowering, imperative or unmarked).

A full list of basic compounds organised according to their syntactic frames can be found in Appendix 2.

2.2.1 Basic verbal compounds with an NIO-frame

Three verbal compounds with an NIO-frame are given here; all three have tone lowered I-verbs; the first has the verb **bâa**/**baa** 'give someone (sth.)', the others the verb **barìi** 'leave, allow'. In the second example the NIO marker is a dialectal alternative **mà** rather than SH **wà**; in the third the form **bàrà** is a phonological reduction of **bàř wà** (see 4.3.3.1):

bàa-mayàaƙaa	(give.to warriors)	stomach of ruminant
bàř-mà-kâi	(leave for self)	sth. not for sale
bàrà-magàadaa	(leave.to/for heirs)	work well done

2.2.2 Basic verbal compounds with a PIO-frame

The discussion of PIO-frames is in two sections: there are five examples in 2.2.2.1, two I-verbs and three H-verbs. L-verbs do not take indirect objects (they 'borrow' the form of a H-verb in such contexts; see chapter 1.3.2). Compounds with the I-verb **bâa**/**baa** 'give someone (sth.)' are presented separately (2.2.2.2) because their morphosyntax involves two exceptional forms.

2.2.2.1 PIO-frames with 1 VP: verb, object pronoun and adjunct

The following five compounds have a PIO-frame and the syntax: verb, PIO and adjunct/NDO. In the first three compounds (two I-verbs **cìi**

and **shàa** and one H-verb **sài**[8]) both the verb and the indirect object pronoun **màa** (< **mâa** < **makà**) are tone lowered[9]:

cìi-màa-zàune	(eat for.you sitting)	sponger
shàa-màa-jikà	(drink for.you body)	chronic complaint, e.g. asthma
sài-màa-ƙùnshee	(buy for.you wrapped)	1) p. who is better or worse than expected 2) sth. good only in appearance

Two compounds have a H-verb and a PIO plus NDO; the verb has an imperative form:

maalàm-bùuɗaa manà-littaafii	(sir, open for.us book)	butterfly
cìree-mîn-ƙayàa	(pull.out for.me thorn)	children's game

2.2.2.2 PIO-frames with the verb bâa/baa, a pronoun and an NDO

The morphosyntax of compounds with the transitive I-verb **bâa**/**baa** 'give someone (sth.)' is exceptional in two respects: firstly, in modern Hausa, the pronoun used with the verb **bâa**/**baa** to express the indirect object (semantic recipient) is normally used to express the direct object; secondly, because the phonologically reduced compound form **ban**, found in a number of compounds, has given rise to two, even three, conflicting interpretations concerning its underlying morphosyntax (a theme discussed in detail in chapter 4.3.2).

Newman [PN481] argues that the pronoun used with **bâa**/**baa** is "most likely identical to the present-day weak object pronoun" [PN479-80] and that this "presumably" reflects the situation prior to the relatively recent introduction of the indirect object pronoun set into Hausa (see Newman 1982). In present-day Hausa the verb **bâa**/**baa** is the only verb which regularly uses this old morphosyntactic combination. Despite the synchronic use of the pronoun in the examples below as a direct object pronoun, I classify these compounds as PIO-frames.

In the following examples, the verb is in the imperative form (**bàa**) and an NDO follows the PIO pronoun. (In the second example below

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[8] In **sài-màa-ƙùnshee**, **sai** is a tone lowered, phonologically reduced form of the gr1 (H-verb) **sayàa**, the form used by the gr2 verb (L-verb) **sàyaa** 'buy' when preceding an indirect object (see 1.3.2).

[9] I suggest that **màa** (< **makà**) is tone lowered because it is felt to be clitic. See Abdoulaye (1992:298f), Jaggar (2001:480), Newman (1991 and 2000:280) as well as Parsons (1971/72:64).

and in further examples the translation of the compound is given in a sentence or phrase; the compound is represented by a swung dash: **~**; this will be done throughout this and following chapters):

bàa-ni-battàa	(give me small receptacle)	old woman of 45 years or more
bàa-ni-kâi	(give me head)	in: **goonan nàn sai ~** crops in this farm are only good here and there
bàa-ni-ƙafàa	(give me leg)	1) "help me up the wall"; 2) "give me leg-room"; 3) "give me a loan" (said by gamblers)
bàa-ni-ƙwaryaa	(give me calabash)	in: **sun yi ~** they've had an altercation
bàa-ni-maasuu	(give me spears)	short-sleeved gown
bàa-ni-wurii	(give me space)	in: **ɗan ~** one asking for space
bàa-ta-kaashii	(give her excrement)	turmoil, fight
bàa-ta-kulkii	(give her club)	epithet of **bagarmi** p.

One example with the verb **bâa/baa** 'give to so.' has two VPs (V+PIO+PAC+V, where the PAC is 2nd p. singular subjunctive):

bàa-su-kà-huutàa	(give them 2m.SBJ rest)	paying off debt

The next group of compounds has the form **ban** followed by an NDO. There are two (perhaps three) interpretations of the underyling syntax of **ban** (discussed in chapter 4.3.2). Here, I assume that **ban** is a phonological reduction of **bàa ni** 'give me' (similar to English 'gimme'), that these compounds are PIO-frames and, underlyingly, have an imperative verb form – as in **bàa-ni-battàa**, etc. above.

Some twenty compounds (here eight examples) are in everyday use, suggesting that the formation may still be productive:

ban-dàariyaa	(gimme laughter)	humour
ban-fuskàa	(gimme face)	welcoming expression
ban-gàjiyàa	(gimme tiredness)	congratulating p. who has finished tiring task
ban-gàskiyaa	(gimme truth)	reliability, trust
ban-girmaa	(gimme size)	respect
ban-hàƙurii	(gimme patience)	apology
ban-hannuu	(gimme hand)	shaking hands
ban-haushii	(gimme anger)	anger

Some fifteen of these compounds seem to be older and/or no longer in use (here five examples):

ban-farii	(gimme white[-ness])	bleaching rice
ban-fɨrgità	(gimme fright)	fright
ban-gwiiwàa	(gimme knee)	throwing p. off scent
ban-ràazanàa	(gimme fright)	fright
ban-woobaa	(gimme apprehension)	apprehension

2.2.3 Basic verbal compounds with a PDO-frame

Basic verbal compounds with a PDO-frame are discussed here. These compounds are divided according to the number of VPs in the compound: one or two.

2.2.3.1 PDO-frames with 1 VP: verb and direct object pronoun

There are eight compounds (seven H-verbs and one L-verb) with the syntax V+PDO. Of the seven compounds with a H-verb, five have an imperative form, one a tone lowered form, and one is unmarked. In the following example we have a gr1 verb and its direct object pronoun (**ni** 'me'):

dàfaa-ni	(cook me)	unscrupulous debtor

The next four compounds have the same underlying syntax as the above; however the pronoun and the verb are "fused": the two words have become a common noun, with a long final vowel. The first three examples are gr1 verbs; the fourth is a gr6 verb:

rùuɗaanii	(confuse me)	confusion
sàaɓaanii	(miss me)	misunderstanding
tàyaanii	(help me)	shallow basket to lay spindle in
sòosoonìi	(scratch me)	1) irritating skin disease 2) excessive sexuality in woman

There is some discussion as to the nature of the final syllable in these compounds: the pronoun **ni** 'me' or a frozen suffix. I prefer the first interpretation[10].

[10] Ahmad (1994:90) identifies the lengthening of the final vowel in **sàaɓaanii** as an instance of full lexicalisation, i.e. the compound (V+PDO) has become a common noun. My example **sòosoonìi** (< gr6 **sòosoo-nì**) shows that these are fused compounds retaining the syntax and tones of the finite phrases. Ahmad rejects an interpretation suggested by Newman, that **-nii** is a "frozen suffix of unknown meaning" (Ahmad 1994:98, n. 12). A few facts suggest that Newman may be correct: the compound **rùuɗaanii** has the equivalents **rùuɗaamii** and **rùuɗaamàa** (see McIntyre and Meyer-Bahlburg 1991:109; Awde 1996:133; Bargery [B863] and Abraham [A740]). However, to my knowledge, **rùuɗaanii** is the only compound with such equivalents.

In the next example we seem to have a (tone lowered) gr5 verb. The pronoun **nii** is the "independent" pronoun, the normal direct object pronoun in gr5[11]; the final consonant **-n** is unusual[12]:

zàmàn-dà-nii	(lodge me)	house-servant, one who works for others in return for food and clothes

The following example is not phonologically marked; both verb (gr6) and pronoun are found as in a finite phrase:

marmartoo-nì	(desire me)	small plant whose seeds are used in love potions

The next compound is the only example of a L-verb with a pronoun direct object; it is the clipped verb **ɗau** (from gr2 **ɗaukàa** 'take' – the HL citation form is exceptional in gr2) with an imperative form:

ɗàu-ni	(take me)	in: **taa yi musù ~** she issued their rations

2.2.3.2 PDO-frames with 1 VP: verb, object pronoun and adjunct, etc.

The compounds in this group have a transitive I-, H- or L-verb with a PDO; all have an imperative form. The syntax is varied, as follows: V+PDO+NDO, V+PDO+Adv (or IDP), V+PDO+AdvP.

In the first group of compounds we find various I-verbs with PDOs. The PDO is followed by an adverbial phrase, a noun (mostly indicating an activity), or, in one case, an ideophone (**zàizài**):

bàr̃-ni-dà-Ɓaidù	(leave me with Ɓaidu)	type of leather bag
bìi-ta-dà-kalloo	(follow her with looking)	type of woman's striped cloth
bìi-ta-dà-ƙùllii	(follow her with punching)	constant nagging or punishment
bìi-ta-zàizài	(follow her round.and.round)	1) ants in pairs, encouraging one another 2) p. dogging one 3) dogging a p. 4) love potion
gàa-tanaa (< **gàa ta nan**)	(see her here)	expression used to introduce fable

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[11] Newman [PN652] says that the "[t]hematic objects of gr5 are typically expressed, not as syntactic direct objects, but rather as oblique objects of the particle **dà**[…]."

[12] Grade 5 verbs normally end with **-r̃** (thus **zamar̃ dà** – often assimilated to **zamad dà**); the **-n** in **zaman dà** may be an old suffix identified by Newman (1977) as a benefactive extension.

rìgàa-ta-ràngwaɗàa[13]	(precede her swaggering)	forestalling p. (by asking for loan from p. about to ask oneself for loan)
rìgyaa-ni-zamaa	(precede me sitting)	"A satchel with a long handle which is worn so that it hangs down to hips" [B855]
shàa-ni-fànkoo	(drink me empty.vessel)	p. who is a bit foolish

There are six examples with a H-verb. The pronoun is always **ni** 'me' and is followed by a noun indicating activity or quality (e.g. **muunìi**) or by an ideophone (**luɓus**).

tàɓaa-ni-luɓus	(touch me softness)	slacker
tàyaa-ni-faɗàa	(help me fight)	reinforcement of centre of loincloth
tàyaa-ni-gooyoo	(help me carry. on.back)	1) sore on woman's back from carrying baby 2) type of small hawk
tàyaa-ni-ràinoo	(help me look.after)	small hawk
tàyaa-ni-muunìi	(help me ugliness)	1) protruding cheekbones 2) old, flabby arm muscles
tàyaa-ni-shìgaa	(help me enter)	doorstep

The next compound has a clipped gr2 L-verb: the imperative **sàu** (< **sàukaa** 'lodge' or **sàkaa** 'let go'), the pronoun **ta** and an adverbial phrase:

sàu-ta-gà-waawaa	(put her by fool)	girl whose marriage comes to a swift end

2.2.3.3 PDO-frames with 2 VPs

The examples in this section are compounds with a PDO-frame and two VPs; their syntax is as follows: V+PDO+PAC+V, V+PDO+PAC+V+PDO and V+PDO+V+PDO, V+PDO+V+AdvP.

In the first seven examples the first verb is an I-verb in the imperative. In some of these examples the second verb is a finite verb preceded by a 2nd person masculine or 1st person singular subjunctive PAC (**kà** or **ìn**); in others we find a second imperative form:

bìi-ni-kà-laalàacee	(follow me 2m.SBJ spoil)	1) fragile part of branch 2) tassels 3) epithet of bird **yautai**

[13] In this PDO-frame, the verb **rig(y)aa** has two possible imperative forms: LL (as in **rìgàa-ta-ràngwaɗàa**) or LH (as in **rìgyaa-ni-zamaa**) see Jaggar [PJ448].

bìi-ni-kà-tsìntaa	(follow me 2m.SBJ find)	in: **taa yi ~** she has coin hanging down back (from neck)
gàa-ni-kàshee-ni	(see me kill me)	fearless attitude
gàa-su-gàa yaddà-sukè	(see them see how 3pl.REL.CONT)	mess
jìi-ta-jìi-ta	(hear it hear it)	rumour
shàa-ni-ìn-shaa-kà	(drink me 1s.SBJ drink you)	fruit of **aduwa** tree (causes diarrhoea)
shàa-ni-kà-san-nì	(drink me 2m.SBJ know me)	small plant with purging properties

There is one H-verb (imperative) with PDO, a subjunctive PAC (**kà**) and a second (finite) verb:

kàř-ni-kà-tuuɓèe	(kill me 2m.SBJ take.off)	a type of gown

The next example contains the same L-verb in both VPs, with the imperative form in the first[14] and the 1st person singular subjunctive PAC (**ìn**) preceding the verb in the second VP:

cùuɗèe-ni ìn-cùuɗee-kà	(massage me 1.SBJ massage you)	"you scratch my back I'll scratch yours"

2.2.4 Basic verbal compounds with a ∅DO-frame

The ∅DO-frame indicates that no direct object immediately follows the transitive verb. In compounds we find the ∅DO-form expressing a direct object which is 'understood', i.e. it is in the context but not in the phrase[15]. Examples are divided according to whether the compound has one or two VPs (the internal syntax is varied in both) and according to the kind of verb: I-, H- or L-verbs.

2.2.4.1 ∅DO-frames with 1 VP

Compounds with transitive verbs, a ∅DO-frame and one VP may have I-, H- or L-verbs; the verb may be in the imperative or tone lowered. The internal syntax may be V+Adv, V+AdvP or V+IDP.

The first six examples are transitive I-verbs; in the first two the compound initial verb has the imperative form:

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[14] The LL form **cùuɗèe** is a gr2 imperative form, not tone lowered. Grade 2 imperative forms in this frame vary – as does the compound: I have heard **cùuɗee-nì-ìn-cùuɗee-kà** and **cùuɗànyèe-ni-ìn-cùuɗànyee-kà** (Idris Ibrahim Umaru and M. Sissy respectively; both in the Hausa Service of the German Radio). Abraham [A964] gives **cùuɗee-ni-ìn-cùuɗee-kà**.

[15] The verb may also the ∅DO-form when a direct object is left-shifted (focussed). Such syntax is not found in verbal compounds.

ci-dà-mòotsin-wani	(eat with motion.of other)	1) epithet of cattle-egret 2) slacker
shaa-kùndum	(drink much.water)	1) well-read malam[16] 2) city (in contrast to village) 3) wealthy p.

In the next four examples the compound initial verb is tone lowered:

jàa-gàba	(pull forward)	leader
shàa-gàba	(drink forwards)	daft p.
shàa-kìtìmboo[17]	(drink dilly-dallying)	fool
shàa-taleetalee	(drink round-about)	1) round-about route 2) children's game

In the following compounds the verb is a H-verb followed by an adverb or adverbial phrase and has a tone lowered form:

ràbàa-daidai	(divide equally)	1) a 50-50 deal 2) broker's cheating seller (taking half of what purchaser pays) 3) children's game
sàa-ɗakà	(put in.room)	concubine

In the next examples, the gr1 H-verb has the imperative form and is followed by an adverbial phrase or ideophone (**luɓus**):

saa-dà-kuukaa	(wear with crying)	tight bracelet
tàɓaa-luɓus	(touch softly)	slacker
tàakaa-à-badòo	(tread on water-lily)	lily-trotter

Four compounds have a transitive L-verb (gr2) in the syntactic ∅DO-frame with an imperative form and an adverb or ideophone as second member. (The **-i** final vowel is regularly found as an imperative in the ∅DO-frame of gr2 verbs.)

cìri-dàidài	(pull.out properly)	in: **an yi musù ~** the two of them have been shackled together by the feet [A148]
kwàashi-kwàràf	(fetch loosely)	weak p./thing
sàari-kutuf	(cut severely)	old gecko

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[16] In the first meaning of this compound we see the meaning of **kùndum** ('large quantity, especially water') applied to a Qur'anic teacher (malam). The metaphor "a knowledgeable malam is a large body of water" is fairly widespread in Hausa; some learned men merit the title **bahàřuu** (< Ar. 'sea').

[17] Bargery [B924] gives **shaakitimboo** as a fused imperative form; both the verb and **kitimboo** have high tone. Ahmad (1994) and Abraham [A527] give a low tone; I classify it as tone lowered.

sòoki-bùr̃uutsuu[18]	(pierce asymmetrically)	pointless or senseless talk

The second element in **cìri-dàidài** seems to be tone lowered; the fact that this occurs on an adverb and not on the compound initial verb is unusual.

Before proceeding to the next section I wish to point out the existence of three Hausa conjunctions, each of which seems to be a verb with an imperative form:

gàmaa	(join)	*meaning* 'because'
kàamaa	(catch)	in: **~ dàgà...** since/including…
kàawoo	(reach)	in: **~ yànzu** up to now

The first and second examples are transitive verbs with a ∅DO-form, *implying* a direct object (cp. **ɗan kaamà** in chapter 4.1.5), the third is an intransitive verb, implying a goal (see section 2.2.5). These verbs seem to have grammaticalised as conjunctions using a form – the imperative – found in verbal compounds. The fact that they also *imply* an object or complement gives them an ambivalent status. Since a compound must, by definition, have more than one member I shall avoid the term "*one-member* compounds"!

2.2.4.2 ∅DO-frames with 2 VPs

In compounds with two VPs where the first (transitive) verb has an ∅DO-frame we find varied syntax. The simplest are the two member compounds with the syntax V+V where both verbs have the imperative form[19]. V+V compounds are classified here according to the first verb; thus **ɗàuki-sàkaa** (take put) 'type of quilted saddle-cover' is classified under gr2 L-verbs since **ɗàuki** is a gr2 verb; the second verb is a gr1 verb.

In the first pair of examples we find two members: in both cases, the first verb is the I-verb **kai** 'take' with an imperative form. The second verb in each example – both gr6 – would normally have an imperative form (**kàawoo** and **kòomoo**); instead, we find the

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[18] The status of **bùr̃uutsuu** (or **bùr̃uutsuutsùu**) is unclear: Ahmad (1994) translates it as an adverb meaning 'asymmetrically'; Abraham [A125] translates it as a noun meaning 'poorly done work'. Both authors give the same meaning. I accept Ahmad's interpretation and treat the compound as a ∅DO-frame.

[19] Booij (2002:149) gives examples of compounds with two verbs in Dutch where compound stress affects only the *second* verb: "[slaap-wáak]ritme 'sleep-wake rhythm'" and: "[woon-wérk]verkeer '*lit.* live-work traffic, commuter traffic'".

unmarked **kaawoo** 'return (sth.)' and the tone lowered **kòomòo** 'return':

kai-kaawoo	(take return)	in: **mài ~** sentry
kai-kòomòo	(take return)	movement

The next group is one in which we find two members: two verbs – the first a H-verb – each with an imperative form:

kàamaa-kàryaa	(catch break)	1) selling thing at knock-down price 2) **mulkìn ~** dictatorship
shàafee-làhaa	(wipe pretend)	expression of surprise
tàakaa-hau	(tread.on mount)	decorated Asbin horse
tàakaa-hàyee	(tread.on mount)	1) unrewarded p. 2) decorated Asbin horse 3) saddle with accessories

The following twelve compounds have a gr2 transitive L-verb in the ∅DO-frame as first member; both the first verb and the second verb have an imperative form:

bùgizùuraa[20] (< **bùgi-zùuraa**)	(hit get.stitch)	type of children's game
ɓàntàri-ɓàtař	(pinch.off spend)	rich spoilt child
dàki-bàri	(beat stop)	strong, reliable thing
ɗàuki-sàkaa	(take put)	type of quilted saddle-cover
fiigi-rùutsaa	(pluck.out stab)	slapdash work
gùtsùri-tsòomaa	(break.off dip)	harping on anything
nòomi-jìdi	(farm remove)	living in tax-area other than where one farms
sàɓi-zàřcee	(take go.ahead)	1a) nonstop journey 1b) two days' journey in one 2) fasting until evening (not in Ramadan) 3) giving trader slip by leaving by back door
sàdàki-làƙee	(give.alms eat.rapidly)	preparing or buying food to give as alms then giving it to those in one's own household
sàari-dòosaa	(chop head.for)	1) makeshift hoe (a tree branch) 2) p. doing trade which is not his father's
shàaci-fàɗi	(comb say)	in: **yi ~** inventing stories
zàri-rùugaa	(grab run)	rugby

Compounds with a ∅DO-frame, two VPs and more than two members are quite common and have a varied syntax: the second VP

[20] The verb **zùuraa** = 'get stitch from drinking too much water' [A981].

generally begins with a subjunctive PAC (V+PAC+V+either PDO or NDO), V+**bâa**+NDO (**bâa** means 'there is not [...]') and V+PAC+V. Some have V+V+N (where N is the person addressed in the compound) and one example has three VPs: V+V+V. The compound initial verb may be an I-, H- or L-verb; all have an imperative form.

In the first ten examples the first verb is an irregular (gr0) verb with an imperative form; the second VP has varied syntax – beginning with a subjunctive PAC. The final example has three VPs: the verb **shaa** 'drink' three times: **shaashàashaa**. (The HLH tone pattern is unusual; formally, all three verbs should have high tone imperative.)

ci-kaf̃-kà-mutù	(eat not 2m.SBJ die)	tasteless food
ci-kà-ɗau gàrmaf̃kà	(eat 2m.SBJ take hoe.of.2m)	1) immediate payment; 2) favourable verdict from bribed judge
ci-kà-ragèe	(eat 2m.SBJ reduce)	children's game with fire
jaa-ìn-jaa	(pull 1.SBJ pull)	argument, debate
shaa-kà-daagèe	(drink 2m.SBJ stand.firm)	p. who sponges
shaa-kà-suuma	(drink 2m.SBJ faint)	any manual work done for wages
shaa-kà-tàfi	(drink 2m.SBJ go)	1) roving p. 2) prostitute 3) witless fool
shaa-mù-ɗooràa	(drink 1pl.SBJ place.upon)	1) rover 2) idle p.
shaa-mù-shaa	(drink 1pl.SBJ drink)	rover, idle p.
shaashàashaa	(drink.drink.drink)	witless fool

In the next eight examples the first verb is a H-verb with an imperative form; the second VP has varied syntax, mostly preceded by a subjunctive PAC. In **cànee-na-canèe** we find a relative completive PAC. In **tàakaa-zoo-toorì** we have two imperative verbs; the ostrich (**toorì**[21]) seems to be addressed in the compound:

cànee-na-canèe	(say 1.REL.CMP said)	combat
cìkaa-kà-yaf̃	(fill 2m.SBJ throw.away)	wallet
kàshee-mù-rabàa	(kill 1pl.SBJ share.out)	collusion between government officials and contractors
saa-ìn-sâa	(put 1.SBJ put)	bandying of words
tàɓaa-kà-laashèe	(touch 2m.SBJ lick)	insufficient tasty food

[21] The word **toorì** is the epithet of an ostrich.

tàakaa-kà-hau	(tread.on 2m.SBJ mount)	1) caparisoned Asbin horse 2) bands of beads worn just below knee by loose women
tàakaa-zoo-toorì	(step.out come ostrich)	hurrying along apprehensively

In the following eleven examples the first verb is a L-verb with, in most cases, a final **-i** vowel. The second VP has varied syntax; all PACs are subjunctive; 2nd person pronouns are masculine. In **ɗàuki-bâa-daɗìi** the second VP begins with **bâa** (= 'there is not'):

cìiji-bàa-màataƙà	(bite give wife.of.2m)	sternum with meat
ɗàuki-bâa-daɗìi	(take there.is.no addition)	combat, confrontation
fàɗi-kà-huutàa	(say 2m.SBJ rest)	saying th. in confidence
gàatsi-bàa-màataakà	(bite.off give wife.2m)	sternum with meat
kàrɓaa-ìn-kàrɓaa	(take 1.SBJ take)	rotational presidency
sàari-bàa-màataakà	(slash give wife.2m)	sternum with meat
sàari-kà-baa-nì	(chop 2m.SBJ give me)	in: **muugùn gàatarii yaa fi "~"** independence is best, no matter how modest
sàari-kà-doonèe	(chop 2m.SBJ stop.up)	1) snake 2) guerilla
sàari-kà-nooƙèe	(chop 2m.SBJ hide)	1) snake 2) guerilla
shàafaa-mù-reeràa (= **shàafi-mù-reeràa**)	(wipe 1pl.SBJ sing)	hypnotic power making pp. follow hypnotizer
shèegi-ìn-shèegaa	(trick 1.SBJ trick)	tricking so. who has tricked oneself

In the next section we look at compounds in basic intransitive frames.

2.2.5 Basic verbal compounds with an intransitive verb

Intransitive verbs are found in compounds in the basic intransitive frame. The compounds are grouped according to whether they have one or two VPs and according to the kind of verb: I-, H- or L-verbs. Their internal syntax is varied.

2.2.5.1 Intransitive verbs with 1 VP

The internal syntax of these compounds is: V+N (where N=goal), V+Adv, V+AdvP, V+IDP and V+**dà**+SocO.

The first examples are I-verbs; the verb – with the imperative form – is followed by a noun indicating goal, or by an adverb or ideophone:

jèe-ka[22]**-faadà**	(go.2m palace)	palace messenger
tàashi-laafiyàa	(rise in.health)	children's game
tàashi-tsam	(rise suddenly)	children's game

The next examples are tone lowered intransitive gr1 H-verbs followed by an adverb and, in the second example, an adjunct:

fàaɗàa-wuta	(fall.in fire)	moth
zàunàa-gàrii-banzaa	(sit.in town useless)	good-for-nothing

There are four examples of intransitive gr3 L-verbs with an imperative form. Following the verb we find an adverb, adverbial phrase or a sociative object preceded by **dà**[23].

shìga-dà-àlwàlaƙà	(enter with ablution.of.2m)	station wagon, taxi
shùugàbaa[24]	(enter.front)	leader
tàfi-dà-gidankà	(go with house.of.2m)	1) mobile home 2) mobile phone
tàfi-dà-maalàminkà	(go with teacher.of.2m)	textbook with footnotes

Seven examples of tone lowered intransitive L-verbs are given here; four are gr3 verbs and three have the gr7 verb **gàm(u)**[25]. Following the verb we find an adverb, an adverbial phrase or a sociative object preceded by **dà**.

tàfii-dà-gidankà[26]	(go with house.of.2m)	1) mobile home 2) mobile phone
tùmàa-ƙasà	(jump down)	crocheted dish cover
tùmàa-dà-gayyà	(jump with revenge)	biting black ant

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22 The word **ka** following **jèe** in this example is an intransitive copy pronoun (ICP) and **jèe-ka** is treated as one member of the compound. These ICPs reiterate the subject of an intransitive verb (see [PN269]); in SH they are only found in fixed expressions such as **jèe-ka** ('go!').

23 The verb **tàfi** (in this and in other lists) is an apocopated form of the trisyllabic gr3 ***tàfiyà**. Evidence for this is seen in its regular trisyllabic gr3 verbal noun **tàfiyàa** and its frequentative plural: **tàfiye-tàfiye**, not * **tàfe-tàfe**. Compare **gàji** 'become tired' (VN **gàjiyàa**).

24 The compound **shùugàbaa** is a fused form from **shìga-gàba**, were, the verb has an imperative form. (In **shùugàbaa** the final vowel of **gàba** has lengthened to mark it as a common noun.) Such reduction is sometimes found in normal speech, e.g.: **fiyaakà** < **fiye dà hakà** 'more than this'.

25 See Ahmad (1994:95). The compounds with **gàm dà** are discussed in 5.2.3.4.

26 I classify this example as a L-verb – gr3 (as do Ahmad 1994:86 and Newman [PN117]). However, the form **tàfii dà** *could be* a phonologically reduced form of the H-verb (gr5) **tafiyaƙ dà** 'manage, push'. There are three variations of the entry **tafi da** in Bargery [B972]: **tàfi** (LH, short **-i**) **dà** 'remove, drive animal', **tàfii** (LH, long **-ii**) **dà** 'manage, remove', **tafii dà** (HH, long **-ii**) 'push, ride (bicycle)'.

tùmàa-dà-gòoraa	(jump with calabash)	fast travelling Adar people
gàm-dà-harì	(meet with battle)	1) black stork 2) p. bringing ill luck
gàm-dà-kàtaɾ̃	(meet with luck)	good luck
gàm-dà-yaaƙì	(meet with battle)	black stork

2.2.5.2 Intransitive verbs with 2 VPs

In this section the intransitive verb occurs in a compound with two VPs. In such compounds we find the following internal syntax: V+V, V+PAC+V, V+Adv+PAC+V, V+PAC+V+PDO, V+Adv+V+Adv, V+PAC+V+NDO and V+**dà**+V. The compound initial verb may be an I-, H- or L-verb; most have an imperative form. The syntax of the second VP is varied.

In six compounds the first verb is an I-verb with an imperative form; the second VP has varied syntax. The PACs in the second VP are subjunctive except in **jèe-ka-naa-yii-kà** where **naa** is completive. The intransitive copy pronoun **ka** in **jèe-ka** (in three compounds below) was discussed in footnote 22 (above); **mu** in **tàashi-mù-jee-mu** is also intransitive copy pronoun:

fàaɗì-kà-mutù	(fall 2m.SBJ die)	crockery
fàaɗì-tàashi	(fall stand.up)	struggle
jèe-ka-iidìi kà-daawoo	(go-2m festival 2m.SBJ return)	poor clothes or shoes
jèe-ka-kà-daawoo	(go-2m 2m.SBJ return)	in: **'yan màkàɾ̃àntun ~** boarders
jèe-ka-naa-yii-kà	(go-2m 1.CMP do you)	1) powerless bureaucrat 2) in: **yankunàn ~** (S.African) homelands
tàashi-mù-jee-mu	(rise 1pl.SBJ go-1pl)	indecisiveness

One H-verb has a tone lowered form. This verb is a clipped form (**kwan**) of the gr1 verb **koomàa** 'go, return':

kwàn-gàba, kwàn-baaya	(go forwards go backwards)	in: **~ gàree shì** he is inconsistent

Three H-verbs have an imperative form. In the first example, the second VP begins with a completive PAC, in the other two examples with a subjunctive PAC:

fìtoo-naa-fitoo	(come.out 1.CMP come.out)	confrontation
tsùgùnaa-kà-ci dooyàa	(squat 2m.SBJ eat yam)	a form of facial tattooing

zàunaa-kà-ci-dooyàa	(sit 2m.SBJ eat yam)	1) form of facial tattooing 2) cutting off hands *and* feet of p.

The intransitive gr1 H-verbs **kwântaa** 'lie down' and **tsugùnaa** 'squat' appear with an imperative form more typical of L-verbs (final **-i** vowel); they seem to have "switched" grades (a theme discussed in 5.2.3.4):

kwànci-tàashi	(lie.down get.up)	day by day
tsùgùni-tàashi	(squat stand.up)	struggle

In the final example the L-verbs in both VPs have an imperative form; they are – unusually – joined by **dà**:

shìgi-dà-fìci	(enter and go.out)	immigration

The information on verbal compounds (above) with NIO-, PIO-, PDO-, ∅DO- and the basic intransitive frames is summarised in Appendix 2.

2.2.6 Basic verbal compounds with an NDO-frame

Most Hausa verbal compounds have an NDO-frame. Most compounds with an NDO-frame have the syntax V+NDO; some have more than two members (one or two VPs). The latter are described first.

2.2.6.1 Verbal compounds with NDO-frame and more than two members (1 or 2 VPs)

Twenty-six verbal compounds with an NDO-frame and more than two members are discussed here. Those with one VP are presented first; their internal syntax is as follows: V+NDO (complex), V+NDO+N (expressing activity), V+NDO+N (an adjunct) or V+NDO+Adv (locative). There are I-, H- and L-verbs; most verbs have an imperative form.

There are two compounds with an I-verb and one VP; the verb is tone lowered and is followed by a complex NDO:

bìibìi	(follow.follow	game (tickling
san-dookìi	footsteps.of horse)	childrens' arms)
shàa-jinin-jìkii	(drink blood.of body)	charm against danger

Eight compounds with an NDO-frame and more than two members have a H-verb and one VP. The first four are tone lowered; three have an NDO and an adjunct expressing an activity; one has an NDO and an adverb expressing the goal (**dawà** 'in the bush'):

sàa-bàbba-saatàa	(make big.one stealing)	type of large bean
sàa-hànkàakii-daakòo	(make crows waiting)	type of herb

sàa-mài	(make owner.of	mixture of cassava
gidaa-tsalle	house jumping)	and groundnuts
sàamazaadawà	(put men bush)	type of European
(< **sàa-mazaa-dawà**)		cotton goods with linear pattern

Four such compounds have a H-verb, one VP and the verb in the imperative form. Some have a complex NDO: a noun plus genitive linker – **-n** for masculine singular and plural nouns and **-ɾ̃** for feminine singular nouns (abbreviated as: N.L+N). One compound has a noun expressing an activity (**saatàa** 'stealing') following the NDO; there is also an adverbial phrase (**à bakà** 'in the mouth'):

cìkà-bàakin-guzumaa	(fill mouth.of old.cow)	stunted corn
ràkà-mài-gijìi	(accompany owner.of house)	part of fence screening interior of compound from view
shàafà-mâi-à-bakà	(wipe oil on mouth)	empty words, sweet nothings

The first member of the next two compounds is an unmarked gr1 verb; the third member of the compound is the underlying subject: 'the boy's catching the hand', 'the mens' pouring water':

kaamà-hannun-yaaròo	(seize hand.of boy)	very much
zubà-ruwan-mazaa	(pour water.of men)	coitus interruptus

(The above syntax is unusual in verbal compounds but is found quite frequently in compounds with a compound initial verbal noun – see chapter 3.3.)

Six compounds have one VP and a tone lowered gr5 H-verb. In five examples we find the tone lowered **bàa** preceding a noun or, in one case, a goal: **samà** 'above'. I suggest that, in these examples, **bàa** is a phonological reduction of **bàa dà** and is *not* the verb **bâa/baa** 'give someone (something)'. This makes sense of the fact that the noun following **bàa** is the thing given (a NDO) and not the semantic recipient (a NIO). In the final example we find the verb **kwàn dà**, a phonologically reduced form of **koomaɾ̃ dà** ('make (so.) become (sth.)') with a complex NDO. (Further such examples are found in 2.2.6.2.2.2; '**dà** deletion' is discussed in chapter 4.3.1.)

bàa-gòoban-daɗàa	(give tomorrow.of increase)	in: **yaa yi ɗan ~** he did sth. he regretted
bàa-hawaa-samà	(give mounting above)	epithet of buffalo
bàa-jân-sau	(give dragging.of foot)	in: **Girgà,** ~ epithet of guineaworm
bàa-kuukan-hàntsii	(give crying.of morning)	type of cobra

bàa-làasaɽ̃-bàakii	(give licking.of mouth)	in: **càɽ̃kwai ~** epithet of honey
kwàn-dà-kàmaɽ̃ wannàn	(make.become likeness.of this)	in: **~ yakèe yîi** he is copying (it)

The next example has a L-verb as first member. The verb has the imperative form and is followed by a complex NDO:

sàari-màataɽ̃ rùmaanaa	(chop wife.of gladioli)	woman who lets herself be bullied

Compounds with an NDO and two VPs are less frequent. Their internal syntax is as follows: V+NDO+V, V+NDO+PAC+V+ NDO, V+NDO+V+NDO (the NDO may be complex in both phrases).

Two such compounds have an I-verb. In the first, the compound initial verb has an imperative form, the next VP begins with a subjunctive PAC. The second seems to be a combination of two compounds, each of which has an imperative verb and an NDO:

ci-naakà-ìn-ci nàawa	(eat yours 1.SBJ eat mine)	confederation
shaa-gàarii, ɗau-gàlmaa	(drink flour, take hoe)	1) payment 'on the nail' 2) what a favourable and quick verdict from bribed judge! 3) how quickly he has returned service done to him!

Two compounds with two VPs have a H-verb; the gr1 verb is in the imperative:

tàɓà-kurù-càs-kurù	(touch **kurù** bleach **kurù**)	dilatory work
tàakà-bangoo hàɗìyee	(tread.on wall swallow)	very stiff gruel

(The word **kurù** only occurs in **tàɓà-kurù-càs-kurù**; its meaning is unknown. The presence of such words – "cranberries" – in compounds is commented on in 6.2.4.1.6.)

In the next compound we find two unmarked H-verbs (gr1 and gr4):

fasà-fushii-kashè kuɗii	(break anger spend money)	epithet of train

Only one verbal compound with two VPs has an NDO-frame and a L-verb as first member. The first verb (**ɗàuki**) has the imperative

form, the second (**bàa**) is tone lowered; the syntax in each is a verb and a complex NDO[27]:

ɗàuki-kanwaɽ̃	(take potash.of	1) paying debt by borrowing
bàaƙii-bàa	guests, give.to	from other p. 2) being
awaakin-bàaƙii	goats.of guests)	generous at other's expense

2.2.6.2 NDO-frames with 2 members: V+NDO

Most verbal compounds have two members. Of 581 V+X compounds in my sample, 359 have the structure V+NDO. The verb in these V+NDO compounds may be an I-, H- or L-verb; it may be imperative, tone lowered or unmarked. A further feature of these compounds is that, under certain conditions, the NDO undergoes final vowel shortening, a feature which generally only marks V+NDO compounds (see chapter 4.1).

The compounds are discussed here according to the kind of verb (I-, H- or L-verb) and the way in which the verb is marked: imperative, tone lowered or unmarked. Since there are so many of these compounds, only a selection of examples is given. (The complete list of examples is in Appendix 2.)

2.2.6.2.1 NDO-frames with 2 members: I-verbs

I-verbs in two-member compounds with an NDO-frame have imperative or tone lowered forms. Four such compounds have an imperative form; here, two examples. (The second contains the verb **shaa** 'drink'; the compound is written as one word.)

bàri-tsùuki	(stop nose.wrinkling)	epithet of bulrush millet sprouted in poor soil, but seen as better than no crop at all
shaakutuu	(drink.orange. headed.male.lizard)	fool

Ninety-four compounds with an NDO-frame have an I-verb and a tone lowered form. In these compounds, monosyllabic I-verbs such as **jaa** 'pull' simply lower the tone: **jàa**; disyllabic I-verbs – e.g. **jaajaa**, **rigaa** – have a low tone on both syllables: **jàajàa**, **rìgàa**;

[27] At first sight one might dismiss **ɗàuki-kanwaɽ̃-bàaƙii-bàa-awaakin-bàaƙii** as a collocational phrase – it seems to be simply too long for a verbal compound. A closer analysis shows that it may well be considered to be a compound – or a combination of two verbal compounds; this interpretation is strengthened by the fact that the verb **bàa** in the second part is tone lowered (the imperative has a high tone).

monosyllabic I-verbs such as **ci** 'eat' and **ƙi** 'refuse' lower the tone and lengthen the vowel: **cìi** and **ƙìi**. (These processes are explained in 2.1.2.1.):

cìi-fàara	(eat grasshopper)	a type of bird
gàatuutùu	(see.shit)	slow-witted p.
jàa-gira	(pull eyebrow)	eyebrow pencil
jàajàa-amàare	(pull.pull brides)	1) redness of setting sun 2) slight staining of hands or teeth
ƙìi-bugù	(refuse beating)	type of charm
rìgàa-kafì	(precede stockade)	prevention, forewarning
shàa-ɗaari	(drink cold)	name of child born in the cold season
shàa-raaɓa	(drink dew)	calf of leg
shàashàa-ruwa	(drink.drink water)	earliest ripening cotton
sòo-gijì	(love[28] home)	name for boy or girl born soon after mother's return from longish absence

2.2.6.2.2 NDO-frames with 2 members: H-verbs

H-verbs in verbal compounds with NDO-frames have imperative, tone lowered and unmarked forms. There are three different imperative forms: i) LH (where the final vowel of the verb is long); ii) LH (where the final vowel of the verb is short) and iii) LL (where the final vowel of the verb is short). The tone lowered form is always LL and the verb has a long final vowel.

2.2.6.2.2.1 NDO-frames with 2 members: H-verb, imperative

Compounds with a verb which has a LH imperative form and a long final vowel on the verb are found in gr4 (six examples in the sample, e.g. **ƙàaree-aikìi**) and gr6 (four examples e.g. **gàsoo-roogò**):

ƙàaree-aikì	(finish work)	1) industrious p. 2) kind of Indian hemp
gàsoo-roogò	(roast.bring cassava)	fool

Compounds with a verb which has a LH imperative form and a short final vowel are found in gr1 (one example: **rùfa-baaya**) and gr4 (six examples, e.g. **bùuɗe-littaafì**):

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[28] This verb may be **soo** 'want, love' but may also be ***soo** 'move' (< **sau** < ***sak** ?< ***sakà** 'move, change position', s. McIntyre 1988b:236-7). Changes such as **sau** < **sak** are well attested in Hausa (see Klingenheben 1927/28; PN230ff.); the possible change ***soo** < **sau** < **sak** has a possible parallel in **zoo** < ***zak** ?< **zakà** 'come'. (Cf. chapter 3.2.2.1, below.)

rùfa-baaya	(cover back)	support
bùuɗe-littaafì	(open book)	butterfly

Compounds with a verb which has a LL imperative form and a short final vowel are found in gr1 (69 examples, of which 10 are given below):

àmsà-kàma	(answer features)	ideophone
bùgà-zàabi	(hit guineafowl)	short-toed eagle
bùntsùrà-wutsi	(keep.vertical tail)	goat (**bori** spirit cult-jargon)
cìkà-cikì	(fill belly)	in: **sallàr̃ ~** Id celebration following Ramadan
fàsà-ƙwàuri	(break shin)	smuggling
hànà-sallà	(prevent prayer)	baseball cap
jùuyà-haalì	(change situation)	in: **juuyìn ~** political revolution
rùuɗà-kùyàngi	(confuse slave.girls)	redness of sky before sunset
sàadà-gàri	(connect town)	envoy, messenger
yàaɗà-ƙwarya	(spread calabash)	creeper

Compounds with a LL imperative form and a short final vowel are also found in gr4 (four examples, of which one is given here):

ƙàarè-dangì	(finish relatives)	type of arrow poison

According to the (LL) phonological marking of the verb, the next example belongs here:

dàkà-muu	(beat us)	remnants of children's food given to beggars

The combination of the (gr1) **dàkà** and the independent pronoun **muu** is exceptional[29].

The imperative forms in the above examples are generally typical of the variations heard in everyday Hausa: LH with a long final vowel in gr4 and gr6; LL with a short final vowel in gr1 and gr4. The difference in gr4 arises from the fact that some speakers prefer a long

[29] The pronoun **muu** is an 'independent pronoun', so called because it may function as a noun in a number of syntactic contexts – but *not* alone as an NDO. Such a pronoun *may* follow the verb directly, but only when the pronoun is itself followed directly by a noun in apposition, identifying exactly who or what the pronoun refers to. Thus I suggest that a noun in apposition has been deleted from this compound. In everyday speech a sentence **dàkà muu maròoƙân**! 'beat us (the) beggars!' would be possible, but not simply ****dàkà muu**! 'beat us!' (The correct form would be **dàkaa mu** – with the PDO.) Bargery [B835] gives **ràkà nii** (accompany me) 'a large repaired calabash' – with the same morphosyntax as **dàkà muu**.

final vowel and some a short final vowel in the NDO-frame – finite or imperative; those who prefer the long final vowel raise the tone in the imperative; those who prefer the short final vowel leave the tone low.

The fact that there is only one example of a LH gr1 imperative (with a short final vowel) reflects normal speech: the LL form is heard more frequently[30].

2.2.6.2.2.2 NDO-frames with 2 members: H-verb, tone lowered

Tone lowered forms occur less frequently in compounds than imperative forms. A tone lowered disyllabic verb lengthens the final vowel; phonologically reduced verbs (pre-compound reduction) are also tone lowered (see 2.1.2.2). In H-verbs tone lowering is found in gr1, gr4 and gr5.

There are four examples of a gr1 verb with such a form, e.g.:

dàfàa-dukà	(cook all)	1) jollof rice 2) taxi (mini-bus)

There are nine compounds with a tone lowered gr4 verb; three are disyllabic, where the final vowel of the verb is lengthened (e.g. **ɓàarèe-dangì**); six are phonologically reduced (e.g. **kàd-dugàadugi**):

ɓàarèe-dangì	(finish relatives)	type of arrow poison
kàd-dugàadugi	(kill heels)	type of sandals

In **kàd**, the **-s** of **kas** (< **kashèe** 'kill') has assimilated to the initial **d-** of **dugàadugii**.

There are forty-seven examples in my sample of two-member compounds with an NDO-frame and a tone lowered gr5 verb. They are, originally, disyllabic verbs, phonologically reduced to one syllable before compounding[31]. (As pointed out in chapter 1, footnote 13, the particle **dà** is treated as part of the verb; e.g. **bàa-dà-gàr̃ma** is classified as a compound with *two* members and **dà** is disregarded in the gloss.)

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[30] Jaggar (1992:96, note 18) suggested that the LL forms with a short final vowel are "not Imperatives" and implied that, together with other LL forms (with a long final vowel, e.g. **dàfàa-dukà** 'jollof rice'), they are only found in compounds. Later [PJ446] he includes LL imperatives (with a short final vowel) and says that LH imperatives with a short final vowel "have also been sporadically reported."

[31] The first group of examples are "clipped" forms of **baayar̃ dà**, **ɓatar̃ dà**, **fitar̃ dà**, **kawar̃ dà**, **rufar̃ dà** and **shaayar̃ dà** respectively.

bàa-dà-gàr̃ma	(give hoe)	in: **inuwar̃ daree, ~**[32]
ɓàd-dà-baami	(lose foreigner)	trick
fìd-dà-kâi	(remove head)	type of tithe
kàu-dà-bàara	(remove attack)	charm against attack
rùb-dà-cikì	(cover stomach)	lying face down[33]
shàa-dà-wuƙa	(sharpen knife)	rubber plant giving the rubber **àbàdaa**

The first compound in the above group (**bàa-dà-gàr̃ma**) is the only example with the form **bàa dà** in my sample. In 2.2.6.1 above I presented a group of compounds with the verb **bàa** plus complex NDO (compounds of more than two members) and suggested that **dà** has been deleted: **bàa** < **bàa dà** (< gr5 **baayar̃ dà** 'give something'). Here is a group of two-member compounds which have the same syntax, **bàa**[+∅ **dà**]+NDO:

bàa-caaca	(give gambling)	answer in a gambling game involving riddle
bàa-duhù	(give darkness)	charm making p. invisible
bàa-gaawa	(give corpse)	sleeping sickness
bàa-guuɗà	(give ululation)	bridegroom
bàa-hâa	(give 'Aagh')	expert boxer easily overcoming opponent
bàa-kaashi	(give shit)	in: **boo'è ~!** (cry of pain)
bàa-saajè	(give pretence)	slyly benefiting by a coincidence
bàa-suusà	(give scratching)	1) scabies (= **sòosoonìi**) 2) prickly plant; 3) gravel
bàa-tòoyi	(give burn)	spirit that spits fire

Newman [PN124] offers an alternative interpretation concerning the morphosyntax of these compounds: the **dà** has not been deleted, rather the semantic recipient has been omitted. This theme is discussed in chapter 4.3.1.

2.2.6.2.2.3 NDO-frames with 2 members: H-verb, unmarked

Thirty-four verbal compounds with an unmarked H-verb and NDO are found: in gr1 (25 examples, e.g. **mootsà-jìkii**), gr4 (3 examples, e.g. **buuɗè-idòo**) and gr5 (6 examples, e.g. **kaa-dà-giiwaa**).

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[32] Bargery [B368] translates this phrase with "the shades of night fall on all alike." This meaning arises from the fact that **gàr̃maa** 'hoe' also means 'discrimination' – a metaphorical meaning probably derived from the action of the hoe.

[33] Ahmad's (1994:155) translation of **rùb-dà-cikì** ('lying *with* stomach') may be incorrect. My interpretation is that **rùb dà** is a clipped, tone lowered form of gr5 **rufar̃ dà**; cp. **yaa rufà cikìnsà** 'he lay on his stomach' [A741].

mootsà-jìkii	(move body)	sport, physical exercise
buuɗè-idòo	(open eye)	in: **yaawòn ~** tourism
kaa-dà-giiwaa	(fell elephant)	in: **karmaamii ~** epithet of small p. over coming so. more powerful

2.2.6.2.3 NDO-frames with 2 members: L-verbs

There are fifteen verbal compounds with a gr2 L-verb and a NDO in the sample:

ɗìbgibaƙàa (< **ɗìbgi-baƙàa)**	(drive.away begging)	1) showing concern at thing which is not one's business 2) talking at random
cìri-cookàlii	(pull.out spoon)	Buzu dancing game
dàagùri-gùrzau	(gnaw.at invulnerable.p.)	charm making one invulnerable
ɗàu-dukà	(take all)	fine p.
ɗàuki-kwàrinkà	(take quiver.of.2m)	matrilocal marriage
ɗàuki-sàndankà	(take stick.of.2m)	matrilocal marriage
ɗàuki-faifankì	(take small. mat.of.2f)	food for casual guest
gwàagwìyi-gòorubàa	(gnaw deleb fruit)	children's game
hòori-Ɓaidù	(train Ɓaidu)	large leather bag
màari-bàakinkà	(slap mouth.of.2m)	beans cooked alone
nèemi-naakà[34]	(look.for yours)	look out for yourself
sàaminaakà (< **sàami-naakà**)	(get yours)	town (S.E. of Kano)
shàaƙi-bùkii	(smell feast)	p. habitually going to celebrations without invitation
zàabùri-kàryaa	(make.leap.forward bitch)	type of sleeveless shirt
zàaɓi-sônkà	(choose wish.of.2m)	people's greetings broadcast on radio

Four of the above examples (**cìri-cookàlii**, **gwàagwàyi-gòorubàa**, **shàaƙi-bìkii** and **zàabùri-kàryaa**) have the syntax V+NDO and we would expect the final vowel on the NDO to shorten. Final vowel shortening (discussed in 4.1) is found in all other compounds with this syntax. The other eleven examples end in a noun (**dukà**), name (**gùrzau** or **Ɓaidù**), in a possessive pronoun suffix (**-nkà** or **-nkì**, 'yours' masculine or feminine) or an independent possessive (**naakà**, 'yours' masculine) all of which have short final

[34] Merrick (1905:96) says **nèemi-naakà** is a name.

vowels and cannot undergo final vowel shortening. These facts are discussed in chapter 5.2 and 5.3.

2.3 Summary

In this chapter we have looked at basic verbal compounds: at how the verb in the compound is marked, at internal syntax and verb type.

The verb in the compound (I-, H- or L-verb) is marked with either the imperative (a pragmatic marker) or tone lowering (a phonological marker), or it remains unmarked. These verbs satisfy their internal arguments within the compound in transitive NIO-, PIO-, PDO-, ∅DO- and NDO-frames as well as in basic intransitive frames. The number of VPs (one or two) and occasional adjuncts were also described.

Chapter 3
More Verbal Compounds

In the previous chapter, I described 'basic' Hausa verbal compounds – verbal compounds containing a verb as first member. In this chapter I describe three kinds of verbal compounds where the verb is *not* the first member: firstly, compounds which begin with a person-aspect complex (a subject pronoun giving information on tempus-aspect and mood), secondly, compounds with a **ma-**prefix – both singular and plural – and thirdly, compounds whose first member is not a verb but a verbal *noun*.

Ahmad (1994:74 and 91) refers to compounds beginning with a person-aspect complex as "stable" units "characterized [...] by morphosyntactic and semantic features [...] in the absence of phonological features." Compounds with a **ma-**prefix are treated in this chapter because the **ma-**prefix sets them apart morphologically from basic compounds (chapter 2) and because they are less numerous and less productive than the compounds described in the previous chapter. Ahmad (1994:81f.) treats verbal noun compounds as "linked compounds" including some 50 verbal noun compounds (from 300 "linked compounds") in the appendix (1994:145-151).

3.1 Verbal compounds with a PAC preceding the first verb

The Hausa language expresses tense, aspect or mood (TAM) with a personal pronoun or person-aspect-complex (PAC). While tense, aspect and mood are not directly relevant to verbal compounds, some compounds *begin* with a PAC mostly in a "completive" aspect or in the so-called "subjunctive" mood. Continuative and future aspects are *not* found in verbal compounds[1].

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[1] There are two possible exceptions: the first has a third person relative continuative aspect (and the person marker is omitted), the second has the allative (considered to be a future) aspect:

wàa-kèe-dawà (who REL.CONT bush) back-handed blow from side or behind

zâa-ka-zâa-ni (ALL.2ms ALL.1m) strong, tireless person

While both phrases are used as compounds, neither contains a verb; thus they are strictly speaking, not *verbal* compounds.

I cannot offer a convincing explanation for the absence of continuative and future aspects. I wonder if they might be the consequence of a "clash" of nominalisation strategies: VPs following a Hausa continuative aspect are non-finite (they are syntactically nominalised; see chapter 1.3.2) while verbal compounds (with their finite verbs) are lexically nominalised. Like continuative

In my sample, there are seventy-one verbal compounds with a PAC preceding the first verb in the compound; in some cases, the PAC is preceded by a question word (see Appendix 3a). There are no phonological markers in these compounds: no tone lowering, no imperative and no final vowel shortening. They are finite sentences with I-, H- and L-verbs, whose first member is a PAC: subjunctive[2], general completive, relative completive or rhetorical. Like other verbal compounds, PAC+V compounds satisfy their internal arguments inside the compound, transitive verbs in ∅DO, PDO-, NDO- and PIO-frames (51 examples) and intransitive verbs in their basic frame (20 examples).

The examples in the following description are given alphabetically according to the verb in the compound. The compound is written in boldface type, the verb in normal type; the interlinear gloss is given below the Hausa and the English gloss on the right.

3.1.1 PAC+V compounds: ∅DO-frames

There are 19 PAC+V compounds with a ∅DO-frame. 11 of these compounds have an I-verb, 7 have a H-verb and 1 has an I-verb.

NB: The interlinear translation of PAC compounds is written *under* the (Hausa) compound to save space.

Among those with an I-verb, the syntax is varied: PAC+V, PAC+V+Adv, PAC+V+AdvP, PAC+V+PAC+V and, in one case, PAC+V+PAC+V+PIO (the verb preceding the PIO is **bâa**/**baa** ‘give (sth.) to so.’). Two PAC+V examples are preceded by a question word (**wàa** ‘who’, **ƙàaƙàa** ‘how’):

wab-bi-**cân**[3] simpleton
who [3m.REL.CMP] follow there

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aspects, future aspects are considered to be imperfective (in Western Hausa dialects they may be followed by non-finite VPs).

[2] Newman [PN593] describes a “neutral” aspect (see also Jaggar [PJ191-193] and Wolff [W417-420]; Wolff calls this aspect the “Aorist”): This is a “TAM-less PAC” with the same surface form as the subjunctive: a low tone and a light syllable. Newman [PN120] says that, in compounds, both “[…] an impersonal [4th p. plural] subject in the neutral TAM [or] some other person in the *neutral or subjunctive*” [my emphasis] are commonly used. There is no unambiguous definition of the two aspects in compounds and I use the term “subjunctive” here.

[3] In **wab-bi-can** the phonological reduction (< **wàa-yab-bi-cân**) involves both assimilation and gemination; the relative completive **yab** is Western Hausa; in SH it would be: **ya**, i.e.: **wàa-ya-bi-cân**.

taa-biyaa	small gown given as
3f.CMP pay	gift by bride's mother
	to wedding guests
à-ci-**bàlbàl**	oil burning lamp
4pl.SBJ eat brightly	
à-ci-**dà-mâi**	food eaten with oil,
4pl.SBJ eat with oil	dish of rice
kù-ci-**kù-baa-mù**	in: **'yan ~** riffraff
2pl.SBJ eat 2pl.SBJ give us	
à-ji-**garau**	type of anti- depressant pill
4pl.SBJ feel well	
à-kai-**ciki**	beard turning in
4pl.SBJ reach stomach	towards neck
taa-kai-**taa-kaawoo**	women's kerchief
3f.CMP reach 3f.CMP return	
naa-ƙi	in: **hau kujèeraƒ̃ ~**[4] veto
1.CMP refuse	(mount chair.of I refuse)
kù-yi	name for any dog
2pl.SBJ do	
ƙàaƙàa-ni-kàa-yi	dilemma, hard times
how 1.RHET do	

Seven compounds with a ∅DO-frame have a transitive H-verb. five examples have a PAC+V, one example (the third) has a noun preceding a NEG+PAC+V and one example (the first) has two VPs: PAC+V+PAC+V. The examples are listed alphabetically according to the verb in the compound (as above):

taa-ginàa-**bà-tà-shìga-ba**	p. who seems to have a
3f build NEG 3f enter NEG	quality s/he does not have[5]
à-rausàa	type of game[6]
4pl.SBJ do.abundantly	
màigidaa-kaƒ̃ kà-taakàa	type of food
Mister NEG 2m.SUBJ step.out	
kù-tarèe	thief
2pl.SBJ cut.off	
à-waarèe	fighting for succession
4pl.SBJ separate	
taa-zaagàa	eczema
3f.CMP go.round	

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[4] In this and other examples the translation of the compound is given in a sentence or phrase; the compound is represented by a swung dash: **~**; this will be done throughout this chapter.

[5] Person who has the looks of a given quality but doesn't have the quality in the real world. ex.: **Audù ~ nèe bâ shi dà koo siisìi** Audu has only the looks of a rich person but he is not rich.

[6] The epithet is **à-rausàa, ƙarfii dà ƙarfii**; also called: **bàashaa**, **ràushee**, **jèemau**.

taa-zàagài — rope round donkey's neck
3f.CMP go.round

The final compound in the above list has a tone lowered, phonologically reduced verb **zàagài** (< **zaagàyaa**); this theme is discussed in 4.2.1.2.

One transitive L-verb (gr2) is found. The form of the verb – with the final vowel **-i** – was seen in chapter 2.2.4 as a possible gr2 ∅DO imperative form. In SH it is not used following a PAC (but is known in Ghana Hausa):

kà-cìnci**-kà-**cìnci — puzzle
2m.SBJ find 2m.SBJ find)

3.1.2 PAC+V compounds: PDO–Frames

Four PAC+V compounds have a PDO–frame. Two have the simple syntax PAC+V+PDO, two are more complex. There is one I-verb (**ci** – this example begins with a question word), two H-verbs (gr5 **fisshee** and gr1 **wadàataa**, both of which have a noun preceding the PAC), and one L-verb (gr2 **tsùmaayàa**):

mìi-kàa-cii**-nì** — debtor
what 3m.RHET eat me

koowaa-taashì-tà-fisshee**-shì** — confederation
each his 3f.SBJ get.out him

Rabbànâa-kà-wadàataa**-mu** — in: **'yan ~**
Lord 2m.SBJ enrich us — those seeking help

kù-tsùmàayee**-nì** — weak or
2pl.SBJ wait.for me — stunted sheep

3.1.3 PAC+V compounds: NDO–Frames

Twenty-seven PAC+V compounds have a NDO–frame: 20 are I-verbs (gr0) and 7 are L-verbs (gr2). There are no H-verbs – a fact commented on in 5.3.3.4.

The 15 examples (below) of compounds with I-verbs have varied syntax: most are 3-member compounds with a PAC+V+NDO, 2 have a noun subject preceding the PAC+V+NDO, 3 have an adjunct following the PAC+V+NDO.

In 8 of the following examples we find the verb **fi** 'exceed', a verb used in Hausa to express comparison. Compounds with this verb reflect the normal syntax, where two nouns may follow the verb: if both occur, the first expresses the person etc. being compared to the subject (preceded by the symbol ^{cp} in the interlinear gloss), the second represents the quality being compared (preceded by the symbol ^{q} in

the interlinear gloss). Often, only one noun occurs after the verb; this is also marked ([cp] or [q]) depending on its function.

The examples are given in alphabetical order, according to the verb in the compound; the compound is written in boldface type, the verb in 'normal' type; the interlinear gloss is under the compound. In the final example the subject pronoun of the rhetorical aspect (3rd sg. masculine) is dropped since the identity of the subject is clear.

à-ci-**duuniyàa-dà-tsinkee**	type of candy
4pl.SBJ eat world with stick	
koowaa-yà-ci-**gashìnsà**	confederation
each 3ms.SBJ eat cake.of.him	
kaa-fi-**'yan-gyàdaa**	type of cloth
2m.CMP exceed [cp]children.of groundnut	
kaa-fi-**àlluuřàa**	a drug
2m.CMP exceed [cp]needle	
kaa-fi-**amaryaa-ƙanshii**	type of perfume
2m.CMP exceed [cp]bride [q]good.smell	
kaa-fi-**ɗaa-wùyaa**	type of bead
2m.CMP exceed [cp]son [q]difficulty	
kaa-fi-**maalàm**	type of herb
2m.CMP exceed [cp]scholar	
kaa-fi-**shaddàa**	high quality cloth
2m.CMP exceed [cp]brocade	
kaa-fi-**zàaboo**	something tasty
2m.CMP exceed [cp]guinea-fowl	
kaa-fi-**zùruu**	undersized ram
2m.CMP exceed [q]looking	
taa-ga (ganii) **raanaa**	the wild twiner
3fs.CMP see sun	*Abrus precatorius*
kaa-ƙi-**zuwàa-Hausa**	Yoruba mat
2m.CMP refuse going.to Hausaland	
kun-ƙi-**cîi**	corn weevil
2pl.CMP refuse eating	
à-shaa-**ruwan-tsuntsàayee**	type of boy's game
4pl.SBJ drink water.of birds	
na-baaya-kàa-shaa-**kalloo**	embroidery on back
that.of behind RHET[3ms] drink looking	of garment

Six compounds have a L-verb (gr2) and an NDO–frame. Four are 3-member compounds with a PAC+V+NDO where the PAC is the 4th person plural, subjunctive ('one should')[7]; two compounds begin with a question word. They are listed alphabetically according to the verb in the compound:

[7] The reason why the 4th person (English: 'one') is considered to be plural is discussed in Newman [PN270].

à-kòori-**buuzuu** — policeman-like
4pl.SUBJ chase Tuareg — house guard

à-kòori-**kuuraa** — delivery truck
4pl.SUBJ chase cart

à-wàawùri-**kàryaa** — sleeveless shirt
4pl.SUBJ grab bitch

wàa-ya-zàagi-**bàaba** — type of club
who 3ms.REL.COMPL insult father — (weapon)

wàa-ya-zàagi-**dòogarìi** — type of fabric
who 3ms.REL.COMPL insult royal.guard

à-zùngùri-**duuniyàa** — type of
4pl.SUBJ poke world — pointed boots

3.1.4 PAC+V compounds: PIO–Frame

There is one example of a PAC+V compound with a PIO-frame; the verb is the I-verb **bâa**/**baa** 'give (sth.) to so.'; the object pronoun (**mù** 'us') used to express the recipient (indirect object) following the verb is used in all other verbs to express the direct object:

à-baa-**mù** — projecting beard
4pl.SUBJ give us

3.1.5 PAC+V compounds: Intransitive verbs

There are 20 PAC+V compounds with an intransitive verb: 2 I-verbs, 13 H-verbs and 5 L-verbs.

Two compounds have an I-verb (v*): **jee** 'go (to)' the second begins with a noun subject and its subject pronoun (3rd sg. m., rhetorical aspect) is dropped, since the identity of the subject is clear:

kà-jee-**gàrii-kà-kwaana-à-daajìi** — junior clerks or officers
2m.SUBJ go town 2m.SUBJ spend.night in bush — (in colonial times)

sheegèe-kàa-jee-**goonaa** — beads worn just below
bastard [3ms.]RHET go farm — knee by loose women

There are 13 PAC+V compounds with an intransitive H-verb; 11 have two members (PAC+V), 1 begins with a question word (**wàa** 'who'):

à-caaɓàa — a motorbike-taxi
4pl.SUBJ make.money

ka-cèe-**na-**cèe — argument
2m.REL.COMPL say 1s.REL.COMPL say

ta-cèe — in: **mijìn ~** hen-
3fs.REL.COMPL say — pecked husband

tà-kifɛ̀e[8]	in: **'yan ~** diehards,
3fs.SUBJ overturn	extremists
à-ƙwammàtaa	old, ineffective vehicle
4pl.SUBJ manage	
tà-lanƙwàshee	in: **'yan ~** those wishing
3fs.SUBJ become.bent	to end the Abacha régime[9]
tà-miiƙèe	in: **'yan ~** those in favour of
3fs.SUBJ stretch.out	Abacha remaining in power
tà-moorèe	in: **ɗan ~** vandal, thug
3fs.SUBJ be.content	
wàa-kàa-rabèe	slyly benefiting by
who RHET distinguish	coincidence
taa-waayèe	riot, uprising
3fs.COMPL become.aware	
taa-zàagàì	rope round donkey's neck
3f.COMP go.round	
tà-zaakùɗaa	in: **'yan ~** those in favour of a
3fs.SUBJ move.away.a.little	power-shift (fr. N. to S. Nigeria)
tà-zaɾ̃cèe	in **'yan ~** those in favour of
3fs.SUBJ move.on.to	Abacha remaining in power

Five PAC+V compounds have a L-verb, two have a gr3 verb, two – **kwaana** and **tsiira** – are gr3a; one has a gr7 verb (**hàɗu**) and an adverbial adjunct:

à-bòoƙarà	type of hand pushed cart
4pl.SUBJ stoop	
mù-hàɗu**-à-bankìi**	a sleeping drug
1pl.SUBJ meet at bank	
yaa-kàmaatà	in: **sanìn ~** knowing what's right
3ms.COMPL must	
à-kwaana**-à-taashì**	gradually
4pl.SUBJ spend.night 4pl.SUBJ rise	
mun-tsiira	in: **tudùn ~** a safe area
1pl.COMPL escape	

Two further PAC compounds might belong here, though neither of them has a verb. The relative continuative aspect expresses 'being in a place'; the allative has a verbal meaning 'go (to)':

wàa-kèe-dawà	back-handed blow given
who REL.CONT bush	p. from side or behind
zâa-ka-zâa-ni	strong, tireless p.
ALL.2m. ALL.1ms	

[8] This verb can be transitive or intransitive; here it is intransitive.

[9] I wish to thank Mohammed Munkaila for the modern compounds in my sample. Many of them pertain to Abacha, his supporters and opponents.

In **zâa-ka-zâa-ni**, **ka** and **ni** are intransitive copy pronouns (see footnote 22, chapter 2.2.5.1).

3.2 The **ma-** verbal compounds, singular and plural

A small number of verbal compounds have a **ma-**prefix; I call them '**ma-**verbal compounds'. There are both singular and plural **ma-**verbal compounds (31 singular and 17 plural examples; see Appendix 3b). The following is a singular/plural pair:

mabìi-sarkii	(ma:follow emir)	one of emir's retinue
mabìyaa-sarkii	(ma:follow emir)	(those forming) emir's retinue

Descriptions of singular and plural **ma-**verbal compounds in the literature are sporadic (Abraham 1959:41 and 123; McIntyre 1988b, Ahmad 1994:77, n.3 and the teaching manuals[10]) and they were not recognised as compounds[11]. Perhaps the singular **ma-**verbal compounds attracted so little attention because they are far less productive than their "non-**ma-** counterparts" (chapter 2). Plural **ma-** compounds were long thought to be nouns of agent (a regular deverbal form with a HL(L)H tone pattern; there are masculine and feminine singular, as well as plural forms whose final vowels are **-ii**, -[**ìy**]**aa** and **-uu** respectively). The surface forms of the plural **ma-** compounds and plural nouns of agent are identical. Originally the difference was considered to be anomalous syntax: the appearance or not of the genitive linker between the agentive and its object (see Abraham 1959 and McIntyre 1988a). I argue below that both singular and plural **ma-**verbal compounds exist, the latter "co-existing" with plural nouns of agent.

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[10] Ahmad only refers to **ma-**compounds once (1994:77, n.3): "[...] monosyllabic [...] verbs are used to form agentive nouns with a noun complement."
Kraft and Kirk-Greene (1973:194-5) and Kraft and Kraft (1973:237) call the **ma-**plus-verb an 'agent or doer of an action'; the latter add that "**mafìi** and **majìi** require a following noun". Jungraithmayr and Möhlig (1976:188) call them "eine Art aktives präsentisches Partizip" ('a kind of present participle'); Cowan and Schuh (1976:197-8) do not mention them.

[11] Knappert (1965) describes compounds with a "[…] *noun prefix* + (verb stem + noun)" [my emphasis] in eight Bantu languages: Swahili, Zulu, Kongo, Nyanja, Southern Sotho, Nyiha, Lamba and Bemba (see chapter 1.2.2).
Mchombo (1998:516) describes similar compounds in another Bantu language, chichewa: "The commonest form of compounding is that which takes a verb and its unmodified object noun or locative noun and creates a noun by adding an appropriate prefix […] Cases of noun-noun compounding, while not impossible, are less common."

3.2.1 Singular **ma-**verbal compounds: Morphology, phonology and internal syntax

The **ma-**prefix together with the verbal element (e.g. **mabìi** above) were long thought to be a 'short noun of agent', an equivalent to e.g. **mabìyii**, the masculine singular form of the regular noun of agent. The present author (1988b) started from this premise but, realising that the **ma-** prefix plus the verbal element cannot stand alone as a noun, suggested that the prefix is attached to the whole compound – not simply to the verbal element – and that the term "Agential Compound" would be "more appropriate" than "(short) noun of agent" (1988b:240); the term "**ma-**compound" was coined later (McIntyre 1995:240f).

The verbs in singular **ma-**verbal compounds satisfy their internal arguments inside the compound. e.g.:

mabàa-dà-noonòo	(ma:give milk)	mother, wet nurse
majèe-hajìi	(ma:go pilgrimage)	pilgrim
majìi-ƙai	(ma:feel heart's.desire)	the merciful one (God)
makàs-dubuu	(ma:kill thousand)	great warrior

For each of the above compounds an equivalent phrase or sentence with a finite verb can be offered, e.g. **taa baa dà noonòo** 'she gave (breast) milk'; **sun jee hajìi** 'they went on the pilgrimage'; **Allàh yà ji ƙansà** 'may God hear his heart's desire = May he rest in peace'; **yaa kas dubuu** 'he killed thousands' (**kas** < **kashèe**).

Singular **ma-**compounds are found with transitive verbs in NDO-frames (24) and with basic intransitive frames (6); there is 1 possible PIO-frame. There are no PDO-, ∅DO- or NIO-frames. We find mainly monosyllabic I- and phonologically reduced (generally monosyllabic) H-verbs; there are no L-verbs.

The description which follows integrates my own insights on **ma-**compounds (1995) with Ahmad's insights on tone lowering (1994). This description is supplemented by a short discussion of some exceptional singular **ma-**compounds – formations where more than one derivation underlies the form of the verb in the compound.

3.2.1.1 Tone lowered I- and H-verbs in singular **ma-**verbal compounds

Singular **ma-**compounds with the intransitive monosyllabic I-verb (v*) **jee** 'go' with a noun or adverb expressing destination:

majèe-hajìi	(ma:go pilgrimage)	pilgrim
majèe-gàba	(ma:go forwards)	one who moves forward

In the NDO-frame we find singular **ma-**verbal compounds with monosyllabic I- and H-verbs undergoing tone lowering. In the following examples, the monosyllabic I-verbs **fi** 'exceed', **jaa** 'pull, drag', **ji** 'hear, feel' and **ƙi** 'refuse' have all undergone tone lowering; **fi**, **ji** and **ƙi** have undergone vowel lengthening (see 2.1.2). Again, we find compounds with the verb **fi** 'exceed', the verb used to express comparison and allowing two objects (see 3.1.3, above). The objects in these compounds are marked in the interlinear gloss as follows: the symbol ^{cp} precedes the person etc. being compared and the symbol ^{q} precedes the quality compared:

mafîi-kyâu	(ma:exceed ^{q}quality)	the better (best)
mafîi-yawàa	(ma:exceed ^{q}quantity)	more, most

Here is a "**mafîi** compound" with both objects:

mafîi-wannàn-zaafii	(ma:exceed ^{cp}this.one ^{q}heat)	one hotter than this one

(The above compound is a particularly good illustration of the fact that verbs in compounds satisfy their internal arguments in the compound. The equivalent sentence is: **yaa fi wannàn zaafii** 'it's hotter than that one', where **wannàn** 'this' is the thing compared and **zaafii** 'heat' is the quality being compared.)

The compound **mafîi-yawàa** is often found in the following example where both objects are mentioned; however the persons being compared are found in the possessive suffix **-nsù** 'of.them' – used partitively:

mafîi-yawànsù	(ma:exceed ^{q}quantity.of.^{cp}them)	most of them

Here are further monosyllabic I-verbs in singular **ma-** compounds:

majàa-cikìi	(ma:drag stomach)	snake
majìi-garkòo	(ma:feel handsomeness)	epithet of man named Yusufu
majìi-ƙai	(ma:feel heart's.desire)	the merciful one (God)
maƙìi-wankaa	(ma:refuse wash.self)	one refusing to wash

Occasionally singular **ma-**verbal compounds have complex NDOs:

macìi-na-wùyaa	(ma:eat that.of difficulty)	kingfisher
majìi-tàusàyin baawaa	(ma:hear sympathy.of slave)	one feeling pity for slave[12]

[12] Two of these examples were heard in the Hausa Service of the Deutsche Welle Radio Station in the following line of **Waƙar Nema**, 'The seeking song', by M. Duda: **Allàh majìi-ƙai nèe, majìi-tàusàyin baawaa nèe**: 'God hears our desire, feels sympathy with the slave'.

Other **ma-**verbal compounds are found; the next example is an official title:

magàa-takàr̃daa	(ma:see paper)	scribe

In the next group of examples the verbs are phonologically reduced H-verbs (**kas** < **kashèe**, **baa dà** < **baayar̃ dà**, **rau dà** < ***rawar̃ dà**); they have undergone tone lowering and, in the gr5 verbs, the **dà** is considered part of the verb (see chapter 2.2.6.2.2.2):

makàs-dubuu	(ma:kill thousand)	killer of thousands
mabàa-dà-noonòo	(ma:give milk)	mother, wet nurse
maràu-dà-hakìi	(ma:wave grass)	grass fan

Another **ma-**verbal compound frequently heard contains **maràs** (< gr1 **rasàa** 'lack'):

maràs-hankàlii	(ma:lack sense)	senseless p.

One **ma-** compound has a phonologically reduced H-verb and a "fused" form (compare fused non-**ma-** compounds in 2.2.3):

maƙwàrwaa (< **ƙwagà-ruwaa**)	(ma:swallow water)	gulp of water

Two exceptional singular **ma-**verbal compounds are given here; in the first (see Bagari et al., 1979:43) we find a transitive I-verb with a PIO-frame. Speakers of standard Hausa are hesitant about accepting this PIO; the fact that NIOs are never found weakens the case for accepting it (see McIntyre 1988b:239):

mabìi-masà	(ma:follow him)	the next biggest

The next example contains a disyllabic gr1 verb **taakàa** 'tread on' with a LL imperative form; it is found in Abraham [A665] and is the only imperative form found in a singular **ma-**verbal compound[13]:

matàakà-yaaròo rùmaa	(ma:tread.on boy damp)	epithet of ruler

3.2.1.2 Summary of features of singular **ma-** verbal compounds

A number of generalisations can be made about the phonological and syntactic features of singular **ma-**verbal compounds and about their productivity.

[13] No-one I asked knew this compound. Its meaning is obscure, but it may have a parallel: **makàayè-gàrin/ƙasar̃-magàbtaa** 'conqueror of the town/land of the enemies' (Erlmann and Magagi 1979; their examples are not marked for tone and vowel length; I assume an imperative form).

Singular **ma-** compounds have the following phonological and syntactic features:

1. Monosyllabic verbs are tone-lowered and their final vowel is lengthened.
2. Phonologically reduced disyllabic verbs are also found with tone lowering (only one **ma-** compound with a disyllabic verb – the last example – has an imperative form).
3. Transitive verbs take NDOs (simple or complex); intransitive verbs appear with locative complements; the single compound with a PIO-frame is not accepted by all speakers.
4. There are no L-verbs in singular **ma-**verbal compounds.

A further feature of singular **ma-** compounds is that they have limited productivity. Some singular **ma-** compounds seem not to be productive: compounds with the verbs **bi** 'follow', **ganii** 'see', **jaa** 'pull', **kashèe** 'kill', **ƙi** 'dislike, refuse', **shaa** 'drink, do much of' and **soo** 'like' are heard occasionally in everyday speech, are found in poems, epithets, traditional titles of political office and songs but their objects or complements do not change.

In present-day Hausa singular **ma-** compounds with **mafìi** (< **fi** 'exceed') and **maràs** (< **rasàa** 'lack') are commonly heard and can be said to be productive, although this seems to be limited: **mafìi** is restricted to statements or descriptions involving comparison (e.g. in **mafìi-yawàa/yawànsù** 'more, most of them') and **maràs** can be said to have grammaticalised as the counterpart of **màì**, a particle meaning 'one who has/does [thing/activity]'[14].

3.2.2 Anomalous singular **ma-** compounds

In the following some anomalous singular **ma-**verbal compounds are discussed: **masòo**, **makwàn** and **mazòo**. They are anomalous because the verb forms following the prefix have different derivations. In the case of **mazòo** we see that, alongside two identifiable derivations in different compounds, one further usage allows us to identify **mazòo** as a phonologically reduced *noun of agent*, not part of a **ma-**compound.

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[14] Newman calls **maràs** a "short form agentive" [PN56] or a "grammaticalized agentive noun" [PN325]; Jaggar [PJ352] calls it a "negative [linker] functor". In the teaching manuals (Kraft and Kirk-Greene 1973:194-5, Kraft and Kraft 1973:237, Jungraithmayr and Möhlig 1976:188, Cowan and Schuh 1976:197-8), **maràs** (plural: **maràsaa**) is described as the negative of **màì** (plural: **màasu**): 'the one with, the one who owns, performs etc.' In terms of meaning and function these descriptions are legitimate but they obscure the fact that **maràs** is, at least historically, part of a singular **ma-** verbal compound.

3.2.2.1 The singular **ma-**compounds **masòo** and **makwàn** and their derivations

The following singular **ma-**verbal compound may well have more than one derivation. It is generally assumed that the tone lowered **sòo** in **masòo** is derived from the verb **soo** 'like' and this is, normally, correct, e.g.:

masòo-faɗàa	(ma:like fighting)	trouble maker

However, **masòo** is used in another context – the intermediate points of the compass – and the derivation may be different:

masòo-gabàs	(ma:shift east)	in: **arèewa (kudù) ~** north (south)-east
masòo-yâmma	(ma:shift west)	in: **arèewa (kudù) ~** north (south)-west

If **masòo** in these compounds is derived from **soo** 'like', then they could be literally translated as 'north liker-of east', etc. This derivation is accepted by Hausa speakers, but I suggest that this is folk etymology.

