

“GRADE 5” VERBS IN HAUSA: RETHINKING WHETHER THEY CAN BE CAUSATIVE

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Hausa has a non-productive class of morphologically complex verbs known as “Grade 5” (Parsons 1960/61), e.g., (all H tone with final **-ãr**) **kwantãr (dà)** gr5 ‘lay down’ < gr1 **kwântaa** ‘lie down’, **ciyarã (dà)** gr5 ‘feed’ < gr0 **ci** ‘eat’, **tuurãr (dà)** gr5 ‘push away’ < gr1 **tuuràa** ‘push’, etc. Traditional accounts, e.g., Bargery (1934:xxiii), Abraham (1959:68), defined gr5 verbs as “CAUSATIVE”, but Newman (1983) rejected the causative analysis and instead reanalyzed them as “EFFERENTIAL”, indicating action away from the speaker, a model basically followed in Wolff (1993:368ff.), Newman (2000:651ff.) and Jagggar (2001:248). The advantage of Newman’s insight was that it captured the underlying locative/directional meaning of gr5 verbs, e.g., (literal) **jeefãr (dà)** gr5 ‘throw away’ < gr2 **jèefaa** ‘throw at’, in addition to extended (metaphorical) senses, e.g., **sayarã (dà)** gr5 ‘sell’ < gr2 **sàyaa** ‘buy’ etc. The one weakness of the approach, however, lay in the fact that it did not allow for *any* causative grade 5 verbs, and so missed an important generalization—there *are* gr5 constructions where the newly-introduced causer/subject activates a process which induces a change-of-state in the object and which *are* therefore ANALYZABLE AS CAUSATIVES from a functional-typological perspective. This paper presents empirical arguments for a causative interpretation of these gr5 verbs, and correlates this extended change-of-state meaning with a change of location or orientation away from a source and to a goal (cf. Newman’s “efferential” notion).

When applied to verbs typically expressing (causation of) movement, e.g., ‘pour’, ‘push’, the derivative gr5 simply adds a change-of-location of the object, i.e., ‘away’ from a source [= where speaker is] to an unspecified locative goal, e.g. (gr1) **naa zubà kaayaa cikin leedàa** ‘I poured/put the things in the plastic bag’, but (gr5) **naa zubarã dà ruwaa** ‘I poured away the water’.

Elsewhere, by metaphorical extension from its core [source \Rightarrow (goal)] directional meaning and depending on the lexical semantics of the base verb, the derivative gr5 can express straightforward change-of-state CAUSATION (so-called “direct causation”).¹ The gr5 formation entails a valency-increasing reconfiguration of syntactic relations and semantic roles which is diagnostic of causatives, as follows:

√CAUSATIVE

1. Transitive-causative gr5 verbs formed on intransitive base verbs: in (unaccusative/inactive intransitive) **yaaròn yaa tsòoratà** (gr3intr) ‘the boy was afraid’, the experiencer ‘boy’ aligns with the syntactic subject, but in the corresponding valency-changing gr5 version **soojoojii sun tsooratarã dà yaaròn** ‘the soldiers frightened the boy’ the added agent ‘the soldiers’ is the new subject, the experiencer/causee argument ‘the boy’ now associates with the object, and the output is a straightforward semantic CAUSATIVE. Cf. too gr4intr **makàncee** ‘go blind’ \Rightarrow gr5 **makantarã dà** ‘blind’, gr3intr **suma** ‘faint’ \Rightarrow gr5 **sumarã dà** ‘cause to faint’, etc.
2. Causatives on transitive base verbs: in the basic 2-place construction (a) **yaaròo yaa ci shìinkaafaa** ‘the boy ate some rice’ (= gr0tr **ci** ‘eat’), ‘the boy’ is the agent/subject, but in the corresponding 3-place gr5 (b) **Hàliimà taa ciyarã dà yaaròo shìinkaafaa** ‘Halima fed the boy some rice’ ‘the boy’ is now demoted to the object slot and there is a new external

¹ To form “indirect causatives” (Shibatani & Pardeshi 2000, Haspelmath 2004), Hausa uses a periphrastic expression with the lexical verb **sâa** ‘cause’ (lit. ‘put’) in a double event/agent [X cause Y do Z] construction, where causee Y is also agential, and formally and functionally distinct from the morphological gr5 formations.

agent 'Halima'. Again the gr5 introduces a prototypical CAUSATIVE event. Cf. too gr2tr **sanii** 'know' ⇒ gr5 **sanā̃ dā** 'inform' etc.