Introduction

It is possible to trace a boundary in the studies of a metaphorical event: the contribution of George Lakoff (1980) and Mark Johnson (1987) can certainly be considered the major one. Not only they did draw away from the classic definition in which metaphor is a false statement (Davidson 1981) or a semantic violation (Ortony 1979; Swanson 1981), pointing out the metaphorical reconceptualization as the most important process in cognition, but they also highlighted the powerful nature of the body paradigm as the principal source involved in this process. Their approach gave rise to or stimulated several works covering different domains, for example (with regard to African languages) grammaticalization (Claudi, Heine 1985; Heine, Claudi, Hünne- meyer 1991a, 1991b) and cognition (Reh 1999; Becher 2003).

The human body is a logical and cognitive prius: because of perceptive and psychological reasons, it is a natural instrument in the understanding of the world (Cardona 1990). Even if the present study is based on the human body, it should be remembered that the additional cognitive source for the structuring of spatial relations is the zoomorphic model, productive in some languages of East Africa (among others Reh 1999).

Concerning the Hausa language (Afroasiatic, West Chadic, A) only a few attempts have been made to investigate the body paradigm and its metaphorical renderings (cf. McIntyre 2002; Pawlak 2005).

Heine, Claudi, Hünne- meyer (1991b: 60) state that ‘whenever we talk about metaphors, we are referring to processes that must have been initiated some time in the past’. Since we do not examine those metaphorical renderings which enrich the expressiveness of an utterance, the objects of this paper will be metaphors which have lost their creative or productive value, that is to say the so-called ‘dead’ or ‘frozen’ metaphors. We define a metaphor ‘frozen’ if, via conventionalization, it is doomed to die as metaphor (cf. Lessau 1994: 581).  

1 In this sense, the degree of metaphoricity is reciprocal to the degree of ‘focality’ of the meta-
This paper does not deal with metaphors *per se* but rather with the general process of metaphorization, whose goals are discrete metaphorical renderings. The main characteristic of a metaphor is to describe conceptually complex phenomena in terms of less complex ones (Claudi, Heine 1985: 19), and the relevant characteristic of a metaphorical rendering is to realize linguistically the concepts carried by the metaphorical conceptualization. So, my aim is to highlight the close relation between semantic delimitation and syntagmatic behaviour.

Then, the aims of this paper are as follows:

- **a)** to define the major processes of metaphorization involving the names of body parts in Hausa;
- **b)** to detect the metaphorical productivity of body part nouns;
- **c)** to sketch a hypothesis of a metaphorical lexicon, considering the interrelationship between semantic behaviour and syntagmatic delimitation.

### 1 The Metaphorical Body

In a society where autopsy is an unusual practice, if not subject to interdiction, and the cognitions related to a medical culture on western model are rather limited, the anatomical (‘scientific’) picture rooted in the collective imagery is fairly simple (cf. Wall 1998: 175).

Among all the lexical items making up the Hausa anatomical vocabulary (more or less 70), for 35 of them one may notice the employment of metaphor,


### 2 Nature of the Processes Involved

In giving a general description of body metaphors it will be useful first to draw a distinction between a process of generalization that attributes to the original lexical item a new meaning without introducing a different grammatical category, and a *structure-changing* process whereby, on the contrary, the item is decategorized, acquiring more and more grammatical meanings (cf. Heine, Claudi, Hünnemeyer 1991: 44), *i.e.* it has been grammaticalized.

Towards a Hausa Metaphorical Lexicon

In the former we have clearly to deal with polysemy: the meaning shifts from the internal (person) to the external level (object). For example, considering kâi ‘head’:

(1) kâi ‘head’ (person) > kâi ‘extremity of a pointed object (object)

In the latter, the lexical item, grammaticalized, changes its categorial status, e.g. from noun to prepositional phrase:

(2) kâi ‘head’, noun > à kân ‘because of’, prepositional phrase

It means that metaphorical derivation is a two way process: on the one hand there is a change of meaning in which part of the concrete specificity shifts from the body part to the object through the preservation of some semantic features; on the other hand we have an emptying of this specificity so that, it gets more and more abstract, and so increases its use extension.