One indication that **-sòo** in **masòo** is not derived from **soo** 'like' is the existence and use of **tasòo**, a formation found in both Abraham [A859] and Bargery [B1004] and used only to express intermediate points of the compass: **arèewa-tasòo-gabàs** 'north-east', etc. I have never heard **tasòo**, nor do I know anyone who knows it. If, however, **-sòo** in **tasòo** is derived from **soo** 'like', why is it not found with the meaning 'one who likes, loves'? (Given that **ta** is a feminine marker, one might expect the phrase **Halima *tasòo Àli** to mean 'Halima [female] liker-of Ali'.) I suggest that **soo** in both **masòo** and **tasòo** is the phonologically reduced form an old verb ***sakà** (see 2.2.6.2.1 footnote 28), not from **soo** 'like':

***soo** < ***sau** < ***sak** < ***sakà**	move (intr.), change position

The ideophone **sak** may also indicate the existence of ***sakà**; this ideophone is used with the following verb to emphasise the motion expressed by the verb:

yaa miiƙàa sak	he went straight ahead
3m.CMP stretch IDP	

This ideophone – one of a number of ideophones related to verbs[15] – is also used with points of the compass to express e.g. 'due north, due east':

[15] Examples of such ideophones are: **ɗaɽ̃** (< **ɗarèe** 'leap on to'): **ɗaɽ̃ sukà ɗarèe** "they leapt nimbly onto it" [A194]; **ƙaf** (< **ƙafèe** 'dry up'): **yaa**

arèewa sak; **gabàs sak** due north; due east

A further example of a singular **ma-**verbal compound possibly derived from two different verbs is **makwàn**: in the following pair the tone lowered **kwàn** is derived from **kwaana** 'spend the night' and, in the second example, from **koomaʃ̃ dà** 'make (someone or something) turn into something'.

makwàn-Kanòo	(ma:spend.night Kano)	p. spending night in Kano[16]
makwàn-dà-yaaròo tsoofoo	(ma:turn boy old.man)	in: **cùutaa, ~** illness, turning boy into old man

3.2.2.2 The derivations of **mazòo**

The formation **mazòo** appears in several verbal compounds; it seems to be similar to the formations containing a **ma-**prefix and a tone lowered I-verb **-zòo** (< **zoo** 'come') seen above. However, both morphology and internal syntax indicate that this interpretation is not "the whole story". The morphology of **mazòo** is exceptional in two respects: Bargery [B790] gives a variant singular form (LL) **màzòo**, the only such formation marked with two low tones. As for the plural, both Bargery and Abraham [A672] give the LLH form **màzòowaa**, an exception to the HLH form found in plural **ma-**verbal compounds (see 3.2.3 below)[17].

The fact that, in verbal compounds, the verb satisfies its internal arguments inside the compound allows us to identify three possible derivations of **mazòo**: i) compounds containing **mazòo** where **-zòo** is derived from **zoo** 'come'; ii) compounds where **-zòo** is derived from **zoo** (?< **zama**) 'be, become' and iii) a phonologically reduced

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ƙafèe ƙaf "it is completely dried up" [A447]; **rits** (< **ritsàa** 'hem in'): **an ritsàa su rits** "they are hemmed in completely" [A738]; **ruf** (< **rufèe** 'close'): **yaa rufèe ruf** "it is fully shut" [A741].

16 This example was proposed to and accepted by colleagues in the Hausa Service of the German radio station, Deutsche Welle by the author (s. McIntyre 1988b:234 and 238).

17 A parallel to (L*H) **màzòowaa** is the plural form of the noun of agent **macìijii** 'snake' (< **cìizaa** 'bite'): L*H **màcìizai**. This tone pattern with final **-ai** is used in the plurals of nouns of instrument or place, but the normal plural nouns of agent (with final vowel **-aa**) have the tone pattern HLH (thus: ***macìizaa**). There is a further 'twist' in our snake's tail: the fact that 'snake' (**macìijii**) is a noun of agent from 'bite' (**cìizaa**) may seem logical enough; in Hausa however snakes do not 'bite', they 'slash' (**sàaraa**). This fact is illustrated in the story: **Macìijii, ciizòo ya kèe koo saaraa?** 'Does a snake bite or slash?' The answer (it slashes!) can be found in **Ban Dariya** 'Funny Stories' (Ahmad, n.d.).

noun of agent **mazòo** (< **mazàunii/mazàmnii**). I present evidence below to support these interpetations.

The verb **zoo** 'come' is thought by many authors to be related to, or derived from, West Hausa **zakà** 'come' (e.g. McIntyre, 1989b:9f. and [PN675]) – compare the discussion on ***soo** (< ***sakà**) above:

zoo	(< ***zau** < ***zak** < **zakà**)	come

The tone lowered element **zòo** in the following compound is derived from **zoo** (< **zakà**) 'come':

mazòo-dà-littaafii	(ma:come with book)	bringer of book

The same syntax can be found in normal speech:

yaa zoo dà littaafii	(3m.COMP come with book)	he brought (the/a) book

In the following compound, **-zòo** may be derived from **zama** 'become':

mazòo-ita[18]	(ma:be[come] 3f.INDPRO)	one born to it

The derivation would be as follows:

zoo	(< ***zau** < ***zam**[19] < **zama**)	be, become

We find **mazòo-ita** in the sentence:

> **Sàrautàa bà tà kàmàacee shì ba sabòo dà shii bàa mazòo ita ba nèe** 'he is not fitted for an official position as he was not born to it' [A672, cf. B790]

The phrase **mazòo-ita** is "bracketed" in the above sentence by the discontinuous negative markers **bàa…ba**; here **mazòo** precedes the independent pronoun **ita** (referring to **sàrautàa** [n.f.]). This pronoun, so called because such pronouns may function independently as nouns in a number of syntactic contexts, may not function as the complement of the verb **zoo** 'come' to indicate destination. If, on the other hand, **ita** were the complement of the verb **zama** 'become', then **ita** expresses a status, not a locative goal. In normal syntax one would expect the word **sàrautàa** to stand in apposition to **ita**; I suggest that here **ita** may stand alone because the fact that it refers to **sàrautàa** is perfectly clear; indeed, **sàrautàa** may be topicalised in this sentence. Further support for this assumption can be seen in normal usage in

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[18] The example **mazòo-ita** is taken from the dictionaries [A672, B790]; Hausa speakers I asked accepted it but did not know it.

[19] There are a number of disyllabic verbs in Hausa which have a monosyllabic form; **zama** (**zam**) is one of them. The weakening of syllable final **-m** to **-u** is well known in Hausa (see Klingenheben 1927/28).

which we find the verb **zoo** with the meaning 'become'. The following example is from Umar (1985:12):

Wannàn shèekaràa bà tà zoo wà kàren maatòo dà kyâu ba
'this year was not a good one for the lorry-driver's assistant (**kàren maatòo**)'

In the previous examples **mazòo** is part of a singular **ma-**verbal compound; this is not the case in the following example ([A672, B790]):

mazòo nee gà sàrautàa	he belongs to the
ma:firmly.established STAB to ruling)	ruling classes

It was claimed above (3.2.1) that **ma**- plus the verbal element is not an independent noun. Here, the presence of the stabilizer **nee** shows that **mazòo** is an independent noun – the stabilizer can only follow a noun or NP! I thus suggest that **mazòo** is a phonologically reduced form of the noun of agent **mazàunii** (or **mazàmnii**). This noun of agent is derived from the verb **zaunàa** (or **zamnàa**) 'sit, settle, remain in, be(come) firmly established'.

Further examples of phonologically reduced verbo-nominal forms (nouns of agent, instrument and place) with the prefix **ma**- support this interpretation:

magwàs (< ***magùshii**)	belch
(?< **gusàa** 'move slightly away')	
maɗas (< **maɗàshii**)	any deadly poison ad-
(< **ɗasàa** 'pour drops of sth.')	ministered by mouth
mishii (< **mashiyyii/mishiyii**)	small bone implement for
(?< **saayèe** 'cover')	applying antimony to eyes
masai (< ***masaayaa**)	cesspit
(< **saayèe** 'fence in')	
ma'ajii (< **ma'ajiyii/ma'ajiyaa**)	place where thing
(< **ajìyee** 'store')	is stored, treasury

There is one other apparent exception to the rule that **ma**- plus the verbal element may not stand alone: the name **Magàa** is given the gloss 'name for slave' [A632]. However **Magàa** does not normally stand alone. Under the entry **magàa-sâiwaɾ̃-duutsèe**, Bargery [B744] remarks that this is "a name given to a slave and often *further contracted* to **magàa**" (my emphasis). Thus **Magàa** belongs in, and is part of, the singular **ma-**verbal compound **magàa-sâiwaɾ̃-duutsèe**[20].

[20] Bargery [B744] gives the compound in the following sentence: **magàa sâiwaɾ̃ duutsèe shii kàa shaa wàhalàa** (ma.see root.of rock he RHET

3.2.3 Plural **ma-**verbal compounds and plural nouns of agent

Plural **ma-**verbal compounds attracted little attention in the literature and were assumed to be plural nouns of agent (see: Abraham 1959:41 and 123; Parsons 1963:190-191 and McIntyre 1988a). This assumption arose due to an ambiguity which I propose to resolve here, showing that there are *two* formations: plural **ma-** compounds *and* plural nouns of agent.

Given the assumption that these compounds were plural nouns of agent, previous descriptions tried to explain a variation in syntax, centering on the appearance or not of the linker **-n**, thought to reflect an underlying difference between, on the one hand, a nominal and on the other, a verbal phrase. This difference can be seen in the following example:

mabìyaa-sarkii	retinue
mabìyan sarkii	retinue, successors

Both phrases share the meaning 'retinue'; only the form appearing with the linker **-n** can mean 'successors'.

I shall offer further examples, showing that certain meanings can only occur on the form which allows the linker **-n**, and that this form is the plural deverbal noun of agent (here: **mabìyaa**; m.s.: **mabìyii**, f.s.: **mabiyìyaa** < **bi** 'follow'). Without the linker, **mabìyaa** is part of a plural **ma-** compound.

Abraham (1959:123) was the first to point out the ambiguity under discussion. The following examples and glosses are his:

mahàrbaa-ɓaunaa	(ma:hunt bushcow)	bushcow hunters
maƙèeraa-farfaruu	(ma:smith white.metals)	those smithing white metals

and:

mahàrban ɓaunaa	(hunters.of bushcow)	bushcow hunters
maƙèeran farfaruu	(smiths.of white.metals)	smiths of white metals

Abraham describes the difference as a "[...] wavering between the functions of verb and noun [...]", identifying the first pair (with no linker) as verbal, and the second (with the linker) as nominal. Parsons (1963:191) considers that we have "Agential Nouns" in both cases and that the second pair is the norm while the first is "idiomatic" and

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drink trouble) 'one who would get to the foundations of a rocky hill will have a bad time of it'.

"optional only"[21]. The present author (1988a) described the difference as one between "[-linker]" and "[+linker] plural nouns of agent": "[-linker]" examples are verbal and the "[+linker]" examples nominal. I also showed that the former have lower time stability while the latter have higher time stability. Later (1995) I used the term "compound" to refer to both singular and plural **ma-**compounds. Newman (2000) describes plural **ma-**compounds in chapter 16 as "agentive compounds" [PN120]; in chapter 7 he refers to them as "agentives with objects" [PN54-55].

I shall show here that we have both plural **ma-**compounds and plural nouns of agent.

The morphology of the plural **ma-** compound is **ma**- plus a verbal element and the suffix –**aa**; the tone pattern HL*H integrates these three morphemes (the L* tone affects the verbal element). There is no tone lowered *verb*, no phonological reduction and no final vowel shortening.

Only NDO-frames and basic intransitive frames are found[22]. There are I-, H- and L-verbs in my sample.

The next examples have a transitive H-verb (gr1) and a NDO[23]:

ma'àbùutaa-juuyìn mulkìn-ƙasâr̃	(ma:befriend change.of power.of nation.DET)	those in favour of overthrowing the government
ma'àikàtaa-aikìn aagàjii	(ma:perform work.of help)	aid workers
mabùnƙùsaa-ƙasaa	(ma:push.through soil)	any root-crop
madìnkaa-rìigaa	(ma:sew gown)	gown tailors
maƙèeraa-farfaruu	(ma:smith white.metals)	those smithing white metals

[21] Curiously, in a footnote, Parsons (1963:191, n.3) remarked that "some Agential Nouns *invariably* have the idiomatic construction [...]" (my emphasis).

[22] Abraham (1959:123) gives the example **masànaa-dà-dukàn-haalàayee** 'those acquainted with all the circumstances', with an ∅DO-frame and a sociative object. The example was not accepted by Hausa speakers I asked. Newman [PN55] says that some speakers allow PIO-frames, giving two examples (with double question marks): "??**mabùgaa manà riigunàa** the ones who beat gowns for us" and "??**madàkaa minì sàkwàraa** the ones who pound yams for me". He does not offer any examples with an NIO. This parallels what was pointed out above, concerning singular **ma-** verbal compounds (3.2.1): while compounds with PIOs *might* be acceptable, NIOs are not accepted.

[23] Most of the examples in the next two groups were heard in the Hausa Service of the Voice of Germany (Deutsche Welle), Cologne.

mashèeƙaa-ayaa	(ma:winnow tigernut.grass)	in: **ganin ~** looking at p. contemptuously
matùuƙaa-jirgin-samà	(ma:drive vehicle-of sky)	pilots

The next examples are transitive L-verbs (gr2) with a NDO:

maɗàukaa-kanwaa	(ma:lift potash)	potash carriers[24]
magòoyaa-baayansà	(ma:support back.of.him)	his supporters
mahàlàr̃taa-tàarôn	(ma:attend meeting.DET)	those attending the meeting
mahàrbaa-ɓaunaa	(ma:hunt bushcow)	bushcow hunters
manèemaa-làabàar̃ai	(ma:seek news)	reporters

When the verb is intransitive (here, gr1) it is followed by a locative complement:

mazàunaa-gàrîn	(ma:live town.DET)	inhabitants of town

In plural **ma-**verbal compounds the underlying verb satisfies its internal arguments inside the compound. For each of the examples above, we can find a corresponding phrase or sentence with a finite verb: **sun bunƙùsà ƙasaa** 'they [the plants] pushed through the soil' (gr1, NDO); **sun aikàtà aikìn aagàjii** 'they [the aid workers] carried out aid work' (gr1, NDO); **sun ɗàuki kanwaa** 'they [the porters] carried potash' (gr2, NDO); **sun hàlàr̃ci tàarôn** 'they attended the meeting' (gr2, NDO); **sun zaunàa gàrîn** 'they [the residents] lived in the town' (gr1, intransitive)[25].

3.2.3.1 Plural **ma-**verbal compounds or plural nouns of agent?

Hausa speakers I asked accept the examples discussed here with or without the linker – *theoretically*. In practice they *rarely* use the linker, but, when asked, accept the same meaning for both:

manèemaa-làabàar̃ai	(ma:look.for news)	reporters
manèeman làabàar̃ai	(seekers.of news)	reporters

or:

matùuƙaa-jirgin-samà	(ma:drive vehicle.of sky)	pilots
matùuƙan jirgin-samà	(drivers.of vehicle.of sky)	pilots

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[24] This compound is found in: **zamaa dà maɗàukaa-kanwaa shii ya sâa farin kâi** (living with potash carriers causes a white head), i.e. becoming like others through long association [A476].

[25] The fact that the internal arguments are satisfied inside the compound rules out an alternative explanation proposed by Jaggar (p.c.): the plural **ma-** verbal compounds are simply plural nouns of agent with an Old Hausa zero linker. This explanation only fits transitive verbs followed immediately by NDO.

In most such pairs the meanings are identical. It is probably this fact together with the fact that, on the surface, the **ma-** plus verbal element (with or without the linker) have identical forms that led to the assumption that both formations are nouns of agent.

However the identity of such formations cannot be determined by looking at their morphology. The fact that there are both nouns of agent and plural **ma-**compounds is only apparent in either a) pairs where there are differences in the meanings or b) in pairs where one meaning is allowed and the other disallowed. In both cases, the surface difference is the presence or absence of the linker **-n**.

If the presence of the linker were purely "optional" we should find exactly the same meanings in all pairs. In the following pairs however, we find differences between the different formations:

mabìyaa-sarkii	(ma:follow emir)	the emir's followers, retinue
mabìyan sarkii	(successors.of emir)	1) emir's followers
	(followers.of emir)	2) emir's successors

and:

matàfiyaa-Kanòo	(ma:travel.to Kano)	travellers to Kano
matàfiyan Kanòo	(travellers.of Kano)	1) travellers to Kano
	(travellers.of Kano)	2) travellers from Kano

In the "[-linker]" formations the internal arguments of the underlying verbs are satisfied: the words **sarkii** and **Kanòo** are the NDO of **bi** 'follow' or the locative complement of **tàfi** 'go (to)' respectively. The syntax is the same as in normal sentences containing these verbs: **sun bi sarkii** 'they followed the emir' and **sun tàfì Kanòo** 'they went to Kano'. In the "[+linker]" formations we have two possible meanings in each: in **mabìyan sarkii** the linker expresses either a partitive genitival relationship (the emir's followers – the emir is the underlying subject) or an objective genitival relationship (those who succeeded the emir, i.e. the emir's successors). In **matàfiyan Kanòo**, the linker expresses a partitive genitive relationship with two possible meanings: 'travellers of (= from) Kano (not anywhere else)' or: 'travellers of (= to, for) Kano'[26].

In the following pairs we see that the presence or absence of the linker relates to the grammaticality of the phrase. In the first pair, both phrases are grammatical:

[26] Jaggar [PJ338] would label the first option ('travellers from Kano') a "genitive of origin" and the second ('travellers to, for Kano') as a "descriptive" or "partitive genitive".

maɗìnkaa-rìigaa	(ma:sew gown)	gown tailors
maɗìnkan rìigaa	(tailors.of gowns)	gown tailors

In **maɗìnkaa-rìigaa** the word **rìigaa** is the NDO of the underlying verb **ɗinkàa** 'sew'; the compound is grammatical because the internal arguments of the verb are respected (cp. **yaa ɗinkà rìigaa** 'he sewed a gown'). In **maɗìnkan rìigaa** the noun **rìigaa** is in either an objective genitival relationship (tailors.of gowns) or a partitive genitive relationship (*gown* tailors – not shirt tailors) to the plural noun of agent **maɗìnkaa**.

In the next pair, one phrase is ungrammatical:

****maɗìnkaa-Kanòo**	(ma:sew Kano)	*those sewing Kano
maɗìnkan Kanòo	(tailors.of Kano)	tailors from/in Kano

Here ****maɗìnkaa-Kanòo** is ungrammatical because **Kanòo** cannot be the direct object of the verb **ɗinkàa** – one cannot sew towns! For the same reason, there can be no *objective* genitival relationship in the phrase **maɗìnkan Kanòo**; the relationship is a partitive genitive relationship: 'Kano (not e.g. London) tailors'.

Satisfying the internal arguments of the verb in the compound is particularly relevant in the following pair:

mafiyaa-yawàa	(ma:exceed [q]quantity)	(those in) the majority
****mafiyan yawàa**	(?majority.of quantity)	

The compound **mafiyaa-yawàa** (where **yawàa** is the "quality compared") parallels normal syntax and is grammatical. However, in ****mafiyan yawàa**, the linker cannot express the relationship to **yawàa** and the phrase is ungrammatical[27].

3.2.3.2 Summary

We saw above that the early discussion of plural **ma-**verbal compounds focussed on a difference in the syntax of the "plural nouns of agent": the presence or absence of the linker **-n**. Parsons's assertion that the linker is "optional" (1963:191) summarises the accepted point of view – and seems to hold in many cases. However, we have seen

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[27] In contrast, in the VN compound **fìn ƙarfii** 'excess.of strength' (3.3.1.4 below), the noun **ƙarfii** follows the linker and is the "quality compared". The difference is that, in ****mafiyan yawàa**, the referent of **yawàa** 'quantity' is the same as the referent of 'majority' (the meaning of the phrase) and as that of the exceeding entity; nor is there a second entity to fill the complementary valency, "exceeded". Thus the meaning remains unclear. However, **ƙarfii** 'strength' is an inherent property of an entity, so that, automatically, the exceeding (stronger) entity cannot be the same as the exceeded (weaker) entity. My thanks to Frederik Kortlandt (Leiden) for this observation.

that the reality is different, viz., there are two separate formations: a) plural **ma-**verbal compounds in which the internal arguments of verb are satisfied inside the compound and b) plural nouns of agent taking the linker. Most speakers use the plural **ma-**compound.

3.2.4 The relationship between singular and plural **ma-**verbal compounds

If the use of the terms "singular" and "plural" implies that each singular has a plural form, this implication is not realised in the present case. One indication of this is that plural **ma-**compounds are more productive than their singular "brothers", giving us modern plural terms such as 'pilots' and 'reporters'.

Only a few singular **ma-**compounds have an equivalent plural **ma-**compound: monosyllabic I-verbs (e.g. **mafìi** and **mafíyaa**) and some phonologically reduced H-verbs (e.g. **makàs** and **makàsaa** < gr4 **kashèe** 'kill' or **maràs** and **maràsaa** < gr1 **rasàa** 'lack').

Looking at the relationship from the other perspective, we see that few plural **ma-**compounds have a singular **ma-**compound equivalent: there are *no* singular equivalents for plural **ma-**compounds containing trisyllabic verbs (e.g. **aikàtaa** 'perform', **hàlaɾ̃taa** 'attend'):

ma'àikàtaa aikìn-aagàjii	(ma:perform work.of help)	aid workers
mahàlàɾ̃taa-tàarôn	(ma:attend meeting.DET)	those attending the meeting

We do not find singular equivalents of the following plural **ma-**compounds (containing disyllabic verbs):

manèemaa-làabàaɾ̃ai	(ma:look.for news)	reporters
matùuƙaa-jirgin-samà	(ma:drive vehicle.of sky)	pilots
mazàunaa-gàrîn	(ma:live town.DET)	inhabitants of town

The verbal element in singular **ma-**compounds is CVV of CVC and the possible singular equivalents of the above would have a verbal element with a CVC structure. Such verb forms – "clipped" verbs – are found and, when they exist (outside of compounds), they may be used in compounds (see 2.1.2.2). Of the above verbs, two (**tuuƙàa** 'drive, fly' and **zaunàa** 'live [in a place]') do not have such a form. The verb **nèemaa** 'look for' has a clipped form but it only appears in front of indirect objects (see [A698]). Thus singular equivalents to plural **ma-**compounds are phonologically restricted.

A further difference between singular and plural **ma**-compounds is that no gr2 verbs are found in singular **ma**-compounds while they

seem normal in plural **ma**-compounds. This difference is discussed in chapter 5.3.4.1.

The singular concept can often be expressed with the noun of agent, thus the singular of the compound **matùuƙaa-jiƒgin-samà** 'pilots' is **matùuƙin jiƒgin-samà** with the regular singular noun of agent. In some cases, however, the singular is a completely different formation, thus the singular of **manèemaa-làabàaƒai** 'reporters' is the N.L+N compound **ɗan-jàƒiidàa** (son.of newspaper), rather than ?**manèemin làabàaƒai**, and the singular of **mazàunaa-gàrii** is **ɗan gàrii** (son.of town) rather than ?**mazàunin gàrii**[28].

Given the lack of equivalence just mentioned and the fact that no other compounds have regular plural forms, I suggest that plural and singular **ma-**compounds are two different formations. Furthermore, as I suggested above, plural **ma-**compounds seem to more productive.

Historically, plural and singular **ma-**compounds may have been a singular/plural pair, but, synchronically, this is not the case. *If* they originated as a pair, the fact that the regular plural noun of agent has the same surface form as the plural **ma-** compounds may have played a role in re-defining the relationship between them. Again, the fact that "non-**ma-**compounds" (see chapter 2) are more productive than singular **ma-**compounds may have reduced the importance of singular **ma-**compounds.

3.2.5 Comparing/contrasting **ma-** and "non-**ma-**" verbal compounds

The **ma-** and "non-**ma-**" compounds can be compared and contrasted in terms of their morpho(phono)logy, their morphology, their internal syntax, their productivity and use and, perhaps, history.

In terms of morpho(pho)nology, there is one obvious contrast: the presence or absence of the **ma-**prefix. A further contrast is the marking of the verb: non-**ma-**compounds allow three markers (tone lowering, the imperative form and unmarked verbs) while singular **ma-**compounds allow only tone lowering (the imperative form is found, exceptionally, in only one singular **ma-**compound) and plural

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[28] Abraham gives one example of a masculine singular noun of agent *without* a linker: **sauràyii majìyii ƙarfii** = **sauràyii majìyin ƙarfii** 'an able-bodied young fellow' [A641]. I have twice heard the masculine singular noun of agent **masànii** without the linker: **masànii haƙkaƒ tattalin aƒzìkii** 'an economics expert' and **masànii ayyukan raayà ƙasaa** 'a development expert'. Both were heard in the Hausa programme of the German Radio. Such syntax is rare and probably not accepted by the majority of Hausa speakers.

ma-compounds have a fixed form which cannot be explained in terms of tone lowering, etc.

The phonology also differs: in non- **ma-**compounds we find final vowel shortening; this is never found in plural **ma-**compounds and is rare in singular **ma-**compounds[29].

The internal syntax of **ma-** and non-**ma-**compounds contrasts slightly: the **ma-** compounds (singular or plural) only allow NDO- and basic intransitive frames; the single example of a PIO-frame was not accepted by the majority of speakers (see 3.2.1.1). Non-**ma-**compounds allow ∅DO-, PDO-, NDO- and PIO/NIO-frames as well as basic intransitives.

In terms of productivity and use, the non-**ma-**compounds are far more productive than either singular or plural **ma-**compounds. In singular **ma-**compounds we find only 20 verbs[30] and, as pointed out above, plural **ma-**compounds are more productive than their singular counterparts. If singular **ma-**compounds were productive we might expect many pairs of **ma-**/non-**ma-**verbal compounds with the same verb and object. However, only three such pairs are known and only one pair (the first in each group of examples) has the same meaning:

macìi-na-wùyaa	(ma:eat that.of difficulty)	kingfisher
mashàa-miyàa	(ma:drink soup)	beggar
mashàa-ruwaa	(ma:drink water)	1) one who drinks 2) name for type of bird 3) fast growing lad 4) rainbow
cìi-na-wùya	(eat that.of difficulty)	kingfisher
shàa-miyà	(drink soup)	1) servant 2) kind of cloth
shàa-ruwa	(drink water)	earliest ripening cotton

There seem to be two possible historical explanations for the presence of both **ma-** and non-**ma-**compounds: either the **ma-**compounds preceded their non-**ma-** "brothers" (the **ma-**prefix is an old formative in Hausa, see Greenberg 1963) and "lost out" to them

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29 Newman [PN120] gives five examples of singular **ma-** compounds; two have a short final vowel: **majàa-cikì** and **majìi-daaɗi**.

30 The 20 verbs are: **bi** 'follow', **ci** 'eat', **fi** 'exceed', **ji** 'hear, feel', **ƙi** 'refuse', **jaa** 'pull', **shaa** 'drink', **soo** 'want', ***soo** 'move, change position' (?< **sau** < ***sak** < ***sakà**), **jee** 'go', **zoo** (< **zakà** 'come'), **zoo** (< **zama** 'become'), **kwan** (< **kwaana** 'spend the night'); **gaa** (< ?**ga(a)nii** 'see'), **kas** (< **kashèe** 'kill'), ***ƙwag** (< **ƙwagàa** 'swallow liquid' [B668]), **ras** (< **rasàa** 'lack'); **baa dà** (< **baayaf̃ dà** 'give sth.'), **kwan dà** (< **koomaf̃ dà** 'turn sth. into sth.'), **rau dà** (< ***rawaf̃ dà** 'shake sth.').

later, or the **ma-**prefix – with its agentive function – was later "tried out" on pre-existing non-**ma-**compounds; the formation did not succeed because it was not necessary[31].

One final remark is in order: the **ma-** prefix seems to have a function similar to the *–er* suffix in English or German, but does not have this function. The **ma-** prefix is attached to the whole compound, not just the verb; i.e. the unit '**ma-** plus verb' is not a deverbal head as in the synthetic compounds 'bus *driver*' (cp. German: 'Bus*fahrer*') or 'match-*maker*' (see Lieber 1994:3608).

3.3 Verbal noun compounds

Many Hausa verbal compounds begin with a verbal noun[32]; I call them 'verbal noun compounds' or VNCs. These VNCs are accepted by Ahmad (1994), Newman (2000) and Jaggar (2001) as compounds. Fifty-one of Ahmad's 291 "linked compounds" (1994:145-153) – where the first member is a noun – are VNCs. Of the 261 VNCs in my sample (Appendix 3c), 189 have the verbal noun of a transitive verb and 72 that of an intransitive verb.

In VNCs the relationship of the underlying verb to its internal arguments does not have the same importance as it has for the compounds in chapter 2. In some VNCs we find the external argument – the subject – a fact which will be seen to be relevant in chapter 5.

3.3.1 The internal syntax of VNCs

The verbal nouns of I-, H- and L-verbs are found in these compounds. However the difference is not relevant here: unlike finite verbs, verbal

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31 The idea that there was experiment or competition between prefixes to mark pre-existing verbal compounds is supported by the following (one verb in gr4/ gr6, with an imperative form): **bàsàkee/bàsàkoo-ciki** 'intimate friend' [A87]. Abraham says that these forms are both singular and plural – a characteristic they share with compounds. The **bà-** prefix normally marks ethnonyms. (See also **bàbuudèe** [A54].) The two examples in 3.2.1.1 (note 13) may be old: **makàayè-gàrin/ƙasaɽ̃-magàbtaa** 'conqueror of town/ land of the enemies' (Erlmann and Magagi 1979). Such formations – with the imperative – may have been more common in the past.

32 The term "verbal noun" is used by Hausa scholars to refer to "[…] non-finite forms which often correspond to gerundives and progressive '-ing' participles in English [and which] can also be translated as 'to'-infinitives […]" [PJ286]. Its use as a blanket term for "nominalized verbs" and "deverbal nouns" [PN156] results from the fact that "[…] the syntactic classes and the morphological classes do not match, [i.e. they] intersect rather than coincide" [PN699]. I retain the term "verbal noun", using specific terms when they are directly relevant to the discussion.

nouns do not change their form according to the syntactic frame, nor do they undergo any kind of morpho(phono)-logical change associated with compounding.

In this section I look at the internal syntax and meanings of VNCs. Most such compounds contain a verbal noun (VN) plus a linker and a noun or noun phrase (NP). The linker (**-n** for masculine singular and plural nouns, and **-ř̃** for feminine singular nouns) may express either a partitive or an objective genitive (see above 3.2.3.1). In this way, various syntactic relationships are expressed: the noun or NP following the linker may be either the direct object or the subject of the underlying verb. A NP may be even more complex, e.g. the second noun in the NP may be the subject of the underlying verb. Occasionally we find an adverb or ideophone following the VN. In a few VNCs there is no linker; in these cases the VN is followed by a noun (in some cases a second VN), an adverb or, in one case, a numeral.

The examples below are presented according to the different syntactic relationships. The lists are occasionally interrupted and comments offered on the meaning(s) of individual compounds or on a phrase in which a compound is found. (In a number of examples the translation of the compound is given in a sentence or phrase; here, the compound is represented by a swung dash: **~**, as seen above.)

3.3.1.1 VNCs where N is NDO of the VN

In most examples with the verbal noun of a transitive verb (112 from 189) the noun following the linker is an NDO:

àjiyàř-zuucìyaa	(setting.down.of heart)	sob, sigh of relief
cîn-fuskàa	(eating.of face)	insult
ɗaukàř-ɗaakìi	(lifting.of room)	in: **shaawařàa ~** where there's will there's a way
ɗaurìn-riijìyaa	(tying.of well)	ledge formed by reducing width of well
ɗiibàn-noonòo	(taking.of milk)	in: **cìnikin duuniyàa ~ nee** do as you would be done by
ganin-bànten wâmbai	(seeing.of loincloth.of W.)	anything almost impossible

In **ganin-bànten-wâmbai** we have a 3-member VNC with a complex NDO. The Wambai is a high official in the traditional hierarchy; seeing his loincloth is highly unlikely! Hence the meaning.

ganin-hannuu	(seeing.of hand)	in: **zàren ~**

The phrase **zàren-ganin-hannuu** means 'cotton spun by bride for husband in early days of marriage' [A300]; **ganin-hannuu** is a metaphor for 'taking the bride's virginity'[33].

ganin-waɗà(a)-yîi[34]	(seeing.of others doing)	doing sth. only when so. else is seen doing it

In **ganin-waɗà(a)-yîi** the VN **yîi** 'doing' expresses the fact that others are engaged in some kind of activity.

gudùn-duuniyàa	(avoiding.of world)	humility

In the expression **gudùn-duuniyàa** the VN **gudùu** has the meaning 'avoiding' rather than simply 'running', i.e. **gudùu** is transitive, **duuniyàa** is its NDO[35].

gwajìn-tàakàlmii	(trying.of shoe)	trial marriage (pre-Islam)
haɗîn-bàakii	(joining.of mouth)	in: **ɗan ~** collaborator
jân-bàakii	(pulling.of mouth)	quarrelsomeness
jîn-ƙai[36]	(feeling.of pity)	compassion
juuyìn-mulkìi	(reverse.of power)	coup d'état
kàɗaɾ̃-raaɓaa	(drumming.of dew)	begging for food

I have heard **kàɗaɾ̃-raaɓaa** referring to begging done by Qur'anic students. Paul Newman (p.c.) gives the meaning 'Migration of village men to cities during dry season to earn money and make their stock of food last longer'. The meanings are not so far apart: the dry season is a time when Qur'anic students move to another area, study intensively and beg because they do not generally work for money.

kaamùn-ƙafàa	(catching.of foot)	1) embroidered ankle-band of trousers 2) lobbying
karìn-kùmalloo	(break.of fast)	breakfast
kisàn-auree	(killing.of marriage)	divorce
kòoraɾ̃-kàree	(chasing.of dog)	humiliating expulsion

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[33] Compare **bài kaamà hannuntà ba tùkùna** (3ms.NEG.COMPL catch hand.of.her NEG yet) 'he has not yet slept with her (his young bride)' [B448].

[34] According to Bargery [B1071] **waɗà**(**a**) is a "common contraction" of **waɗansu** 'some'; in modern Hausa the common contraction is **wasu**.

[35] Newman [PN710] classifies **gudùu** as a 'stem-derived verbal noun', Jaggar [PJ291] as a 'strong verbal noun' of the (intransitive) gr3b verb **gudù** 'run'. I suggest that it (also) be classified as a 'base-derived verbal noun' ([PN704]) of the gr2 verb **gùdaa** 'avoid, escape (from)' – for two reasons: a) it is transitive, as in this compound; b) I have heard Kano speakers (Kano City and Gwarzo) using the VN **guduwàa** for the gr3b verb 'run' (not mentioned by Newman 2000 or Jaggar 2001; but see Wolff 1993:391). Morphologically the VN **guduwàa** compares with the VN **mutuwàa** of the gr3b verb **mutù** 'die'.

[36] The word **ƙai** is not translated separately in any Hausa-English (-French or -German) dictionary; the compound is sometimes written as one word: **jînƙai**.

ƙîn-jîi	(refusal.of hearing)	naughtiness (child)
lèeƙen-àsiiřii	(peeking.of secret)	spying
neeman-auree	(seeking.of marriage)	courting
neeman-girmaa	(seeking.of status)	being generous
saaran-sùumaa	(chopping.of hair.of.head)	shaving baby's head on naming day
shân-dàbgee	(drinking.of chicken.sauce)	luxurious living
shân-kàbeewàa	(drinking.of pumpkin)	pumpkin festival
shân-ruwaa	(drinking.of water)	drinking beer
sôn-jìkii	(liking.of body)	child's wanting to lie on parents or others
tàunařˉ-lìnzaamìi	(chewing.of bridle)	intimidation
tòonon-sìiliilìi	(digging.up detail)	subjecting p. to detailed interrogation
tsaarìn-mulkìi	(organisation.of power)	constitution (pol.)
wankan-amaryaa	(washing.of bride)	washing of bride before wedding
wankan-angòo	(washing.of bridegroom)	washing of groom before wedding

In **wankan-amaryaa** and **wankan-angòo** (and in other VNCs – see Abraham [A923-4]) the word **wankaa** is used transitively. In everyday Hausa it is used reflexively: 'washing oneself'.

wankìn-idòo	(washing.of eye)	charm
yankan-gaashìi	(cutting.of hair)	syphilis

The following phrase may fit into the above list, assuming **tàɓaa** is a VN with a ∅ linker[37]:

tàɓaa-kiɗìi, **tàɓaa-kàřàatuu**	(touch drumming, touch studying)	all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy

3.3.1.2 VNCs where N(P) is subject of the VN: transitive verbs

Sometimes the N(P) following the linker is an underlying subject; in the first group the VNs are from transitive verbs:

duukàn-iskàa	(beating.of demon)	mentally-ill p.
hařbìn-àlluuřàa	(shooting.of needle)	evil magic with needles
jeerìn-gwàanoo	(lining.up.of stink.ants)	1) procession 2) queue, a line

[37] The ∅-linker (Old Hausa) interpretation of this compound was suggested by Jaggar (p.c. – see also footnote 25, chapter 3.2.3). I have also heard the VNC **kàɗařˉ-raaɓaa** (above) without the linker: **kàɗaa-raaɓaa**. A further possible example is **hàɗaakaa** (?join head ?< **hàɗařˉ kaa** [< **kâi** 'head']) in: **dòomin tàfiyàa tàare dà shii à ~n neeman zàaɓee** 'to run with him in an electoral alliance' [DW].

kallon-ƙudaa	(observing.of flies)	staring at so. without blinking
sakìn-waawaa	(letting.go.of idiot)	beautiful girl divorced soon after marriage
saaƙàr̃-Gizò	(weaving.of Gizo)	plot, illusion
saaƙàr̃-gizò-gizò	(weaving.of spider)	spider's web
saaƙàr̃-zumàa	(weaving.of bee)	honeycomb
shân-zumàa	(drinking.of bee)	collecting honey
shuurìn-masàaƙii	(kicking.of weaver)	several times, uncountable

The compounds **saaƙàr̃-Gizò** and **saaƙàr̃-gizò-gizò** differ in that the first refers to the mythical character Gizo (a figure similar to the North American "trickster") and the second to the spider; the latter is a kind of Gizo (indicated grammatically by the reduplication of the noun **gizò**). Some speakers use **saaƙàr̃-Gizò** for 'internet'.

3.3.1.3 VNCs where N(P) is subject of the VN: intransitive verbs

When the VN is that of an intransitive verb, the N following the linker is necessarily the underlying subject[38]:

ɓatàn-kâi	(getting.lost.of self)	losing one's way
ɓatàn-watàa	(getting.lost.of moon)	missing period (generally due to pregnancy)
dàariyar̃-kàree	(laughing.of dog)	display of fierceness by exposing teeth
far̃gar̃-Jaajì	(awakening.of J)	remembering sth. after it's too late
fìtar̃-baayaa	(exit.of back)	external hemorrhoids
gìr̃gizàr̃-ƙasaa	(shaking.of earth)	earthquake
gudùn-tàatsattsar̃ àkuyàa	(running.of milked goat)	running away when too late
hàuhawàr̃-jinii	(mounting.of blood)	hypertension
kùmburin-Dimkà	(swelling.of D)	kind of bus
kwanton ɓaunaa	(lying.in.wait.of buffalo)	lying in wait, ambush
mutuwàr̃ tsoohuwaa	(death.of old.woman)	type of children's game

[38] I include the nouns **dàariyaa** 'laughter', **rawaa** 'dancing', **sàleeɓàa** 'staining' and **tòotsiyaa** (describing placing sticks round the edge of a calabash to increase its carrying capacity) in the intransitive verbal nouns on the assumption that they are old VNs. Three have associated verbs (**daaràa** 'laugh', **rayàa** 'dance', **tootsàa** 'force one's way'). I assume **sàleeɓàa** is an old VN because it has the tone pattern and syntax of a trisyllabic gr3 VN as well as an intransitive meaning.

In the game **mutuwàr̃-tsoofuwaa** the children imitate the way a very old person reacts when death comes. Why the feminine **tsoofuwaa** is used rather than the masculine **tsoofoo**, I do not know.

rawar̃-jìkii	(dance.of body)	trembling
ruuɗèewar̃ cikìi	(disturbance.of stomach)	upset stomach
sàleeɓàr̃-zumàa	(stain.of honey)	empty words
sàukar̃-kàr̃àatuu[39]	(arrival.of study)	graduation from school (esp. reading of Qur'an)
shìgar̃-shirgìi	(entering.of pile)	meddlesomeness
sùɓutàr̃-bàakii	(slip.of mouth)	slip of the tongue
tàfiyàr̃-àgwàagwaa	(going.of duck)	rolling stride of fat p.
tàfiyàr̃ kuuraa	(walking.of hyena)	writing Arabic accusative as in Ar.
tàfiyàr̃-tunkìyaa	(walking.of sheep)	writing Ar. accusative **not** as in Ar.
tàfiyàr̃ ruwaa	(walking.of water)	1) infantile convulsions 2) Engl. cursive writing

The VNCs **tàfiyàr̃-kuuraa**, **tàfiyàr̃-tunkìyaa** and **tàfiyàr̃-ruwaa** are all associated with writing styles, the movements of the hyena, sheep and water being metaphorically associated with the writing.

taashìn-gwauron zàaboo	(rising.of male.of guinea-fowl)	Suddenly outdistancing contemporaries

This VNC refers to how the single male guinea-fowl (**gwauroo** is a man whose wife – his only wife – has left him) rises into the air on seeing something interesting. The expression **fàr̃aashìi yaa yi taashìn-gwauron-zàaboo** means 'prices rose sharply'.

taashìn-zuucìyaa	(rising.of heart)	nausea
tòotsiyar̃-kàree	(placing.sticks.of dog)	asymmetrical teeth, esp. one behind other
tsàyuwar̃-watàa	(rising.of moon)	1) new moon 2) standing on hands
wankan-tar̃waɗaa	(washing.of catfish)	medium complexion
zùbar̃-gadoo	(pouring.away.of bed)	simultaneous downing of e.g. two wrestlers
zuwàn-kâi	(coming.of self)	ejaculation

[39] Here **kàr̃àatuu** is the subject by metaphorical extension: 'the studying has arrived'.

In **wankan-taɾ̃waɗaa**, the VN 'washing oneself' has a metaphorical meaning 'colour'.

3.3.1.4 VNCs with an adverb or noun expressing instrument, place, time, type or "quality compared"

In this section the word following the VN.L may be an adverb, an ideophone or a noun. These words (adverb, ideophone, noun) express instrument, place, time, type or quality compared. Examples with transitive verbs precede those with intransitive verbs.

In the first group, the word following the VN is an adverb or adverbial nominal (e.g. **hannu** < **hannuu**):

auren-doolè	(marriage.of "must"[40])	forced marriage
awòn-gàba	(measurement.of foreward)	1) headstart 2) in: **yi ~ dà X** whisk X away
dakàn-jiyà	(pounding.of yesterday)	petite p. (doesn't age quickly)
hàngen-neesà	(looking.of far.away)	foresight, forecast
haɾ̃bìn-dawà	(shooting.of bush)	disease caused by spirit
yîn-hannu	(doing.of hand)	handmade

In the next examples the N indicates an instrument; the VN is transitive:

awòn-igiyàa	(measurement.of rope)	1) extremely tall or long 2) plot of land being measured in traditional manner using rope
gooyon-baayaa	(carrying.of back)	support

In the following examples **kaskoo** is the place where the 'shooting' takes place ("magically shooting soul of enemy in pot of water" [A501]) and **zuuci** is a denominal adverb (from **zuucìyaa** 'heart'):

haɾ̃bìn-kaskoo	(shooting.of small.bowl)	evil magic
saaƙàɾ̃-zuuci	(weaving.of heart)	1) contemplation, 2) pondering

In the next group of examples the N(P) following the linker indicates the type of activity associated with the VN, restricting or adding precision to its meaning; the VNs are from transitive verbs:

[40] The word **doolè** is a 'modal adverbial' [PN591].

auren-sadakàa	(marriage.of alms)	marriage of alms in which bride's father waives brideprice
auren-sôn-zuucìyaa	(marriage.of love.of heart)	temporary marriage

Under Islamic law **auren-sôn-zuucìyaa** is forbidden; the phrase **sôn-zuucìyaa** is itself a VNC.

auren-sòoyayyàa	(marriage.of love)	love marriage
dakàn-kuukàa	(pounding.of crying)	banging a load on someone's head
ɗaurìn-taalaalaa	(tying.of looseness)	1) loose knot 2) house arrest

In the next example the N following the linker expresses the quality compared (following the verb **fi** 'exceed'):

fîn-ƙarfii	(excess.of strength)	in: **an yi manà ~**

The sentence **an yi manà fîn-ƙarfii** means 'they were stronger than us, we were outmatched, etc.'

juuyìn-jùuyà-haalì	(turn.of change situation)	revolution (pol.)
kaamùn dàacee	(catching.of appropriateness)	in: **yaa yi ~** he hit the nail on the head

In **juuyìn-jùuyà-haalì**, **jùuyà-haalì** (a verbal compound of described in 2.2.5.2.2) expresses the circumstances in which **juuyìi** takes place. In **kaamùn-dàacee** the word **dàacee** expresses the manner in which **kaamùu** 'catching' is done.

saaran-dare	(chopping.of night)	stealing fencing at night for firewood
saaran-gàyyaa	(chopping.of collective.work)	drumming to announce collective work

In **saaran-dare** the adverb **dare** 'night' indicates the time of the action. In **saaran-gàyyaa** the word **saaraa** is used metaphorically and **gàyyaa** expresses the circumstances in which **saaraa** takes place.

In the next group of examples the VNs are from intransitive verbs. In the first group we find an N or adverb, mostly indicating place:

gudùn-dawà	(running.of bush)	diarrhea
kwaanan-gidaa	(spending.night.of home)	sleeping at one's paramour's house (house of prostitute or that of her client)

kwaanan-keesòo	(spending.night.of mat)	corpse (to be buried in morning) spending night at home
rawaƒ-daajìi	(dance.of bush)	military manoeuvres
taashìn-ƙauyèe	(rising.of village)	bumpkin

In the next group the N indicates time:

taashen-bàlagàa	(rising.of maturity)	adolescent sexual urge
taashìn àsùbâa	(rising.of dawn[.prayer])	Qur'anic school session at dawn
taashìn-kìyaamàa	(rising.of perusia)	day of judgement

In one example we have a deverbal adverb expressing state:

zaman-tàare	(living.of together)	social interaction, living together

In the following examples the N(P) complements the VN indicating either a type of activity or as state:

gudùn-gyaaran daagaa	(running.of repairing.of frontline)	strategic retreat
gudùn-hijiƒaa	(running.of flight)	being in exile, seeking asylum

The VNC **gudùn-hijiƒaa** is used in **ɗan gudùn-hijiƒaa** to mean 'refugee'. The verbal noun **gudùu** in the three examples above is intransitive (from **gudù** 'run'); this contrasts with **gudùn duuniyàa** (3.3.1.1) in which **gudùu** is transitive (see footnote 35).

kwaanan-azancii	(spending.night.of talking.sense)	smartness, intelligence
kwaanan-zàncee	(spending.night.of talking)	story behind sth., reason for doing sth.
kwaanan-zàune	(spending.night.of sitting)	1) bride's spending night with friends on eve of going to groom's house 2) spending night doing sth. important

The second meaning of **kwaanan-zàune** generally has a religious connotation: e.g. spending the night reading the Qur'an, remembering the birthday of the Prophet.

tsayìn-dakàa	(stance.of pounding)	firmness (of stance)
tsàyuwaƒ-dakàa	(stance.of pounding)	firmness (of stance)
zaman-aƒzìkii	(living.of wealth)	living happily
zaman-tsìyaa	(living.of poverty)	living unhappily

3.3.1.5 VNCs where N2 of the NP is the subject of the VN

The following examples are a selection of VNCs with an NP in which the first noun following the linker is the NDO of the (transitive) verb and the second noun is the subject.:

cîn-ƙwan màkaunìyaa	(eating.of egg.of blind.woman)	doing too much of same thing, or again and again
cîn-kùnaamàr̃ ƙàdangarèe	(eating.of scorpion.of lizard)	painful gain pyrrhic victory
ɗaukàn-dumam magàajii-dà-niishìi	(lifting.of gourd.of heir with groaning)	irrelevant anger

In the last compound the phrase **dà niishìi** is an adverbial adjunct.

ɗiibàn-karan mahaukacìyaa	(taking.of straw.of madwoman)	grabbing and throwing so./sth. out, especially so./sth. weaker
jiràn-gàawon shaanuu	(waiting.of acacia.of cattle)	waiting for sth. good

In **jiràn-gàawon-shaanuu** the cattle are seen to be waiting for the acacia tree to come into leaf, an event which occurs in the *dry* season; it therefore represents something good.

kallon-hadarìn kàajii	(observing.of storm.of chickens)	glaring, contemptuous look
kaamùn gafiyàr̃-Ɓaidù	(catching.of bushrat.of Ɓ)	in: **bìyù byûu ~**[41]
shân-ruwan raaƙumàa	(drinking.of water.of camels)	doing thing occasionally

The VNC **shân-ruwan-raaƙumàa** is an adverb; e.g. in the expression **zuwànmù ~** (lit.: coming.of.us ~) 'we only come occasionally'.

sôn-ràaƙumin yâaraa	(liking.of camel.of children)	1) childish "crush" 2) wanting sth. aslong as it remains at a distance
yankan-kùnkurun Bàlaa	(cutting.of tortoise.of Bala)	merciless treatment

There is one intransitive example with a structure similar to the above transitive structure; here the first noun following the linker is

[41] The tone lowering on the first member of **bìyù-byû** (two-two) is one of the few instances in which tone lowering affects a part of speech other than a verb. The expression **bìyù-byû: kaamùn-gafiyàr̃-Ɓaidù** means "falling between two stools".

the place (tree) on which the second noun (lizard) is walking. The slow pace of the lizard on the tree gives the meaning:

tàfiyàř-itàacen ƙàdangarèe	(walking.on tree.of lizard)	procrastination

3.3.1.6 VNCs with a "cranberry"

In a few cases the N (or ideophone **kwaf**) only occurs in the compound and has no known meaning outside of it. These words ("cranberries") are discussed in chapter 6.3.6. Here are six examples: 4 transitive, 2 intransitive:

cîn-mùmmùƙee	(eating.of ?)	covert persecution
ganin-kwaf	(seeing.of ?)	inquisitive desire to see the very last of a display
haɗìn-gàmbiizàa	(joining.of ?)	1) combination of things (esp. clothes) that do not go well together 2) (temporary) coalition
kisàn-gillàa	(killing.of ?)	1) massacre 2) cold-blooded murder

In **kisàn-gillàa** the word **gillàa** may be a VN (from the gr1 verb **gillàa** 'do excessively' or gr4 **gillèe** 'sever the head'); as far as I know it is only used in this VNC.

The next two examples are intransitive:

ɓatàn-ɓàkàtantàn	(getting.lost.of ?)	loss of both (of two) opportunities
tsallen-baɗakee	(jumping.of ?)	hurdles (in athletics)

3.3.1.7 VNCs with noun, adverb, numeral or second VN – and no linker

A handful of VNCs have a verbal noun with no linker; the VN is followed by a noun, an adverb, a numeral or a second VN. There are 3 examples with a transitive VN and an adverb:

cîi-baaya	(eating backwards)	regression, reactionary attitude
cîi-gàba	(eating forwards)	civilisation, progress; continuation
duukàa-wuyà	(beating neck)	name of Kano city gate

Three examples have two verbal nouns without a linker:

duukàa-ɗaukàa	(beating taking)	mature girl ready for marriage

saaraa-duukàa	(slashing beating)	in: **'yan ~** unruly or violent youths
saaraa-suukàa	(slashing piercing)	thuggery

In one example the VN is followed by a numeral; it literally means '(a) thousand piercings':

suukàa-dubuu	(piercing thousand)	embroidered cap decorated with holes

In a further example the VN is followed by **dà** 'with' and a noun:

jîi-dà-kâi	(feeling with self)	pride, self-esteem

Five such VNCs have an intransitive VN followed by a noun indicating place or activity or by an adverbial adjunct. In the first two examples, the noun indicates place:

kwaanaa-keesòo	(spending.night mat)	epithet of ostentatious but penniless young man

The VNC **kwaanaa-keesòo** has an (almost) equivalent with a linker: **kwaanan-keesòo**; but its meaning is different (see 3.3.1.4).

shìgaa-jirgii	(entering train)	in: **maatansù sun ìsa maatan ~**

The VNC **shìgaa-jirgii** is used in the sentence **maatansù sun ìsa maatan shìgaa-jirgii** (women.of.them 3plCOMPL reach women.of entering train; [A627]) 'their women are very pretty'. Here the verb implies comparison and **maatan shìgaa-jirgii** is, grammatically, the quality compared (see the discussion on the verb **fi** 'exceed' in 3.1.3).

In the following example the noun indicates the activity pursued at a particular time:

kwaanaa-rawaa	(spending.night dancing)	tinkling ear-pendant

The final pair of examples have a VN with an adverbial adjunct:

shìgaa-bâa biyàa	(entering without paying)	caged police van
shìgaa-shaƒò bâa-shaanuu	(entering ritual.test without cattle)	meddlesomeness

The adjuncts in the above compounds add information about the "entering". In the first it is a police van which is entered (and which one does not have to pay for!). In the second example what is entered is the ritual test which Fulani youths undergo as a rite of passage into adulthood; trying to "enter" without paying cattle means that one has no right to enter.

3.3.2 Final remarks on VNCs

The distribution of I-, H- and L-verbs in VNCs does not seem to be significant: one finds VNs of gr1 (H-verbs), gr2 (L-verbs) and I-verbs; this reflects everyday Hausa. The phonology of the VNCs does not differ in any way from that of VN phrases in normal Hausa syntax.

3.4 Summary

Various compounds have been examined in this chapter: verbal compounds with a PAC preceding the first verb (3.1), singular and plural **ma-**verbal compounds (3.2) and verbal noun compounds (3.3). These compounds were examined in terms of verb type, internal syntax and, in the case of the **ma-**verbal compounds, in terms of their morpho(phono)logy.

Chapter 4
Phonological Markers of Noun and Verb and Phonological Reduction in Verbal Compounds

In this chapter a number of themes mentioned in chapters 2 and 3 are discussed: phonological markers of the noun (final vowel shortening) and verb (imperative and tone lowered forms) as well as two kinds of phonological reduction.

Final vowel shortening generally marks the noun direct object in a verbal compound; this is the theme of section 4.1. In 4.2 tone lowering and the imperative form in compounds are discussed; in 4.2.1 I show that tone lowering is the true marker of compounds; in 4.2.2 I summarise compound types other than V+X. In section 4.3 I look at two kinds of phonological reduction: in 4.3.1 I look at a kind of phonological reduction which, to my knowledge, has never been discussed: **bàa** < **bàa dà**. The various claims concerning the phonological reduction underlying the **ban**-N compounds (see chapter 2.2.2.2) are examined in 4.3.2. In section 4.3.3 I show that a handful of compounds with a (surface) imperative form are *not* imperative; rather they are phonological reductions of a verb and a preposition or particle – a "pseudo-imperative" form.

4.1 Final vowel shortening

Final vowel shortening is found in compounding – generally marking the noun direct object in a two–member verbal compound – but is not restricted to compounding. It is used to mark nouns used as names – including verbal compounds which have lexicalised as nouns[1]. Its function in compounding is ambiguous.

Gouffé (1965:207) was the first to analyse final vowel shortening in compounds and in names. He showed that, in many verbal compounds, the final vowel of compound final nouns was shortened

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[1] Final vowel shortening is also used to mark nouns used adverbially (see R. M. Newman, 1984:161-74). These are relatively frequent, e.g. **à hannu** 'in the hand' (< **hannuu** 'hand'), **dà ƙafà** 'on foot' (< **ƙafàa** 'foot'). In some verbal compounds the final nouns have short final vowels marking them as *adverbial*, a process which occurs *prior* to compounding (here: **gurbìi** 'hole', **wuyàa** 'neck' and **baayaa** 'back'):

bàrà-gurbì	(leave.in nest)	1) Person or thing left after others have gone. 2) eggs left unhatched, addled egg
ɗàukàa-wuyà	(carry.on neck)	child carried on shoulders
kòomàa-baaya	(return back)	reactionary person/ideology

and constitutes the principle marker of compounding: "[...] sa voyelle finale se trouve le plus souvent abrégée [...] et [...] constitue [...] la principale marque formelle de l'unité du composé [...]" He showed that final vowel shortening marks various kinds of compounds: V+X, N(+L)+N and "composés-phrases" (1965:207-209).

If Gouffé (1965) was the first to notice final vowel shortening in compounds, Ahmad (1994) was the first to give it further precision. Despite some refinements to Ahmad's conditions (McIntyre 1998 and below), the exact rule remains unclear.

I maintain here that, while final vowel shortening is regularly found in verbal compounds – normally shortening the final vowel of the noun in *two-member* V+NDO compounds (see 4.1.1 and 4.1.2) - the exceptions (4.1.3) require explanation. One complication (4.1.4) arises from the fact that, when a compound is felt to be fully lexicalised (normally becoming a single word), the final vowel will be (re-) lengthened. In 4.1.5 I look at the possible overlap of two separate functions of final vowel shortening: its 'naming' function and its 'compound marking' function. I cannot offer a watertight definition of final vowel shortening in verbal compounds.

4.1.1 Ahmad's final vowel shortening conditions

In this section, Ahmad's conditions for the application of final vowel shortening are described. Ahmad (1994:61-2) stipulates three conditions for final vowel shortening to occur in verbal compounds (the emphasis is mine):

> 1) "[...] a long final vowel shortens when it occurs on a *final noun* member of the compound [...]",
> 2) "Compounds affected by this [...] are all *verb initial* [...]"
> 3) "[and] the compound-initial verb [must] have *low tone*, at least on its first syllable."

The three conditions are confirmed in the following examples where the final vowel of the *final nouns* (**sartsèe**, **maasuu**, **roogòo**, **dangìi** and **aikìi**) is shortened; the compounds are *verb initial* and the compound-initial verb has *low tone* at least on its first syllable:

fid-dà-sartsè	(remove splinter)	a (medicinal) shrub
gòogàa-maasu	(rub spears)	a kind of weed
gàsoo-roogò	(roast cassava)	fool
ƙàr̃-dangì	(finish family)	1) arrow poison 2) type of weaver bird
ƙàaree-aikì	(finish work)	1) industrious p.; 2) kind of Indian hemp

One obvious reason for final vowel shortening being found on a noun is that the final vowel of a noun can, mostly, be shortened; pronouns (PDO-frame) and many verbs (found as final members of ∅DO- and basic intransitive frames) end with a short final vowel.

The fact that final vowel shortening only applies to final *nouns* is confirmed in the following example, where the final vowel of the *adverb* **ƙùrii** 'open-eyed' does *not* undergo final vowel shortening:

kwàntà-ƙùrii	(lie.down open.eyed)	chaperone

Again, if the verb does not begin with a *low tone*, the final vowel does not shorten. In the following examples, the verb retains its finite (HL) form and the final vowel does not shorten:

fasà-fushii	(break anger)	children's game: throwing white-earth balls at wall

A handful of verbal compounds has two forms, one with a verb in the finite form (HL unmarked) and the other with the verb in the (LL) imperative; in the unmarked compound there is no final vowel shortening; in the compound where the verb begins with a low tone the final vowel is shortened:

cikà-fagee	(fill space)	type of shrub
cìkà-fage	(fill space)	type of shrub
gamà-gàrii	(joining town)	roving
gàmà-gàri	(joining town)	roving

These examples show that Ahmad's three conditions for final vowel shortening apply. In McIntyre (1998) I suggested some refinements to these conditions; these refinements are described in the next section.

4.1.2 Exceptions to – and refinements of – Ahmad's final vowel shortening conditions

The refinements to Ahmad (1994) concern conditions 1 and 2. The exceptions to his second condition (compounds where final vowel shortening occurs are "all *verb initial*[2]") are quickly dealt with: final vowel shortening is found in some compounds which are not "verb initial", i.e. on some N.L+N, ADJ.L+N or N+N compounds[3].

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[2] Ahmad (1994:59-60) is aware of tone lowering on N.L+N and ADJ.L+N compounds; he simply overlooks this fact when formulating this rule.

[3] Birgit Hellwig (p.c.) says that, in (West Chadic) languages of the Angas (or Ngas) branch, a low tone marking "the first part of nominal compounds" is widespread and is also a productive marker of a phrase linked by a genitive.

gàashìn-bàaki	(hair.of mouth)	moustache
jàn-farcè	(red.of nail)	nail polish
jàn-bàaki	(red.of mouth)	lipstick
màatàa-maza	(women-men)	hermaphrodyte

The exceptions to Ahmad's first condition ("[...] a long final vowel shortens when it occurs on a *final noun* member of the compound [...]") are more interesting. In describing final vowel shortening on nouns Ahmad (1994:61 ff.) says "Out of 116 verb-initial compounds with nominal second members, 104 have short final vowels; only 12 have long final vowels." He does not offer any explanation.

In the first group of examples below we find compounds with more than two members; the verb (first member) has low tone at least on the first syllable, the final member is a noun. According to Ahmad's conditions this noun should undergo final vowel shortening, but it does not (all except the first example are from Ahmad 1994:156, 160):

bàř-ni-dà-muugùu	(leave me with ugliness)	1) acne 2) flabby muscles
ɗàuki-bâa-daɗìi	(take there.is.no addition)	combat, confrontation
sàa-bàbba-saatàa	(make big.one steal)	large beans
sàa-hànkàakii daakòo	(make crows waiting)	type of herb
tàyaa-ni-muunìi	(help me ugliness)	protruding cheek bones

In the second example above, **daɗìi** is the complement of **bâa** 'there is no'. In the other examples the final noun expresses a quality or activity associated with the direct object of the verb.

In the next examples we have verbal compounds where the final noun is the direct object, following the indirect object:

bàa-ta-kaashii	(give her shit)	turmoil
bàrà-gadoo-gaashìi	(leave hair bed)	epithet of man slow to ejaculate
gàyà-bàaƙoo-gidaa	(tell guest house)	epithet of cock

In the next two examples, the final noun is part of the direct object – composed of a noun, genitive linker and noun:

bìi-bìi-san-dookìi	(follow follow step.of horse)	adult's tickling child's arm
cìkà-bàakin-guzumaa	(fill mouth.of old.cow)	stunted corn

In the following example we find a two member compound (at least on the surface, though I suggest the "verb" is a phonological

reduction of the verb and particle, see 4.3.3.1); the noun is an indirect object:

bàrà-magàadaa (**bàrà < bàr̃ wà**)	(leave.to/for heirs)	work well done

Looking at the above examples we can say that final vowel shortening seems to be restricted to verbal compounds which have two members and where the first member is a transitive verb with a low tone at least on the first syllable and the second member is a noun direct object. I thus re-write Ahmad's conditions as follows:

1) A long final vowel shortens when it occurs on the final *noun* member of a *two-member* compound.

2) The first member of such compounds is *mostly* a verb (but some compounds with a *noun* or *adjective* as first member also undergo final vowel shortening); the second member, the NDO, is affected.

3) The first member of such compounds must have a low tone, at least on its first syllable.

A further condition is discussed in chapter 5.2.3.2: NDOs following a gr2 verb in a compound do not undergo final vowel shortening.

4.1.3 The application of final vowel shortening – and further exceptions

The conditions outlined above seem clear enough, however I shall show here that their application is not uniform[4]. This lack of clarity and what it means for the validity of the above conditions is discussed here. In 4.1.4 and 4.1.5 I offer a partial explanation.

Here we shall see that the speaker's understanding of syntax as well as his or her feeling for analogy seems to play a part in whether or not final vowel shortening is applied. In the first examples, we find a short final vowel where a long vowel would be expected:

bàa-ta-kaashi(i)	(give her excrement)	turmoil
tàyaa-ni-rèeno(o)	(help me look.after.child)	1) lines on face 2) flabby triceps

The first example in this pair is given by Ahmad with a short final vowel; other speakers use a long final vowel. According to the

[4] I collected my information on final vowel shortening mostly informally, listening to speakers in the German Radio, often on tape so that I was able to double-check. Gouffé (1965:199) suggests an excellent way of testing long or short final vowels, by asking speakers to pronounce words either followed by the stabiliser **nee**/**cee** or inside the negative **bàa…ba**. This method is sound but its formality was strange for the radio journalists I asked.

conditions suggested above, the final vowel should be long. My interpretation of Ahmad's final vowel shortening is that he feels that **bàa ta** is cliticised[5], i.e. the compound is a two-member compound with **kaashii** as a simple NDO. Speakers who do not shorten the final vowel feel that there is both a pronoun indirect object and a noun direct object. The second example, **tàyaa-ni-rèeno(o)**, is mentioned by Gouffé (1965:209) who marks the final noun with a *short* final vowel. This might also be explained as the speaker's interpretation of the pronoun object (**ni**) as clitic.

In the next two examples the final vowel should be long – according to my conditions – but I have also heard it short:

bàa-shirwà(a)	(give kite [=bird])	in: **ɗam ~**[6]
kashè-wàndo(o)	(kill trousers)	in: **zaman ~** unemployment

The final vowel in **shirwàa** should, strictly speaking, be long since the object is indirect; in **kashè-wàndoo** the noun should retain its long final vowel since the verb has not undergone tone lowering. Perhaps speakers who shorten the final vowel do so by analogy: they feel that final vowel shortening applies to all two-member compounds, irrespective of the syntactic status of the object or the phonological marking (tone) of the verb.

This interpretation may well apply to the short final vowel in three compounds with the gr7 (intransitive L-) verb **gàm** (< **gàmu** 'meet') and a sociative object:

gàm-dà-harì	(meet with battle)	1) black stork 2) p. bringing ill luck
gàm-dà-kàtaƙ	(meet with luck)	good luck
gàm-dà-yaaƙì	(meet with war)	= **gàm-da-harì**

The sociative objects should *not* undergo final vowel shortening. However the fact that the verb seems to have the clipped form of a gr5 transitive H-verb (such clipped forms are *not* documented for gr7 verbs) means that the sociative object may be felt to be a direct object, and thus undergoes final vowel shortening. (Concerning the possible

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[5] Commenting on the relationship between the verb **baa** and its pronoun, Jaggar (1982:154, n. 14) saw it as "a vestige of a *bound* indirect object suffix" (my emphasis). Schmaling's (1991:46) claim that no modal particle (modal particles function as stilistic devices in Hausa) may appear between a verb and such a pronoun seems to support this interpretation.

[6] My colleague, Mahamane L. Abdoulaye, pronounces **shirwàa** with a short final vowel. The full expression is **ɗam bàa-shirwàa, mazàawòoyin kàasuwaa** (son.of give kite [=bird], defecator.of market) 'someone threatening to defecate in market unless paid not to do so'.

switch of form, see chapter 5.2.3.4.) A further example of a sociative object with a short final vowel is found in Ahmad (1995:155): **gayyàa** 'revenge' in **tùmàa-dà-gayyà** 'biting black ant'.

In the above, it seems that the speaker's feel for syntax and/or analogy play a role in using a long final vowel when a short final vowel might be expected. In the following examples the noun should undergo final vowel shortening, but I have also heard them with long final vowels:

bìi-raana(a)	(follow sun)	a shrub
bùgà-zàabi(i)	(beat guinea-fowl)	short-toed eagle
kàamà-kûnne(e)	(catch ear)	game
ƙàarèe-dangì(i)	(finish family)	potent charm for warrior

In the next example, the compound final member is an adverbial noun – **inuwà** (< **inuwàa**) – and final vowel shortening precedes compounding (see footnote 1 above). Yet I have heard the final vowel in **zàunàa inuwà** long:

zàunàa-inuwà(a)	(sit.in shade)	type of dwarf guinea-corn

I have heard three speakers[7] uttering the following examples with either a long or a short final vowel (according to the rule, it should be short):

ɓàatà-gàri(i)	(spoil town)	undesirable element
gàmà-gàri(i)	(join town)	in: **bàbban yaajìn aikìi ~** general strike

The following example has *four* variations in its phonological marking. In three of them the final vowel of the compound final noun is long; there are three different verb forms and, in one case, a possible difference in meaning:

a) **wàashèe-gàrii**	(clear town)	the next day
b) **wàashè-gàrii**	(clear town)	the next day
c) **wàashè-gàri**	(clear town)	the next day
d) **wàashee-gàrii**	(clear town)	1) the next day 2) epithet of chief

Ahmad (1994:62 and 132-4) accounts for the long final vowel in (a) by saying that it is fully lexicalised, i.e. the compound has become a single word, its status as a compound having been forgotten. I have heard (b) and (c) in both conversation and radio programmes. I have heard (d) with the meaning 'epithet of a chief' from one speaker[8] but

[7] M. Gama, I. Nafaɗa and Ahmed Tijani Lawal in the German Radio.

[8] M. Salim who worked in the Hausa Service of the Voice of Germany (Deutsche Welle) Radio Station, Cologne from 1995-1997.

the speaker in the 'Spoken Hausa' cassettes (Cowan and Schuh 1976:133) uses exactly the same tones and vowel lengths to mean 'the next day'. These several forms may result from the fact that the word is in daily use; they may also be dialectal.

Despite the exceptions described above, I feel that final vowel shortening *typically* applies to two-member verbal compounds with the structure V+NDO. Some 326 of 359 compounds with a NDO are two-member compounds – with a *simple* NDO. Compounds with this syntax seem to be prototypical compounds.

In the next section further reasons for the lack of uniformity in applying the conditions attached to final vowel shortening are suggested.

4.1.4 Final vowel shortening, lexicalisation and a possible remnant of Old Hausa

Modern Hausa nouns generally end with a long final vowel; when they fully lexicalise, compounds may also take a long final vowel. Here, I shall look at the possibility that this feature interferes in the application of the final vowel shortening rule. I shall also examine a counter-suggestion, viz., that final nouns in compounds contain the Old Hausa *short* final vowels.

Fused compounds are fully lexicalised and have a long final vowel. In the following examples, the full form of the verb in the compound is shown in brackets – alongside the adverb **gàba**, the noun **faadà** or pronoun **nì**. All (including the noun **faadà**) have a short final vowel which lengthens:

fàř̃gàbaa (< **fàaɗi-gàba**)	(fall forwards)	fear
jàkaadàa (< **jèe-ka-faadà**)	(go you palace)	palace messenger
shùugàbaa (< **shìga-gàba**	(go.in ahead)	leader
sòosoonìi (< **sòosoo-nì**)	(come.scratch me)	1) irritating skin disease 2) excessive sexuality in a woman[9]

Jaggar (p.c.) suggested that the non-application of final vowel shortening in compounds which have *not* fused (although it would be expected) might be explained by speakers' lengthening the final vowel in *analogy* to fused compounds, i.e. because because they *feel* the

[9] The following may also be fused compounds:
a) **fàacàakaa** ?< **fàacaa à kaa** (?blow on.head) 'squandering' (see **faacèe** 'blow nose')
b) **gàmshèeƙaa** ?< **gàmà shèeƙaa** (join nest) 'black-hooded cobra'
c) **gàmzaakìi** ?< **gàmà zaakìi** (join lion) 'morning star, invincible th., p.'.

compound is fully lexicalised. This is a possible explanation and parallels the motivation mentioned above (4.1.3) concerning the speaker's intuition of the syntax.

However in Jaggar 2001 (p. 20, n.2) this author offers a completely different interpretation for short final vowels in compounds: "The final short vowel on the rightmost noun [of phonologically-marked compounds] is presumably a retention of the historically original short vowel […]" - an interpretation which makes a final vowel *shortening* rule superfluous.

It is widely accepted that final vowels on Hausa nouns and adjectives were historically short (see Greenberg 1978) and this interpretation might offer a simple explanation for the exceptions which need to be explained, viz., *some* nouns retain the (old) short vowel, *others* have the (more recent) long vowel. However, this interpretation does not explain the rules offered above (4.1.2), which establish a strong tendency for final vowel shortening to affect the final vowel of *noun direct objects* in *two-member* verbal compounds; nor does it explain the link established between final vowel shortening and the low tone on the first member of a compound[10]. I suggest it has no bearing on the present discussion.

4.1.5 Final vowel shortening – a naming device

In this section I look at final vowel shortening in naming and in compounds, showing that the two functions overlap and that 'naming' may account for final vowel shortening in compounds other than V+NDO compounds.

Abraham (1934) mentions that many Hausa names are formed by shortening the final vowel of a common noun. He suggested (1934:37-38) that the short final vowel on a common noun indicates that the word is a **laƙàbii** or nickname and gives thirteen 'nickname-noun' pairs including the fairly common name **Bàaƙo** (< **bàaƙoo** 'guest, stranger'), the name given to a child born during the night (those living in the house awake to find a 'guest' in the house) or to a child born when a particular guest or stranger was in the house or vicinity. Gouffé (1965:206) gives the name **Àlgaità** (< **àlgaitàa** 'type of oboe'), the title of an official oboe player of an emir or chief. Other such names are found in Newman [PN340f] and Jaggar [PJ37f]:

[10] Newman [PN116] also says that "[v]owel shortening […] is dependent on tone changes […]"

Doogo (< **doogoo** ‘tall’), **Saabo** (< **saaboo** ‘new’) and **Yaarò** (< **yaaròo** ‘boy’). Newman [PN199] suggests a further area in which final vowel shortening marks names: it is used to name *games* (his examples are single words, not compounds). He adds, however, that this is “*not synchronically productive*” (my emphasis).

While the above names are single words, there are names with two words which shorten the final vowel (see Newman [PN340f] and Jaggar [PJ37f]): **Mài Kanò** ‘one ruling (city of) **Kanòo**’, **Màikuɗi** ‘one with **kuɗii** (money)’, **Màirìiga** ‘one with **rìigaa** (gown)’ and **Ta Sallà** < **ta** ‘one.of [= independent possessive] **sallàa** (Muslim festival)’. A further example of final vowel shortening is found in the (nominal) compound **ɗan kaamà** (son.of catch) ‘professional comedian’; **kaamà** seems to be an unmarked ∅DO-form of the verb **kaamàa** ‘catch’ – with a short final vowel.

However, there are phonological restrictions on *which* final vowels may be shortened. Newman [PN344] says that final vowel shortening is *not* extended to names “[…] with a final high tone –**a** and a light penultimate syllable […]”, e.g.: **Màitamaa** ‘one with **tamaa** (iron ore)’ and **Màiwàdaa** ‘one with **wàdaa** (wealth)’. Jaggar [PJ44] describes the same feature in the names of towns – specifically, names which are derived locatives (with a **ma**– prefix and an integrating H* tone pattern). Those with a final –**ii** are shortened, e.g. **Malumfaashi** < **lumfàasaa** ‘breathe’, while those with a final –**aa** are shortened only when the penultimate syllable has a long vowel: **Majeema** < **jeemàa** ‘tan (leather)’, **Mahuuta** < **huutàa** ‘rest’. Final vowels remain *long* when the penultimate syllable has a short vowel: **Malaɓaa** < **laɓèe** ‘crouch’, **Mararrabaa** < **rarràbaa** ‘divide up’.

Perhaps these phonological details explain the presence – or not – of final vowel shortening in singular **ma-** compounds: those ending in –**ii** shorten the final vowel (see Newman [PN120]), e.g.:

majàa-cikì	(one.drawing belly)	name of spirit, snake’
majìi-daaɗi	(one.feeling pleasure)	a traditional title

In the following examples, with a final –**aa** but a short penultimate vowel, the final vowels are not shortened:

magàa-watàa	(one.seeing moon)	proper name
mashàa-ruwaa	(one.drinking rain)	rainbow

We might assume that singular **ma-** compounds with a long vowel in the penultimate syllable and ending in –**aa** would shorten the final

vowel. However, I have no examples of singular **ma-** compounds with this structure[11].

Gouffé (1965) showed that final vowel shortening has several different functions in Hausa[12]. He was well aware of the discussion outlined above, i.e. that final vowel shortening is used to distinguish a common noun from a name. Furthermore, he was the first author to identify final vowel shortening used to mark compounds and was well aware of compounds *used as names*, referring to them (1965:209) as "dénominations pittoresques ou plaisantes".

The use of compounds as names is noted by Bauer (1988:35) who says they are used as: "[n]ames of people, animals and plants [...]." In Hausa verbal compounds, the naming and compound functions seem to come together, with many compounds used as names or epithets of plants, trees, birds, illnesses, medicines, body parts, persons, professions or activities associated with people[13].

Some lexicalised verbal compounds are used as names and (unlike those mentioned in 4.1.4, above) have short final vowels:

Shàakuɗi	(drink money)	name[14]
Shàaƙùbùutu	(drink writing)	child whose mother had hard confinement needing prayers for safe delivery

A number of fused compounds are names and were, at one time, verbal compounds. However, they have been phonologically reduced

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[11] There are, however, some singular **ma**- compounds which have a *heavy* penultimate syllable (underlined), i.e. with a short vowel and a consonant: **magàa-takàƙdaa** 'secretary' and **maƙii-wankaa** 'one who refuses to wash'. Here there is no final vowel shortening (cp. [PN120]).

[12] Gouffé (1965) showed that final vowel length distinguishes some verbal nouns from finite verbs; he showed that many nouns have a short (lexical) final vowel rather than a long one, correcting Bargery (1934) and Abraham (1949) whose marking of the length of the final vowels was often inaccurate. In his conclusion (p.209) Gouffé almost apologised for the fact that he may have given "une importance excessive" to a detail (final vowel shortening). His was an important contribution to a theme which is still not fully clear.

[13] Knappert (1965:215) says: "This variety [of compound, viz., noun prefix + (verb stem + noun)] is […] widely used to form names for the rich fauna and flora of East Africa" and (1965:217) is "[…]also frequently found among names of professions […]" Fleischer and Barz (1995) say that verbal compounds (they call them "Konversion von Sätzen") are still productive in German, often contain an imperative form (1995:214) and are often found in family names (1995:213).

[14] Thanks to Ludwig Gerhardt for this example: this was the name of the wife of one of his informants in Jos, Nigeria.

or "fused" (one or more syllables being affected) and end in long final vowels or diphthongs:

Cìidaa	< **Cìi-daawà**	(eat guinea-corn)
Cìigee	< **Cìi-geerò**	(eat millet)
Shaawai	< **shàa-wùya**	(drink trouble)[15]
Tambai	< **shàa-tàmbayàa**	(ask question)

The question here is whether 'naming' is a further motivation for some speakers to apply final vowel shortening in compounds. Since many compounds are names and many of the examples listed above have two members, it seems possible. However, if this motivation were widespread, the use of final vowel shortening on compounds which are names would surely *extend* the rules in 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 to all kinds of verbal compounds which are names, e.g. a) to those with more than two members, b) to those in frames other than NDO frames and c) to those in which the verb does *not* begin with a low tone. Such examples were mentioned in 4.1.3:

a) **tàyaa-ni rèeno**	(help me caring.for.child)	1) lines on face 2) flabby triceps
b) **bàa-shirwà**	(give kite [=bird])	in: **ɗam ~** someone threatening to defecate in market unless paid not to do so
c) **kashèe-wàndo**	(kill trousers)	in **zaman ~** unemployment

However, the above examples are exceptions. It seems that the 'naming' function of final vowel shortening does not regularly affect such compounds. Nevertheless, some speakers may be motivated to shorten a final vowel on a compound because it is a name or is *felt* to be a name.

4.1.6 Final vowel shortening – a conclusion

Final vowel shortening is an important feature in compounding, typically found in *two*-member V+NDO compounds and on a few singular **ma-** compounds with a NDO. This feature combines with tone lowered or imperative forms. However, it cannot affect verbal

[15] Bargery offers a transitive trisyllabic "clipped" gr4 verb in what is presumably a compound: **kàalùm-baaya(a)** (scrape afterwards) 'final gleaning' [B541]. The verb is a reduced form (presumably prior to compounding) of **kaalùmee** 'scrape together (leaves, etc.)'.

compounds with a final *pronoun*; their final vowels are, lexically, short. Nor is it found on a final *verb* member of a compound. (Theoretically, final vowel shortening could affect second-member H- or L-verbs in compounds in the ∅DO-frame – see chapter 2.2.4: these verbs end in a long final vowel.)

The fact that final vowel shortening and tone lowering mark some two-member N+N, N.L+N and ADJ.L+N compounds – see 4.1.2 above and 4.2.1.2 below – reinforces the idea that final vowel shortening occurs on two-member compounds ending with a noun.

Final vowel shortening seems to mark prototypical compounds, i.e compounds with the syntax 'verb plus simple NDO'; 326 of 581 V+X compounds have this syntax. I underline the importance of final vowel shortening in this frame in chapter 5.2 and 5.3, where I attach a certain significance to the fact that final vowel shortening is *not* found in V+NDO compounds in which the verb is a *gr2 verb*.

