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An Analysis of Intensive Forms in Hausa Verbs

I. Intensive form of various types of verbs

1. Intensive form of two-syllable verbs

Two-syllable verbs represent the most numerous group in Hausa. According to Parsons¹ the majority of such verbs are radical. Most often the intensive form of these verbs is constructed by means of reduplication of the first syllable, when the syllable is closed, or that of the first syllable and first consonant of the following syllable, when the syllable is open. In other words, the first three phonemes of the verb are repeated. According to Parsons, both simple and intensive forms, have the following structure:

Simple (1)	Intensive (2)
(a) CV(V/C)CV	(a) CV(V/C)CV(V/C)CV
(b) CV(V/C)CVV	(b) CV(V/C)CV(V/C)CVV
(c) CV(V/C)CVs/r	(c) CV(V/C)CV(V/C)CVs/r

(2) becomes an intensive form of (1) when the first and second syllables are identical (considering phonetic modifications resulting from the combination of two syllables).

The most common phonetic modification is assimilation of the final consonant of the first syllable to the initial one of the second syllable, in accordance with the phonetic principles of the Hausa language which admit back assimilation only. In his analysis of the phenomenon of assimilation R. C. Abraham distinguishes complete and partial assimilation². On the other hand he notes compulsory and

¹ "Those again of type (2) whose first syllable (allowing for regular junctional modifications) is identical in shape with their second syllable, are plural, or frequentative forms of simple verbs of type (1), which all have this potential", F. W. Parsons, *The Verbal System in Hausa*, "Afrika und Übersee", XLIV, p. 6.

² *Hausa Literature and the Hausa Sound System*, London 1959, p. 152.

optional assimilation. In all the above forms the first three consonants in a verb are identical. Let us discuss the compulsory assimilation first.

Velar +labial:

$k+f > ff$, $g+b > bb$, $k+f > ff$

e.g., *faka* 'to shelter', 'to shelter behind a person' (B.³ 293) int. **fakfaka* > *faffaka*;
buga 'to strike', 'to beat in any way', 'to thresh by beating' (B. 123), int. **bugbuga* > *bubbuga*;

fika 'fang of feline or canine animal', 'to sharpen anything to a point' (B. 320), int. **fikfika* > *fiffika*.

$k+w > ww$, $k+w > ww$, $g+w > ww$, $n+w > ww$

e.g., *wakilta* 'to meet someone as a representative', int. **wakwakilta* > *wawwakilta*;
wage 'to spoil' (the hole of the well), int. **wagwage* > *wawwage*;
wanke 'to wash', int. **wanwanke* > *wawwanke*⁴.

Velar + alveolar

$g+z > zz$, $g+s > ss$, $k+s > ss$, $k+d > dd$, $k+t > tt$

e.g., *zaga* 'to go round a place', 'to go round a place', etc. (B. 1120), int. **zagzaga* > *zazzaga*;

sage 'to become stiff', 'to stiffen', 'to render rigid' (B. 881), int. **sagsage* > *sasf sage* (B. 910);

saka 'to reward', 'to recompense p. for t.', 'to retaliate p. for t.', (B. 884), int. **saksaka* > *sassaka* (B. 910);

dake 'to pound all of t.', 'to pound completely' (B. 196), int. **dakdake* > *dad-dake*;

taka 'to tread on', 'to trample on', int. **taktaka* > *tattaka* (B. 1006).

$k+r > rr$, $k+r > rr$, $g+r > rr$

e.g., *raga* 'to reduce price to person', 'to reduce speed of' (B. 830), int. **ragraga* > *rarraga* (B. 843);

raka 'to strike', 'to beat' (B. 835), int. **rakraka* > *rarraka* (B. 843);

rika 'to keep on doing t.', 'to hold stakes in gambling', int. **rikrika* > *rirrika* (B. 855).

Alveolar + alveolar

$t+d > dd$

e.g., *data* 'to reach age of about 8 or 10', 'to reach height of about 4 feet' (B. 237), int. **datdata* > *daddata*.

Alveolar +palato-alveolar

$t+\text{ʃ} > \text{ʃʃ}$

³ G. P. B a r g e r y, *A Hausa-English Dictionary and English-Hausa Vocabulary*, London 1951.

⁴ These examples, quoted in R. C. A b r a h a m, *Hausa Literature...*, p. 154, are not attested in any other dictionary, including *Dictionary of the Hausa Language*, London 1962, by the same author.

e.g., *shata* 'to comb out partly', 'to mark out plan or outline of a house or of pattern' (B. 937), int. *shatshata*, *shasshata* (B. 932).

Labial + labial

$f+w > ww$

e.g., *wafce* 'to grasp something', 'to carry away something', int. **wafwafce > waw-wafce*.

$f+m > mm$

e.g., *mafa* 'to teach', int. **mafmafa > mammafa*⁵

Assimilation takes place also when *y* is the second consonant; in this case *y* does not cause palatalization of the preceding consonant.

$b+y > yy$

e.g., *yaba* 'to daub', 'to plaster on to' (B. 1097), int. **yabyaba > yayyaba* (B. 1115).

$g+y > yy$

e.g., *yaga* 'to tear', 'to reap' (B. 1099), int. **yagyaga > yayyaga*.

$k+y > yy$

e.g., *yaka* 'to make war on', int. **yakyaka > yayyaka*.

Assimilation also occurs in case of the following combinations of consonants: $b+z > zz$, $f+z > zz$, $b+s > ss$, $f+s > ss$, $b+sh > ssh(\check{s})$, $b+r > rr$, $f+r > rr$, and $m+r > rr$. Numerous examples of such may be found in Abraham's *Hausa Literature* (p. 155).

There exists a group of verbs whose intensive form has, at the same time, two shapes, i.e., that resulting from assimilation at the junction of the first and second syllable, and the form in which such process did not take place. Such cases Abraham describes as optional assimilation⁶ and states that they may take place where *r* results from dissimilation⁷ of another alveolar or where an infix *n* appears. Therefore *r/l*⁸ or *n* may function as final vowel of a first syllable. E.g., *kashe* 'to kill', int. *ka(k)kashe*⁹, *karkashe* (K), *kalkashe* (S), *kaskashe* (st. H) (M. 253); *fashe* 'to break irregularly', int. *fa(f)fashe*, *farfashe*, *falfashe* (S. Kats.); *bita* 'to cover or smother p. with t. which can be blown about by wind' (B. 114), int. *bibbita*, *birbita*, *bilbita* (S. Kats.) (B. 107); *bice* 'to extinguish (lamp, fire)' (B. 103, A. 97), int. *bibbice*, *birbice*, *bilbice* (A. 102).

⁵ Both forms, quoted by Abraham in *Hausa Literature...* (p. 155), do not appear elsewhere.

⁶ Ibid., 156.

⁷ A coronal consonant may change, in final position, into *r*., irrespective of a phoneme following it. Thus dissimilation does not occur.

⁸ *l* is a dialect variation of *r*. It appears in Sokoto, Katsina and Zaria. Cf. G. P. Barger, *A Hausa-English Dictionary and English-Hausa Vocabulary*, p. XXV.

⁹ A. Mischlich, in his *Wörterbuch der Hausasprache*, Berlin 1906, marks dual pronunciation of a consonant only in Arabic transcription, by means of *w*. He does not transcribe the intensive forms and that is why, apparently, there is no double notation in his work of consonants in the intensive form.

In the above examples *r* is a consequence of the operation of the rule referring to final consonants¹⁰, according to which coronale consonants change into *r* in final position. Not all the intensive forms, however, have a dialect variation with *l*, e.g., *fada* 'to tell', 'to say' (B. 287), int. *faffada*, *farfada*; *kutsa* 'to rush at a project without preparation, consideration, etc.' (B. 660), int. *kukkutsa* (B. 663), *kurkutsa* (B. 652).

