

- kàramà cè, [ita yàrin yàf]
 (focus on *small* or afterthought mentioning of the girl or both?)
 cf. ita yàrin yàf] kàramà cè
 dabbóbi nè, [sù sàmàrin]
 cf. sù sàmàrin dabbóbi nè
 tauràrwá cè, [ita Madonna]
 cf. ita Madonna tauràrwá cè
 bà àbin tsòrò bá nè, [shi fànkàm-fayáu]
 cf. shi fànkàm-fayáu bà àbin tsòrò bá nè
- She's small, she the girl. (lit. small STAB she girl.the)
 She the girl is small.
 They're (like) animals, these youths.
 These youths are (like) animals.
 She's a star, she Madonna.
 She Madonna is a star.
 He is nothing to fear, this big bag of wind.
 He this big bag of wind is nothing to be afraid of.

7. Agent, Location, and Instrument (ma- Forms)

THERE are three related derivational formations that make use of a high-tone prefix *ma-*: agent, location, and instrument, e.g., *manòmí* 'farmer', *majēmā* 'tannery', *masassabí* 'harvesting tool'.

ØHN: This *m-* prefix is one of the more striking Afroasiatic retentions found in Hausa and other Chadic languages (Greenberg 1963).

These *ma-* forms are typically built on verb stems, although there are some exceptions. Where semantically appropriate, the same verb base can give rise to two or all three *ma-* derivatives, e.g.,

ma'àikàci worker, *ma'aikatā* factory, workplace
ma'aunā place where grain is sold by measure, *ma'auni* measuring device, scales
masàssàki carpenter, *masassakā* carpenter's work area, *masassaki* adze, carpenter's tool

1. AGENT (ma-...i)

1.1. Form

Nouns of agent, which are comparable to words with the *-er* ending in English, have three forms depending on gender and number. (Many words formed according to this derivation function also as adjectives, see below, §1.7). All agent nouns use the same H-tone *ma-* prefix. In addition, masculine singulars add a suffix *-i*^{HLH}, which results in an H(L)-(L)-L-H tone pattern. Feminine singulars use the suffix *-iyā*^{HLH}. The suffix for plural agents is *-ā*^{LH} with the same tone melody used with the masculine singulars. Examples:

	masculine	feminine	plural
quarrelsome psn	<i>mafādāci</i>	<i>mafādāciyā</i>	<i>mafādātā</i>
parent	<i>mahāift</i>	<i>mahāifiyā</i>	<i>mahāifā</i>
beggar, praise singer	<i>marōkti</i>	<i>marōkti yā</i>	<i>marōkā</i>
coward	<i>matsōraci</i>	<i>matsōraciyā</i>	<i>matsōrātā</i>

The plural formation as such is entirely regular. A few frozen/lexicalized agent nouns, however, employ other plurals, e.g., *magājīyā* / *magājīyōyi* 'a madam' f./pl.; *magūfiyā* / *māsu gūfā* = 'yan gūfā' 'woman who ululates during festivities' f./pl.; *maciji* / *macizai* 'snake' (lit. one who bites) m./pl.

°AN: Derivationally, *maciji* is formed from the verb *cizā* 'bite' even though in Hausa, snakes do not bite but rather *slash*, e.g., *maciji yā sārē ta* 'A snake bit (lit. slashed) her'.

Monosyllabic verbs employ an epenthetic /y/ between the verb root and the suffixal ending, e.g.,

bi	follow	mabiyi / mabiyā / mabiyā	a follower of s.o. (m./f./pl.)
fi	dislike	makīyi / makīyā / makīyā	enemy (m./f./pl.)
shā	drink	mashāyi / mashāyā / mashāyā	drinker, alcoholic (m./f./pl.)

In the above feminine forms, the sequence /iyā/ is usually pronounced without the /i/ between the two /y/'s. The floating L tone attaches to the preceding syllable to produce a fall, i.e., mabiyā → [mabiyā], makīyā → [makīyā].

1.2. Verb stems with -TA

The **ma-** forms are built on verb stems. Many of these verb stems are derived from noun roots by means of the verbalizing suffix -TA (chap. 79), e.g.,

mahāukāci	crazy, madman, idiot	< haūkātā	make s.o. crazy	< haūkā	madness
mahūkūci	judge, administrator	< hukūntā	judge, administer	< hukūmā	governing body
makāryāci	liar	< karyātā	falsify	< karyā	a lie
mashāwāci	adviser, counselor	< shāwātā	advise	< shāwātā	advice
matsōrāci	coward(ly)	< tsōratā	be afraid	< tsōrō	fear

Agents are not built directly from the verbs **jirā** 'wait for' and **kaura** 'migrate'; rather they are built on coexisting longer stems containing the verbalizer -TA, e.g.,

majirāci (not **majiri)	watchman, overseer	< jirātā	wait for
makaurāci (not **makauri)	emigrant/immigrant	< kaurācē	migrate from

°AN: The verb **kaura** 'migrate' is probably a backformation from the verbal noun **kaurā** 'migrating', from which **kaurācē** is derived. This explains the absence of an agent ****makauri**. There is no reason, on the other hand, to assume that **jirā**, or its equivalent longer form **jirāyā**, was ever anything but a verb, and thus the absence of ****majiri** or ****majirāyi** is inexplicable.

