

- 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 sàmàrín]
 cf. sù sàmàrín dabbóbi nè
 tauràrwá cè, [ita Madonna]
 cf. ita Madonna tauràrwá cè
 bà àbín tsòrò bá nè, [shi fànkàm-fayáu]
 cf. shi fànkàm-fayáu bà àbín 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	mafàdāci	mafādāciyā	mafādātā
parent	mahāift	mahaiŋyā	mahaiŋā
beggar, praise singer	maròkti	maròklyā	maròkā
coward	matsòraci	matsòraciyā	matsòràtā

The plural formation as such is entirely regular. A few frozen/lexicalized agent nouns, however, employ other plurals, e.g., **magājiyā** / **magājiyōyi** '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.,