In the material collected by the present author only two examples have been found of assimilation of stem *r*, i.e., *kare* 'to complete', 'to finish', int. *kakare* (B. 535), *karkare* (B. 570), *burtse* 'to refuse to be pacified or coaxed', 'to refuse to follow or accept advice', int. *bubburtse* (B. 120), *burburtse* (B. 137).

Beside assimilation, an infixed *r* appears in the material three times. This phenomenon is noted by A b r a h a m who does not discuss it. Here are the examples: *hana* 'to prevent', 'to hinder', 'to prohibit', 'to forbid', int. *hahhana* (B. 434), *harhana* (B. 454); *haga* 'to obtain goods by false pretenses, etc.' (B. 434), int. *hahhaga* (B. 434), *harhaga* (B. 454). The verb *hage* has an identical intensive form — it is derived from the verb *haga* and ends in *e*. Apparently the presence of *r* does not result from any of the rules referring to final consonants that have been discovered so far. There is a possibility that analogy may operate here — the intensive forms containing *r* are relatively frequent — or some other laws which cannot be defined at the moment because of the limited number of examples available. This phenomenon, which is similar to the existence of infixed *n*, requires further study.

The intensive form containing *n* in the initial position of the first syllable, as a variation of the form with assimilation, occurs as often as that with *r*. There exist two examples in which *n* appears as a variation of the form with assimilation. In the first one *m* in the final position of the first syllable of the simple form of a verb changes into *n* in the final position of the first syllable of the intensive form before dental consonants. E.g., *soma* 'to begin' (B. 951), int. *sassoma* and *sansoma* (B. 901); *tsima* 'to make an ink for use on paper', 'to steep herbs for medicinal purposes' (B. 1031), int. *tsittsima* (B. 1041) and *tsintsima* (B. 1039). In the remaining examples *n* is an infixed consonant, e.g., *jaba* 'to plaster or daub excessively' (B. 844), int. *jajjaba* and *janjaba* (B. 491); *datsa* 'to cut off a portion,' 'to bide off a portion' (B. 237), int. *daddatsa* and *dandatsa* (B. 214); *gyada* 'to nod the head' (B. 428), int. *gyaggyada* (B. 429) and *gyangyad'a* (B. 429).

In certain verbs reduplication did not cause any consonant changes. This group of verbs is not structurally uniform and the intensive forms here have been constructed in differing ways. In two cases reduplication of the first three phonemes produced two variations of the intensive form — one variation with assimilation and another one without it. E.g., *gaya* 'to go over passage with pupil' (B. 374)

¹⁰ See A. Klingenberg, *Die Silbenauslautgesetze des Hausa*, "Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen", XVIII, p. 288.

int. *gaggaya* (B. 345) and *gaigaya* (B. 346); *faye* 'to be characterized by' (R. 98,¹¹ B. 315), int. *faffaye* (R. 92) and *faifaye* (B. 293)¹².

Irregular intensive forms from the verbs *koya* and *kore* represent a separate problem against regular intensive form from the verb *kona* 'to burn', 'to be burned' (A. 537), int. *kwakkona* (A. 577) and *kwankona* (A. 586). The verb *kore* 'to drive' (R. 226) has the intensive form *kwakkore* and *kokore* (R. 225) and, similarly, *koya* 'to teach' (R. 228, B. 625) — *kwakkoya* and *kokoya* (R. 228). The forms *kokoya* and *kokore* are contradictory to the rule relative to the velar consonants¹³, or, which is less probable, only the first two phonemes have been subject to reduplication. It is possible, however, that the whole problem can be explained by inaccurate phonetic notation made by Robinson. In the remaining dictionaries neither *kokore* nor *kokoya* are found, while *kwakkoya* and *kwakkora* are quoted in Bargery's.

The verb *nāce* 'to be persevering' (B. 810) has two intensive forms, i.e., *nannāce* (B. 815) and *nānace* (B. 814) (in the Katsina and Gobir dialects). Even if in the latter instance reduplication took place, its direction was different from the normal which is shown by the position of the syllable containing long vowel. It seems to the present author that, though semantically the form *nānace* is derived from the verb *nāce*, it is, structurally, a noun verb derived from *nāci* 'persistence', 'perseverance' (B. 810). In *Principles of Hausa* (p. 89) Abraham states that it is a common method of constructing noun verbs to reduplicate the last syllable, adding, or not adding, *ta* or *che* syllable. In our case, by analogy, the first syllable is repeated and there is no need for adding the ending of noun verbs in view of the fact that alteration of a vowel at the final position of the word is sufficient factor. It is possible that *nānace* is a dialect form, though such differences in the Hausa dialects are not discussed in the literature on this subject.

The material collected by the present author contains one verb in intensive form in which *b* is preserved finally in the first syllable. This is *cibcibra*¹⁴, int. from *cibra* 'to mould loaves, pellets' (M. 594). Mischlich, in his dictionary notes only the intensive form *tshitshibra* (M. 594) and the other sources do not quote an intensive form from *cibra* at all.

¹¹ C. H. Robinson, *Dictionary of the Hausa Language*, Cambridge 1925.

¹² Bargery does not recognize any difference in meaning between *faye* and *faifaye* and does not specify the latter form as intensive.

¹³ J. Greenberg, in: *Some Problems in Hausa Phonology*, "Language", vol. 17, (1941), 4, writes as follows: "...We may assume that there was originally non-phonemic variation in the velars, by which they were palatalized before front vowels and labialized before back vowels. With the shift in the pronunciation of non-pausal -e- and -o- to -a-, the original palatalization and labialization were retained, giving *k'a* and *k^wa* respectively... The reality of this shift can be demonstrated in cases where there is a morphophonemic alternation of long vowel in closed syllable in accordance with the normal syllabic structure of the language." (p. 30).

¹⁴ ...*sa'an nan ne, a ke cibcibra damanen garin nan...* 'then loaves are formed out of this flour' (cf. A. Mischlich, *Wörterbuch*, p. 133).

a. Intensive forms—pattern CVrCV(V/C)CV/V

In the majority of cases *r* is a result of another coronale consonant which always becomes *r* in the final position. Eg. *huta* 'to rest' (B. 470), int. *hurhuta* (B. 470); *baza* 'to spread out to dry' (A. 94), int. *barbaza* (A. 80); *baje* 'to destroy', 'to be destroyed' (A. 60), int. *barbaje* (A. 80); *wasa* 'to sharpen a knife' (B. 1086), int. *warwasa* (B. 1085); *kitsa* 'to plait the hair' (B. 615), int. *kirkitsa* (B. 611). In several instances *r* is the third phoneme of the verb in simple form and it does not assimilate in the intensive form, e.g., *fara* 'to begin' (B. 301), int. *farfara* (B. 305); *gara* 'to roll any circular object rapidly along the ground', 'to drive cycle, motor-vehicle quickly' (B. 363), int. *gargara*.