Many agentives are built on *fictitious* -TA verb stems, i.e., the postulated stem either does not occur independently as a verb or only rarely so, e.g.,

mašārnāci	destructive (psn)	< *šārnāta	< šārnā	damage
magābci	enemy	< *gābta	< gābā	enmity
magidānci	householder	< *gidanta	< gidā	home
mahājjāci	pilgrim intending to go to Mecca	< *hajjata	< hajji	hadj
marōwāci	tightwad	< *rōwata	< rōwā	stinginess
mazināci	adulterer	< *zināta	< zinā	adultery

A very few agentives are built directly on noun stems (some of which historically are probably verbal nouns of verb roots), e.g.,

magūfiyā	woman who ululates during festivities	< gūfā	ululation
matsāfi	fetish-worshipper, magician	< tsāfi	fetish
mawāki	singer, poet	< wākā	song, poem

1.3. Meaning

The basic meaning of an agent noun is someone who customarily does the action of the underlying verb,

commonly as a profession, e.g., **maḏinki** 'tailor' (< ḏinkā 'to sew'). The semantic connection between the agent nouns and their source words is generally evident, e.g., **ma'aski** barber < **askē** 'shave'. In some cases, however, these words have a lexicalized meaning that is more specialized and restricted than that of the related verb. Examples:

mabiyi	a follower (esp. religious); younger brother or sister	< bi	follow	
maciyi	voracious	< ci	eat	
mafāshi (usu. ḏan fashī)	robber	< fasà	break, shatter; commit robbery	
makāḏāci	unique (referring to God)	< kaḏaità	sit apart; acknowledge the unity of God	
maniyyāci	an intending pilgrim	< *niyyata	< niyyà	intention, wish
marifi	guardian, foster parent	< rifè	grasp, hold	
matàshi	adolescent, youth	< tashi	rise, grow up	

In a couple of special cases, the agent does not denote the doer of the action but rather the one affected by the action. The word **ma'āiki** (< āikā 'send') is used in the designation **ma'āikin Allāh** 'the Prophet Muhammad, i.e., the one who was sent by God', cf. **Allāh ma'āiki** 'God (lit. God the sender)'. The dictionaries also give the feminine agent word **makulliyā** with the meaning 'slave-concubine' (i.e., one who is locked up) < **kullē** 'lock'.

1.4. Gender restrictions

Morphologically, all agentives have three forms: masculine, feminine, and plural. With adjectival usage (see below), masculine and feminine forms are equally common. For example, **mahāukāci** (m.) and **mahaukacyā** (f.) 'mad, crazy' are both fully acceptable. With nouns, however, the agential tends to be restricted to one gender or the other. In many cases this restriction is determined by real-world culture and semantics, for example, **ma'aski** 'barber' (not ****ma'askiyā**) is masculine only because this traditionally has been a masculine profession. In other cases, however, the agent occurs only in the masculine form even though there is no cultural reason why the feminine agent shouldn't be allowed, e.g., **mamāci** 'the deceased' is normal but, for inexplicable reasons, ****mamaciyā** is not. Examples:

Masculine only

maḏinki	tailor; builder, potter, cf. maginā tukunyā	pot makers (pl.) (m. and/or f.); cf. māi
tukwānē	potter (lit. owner of pots) (m. or f.); mahārbi	hunter; mahāuci
majēmī	tanner; mamāci	the deceased; manōmi
(usu. ḏan sū)	fisherman; matāshi	youth, young man

Feminine only

magājiyā	a madam; older sister (cf. magāji	a prince) both < gādā	inherit; magūfiyā	woman who
ululates; makitsiyā	women's hairdresser; makulliyā	(slave) concubine; mashēkiyā	winnow	
(used primarily in the idiomatic phrase/epithet kāikāyi kōmā kán mashēkiyā (lit. chaff return on winnow) the hairy weed <i>Indigofera astragalina</i> , which causes a spell to recoil on a psn who sets it in action)				

1.5. Productivity and alternatives

Morphologically, the agent derivation is extremely regular. In principle, one could morphologically create an agent noun from almost any verb. In fact its occurrence is lexically quite restricted: some agentives are readily accepted and are commonly used, others are viewed as clumsy if not totally unacceptable. An alternative to the agentive is the MAI construction (see chap. 45) made up of **māi** (pl. **māsu**) 'one having properties of' + NP (including verbal noun). Examples (where the notation =? indicates that the variant to the left is preferred):