Ahmad's conditions (4.1.1) and the present author's refinements (4.1.2) largely explain the role of final vowel shortening in compounding; however, the exceptions in 4.1.3 suggest that the rule in 4.1.2 requires further explanation. Possible explanations for ignoring the final vowel shortening rule were offered: a) the (re-) lengthening of the final vowel of a compound to mark it as a fully lexicalised noun (4.1.4) opens up the possibility of final vowel *lengthening* by analogy; b) the use of final vowel shortening as a naming device (4.1.5) opens up the possibility of *shortening* a final vowel which should be long.

4.2 Phonological markers of the verb

Here I discuss the main phonological markers of the verb seen in chapters 2 and 3 (apart from plural **ma-** and VN.L+N compounds). In 4.2.1 I look at tone lowered and imperative forms, in 4.2.2 I offer some general comments on various compound types and in 4.2.3 I look at constraints on verb types (or verb grades) in certain frames.

Given the number of variables (phonological markers, syntactic frames, verb types and compound types) it is not possible to bring them together into a single framework (or, in practice, into a useful table) but useful generalisations concerning frequency and the relationships between them can be made.

4.2.1 Tone lowering and the imperative form; frame and verb type

In this section I look at the distribution of tone lowered and imperative forms and conclude that tone lowering – and lengthening of the final

vowel on the verb (see chapter 2.1.2.1) – are true phonological markers of verbal compounds.

Tables 2 and 2a summarise this information.

Table 2a: Markers of verb and frame[16]

Markers: /Frames:	IMP*	sg. ma-*	TL*	PsIMP	UM	PAC	pl.ma-	Totals
NDO:	156	1/ 23	166	-	37	27	15	**425**
PDO:	38	-	1	-	1	4	-	**44**
∅DO:	70	-	7	3	-	19	-	**99**
PIO:	43	/ 1	-	-	-	1	-	**45**
NIO:	1	-	2	10	-	-	-	**13**
Sub-total	**308**	**1/ 24**	**176**	**13**	**38**	**51**	**15**	626
[-T]:	25	/ 6	18	3	-	20	2	**74**
Totals	**333**	**1/ 30**	**194**	**16**	**38**	**71**	**17**	**700**

Table 2b: Markers of verb and frame (sg. **ma-** > IMP/TL)

Markers: /Frames:	IMP*	TL*	PsIMP	UM	PAC	pl.ma-	Totals
NDO:	157	189	-	37	27	15	**425**
PDO:	38	1	-	1	4	-	**44**
∅DO:	70	7	3	-	19	-	**99**
PIO:	43	1	-	-	1	-	**45**
NIO:	1	2	10	-	-	-	**13**
Sub-total	**309**	**200**	**13**	**38**	**51**	**15**	626
[-T]:	25	24	3	-	20	2	**74**
Totals	**334**	**224**	**16**	**38**	**71**	**17**	**700**

The above tables show the numerical distribution of compounds with tone lowered and imperative forms. Other markers are included to highlight the importance of these forms.

*In Table 2a the singular **ma-** compounds are "sandwiched" between imperative and tone lowered forms (1 singular **ma-** compound has an imperative form, 30 have a tone lowered form). In Table 2b, one singular **ma-** compound is found under imperative (NDO) and 30 under tone lowered forms (NDO, PIO and [-T]).

[16] Although I have no formal statistics, I feel that the distribution of frames in verbal compounds approximates to what one might expect in normal speech: 425 (approx. 60%) are NDO-frames, 44 (6%) are PDO-frames, 99 (15%) are ∅DO-frames, 45 (7%) are PIO-frames, 13 (2%) are NIO-frames and 74 (10%) are basic intransitive frames. Perhaps the number of NIO-frames in compounds is smaller than in normal speech. What is not seen in the table is that over 90% of compounds with an NDO-frame have a *simple* direct object; I would expect more complex NDOs in normal speech.

4.2.1.1 Tone lowered and imperative forms according to verb type (grade) and frame

Most of the compounds discussed in chapters 2 and 3 have either an imperative or a tone lowered form; see Table 3:

Table 3: The distribution of TL and IMP in grades and frames

		Frames					
Verb type	grade	NDO	PDO	∅DO	PIO	NIO	[-T]
I-verbs	gr0	*both*	IMP	*both*	?TL	-	-
	v*	*both*	IMP	IMP	IMP	*both*	*both*
	gr3b				-	-	IMP
H-verbs	gr1	*both*	IMP	*both*	IMP	IMP	*both*
	gr4	*both*	IMP	IMP	IMP	-	-
	gr5	IMP	?TL	-	-	-	
	gr6	IMP	-	IMP	-	-	IMP
L-verbs	gr2	IMP	IMP	IMP			
	gr3						*both*
	gr3a						?TL
	gr7						?TL

In some squares *both* IMP and TL are found. A question mark indicates that only one possible compound/form is found in this square; these are discussed in the text below. Shaded squares are frames in which a particular verb-grade cannot function; blank squares are frames in which verbs do not appear in compounds.

The above table shows the frames in which tone lowered and imperative forms appear according to verb type (I-, H- and L-verbs) and grades. Singular **ma-** compounds are subsumed under tone lowering and imperative (as in Table 2b); **ban**-N compounds are subsumed under imperative PIO-frames.

In this section I look at tone lowered and imperative forms in I-, H- and L-verbs in verbal compounds. The following distribution of these forms can be seen:

I-verbs:
The v* verbs are found in all frames, with imperative forms in the PDO, ∅DO and PIO-frames and both imperative and tone lowering in NDO, NIO and [-T] frames.

Grade 0 verbs are found in four frames: NDO, ∅DO, PDO and PIO. In NDO and ∅DO-frames, both tone lowering and imperative forms are found; in the PDO-frame, only the imperative is found. In

the PIO-frame only one compound is found: the tone lowered singular **ma**- compound, **mabìi masà**; this is commented on below.

Grade 3b verbs are only found with imperative forms.

H-verbs:
Grade 1 verbs are found in all frames. In three frames (NDO, ∅DO and [-T]) both tone lowering and imperative forms are found; in the other frames only imperative forms are found.

Grade 4 verbs are found in four frames: PIO (one example), NDO, PDO and ∅DO; they are mostly found with imperative forms but tone lowered forms are also found in the NDO-frame.

Grade 5 verbs are found in NDO-frames; a single compound with a PDO-frame (**zàmàn-dà-nii**) could be classified as an NDO (see below).

Grade 6 verbs are found with imperative forms in three frames: NDO, ∅DO and [-T].

L-verbs:
Grade 2 verbs are found in NDO-, PDO- and ∅DO-frames. All forms are imperative. (NB. No NIO/PIO-frames are found here; L-verbs borrow a H-form – generally gr1.)

Grade 3 and gr3a verbs are only found in the [-T] frame. Grade 3 verbs have both tone lowered and imperative forms. The single compound with a gr3a verb – **kwaana** 'spend the night'- is found with a phonologically reduced, tone lowered, form in the singular **ma-** compound, **makwàn-Kanòo** 'one spending the night in Kano'.

The gr7 verb **gàmu (dà)** should be in the [-T] frame. However, it appears as a gr5 verb with a tone lowered form and final vowel shortening on what becomes the NDO. This 'switch' of grade is discussed below (5.2.3.4 and 5.3.3.3).

Looked at from the perspective of the frames, we see some regular combinations: NDO, ∅DO and NIO-frames have *both* tone lowered *and* imperative forms in v*, gr0, gr1 and gr4 and *only* the imperative form in gr5, gr6 and gr2. In the [-T] frame both forms are found in v*, gr1 and gr3 while only the imperative form is found in gr6 and gr3b. There is one possible tone lowered form in gr3a (see above). In PIO and PDO-frames, there are only imperative forms – with one exception in each frame.

The three exceptions just referred to (in gr3a and in PIO and PDO-frames) are described briefly here:

The intransitive gr3a tone lowered singular **ma-** compound **makwàn-Kanòo** (ma:spend.night in.Kano) was accepted by colleagues I asked in the German Radio; I have never heard it (see McIntyre 1988b). The exceptional tone lowered (PIO-frame) singular **ma-** compound, **mabìi masà** (ma:follow him) is dialectal ("Bauci Hausa") and is accepted by few, if any, speakers of SH. The tone lowered (PDO-frame) **zàmàn-dà-nii** (lodge me) has the "independent pronoun" **nii** as its object; such pronouns can function syntactically as a noun; thus the phrase could be classified as an NDO-frame[17].

In summary, if we exclude the exceptions seen in Table 3 (above), then the imperative form is found in *all* the squares (i.e. frames) which are "occupied" in Table 3; tone lowered forms are found in nine of the "occupied" squares (i.e. imperative forms are also found in these nine squares) Verbs in compounds with a pronoun object (PDO or PIO) only have imperative forms. Furthermore, trisyllabic verbs and V+V compounds are only found with the imperative form.

Of the 700 compounds in my sample, 558 have a verb marked with either tone lowering or the imperative form. (The pseudo-imperative compounds – in 4.3.3 – are not included in this figure.) Of these 558 marked compounds some 224 (40%) are tone lowered while 334 (60%) have an imperative form.

4.2.1.2 Tone lowering and compounding

The distribution and numerical superiority of the imperative form give the impression that it is a more important marker of verbal compounds than tone lowering. However, while the imperative is found in more frames than tone lowering and its low tone parallels tone lowered compound forms it is not possible to say that the imperative form is a *formal* marker of compounds (see chapter 2.1.2).

I show here that tone lowering is found only in compounding (and a few fixed expressions) – but not only in verbal compounds. In compounds it is normally found on the first (verb) member of a compound, but is occasionally found on the second member (not always a verb); it is only found in compounds with one VP. In a few compounds tone lowering "spreads" from the verb to a phonologically reduced indirect object. In 4.3.3 (below) we shall see that some compounds have a form which looks like an imperative, but which is,

[17] Newman [PN652] calls both noun and pronoun objects of gr5 verbs "oblique objects of the particle **dà**". (NB. The final consonant -**n** is unusual: one would expect -**ř**.)

in fact, a phonologically reduced verb plus particle or preposition – and is tone lowered. Tone lowering is also found with numerals and in a few fixed expressions.

While tone lowering is generally found on the first verb of verbal compounds, including singular **ma-** compounds, it is, occasionally, found on the second member of a compound, occasionally on the second *verb*. The first example (below) has tone lowering on the adverb following the verb; the verb has an imperative form:

cìri-dàidài	(pull.out properly)	in: **an yi musù ~** the two of them have been shackled together by the feet

The next examples have tone lowered forms on a verb which is the second member of the compound: one V+V compound and one PAC+V compound:

kai-kòomòo	(take return)	movement
taa-zàagài	(3f.COMP go.round)	rope round donkey's neck

In the first compound one would expect the LH imperative form: **kòomoo** (Paul Newman (p.c.) has recorded this form); in the second, the clipped verb **zaagai** (< gr1 **zaagàyaa**) is tone lowered.

In three compounds with a PIO-frame we find both the verb and the phonologically reduced indirect object pronoun are tone lowered (see chapter 2.2.2.1):

cìi-màa-zàune	(eat for.you sitting)	sponger
shàa-màa-jikà	(drink for.you body)	chronic physical complaint, e.g. asthma
sài-màa-ƙùnshee	(buy for.you wrapped)	p. who proves better or worse than expected

A further example of tone lowering found on a compound member other than the verb is **kwàashi bàa daɗìi** (take.all there.is.no addition) 'dispute', where the word **bâa** 'there is not' is tone lowered.

In 4.3.3 (below) I argue that some apparent imperative forms are fused phonological reductions, calling them "pseudo-imperatives". Since they are not true imperative forms, they may also be considered as a kind of tone lowering:

gàyà-jinii-naa-wucèe (**gàyà** < **gàyaa wà**)	(tell blood 1.CMP passed.by)	sharp sword

kwàntà-ƙùrii (**kwàntà** < **kwàntaa à**)	(lie.down open.eyed)	chaperone
zàrgà-gungun (**zàrgà** < **zàrgaa à**)	(tie loosely)	loose knot

Tone lowering is sometimes found in N.L+N, ADJ.L+N and N+N compounds (see 4.1.2), e.g.:

gàashìn-bàaki	(hair.of mouth)	moustache
jàn-bàaki	(red.of mouth)	lipstick
màatàa-maza	(women-men)	hermaphrodyte

Numerals, titles and some fixed expressions are found with tone lowering in certain phrases. The first example is a reduplicated numeral[18]:

bìyù-byû (< **biyu** 'two') in: **sun yi minì ~** 'the two events occurred simultaneously' [A108]

In the second example with a numeral, the numeral combines with the long form of the SH "connector" **ɗin**: **ɗaanii** or **ɗiinii**[19]:

ùkù/gòomà (< **ukù/goomà** 'three/ten') **ɗaaninsù** (or **ɗiininsù)** 'three/ten of them'.

Some fixed expressions are also tone lowered:

ɗàngòolii ?< **ɗan-gòolii** (son.of goli – the latter is otherwise unknown) 'sixth finger or toe',
gàbà (< **gàba** 'front') **dai gàba dai** in: **'yan gàbà dai gàba dai** those at the forefront[20], and:
kàràa-zùbe (< **karaa** 'stalk') in: **an baɽ sù kàràa-zùbe** 'they were left lying around/all over the place'[21].

Jaggar [PJ42] records tone lowering in titles preceding a name ("depending on the speaker"), e.g.:

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18 In some languages numerals are considered to be compounds, e.g in Dutch, see Booij (2002:165-166).

19 The SH "connector" **ɗin** seems to be a phonological reduction of **ɗaanii**/ **ɗiinii** ([A188/A215]). To my knowledge, I have not heard these long forms in SH speech nor have they been mentioned by other authors.

20 I heard the following example: **Sharon nèe ɗaya dàgà cikin 'yan gàbà dai gàba dai wajen ginàa wà Yahuudaawaa màtsùgùnai à yankìn.** "Sharon is one of the foremost (protagonists) of building settlements in the region for Israelis." (DW 1998).

21 The word **kàndàgàrkii** 'protection' is possibly a tone lowered phonological reduction of **kàmaa(-n) dà gàrkii** (likeness with shields).

Dòktà (< **doktàa** ‘doctor’) **Baajìĩ** Dr. Bargery (author of the famous Hausa dictionary), and:
Kyàftìn (< **kyaftìn** ‘captain’) **Johnny Uku** Captain Johnny Uku

Tone lowering is found in V+X, N+N, N.L+N and ADJ.L+N compounds and in certain fixed expressions with numerals or diminutives, or in titles where words are combined. Perhaps all such might be considered as compounds[22].

I consider tone lowering to be the true marker of compounding. Tone lowered forms have a spread and an importance which is masked in the comparison with the imperative (4.2.1.1). In verbal compounds tone lowering is generally found on the first member of the compound, the verb. Tone lowering is found mostly in two-member compounds, most of which are V+NDO compounds; this includes singular **ma-** compounds, where a single example – an exception – has an imperative form (see chapter 3.2.1.1). Tone lowering co-occurs with lengthening of the final vowel of the verb (see chapter 2.1.2.1) and may affect phonologically reduced verb forms – forms (typically in gr4 and gr5, see chapter 2.1.2.2) found outside of compounding.

At least in its surface form, tone lowering is similar to the stress rules found in other languages, where “[t]here are often phonological processes – e.g. stress rules – that apply to compounds but not to phrases.” (Spencer 1991:313). Thus, in Hausa, tone lowered **wàashèe** in **wàashèe-gàri** can only combine the LL tone pattern (and long final vowel) if the verb is felt to be part of a compound and no longer felt as an independent member of a phrase[23]. Together with

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22 The function of tone lowering on the *first* member of Hausa N+N, N.L+N and ADJ.L+N compounds might be compared with Dutch and German. Booij (2002:141) mentions that the “[…] the stem of the first lexeme of a Dutch [nominal] compound may have a special ‘combining form’ in that it has an extra [s] or [ə] at the end […]”. German has a number of consonants – or “Fugenelemente” – which have the same function: -e(n)-, -e(e)-, -e-, -er-, -ens- or –∅-; see Fleischer and Barz (1995:138). Fleischer and Barz (1995:141) show that, when the first lexeme of a German compound is a verb – or “Verbales Erstglied” – the “Fugenelemente” are -∅- and, sometimes, -e-.

23 Thanks to Birgit Hellwig (p.c.) for pointing out this possibility. She suggests that the imperative form may be the starting point of (verbal) compounding and that tone lowering marks the compound when they are (almost) fully lexicalised. Such a process reflects what Booij (2002:173) describes for Dutch compounds: “[…] when compounds lose their semantic transparency, this may affect their phonetic form because they will then be prosodified as simplex words.”

the lengthening of the final vowel of the verb tone lowering marks the verb as *part of a compound*.

4.2.2 Compound types and frames

In this brief section I look at various kinds of compound: at unmarked compounds and compounds with a person-aspect complex; at singular and plural **ma-** compounds and at fused compounds. V+X compounds are not described here; the description of tone lowered and imperative forms in 4.2.1 above subsumes these compounds.

4.2.2.1 Unmarked V+X compounds and compounds with a PAC

Unmarked V+X compounds and PAC+V compounds have no phonological markers defining them as compounds.

Some 37 of 38 unmarked V+X compounds have a H-verb in a NDO-frame: thirty-three gr1 verbs and four gr4 verbs. A single unmarked compound (**marmartoo-nì**) has a gr6 (H-) verb and a PDO-frame. The fact that only H-verbs are found in unmarked compounds underlines what was mentioned above (chapters 1.4 and 2.1.3): there is no formal difference between unmarked compounds and infinitive phrases. (The latter are discussed in chapter 5.2.3.3 and 5.3.1.)

The 71 PAC+V compounds are also unmarked. All frames except the NIO-frame are found in these compounds.

4.2.2.2 Singular and plural **ma**- compounds

The thiry-one singular **ma**- compounds are found in the NDO- and basic intransitive frames; one such compound has a PIO-frame. The NDO-frames are found with gr0 (16) and H-verbs (8); the PIO-frame has a gr0 verb and the basic intransitive frame has v* verbs (3).

The markers of the verb in singular **ma**- compounds – tone lowering and the imperative – have been treated above (4.2.1).

There are 17 plural **ma**- compounds in my sample; the distribution of frames and verb types is as follows: 15 NDO- and 2 basic intransitive frames. In the 15 examples with an NDO-frame we find one v*, two gr0, seven gr1 and five gr2 verbs; in the two basic intransitive frames there is one gr1 and one gr3 verb.

The morphophonological marking of plural **ma**- compounds cannot be described in terms of verb markers. The verbal element in the compound has a low tone but this cannot be isolated from the **ma-**prefix, the **-aa** final vowel and the integrative tone pattern HL*H.

4.2.2.3 Fused compounds

Fused compounds are compounds which have become single words. The phonological reduction in these Hausa verbal compounds is comparable to that found in English "curfew" < French "couvre-feu" – without of course crossing a language boundary! The verbs in fused compounds have a low tone which I treat as a phonologically reduced imperative form (one exception is discussed separately, below). Here are four examples including the singular **ma-** compound **maƙwàrwaa**:

fàr̃gàbaa	(fall.forwards)	fear
jàkaadàa	(go.you.palace)	messenger
maƙwàrwaa	(ma:gulp.water)	gulp of water
shùugàbaa	(enter.front)	leader

The compound **fàr̃gàbaa** is a phonological reduction of gr3b **fàaɗi-gàba**, where the verb has an imperative form; **maƙwàrwaa** is a phonological reduction of **ƙwàgà-ruwaa** 'gulp water' with an imperative gr1 verb and a **ma-**prefix. The word **jàkaadàa** is phonologically reduced from **jèe-ka-faadà**, with an imperative v* verb form; **shùugàbaa** is phonologically reduced from **shìga-gàba**, with an imperative (gr3) verb form[24].

The following fused compound (**ƙyûuyaa**) is basically the same as the above, but needs a more detailed explanation:

ƙyûuyaa	(refuse.difficulty)	laziness

This compound is often interpreted as a reduction of ***ƙi-wùyaa** or of ***ƙìi-wùya**. I suggest that neither interpretation is correct. Since **ƙi** is an I-verb, the derivation **ƙyûuyaa** < ***ƙi-wùyaa** (where **ƙi** is unmarked) is not possible: only H-verbs appear in unmarked compounds (see 4.2.2.1 above). Nor is the derivation **ƙyûuyaa** < **ƙìi-wùyaa** possible: if the tone lowered ***ƙìi-wùyaa** fused it would have a LH tone pattern ***ƙyùuyaa**. I suggest that **ƙyûuyaa** is a phonological reduction either of a) **ƙiyà-wùyaa** (the verb is unmarked) or of b) **ƙìya-wùyaa** (the verb has a LH imperative form). The first derivation is: **ƙyûuyaa** < ***ƙîy-wùyaa** < **ƙiyà-wùyaa**; the

[24] Fused compounds with a human referent (e.g. **jàkaadàa** and **shùugàbaa**) can take plurals: **jàkàaduu** and **shùugàbànnii** (or **shùwàagàbànnii**) respectively. I suggest that these examples are *not* counter-examples to Word Formation Rules in which Compounding Rules (CRs) precede Inflection Rules (IRs) – see Scalise (1994:2586f). Rather, they show that "frozen compounds" have become common nouns; they are no longer (felt to be) compounds. Ahmad (1994:138) says: "Many speakers of Hausa are not aware that [such] words […] are compounds."

second derivation is **ƙyûuyaa** < ***ƙiy-wùyaa** < ***ƙìya-wùyaa**[25]. Both derivations assume the existence of the gr1 verb **ƙiyàa** (= gr0 **ƙi** 'refuse'); this is attested by Abraham [A528] and Newman [PN630].

4.3 Phonological reduction in verbal compounds

In chapters 2 and 3 phonological reduction was seen to be a common feature of verbal compounds. Here I examine controversial instances of phonological reduction in more detail: what I call "**dà** deletion" (**bàa** < **bàa dà**; see 4.3.1) and then the **ban**+N compounds (4.3.2). Finally (4.3.3) I shall look at the forms in some compounds, assumed to be imperative, and show that they are *not* imperative, rather they are "fusions" of a verb plus a particle or a preposition.

4.3.1 The possible phonological reduction of **bàa** < **bàa dà**

In chapter 2 I suggested that, in some compounds we find a phonologically reduced form **bàa** < **bàa dà** (< gr5 **baayaɾ̃ dà** 'give sth.'). To my knowledge this kind of phonological reduction has never been discussed; I suggest it explains the following compounds.

In the first group of five compounds there are more than two members (see chapter 2.2.6.1):

bàa-gòoban-daɗàa	(give tomorrow.of increase)	in: **yaa yi ɗan ~** he did sth. he regretted
bàa-hawaa-samà	(give mounting above)	epithet of buffalo
bàa-jân-sau	(give dragging.of foot)	in: **Girgà, ~** epithet of guineaworm
bàa-kuukan-hàntsii	(give crying.of morning)	type of cobra
bàa-làasaɾ̃-bàakii	(give licking.of mouth)	in: **càɾ̃kwai ~** epithet of honey

In the second group of compounds we find two members (**bàa**+NDO); there are 25 such compounds (see chapter 2.2.6.2.2.2), 10 are given here:

bàa-caaca	(give gambling)	answer in a gambling game involving riddle
bàa-duhù	(give darkness)	charm to make one invisible
bàa-gaawa	(give corpse)	sleeping sickness
bàa-guuɗà	(give ululation)	bridegroom
bàa-kaashi	(give shit)	in: **boo'è ~** (cry of pain)
bàa-saajè	(give pretence)	slyly benefiting by a coincidence

[25] For the simplification of the LH **ƙìya** to H ***ƙiy** see Leben (1971).

bàashaa	(give drink)	1) the game **à-rausàa** 2) **tanàa ~ dà mazaa** she's a "tomboy"
bàa-suusà	(give scratching)	1) scabies 2) prickly plant 3) gravel
bàa-tòoyi	(give burn)	spirit that spits fire
bàa-zaaƙè	(give sweetness)	epithet of very sweet sugar cane

There is a pair of compounds with the gr5 verb **bii dà** (< **biyaɾ̃ dà**) 'remove'; one occurs with **dà**, the other has "**dà** deletion":

bìi-dà-sartsè	(remove splinter)	*Euphorbia latiflora* remedy for syphilis and lice on women
bìi-sartsè	(remove splinter)	**= bìi-dà-sartsè**[26]

In none of the above **bàa** N (or **bìi** N) compounds do we find an object (N) which could be construed as the "semantic recipient", thus I suggest that the underlying morphosyntax of the above **bàa** N compounds is **bàa dà** N where N is the thing given, the "thematic object". I suggest that these examples parallel some 35 two-member compounds which have a short gr5 verb *with* **dà** and an NDO (which is a "thematic object"). The following compounds are a selection of the latter; the first example is the *only* compound in my sample with **bàa dà** (and no "**dà** deletion"):

bàa-dà-gàɾ̃ma	(give hoe)	in: **inuwaɾ̃ daree, ~** the shades of night fall on all alike[27]
ɓàd-dà-baami	(lose[28] foreigner)	trick
fìd-dà-kâi	(remove head)	type of tithe
kàu-dà-bàara	(remove attack)	charm against attack
rùb-dà-cikì	(lying with stomach)	lying face down[29]
shàa-dà-wuƙa	(sharpen knife)	rubber plant giving the rubber **àbàdaa**

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[26] The compounds **bìi-dà-sartsè** and **bìi-sartsè** have further equivalents: **fìd-dà-sartsè** and **fìi-dà-sartsè** (see [A265] and [B319]).

[27] The word **gàɾ̃maa** 'hoe' also means 'discrimination' (probably a metaphorical extension related to the action of the hoe).

[28] As pointed out chapter 1 (footnote 13) and again in chapter 2.2.6.2.2.2, the particle **dà** is felt to be part of the gr5 verb and is disregarded in the interlinear gloss.

[29] Ahmad's (1994:155) translation of **rùb-dà-cikì** 'lying *with* stomach' seems incorrect. My interpretation is that **rùb dà** is a phonologically reduced, tone lowered form of grade 5 **rufaɾ̃ dà**. The verb is also found in grade 1 with this meaning: **yaa rufà cikìnsà** 'he lay on his stomach' [A741].

Newman [PN117 and 124] offers an alternative to the above "**dà** deletion" argument. Commenting on **bàa-duhù**, he suggests that the verb in the compound is not **baa**(**yaĩ**) **dà** 'give sth.', rather it is **baa**/**bâa** 'give so. (sth.)' and its indirect object is missing. (Newman [PN124] calls the indirect object "[...] the semantic recipient [...]") This suggestion is not parallelled in modern syntax: the verb **baa**/**bâa** 'give so. (sth.)' is a 3-valency verb; the indirect object (the semantic recipient) must be mentioned and always precedes the direct object (the thematic object) if the latter is mentioned.

There is no definitive way of deciding which of the two arguments – **baa**(**yaĩ**) **dà** with "**dà** deletion" or **baa**/**bâa** with a "missing semantic recipient" – is correct. However, two further facts may cast some light on this question: one concerns archaic gr5 syntax (**baa**(**yaĩ**) **dà** is a gr5 verb), the other the semantics of **baa**/**bâa**.

Newman [PN658] and Jaggar [PJ255] report a case of "archaic" gr5 syntax, used by some present-day Hausa speakers, Newman for PDO-frames and Jaggar for both NDO and PDO-frames. Jaggar [PJ255] gives the following example:

zân sayaĩ motàata/ta (1.FUT sell car.my/it) I'll sell my car/it

Here the gr5 verb **sayaĩ** is followed directly by the thematic object, i.e. there is no **dà**. (Interestingly, the pronoun, **ta**, remains high – a "strong direct object pronoun" [PJ255] – presumably archaic.) In normal gr5 syntax **dà** should follow the verb and precede the PDO or the NDO (the PDO is then expressed with the independent pronoun, in the above case **ita**)[30].

Turning to the semantics of **baa**/**bâa**, compounds such as **bàa-duhù** share a common, metaphorical, meaning of the verb: 'cause (emotion)' rather than 'give so. (sth.)' (see [A48], [B48-49] and Parsons 1971/72:96 footnote 104). In the above compounds we find 'cause darkness', 'cause pain', etc. The meaning 'cause (emotion)' is found both in compounds and in ordinary speech, with the verb **baa**/**bâa**, e.g.:

(àbîn) yaa baa nì haushii	(it gave me annoyance)	it annoyed me
zuucìyaata taa baa nì ìn ruugàa	(heart.my she gave me 1.SBJ flee)	instinct warned me

These sentences look like metaphorical extensions of the meaning 'give so. (sth.)' and support the idea that compounds such as **bàa-**

[30] Newman calls both the PDO and NDO in gr5 "oblique objects of the particle **dà**" [PN652].

duhù contain the verb **baa**/**bâa** rather than **baa**(**yaɾ̃**) **dà**. On the other hand, the semantic recipient is *not* omitted.

The semantics suggest that compounds such as **bàa-duhù** are a group (the meaning 'cause' is *not* found in **bàa-dà-gàɾ̃ma** – the one compound where **dà** occurs, see the list above). However, neither the archaic gr5 syntax nor this semantic detail give a definitive clue as to whether one of the two arguments – "**dà** deletion" or "missing semantic recipient" – is the better.

If finding a parallel between compound syntax and everyday modern syntax were the sole criterion, then the "**dà** deletion" argument would be correct; however, the "missing semantic recipient" argument cannot be ruled out.

In the next section we find a similar problem. Like the above, it has to do with the verb **baa**/**bâa** 'give so. (sth.)' – and possibly with an archaic verbal noun of that verb[31].

4.3.2 The **ban**–N compounds

The **ban**-N compounds were described in 2.2.2.2 showing how the element **ban** is followed by an NDO. The following 12 examples seem to be in frequent use:

ban-dàariyaa	(gimme laughter)	humour
ban-farii	(gimme white)	innuendo, hint
ban-gàjiyàa	(gimme tiredness)	congratulating p. who has finished tiring task
ban-gàskiyaa	(gimme truth)	reliability, trust
ban-girmaa	(gimme size)	respect
ban-hannuu	(gimme hand)	shaking hands
ban-kaashii	(gimme excrement)	punishment
ban-kwaanaa	(gimme spending.night)	saying goodbye
ban-màamaakìi	(gimme surprise)	surprise
ban-sanyii	(gimme cold)	cooling iron in sand
ban-shà'awàa	(gimme enjoyment)	enjoyment, interest
ban-tàafii	(gimme palm/hand)	applause

The following 7 compounds are not (widely) used in SH[32]:

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[31] The morphosyntax of **baa**/**bâa** 'give so. (sth.)' is unique in the verbal system of contemporary Hausa. Newman (1982) argued convincingly that the use of the "weak object pronouns" (see [PN479-80]) with **baa**/**bâa**, rather than the indirect object pronouns is a retention of Old Hausa morphosyntax.

[32] The examples **ban-àl'ajàbii**, **ban-firgitàa**, **ban-ràazanàa**, and **ban-woobaa** are found in Abraham (1936:77). The compound **ban-armee** is Agadez Hausa and is found in Adamou (1979); the others are found in the dictionaries of Bargery (1934) and/or Abraham (1958).

ban-àl'ajàbii	(gimme surprise)	surprise
ban-armee[33]	(gimme marriage)	in: **kaayan ~** things for getting married
ban-fìrgitàa	(gimme fright)	fright
ban-naamàa	(gimme meat)	in: **agòolà, mài wùyaɾ̃ ~** stepchild, it is difficult to give you meat
ban-saamùu	(gimme getting)	in: **dàamunaa mài ~** epithet of liberal p.
ban-tàkâicii	(gimme indignation)	annoyance
ban-woobaa	(gimme apprehension)	apprehension

The problem posed by the above compounds concerns the underlying syntax of **ban**. There are three possible interpretations of its underlying mophosyntax: it is a) a phonological reduction of **bàa ni** ('give *me*', where **ni** is the 1st p. singular object pronoun, thus similar to English 'gimme'), b) a phonological reduction of **bàa ni** ('give *him*', where **ni** is the OH 3rd p. singular masculine object pronoun, thus similar to Scottish 'gie em') or c) an Old Hausa verbal noun with the linker **-n** connecting the verbal noun to its thematic object. If it is either a) or b), then it involves phonological reduction and belongs here. If the correct interpretation is c), then these compounds properly belong under VN.L+N compounds (chapter 3).

I shall present the two arguments relating to phonological reduction and then the VN argument.

4.3.2.1 **ban** = 'gimme'

Greenberg (1941) first mentioned the phonological reduction **ban** (< **bàa ni** 'give me'); it is mentioned again by McIntyre (1992) and Jaggar (1992). Such reduction is a productive phonological process in modern Hausa, e.g.:

yaa kaamas < **yaa kaamàa shi** he caught it

This example is given by Leben (1971:203) and affects the final low tone syllable of the verb plus the high tone pronoun. A further parallel is found in the following compound meaning 'simpleton' (see 3.1.1):

wab-bi-cân (**< wàa-ya-bi-cân** who he follow there)

This kind of reduction can be heard in ordinary language with the verb **bâa**/**baa**:

bân (as in **yaa bân < yaa baa nì** he gave me (it))

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[33] The word **armee** is Agadez Hausa for **auree** 'marriage' (Adamou, 1979). Thanks to Maarten Kossmann (University of Leiden) for this example.

The phonological reduction under discussion is also heard in the colloquial phrase:

ban gishirii ìn baa kà mandaa	(gimme salt 1.SBJ give you Borno.salt)[34]	exchange

The relevance of the **ban** < **bàa ni** interpretation to verbal compounds is seen in compounds which have the syntax **bàa**+PIO +NDO where there is no phonological reduction:

bàa-ni-kâi	(give me head[35])	in: **goonan nàn sai ~** crops in this farm are only good in places
bàa-ni-ƙafàa	(give me leg)	1) give me a leg-up the wall! 2) give me leg-room! 3) give me loan! (said by penniless gambler)
bàa-ni-ƙwaryaa	(give me calabash)	quarrel
bàa-ni-maasuu	(give me spears)	short sleeved gown
bàa-ta-kaashii	(give her excrement)	turmoil, fight
bàa-su-kà-huutàa	(give them 2m.SBJ rest)	paying off debt

One compound in the above list (**bàa-ni-ƙafàa**) has an alternative with the **ban** form:

ban-ƙafàa	(gimme leg)	giving p. leg-up wall etc.

Two further compounds seem to relate to each other in the same way. One is the compound **bàa-ni-ƙwaryaa**, the second contains the phonologically reduced form **ban ƙwaryaa** (here, the **ban** *must* be a phonological reduction of **bàa ni**; the verbal noun interpretation – see 4.3.2.3 – would mean 'overturn the giving of my calabash' and would be meaningless):

bàa-ni-ƙwaryaa	(give me calabash)	in: **sun yi ~** they've had an altercation
jùuyee-ban ƙwaryaataa	(overturn gimme calabash.mine)	strictly business

A further phonological parallel is found in the following pair with the verb **bi** 'follow':

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[34] Abraham gives a similar example in: **gàa na jiiyà, ban** [< **bàa ni**] **na yâu** (lit. here.is of today, gimme of yesterday) 'paying for sth. previously bought' [A107 under **biyàn...**].

[35] Hausa **kâi** 'head' means 'ear' as in 'ear of wheat'.

bin-dà-zuguu	(follow.me with ?white.cloth)	physic nut
bìi-ni-dà-zuguu		**= bin-dà-zuguu**[36]

A further parallel for the phonological reduction of verb plus pronoun is found in Newman [PN481]. Here he discusses a possible archaic form of expressing "an indirect object by an immediately following weak object pronoun". He is referring to a low tone **-n** (not a high tone **-n** as in **ban** or **bin**) suffixed directly onto a verb but his examples are more than relevant to the present discussion, being found "[...] only with *first person* [...], only with *a few specific verbs*, and only (primarily?) *in the imperative* [...]" (my emphasis). Newman gives the following examples: **tùurôn yaaròn!** 'Send the boy to me!'; **rìƙyân wannàn!** 'Hold this for me!' and surmises that "the [low tone] **-n** found here is an erstwhile weak object pronoun that is suffixed directly to the verb in an archaic fashion"[37].

The difference in the tone of the **–n** (the **–n** in **ban**–N and **bin**-N has a high tone while the **–n** in **tùurôn yaaròn** and **rìƙyân wannàn** is low) is a simple consequence of the way monosyllabic verbs behave in the imperative (see Jaggar 1982, Newman [PN266], Jaggar [PJ448] and Wolff 1993:412-415). I suggest that the phonological reduction underlying **ban**–N and **bin**-N (**ban** < **bàa ni** and **bin** < **bìi ni**) is found only with 1st person pronouns, with a few specific verbs, and only in the imperative – just like the examples with low tone **-n**.

The '**ban** < **bàa ni**' (= 'gimme') argument is an argument which finds support in both productive synchronic and in older processes. All speakers I asked accepted this interpretation.

4.3.2.2 **ban** = 'gie em' (Scottish: 'give him'!)

Commenting on the **ban**-N compounds, Newman [PN124] suggested that "[...] **ni** [in ***bàa ni**] is the old Chadic 3rd person masculine pronoun 'him' (still seen in **wani**[38]) rather than the 1st person pronoun 'me'". Newman's argument implies the same kind of phonological reduction described above, the difference being that the pronoun is an

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[36] The meaning of **zuguu** is unclear: Bargery [B1144] gives: "1. A strip of white cloth. 2. A present made to a chief. 3. **bi-ni-da-z**., physic nut."

[37] Wolff (1993:116) suggests that this low tone **-n**, may be reduced from the indirect object pronoun **minì** 'to/for me'.

[38] The word **wani** is the masculine singular form of the indefinite pronoun or adjective ('a, some(one)'), similar to the indefinite article in English; in its feminine singular form **wata** and its plural form **wasu** the **ta** and **su** are recognisable 3rd person feminine singular and plural elements. The **ni** in **wani** looks like a 1st person singular but clearly has 3rd person reference.

archaic 3rd person, rather than the 1st person singular pronoun. It also implies that this compounding strategy dates back to a time when Hausa had the 3rd person masculine pronoun **ni**[39].

Here, I shall assume that we do not know the identity of **ni** in **bàa-ni** compounds and examine the distribution of 1st and 3rd person object pronouns in compounds. I begin with the distribution of four compounds with plural pronouns; two have the 1st person plural pronoun **mu**/**mù**:

à-baa-mù	(one.should give us)	projecting beard
Rabbànaa-kà wadàataa-mu	(Lord you.should enrich us)	those seeking help

The 3rd person plural pronoun **su** is found in 2 compounds:

bàa-su-kà-huutàa	(give them you rest)	paying off a debt
gàa-su-gàa yaddà-sukè	(see them see how they.are)	a mess

Thus, both 1st and 3rd person pronouns are found.

The 3rd person singular feminine pronoun **ta** is found in 11 compounds; one such compound has the verb **bàa**:

bàa-ta-kaashi	(give her excrement)	turmoil, fight

There are nine such compounds with other I-verbs; here, two examples:

gàa-tanaa (< **gàa-ta-nan**)	(see her here)	fable
bìi-ta-dà-kalloo	(follow her with looking)	type of woman's striped cloth

There is one compound with **ta** following a L-verb (there are none with H-verbs):

sàu-ta-gà-waawaa	(release her to fool)	girl whose marriage comes to a swift end

The identity of **ta** in these compounds is clear: it is the 3rd person singular feminine.

So far, the distribution of pronouns seems normal; there are 1st and 3rd person plural pronouns and 3rd person feminine singular pronouns. However, when we look for compounds with the 3rd person masculine pronoun (**shì**), we find only the following[40]:

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[39] Thanks to Maarten Kossmann (p.c.) for pointing out this historical detail.

[40] The pronoun **shì** is also found in: **koowaa-taashì-tà-fisshee-shì** (each his.own she get.out him) 'confederation'. However, the word **koowaa** is

shàa-shi-kà-furzaɾ̃	(drink it you spit)	bitter-tasting medicine

The paucity of compounds with the 3rd person singular masculine pronoun seems strange. This possible gap may be filled by the archaic **ni** (as in **ban** or **bàa ni**) as Newman suggests.

Before looking for any internal clues which might indicate that the pronoun **ni** is a 3rd person pronoun, it is important to emphasise that all Hausa speakers I asked understand the pronoun **ni** to have a 1st person reference and that, on the surface, no other interpretation is needed. Thus, compounds with a 1st person singular object pronoun are entirely acceptable semantically (I return to this below and in chapter 6).

There are 68 compounds with the pronoun **ni**. In the following compounds **ni** definitely has 1st person reference:

cùuɗèe-ni-ìn cùuɗee-kà	(massage me 1.SBJ massage you)	in: **zaman duuniyàa bìkii nèe, ~** life is a celebration: you scratch my back I'll scratch yours
shàa-ni-in-shaa-kà	(drink me 1.SBJ drink you)	fruit of **aduwa** tree, causing stomach upset
shàa-ni-kà-san-nì	(drink me you know me)	small plant with violent purging properties

The syntax of the above compounds leaves no doubt as to the 1st person reference of **ni**: one person is addressed in the 2nd person, and the hypothetical speaker mentions him- or herself in the 1st person.

In the next two compounds the **nì**, following the gr6 **-oo** (expressing: 'in this direction') most likely has 1st person reference:

marmartoo-nì	(desire me)	small plant whose seeds are used in love potions
sòosoonìi	(come.scratch.me)	1) irritating skin disease 2) excessive sexuality in a woman

In one case we find a pair of compounds with the same meaning in which one has the **ni** pronoun and the other has the 3rd person singular **ta**:

bìi-ni-dà-zuguu	(follow me with ?white.cloth)	kind of nut
= bìi-ta-dà-zuguu	(follow her with ?white.cloth)	

Here **ta** is 3rd person while **ni** could be either 1st or 3rd person; whichever person it is, it expresses the same idea.

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topicalised and topicalisation is unusual in compounding. Thus this may be a lexicalised phrase (see Fabb 1998:76) rather than a compound.

If we exclude the above examples, we still have many compounds – specifically, the **ban**-N compounds and the pair with **bìi ni**/**bin** (above) – where there is no way of proving that **ni** has 1st or 3rd person reference. Both are possible. The most striking indication that Newman's idea makes sense is the fact that only one compound has the 3rd person masculine singular pronoun **shi**.

4.3.2.3 **ban** = archaic verbal noun plus linker

Newman [PN124] suggests yet another interpretation of the underlying morphosyntax of **ban**: "**ban** could [...] represent an archaic verbal noun ***baa** plus the –**n** linker, notwithstanding the high rather than the falling tone". Thus e.g. **ban-màganàa** would mean 'giving of speech' and not 'gimme speech'.

Bargery [B74], Abraham (1941:54, 1959:35 and [A71]), Parsons (1971/72, p.96[41]), Kraft and Kirk-Greene (1973:98 n. 2), Wolff (1993:393-4) and Ahmad (1994:146) all suggest the presence of a verbal noun in the **ban**-N compounds. Ahmad lists **ban**-N compounds under "linked N.L+N compounds" as does Newman [PN115] – and this is where they belong, *if* they contain a verbal noun. In this section I shall examine the two (verbal noun) candidates which might occur in **ban**. In the following section I shall argue that the "verbal noun" argument is ad hoc.

The two verbal nouns which might occur in **ban** are ***baa** and ***bai** (see Newman [PN124]); neither is found in modern Hausa. These "archaic" verbal nouns are unique; no other monosyllabic verbal noun has a high tone (they have falling tone[42]). The verbal noun ***bai** is possible in **ban** since the final –**i** would be deleted when

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41 Parsons (1971/72, p.96 footnote 104) adds that this construction is "[...] confined to the context of inducing emotion (see 4.3.1), e.g. **ban-tsòoroo** 'stimulating fear', **ban-haushii** 'vexation' [...]". In 4.3.1 we saw that **bàa**-N compounds (which I interpret as "**dà** deletion") have the "inducing emotion" meaning. If all the **ban**-N compounds had this meaning it would be a further argument in favour of the archaic morphosyntax. However it does not hold for all **ban**-N compounds. Parsons himself mentions "a few other set collocations" which do not have this meaning: "[...] e.g. **ban-hannuu** 'shaking hands', **ban-kwaanaa** 'saying farewell', **ban-ruwaa** 'watering horses or irrigated farm' [...]"

42 There is a verbal noun **bâi** (with falling tone) found only in Abraham; he gives the example: "**yanàa bâi** he's giving it" [A58]. The fact that there is no direct object is significant since Abraham says that **bâi** is an equivalent of **baayâr̃waa**, the regular gr5 verbal noun. Assuming this equivalence extends to its syntax, **bâi**, like the verbal noun **baayâr̃waa**, cannot take a direct object. With its falling tone, it cannot be a component of **ban** in **ban**-N.

the linker is attached (**ban** < ***bai-n**). Such a verbal noun might be related to the verb **bai** (used by some speakers of present-day Hausa instead of **baa**/**bâa** 'give so. (sth.)'), but it is not found in modern Hausa. To my knowledge, the putative existence of both these "archaic" verbal nouns is limited to the **ban**-N compounds; neither of them has been identified in any other contexts – archaic or modern.

In suggesting the existence of ***bai**, Newman [PN124] may have overlooked the noun **bai**, a noun which may well be an old verbal noun. Parsons (1971/72: p.96, footnote 104) assumes that it is a verbal noun, suggesting that its all high tones are "unusual for a verbal noun". However this noun does not mean 'giving', rather it means 'watering horses' (see Abraham [A59] and Bargery [B60]) and is a contraction of the noun **baayii** with the same meaning. The noun **bai** (< **baayii**) cannot be an element of **ban**-N compounds. One example in particular makes this obvious: the compound **ban-ruwaa** 'watering horses' would have the meaning 'watering.of.horses.of water' – if the noun **bai** were a part of it.

4.3.2.4 Conclusion: **ban** = 'gimme'.

Of the three interpretations described above the verbal noun interpretation seems the weakest. It is *ad hoc*, a morphosyntactic possibility which, once "spotted", cannot be ruled out. Two facts give it a certain appeal: a) 1st person pronouns in compounds in European languages are rare (in chapter 6.2.1.3 we shall see that Hausa has no problem with them); b) the English glosses of many **ban**-N compounds match the verbal noun interpretation, e.g.:

ban-firgitàa	(?giving.of fright)	fright
ban-gàskiyaa	(?giving.of truth)	reliability, trust
ban-girmaa	(?giving.of size)	respect
ban-hannuu	(?giving.of hand)	shaking hands
ban-tausàyii	(?giving.of sympathy)	showing sympathy

This "matching" is, I think, accidental and is not found in all **ban**-N compounds, e.g.

ban-gàjiyàa	(??giving.of tiredness)	congratulating p. who finished tiring task

The above compound was interpreted for me with a clear "1st person gloss": 'give me your tiredness [after all you've done]'[43].

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[43] M. Munkaila, p.c. Its use in an actual sentence also points away from the verbal noun interpretation: "**Ina taya ka murnar sabuwar shekara da kuma yi maka** ban-gajiyar **kirsimati.**" (I offer you happiness.of New

A further argument in favour of the **ban** < **bàa ni** interpretations is the syntax of **ban**-N compounds. If they were VN.L+N compounds we might expect more varied syntax than **ban**+NDO – where the NDO is always a simple noun direct object. VN.L+N compounds allow an underlying subject to follow the VN.L (3.3.1.2), e.g.:

jeerìn-gwàanoo	(lining.up.of stink.ants)	1. procession 2. queue, a line

If **ban**-N compounds had such syntax we would surely find some such compounds with the meaning: 'N's giving', where N would be a person and the underlying subject; however there are none. In **ban**-N compounds, N always expresses an activity or is a material object.

There are VN.L+N compounds which allow an adverb after the linker; some have an ideophone, others a noun expressing instrument, place or time, or a quality compared (see further examples in 3.3.1.4):

auren-doolè	(marriage.of "must")	forced marriage
awòn-gàba	(measurement.of foreward)	1. headstart 2. in: **yi ~ dà X** whisk X away
dakàn-jiyà	(pounding.of yesterday)	petite person (doesn't age quickly)
hàngen-neesà	(looking.of far.away)	foresight, forecast
haƙbìn-dawà	(shooting.of bush)	disease caused by spirits
yîn-hannu	(doing.of hand)	handmade

On occasion the syntax of VN.L+N compounds is quite complex; in some, the second noun of the NP following the VN.L is the underlying subject (3.3.1.4), e.g.:

cîn-kùnaamàƙ ƙàdangarèe	(eating.of scorpion.of lizard)	painful gain pyrrhic victory
ɗaukàn-dumam magàajii-dà-niishìi	(lifting.of gourd.of heir with groaning)	irrelevant anger

In the above compounds, the **ƙàdangarèe** 'lizard' and **magàajii** 'heir' are the subjects or agents of the action.

In the 29 **ban**-N compounds there is no such variation in the syntax. If **ban** contains a verbal noun, then all **ban**-N compounds mean 'giving.of N' where N is the direct or thematic object. This is possible, but why is no other syntax found?

Year and also do you **ban-gajiya**.of Christmas) 'I wish you all the best for the New Year and hope you "got through" Christmas alright.' (Hafizu Miko Yakasai in an E-Mail to the author, January 2005)

The "verbal noun argument" is very weak. The reduction (**ban** < **bàa ni**) is productive in everyday SH, there are even a few compounds which indicate such reduction, e.g. **bàa-ni-ƙafàa** and **ban-ƙafàa**; these pairs are parallelled by the compounds **bìi-ni-dà-zuguu** and **bin-zuguu** (with the verb **bi** 'follow'). All the speakers I asked accept the **ban** < **bàa ni** derivation, both phonologically and semantically, a view confirmed by the fact that the lexical meanings of **ban**-N compounds describe a process, i.e. they are *nomina actionis* while most verbal noun compounds describe a result, i.e. they are *nomina acti* (see Kopf 2000).

I cannot make a final judgement on the 1st or a 3rd person reference of **ni** in compounds, however, I disagree with Newman's [PN124] suggestion that the 3rd person "variant [...] makes *better* sense semantically" (my emphasis). As I mentioned above, Hausa speakers assume that the **ni** pronoun in compounds has a 1st person reference. In chapter 6.2.1.3 we shall see that Hausa verbal compounds can be seen as utterances used to name the situation in which they are hypothetically uttered and that 1st person pronouns are no problem.

4.3.3 Pseudo-imperative or fused forms

In chapter 2 we saw that tone lowering and the imperative form are phonological markers of the verb in compounds; tone lowering combines with *lengthening* of the verb final vowel (in mono- or disyllabic gr0 verbs, occasional gr1 or gr4 verbs and one gr2 verb). Imperative forms in compounds correspond to those found in normal morphosyntax; they are more varied than tone lowered forms and are more widely found. Here we are concerned with one imperative form: LL with short final –**à**, as seen in the following:

hànà-sallà (prevent prayer) baseball cap

The LL form **hànà** is the imperative form of a gr1 verb in the NDO-frame found in everyday speech.

I shall show here that, in some 16 compounds, the LL form with a short final –**à** is *not* the imperative NDO form of of a H-verb (grade 1), but is the result of phonological reduction – the "fusion" of a verb with a particle or preposition which is then tone lowered. I call these "pseudo-imperative" forms "fused forms".

My interpretation of these forms is based on an examination of the lexical meanings of the compounds in which they are found, suggesting that the verb has fused with a particle or preposition. This is not simply guesswork, it is a conclusion that makes sense of the

relationship between the literal or source meaning of the compound and its lexical meaning. It will be seen in chapter 6 that the two meanings have a grammatical relationship: the lexical meaning is often the underlying subject or object of the source meaning. Thus, in the example above (**hànà-sallà** 'prevent prayer'), the lexical meaning 'baseball cap' is the subject of the compound: it (the cap) prevents prayer: a Muslim cannot touch the ground with his forehead if he is wearing a baseball cap. In the example below, 'tasteless food' is the implied object of 'eat (it), don't die':

ci-kaɽ̃-kà-mutù	(eat NEG 2m.SBJ die)	tasteless food

The examples which follow are presented according to grade and frame; each group is discussed separately, showing the underlying syntax of each "fusion" and discussing the relationship between the internal and lexical meanings.

4.3.3.1 The v* verb **barìi**

The form **bàrà** is found in the following three examples:

bàrà-gadoo-gaashìi	(leave.to bed hair)	man slow to ejaculate when copulating
bàrà-gadoo-shuunii	(leave.to bed indigo)	epithet of prostitute and of wife considered sterile due to loose ways
bàrà-magàadaa	(leave.to/for heirs)	work well done

I suggest that, in the above compounds we find the v* verb **barìi** in an NIO-frame: **bàrà** is a fusion of **bàɽ̃** or **baɽ̃** with the indirect noun object marker **wà** and, in the case of **baɽ̃ wà**, is tone lowered. Interpreting the internal meaning of the compounds thus ('leave hair/indigo in the bed' and 'leave for heirs') makes sense of their lexical meanings: in the first two, the 'man' and the 'wife' are the underlying subjects of the compound; in the third, 'work well done' is the underlying direct object (see chapters 6.2.1.1 and 6.2.1.2). Such an interpretation reflects the syntax of the normal sentences:

yaa/taa baɽ̃ wà gadoo gaashìi/shuunii	he/she left hair/indigo in (the) bed
sun baɽ̃ wà magàadaa (gidân)	they left it (the house) for (their) heirs

A further indication of the correctness of this interpretation is that, in normal syntax, we find the phonological reduction of **baɽ̃ wà** to **barà** (without tone lowering), e.g. **àkwiyàa taa mutù, taa barà**

faatàa wùyaa (goat she died she left skin difficulty) 'he has been left in the lurch' [A689 under **mutù**][44].

The next example has a v* verb and a NIO-frame:

bàrà-gurbì	(leave.for/in nest)	1) eggs left unhatched or addled. 2) p. or th. left after others have gone
(< **bàr-wà-gurbì**)		
(or: < **bàři-à-gurbì**)		

Ahmad (1994:77, note 7) says that **bàrà** is "anomalous". At first sight **bàrà** looks like a gr1 imperative form in the NDO-frame, but since **barìi** is not a gr1 verb, it cannot have such a form[45]. I suggest that the form is a fusion of either a) the NIO-form **bàř**/**bař** (the imperative form may be H or L) and the indirect object marker **wà**, or b) the ∅DO-form **bàri** 'leave' and the preposition **à** 'at, in'. The fused form is tone lowered. (I classify this compound as a NIO-frame since the particle **wà** may have a locative meaning and this offers the more general classification.)

Newman [PN118] gives the gloss 'leave hatching.place', where **gurbì** is the assumed direct object of the verb[46]. I suggest that such an interpretation ignores an important facet of these compounds, viz., the relationship between their surface and lexical meanings. This perspective (developed in chapter 6) allows us to identify the true direct object of the verb in this compound, viz., its lexical meaning, 'egg(s) left unhatched (in the nest)'. (While this reading is true of the first meaning, the second meaning is a metaphorical extension of the first – see chapter 6.2.2.2.) Therefore I give the interlinear gloss 'leave.for/in nest'[47]. If this interpretation is correct – and I shall show

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[44] Thanks to Klaus Schubert for pointing out this example. The form **barà** looks like a gr1 verb in the NDO-frame but the meaning reads as an NIO-frame: the semantics – the dead goat left (her) problems to the skin (which will continue to be used) – indicate that **faatàa** is an indirect object.

[45] This argument seems to be contradicted by the existence of the (?dialectal) form **baràa**/**buràa** which looks like a gr1 form of **barìi**. However, this form is used only in the ∅DO- and not in the NDO-frame.

[46] Newman [PN117] says: "…**barìi** 'let, allow' … is really an irregular gr2 verb [and, in compounds,] appears with short –**à** before its object".
Jaggar (p.c.) offers a different interpretation of **bàrà** in the above example; he "[...] assume[s] that **bara(a)** in all its surface manifestations [is] simply the gr1 applicative of **barìi** [...]" and points out that one "[...] regularly finds **bàra** (LH) as an alternative to **bàri** in the imperative." This interpretation offers an alternative phonological explanation for the present example but conflicts with the explanation offered here in which the relationship between the surface and lexical meanings assumes some importance.

[47] The interlinear glosses in this section reflect my interpretation of the facts; alternative analyses are discussed in the text.

below and in chapter 6 that it has general validity – the verb *cannot* appear with a NDO-form, since it has no overt NDO.

4.3.3.2 Some gr1 (H-) verbs

In the next three compounds we have intransitive gr1 verbs **kwântaa** 'lie down' and **zaunàa** 'sit':

kwàntà-ƙùrii	(lie.down open.eyed)	chaperone
kwàntà-ƙurii	(lie.down.at wall.end.of.bed)	chaperone
zàunà-gàrii-banzaa	(sit.in town uselessness)	idle, unemployed p.

The LL **-à** form looks like a gr1 NDO-form, but, since these verbs are intransitive, this form is not possible. I suggest that **kwàntà** and **zàunà** are fusions of **kwàntaa à…** and **zàunaa à…** (**à** is the preposition 'at, in'). In the almost identical compounds **kwàntà ƙùrii** and **kwàntà ƙurii** – with different internal syntax and meanings: 'lie down open-eyed' and 'lie down at the wall end of the bed[48]' – the common lexical meaning 'chaperone' is the underlying subject in both compounds. The same is true of **zàunà-gàrii-banzaa**[49]: the 'unemployed person' is the underlying subject.

The next three examples are gr1 transitive verbs in a ∅DO-frame:

tàakà-badò	(tread on lily)	African lily trotter
(= **tàakaa à badò)**		(small water-bird)
ràbà-tsakà	(divide in.middle)	halfway
(< **ràbaa à tsakà**)		
zàrgà-gungun	(tie loosely)	loose knot
(< **zàrgaa à gungun**)		

The compound **tàakà-badò** could be an NDO-frame (='step.on lily') but the alternative **tàakaa-à-badò** (both versions are found in Abraham [A840]) is a ∅DO-frame – 'tread on lily' – and suggests that **tàakà-badò** is phonologically reduced and that the final vowel shortening of **badò** marks an adverbial noun and not a direct object (see footnote 1 in this chapter). In the other two compounds the adverb **tsakà** and the ideophone **gungun** cannot be NDOs; the verb cannot have a NDO-form.

The lexical meaning in the first compound is the underlying subject of the compound; in the second it seems to be more complex: it is

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[48] The word **ƙurii** seems to be a phonologically reduced form of **ƙuryàa** 'wall in room, opposite door'. Colleagues in the German Radio as well as Mohammed Munkaila preferred the second compound: **kwàntà-ƙurii**; M. Munkaila shortened the final vowel, feeling it to be an adverb.

[49] The form **zàunà** with a short final **-à** is found in Newman [PN118]; I have also heard it long: **zàunàa**.

either the subject or the place where a hypothetical person (addressed in the compound) should make a divide; in the third it is the object.

In the next examples we again find gr1 H-verbs with the LL form and the short final vowel –**à**. However, the relationship between the lexical meaning and the interlinear gloss suggests that we have phonologically reduced NIO-frames:

ɓàatà-ragoo-goonaa	(spoil lazybones farm)	epithet of the weed **ƙudùjii**
gàyà-jinii-naa-wucèe	(tell blood 1.CMP passed.by)	sharp sword
shàafà-làabaañìi shuunii	(wipe news indigo)	exaggerator

The fact that we have an NIO-frame is particularly clear in **gàyà jinii-naa-wucèe**, where the literal translation is 'tell the blood I passed by'; **jinii** 'blood' is the indirect object of **gayàa** 'tell someone (something)', a verb which always takes an indirect object[50]. Unlike the verb **gayàa**, the verbs **ɓaatàa** and **shaafàa** do not necessarily require an indirect object, and, at first glance, the LL forms **ɓàatà** and **shàafà** could indicate NDO-frames. However, in these compounds the verbs have two objects and the meaning makes it clear that the first is indirect, immediately following the verb as in normal Hausa syntax. Thus the compounds mean: 'spoil for [the lazybones]$_{NIO}$ [the farm]$_{NDO}$' and 'wipe on [the news]$_{NIO}$ [indigo]$_{NDO}$'. The lexical meanings of these compounds – in each case the underlying subject – support this interpretation: the weed spoils the lazy man's farm; the sword tells the blood 'I passed by', and the exaggerator smears indigo[51] over the news he recounts.

A further possible example is the following:

sàa-ɗàkà	(put in.room)	concubine

The low tone of **sàa** is not imperative; in the ∅DO-frame the verb has a high tone. It may be tone lowered, however it may be an indication of the underlying presence of the preposition **à**. This interpretation is suggested by the relationship between the lexical meaning ('concubine') and the source ('put [sth./so.] in the room'), and by the normal syntax:

saa à ɗakà	put [sth./so.] in room

[50] Newman [PN116] cites this compound in its full form: **gàyàa-wà-jinii-naa-wucèe**.

[51] Indigo symbolises money. In more recent times the 20 Naira note had this colour.

It seems that a number of LL forms with short final –**à** which were thought to have an imperative form (the form normally found in the gr1 NDO-frame) are in fact phonological reductions of a verb plus either a preposition or a particle. This fused form is found in v* and gr1 ∅DO and NIO-frames and with gr1 intransitive verbs; possibly the low tone on **sàa** (in **sàa-ɗakà**) can be explained by such fusion.

In the next section we find one compound with a gr2 verb and a similar kind of reduction to that seen above.

4.3.3.3 A gr2 (L-) verb in a fused form

The final example is a compound with a gr2 verb in a ∅DO-frame which has undergone the kind of phonological reduction reported above; however, it has a long (not a short!) final –**àa**:

ɗàukàa-wuyà	(carry.on neck)	child carried on shoulders

The form **ɗàukàa** does not exist in normal gr2 morphosyntax. One possible description of this form is that it is tone lowered and, in contrast to the compounds seen above, has undergone final vowel lengthening[52]. However, the relationship between the lexical meaning and the source suggests that the lexical meaning (the 'child carried on the shoulders') is the underlying direct object of the compound ('carry.on neck'). Again we seem to have phonological reduction of the kind found above: the fusion of **ɗàuki** or **ɗàukaa** – the verb allows both imperative forms – with the preposition **à**, as in the syntax of the corresponding normal sentence:

ɗàuki/ɗàukaa à wuyà!	carry (it) on the neck!

4.3.3.4 Concluding remarks on fused forms

In the examples described in 4.3.3.1 – 4.3.3.3, the short final –**à** in the compounds reflects (or is) either the preposition **à** or the /–**à**/ in the particle **wà** which has fused with the verb. The LL tone is *not* an imperative NDO-form, it seems to be a kind of tone lowering.

Since the forms found on the verbs in the above examples include a preposition or particle, it means that they are neither *verb* forms (see

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[52] Jaggar (1992:96, note 18) suggested that the final vowel in **dàfàa** (see below) is long "[...] probably because [...] the following noun **dukà** 'all' is not treated as a direct object". If this is true, it might apply to all the following:

dàfàa-dukà	(cook all)	jollof rice
gòogàa-jìki	(rub body)	name of tree
gòogàa-maasu	(rub spears)	*Mitracarpum scabrum* (weed)
rùfàa-idò	(close eye)	1) magic 2) charm or power to make oneself invisible.

chapter 1.3.1), nor are they forms which mark verbs in compounds (tone lowering or use of the imperative, see chapter 2.1). They are fused forms, the result of phonological reduction.

These forms are of two different kinds: those where the NIO marker **wà** is fused with the verb and those where the preposition **à** is fused with the verb. The fusion found with **wà** (e.g. **ɓàatà** < **ɓaatà** < **ɓaatàa wà**) reflects the underlying syntax: this particle "cannot be separated from the preceding verb" [PN280]). The fusion of **à** with a verb does not reflect the underlying syntax: this preposition properly belongs with the adverb following the verb. While the term "fusion" accurately describes the phonological reduction of the verb with the particle **wà**, the reduction of the verb and the preposition **à** might – with an eye on the underlying syntax – be called "con-fusion"[53]!

These tone lowered forms may be in the process of grammaticalisation, the fused verb-particle or verb-preposition becoming an accepted form in compounds[54]. The fact that a LL form in gr1 NDO-frames has the same surface morphology may help this process, but it also obscures it.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter we looked at the phonological markers of nouns and verbs and at phonological reduction. In 4.1 we saw that final vowel shortening is not as clear-cut as Ahmad's (1994) rules suggest; nor did the present author's refinements (McIntyre 1998) offer a complete explanation. Final vowel shortening generally marks two-member compounds with the syntax V+NDO (see 4.1.1 and 4.1.2); the verb in these compounds is either tone lowered or has an imperative form. However, speakers may allow their understanding of the syntax to overrule the final vowel shortening rule (4.1.3) or may reanalyse the compound as a fused compound – or as fully lexicalised (4.1.4; see also 4.2.2.3), and thus *lengthen* the final vowel to mark the new "noun". Furthermore, since final vowel shortening marks names (4.1.5) – and many compounds *are* names – some speakers may allow final vowel shortening to mark compounds not described in the rule (4.1.2), and which they feel to be names.

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53 This is a rather ironic confirmation of a comment made by Fabb (1998): "[…] in a compound, case, prepositions and structural position are not available to clarify semantic relations."

54 Fabb (1998:80-81) says that, in the Malayalam language, there is "[…] a vowel sandhi rule [applying] to both *compounds* and derived words […] where two adjacent vowels are merged into one." (my emphasis)

In 4.2 I examined tone lowered and imperative forms in compounds, showing that tone lowering is the "real" compound marker. In *verbal* compounds tone lowering is accompanied by final vowel lengthening on the verb (see chapter 2.1.2.1 and 4.2.1.2) and marks phonologically reduced verb forms (reduced from two to one syllables, typically in gr4 and gr5, see chapter 2.1.2.2); in the latter, the phonologically reduced form *precedes* compounding: these verbs are found *outside* of compounding with these forms. Tone lowering is also found on N+N, N.L+N and ADJ.L+N compounds and marks some fixed expressions in which words – numerals, diminutives or titles – are combined.

Together, tone lowering and lengthening the final vowel of the verb are true markers of (verbal) compounds.

The use of the imperative form in compounds is pragmatic and its significance in compounding will be seen in chapter 6. The fact that the imperative form parallels tone lowering both in having a low tone (at least on the first syllable of the verb) and in combining with final vowel shortening may have some phonological relevance (tone lowering and final vowel shortening are also found in N+N, N.L+N and ADJ.L+N compounds, see above), however there is little evidence to suggest that the low tone on the imperative is the primary motivation for its use in compounds (but see footnote 23 above).

In 4.2.2 we looked at the relationship between PAC, singular and plural **ma-** compounds and frames, noting limitations on the appearance of these compound types in certain frames.

In 4.3.1 I described a type of phonological reduction which has not previously been mentioned: **bàa** < **bàa dà**. In 4.3.2 I described a controversy surrounding **ban**-N compounds, arguing in favour of the **ban** < **bàa ni** (= 'gimme') interpretation.

In 4.3.3 we looked at "pseudo-imperative" or "fused" forms. Here I argued that certain forms which *look like* imperative forms are not imperative, rather they are phonological reductions of a verb plus a particle or preposition and they have undergone tone lowering.

Chapter 5
Verb Types, Frames and Grade 2 Verbs

In chapters 2, 3 and 4 we saw a number of variables involved in compounding: phonological markers of the noun (final vowel shortening on noun direct objects) and verb, syntactic frames, verb types and compound types. In the first section of this chapter (5.1) I re-examine some of these variables, discussing constraints on certain verb types (or grades) in certain frames. In 5.2 I describe a particular instance of constraint: gr2 verbs in compounding, showing that compounding and gr2 verbs are "uneasy bedfellows". In 5.3 I offer an explanation of this fact.

5.1 Semantic constraints on particular frames or grades

The distribution of forms in certain frames and verb types was seen in 4.2.1 and 4.2.2. Here (see Table 4 below), I wish to look at the distribution of verb grades in particular frames and show that some verb types or grades are found in all frames, while others are found only in some frames. I suggest that this distribution indicates that compounds have a limit on the semantic "load" they can carry and are therefore sensitive to the semantics of verb grades.

Table 4 shows the distribution of frames and verb types in verbal compounds (V+X, PAC+V and sg. and pl. **ma**-):

Table 4: Distribution of frames and verb types in all VCs

Vb.type	I-verbs		H-verbs				L-verbs (and gr3b)					Totals
Frame	v*	gr0	gr1	gr4	gr6	gr5	gr2	gr3	gr3a	gr7	gr3b	
NDO	10	130	151	31	6	66	31					425
PDO	5	18	12	1	2	2	4					44
∅DO	6	25	23	6	2	-	37					99
NIO	7	-	6	-	-	-						13
PIO	41	1	2	1	-	-						45
[-T]	10	-	22	9	3			16	3	4	7	74
Totals:	79	174	216	48	13	68	72	16	3	4	7	700
	v*	gr0	gr1	gr4	gr6	gr5	gr2	gr3	gr3a	gr7	gr3b	

Blank squares are frames in which verbs are not found in compounds. Shaded squares are frames in which a particular verb-grade cannot function. To make the table simpler (i.e. to keep the shaded squares together), gr5 follows gr6 and precedes gr2 (like gr2, gr5 verbs do not appear in basic intransitive frames) . Similarly, gr3b I-verbs are found alongside intransitive L-verbs.

The distribution of v*, gr1, gr2, gr3, gr3a and gr3b verbs in verbal compounds reflects their status as basic verbs. The v* verbs and gr1 verbs are found in all frames; gr2 verbs are found in the three frames where gr2 verbs normally "operate" (∅DO, PDO and NDO; L-verbs, transitive or intransitive do not appear in PIO- or NIO-fames); similarly gr3, 3a and 3b are only found in the [-T] frame. Verbs in other grades are not found in all frames – some frames are "missing". I propose that these lacunae are not purely accidental, rather they reflect the semantic "load" the compound can carry[1].

Grade 0 verbs are found in all frames except the [-T] frame. This reflects their status as (almost) exclusively transitive verbs. However, the fact that they do not appear in [-T] frames may bear out my suggestion that compounding is sensitive to the semantics of verbs. The verb **yi** 'do, make' is, normally, a transitive verb. However it is often heard with a reflexive sense, e.g. **ruwaa yaa yi** "the water is done (= boiled)"; occasionally it is found with an intransitive usage: **yaa yi Kanòo/ùngwaa** "he's gone to Kano/he's gone (off) into the neighbourhood". Such meanings – expressed in the [-T] frame – are not found in compounds. I suggest that the intransitive or reflexive usage of the verb **yi** is too specific and that this specificity is a strong limit on eventual lexicalisation.

Grade 4 verbs are found in five frames; there are no NIO-frames and basic intransitive frames are only found with PAC+V compounds. Grade 6 verbs are similar: there are no NIO or PIO, and only a few basic intransitive frames in PAC+V compounds. The all-transitive gr5 verbs are found almost exclusively in the NDO-frame.

The fact that gr4 verbs in the basic intransitive frame are only found in PAC+V compounds may be a further example of the restriction under discussion. All (9 examples) of PAC+V compounds with [-T] gr4 verbs have no adjunct of any kind. Here three examples:

tà-miiƙèe	(3fs.SUBJ stretch.out)	in: **'yan ~** those in favour of Abacha remaining in power
tà-moorèe	(3fs.SUBJ be.content)	in: **ɗan ~** vandal, thug
taa-waayèe	(3fs.COMPL become.aware)	riot, uprising

For further examples, see chapter 3.1.5. I suggest that, in a V+X compound with such a verb, the X slot would be difficult to fill: these verbs tend to express a state.

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[1] I understand this "limit on the semantic load" to be an essential part of what determines the direction of the shift "[…] from coinage to lexicalised word […]" (see Bauer 2001:44 and chapter 1.1, above)

The fact that gr5 and gr6 transitive verbs are not found with indirect objects (and there is only 1 PIO-frame with a gr4 verb) may reflect the fact that these grades contain extensions (chapter 1.3) and carry the extra meanings "totality" (gr4), "efferential" (gr5) and "ventive" (gr6). I suggest that combining these meanings with an extra (indirect) object may be too heavy a "load" for a compound. (V+NIO compounds (chapter 2.2.1) are the smallest group of compounds.)

The fact that no gr5 verbs are found in ∅DO-frames arises from the nature of the efferential extension: it entails "action (on the object) away (from the subject)" and I suggest that an efferential extension with no overt direct object is too vague in compounds.

Although I mentioned above that gr3, gr3a and gr3b occur in the [-T] frame as expected, a look at the kind of complement they take in compounds shows that, here too, there are limits. These verbs occur with a zero complement: **à-kwaana-à-taashì** (one spends.night one rises), with an adverb indicating place: **tùmàa-ƙasà** (fall down), with a sociative object: **tàfi-dà-gidankà** (go with house.of.you), with a noun indicating state: **tàashi-laafiyàa** (rise [in.]health) or with an ideophone: **tàashi-tsàm** (rise suddenly), but there are no adverbs of time in compounds with these verbs.

The gr7 verb (**gàmu dà** 'meet with') found in three compounds has the phonologically reduced form of a gr5 verb (**gàm dà**) and its complements undergo final vowel shortening as if they were NDOs. This fact was mentioned above (chapter 4.2.1.1) and will be discussed below (5.2.3.4 and 5.3.3.3).

I suggest that the lacunae in particular frames/grades reflect a natural limitation on compounding: a verbal phrase which is a potential candidate for compounding can only hold a modest amount of information.

In the following section I describe the restriction of verbs in a particular grade in verbal compounds: gr2 verbs.

5.2 Grade 2 verbs in verbal compounds

A number of features of gr2 verbs have made "Grade 2" an interesting topic for Hausaists: their final vowels (**-aa**, **-ee**, **-i** in the ∅DO-, PDO- and NDO- frames respectively) as well as their (de-) verbal nouns (see 5.3.1). Wolff (1993:270-282; 334-351), Newman (2000:637-643 and 699f.) and Jaggar (2001:230-235 and 297-301) offer a useful overview of the accepted facts concerning grade 2.

In McIntyre (1998:97-106) I pointed out that there are restrictions on gr2 verbs in verbal compounds (VCs): "[...] one would expect VCs

with a verb in grade 2 and a noun direct object to be common. In fact VCs with such a formation are rare [...]" (ibid:97). These comments are refined and developed here, based on a larger corpus and on a recent shift in focus in our understanding of gr2 verbs[2].

Several features of verbal compounds with gr2 (transitive L-) verbs contrast with compounds containing transitive H- or I-verbs; these features are commented on in this section: a) the small number of such compounds, b) the distribution of ∅DO- and NDO- frames in these compounds, c) the restricted use of phonological markers on the verb, d) final vowel shortening, e) the composition of the direct objects in compounds with a gr2 verb and an NDO, and f) a "switch" of form in some compounds, from a gr2 to a gr1 verb. These features are described below (5.2.1–5.2.3). In 5.3 I offer an explanation.

5.2.1 Frequency of gr2 verbs in verbal compounds with transitive verbs

Given the fact that gr2 verbs are "[...] the largest class of basic transitive verbs in the language" [PN642][3], one might expect them to appear frequently with the syntax V+NDO, the syntax most commonly found in verbal compounds. Of the 626 verbal compounds with a transitive verb, 425 of them have the syntax V+NDO; only 30 of these have a gr2 verb. The same is true of compounds with the syntax V+PDO: only 4 of 44 such compounds have a gr2 verb.

There is no obvious reason for gr2 verbs to be less well represented in verbal compounds than e.g. their gr1 counterparts: both are considered to be "basic" grades (see chapter 1.3). Indeed, since grade 1 has both transitive *and* intransitive verbs and grade 2 only has transitive verbs, one could reasonably expect gr2 verbs to be found

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2 Ahmad does not comment on gr2 verbs in compounds. In a short section on "Compounds and the grade system" (1994:94-5) he simply says "All seven grades [...] occur in compounds." Newman [PN117] says: "Grade 2 verbs are surprisingly, and inexplicably, rare in this formative type."

3 Pilszczikowa (1969:12) mentions some "[...] 827 verbs [which] operate Grade 2 [...]" and lists typical meanings of gr2 verbs as follows: "approach", "ask", "beat", "begin", "buy", "cut (off)", "draw (water)", "eat/drink", "find/get", "glean", "have sexual intercourse", "help", "lift/take", "listen to", "make for/go in the direction of", "make war on", "marry", "pester", "pour", "push", "say (something)", "seek", "take/sieze", "tie", "understand", etc. This array of everyday meanings convinces me that gr2 verbs are, in principle, excellent candidates for an "appearance" in verbal compounds. There is no comparable list of the kind of meanings found in gr1 and gr4 verbs, but see Furniss (1981, 1983) who shows that they also have a wide range of possibilities.

more frequently in V+NDO compounds than transitive gr1 verbs. This is not the case.

In this section I shall consider ∅DO-, PDO- and NDO- frames in *all* compound types: V+X, PAC+V and **ma**-compounds. (Since L-verbs in PIO- and NIO-frames 'borrow' a H-form – see chapter 1.3.1 – these frames are not considered here.)

Table 5 shows the distribution of ∅DO-, PDO- and NDO-frames in my sample according to verb type: transitive H-verbs in gr1, gr4, gr5 and gr6, transitive I-verbs (v* and gr0) and transitive L-verbs (gr2). It shows that gr2 verbs are found in 72 (13%) of the 568 transitive frames: in 37 ∅DO-frames (37% of these frames), in 4 PDO-frames (9%), and 31 NDO-frames (7%):

Table 5. Frequency and distribution of PDO-, ∅DO- and NDO-frames in verbal compounds

	H-verbs					I-verbs			L-verbs	
Frames	gr1	gr4	gr5	gr6	Total	v*	gr0	Total	gr2	Totals
∅DO	23	6	-	2	31	6	25	31	37	99
PDO	12	1	2	2	17	5	18	23	4	44
NDO	151	31	66	6	254	10	130	140	31	425
Totals	186	38	68	10	302	21	173	194	72	568

5.2.2 The distribution of ∅DO- and NDO-frames in compounds with gr2 verbs

The distribution of ∅DO- and NDO-frames in compounds with gr2 verbs contrasts starkly with the distribution of these framesd in compounds with H- or I-verbs. This contrast – found in phonologically marked V+X compounds, in PAC+V compounds and in singular and plural **ma**- compounds – is considered here. (Unmarked V+NDO compounds are not considered – and *not included* in Table 6, below, because there are no unmarked V+∅DO compounds to contrast them with.)

Contrasting these frames and verb types we find 31 ∅DO-frames as against 217 NDO-frames in H-verbs (a ratio of 1 to 7), 31 ∅DO-frames as against 140 NDO-frames in I-verbs (a ratio of 1 to 4.5) and 37 ∅DO-frames as against only *31* NDO-frames in gr2 (L-) verbs (a ratio of 1.2 to 1, i.e. there are *less* NDO- than ∅DO-frames). Table 6,

below summarises of these figures; the significance of this distribution is discussed in 5.3.4.2 below.

Table 6: Distribution of ∅DO- and NDO-frames: gr2 (L-) compared to transitive H- and I-verbs:

Compound	H-verbs		I-verbs		L(gr2)	
Type:	∅DO	NDO	∅DO	NDO	∅DO	NDO
V+X marked	**24**	**202***	**20**	**101**	**36**	**19**
PAC+V	**7**	**-**	**11**	**20**	**1**	**7**
sg. ma-*	**-**	**8**	**-**	**16**	**-**	**-**
pl. ma-*	**-**	**7**	**-**	**3**	**-**	**5**
Total	**31**	**217**	**31**	**140**	**37**	**31**

*There are 37 *unmarked* V+NDO compounds with a H-verb (only H-verbs allow unmarked compounds); thus there are 239 V+NDO compounds with a H-verb.

5.2.3 Phonological marking of compounds with gr2 verbs

In this section I compare the phonological marking of compounds with gr2 (transitive L-) verbs as against those with transitive H- or I-verbs. We shall see that the marking of compounds with a gr2 verb is restricted.

5.2.3.1 Phonological markers of the verb (in the compound)

Verbal compounds are marked in various ways: 1) tone lowering, 2) LL imperative, 3) LH imperative and 4) various kinds of fused compounds, some of which seem to be imperatives (see chapter 4.3.3). There are also: 5) unmarked V+X compounds and 6) unmarked PAC+V compounds. Finally there are both 7) singular and 8) plural **ma-** compounds.

H-verbs in compounds are found with all the above forms, including both LL and LH imperatives. I-verbs are found with tone lowering and LH (but no LL) imperative forms. There are also fused compounds (see chapter 4.2.2.3), including "pseudo-imperatives" (chapter 4.3.3). I-verbs are found in PAC+V compounds and in singular and plural **ma-** compounds.