2.1 Polysemy and metaphorical extension

Polysemous creation is one of the first instruments, together with grammaticalization, adopted by a language to extend its own lexical corpus. ‘If different uses of a lexical item require, for their explication, reference to two different domains, or two different sets of domains, this is a strong indication that the lexical item in question is polysemous’ (Taylor 1991: 100). The criterion that permits to us to identify a lexeme as polysemous is the sharing by the different meanings of a ‘meaning core’ (cf. Allerton 1979: 51). So, for instance, one may consider cikî:

(3) cikî ‘stomach’ > ‘belly’ > ‘pocket’, ‘compartment (of bag)’

The core meaning can be easily established through analogy: it is the form of the objects which are described, their nature as ‘container’, which plays the role of linker. But not all lexemes behave like cikî, that is to say that not in every case can the sharing of the semantic nucleus be reconstructed so immediately. Metaphorical extension, as a polysemous sub-process, derives other meanings from a primitive meaning, assuming higher degrees of abstraction. The semantic features or traits that have originally permitted an analogical association between an object A and an object B become more and more feeble. In many cases there ‘appear to exist examples of gradual variation (of meaning) which cannot be made to share a superordinate; in such cases the absence of boundaries between senses is an embarrassment’ (Cruse 1986: 71). So, for example:

(4) bâkin wūtā
lit. mouth.of fire (Bross, Baba 1996: 16)

(5) bâkin kôgî
In these cases the meaning carried by ‘mouth’ refers to a degree of concreteness that we can consider basic enough: (4) ‘centre of the fire’, (5) ‘river bank’ and (6) ‘starting point of a crack’ are realities belonging to every-day experience. Nevertheless each of these objects is fairly different from the others, and the interpretation we are called on to make the underlying analogies explicit is more complex than the mere statement for which ‘a river bank is like a mouth’. Since the shift of meaning has not been originated from ‘mouth’ considered as a whole, but rather from nuclear semantic features, to identify the primitive semantic set of traits becomes the major task in understanding of senses.

Examples (4), (5) and (6) are possible by virtue of a superordinate sense of ‘mouth’ established by the recurrent selection of a specific feature (e.g. ‘extremity’). In other words, they are semantic-spectra of a meaning whose shift from ‘mouth’ to ‘extremity’ has been conventionalized and accepted in the language. The superordinate sense of ‘mouth’ seems to be EXTREMITY, conceived physically as in (4)-(6) (‘edge’ is the entry 3 in Abraham 1962: 63) or, through metonymical contiguity, as an action involving the making of an utterance, as in (7):

(7) màɡanà tā yì bâkī yāu
lit. matter will make mouth today
‘the problem will be settled today’ (Abraham 1962: 63)

Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that not every name of a body part develops a superordinate sense. From this point of view, ‘mouth’ is a powerful lexeme. Semantic-spectra can also be found, for instance, for hanci ‘nose’. In the case of ‘nose’ the selected features seem to be two, namely ‘extremity’ and ‘form’:

‘nose’ > POINTED EXTREMITY

(8) hanci dāwà
lit. nose of guinea corn
‘guinea corn chaff’ (Abraham 1962: 369)

(9) hanci bindigàn
lit. nose of gun
‘trigger’ (Piłaszewicz 1988: 210)

2 The hottest flame (the place, for example, where the air-stream of the bellows hits the charcoal).
Towards a Hausa Metaphorical Lexicon

2.2 Grammaticalization

The approach I take in this section sees grammar as built up by frozen metaphors, according to the statement that ‘metaphorical language use is responsible for desemanticization, and hence for the rise of grammar’ (Claudi, Heine 1985: 31).

The semantic processes leading to grammaticalization of lexical items designating body parts are mainly of two kinds, selected: a) on the basis of their relative position, i.e. some names are employed as structural templates to indicate deictic locations; b) on the account of some salient properties the lexical item gives rise to a grammatical marker which underlines those properties (Heine, Kuteva 2002).