The alternation *r/l* occurs only in the case in which *r* results from the change of a final coronale e.g., *fasa* 'to break irregularly', 'to disperse a gathering' (B. 308, R. 95), int. *falfasa* (R. 92), *farfasa* (B. 305); *watsa* 'to sow' (M. 622), int. *walwatsa* and *warwatsa* (st. K.) (M. 622). The verb *gilla* 'to slaughter' (B. 383, A. 320) has two intensive forms, i.e., *gilgilla* (B. 383) and *girgilla* (A. 324). Neither A. nor B. contains any implication of dialect usage of either of the above forms. It can be assumed, however, that *girgilla* is a Kano form. The change of *l* into *r* has most probably taken place by analogy to other forms in which a form with *l* in the Sokoto and Katsina dialects corresponds to that with *r* in the Kano dialect.

b. Intensive forms — pattern CVlCV(V/C)CV/V

In some verbs the presence of *l* results from the fact that this is a final consonant of the first syllable of the verb in its simple form. E.g., *bullu* 'to appear', 'to make an appearance', 'to come out', 'to become manifest' (B. 128), int. *bulbullu* (B. 127); *kille* 'to sever', 'to chop off at a blow', 'to mutilate' (B. 603)¹⁵, int. *kilkille* (B. 693); *kile* 'to thrash', 'to knock down', 'to throw' (B. 602), int. *kilkile* (B. 603). In other cases *l* occurs in the intensive forms of verbs in the Sokoto, Katsina, Zaria and Gobir dialects. In those verbs *l* is a consequence of the change of the coronale consonant in the final position, e.g., *aje* 'to put down', 'to set aside', 'to save' (B. 12), int. *al'aje* (B. 12); *mutka* 'to strike p., animal, or t.' (B. 807), int. *mulmutka* (B. 799); *wada* 'to scatter', 'to disperse' (B. 1071), int. *walwada* (B. 1078); *bida* 'to seek for' (B. 103), int. *bilbida* (B. 106); *bishe* 'to bury' (B. 113), int. *bilbishe* (B. 107).

c. Intensive forms — pattern CVnCV(V/C)CV/V

Some of the verbs constructed according to this pattern have *n* in the final position in the first syllable of the simple form of the verb and reduplication of the first three phonemes does not result here in any consonant changes, e.g., *jinda* 'to strike pestle on corn', 'to pound' (B. 504), int. *jinjinda* (B. 505); *jinke* 'to make and fix

¹⁵ According to B a r g e r y this form appears in the Kano and Katsina dialects. In the Sokoto dialect there exists the form *kire* (B. 609) which, however, has no intensive form.

thatched roof to house' (B. 506), int. *jinjinke* (B. 505); *dana* 'to fix an arrow to a bowstring', 'to adjust a trap', 'to cock a gun', 'to raise tail (scorpion) preparatory to stinging' (B. 208), int. *dandana* (B. 212); *gina* 'to build with clay, bricks or cement' (B. 384), int. *gingina* (B. 386); *yanka* 'to cut p. with knife', 'to slaughter' (B. 1106), int. *yanyanka* (B. 1108).

In some verbs *n* results from certain phonetic modifications. Here everywhere *m* is an initial consonant of the second syllable (the first syllable is open). In three cases the initial consonant of the first syllable is dental, e.g., *jima* 'to wait a short while' (R. 174), int. *jinjima* (R. 175); *zame* 'to rein in a horse sharply so as to cause it to slither along the ground' (B. 1127), int. *zanzame* (B. 1131); *sama* 'to find', 'to discover', 'to obtain' (B. 892), int. *sansama* (B. 900). This phenomenon is in accordance with the rule that *m*+alveolar gives *n*+alveolar¹⁶.

Twice the initial consonant of the verb is velar. According to A b r a h a m¹⁷, a labial plus velar should produce two velar consonants. In the material available there may be found examples which confirm this position (e.g., *kama* 'to catch', 'to seize', 'to lay hold of' (B. 542), int. *kankama* (B. 553); *kuma* 'to repeat', 'to do again' (B. 637), int. *kunkuma* (B. 643) as well as such which seem to deny it (e.g., *guma* 'to become tired out', 'to become tired of doing t.', 'to become bothered', 'to throw food or tobacco into the mouth', int. *gumguma* (B. 407). For such verbs as *kama* and *kuma* the process of formation of the intensive form would develop in the following way: **kamkama* > *kankama*, **kumkuma* > *kunkuma*. The intensive form from the verb *guma* does not, on the other hand, reveal any consonant changes.

In two verbs the reduplication of the three initial phonemes has left no traces whatsoever in orthography which does not mark the length of vowels. These are *biya* 'to read with movement of lips, whether audibly or not', 'to pay', int. *bibiya* (B. 103), and *riya* 'to intend to', 'to decide to' (B. 860), int. *ririya* (B. 859). The length of the vowel in the first syllable attests to the reduplication of the three initial phonemes. Because of the fact that the first syllable of the verb in its simple form is short, and the first syllable of the verb in its intensive form contains long vowel, the lengthening of the vowel in the first syllable of the intensive form has been carried out at the expense of *y*, i.e., the final consonant of the latter syllable.

The above examples lead to the conclusion that the group *Ciy* produces in the intensive form the group *Ci*. Special research would be necessary in order to establish whether this transition is necessary in the group *Ciy* in all the grammatical forms¹⁸.

d. Intensive forms in which reduplication does not produce any consonantal changes

This category includes all the intensive forms in which the third phoneme of the simple form is preserved. The examples containing *n*, *r*, and *l* have been already discussed, as well as the example in which *m* is retained. In the remaining examples

¹⁶ Cf. R. C. A b r a h a m, *Hausa Literature...*, p. 158.

¹⁷ Op. cit., p. 160. *n* denotes here velar *n*.

¹⁸ Op. cit., p. 160. A b r a h a m maintains that the junction *iy* always results in *ī*.

the third phoneme of both forms is represented by *y*, e.g., *haya* 'to cross over', 'to ford a river' (B. 461), int. *haihaya* (B. 436). *Haye* — a form ending in *e* — also retains *y* in the intensive form *haihaye*; also *taya* 'to tear the skin of fowl, when plucking' (B. 1011), int. *taitaya* (B. 976). According to A b r a h a m¹⁹, *y*, like *n*, may, but is not bound to, be subject to assimilation.

Among the two-syllable verbs only one verb has the intensive forms containing *r*, *l*, and *n*, i.e., *kada* 'to beat', 'to beat up' (A. 440, B. 517, R.180), int. *karkada* (B. 570, A. 489), *kalkada*, *kankada* (R. 190).

In one case only, i.e., before a labial consonant, *m* replaces *n* in the final position. Before *b* the change of *n* into *m* is necessary, whereas before any other labial consonant this change is possible, e.g., *banka* 'to urge horse on', 'to drive p. away angrily', int. *bambanka* (A. 70); *banke* 'to collide with and knock over', 'to drink up all of large quantity' (B. 78), int. *bambanke*.

e. Intensive form (pattern CVrVrrVCV/V) from verbs having the pattern CVrCV

This is a specific category of intensive forms, represented by a small number of verbs (13). Those, though attested in more recent dictionaries of the Hausa language, have not been subject of separate treatment up to now.

Some of the verbs belonging to this group have two intensive forms, one of them being constructed by means of reduplication and another one having the pattern CVrVrrVCV. E.g., *girda* 'to uproot forcibly and remove to some place' (A. 324, B. 388), int. *giggirda* (B. 381) and *girirrida* (B. 390), (A. 325); *murda* 'to twist', 'to wring' (B. 802), (A. 685), int. *mummurda* (A. 800) and *mururruda* (B. 804, A. 679). *Murde* (B. 802) — a form from the latter verb ending in *e* — also has two intensive forms, i.e., *mummurde* and *mururrude*. To this group also belong: *narka* 'to melt' (B. 815), int. *nannarka* and *narrarka* (B. 815), *sarke* 'to become dense, tangled, interlaced, intertwined, interwoven' (B. 908, A. 784), int. *sassarke* (B. 905) and *sararraka* (B. 911)²⁰; *karya* 'to snap t. across' (B. 574), int. *kakkarya* (B. 535) and *karairaya* (B. 560). The lack of assimilation in the latter case is justified because in the case of *y* assimilation is possible but not absolutely necessary. The verb *harba* 'to fire gun' (B. 452) has the intensive forms *hahharba* and *harharbā*. A dialect form *halba* (Sokoto, Katsina and Gobir) has the intensive form *halallaba* (B. 440). *Haifa* 'to give birth to (by female)', 'to beget (by male)' (B. 435) (int. *hahhaifa* and *hayayyafa* (B. 462)) is the only verb in which a new syllable is built on the basis of a consonant other than *r*.