Grade 2 verbs in compounds are not marked by tone lowering (nor by final vowel lengthening on the verb, see chapter 2.1.2.1)[4]; they

[4] One compound with a gr2 verb has tone lowering on the second member of the compound, an adverb: **cìri-dàidài**, see 5.1.1.2 above.

appear in the LH imperative form but there are no LL imperative forms; only one compound with a gr2 verb appears with a LL fused form (s. 4.3.3.3); two other compounds (**ɗìbgibaɽàa** and **sàaminaakà**) are written as one word (fused) and have a gr2 verb. Grade 2 verbs are found in PAC+V compounds but not in unmarked (UM) compounds; five plural **ma-** compounds – but no singular **ma-** compounds – have a gr2 verb.

The fact that gr2 verbs are not found in singular **ma-** compounds probably relates to the fact that gr2 verbs do not take tone lowered forms in compounds. (With one exception, all singular **ma-** compounds have a tone lowered form.)

In chapter 4.2.1.2 I claim that tone lowering is the "true" marker of compounding. The fact that gr2 verbs do not undergo tone lowering is significant. This fact takes on more significance in the light of the fact that tone lowering is found on the first member of some N+N, N.L+N and ADJ.L+N compounds (chapter 4.2.1.2). These nominal compounds also have final vowel shortening on the compound final member. Final vowel shortening is *not* found in compounds with gr2 verbs, as we shall see below.

5.2.3.2 Final vowel shortening and the composition of simple V+NDO compounds with a gr2 verb

The small number of V+NDO compounds with a gr2 verb (19 from 359) is complemented by two features found only in these 19 compounds: a) the composition of simple NDOs and b) the fact that, in the few examples where final vowel shortening would be expected, it does not apply.

In 19 compounds with a gr2 verb and an NDO we find 15 simple and 4 complex NDOs. ("Simple compounds" have an NDO as the second member of a two-member compound; "complex compounds" are compounds with an NDO of more than one word, or which have an adjunct, or where there is a second VP.) In 11 of the 15 compounds with a gr2 verb and a simple NDO, final vowel shortening *cannot* apply. Furthermore, in the 4 examples where final vowel shortening should apply, it does *not* apply.

The eleven compounds in which the NDO cannot undergo final vowel shortening are composed as follows. The compound **ɗìbgibaɽàa** is fused and the final vowel of the NDO **baɽàa** is long,

marking the word lexically as a full noun[5]. In a further two examples – **dàagùri-gùrzau** and **hòori-Baidù** – the NDOs are names: **gùrzau** (a name or epithet derived from the verb **gùrzaa** 'have a hard time') has a final diphthong which cannot shorten, while **Baidù** is a name which, like many Hausa names, ends in a short final vowel (see 4.1.5).

In three examples – **ɗàu-dukà**, **nèemi-naakà** and **Sàaminaakà**[6] – we have NDOs with a lexically short final vowel: **dukà** is an adjective, **naakà** 'yours' is an independent possessive – it can stand as a noun. In a further five examples – **ɗàuki-kwàrinkà**, **ɗàuki-sàndankà**, **ɗàuki-faifankì**, **màari-bàakinkà** and **zàaɓi-sônkà** – the final noun has a possessive suffix (**-nkà** or –**nkì**, 'yours', masculine or feminine) which also has a short final vowel[7].

Thus 73% (11 from 15) of V+NDO compounds with a gr2 verb cannot undergo final vowel shortening. This contrasts sharply with both H- and I-verbs: 3.3% (8 from 239) of V+NDO compounds with a H-verb and 11% (11 from 101) of V+NDO compounds with an I-verb cannot undergo final vowel shortening, i.e. they are fused compounds or they have a NDO which has a possessive suffix, is an independent possessive pronoun or is a name.

The second unusual fact concerning gr2 V+NDO compounds is that, in the 4 examples where final vowel shortening should apply (they are simple NDOs), it does *not* apply:

cìri-cookàlii	(pull.out spoon)	Buzu dancing game
gwàagwìyi-gòorubàa	(gnaw deleb.fruit)	children's game
shàaƙi-bùkii	(smell feast)	person habitually going to celebrations without invitation
zàabùri-kàryaa	(make.leap.forward bitch)	sleeveless shirt

The above are two-member compounds in which, according to the rule given in 4.1.2, the final vowel of the NDO should shorten, but does not. In contrast, this is a regular feature of V+NDO compounds which have a H- or I-verb.

In 5.3.3 and 5.3.4 below I offer an explanation of this and of the other differences between gr2 verbs and transitive H- and I-verbs in compounding.

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[5] There is no evidence that the NDO **baɾ̃àa** in **ɗìbgibaɾ̃àa** had a short final vowel prior to "fusion".

[6] **Sàaminaakà** (a town south of Kano) is fused. The final vowel does not lengthen – probably because the word is a name.

[7] These examples with the possessive pronoun suffix could be classified as complex NDOs.

5.2.3.3 An ambiguity in V+NDO compounds with a gr2 verb

The fact that final vowel shortening does not apply in compounds with a gr2 verb and a simple NDO raises a question about the form of the verb in those compounds. Since both the imperative and the finite forms of gr2 verbs are L*H, the verb in these compounds could be either imperative or finite. If the final vowel of the NDO shortened, we could argue that the verb form is imperative, since final vowel shortening and an imperative or tone lowered form normally occur together (see rule 3 in 4.1.2). However there is no final vowel shortening and the form of the verb cannot be established.

The ambiguity of the form in these compounds can be explained in one of two ways: either a) the gr2 verb has an imperative form but the NDO does not undergo final vowel shortening – an exception to the rule, or b) the gr2 verb is unmarked and thus final vowel shortening does not apply.

The argument that the gr2 verbs in the above V+NDO compounds have an imperative form is supported by the fact that the imperative form is found in V+∅DO and V+PDO compounds where the verb is grade 2. Here are four (of 38) examples of compounds with a gr2 verb and a ∅DO-frame, two with V+Adv and two with V+V (As we saw in chapter 2.2.4.2, V+V compounds are classified according to the first verb in the compound):

kwàashi-kwàràf	(fetch loosely)	weak person/thing
sàari-kutuf	(cut severely)	old gecko
ɗàuki-sàkaa	(take put)	type of quilted saddle-cover
shàaci-fàɗi	(comb say)	in: **yi ~** inventing stories

The form of the gr2 verbs in the above compounds is imperative: the final **-i** vowel on the verb is not found in the finite form of the gr2 ∅DO-frame (where a final **-aa** vowel is found[8]).

The imperative is also found in the three examples of a gr2 verb with a PDO-frame:

ɗàu-ni	(take me)	in: **taa yi musù ~** she issued their rations

[8] Speakers of Ghana Hausa (GH) use the final **-i** in this frame. This feature in GH may be innovatory or conservative; it may have no bearing on the present discussion. GH is poorly defined. The so-called GH speakers I know in Hamburg come mainly from Ghana, but also Burkina Faso and Togo. Many say their forefathers came from Sokoto or Katsina, i.e. did not speak what is considered to be SH.

sàu-ta-gà-waawaa	(release her to fool)	girl whose marriage comes to a swift end
cùuɗèe-ni-ìn cùuɗee-kà	(massage me 1.SBJ massage you)	in: **zaman duuniyàa bìkii nèe, ~**[9] life is a celebration, help me, I'll help you

The finite forms of the above verbs are: **ɗau**, **sau** and **cùuɗee**.

The argument that the gr2 verb in each of the above V+NDO compounds is unmarked and thus final vowel shortening does not apply, seems to offer a simpler solution than the first argument. However, while the first possibility requires an extra stipulation in the final vowel shortening rule (viz., the rule does not apply to compounds with gr2 verbs), the second argument infringes on a general morphosyntactic rule which applies throughout Hausa verbal syntax. This rule can be formulated as follows: only H-verbs allow infinitive phrases in non-finite environments[10]. L- and I-verbs cannot appear in nonfinite environments with finite forms (they use a (de-)verbal noun in these environments). All unmarked verbal compounds have a H-verb (see Table C, Appendix 2).

I thus assume that the gr2 verbs in these V+NDO compounds have an imperative form but that final vowel shortening does not occur.

Before attempting to answer the questions to which these features give rise, one more fact relating to gr2 verbs is discussed: grade switching.

5.2.3.4 Grade switching: a phonological marker of gr2 verbs?

The term "grade switching" is used in various contexts of the Hausa verbal grade system. Its general meaning is that a verb from one grade takes the form of a verb from another grade in a particular context[11]. Ahmad (1994:71) first applied the term "a switch of grade", to verbal compounds. Here the term "grade switching" is used to describe gr2

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9 Abraham [A964] gives the first verb and pronoun as follows: **cùuɗee ni**; I have never heard this but the form is imperative. I have heard the same compound in gr1: **cùuɗaa-ni-ìn-cùuɗaa-ka** (from M. Habou, a journalist from Niger in the German Radio); this is also an imperative form.

10 Infinitive phrases are "nonfinite phrase[s] containing a finite verb stem." with the structure $[\text{V OBJ}]_{\text{N}}$ [PN288].

11 Newman [PN708-9] describes "grade switching" between finite verbs and verbal nouns, e.g. gr1 **huuɗàa** 'make farm ridges' has a verbal noun **hùuɗaa** "from a synchronically nonoccurring gr2 verb stem". Jaggar [PJ269f.] uses the same term to describe how L-verbs "switch" to another "extension or grade" before indirect objects.

verbs taking the imperative form of a gr1 verb[12]. I suggest that grade switching is a pseudo-phonological device which allows a gr2 verb to appear in a verbal compound and allows final vowel shortening where it would otherwise not apply.

Ahmad (1994:159) offers the following examples of grade switching:

dàngwàrà-dàɓe	(hit floor)	overgrown clitoris
gàagàrà-gàasa	(defy competition)	outstanding person
gàagàrà-kòoyo	(defy learning)	mysterious thing

Further examples are:

fàskàrà-tòoyi	(defy burning)	a herb
gàagàrà-baami	(defy foreigner)	tongue twister
gàagàrà-birì	(defy monkey)	plaited leather dog collar
gàagàrà-kwànta	(defy untying)	knotted hobbling rope[13]
hàràarà-garkè	(glare.at flock)	an eye syndrome
màarà(a)-bàakinkà	(slap mouth.of.2m)	beans cooked alone
zàabùrà-dawaaki	(make.leap.forward horses)	epithet[14]

(As mentioned in 2.1.1, compounds with trisyllabic verbs are infrequent; the fact that so many are "switched" underlines this fact.)

A further example of the grade switching under discussion may be the name in Hausa legend, **Kàrɓà-gàri**:

kàrɓà-gàri	(take town)	conqueror of the town

Kàrɓà-gàri is the father of Bawo who "[...] is considered as the father of all the Hausa[...]" (Bargery 1934:xi).

In the above examples we would expect gr2 forms. What we find are gr2 *meanings* with gr1 *forms*. In the following list I give the gr2 NDO-form and the gr2 meaning; in brackets I give the gr1 NDO

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12 Commenting on this kind of grade switching, Newman [PN117] says: "Grade 2 verbs are surprisingly, and inexplicably, rare in this formative type. In the few examples that occur they function *as if* they were gr1 verbs, i.e. they have a final –**a** in the C-form [...]" (his emphasis). He implies that the compound **bàrà-gurbì** (leave.[to/for] nest) 'rotten egg' is a further example of grade switching; I offer a different interpretation (see chapter 4.3.3.1).

13 All examples with **gàagàrà** are found in Ahmad (1994:158). The claim that compounds with this verb are examples of grade-switching is weakened by the existence of **gaagàraa** (gr1) meaning 'render rebellious' or 'test' [A285].

14 The example **hàràarà-garkè** is found in Newman [PN118] while **màarà(a)-bàakinkà** is found in Abraham [A658] and Bargery [B773]; Bargery gives a long final vowel on the verb: **màaràa**. This compound is also found with the gr2 form: **màari-bàakinkà**. The compound **zàabùrà-dawaaki** is an epithet used by professional beggars (**àlmàajìrai**) for any person named Amadu ([A959] and [B1119]).

imperative form and its meaning: **dàngwàri** 'rap, hit' (gr1: **dàngwàrà** 'pour small amount'), **fàskàri** 'defy' (gr1: **fàskàrà** 'split, e.g. wood'), **gàagàri** 'defy' (gr1: **gàagàrà** 'make impossible'), **hàràari** 'glare at' (gr1: **hàràarà** 'reflect on, consider'[15]), **kàrɓi** 'take, receive' (gr1: **kàrɓà** 'accept, e.g. a challenge') and **màari** 'slap' (gr1: **màarà**(**a**) 'help' – a meaning generally used with an indirect object). The verb **zàabùri** 'make sth. leap forward' has no gr1 counterpart – the gr1 form **zàabùrà** is only found in the compound[16].

Before proceeding to a summary of the above facts concerning gr2, let me add one more possible instance of grade switching: a gr7 (L-) verb switching to gr5 (H-) verb:

gàm-dà-harì	(meet with battle)	1) black stork; 2) sth. bringing bad luck
gàm-dà-kàtaɾ̃	(meet with luck)	good luck
gàm-dà-yaaƙì	(meet with battle)	black stork

The form of the verb in these compounds, **gàm dà**, cannot be a reduction of gr5 ****gamaɾ̃ dà** (a theoretical gr5 extension of gr1 **gamàa** 'join'); this extension is not known. The meaning suggests that **gàm dà** is a phonological reduction of the intransitive gr7 **gàmu dà** 'meet (up) with' – although such phonological reduction is not otherwise found in gr7[17]. Since, according to the rule (4.3), final vowel shortening does not function on sociative objects, the final vowel shortening of **harì** and **yaaƙì** suggests that they are felt to be direct objects – as if in gr5. I suggest that this is a further instance of the grade switching under discussion: a L-verb switching to a H-verb[18].

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15 Newman [PN118] gives the translation 'glance' for **hàraaràa**; I have not found this meaning elsewhere.

16 The following compound may be a further example of grade switching:
ìngìzà-waawaa (push fool) type of language trick
The meaning 'push' is the gr2 meaning; the form is gr1. Ahmad (1994:94) gives it as a gr1 verb – but without final vowel shortening.

17 Ahmad (1994:97) interprets **gàm dà** as a gr7 verb. He does not comment on its being phonologically reduced.

18 Jaggar [PJ269:442] describes some gr2 imperatives in the PDO-frame taking a final **-àa** (instead of the expected **-èe**) preceding the H-tone pronoun: **ɗàukàa ta** 'take it!', **hàɾ̃bàa shi** 'shoot it!', **sàkàa ni** 'let me go!' and **tàmbàyàa ta** 'ask her!'; he says they are "documented in the literature". The final **-àa** looks like the final vowel of a gr1 verb, but Jaggar does not use the term "grade switching" here. These forms are not found in compounds with a PDO-frame.

I assume that the above are examples of L-verbs in compounds switching to a H-verb form. In the case of gr2 verbs, the consequence of the switch is that the NDO undergoes final vowel shortening. I suggest that this is the function of grade switching: the object undergoes final vowel shortening in a context where it otherwise does not occur and marks the phrase as a compound.

So far we have seen L-verbs (gr2 and gr7) switching to a H-verb form (gr1 and gr5). Here I discuss two examples of gr1 intransitive verbs (see 2.2.5.2) with gr3 imperative forms[19]:

kwànci-tàashi	(lie.down get.up)	day by day
tsùgùni-tàashi	(squat stand.up)	struggle

I argue here that the gr3 imperative form found in these gr1 verbs is *not* an instance of grade switching. Both Newman [PN264] and Jaggar [PJ437, n.3] comment on the LH tones and final vowel of **kwànci** (in **kwànci-tàashi**). Both suggest that the final **-i** may be an archaic imperative suffix preserved in the compound; Newman [PN264] offers a further possibility, viz., that the final **-i** may be "a rhyming vowel". Neither suggests that this is an instance of grade switching. Whether **kwànci** and **tsùgùni** are archaic imperatives or the function of final **-i** is purely a rhyming function (to rhyme with **tàashi**), I suggest that these forms have no direct bearing on the present discussion.

Referring to the forms in which grade switching occurs, Ahmad (1994:71-72) suggests that either "these particular compounds became frozen in that particular phonological shape, or, alternatively, there was a switch of grade in the verbs involved in the compounding process". He does not say which interpretation he prefers. My own feeling is that switching forms – from a L-verb (g2/gr7) to a H-verb (gr1/gr5) – is part of the compounding process and is of direct relevance to the present discussion.

5.3 Explaining grade 2 verbs in compounds

The features described above suggest that gr2 verbs and compounding are uneasy bedfellows. In this section I compare transitive H- and I-verbs with transitive L-verbs (gr2) in compounds and in ordinary speech. I summarise various authors on gr2 and offer a hypothesis as

[19] We find this gr3 imperative form in the compound: **shìgi-dà-fìci** (enter and go.out) 'immigration' (see chapter 2.2.5.2). Other gr3 imperative forms found in compounds retain the final **-a** vowel found in the finite forms of gr3 verbs.

to how the unexpected features found in compounds with gr2 verbs might be explained.

Table 7 (below) shows the frequency of transitive H-/I- and L-verbs in various compound frames.

H-verbs – especially gr1 and gr4 - are in common use in Hausa. We find a total of 311 compounds with a transitive H-verb: 194 in gr1, 39 in gr4, 68 in gr5 and 10 in gr6. (Grades 1 and 4 contain both basic verbs and extensions; gr5 and gr6 verbs are purely extensions.)

I-verbs are also very common in Hausa. In my sample there are 69 compounds with transitive v* verbs and 174 compounds with transitive gr0 verbs.

Grade 2 is "[...] the largest class of basic transitive verbs in the language." [PN642] (see 5.2.1 above, footnotes 2 and 3). However, there are only 72 compounds with a gr2 verb in the corpus.

Table 7: Transitive H-/I- and L- (gr2) verbs in verbal compounds

	H-verbs					I-verbs			L-verbs	
Frames	gr1	gr4	gr5	gr6	Total	v*	gr0	Total	gr2	Totals
NDO	151	31	66	6	254	10	130	140	31	425
PDO	12	1	2	2	17	5	18	23	4	44
∅DO	23	6	-	2	31	6	25	31	37	99
PIO	2	1	-	-	3	41	1	42	-*	45
NIO	6	-	-	-	6	7	-	7	-*	13
Totals	194	39	68	10	311	69	174	243	72	626

*L-verbs never appear in the PIO/NIO-frames; they "borrow" a form from a H-verb (see chapter 1.3.2).

5.3.1 A comparison of transitive H-/I- and L- (gr2) verbs

I now briefly describe and compare the morphosyntax of transitive H-/I- and L- (gr2) verbs outside of compounds. This comparison is given as a background to the discussion (5.3.2 below) concerning the possible significance of the differences between these verbs in compounds.

Table 8 shows the morphosyntactic differences found in H-/I- and L-verbs:

Table 8: The morphosyntax of H-/I- and L-verbs

	TP	IO-form	-`**waa** VN	InfPhr.
H-verbs	**H*L(H)** or **H***	**yes**	**yes**	**yes**
I-verbs	*H* or HL*	*?*	*?*	*no*
L-verbs	L*H(L) or LLH	no	no	no

The following abbreviations are used above: a) TP = tone pattern, b) "IO-form" refers to the existence of an independent indirect object form for the particular verb type, c) "-`**waa** VN" refers to the use (or not) of a -`**waa** verbal noun; d) "InfPhr" = formation of infinitive phrases.
The IO-forms and verbal nouns of I-verbs are explained below.

Table 8 shows the different tone patterns of H-, I- and L-verbs. It shows that H-verbs have their own form preceding indirect objects, that they have verbal nouns with a -`**waa** suffix and may form infinitive phrases (verb plus object) in nonfinite environments[20]. I-verbs are hybrid. Their IO-forms vary: some, like H-verbs, have their own form; others, like L-verbs, "borrow" the form of a H-verb; most do not use a -`**waa** suffix to form a verbal noun, and *no* I-verbs form infinitive phrases. L-verbs "borrow" the form of a H-verb when preceding an indirect object; they do not have -`**waa** verbal nouns and may not form infinitive phrases. (See chapter 1.3.2.)

In McIntyre (1998) I related the theme of gr2 (transitive L-) verbs in compounds to their morphosyntax in nonfinite environments. There, I overlooked the fact that transitive I-verbs have the same morphosyntax as L-verbs in non-finite environments, i.e. they use a (de-)verbal noun and do not allow infinitive phrases. In compounds however, I-verbs are like to H-verbs, both in their frequency and in their use of phonological markers, including final vowel shortening. The fact that transitive I-verbs behave like transitive L-verbs (gr2) in nonfinite environments but like transitive H-verbs in compounds highlights the need for an explanation of the idiosyncracies of gr2 verbs in compounds.

In the following I offer a resumé of the literature concerning grade 2 and then suggest that a particular attribute of gr2 verbs might explain the unexpected features of verbal compounds containing these verbs.

[20] The -`**waa** VNs or infinitive phrases are in complementary syntactic distribution (only for H-verbs): the -`**waa** VN occurs in the ∅DO- and basic intransitive frame while infinitive phrases occur in other frames.

5.3.2 Compounds with gr2 verbs: an attempt to explain

Many authors have tackled gr2 verbs: Parsons (1954, 1960, 1971/72), Abraham (1959), Lukas (1963), Pilszczikowa (1969), Newman (1973), Furniss (1981, 1983), Gouffé (1988), Tuller (1990), Caron (1991), Abdoulaye (1996a), De Campos (1998) and Frajzyngier and Munkaila (2004). (See too: Newman 2000:637-643, Jaggar 2001:230-235 and Wolff 1993:280-282 and 344-351.)

Originally it was the so-called "changing vowels" (**-aa**, **-ee**, **–i** in the ∅DO-, PDO- and NDO-frames respectively) which attracted the attention of Hausaists to grade 2. Parsons (1960) classified gr2 verbs as a "primary" grade along with gr1 and gr3 (see chapter 1.3.1) verbs; he did not consider them to have any specific semantic content. It was Lukas (1963) who first argued that gr2 verbs had particular meanings and his label – "partitive-separative" – became associated with gr2 verbs. Pilszczikowa (1969) gave further breadth and depth to the idea of lexico-semantic classes in grade 2 (see footnote 3 above).

Newman (1973) reanalysed the Hausa verbal system from a diachronic perspective, putting it on a wider Chadic footing. He introduced the notions "phonological classes" and "verbal extensions", suggesting that "[...] the former basic grades I, II and III [...] can be eliminated entirely. Unlike the grades, these phonological classes are not considered to have semantic correlates." Furniss (1981, 1983) gave the semantic discussion new life, integrating Newman's insights (1973) with observations on semantic correlates between grades 1, 2, 3 and 4. Following this, the idea that gr2 verbs contain both basic verbs and extensions was widely accepted. However no author was able to offer a definition of basic verbs as against extensions in grade 2 and no author managed to describe the exact nature of the extension(s)[21].

What these authors have in common is that they are looking at the *direct object*[22]. Whether the gr2 verb is a basic verb or an extension, the direct object is considered to be the "part" on which the action of

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[21] Newman [PN641-643] divides gr2 verbs into "basic verbs" and two extensions: "partitive/displacive" and "figurative/metaphorical". Jaggar [PJ234-235] distinguishes between "basic verbs" and "partitives" but also mentions "a metaphorical extension".

[22] Newman [PN642 and 643] says: "Hausa partitives [...] indicate action affecting part of the *object*." or: "A few apparently derived gr2 verbs have a figurative meaning, usually with an animate *object* […]" [my emphasis]. Jaggar [PJ235] says: "Some gr2 verbs express a metaphorical extension […] implying that the gr2 verbal action is to the detriment of the (animate) *patient* […]" [my emphasis].

the verb impinges or the entity which is "separated", "insulted" or "criticised".

In the last few years there has been a definite change of focus *away* from the direct object. This change starts with Gouffé (1988), who suggests that gr2, gr3 and gr7 verbs (L-verbs) express internal diathesis or middle voice. Referring to the function of middle voice ("le moyen") he says (1988:36): "Dans le moyen [...] le verbe indique un procès dont *le sujet est le siège*." (my emphasis) Caron (1991:214f) takes the same approach in his analysis of Ader Hausa. Tuller (1990) shifts the focus of the discussion of gr2 verbs towards semantics, suggesting that the action of the gr2 verb implies a *semantic* goal and that this goal may be either the direct object or the *subject*.

Abdoulaye (1996a), de Campos (1998) and Frajzyngier and Munkaila (2004) also direct their attention to the subject. Abdoulaye (1996) discusses gr2 verbs in terms of 'figure' and 'ground' – terms he takes from Talmy (1985). He suggests (1996a:5) that "the overall function of gr. 2 is to select a unique argument for the verb beside the subject […]", that this "unique argument" is the direct object[23], but that its place is "beside the subject". This is an important detail in my hypothesis (5.3.3 below).

De Campos (1998:83) specifically relates verbs beginning with a low tone (L-verbs) to the "demotion of an external argument and promotion of an internal argument[24]". Despite his use of the word "demotion", de Campos highlights the syntactic role of the subject. Furthermore he separates tone pattern and final vowel analytically.

Frajzyngier and Munkaila (2004:8) accept the analytical separation of tone pattern and final vowel and focus even more explicitly on the subject:

> "The low tone of the first syllable of the verb is an independent coding means, coding the *point of view of the subject*. The high tone of the first syllable of the verb is the default tone, coding no specific point of view, but excluding the point of view of the subject.
> "The ending **–i** in grade 2 is *a suffix*. It codes the presence of *an overt second argument* represented in a clause that represents the event from the *point of view of the subject*." (my emphases)

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[23] Abdoulaye (1996a:5) says that the *direct object* (my emphasis) is "[…] understood as referring to a Figure or Ground in the sense of Talmy (1985)." He offers "seven lexico-semantic classes of Gr. 2" verbs which correlate with Figure and/or Ground (1996a:22).

[24] De Campos (1998:4) says the LH tone pattern "[…] is the phonological realization of the predicate's head […and…] reflects 'unaccusative' predicates."

In their different ways, Abdoulaye (1996a), De Campos (1998) and Frajzyngier and Munkaila (2004) clearly express the shift of emphasis in the analysis of grade 2 verbs, from the direct object to the subject while maintaining the importance of the direct object. Abdoulaye (1996a:5) says: "[T]he overall function of gr. 2 is to select a unique argument for the verb beside the subject". De Campos (1998:3) suggests that verbs beginning with a low tone (my L-verbs) express the "demotion of an external argument and promotion of an internal argument". Frajzyngier and Munkaila (2004:8) claim that "[t]he low tone cod[es] the point of view of the subject [...]" while the "[–**i** suffix] codes the presence of an overt second argument [...] in a clause that represents the event from the *point of view of the subject*."

I do not wish to enter into a discussion of the relative merits of the arguments of these authors nor of the theories underlying their opinions. All three authors are important in the hypothesis I formulate below (5.3.3), however I use Abdoulaye's terminology because I find he articulates a) the role of the subject and b) the importance of the direct object in terms of the subject more concisely than the others.

5.3.3 An explanation of the idiosyncracies of gr2 verbs in compounds

The above outline of the history of our understanding of gr2 verbs shows that, in the search for an adequate description of these verbs, scholars have slowly shifted their attention towards the subject – and to the relationship of the subject to the direct object. I suggest that this perspective is directly relevant to an understanding of gr2 verbs in compounds and offer the following hypothesis as an explanation of the "behaviour" of gr2 verbs in compounds:

> If "[...] the overall function of gr. 2 is to select a *unique argument* for the verb *beside the subject* [...]" (Abdoulaye 1996a; my emphases), the *absence* of an overt subject in V+X compounds disqualifies them from appearing in such compounds.

The corollary of this hypothesis is that V+X compounds are an *unstable or, at least, a less stable* environment for gr2 verbs, i.e. the lexical goal of the compounding process – a verbal phrase becomes a compound (generally, a noun) – is less likely to be achieved[25].

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[25] For the fact that most verbal compounds become nouns, see chapter 1, footnote 14. The fact that verbal noun compounds (chapter 3.3) are formed with verbal *nouns* seems to lend them a stability which gr2 verbs do not find in V+X compounds: many gr2 verbal nouns are found in verbal noun compounds. I suggest below (chapter 6.2.4) that the syntax of these nominalised compounds

The relevance of the above hypothesis is underpinned by the fact that the arguments of verbs in verbal compounds are restricted (see Lieber 1983, Grimshaw 1990, Jensen 1990 and chapter 1.1) and that their internal arguments are satisfied *inside* the compound (see chapter 1.2.4). Significantly, the external argument (the subject) is unusual in compounds[26].

In this section I shall first look at the idiosyncratic features of gr2 verbs in compounds and show how the above hypothesis might explain these features. I shall then offer possible counterfactual evidence and show that it does not disprove the hypothesis.

The idiosyncratic features of gr2 verbs are the following: a) the low frequency of compounds with gr2 verbs and the limitations on phonological marking in such compounds, b) the frequency and composition of V+NDO compounds where the verb is a gr2 verb, c) grade switching and d) the distribution of H- and L-verbs in PAC+V+NDO compounds.

Possible counterfactual evidence is then discussed: a) the presence of gr2 verbs in plural **ma**-compounds, b) the distribution of ∅DO-frames in compounds with transitive verbs, c) *intransitive* L-verbs in compounds, and d) the fact that H- and I-verbs appear with low tone in compounds.

5.3.3.1 The low frequency of compounds with gr2 verbs and the restrictions on phonological marking of the verb

The low frequency of compounds with gr2 verbs is the most visible indication of the problem the hypothesis tries to explain.

We saw in 5.2.1 that gr2 verbs are found in only 30 of some 425 compounds with a NDO-frame (7%) and in only 4 of some 44 compounds with a PDO-frame (9%). This contrasts starkly with H- and I-verbs: H-verbs are found in 255 V+NDO compounds (60%) and in 17 V+PDO compounds (39%) while I-verbs are found in 140 V+NDO compounds (33%) and in 23 V+PDO compounds (52%).

In 5.2.3 we saw that gr2 verbs in compounds have fewer phonological markers of the verb than H- or I-verbs: neither tone lowered nor LL imperative forms are found in compounds with gr2

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is relatively closed, i.e. they are less open to the kind of syntactic relationship (metonymy) we find between the literal and the lexical meanings of V+X and other compounds (see chapter 6.2.1).

[26] In synthetic compounds (e.g. in English and German compounds with the suffix –er) the presence of the subject is thought to be impossible. Spencer (1991:328) calls this the "Subject Restriction Rule".

verbs[27]. This fact may simply be the result of the small number of such compounds, i.e. a secondary effect. On the other hand, since tone lowering is a phonological marker found *only* in compounds (in contrast to imperative and finite forms which are also found in normal speech) the fact that gr2 verbs in compounds are not tone lowered may be a further idiosyncracy. At the very least the absence of tone lowering on gr2 verbs in compounds may be a further indication that they have a problem in compounds.

5.3.3.2 The frequency of V+NDO compounds where the verb is a gr2 verb; composition of the NDO and 'stability'

There is a striking disparity in the frequency of L-verbs as against H- or I-verbs in V+NDO compounds. The composition of the few compounds with a gr2 verb and an NDO is also significant.

In 5.2.2 we saw that there are 19 V+NDO compounds with a gr2 verb. In 5.2.3.2 we saw that there are 15 simple and 4 complex NDOs (the latter with two VPS or with a NDO made up of N.L+N). In 11 of the 15 compounds with a gr2 verb and a simple NDO, we saw that final vowel shortening *cannot* apply (the reasons are summarised below). Furthermore, in the 4 examples where final vowel shortening should apply (see chapter 4.1.2), it does *not* apply[28].

The eleven examples which *cannot* undergo final vowel shortening are either fused or the NDO is a name, an independent possessive (which has a short final vowel) or has a possessive suffix "occupying" the slot on which final vowel shortening would occur. There is also one NDO which is a name ending in a diphthong; diphthongs cannot be shortened. These eleven compounds compare with compounds in which we find H- or I-verbs and a NDO whose final vowel cannot be shortened: there are 8 (of 239) such compounds with a H-verb (one of them has two VPs and final vowel shortening is not expected there); there are 11 (of 101) such compounds with an I-verb.

A further fact concerning these eleven compounds is relevant to the hypothesis: seven of these compounds have a a 2nd person possessive pronoun as NDO. I suggest that the presence of the 2nd person pronoun contributes to the 'stability' of these compounds:

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[27] One consequence of this fact is that, since the verb in singular **ma**-compounds is tone lowered, gr2 verbs are not found in these compounds; the only singular **ma**-compound with an imperative form has a gr1 verb.

[28] Seven PAC+V compounds and 5 plural **ma**-compounds with a gr2 verb and a NDO are discussed in 5.3.3.4 and 5.3.4.1 respectively. Final vowel shortening does not affect them and they have no relevance to the present theme.

ɗàuki-kwàrinkà	(take quiver.of.2m)	matrilocal marriage
ɗàuki-sàndankà	(take stick.of.2m)	matrilocal marriage
ɗàuki-faifankì	(take small. mat.of.2f)	food for casual guest
màari-bàakinkà	(slap mouth.of.2m)	beans cooked alone
nèemi-naakà	(look.for yours)	look out for yourself
sàami-naakà	(get yours)	town (S.E. of Kano)
zàaɓi-sônkà	(choose wish.of.2m)	people's greetings broadcast on radio

This pronoun is either an independent genitive (**naakà**) and the NDO of the verb or is suffixed to the NDO (**-nkà** m./**-nkì** f.). If, as I argue in 5.2.3.3 above, the verb has an imperative form, then the underlying subject of the command is the person referred to in the possessive pronoun. In that case there is a very close connection in these compounds between the thematic subject and the object, i.e. the "[...] *unique argument* for the verb *beside the subject*" (Abdoulaye 1996a).

A further factor affecting these compounds may be stability. In 5.3.3 I suggested that compounds are an unstable or less stable environment for gr2 verbs. If stability is relevant, then I suggest that a name or possessive as NDO has the advantage of being *specific*: a name refers to a specific person, possessives specify "*yours*" or "*your* N" as against "*anybody's*" or "*any* N". Such NDOs add specificity to the "unique argument" selected to stand "beside the subject" in compounds which have no overt subject.

In three other such compounds the lexical meaning of the compound is the underlying subject of the verb in the compound:

ɗàu-dukà	(take all)	fine p.
shàaƙi-bùkii	(smell feast)	p. habitually going to celebrations without invitation
zàabùri-kàryaa	(make.leap.forward bitch)	type of sleeveless shirt

Again, if we look at the compound as a whole, i.e at the relationship of the literal and the lexical meaning, the latter meaning is the subject of the former. This relationship is not unusual in verbal compounds (as we shall see in chapter 6), however, it is one which may give the above compounds more stability. Two of the remaining compounds (below) are games: **cìri-cookàlii** and **gwàagwìyi-gòorubàa** and probably have the same relationship between the literal and lexical meanings as those above.

In **ɗàagùri-gùrzau**, **ɗìbgibaɾ̃àa** and **hòori-Ɓaidù** I am unsure of the relationship.

dìbgibaɗàa (< **dìbgi-baɗàa)**	(drive.away begging)	1) showing concern at th. not one's business 2) talking at random
dàagùri-gùrzau	(gnaw.at invulnerable.p.)	charm making one invulnerable
hòori-Baidù	(train Baidu)	large leather bag

The four compounds which would normally undergo final vowel shortening – but do not – were discussed in 5.2.3.3:

cìri-cookàlii	(pull.out spoon)	Buzu dancing game
gwàagwìyi-gòorubàa	(gnaw deleb fruit)	children's game
shàaƙi-bùkii	(smell feast)	p. habitually going to celebrations without invitation
zàabùri-kàryaa	(make.leap.forward bitch)	type of sleeveless shirt

There I posed the question as to whether the gr2 form of the verbs in these compounds was finite or imperative (the LH form is the same in both contexts); I argued that they have imperative forms and *should* undergo final vowel shortening. It is possible that that these four compounds are simply exceptions to the final vowel shortening rule (see chapter 4.1.2); if this were the case, then they are doubly exceptional: a) there are *only four* examples and b) *all* four are exceptions.

I cannot make a definitive statement as to why these four compounds do not mark the final vowel of the NDO. However, in terms of the hypothesis, this fact can be described as follows: since there is no overt subject, these four V+NDO compounds do not mark the "unique argument" selected to stand "beside the subject" (Abdoulaye 1996a:5).

5.3.3.3 Grade switching

In 5.2.3.4 I listed eleven possible examples of grade switching. Grade switching is mostly found with gr2 verbs with the verb changing from a gr2 to a gr1 form. I suggest that this phonological change *furthers* the compounding process, giving the verb the form of an H-verb and allowing the compound an extra phonological marker: final vowel shortening.

Interestingly, the three gr7 verbs (L-verbs) found in V+X compounds also seem to have switched form: from a gr7 to a gr5 form, i.e. from the form of a L-verb to that of a H-verb. Jaggar (1981a, 1981b, 1988 and 2001:260f) calls gr7 verbs "affected-*subject*" verbs

(my emphasis)[29]. According to the hypothesis, gr7 verbs will also have a problem with compounding – where no overt subject is present. Grade switching can be interpreted as a solution to the problem of such verbs in compounds.

5.3.3.4 The distribution of H- and L-verbs in PAC+V+NDO compounds

There are 27 compounds with a PAC, a transitive verb and an NDO (PAC+V+NDO) in my data. In these compounds we find gr2 verbs and I-verbs but *no* H-verbs. I argue here that this fact supports the hypothesis.

Of the 27 PAC+V+NDO compounds, seven have a gr2 verb and twenty-one have an I-verb. Here are the seven examples with a gr2 verb:

à-kòori-buuzuu	(4pl.SBJ chase Tuareg)	police-like house guard
à-kòori-kuuraa	(4pl.SBJ chase cart)	delivery truck
à-wàawùri-kàryaa	(4pl.SBJ grab bitch)	sleeveless shirt
à-zàabùri-kàryaa	(4pl.SBJ grab bitch)	sleeveless shirt
à-zùngùri-duuniyàa	(4pl.SBJ poke world)	pointed boots
wàa-ya zàagi-bàaba	(who 3m.REL.CMP insult father)	type of club
wàa-ya zàagi-dòogarìi	(who 3m.REL.CMP insult king's guard)	type of fabric

There is also one PAC+V+X compound with the gr7 verb **hàdu** 'meet':

mù-hàdu-à-bankìi	(1pl.SBJ meet at bank)	a sleeping drug

The fact that twenty-one PAC+V+NDO compounds have an I-verb does not seem to affect my argument one way or the other. Nor is the fact that transitive H-verbs do *not* appear in such compounds necessarily significant: although H-verbs are found in PAC+V+∅DO and in PAC+V+PDO compounds, as well as in PAC+V [intransitive] compounds (see Appendix 3a), the reason for their not appearing in PAC+V+NDO compounds may simply be that they have many possibilities – both phonological and syntactic – to form V+X compounds, and do not "need" PAC+V+NDO compounds.

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[29] The term "affected-subject" is accepted by Frajzyngier and Munkaila (2004:18). See also Wolff [W364]. Newman distinguishes between "patient-oriented" [PN665] and "actor/experiencer-oriented" gr7 verbs [PN668]; the verb in my example, **gàmu**, belongs in the latter group.

However, the fact that gr2 verbs and one gr7 verb are found in PAC+V compounds is significant: the PAC is an overt *subject*[30] (even if, in five of the above compounds, the subject is the impersonal, 4th person, **à** 'one'). According to the hypothesis, compounds with an overt subject are unproblematic for such verbs.

The above detail is paralleled and, perhaps, consolidated in VNCs. Here, overt subjects are found with the verbal nouns of gr2 verbs (underlined) in e.g. **duukàn-iskàa** (beating.of demon) 'mentally-ill person' or **sakìn-waawaa** (letting.go.of idiot) 'beautiful girl divorced soon after marriage' (see chapter 3.3.1.2).

5.3.4 Possible counterfactual evidence

In this section I present evidence which might cast doubt on the hypothesis. Four themes are discussed: a) the presence of gr2 verbs in plural **ma**-compounds, b) the distribution of ∅DO-frames in compounds with transitive verbs, c) *intransitive* L-verbs in compounds, and d) the fact that H- and I-verbs appear with low tone in compounds.

5.3.4.1 The presence of gr2 verbs in plural **ma**-compounds

In plural **ma**- compounds gr2 verbs are found in the NDO-frame; as in the above case (PAC+V+NDO compounds), their distribution seems to be normal: there are 15 plural **ma**-compounds with a NDO-frame: 7 with H-verbs (gr1), 3 with I-verbs and 5 with gr2 verbs. Here are the 5 compounds with a gr2 verb:

maɗàukaa-kanwaa	(ma:lift potash)	in: **zamaa dà ~ shii ya sâa farin kâi**[31]
magòoyaa-baayan-X	(ma:support back.of X)	X's supporters
mahàlàr̃taa-tàarôn	(ma:attend meeting.DET)	those attending the meeting
mahàrbaa-ɓaunaa	(ma:hunt bushcow)	bushcow hunters
manèemaa-làabàar̃ai	(ma:look.for news)	reporters

[30] Fabb (1998:75) refers to "subject-predicate compounds", giving the English "sunrise" as an example. Schadeberg (2003:88) gives a similar example in Ganda (Bantu JE15): "[…] where the noun seems to be the subject of the preceding verb: *e-bugwa-njuba* 'west' <=*gʊ-* 'fall' + *i=jʊba* 'sun'"; however, Schadeberg suggests that, underlyingly, the syntactic sources of such compounds are "[…] sentences with locative subjects (e.g. "there-falls the sun")." Anderson (1996:3, footnote 6) says that Pawnee, Southern Sotho and Tswana allow subjects in *synthetic* compounds (see chapter 1.1.1).

[31] The phrase **zamaa dà maɗàukaa-kanwaa shii ya sâa farin kâi** literally means 'living with potash carriers causes a white head' and refers to a situation where one becomes like a person "through long association" [A476].

The number of gr2 verbs in these compounds is comparable with H- and I-verbs, and seems to contradict the hypothesis. I offer possible explanations below.

One possible explanation relates to an idea suggested by Jaggar (p.c., see chapter 3.2.3.1, footnote 25): what I identify as plural **ma-**verbal compounds are plural nouns of agent with an Old Hausa zero linker. This idea is attractive but problematic. If it is correct, then we are dealing with nouns of agent and *not* compounds – and there is no problem with gr2 verbs forming nouns of agent[32]. In chapter 3.2.3 I dismissed this possibility, arguing that these formations *are* compounds and that the verb satisfies its internal arguments inside the compound.

Underlying the above explanation is the ambiguity of the form and function of both plural **ma-**compounds and plural nouns of agent (see chapter 3.2.3 where I describe the two formations). The four morphemes in plural nouns of agent (the **ma-**prefix, the verbal element, the **-aa** suffix and the integrating HLH tone pattern) are an inseparable whole[33]. In plural **ma-**compounds these four morphemes are also a whole; however the verbal element may accept a complement, i.e. satisfies an internal argument inside the compound.

Since the verbal element does not correspond to any of the verb markers we have seen (tone lowering, imperative or unmarked) I suggest that plural **ma-**compounds allow gr2 verbs to form such a compound in a way similar to grade switching (see 5.2.3.4 and 5.3.3.3)[34].

5.3.4.2 The distribution of ∅DO-frames with gr2 verbs

In 5.2.2 (above) we saw that the distribution of ∅DO-frames in V+X compounds is balanced: 31 H-verbs, 31 I-verbs and 37 gr2 verbs

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[32] This explanation also implies that the Old Hausa zero linker functioned only as an *objective* genitive (see 3.2.3.1). To my knowledge, no author has made any attempt to analyse the function(s) of this presumed zero linker.

[33] The independent function of this ambiguous form is highlighted by the fact that plural **ma-**compounds do not have a one-to-one morphological relationship to singular **ma-**compounds (see chapter 3.2.4) – they are not their plural forms.

[34] If gr2 verbs are found in plural **ma-**compounds, one might ask why they are not found in singular **ma-**compounds. Assuming that their absence in singular **ma-**compounds is not purely accidental (and given the limited productivity of singular and plural **ma-**compounds, this is a possibility) two comments can be made. Firstly, as pointed out in chapter 3.2.4 plural **ma-**compounds are *not* the plural form of singular **ma-**compounds. Secondly, the form of the verb in singular **ma-**compounds is the tone lowered form; gr2 verbs are not found in V+X compounds – or in any other compounds – with this form.

(Table 5, above). This distribution seems to contradict the hypothesis – at least in this frame.

Here is a small selection of the syntax of V+∅DO compounds with a gr2 verb. The first pair have a gr2 verb and an adverb:

kwàashi-kwàràf	(fetch loosely)	weak person/thing
sàari-kutuf	(cut severely)	old gecko

The following have two VPs:

ɓàntàri-ɓàtaf̃	(pinch.off spend)	a richly-spoilt child
dàki-bàri	(beat stop)	strong, reliable thing
ɗàuki-sàkaa	(take put)	type of quilted saddle-cover
ɗàuki-bâa-daɗìi	(take there.is.no addition)	combat, confrontation
sàdàki-làƙee	(give.alms eat.rapidly)	food to be given as alms but given to members of own household
shàaci-fàɗi	(comb say)	in: **yi ~** inventing stories

The distribution of gr2 verbs in V+∅DO compounds seems to mirror normal Hausa syntax and, at first sight, to be counterfactual. I argue however that it supports the hypothesis. Since there is neither an overt subject nor an overt direct object, the gr2 verb in an ∅DO-frame is not required to select "[...] a unique argument for the verb beside the subject." (Abdoulaye, 1996a:5)

5.3.4.3 Intransitive L-verbs in compounds

In this section I describe compounds with intransitive gr3, gr3a and gr3b verbs in V+X, PAC+V and **ma-** compounds (Table 9). I offer comments on these compounds in terms of the hypothesis (5.3.3) and then examine Frajzyngier and Munkaila's (2004) claim that gr3b verbs are L-verbs – as against my classifying them as I-verbs.

Table 9: Compounds with gr3, gr3a and gr3b verbs:

	gr3				gr3a		gr3b	
	IMP	TL	UM	pl-ma*	TL	UM	IMP	Total
V+X	6	7					7	20
PAC			2			2		4
sg-ma					1			1
pl-ma*		-		1		-	-	1
Total	6	7	2	1	1	2	7	26

*The label pl-**ma** appears twice in this table, once (horizontally) as a compound type and once (vertically), marking the gr3 verb in a compound. This ambiguity arises because the verb in that compound cannot be classified as TL, IMP or UM.

Apart from the 26 compounds listed in Table 9, there are 10 compounds with intransitive v* (I-) verbs (5 V+X, 2 PAC+V and 3 singular **ma-**), 34 with intransitive H-verbs (18 V+X, 13 PAC+V, 2 singular **ma-** and 1 plural **ma-**) and 4 with gr7 verbs (3 V+X and 1 PAC+V); thus there are 74 compounds with an intransitive verb.

(Compounds with gr7 verbs as well as VN.L+N compounds with an intransitive verb play no role here. Compounds with gr7 verbs were discussed in 5.2.3.4; VN.L+N compounds with a nominalised intransitive verb are not relevant to the present discussion.)

The frequency of regular (LH) gr3 verbs in compounds (16 from 74) seems to reflect their frequency in spoken Hausa. Grade 3 verbs are found in V+V compounds where no argument is expressed or in V+Adv compounds (with an adverb of place or state) and in V+dà+N compounds (where N is a sociative object). Most gr3 verbs have an imperative form in compounds (see chapter 2.2.5), but in seven compounds the gr3 verb is tone lowered (here four examples):

kwàn-gàba-kwàn-baaya	(go forwards, go backwards)	in: **~ gàree shì** he is inconsistent
tàfìi-dà-gidankà	(go with house.of.2m)	1) mobile home/truck 2) mobile phone
tùmàa-dà-gayyà[35]	(run with revenge)	biting black ant
tùmàa-dà-gòoraa	(run with calabash)	fast travelling Adar people

There are three compounds with gr3a verbs; two have a PAC as first element (one is PAC+V+PAC+V, the other PAC+V):

à-kwaana-à-taashì	(one spend.night, one rises)	gradually
mun-tsiira	(1pl.CMP escaped)	a refuge

The third such compound is a singular **ma-** compound with the gr3a verb **kwaana** 'spend the night':

makwàn-Kanòo	(ma:spend.night Kano)	one who spends the night in Kano

Grade 3b verbs are found in seven compounds but with only two verbs (**faɗì** 'fall' and **taashì** 'rise, leave'). The verbs have an imperative form, the syntax is V+PAC+V, V+V or V+Adv, e.g.:

[35] The word **gayyàa** following **dà** is a sociative object; Ahmad (1994:155) gives it with a short final vowel - as if it were a NDO. This parallels compounds with a gr7 verb in 5.2.3.4.

fàaɗi-kà-mutù	(fall 2m.SBJ die)	crockery
fàaɗi-tàashi	(fall stand.up)	struggle
tàashi-laafiyàa	(rise in.health)	type of gown

How do the above examples fit into the hypothesis?

The frequency of regular gr3 verbs in compounds reflects their frequency in normal Hausa – unlike gr2 verbs. Again, while most gr3 verbs have an imperative form, gr3 verbs in some compounds have tone lowered forms – again, unlike gr2 verbs. This suggests that, in compounds, gr3 verbs have more in common with H- or I-verbs than with gr2 verbs. However, this comparison is superficial.

I suggest that gr3 verbs do not have the problems of gr2 verbs in compounds. Quite simply they are *in*transitive verbs, found in V+V compounds or with adverbs or sociative objects. Any argument which might follow the verb does not have the same closeness to the subject as a direct object following a gr2 verb, i.e. the gr3 verb does not have to "[...] select a unique argument [...] for the verb beside the subject" (Abdoulaye 1996a:5).

There are only three compounds with gr3a verbs; despite the HH tone pattern, all authors agree that gr3a verbs are intransitive L-verbs[36]. Thus, like regular gr3 verbs, they do not have to "[...] select a unique argument [...] for the verb beside the subject". The two PAC+V compounds with gr3a verbs (**à-kwaana-à-taashì** and **mun-tsiira**, see above) have an overt subject, the PAC. Thus, even if they were restricted in V+X compounds, they would be found with an overt subject, like gr2 verbs (see 5.3.3.4). The status of the one singular **ma-** compound with a gr3a verb (**makwàn Kanòo**) is unclear[37].

There are seven compounds with gr3b verbs – all V+X compounds. Since there are only nine such verbs in Hausa and their meanings express motion and change of state (the relevance of semantics in compounds is discussed in 5.1), this small number is not surprising. Only two gr3b verbs are found in the seven compounds: **faaɗì** 'fall' and **taashì** 'rise' (see the examples above). They all have the

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[36] Frajzyngier and Munkaila (2004:19-20) offer a slightly more complex argument than that mentioned in chapter 1.3.2, note 19. These authors argue that, in gr3a verbs, the second high tone syllable implies that the tone of the first syllable is, underlyingly, low (here, they refer to Newman's syllable weight rule [PN408 and 645] and Pilszczikowa's (1969) "polarity" rule). They support this with semantic arguments.

[37] As pointed out in chapter 3.2.2.1 (footnote 16), this example was proposed to, and accepted by, colleagues in the Hausa Service of the German radio station, Deutsche Welle by the author (see McIntyre 1988b:234 and 238).

imperative form, there are no tone lowered or unmarked verbs. Again, superficially, this is similar to gr2 verbs in compounds; however, like gr3 and gr3a verbs, gr3b verbs are intransitive and do not have to "[...] select a unique argument [...] for the verb beside the subject".

The question arises, however, of whether gr3b verbs are L- or I-verbs. Despite the initial high tone of these verbs, Frajzyngier and Munkaila (2004:20) explicitly classify gr3b verbs as L-verbs, extending "[…] Gouffé's (1988) intuitions about the functional properties and formal structure of grades 2, 3 and 7" (2004:15) to gr3b verbs. I classify them as I-verbs – the traditional classification.

In normal morphosyntax, gr3b verbs "borrow" the form of a H-verb when preceding an indirect object – a characteristic of L-verbs (see chapter 1.3.2). Most gr3b verbs (like L-verbs) do not use a -`**waa** suffix to form a verbal noun; however, three such verbs (**faadì** 'fall', **haifù** 'give birth' and **zakà** 'go' in Western Hausa) seem to have verbal nouns with this suffix. The evidence tends to show that gr3b verbs are L-verbs, but it is not conclusive.

In verbal compounds, gr3b verbs are found only with the imperative form (a characteristic they share with gr2 verbs) and only in V+X compounds. The small number of such compounds (seven) does not mean that they share the idiosyncracies of gr2 verbs, it simply reflects both the small number of such verbs and the fact that they are intransitive.

5.3.4.4 The low tone on H- and I-verbs in compounds

Frajzyngier and Munkaila (2004:8) say that verbs beginning with a high tone (H- and I-verbs) have the "default tone" – as against verbs beginning with a low tone (L-verbs) which code the "point of view of the subject". This function of the low tone in the verbal system raises the question of whether, in compounds, the low tone (tone lowered or imperative forms) changes the semantics of H- and I-verbs from the "default tone" to verbs expressing the point of view of the subject.

De Campos (1998:104) explicitly extends his interpretation of LH tone pattern to verbal compounds, maintaining that his theory "[…] predicts correctly that the head of synthetic compounds [sic] would bear a LH tone pattern […]"[38]. Thus, according to de Campos, LH tone pattern – whether in L-verbs or in verbal compounds – correlates with the demotion of the "external argument" (the *subject*). I suggest

[38] De Campos (1998:104) gives two examples (the glosses are mine):

rìkìtà-gàri	(upset city)	one disturbing the authorities
làalàatà-gwàni	(spoil expert)	one who beats champion

however that the function of the L-tone in the system of finite verbs is to "[...] select a unique argument [...] for the verb beside the subject" (Abdoulaye 1996a:5) and that, in compounds, this only affects gr2 verbs and *not* H-verbs, I- verbs or intransitive L-verbs.

The imperative form – again, with low tone – is found primarily *outside* of compounds, expressing commands, etc. to one person. The low tone on the imperative verb form seems to express the point of view of the speaker, rather than that of the (underlying 2nd person) subject. As for tone lowering, it is only found in compounds and *never* on a gr2 verb. I argue that the low tone in compounds (imperative or tone lowered) does not express "point of view of the subject" but that transitive L-verbs (grade 2) bring this category *into* compounds – and with it their problem: if "[...] the overall function of gr. 2 is to select a *unique argument* for the verb *beside the subject* [...]" (Abdoulaye 1996a; my emphases), the *absence* of an overt subject in V+X compounds disqualifies them from appearing in such compounds.

5.4 Summary

In 5.1 I showed that compounds are sensitive to the semantics of verb grades, certain grades not being found in certain frames.

In 5.2 I described gr2 verbs in compounds, showing that certain features are idiosyncratic, especially their "under-representation" in V+NDO compounds (5.2.1). In 5.3 I suggest that gr2 verbs in compounds prefer a ∅DO-frame (no *overt* direct object), and that, *if* they appear in a NDO-frame (with a direct object), then they prefer a semantically *specific* direct object. I embedded this suggestion in a hypothesis which says that gr2 verbs have a special relationship to the subject and that the lack of an overt subject in V+X compounds explains the idiosyncratic features of these verbs in compounds.

Chapter 6
Hausa Verbal Compounds and Figures of Speech

In chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 we saw the phonology, morphology and internal syntax of Hausa verbal compounds and, in chapter 5, related these features to the Hausa verbal grade system. In this chapter I wish to look at cognitive aspects of Hausa verbal compounds, mainly at metaphor and metonymy but also other rhetorical devices.

The main focus of this discussion is "the semantic relation between the compound and the referent" (Ahmad 1994:53; see also Selkirk, 1982:25). The relationship between e.g. **hànà-sallà** (prevent prayer) and its lexical meaning 'baseball cap' is unclear until one knows that the peak of the baseball cap prevents a Muslim praying properly since his forehead cannot touch the ground, i.e. it 'prevents prayer'. The compound **hànà-sallà** is thus "opaque" rather than "transparent", as are the majority of Hausa verbal compounds.

Terms such as 'opaque', 'non-compositional meaning' and 'semantic drift' are often used in describing the lexical meanings of compounds. In this chapter, I try to make what is 'opaque' transparent, to identify *regular* patterns of 'non-compositional' meaning and to *follow* the 'semantic drift'. The aim of this chapter is to elucidate the kinds of linkage between the literal and the lexical meanings.

6.1 Metaphor and metonymy

The cognitive linguistic discussion came of age with Lakoff and Johnson's *The metaphors we live by* (1980). Lakoff (1987), Lakoff and Turner (1989) and Lakoff and Johnson (1999) further developed this discussion.

The difference between metaphor and metonymy was explained in terms of "domain" or "idealized cognitive model" (ICM). Lakoff (1987) sees metaphor as involving two domains – "a source domain and a target domain" – and metonymy to involve one domain, calling the movement between or within domains "mapping" (1987:288):

> "A metaphoric mapping involves a source domain and a target domain [...] The mapping is typically partial; it maps the structure of the ICM in the source domain onto a corresponding structure in the target domain [...]
> A metonymic mapping occurs within a single conceptual domain, which is structured by an ICM. Given two elements A and B, A may stand for B."

Lakoff and Turner (1989:103) expand on this difference as follows:

> "In *metaphor,* there are two conceptual domains, and one is understood in terms of the other [...]
> *Metonymy* involves only one conceptual domain. A metonymic mapping occurs within a single domain, not across domains [...] (italics in original)

The following conventions (including the use of CAPITALS) are used when labelling metaphor, metonymy and ICMs (see e.g. Grady 1997, Radden and Kövecses 1999 and Gäbler 2000): metaphors are labelled as e.g. MORE IS UP; HELP IS SUPPORT; SAD IS DOWN, where the metaphorical relationship is expressed by the word IS[1]. (In the description below – especially in 6.2.2 – metaphor is, in practice, limited to the shift from non-human to human.) Metonymies are labelled e.g. CAUSE FOR EFFECT; CONTAINER FOR CONTENTS; PART FOR WHOLE and the metonymic relationship is expressed by the word FOR[2]. The idealised cognitive models (ICMs[3]) in which metonymy takes place are labelled e.g. "SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT metonymy (Association ICM)", "ACTION FOR PLACE metonymy (Location ICM)" or "ACTION FOR AGENT metonymy (Association ICM)".

6.2 Metaphor and metonymy in Hausa verbal compounds

In this section I examine metaphor and metonymy in Hausa verbal compounds. We shall see in this section that metonymy is a basic

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1 In MORE IS UP, HELP IS SUPPORT and SAD IS DOWN the targets are MORE, HELP and SAD; the sources are UP, SUPPORT and DOWN. The target *domains* are EVALUATION/COMPARISON; SOCIAL INTERACTION; EMOTION while the source *domains* are SPACE; PHYSICAL/NATURAL INTERACTION; SPACE.

2 In CAUSE FOR EFFECT, CONTAINER FOR CONTENTS and PART FOR WHOLE the targets are EFFECT, CONTENTS and WHOLE; the sources are CAUSE, CONTENTS and PART. The mapping takes place within the ICM in which the two entities belong: LOGIC, SPATIAL STRUCTURE, (GENERAL) STRUCTURE.

3 Since Lakoff (1987) a discussion has arisen as to the definition and application of the terms "domain" and "idealized cognitive model (ICM)". Lakoff (1987:68) considers ICMs to underlie domains and defines ICMs as "[…] structures [by which] we organize our knowledge. [E]ach ICM is a complex, structured whole, a gestalt". Croft (1993) prefers "domain" or "domain matrix". Pauwels (1999:256) defines "domain" as "[…] any sort of conceptualisation relative to which semantic structures are characterised". Blank (1999) discusses metonymy in terms of "frame", Panther and Thornburg (1999) suggest "scenario". For further discussion of terminology see Goosens (1995), Radden (1998, 2000) and Niemeier (2000).
I use Lakoff's (1987) terminology and model my ICM labels on those of Radden and Kövecses (1999:30f).

structure in many compounds, laying the groundwork for the opacity of the compound.

The relationship between "vehicle" and "target" is one in which figures of speech – mainly metonymy and metaphor – play an important role in rendering the meaning of the compound opaque. Here, I shall describe the roles of metonymy and metaphor in compounds, making the relationship between vehicle and target more transparent. I shall describe the metonymic relationships between vehicle and target (which make the compound opaque) and show that metaphor embellishes the compound – often rendering it more opaque.

In my description I follow the terminology of Radden and Kövecses (1999), using the term "vehicle" when referring to the surface form of the compound and the term "target" for its lexicalised referent. Thus **hànà-sallà** is a "vehicle" and 'baseball cap' its "target". I prefer the term "vehicle" to "source" here because the surface form of the compound *transports* meaning within or between domains and is thus a *vehicle*; the term "source" describes the domain in which metonymy operates and where metaphor originates.

Before proceeding to this description I offer a few remarks about cultural differences in the Hausa and European world views, how they shape metaphor and metonymy[4], and how these are labelled.

Three obvious features of Hausa culture which contrast with European culture are often found in compounds: Religion is an integral part of everyday life and verbal compounds with a religious element in either the vehicle or the target are common: in the vehicle we found e.g. **sallàa** 'prayer' in **hànà-sallà** (prevent prayer) **àlwàlaa** 'ablutions' in **shìga-dà-àlwàlaƙkà** (enter.with.ablutions. of.you), **maalàm** 'Qur'anic teacher' in **kaa-fi-maalàm** (you exceed teacher); the target meanings of e.g. **shàa-kùndum** (drink ?), **rìgyaa-ni-zamaa** (precede me sitting) and **watàn cìkà-cikì** (month.of fill belly) are 'well-read malam', 'satchel (for the Qur'an or other religious books)' and 'the month after Ramadan' respectively. The Hausa are well over 90% Muslim, but the culture retains elements of animistic religion in compounds which name e.g. charms.

[4] Established metonymies and metaphors are called "conventional metonymy" or "conventional metaphors" (see SIL International, LinguaLinks Library, Version 4.0, 1999): "A conventional metonymy (metaphor) is a metonymy (metaphor) that is commonly used in everyday language in a culture to give structure to some portion of that culture's conceptual system".

Agriculture, flora and fauna play an important part in daily life and many verbal compounds name animals, birds, plants, etc.: **ci-dà-mòotsin-wani** 'cattle egret', **bùgà-zàabi** 'short-toed eagle (*circaetus gallicus*)', **shàa-ni-kà-san-nì** 'small plant which is a strong purgative'.

Traditional Hausa culture has a more open attitude to bodily functions and sex than (20th century) European culture. This is seen in compounds where e.g. the word **kaashii** 'excrement' is used in the vehicle: **càaɓùlà-kaashii** (tread.on excrement) 'clogs' or where the meaning of the target labels something which, to my knowledge, is not *named* in any European language: **bàrà-gadoo-gaashìi** (leave.in bed hair) 'man slow to ejaculate when copulating'.

In this cross-cultural analysis, different cultural ideas will evoke different labels for the metaphorical or metonymic relationships between vehicle and target or different names for ICMs. Thus compounds such as **kàu-dà-bàaraa** (remove attack), and **ƙàarèe-dangì** (finish.off family) – both magic charms – are, in traditional Hausa belief, examples of EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy, i.e. the *cause* – the charm – is named after the *effect*. The 'pods of the **margàa** tree' (**gàmà-faɗà** lit.: join fight) are believed to "cause friction in the household" [B352]. In the Hausa world view this too is an EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy.

20th/21st century European culture would label such metonymy "EFFECT FOR (APPARENT OR BELIEVED) CAUSE metonymy" or propose an additional metaphoric switch of domain from [-ANIMATE] to [+HUMAN]. In the descriptions which follow I categorise such verbal compounds as EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy, remaining (to the best of my ability) within Hausa culture.

This section is organised as follows. Metonymy and metaphor in marked V+X compounds and PAC+V compounds are examined in 6.2.1; we shall see that metonymy gives these compounds their basic cognitive structure. The role of metaphor in these compounds is described in 6.2.2. In 6.2.3 I look at unmarked V+X compounds and, in 6.2.4, at verbal noun compounds; in 6.2.5, **ma-** compounds, both singular and plural are examined. In 6.3 I look at further rhetorical devices found in these compounds.

6.2.1 Metonymy in marked V+X and PAC+V compounds

So far I have talked of "metaphor and metonymy" rather than "metonymy and metaphor", metaphor being the more widely used

term. While metaphor plays an important role in Hausa verbal compounds (see 6.2.2 below), a closer examination of V+X and PAC+V compounds will show that these compounds can be classified into groups according to relationships which are metonymic[5].

As we have seen metonymy occurs within one domain – an idea being "mapped" *within* the domain. Lakoff (1987:288) defines this as follows:

> "A metonymic mapping occurs within a single conceptual domain, which is structured by an ICM. Given two elements A and B, A may stand for B."

And, as Lakoff and Turner (1989:103) suggest:

> "[...] via metonymy, one can refer to one entity in a schema by referring to another entity in the same schema [...]"

In the present description of metonymy in Hausa verbal compounds I consider a verbal compound to be a *whole* belonging in a single domain, and that vehicle and target are *parts* of this whole; the relationship between vehicle and target is thus *metonymic*.

Underlying this description is the assumption that the vehicle is an utterance, albeit a hypothetical one. Treating Hausa verbal compounds as utterances is consistent with the fact that the compound – the vehicle – contains either an imperative form or a personal pronoun (PAC). When the verb in the vehicle has an imperative form (as do most V+X compounds) or is preceded by a 2nd person pronoun (in a PAC+V compound), we can assume that someone or something is

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[5] To my knowledge, no thorough analysis of metonymy in compounds has yet been made. However, Booij (2002:143), arguing against the classification of Dutch (nominal) compounds as endocentric (see chapter 1.1.4), says: "[…] what have been called exocentric compounds […] are a specific semantic category of endocentric compounds based on metonymy: a part of an entity is used to refer to the whole entity." He continues: "The fact that a *bleekneus* 'lit. pale nose, pale person' is not a *neus* does not indicate that this is an exocentric compound, but only reveals the special semantic interpretation of this word." One type of metonymy often mentioned in cognitive linguistic literature is synecdoche, which may be defined as follows: "A synecdoche is a figure of speech in which the one of the following (or its reverse) is expressed: A part stands for a whole; An individual stands for a class; A material stands for a thing." (SIL International, LinguaLinks Library, Version 4.0, 1999). Since synecdoche can be described as part-for-whole *metonymy* (or its reverse), I shall not use the term. Studies of metaphor and metonymy in Hausa are – to use a metaphor! – in their infancy and I shall avoid sub-types of these figures of speech.

addressed – specifically, the target is addressed in the vehicle. Again, in a compound with a 1st person pronoun (in a PAC+V compound) we can say that the hypothetical speaker mentions him- or herself in the vehicle. I shall further assume that, in verbal compounds with a 3rd person PAC, a hypothetical listener is informed about a third party and that in verbal compounds with a 4th person PAC, a hypothetical listener is told that '*one* does or should do X'. Unmarked compounds and compounds with tone lowered forms cannot be interpreted in this way; I assume, however, that, like the compounds mentioned above, they are felt to be hypothetical utterances.

Assuming that the vehicle is an utterance facilitates the identification of metonymy in the compound: the hypothetical utterance (the vehicle) names the *whole* (the target) of which it is a *part*. I distinguish two basic ways in which metonymy is expressed in Hausa verbal compounds: syntactic or pragmatic. When the relationship between vehicle and target is what I call 'syntactic', the target can be either:

1. the subject of the (first) verb in the vehicle, or:
2. the direct object (or locative complement) of the (first) verb in the vehicle.

When the relationship is what I call 'pragmatic', the target is:

3. the situation, activity, time or circumstances *in which* the vehicle is hypothetically uttered.

We shall see that, when the target is the subject of the verb in the vehicle, the metonymy is typically UTTERANCE FOR AGENT; when the target is the object of the verb in the vehicle the metonymy is typically UTTERANCE FOR THING. Thus the vehicle is an action which typifies and names the target. Such metonymy seems to belong in the Association ICM (see Radden and Kövecses 1999:30f). When the relationship between vehicle and target is pragmatic – (3) – metonymy arises inasmuch as the action mentioned in the vehicle is *one of a number* of possible utterances which might be made in the situation (the target) – and names it. The metonymy is typically UTTERANCE (SUBEVENT) FOR WHOLE EVENT (where the utterance is the SUBEVENT) and seems to be a variation of the Event ICM (see Radden and Kövecses 1999:30f).

We may now examine the various kinds of metonymy in verbal compounds: syntactic and pragmatic metonymy, divided into sub-groups in which the hypothetical speaker mentions him- or herself and/or the hypothetical hearer.

6.2.1.1 The TARGET is the subject of the verb in the vehicle

In the first group of examples the target is the subject of the verb in the vehicle; here the target is mostly the human agent of the action described in the vehicle. In some sub-groups we see that metaphor plays a fairly general role inasmuch as non-human objects and/or places are addressed as if they were human.

6.2.1.1.1 TARGET is underlying subject of VEHICLE (not mentioned in VEHICLE)

In the following examples the target is [+HUMAN] and is the agent of the action in the vehicle. (In some compounds with more than one target meaning, one of the meanings may be [-HUMAN].) The target (right-hand column) is the underlying subject of the verb in the vehicle (left-hand column) and is not mentioned in the vehicle. The metonymy is one in which the vehicle expresses an action typical of the target, i.e. the vehicle uses *part* of the target to name the target. Broadly speaking this is a variation of SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT metonymy, or, more precisely: SUBEVENT ASSOCIATED WITH PERSON FOR PERSON (cp. Radden and Kövecses 1999: OBJECT FOR CONDITION ASSOCIATED WITH OBJECT).

VEHICLE		TARGET [+HUMAN]
bàrà-gadoo-gaashìi	(leave.in bed hair)	man slow to ejaculate when copulating
bàrà-gurbì	(leave.in nest)	1) p. or sth. left behind after others have gone 2) eggs left unhatched
ɓàatà-gàri	(spoil town)	undesirable element
ci-dà-mòotsin-wani	(eat with moving.of other)	1) epithet of cattle egret 2) scrounger
gàsoo-roogò	(roast cassava)	fool
kàamà-kâi	(hold head)	an assistant
sàadà-gàri	(connect town)	envoy, messenger
shàafà-làabaaƒìi shuunii	(wipe news indigo)	exaggerator
shàaƙi-bùkii	(smell feast)	one who habitually goes to celebrations to cadge food, etc.
tàttàɓà-kunne	(touch.retouch ear)	great grandchild

The metonymy above can be described generally as a kind of SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT; it might also be labelled ACTION FOR AGENT metonymy (Association ICM). In the compounds **bàrà-gadoo-gaashìi**, **ɓàatà-gàri** and **sàadà-gàri** the target 'left hair in

the bed', 'spoiled the town' or 'joined (two) town(s)' and we have RESULT FOR CAUSE (i.e. result of action for person(s) performing action) metonymy (Causation ICM). In **kàamà-kâi** we have (ACT OF) CONTROLLING FOR CONTROLLER metonymy (Action ICM).

In the following sub-group the target is [+ANIMATE] but [-HUMAN]. Since the target is addressed as if it were [+HUMAN] the metonymy is a kind of SUBEVENT FOR AGENT metonymy (see above). However, addressing the target *as if* it were a human agent also involves a metaphorical switch of domain:

VEHICLE		TARGET [+ANIMATE]
bùgà-zàabi	(hit guineafowl)	short toed eagle
gàmà-faɗà	(join fight)	pods of **marga** tree
ƙàarèe-dangì	(finish family)	type of arrow poison
tàakà-tòoyi	(tread.on large.fire)	black-headed lark

The metonymy above is again generally a kind of SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT metonymy. In **gàmà-faɗà** we find EFFECT FOR CAUSE (Causation ICM).

In the following sub-group the target is [-ANIMATE]. However the target is addressed in the vehicle as if it were [+HUMAN] and we find the same metonymy as for the [+HUMAN] targets in the group above: SUBEVENT FOR THING. In one case (**kàryà-tàmbayà**, a charm) the target is an INSTRUMENT. Addressing the target as if it were human involves a metaphorical 'switch' between two domains, [-ANIMATE] and [+HUMAN]:

VEHICLE		TARGET [-ANIMATE]
àmsà-kuwwà	(answer shouting)	1) echo 2) loudspeaker
hànà-ƙarya	(prevent lying)	hair under lower lip
hànà-sallà	(prevent prayer)	baseball cap
kàryà-tàmbayà	(break charm)	counter-charm
shàa-ruwa	(drink water)	earliest ripening cotton
tàashi-laafiyàa	(rise in.health)	type of gown
tsài-dà-màganà	(establish utterance)	hair under lower lip

In the [-ANIMATE] group above we find EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy: **hànà-sallà** is a good example of this. In **hànà-ƙarya**, **tsài-dà-màganà** and perhaps **tàashi-laafiyàa** we may also have EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy – with heavy irony (see 6.3.2).

In the following sub-group the target is [+LOCATION]. Again the target is addressed as if it were [+HUMAN] and we have ACTION FOR PLACE metonymy (Location ICM). Addressing the target as if it were

human involves a metaphorical 'switch' between two domains, [+LOCATION] and [+HUMAN]:

VEHICLE		TARGET [+LOCATION]
ràkà-mài-gijìi	(accompany one.with house)	part of fence screening inside of compound
tàrèe-mahàra	(meet raiders)	moat, trench
tàsà-mahàra	(conduct raiders)	moat, trench

In **ràkà-mài-gijìi** the vehicle is an utterance describing an ACTION FOR OBJECT NEAR TO THE ACTION; in **tàrèe/tàsà-mahàraa** we have an EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy (with a touch of irony): the trench goes to 'meet' the raiders or 'conducts' them into it!

6.2.1.1.2 TARGET is underlying subject of the verb in the VEHICLE; 'speaker' of VEHICLE mentioned (1st p. pronoun) in VEHICLE

In this second sub-group (where the target is the underlying subject of the verb in the vehicle), a theoretical speaker is mentioned in the vehicle (1st p. pronoun). The metonymy here is similar to that above: SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT; more specifically: SUBEVENT ASSOCIATED WITH OBJECT FOR OBJECT. The fact that the theoretical speaker of the vehicle mentions him- or herself (1st p. pronoun) while addressing the [-ANIMATE] target underlines the metaphorical switch of domain (from [-ANIMATE] to [+HUMAN]):

VEHICLE		TARGET [-ANIMATE]
rìgyaa-ni-zamaa	(precede me sitting)	satchel
tàyaa-ni-shìgaa	(help me enter)	doorstep

In **tàyaa-ni-shìgaa** we seem to have another example of implicit EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy: There is also irony, since a doorstep is not common and will probably surprise the hypothetical speaker and trip him or her up!

6.2.1.1.3 TARGET is subject and is addressed (2nd p. pronoun) in VEHICLE

In the third sub-group, the target is the subject addressed in the vehicle (2nd p. pronoun); the targets may be either [+ANIMATE] or [-ANIMATE]; the metonymy here is SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT or SUBEVENT ASSOCIATED WITH OBJECT FOR OBJECT. The fact that the [-ANIMATE] target is addressed in the pronoun underlines the metaphorical switch from [-HUMAN] to [+HUMAN]. (The compound **sàari-kà-nooƙèe** has

a second [+HUMAN] meaning 'guerilla'; here there is no such metaphorical switch).

VEHICLE		TARGET [+ANIMATE]
sàari-kà-nooƙèe	(slash 2m.SBJ hide)	1) snake 2) guerilla
kaa-fi-maalàm	(2m.CMP exceed scholar)	herb used in charm

VEHICLE		TARGET [-ANIMATE]
à-wàawùri-kàryaa	(4pl.SBJ grab bitch)	type of sleeveless shirt
fàaɗi-kà-mutù	(fall 2m.SBJ die)	crockery
jèe-ka-iidìi kà-daawoo	(go 2m festival 2m.SBJ return)	poor clothes or shoes

There are several interesting details in the above sub-group: the compound **kaa-fi-maalàm** is unusual in that it does not have a verb in the imperative form or a subjunctive PAC; rather the PAC is completive. The completive expresses perfectivity, and, in combination with the verb **fi** 'exceed', expresses the "completed" (or perfective) fact that the herb *is* more effective than a Qur'anic scholar (in terms of ability to cure, etc.). The compound **à-wàawùri-kàryaa** contains the 4th person plural subjunctive PAC; this is less direct than an imperative verb form or a 2nd person singular subjunctive PAC. In **fàaɗi-kà-mutù** we have a variation of EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy, where both cause (**fàaɗi** 'fall') and effect (**mutù** 'die') are mentioned: here, we have a concealed conditional: '(if you) fall you (will) die'. In the final compound of this group, **jèe-ka-iidìi-kà-daawoo**, the two clauses are coordinate: 'go (to the festival) and return'.

6.2.1.1.4 TARGET is subject mentioned in the VEHICLE (1st p. pronoun); 'hearer' is addressed (often 2nd p. pronoun) in VEHICLE

In this group, the target (subject) is the theoretical speaker who mentions him- or herself in the vehicle (1st p. pronoun); the hearer is also addressed in the vehicle: in the first example with the 2nd person pronoun and in the second with the word **maalàm** 'sir'. The target is either [+ANIMATE] or [+HUMAN] and there is SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT metonymy. In the third example, the ostrich (**toorì**) is addressed in the vehicle, the target is [+HUMAN] activity. As above, the fact that the [-HUMAN] is addressed as [+HUMAN] is a metaphorical switch.

VEHICLE		TARGET [+ANIMATE/+HUMAN]
jèe-ka-naa-yii-kà	(go.2m. 1.CMP do you)	1) powerless bureaucrat 2) in: **yankunàn ~**[6] S. African homelands
maalàm-bùuɗaa manà-littaafìi	(teacher open for.us book)	butterfly
tàakaa-zoo-toorì	(step.out come ostrich)	hurrying along apprehensively

6.2.1.2 The TARGET is the direct object (or complement) of the VEHICLE

In this group of compounds the target is the direct object (occasionally the locative complement) of the verb(s) in the vehicle. Sub-groups are organised according to whether or not the hypothetical speaker and/or hearer of the compound is mentioned.

The metonymy here is similar to that found in the compounds seen above: SUBEVENT FOR PERSON/THING/PLACE, a variation of SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT. There is often a metaphorical switch from the [-ANIMATE] to the [+HUMAN] domain.

6.2.1.2.1 TARGET is underlying direct object or locative complement (not mentioned) of VEHICLE

The target is the underlying direct object of the verb(s) in the vehicle and is *not* mentioned in the compound. The first example is [+HUMAN].

VEHICLE		TARGET [+HUMAN]
ɗàukàa-wuyà	(carry on neck)	child carried on shoulders

In **ɗàukàa-wuyà** the vehicle describes what the agent of the action (carrier of the child – the target and direct object) does (or tells him what to do). The metonymy here seems to be a very idiosyncratic variation of an Event ICM metonymy (see SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT). A more precise label is: EVENT FOR PERSON (PASSIVELY) UNDERGOING EVENT.

In the following group the targets are [-ANIMATE] or [+HUMAN]:

[6] The phrase **yankunàn jèe-ka-naa-yii-kà** literally means: 'areas of go, I'm done with you'.

VEHICLE		TARGET [-ANIMATE]
dàki-bàri	(beat give.up)	strong and reliable thing
ɗàuki-sàkaa	(take put)	type of quilted saddle.cover
saa-dà-kuukaa	(wear with crying)	tight bracelet
sàari-dòosaa	(chop head.for)	1) makeshift hoe 2) p. doing trade which is not his father's
tàakaa-hàyee	(tread.on go.over)	1) unrewarded p. 2) caparisoned Asbin horse 3) saddle with all its appurtenances

The metonymy in **dàki-bàri** 'strong and reliable thing' and **sàa-dà-kuukaa** 'tight bracelet' seems to be EFFECT FOR CAUSE: 'try beating this strong and reliable thing and you'll give up'; 'wear the tight bracelet and you'll cry'. In **dàki-bàri** the two verbs express an underlying conditional (if you beat, you will stop); in **ɗàuki-sàkaa** the two verbs are coordinate phrases.

6.2.1.2.2 TARGET is the direct object of the verb in the VEHICLE which is addressed to a potential 'user' of the TARGET; the 'user' is mentioned

Here, the target is the direct object of the verb in the vehicle; the vehicle is an utterance addressed to a potential user or consumer of the target; this user/consumer is mentioned (2nd p. pronoun) in the vehicle.