Grammaticalization has been conceived as a ‘continuum’ (Claudi, Heine, 1985, Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991a; cf. Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991b: 52); each link in the chain represents a particular metaphorical category, following the scheme, which is further explained in Section 3:

\[(10) \text{PERSON} \rightarrow \text{OBJECT} \rightarrow \text{ACTIVITY} \rightarrow \text{SPACE} \rightarrow \text{TIME} \rightarrow \text{QUALITY}\]

In Tab. 1 I propose a set of items whose process of grammaticalization is metaphorically structured.

Tab. 1 Grammaticalized Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BODY PART</th>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>SPACE</th>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>QUALITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bâkî ‘mouth’</td>
<td>‘near’</td>
<td>‘when’</td>
<td>‘in exchange of’</td>
<td>‘as the equivalent of x’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bâyâ ‘back’</td>
<td>‘behind’</td>
<td>‘earlier’</td>
<td>‘after’</td>
<td>‘afterward’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuskâ ‘face’</td>
<td>‘direction’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gâbâ ‘front’</td>
<td>‘in front of’</td>
<td>‘in front’</td>
<td>‘in the future’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hanci ‘nose’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘a bit of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hannû ‘hand’</td>
<td>‘via’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idô ‘eye’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘unit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâi ‘head’</td>
<td>‘on’</td>
<td>‘on the top’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘self’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘-self’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘regarding’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘because’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘because of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘a bit of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘in order that x’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Each of the metaphors included in the category TIME expresses a degree of abstraction higher than that of the metaphors belonging to the category SPACE placed on the left in the chain of abstraction schematized in (10) (1991b: 53). As we can see, the samples belonging to Quality category are rather heterogeneous: it would be useful to introduce – following Heine, Kuteva (2002) – some conceptual functions that will help us to understand the target of the semantic process:

Tab. 2 Grammaticalization: Source-to-Target

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>&gt;</th>
<th>TARGET</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḏaďi ‘mouth’</td>
<td>&gt; LOCATIVE TEMPORAL EQUATIVE</td>
<td>ḏaďin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘on the verge of x’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘when’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘as the equivalent of x’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏaďi ‘back’</td>
<td>&gt; LOCATIVE TEMPORAL TEMPORAL</td>
<td>ḏaďa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘after’, ‘afterwards’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘earlier’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏaďi ‘face’</td>
<td>&gt; VERB DIRECTION</td>
<td>ḏaďanta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏaďi ‘forehead’</td>
<td>&gt; LOCATIVE LOCATIVE LOCATIVE FUTURE</td>
<td>ḏaďa, ḏaďa, ḏaďan, ḏaďa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘in front’, ‘in front of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘beyond x’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘before x’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘in the future’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏaďi ‘nose’</td>
<td>&gt; QUANTIFIER</td>
<td>ḏaďin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘a bit of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏaďi ‘hand’</td>
<td>&gt; INSTRUMENT</td>
<td>ḏaďun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘via x’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏaďi ‘eye’</td>
<td>&gt; COLLECTIVE</td>
<td>ḏaď</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘unit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏaďi ‘head’</td>
<td>&gt; LOCATIVE REFLEXIVE INTENSIVE-REFL CONCERN CAUSE</td>
<td>ḏa, ḏa, ḏa, ḏa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘on x’, ‘on the top x’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘self’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘-self’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘regarding x’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘because’, ‘because of x’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 We cling to conceptual functions employed by Heine and Kuteva in the World Lexicon, except for two adaptations: QUANTIFIER (e.g., ḏaďi) and COLLECTIVE (e.g., ḏaďi).

4 Newman (2000: 485) draws the same distinction between REFLEXIVE and INTENSIVE, naming them respectively ‘basic’ and ‘emphatic’.
Towards a Hausa Metaphorical Lexicon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>sau</em> ‘foot’</th>
<th>&gt; QUANTITY</th>
<th><em>sàu</em></th>
<th>‘times x’ used to form ordinals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

An interesting case is that concerning *sau* ‘sole’. This lexical item acquires the meaning of ‘footprint’; then it is used to indicate ‘times (in multiplication)’ (TIME) and finally to form ordinal numbers (QUALITY). The reason for these different uses is that people used to measure distances by the counting of feet. This grammaticalization of ‘sole’ (TIME-TO-QUALITY abstraction) is very common even in other Chadic languages (cf. Skinner 1996: 230-31) and seems to be an areal induced process.