For yet another group of verbs the above is the only way of constructing the intensive form, e.g., *barke* 'to rip open' (B. 88, A. 85), int. *bararrake* (B. 79, A. 83); *kurba* 'to sip' (A. 561, B. 649), int. *kururruBa* (A. 567, B. 655). The verbs *garje* 'to

¹⁹ Cf. op. cit., p. 156.

²⁰ In A b r a h a m's *Dictionary* (783) there is no difference in meaning between *sararraka* and *sarka*. The former is regarded by the author as a variant of *sarka*, not as an intensive form.

take a firm stand' (A. 306, B. 367), *darsa* 'to pour in drops, a small quantity in or out of t.' (A. 196, B. 234), and *sarce* 'to comb out' (A. 784, B. 906) have their intensive form constructed in the same way. The verb *tartse* 'to smash' (A. 855, B. 1000) has two intensive forms, i.e., *tararratse* (A. 853, B. 997) and *tartsatse* (B. 1000).

The above examples indicate that the final consonant of the first syllable acquires this syllable's vowel in order to form a new syllable. Next, the new syllable is subject to repetition, according to the principles of its construction and being accompanied by the phenomena characterizing repetition. The whole process could be presented in the following way: *darsa* > **darasa*, int. **darasrasa* > *dararrasa*; *girda* > **girida*, int. **giridrida* > *girirrida*; **kurba* > *kuruba*, int. **kurubruba* > *kururruba*. *Karairaya* — the intensive form from the verb *karya* — seems to be a decisive evidence for the repetition. Owing to the lack of assimilation of *y* to *r* it was possible to conceive here the intermediate stage in the construction of the intensive form of such type. Its structure is identical with that of the intensive form of three-syllable verbs, built by the repetition of the second syllable.

The verb *girma* 'to grow big' has a derivative form *girirrima* which is used only before plural object. Although this is one of frequent uses of the intensive form no dictionary defines *girirrima* as an intensive form from *girma*.

f. Repetition of the second syllable as a way of forming the intensive forms of the two-syllable verbs

As is well known, the repetition of the last syllable of a verb yields derivative verbs of *special type*²¹, derived from nominal and verbal roots. The dictionaries consider two such verbs as intensive forms, i.e., *tartsa* 'to take a bee-line to a place' (B. 1000), int. *tartsatsa* (B. 1000); *tartse* 'to smash', int. *tartsatse* (B. 1000)²². F. W. TAYLOR²³ quotes some more examples characterized by repetition of the last syllable which he treats as the intensive, e.g., *girma* 'to grow big', *girmama* 'to respect' (e.g., *sarki ya daukaki M* — 'a chief respects M').

2. Intensive form of the three-syllable verbs

The number of three-syllable verbs in the Hausa language is considerably smaller than that of the two-syllable ones. According to PARSONS, the structure of the simple and intensive forms here is as follows:

Simple (2)	Intensive (3)
(a) CV(V/C)CV(V/C)CV	(a) CV(V/C)CV(V/C)CV(V/C)CV
(b) CV(V/C)CV(V/C)CVV	(b) CV(V/C)CV(V/C)CV(V/C)CVV
(c) CV(V/C)CV(V/C)CVs/r	(c) CV(V/C)CV(V/C)CV(V/C)CVs/r

²¹ Cf. F. W. PARSONS, *The Verbal System in Hausa*, pp. 6—7.

²² The verb *tartse* has two intensive forms: *tararratse* and *tartsatse*, see above.

²³ *A Practical Hausa Grammar*, Oxford 1959, p. 102.

The verbs of type (3) whose first and second, or second and third syllables, are identical in shape (with the same regular junctional modifications) are plural forms of radical, extended or derivative verbs of types (1) and (2)²⁴.

a. Intensive form with identical first and second syllables

Similarly to the two-syllable verbs, the three-syllable ones most often produce their intensive forms by means of repeating first three phonemes. The phenomena occurring here do not differ from those discussed above and assimilation is the most frequent result of the junction of two syllables. E.g., *giciya* 'to place t. transversely' (B. 379), int. *giggiciya* (B. 381); *dulmuya* 'to sink', 'to become immersed' (B. 273), int. *duddulmuya* (B. 270); *bagure* 'to be (become) nicked or chipped' (B. 59), int. *babbagure* (B. 51); *damfara* 'to compress t. consisting of several units' (B. 206), int. *daddamfara* (B. 181); *daduma* 'to clutch a lot of anything' (B. 184), int. *daddaduma* (B. 179); *dakira* 'to eat a great deal of some food which is not one's regular standard diet', int. *daddakira* (B. 180); *boƙara* 'to put forth strength in order to pick up a load' (B. 117), int. *babboƙara* (B. 52); *gatsina* 'to make a sneering grimace (by woman)' (B. 373), int. *gaggatsina* (B. 344).

In the material available to the present author some verbs possess the intensive forms in which the final consonant of the first syllable is both assimilated and not assimilated, e.g., *dakuna* 'to mess a clean thing with dirty fingers' (B. 198), int. *daddakuna* (B. 181) and *dandakuna* (B. 212); *tajina* 'to pester', 'to bother', 'to cause trouble to' (B. 976), int. *tattajina* (B. 1006) and *tantajina* (B. 994); *haddace* 'to learn by heart', 'to become an expert in any work' (B. 433), int. *hahhaddace* (B. 434) and *harhaddace* (B. 435); *kyatila* 'to do or give a very small quantity of anything', 'to make a slight abrasion on the skin' (B. 704), int. *kyakkyatila* (B. 698) and *kyar-kyatila* (B. 705); *dambara* 'to plaster or daub excessively' (B. 204), int. *daddambara* (B. 181) and *dandambara* (B. 212); *shimfida* 'to spread', 'to spread out', 'to lay down', 'to do great deal of' (B. 940), int. *shishshimfida* and *shinshimfida* (B. 941). In both examples at the beginning of the above list we notice, beside assimilation, an infix *n* before a dental consonant. The following two examples illustrate the operation of the rule concerning the change of a final coronal consonant into *r*, and the junction of *r* and a velar may, but is not bound to, cause assimilation of the former consonant²⁵. Further two examples may be included in the category of verbs in which the repetition of the three phonemes has not caused any changes. In the simple form *m* appears finally in the first syllable because the following consonant is labial. But after repetition of the three phonemes a dental, not labial consonant, is initial in the second syllable, and before dental consonants appears *n*.

b. Intensive forms — pattern CVrCV(V/C)CV(V/C)CV/V

In contradistinction to the intensive forms from twosyllable verbs this variation is attested much less often. In all forms *r* is retained finally in the first syllable; this

²⁴ F. W. Parsons, *The Verbal System in Hausa*, p. 6f.

²⁵ Cf. Abraham, *Hausa Literature...*, p. 157.

consonant is the third phoneme of the verb in its simple form. E.g., *birkita* 'to muddle up', 'to turn over or round' (B. 112), int. *birbirkita* (B. 110); *karkata* 'to twist t. out of shape' (B. 571), int. *karkarkata* (B. 570); *wargaza* 'to scatter', 'to put to flight', 'to bring to naught' (B. 1083), int. *warwargaza* (B. 1085). In all cases *r* is in junction with a labial or velar consonant to which it may, but is not bound to, assimilate.

c. Intensive forms — pattern CVnCV(V/C)CV(V/C)CV/V

This group of intensive forms is more numerous and it includes some 60 verbs. Some of them retained final *n* of the first syllable of the simple form, e.g., *dandara* 'to knock down', 'to fell' (B. 212), int. *dandandara* (B. 213); *dankafe* 'to stick to' (B. 221), int. *dandankafe* (B. 213). In the above examples *n* has not assimilated to the coronale and velar consonants. Another group is represented by the intensive forms in which *n* results from consonantal changes, i.e., more precisely, from the change of *m* into *n* before consonants other than labial, e.g., *dambare* 'to be bespattered with adhesive t.' (B. 204), int. *dandambara* (B. 212); *kumbura* 'to swell', 'to inflate', 'to puff out' (B. 639), int. *kunkumbura* (B. 643).