VEHICLE		TARGET [-ANIMATE]
ci-kaƙ-kà-mutù	(eat not 2m.SBJ die)	tasteless food
cìiji-bàa-màataƙkà	(bite give wife.of.2m)	sternum with meat attached
cìkaa-kà-yaƙ	(fill 2m.SBJ throw.away)	wallet
shìga-dà àlwàlaƙkà	(enter with ablutions.of.2m)	station wagon, taxi
tàɓaa-kà-laashèe	(touch 2m.SBJ lick)	ice-cream[7]

The metonymy in the above is SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT (Event ICM). Perhaps the examples **ci-kaƙ-kà-mutù** and **tàɓaa-kà-laashèe** are examples of CAUSE FOR (POSSIBLE/PROBABLE) EFFECT metonymy: 'eat this tasteless food, and don't do die (which might happen)!' or 'touch this and (you have no choice but to) lick it!'.

[7] Andrew Haruna (p.c.) says Hausa speakers in Berlin use this meaning.

6.2.1.2.3 TARGET is 'speaker' of VEHICLE and mentioned in it

In this sub-group the target is the 'speaker' of the vehicle and is found as a pronoun in the vehicle (direct object or TAM). The [+HUMAN] hypothetical speaker addresses someone participating in the action:

VEHICLE		TARGET [+HUMAN]
dàfaa-ni	(cook me)	debtor
mìi-kàa-cii-nì	(what RHET eat me)	debtor
shàa-ni-fànkoo	(drink me empty.vessel)	rather foolish p.
tàɓaa-ni-luɓus	(touch me softness)	slacker

The metonymy in the above examples is SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT (Event ICM).

6.2.1.2.4 TARGET is mentioned in VEHICLE (1st person singular or plural)

In this sub-group the target is the 'speaker' of the vehicle and is found as a pronoun in the vehicle (direct object or TAM). The [-ANIMATE] hypothetical speaker addresses someone (a metaphorical switch to [+HUMAN]) participating in the action:

VEHICLE		TARGET [-ANIMATE]
dàkà-muu	(pound us)	children's leftovers given to beggars
kàr̃-ni-kà-tuuɓèe	(kill me 2m.SBJ take.off)	a type of gown
shàa-ni-ìn-shaa-kà	(drink me I'll drink you)	fruit of **aduwa** tree (causes diarrhoea)
shàa-ni-kà-san-nì	(drink me 2m.SBJ know me)	small plant which is strong purgative
tàyaa-ni-faɗàa	(help me fight)	reinforcement of centre of loincloth

The metonymy common to the above examples is SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT (Event ICM).

6.2.1.3 The TARGET is a situation or activity, time or circumstances during which the VEHICLE is uttered

When the relationship between vehicle and target is pragmatic rather than syntactic, the target is a situation (or activity, attitude, time or circumstance) during which the vehicle is uttered. Many of these situations are positive or 'support' situations: applause, being liberal, giving encouragement, enjoyment/interest, giving a person a help or food, greeting a person who has finished a tiring task, humour, watering horses, pity/sympathy, reliability (respect, trust), taking fresh

air, shaking hands or saying goodbye. Some such compounds name negative situations: anger, annoyance, apprehension, fright, punishment, surprise or throwing a person off the scent. I label these situations 'support', 'conflict', 'uncertain/insecure' and 'coping' situations.

The metonymy in these situations is SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT (Event ICM). The vehicle is hypothetically uttered during this event and names the situation (the target). In this group of examples the situations are typically human – but the target (right-hand column) is *not* given a semantic label.

6.2.1.3.1 TARGET is situation, etc. in which speaker (mentioned in VEHICLE) addresses participant (sometimes mentioned in VEHICLE), naming a situation

The target is a situation, activity, attitude, time or circumstance in which a hypothetical 'speaker' (1st p. pronoun in the vehicle) addresses a participant (sometimes 2nd p. pronoun in the vehicle) in the situation named by the vehicle:

VEHICLE		TARGET
Support situations:		
bàa-ni-ƙafàa	(give me leg)	1) giving so. a leg-up wall 2) giving so. leg-room 3) giving so. loan
ban-gàjiiyàa	(give.me tiredness)	congratulating so.
Conflict situations:		
bàa-ta-kaashii	(give her excrement) 2m.SBJ rest)	turmoil, fight
cànee-na-canèe	(say 1.CMP said)	combat
fitoo-naa-fitoo	(come out 1.CMP come out)	confrontation
jaa-ìn-jaa	(pull 1.SBJ pull)	argument, debate
Uncertain/Insecure situations:		
bàa-su-kà-huutàa	(give them	paying off debt
sàaɓaa-nii	(miss me)	misunderstanding
shàafaa-mù-reeràa	(wipe 1pl.SBJ sing)	hypnotising people by touch to make them follow
tàashi-mù-jee-mu	(rise 1pl.SBJ go 1pl)	indecisiveness
'Coping' situation/time:		
ƙàaƙàa-nikàa-yi	(how 1.RHET do)	dilemma, hard times

These compounds have what I call "pragmatic" metonymy, i.e. they are hypothetical utterances made in a situation which *name* a situation.

The first pair of examples in the 'support situations' (above) as well as the first examples in 'conflict' and 'uncertain/insecure situations' are **bàa-ni/ta/su** N and **ban**-N compounds. I regard the fact that these compounds share the same metonymy as a further indication that the true identity of –**n** in **ban**-N compounds is **ni** as in **bàa ni** (= 'gimme', see chapter 4.3.2.1). The possibility that **n** in **ban**-N compounds is an OH 3rd person pronoun (see chapter 4.3.2.2) cannot be definitively ruled out. However, the above examples do not support the argument that the 3rd person "variant [...] makes *better* sense semantically" ([PN124], my italics; see chapter 4.3.2.4).

6.2.1.3.2 TARGET is situation, etc. in which the speaker (not in VEHICLE) addresses participant (sometimes in VEHICLE), naming a situation

The target is a situation, etc. in which the 'speaker' (not mentioned in the vehicle) addresses a participant (sometimes 2nd p. pronoun in the vehicle) in the situation named:

VEHICLE		TARGET
Conflict situations:		
ɗàuki-bâa-dadʔìi	(take there.is.no addition)	combat, confrontation
gùtsùri-tsòomaa	(break.off dip)	harping on anything
ràbà-gardamà	(divide dispute)	settling a dispute
tsùgùni-tàashi	(squat stand up)	struggle
'Coping' situations:		
bàa-su-kà-huutàa	(give them2m.SBJ rest)	paying off debt
bùuɗà-rùmbu	(open cornbin)	forcible confiscation of corn during famine
sàɓi-zàřcee	(overwhelm go.ahead)	1) nonstop journey 2) giving trader slip by leaving by back door
shaa-kà-suuma	(drink you faint)	any manual work done for wages

The following compounds seem to belong in this group:

Time:		
cìkà-cikì	(fill belly)	in: **watàn ~** month after Ramadan

rùuɗà-kùyàngi (confuse slave.girls) redness of sky before sunset

Underlying the above compounds is a SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT metonymy.

In a number of the compounds in this section the utterance (vehicle) depicts the situation fairly accurately and the target meanings are relatively transparent. The metonymy involved uses one possible utterance to name a situation, e.g. **rùuɗaa-ni** (confuse me) 'confusion' or **sàaɓaa-ni** (miss me) 'misunderstanding'. However in some such compounds – e.g. **ɗàuki-bâa-dadʼìi** (take there.is.no addition) and **gùtsùri-tsòomaa** (break.off dip.in) – the target meanings 'combat, confrontation' and 'harping on anything' respectively are fairly distant from the literal meanings[8].

6.2.1.4 Metonymy in Hausa verbal compounds: a summary

In the above examples we find different kinds of metonymy describing the relationship between vehicle and target and *how* the vehicle *names* the target. Interestingly, when the relationship is syntactic (6.2.1.1 and 6.2.1.2) we can identify a *two-way* (part-whole) metonymy: a) the target is *part* of the syntax of the vehicle (its subject, object or complement) and b) the vehicle is *part* – at least potentially – of the meaning of the target. Where the relationship between vehicle and target is purely pragmatic (6.2.1.3), the metonymy is one-way: the vehicle is simply *part of* the pragmatics of the target: an utterance (one of several – even many – possible utterances) made in the situation it names.

6.2.2 Metaphor in marked V+X and PAC+V compounds

If the basic relationship between vehicle and target in V+X and PAC+V compounds is metonymic, the extra "colour" or "flavour" of any one compound is achieved by various kinds of metaphor[9].

Metaphor contributes to the opaqueness of these compounds but is less easy to define than metonymy. Unravelling metaphor in these verbal compounds allows us to grasp an extra shade of meaning in the

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[8] The compound **ɗàuki-bâa-dadʼìi** (take there.is.no addition) is a kind of challenge and thus acquires the meaning 'combat, confrontation'. The compound **gùtsùri-tsòomaa** (break.off dip.in) comes out of the "eating" domain and acquires the meaning 'harping on anything' because the action 'break.off dip.in' is one repeated many times by all participants.

[9] Goosens (1990:338) suggests the term 'metaphtonomy' for *combinations* of metaphor and metonymy. I do not analyse such combinations here.

relationship between vehicle and target[10] and/or in the development of second or third meanings (targets).

Metaphor in Hausa verbal compounds is found in two areas:

1. *between* vehicle and target: a) a switch of domain (mostly between a [-HUMAN] target and a [+HUMAN] vehicle), or b) tension where the vehicle exaggerates the meaning of the target;
2. *between* two or more targets (in compounds which have more than one target); in these cases the targets may be in different domains (e.g. [+HUMAN]/[-HUMAN]); these may be related – one meaning being a metaphorical development of (or away from) another.

We shall examine these kinds of metaphor below (in 6.2.2.1 and 6.2.2.2) and then look at unmarked V+X compounds (6.2.2.3). In (6.2.2.4) I comment on metaphors found in common verbs which are not – or hardly – found in verbal compounds.

6.2.2.1 Metaphor between VEHICLE and TARGET

In this section, I again treat the vehicle as a hypothetical utterance. I show that there is sometimes a switch of domain between vehicle and target or a metaphorical tension between them.

In many verbal compounds there is a switch of domain, from [-HUMAN] to [+HUMAN] when the vehicle "addresses" the [-HUMAN] target as if it were [+HUMAN], e.g. **bùgà-zàabi** (beat guinea-fowl) is a 'short-toed eagle', **gàmà-faɗà** (join [in] fight) is the **margàa**-tree or its pods. Some [-ANIMATE] targets are also addressed as if they were [+HUMAN]: **rìgyaa-ni-zamaa** (precede me sitting.down) is a satchel; **àmsà-kuwwà** (answer echo) is an echo or loudspeaker and **càaɓùlà-kaashi** (tread.in excrement) means 'clogs'. The metaphorical switch of domain is underlined when the target is the theoretical speaker of the compound, and "mentions" itself: e.g. in **rìgyaa-ni-zamaa** the target, a 'satchel', mentions itself in the 1st person pronoun, **ni**. The same is true of compounds where the target is addressed with the 2nd person pronoun **kà**, e.g. the snake named in the compound **sàari-kà-nooƙèe** (slash and hide). The targets in **tàrèe/tàsà-mahàraa** 'trench' or 'moat' are places, addressed as if

[10] Describing the aesthetics of Hausa oral and written literature, Hunter and Oumarou (2001:79) see "tension" as "[…] the catalyst of metaphor […]". They quote I. A. Richards' (1936) who "[…] used 'tension' as a technical term to describe the literal incompatibility of the two terms in a metaphor."

they were [+HUMAN]: they are told to 'meet raiders' or to 'conduct' them – into the trench or moat they name.

In **rùuɗà-kùyàngi** (confuse slave.girls) the metaphorical switch goes in the opposite direction: the vehicle includes [+HUMAN] referents while the target is [-HUMAN], the 'redness of the evening sky'. In terms of colour, this metaphor stays in one sub-domain (the colour red) but uses the confusion of the slave girls (redness, i.e. embarrassment) to name the colour of the evening sky.

In many compounds there is no clear switch between two particular domains, rather the vehicle expresses a specific domain, implicitly allowing a switch to several possible domains, i.e. the vehicle is a *non-literal* or *exaggerated* version of the meaning of the target, creating a metaphorical tension between vehicle and target. Such tension is found in e.g. **ɓàatà-gàri** (spoil the town) 'undesirable elements' (6.2.1.1.1), who do not literally 'spoil the town'; nor does **gàsoo-roogò** (roast cassava) – the 'fool' – literally roast cassava. The **sàadà-gàri** (join town[s]) – the 'envoy' – does not bring towns together. The tree **gàmà-faɗà** (join fight) does not 'join [people together in a] fight' nor does the black-headed lark **tàakà-tòoyi** (tread.on large.fire) literally tread on fire. The warrior – the first meaning of **ƙàarèe-dangì** (finish.off family) – does not wipe out a whole family, nor does the 'exaggerator' – **shàafà-làabaaɾ̃ìi-shuunii**[11] (wipe indigo news) – literally wipe anything on the news. This is pure exaggeration!

In 6.2.1.1.3 the 'crockery' – **fàaɗi-kà-mutù** (fall [and] you die) – will not literally die, even if it should fall. In 6.2.1.2.3 no-one will be literally 'cooked', 'eaten', 'pounded' or 'killed' (the respective verbs are underlined): **dàfaa-ni**, **mìi-kàa-cii-nì**, **dàkàa-mu**, **kàɾ̃-ni-kà-tuuɓèe**)[12].

In 6.2.1.3.1, **ban-gàjiyàa** (give.me tiredness), no-one is literally given tiredness. The expression gets its meaning from the idea that the person who goes to congratulate another tells the latter (e.g. a person who has entertained many guests) to give him his tiredness. In **ƒìtoo-naa-fitoo** (come.out I came.out) and **jaa-ìn-jaa** (pull I'll pull) no-one literally 'comes out' or 'pulls'; they simply represent situations

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[11] The word **shuunii** has its own metaphoric meaning, 'riches': it symbolises money, as in: **màasu hannuu dà shuunii** (the.ones.with hand with indigo) 'the rich'. This is an old expression which has maintained its relevance because the modern 20 Naira notes are also blue.

[12] The verb **ci** 'eat' is used here with its literal rather than one of its metaphorical meanings (see 6.3.7 below).

of conflict. In **sàaɓaa-ni** (miss me) 'misunderstanding' no-one will miss the other on the way; in **ɗàuki-bâa-daɗìi** and **gùtsùri-tsòomaa** ('take without addition' and 'take.off dip.in'; 6.2.1.3.2), there is no actual 'taking' or 'dipping'.

6.2.2.2 Metaphor between two target meanings

Where there are two or more target meanings, the domains of these meanings may differ. In some compounds (see 6.2.1.1.1) we find both [+HUMAN] and [-HUMAN] target meanings: in **bàrà-gurbì** (leave.in nest) we have the meaning 'p. or th. left behind after others have gone' and 'eggs left behind (by the hen)'. (The first meaning can be translated nicely with the English metaphor 'bad egg'!) Another example of difference (in 6.2.1.1.1) is **ci-dà-mòotsin-wani** (eat with movement.of other) the first meaning is [-HUMAN]: the **bâlbeelàa**, or 'cattle egret', lives and moves with cattle, in a semi-parasitic relationship; the second meaning 'scrounger' is [+HUMAN], a metaphorical extension of the first. We find a similar relationship in **sàari-kà-nooƙèe** (slash you hide), in **sàari-dòosaa** (chop head.for) and in **tàakaa-hàyee** (tread.on go.over) where, respectively, the first meaning is [-HUMAN]: 'snake', 'makeshift hoe' and 'saddle' and the second is [+HUMAN]: 'guerilla', 'person with profession other than father's' and 'used/unrewarded person' (see 6.2.1.1.3 and 6.2.1.2.1).

In 6.2.1.3.1 **bàa-ni-ƙafàa** (give me leg) we have three target meanings, of which two are literally in the same domain as the vehicle: 'giving someone a leg-up the wall' and 'giving someone leg-room'. The third is in a different domain – 'gambling' – using **ƙafàa** 'leg' with a metaphorical meaning: 'loan'. In 6.2.1.3.2 we find the compound **jàajàa-amàaree** (pull.pull brides) with the first [-HUMAN] meaning: 'redness of setting sun', and the second [+HUMAN] meaning: 'slight staining of hands or teeth'.

In 6.2.1.1.1 **shàa-kùndum** (drink *ideophone*) it is not possible to identify which of the three target meanings is the source for the other two: one meaning refers to a learned teacher, another to a wealthy person and a third to a city (in contrast to a village). The meanings are in [+HUMAN] and [+LOCATION] domains whereby the [+HUMAN] domain has two sub-domains: 'the learned' and 'the wealthy'[13].

[13] Such a division exists in Hausa culture: in a conversation with a friend, M. Sa'idu (a Qur'anic teacher or 'malam'), I suggested that wealthy people were ranked higher than malams. M. Sa'idu corrected me, saying that they are equal: the one has his money, the other has his knowledge. Whether this relationship

The compound **sàɓi-zàrcee** (overwhelm go.ahead) also has two target meanings (‘nonstop journey’ and ‘giving trader the slip by leaving by back door) which seem to be in separate domains, i.e. to be independent interpretations of the words in the vehicle.

6.2.2.3 The absence of some common verb metaphors in verbal compounds

One fact – at first sight surprising – deserves comment: in verbal compounds there is an absence of common metaphors found in Hausa verbs, i.e. metaphors well established in the language. Typical examples are the verbs **ci** ‘eat’ and **shaa** ‘drink’. The verb ‘eat’ is found in daily expressions such as **ci kàasuwaa** (eat market) ‘go shopping’; it also has the meanings: ‘win, embezzle, have sexual intercourse with, hurt, etc.’; the verb **shaa** ‘drink’ often means ‘do much of something (negative)’. (For comments on the metaphorical meanings of these verbs, see Gouffé 1966 and Williams 1991.)

There is only one compound where the verb **ci** has a metaphorical meaning: **cìi raani** (eat dry.season) ‘seasonal migration’; here the verb means: ‘spend [time]’. The verb ‘drink’ is also found in one compound with a general metaphorical sense. In **shaa-kà-suuma** (drink you faint, see 6.2.1.3.2) ‘working for wages’ the word **shaa** has its metaphorical meaning: ‘do much of something (negative)’.

In **sàari-kà-nooƙèe** (slash you retreat, see 6.2.1.1.3) ‘snake, guerilla’, **sàari** ‘slash’ is metaphorical and comes into the compound with its metaphorical meaning: ‘biting (of a snake)’[14].

Such meanings might be expected to abound in a context where metaphor is common. However, on reflection, their absence is not a surprise. The compounds – the vehicles – generally have a literal meaning on the surface and it is the underlying interplay of vehicle and target (mostly metonymic) which gives the compound its figurative character.

Before looking at further rhetorical devices (6.3) I examine unmarked V+X compounds, verbal noun compounds and **ma-** verbal compounds. Metaphor and metonymy are found in all these compounds, but not in the same way as in the above.

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is vertical or horizontal (parallel), the difference is clear and can be described as two domains.

[14] See footnote 17, chapter 3.2.2.2.

6.2.3 Unmarked V+X compounds

I look at unmarked V+X compounds separately because two features mark them as different to their marked V+X and unmarked PAC+V "brothers": a) they have *no* phonological markers (neither on the verb nor on the noun) and b) they are *all* H-verbs. Thus they may be infinitive phrases (see chapters 2.1.3 and 4.2.2.1) and not compounds. However, we find both metonymy and metaphor in them. The metonymy found in V+X and PAC+V compounds above (6.2.1.1) is present but seems to be limited to syntactic metonymy where the target is the subject.

VEHICLE		TARGET
biyà-raanaa	(follow sun)	shrub which follows sun *crotalaria obovata*
ɓaatà-ƙasaa	(spoil land)	destructiveness
cikà-fagee	(fill space)	type of shrub
cikà-gidaa	(fill house)	castor-oil plant
faràntà-râi	(whiten life)	in: **mài ~** (sth.) putting p. in a good mood
fasà-daabùr̃	(break ?)	a kind of fruit
fasà-fushii	(break anger)	children's game (throwing white-earth balls at wall)
firtsà-faƙoo	(inaugurate barren-place)	the weed *tribulus terrestris*
mootsà-ƙwaƙwalwaa	(move brain)	brain-teaser, grammatical drill
tayà-ragoo	(help lazybones)	a tree

Many of the above are plants; a number are games (where the players are the subject of the activity). We also find a 'brain teaser or grammatical drill' to (literally) 'move our brain'. Interestingly, four of the above (**biyà-raanaa**, **ɓaatà-ƙasaa**, **cikà-fagee** and **cikà-gidaa**) have marked equivalents: **bìi-raana**, **ɓàatà-ƙasa**, **cìkà-fage** and **cìkà gida**. This suggests that unmarked V+X compounds are not simply infinitive phrases; they are compounds – at the very least by analogy.

In one of these compounds the relationship between vehicle and target can be described as syntactic metonymy in which the target is the subject, and the action of the subject (the action described in the vehicle) has undergone a "time-shift", e.g. in **biyà-gaawaa** (follow corpse) those who will eat the 'pounded bulrush millet flour given those who attended funeral' have already 'followed the corpse'.

VEHICLE		TARGET
biyà-gaawaa	(following corpse)	pounded bulrush millet flour given those who attended funeral

In many of these compounds the target expresses activities *associated* with the *assumed* subject of the verb in the vehicle:

VEHICLE		TARGET
gamà-tsàkaanii	(joining middle)	mischief making
gamà-gàrii	(joining town)	roving
gazà-ganii	(fail seeing)	in: **'yan ~** disgruntled persons
iyà-lauyàa	(be.able lawyer)	in: **gàa ~** there's a clever (wily) lawyer for you!
iyà-sheegèe	(be.able bastard)	unacceptable behavior (done rudely or as joke between friends)
iyà-yîi	(be.able doing)	ostentation, showing off
jiƙà-hantàa	(moisten liver)	generosity
kaamà-kâi	(seize head/self)	self-discipline
mootsà-jìkii	(move body)	sport, physical exercise
sâa-hannuu	(put hand)	signature
tisà-gaawaa	(re-do corpse)	1) hacking dead body to make sword look as if it has been used in the thick of the fight 2) adding insult to injury
tunà-haifùwaa	(remember birth)	in: **ran ~** birthday

The above compounds are similar to those described in 6.2.1.3.2: (the target is a situation, etc. in which the 'speaker' (not mentioned in the vehicle) addresses a participant in the situation the vehicle names). The difference is that, in the unmarked compounds, no-one can be said to be addressed.

A number of these compounds bring metaphorical meanings into the compound: **jiƙà-hantàa** (moisten liver) 'generosity', **kaamà-kâi** (seize head) 'self-discipline' ('head' is also used metaphorically to mean 'self') and **waasà-ƙwaƙwalwaa** (sharpen brain) 'riddle'.

6.2.4 Verbal noun compounds

The relationship between the target and vehicle of a verbal noun compound is generally metaphorical. Metaphor is found in both verbal nouns and common nouns in these compounds, rendering them opaque. The kind of metonymy described above (6.2.1) is seldom found in these compounds (but see 6.2.4.4) and seems to be ruled out

by the fact that they are nominalised: the target cannot be the underlying subject, object or complement of the *nominalised* verb. Nor are there any utterances hypothetically naming the situation in which they are uttered.

6.2.4.1 Opaque compounds: TARGET and VEHICLE in different domains

I describe opaque compounds first, then transparent compounds and finally a few compounds where one meaning is transparent and the other opaque. The examples are grouped according to the underlying syntax: where the noun following the verbal noun and linker (VN.L) is either a) the direct object or b) the subject (of either a transitive or an intransitive verb); or where c) the VN.L is followed by an adverb, a noun expressing instrument, place, time, type or "quality compared", or d) a complex NP (with the second noun of the NP the subject of the phrase) follows the VN.L. In some such compounds we find e) a "cranberry" after the VN.L and, in others, f) a verbal noun (with no linker) followed by an adverb or a second verbal noun.

(The metaphorical meanings of a number of these compounds were explained in 3.3.1.1 – 3.3.1.7. Those described in that section are not described here.)

6.2.4.1.1 VNCs where N is the direct object of the VN

VEHICLE		TARGET
àjiyàř-zuucìyaa	(setting.down.of heart)	sigh (of relief)
cîn-fuskàa	(eating.of face)	insult
ganin-hannuu	(seeing.of hand)	taking bride's virginity
gwajìn-tàakàlmii	(trying.of shoe)	trial marriage
jan-bàakii	(pulling.of mouth)	quarrelsomeness
kisàn-auree	(killing.of marriage)	divorce
saamùn-gàrii	(finding.of town)	parvenu
saaran-gàyyaa	(chopping.of collective)	drumming announcing collective work
saaran-sùumaa	(chopping.of hair.of.head)	shaving baby's head on naming day
shân-ruwaa	(drinking.of water)	drinking beer
tàɓaa-kiɗìi, tàɓaa-kàřàatuu	(touch drumming, touch studying)	"all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy"
tàunařˊ-lìnzaamìi	(chewing.of bridle)	intimidation
wankìn-idòo	(washing.of eye)	charm
yankan-gaashìi	(cutting.of hair)	syphilis

In **cîn-fuskàa** we find the metaphorical meaning of **cîi** (see above); here, seems to mean 'hurt (someone socially)'. In **kisàn-auree** a fairly widespread metaphorical usage of 'killing' comes into play (e.g. 'killing money' means 'spending large amounts of money'). In **saaran-gàyyaa** and **saaran-suumaa** the word **saaraa** (slashing) is used metaphorically: 'drumming' or 'shaving'. In **tàɓaa kiɗìi tàɓaa kàřàatuu** the word **tàɓaa** (lit.: touching) is used with the metaphorical meaning 'do something from time to time'.

Underlying **saamùn-gàrii**, the word **gàrii** has the metaphorical meaning 'opportunity' giving **saamùn-gàrii** the meaning 'coming into something good' and allowing the negative 'parvenu'.

6.2.4.1.2 VNCs where N is subject of the VN: transitive verbs

VEHICLE		TARGET
duukàn-iskàa	(beating.of demon)	mentally-ill p.
saaƙàř-gizò	(weaving.of Gizo)	plot, illusion

In the compound ; **àjiyàř-zuucìyaa** the heart puts down (its load); in **duukàn-iskàa** the word **iskàa** has the meaning 'demon' rather than its normal meaning 'wind'. In **saaƙàr-gizò** the source domain is myth, and the character Gizo (a figure similar to the North American "trickster") is used to symbolise what he typically does: making illusory plots.

6.2.4.1.3 VNCs where N(P) is subject of the VN: intransitive verbs

VEHICLE		TARGET
gudùn-tàatsattsař àkuyàa	(running.of milked goat)	running away when too late
sàleeɓàř-zumàa	(stain.of honey)	empty words
tàfiyàř-kuuraa	(walking.of hyena)	writing Arabic accusative as in Ar.
tàfiyàř-ruwaa	(walking.of water)	1) infantile convulsions 2) Engl. cursive writing
wankan-tařwaɗaa	(washing.of catfish)	medium complexion
zuwàn-kâi	(coming.of self)	ejaculation

In **zuwàn-kâì** the noun **kâì** 'head' has the metaphorical meaning 'self'. In **wankan-tàřwàɗaa** the word **wankaa** has its metaphorical meaning 'colour'.

6.2.4.1.4 VNCs with an adverb or noun expressing instrument, place, time, type or "quality compared" (verb transitive or intransitive)

VEHICLE		TARGET
dakàn-jiyà	(pounding.of yesterday)	petite p. (doesn't age quickly)
gooyon-baaya	(carrying.of back)	supporting p. (pol.)
rawaɽ̃-daajìi	(dance.of bush)	military manoeuvres
saaƙàɽ̃-zuuci	(weaving.of heart)	1) contemplation, 2) pondering
taashìn-ƙauyèe	(rising.of village)	bumpkin
zaman-aɽ̃zìkii	(living.of wealth)	living happily
zaman-tsìyaa	(living.of poverty)	living unhappily

In the final two compounds the words **aɽ̃zìkii** 'wealth' and **tsìyaa** 'poverty' are "mapped" from the economic domain 'wealth' to the social domain 'living together'.

6.2.4.1.5 VNCs where N2 of NP is the subject (verb transitive or intransitive)

VEHICLE		TARGET
jiràn-gàawon shaanuu	(waiting.of acacia.of cattle)	waiting for something good
kallon-hadarìn kàajii	(observing.of storm.of chickens)	1) contemptuous look 2) glaring
shân-ruwan raaƙumàa	(drinking.of water.of camels)	doing thing occasionally
tàfiyàɽ̃-itàacen ƙàdangarèe	(walking.on tree.of lizard)	procrastination

All the above meanings involve a transfer from the animal to the human domain: in **jiràn-gàawon-shaanuu** the cattle are waiting for the acacia to come into leaf which, unusually, occurs in the *dry* season[15], i.e. they are waiting for something good. In **kallon-hadàrin-kàajii** the hens are eyeing the coming storm apprehensively, hence the target meanings 'contemptuous look, glaring'. The meaning of **shân-ruwan-ràaƙumii** relates to the fact that camels do not often drink; in **tàfiyàɽ̃-itàacen-ƙàdangarèe** we see that this lizard does not like to climb trees.

[15] Thanks to Andrew Haruna for this example and explanation. The epithet of the acacia tree **kaa ƙi ruwan Allàh** 'you refuse God's rain' [A312] parallels this compound.

6.2.4.1.6 VNCs with a "cranberry"

The following compounds are necessarily opaque since the word following the verbal noun is a cranberry, only found in the compound:

VEHICLE		TARGET
ɓatàn-ɓàkàtantàn	(getting.lost.of ?)	loss of both (of two) opportunities
cîn-mùmmùƙee	(eating.of ?)	secret/covert persecution
ganin-kwaf	(seeing.of ?)	inquisitive desire to see very last of display
haɗìn-gàmbiizàa	(joining.of ?)	1) combination of things (esp. clothes) that do not go well together 2) (temporary) coalition
kisàn-gillàa	(killing.of ?)	1) massacre 2) cold-blooded murder
tsallen-baɗakee	(jumping.of ?)	hurdles (in athletics)

In **kisàn-gillàa** the word **gillàa** may be a verbal noun (from the gr1 verb **gillàa** 'do excessively' or gr4 **gillèe** 'sever the head') but to my knowledge, it is only used in this VNC.

6.2.4.1.7 VNCs with no linker – with adverb or second VN (verb transitive or intransitive)

VEHICLE		TARGET
cî-baaya	(eating backwards)	regression, reactionary attitude
cî-gàba	(eating forwards)	continuation, civilization, progress
kwaanaa-rawaa	(spending.night dancing)	tinkling ear-pendant

Two of the above compounds use the metaphorical meaning of **ci** 'eat' (= 'progressing'); the third compound "maps" 'dancing' from the human to the inanimate domain – as if the earring could dance on its own.

6.2.4.2 Some fairly transparent compounds

In the following examples the meanings of the compounds are fairly transparent.

6.2.4.2.1 VNCs where N(P) is the direct object of the VN

VEHICLE		TARGET
juuyìn-mulkìi	(reverse.of power)	coup d'état
karìn-kùmalloo	(break.of fast)	breakfast
lèeƙen-àsiiřii	(peeking.of secret)	spying
neeman-auree	(seeking.of marriage)	courting
tsaarìn-mulkìi	(organisation.of power)	constitution (pol.)
shân-kàbeewàa	(drinking.of pumpkin)	pumpkin festival

In Hausa the use of **shaa** 'drink' in **shân-kàbeewaa** is not metaphorical: in Hausa one 'drinks' fruit, one does not 'eat' it. This meaning is also found in **shân taabàa** (drinking tobacco) 'smoking'.

6.2.4.2.2 VNCs where N(P) is subject of the VN: transitive verbs

VEHICLE		TARGET
cîn-zanzanaa	(eating.of pox)	pock marks on face
jeerìn-gwàanoo	(lining.up.of stink.ants)	1) procession 2) queue, line
saaƙàř-gizò(-gizò)	(weaving.of spider)	spider's web
saaƙàř-zumàa	(weaving.of bee)	honeycomb
shân-zumàa	(drinking.of bee)	collecting honey
wankan-amaryaa	(washing.of bride)	washing of bride before wedding

The compound **jeerìn-gwàanoo** is the usual word for 'queue' in Hausa.

6.2.4.2.3 VNCs where N(P) is subject of the VN: intransitive verbs

VEHICLE		TARGET
gìřgizàř-ƙasaa	(shaking.of earth)	earthquake
hàuhawàř-jinii	(mounting.of blood)	hypertension
rawař-jìkii	(dance.of body)	trembling
ruuɗèewař-cikìi	(disturbance.of stomach)	upset stomach
sùɓutàř-bàakii	(slip.of mouth)	slip of the tongue

The compound **rawař-jìkii** is the expression used when a person is shaking due to a fever.

6.2.4.2.4 VNCs with an adverb or noun expressing instrument, place, time, activity or "quality"

VEHICLE		TARGET
auren-doolè	(marriage.of "must")	forced marriage

gudùn-gyaaran daagaa	(running[away].of improving.of frontline)	strategic retreat
hàngen-neesà	(looking.of far.away)	foresight, forecast
juuyìn-jùuyà haalì	(turn.of change situation)	revolution (political)
kaamùn-dàacee	(catching.of appropriateness)	in: **yaa yi ~** he hit the nail on the head
kwaanan-azancii	(spending.night.of talking.sense)	smartness, intelligence
taashen-bàlagàa	(rising.of maturity)	adolescent sexual urge
taashìn-kìyaamàa	(rising.of perusia)	day of judgement
tsayìn-dakàa	(stance.of pounding)	firmness of stance
yaawòn-àmaanàa	(journey.of trust)	extortion in villages by chiefs
yîn-hannu	(doing.of hand)	handmade
zaman-tàare	(living.of together)	social interaction, living together

In **gudùn-gyaaran-daagaa**, the word **daagaa** 'frontline' makes it clear that we are in the military domain; the widespread use of **gyaaraa** for any kind of improvement makes the compound quite transparent. There is heavy irony in **yaawòn-àmaanàa** (lit.: journey.of *trust*) meaning 'extortion in villages by chiefs' – one can only trust that their intentions are negative for the villagers!

The compound **yîn-hannu** is used as an adjective.

6.2.4.3 VNCs with more than one meaning

In the following we have verbal noun compounds with two meanings. In some, one meaning is tranparent and the other opaque, in others both are opaque.

In the first group we have compounds where one meaning is tranparent and the other opaque.

VEHICLE		TARGET
awòn-igiyàa	(measurement.of rope)	1) sth. extremely tall or long 2) plot of land measured (with rope)in traditional manner
ɗaurìn-taalaalaa	(tying.of looseness)	1) loose knot 2) house arrest
tsàyuwaɾ̃-watàa	(rising.of moon)	1) new moon 2) standing on hands

In the next group we have compounds where both target meanings are opaque:

VEHICLE		TARGET
cìrafˀ-ƙoodagoo	(pulling.of work)	1) getting wealth, etc., by p. who has no forbears who did so. 2) successfully snatching foot in wrestling
kwaanan-zàune	(spending.night.of sitting)	1) bride's spending night with friends on eve of going to groom's house 2) spending night doing sth. important

In compounds with cranberries (6.2.4.1.6) both target meanings are opaque because of the unknown meaning of the cranberry:

VEHICLE		TARGET
haɗìn-gàmbiizàa	(joining.of ?)	1) combination of things (esp. clothes) that do not go well together 2) (temporary) coalition
kisàn-gillàa	(killing.of ?)	1) massacre 2) cold-blooded murder

6.2.4.4 Metonymy in VNCs

In a few verbal noun compounds we find metonymy.

VEHICLE		TARGET
saaraa-suukàa	(slashing piercing)	thuggery
suukàa-dubuu	(piercing thousand)	embroidered cap decorated with holes

In **saaraa-suukàa** we have 'slashing, 'piercing', i.e. something closely associated with (a part of) 'thuggery'. In **suukàa-duubaa** part of what is associated with an 'embroidered cap decorated with holes' (the target) is described: 'a thousand piercings'.

jîi-dà-kâi	(feeling with self)	pride, self-esteem

The above compound is relatively tranparent; the word **kâi** 'head' has the general metaphorical meaning 'self'. The vehicle as a whole expresses part of what it is to be proud.

shuurìn-masàaƙii	(kicking.of weaver)	several times, uncountable

In **shuurìn-masàaƙii** the meaning 'several times, uncountable' relates to one of the actions of the weaver at his loom.

The metonymy found in these few compounds is a general SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT metonymy. This is commented on below (6.2.4.5).

6.2.4.5 Conclusions concerning VNCs

In the above verbal noun compounds there was more use of commonly used metaphors in the verbal noun: metaphorical meanings of **cîi** 'eat', of **kisàa** 'killing', **saaraa** 'slashing' or of **shâa** 'drinking'. Similarly the metaphorical meanings of certain nouns (following the verbal noun and linker) were found: **iskàa** 'wind' has the meaning 'demon', the noun **kâi** 'head' has the metaphorical meaning 'self' and **ruwaa** 'water' has the meaning 'beer'.

The metonymy found in the verbal compounds (6.2.1) is not found with verbal noun compounds: neither syntactic metonymy (the target is the subject or object of the verb in the vehicle) nor pragmatic metonymy (the vehicle is an utterance belonging in the situation named by the compound) is found. In fact it is not possible to establish a regular relationship between vehicle and target in verbal noun compounds.

A possible explanation may lie in the fact that many verbal noun compounds are nominalisations of established *metaphors* or of fixed expressions. These are already "fixed" in finite sentences. Thus e.g. the metaphor found in **yaa ajìyè zuucìyaa** (he set.down heart) 'he sobbed, sighed' is nominalised in **àjiyàř-zuucìyaa** (setting.down.of heart) 'sob, sigh'; again the metaphor found in **an ɗaurèe masà daajìi** 'he was given a charm to pass safely through the bush' is simply nominalised in **ɗaurìn-daajìi** (tying.of bush) 'charm to help person safely through the bush'. A further metaphor is: **yaa hàrbi kankìi** (he shot.at hartebeest) 'he spoke (badly) of someone, not knowing that person could hear him' is nominalised in **harbìn-kankìi** 'disparaging other, not knowing he is nearby'. The fixed expression **taa ɗaurèe ƙìrjii** 'she secured cloth above breasts (for first time)' is nominalised in **ɗaurìn-ƙìrjii** (tying.of chest) 'securing cloth above breasts for the first time'.

I suggest that metonymy cannot play any role in the relationship between vehicle and target in verbal noun compounds because the verb is *nominalised*, its internal syntax "fixed". In contrast, the verb in the vehicle of verbal compounds (6.2.1) is *finite* and is "open" to syntactic or pragmatic metonymy.

6.2.5 The **ma-** verbal compounds

The **ma-** compounds, singular and plural, have syntactic metonymy where the target is the subject of the verb in the vehicle. They tend to be transparent. Here some examples of singular **ma-** compounds with transitive verbs:

VEHICLE		TARGET
mabàa-dà-noonòo	(ma:give [dà] milk)	mother, wet nurse
mafii-yawàa	(ma:exceed quantity)	more, most
majàa-cikìi	(ma:drag stomach)	snake
majìi-tàusàyin baawaa	(ma:hear sympathy.of slave)	one feeling pity for slave (God)
makàs-dubuu	(ma:kill thousand)	killer of thousands
maràs-hankàlii	(ma:lack sense)	senseless p.
masòo-faɗàa	(ma:like fighting)	trouble maker

The following singular **ma-** compounds have intransitive verbs:

VEHICLE		TARGET
majèe-hajìi	(ma:go pilgrimage)	pilgrim
mazòo-dà-littaafii	(ma:come with book)	bringer of book

Formally the compound **mazòo-dà-littaafii** - an epithet for the Prophet Muhammad – is opaque. Culturally however it is quite transparent.

In the next pair of examples the meanings are opaque. Perhaps this is due to the fact that they are epithets; the vehicle expresses a general characteristic associated with the (particular) target it names:

VEHICLE		TARGET
macìi-na-wùyaa	(ma:eat that.of difficulty)	kingfisher
majìi-garkòo	(ma:feel handsomeness)	epithet of man named Yusufu

In plural **ma-** compounds the target is the subject of the verb in the vehicle; they are also transparent. The first group has transitive verbs:

VEHICLE		TARGET
ma'àikàtaa-aikìn aagàjii	(ma:perform work.of help)	aid workers
mabìyaa-sarkii	(ma:follow emir)	retinue
maɗàukaa-kanwaa	(ma:lift potash)	potash carriers
mafiyaa-yawàa	(ma:exceed quantity)	(those in) majority
mahàlàr̃taa-tàarôn	(ma:attend meeting.DET)	those attending meeting
manèemaa-làabàar̃ai	(ma:look.for news)	reporters

In the following plural **ma-** compounds group we find an intransitive verb:

VEHICLE		TARGET
matàfiyaa-Kanòo	(ma:travel.to Kano)	travellers to Kano
mazàunaa-gàrîn	(ma:live town.DET)	inhabitants of the town

We do not find metaphor in the **ma-** compounds. This plays an important role in the fact that they are generally transparent.

6.3 Further rhetorical devices in Hausa verbal compounds

Here I shall look at other rhetorical devices in Hausa verbal compounds, which, like metaphor, bring an extra shade of meaning or tension to the compound.

The following rhetorical devices are presented in this section: a) mentioning the hypothetical speaker or hearer and b) humour and irony. These first two devices are effective and clearly defined rhetorical devices. Other devices are either not so strong or their status as rhetorical devices not so clearly defined: c) 'vagueness' of meaning, d) the use of ungrammatical forms, e) the use of gr6 verbs, f) "cranberries" in compounds and g) the use of literal as against figurative meanings. In section 6.4 I look at other possible rhetorical devices and, in the summary (6.5), comment on cognitive characteristics of verbal compounds.

6.3.1 Addressing (or mentioning) a hypothetical speaker or hearer

In some groups of examples the hypothetical speaker or hearer is mentioned (occasionally both) as a subject or object pronoun.

Addressing or mentioning one or the other of the persons or characters involved highlights the metaphorical tension, especially when the character is not human – but is addressed as if it were human. The most common means of addressing a hypothetical hearer in Hausa verbal compounds is the use of the imperative (some 384 from 581 V+X compounds; see chapter 2.1.1 and Appendix 2); some compounds which begin with an imperative have a second VP with a second person pronoun. The other possibility is the use of the second or fourth (= 'one') person pronoun in PAC+V compounds: 41 of 71 such compounds have one of these pronouns (see Appendix 3a).

An example with the imperative is: **rìgyaa-ni-zamaa** (precede me sitting) 'satchel' with a 1st person singular pronoun **ni** (the hypothetical speaker of the compound). The compound **sàari-kà-**

nooƙèe (slash you hide) 'type of snake' begins with an imperative verb and continues with a 2nd person singular pronoun **kà** (the hypothetical hearer of the compound). In **à-wàawùri-kàryaa** (one.should grab bitch) 'type of short-sleeved gown' we have **à** (4th p. plural pronoun).

In 6.2.1.1.4 two compounds are good examples of how mentioning the hearer adds to the tension of the compound: **maalàm-bùuɗaa-manà-littaafìi** (sir, open for.us book) 'butterfly' and **tàakaa-zoo-toorì** (step.out come ostrich) 'hurrying along apprehensively'. In the first both the speaker (included in the 1st p. plural indirect object pronoun **manà**) and the hearer (**maalàm** 'sir, teacher') are mentioned. The [-HUMAN] target, 'butterfly', is addressed as [+HUMAN] and the presence of **maalàm** and **manà** highlights the metaphorical switch. In the second example, the ostrich (**toorì**) is addressed in the vehicle. This adds to the tension between the [-HUMAN] vehicle and the [+HUMAN] target: 'hurrying along apprehensively'.

In 6.2.1.2 tension between vehicle and target is achieved by addressing a hypothetical hearer who is told to do something with the target which is the direct object of the verb(s) in the vehicle. In **ɗàukàa-wuyà** (put.on neck) a hypothetical hearer is told to pick up and put (someone on his or her) neck: this 'someone' is the target, the 'child carried on shoulders'. In 6.2.1.2.2 we find **ci-kaɾ̃-kà-mutù** (eat don't die) 'tasteless food' and **cìkaa-kà-yaɾ̃** (fill and throw away) 'wallet'. Addressing the hearer in these compounds (with the pronoun **kà**) heightens the tension between the vehicle and target meanings, and adds to the humour: 'Eat tasteless food and don't die!' or: 'Fill your wallet (with money) and throw it away!'

In 6.2.1.2.3 (**dàfaa-ni** etc.) the presence of the 1st person pronoun **ni** (the hypothetical speaker of the compound) contributes to the metaphorical tension – perhaps because a 'debtor' or 'slacker' is not expected to mention him- or herself in public. The compounds in 6.2.1.3.1 bring their meanings (e.g. 'combat', 'argument') closer to us by mentioning the participants: e.g. in **cànee-naa-canèe** (say [what you have to say], I have said [what I have to say]) the hypothetical speaker mentions him- or herself (1st p. pronoun, **naa**) in the 'combat. In **ka-cèe-na-cèe** (you have said [what you have to say], I have said [what I have to say]) 'argument', the speaker also mentions the hearer. These utterances typify and name the target.

In 6.2.1.2.4 we find **shàa-ni-ìn-shaa-kà** (drink me I drink you) naming the green and yellow 'fruit of the **aduwàa** tree' which upsets

your stomach and/or gives you the "runs"[16]. In **shàa-ni-kà-san-nì** (drink me and know me) 'a strong purgative', the target challenges a potential user to 'use me and you will see that I work'! A similar challenge is found in **kàr̃-ni-kà-tuuɓèe** (kill me and take me off) 'a type of gown'. All three examples involve the metaphorical switch [-HUMAN] to [+HUMAN].

In 6.2.1.3.1 we saw the **ban**-N compounds alongside compounds such as **bàa-ni-ƙafàa** and **bàa-su-kà-huutàa**. In the latter, the 1st and 3rd person pronouns (**ni** and **su**) are unambiguously part of the compound. I argue that the **ban**-N compounds also have a 1st person pronoun, i.e. they are compounds in which the hypothetical speaker mentions him- or herself. The examples discussed above (**dàfaa-ni**, **shàa-ni-ìn-shaa-kà**, etc.) show that Hausa is quite at ease with 1st person pronouns in compounds. Newman's suggestion (see chapter 4.3.2.2 and 6.2.1.3.1) that interpreting the **ni** in **bàa ni** (from which **ban** is phonologically reduced) as an OH 3rd person pronoun makes "[...] better sense semantically" [PN124] does not hold up.

In the compounds in 6.2.1.3.2 the speaker is not mentioned. In two cases the hearer is mentioned with the pronoun **kà**: **bàa-su-kà-huutàa** (give them and rest) 'paying off debt' and **shaa-kà-suuma** (drink [= do much of] and faint) 'manual work done for wages'. In **bàa-su-kà-huutàa**, third persons (those who are owed something) are mentioned: **su** 'them'. The presence of these pronouns makes the participants in the negative situation "real" and adds tension.

6.3.2 Humour and irony

I treat humour and irony together since it is often difficult to separate them. They are found in every group of verbal compounds – and verbal noun compounds. Here a few examples:

In 6.2.1.1.1 we find the compounds: **bàrà-gadoo-gaashìi** (leave hair in the bed) 'man slow to ejaculate', **ci-dà-mòotsin-wani** (eat with the movement of another) 'scrounger (the second meaning)', **càaɓùlà-kaashi** (tread.in excrement) 'clogs (for use in traditional toilet)', and **hànà-sallà** (prevent prayer) 'baseball cap', all of which have humourous meanings and/or imply humorous situations. There is some irony in **tàashi-laafiyàa** (rise in.health) 'type of gown' and **tsài-dà-màganà** (establish utterance, i.e. 'keep one's word') 'hair under lower lip': the 'gown' and the 'hair under the lower lip' are

[16] Thanks to M. Ibro Chekaraou (Bloomington, September 2000) for this example.

[-HUMAN] objects but are addressed in the compound as if they were [+HUMAN] agents. It is not they who perform what is described in the vehicle, rather the vehicle implies the person who is wearing the gown or who is old enough to be expected to keep his word (he has hair under the lower lip).

In 6.2.1.1.2 there is obvious humour in **rìgyaa-ni-zamaa** (sit down before me), a 'type of satchel' which has a long strap allowing the satchel to touch the ground before the person carrying it – assumed to be about to sit down. In **tàyaa-ni-shìgaa** (help me enter) 'doorstep' we have heavy irony: the step will *not* help: doorsteps are not common and the unknowing guest may well trip up! In **tàsà-mahàraa** (conduct raiders) 'trench, moat' there is also irony: the trench will not conduct the raiders (to where they are headed); it will do exactly the opposite!

In 6.2.1.1.3 there is obvious humour in **kaa-fi-maalàm** (you are better than a Qur'anic teacher) 'herb used as a charm', **fàaɗi-kà-mutù** (fall and you die) 'crockery'. In **kaa-fi-maalàm** the suggestion that a plant – *Evolvulus alsinoides* (used for charms or drugs) [A448] – is better than a Qur'anic teacher is facetious, and this underscores the effectiveness of the plant as a charm. The irony is consolidated by the metaphorical switch from [-HUMAN] to [+HUMAN]. In **fàaɗi-kà-mutù** (fall and you die) 'crockery', the humour needs no explanation. The irony in **à-wàawùri-kàryaa** (one should grab a bitch) 'type of sleeveless shirt' is religious: Muslims do not normally touch dogs (dogs are haram – forbidden – like pigs); to wear a short-sleeved gown and pick up a bitch would involve a lot of physical contact[17]!

There is heavy irony in the first meaning of **jèe-ka-naa-yii-kà** (go I'm done with you, 6.2.1.1.4) the 'powerless bureaucrat' may say **jèe-ka-naa-yii-kà** but this vehicle simply highlights the fact that he has no power. In the compound **maalàm-bùuɗaa-manà-littaafìi** (also 6.2.1.1.4), the 'butterfly' is addressed as **maalàm**: 'Sir, open the book for us.' Its wings may be closed (just like the loose-leaf book carried in the 'satchel' **rìgyaa-ni-zamaa**, see 6.2.1.1.2) and, like the leaves of the book, may then open. A perfect metaphor, with irony.

In 6.2.1.2.1 the compound **dàki-bàri** (beat and stop) the 'strong and reliable thing' is so strong and reliable that anyone who tries to

[17] The compound **zàabùri-kàryaa** (make.leap.forward bitch) has the same meaning and humour: 'type of sleeveless shirt'. Abdurrahman Kabir (DW) commented on this compound as follows: "**Sùtuɾ̃àa maràa àmincìi!**" '(That's) inappropriate clothing!'

beat it will soon stop[18]. The compound **sàa-dà-kuukaa** (wear with crying) 'tight bracelet' is another example of this tongue-in-cheek irony. In both **ci-kaɗ-kà-mutù** and **cìkaa-kà-yaɗ** (see above 6.3.1) we find similar irony. In **shìga-dà-àlwàlaɗkà** (enter with your ablutions) 'a taxi' the hypothetical hearer is told to enter a taxi – the target – having done his ablutions; the implication is that the ablutions are useless: by the time he reaches his destination, he will have to perform them again. A similar irony is found in the second meaning of **dàfàa-dukà** 'taxi' (cook all): these taxis have the reputation of being frequently involved in road accidents – where, metaphorically, all will be 'cooked'.

In 6.2.1.3 there is little humour since most verbal compounds in this group describe difficult situations. Nevertheless humour is not completely absent. The compound **tàashi-mù-jee-mu** (rise and let's be off) 'indecisiveness' is related in composition and meaning to the frequently used humourous expression **mù jee zuwàa**! (let's go going) 'let's be off!'[19]. The compound **shàafaa-mù-reeràa** (wipe and let's sing) 'hypnotising people by touch to make them follow' involves people losing control over their own behaviour and, unwillingly, starting to sing[20].

In verbal noun compounds we also find humour and irony. In 3.3.1.3 we saw the verbal noun compound **taashìn-gwauron-zàaboo** (lit. rising.of male guinea-fowl). This VNC refers to how the single male guinea-fowl (**gwauroo** is a man whose wife – his only wife – has left him) rises into the air on seeing something interesting. The verbal noun compounds **shìgaa-bâa-biyàa** (entering without paying, 3.3.1.7) 'caged police van'[21] and **kwaanaa-rawaa**

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[18] While checking out the humour in these compounds, I asked a Hausa colleague in the Hausa Service of the German Radio (DW) for an example of something which he would call **dàki-bàri**; he paused, indicated my heavy winter shoes, laughed and said: "There's **dàki-bàri**!"

[19] The humour comes from the fact that the word **zuwàa** is redundant here. (There is a second part to the expression **mù jee zuwàa**, viz.: **mahàukàcii yaa hau kuuraa** '(said the) madman mounting the cart (lit.: hyena)', which confirms and underlines the humour.)

[20] Hunter and Elhadji Oumarou (2002:108) report on the late poet Aƙilu Aliyu's poem **Hausa mài ban-haushii** (1973:39-46) in which he uses the compound **shàafi-mù-leeràa** with the meaning "a charm rubbed on the hand of a victim to make his genitals disappear". (The **l-** replacing the **r-** in **reeràa** is dialectal and/or ideolectal.)

[21] This kind of humour is similar to that found in **gidan bâa-hayàa** (house.of there.is.no hire) the Hausa expression for 'public toilet'.

(spending.night dancing, 6.2.4.1.7) ‘tinkling ear-pendant’ are also good examples of humour and irony.

6.3.3 Vagueness

A further rhetorical device contributing to the opacity of Hausa verbal compounds is “vagueness”[22]. By this I mean the use of e.g. a verb in the compound with a wide semantic range – a verb whose meaning in any given context depends largely on the context. The tension produced by such vagueness is achieved by the contrast between the *vague* meaning of the verb in the vehicle (the actual meaning could be any one of a number of meanings) and the *specific* meaning of the target. This vagueness is probably unconscious but nevertheless effective.

In **jèe-ka-naa-yii-kà** (go-you I’m done.with you) the second verb in the vehicle is **yi**. This Hausa verb has several meanings and/or usages: 1) ‘do, make’, 2) ‘go’, 3) ‘be done’. The first meaning is the usual, transitive meaning; it is the verb which is used as a “resumptive pro-verb” (see Newman 2000:194 and Tuller 1988:143). The second meaning is a less usual, intransitive use, e.g. **yaa yi ùngwaa** (he do neighbourhood) ‘He’s gone off [into] the neighbourhood’ and the third meaning is reflexive, e.g. **shaayìi yaa yi** (tea it.is done) ‘the tea’s ready’. In the compound **jèe-ka-naa-yii-kà** we seem to have a combination of the English ‘do’ and ‘be ready’: ‘I’m done with you.’ This meaning – part of the vehicle meaning – is potentially open to many interpretations. In contrast, the target meanings are precise and used with heavy irony: the bureaucrat who has no real power and the S. African ‘homelands’. The vagueness creates a kind of tension between vehicle and target and allows two target meanings, both of which seem to have an independent relationship to the vehicle – rather than one target meaning being a metaphorical development of the other.

All the examples in 6.2.1.2.1 are vague. The compound **sàa-dà-kuukaa** (wear with crying) ‘tight bracelet’ contains the verb **sâa** which has the meanings ‘wear’ ‘put (sth.) on’ and ‘cause’. In the compound the meaning is ‘put on (a tight bracelet)’, the tight bracelet being the target, and the direct object of the verb in the vehicle. The other compounds in 6.2.1.2.1 have two verbs, neither of which has an overt object: **dàki-bàri** (beat stop) ‘strong and reliable thing’,

[22] My thanks to Graham Furniss who suggested that “vagueness” might be a rhetorical device.

ɗàuki-sàkaa (take put) ‘type of quilted saddle.cover’, **sàari-dòosaa** (chop head.for) ‘1) makeshift hoe 2) person doing a trade which is not his father’s’, **tàakaa-hàyee** (tread.on mount) ‘1) unrewarded p. 2) caparisoned Asbin horse 3) saddle with all its appurtenances’. Although the target is the object, the absence of an overt object in the vehicle leaves the compound vague[23].

Other compounds where “vagueness” may play a role are those where the 4th person plural PAC is used, e.g. **à-wàawùri-kàryaa** (6.2.1.1.3). In the subjunctive form this PAC is used to avoid the 2nd person singular which, under certain circumstances, is too direct (see McIntyre 1983:345 and Newman 2000:275). The use of the 4th person plural PAC is indirect, capable of expressing a) an “unspecified subject” (English ‘one’), b) ‘it’ (as in: ‘it is raining’) and passives (see Newman [PN270-275]).

6.3.4 An ungrammatical form: a kind of vagueness?

In one example **dàkà-muu** (pound us) ‘remnants of children’s food given to beggars’ (6.2.1.2.3), the combination of a LL imperative verb form and the “independent pronoun” **muu** is ungrammatical. (This verb form is not tone lowered; if it were, it would have lengthened the final **à**.) In this compound, one would expect a LH verb form with a long final vowel and the object pronoun **mu**: **dàkaa-mu**; the LL verb form only precedes *noun* direct objects. Such a form may precede an “independent pronoun” such as **muu**, but only if a *noun* direct object immediately follows the pronoun in apposition, thus specifying the meaning of the latter. Thus if **dàkà-muu** were used in actual speech the phrase would need to be completed as follows: **dàkà muu maròoƙaa** ‘pound us beggars’ or **dàkà muu yâaraa** ‘pound us children’. Without a noun in apposition the phrase is ungrammatical – and vague.

6.3.5 Suffering fools gladly: verbs in gr 6 and ‘drink’

Newman (1988) shows that the H* tone pattern and final **-oo** vowel of gr6 verbs may modify the morphology of a *noun* and express contempt. The noun – with its gr6 *verbal* morphology – is invariably followed by the 3rd person feminine singular indirect object pronoun

[23] Knappert (1965:217) – on compounds in various Bantu languages – says: “This type of compound [noun prefix + (verb stem + noun)] is also frequently found among names of professions, mostly those in which the verb has a rather general meaning which *requires specification by an object*.” [my emphasis]

matà ‘to/for her’[24]. The new phrase expresses contempt: ‘To hell with X!’, where X = the noun which has “become” a gr6 verb. Newman (2000:183) gives the following examples: **huuloo matà** (< **hùulaa** ‘hat’) ‘to hell with the hat!’, **Hadiizoo matà** (< **Hàdiizàa**, a woman’s name) ‘Who cares about Hadiza?’ and **gaɽ̃gaɗoo matà** (< **gàɽ̃gàɗii** ‘warning’) ‘I don’t want to hear about a warning!’[25].

The use of gr6 verbs in verbal compounds is similar – cognitively – to the above. In three verbal compounds (**gàsoo-roogò**, **sàkoo-tumaaki**, **tàroo-goodìya** 6.2.1.1.1) we find gr6 **-oo** verbs (plus NDO) with the respective meanings ‘fool’, ‘simpleton’ or ‘idiot’. The compounds **sàkoo-gùnci** (let.go break.off; in both verbs no direct object is expressed) and **sàkoo-taro** (let.go threepence) both mean “inveterate slacker” (see [B888]). It seems that these **-oo** verbs are easily associated with a lack of intelligence and/or social competence.

I have *two* further examples of compounds with **-oo** verbs and a direct object pronoun: **sòosoonìi** (scratch me) ‘excessive sexuality in a woman’) and **marmartoo-nì** (desire me) ‘small plant whose seeds are used in love potions’. Both have a sexual connotation. The same is true of the compound **tàaɗoo-kì-ji** (slip.over and you [fem. sg.] hear/feel) ‘small room built in an entrance hut’. This is considered to be a place where a man might seduce a woman[26].

Foolishness, laziness and excessive sexuality all imply being beyond an accepted social boundary; and the use of gr6 verbs in labelling such people seems to be an accepted device for doing this.

The verb **shaa** ‘drink’ or ‘do much of (sth. negative or difficult)’ also seems to have a close association with fools, at least in verbal compounds. In **shàa-ni-fànkoo** (drink me empty.receptacle) we find the meaning ‘person who is rather a fool’ (6.2.1.2.3). The compound **shàa-kìtìmboo** (drink dilly-dallying) also means ‘fool’[27]. Two other compounds with **shaa** – **shaa-mù-ɗooràa** (drink let.me place.upon)

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[24] The use of the dative here is similar to the Latin and German *dativus ethicus* expressing personal concern. See: Latin Grammar: http://www.gottwein.de.

[25] I have heard of this construction modifying a German noun: a Hausa child (in Cologne) was pestering her mother to see the children’s programme ‘Hase Caesar’ (Caesar the hare). The mother expressed her impatience with the phrase **Haasoo matà!** ‘To hell with Hase!’ My thanks to Umaru Aliyu, a Hausa colleague in the Hausa Section of the German Radio, for this anecdote.

[26] Thanks to Mohammed Munkaila for this example.

[27] The fact that the noun **fànkoo** and the adverb **kìtìmboo** both end with a long **-oo** is probably accidental. But one wonders if the association with gr6 verbs (the feature just mentioned) plays a role.

and **shaa-mù-shaa** (drink let.me drink) – both mean 'rover, idle person'. The compounds **shaa-kà-tàfi** (drink you go) and **shaa-shàa-shaa** (drink drink drink) share the meanings: 'roving man or woman, prostitute, witless fool' [A799].

The compounds with **shaa** also use "vagueness" (see 6.3.3). Apart from **shàa-ni-fànkoo** (drink me empty.receptacle) there is nothing in the vehicle to specify what is drunk – or what is negative.

It seems that gr6 verbs and the verb **shaa** are easily associated with fools and people open to abuse and that these two rhetorical devices are relatively common in verbal compounds.

6.3.6 Cranberries and ideophones

A cranberry is a word whose meaning is not known – as with "cran" in "cranberry"[28]. Such words occur in compounds and – since they *only* occur in these compounds they contribute to opacity of the compound. While ideophones are a recognised class of words, their phonology is unusual (they have "distinct phonotactics and special intonational features" [PN242]) and, if they are not commonly used, their appearance in compounds makes the compound opaque.

In the following compounds the second word is a cranberry:

fasà-daabùr̃	(break ?)	kind of fruit (like guava)
gàmà-ɗiiɗi	(join ?)	insect where male and female are joined
shàa-kwalwa	(drink ?)	a gorged louse
shàa-ràkyakkyaɓo	(drink ?)	small drum used by hunters
tàɓà-kurù	(touch ?	dilatory work
càs-kurù	bleach ?)	

Cranberries are also found in verbal noun compounds (the underlying verb may be transitive or intransitive):

ɓatàn-ɓàkàtantàn	(getting.lost.of ?)	loss of both (of two) opportunities
cîn-mùmmùƙee	(eating.of ?)	covert persecution
haɗìn-gàmbiizàa	(joining.of ?)	1) combining things that do not go well together 2) (temporary) coalition

[28] Booij: p.155: "[…] cranberry morphs [are] constituents that do not occur as words by themselves […]" The wisdom of using "cranberry" to describe such constituents is put in doubt on the website www.hyperdictionary.com, which (referring to a certain Dr. Prior) gives the following information from the 1913 Webster dictionary: "So named from its fruit being ripe in the spring when the *cranes* return" (my emphasis). If the word "crane" is part of "cranberry", then "cranberry" is not, strictly speaking, a cranberry!

kisàn-gillàa	(killing.of ?)	1) massacre 2) cold-blooded murder
tsallen-baɗakee	(jumping.of ?)	hurdles (in athletics)

In **cîn-mùmmùƙèe** the verb has a metaphorical meaning and this contributes to the opacity of the compound. The other compounds retain the basic meanings of the verb and are relatively transparent despite the cranberries.

In the next group we find little known ideophones. These render the compound opaque:

bàlàgi-tsindiɾ̃	(grow ?)	precocious child
bìi-ta-zàizài	(follow her ?)	1) ants in pairs, encouraging one another 2) p. dogging one 3) dogging a p. 4) love potion
ganin-kwaf	(seeing.of ?)	inquisitive desire to see very last of display
zànkàa-firit	(?keep.on ?suddenly)	interfering in other p.'s conversation

The compound **bìi-ta-zaizai** has an alternative **bìi-ta-ɗauɗau**; possibly **zaizai** and **ɗauɗau** mean "round and round". In **zànkàa-firit** both the verb and the ideophone are obscure.

6.3.7 Literal rather than figurative meaning

Metonymy, metaphor and other rhetorical devices in verbal compounds contribute to 'opaqueness' rather than 'transparency'. However, in some compounds we find a literal rather than a figurative meaning. I suggest that this may also be a rhetorical device achieved by the contrast between the expected use of figurative speech – in this context – and the actual use of a literal meaning.

The compound **ɗàukàa-wuyà** (carry.on neck) has an almost literal meaning: 'a child carried on the neck or shoulders' (6.2.1.2.1). In **shèegi-ìn-shèegaa** (see chapter 2.2.4.2) the target meaning 'tricking a person who has already tricked oneself' is very close to the vehicle meaning: 'trick (me) I'll trick (you)'. A further example (see chapter 4.3.3.2) is **ràbà-tsakà** (divide in.middle) where the target meaning 'halfway' mirrors the literal meaning 'divide in middle'. Perhaps this is a form of irony.

The verb **taɓàa** 'touch' is also used literally (see 6.2.1.2.2, 6.2.1.2.3 and 6.3.6) and not with its metaphorical meanings 'to have ever done, to do a little of'. Similarly the verbs **ci** 'eat' and **shaa**

'drink' do not appear with their metaphorical meanings: 'be successful, etc.' and 'do much of (something negative)' (see 6.2.2.1, footnote 12).

6.4 Other possible rhetorical devices

A possible rhetorical device is ambiguity of form. The word **sòosoo** in **sòosoonìi** (< **soosoo-nì**) can be interpreted as 1) 'come and scratch me' or as 2) 'love-love me' (< **soo** 'love'); the meaning 'scratch' accounts for the first meaning and, perhaps, 'love' for the second:

sòosoonìi	(come.scratch.me)	1) irritating skin disease 2) excessive sexuality in a woman

In 6.2.1.3.2 we find the compound **bàa-su-kà-huutàa** (give them (it) and rest) 'paying off a debt'. Here we might have a play on words: the compound sounds very like the word **baasussukàa** 'debts'[29].

In the compound **shèegi-ìn-shèegaa** (see 6.3.7 above) 'tricking a person who has tricked oneself', we have alliteration. Furthermore, the word **shèegaa** is not generally used as a (gr2) verb; perhaps it is modelled directly on the noun **shèegaa** ('shamelessness', although the derived, abstract noun **shèegàntakàa** is more commonly used) or on **sheegèe** 'bastard'. The more usual case in Hausa is that verbs derived from nouns are formed with a verbalising suffix[30].

6.5 Summary

In this chapter we have examined Hausa verbal compounds from a cognitive perspective: metonymy, metaphor and other rhetorical devices found in these compounds. Metonymy (6.2.1) was seen to be a basic feature of the relationship between vehicle and target in *verbal* compounds; metonymy is found in the syntactic relationship between vehicle and target (the latter can be the subject of object, etc. of the

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[29] I have asked Hausa people about this and they do not agree. There are folk etymologies in Hausa which imply the same kind of play on words: the word **bàmaagujèe** 'pagan' is often (re-) interpreted as: **baa màa gùje** 'we are not running (away)'. In fact the word **bàmaagujèe** (pl. **maaguzaawaa**) is probably related to the Arabic for 'fireworshipper' (see [A70]).

[30] Both Bargery [B935] and Abraham [A806] give the noun **shèegaa** with the same meaning as the noun **shèegàntakàa**: 'shamelessness, impudence, cheek'. The latter is derived from the verb **sheegàntaa** ('treat person as **sheegèe** [=bastard], called person a **sheegèe**' [A806]); this verb has a verbalizing suffix. For a description of this suffix see Jaggar (2001:275 ff.) and Newman [PN722f].

former) and in the pragmatics of this relationship: the vehicle is a potential utterance in the situation it names. Metaphor (6.2.2) plays a lesser role but enriches individual verbal compounds.

In verbal noun compounds (6.2.4) we saw that metaphor plays a more important role than metonymy. In the conclusion to that section (6.2.4.5) I suggest that the syntactic and pragmatic metonymy found with verbal compounds is possible because the verb in the vehicle is finite, leaving it open to "relate" to the target, such that the latter may be(come) its subject or object. Verbal noun compounds – with their nominalised verb – cannot do this.

In 6.2.5 we looked briefly at **ma-** compounds, singular and plural, and saw that they tend to be transparent.

In the introduction (chapter 1.1) I referred to the development of a verbal phrase to a compound, a shift "[...] from coinage to lexicalised word [...]" (Bauer 2001:44). Perhaps rhetorical devices play a more important part in this development than has previously been thought. I feel that, without these cognitive elements, this development – or, in Ahmad's (1994:132) words, the "compound life cycle" – would stultify, that these compounds would have a very different – and probably much less interesting – character.

Chapter 7
Summary and Conclusions

This final chapter begins by recapitulating the discussion of Hausa verbal compounds in terms of the features – both phonological and cognitive – found in the various compound types (7.1). Following this (7.2) chapters 2 to 6 are summarised, focussing on conclusions drawn in those chapters. Some final remarks are made in 7.3.

7.1 Phonological and cognitive features of verbal compounds

Hausa verbal compounds are examined here in terms of the features found in various compound types. Phonological features are discussed in 7.1.1 and cognitive features in 7.1.2.

7.1.1 Phonological markers of the verb

Compound types (PAC+V, verbal noun compounds, V+X as well as singular and plural **ma**- compounds) are ranked here (Table 10, below) according to the number of phonological markers found on the verb: zero marking (UM), the imperative form (IMP), tone lowering (TL) and the **ma**- prefix (sg. and pl. **ma**-).

(I do not include final vowel shortening here. It does not mark the verb in the compound – it marks the noun direct object in V+NDO compounds with a tone lowered or imperative verb and is found in a few singular **ma**- compounds with a NDO. More importantly, we saw (chapter 4.1) that its use in compounds is ambiguous: its function may be to mark the compound as a *name* rather than the VP as a *compound*.)

Unmarked compounds (some V+X, PAC+V and verbal noun compounds) have no phonological markers. While compounds with an imperative verb form are the most numerous, they rank lower than tone lowered compounds since, in the latter, the tone lowered verb is often found together with lengthening of the verb-final vowel (see chapter 2.1.2.1); furthermore tone lowering is *only* found in compounding. Compounds with a **ma**- prefix rank highest: in singular **ma**- compounds the prefix occurs with tone lowering (and, generally, final vowel lengthening); in plural **ma**- compounds, the prefix is one of *four* morphemes (see chapters 3.2.3 and 5.3.4.1).

Table 10: Compound types and phonological marking of the verb

1) UM	2) IMP	3) TL	4) sg. ma	5) pl. ma-
PAC, VNC, V+X	V+X	V+X (sg. ma-)	sg. ma-	pl. ma-

Abbreviations:

1) UM	= unmarked compounds
2) IMP	= compounds with an imperative verb form
3) TL	= compounds with a tone lowered verb form
4) sg. ma-	= singular compounds
5) pl. ma-	= plural compounds
PAC	= PAC+V compounds
VNC	= verbal noun compounds
V+X	= V+X compounds (unmarked or marked)

7.1.2 Cognitive features in compounds

In Table 11 (below) I rank cognitive features according to the importance of their role in rendering compounds opaque, from the weakest to the strongest: a) 'further rhetorical devices' (see chapter 6.3), b) metaphor and c) metonymy.

Metonymy is found in all types of compound; metaphor is found in all but the **ma-** compounds (singular and plural). The metonymy found in verbal noun compounds is not structural; this is examined in Table 12. 'Further rhetorical devices' are found in V+X (marked or unmarked) and in PAC+V compounds but not in plural **ma-** compounds; they are occasionally found in verbal noun and singular **ma-** compounds.

Table 11: Cognitive features of verbal compounds

	1) further rhetorical devices	2) metaphor	3) metonymy
V+X	yes	yes	yes
PAC	yes	yes	yes
UM	yes	yes	yes
VNC	?	yes	yes
sg. ma-	?	no	yes
pl. ma-	no	no	yes

Abbreviations:

V+X	= V+X compounds (marked or unmarked)
PAC	= PAC+V compounds (unmarked)
UM	= V+X compounds (unmarked)
VNC	= verbal noun compounds
sg./pl. ma-	= singular/plural **ma-** compounds

In Table 12 (below) I look at syntactic and pragmatic metonymy in verbal compounds. In syntactic metonymy the target is either the subject of the verb in the vehicle or its object or complement; in pragmatic metonymy the vehicle is an utterance hypothetically made during the situation it names – the target.

I include the feature 'metaphor' to show that verbal noun compounds (with none of the metonymic features listed below) have some cognitive features, even if they are occasional rather than structural.

The compound types are ranked according to the number of features they have: from V+X and PAC+V compounds (with more features) to verbal noun compounds (with less).

Table 12: Syntactic and pragmatic metonymy in verbal compounds (and metaphor)

	1) syntax (T=subj.)	2) syntax (T=obj.)	3) pragmatic	(metaphor)
V+X	yes	yes	yes	yes
PAC	yes	yes	yes	yes
UM	yes	no	no	yes
sg. ma-	yes	no	no	no
pl. ma-	yes	no	no	no
VNC	no	no	no	yes

Abbreviations:

a) sg./pl. ma-	= singular/plural **ma**- compounds
b) V+X	= V+X compounds (marked)
c) UM	= V+X compounds (unmarked)
d) PAC	= PAC+V compounds (unmarked)
e) VNC	= verbal noun compounds
T=subj.	= the target is subject of verb in vehicle
T=obj.	= the target is object or complement of verb in vehicle
pragmatic	= the vehicle is an utterance hypothetically uttered in the situation it names

In Table 12 we see that marked V+X and PAC+V compounds have all three types of metonymy: syntactic (where the target is either the subject of the verb in the vehicle or its object or complement) and pragmatic (where the vehicle is an utterance hypothetically made during the situation it names – the target). In unmarked V+X compounds (UM) as well as singular and plural **ma**- compounds the metonymy is only of one kind: the target is the subject of the verb in the vehicle.

Metonymy is found in a few verbal noun compounds, but not of the kind described here (see chapter 6.2.4.4). In chapter 6.2.4.5 I

suggested that the nominalised form of the verb in these compounds "fixes" their syntax so that the nominalised verb in the vehicle cannot relate syntactically or pragmatically to the target.

Looking at the above tables, we see that the various compound types have different markers, phonological and cognitive. Cognitive features come together with phonological markers to mark the new lexical status of the phrase: a compound. In Table 13 (below) I bring the phonological markers and cognitive features together.

This table shows that marked V+X compounds have the most markers: either tone lowering or the imperative form on the verb and up to three cognitive features[1]. PAC+V compounds have no phonological markers, but up to three cognitive features. Unmarked V+X compounds (UM) have no phonological markers, but have two cognitive features. Singular and plural **ma**- compounds have phonological markers and one cognitive feature. Both kinds of **ma**- compound have metonymy – in which the target is the subject of the verb in the vehicle. Verbal noun compounds have no phonological markers; most have metaphorical meanings and, as we saw above, there is occasional metonymy.

Table 13: Phonological markers and cognitive features in Hausa verbal compounds

	phonological markers	cognitive features
V+X	1	3
PAC	0	3
UM	0	2
sg. ma-	2	1
pl. ma-	1*	1
VNC	0	1*

Abbreviations:
a) sg. ma- = singular **ma**- compounds
b) pl. ma- = plural **ma**- compounds
c) V+X = V+X compounds (marked)
d) UM = V+X compounds (unmarked)
e) PAC = PAC+V compounds (unmarked)
f) VNC = verbal noun compounds
*See text (above).

[1] In most V+NDO compounds where the verb is either tone lowered or has the imperative form we also find final vowel shortening marking the NDO.

7.2 A summary of chapters 2 to 6

In the following I summarise chapters 2 to 6, focussing on the conclusions drawn in those chapters.

7.2.1 Chapter 2

In chapter 2 we looked at basic verbal (V+X) compounds, at their internal syntax and the markers found on them. We saw basic compounds with more or less complex syntax (one or two VPs and one compound – **shaashàashaa** – with *three* VPs).

Most compounds are marked, some are unmarked. The most important marker of the verb is tone lowering. Tone lowering is a phonological marker found *only* in compounds, combining either with final vowel lengthening of the verb (a feature found only in verbal compounds, marking tone lowered mono- or disyllabic verbs) or with phonologically reduced, or "clipped", verbs. However, I do not agree with Ahmad's claim (1994) that phonological reduction ("clipped" verbs) is a *formal* feature of compounding; I maintain (chapter 2.1.2.2) that such reduction *precedes* compounding.

Like tone lowering, the imperative form, frequently found in verbal compounds, has a low tone at least on the first syllable of the verb. The true importance of the imperative in compounds – its pragmatic use in giving commands, etc. – is seen in chapter 6.

7.2.2 Chapter 3

In chapter 3 compounds whose first member is not a finite verb were described: PAC+V compounds, singular and plural **ma**- compounds and verbal noun compounds. In PAC+V compounds a person-aspect-complex (expressing TAM) precedes the verb; these compounds are phonologically unmarked and are, formally, VPs with a finite verb.

In singular **ma**- compounds (3.2.1) we saw that the verb is tone lowered, though one compound has an imperative form. In 3.2.2 I analysed some anomalous singular **ma**- compound forms, showing that, underlying one surface form, we find two or three derivations. In plural **ma**- compounds (3.2.3) we saw that the **ma**- prefix, the verbal element, the object or complement and the integrating HLH tone pattern cannot be separated. The verbal element is neither tone lowered nor imperative, nor is it unmarked. I showed that plural nouns of agent have the same surface form as plural **ma**- compounds and that the two can be recognised on the surface by the presence (on nouns of agent) or absence (on compounds) of a linker. In **ma**-

compounds, both singular and plural, the **ma-** belongs on the whole compound, not only on the verb or verbal element to which it is prefixed; the verb satisfies its arguments *inside* the compound. In 3.3 verbal noun compounds were described in terms of their underlying syntax.

7.2.3 Chapter 4

In chapter 4 I commented on final vowel shortening, the imperative form, tone lowering and phonological reduction in verbal compounds.

There are strong arguments for suggesting that final vowel shortening exclusively affects V+NDO compounds (shortening the final vowel of the NDO); however, the number and variety of exceptions seem to require an explanation. Two explanations were suggested: a) the (re-) lengthening of the final vowel of a compound to mark it as a fully lexicalised noun may allow (by analogy) the *lengthening* of a final vowel which should be short; b) the use of final vowel shortening as a naming device may allow the *shortening* of a final vowel which should be long.

In 4.2.1 tone lowering was shown to be the true marker of compounding. There, I identified tone lowering (which marks verbal compounds with one VP as well as some N+N, N.L+N and ADJ.L+N compounds) together with lengthening the final vowel of the verb in the compound as the two markers which are *only* found in compounds. I suggested (in 4.4) that the widespread use of the imperative in verbal compounds (with its low tone, at least on the first syllable of the verb) may be partially motivated by tone lowering – a kind of phonological parallel.

In chapter 4.3 I looked at various kinds of phonological reduction in verbal compounds: the possible reduction of **bàa** < **bàa dà** (4.3.1) and the reduction of **ban** in **ban**-N compounds (4.3.2). I suggest that **ban** is a reduction of **bàa ni** 'give me', similar to English 'gimme', an interpretation which was consolidated in chapter 6. In section 4.3.3 I discussed pseudo-imperative or fused forms – forms which look like the imperative NDO forms of H-verbs (grade 1) – and suggested that they are tone lowered phonological reductions – or fusions – of a verb plus either the particle **wà** (expressing the presence of a noun indirect object) or the preposition **à** 'at' or 'in'.

7.2.4 Chapter 5

In chapter 5.1 I described some semantic constraints on particular frames or grades as well as the relationships between syntactic frames,

markers and verb types (H-, L- and I-verbs). This led into a discussion (5.2) of grade 2 (transitive L-) verbs in compounds – a context in which they differ significantly from other types of verb. The most obvious facts are that, while gr2 verbs in V+∅DO-frames are normal, they are rare in V+NDO compounds, an environment where they might be expected to be (the most) numerous – being the most common type of transitive verb in Hausa.

In the few V+NDO compounds with a gr2 verb, the NDO does not undergo final vowel shortening. Most NDOs in these compounds (11 from 15, see chapter 5.3.3.2) *cannot* undergo final vowel shortening; in the *four* examples were it would be expected, it does not occur. Other features of gr2 verbs in compounds were noted: they do not undergo tone lowering or final vowel lengthening (features only found in compounds); in V+NDO-frames some gr2 verbs "switch" grades (to a gr1 form).