A phenomenon just contrasting the above situation is found in eight instances. Here final *n* of the first syllable of the simple form of the verb changes into final *m* of the first syllable of the intensive form, e.g., *bincika* 'to search or enquire into', 'to look thoroughly into a matter', 'to get at the root of a matter' (B. 107), int. *bimbincika* (B. 107); *bangara* 'to chip off', 'to break off' (B. 75), int. *bambangara* (B. 72); *buntsura* 'to purse (the lips)' (B. 131), int. *bumbuntsura* (B. 129). These changes are caused by *b* in the initial position of the first syllable of the verb.

In two verbs we notice the preservation of final *m* of the first syllable of the simple form of the verb, i.e., *ambula* 'to fling handfuls of anything at, into or on' (B. 29), int. *amambula* (B. 27); and *gumfare* 'to become a great size', 'to become important' (B. 407), int. *gumgumfare* (B. 407).

Two intensive forms, quoted by G. P. B a r g e r y in his dictionary, are very difficult to explain. These are: *cigita* 'to search' (B. 158), int. *cicigita* (B. 157) and *hamfuda* 'to throw into the mouth anything in the form of a powder' (B. 443), int. *hahamfuda*. They seem to be the example of repetition of the two phonemes only. The length of vowels does not offer any explanation in either case and there is no reason to suppose that these are dialect forms.

d. Intensive form with identical second and third syllables

The way in which this form is constructed does not differ from those discussed above. The second syllable is repeated if closed, and the second syllable and the first consonant of the third syllable are repeated if the second syllable is open. In this category as well the most numerous are the forms in which the final consonant of the second syllable becomes assimilated to the initial consonant of the third syllable of the intensive form. E.g., *gutsura* 'to break piece off t.' (A. 347); *habaka* 'to expand', 'to swell', 'to increase in volume' (B. 431), int. *hababbaka* (B. 431); *kudura* 'to knot', 'to tie in knot' (B. 630), int. *kududdura* (B. 629).

The verb *ribanya* 'to repeat an action' (B. 851) has an intensive form with assimilation (*ribabbanya* (B. 850, A. 731) and one without it (*ribambanya* (B. 851). The latter form is quoted by Robinson in his dictionary (p. 333) as *ribanbanya* 'to cause growth'.

e. Intensive form with *r* in the final position in the second syllable
(pattern CV(V/C)CVrCV(V/C)CV/V)

In the material collected by the present author, in four cases *r* is a product of the change of the final coronale consonant, e.g., *rikita* 'to tangle', 'to muddle up' (B. 856), int. *rikirkita* (B. 856); *rikida* 'to metamorphose', 'to transform' (B. 856), int. *rikirkida* (B. 856); *tafasa* 'to boil' (B. 972), int. *tafarfasa* (B. 971). In three verbs *r* is the third phoneme of the repeated unit, e.g., *tabara* 'to get out of control' (B. 961), int. *tabarbara* (B. 967); *sawwara* 'to make a likeness or drawing of a thing', 'to ponder', int. *sawarwara* (B. 916)²⁶.

f. Intensive form with *l* in the final position in the second syllable
(pattern CV(V/C)CVlCV(V/C)CV/V)

In the material at the author's disposal *l* is the third phoneme in the repeated unit, e.g., *makale* 'to lodge in', 'to become stuck in tree' (B. 753), int. *makalkale* (B. 753).

g. Intensive form with *n* in the final position in the second syllable
(pattern CV(V/C)CVnCV(V/C)CV/V)

n appearing finally in the second syllable was found twice where it is the third phoneme of the repeated unit, e.g., *razana* 'to be terrified' (A. 724), int. *razanzana* (A. 729); *azanta* 'to contrive a device', 'to make a proposal as to how a thing is to be accomplished' (B. 47), int. *azanzanta* (B. 47).

In such verbs as *sawaya* 'to exchange one thing for another' (B. 916), int. *sawaiwaya* (B. 916), and *farauta* 'to hunt (an animal)' (A. 253), int. *faraurauta* (A. 253), the repetition does not cause any consonantal changes.

The verb *juwiya* 'to turn, twist t. round on its basis', 'to turn t. over', 'to translate' (B. 511), int. *juwiviya* (B. 511) presents a special case. Usually *i+y* gives in effect *i²⁷*. In this case, however, the third phoneme of the repeated unit apparently disappears completely, because of the absence of a long vowel that could be expected here.

h. Verbs having two variations of the intensive form, with the repetition of the first and second syllables

In these verbs the repetition of the first syllable is always accompanied by the assimilation of final consonant of the repeated syllable, whereas the repetition of the second syllable is not so regular, e.g., *makure* 'to throttle', 'to strangle', 'to seize by

²⁶ This is an exceptional shape of an intensive form. In the process of construction of the intensive form one stem consonant (more precisely, semivowel *w*) has disappeared completely. The same phenomenon is noticeable in the verb *gayyata* 'to ask', 'to invite persons to assist in communal work or to assist a number of workers' (B. 376), int. *gaggayata* (B. 345). In the whole of the material collected so far these are the only forms in which repetition caused changes inside stem.

²⁷ Cf. A b r a h a m, *Hausa Literature...*, p. 164.

the throat' (B. 760), int. *mammakure* (B. 766) and *makurkure* (B. 760), etc. The verb *takira* 'to make efforts to walk' (B. 980) has the intensive form *tattakira* (B. 1006) and *takarƙara* (B. 979).

In one verb *i+y* yielded *ī*: *hadiya* 'to swallow' (B. 433), int. *hadīdiya* (B. 433), *hahhadiya* (B. 434) and *harhadiya* (B. 454). In two other verbs the repetition follows the *juwīwiya* pattern, e.g., *dakwiya* 'to eat a great deal of some food which is not one's regular standard diet' (B. 189), int. *daddakwiya* (B. 181) and *dakwikwiya* (B. 199). The verb *dagwiya* 'to gnaw severely', 'to tear meat from bone', 'to eat a large quantity of meat' (B. 191) has its intensive form constructed in the same way.

3. Intensive form of one-syllable verbs

These verbs will be discussed in their present shape, without considering their origins and mutual relationships. The most frequent intensive form from a verb of CV/V type is CVCCV/V, in which the consonants are identical, e.g., *zo* 'to come' (A. 974), int. *zazzo* (A. 973); *sha* 'to drink' (B. 918), int. *shassha* (B. 932); *hau* 'to mount', 'to climb' (B. 457), int. *hahhau* (B. 435); *ja* 'to pull', 'to draw', 'to drag' (B. 483), int. *jajja* (B. 487). *cicci* (B. 156) is one of the intensive forms of the verb *ci* 'to eat', 'to conquer', 'to win', 'to gather' (B. 154).

The verb *je* 'to go to' (A. 420) has the intensive form *janje* (A. 417), i.e., CVnCV/V. Here, as well as before, an infixed *n* precedes a dental consonant. The verb *gan*, a derivative from the verb *gani*, used before a pronominal object, forms its intensive by the repetition of the whole verb. In *gangan* (B. 358), having frequentative meaning from *gani* 'to see', *n* could, but was not bound to, completely assimilate to the velar consonant.

The verbs *bī* 'to follow', 'to follow after', 'to obey' (B. 102) and *ci* 'to eat', 'to conquer', 'to win', 'to gather' (B. 154) have special intensive forms, *bībīya* (B. 103) is the intensive form from the former verb, whereas the latter has three variations of its intensive, i.e., *cicci* (B. 156), *cīcīya* (B. 157) and *cicciya* (A. 139). Beside the verb *bī* there exists the verb *biya* 'to go', 'to travel', 'to read with movement of lips, whether audibly or not' (B. 115). The causative form *biyad da*, *biyar da*, is equivalent to the causative form *bī da*. The connexion between these two verbs is certain, but its explanation would require more detailed examination of the one-syllable verbs. Similar is the case of the verb *ci* which does not have a form *ciya* connected with it, but its causative form *cī da* has a variation *ciyad da* (B. 167).

Most probably the pattern CVCCV/V of the intensive form of one-syllable verbs is due to analogy to other intensive forms in which, in the majority of cases, the repeated syllable is closed.

4. Intensive form from the verbs beginning with glottal stop

The problem of verbs beginning with 'a vowel' has been explained by A. Klingenberg²⁸ who stated that "a syllable in the Hausa language begins with a consonant,

²⁸ *Die Silbenauslautgesetze des Hausa*, p. 282.

inclusive of laryngal ' '. This rule has been confirmed later by J. Greenberg,²⁹ R. C. Abraham,³⁰ and other writers. All these authors come to the conclusion that, though glottal stop is not clearly audible at the beginning of a word, it is the intensive forms in which the final consonant of the first syllable assimilates to the initial consonant of the second syllable, where double pronunciation of glottal stop (") is clear. G. P. Bargery noted only one', e.g., *afa* 'to throw into one's mouth', int. *a''afa* (A. 2), *a'afa* (B. 1). The intermediate stage of the above processes may be found in the intensive forms in which assimilation of the final consonant of the first syllable has not been carried out, e.g., *aje* 'to put down', int. *al'aje* (Sokoto, Katsina) (B. 12); *ambula* 'to fling handfuls of anything at, into or on' (B. 29), int. *am'ambula* (B. 27).

II. Structure of verbs intensive in shape

Like the intensive forms these verbs may be divided into two groups; those in which the first and second syllables and the second and third syllables are identical.

1. Verbs in which the first and second syllables are identical

a. The verbs with the pattern CVCCV(V/C)CV/V, in which three initial consonants and first two vowels are identical, represent a very numerous group. Nevertheless, the quantitative proportion of these verbs to those in which the second syllable differs from the first and third one, is 1 : 2, while in connexion with the intensive forms this proportion was 3 : 1. In view of great number of these verbs and because of the fact that the rules concerning their phenomena have been already discussed, the relevant problems will be illustrated by means of one example without mentioning the processes taking place in it. The above structure may be exemplified by the verb *tattala* 'to care for', 'to look after' (B. 1006).

b. Verbs with the pattern CVCCV(V/C)CV/V, with a variation without assimilation

Here the verb *faffaro* (R. 94) 'to chase', 'to persecute' is an example for a variation with *r*, and the verbs *zazzalo* (B. 1139) and *zalzalo* 'to protrude' are examples for a variation containing *l*. In both cases the final consonant of the first syllable is identical with the initial one of the third. A variation with *n* is exemplified by *tsattsala* (A. 880) and *tsantsala* (A. 877) 'to flee'; in the latter case we notice *n* infix before a dental consonant.

c. Verbs with the pattern CVrCV(V/C)CV/V

With one exception, in all the verbs of this type the initial consonant of the third syllable is represented by a coronale or by *r*, e.g., *kurkutsa* 'to upbraid or abuse

²⁹ *Some Problems in Hausa Phonology*, p. 318.

³⁰ Abraham, *Hausa Literature...*, p. 139.

p. severely', 'to spur a horse excessively' (B. 652); *gurgura* 'to know' (B. 413). In one verb, i.e., *kirkinta* 'to look carefully after t. to prevent spoiling' (B. 611) *r* is similar to rarely occurring infixes *r* in the intensive forms.

d. Verbs with the pattern CVr/ICV(V/C)CV

The verbs in which both variations appear simultaneously, *r* for Kano and *l* for Katsina and Sokoto, resemble the intensive forms not only in structure but in one more aspect. In the intensive forms the alternation *r/l* in the place of the final consonant of the repeated syllable occurs only when *r* is a consequence of the change of another coronal in the final position. The same phenomenon would have taken place if, after separation of the first syllable, the intensive forms were constructed on the basis of the remaining part of the verb, e.g., *farfada* and *falfada* 'to recover from an illness' (R. 94). Though the verb *warwara* has a dialect form *walwala*, both *r*'s have changed into *l*.

e. Verbs with the pattern CVICV(V/C)CV/V

In this group all the verbs, with one exception, contain *l*, either finally in the second syllable or initially in the third, e.g., *kalkala* 'to shave well', 'to sweep place thoroughly' (B. 539); *bilbilta* 'to surpass' (A. 100). In neither case a dialect form accounts for the presence of *l*. However, the verb *kwalkwashe* 'to become spoilt' (about a child's character) (B. 679) occurs in the Gobir dialect. If one tried to construct an intensive form from the non-existent verb **kwashe*, *kwalkwashe* would have been one of the possibilities.

f. Verbs with the pattern CVnCV(V/C)CV/V

This whole group of verbs can be divided into two. The first sub-group contains the verbs in which *n* appears but finally in the first syllable, i.e., the verbs corresponding to the intensive form containing infixes *n*, e.g., *gangara* 'to descend', 'to flow down', 'to roll down' (B. 359). The other sub-group includes the verbs in which *n*, beside final position in the first syllable, appears also finally in the second syllable, or initially in the third, when the second is open, e.g., *tsantsanta* 'to use t. sparingly to make it last' (B. 1029); *cancana* 'to look well after and care for a thing' (B. 149). With the latter group are connected the verbs in which *m* is final consonant in the second syllable or final consonant of the third syllable, e.g., *gunguma* 'to wash out the mouth with medicine for toothache' (B. 410).

g. Verbs with the pattern CVmCV(V/C)CV/V

In this group of verbs a labial consonant is initial in the second, and consequently in the first, syllable. The labial consonant *b* is always preceded by *m*, and for *f* there exists an alternation *m/n*, e.g., *bambara* 'to rub off', 'to strip', 'to scrape off', 'to peel off' (B. 73); *famfatsa* (B. 297) and *fanfatsa* (R. 92) 'to smash into fragments'.

One verb in this group appears in two variations simultaneously. One of them has *r*, and another one *n*, in the final position in the first syllable. This is *kankara* 'to scrape t. comparatively lightly' (B. 555, A. 474) and *karkara* (A. 482). According to R. C. A b r a h a m *karkara* is a Katsina form.

h. Verbs with the pattern CVyCV(V/C)CV/V

All verbs belonging to this group have *y* in the initial position of the third syllable, while the second syllable is open, e.g., *baibaya* 'to thatch some of several houses requiring to be thatched' (B. 60, A. 59). These verbs are particularly instrumental in explaining the structure and origins of verbs intensive in shape because on their basis it is possible to conclude positively that such verbs have been constructed owing to the repetition of the first syllable of the verb in its simple form, though the simple form as such is not in use.