In chapter 5.3.3 I offered the following explanation for these idiosyncracies: the absence of an overt subject in V+NDO compounds disqualifies gr2 verbs from appearing in such compounds because "[...] the overall function of gr. 2 is to select a unique argument for the verb *beside the subject* [...]" (Abdoulaye 1996a; my emphasis). In chapter 5.3.3.4, we saw that gr2 verbs have no problem in PAC+V+NDO compounds – where the PAC is an overt subject.

7.2.5 Chapter 6

In chapter 6 I elucidated the links between the literal and lexical meanings of compounds, showing the importance of the cognitive perspective for an understanding of Hausa verbal compounds. Regular metonymic relationships between the vehicle (the literal meaning or surface form) and the target (the lexical meaning of the compound) were described: firstly, syntactic metonymic relationships in which the target meaning of the vehicle is the subject – or the object or complement – of the verb in the vehicle and, secondly, pragmatic metonymy in which the vehicle is an utterance (a typical utterance) hypothetically uttered in the (target) situation it names. (Treating the vehicle as an utterance – specifically as a command – dovetails nicely with my understanding of the widespread use of the imperative form in verbal compounds; see 7.2.3 above.) The description of metonymic relationships in Hausa verbal compounds was supplemented by descriptions of metaphor and other rhetorical devices (humour, irony, etc.) in these compounds.

7.3 Final remarks

Here, I wish to summarise those details in the present work which I consider to have furthered our understanding of Hausa verbal compounds and, perhaps, of the Hausa verbal system.

In chapters 2 and 4 I suggested that tone lowering (generally affecting the first member of a compound, verbal and, occasionally, nominal) is the true phonological marker of compounding; I showed that pseudo-imperative forms (chapter 4.3.3) are, in fact, tone lowered. The widespread use of the imperative form in compounds (with its low tone) is motivated more by its pragmatic use than by its phonology: its primary use (expressing commands, etc.) lies outside of compounding; its significance in verbal compounds is confirmed by the cognitive analysis, where verbal compounds were treated as hypothetical utterances (chapter 6.2.1).

In the discussion of final vowel shortening (chapter 4.1) I refined a rule offered by Ahmad (1994), specifying that the noun-final vowel in two-member V+NDO compounds is affected. However, in explaining exceptions to this rule (4.1.4 and 4.1.5), I showed that a watertight definition of the function of final vowel shortening in verbal compounds is not possible.

In chapter 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 I looked at compounds with the verb **baa/bâa** 'give so. (sth.)'. In 4.3.1 I argued that the preposition **dà** is deleted in many compounds beginning with **bàa**. In 4.3.2 I argued that **ban-**N compounds have the underlying structure **bàa ni N** ('gimme N'). The idea that **ban** is a morphologically *unique* OH verbal noun (***baa**) plus the linker –**n** can neither be proved nor disproved; the putative existence of this verbal noun is based on the *interpretation* of this one fact. In chapter 4.3.2.4, I showed that, *if* **ban-**N compounds are VN.L+N compounds, their underlying syntax (where the noun is *always* a NDO) contrasts strongly with the syntactic variation found in other VN.L+N compounds. I challenge those who support the "verbal noun argument" to bring some *independent* evidence for the existence of this verbal noun.

In chapter 5 I suggested a hypothesis which might explain the idiosyncratic features of V+NDO compounds where the verb is a gr2 verb. Recent publications have shifted the focus of our attention towards the *subject* of the gr2 verb (not forgetting the direct object). In the present work, I support the shift of focus to the subject, suggesting that the *lack* of a subject in V+NDO compounds disqualifies gr2 verbs from appearing in such compounds. This hypothesis requires corroboration from contexts outside of compounding but I hope that it

will further discussion of “grade 2” and of the Hausa verbal system as a whole.

In chapter 6 I looked at cognitive features in verbal compounds, showing that metonymy can be said to structure Hausa verbal compounds and that metaphor enhances them. I suggest that cognitive features be given more importance in discussing compounds.

Appendices

Appendix 1a: The syntactic functions of verbal compounds

In this appendix verbal compounds (V+X, PAC+V, **ma**- and VNCs) are listed in terms of their syntactic functions[1].

Most verbal compounds are nouns: names and epithets (section 1.1); in section 1.2 we find compounds as nouns denoting agent (most **ma**- compounds fall under this category), instrument and occasionally place. (No VNCs are found as nouns of agent, instrument or place.) In section 1.3 we find *nomina actionis* (nouns of action) and *nomina acti* (nouns of act)[2] and, in sections 1.4 to 1.6, a handful of compounds which function as adverbs or numerals or which function adjectivally.

This appendix is a large *sample* of verbal compounds which function as nouns of various types; but *all* compounds which function as adverbs, numerals or adjectives are given.

Examples of these compounds in phrases or sentences are given in Appendix 1b.

V+X, PAC+V and **ma**- compounds are listed together, VNCs are listed separately. No interlinear translation is given in this appendix; these can be found in appendices 2, 3a, 3b and 3c.

1 The syntactic functions of verbal compounds

1.1 Names/Epithets

Here I group names and epithets of people, animals, birds, charms, illnesses, medicines, etc. Gouffé, describing verbal compounds, says that they function as "independent nominals" and are "picturesque or joking terms"[3].

1.1.1 V+X compounds, etc.:

à-shaa-ruwan-tsuntsàayee boy's game; **à-zàabùri-kàryaa** type of shirt; **bàa-hawaa-samà** buffalo; **bàa-kuukan-hàntsii** cobra; **bàa-**

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1 Examples of the syntactic functions of Hausa compounds (not just *verbal* compounds) in the nominal phrase can be found in Galadanci (1969) and Ahmad (1994:100-102).

2 For a description of the difference between *nomina actionis* and *nomina acti*, see Kopf (2003).

3 Gouffé (1965:209) calls the compounds "composés-phrases" and says: "[…] en haoussa, un énoncé complet peut être traité et fonctionne comme un nominal indépendant quelquonque. Il s'agit bien entendu, de dénominations pittoresques ou plaisantes, servant, en particulier, à désigner certaines espèces animales, et pour lesquelles la langue ne semble d'ailleurs pas disposer de synonymes consistant en un lexème simple."

màaye a kind of millet; **ban-haushii** 1) water-monitor 2) Hausa person; **bàrà-magàadaa** 1) work well done 2) reliable th.; **bàri-tsùuki** bulrush-millet sprouted in poor soil, but regarded as better than no crop at all; **bìi-ni-kà-laalàacee** 1) fragile part of branch 2) tassels 3) the bird **yautai**; **bìi-raana** the shrub *crotalaria obovata*; **bìi-sallà** child born day after a festival; **bìi-ta-dà-kalloo** woman's striped cloth; **bìi-tsaami** small fly infesting fruit, etc.; **bìi-zaaƙi** tree with sweet berries; **bis(h)-dà-ƙayàa** hedgehog; **bùgà-zàabi** short-toed eagle (*circaetus gallicus*); **bùntsùrà-wutsi** goat (in spirit-cult - jargon); **bùurà-hanci** caterpillar; **bùurà-kâi** the white ant **zagoo**; **ɓàatà-gàri** undesirable element; **ɓàatà-ragoo-goonaa** the weed **ƙudùjii**; **càaɓùlà-kaashi** clogs; **cìi-fàara** bird; **cìi-ƙàdàngàru** goshawk; **cìi-zaaƙi** tree with sweet berries (root used as aphrodisiac); **ci-kà-ɗau-gàřmařkà** favourable and quick verdict from bribed judge; **ci-kà-ragèe** children's game with fire; **ci-kař-kà-mutù** tasteless food; **Cìidaa** (name <**-cìi-daawà**); **Cìigee-**(name < **cìi-geerò**); **cìi-goorò** 1) child born with red mouth 2) waxbill bird 3) insect 4) the **bòorii** spirit **Ɗan Gàlàdiimà**; **cìkà-cikì** in: **sallàř ~** 1) Id celebration following Ramadan 2) month following Ramadan; **cìkà-fage** shrub; **dàfaa-ni** unscrupulous debtor; **dùubà-gàri** sanitary inspector; **fàaɗàa-wuta** moth; **fasà-fushii-kashè-kuɗii** train; **fàsà-tàaro** charm; **gàa-tanaa** (< **gàa-ta-nân**) fable; **gàagàrà-gàasa** outstanding person; **gàagàrà-kòoyo** mysterious th. or p.; **gàagàrà-kwànta** knotted hobbling rope; **gàyàa-bàaƙoo-gidaa** cock; **gazà-ganii** in: **'yan ~** disgruntled persons; **gòogàa-jìki** tree; **kaa-fi-amaryaa-ƙanshii** perfume; **kaa-fi-ɗaa-wùyaa** bead; **kaa-fi-sallamàa** perfume; **kaa-fi-shaddàa** high quality cloth; **kaa-fi-'yan-gyàɗaa** cloth; **kaa-fi-zàaboo** sth. tasty; **kaa-fi-zùruu** undersized ram; **kàd-dugàadugi** sandals; **kù-yi** any dog; **kwàntà-ràafi** reedbuck; **ƙàarèe-dangì** arrow poison; **mabùnƙùsaa-ƙasaa** root-crops; **Magàa-watàa** Name; **majàa-cikì** 1) snake 2) name of spirit; **majìi-daaɗi** traditional title; **mashàa-ruwaa** 1) name of bird 2) rainbow; **nèemi-naakà** a name; **sàa-bàbba-saatàa** large beans; **sàa-hànkàakii-daakòo** herb; **sàu-ta-gà-waawaa** girl whose marriage comes to a swift end; **shàa-bàařa** 1) animals (Senegal harte-beest, roan antelope, large male buffalo) 2) warrior; **shàa-birì** bird; **shàa-dare** black insect; **shàa-dùndu** mutilla insect; **shàa-dùnku** child born in famine time; **shàa-ɗaari** child born in the cold season; **shàa-fannooni** well-read, capable Qur'anic teacher; **shaa-gàarii-ɗau-gàlmaa** wastrel; **shàa-hàrgoowà** hyena; **shàa-jìɓi** undershirt; **shaa-kà-suuma** manual work done for wages; **shaa-kà-tàfi** 1) roving man or woman 2) prostitute 3) witless fool; **shaakutuu** fool; **shaa-kùndum** 1) well-read malam 2) city in contrast to village 3) wealthy person; **shàa-kùushe** 1) sweet potato etc. 2) p. whom others get advantages from, yet belittle; **shàa-màa-jikà** chronic physical complaint, (e.g. asthma); **shàa-madara** straw hat, treated with milk; **shàa-mâi** in: **dàngii, ~** old shield of white oryx or giraffe-hide; **shàa-ràbo** large kolanut with numerous divisions (**hannun-ruwaa**); **Shàařùbùutu** child whose mother had hard confinement necessitating prayers for her safe delivery (= **Shàa-**

tàmbayà = Tambai); **shàa-saara** in: **gamjìi ~** gutta-percha tree (*Ficus platyphylla*); **shàa-yàbo** praiseworthy person; **shàa-wùyaa** (= **Shaawai**) one or more beams of wood; **shàsshàabirì** (= **shàa-birì**) bird; **sòo-gijì** boy or girl born soon after mother's return after longish absence; **taa-biyaa** small gown as gift from bride's mother to guests; **taa-kai-taa-kaawoo** women's kerchief; **taa-zaagàa** eczema; **tàttàɓà-kunne** great grandchild; **tùmàa-ƙasà** crocheted dish cover; **zoo-kà-tsallee** thatching grass.

1.1.2 VNCs:

cîn-duhùu a children's game; **cîn-zanzanaa** pox (marks) on face; **fìtař-baayaa** external hemorrhoids; **gudùn-ƙuřnàa** type of food; **hařbìn-dawà** disease caused by spirits; **hàuhawàř-jinii** hypertension; **jeerìn-gwàanoo** 1) procession. 2) queue; **kùmburin-Dimkà** kind of bus; **kwaanaa-rawaa** tinkling ear-pendant; **rawař-jìkii** trembling (due to fever); **ruuɗèewař-cikìi** upset stomach; **saaƙàř-gizò(-gizò)** spider's web; **saaƙàř-zumàa** honeycomb; **saaran-bàrhoo** kolanuts damaged by cutting; **shân-gwandàa** (social) equal; **shìgaa-bâa-biyàa** caged police van; **taashìn-ƙauyèe** bumpkin; **yankan-gaashìi** syphilis; **yankan-ƙuusàa** 1) type of soap bar 2) sugarcane cut into small pieces.

1.2 VCs expressing agent, instrument and place

Given the fact that the *literal* meanings of many VCs imply "one who does …", *lexicalised* meanings expressing agent or instrument (1.2.1) are found relatively infrequently. There are only two nouns of place (1.2.2). VNCs are not found as nouns of agent, instrument or place.

Compounds with a **ma-** prefix are listed separately; most are agentive nouns (1.2.3), one is a noun of instrument (1.2.4).

In the following I include compounds where the meaning names a human (sometimes a spirit) agent. Some such compounds indicate an instrument; these are mostly medicines, charms or poisons.

1.2.1 V+X compounds, etc. expressing agent and instrument

à-caaɓàa motorbike-taxi; **à-ji-garau** anti-depressant pill; **à-kòori-buuzuu** police-like guard; **à-kòori-kuuraa** delivery truck; **bàa duhù** charm making p. invisible; **bàa èhem** sg. p. eats causing him to cough; **bàa tòoyi** spirit that spits fire; **bàrà-gadoo-gaashìi** man slow to ejaculate when copulating; **bàrà-gadoo-shuunii** prostitute and hence wife considered sterile through loose ways; **bìi-ni-kà-tsìntaa** woman having coin suspended (from neck) down her back; **bìi-ta-zàizài** woman using aphrodisiac to cause her husband to love her; **cìi-goorò** the spirit **Ɗan Gàlàdiimà**; **cìi-tama** blacksmith; **dàagùri gùrzau** charm for invulnerability; **gàsoo-roogòo** fool; **hànà-aro** any needle; **hànà-ƙèetarà** type of arrow poison; **jàa gira** eyebrow pencil; **jàagooràa** guide; **jèe-ka-faadà** palace messenger; **kaa-fi-àlluuřàa** drug; **kà-jee-**

gàrii-kà-kwaana-à-daajìi junior clerks or officers (in colonial times); **kaa-fi-maalàm** herb; **kàs-dafì** poison antidote; **kàs-kaifi** medicine against cuts; **kàu-dà-bàara** charm against attack; **kòomàa-baaya** reactionary person (or ideology); **kwàntà-ƙùrii** chaperone; **kù-tarèe** thief; **kùmbùrà fage** herb used in medicine (for fattening horses); **ƙàaree-aikì** industrious person; **ƙàarè-dangì** type of arrow poison; **ƙìi-bugù** type of charm; **ƙìi-faadì** charm against defeat; **mù-hàɗu-à-bankìi** a sleeping drug; **rùfàa-idò** charm or power to make oneself invisible; **sàa-gudù** charm giving one ability to make pp. run away helter-skelter just by yelling; **sàari-kà-nooƙèe** 1) snake 2) guerilla fighter; **shàa-gàari** wastrel; **shàa-jini** headache medicine; **shàa-jinin-jìkii** charm to see danger and avoid it; **shàa-shi-kà-furzaƒ** type of bitter-tasting medicine; **shàa-ni-kà-san-nì** small plant with purging properties; **wàashee-gàri** warring chief; **zàmàn-dà-nii** house-servant; **zàunàa-gàrii-banzaa** good-for-nothing.

1.2.2 VCs as nouns of place

bàagaɗèe 1) place where meat is dried over fire 2) altar; **bàa-tàaka** 1) place where no-one will live because considered haunted, etc. 2) a forbidden place 3) cemetery.

1.2.3 Agentive compounds with a **ma**- prefix

Most verbal compounds beginning with **ma**- (including plural **ma**- compounds) are "agentive compounds" [PN120], e.g.:
ma'àikàtaa-aikìn-aagàjii aid workers; **mabàa-dà-noonòo** mother, wet-nurse; **mabìyaa-sarkii** emir's followers, retinue; **magàa-takàƒdaa** scribe; **majèe-hajìi** pilgrim; **majìi-ƙâi** the merciful one (epithet of God); **majìi-tàusàyin-baawaa** one feeling pity for slaves; **makàs-dubuu** killer of thousands; **makwàn-dà-yaaròo-tsoofoo** in: **cùutaa, ~** illness, turning boy into old man (epithet of illness); **maƙìi-wankaa** one who refuses to wash; **maràs-hankàlii** senseless person; **mashàa-miyàa** beggar; **mashàa-ruwaa** 1) so. who drinks 2) quickly growing lad; **masòo-faɗàa** trouble maker; **matùuƙaa-jirgin-samà** pilots; **mazàunaa-gàrîn** inhabitants of town; **mazòo-dà-littaafìi** bringer of book (epithet of the Prophet).

1.2.4 A noun of instrument with a **ma**- prefix

maràu-dà-hakìi fan.

1.3 Verbal compounds as *nomina actionis* and *nomina acti*

Most Hausa *nomina actionis* (nouns describing the action as process), are V+X or PAC+V compounds; most *nomina acti* (nouns describing the action as a result) are VNCs:

1.3.1 V+X compounds, etc. (*Nomina actionis*):

à-waarèe fighting for succession; **ban-naamàa** giving (of) meat; **ban-ruwaa** 1) irrigation 2) watering horses 3) tempering metal in water; **ban-shà'awàa** pleasure-giving; **ban-shunii** 1) giving garment indigo tint; **ban-tàusàyii** feeling or showing sympathy; **ban-tsòoroo** feeling or showing fear; **ban-zanèe** cock's drooping one wing with anticipation prior to copulation with hen; **bìi-bâi** 1) calling on p. to supply extra effort 2) recurrence of illness; **bìi-bango** leakage along the wall; **bìi-dangì** roving about; **bùushe-gaashì** (hunter) getting right up to gazelle and missing; **ɓàatà-ƙasa** making war; **cànee-na-canèe/cèenee-na-cèe** combat; **cìi-raani** 1) seasonal migration 2) living abroad as migrant; **fàɗi-banzaa-fàɗi-wòofii** talking about anything and everything; **fàaɗì-tàashi** struggle; **fasà-fushii** 1) throwing white-earth balls at wall (children's game) 2) having a good time; **gamà-gàri** roving; **gamà-tsàkaanii** mischief-maker; **kai-dà-koomoo** preventing movement of thing; **kai-kòomòo** mediating between two sides; **kaamà-kâi** self-discipline; **kashè-wàndoo** in: **zaman-~** unemployment; **kòomàa-baaya** in: **~n tattalin ařzìkii** recession; **kun-ƙi-cîi** a weevil in corn; **ƙàaƙàa-ni-kàa-yi** dilemma, hard times; **ràbàa-daidai** dividing equally; **rìgàa-kafì** prevention; **rùb-dà-cikì** lying face down; **rùfàa-idò** making oneself invisible; **sàɓi-zàřcee** 1a) nonstop journey 1b) doing two days journey in one 2) fasting until evening (not in Ramadan); 3) giving trader the slip by leaving by back door; **shàa-raani** collective hunting in dry season; **sùɓùl-dà-bakà** slip of the tongue; **tàakà-sàkainaa** quarrelling; **tàakàa-tsantsan** being cautious; **tisà-gaawaa** 1) hacking a dead bodyto make sword seem to have been used in the thick of a fight 2) adding insult to injury; **tùnkùɗà-mài-kantùu à-ruwa** retreating.

1.3.2 VNCs (*Nomina acti*):

auren-doolè forced marriage; **auren-jîn-daaɗii** temporary marriage; **bîn-watàa** menstruation; **ɓatàn-kâi** losing one's way; **cîn-fuskàa** insulting a p.; **cîn-hancìi** bribing a p.; **gudùn-hijiřaa** being in exile, seeking asylum; **juuyìn-mulkìi** coup d'état; **juuyìn-wàinaa** turning th. upside down; **kallon-ƙùruu** staring at someone without blinking; **kaamùn-kàazařkuukù** being cruel; **kisàn-auree** divorce; **rawařdaajìi** military manoeuvres; **shìgaa-shařò-bâa-shaanuu** meddlesomeness; **sôn-iyàawaa** showing off; **sôn-zuucìyaa** selfishness, greed; **taashìn-kâi** arrogance; **yankan-ƙàunaa** humiliating so.

1.4 Adverbs

Verbal compounds as adverbs are rare. Here, 7 VCs etc. and 1 VNC:

VCs etc.: **à-kwaana-à-taashì** gradually; **bùushe-gaashì** openly; **jìm-kàɗan** soon afterwards; **kaamà-hannun-yaaròo** in: **bâa ~** very much; **rùb-dà-cikì** (lying) face-down; **ràbà-tsakà** halfway; **wàashèe-gàrii** the next day.

VNC: **shân-ruwan-raaƙumàa** occasionally.

1.5 Numerals

As with adverbs, verbal compounds functioning as numerals are rare. The following examples (one VC and one VNC) are not true numerals but function *like* numerals in that they follow the head noun (compare the compounds used adjectivally, below):

VC: **cìkà-tèeku** "millions!"

VNC: **shuurìn-masàaƙii** several times, uncountable.

1.6 Adjectival usage of verbal and verbal noun compounds

True Hausa adjectives generally precede the head word and suffix a linker; they can be used in apposition (following the noun head). The following examples (nine VCs and two VNCs) are used adjectivally – but only in apposition (following the head). They are not true Hausa adjectives:

VCs etc.: **ci-kaɽ̃-kà-mutù** tasteless food; **gàagàrà-kòoyo** mysterious th. or p.; **gàmà-gàri** common, ordinary; **kòomàa-baaya** reactionary person (or ideology); **mafìi-kyâu** better, best; **masòo-gabàs/yâmma** (used after **arèewa** or **kudù** to express the secondary points of the compass: NE/NW or SE/SW respectively; see chapter 3.2.2.1); **tàɓaa-kà-laashèe** insufficiently tasty (food).

VNCs: **duukàn-iskàa** mentally-ill; **yîn-hannu** handmade.

Appendix 1b: The external syntax of verbal compounds

In Appendix 1a we saw what kind of word a verbal compound can be. They are generally nouns: names, epithets, agents, instruments and nouns of action, etc. As nouns these compounds occur in various kinds of syntax: with the linker (1.0), following demonstratives, etc. (2.0), occurring as subject (3.0) or object (4.0) of a verb. There are also a few examples of verbal compounds functioning as adverbs, numerals or adjectives (5.0).

The examples here are a selection of the compounds found in Appendix 2 (the complete list of V+X compounds), 3a (PAC+V compounds), 3b (**ma-** compounds) or 3c (VNCs) where all examples can be found with interlinear translation and, in some cases, further glosses and/or comments in the footnotes.

In this appendix glosses are not given for every compound; in most examples the meaning of the compound is written in *italics* in the sentence or phrase illustrating the compound. In cases where the reader may need help to understand the compound in the example, a lexical and/or a literal translation (in brackets) is given.

In the examples, the compound is given in first position in each paragraph; in the example, it is replaced by a swung dash ~. VNCs are given separately from other kinds of compounds. Quoted sources are given in brackets; where an abbreviation is used, it is in square brackets (see 'Abbreviations').

1 Verbal compounds appearing before or after a linker

The linker in Hausa has different functions; its primary function is as a genitive linker, attached to the possessed person or thing, e.g. **mijì*n*** **Hàwwa** (husband.of H.) 'Hawwa's husband' (**-*n*** = m. sg.), **mootàr̃** **Audù** (car.of A.) 'Audu's car' (**-r̃** = f. sg.) or **maata*n*** **Kanòo** (women.of K.) 'Kano women' (**-*n*** = pl.).

The linker may also attach to a verbal noun, linking it to its direct object or complement, e.g. **saamù*n*** **kuɗii** 'earning money', **ɗaukàr̃** **kaayaa** 'taking or picking up loads', **zama*n*** **Kanòo** 'living in Kano'.

1.1 Verbal compounds following the linker

In this section the compounds *follow* the linker; here, I separate the genitive (1.1.1 - 1.1.3) and the verbal noun functions (1.1.4).

1.1.1 Following the genitive linker

ban-girmaa respect; in: **zìyaaràř ~** official (state) visit
ban-naamàa in: **agòolàa, mài wùyař ~** stepchild to whom the *giving of meat* is such a thankless task [A10]
ɓàatà-gàri in: **mutàanen ~ 'yan neeman kwàasař duukiyooyin jàma'àa** *bad elements* looking to steal peoples' wealth
cìkà-cikì in: **sallàř ~** celebration following Ramadan (a time when one *fills one's stomach*)
jùuyà-haalì in: **juuyìn ~** (political) *revolution*
kai-dà-koomoo in: **yaa zama sanàdin ~ tsàkaanin Amìřkà dà Cuba** he was the cause of much (diplomatic) *coming and going* between the USA and Cuba [DW]
mìi-kàa-cii-nì debtor; in: **yaa shìga rìigař ~** he's got into debt
mun-tsiira (lit.: we escaped) in: **tudùn ~** safe area [DW]
naa-ƙi (lit.: I refuse) in: **hau kujèerař ~** veto
shìgi-dà-fici (lit.: come.in and go.out) in: **ma'aikatař ~** Ministry of Immigration

VNCs:

ƙuunař-baƙin-waakee (lit.: burning black beans) in: **harìi na ~** daring attack [DW]
shân-kâi (lit.: drinking water) in: **ruwan ~** deep water [PN/MA]
sôn-zuucìyaa (lit.: love.of.heart) in: **auren ~** temporary marriage
or: **yaa bi ~** he gave way to his baser instincts, he stole [A820]
tsaarìn-mulkìi in: **an farà tàaron ~ na ukù à Àbuuja** the third *constitution*al conference has started in Abuja [PN/MA]

1.1.2 Following ɗan/'yan = person/s

In this section phrases with the morpheme **ɗan** (f. sg. **'yař**, pl. **'yan**) are given; **ɗan** is composed of **ɗaa** 'son' plus the linker –**n**. Here, **ɗan** indicates a person from a particular town, area or profession, e.g. **ɗan ('yař/'yan) gàrinmù** 'a man (woman/people) from our town' or: **ɗan kàasuwaa** 'a trader'.

jèe-ka-kà-daawoo (lit.: go and return) in: **'yan màkàřàntun ~** boarders [Gtfk]
shàarà-wurii-zàunaa (lit.: sweep place, live [there]) in: **'yan ~** Jewish settlers [DW]
tà-kifèe (lit.: let.it.be overturned) in: **'yan ~** rebels
tàa-waayèe (lit.: it has cleared up) in: **'yan ~** rebels

VNCs:

gudùn-hijiřaa (lit.: fleeing of *Hijra*) in: **ɗan ~** refugee
ƙuunař-baƙin-waakee (lit.: burning black beans) in: **'yan ~** commandoes [DW]
lèeƙen-àsiiřii (lit.: peeping.at secrets) in: **ɗan/'yan ~** spy/spies

saaraa-duukàa (lit.: cutting beating) in: **'yan ~** unruly or violent youths [DW]
saaraa-suukàa (lit.: cutting stabbing) in: **shii ɗan ~ nee** he's a thug [PN/MA]

1.1.3 Following **ɗan** = 'a little, small' (VC)

The morpheme **ɗan** is used here as a diminutive:

fìi-dà-sartsè in: **ɗan ~** a little *euphorbia latiflora* (Galadanci, 1969:102)

1.1.4 Following a verbal noun (VN) plus linker as NDO or complement of the VN

ban-ruwaa in: **tàìmakon ~** *irrigation*al measures [A75]
cìi-raani migration; in: **sunàa zaman ~** they are living and working abroad (as illegal immigrants) [DW]
fàaɗi-tàashi in: **an riƙà saamùn ~** there was constant *struggle* [DW]
kashèe-wàndo (lit.: kill trousers) in: **zaman ~** sitting around doing nothing; being unemployed [DW]
tàasaa-ni (lit.: get me up) in: **à biřnin Kanòo anàa yîn yaawòn ~ raanařˇ Lahàdì** in Kano the *thanksgiving visit (of groom after marriage)* is done on Sunday [PN/MA]

VNC:

ɗaurìn-taalaalaa in: **zaman ~** living under *house arrest* (Ahmad 1994:148)

1.2 Verbal compounds to which a linker is suffixed.

In this section the linker is attached to the compound, i.e. the compound is the person or thing possessed.

àmsà-kirà (lit.: answer call) in: **wani matsayii nèe na ~n bùkaatàřsù** it's a measure (designed) to *satisfy* their needs [DW]
bàa-duhù (lit.: give darkness) in: **kaayàyyakîn dà akà yi ~nsù dàgà màsànà'àntun wata ƙasaa** goods *illegally* diverted from the factories of another country [DW]
ban-girmaa respect; in: **~n ruuɗìi** lip-service [A73]
dùubà-gàri in: **~nsù** their *sanitary inspector* (Galadanci 1969:235)
fàaɗi-tàashi in: **~n tsìràarun ƙàbìiluu** the *struggles* of the smaller ethnic groups [DW]
fàřgàbaa in: **wasu sunàa ~ř ganin...** others are *afraid* of seeing … [DW]
gàa-tanaa (lit.: here she.is) in (Sokoto Hausa): **~řkù** here begins your *fable* [A310]
hànà-sallà in: **~ř Audù** Audu's *hat* (Galadanci 1969:235)
ka-cèe-na-cèe in: **~n hařkookin dìmòkùřàɗiyyàa** *arguments* in the democratic process [DW]

kòomàa-baaya in: **sunàa faamaa dà matsaloolii na ~n tattalin aɽzìkii** they are struggling with an (economic) *recession* [McIMB72]

mafiyaa-yawàa in: **~n matsaloolîn dà ƙasaɽ̃ nàn kèe faamaa dà suu** *most of* the problems this country is struggling with [Gtfk]

rìgàa-kafi in: **~n mùgùntaa, rashìn yi wà wani** the best way of *preventing* a bad turn being done to one is to refrain from doing a bad turn to another [B854]

VNCs:

ɗiibàn-goonaa in: **~ɽ̃ raanii** *clearing too much land* in the dry season [A332]

kaamùn-luudàyii (lit.: taking.hold.of spoon) in: **mù ga ~nsà** let's see how he *copes* (in his new position)

1.3 A verbal compound with a 'previous reference marker'

Here one example is given of the linker functioning as a 'previous reference marker' (similar to the definite article) attached to a compound.

cèe-cee-kù-cêe: in: **à yâu nee cikin màjàlisàɽ̃ akà yi ~n tsàkaanin …** it was today in parliament that the *angry exchange of words* took place between … [DW]

1.4 A verbal compound as head of a relative clause

Here we find the 'previous reference marker' attached to a compound functioning as the head of a relative clause.

bàa-ta-kaashii in: **à ~n dà sukà gwabzàa …** during the *clash* in which they engaged … [DW]

fàaɗi-tàashi in: 1) **in kaa ga ~n dà akà yi à kân...** if you saw the *struggle* (one had) about… 2) **zaa mù kaawoo mukù irìn ~n dà ƙasàashen Tuuɽ̃ai kèe faamaa (dà suu)** we will bring you (a description of) the *struggles* Europe is having [DW]

taakà-dòokaa infringement, violation; in: **baabù wani lâifii koo maa ~ dà ya yi** he did nothing illegal whatsoever [DW]

zàunàa-gàrii banzaa in: ~ **nèe wàndà bài san ciiwòn kânsà ba** he's a *good-for-nothing* who has not yet grown up [DW]

2 Verbal compounds following demonstratives, indefinite determiners, predicators, prepositions and connectives

Here are examples of VCs following demonstratives, indefinite determiners and predicators (2.1 – 2.3) and of verbal compounds following prepositions and connectives (2.4 – 2.5).

2.1 Verbal compounds following the demonstrative **wannàn**

bìi-ta-dà-ƙùllii in: **àkwai kashìi shâa ukù nee gà wannàn ~** there are thirteen parts to this *punishment* [DW]
fàaɗi-kà-mutù in: **wannàn ~** this *chinaware* (Galadanci 1969:102)

2.2 Verbal compounds following indefinite determiners **wani** etc.

bìi-ta-dà-ƙùllii: in: **baabù wani ~ dà akà yi** there was no *punishment* [DW]
ɓàatà-gàri in: **wasu ~ nàa yîi** some *undesirable elements* are at work [DW]
cànee-na-canèe argument, discussion; in: **baabù wani ~!** there's nothing more to be said! [A133]
maƙìyaa in: **wasu ~ shàři'àř Musuluncìi** some *people who refuse* (to accept) Islamic law [DW]
tùmàa-ƙasà in: **wani ~ hakà** a *cushion* like that one (Galadanci 1969:171)

2.3 Verbal compounds following the predicators: **àkwai** 'there is', **bâa/baabù** 'there is not, there is no'

akwai

ban-gàskiiyaa reliability; in: **Audù, àkwai ~ gàreeshì** Audu is a reliable person
ban-shà'awàa (lit.: gimme interest) in: **Audù, àkwai ~ gàree shì** he is *handsome*
ɓàatà-gàri in: **àkwai (kuma) ~ dà sukà ...** (…and) there are some *undesirable elements* who have … [DW]
gàmà-gàri (lit.: join town) in: **àkwai ~ gàree shì** he is given to *roving about* [B352]
gamà-tsàkaanii (lit.: join between) in: **àkwai ~ gàree shì** he's a *mischief maker* [B352]
kwàn-gàba-kwàn-baaya (lit.: go forwards go backwards) in: **àkwai ~ gàree shì** he is *inconsistent* [A582]

bâa/baabù

bàa-rabè in: **bâa ~ tsàkaaninsù** there's no *difference* between them
kaamà-hannun-yaaròo (lit.: catch hand.of boy) in: **anàa ruwaa bâa ~** it's raining *a lot*
taakà-dòokaa infringement, violation; in: **baabù wani lâifii koo maa ~ dà ya yi** he did nothing *illegal* whatsoever [DW]

2.4 Verbal compounds following prepositions

In the following we see examples of prepositions **dà**, **gàme dà**, **gà**/**gàree** and **sai**. The preposition **dà** has many functions including its meaning 'with' in expressing 'have' (≈ 'be with') in Hausa (2.4.3).

When used with an abstract noun, such expressions are often translated with English adjectives ('is *good*, etc.').

2.4.1 Verbal compounds following the preposition **dà**

bàa-suusà (lit.: give scratching) in: **yaa jèefee nì dà ~** (by placing his fingers in sling-shape) he flicked gravel at me [A88]

ban-màganàa (lit.: gimme speech) in: **… àbin duuniyàa baa'àa yînsà dà ƙarfii, sai dà rarrashii dà ~** … in this world one can't always succeed with force, one must also encourage and *be persuasive* (Tafida and East 1955:10)

2.4.2 Verbal compounds following **dà** in a sociative construction

bìi-ta-zàizài in: **yaa gàmu dà ~** he found his wife had taken an *aphrodisiac* to make him love her [A106]

maɗàukaa-kanwaa in: **zamaa dà ~ shii ya sâa farin kâi** (lit.: living with *those carrying potash* causes a white head) becoming like a person through long association [A476]

2.4.3 Verbal compounds following **dà** in a HAVE construction

ban-haushii (lit.: gimme anger) in: **dà ~ ya kè** he's very *aggravating*

ban-màamaakìi (lit.: gimme surprise) in: **àbîn yanàa dà ~** it's *wonderful, surprising*.

VNCs

sakìn-bàakii (lit.: letting.go.of mouth) in: **Ai su Bintà àkwai sù dà ~ à gidan bìkii** Binta and her friends *show little respect* (in the presence of an older person) at parties [PN/MA]

saaran-bàrhoo (lit.: cutting.of knife) in: **yanàa dà ~** it (kola-nut) has been damaged by *cutting* [A782]

2.4.4 Verbal compounds following **gàmee dà** 'regarding'

ban-bàakii (lit.: gimme mouth) in: **ƙasàashên dà sukèe kai gwauroo dà màrii, gàmee dà ~ dòomin saamùn tàimakoo** the countries involved in endless to-ing and fro-ing in *diplomatic efforts* to get aid [DW]

2.4.5 Verbal compounds preceding or following **gà**

The preposition **gà** (plus noun or **gàree** plus object pronoun) expresses possession or another close relation.

zàunàa-gàrii-banzaa in: **an rabà kuɗàaɗee màasu yawàa gà ~** large sums of money were distributed to *good-for-nothings* [DW]

(Further examples of **gà**/**gàree** with verbal compounds can be found in 2.3: **àkwai**.)

2.4.6 A verbal compound following **sai** (here = 'only')

bàa-ni-kâi (lit.: give me head) in: **goonan nàn sai ~** the crops in this farm are only *good here and there* (Katsina Hausa) [A74]

2.5 Verbal compounds following the connective **mài/màasu**

The connective **mài** (pl. **màasu**) means 'the one who owns, performs, etc.'

ban-saamùu (lit.: gimme getting) in: **dàamunaa, mài ~** epithet of liberal person [A183]
ban-shà'awàa (lit.: gimme interest) in: **àbù nee mài ~ mùtûm yà...** it's *interesting* for a person to... (Cowan and Schuh 1976:213)
ban-tàusàyii (lit.: gimme pity) in: **àbù mài ~** sth. inspiring sympathy
ban-tsòoroo (lit.: gimme fear) in: **àbù mài ~** a terrifying thing
fàɗi-à-ji (lit.: speak one hears) in: **mài** ~ someone with *influence*
kai-kaawoo (lit.: take bring) in: **mài ~** sentry
kaamà-kâi (lit.: hold self) in: **Saalihù mùtûm nee mài ~** Salihu is a person who has *self-discipline* [PN/MA]
tàakàa-tsantsan (lit.: tread cautiously) in: **yaa kàmaatà sù kasàncee màasu ~** they will have to be(come) very *cautious* [DW]

VNCs:

cîi-gàba progress, development; in: **ƙasàashee màasu ~** *developed* countries
ɗaurìn-kàlànguu (lit.: tying.of small.drum) in: **yaarinyàa mài ~** slender girl *with good hips* [A205]
kaamùn-ƙwaryaa (lit.: catching.of calabash) in: **mài ~** a woman devotee in **bòorii** spirit cult on whom another woman relies [A594]
sakìn-fuskàa (lit.: relaxing.of face) in: **Ai Àwalù mùtûm nee mài ~ à koowànè lookàcii ka gan shì** Awalu has *a friendly expression* every time you see him [PN/MA]

3 Verbal compounds as subject, in apposition and with copula

Verbal compounds are found as the subject of verbs, in apposition (often as epithets) and with the copula.

3.1 Verbal compounds as subject of a verb

ban-màganàa encouragement, coaxing, soothing; in: 1) **~ baa yàa kai tsoofoo goonaa** you can take a horse to the water, but you cannot make it drink 2) **~ shii kàa sâa ɓàraawòo dàariiyaa à rùmbuu** cajoling thief to get the better of him [A75]
cèenee-na-cèe in: …. **sunàa bugùn juunaa, ~ taa ƙaarèe** …. they were (now) pounding each other, the *(mutual) provocation* was over (Kano 1961:129)

gàa-tanaa in: **~ bà tà wucè Gizò ba** Gizo is the be-all-and-end-all of *(Hausa) fables* [DW]
rìgàa-kafì prevention, forewarning; in: **~ yaa fi maagànii** forewarned is forearmed

VNCs:

ruuɗèewaɽ̃-cikìi in: **~ ta kàn sâa gudàawaa tà zùba** an *upset stomach* can lead to diarrhoea [PN/MA]
shìmfiɗàɽ̃-fuskàa in: **~ taa fi shìmfiɗàɽ̃ tàabarmaa** a *welcoming expression* is better than simply rolling out a mat [A811]

3.2 Verbal compounds in apposition

The following are verbal compounds used in epithets. They occur after the name of the person or thing they describe; most have no meaning beyond that used in such epithets.

bàa-làasaɽ̃-bàakii in: **càɽ̃kwai ~**: epithet describing the sweetness of honey
bàa-zaaƙè in: **karaa ~**: the cry of those exposing sugarcane for sale
ɓàatà-ƙasa in: **Jaamùs ~!** Germany, destroyer!
ci-dà-mòotsin-wani in: **bâlbeelàa, ~**: epithet of cattle-egret
jàa-yaaƙì in: **Kauraa, ~**: epithet of Madaki (a traditional title)
kaa-dà-giiwaa in: **karmaamii ~**: epithet of small person overcoming greater person (Abraham 1934: 13)
kas-kaaɗò in: **Kaskamii ~**: epithet of fearless man [A500]
ƙàarè-aikì in: **gàɽ̃maa ~**: epithet of industrious person [A307]
ƙìi-sàabo in: **dàamisaa ~**: what a cantankerous person! [A182]
shàa-shirgì in: **rùmfaa ~!** what a willing person! [A744]
shàa-wankaa in: **bàbban kandàmii ~**: epithet of large pond [A470]

VNCs:

sakìn-waawaa (lit.: release.of idiot) in: **... yaa sàami wata yaarinyàa ~ ya àuree tà** ...he found *a beautiful girl - not long married and just divorced* - and married her [PN/MA]
yankan-ƙuusàa in: **... duk saatii akàn baa mù sàabulùu ~ don yîn wankìi** … every week they gave us soap *(of the type)* ***yankan-ƙuusàa*** to do our laundry with [PN/MA]

3.3 Verbal compounds with the copula **nee/cee**

All verbal compounds which are nouns could be found with the copula. I have found only a few such phrases. Use of the copula is often a question of individual style, thus it is not always present in the sentence; in such examples it is given in round brackets.

shàaci-fàɗi in: **màganàɽ̃ nân ~ cèe** this is mere *speculation* [A804]
tàɓaa-ni-luɓus in: **suu ~ nèe** they are *slackers* [A622]

zàunàa-gàrii-banzaa in: ~ **nèe wàndà bài san ciiwòn kânsà ba** he's a *good-for-nothing* who has not grown up yet. [DW]

VNCs:

cìraƒ-ƙayàa in: **~ kuɗin mararrabaa (nèe)** money thrown down at cross-roads *for enemy to pick up and fall ill by magic* [A148]

ɗaukàƒ-ɗaakìi in: **shaawaƒàa ~ (nee)** (lit.: advice is *lifting off a roof*) where there's a will there's a way

kwaanan-auree man and woman living together before marriage (a pre-Islamic Hausa custom); in: **~ hàƒaamùn nee à shàri'àƒ Musuluncìi** under Islamic law **kwaanan-auree** is forbidden.

sàyen-kiifii-à-ruwa (lit.: buying fish in water) in: **àiken Bàlaa kàasuwaa ai ~ (nèe) don …** sending Bala to market is *a risky business* because … [PN/MA]

shân-gwandàa in: **shii bàa àbookin ~taa ba nèe** he is not my *(social) equal* [PN/MA]

4 Verbal compounds as NDO or complement of a verb

In this section we see verbal compounds as the direct object of a transitive verb or as the complement of an intransitive verb. In the first section (4.1) the compounds appear as the object of various verbs; in the second and third sections (4.2 and 4.3) they are the object of the verb **yi** 'do, make'. In 4.2 the verb **yi** is used in the sentence or phrase, in 4.3 the compound follows a continuative aspect pronoun, where **yîn** (the verbal noun of **yi** plus the linker –**n**) is deleted. In 4.4 the compounds are the complement or adjunct of an intransitive verb

4.1 Verbal compounds as NDO of various verbs (excluding **yi**)

à-zàabùri-kàryaa in: **wàa zâi dàwwamà yanàa ɗaurà ~?** who can endure (such a life) when wearing (having to wear) shirts of the type **à-zàabùri-kàryaa**? (Ladan 1980:81)

bàa-ni-ƙwaryaa in: **sun saakè ~** they had another *quarrel*

ban-iskàa in: **râi dai an cêe dangìn goorò nee, ~ yakèe sôo!** it's said that life is like the kolanut, it needs *air*!

iyà-yîi (lit.: able.to do) in: **kee dai wàllaahì kin fiyà ~** you are a real *show off* [PN/MA]

ka-cèe-na-cèe in: **jibgè dùbban soojoojin Amìƒkà à ƙasaƒ Sàudiyàa yaa jaawoo ~** landing thousands of US troops in Saudi Arabia has caused a (political) *confrontation* [DW]

kai-dà-koomoo in: **hanà ~n jiràagen samàn yaaƙìi** preventing the *movement* of military aircraft [DW]

rùfàa-baaya (lit.: cover back) in: **sun sàami ~ dàgà**... they were *supported* by … [DW]

sàari-kà-baa-nì in: **muugùn gàatarii yaa fi "~"** [lit.: a poor axe is better than (saying) "chop and give me (the loan of yours)"] independence is best, no matter how modest [A310]

tàashi-kaa-fiyà-naacìi in: **Bàlaa yaa daawoo dàgà Makkà, àmmaa dà na jee yi masà baƙkàa dà zuwàa koo ~ bài baa nì ba** Bala returned from Mecca but when I went to greet him (on his safe return) he didn't even give me a *cap (of the type* **tàashi-kaa-fiyà-naacìi** *typically given as small gift)* [PN/MA]

VNCs:

kafìn-àlƙalàmii in: **Laarai taa baa wà maalàmin tsubbùn ~ na Nairàa dubuu wai don yà taimàkaa matà tà sàami cikìi.** Larai gave *a cash advance* of 1000 Naira to the malam (to give her a charm) to help her become pregnant [PN/MA]

kaamùn-luudàyii (lit.: taking.hold.of spoon) in: **kù dai baa shì shuugabancìn ƙasâƙ mù ga irìn ~nsà** give him the presidency and we'll see how he *copes* [PN/MA]

ƙîn-jîi (lit. refusal.of hearing) **wàllaahì yaaròn Audù ya cikà ~. Duk yaa fìtìni koowaa.** Really Audu's boy is very naughty. He just annoys eveybody [PN/MA]

yankan-ƙàunaa (lit.: cutting.of liking) in: **Audù yaa nuunàa minì ~ dà ya hanàa ni aron kèekènsà ìn jee masallaacii** Audu *humiliated* me when he refused to give me the loan of his bicycle to go to the mosque [PN/MA]

4.2 Verbal compounds as NDO of **yi** 'do, make'

bàa-ni-ƙwaryaa in: **sun yi ~** they've had an *altercation*

bàa-zàtaa in: **ya yi ~** 1) it was a *surprise* 2) he did a *surprising thing* [B100]

ban-kwaanaa (lit.: gimme spending.night) in: **naa yi ~ dà shii** I *took leave* of him

ban-girmaa in: **yaa yi minì ~** he showed me *respect*

bìi-bango in: **soron nan ya yi ~** this entrance-hut has a *leak* [B102]

fìtoo-naa-fìtoo in: **sunàa bùkaatàƙ à yi ~** they want to start the *battle* (Kano, 1961:126)

gàa-tanaa in: **zoo, mù yi ~** let's go and tell each other *fables* [A310]

iyà-sheegèe (lit.: able.to [be a] bastard) in: 1) **kâi! ràbu dà shii, ~ kawài yakèe yi minì** leave him alone, he's only joking around with me [PN/MA] 2) **àbòokansà [...] sunàa yi masà dàariyaa haƙ dà ~**" his friends were laughing at him and even making a fool of him (Hare and Whittan, 1974:3)

ràbàa-daidai (lit.: divide equally) in: **yaa yi minì ~** he *defraud*ed me [B826]

rùb-dà-cikì in: **yaa yi ~** he lay *face downwards*

rùfàa-idò (lit.: cover eyes) in: **ɓàraawòo ~ ya yi manà** the thief robbed us without our being able to see what was going on [A741]

sùɓùl-dà-bakà in: **yaa yi ~** he made a *slip of the tongue* [A823]

tàakà-sàkainaa in: **mun yi ~ dà shii** we *quarrelled* with him [A842]
tàakàa-tsantsan in: **yi ~ duuniyàa** always *act cautiously* [A840]
zàunàa-gàrinkà (lit.: stay [in] your.town) in: **yaa yi minì ~** he overstayed his welcome [A970]

VNCs:

awòn-gàba removing; in: **an yi ~ dà ɗan lèeƙen àsiiɾ̃ii** they whisked away the spy [PN/MA]
faɾ̃gaɾ̃-Jaajì realising sth. too late; in: **sun yi ~** they realised it too late [McIMB36]
kaamùn-ƙafàa lobbying; in: **don Allàh inàa sôo kà yi mîn ~ à wurin gwamnàa** please, I want you put my case to the governor [PN/MA]
kisàn-gillàa in: **soojoojin ƙasaɾ̃ Ìsɾ̃aa'iilà sunàa ta yi wà Palasɗiinaawaa ~** the Israeli army is just *massacring* the Palestinians [DW]
kwanton-ɓaunaa in: **sun yi wà wasu 'yan ta'àdda ~, sun kaamèe su dukà** they set an *ambush* for the rebels and caught them all [PN/MA]
sàukaɾ̃-kàɾ̃àatuu in: **naa yi ~naa inàa dà shèekaràa goomà shâa bìyaɾ̃** I graduated from from Koranic school at the age of fifteen [PN/MA]
tàfiyàɾ̃-àgwàagwaa (lit.: walking.of duck) in: **ƙibàɾ̃ Audù haɾ̃ taa faarà sâa shi yîn ~** Audu's fat has made him start to roll when he walks [PN/MA]
taashìn-gwauron-zàaboo (lit.: flying.up.of male guinea-fowl) in: **fàɾ̃aashìi yaa yi ~** prices rose sharply [McIMB48]
tòonon-sìiliilì (lit.: digging.up.of secret) in: **'yan sìyaasàɾ̃ NPP sun yi wà Shàagàri ~ maràs daaɗin jîi** the NPP politicians subjected Shagari to a very embarrassing interrogation [PN/MA]
zùbaɾ̃-gadoo in: **Hogàn dà Mr. T. sun yi ~ à taakaɾâɾ̃ dà akà yi bàara à L.A.** Hogan and Mr T. *downed each other simultaneously* in their (wrestling) bout in L.A. last year [PN/MA]

4.3 Verbal compounds as NDO (of **yi**) following a continuative pronoun:

In the next examples the compound follows a continuative pronoun. Underlyingly, these compounds are the NDO of **yi** 'do, make' but the verbal noun **yîi** (< **yi**) plus the linker **-n** is deleted. This is a common stylistic device in Hausa.

ban-zanèe (lit.: gimme cloth) in **zàkaràa yanàa ~** the cock is drooping one wing with anticipation prior to copulation with hen [A77]
bàashaa (lit.: give drink) in: **tanàa ~ dà mazaa** she's a "tomboy" [A87]
bìi-dangì (lit.: follow family) in: **tanàa ~** she's roving about...
ɗàuki-bâa-daɗìi in: **...à lookàcîn dà askaɾ̃aawan ƙasâɾ̃ kèe ~ dà 'yan taawaayèn Tamil Tigers** …while the country's troops were engaged in *fighting* the Tamil Tigers [DW]

fasà-fushii (lit.: break anger) in: **yanàa ~nsà** he's having a good time [A257]

gàa-macìiji in: **baa sàa ~ dà juunaa** [lit.: they don't (say) '*Watch out for the snake!*' to each other] they detest each other [DW]

kai-kòomòo in: **yanàa ~ wajen saasàntaa tsàkaaninsù** he is *mediating* between them [DW]

kwàn-dà-kàmaɽ̃-wannàn (lit.: make.return like that.one) in: **~ yakèe yîi** he is copying that one out [A582]

ràbàa-daidai (lit.: divide equally) a 50-50 deal; in **anàa ~ dà jihoohin kudù ta wajen yawàn jihoohii** they are *wrangling* with the southern states over the number of federal states (to be created) [Gtfk]

sàki-reeshèe-kàamà-ganye (lit.: let.go branch catch leaf) in: **... kadà kà sâ nà yi ~, kai bà kà zoo ba nii kuma bàn sàami zuwàa neeman kuɗiinaa ba à bankìi** … and don't leave me "between the devil and the deep blue sea" with you not coming and me not going to the bank to get my money! [PN/MA]

VNCs:

ɗaurìn-bàakii (lit.: tying.of mouth) in: **naa yi masà ~** I used a charm on him to make him unable to talk [PN/MA]

saaƙàɽ̃-zuuci (lit.: weaving.of heart) in: **yanàa ta ~ koo yà koomàa gidaa bana koo kùwa ya ƙaarà shèekaràa ɗaya** he is *deep in his thoughts* as to whether to go home this year or to stay a further year [PN/MA]

sôn-ràaƙumin-yâaraa in: **Bàlaa dà Baabìyaa ~ sukèe wà juunaa** Bala and Babiya hava *"a crush"* on each other [PN/MA]

4.4 Verbal compounds as complement of an intransitive verb

gamà-gàrii in: **wandà ya zama ~** one who's become a *rover* [DW]

kàrɓi-à-jikà surprising thing; in: **làabarin kashè Muɽ̃tàlaa yaa zamèe ~ gà dùbban mutàanee** the news of Murtala's death took thousands of people completely by surprise [PN/MA]

ban-gàjiiyàa in: **zâa mu**[1] **~** we're off to *congratulate person who has finished a tiring task* [A72]

VNCs:

neeman-ƙibàa in: **sun jee ~ sun saamoo ràamaa** [lit.: they went to *get fattened up* and came back emaciated] it's a case of the biter bit [A516]

[1] Strictly, this example has no verb; however, the 1st person plural allative (aspect) pronoun **zâa mu** means 'we are going to (a place)'.

5 A verbal compound functioning as an adverb, numeral or adjective:

Verbal compounds may function adverbially or as numerals or adjectives. They are not common although some verbal compounds have lexicalised as adverbs (see Appendix 1a, section 1.4).

5.1 Verbal compounds as adverbs

bùushe-gaashì in: **bâa mài iyà fitôowaa ~ yà gayàa masà** nobody would dare tell him *openly* [A126]

jìm-kàɗan in: **~ sai gàa mài gidân na sòosai yanàa bugà ƙoofàa** *soon afterwards* the real husband was there, knocking at the door (Ahmad n.d.:24)

ràbà-tsakà in: **yaa zoo ~ sai ya gan mù** he saw us when he had come half-way [A711]

VNCs:

sanìn shaanuu (lit.: knowing.of cattle) in: **Naa san shùugàban ƙasaa sanìi na hàƙiiƙàa, bàa ~ ba** I really know the president (of the country), and not just *casually*.

shân-ruwan-raaƙumàa (lit.: drinking.of water.of camel) in: **zuwàmmù ~** we only come *occasionally*.

5.2 Verbal compounds as numerals

Verbal compounds functioning as numerals are infrequent; here some examples:

baa-kàa-zuwàa-kòogii in: **~ turmii ɗaya** one *bundle of unwashable material*

cìkà-tèeku (lit.: fill sea) in: **fâm ~ zân baa kà** I'll give you *millions* of pounds (sterling) [DW]

fàaɗi-kà-mutù in: **~ gùdaa ɗaya** one *piece of china*

fìi-dà-sartsè in: **~ gìndii ɗaya** one root of *euphorbia latiflora*

jàa-gàba in: **~ mùtûm ukù** three *guides*

(Apart from **cìkà-tèeku** all the above are found in Galadanci, 1969: 117-8.)

VNC:

shuurìn-masàaƙii several times, countless; in: **sun yi ta yîi** they did it countless times

5.3 Verbal compounds used as adjectives

These words are not real Hausa adjectives (which normally attach a linker and precede the head but may follow the head, in apposition); they are *used* adjectivally and always follow the head, in apposition:

ci-kaf̃-kà-mutù tasteless food; in: **àbinci nèe ~** this is tasteless food

gàagàrà-kòoyo mysterious th. or p.; in: **mùtûm nee ~** he's a mysterious p.
kòomàa-baaya reactionary person (or ideology); in: **mùtûm nee ~** he's (a) reactionary
mafìi-kyâu better, best; in: **wannàn nee ~** this is the best.
masòo-gabàs in e.g.: **arèewa ~** north-east.

VNCs:

yîn-hannu handmade; in: **wannàn ~ nèe** this is handmade.

Appendix 1c: Gender and number in Verbal Compounds

In chapter 1.2.6 the gender and number of Hausa verbal (noun) compounds is briefly discussed. This appendix gives examples illustrating the factors which determine gender (section 1). Plural forms (rare) are also given (section 2).

1 Gender

The gender of compounds is by analogy (1.1), natural gender (1.2) or grammar (1.4). Some compounds are sex-neutral and may take both genders (1.3). Under 1.5 compounds are listed where the motivation for gender is unclear and, in 1.6 I briefly discuss compounds naming games. In 1.7 I give two examples of verbal compounds with a feminative suffix and in 1.8 I look at the gender of VNCs (though some are listed in the foregoing sections).

1.1 Grammatical gender correlates analogously

Some verbal compounds get their gender by analogy, i.e. according to the general term for the referent, thus e.g. **à-wàawùri-kàryaa** is a kind of *shirt* (f.: **tagùwaa**) and therefore feminine (the gender of the compounds in the first group):

à-wàawùri-kàryaa f. short-sleeved shirt (**tagùwaa** f. 'shirt')
à-kòori-kuuraa f. delivery truck (**mootàa** f. 'car')
àmsà-kuwwà f. 1) echo 2) loudspeaker (cf. **muryàa** f. 'voice')
àmsà-muryà f. loudspeaker (see previous example)
bàa-gìncirà f. what a lie! (cf. **ƙaryaa** f. 'lie')
dàfàa-dukà f. 1) jollof rice (**shìnkaafaa** f. 'rice')
2) Peugeot used as taxi (**mootàa** f. 'car')
fid-dà-kâi f. type of tithe (cf. **zàkkaa** f. 'tithe')
gàagàrà-kwànta f. knotted type of hobbling rope (**igiyàa** f. 'rope')
gàm-dà-kàtaƒ f. good luck (**saa'àa** f. 'luck')
hànà-sallà f. type of cap (**hùulaa** f. 'hat')
kàƒ-ni-kà-tuuɓèe f. type of gown (**tagùwaa** f. 'shirt')
shìga-dà-àlwàlaƒkà f. station wagon taxi (**mootàa** f. 'car')
tàfii-dà-gidankà f. 1) mobile home/truck (f**mootàa** f. 'car')
2) mobile phone (**wayàa** f. 'telephone')
tàashi-kaa-fiyà-naacìi f. type of cap (**hùulaa** f. 'hat')
tsùgùni-tàashi f. struggle (cf. **faamaa / gwagwàƒmayàa** f. 'struggle')
yàa-dà-kunyà f. name of town (towns have feminine gender)
zàunàa-inuwà f. type of dwarf guinea-corn (**daawàa** f. 'guinea-corn')

VNCs:

duukàa-wuyà f. name of a city gate in Kano (**ƙoofàa** f. 'door')
gudùn-hijiřaa f. being in exile, seeking asylum (a kind of *flight*: **hijiřaa** f., or *travel*: **tàfiyàa** f.)
suukàa-dubuu f. type of cap decorated with embroidered holes (**hùulaa** f. 'hat')

I only have two examples where the gender is masculine – by analogy:

gài-dà-yàaya m. dish (**kwaanòo** m. 'dish')
tàfii-dà-maalàminkà m. textbook with footnotes (**littaafii** m. 'book')

In the following example the referent is either masculine (**tàakàlmii** m. 'shoes') or feminine (**sutuřàa** f. 'clothes') and the compound may take either masculine or feminine gender:

jèe-ka-iidìi-kà-daawoo m. or f. poor *shoes* or poor *clothes*.

1.2 Grammatical gender correlating with natural gender

Feminine:

kwàntà-ƙùri f. chaperone
mabàa-dà-noonòo f. nursing mother, wet-nurse
sàu-ta gà-waawaa f. girl whose marriage comes to swift end

VNCs (both feminine):

duukàa-ɗaukàa f. mature *girl* ready for marriage
sakìn-waawaa f. beautiful *girl* divorced soon after being married

In the following the natural gender is masculine:

fàsà-gàyya m. epithet of warrior
gàagàrà-mìsaalì m. epithet of God (= one beyond description)
kàryà-gàri m. epithet of great warrior
kàryà-gwiiwà m. epithet of (young male) calf
ƙòonà-ƙootà m. man in Hausa folklore
màntà-sàabo m. epithet of judge

1.3 Grammatical gender sex-neutral

Often, the compound is sex-neutral

bàlàgi-tsindiř m/f. precocious child [A67]
ɓàatà-gàri m/f. criminal, undesirable elements
dùubà-gàri m/f. sanitary inspector
dùubà-ruudù m/f. stupid person
gàagàrà-daafì m/f. bad-tempered person
gàagàrà-gàasa m/f. outstanding person
ƙèetàrà-shinge m/f. slave who escaped soon being bought
ràaɓàa-dàřni m/f. child who keeps away from games
shùugàbaa m/f. leader, head

tàakàa-tsantsan m/f. cautious person
tàttàɓà-kunne m/f. great grandchild
zàunà(a)-gàrii-banzaa m/f. good-for-nothing

VNCs

dakàn-jiyà m/f. thin/petite person (doesn't age quickly)
harbìn-iskàa m/f. possessed person
kwaanaa-keesòo m/f. epithet of ostentatious but penniless person

1.4 Grammatical reasons for gender

Unmarked verbal compounds are a kind of infinitive phrase (see chapter 5.2.3.3 and 5.3.1); like the latter such compounds have masculine gender (see Newman [PN290]):

huurà-hancìi m. arrogance
iyà-sheegèe m. inconsiderate, unacceptable behaviour
iyà-yîi m. ostentation, showing off
rabà-màkaahòo-dà-gooràa m. dirty trick, cheating, deception

A further grammatical reason why a compound will take a particular gender is the use of a pronoun in the compound: thus, all **kaa fi X** compounds are masculine since the addressee (**kaa**, 2m. completive) is masculine:

kaa-fi-àlluuƙàa type of drug
kaa-fi-amaryaa-ƙanshii a perfume
kaa-fi-ɗaa-wùyaa type of bead
kaa-fi-'yan-gyàdɗaa type of cloth, etc.

In the following example, the masculine possessive suffix –**nkà** determines the gender of the compound:

zàaɓi-sônkà	(choose wish.of.you)	greetings broadcast on radio

The gender of compounds with the feminine singular pronouns (**taa** completive, **ta** relative completive or **tà** subjunctive) cannot be categorised in this way. They tend to appear in fixed expressions (**mijìn *ta cèe*** or **'yan *tà kifèe***) and gender is not relevant to the compound understood as a separate unit in the phrase.

The word **ƙyûuyaa** 'indolence, laziness' has *feminine* gender because it has "frozen" (from the unmarked compound **ƙiyà wùyaa**) as a common noun and nouns ending in –**a**(**a**) are generally feminine.

1.5 Motivation unclear

In this section I look at examples of compounds where the motivation underlying gender is unclear. In the first group, there are charms,

plants and diseases, alongside actions but none of these categories can be shown to be masculine or feminine[1].

The first list is of feminine nouns, the second masculine and the third may be either feminine or masculine:

Feminine

bàa-duhù f. charm making p. invisible
bàa-suusà f. 1) scabies, 2) prickly plant; 3) gravel
ɓàd-dà-kàma f. disguise, camouflage
cìkà-gida f. castor-oil plant
ɗaurè-fuskàa f. frown
gàagàrà-birì f. 1) plaited leather dog-collar
2) guinea-corn with drooping head
tàashi-mù-jee-mu f. indecisiveness
tùmàa-ƙasà f. 1) crocheted dish cover 2) leather cushion

Masculine

ban-màganàa m. encouragement
bùuɗe-littaafì m. butterfly
dàagùri-gùrzau m. charm for invulnerability
gìigìità-baami m. p. or th. that flusters pp.
hàràarà-garkè m. 1) eye syndrome 2) turning head in one direction in order to look in another
kùmbùrà-fage m. *vernonia kotschyana* a herb used in medicine (for fattening horses)
màntà-uwa m. medicinal plants
sàa-gudù m. charm giving one ability to make pp. run away helter-skelter just by yelling
shàafaa-mù-reeràa m. hypnotic power to make people follow the hypnotist

Both masculine and feminine gender:

cìkà-fage m/f. type of shrub
fìtoo-naa-fitoo m./f. confrontation
hànà-rantsuwa m/f. exception
kàryà-gàřma m/f. deep-rooted plant
maalàm-bùuɗaa-manà-littaafii m/f. butterfly
sàki-naa-daafèe m/f. causing so. to lose sth. by giving him false sense of security

1.6 Games have masculine gender

Paul Newman (p.c.) suggests that games named by verbal compounds are masculine, perhaps by analogy to the many games which are

[1] This may be due to my *not* spotting the word to which the meaning of the compound correlates analogously (see section 1).

derived from verbs – a process which is no longer productive; see Newman [PN199]). Another possible explanation is analogy to the word **wàasaa** 'game', which is masculine. Analogy certainly offers an explanation for the *masculine* gender of the following compound, where both the verbal noun and the noun following the genitive linker have feminine gender:

mutuwàr̃-tsoohuwaa (lit.: death of old woman) children's game which imitates way very old person reacts when death comes, just before the soul is pulled out of the body

However the following game has feminine gender:

à-rausàa f. physical game.

1.7 Use of a feminative suffix:

In rare instances, a feminative suffix is found on a verbal compound:

gàatuutùu m. slow-witted person, f.: **gàatuutùwaa**
jèe-ka-faadà m. palace messenger, f.: **jèe-ka-faadìyaa** or:
jèe-ka-faadùwaa[2]

1.8 Gender of VNCs

In most VNCs the VN determines the gender of the compound; most have a linker (**-n** is masculine and **-r̃** feminine) confirming the gender. The following illustrate this general tendency: the first group has feminine gender, the second masculine (transitive and intransitive verbal nouns are grouped together):

cîn-zanzanaa f. pock/pox marks on face
fìtar̃-baayaa f. external hemorrhoids[3]
saaƙàr̃-zuuci f. contemplation, pondering, deep thoughts

awòn-gàba m. headstart
ɓatàn-ɓàkàtantàn m. losing two opportunities
cîn-hancìi m. bribery
gudùn-dawà m. diarrhea
hàngen-neesà m. foresight, forecast
har̃bìn-dawà m. disease caused by spirits.
sôn-iyàawaa m. putting on airs
taashìn-àsùbâa m. Koranic school session at dawn
zaman-tàare m. social interaction, living together

---

[2] These feminine forms have an equivalent in Sokoto Hausa: **jèekaa** [A421]:

[3] Paul Newman (p.c.) gives this VNC as masculine; probably because the general word for hemorrhoids, **baasùr̃**, has masculine gender.

In compounds with no linker the gender is determined by that of the verbal noun, here, all masculine. (Again, transitive and intransitive verbal nouns are grouped together):

cîi-baaya m. regression, reactionary attitude
cîi-gàba m. civilization, progress; continuation
kwaanaa-rawaa m. tinkling ear-pendant
saaraa-suukàa m. thuggery

When a VNC refers to a person, its gender will be masculine, feminine or both, according to the person referred to. See examples above under sections 1.2 and 1.3.

2 Plural compounds

Apart from *plural* **ma**-compounds (chapter 3.2), which are, by definition, plural, few compounds in Hausa have a plural form. This means that one form functions as either singular or plural[4].

2.1 One form, singular and plural

Here, the compound **ɓàatà gàri** follows the plural indefinite determiner **wasu** 'some' (and precedes the 3rd pl. **sunàa**):

Wasu ɓàatà-gàri sunàa yîi Some undesirable elements are about their business.
Àkwai kuma wasu ɓàatà-gàri dà akà kaamàa. There were some undesirable elements who were caught.

In the following example the compound **zàunàa-gàrii-banzaa** is simply understood to have plural reference:

An rabà kuɗàaɗee màasu yawàa gà zàunàa-gàrii-banzaa large sums of money have been paid to hoodlums.

2.2 Plural forms

Plural forms are found, but they are rare:

jèe-ka-faadà palace messenger; pl.: **jèe-ka-fàaduu** [A421]
magàa-takàřdaa (palace) secretary; pl.: **màgàatàkàřduu**
sàa-ɗakà concubine; pl.: **sàaɗàkuu** or **saaɗakookii** [A758] and [B879]
shaashàashaa idiot; pl. **shàashàashai** (Tafida and East, 1955:6)
shùugàbaa leader; pl.: **shùugàbànnii** or **shùwàagàbànnii**
taa-waayèe riot, uprising; pl. **tàawàayuu** [B1010]

[4] In Bantu languages this is not the case: "Most compound nouns [in Bantu languages] can form a plural." (Knappert 1965:211)

In the following a VNC pluralises by using the plural of the (singular) noun in the compound:

karìn-màganàa proverb; pl.: **karìn-màgàngànuu** [RMN]

Appendix 1d: The Hausa verbal grade system

Since the theme of this work is Hausa *verbal* compounds an understanding of the Hausa verbal system is indispensable. This appendix is written for readers unfamiliar with the Hausa verbal grade system, expanding on what is described in chapter 1.3.

The appendix is in three parts: 1) an outline of how the description of the Hausa verbal system has developed, 2) an explanation of the morphosyntactic differences between finite and nominalised verbal phrases and 3) a description of imperative verb forms in Hausa.

1 The Hausa verbal grade system – an outline

The term "grade system" was first suggested by Parsons (1960) and, originally, the system (see 1.1 below) found wide acceptance among Hausaists. Newman observes that the grade system is readily accepted by Hausa speakers and "[is] a generally accurate characterization of modern Hausa" (1973:336). However, in the same article he suggests reforms to the system and then proposes a radically new system (see 1.2 below). These proposals encouraged further developments (1.3 below), but the term "grade" continues to be used by Hausaists and will be used here.

1.1 Parsons's grade system

Parsons's (1960; see also 1962 and 1971/72) description of the Hausa verbal system organises the regular verbs in Hausa into seven "grades". A "grade" is built on an abstract stem; tone pattern and final vowel (in grade 5, a final consonant) are added to this stem to give the verb its surface form. Each grade has up to four *syntactic* forms (see 1.1.1 below), defined according to the kind of object following the verb. The seven grades and the syntactic forms found in each grade are shown in Table 14 below.

In grades 1, 4 and 6 there are both transitive and intransitive verbs; in grades 2 and 5 there are only transitive verbs, in grades 3 and 7 only intransitive verbs.

According to the theory, grades 1, 2 and 3 are "basic grades" and grades 4, 5, 6 and 7 "derived grades". In the basic grades the verb has a basic meaning; in derived grades the verb adds an extra meaning to its basic meaning (see 1.1.2 below); this extra meaning is a property of the derived grade. Verbs in the derived grades occur only when the stem has a verb in a basic grade; however, irregular verbs (verbs outside the grade system) may also occur in these derived grades.

Table 14: Grades and forms according to Parsons (1960):

Forms: **Grades**:	*A form*	*B form*	*C form*	*D form*
1. 2-s: HL-**aa/a**	**cikàa**	**cikàa**	**cikà**	**cikàa**
3-s: HLH-**aa/a**	**kařàntaa**	**kařàntaa**	**kařàntà**	**kařàntaa**
2. 2-s: LH-**aa/ee/i**	**kòoraa**	**kòoree**	**kòori**	s. gr.1, 5, 4
3-s: LH-**aa/ee/i**	**kàřantàa**	**kàřàncee**	**kàřànci**	s. gr.1, 5, 4
3. 2-s: LH-**a**	**fìta**	**--**	**--**	s. gr.1, 5, 4
3-s: LHL-**a**	**kàřantà**	**--**	**--**	s. gr.1, 5, 4
4. 2-s: HL-**ee/e**	**kaatsèe**	**kaatsèe**	**kaatsè(e)**	**kaatsèe**
3-s: HLH-**ee/e**	**kařàncee**	**kařàncee**	**kařàncè/-ee**	**kařàncee**
5. 2-s: HH-**ř dà**	**gayař**	**gayař dà**	**gayař dà**	**gayař wà...dà**
H-**shee**	**--**	**gaishee**	**--**	**gaishee wà..dà**
H **dà**	**--**	**gai dà**	**gai dà**	**gai wà..dà**
3-s: HHH-**ř dà**	**kařantař**	**kařantař dà**	**kařantař dà**	**kařantař wà..dà**
HHH-**shee**	**--**	**kařantasshee**	**--**	**kařantasshee wà..dà**
6. 2-s: HH-**oo**	**sayoo**	**sayoo**	**sayoo**	**Sayoo**
3-s: HHH-**oo**	**kařantoo**	**kařantoo**	**kařantoo**	**kařantoo**
7. 2-s: LH-**u**	**bùgu**	**--**	**--**	s. gr.1, 5, 4
3-s: LLH-**u**	**kàřàntu**	**--**	**--**	s. gr.1, 5, 4

Key: (2-s) = disyllabic; (3-s) = trisyllabic; H/L = high/low tone syllable
"s. gr.1, 5, 4" means these verbs take a form as found in s. grades 1, 5 or 4.

1.1.1 The syntactic forms

Together with the seven grades Parsons defined four (syntactic) forms: A, B, C and D forms.

- The A form is the citation form and is the basic form of transitive verbs (used where no object directly follows the verb) and of intransitive verbs. The B and C forms of transitive verbs (intransitive verbs cannot have these forms) as well as the D forms of transitive and some intransitive verbs are considered to be derived from the A form.
- The B form precedes a pronoun direct object.
- The C form precedes a noun direct object
- The D form precedes an indirect object (pronoun or noun).

The tone and final vowel of a verb vary according to the kind of object it precedes; the final vowel may vary in quality and/or quantity (long or short).

1.1.2 The secondary grades and their meanings:

- Grade 4 verbs express "totality"; thus gr2 **sàyaa** 'buy' becomes **sayèe** 'buy all' in gr4.
- Grade 5 verbs[1] are either "causative" or transitivise intransitive verbs; thus gr2 **sàyaa** 'buy' becomes **sayaɽ̃** 'sell', intransitive gr1 **koomàa** 'return (to)' becomes transitive **koomaɽ̃** 'return (sth.)' and gr3 **fìta** 'go out' becomes transitive **fitaɽ̃** 'take (sth.) out'.
- Grade 6 expresses "motion hither"; thus gr2 **sàyaa** 'buy' becomes **sayoo** 'buy and bring' and gr3 **shìga** 'go in' becomes **shigoo** 'come in'.
- Grade 7 verbs express a passive and/or "sustentative" meaning ("sustaining" the action expressed in the basic verb); thus in gr7, the gr1 verb **ƙeetàraa** 'cross (e.g. road)' becomes **ƙèetàru** 'be "crossable"'; gr2 **sàyaa** 'buy' becomes **sàyu** 'be available (for buying)'.

1.2 Critique of the grade system

Parsons took what was known about the Hausa verb and gave it a theoretical basis. The grade system was widely accepted but "holes" in the system were soon spotted. Gouffé (1962) reported on an interesting dialectal variation in grade 5; more importantly, Lukas (1963) suggested that there might be both basic and derived verbs in grade 2, an idea expanded on by Pilszczikowa (1969). Newman (1973) suggested significant reforms to the grade system. The most important were:

- Grades 2 (LH-**aa**, transitive) and 3 (LH-**a**, intransitive) were collapsed into "grade 2 modified" (patterned on grade 1 which contains both transitive and intransitive verbs).
- HH intransitive verbs with a heavy first syllable and a final /-**a**/ vowel (considered to be irregular verbs) were integrated into grade 3 (and then into "grade 2 modified").

[1] Grade 5 verbs have a final consonant /-**ɽ̃**/ and, preceding a direct object, are followed by a particle **dà** considered to belong with the verb. Alongside the form ending in /-**ɽ̃**/, gr5 verbs have two other possible forms (see Table 14).

- The basic form of transitive verbs, i.e. the form from which other forms are derived is not the A Form (as in Parsons) but the C Form.

More importantly, in a second section of the same publication (1973) Newman made a radical new proposal: his "vowel-tone class" – or VTE – system was specifically seen as a historical, and implicitly comparative, description of the Hausa verbal system. In this system basic verbs have both final vowel (/-**a**(**a**)/ or /-**i**/) and a tone pattern (H, HL, or LH). These are the basic, lexical, verbs to which extensions may be added.

These verbs are classified into six "vowel-tone classes" - according to their basic form: the basic form of transitive verbs is (in Parsons's terms) the C form; the basic form of intransitive verbs is (in Parsons's terms) the A form. In this system there are H /-**a**/ verbs, H /-**i**/ verbs, HL /-**a**/ verbs, HL /-**i**/ verbs, LH /-**a**/ verbs and LH /-**i**/ verbs.

In Newman, 2000:677f., the "vowel-tone class" system is renamed the "vowel class/extension model" or "VCE model". In this model, the H (monosyllabic) verbs are renamed "grade 0" and the HL /-**i**/ verbs are renamed "grade 3b":

Table 15a: Newman's VCE model (2000); basic disyllabic verbs:

Tone / Final vowel:	**-i**	**-a**
H (monosyllabic)	**ci** eat (= gr0)	**jaa** pull (= gr0)
HL	**faadì** fall (= gr3b)	**dafà** cook (≈ gr1)
LH	**sàyi** buy (≈ gr2)	**fìta** go out (≈ gr3)

These basic verbs can take extensions, which have their own tone pattern and final vowel. Semantically these extensions compare with the meanings added in Parsons's derived grades (4 to 6), but there are new extensions, e.g. the "applicative", formerly "hidden" in grade 1 or the "partitive", formerly "hidden" in grade 2.

Table 15b: Newman's VCE model (2000); extensions:

HL-**aa**	HL-**ee**	HL-**ee**	HH-**aɾ̃**	HH-**oo**	LH-**i**	LH-**u**
applicative ≈ gr1	totality ≈ gr4	intr/refl ≈ gr4 intr	efferential ≈ gr5	ventive ≈ gr6	partitive ≈ gr2	sustentative ≈ gr7

Key: **H/L** = high/low tone on a syllable; **gr** = 'grade'
intr/refl = intransitive/reflexive verbs found in grade 4. This extension is not proposed by Newman but by Wolff [W296-300].

The following are examples of the above extensions:

- The (HL–**aa**) applicative extension: the verb **sayàa** 'buy sth. for someone' has built this extension onto the basic LH-**i** verb **sàyi** 'buy', allowing it to precede an indirect object.
- The (HL-**ee**) totality extension: the verb **sayèe** 'buy *all (of)*' has built this extension onto the basic LH-**i** verb **sàyi** 'buy'.
- The (HL-**ee**) intransitive/relexive extension: the verb **huujèe** 'be pierced' has built this extension onto the basic HL-**a** verb **huudà** 'pierce'.
- The (HH–**aɾ̃ (dà)**) efferential extension: the verb **sayaɾ̃ (dà)** '*sell*' has built this extension onto the LH-**i** verb **sàyi** 'buy'.
- The (HH–**oo**) ventive extension: the verb **sayoo** 'buy *and bring*' has built this extension onto the LH-**i** verb **sàyi** 'buy'.
- The (LH-**i**) partitive extension: the verb **gàmi** 'please, suit, satisfy' has added this extension onto the basic HL-**a** verb **gamà** 'finish'.
- The (LH–**u**) sustentative extension: the verb **sàyu** 'be available for sale' has built this extension onto the LH-**i** verb **sàyi** 'buy'.

The "VCE model" opens the possibility of analysing a single form as either a basic verb (Table 15a) or as an extension (Table 15b): thus the form **dafàa** 'cook' (HL with final vowel –**aa**) is a basic HL-**a** verb, preceding e.g. its pronoun direct object, whereas the form **sayàa** 'buy sth. for someone' (also HL with final vowel –**aa**) is the basic LH-**i** verb **sàyi** 'buy' plus an "applicative" extension, allowing the LH-**i** verb **sàyi** to precede an indirect object. Similarly, while **sàyi** 'buy' is a basic verb, **gàmi** 'please, suit, satisfy' has added the (LH-**i**) partitive extension onto the basic HL-**a** verb **gamà** 'finish'.

Newman's ideas inspired work which further "loosened" the identification of verb and grade. However, the grade system has survived - at the very least as an accepted nomenclature for Hausa verbs.

1.3 Further developments: Furniss and Wolff

Newman (1973) claimed that semantics had no place in the basic verbs, they are simply the morphological shapes of basic Hausa verbs. Furniss (1981, 1983) showed that transitivity *is* marked in the basic verbs; he also offered observations on semantic correlates between verbs in grades 1, 2, 3 and 4, consolidating the idea that some grades contain both basic verbs and extensions.