2. Verbs in which the second and third syllables are identical

a. Verbs of the type CV/V/rVrrV(V)CV/V

The structure of these verbs is similar to that of the intensive forms of the two-syllable verbs whose new syllable is based on a stem vowel, e.g., *kyararrabe* 'to become old, infirm, decrepit, dilapidated' (B. 703). This group of verbs is the most numerous one. *r* in its position may be replaced by a coronale consonant, e.g., *ratattaka* 'to smash to pieces' (A. 726, B. 845), a labial, e.g., *rafaffaka* 'to go slowly and carefully' (B. 729), and by a velar consonant, e.g., *ragwaggwaba* 'to boil meat till it becomes disintegrated' (B. 833, A. 715). In the material collected by the present author there is only one verb in which in this position is found *n*, i.e., *kanannada* 'to curl up' (A. 470, B. 458).

b. Verbs of the type CV(V)CVrCV(V/C)CV/V

Within this group it is possible to differentiate between two cases: either the fourth syllable has *r* in the initial position, e.g., *digirgire* 'to carry some load on the head' (R. 79), or the fourth syllable has in this position a coronale consonant, e.g., *nukurkusa* 'to harass', 'to treat badly', 'to discourage' (B. 823).

c. Verbs of the type CV(V)CVICV(V/C)CV/V

Here, in the majority of cases, *l* operates as the initial consonant of the last syllable, e.g., *yagalgala* 'to tear to pieces' (B. 1100). The verb *gwabalbashe* 'to thrash soundly' (B. 415, A. 345) is an example in which *l* does not appear in such position. According to A b r a h a m, this form occurs in Sokoto and this fact explains the presence of *l* convincingly, having assumed that the middle syllable has been repeated in this form. Certain verbs with attested dialect variations, like *sakwarkwace* (K.) and *sakwalkwace* (S.) 'to become slack', 'to become slack in any work in which one had some ability' (A. 769, B. 888), are another proof that here the repeated forms occur.

d. Verbs of the type CV(V)CVnCV(V/C)CV/V

In the verbs of this type *n* operates not only as the final consonant in the second syllable, but it also functions as such consonant in the third syllable or as an initial consonant of the fourth syllable, the latter case being similar to the intensive form with the repetition of the middle syllable. In the final position of the third syllable or in the initial position of the fourth syllable *n* may be easily replaced by *m*. E.g.,

rikingina 'to lie on the back' (M. 402); *badandama* 'to make beginner's first efforts at' (A. 55, B. 55); *sakankance* 'to know for certain', 'to be positive' (B. 885). The last example, owing to its last syllable *ce*, is similar in structure to the noun verbs.

e. Verbs of the type CV(V)CiCiCV/V

Here *y* is the initial consonant in the last syllable, e.g., *cukwikwiya* 'to put on a turban untidily', 'to tangle up t.' (B. 150, A. 151). Among the intensive forms there exists analogical structure where the unit *Ciy* was repeated giving in effect *Ci*, i.e., the lengthening of the vowel at the expense of the final consonant. The unit *Cay*, however, has not been subject to any change in the process of constructing the intensive form. The intensive forms included here do not differ at all from such verbs as *karairaya* 'to give oneself airs', 'to strut about' (A. 480).

III. The scope of meaning and use of the intensive form

It is very difficult to establish the scope of meaning of the forms discussed in the previous chapters. The dictionaries offer very few meanings of the intensive forms and it would be necessary to collect more relevant material. However, sufficient number of examples would not solve the problem entirely because, in order to precisely define the meaning of the forms concerned, it would be indispensable to study the spoken language and be able to receive information concerning every nuance of the form in question. The following section is based upon the dictionary data and examples taken from the texts serve only as illustrations.

The material available suggests that there exist two main semantic categories. The first of them contains specific characterization of an action, and here the intensive meanings — generally speaking emphasizing the expressed notion — are most frequent. In the second category the meaning is frequentative, denoting the recurring character of an action. On the following pages the meaning of the intensive form will be treated as a semantic nuance, extending or better defining the meaning of the simple form of the verb.

1. Intensive meaning containing specific characterization of an action

Many verbs belonging to this group denote violent, complete or accurate execution of an action, e.g. (1) *fizge* 'to snatch', 'to draw forth', 'to take out', 'to take off' (R. 101), int. *fiffizge* 'to tear off violently' (R. 99); (2) *kare* 'to end', 'to finish', 'to come to an end', int. *karkare* 'to come utterly to an end' (R. 201), e.g., *duniya za ta karkara* (R. 201) 'this world shall come utterly to an end'; (3) *kaba* 'to knock forcibly against p.', 'to shake' (B. 513), int. *kakkaba* 'to shake thoroughly'. To the same group of verbs belongs *kariya* 'to break' (R. 203), int. *kakkariya* 'to break up' (R. 189). Related to those meanings is the verb *kashe* 'to kill' (R. 207), int. *karkashe* 'to slaughter' (R. 204). Other shades in meaning, more difficult to grasp, may also appear, e.g., in connexion with the verb *bude* 'to open' — *ta bubbude idanu*

'she opened her eyes wide' (R. 47). Similarly we have *jefa* 'to throw', 'to cast', int. *jajjefa da* 'to pelt' (R. 171); and *tokara* 'to apply stick to t.', 'to support or prop up', 'to help', 'to support', int. *tattokara* 'to go slowly and carefully' (B. 1006)³¹. The examples found in the texts enable to add some other shades in meaning, very difficult to conceive, though their presence in the examined sentences is justified, especially when we remember that on the whole the intensive emphasizes the notion being expressed. Comparatively clear is the following sentence: ... *Wata rana John ya fado daga kan itace ya kukkuje kafarsa...* (G. 11th November, 1960), which can be translated as follows: 'one day John fell off a tree and hurt his foot very badly'. Similar meaning has the intensive form from the verb *fasa* 'to split', e.g., ...*ana farfasa su da dutsi...* (M. t. 135) 'they (nuts) are split by means of stones'. It is difficult to establish how far intensive is the meaning contained in the following sentence: ...*ana rurufe gonan nan da ganyaye...* (M. t. 137). The translation 'this field is getting covered with leaves' seems to be most suitable and it does not contain any intensive meaning. In order to introduce it we should add some adverb, e.g., fully, completely, etc., or to translate the sentence into frequentative meaning, e.g., '...gets covered with leaves repeatedly'. In this example, however, no element supports either translation.

2. Frequentative meaning

The material found in the dictionaries suggests that this is the most common meaning of the intensive form. R. C. A b r a h a m usually translates the intensive form into 'keep on ...'. It seems to the present author that each intensive form may assume the recurring character of an action, e.g., *daka* 'to beat', 'to pound', 'to thresh or grind corn' (R. 66), int. *dandaka* 'to pound or break up again', 'to castrate' (R. 70); *gudu* 'to run away' (A. 337), int. *gurgudu* 'to run time after time' (A. 345); *ci* 'to eat', int. *cicci* 'to eat again and again' (A. 139). The material collected so far contains one intensive form not attested in any dictionary, i.e., *wurwuche*, from *wuce*, 'to pass by', e.g., ...*Suna wurwuche wurare da duwarwatsai...* (OZS, p. 167) 'they were often passing through rocky places'. This is not the only possible translation of this sentence, especially that both its subject and object are in plural and this fact may to some extent condition the use of the intensive form. Similar meaning for the intensive form is quoted in connexion with the verb *shiga* 'to go in', 'to enter', int. *shishiga* 'to go constantly to a place' (R. 374).