Wolff (1984) takes the analysis of basic verbs and their extensions a step further, calling them "simple" and "extended verb stems" respectively. Accepting Newman's proposal, that the C form is basic, he focusses on the formation of the A and B forms in transitive verbs and on the formation of verbal nouns. He also relates the formation of verbal nouns to the "anaphora stem", the stem found on the A form of transitive verbs.

Wolff's (1984) description of the relationships between simple and extended verbs is further analysed in his reference grammar (1993): [W264-291 and 387f.; see also the diagram, p. 233]. Here too he re-examines the formation of A and B forms [W303-315]. Furthermore, he analyses tone patterns, distinguishing between lexical and derived tone patterns, describing six lexical classes [W267-291], each of which may take up to six thematic or semantic extensions [W324-386]; he argues [W296-300] in favour of the introduction of a separate grammatical intransitive (HL-**ee**) extension (see Table 15b).

For a summary of the differences between Wolff's system and Parsons's grade system, see Wolff [W261-263].

1.4 The practical integration of the "grade" and VCE systems

In practice, Hausaists integrate the grade and the VCE systems. This is probably due to the strengths of the grade system, which, despite its weaknesses, "[is] a generally accurate characterization of modern Hausa" (Newman, 1973:336).

In the integrated description, both basic verbs (see Table 15a) and extensions in the VCE system (see Table 15b) are still labelled as "grades". With some innovations (see below) the grade system is the basis of the descriptions of the Hausa verbal system in Newman's (2000) and Jaggar's (2001) reference grammars of Standard Hausa - as well as in Caron's (1991) reference grammar of Ader Hausa (a dialect spoken in Niger).

This practical integration of "grade system" and VCE system is seen in Table 16 (below). The form used as the citation form is the A form – a practice retained below in my comments on the "integrated" system.

Three new grades have been added to the original seven grades: grade 0, grade 3a and grade 3b (see Newman [PN628] and Jaggar [PJ214-5]). These grades are described below, following Table 16.

According to this re-classification there are only twelve verbs (now called "v* verbs") outside the grade system: **ganii** 'see', **barìi** 'leave', **sanìi** 'know', **kusa** 'draw near', **zama** 'become', **hau**

'mount', **kau** 'move aside', **kai** 'take', **baa/bai** 'give', **jee** 'go', **zoo** 'come' and **'yan/'yam** 'give a little to'.

Table 16: A revised table of verbal grades

Forms: **Grades**:	*A form*	*B form*	*C form*	*D form*
0. 1-s: H-**i** 1-s: H-**aa**/**oo** 2-s: H-**aa**	**ci** **shaa**/**soo** **biyaa**	**cii** **shaa**/**soo** **biyaa**	**ci** **shaa**/**soo** **biyaa**	**ci(i)** **shaa**/**soo** **biyaa**
1. 2-s: HL-**aa/a**	**cikàa**	**cikàa**	**cikà**	**cikàa**
3-s: HLH-**aa/a**	**kaɗàntaa**	**kaɗàntaa**	**kaɗàntà**	**kaɗàntaa**
2. 2-s:LH-**aa/ee/i**	**kòoraa**	**kòoree**	**kòori**	pds
3-s: LHL-**aa/ee/i**	**kàɗantàa**	**kàɗàncee**	**kàɗànci**	pds
3. 2-s: LH-**a**	**fìta**	**--**	**--**	pds
3-s: LHL-**a**	**kàɗantà**	**--**	**--**	pds
3a. 2-s: HH-**a**	**kwaana**	**--**	**--**	pds
3b. 2-s: HL-**a/i/u**	**ɓatà** **taashì** **gudù**	**--**	**--**	pds
4. 2-s: HL-**ee/e**	**kaatsèe**	**kaatsèe**	**kaatsè**(**e**)	**kaatsèe**
3-s: HLH-**ee/e**	**kaɗàncee**	**kaɗàncee**	**kaɗàncè**/ **kaɗàncee**	**kaɗàncee**
5. 2-s: HH-**ɗ̃ dà**	**gayaɗ̃**	**gayaɗ̃ dà**	**gayaɗ̃ dà**	**gayaɗ̃ wà...dà**
2-s: H-**shee**	**--**	**gaishee**	**--**	**gaishee wà..dà**
2-s: H **dà**	**--**	**gai dà**	**gai dà**	**gai wà..dà**
3-s: HHH-**ɗ̃ dà**	**kaɗantaɗ̃**	**kaɗantaɗ̃ dà**	**kaɗantaɗ̃ dà**	**kaɗantaɗ̃ wà..dà**
3-s: HHH-**shee**	**--**	**kaɗantasshee**	**--**	**kaɗantasshee wà..dà**
6. 2-s: HH-**oo**	**sayoo**	**sayoo**	**sayoo**	**sayoo**
3-s: HHH-**oo**	**kaɗantoo**	**kaɗantoo**	**kaɗantoo**	**kaɗantoo**
7. 2-s: LH-**u**	**bùgu**	**--**	**--**	pds
3-s: LLH-**u**	**kàɗàntu**	**--**	**--**	pds

Key:
(2-s) = disyllabic; (3-s) = trisyllabic; H/L = high/low tone syllable; "pds" means these verbs take a **p**re-**d**ative **s**uffix (including the tone pattern) as found in grades 1, 5 or 4.

The new grades are as follows:

a) Grade 0 verbs: Transitive monosyllabic H-**i**, H-**aa** and H-**oo** verbs as well as transitive disyllabic HH-**aa** verbs[2].
b) Grade 3a verbs: Intransitive HH-**a** verbs[3].
c) Grade 3b verbs: Irregular HL-**a**, HL-**i**, and HL-**u** verbs[4].

1.5 Suggestions made in the present work

In this work I use the term "frame" rather than "form" (see chapter 1.3.3), focusing on the syntax of verb *plus* object (frame) rather than the morphology of the verb (form). I also use the terms "H-, L- and I-verbs", grouping regular verbs into two groups: those beginning with a [H]igh tone and those beginning with a [L]ow tone. The [I]rregular verbs make the third group (see chapter 1.3.2).

My use of the term "I-verbs" for irregular verbs is the same as that of Parsons: verbs which do not belong in the grade system. The recent developments described in 1.4 (above) leave only the v* verbs outside of the grade system. My term (I-verbs) does not ignore these developments; the *forms* of gr0 and gr3b verbs are *irregular*.

While irregular verbs ("I-verbs") have long been identified as a group, and while the features which define H- and L-verbs (tone, the morphology of verbs preceding indirect objects and the formation of verbal nouns[5]) have often been discussed in the literature, the regular verbs have, to my knowledge, not previously been *named*. I find it useful to name them: "H-verbs" and "L-verbs"[6]. These names offer three advantages, at least pedagogically:

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[2] The following verbs are classified as gr0 verbs: **bi** 'follow', **ci** 'eat', **fi** 'exceed', **ji** 'hear, feel', **ƙi** 'dislike, refuse, reject', **yi** 'do, make' as well as **jaa** 'pull, push', **shaa** 'drink, do much of', **soo** 'like, love, want'. The verbs **biyaa** 'pay', **jiraa** 'wait for (so.), **kiraa** 'call' and **rigaa** 'to precede so. doing sth.' also belong here.

[3] E.g. **kwaana** 'spend the night', **tsuufa** 'get old'). It is argued (see Newman 1973:304f) that HH /-**a**/ verbs differ from their LH /-**a**/ "brothers" only in the syllable weight of the first syllable: cp. HH **kwaana** and **tsuufa** with LH **fìta** and **shìga**. (There are exceptions to this rule.)

[4] E.g.: **ɓatà** 'get lost', **faadì** 'fall', **gudù** 'run (away)', **taashì** 'arise (to leave)'.

[5] For more detailed information (including historical and dialectal information), see Wolff (1992:315f), Newman [PN282-4] and Jaggar [PJ269-75].

[6] My use of these labels develops an idea proposed by De Campos (1998): verbs which share the same morphological form are considered together. In McIntyre (1989a) I grouped Parsons's grades as H- and L-verbs (though I did not use these labels): grades 1, 4, 6 (HL and HH transitive and intransitive verbs), grade 5 (HH transitive verbs); then grade 2 (LH transitive) and grades 3 and 7

1) While Newman (1973) grouped verbs according to tone, the usefulness of his VCE system is diachronic/comparative. The "H- vs. L-verb" description is synchronic.
2) Newman's labels (H*, HL and LH) group regular and irregular verbs together. The labels "H-" and L-verbs" refer only to regular verbs; pedagogically, this is an advantage.
3) A minor point is that the labels H*, HL and LH exclude tri- and quadri-syllabic verbs. This is not of any great import, but the labels "H-" and "L-verbs" include these verbs.

2 H-, L- and I-verbs in finite and non-finite VPs

In a normal Hausa sentence a verb is preceded by a person-aspect-complex (PAC), a personal pronoun giving information about person and number as well tense, aspect or mood (TAM). Tense is not relevant to verbal compounds, however, the so-called "subjunctive" (a mood) is found in many compounds and aspect is relevant to the discussion of grade 2 verbs in compounds (see chapter 5.3). The importance of aspect relates to the morphosyntax of the verbal phrase (VP) following an imperfective aspect. In this context the verb or VP is nominalised. Nominalisation is a *syntactic* fact; the question is, is it morphologically marked?

As pointed out in chapter 1.3.2 four morphosyntactic features distinguish H- from L-verbs: a) tone, b) the morphology of verbs preceding indirect objects, c) the morphology of verbal nouns and d) the morphosyntax of non-finite VPs following continuative aspects. The last two points concern us here.

1. The morphology of the verbal noun:
   H-verbs: In non-finite VPs H-verbs mark nominalisation with a suffix -`**waa**[7]. Transitive H-verbs use this form only in the ∅DO

(LH intransitive). I called grades 1, 4, 5 and 6 "-`**waa**" verbs and grades 2, 3 and 7 "non-`**waa**" verbs – a name based on verbal noun formation.

[7] The low tone /`/ in /–`**waa**/ indicates that the syllable preceding /–**waa**/ has a low tone or a falling tone (falling tones end low). The verbal noun of gr7 verbs ends with /–**waa**/ (e.g. **bùguwaa**, **kàr̃àntuwaa**) and some authors classify these verbal nouns alongside the /-`**waa**/ verbal nouns of H-verbs (e.g. **cikàawaa**, **kar̃àntâawaa**). They explain the high (not falling) tone preceding /–**waa**/ as follows: the light syllable /-**u**-/ cannot "carry" a complex (falling) tone. I prefer Gouffé's (1982) interpretation: the morpheme which nominalises the gr7 verb is /-**aa**/ not /-`**waa**/; thus the /**w**/ in e.g. **bùguwaa** (< **bùgu**) is epenthetic. Gouffé says this /-**aa**/ morpheme is found in grade 3, e.g.: **fìta** (plus /-**aa**/) > **fìtaa**. (See Wolff 1984:21 and [PN705] for discussion of these facts.)

frame (see 2 below); in non-finite VPs, intransitive verbs *always* use this verbal noun. The "-`**waa** VNs" have feminine gender.

L-verbs: For many transitive L-verbs (gr2) the regular VN has the same form as the finite verb in the ∅DO-frame, e.g.: **kòoraa** or **tàmbayàa**. Despite the identical form, these words are *nouns*. Many gr2 verbs have a VN which is not the same as the ∅DO form; this form is unpredictable[8]. Intransitive L-verbs (gr3, gr3a) form their VN by lengthening the final vowel, e.g.: **shìga** > **shìgaa**; **kwaana** > **kwaanaa**. In gr2, gr3 and gr3a, regular VNs have feminine gender.

I-verbs: Transitive I-verbs: The v* verbs **ganii**, **barìi** and **sanìi** use the form of the finite verb in the ∅DO frame as VN; **hau** has the VN **hawaa** (masculine), **kau** has no VN. The VN of monosyllabic gr0 verbs has a falling tone (**cîi** < **ci**, **shâa** < **shaa**); the VN of disyllabic gr0 verbs is HL (**biyàa** < **biyaa**). These VNs have masculine gender. The form of the VNs of intransitive I-verbs (v* and gr3b) is unpredictable.

2. The morphosyntax of non-finite VPs:

H-verbs: When an object, *direct or indirect*, follows a H-verb, nominalisation is not marked; it is simply a *syntactic* fact. Such a phrase (*H-verb* plus object) is called an "infinitive phrase": "[a] non-finite phrase containing a finite verb stem." [PN288]

L-verbs: When a *direct* object follows a L-verb the VN is used and suffixes a "linker" (**-n** when the VN is masculine and **-r̃** when the VN is feminine). Preceding an *indirect* object, L-verbs "borrow" the form – and syntax – of a H-verb (see above).

I-verbs: When a *direct* object follows a transitive I-verb the VN is used and suffixes a "linker" (see L-verbs). When preceding an *indirect* object, gr0 verbs and most transitive v* have their own form (retained in the non-finite VP); most intransitive v* verbs and gr3b verbs "borrow" the form and syntax of a H-verb.

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[8] There is no way to predict the morphology of these verbal nouns (tones and final vowels); generally, they have masculine gender. Thus the verbal noun (VN) of **nèemaa** 'look for' is **neemaa** (n.m.), the VN of **sàyaa** 'buy' is **sàyee** (n.m.), that of **hàr̃baa** 'shoot' is **har̃bìi** (n.m.), the VN of **tàimakàa** 'help' is **tàimakoo** (n.m.) and the VN of **bùgaa** 'beat' is **bugùu** (n.m.).

Many H-verbs also have a verbal noun whose form cannot be predicted. However this *co-exists* with the -`**waa** VN. Thus the verb **shuukàa** 'sow' has the VN **shuukàa** (n.f.), the verb **ƙaagàa** 'invent' has the VN **ƙaagee** (n.m.), the verb **ɗinkàa** 'sow' has VN **ɗinkìi** (n.m.), the verb **kar̃àntaa** 'read' has VN **kàr̃àatuu** (n.m.). These VNs co-exist with **shuukàawaa**, **ƙaagàawaa**, **ɗinkàawaa** and **kar̃àntâawaa** respectively.

3 Imperative forms in Hausa

The morphology of imperative forms of regular disyllabic and trisyllabic verbs is given in the examples below[9]; in cases where speakers allow two forms in one frame, both forms are given. The examples are given for the frames which occur in the respective grades, thus no PIO/NIO frames are given for L-verbs (grades 2, 3 and 7) which "borrow" a form from a H-verb (from grade 1, 4 or 5). As regards PIO- and NIO-frames (indirect objects) only PIO-frames are given; this is because the *form of the verb* remains the same whether the object is a pronoun or a noun. For semantic reasons, intransitive gr4 and disyllabic I-verbs do not use an imperative, thus no examples are given in gr4 and disyllabic I-verb basic intransitive ([-T]) frames.

H-verbs:

grade 1:
∅DO: **kàamaa!** catch (it)!; **kàƙàntaa!** read (it)!
PDO: **kàamaa shi!** catch it!; **kàƙàntaa shi!** read it!
NDO: **kàamà dookìi** catch the horse!; **kàƙàntà littaafìn!** read the book!
PIO: **gàyaa mîn!** tell me! **kàƙàntaa masà (shii)!** read it to/for him!
[-T]: **tsàyaa** stand up!; **wàiwàyaa** turn (head) to look!

grade 4:
∅DO: **bùuɗee!** open (it)!; **bìncìkee!** investigate (it)!
PDO: **bùuɗee ta!** open it!; **bìncìkee shi!** investigate it!
NDO: **bùuɗè/bùuɗee ƙoofàƙ!** open the door!
bìncìkè/bìncìkee maganàƙ! investigate the matter!
PIO: **bùuɗee mîn!** open (it) for me!; **bìncìkee mîn!** investigate for me!

grade 5:
∅DO: **sàyaƙ!** sell (it)!; **kàƙàntaƙ!** teach (it)!
PDO: **màyaƙ (mài) dà shii/màishee shì** put it back!
kàƙàntaƙ dà shii/ kàƙàntàshee shì! teach it/him!
NDO: **sàyaƙ/sài dà dookìn!** sell the horse!
kàƙàntaƙ dà Hausa! teach Hausa!
PIO: **màyaƙ mîn dà shii!** put it back for me!
kàƙàntaƙ mîn dà shii! teach it for me!

grade 6:
∅DO: **kàawoo!** bring (it)!; **kàƙàntoo!** come and read (it)!
PDO: **kàawoo shì!** bring it!; **kàƙàntoo shì!** read (and bring) it!
NDO: **kàawoo àbincîn!** bring the food!
kàƙàntoo littaafìn! come and read the book!

[9] For general information on imperative forms in Hausa see Wolff (1993:408-415), Newman (2000:262-269) and Jaggar (2001:435-451).

PIO: **kàawoo manà saurân** bring us the rest!
kàƙàntoo manà littaafîn! come and read us the book!
[-T]: **fìtoo!** come out!; **gàngàroo!** come down!

L-verbs:

grade 2:
∅DO: **sàyaa/sàyi!** buy (it)!; **tàmbàyaa/ tàmbàyi!** ask (him)!
PDO: **sàyee shì/sàyèe shi!** buy (it)!
tàmbàyee shì/ tàmbàyèe shi! ask him!
NDO: **sàyi wannàn!** buy this one! **tàmbàyi maalàm!** ask the teacher!

grade 3:
[-T]: **fìta/fici!** go out! **hàƙùra/ hàƙùri!** be patient!
[PIO]: **fìtam mîn gidaanaa!** get out of my house!

grade 7:
[-T]: **ràbu dà shii!** don't bother with him!

I-verbs:
Disyllabic I-verbs (there are no trisyllabic I-verbs), generally take a low tone at least on the first syllable. In the NDO-frames some speakers use all high tones.

∅DO: **bàri!** leave (it)!; **bìyaa!** pay (it)!
PDO: **bìyàa shi!** pay him! **jìràa ta!** wait for her!; **kìràa mu!** call us!
NDO: **bìyaa/biyaa maalàm!** pay the man!
kìraa/ kiraa Audù! call Audu!
PIO: **kìraa/kìràa mîn likità!** call the doctor for me!
[-T]: **tàashi!** stand up!

In monosyllabic verbs all frames – except the PDO-frame – have a high tone. As seen in chapter 2.1.1.2 some speakers reverse the tones in all frames except the ∅DO-frame[10]. The alternatives are given here.

∅DO: **ci!** eat (it)!; **shaa!** drink (it)!
PDO: **bìi/bii shi!** follow him! **bàr̃/bar̃ ta!** leave her!
kài/kai ta gidaa! take her home!
NDO: **ci/cì àbinci!** eat the food!
bar̃/bàr̃ mootàa à nân! leave the car here!
PIO: **bii/bìi masà Audù!** follow A. for him!
bar̃/bàr̃ mîn kuɗîn! leave me the money!
[-T]: **zoo/zòo nân!** come here!

[10] See Wolff (1993:412-415), Newman (2000:265-7) and Jaggar (2001:446-451).

Appendix 2: V+X compounds

Hausa verbal compounds of the type V+X are classified here according to syntactic frame, verb type and verb marker. Each of the six sections describes a syntactic frame (NIO-, PIO-, etc.). Within each section verb types are given under the headings "I-", "H-" and "L-verbs", and verb markers (imperative, pseudo-imperative, tone lowered and unmarked) are commented on; in one case, compounds with a tone lowered first verb are listed separately.

Syntactic frames, verb types and grades: a summary

The 581 V+X compounds are shown in Table A according to syntactic frame and verb type (the verb type of the *first* verb in the compound):

Table A:

Frame	**Verb types**			
	I-verbs	**H-verbs**	L-verbs	**Total**
NIO	*7*	**6**	-	**13**
PIO	*40*	**3**	-	**43**
P**DO**	*22*	**15**	3	**40**
∅**DO**	*20*	**24**	36	**80**
N**DO**	*101*	**239**	19	**359**
[-T]	*12*	**18**	16	**46**
	202	**305**	74	**581**

In Table B the 591 V+X compounds are shown according to syntactic frame, verb type *and* the grade of the first verb in the compound:

Table B:

Frame	**Verb types**										
	I-verbs			**H-verbs**				L-verbs			
	gr0	*v**	*gr3b*	**gr1**	**gr4**	**gr5**	**gr6**	gr2	gr3	gr7	**Total**
NIO	-	*7*	-	**6**	**-**	**-**	**-**	-	-	-	**13**
PIO	-	*40*	-	**2**	**1**	**-**	**-**	-	-	-	**43**
PDO	*17*	*5*	-	**11**	**1**	**1**	**2**	3	-	-	**40**
∅DO	*16*	*4*	-	**18**	**4**	**-**	**2**	36	-	-	**80**
NDO	*92*	*9*	-	**141**	**30**	**62**	**6**	19	-	-	**359**
[-T]	*-*	*5*	*7*	**15**	**-**	**-**	**3**	-	13	3	**46**
	125	*70*	*7*	**193**	**36**	**63**	**13**	58	13	3	**581**

On the left (in *italics*) are the I-verbs: gr0, v* and gr3b verbs; in the centre (in **bold face**) are the H-verbs (gr1, gr4, gr5 and gr6) and on the right are the L-verbs (gr2, gr3 and gr7). NB. gr3a verbs only appear in **ma**- or PAC-compounds.

Frames, verb types and verb markers: a summary

Table C (below) summarises the relationships between syntactic frames, verb types and verb markers.

At the beginning of each section (or frame), comments on verb markers (imperative, pseudo-imperative, tone lowered and unmarked) are made. In section 5.3 (NDO-frame, H-verbs), compounds where the first verb is tone lowered are listed separately.

Table C:

V+NIO	IMP	psIMP	TL	UM	Total
I-verbs (v*)	1	4	2		**7**
H-verbs		6			**6**
					13

V+PIO	IMP	psIMP	TL	UM	Total
I-verbs (v*)	40				**40**
H-verbs	3				**3**
					43

V+PDO	IMP	psIMP	TL	UM	Total
I-verbs (v*/gr0)	5 / 17				**22**
H-verbs	13		1	1	**15**
L-verbs	3				**3**
					40

V+∅DO	IMP	psIMP	TL	UM	Total
I-verbs (v*/gr0)	4 / 12		- / 4		**20**
H-verbs	19	2	3		**24**
L-verbs	35	1			**36**
					80

V+NDO	IMP	psIMP	TL	UM	Total
I-verbs (v*/gr0)	3 / 4		6 / 88		**101**
H-verbs	130		72	37	**239**
L-verbs	19				**19**
					359

[-T] Verb:	IMP	psIMP	TL	UM	Total
I-verbs (v*/gr3b)	5 / 7				**12**
H-verbs	7	3	8		**18**
L-verbs (gr3/gr7)	6 / -		7 / 3		**16**
					46

	IMP	psIMP	TL	UM	Total
Total:	**333**	**16**	**194**	**38**	**581**

Frames/Syntax, number and alphabetical order of the examples

The syntactic frames are described in the following order: NIO-, PIO-, PDO-, ∅DO-, NDO- and basic intransitive ([-T]) frames.

At the beginning of each (sub-) section the number in brackets following the abbreviated title indicates the number of examples in that (sub-) section, e.g.:

3 V+PDO (40)

Verb types are given under the headings "I-verbs" (transitive "v*- and gr0-verbs" or intransitive "v*- and gr3b-verbs") as well as "H-" and "L-verbs", e.g.:

3.1 I-verbs, v* (5)
3.2 I-verbs, gr0 (17)
3.3 H-verbs (15)
3.4 L-verbs (3)

Preceding each group of compounds the syntax of the group is given on the lefthand side of the page in abbreviated form (see Abbreviations). On the right, the number of compounds in the group is given. Compounds with two VPs are listed separately from those with only one VP[1], e.g.:

V+PDO+Adv	1
V+PDO+da+N	5
2VPs	
V+PDO+PAC+V+PDO	1

Alphabetical order: The examples are listed alphabetically, but long (double) vowels are treated as if they were short (single), so that the first consonant of the second syllable determines the alphabetical order of the examples, e.g. **buuɗ**- (as in **bùuɗà-rùmbu**) appears before **bug**- (as in **bùgà-zàabi**) or **kad** (as in **kàd-dugàadugi**) appears before **kaam-** (as in **kàamà-kâi**).

[1] The compound **shaashàashaa** – see end of section 4.2 – has three VPs.

1 V+NIO (13)

Verbal compounds with the internal syntax V+NIO were discussed in chapter 2.2.1; they are the smallest group of compounds.

There are no L-verbs here; L-verbs "borrow" a pre-IO form from an H- verb (see chapter 1.3.2).

1.0 Comments

There are thirteen V+NIO compounds, 7 I-verbs (v* verbs) and 6 H-verbs. Some compounds with H-verbs have 2 VPs.

Table 1 shows the verb types and verb markers. The first two compounds in the list are tone lowered, the single imperative compound is **bàř-mà-kâi**; the remaining examples are pseudo-imperative (see chapter 4.3.3.1):

Table 1: V+NIO

	IMP	psIMP	TL	Total
I-verbs (v*)	1	4	2	**7**
H-verbs		6		**6**
				13

1.1 I-verb, v* (7)

V+NIO		2
bàa-mayàaƙaa	(give warriors)	stomach of ruminant
bàa-shirwà	(give kite[bird])	in: **ɗam ~** p. threatening to defecate in market unless paid not to
V+ma+NIO		1
bàř-mà-kâi	(leave to/for self)	thing not for sale[2]
V+NIO+NDO		4
bàrà-gadoo gaashìi	(leave.to/for bed hair)	man slow to ejaculate when copulating
bàrà-gadoo shuunii	(leave.to/for bed indigo)	epithet of prostitute and hence of wife considered sterile through loose ways
bàrà-gurbì	(leave.to/for nest)	1) p. or th. left after others have gone 2) addled egg, eggs left unhatched

[2] This example is found in Piłaszewicz (1990:10).

bàrà-magàadaa	(leave.to/for heirs)	work well done

1.2 H-verbs (6)

V[wa]+NIO+NDO 4

ɓàatà-ragoo goonaa	(spoil lazybones farm)	epithet of the weed **ƙudùjii**
gàyà-bàaƙoo-gidaa	(tell guest house)	cock who crows[3]
shàafà-làabaaɽìi shuunii	(wipe news indigo)	exaggerator
shàafà-tàabarmaa shuunii	(wipe mat) indigo)	wife sterile due to previous promiscuity

2VPs

V[wa]+NIO+PAC+V 1

gàyà-jinii naa-wucèe	(tell blood 1s.CMP passed.by)	kind of very sharp sword

V[wa]+NIO+NDO, (V+) NEG+NIO+NEG 1

gàyà-mài-zuucìyaa bìkii-bàa mài-duukìyaa-ba	(tell one.with heart celebration, NEG one.with wealth NEG)	a good character is better than wealth

[3] This compound occurs in: "**gàyà-bàaƙoo-gidaa, tà ƙaarè kânkà** (*lit*. you who by crowing indicate house to passer-by, so that you're killed to feed him) *epithet of* cock" [A313].
All three compounds in this sub-section with the verb **gayàa** 'tell so. (sth.)' are found either with a short or a long final vowel: **gàyà(a)**. Newman and Ahmad have heard the second example with this verb in its full form: **gàyàa wà**.

2 V+PIO (43)

Verbal compounds with the internal syntax V+PIO were discussed in chapter 2.2.2.

As with compounds with a NIO, there are no L-verbs here – they "borrow" a pre-IO form from an H-verb (see chapter 1.3.2).

2.0 Comments

There are 43 V+PIO compounds, 40 I-verbs (some with 2 VPs) and 3 H-verbs. All such compounds have an imperative form (IMP):

Table 2: V+PIO

	IMP	Total
I-verbs (v*)	40	**40**
H-verbs	3	**3**
		43

2.1 I-verbs, v* (40)

All V+PIO compounds with an I-verb have the (v*) verb **bâa**/**baa** 'give someone (sth.)'. The pronoun (expressing the recipient) is mostly the first person singular pronoun; in most examples, the verb and pronoun are phonologically reduced: **ban** < **bàa ni** (where the verb has an imperative form, see chapter 4.3.2).

V+PIO+NDO 34

ban-àl'ajàbii	(gimme surprise)	surprise
ban-armee	(gimme marriage)	in: **kaayan ~** gifts to bride at marriage
ban-bàakii	(gimme mouth)	coaxing
ban-dàariyaa	(gimme laughter)	humour
ban-farii	(gimme whiteness)	innuendo, hint
ban-fìrgitàa	(gimme fright)	fright
ban-fuskàa	(gimme face)	welcoming expression
ban-gàjiyàa	(gimme tiredness)	congratulating person who has finished a tiring task
ban-gàskiyaa	(gimme truth)	reliability, trust
ban-girmaa	(gimme size)	respect
ban-gwiiwàa	(gimme knee)	throwing p. off scent
ban-hàƙurii	(gimme patience)	apology
ban-hannuu	(gimme hand)	shaking hands
ban-haushii	(gimme anger)	anger

ban-iskàa	(gimme air)	in: **Râi dai an cêe dangìn goorò nee, ~ yakèe sôo** life's like kolanut, it needs air!
ban-kaashii	(gimme excrement)	punishment
ban-kwaanaa	(gimme spending .night)	saying goodbye
ban-ƙafàa	(gimme leg)	1) giving p. leg-up a wall 2) putting pursuers off the scent
ban-màganàa	(gimme speech)	encouragement
ban-màamaakìi	(gimme surprise)	surprise
ban-naamàa	(gimme meat)	in: **agòolà, mài wùyař ~** stepchild it is difficult to give meat to you
ban-ràazanàa	(gimme fright)	fright
ban-ruwaa	(gimme water)	1) watering horses 2) irrigation
ban-saamùu	(gimme getting)	in: **dàamunaa mài ~** epithet of liberal person
ban-sanyii	(gimme cold)	cooling iron in sand
ban-shà'awàa	(gimme enjoyment)	enjoyment, interest
ban-shuunii	(gimme indigo)	giving sth. an indigo tint
ban-tàafii	(gimme palm.of.hand)	applause
ban-tàkâicii	(gimme indignation)	annoyance
ban-tàusàyii	(gimme sympathy)	pity, sympathy
ban-tòonoo	(gimme digging)	searching market for odds and ends after market has dispersed
ban-tsòoroo	(gimme fear)	fright
ban-woobaa	(gimme apprehension)	apprehension
ban-zanèe	(gimme woman's cloth)	cock's drooping wing in anticipation of copulation

baa+PIO+NDO 5

bàa-ni-kâi	(give me head)	in: **goonan nàn sai ~** the crops in this farm are only good in places
bàa-ni-ƙafàa	(give me leg)	1) give me a leg-up the wall! 2) give me leg-room! 3) (said by gambler): give me a loan!
bàa-ni-ƙwaryaa	(give me calabash)	quarrel
bàa-ni-maasuu	(give me spears)	short sleeved gown
bàa-ta-kaashii	(give her excrement)	turmoil, fight

2 VPs:

V+PIO+PAC+V		1
bàa-su kà-huutàa	(give them 2m.SBJ rest)	paying off debt

2.2 H-verbs (3)

VOC+V+PIO+NDO		1
maalàm-bùuɗaa manà-littaaɓii	(teacher open for.us book)	butterfly

V+PIO+NDO		2
cìree-mîn ƙayàa[4]	(pull.out for.me thorn)	children's game
sài[5]**-màa ƙùnshee**	(sell to.you [wrapped] parcel)	1) p. who proves (unexpectedly) to be different to what was supposed 2) th. which is only apparently of good quality [B883]

[4] The compound **cìree-mîn-ƙayàa** is found in the expression **yaa yi ~ ìn ɓii kà gudùu** (lit.: he did pull.out for.me thorn I exceed you running) "1) I gave him a start in life and he is now better off than I am 2) he came to me to be taught and now he has surpassed me" [B165].

[5] The verb in **sài-màa-ƙùnshee** is a clipped form of gr1 **sayàa** 'buy (sth.) for (so.)'; it is tone lowered as is the 2ms pronoun **màa** (< **mâa** < **makà**).

3 V+PDO (40)

Verbal compounds with the internal syntax V+PDO were discussed in chapter 2.2.3. There are I-, H- and L-verbs; among the I-verbs there are both v* and gr0 verbs.

3.0 Comments

There are forty V+PDO compounds, 22 I-verbs (5 v* verbs and 17 gr0 verbs), 15 H-verbs and 3 L-verbs. Some compounds with I-verbs (v* and gr0) and H-verbs have 2 VPs.

In the table below we see the verb types and verb markers in the compound. In almost all compounds the (first) verb has an imperative form; the two exceptions are both H-verbs: the tone lowered **zàmàn-dà-nii** and the unmarked **marmartoo-nì**:

Table 3: V+PDO

	IMP	TL	UM	Total
I-verbs (v*/gr0)	5 / 17			**22**
H-verbs	13	1	1	**15**
L-verbs	3			**3**
				40

3.1 I-verbs, v* (5)

V+PDO+Adv		1
gàa-tanaa (< **gàa-ta-nan**)	(see her here)	fable
bar+PDO+da+N		2
bàr̃-ni-dà-Baidù (= **hòori-Baidù**)	(leave me with Baidu)	type of large leather bag
bàr̃-ni-dà muugùu	(leave me with ugliness)	1) acne 2) **màì ~** large kolanuts with excrescences
2 VPs: V+PDO+V+NDOcplx		1
gàa-su-gàa yaddà-sukè	(see them see how REL.CONT)	mess
V+PDO+V+PDO		1
gàa-ni-kàshee-ni	(see me kill me)	fearless attitude

V+PDO+da+N 5

bìi-ni-dà zuguu	(follow me with present[6])	physic-nut
bìi-ta-dà kalloo	(follow her with looking)	type of woman's striped cloth
bìi-ta-dà ƙùllii	(follow her with punching)	constant nagging or punishment
bìi-ta-dà-zuguu	(follow her with **z.**)	= **bìi-ni-dà-zuguu**
bin-dà-zuguu	(eat me with **z.**)	= **bìi-ni-dà-zuguu**

V+PDO+IDP 2

bìi-ta-ɗàuɗàu		= **bìi-ta-zàizài**
bìi-ta zàizài	(follow her ?round.and .round)	1) type of ant seen in pairs, one urging on the other 2a) p. dogging one 2b) dogging a p. 3) love potion 4) = **gàmà-ɗiiɗi**

V+PDO+Adjnt 3

rìgàa-ta ràngwaɗàa	(precede her swaggering)	forestalling person (by asking for loan from p. about to ask one for loan)
rìgyaa-ni zamaa	(precede me sitting)	"satchel with long handle which is worn so that it hangs down to hips" [B855]
shàa-ni fànkoo	(drink me empty.vessel)	person who is a bit foolish

2 VPs:

V+PDO+V+PDO 1

jìi-ta-jìi-ta	(hear it hear it)	rumour

V+PDO+PAC+V 4

bìi-ni kà-laalàacee	(follow me 2ms.SBJ go.to.ruin)	1) fragile part of branch; 2) tassels 3) epithet of **yautai** bird

[6] The meaning of **zuguu** is unclear. Bargery [B1144] gives: "1. A strip of white cloth... 2. A present made to a chief... 3. **bi-ni-da-z**., physic nut."

bìi-ni	(follow me	in: **taa yi ~**
kà-tsìntaa	2ms.SBJ find)	woman who has coin suspended from neck by string down her back
jàa-ta	(pull her	1) dead animal
kà-feeɗèe	2ms.SBJ flay)	2) harlot
shàa-shi	(drink it	type of bitter-tasting medicine
kà-furzaf̃	2m.SBJ spit)	

shaa+PDO+PAC+V+PDO[7] 2

shàa-ni	(drink me	small plant with purging properties
kà-san-nì	2m.SBJ know me)	
shàa-ni	(drink me I	**aduwa** tree fruit neither ripe nor unripe
ìn-shaa-kà	1s.SBJ drink you)	

3.3 H-verbs (15)

V+PDO 8

dàfaa-ni	(cook me)	unscrupulous debtor
marmartoo-nì	(desire me)	small plant whose seeds are used in love potions
rùuɗaa-ni	(confuse me)	confusion
sàaɓaa-ni	(miss me)	misunderstanding
sòosoonìi[8] (< **sòosoo-nì**)	(come.scratch.me)	1) irritating skin disease; 2) excessive sexuality in a woman
tàasaa-ni	(set me [.right])	thanks-giving visit by groom and his friends to relatives and in-laws after wedding ceremony
tàyaanii	(help me)	shallow basket to lay spindle in
zàmàn-dà-nii	(lodge me)	1) house-servant 2) one who works for others for food and clothes

V+PDO+Adjnt 5

tàyaa-ni	(help me	reinforcement of centre of loincloth
faɗàa	fight)	

[7] Both of these compounds have medicinal properties. The first [B927] is used to "purge" the stomach or intestines; the second causes diarrhoea. (My thanks to M. Ibro, Indiana University 2000 for the second example.)

[8] The word **sòosoo** could mean 'love-love'; this ambiguity may play a role in the second meaning.

tàyaa-ni gooyoo	(help me carry.on.back)	1) Sore on woman's back from carrying baby; 2) a small hawk
tàyaa-ni ràinoo	(help me upbringing)	small hawk
tàyaa-ni -muunìi	(help me ugliness)	1) protruding cheek bones 2) old, flabby arm muscles
tàyaa-ni shìgaa	(help me enter)	step inside house.door [B1011]
V+PDO+IDP		1
tàɓaa-ni luɓus	(touch me softness)	slacker

2 VPs:

V+PDO+PAC+V		1
kàr̃-ni- kà-tuuɓèe	(kill me 2m.SBJ take.off)	type of gown

3.4 L-verbs (3)

V+PDO		1
ɗàu-ni	(take me)	in: **taa yi musù ~** she issued their rations
V+PDO+Adv(cplx)		1
sàu-ta gà-waawaa	(release her to fool)	girl whose marriage comes to swift end

2VPs

V+PDO+PAC+V+PDO		1
cùuɗèe-ni ìn-cùuɗee-kà	(massage me 1s.SBJ massage you)	in: **zaman duuniyàa bìkii nèe, ~** life is a celebration "you help me I help you"

4 V+∅DO (80)

Verbal compounds with the internal syntax V+∅DO were discussed in chapter 2.2.4. There are I-, H- and L-verbs; among the I-verbs there are both v* and gr0 verbs.

4.0 Comments

There are eighty V+∅DO compounds, 20 I-verbs (4 v* verbs and 16 gr0 verbs), 24 H-verbs and 36 L-verbs. Some compounds have 2 VPs.

In the table below we see the verb types and the verb forms in the compound: most compounds in this frame have a verb with an imperative form. The three compounds with a PsIMP form are **zàrgà-gungun**, **ràbà-tsakà** (H-verbs) and **ɗàukàa-wuyà** (L-verb). Four compounds have a tone lowered gr0 (I-) verb (and the syntax V+Adv): **jàa-gàba**, **shàa-gàba**, **shàa-kìtìmboo** and **shàa-taleetalee**; three compounds have a tone lowered H-verb (and the syntax V+Adv): **ràbàa-daidai**, **sàa-ɗakà** and **sàa-dà-kuukaa**.

Table 4: V+∅DO

	IMP	psIMP	TL	Total
I-verbs (v*/gr0)	4 / 12		- / 4	**20**
H-verbs	19	2	3	**24**
L-verbs	35	1		**36**
				80

4.1 I-verbs, v* (4)

2 VPs

V+dà+V[9] 2

kai-dà-kaawoo	(take and bring)	movement
kai-dà-koomoo	(take and return)	movement

V+V 2

kai-kaawoo	(take bring)	movement, in: **mài ~** sentry
kai-kòomòo	(take return)	movement

[9] There are further varieties of **kai-dà-kaawoo** etc. – with verbal nouns: **kâiwaa-dà-kaawôowaa** = **kai-dà-koomôowaa** 'going hither and thither' [A454]. The tone lowered "**kòomòo**" is discussed in chapter 4.2.1.2.

V+Adv		4
jàa-gàba	(pull forward)	leader [A412]
shàa-gàba	(drink forwards)	daft p. [B921]
shàa-kìtìmboo	(drink dilly.dallying)	fool
shàa-taleetalee	(drink round.about)	1) circuitous route 2) children's game

V+IDP		1
shaa-kùndum[10]	(drink much)	1) well-read malam 2) city in contrast to village; 3) wealthy p.

V+dà+Adv(cplx)		1
ci-dà-mòotsin wani	(eat with moving.of other)	1) epithet of cattle egret 2) scrounger

2VPs

V+Neg+PAC+V		1
ci-kař-kà-mutù	(eat NEG 2m.SBJ die)	tasteless food

V+PAC+V		7
ci-kà-ragèe	(eat 2m.SBJ reduce)	children's game with fire [A142]
jaa-ìn-jaa	(pull 1s.SBJ pull)	argument, debate
shaa-kà daagèe	(drink 2m.SBJ stand.firm)	one who sponges on others
shaa-kà-suuma	(drink 2m.SBJ faint)	any manual work done for wages
shaa-kà-tàfi	(drink 2m.SBJ go)	1) roving man or woman 2) prostitute 3) witless fool [A799]
shaa-mù ɗooràa	(drink 1pl.SBJ place.upon)	rover, idle person
shaa-mù-shaa	(drink 1pl.SBJ drink)	rover, idle person

V+PAC+V+NDO		1
ci-kà-ɗau gàrmařkà	(eat 2m.SBJ take hoe.of.you)	1) immediate payment 2) favourable and quick verdict from bribed judge [A798]

[10] The word **kùndum** is an adverb referring to a 'large quantity (esp. water)'; the meanings are metaphorical.

3 VCs: V+V+V 1

shaa-shàa-shaa	(drink.drink.drink)	**= shaa-kà-tàfi**

4.3 H-verbs (24)

V+IDP 2

tàɓaa-luɓus	(touch soft)	slacker
zàrgà-gungun	(tie loosely)	1) loose knot 2) poor sewing 3) poor plan

V+Adv 3

ràbàa-daidai	(divide equally)	1) a 50-50 deal 2) defrauding seller (broker getting almost half amount paid by purchaser) 3) children's game
ràbà-tsakà	(divide[at] middle)	halfway
sàa-ɗakà	(put in room)	concubine

V+Adv(cplx) 2

sàa-dà-kuukaa	(wear with crying)	tight bracelet
tàakaa-à-badòo	(tread.on waterlily)	lily-trotter

2 VPs:

V+V 8

fàsaa-gìnaa	(break build)	he sold an article, bought cheaper kind and had balance over
hàřbaa-rùugaa	(shoot run)	a single-shot gun
kàamaa-kàryaa	(catch break)	1) selling thing for knockdown price 2) in: **mulkìn ~** dictatorship
kàamaa-sàyař	(catch sell)	asset, in form of livestock or poultry for an emergency
sàkoo gùnci	(let.go break.off)	an inveterate slacker
shàafee-làhaa	(wipe pretend)	expression of surprise[11]

[11] This compound expresses surprise at the smallness of e.g. abdomen or buttocks or at the appetite of a glutton [B921].

tàakaa-hau	(tread.on mount)	caparisoned Asbin horse
tàakaa-hàyee	(tread on go over)	1) unrewarded p. 2) caparisoned Asbin horse 3) saddle with all its appurtenances
V+V+VOC		1
tàakaa-zoo-toorì[12]	(step.out come ostrich)	hurrying along apprehensively
V+V+PIO+NDO		1
jùuyee-ban ƙwaryaataa	(overturn gimme calabash.mine)	strictly business
V+PAC+V		7
cànee-na-canèe	(say 1sREL.CMP said)	combat
cèenee-na-cèe	(say 1sREL.CMP said)	= **cànee-na-canèe**
cìkaa-kà-yaf̃	(fill 2m.SBJ throw.away)	wallet
kàshee-mù rabàa	(kill 1pl.SBJ share.out)	conspiracy, connivance[13]
saa-ìn-sâa	(put 1sg.SBJ put)	bandying of words
tàɓaa-kà laashèe	(touch 2ms.SBJ lick)	insufficiently tasty (food)
tàakaa kà-hau	(tread.on 2m.SBJ mount)	1) caparisoned Asbin horse. 2) bands of beads worn just below knee by loose women

4.4 L-verbs (36)

V+IDP:		4
bàlàgi-tsindif̃	(grow ?[14])	precocious child
kwàashi-kwàràf	(fetch loosely)	weak p. or th.
sàari-kutuf	(cut severely)	old gecko[15]

[12] The word **toorì** is the epithet of an ostrich.

[13] This compound specifically refers to connivance between top government officials and contractors. Thanks to Mohammed Munkaila (p.c. March 2000) for this and other verbal compounds used in recent Nigerian politics.

[14] The compound **bàlàgi-tsindif̃** is found in Abraham [A67] but the word **tsindif̃** (also: **tsingif̃**) is not. Bargery [B1046] gives **tsunguf̃**: "**kaya yaa yi ~** the pack-animal's loads are too high up, close together" and: "**wando yaa yi ~** the bottoms of the legs of the trousers are too tight."

[15] A type of gecko-lizard (**tsakaa**) with adhesive discs on toes. Though harmless, it is considered harmful, see [A784].

sòoki bùřuutsuu(tsùu)[16]	(pierce asymmetrically)	pointless or senseless talk
V+Adv		2
cìri-dàidâi	(pull.out properly)	shackling two pp. together by feet
ɗàuki-ɗaiɗai	(take singly)	1) elimination one by one 2) stealing things one by one[17]
V+Adv(cplx)		3
ɗàukàa-wuyà (< **ɗàuki-à-wuyà**) (< **ɗàukaa-à-wuyà**)	(carry.on neck)	child carried on shoulders
kàrɓi-à-jikà	(take on body)	unexpected happening
kàrɓi-dà-maashìi	(take with spear)	competitive game
2 VPs:		
V+V		12
bùgizùuraa (< **bùgi zùuraa**[18])	(hit get.stitch)	a children's game
ɓàntàri-ɓàtař	(pinch.off spend)	spoilt child
dàki-bàri	(beat stop)	strong, reliable thing
ɗàuki-sàkaa	(take, put)	type of quilted saddle-cover
fiigi-rùutsaa	(pluck.out stab)	slapdash work
gùtsùri-tsòomaa	(break off dip)	harping on anything
nòomi-jìdi-(=jìde)	(farm remove)	living in tax-area different from where one farms
sàɓi-zàřcee	(take go.ahead)	1a) nonstop journey 1b) doing two days journey in one 2) fasting until evening (not in Ramadan); 3) giving trader the slip by leaving by back door

[16] Ahmad (1994:160) translates **bùřuutsuu(tsùu)** as an adverb; Paul Newman (p.c.) considers **bùřuutsuu(tsùu)** to be an ideophone.

[17] The second meaning relates especially to items such as peanuts, kolanuts, or mangoes displayed for sale in a pile. (Paul Newman, p.c.)

[18] The word **zùuraa** means 'get stitch from drinking too much water.' [A981]

sàdàki[19]	(give.alms	preparing or buying
làƙee	eat.rapidly)	food to give as alms but giving to members of own household
sàari	(chop	1) makeshift hoe
dòosaa	head.for)	(e.g. tree-branch) 2) p. doing trade which is not his father's[20]
shàaci-fàɗi	(comb say)	in: **yi ~** inventing stories
zàri-rùugaa	(grab run)	rugby

V+V+NIO 3

cìiji-bàa	(bite.off give	sternum with
màatarkà	wife.of.you)	meat
gàatsi-bàa-màataakà[21]	(bite.off give wife.you)	**= cìiji-bàa-màatarkà**
sàari-bàa-màataakà	(chop give wife.you)	**= cìiji-bàa-màatarkà**

V+PAC+V 9

fàɗi-kà-huutàa	(say 2s.m.SBJ rest)	saying sth. in confidence
kàrɓaa-ìn-kàrɓaa	(take 1s.SBJ take)	rotational presidency[22]
kàshi-mù-rabàa	(kill 1pl.SBJ divide)	a 50-50 deal
màari-kà/kì	(slap 2m/f.SBJ	1) cadging food in
taashì	leave)	villages 2) quick act of fornication [A658]
sàki-naa-daafèe	(let.go 1s.CMP press)	causing so. to lose sth. by giving him false sense of security
sàari-kà-doonèe		**= sàari-kà-nooƙèe**
sàari-kà-nooƙèe	(chop 2m.SBJ hide)	1) snake 2) guerilla
shàafaa-mù-reeràa	(wipe we	hypnotic power to
(**=-shàafi-mù-reeràa**)	sing)	make people follow the hypnotizer
shèegi[23]**-ìn**	(trick	tricking p. who
shèegaa	trick)	has tricked oneself

[19] The verb ***sàdakàa** from which this word would be the imperative form is not known.

[20] The second meaning = **shigeegèe**.

[21] The combination **màataakà** seems to be an OH possessive (= **màatarkà**).

[22] This compound is from M. Munkaila (p.c.).

[23] The verb ***shèegaa** from which this word would be the imperative form is not known (but see **sheegàntaa** = treated P as a bastard [A806]).

V+PAC+V+PIO 1

sàari-kà baa-nì	(chop you give me)	in:**-muugùn gàatarii yaa fi "~"** independence is best, no matter how modest

V+bâa+N 2

ɗàuki-bâa daɗìi	(take there.is.no addition)	combat, confrontation
kwàashi bàa-daɗìi	(take.all there.is.no addition)	in: **ministà yanàa ~ dà suu** the minister is in dispute with them

5 V+NDO (359)

Verbal compounds with the internal syntax V plus NDO were discussed in chapter 2.2.6. There are I-, H- and L-verbs; among the I-verbs there are both v* and gr0 verbs.

5.0 Comments

There are 359 V+NDO compounds, 101 I-verbs (9 v* verbs and 92 gr0 verbs), 239 H-verbs and 19 L-verbs. Some compounds have two VPs.

The table below shows the verb types and verb forms in the compound: imperative (IMP), tone lowered (TL) and unmarked (UM). Comments on the distribution of these verb markers are made under the sub-sections 5.1, 5.2, etc. In 5.3 (H-verbs) imperative, tone lowered and unmarked forms are listed separately.

Table 5: V+NDO

	IMP	TL	UM	Total
I-verbs (v*/gr0)	3 / 4	6 / 88		**101**
H-verbs	123	72	44	**239**
L-verbs	19			**19**
				359

5.1 I-verbs, v* (9)

In the first three compounds the verb has an imperative form, **bàri**; six examples have the tone lowered v* (I-) verb **gàa** 'see!'[24]:

V+NDO 9

bàri-shakkà	(leave doubt)	beads worn just below the knee by loose women
bàri-tantama	(leave doubt)	**= bàri-shakkà**
bàri tsùuki	(leave nose.wrinkling)	epithet of bulrush-millet sprouted in poor soil, but better than no crop at all
gàa-ƙaatò	(see big one)	sitting in pool whilst one's clothes are being washed and dried

[24] The status of **gàa** as a verb is uncertain but, since it occurs with both PDO and NDO, it may be accepted as such. If it is a verb it is almost certainly related etymologically to **ganii** 'see' (or **gaanii** – see [A300]) 'see'. Semantically and morphologically, it might be related to **gà** 'at, by, for, etc.'; however this preposition takes the form **gàree** when preceding a direct object pronoun.

gàa-macìiji	(see snake)	in: **baa sàa ~** (**dà juunaa**) they can't stand each other
gàa-naakà/naakì	(see yours [m/f])	putting manure at base of crops
gàa-nàawa/tàawa	(see mine [m/f])	axillary abscess
gàatsiikàa	(see grass)	young or dwarf baobab
gàatuutùu	(see shit)	slow-witted person

5.2 I-verbs, gr0 (92)

Most compounds in this sub-section begin with the verb **ci** 'eat' or **shaa** 'drink'. The meaning of **ci** is mostly literal, that of **shaa** is mostly metaphorical: 'do much of (sth.)' (see chapter 6.2.2.3).

88 examples have a tone lowered (first) verb; only four have an imperative form: shaa-kutuu (follows the V+NDO compounds with a tone lowered verb) and shaa-jinin-marà-gaataa, shaa-gàarii-ɗau-gàlmaa and ci-naakà-ìn-ci-nàawa (the last three examples in sub-section 5.2).

V+NDO 86

All compounds in this sub-section have a tone lowered form:

bìi-bango	(follow wall)	leakage along the wall
bìi-dangì	(follow family)	ordinary thing
bìi-hancì	(follow nose)	nasal consonant
bìi-jini	(follow blood)	seeking reparation for murdered kinsman
bìi-kwarkwaro	(follow pipe)	fricative consonant
bìi-lâɓɓa	(follow lips)	labial consonant
bìi-nàaso	(follow stain)	type of guinea-corn or cassava which thrives in damp soil
bìi-raana	(follow sun)	the shrub *crotalaria obovata*
bìi-sàbce/sabcè	(follow hoeing)	p. with no will of his own
bìi-sallà	(follow feastday)	name of child born day after festival
bìi-shaanu	(follow cattle)	type of sandals
bìi-tsaami	(follow sourness)	type of small fly infesting fruit, etc.
bìi-tsatsò	(follow loins)	worn-out cloth[25]
bìi-zaaƙi	(follow sweetness)	tree with sweet berries

[25] This cloth is repaired by cutting it in half where it is worn and turning those edges out to become new outer edges.

cìi-daawà	(eat guinea.corn)	Name[26]
cìi-fàara	(eat grasshopper)	type of bird
cìi-geerò	(eat millet)	Name[27]
cìi-goorò	(eat kolanut)	1) epithet of child born with red mouth; 2) waxbill bird 3) epithet of insect; 4) **Dan Gàlàdiimà**[28]
cìi-ƙàdàngàru	(eat lizard)	goshawk
cìi-ramà	(eat spinach)	Name
cìi-raani	(eat dry.season)	seasonal migration
cìi-tama	(eat ore)	smith
cìi-waake	(eat beans)	Name
cìi-zaaƙi	(eat sweetness)	tree with sweet berries[29]
jàa-gira	(pull eyebrow)	eyebrow pencil
jàa-gùuga	(pull bucket)	new cassava
jàagooràa	(pull staff)	guide
jàajàa-amàare	(pull.pull brides)	1) redness of setting sun 2) slight staining of hands or teeth
ƙìi-bugù	(refuse beating)	type of charm
ƙìi-faaɗì[30]	(refuse falling)	charm against defeat
ƙìi-gudù	(refuse running)	refusing to run no matter how many opponents are facing you
ƙìi sàabo	(reject getting. accustomed)	in: **dàamisaa ~**[31]
rìgàa-gudù	(precede running)	in: **tàa dà gàabaa ~**[32]
rìgàa-kafì	(precede stockade)	prevention, forewarning
shàa-àlwaashi	(drink pledge)	braggart

[26] Sometimes abbreviated to **Cìidaa**.

[27] Sometimes abbreviated to **Cìigee**.

[28] **Dan Gàlàdiimà** is a **bòorii** (pre-Islamic cult) spirit.

[29] The root of the tree is used as an aphrodisiac, see [A150].

[30] The use of **faaɗì(i)** as a (verbal) noun in this compound is unusual, perhaps unique. In SH **faaɗì** 'fall' is a finite verb with the verbal noun **faaɗùwaa** (cf. [A242] and [B289]). I have heard a verbal noun **faaɗìwaa** used by Hausa-speaking migrants in Hamburg; most are Ghanaians, there are none from Nigeria or Niger.

[31] An epithet, literally meaning: 'Leopard reject getting accustomed [to others]!'; its metaphorical meaning is: "What a cantankerous person!" [A182].

[32] Literally: 'Provoke enemy, [you're] already running'; epithet of Fulani or quarrelsome person who is quick to start an argument and run away [A279].

shàa-bàaƒa	(drink archery [or: shooting])	epithet of animal[33] or warrior difficult to kill
shàa-birì	(drink monkey)	name of bird
shàa-cùuɗa	(drink massage)	epithet of leather loin-cloth
shàa-dàadalà	(drink slashing)	person invulnerable through potions
shàa-dare	(drink night)	black insect (**bòoboo**)
shàa-dùndu	(drink punch)	mutilla-insect
shàa-dùnku	(drink pods)	name of child[34] born during famine
shàa-ɗaari	(drink cold)	name of child born in cold season
shàa-fannooni	(drink specialities)	well-read, capable (Qur'anic) teacher
shàa-fĩrji	(drink spit)	fringed horse halter
shàa-gaƒɗi	(drink sweetness)	black insect
shàa-gàari[35]	(drink flour)	wastrel
shàa-gùdùmai	(drink hammers)	duiker[36]
shàa-hàrgoowà	(drink shouting)	epithet of hyena
shàa-jìɓi	(drink perspiration)	type of undershirt
shàa-jìki	(drink body)	seeing danger and avoiding it
shàa-jini	(drink blood)	headache medicine
shàa-kallo	(drink looking)	enjoy spectacle[37]
shàa-kanwa	(drink potash)	1) Make and prepare feast to celebrate birth or circumcision 2) roll in e.g. sand while wet from bathing
shàa-kaucì	(drink mistletoe)	bird supposed to feed on mistletoe[38]
shàa-kiɗì	(drink drumming)	special string on guitar
Shàakuɗi	(drink money)	Name

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33 E.g. the Senegal harte-beest, roan antelope or large male buffalo; see [B919].

34 The child drinks **dùnkuu**, a gruel made from pods of the baobab tree.

35 Ahmad (1994:156) gives **shàa-gàri** (drink town) 'wastrel'. Both Abraham [A797] and Bargery [B922] give **gàarii** 'flour' (long **-aa-**); their explanations make sense of the meaning 'eat (a lot of) flour'.

36 The meaning implies that many missiles are thrown at the duiker, yet it escapes; see [B922].

37 I heard this from M. Habou [DW] in: **Tàmkaƒ watàn sallàa, shàa-kallo** (lit.: as.in month.of feast, do.much looking). In the month of the pilgrimage or following the end of Ramadan, there is much ceremony and many spectators.

38 The "racquet-tailed, purple-rumped sunbird" [B924].

shàa-kulki	(drink club)	plaits of hair on youths' heads
shàa kùushe	(drink finding.fault)	1) epithet of sweet potato etc. 2) p. from whom others get advantage yet belittle
shàa-kwalwa	(drink ?)	gorged louse
shàa-ƙùlli	(drink punch)	the mutilla-insect
shàa-madara	(drink milk)	straw hat, treated with milk to prevent straw cracking
shàa-mâi	(drink oil)	epithet of **dàngii**[39]
shàa-miyà	(drink soup)	1) material used for lining e.g. gown 2) one who works for others in return for food and clothes
shàa noonò	(drink mother.milk)	1) white type of guinea-corn 2) harmless snake [B927]
shàa-raaɓa	(drink dew)	calf of leg
shàa-ràbo	(drink sharing[40])	epithet of large kolanut
shàa ràkyakkyaɓo	(drink ?)	small drum used by hunters
shàa-raani	(drink dry.season)	collective hunt in dry dry season
Shàaƒùbùutu	(drink writing)	name for **kwàntaccee**[41]
shàa-ruwa	(drink water)	earliest ripening cotton
shàa-sànda	(drink stick)	a ridge of plaited hair
shàa-saara	(drink cutting)	in: **gamjìi ~**; epithet of gutta-percha tree
shàa-shirgì	(drink large.amount)	in: **rùmfaa ~!** what a willing person!
shàa-shuuni	(drink indigo)	white garment coloured by contact with one dyed in indigo
Shàa-tàmbayà	(drink writing)	= **Shàaƒùbùtu**
shàa-tiiƙa	(drink punch)	the mutilla-insect = **shàa dùndu**

[39] A **dàngii** is an old shield made of white oryx or giraffe-hide.

[40] The 'sharing' implies the numerous portions of the large kolanut.

[41] A **kwàntaccee** is a child considered to have lain in the womb for months or years [B684], and whose mother had a hard confinement, necessitating prayers for her safe delivery [A803]; see also: **Shàa-tàmbayà** and **Tambai**.

shàa-wanka	(drink washing)	in: **bàbban kandàmii**[42]**, ~**
shàa-wùya	(drink difficulty)	beams used in building (= **Shaawai**)
shàa-yàbo	(drink praise)	praiseworthy person (Yusuf 1978:354)
shàa zoogalagandì	(drink acacia/ horseradish tree)	long-tailed sunbird = **shàa-zumaamì** (3)
shàa-zumà	(drink honey)	= **shàa-zumaamì**
shàa-zumaamì	(drink honey)	1) sugar-ant; 2) horse of flea-bitten grey colour 3) long-tailed sunbird
shàashàa-ruwa	(drink.drink water)	earliest ripening cotton
shàsshàabirì	(drink.drink.monkey)	name of bird (= **shàa-birì**)
sòo-gijì	(love/move[43] home)	name of child born soon after mother's return after long absence

V+NDO 1

One compound has the gr0 verb shaa with an imperative form:

shaakutuu	(drink male.lizard[44])	fool

V+NDO[N-L-N] 2

bìibìi san-dookìi	(follow follow footsteps.of horse)	game with children tickling their arm
shàa-jinin-jìkii	(drink blood.of body)	charm to see danger and avoid it

In the last three examples the first verb has an imperative form:

V+NDOcplx 1

shaa-jinin marà-gaataa	(drink blood.of p. without.support)	wearing cap low on forehead [PN119]

2 VPs:

V+NDO+V+NDO 1

shaa-gàarii, ɗau-gàlmaa	(drink flour, take hoe)	wastrel

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42 The word **kandàmii** = 'large pond'.

43 The verb may not be **soo** 'want, love' but **soo** (< **sau** < ***sak** < ***sakà** 'be(come) moved'); s. chapter 2.2.6.2.1.

44 An orange-headed male lizard.

ci-naakà-ìn	(eat yours 1sgSBJ	confederation
ci-nàawa	eat mine)	

5.3 H-verbs (239)

H-verbs with a simple NDO are the largest group of compounds in the corpus. In the following examples of we find imperative, tone lowered and unmarked verbs, listed in 5.3.1, 5.3.2 and 5.3.3 respectively.

5.3.1 Imperative H-verbs with NDO (130)

The imperative forms are varied, with both mono-; di- and trisyllabic verbs.

8 compounds have a monosyllabic verb and a H tone:

1) *7* such compounds have a clipped gr5 verb: **bii-dà-gwarzo**, **bis(h)-dà-ƙayà**, **buu-dà-gaara**, **buu-dà-gwarzo**, **buu-dà-kaaya**, **kaa-dà-giiwa** and **tsaadàraakìi**.
2) 1 compound has the clipped gr4 verb **kas** (< **kashèe** 'kill'): **kas-kaaɗò**.

Compounds with a trisyllabic verb and an imperative form have all low tones. Most disyllabic verbs with an imperative form also have LL tone, but LH tones are found occasionally[45]. A few pairs of gr4 verbs are found with LL or LH tone and the verb final vowel either short or long:

ɗàuke-/ɗàukee-faifankì, **ƙàarè-/ƙàaree-aikì**
and **wàashè-/wàashee-gàri(i)**.

Imperative forms and "grade switching":

The theme "grade switching" was discussed in chapter 5.2.3.4: a gr2 verb takes a gr1 imperative form, e.g. **gàagàrà-gàasa**. These are found in this section, classified according to their *form*, i.e. as H-verbs.

V+NDO 120

àmsà-amo	(answer sound)	loudspeaker
àmsà-kàma	(answer features)	ideophone
àmsà-kirà	(answer call)	answering call
àmsà-kuwwà	(answer shouting)	1) echo 2) loudspeaker
àmsà-muryà	(answer voice)	loudspeaker

[45] There a some gr4 verbs with LH tone. The compound **rùfa-baaya** has a LH imperative gr1 verb, unique in compounds, although the LH form in gr1 or gr4 is heard occasionally in ordinary speech.

àuràř-dà-kâi	(marry.off self)	woman who marries to please herself[46]
bii-dà-gwarzo	(lead undaunted person/warrior)	secondary parotitis[47]
bis(h)-dà-ƙayà	(dry thorn)	epithet of hedgehog[48]
bìyà-kòora	(follow chase)	in: **dakakii ~** epithet of emir, strong person
buu-dà gaara	(make.way.for presents)	in: **bàbuudèe ~** epithet of fortune-teller
buu-dà-gwarzo		**= bii-dà-gwarzo**
buu-dà-kaaya	(import goods)	cheap fringed quilt used as bodycloth
bùuɗà-rùmbu	(open cornbin)	forcible confiscation of corn during famine
bùuɗe-faifankì	(open mat.of.you)	food for casual guest
bùuɗe-littaafì	(open book)	butterfly
bùgà-zàabi	(hit guineafowl)	short-toed eagle *(circaetus gallicus)*
bùntsùrà-wutsi	(keep.vertical tail)	goat[49]
bùurà-hancì	(enter nose)	type of caterpillar[50]
bùurà-kâi	(enter head)	epithet of white ant
bùurà-kòogo	(enter cavity)	bird of prey, e.g. hawk
bùushe-gaashì	(dry.out hair)	1) getting close to p. or animal 2) openly[51]
ɓàatà-gàri	(spoil town)	undesirable element
ɓàatà-ƙasa	(spoil land)	destructiveness[52]
ɓùrmà-hancì		**= bùurà-hancì**
càaɓùlà-kaashi	(tread.on shit)	clogs
cìkà-cikì	(fill belly)	in: **sallàř ~** celebration following Ramadan
cìkà-fage	(fill space)	type of shrub
cìkà-gida	(fill house)	castor-oil plant

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46 See Bargery [B44] and compare: **àmàr-dà-kâi** [B28] and **àmrař-dà-kâi** [B30] as well as **àmardàgwai** [B27] 'rope round donkey's neck' (= **taa-zàagài**).

47 Abraham [A98] gives the gloss: 'affliction which prostrates a strong man'.

48 This compound plays on the normal word for 'hedgehog': **buushiyaa**.

49 This designation of a goat is **bòorii** spirit-cult jargon; see [B131].

50 So called because children suppose that it jumps and enters the nostrils, causing the base of the nose to fall away; see [B136].

51 Abraham [A126] gives the two meanings: "(1) **~ ya yi wà bàreewaa àmmaa yaa yi kuskurèe** = though he got right up to the gazelle, his shot missed. (2) **bâa mài iyà fitôowaa ~ yà gayàa masà** nobody would dare tell him openly". In the second, the compound functions as an adverb.

52 As in: **Jaamùs ɓàatà-ƙasa!** 'Germany, destroyer!'

cìkà-sàura	(fill fallow.field)	1) type of plant with rattling seeds 2) rattle worn on dancer's ankles
cìkà-tèeku	(fill sea)	*used as numeral*[53]
dàkà-muu[54]	(beat us)	remnants of children's food given to beggars
dàngwàrà-dàɓe	(touch floor)	overgrown clitoris
dùubà-gàri	(inspect town)	sanitary inspector
dùubà-ruudù	(look.at platform)	stupid person
ɗàndànà-gàndɗa	(taste palate)	alveolar consonant
ɗàuke-faifankì	(take mat.of.you)	= **bùuɗe-faifankì ɗàuki-faifankì**
ɗàukee-faifankì	(take mat.of.you)	= **bùuɗe-faifankì**
fàsà-kùmburi	(break swelling)	purslane (edible weed)
fàsà-kwàri	(break bow)	*Zanthoxylum senegalense* (tree)
fàsà-ƙwàuri	(break shin)	smuggling
fàsà-tàaro	(break crowd)	1) type of charm 2) name[55]
fàsà-gàyya	(break group)	epithet of warrior
fàskàrà-tòoyi	(defy burning)	herb *Blepharis linearifolia*
gàagàrà-Bàadau	(outdo Badau)	1) beam to prevent enemy's entry into town 2) invincible p.
gàagàrà-baami	(defy foreigner)	tongue twister[56]
gàagàrà-birì	(defy monkey)	1) plaited leather dog-collar 2) guinea-corn with drooping head
gàagàrà-daafì	(defy pressing)	bad-tempered p.[57]
gàagàrà-gàasa	(defy competition)	outstanding person
gàagàrà-kòoyo	(defy learning)	mysterious th. or p.
gàagàrà-kwànta	(defy untying)	knotted type of hobbling rope
gàagàrà-maagànii	(defy medicine)	in: **cuututtukàa ~** incurable diseases
gàagàrà-mìsaalì	(defy example)	epithet of God (one beyond description)
gàmà-ɗiiɗi	(join ?)	insect where male and female are joined

[53] See **fâm cìkà-tèeku zâm baa kà** (lit.: I will give pounds [sterling] to fill the sea) [A247]; see also **tàntàlàminyàa** [A851]. I have heard a further meaning: **cìkà-tèeku zâm baa kà!** 'I wouldn't give you the time o' day!'

[54] For a comment on the syntax of this compound s. chapter 2.2.6.2.2.1.

[55] This name is found in the novel Kitsen Rogo (Ɗangambo 1978:7).

[56] Abraham 1934:13 gives "(that which is beyond a novice) work requiring skill and knowledge".

[57] Also used as epithet of fire. See **hànà-daafì**.

gàmà-faɗà	(unite.in fight)	type of tree[58]
gàmà-gàri	(join town)	sth. common, ordinary
gàsoo-roogò	(roast cassava)	fool
gàyà-gaskiyaa	(say truth)	political party in Niger[59]
gìigìità-baami	(fluster novice)	p. or th. that flusters pp.
hànà-aro	(prevent borrowing)	epithet of needle
hànà-daafì	(prevent pressing)	in: **wutaa**, ~ epithet of fire
hànà-ƙarya	(prevent lying)	hair under lower lip
hànà ƙèetarà	(prevent walking.over)	type of arrow poison
hànà-rantsuwa	(prevent oath)	exception
hànà-sallà	(prevent prayer)	1) baseball cap 2) wisp of hair on fore-head of Filani women[60]
hàràarà-garkè	(glare.at herd)	1) eye syndrome 2) turning head in one direction in order to look in another.
hàrgìtsà-bàlle	(muddle let.alone[61])	code-mixing
hùurà-kòogo		**= bùurà-kòogo**
ìngìzà-waawaa[62]	(push fool)	type of language trick
jùuyà-haalì	(change situation)	in: **juuyìn-~** political revolution
kaa-dà-giiwaa	(fell elephant)	in: **karmaamii ~**[63]
kàamà-kâi	(hold head)	an assistant
kàamà-kûnne[64]	(hold ear)	type of game
kàryà-gàri	(break town)	epithet of great warrior
kàryà-gàr̃ma	(break plough)	deep-rooted plant
kàryà-gwiiwà	(break knee)	epithet of calf (cow)
kàryà-tàmbayà	(break question)	counter-charm
kas-kaaɗò	(kill Hausa.man)	in: **Kaskamii ~** epithet of fearless man

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58 Or "pods of marga tree" ("their introduction into a home is supposed to cause friction in the household") [B352].

59 Thanks to my colleague M. Ibro, Indiana University for this compound. The syntax **gàyà**+NDO is unusual: in SH this verb appears with an indirect object (the person told) immediately after the verb and preceding the NDO. Some speakers say: **gàyaa-gaskiyaa** (p.c. M. Ibro) in which the LH form of the verb with a long final vowel is exceptional and which I cannot explain.

60 Abraham [A589 under **kwaràmii**] gives: **Kwaràm, hànà-sallà** 'buying corn in villages and selling in town'. I was unable to discover the relevance of **hànà-sallà** to this activity; it is probably no longer used with this meaning.

61 Here 'let alone' is not a verb, rather the phrase 'how much less/more…'.

62 Ahmad (1994:158) gives the long final vowel.

63 Epithet of a small person overcoming one more powerful. (Abraham 1941b:13)

64 Abraham gives **kàamà-kunne** (cp. **tàttàɓà-kunne** below).

kìfà-kwàndo	(upset basket)	1) defrauding person 2) Pagan chief's seizing man and family and selling them as slaves
kùmbùrà fage	(swell open.space)	*vernonia kotschyana* a herb used in medicine (for fattening horses)
ƙàarè-aikì	(finish work)	in: **gàrmaa ~** epithet of industrious person
ƙàaree-aikì	(finish work)	1) industrious person 2) kind of Indian hemp
ƙàarè-dangì	(finish family)	type of arrow poison
ƙàaree-dangì	(finish family)	type of arrow poison
ƙàare-kaamù	(finish catching)	end, completion
ƙàaree-kaamù	(finish catching)	end, completion
ƙèetàrà-shinge	(cross fence)	slave who escaped soon being bought
ƙòonà-ƙootà	(burn haft)	p. in Hausa tale
làalàatà-gwàni	(spoil champion)	champion wrestler[65]
màntà sàabo	(forget acquaintance)	epithet of judge[66]
màntà-uwa	(forget mother)	medicinal plants[67]
màarà(a)-bàakinkà[68]	(slap mouth.of.you)	beans cooked alone
ràbà-gaƒdamà	(separate quarrell)	settling a dispute
ràbà-tsakà	(divide middle)	halfway Adv.
rìkìtà-gàri	(upset town)	"city-upsetter"[69]
rùuɗà kùyàngi	(confuse slave.girls)	redness of sky before sunset
rùfa-baaya	(cover back)	support
sàadà-gàri	(connect town)	envoy, messenger
sàke-ciki	(relax inside)	in: **bàsàke-cikì**[70] intimate friend
sàkoo-ciki	(relax inside)	in: **bàsàkoo-cikì** intimate friend
sàkoo-tumaaki	(loosen sheep)	simpleton
sàkoo-taroo	(let.go threepence)	inveterate slacker

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65 De Campos (1998:103-104 example 3.83b).

66 This refers to a corrupt judge who forgets he has been bribed. It is found in the expression: **kùliyàa màntà-sàabo** (**kùliyàa** seems to be a cranberry).

67 *Crotolaria arenaria, Ansellia congoensis*. Both are used for weaned children.

68 Bargery [B770] gives a long **-àa** on the verb.

69 De Campos (1998:103-104 example 3.83a); cp. **ɓàatà-gàri**.

70 Perhaps **bà-** is a prefix (similar to **ma-**) which never became productive (see chapter 3.2.5.). The next compound **bàsàkoo-cikì** (a Katsina Hausa equivalent) is found in Abraham [A87].

sànƙè wàř̃kinkà	(tuck.in loincloth.of.you)	type of sensitive plant
shàafà-gadonkà	(wipe bed.of.you)	1) = **ƙèetàrà-shinge** 2) prostitute taken as wife
shàafee-talle	(wipe soup.pot)	husked cereal prepared for sale
tàakà-badò	(tread.on waterlily)	lily-trotter (bird)
tàakà-càaɓi	(tread.on slush)	clogs
tàakà-kùshèeyi	(tread.on graves)	small orphan annoying visiting mourners
tàakà-makòoka	(tread.on mourners)	**= tàakà-kùshèeyi**
tàakà sàkaina	(tread.on calabash.fragment)	quarrelling
tàakà tooshìnkà	(tread.on present.of you)	cheap sandals[71]
tàakà-tòoyi	(tread.on large.fire)	black-headed lark-
tàroogoodʃìyaa	(meet mare)	idiot
tàsà-mahàra	(conduct raiders)	moat
tàttàɓà-kunne	(touch ear)	great grandchild
tàunà-lìnzaamì	(chew bridle)	intimidation
tsaadàraakìi	(spit cowardice)	type of cobra or crocodile[72]
tsàatsà-ruwa	(drink water)	earliest ripening cotton
wàashè-gàri(i)	(clear town)	next day (adv.)
wàashee-gàrii[73]	(raid town)	1) epithet of warring chief, 2) next day
yàadʃà-ƙwarya	(spread calabash)	creeper
VOC+V+NDO		1
yàawoo-dàdʃoo miyàa	(bride put.more soup)	wide sleeved blouse
V+NDOcplx		1
ràkà-mài-gijì	(accompany owner.of) house	part of fence screening interior of compound from view

[71] Originally applied to person walking barefoot after having sold his sandals to provide a gift to a prostitute [B979].

[72] This compound has become a single word; the verb **tsaa dà** (= **tsař dà** = **tsartàa** = 'spit') is found in Abraham [A871].

[73] This VC has an ambiguous syntactic structure depending on the transitivity of the verb (it can be transitive or intransitive): if it is transitive, the word **gàrii** is a direct object and should shorten the final vowel (most speakers do *not* shorten it); if the verb is intransitive, **gàrii** could be a vocative: 'Oh town!'

V+NDO[N.L-N]		1
cìkà-bàakin guzumaa	(fill mouth of old cow)	stunted corn
V+NDO+Adjnt		1
sàkà-bàbba-saatàa	(make big.one stealing)	type of large bean **= sàa-bàbba-saatàa**
V+NDO+à+Adv		1
shàafà-mâi-à-bakà	(wipe oil on mouth)	empty words, sweet nothings
V+NDOcplx+à+Adv		1
tùnkùɗà mài-kantùu à-ruwa	(push one.with) salt.block into water)	pushing p. into doing sth. bad and then retreating
2 VPs: V+NDO+V		3
shàarà-wurii zàunaa	(sweep place sit)	in: **'yan ~** Israeli settlers (on Palestinian land)
tàakà-bangoo hàɗìyee	(tread.on wall swallow)	very stiff **tuwoo** (or 'gruel')
tàakà-dangaa hàɗìyee	(tread.on fence swallow)	**= tàakà-bangoo-hàɗìyee**
V+NDO+V+NDO		1
tàɓà-kurù-càs-kurù	(touch ?, bleach ?)	dilatory work

5.3.2 Tone lowered (H-) verbs with NDO (72)

Compounds with a tone lowered verb are listed as follows:

1) *7* V+NDO compounds have a clipped (H-) verb: 1 example with **kàd** (< **kashèe** 'kill'), 4 with **kàs** (< **kashèe** 'kill'), 1 with **ƙàř** (< **ƙaarèe** 'finish (off)'). 1 such compound has the verb **sàa** (< **sakàa** 'put');

2) *7* compounds with disyllabic (H-) verbs: **dàfàa** 'cook' (1), **gòogàa** 'rub' (2), **ƙàarèe** 'finish (off)' (1), **rùfàa** 'cover' (1), **tàrèe** 'meet' (1) and **wàashèe** 'clear' (1);

3) *22* V+NDO compounds with a clipped gr5 verb: **bàa dà** (1), **bìi (dà)** (2), **ɓàd dà** (4), **cìi dà** (2), **fìd dà** (4), **gài dà** (1), **kàu dà** (1), **rùb dà** (1), **sàd dà** (1), **shàa dà** (1), **tsài dà** (2), **twàl dà** (1), **yàa dà** (1);

4) *26* V+NDO compounds with the phonologically reduced **bàa** (< gr5 **baa dà** < **baayaĩ dà** 'give sth.');

5) *5* compounds with **bàa** (< **baa dà**): four with V+NDO$_{[N.L.N]}$ and one V+NDO+Adv;
6) *1* compound with gr5 **kwàn dà** (<**koomaɾ̃ dà**) and a complex NDO;
7) *4* compounds with **sàa** and NDO plus adjunct or adverb.

V(monosyllabic)+NDO		7
kàd-dugàadugi	(kill heels)	type of sandal
kàs-dafi	(kill poison)	poison antidote
kàs-gaushì	(kill embers)	fatty meat
kàs-kaifi	(kill sharpness)	medicine against cuts
kàs-tsaami	(kill sourness)	potash
ƙàɾ̃-dangì	(finish family)	1) arrow poison 2) type of weaver bird
sàa-gudù	(cause running)	charm giving one ability to make pp. run away helter-skelter just by yelling

V(disyllabic)+NDO		7
dàfàa-dukà	(cook all)	1) jollof rice 2) Peugeot used as taxi
gòogàa-jìki	(rub body)	name of tree
gòogàa-maasu	(rub spears)	*Mitracarpum scabrum* (weed)
ƙàarèe-dangì	(finish relatives)	type of arrow poison
rùfàa-idò	(close eye)	1) magic 2) charm or power to make oneself invisible
tàrèe-mahàra	(meet raiders)	moat around town
wàashèe-gàrii	(clear town)	the next day

V(clipped gr5)+NDO		22
bàa-dà-gàɾ̃ma	(give hoe[74])	in: **inuwaɾ̃ daree, ~** the shades of night fall on all alike
bìi-dà-sartsè	(remove splinter)	*Euphorbia latiflora* remedy for syphilis and lice on women
bìi-sartsè		(= **bìi-dà-sartsèe** = **fid/fìi-dà-sartsè**)
ɓàd-dà-bàaƙo	(lose stranger)	in: **turbàɾ̃ shaanuu, ~** unknown path

[74] The word **gàɾ̃maa** also means 'discrimination' (a metaphorical meaning deriving from the action of the hoe).

ɓàd-dà-baami	(lose foreigner)	trick
ɓàd-dà-kàma	(lose features)	disguise, camouflage
ɓàd-dà-saawù	(cover track)	something that deceives, misdirects[75]
cìi-dà-ƙarfi	(eat with? strength)	hard work/task
cìi-dà-zuuci	(eat with? heart)	overeagerness
fid-dà-gwàni	(bring.out expert)	primary election[76]
fid-dà-hakuukuwà	(remove grass)	waterside plant
fid-dà[77]**-kâi**	(remove head)	type of tithe
fid/fii-dà-sartsè	(remove splinter)	*Euphorbia latiflora* **= bìi-dà-sartsè =-bìi-sartsè** (shrub)
gài-dà-yàaya	(greet elder sister)	small basket for presents
kàu-dà-bàara	(remove attack)	charm against attack
rùb-dà-cikì	(lie.on stomach)	lying face down
sàd-dà-kaa	(turn.down top)	turning trouser material bottom to top
shàa-dà-wuƙa	(sharpen knife)	rubber plant giving the rubber **àbàdaa** [B920]
tsài-dà-màganà	(erect utterance)	hair under lower lip
tsài-dà-bàaƙo	(stop guest)	part of fence screening interior of compound from view
twàl-dà[78]**-ido**	(peel eye)	1) keeping p. waiting 2) said of husband visiting in-laws with wife[79]
yàa-dà-kunyà	(throw.away shame)	name of town

V (bàa < baa dà)+NDO 26

bàa-caaca	(give gambling)	answer in gambling game involving riddle
bàa daaɗà[80]	(give pleasantness)	repeated empty promises

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75 Bargery [B56] gives **ɓad-dà-kàmaa** and **ɓad-dà-saawuu** with no tone lowering.

76 This compound is from M. Munkaila (p.c.).

77 Ahmad (1994:155) and Galadanci (1969:102) classify **fii-dà** as an ideophone; I classify it as a short form of grade 5 **fitaɾ̃ dà** (see chapter 2.1.2.2). They also classify **rùb-dà** (in **rùb- dà-cikì** below) as an ideophone (see Galadanci 1969:34). I classify it as a short form of gr5 **rufaɾ̃ dà**; cp.: **yaa rufà cikìnsà** 'he lay on his stomach' [A741].

78 See Bargery [B1066]: **twal dà** < **twàalaa** 'strip off bark'.

79 According to Bargery [B1066], the wife "gads about", ignoring her husband except to bring him food. The husband has no-one to talk with; shame forbids him to ask about her.

80 See Abraham [A55]; the word **daaɗàa** seems to be related to **daaɗii** 'pleasantness'.

bàa-duhù	(give darkness)	charm making p. invisible
bàa-èhem	(give 'ahem')	sg. p. eats causing him to cough
bàagaɗèe[81]	(give grilling)	1) place where meat is dried over fire 2) altar
bàa-gaawa	(give corpse)	sleeping sickness
bàa-gìncirà	(give lying.down)	what a lie![82]
bàa-guuɗà	(give ululation)	bridegroom
bàa-hâa[83]	(give 'Aagh')	expert boxer easily overcoming opponent
bàa-jìda	(give removing)	in: **ɗan ~** chief of hunters
bàa-kaashi	(give shit)	in: **boo'è ~** (cry of pain)
bàa-keesàawa	(give passing .through)	passing-through without permission
bàa-ƙaarà	(give more)	rue act when too late[84]
bàa-màaye	(give intoxication)	epithet of **dàuroo**[85]
bàa-rabè	(give difference)	in: **bâa ~ tsàkaaninsù** there's no difference between them
bàa-rìgizà	(give cornsack)	extravagance, spending money lavishly
bàa-rìkicà	(give tangling)	answer in gambling game involving riddle
bàa-saajè	(give pretence)	slyly benefiting by a coincidence
bàashaa	(give drinking)	the game **à-rausàa**[86]
bàa-suusà	(give scratching)	1) scabies, 2) prickly plant; 3) gravel

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81 The second part of this compound is (related to) **gaɗèe** 'cook on a spit before fire'. Bargery [B57] writes this compound as one word: **bagade** (with **-d-** not **-ɗ-**). Abraham [A57] translates the compound as follows: 'earth-oven inside house with metal bars on which meat is grilled'.

82 Used in: **Bàa-gìnciràa, makarinkì Allàh wadai!** 'Cause [of] death, your solution is a curse!' [B384].

83 A long final vowel with a falling tone cannot be shortened.

84 As in: **yaa yi ɗam bàa-ƙaarà, goodìyaa dà kwaanan garkèe** (lit.: he did some 'give more', [says] the mare spending the night in the stable) 'he rued his act when too late'.

85 The millet **dàuroo** (=**dàgaràa**) may have strange effects (see [B245]). The full epithet is: **Dàgaràa bàa-màaye, shàaye-shàayen mài maataa goomà** 'Millet, cause intoxication! The cocktail of a man with ten wives!'.

86 In the game **à-rausàa** (see Appendix 3a) or **bàashaa**, participants collide heavily. Abraham [A87] gives the expression **tanàa bàashaa dà mazaa** (she [does] **bàashaa** with men) 'she is a tomboy'.

bàa tàaka	(give treading.on)	1) place where no-one will live because considered haunted etc. 2) a forbidden place 3) cemetery
bàa-tòoyi	(give burn)	spirit that spits fire
bàa-zaaƙà	(give sweetness)	1) sweet-tasting cassava usually eaten raw 2) kind of bean
bàa-zaaƙè	(give sweetness)	epithet of very sweet sugar cane
bàa-zàana	(give fence)	tree used in making compound fences
bàa-zàta	(give thinking)	surprise
V+NDO[N.L-N]		4
bàa-gòoban daɗàa	(give tomorrow.of increase)	in: **yaa yi ɗam ~** he did act he regretted
bàa-jân-sau	(give dragging.of foot)	in: **Girgà, ~** epithet of guineaworm
bàa-kuukan hàntsii	(give crying.of mid-morning)	type of cobra
bàa-làasaf̃ bàakii	(give licking.of mouth)	in: **càf̃kwai ~** epithet of honey
V(**kwàn-dà** < **koomaf̃-dà** [gr5])+NDOcplx		1
kwàn-dà-kàmaf̃ wannàn	(make.become like this.one)	in: **~ yakèe yîi** he is copying that out
V+NDO+Adv		1
bàa-hawaa samà/bisà	(give mounting above)	epithet of buffalo
V+NDO+Adjnt		2
sàa-bàbba-saatàa	(make big.one stealing)	type of large bean
sàa-hànkàakii daakòo	(make crows waiting)	type of herb[87]
V+NDOcplx+Adjnt		1
sàa-mài-gidaa tsalle	(make owner.of house jumping)	food consisting of mixture of cassava and groundnuts[88]

[87] Bargery [B882] says it is a "field herb with drastic purgative effects."

[88] Paul Newman and Mustapha Ahmad (p.c.) say this is "children's munchies".

sàamazaadawà (< **sàa-mazaa-dawà)**	(put men [in] bush)	type of European cotton goods with linear pattern

5.3.3 Unmarked H-verbs with NDO (37)

The verb in an unmarked (UM) compound is always a H-verb (see chapter 5.2.3.3). In a number of cases there are pairs of unmarked / LL imperative compounds, e.g.: **ɓaatà-ƙasaa** / **ɓàatà-ƙasa**; **cikà-fagee** / **cìkà-fage**; **cikà-gidaa** / **cìkà-gida**; **gamà-gàrii** / **gàmà-gàri** and **kaamà-kâi** / **kàamà-kâi**.

V+NDO 33

bajè-koolì	(spread wares)	trade fair
biyà-gaawaa	(following corpse)	pounded bulrush millet flour given those who attended funeral
biyà-raanaa	(follow sun)	a shrub *crotalaria obovata* (= **bìi-raana**)
buuɗè-idòo	(open eye)	in: **yaawòn** ~ tourism
buusà-gwaggò	(blow paternal.aunt)	stomatitis of tongue[89]
ɓaatà-ƙasaa	(spoil land)	destructiveness
cikà-fagee	(fill space)	type of shrub
cikà-gidaa	(fill house)	castor-oil plant
ɗaurè-fuskàa	(tie face)	frown
faràntà-râi	(whiten life)	in: **mài** ~ sth. putting p. in good mood
fasà-daabùr̃	(break ?)	fruit (like guava)
fasà-fushii	(break anger)	children's game[90]
fasà-ƙaabaa	(break conceit)	1) creeper 2) purslane
firtsà faƙoo	(inaugurate barren.place)	weed *Tribulus terrestris*
gamà-gàrii	(joining town)	roving
gamà-tsàkaanii	(joining between)	mischief making
gazà-ganii	(fail seeing)	**ɗan ~** disgruntled p.
haɗà-kâi	(join head)	unity

[89] The unmarked compound **buusà-gwaggò** seems to have the subject following the verb. Bargery [B139] offers this comment: "The expression is used because the complaint is supposed to be remedied by a paternal aunt [**gwaggò**] blowing on the affected part." Knappert (1965) describes "noun prefix + (verb stem + noun)" compounds in Bantu languages with this kind of syntax. It it is not a verbal compound, then it could be a verbal noun compound with a zero linker (see chapter 3.2.3.1, footnotes 25 and 32).

[90] The game involves throwing white-earth balls at a wall; see [A257].

huurà-hancìi	(blow.through nose)	arrogance
iyà-lauyàa	(be.able lawyer)	in: **gàa ~** there's a wily lawyer for you!
iyà-sheegèe	(be.able bastard)	inconsiderate, unacceptable behaviour[91]
iyà-yîi	(be.able doing)	ostentation, showing off
jiƙà-hantàa	(moisten liver)	generosity
kaamà-kâi	(seize head/self)	self-discipline
kashè(e)-wàndoo	(kill trousers)	in: **zaman ~** unemployment
ƙyûuyaa (< **ƙiyà-wùyaa**)	(refuse suffering)	indolence, laziness
mootsà-jìkii	(move body)	sport, physical exercise
mootsà ƙwaƙwalwaa	(move brain)	1) brain-teaser, 2) grammatical drill
sâa-hannuu	(put hand)	signature
tayà-ragoo	(help lazybones)	a tree
tisà-gaawaa	(re.do corpse)	1) hacking dead body to make sword seem to have been used in thick of fight 2) adding insult to injury
tunà-haifùwaa	(remember birth)	in: **ran ~** birthday
waasà ƙwaƙwalwaa	(sharpen brain)	riddle
V+NDO[N.L-N]		2
kaamà-hannun yaaròo	(seize hand.of boy)	very much (adv.)
zubà-ruwan mazaa	(pour water.of men)	coitus interruptus
V+NDO+dà+Adv		1
rabà-màkaahòo dà-gooràa	(separate blindman from stick)	dirty trick, cheating, deception
2 VPs: V+NDO+V+NDO		1
fasà-fushii-kashè kuɗii	(break anger, kill money)[92]	epithet of train

[91] This is rude behaviour, or something done as a joke between friends. (See examples in Appendix 1b.)

[92] This verbal compound is onomatopoeic – like a train. The word **kashèe** 'kill' has its widely used metaphorical meaning here: 'spend'.

5.4 L-verbs (19)

These compounds are commented on in chapter 5.3.3.2. All (first) verbs have an imperative form.

V+NDO		15
cìri-cookàlii	(pull.out spoon)	a dancing game[93]
dàagùri gùrzau	(gnaw.at invulnerable.man)	charm for invulnerability
ɗàu-dukà	(take all)	fine person
ɗàuki-kwàrinkà	(take quiver.of.you)	matrilocal marriage
ɗàuki-sàndankà	(take stick.of.you)	matrilocal marriage
ɗàuki-faifankì	(take small.mat.of.you)	food for casual guest
ɗìbgibaɾ̃àa (< **ɗìbgi-baɾ̃àa)**	(drive.away begging)	1) showing concern at something which is not one's business 2) talking at random
gwàagwìyi gòorubàa	(gnaw deleb-fruit)	a children's game
hòori-Ɓaidù	(train Ɓaidu)	a large leather bag
màari-bàakinkà	(slap mouth.of.you)	beans cooked alone
nèemi-naakà	(look.for yours)	Name[94]
sàaminaakà (< **sàami-naakà**)	(get yours)	town (S.E. of Kano)
shàaƙi-bùkii	(smell feast)	p. habitually going to celebrations without invitation to cadge
zàabùri kàryaa	(cause.to.leap.forward bitch)	type of sleeveless shirt[95]
zàaɓi-sônkà	(choose wish.of.you)	greetings broadcast on radio

V+ NDO[N-L-N]		1
sàari-màataɾ̃ rùmaanaa	(chop wife.of gladioli)	woman who lets herself be bullied

[93] Bargery [B165] says this is a Tuareg dancing game.

[94] Merrick (1905:96) gives this compound as a name.

[95] Abdurrahman Kabir (DW) commented on this compound as follows: "**Sùtuɾ̃àa maràa àmincìi**" 'It is inappropriate clothing'.

2 VPs:

V+ NDO[N-L-N]+baa+NIO[N-L-N]		1
ɗàuki-kanwaɾ̃ **bàaƙii-bàa** **awaakin-bàaƙii**	(take potash.of guests,give.to goats.of guests)	1) paying debt by borrowing from other 2) being generous at other's expense

V+NDO+V+NDO		2
fàɗi-banzaa **fàɗi-wòofii**	(say uselessness say emptiness)	talking about anything and everything[96]
sàki-reeshèe **kàamà-ganye**	(release branch catch leaf)	1) leaving the reliable for the unreliable 2) thinking (wrongly) that the opposite is the case

[96] As in e.g. **anàa ta nìshaadɗìi, fàɗi-banzaa-fàɗi-wòofii** 'enjoying oneself, talking about anything and everything' (Tafida and East, 1955:1).

6 Basic intransitive frames (46)

Verbal compounds with an intransitive verb are discussed in chapter 2.2.5. There are I-, H- and L-verbs; among the I-verbs there are both v* and gr3b verbs; in the intransitive L-verbs, there are gr3 and gr7 verbs.

6.0 Comments

There are 46 basic intransitive compounds, 12 I-verbs (five v* verbs and seven gr3b verbs), 18 H-verbs and 16 L-verbs (thirteen gr3 and three gr7 verbs). Some compounds have 2 VPs.

In the table below we see the verb types and the verb forms in the compound: imperative (IMP), pseudo-imperative (psIMP) and tone lowered (TL); there are no unmarked (UM) compounds. All I-verbs have an imperative form. H-verbs have imperative, pseudo-imperative and tone lowered forms; L-verbs have imperative and tone lowered forms.

Table 6: [-T] Verb:

	IMP	psIMP	TL	Total
I-verbs (v*/gr3b)	5 / 7			**12**
H-verbs	7	3	8	**18**
L-verbs (gr3/gr7)	6 / -		7 / 3	**16**
				46

6.1 I-verbs, v* (5)

V+Adv		1
jèe-ka[97]-faadà	(go-2m palace)	palace messenger
V+V		4
jèe-ka-iidìi kà-daawoo	(go-2m festival 2ms.SBJ return)	poor clothes or poor shoes
jèe-ka-kà daawoo	(go-2m 2m.SBJ return)	in: **'yan màkàr̃àntun ~** boarders[98]
jèe-ka-naa yii-kà	(go-2m 1s.CMP do 2m)	1) powerless bureaucrat 2) in: **yankunàn ~** = (S.African) homelands

[97] The intransitive copy pronoun – **ka** in **jèe-ka** – is discussed in chapter 2.2.5.1, footnote 22.

[98] Found in the editorial of the Hausa newspaper **Gaskiya ta fi kwabo** 29.12.94.

zoo-kà[99] **tsalle**	(come 2ms.SBJ jumping)	name of a thatching grass

6.2 I-verbs, gr3b (7)

V+Adv		3
fàř̃gàbaa (< **fàaɗi-gàba**)	(fall forwards)	fear, nervousness anxiety
tàashi-laafiyàa	(rise in.health)	type of gown
tàashi-tsam	(rise suddenly)	children's game

2 VPs:

V+PAC+V		4
fàaɗi-kà-mutù	(fall 2m.SBJ die)	crockery
fàaɗi-tàashi	(fall stand.up)	struggle
tàashi-kaa fiyà-naacìi	(rise 2msCMP exceed persistence)	type of cap given as gift by pilgrims returning from Mecca
tàashi-mù-jee-mu[100]	(rise 1pl.SBJ go 1pl)	indecisiveness

6.3 H-verbs (18)

Seven compounds with H-verbs have an imperative form. Three compounds have a pseudo-imperative form: **kwàntà-ƙùrii** (**ƙùrii** = 'open.eyed'), **kwàntà-ƙurii** (**ƙurii** = '[at] head of bed) and **kwàntà-ràafii**. Eight compounds have a H-verb and a tone lowered form: **fàaɗàa-wuta**, **jìm-kàɗan**, **kòomàa-baaya**, **ràaɓàa-dàř̃nii**, **tàakàa-tsantsan**, **zànkàa-firit**, **zàunàa-gàrinkù** and **zàunàa-gàrii-banzaa**.

V+Adv		3
jìm-kàɗan	(wait a.bit)	after a while[101]
kwàntà-ƙùrii	(lie.down open.eyed)	chaperone
kòomàa-baaya	(return back)	reactionary p. or ideology

V+IDP		2
tàakàa-tsantsan	(tread cautiously)	1) caution 2) cautious p.

[99] I assume the verb **yi** 'do' has been deleted between **kà** and **tsallee**.

[100] Re the intransitive copy pronoun – **mu** in **mù jee-mu** see footnote 97, above.

[101] See also: **jimàawaa kàɗan** used in **baayan/kàafin jimàawaa kàɗan** [A428] with the same meaning as **jìm-kàɗan**.

zànkàafirit	(keep.on-suddenly)	interfering in other p.'s conversation
V+N(Loc)		6
fàaɗàa-wuta	(fall.in fire)	moth[102]
kwàntà-ƙurii	(lie.down head.of.bed)	chaperone
kwàntà-ràafi	(lie.down in.stream)	reedbuck
ràaɓàa dàř̃nii	(go.close.to corn-stalk.fence)	1) boy (girl) who keeps away from games 2) keeping low profile because of guilt
zàunàa-gàrinkà	(sit town.of.you)	1) cutting off both hands and feet of p. 2) overstay one's welcome[103]
zàunàa-inuwà	(sit in shade)	type of dwarf guinea-corn
V+N(Loc)+Adjnt		1
zàunà(a)-gàrii banzaa	(sit.in town uselessness)	good-for-nothing
2 VPs		
V+PAC+V		3
fitoo-naa fitoo	(come out 1s.CMP come out)	confrontation
tàaɗoo kì-ji	(slip.over.here 2f.SBJ hear)	small room built in entrance hut
tàhoo-mù gamàa	(come 1pl.SBJ join/finish)	colliding with p. or thing
V+PAC+V+NDO		2
tsùgùnaa-kà ci-dooyàa	(squat 2m.SBJ eat yam)	form of facial tattooing
zàunaa-kà ci-dooyàa	(sit 2m.SBJ eat yam)	1) cutting off both hands and feet of p. 2) form of facial tattooing

[102] I classify **fàaɗàa** as the tone lowered gr1 verb **faaɗàa**; another possibility is that **fàaɗàa** is from '**fàaɗì à**', i.e. from the I-verb (gr3b) **faaɗì** 'fall'.

[103] Abraham [A970] gives the second meaning: **yaa yi minì zàunàa-gàrinkà** 'he overstayed his welcome'.

kwàn[104]**-gàba,**	(go forwards,	in: **~ gàree shì**
kwàn-baaya	go backwards)	he is inconsistent

6.4 L-verbs (16)

Ten compounds with a L-verb have a tone lowered form, seven with a gr3 verb (**tàfìi-dà-gidankà**, **tàfìi-dà-màasii**, **tàfìi-dà-maalàminkà**, **tàfìi-dà-reerèe**, **tùmàa-dà-gayya**, **tùmàa-dà-gòoraa** and **tùmàa ƙasà**) and three with a gr7 verb (**gàm-dà-harì**, **gàm-dà-kàtaƒ̃** and **gàm-dà-yaaƙì**).

Compounds with the gr7 verb **gàm** (< **gàmu** 'meet') are listed here since the change of form (to gr5 H-verb; see chapter 5.2.3.4) is not definitive[105]. In contrast, the intransitive gr1 verbs with a gr3 imperative *form* (e.g. **kwànci-tàashi**) are listed below as gr3 verbs.

V+SocObj 10

gàm-dà-harì	(meet with battle)	1) black stork 2) p. bringing ill luck
gàm-dà-kàtaƒ̃	(meet with luck)	good luck
gàm-dà-yaaƙì	(meet with war)	**= gàm-da-harì**
tàfi-dà gidankà	(go with house.of.you)	1) mobile home/truck 2) mobile phone
tàfìi-dà-gidankà		**= tàfi-dà-gidankà**
tàfìi-dà[106]**-màasi(i)**	(go with vowels)	1) inserting vowels into Arabic writing, line by line 2) doing two tasks simultaneously; 3) killing two birds with one stone
tàfìi-dà maalàminkà	(go with teacher.of.you)	textbook with footnotes
tàfìi-dà-reerè(e)	(go with chat)	**= tàfìi-dà-màasi**
tùmàa-dà-gayyà[107]	(run with revenge)	biting black ant
tùmàa-dà-gòoraa	(run with calabash)	fast travelling Adar people

[104] The form **kwan** is a clipped form of gr1 **koomàa** 'return (to place)'.

[105] See chapter 5.2.3.4 for a discussion of these three compounds.

[106] Re the form **tafii dà**, see chapter 2.2.5.1, footnote 23.

[107] The word **gayyàa** following **dà** is a sociative object; Ahmad (1994:155) gives it with a short final vowel - as if it were a NDO.

V+Adv		2
shùugàbaa (< shìga-gàba)	(enter in.front)	leader
tùmàa-ƙasà	(fall down) (spring to ground)	1) crocheted dish cover 2) leather cushion[108]
V+Adv(cmplx)		1
shìga-dà àlwàlaɾ̃kà	(enter with ablution.of.you)	station wagon taxi

2VPs:

V+V		3
kwànci-tàashi	(lie.down get.up)	1) gradually 2) day by day
shìgi-dà-fici	(enter and go.out)	1) going in and out 2) immigration [PJ437n.3]
tsùgùni-tàashi	(squat stand.up)	struggle

[108] The second meaning is from Galadanci (1969:33-4).

Appendix 3a: PAC+V compounds

There are 71 verbal compounds with a PAC; 35 with I-verbs, 22 with H-verbs and 14 with L-verbs. In 51 compounds with a transitive verb we find PIO-, PDO-, ∅DO- and NDO-frames; 20 compounds have a basic intransitive [-T] frame. There are no verb markers in PAC+V compounds.

Frame and verb type are summarised in the following tables:

Frame	**Verb types**			
	I-verbs	**H-verbs**	L-verbs	**Total**
PIO	*1*	**-**	-	**1**
PDO	*1*	**2**	1	**4**
∅DO	*11*	**7**	1	**19**
NDO	*20*	**-**	7	**27**
[-T]	*2*	**13**	5	**20**
	35	**22**	14	**71**

	I-verbs[§§]		**H-verbs**[§§]			L-verbs				
	*v**	*gr0*	**gr1**	**gr4**	**gr5**	gr2	gr3	gr3a	gr7	**Total**
PIO	*1*	-	**-**	**-**	**-**	-	-	-	-	**1**
PDO	-	*1*	**1**	**-**	**1**	1	-	-	-	**4**
∅DO	*2*	*9*	**5**	**2**	**-**	1	-	-	-	**19**
NDO	-	*20*	**-**	**-**	**-**	7	-	-	-	**27**
[-T]	*2*	*-*	**3**	**10**	**-**	-	2	2	1	**20**
	5	*30*	**9**	**12**	**1**	9	2	2	1	**71**

[§§]There are no gr3b (I-) or gr6 (H-) verbs

1. PIO frame (1)

1.1 I-verb (v*): 1 VC

V = v* verb **bâa/baa** ‘give so. (sth.)’

à-baa-mù (4pl.SBJ give us) projecting beard

2. PDO frame (4)

2.1 I-verb (gr0): 1 VC

V = gr0 **ci** ‘eat’

mìi-kàa-cii-nì (what RHET eat me) debtor

2.2 H-verbs: 2 VCs

V = gr5 verb **fisshee** ‘get (th./p.) out’ and gr1 **wadàataa** ‘enrich’

koowaa-taashì **tà-fisshee-shì**	(each his 3f.SBJ get.out him)	confederation[1]
Rabbànâa-kà **wadàataa-mu**	(Lord 2m.SBJ enrich us)	in: **’yan ~** those looking for help

2.3 L-verb: 1 VC

V = gr2 verb **tsùmaayàa** ‘wait for’ 1

kù-tsùmàayee-nì	(2pl.SBJ wait.for me)	weak/stunted sheep

3. ØDO frame (19)

3.1 I-verbs (2 v* and 9 gr0): 11 VCs

V = v* verb **kai** ‘reach’ (2, one with 2 VPs) 2

à-kai-ciki	(4pl.SBJ take.to stomach)	beard turning in towards neck
taa-kai-taa-kaawoo (**taa-kai-taa-koomoo**)	(3f.CMP reached 3f.CMP returned)	women’s kerchief

V = gr0 verbs **bi** ‘follow’ (1), **biyaa** ‘pay’ (1), **ci** ‘eat’ (3, one with 2VPs), **ji** ‘feel’ (1), **ƙi** ‘refuse’ (1) and **yi** ‘do’ (2) 9

wab-bi-cân (**wab-**< **wàa ya …**)	(who follow there) (who 3m.CMP…)	simpleton
taa-biyaa	(3f.CMP paid)	small gown as gift from bride’s mother to guests
à-ci-bàlbàl[2]	(4pl.SBJ eat brightly)	oil-burning lamp
à-ci-dà-mâi	(4pl.SBJ eat with oil)	food eaten with oil, dish of rice
kù-ci-kù-baa-mù	(2pl.SBJ eat 2pl.SBJ give us)	in: **’yan ~** rag, tag and bobtail [A543]
à-ji-garau	(4pl.SBJ feel well)	anti-depressant pill
naa-ƙi	(1s.CMP refuse)	in: **hau kujèerañ ~**[3]
Kù-yi	(2pl.SBJ do)	name for any dog
ƙàaƙàa-ni-kàa-yi	(how 1s.RHET do)	dilemma, hard times

[1] This compound is from M. Munkaila (p.c.).

[2] The phrase **à-ci-fàlfàl** = **à-ci-bàlbàl** [PN/AHM].

[3] The phrase **hau kujèerañ naa-ƙi** (mount chair-of I refuse) means ‘veto’.

3.2 H-verbs - 7 VCs

V = gr1 **ginàa** 'build' (with 2 VPs), **rausàa** 'do-abundantly' and **taakàa** 'step out', gr4 **tarèe** 'cut p. off, block a p.'s way' and **waarèe** 'separate' as well as gr1 **zaagàa** and **zaagàayaa** 'go round' (the latter is clipped and tone lowered: **zàagài**)

taa-ginàa-bà	(3f.CMP build NEG	p. who only seems
tà-shìga-ba	3f.CMP enter NEG)	to have quality[4]
à-rausàa	(4pl.SBJ do.abundantly)	game[5]
màigidaa-kaɾ̃	(Mister NEG	type of food
kà-taakàa	2m.SBJ step.out)	
kù-tarèe	(2pl.SBJ cut-off)	thief
à-waarèe	(4pl.SBJ separate)	fighting for succession
taa-zaagàa	(3f.CMP go.round)	eczema
taa-zàagài	(3f.CMP go.round)	rope round donkey's neck

3.3 L-verbs 1 VC

V = **cìntaa** 'find by chance'[6] 1

kà-cìnci-kà-cìnci	(2m.SBJ find2m.SBJ find)	puzzle

4. NDO frame (27)

4.1 I-verbs (gr0): 20 VCs

V = gr0 verb **ci** 'eat' (2), **fi** 'exceed' (12), **ganii** 'see' (1), **ƙi** 'refuse' (3) and **shaa** 'drink, do much of' (2)[7] 20

ci 'eat'**:**

à-~-duuniyàa	(4pl.SBJ eat world	candy[8]
dà-tsinkee	with stick)	

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[4] This is a person who sems to have a given quality but doesn't really have this quality, e.g.: **Audù ~ nèe àmmaa bâa shi dà koo siisìi** 'Audu has only the looks of a rich person but he is not rich.' [PN/AHM]

[5] Abraham [A36] gives the following epithet for this game: **à-rausàa, ƙarfii dà ƙarfii** (lit. do.abundantly, strength with strength). It is also called: **bàashaa**, **ràushee**, **jèemau**.

[6] The verb **cìntaa** (= **tsìntaa**) in the ∅DO frame following a PAC is not used with the form **cìnci** in SH, but is normal in Ghana Hausa. In SH **cìnci** is used as an imperative form.

[7] All examples with **fi** 'exceed' begin with **kaa fi** 'you [2m.CMPL] exceed'; they are necessarily masculine. This seems to overrule what we saw in chapter 1.2.6, viz., that gender is assigned either pragmatically – according to the gender of the person referred to in the compound – or by analogy. Thanks to Paul Newman for the examples: **kaa-fi-ramàa/suufàa/yaaròo** and for **gaawaa-taa-ƙi-raamìi**.

[8] From: Ɗangambo (1978:8).

koowaa-yà ~-gashìnsà	(each 3m.SBJ eat cake.of.him)	confederation[9]
fi 'exceed'**:**		
kaa-~-àlluuƙàa	(you exceed injection)	type of drug
kaa-~-amaryaa ƙanshii	(you exceed bride good-smell)	a perfume
kaa-~-ɗaa wùyaa	(you exceed son difficulty)	type of bead
kaa-~-maalàm	(you exceed scholar)	type of herb
kaa-~-ramàa	(you exceed hemp)	the undershrub *Urena lobota*
kaa-~-sallamàa	(you exceed salutation)	type of perfume
kaa-~-shaddàa	(you exceed brocade)	high quality cloth
kaa-~-suufàa	(you exceed super[10])	a high quality women's cloth
kaa-~-yaaròo	(you exceed boy)	women's ornament worn on forehead
kaa-~-'yan-gyàɗaa	(you exceed children.of peanut)	type of cloth
kaa-~-zàaboo	(you exceed guinea-fowl)	sth. tasty[11]
kaa-~-zùruu	(you exceed looking)	undersized ram
ganii 'see'**:**		
taa-ga-raanaa	(3f.CMPL see sun)	the wild twiner *Abrus precatorius*
ƙi 'refuse'**:**		
kaa-~ zuwàa-Hausa	(2m.CMPL refuse going-to Hausaland)	a Yoruba mat
kun-~-cîi	(2pl.CMPL refuse eating)	a weevil in corn
gaawaa-taa ~-raamìi	(corpse 3f.CMPL refuse hole)	old and sickly but courageous person
shaa 'drink'**:**		
à-~-ruwan -tsuntsàayee	(4pl.SBJ drink water.of birds)	a boy's game
na-baaya kàa-~-kalloo	(that.of behind RHET drink looking)	type of embroidery on back of gown

[9] This compound is from M. Munkaila (p.c.).

[10] Here **suufàa** refers to 'super' (high octane) petrol.

[11] Some speakers say **kaa-fi-zàaboo-daaɗii** 'you taste better than a guinea-fowl'.

4.2 H-verbs: - None

The fact that no PAC+V compounds have an H-verb *and* a NDO is commented on in chapter 5.3.3.4.

4.3 L-verbs: - 7 VCs

V = gr2 **kòoraa** 'chase away' (2),**-wàawuràa** 'grab' (1), **zàaburàa** 'grab' (1),**-zàagaa** 'criticise' (2) and**-zùnguràa** 'poke' (1). All have the form of the verb (preceding a NDO), with a final –**i**.

à-kòori-buuzuu	(4pl.SBJ chase-Tuareg)	police-like house guard
à-kòori-kuuraa	(4pl.SBJ chase-cart)	delivery truck
à-wàawùri-kàryaa	(4pl.SBJ grab bitch)	type of sleeveless shirt
à-zàabùri-kàryaa	(4pl.SBJ grab bitch)	type of sleeveless shirt [12]
wàa-ya-zàagi-bàaba	(who 2mREL.CMP insult father)	type of club
wàa-ya-zàagi-dòogarìi	(who 2mREL.CMP insult king's guard)	type of fabric
à-zùngùri-duuniyàa	(4pl.SBJ poke world)	type of pointed boots

5. Basic intransitive frame (20)

5.1 I-verbs (2 v*) – 2 VCs

V = v* **jee** 'go to place'

sheegèe-kàa-jee goonaa	(bastard RHET go farm)	beads worn just below knee by loose women
kà-jee-gàrii kà-kwaana à-daajìi	(2m.SBJ go town 2m.SBJ spend.night in bush)	junior clerks or officers (in colonial times)[13]

5.2 H-verbs - 13 VCs

V = gr1 **caaɓàa** 'make money'[14], gr4 **cêe** 'say' (2, one with 2VPs) and **kifèe** 'overturn', gr1 **ƙwammàtaa** 'manage', gr4 **lanƙwàshee** 'bend', **miiƙèe** 'stretch out (ahead)', **moorèe** 'be content', **rabèe** 'distinguish[15]', **waayèe** 'become aware', **warwàree** 'become

[12] From: Ladan (1980:81).

[13] Those educated by the colonial powers to become junior clerks/officers (DW).

[14] The verb **caaɓàa** is both intransitive and transitive. Apart from the intransitive meaning 'make money' it also means 'become slushy'; as a transitive verb it is found in the exptressions: **yaa caaɓà adoo** 'he dressed in his best' and **yaa caaɓàa masà màganàa** 'he interrupted him'.

[15] This verb seems to be transitive but when it appears with an object, the object

unwound', gr1 **zaakùɗaa** 'move away a little' and gr4 **zarcèe** 'move on'[16].

à-caaɓàa	(4pl.SBJ make.money)	motorbike-taxi
ka-cèe-na-cèe	(2m.REL.CMP say 1s.REL.CMP say)	argument
ta-cèe	(3f.REL.CMP said)	in: **mijìn ~** henpecked husband
tà-kifèe	(3f.SBJ overturn)	in: **'yan ~** diehards, extremists
à-ƙwammàtaa	(4pl.SBJ manage)	old, ineffective vehicle
tà-lanƙwàshee	(3f.SBJ bend)	**'yan ~** those in favour of ending Abacha's régime
tà-miiƙèe	(3fs.SBJ stretch.out)	in: **'yan ~** those in favour of Abacha remaining in power
tà-moorèe	(3f.SBJ be.content)	in: **ɗan ~** vandal, thug
wàa-kàa-rabèe	(who RHET distinguishing)	slyly benefiting by coincidence
taa-waayèe	(3f.COMPL become aware)	riot, uprising
tà-warwàree	(3f.SBJ become.unwound)	democratisation
tà-zaakùɗaa	(3f.SBJ move-away-a-little)	in: **'yan ~** those in favour of power of a power-shift (from N. to S. Nig)
tà-zaƒcèe	(3f.SBJ move.on)	**'yan ~** those in favour of Abacha remaining in power

5.3 L-verbs (2 gr3, 2 gr3a, 1 gr7) - 5 VCs

V = gr3 **bòoƙarà** 'stoop', gr7**-hàɗu** 'meet' and gr3**-kàmaatà** 'behove' 3

à-bòoƙarà	(4pl.SBJ stoop) hand-pushed	type of cart
mù-hàɗu-à-bankìi	(1pl.SBJ meet at bank)	a sleeping drug
yaa-kàmaatà	(3m.CMP behove) what is right	in: **sanìn ~** knowing

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is sociative.

[16] The compounds **tà-lanƙwàshee**, **tà-warwàree**, **tà-zaakùɗaa** and **tà-zaƒcèe** are from M. Munkaila (p.c.).

V = gr3a **kwaana** ‘spend the night’ and **tsiira** ‘escape’ 2

à-kwaana-à-taashì	(4pl.SBJ spend.night 4pl.SBJ rise)	gradually[17]
mun-tsiira	(1pl.CMP escape) a safe area[18]	in: **tudùn ~**

[17] This compound is an adverb.

[18] See: Gwazaye (1993: 1).

1 Singular ***ma-*** verbal compounds

There are 31 singular ma- verbal compounds, 25 transitive and 6 intransitive.

In all singular ma- compounds the verb is tone lowered, except in **matàakà-yaaròo-rùmaa** (a NDO-frame) which has an imperative form. Following the singular ma- verbal compounds (section 3.4) I list the clipped nouns of agent, place and instrument (see chapter 3.2.2.2).

Frame	**Verb types**			
	I-verbs	**H-verbs**	L-verbs	**Total**
PIO	*1*	**-**	-	**1**
NDO	*16*	**8**	-	**24**
[-T]	*3*	**2**	1	**6**
	20	**10**	1	**31**

	I-verbs§§		**H-verbs**§§			L-verbs§§	
	*v**	*gr0*	**gr1**	**gr4**	**gr5**	gr3a	**Total**
PIO	-	*1*	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**1**
NDO	-	*16*	**3**	**1**	**4**	**-**	**24**
[-T]	*3*	*-*	**2**	**-**	**-**	1	**6**
	3	*17*	**5**	**1**	**4**	1	**31**

§§There are no gr3b (I-), gr6 (H-), gr2 or gr7 (L-) verbs.

1.1 PIO-frame (1)

1.1.1 I-verb (gr0) – 1 VC

V = gr0 **bi** 'follow'

mabìi-masà (ma:follow him) the next biggest[1]

1.2 NDO-frame (24)

1.2.1 I-verbs (gr0) – 16 VCs

V = gr0 **bi** 'follow' (1), **ci** 'eat' (1), **fi** 'exceed' (4), **gàa** 'see' (2), **jaa** 'drag' (1), **ji** 'feel' (3), **ƙi** 'refuse' (1), **shaa** 'drink' (2), **soo** 'like' (1)

mabìi-sarkii (ma:follow emir) one of emir's retinue
macìi-na-wùyaa (ma:eat that.of difficulty) kingfisher

[1] This verbal compound is not accepted by most speakers; it is found in Bagari et al (1979:43).

mafìi-à'àlaa*	(ma:exceed importance)	the most important
mafìi-kyâu*	(ma:exceed quality)	better, best
mafìi-wannàn-zaafii	(ma:exceed this.one heat)	one hotter than this one
mafìi-yawàa*	(ma:exceed quantity)	more, most
magàa-takàr̃daa	(ma:see paper)	scribe
magàa-sâiwar̃ duutsèe	(ma:see root.of rock)	in: **~ shii kàa shaa wàhalàa**[2]
majàa-cikìi	(ma:drag stomach)	snake
majìi-garkòo	(ma:feel handsomeness)	epithet of man named Yusufu
majìi-ƙâi	(ma:feel heart's desire)	the merciful one (epithet of God)
majìi-tàusàyin baawaa	(ma:feel sympathy.of slave)	one feeling pity for slaves
maƙìi-wankaa	(ma:refuse wash.oneself)	one who refuses to wash
mashàa-miyàa	(ma:drink soup)	beggar [A662][3]
mashàa-ruwaa	(ma:drink water)	1) so. who drinks 2) name of bird 3) quickly growing lad 4) rainbow[4]
masòo-faɗàa	(ma:like fight)	trouble maker

*The object in these three compounds expresses the quality compared (see chapter 3.2.1.1).

1.2.2 H-verbs - 8 VCs

V = gr5 **baa dà** 'give sth. away' (1), gr4 **kas** (< **kashèe**) 'kill' (1), gr5 **kwan dà** (< **komar̃ dà**) 'turn sth. into sth.' (1), gr1 **ƙwagàa** 'swallow (liquid)' (1), gr1 **rasàa** 'lack' (1), gr5 **rau dà** 'wave' (1), gr5 **zoo dà** 'bring' (1). In **matàakà-yaaròo-rùmaa** (with the gr1 verb **taakàa** 'tread (on)') we find an imperative verb form[5].

mabàa-dà-noonòo	(ma:give milk)	mother, wet nurse
makàs-dubuu	(ma:kill thousand)	killer of thousands

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[2] Meaning: "One who would get to foundations of a rocky hill will have a bad time of it."

[3] (Katsina dialect) Prietze (1916:64-5) gives: **mashàa noonòo ziinaarìyaa** (lit.: ‚ma-drink breast gold') "an goldenen Busen genährt", i.e. 'one weaned on a golden breast'.

[4] The first meaning refers to 'a (beer) drinker'; the second meaning is from Yusuf (1978:355); the third and fourth meanings are found in Abraham [A662].

[5] This exceptional example is found in Abraham [A665].

makwàn-dà-yaaròo tsoofoo	(ma:turn boy old-man)	in: **cùutaa, ~** illness, turning boy into old man [A582, B677]
maƙwàrwaa	(ma:gulp water)	gulp of water [N87]
maràs-hankàlii	(ma:lack sense)	senseless person
maràu-dà-hakìi	(ma:wave grass)	fan[6]
matàakà-yaaròo rùmaa	(ma:tread.on boy damp)	epithet of ruler
mazòo-dà-littaafii[7]	(ma:come with book)	bringer of book

1.3 Basic intransitive frame (6)

1.3.1 I-verbs – 3 VCs

V = v* **jee** 'go to place' (2) and **zoo**/**zama** 'be(come)' (1)

majèe-hajìi	(ma:go pilgrimage)	pilgrim[8]
majèe-gàba	(ma:go forwards)	one who moves forward
mazòo-ita	(ma:be[come] 3f-INDPRO)	one born to sth.

1.3.2 H-verb 2 VCs

V = gr1 **soo** (< **sakàa**) 'shift'

masòo-gabàs	(ma:shift east)	in: **arèewa (kudù) ~** north (south)-east
masòo-yâmma	(ma:shift west)	in: **arèewa (kudù) ~** north (south)-west

1.3.3 L-verb - 1 VC

V = gr3a **kwan** (< **kwaana**) 'spend night'

makwàn-Kanòo	(ma:spend-night Kano) night in Kano[9]	person spending

1.4 Examples of 'clipped' nouns of agent, place and instrument

The nouns **magwàs** (?<**gusàa** 'move slightly aside, away') and **mazòo** (< **zaunàa** 'live [in place], be established') are nouns of

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6 This is a term used by devotees of the Bori spirit cult.

7 This example is an epithet of the Prophet Muhammad. Thanks to M. Kawu Nafaɗa (DW) for this examples; some speakers say this is Bauci Hausa, an innovative dialect known to M. Nafaɗa.
I classify **mazòo-dà-littaafii** as a gr5 NDO-frame. Abdoulaye (1996b) argues that all V+**dà** constructions are NDO- and not ∅DO- (sociative) frames.

8 Abraham [A640] gives: **majèe-hajìi** 'P. who died on pilgrimage' and **majèe-Bauchi** 'P. who died on way to B.'

9 Prietze (1916:43 verse 103a and page 60 verse 156b) gives: **kun** < **kwaana**.

agent, **ma'ajii** (< **ajìyee** 'store') and **masai** (< **saayèe** 'fence in') are nouns of place, **maɗas** (< **ɗasàa** 'pour drops of sth.') and **mishii** (< ?**saayèe** 'cover') are nouns of instrument.

ma'ajii	(< **ma'ajiyii** or **ma'ajiyaa**)	place where th. is stored, treasury
maɗas	(< ?**maɗashii**)	any deadly poison administered by mouth
magwàs	(< *__magùshii__)	belch
masai	(< ?**masaayaa**)	cesspit
mazòo	(< **mazàunii**)	in: **~ nee gà sàrautàa** he belongs to ruling class
mishii	(< **mashiyyii** or **mishiyii**)	small bone implement for applying antimony to eyes

2 Plural ***ma-*** verbal compounds

There are 17 plural **ma**- verbal compounds, 15 transitive and 2 intransitive. No independent verb marker can be isolated in these compounds. The fact that they *are* compounds is argued in chapter 3.2.3.

Frame	**Verb types**			
	I-verbs	**H-verbs**	L-verbs	**Total**
NDO	*3*	**7**	5	**15**
[-T]	*-*	**1**	1	**2**
	3	**8**	6	**17**

	I-verbs§§		**H-verbs**§§	L-verbs§§		
	*v**	*gr0*	**gr1**	gr2	gr3	**Total**
NDO	*1*	*2*	**7**	5	-	**15**
[-T]	*-*	*-*	**1**	*-*	1	**2**
	1	*2*	**8**	5	1	**17**

§§There are no gr3b (I-), gr4, gr5 or gr6 (H-), gr3a or gr7 (L-) verbs.

2.1 NDO-frame (15)

2.1.1 I-verbs (1 v* and 2 gr0) – 3 VCs

V = v* **sanìi** 'know' 1

masànaa-taaɾ̃iihìi dà-na-sìyaasàa	(ma:know history and those.of politics)	experts in history and politics

V = gr0 **bi** 'follow', **fi** 'exceed' 2

mabìyaa-sarkii	(ma:follow emir)	emir's followers, retinue
mafiyaa-yawàa	(ma:exceed quantity)	(those in) the majority

2.1.2 H-verbs - 7 VCs

V = gr1 **abùutaa** 'befriend', **aikàtaa** 'do, perform', **bunƙùsaa** 'push through (soil)', **ɗinkàa** 'sew', **ƙeeràa** 'smith', **sheeƙàa** 'winnow', **tuuƙàa** 'drive'.

ma'àbùutaa juuyìn-mulkìn ƙasâɾ̃	(ma:befriend change.of power.of nation.DET)	those in favour of overthrowing the government
ma'àikàtaa aikìn-aagàjii	(ma:perform work.of help)	aid workers
mabùnƙùsaa ƙasaa	(ma:push.through earth)	any root-crop [A626]

maɗìnkaa-rìigaa	(ma:sew gown)	gown tailors
maƙèeraa-farfaruu	(ma:smith white.metals)	those smithing white metals
mashèeƙaa-ayaa	(ma:winnow tigernut.grass)	in: **ganin-~-**looking at p. contemptuously
matùuƙaa jirgin-samà	(ma:drive vehicle.of sky)	pilots

2.1.3 L-verbs - 5 VCs

V = gr2 **ɗaukàa** 'lift', **gòoyaa** 'support', **hàlaƙtàa** 'attend', **hàrbaa** 'hunt', **nèemaa** 'seek'

maɗàukaa-kanwaa	(ma:lift potash)	in: **zamaa dà ~ shii ya sâa farin kâi**[10]
magòoyaa-baayan-X	(ma:support back.of X)	X's supporters
mahàlàƙtaa-tàarôn	(ma:attend meeting.DET)	those attending the meeting
mahàrbaa-ɓaunaa	(ma:hunt bushcow)	bushcow hunters
manèemaa-làabàaƙai	(ma:seek news)	reporters

2.2 Basic intransitive frame (2)

2.2.1 H-verb – 1 VC

V = gr1 [-T] **zaunàa** 'sit, live in (place)'

mazàunaa-gàrîn	(ma:live town-DET)	inhabitants of town

2.2.2 L-verb - 1 VC

V = gr3 **tàfi** 'go to'

matàfiyaa-Kanòo	(ma:travel-to Kano)	travellers to Kano

[10] Meaning: "Living with potash carrier causes white head"; i.e. becoming like p. through long association [A476].

Appendix 3c: VN-L+X compounds (VNCs)

The compounds listed here are VN-L+X compounds. There are 261 such compounds, 189 from transitive and 72 from intransitive verbs.

Most such compounds have the syntax VN-L+N and/or an adjunct or adverb. The noun (N) in these compounds may be either the NDO or the subject; it may be a simple noun, a noun phrase (N-L+N), a verbal compound or a second verbal noun compound; in one case it is a plural **ma-** compound.

Sentences illustrating the use of these compounds in everyday speech can be found in Appendix 1b.

1. VNCs with syntax V-L+N where N is NDO of the VN

In this list three compounds (**ɗaukàn-furàa-à-ràagayàa**; **ganin-waɗàa-yîi** and **sàyen-kiifii-à-ruwa**) have a simple NDO *plus* an adjunct.

N following linker = NDO 107

àjiyàr̃-zuucìyaa	(setting.down.of heart)	sob, sigh of relief
cîn-fuskàa	(eating.of face)	insult
cîn-màagaagàa	(eating.of nutless-fruit)	in: **an yi masà ~**[1]
cîn-tuujii	(eating.of kind.of-grass)	young men's weeding grass on roads of towns and villages
cìrar̃-dangaa	(pulling.of fence)	in: **yaa yi wà màatassà ~** [2]
cìrar̃-ƙayàa	(pulling.up thorns)	in: **~, kuɗin mararrabaa**[3]
cìrar̃-ƙwalloo	(pulling.of ball)	1) successfully snatching foot of wrestling opponent 2) deposing official by bringing unexpected and irrefutable charge 3) unexpectedly and suddenly getting rid of wife
duukàn-ƙwaryaa	(beating.of calabash)	in: **~ akèe yi matà** [4]

[1] Abraham [A632] gives the sentence '**An yi masà cîn-màagaagàa**', meaning: 1) He's been humiliated. 2) It (the work) has been polished off.

[2] Meaning: 'he installed new wife, divorcing and turning out previous one' [A148].

[3] (Lit.: pulling.up thorns, money [at.] crossroads). Meaning: 'money thrown down at cross-roads for enemy to pick up and fall ill by magic' [A148].

[4] A wife denying rival wife (or latter's child) proper share of food.

ɗaukàř-ɗaakìi	(lifting.of room)	in: **shaawařàa ~** where there's will there's a way
ɗaukàn-furàa à-ràagayàa	(lifting.of **fura**[5] by net)	children's game (lifting one another up by chin)
ɗaukàř-màrii	(lifting.of chain)	1) jerking rope on ox's leg to lasso other leg 2) operation in weaving
ɗaurìn-àlbařàs	(tying.of leprosy)	he's been given remedy to prevent spread of leprosy
ɗaurìn-bàakii	(tying.of mouth)	charm to weaken p.'s resolve or make p. unable to talk
ɗaurìn-birìi	(tying.of monkey)	in: **an yi wà ɓàraawòo ~**[6]
ɗaurìn-cikìi	(tying.of stomach)	1) refraining from food though hungry 2) working hard 3) corn about to produce ears 4) giving woman medicine for abortion or to delay development of foetus
ɗaurìn-daajìi	(tying.of bush)	in: **an yi masà ~**[7]
ɗaurìn dangwàlii	(tying.of looped-rope)	tethering cows back to back
ɗaurìn-giraa	(tying.of eyebrow)	frowning[8]
ɗaurìn-gùugaa	(tying.of bucket)	1) calabash with sticks and rope used as bucket in well 2) vaulting of ceiling with shape of calabash 3) method of shaving girl's head after weaning
ɗaurìn-gwarmai	(tying.of thread)	in: **yaa yi minì ~** 1) he brought false charge against me 2) difficult string puzzle
ɗaurìn-hadirìi	(tying.of storm)	charm against rain preventing work
ɗaurìn-hannuu	(tying.of hand)	in: **naa yi masà ~** I applied charm (to child) to stop it pilfering
ɗaurìn-kâi	(tying.of head/self)	1) making compliments 2) perjuring oneself
ɗaurìn kàlànguu	(tying.of hourglass-drum)	1) in: **gàrii yaa yi masà ~** and 2) **yaarinyàa mài ~**[9]

[5] **Furàa** is a traditional Hausa drink (like gruel) served in a calabash.

[6] Meaning: 'The thief has been tied round the waist.'

[7] Meaning: 'He was given charm to pass safely through the bush.' See: **ɗaurìn-dawà** and **ɗaurìn-jeejìi** (**dawà** and **jeejìi** = 'bush').

[8] This meaning is found in Ahmad (1994: 148); Abraham [A205] gives: 'pulling out p.'s eyebrows with tweezers (a cure for blepharitis)'.

[9] The meanings are: 1) he's having a hard time 2) slender girl with good hips'.

ɗaurìn-kate-kate	(tying.of ropes)	**= ɗaurìn kàlànguu**[10]
ɗaurìn-ƙasaa	(tying.of earth)	in: **an yi masà ~** he's been given charm with effect of "seven-league boots"
ɗaurìn-ƙìrjii	(tying.of chest)	in: **taa yi ~** she secured cloth above breasts for first time
ɗaurìn-riijìyaa	(tying.of well)	ledge formed by reducing width of well
ɗaurìn-ruwaa	(tying.of water)	1) charm to calm storm 2) charm for fishing
ɗaurìn-'yam maruƙàa	(tying.of children.of calves)	**= ɗaurìn-dangwàlii**
ɗiibàn-goonaa	(taking.of farm)	in: **~ř raanii**[11]
ɗiibàn-noonòo	(taking.of milk)	in: **cìnikin duuniyàa ~ nee** do as you will be done by
ɗiibàř-iskàa	(taking.of air)	going for stroll
ganin-daamaa	(seeing chance)	being free, impulsive
ganin-gàrii[12]	(seeing.of town)	1) power of sight 2) slacking at work 3) in: **~ gàree shì** he's indecisive [A300] 4) apparently accepting advice but not acting on it for fear of being deceived 5) not clinching transaction for fear of being cheated
ganin-hannuu	(seeing.of hand)	in: **zàren ~** cotton spun by a bride in early early days of her marriage[13]
ganin ƙuntaa	(seeing.of packaged.goods)	inquisitiveness

[10] A number of compounds with the VN **ɗaurìi** have the same meaning as **ɗaurìn-kàlànguu**: **ɗaurìn-kanjàu** (tying.of long narrow drum); **ɗaurìn-kanzagii** (tying.of small drum); **ɗaurìn-kuntukuruu** (tying.of small drum); **ɗaurìn-kurkutuu** (tying.of small drum); **ɗaurìn-taakurii** (tying.of oppression) and **ɗaurìn-riiɗin-Màada** (tying.of beniseed.of Mada).
This VNC (**ɗaurìn-kanjàu**) also has the same meaning as the first meaning of **ɗaurìn-gùugaa** (above).

[11] (Lit.: one did taking.of farm.of dry.season). Meanings: 1) clearing too much land in dry season 2) failure to keep good resolutions 3) "biting off more than one can chew".

[12] The word **gàrii** 'town' has metaphorical meanings, e.g. 'victory, opportunity'. (See above under **ɗaurìn-kàlànguu** and **saamùn-gàrii**.)

[13] The underlying subject of **ganii** is the bridegroom, **hannuu** is its NDO. Another Hausa expression makes the meaning clear: **bài kaamà hannuntà ba tùkùna** (lit.: 3sNEG-COMPL catch hand.of-her NEG yet) 'he has not yet slept with her (his young bride)' [B448].

ganin-waɗàa yîi[14]	(seeing.of others doing)	doing sth. only when so. else is seen doing it
gudùn-duuniyàa	(avoiding.of world)	humility
gudùn-kuƒnàa	(escaping.of tree)	type of food (dumplings)
gwajìn-tàakàlmii	(trying.of shoe)	trial marriage (pre-Islamic)
haɗîn-bàakii	(joining.of mouth)	in: **ɗan ~** collaborator
haɗîn-gwiiwàa	(joining.of knees)	cooperation[15]
harbìn-kankìi	(shooting.of harte-beeste)	disparaging other, not knowing he/she is nearby[16]
jân-bàakii	(pulling.of mouth)	quarrelsomeness
jîn-ƙai	(feeling.of pity[17])	compassion
juuyìn-mulkìi	(reverse.of power)	coup d'état
juuyìn-wàinaa	(turning.of fried-cake)	turning sth. upside down
kàɗaƒ-raaɓaa	(colliding.of dew)	1) migration of villagers to city in dry season to earn money and make their stock of food last longer 2) Qur'anic students begging for food[18]
kaamùn-gidaa	(catching.of house)	sending ahead to arrange quarters for travelling chief'
kaamùn-goonaa	(catching.of farm)	marking farm boundaries
kaamùn-kâi	(catching.of head)	1) assistant. 2) self-restraint
kaamùn-ƙafàa	(catching.of foot)	1) embroidered ankle-band of trousers 2) lobbying[19]
kaamùn-ƙwaryaa	(catching.of calabash)	in: **mài ~** woman devotee in **bòorii** spirit cult on whom other woman relies
kaamùn-luudàyii	(catching.of spoon)	character, behaviour[20]
kafîn-àlƙalàmii	(establishing.of pen)	cash advance for services of fortune-tellers, etc.
karìn-kùmalloo	(break.of fast)	breakfast
karìn-màganàa	(break.of word)	proverb
kisàn-auree	(killing.of marriage)	divorce

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14 According to Bargery [B1071] **waɗà**(**a**) is a "common contraction" of **waɗansu** 'some'; in modern Hausa the common contraction is **wasu**.

15 The phrase **gwamnatìn haɗîn-gwiiwàa** means 'coalition government'.

16 See also **kaamùn-kankìi** (catching.of hartebeeste).

17 The word **ƙai** is not translated separately in any Hausa-English (-French or -German) dictionary; the compound is sometimes written as one word: **jînƙai**.

18 Thanks to my friend Malam Sa'idu for the second meaning (he pronounces it: **kàɗaa raaɓaa** –a zero linker; see chapter 3.2.3, footnote 25).

19 For the first meaning, see Abraham [A468], for the second, see (Ahmad (1994:150).

20 See McIntyre et al [McIMB90]: **mù ga kaamùn-luudàyinsà** 'let's see what he's like'.

kisàn-kâi	(killing.of head[21])	1) murder 2) suicide
kòoraf̃-kàree	(chasing.of dog)	humiliating expulsion
ƙîn-jîi	(refusal.of hearing)	naughtiness
lèeƙen-àsiiĩ̃ii	(peeking.of secret)	spying
neeman-af̃zìkii	(seeking.of wealth[22])	arranging marriage
neeman-auree	(seeking.of marriage)	courting
neeman-bàakii	(seeking.of mouth)	quarrelsomeness
neeman dangìi	(seeking.of family)	claiming fictitious relationship with influential people
neeman-faɗàa	(seeking.of fight)	quarrelsomeness
neeman-girmaa	(seeking.of status)	being generous
neeman-jinii	(seeking.of blood)	in: **~ wurin baabèe**[23]
neeman-ƙibàa	(seeking.of fat)	in: **sun jee ~ sun saamoo ràamaa**[24]
neeman-kiifii	(seeking.of fish)	in **baa àa ~ à fakòo**[25]
sakìn-bàakii	(letting-go.of mouth)	talking indecently, by mistake, in presence of older person
sakìn-fuskàa	(letting-go.of face)	displaying a friendly expression on the face
saamùn-gàrii	(finding.of town)	parvenu[26]
saaran daurii	(chopping.of tonic.for.infants)	in: **~ bâa ɗaa** counting one's chickens before they are hatched[27]
saaran-goonaa	(chopping.of farm)	clearing bush
saaran-kòofatòo	(chopping.of hoof)	1) paring hoof 2) staining only edges of teeth 3) hitting player on finger-nail in game
saaran-kumbòo	(chopping.of calabash)	cutting gourd in two

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21 The two meanings arise because **kâi** may mean 'head' *or* 'self'.

22 The noun **af̃zìkii** means 'wealth'; it is used metaphorically to mean 'happiness in the household (marriage)'; see the VNC **zaman-girmaa-dà-af̃zìkii** and its opposite **zaman-tsìyaa** in section 5 (intransitive).

23 This expression is the equivalent of: 'trying to get blood out of a stone' (Hausa: '… out of a locust').

24 (Lit.: '3pl.CMPL seeking.of fat 3pl.CMPL found emaciation'). Meaning: 'Serves them right!'

25 (Lit.: '4p.NEG.CONT seeking.of fish in dry.place). Meaning: 'He's stingy.'

26 In: **saamùn-gàrii, kuturuu gaaɗaa cikin ramàa**. (finding.of town, leper (is) smacking.lips [or singing] [in] vegetable.plot). The metaphorical meaning of **saamùn-gàrii** is 'coming into something good'. See Abraham [A282] who gives an equivalent: **saamùn-wurii** [A775 under **samu**].

27 Literally: "Chopping (plants for) infant tonic (and) there is no child yet."

saaran-shuukàa	(chopping.of planting)	1) making holes for hoeing 2) in: **yanàa tàfiyàa yanàa ~** he has a contracted Achilles tendon
saaran sùumaa	(chopping.of hair.of.head)	shaving baby's head on naming day
saaran-tuujii	(chopping.of kind.of.grass)	young men's weeding grass on roads of towns and villages
sàyen-kiifii à-ruwa	(buying.of fish in water)	making deal on sth. one has not yet seen
shân-gwandàa	(drinking.of pawpaw)	(social) equal
shân-dàbgee	(drinking.of chicken.sauce)	luxurious living
shân-kàbeewàa	(drinking.of pumpkin)	pumpkin festival
shân-kâi	(drinking.of head)	1) going beyond norm 2) corralling animals
shân-kùnuu	(drinking.of bitter.drink)	frowning, scowling
shân-ruwaa	(drinking.of water)	drinking beer
shân-shaa	(drinking.of drink)	re-chewing tobacco
shân-tàttoofàa	(drinking.of spitting)	bragging
shân-tsaadàa	(drinking.of plum)	= **shân-gwandàa**
shikàn battàa	(letting-go.of receptacle)	divorcing wife by saying three times "I divorce you"
shìmfiɗàř-fuskàa	(spreading-out.of face)	positive, welcoming expression on face
sôn-iyàawaa	(liking.of being.able)	showing-off, putting on airs
sôn-jìkii	(liking.of body)	child's wanting to lie on parents or others
sôn-zuucìyaa	(liking.of heart)	following one's (anti-social) instincts
tàɓaa-kiɗìi, tàɓaa-kàřàatuu	(touch[28] drumming, touch studying)	"all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy"
tàunař-lìnzaamìi	(chewing.of bridle)	intimidation
tòonon-sìiliilìi	(digging.up detail)	subjecting p. to detailed interrogation
tsaarìn-mulkìi	(organisation.of power)	constitution (pol.)
wankan-amaryaa	(washing.of bride)	washing of bride before wedding

[28] The word **taɓàa** 'touch' is used here with the metaphorical meaning 'do th. from time to time'. This VNC appears without the linker; cp. the compound : **kàɗař-raaɓaa** and **kàɗaa-raaɓaa** (footnote 18, above).

wankan-angòo	(washing.of bridegroom)	washing of groom before wedding
wankìn-idòo	(washing.of eye)	charm
yankan-gaashìi	(cutting.of hair)	syphilis[29]
yankan-ƙàunaa	(cutting.of love)	humiliation
yankan-ƙuusàa	(cutting.of nail)	1) type of soap bar 2) sugarcane cut into small pieces

2. VNCs where NP is NDO of the VN

NP following linker = NDO 5

In the first example there are two meanings; the NP **'yan makaɽantaa** is the NDO in the first meaning and the *subject* in the second:

ɗaukàn-'yan makaɽantaa	(lifting.of children.of school)	1) caning schoolchildren 2) two to four persons lifting th. from different sides

cîn-gashìn kâi	(eating.of roasting.of self)	independence
ganin-bànten wâmbai	(seeing.of loincloth.of W.)	anything almost impossible

The following are complex compounds, each having *two* VNCs in apposition to each other. Both (complex) compounds have the same VNs, the same syntactic structure and the same meaning 'throwing away dirty water before one has got clean':

sakìn-na-baaya, kaamùn-na-gàba	(letting-go.of that.of behind, catching.of that.of in.front)
sakìn-na-hannuu, kaamùn-na-gùje	(letting-go.of that.of hand) catching.of that.of running)

3. VNCs where N(P) is subject of the VN

Transitive

N(P) following linker = subject 22

cîn-zanzanaa	(eating.of pox)	pock-marks on face
duukàn-iskàa	(beating.of demon)	mentally-ill p.
ganin-ƙyàashii	(seeing.of envy)	envy

[29] Thanks to Malam Ibro Chekaraou (Bloomington, 2000) for this example.

gooyon-kuuraa	(carrying.of hyena)	1) carrying so. sideways on back 2) tooth growing over other tooth [A335]
ganin-ma-shèeƙaa-ayaa[30]	(seeing.of those. winnowing tiger-nut)	looking at p. contemptuously
haf̃bìn-àlluuf̃àa	(shooting.of needle)	evil magic with needles
harbìn-iskàa	(shooting.of demon)	1) possessed p. 2) threat--ening pp. for no reason
jeerìn-gwàanoo	(lining.up.of stink.ants)	1) procession 2) queue, a line
kallon-ƙudaa	(observing.of flies)	staring at so. without blinking
kaamùn 'yan-tsàakii	(catching.of sons.of chickens)	novice's overturning top top with thumb and first finger of both hands
neeman kaucìi	(seeking.of tree-parasite)	in **~n kabàa**[31] seeking the unobtainable
neeman-mài gàatarii	(seeking.of owner.of axe)	not being able to see the nose on one's face[32]
sakìn-waawaa	(letting.go.of idiot)	beautiful girl divorced soon after marriage
saaƙàf̃-Gizò	(weaving.of Gizo)	plot, illusion
saaƙàf̃-gizò-gizò	(weaving.of spider)	spider's web
saaƙàf̃-zumàa	(weaving.of bee)	honeycomb
sanìn-shaanuu	(knowing.of cattle)	casually
saaran-bàrhoo	(chopping.of knife)	kolanuts damaged by cutting
saaran-waawaa	(chopping.of fool)	1) epithet of thorny shrub (**gaudɗèe**) 2) cutting green wood and leaving it to dry
shân-watàa	(roundness.of moon)	lump of salt from upper part of **kantùu**[33]
shân-zumàa	(drinking.of bee)	collecting honey
shuurìn-masàaƙii	(kicking.of weaver)	several times, uncountable

[30] The phrase **mashèeƙaa-ayaa** is a plural **ma-** compound.

[31] Lit.: 'seeking.of tree-parasite.of fronds-of-dum-palm-tree (**kabàa**)'.

[32] Abraham [A703] gives: "e.g. seeking spectacles and not realising one is wearing them."

[33] The shape of the upper part of salt cone (**kantùu**) is semicircular, like the moon. The VN **shâa** has the meaning 'perimeter' or 'edge' here. (The verb **shaa** 'drink' also has the meaning 'cut, mark edge of sth.' (= **shaatàa**).)

N(P) following linker = subject 40

ɓatàn bàsiiñàa	(getting-lost.of intelligence)	shortsighted act
ɓatàn-kâi	(getting-lost.of self)	losing one's way
ɓatàn-kàñàatuu	(getting-lost.of reading)	error in reading (esp. in Qur'anic school)
ɓatàn-watàa	(getting-lost.of moon)	missing period (generally due to pregnancy)
dàariyañ-kàree	(laughing.of dog)	display of fierceness by exposing teeth
dàariyañ-ƙudaa	(laughing.of fly)	laugh of infant showing first sign of sense
fañgañ-Jaajì	(awakening.of J)	remembering sth. when it's too late[34]
fìtañ-baayaa	(exit.of back)	external hemorrhoids
fìtañ-buñtuu	(exit.of bird)	sudden and forceful exit
gìñgizàñ-ƙasaa	(shaking.of earth)	earthquake
gudùn-tàatsattsañ àkuyàa	(running.of milked goat)	running away when too late
haihùwañ guzumaa	(giving-birth.of old-cow)	1) simultaneous downing of two competitors 2) falling of two people helping each other
hàuhawàñ-jinii	(mounting.of blood)	hypertension
kùmburin-Dimkà	(swelling.of D)	kind of bus
kwanton ɓaunaa	(lying.in.wait.of buffalo)	lying in wait, ambush
ƙuunañ baƙin-waakee	(burning.of black.of beans)	suicide mission
mutuwàñ tsoohuwaa	(death.of old.woman)	type of children's game
rawañ-jìkii	(dance.of body)	trembling
ruuɗèewañ cikìi	(disturbance.of stomach)	upset stomach
sàleeɓàñ-zumàa	(stain.of honey)	empty words
sàukañ-kàñàatuu[35]	(arrival.of study)	graduation from school (esp. Qur'anic school)
shìgañ-shirgìi	(entering.of pile)	meddlesomeness
sùɓutàñ-bàakii	(slip.of mouth)	slip of the tongue

[34] This VNC refers to the story of Jaji, a man who paid a large sum of money for a charm to make him invisible, but remembered the words to make the charm work only when his opponent's sword was chopping off his head!

[35] Here **kàñàatuu** is the metaphorical subject.

tàfiyàř-àgwàagwaa	(going.of duck)	rolling stride of fat p.
tàfiyàř kuuraa	(walking.of hyena)	writing Arabic accusative as in Ar.
tàfiyàř-ƙaaguwaa	(walking.of crab)	boys' walking on hands
tàfiyàř-tunkìyaa	(walking.of sheep)	writing Ar. accusative *not* as in Ar.
tàfiyàř ruwaa	(walking.of water)	1) infantile convulsions 2) Engl. cursive writing
tàfiyàř-tsuutsàa	(walking.of worm)	1) tickling 2) cursive writing
taashìn-gwauron zàaboo	(rising.of man.of[36] guinea-fowl)	suddenly outdistancing contemporaries
taashìn-hancìi	(rising.of nose)	arrogance
taashìn-hankàlii	(rising.of sense)	crisis, turmoil
taashìn-kâi	(rising.of head)	arrogance
taashìn-zuucìyaa	(rising.of heart)	nausea
tòotsiyař-kàree	(placing.sticks.of dog)	asymmetrical teeth, esp. one behind other
tsàyuwař-watàa	(rising.of moon)	1) new moon 2) standing on hands
wankan-gwaarii	(washing.of Gwari)	woman's washing self keeping loins covered
wankan-tařwaɗaa	(washing.of catfish)	medium complexion
yaawòn-jàakai	(walking.of donkeys)	wandering about town
zuwàn-kâi	(coming.of self)	ejaculation

4. VNCs where N2 of the NP is the subject of the VN

Transitive

N2 following linker = subject 17

cîn-ƙwan màkaunìyaa	(eating.of egg.of blind.woman)	doing too much of same thing, or again and again
cîn-kùnaamàř ƙàdangarèe	(eating.of scorpion.of lizard)	painful gain pyrrhic victory
ɗaukàn-duman magàajii-dà-niishìi	(lifting.of gourd.of heir with groaning)	irrelevant anger[37]
ɗaurìn-awaakin màkàafii	(tying.of goats.of blind-people)	type of string puzzle

[36] The word **gwauroo** means 'man whose wife has just left him (alone).'

[37] In this compound the adjunct, **dà niishìi** follows **magàajii**, the subject and **dumaa**, the NDO of the VN (**ɗaukàa**).

ɗaurìn-buutàr̃ màkàafii	(tying.of bottle.of blind-people)	in: **yunwàa taa yi masà ~** [38]
ɗaurìn-buutàr̃ maalàm	(tying.of bottle.of teacher)	1) suffering 2) punishment[39]
ɗiibàn-karan mahaukacìyaa	(taking.of straw.of madwoman)	grabbing and throwing out so./sth. (weaker than oneself)
ganin-watàn kùreegee	(seeing.of moon.of squirrel)	p. trying to draw child's heel round its neck[40]
jiràn-gàawon shaanuu	(waiting.of acacia.of cattle)	waiting for sth. good
kallon-hadarìn kàajii	(observing.of storm.of chickens)	glaring, contemptuous look
kaamùn gafiyàr̃-Baidù	(catching.of bushrat.of B)	in: **bìyù-byûu ~**[41]
kaamùn-kàazar̃ kuukù	(catching.of chicken.of cook)	cruelty
shân-ruwan kàajii	(drinking.of water.of chickens)	place not sewn when sewing two pieces of cloth together
shân-ruwan raaƙumàa	(drinking.of water.of camels)	doing thing occasionally
sôn-ràaƙumin yâaraa	(liking.of camel.of children)	1) childish "crush" 2) wanting th. as long as it remains at a distance
yankan-kùnkurun Bàlaa	(cutting.of tortoise.of Bala)	merciless treatment

Intransitive

N2 following linker = subject 2

gudùn-tàatsattsar̃ àkuyàa	(running.of milked.of goat)	running away when it's too late
tàfiyàr̃-itàacen ƙàdangarèe	(walking.on tree.of lizard)	procrastination

[38] (Lit.: hunger 3sCMPL do him tying.of bottle.of blind-people) Meaning: 'hunger troubled him'.

[39] Originally this referred to punishing a pupil by tying both hands and feet together with one rope to be caned and left like that for some time.

[40] Bargery [B360] considers this to be a "cruel trick".

[41] The expression **bìyù-byû: kaamùn-gafiyàr̃-Baidù** means "falling between two stools". The tone lowering on the first member of **bìyù-byû** (two-two) is an instance of tone lowering affecting a part of speech other than a verb (see chapter 4.2.1.2).

5. VNCs where the N (noun, VC or VNC) following the linker suggests the *type of action* expressed in the VN

Transitive 15

auren-dangànà sàndaa	(marriage.of lean.on) stick	uxorilocal marriage
auren-doolè	(marriage.of must)	forced marriage[42]
auren ɗiibàn-wutaa	(marriage.of scooping.of fire)	marriage of woman to man so that she can re-marry divorced husband[43]
auren gàyyaa	(marriage.of collective.work)	marriage in which man marries quickly to forget newly divorced wife[44]
auren[45] jîn-daaɗii	(marriage.of feeling.of pleasure)	1) temporary marriage[46] 2) marriage of two people of disparate age, different class, etc.
auren-sadakàa	(marriage.of alms)	marriage in which the brideprice is waived[47]
auren-sòoyayyàa	(marriage.of love)	love marriage
auren zùmùntaa	(marriage.of relationship)	marriage between two families to 'cement' relations
cìraƙ-ƙoodagoo	(pulling.of work)	achieving wealth, position or learning by p. whose ancestors did not [48]
dakàn-kuukàa	(pounding.of crying)	banging a load down on p.'s head

[42] This VNC has an equivalent: **auren-tiilàs** (marriage.of must). The words **doolè** and **tiilàs** are "modal adverbials" [PN591].

[43] The following is an equivalent: **auren-kisàn-wutaa** (marriage.of killing.of fire).

[44] In Rayuwar Hausawa (198°:16) the authors also call this kind of marriage: **auren-ɗiibàn-haushii** (marriage.of scooping.of anger), **auren-ɗiibàn-tàkâicii** (marriage.of scooping.of indignation), **auren-ɗiibàn-tsiiwàa** (marriage.of scooping.of insolence), **auren-keecè-rainìi** (marriage.of tear-up contempt) or **auren-kashìn-ƙwàƙnàfii** (marriage.of killing.of flatulence).

[45] This VNC has an equivalent: **auren-sôn-zuucìyaa** (marriage.of love.of heart). See the VNC **sôn-zuucìyaa** in section 1, above.

[46] This kind of marriage is forbidden in Islam.

[47] The bride's father waives the brideprice; this is seen as a kind of alms (**sadakàa**) given to the groom.

[48] This VNC also allows the same meanings as **cìraƙ-ƙwalloo** in section 1, above.

ɗaurìn-taalaalaa	(tying.of looseness)	1) loose knot 2) house arrest[49]
juuyìn-jùuyà haalì	(turn.of change situation)	political revolution
kallon ƙùruu	(observing.of reckless-courage)	staring at so. without blinking
kaamùn dàacee	(catching.of appropriateness)	in: **yaa yi ~** "he hit the nail on the head"
saaran gàyyaa	(chopping.of collective.work)	drumming to announce collective work

Intransitive 13

gudùn-gyaaran daagaa	(running.of repair.of frontline)	strategic retreat
gudùn-hijiřaa	(running.of asylum)	being in exile, seeking asylum
kwaanan-auree	(spending-night.of marriage)	pre-Islamic custom now forbidden[50]
kwaanan azancii	(spending-night.of **---**talking-sense)	smartness, intelligence
kwaanan zàncee	(spending-night.of talking)	story behind sth. or reason for doing sth.
kwaanan-zàune	(spending-night.of sitting)	spending night talking before important event[51]
tsayìn-dakàa	(stance of pounding)	firmness (of stance)
tsàyuwař-dakàa	(stance of pounding)	firmness (of stance)
wankan tsařkii	(washing.of purification)	washing after urinating, intercourse, etc.
yaawòn-àmaanàa	(journey.of trust)	extortion in villages by chiefs
zaman-ařzìkii	(living.of wealth)	living happily
zaman-girmaa dà-ařzìkii	(living of size and wealth)	in: **munàa zaman ~ dà shii** we get on well with him
zaman-tsìyaa	(living.of poverty)	living unhappily

[49] House arrest is also known as **zaman-ɗaurìn-taalaalaa**.

[50] On remarrying a previously married woman spends a night with her future husband before the official marriage ceremony.

[51] 1) Spending the night by a bride and her friends the night before she is taken to the groom's house. 2) Spending the night doing sth. important like reading or studying (e.g. the night before the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad).

6. VNCs with an adverb or noun expressing instrument, place, time or quality compared

Transitive		12
awòn-gàba	(measurement.of foreward)	1) headstart 2) in: **yi ~ dà X** whisk X away
awòn-igiyàa	(measurement.of rope)	1) extremely tall or long 2) plot of land being measured in traditional manner using rope
dakàn jiyà	(pounding.of yesterday)	petite p. (e.g. who doesn't age quickly)
fîn-ƙarfii	(excess.of strength)	in: **an yi manà ~** we were outmatched, overcome, oppressed
gooyon-baayaa	(carrying.of back)	supporting p.
gooyon cikìi	(carrying.of stomach)	wife bearing first child at parents' home
hàngen-neesà	(looking.of far.away)	foresight, forecast
haɽbìn-dawà	(shooting.of bush)	disease caused by spirit
haɽbìn-kaskoo	(shooting.of small-bowl[52])	evil magic
saaƙàɽ-zuuci	(weaving.of heart)	contemplation, deep thoughts, pondering
saaran-dare	(chopping.of night)	stealing fencing at night for firewood
yîn-hannu	(doing.of hand)	handmade

Intransitive		9
gudùn-dawà	(running.of bush)	diarrhea
kwaanan-gidaa	(spending.night.of home)	sleeping at one's paramour's house
kwaanan-keesòo	(spending.night.of mat)	corpse (to be buried in morning) spending night at home
rawaɽ-daajìi	(dance.of bush)	military manoeuvres
taashìn-ƙauyèe	(rising.of village)	bumpkin
taashen-bàlagàa	(rising.of maturity)	adolescent sexual urge
taashìn àsùbâa	(rising.of dawn[.prayer])	Qur'anic school session at dawn
taashìn-kìyaamàa	(rising.of perusia)	day of judgement
zaman-tàare	(living.of together)	social interaction, living together

[52] Abraham [A501] gives: "magically shooting soul of enemy in pot of water".

7. VNCs with a "cranberry"[53]

The word following the linker is a cranberry

Transitive 4

cîn-mùmmùƙee	(eating.of ?)	covert persecution
ganin-kwaf	(seeing.of ?)	inquisitive desire to see the very last of a display
haɗîn-gàmbiizàa	(joining.of ?)	1) combination of things (esp. clothes) that do not go well together 2) (temporary) coalition
kisàn-gillàa	(killing.of ?)	1) massacre 2) cold-blooded murder

Intransitive 3

ɓatàn-ɓàkàtantàn	(getting.lost.of ?)	losing two opportunities
gudùn-ƙuƒnàa	(running.of ?)	type of food
tsallen-baɗakee	(jumping.of ?)	hurdles (in athletics)

8. VNCs with noun, adverb, numeral or second VN – and no linker

Transitive 8

cîi-baaya	(eating backwards)	regression, reactionary attitude
cîi-gàba	(eating forwards)	continuation, progress, civilisation
duukàa-wuyà	(beating neck)	name of Kano city gate
duukàa-ɗaukàa	(beating taking)	mature girl ready for marriage
saaraa-duukàa	(slashing beating)	in: **'yan ~** unruly or violent youths
saaraa-suukàa	(slashing piercing)	thuggery
suukàa-dubuu	(piercing thousand)	embroidered cap decorated with holes
jîi-dà-kâi	(feeling with self)	pride, self-esteem

Intransitive 5

kwaanaa-keesòo	(spending.night mat)	epithet of ostentatious but penniless young man[54]

[53] For a discussion of cranberries, see chapter 6.3.6.

[54] Contrast the meaning of **kwaanan keesòo** (with a linker, in section 6, intransitive): 'corpse (to be buried in the morning) spending night at home'!

kwaanaa rawaa	(spending.night dancing)	tinkling ear-pendant
shìgaa-bâa biyàa	(entering without paying)	caged police van
shìgaa-jirgii	(entering train)	in: **maatansù sun ìsa maatan ~** their women are pretty
shìgaa-shaɽ̃ò[55] **bâa-shaanuu**	(entering ritual.test without cattle)	meddlesomeness

[55] The **shaɽ̃ò** is a ritual test for young Fulani men before they marry.

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