3. Intensive forms expressing distributiveness

Distributiveness seems to be the third important semantic category connected with the intensive form. It means that an action has been carried out by each subject separately or that it concerns each object in the same way. Distributiveness of the

³¹ B a r g e r y does not regard this meaning as an intensive from *tokara*.

subject is several times attested in the dictionaries, e.g., *saya* 'to buy', *suka sasaya* 'each of them bought' (R. 364). One of the abbreviated forms constructed from the verb *gani* 'to see' is *ga* which has an intensive form *gaga*. The sentence *Mun gaga sarki* (M. 157) is translated by Mischlich as 'we have seen the king', e.g., 'each of us has seen a king'. In the texts distributiveness of the subject occurs relatively rarely, though the material collected by the present author contains several examples of this type, e.g., ...*Idan aka shirya wannan, sai su dudduba su daid'ai yadda ake samunsu da yadda ake shirya su kamin su zama abin amfani...*³² 'if this has been done let one after another see how this has been obtained (food of various kinds) and how they have been prepared before they became good for use'. More frequent is distributiveness of an object, also attested in the dictionaries (cf. *gaggaishe* 'to greet one after another'). Only some of the examples have clear distributive meaning, e.g., ...*Ga misalin yadda zai karkasa su...*³³ 'Here is the example according to which he will classify them (market goods)'. The sentence ... *ana dandamra hatsin nan dame-dame ...* 'this corn is sheaved' (M. t. 128) offers the intensive form in one of its meanings. Distributiveness of an object is evident in the following sentence: ... *Daga nan ya rarraba wa mutane 18 satifiket, su ne: ...* (G. 30th June, 1961) 'Afterwards he distributed among the people (each of them) 18 certificates, they were ...'. Equally clear distribution of an object, due to an adverb, we find in the following sentence: *Manyan kifaye a na yanyanka su gunduwa-gunduwa, kana a bandace* (M. t. 149) 'Big fish is cut into thick slices, then they should be dried up'.

4. The expressing of the plural number of subject or object

Apart from the above discussed semantic categories which seem to be the most important, a number of other meanings connected with the intensive form should be taken into consideration as well. These may be relative to the intensive or frequentative aspect of the form, or eventually to both. For example, in the intensive form of the verb may be contained the plural number of object, e.g., *harbe* 'to discharge a gun, bow', 'to shoot or hit with a bow or gun', (R. 148) int. *harharbe* or *halallabi*, freq. 'to shoot many of' (R. 149). This meaning may be also equipped with a nuance denoting the execution of an action relating to several objects in turn, e.g., *gaishe* 'to salute', int. *gaggaishe* 'to salute several in turn' (R. 109). In many examples there exist hesitations as to the translation that may express frequentative aspect, emphasis, or object in the plural number, e.g., *fuje* 'to pierce, used of canoe, to sink' (R. 103), int. *fuffuje* 'to pierce many holes, used of water dropping quickly' (R. 103). Similar hesitations we notice in the following sentence: ... *Kan la'asar ta yi, samari duka su kan dandaura jiniyoyi* (OZS, 206) 'When evening falls all the youths usually bind torches from grass'. The habit of doing

³² A b r a h a m, *Hausa Literature...*, p. 5.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

something is expressed in this sentence by the verbal form *su kan*, while the intensive form may express plural object or frequentative character of the actions performed. In the latter case the intensive form may denote, or rather emphasize, the subject in plural, or even distributiveness of the subject, meaning, in other words, that 'each of the youths binds torches'. The dictionaries quote the examples in which the intensive form assumes the plural number of the subject, e.g., *mutu* 'to die', 'to come to an end' (B. 807), int. *murmutu* 'to die, of a number of persons or things' (B. 774).

Each of the intensive forms may carry several intensive, frequentative or distributive meanings. Usually it is very difficult to establish precisely the meaning of the intensive form on the basis of a context and only in few cases the text is absolutely clear without the help of an informant.

IV. The scope of meaning of verbs intensive in shape

Beside noun and onomatopoeic verbs, e.g., *bulbula* 'to pour fluid from a small-mounted vessel, so that it makes a bubbling noise whilst flowing out' (B. 127), and beside a small number of verbs without any particular meaning, the majority of verbs belonging to this group have their meanings similar to those discussed in previous chapters.

The meaning of these verbs may be often supplemented with a nuance expressing the continuing of an action, e.g., *zalzala* 'to keep on urging p. to set out' (B. 1126). R. C. Abraham offers only one meaning, i.e., 'to persuade someone to do something' (A. 964). The verb *zalzalo* is presented in the following way: *ya zalzalo da harshe* 'it (panting dog, etc.) kept putting out its tongue' (A. 964). Other verbs with frequentative meaning are *bararraka* 'to boil on continuously' (A. 79) and *nanata* 'to repeat over and over again' (B. 814).

1. The meanings denoting specific characterization of action

The meanings of verbs belonging to this group usually correspond to the definitions of the intensive forms of verbs with a well-known basic form. Complete execution of an action: *lulluba* 'to cover the body completely with a cloth' (B. 731, A. 623), *gutsuntsuna* 'to break in pieces' (B. 416, A. 347), *famfatsa* 'to smash into fragments' (B. 287). Thorough execution of an action is emphasized in the verb *kalkala* 'to shave well', 'to sweep place thoroughly' (B. 539). In some verbs in the same way is expressed perfect (i.e., complete) execution of an action, e.g., *tantada* 'to do well', *ya tantada siki* 'he did the work well' (A. 851), *taltala* 'to do well, but used only with words of sweeping and shaving' (B. 985), *cancana* 'to look well after and care for a thing' (B. 149), *kankara* 'to make well', *ya kankara riga* 'he made the gown well' (A. 473). To this category also belongs the verb *sumulmula* 'to eat especially well made *tuwo*' (B. 959). Like in connexion with the intensive forms here also may appear, as a nuance in meaning, especially careful execution of an

action, e.g., *rafaffaka* 'to go slowly and carefully' (B. 829), *rarrafa* 'to go slowly', 'to drag oneself along (as aged or fatigued person)' (B. 843). The verbs intensive in shape also contain special emphasis on the rate at which the action is executed, e.g., *kwankwada* 'to quickly drink much of' (A. 586), *famfara* 'v. tr. emphasizes haste', *ya famfara doki* 'he galloped horse' (A. 248), *gaggauta* 'to be in hurry', 'to be over-eager' (A. 286). In some verbs the shade of violence is marked, e.g., *jijjiga* 'to shake violently', 'to feel a load in order to test its weight' (R. 173), *gwabalbashe* (S.) 'to thrash soundly' (A. 348).

This category also includes a group of verbs denoting actions whose execution requires special effort, e.g., *takarkare* 'to strive hard', 'to exert oneself' (A. 842), 'to put forth great effort in any undertaking' (B. 979), *kinkima* 'to carry heavy t. short distance with the hands' (A. 521), *cicciba* 'to lift heavy load', *ya ciccibi kaya* 'he lifted a heavy load' (A. 139). In the same group should be included such verbs as *babbake* 'to block up a place with one's body' (B. 51), *kyankyama* 'to drink much of' (A. 600), *daddaka* 'to drink much of', 'to uproot' (A. 162). Several verbs denoting eating and drinking have similar meaning, e.g., *dakai kaya* 'to eat much of' (A. 173).

Beside the meanings discussed above the verbs intensive in shape have limiting meaning. To this sub-group, which is not numerous, belong such verbs as *kunkuma* 'to pound a little', *ya kunkuma riga* 'he lightly beat a washed gown' (A. 555), *sansama* 'to lightly beat a washed garment' (B. 900). With this sub-group are connected the verbs denoting little amount of work remaining to be done, e.g., *kurkura* 'to cut short grass', 'to do small amount of work', 'to have a small gossip' (B. 652). The action may concern small object, e.g., *kwarkwara* 'to dip out small remainder of liquid' (A. 592).

In contradistinction to those, some verbs denote careless execution of an action, e.g., *gatsalsala* 'to scamp work', 'to eat in ill-mannered fashion' (B. 372), *gwajajjaba* 'to do a thing inexpertly or carelessly and hurriedly' (B. 421), *ya gwajajjaba aiki* 'he botched the work' (A. 350).

The verbs denoting spoiling, destroying, weakening, etc., form another section in this group, e.g., *dagwalgwala* 'to soil', 'to make mess of' (A. 169), *tukukkube* 'to become old and useless' (B. 1052), *kiciciye* 'to become muddled', 'to become hopelessy tangled' (B. 599), *tukwikwiya* 'to tangle t.' (A. 897), *gwararrabe* 'to come to the end of one's strength' (B. 425).