2.3 Metaphorical Expressions

Since metaphor has been viewed as something different from a poetic-ornamental phenomenon, many scholars have begun to avoid the designation ‘metaphorical expression’. We employ the term ‘expression’ only to label an inclusive whole of metaphorical renderings made up of the following distinct subgroups: a) renderings employing idiomatic-phrasal verbs; b) asyntactic idioms.

2.4 Idiomatic Renderings

Recurrent metaphorical renderings can be found in expressions using idiomatic phrasal verbs, that is to say that names of body parts are fixed objects of some specific verbs (Newman 2000: 260). The main characteristic of an idiom (verb + object) is to be a lexically complex form, which semantically has a simplex meaning. The meaning of an idiom ‘cannot be accounted for as a compositional function of the meanings its parts have when they are not parts of idioms’ (Cruse 1986: 37), as the following example shows:

(11) *kashê idô* > lit. to kill eye > ‘to blink’

Nevertheless, there are some renderings admitting both literal and metaphorical meaning. From a pragmatically/psychological point of view as it has been delineated by Miller (1979), renderings like these are named ‘sentential metaphors’: they are identified by being irrelevant to the surrounding discourse when construed literally (cf. Levinson 1983: 53). For example:

(12) *bū dà hannū* > lit. to give hand > ‘to help’
(13) *budê idô* > lit. open eye > ‘to bring to senses’

In (12) and (13) the meaning will be determined by a contextual selection of sense. When a phrasal construction coexists with a respective lexeme (as
the verb tāmakā ‘to help’ = bā dā hannū), then probably idioms occur to stress informativeness, that is to say that they play a role on a pragmatic level.\(^5\)

2.5 Asyntactic Idioms

Even if idioms like (12) and (13) are homophous with grammatically well-formed transparent expressions, there are cases in which the well-formed condition is arguable, that is to say, that the grammatical structure tends to maximal simplicity: such idioms are defined in lexical semantics as asyntactic (cf. Cruse 1986: 37-38).

Idioms of this kind are essentially irreversible binomials assuming the form X-and-Y. Their semantic opacity is a function of the order of words they contain:

(14) kāi då wuyā
lit. head and neck
‘leather covered handle of writing board’ (Bross, Baba 1996: 93)

A variant is the structure X-preposition-Y, as in

(15a) bākī hař zūciyā
‘lit. (from) mouth up to heart’
sincerely  
(Sipikin 1971: 13)

(15b) bākī hař kūnne
‘lit. (from) in.mouth up to in.ear’
intensively

In (15b) X and Y function as locative phrases. It should be noted that the semantics of the two cases differ: in (15a) the directional motion carried by the preposition relating two objects, while in (15b) it is employed to link two locations which are spatially defined (namely, through the non-motional locative adverb) but whose meaning is accounted for on the basis of back-grounded assumptions, e.g. our understanding of what ‘can happen’ inside a mouth, either via metonymy or symbolically. Such a difference is exemplified by the diagrammatic representations (16a) and (16b) for (15a) and (15b) respectively:

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\(^5\) We do not trace here a boundary between metaphor and metonymy, assuming that rarely enunciates are purely metaphorical or metonymic; rather, both processes are involved (Vanparys 1989: 15).
Towards a Hausa Metaphorical Lexicon

If X=Y (X-and-X), the relation between word order and opacity lessens automatically, as in the following constructions:

16b) \[ X \rightarrow Y \]

If X=Y (X-and-X), the relation between word order and opacity lessens automatically, as in the following constructions:

(16) \( kâfâdâ dà kâfâdâ \)
    lit. shoulder and shoulder
    ‘side by side’  (Abraham 1962: 446)

(17) \( ìdô dà ìdô \)
    lit. eye and eye
    ‘face to face’  (Dikko, Maciddo 1991: 49)

3 Towards a Metaphorical Lexicon

‘The cognitive paradigm sees metaphor as a means whereby ever more abstract and intangible areas of experience can be conceptualized in terms of the familiar and concrete’ (Taylor 1991: 101). Being motivated by a search for understanding, metaphors have no semantic limits: a fixed number of vehicles (body parts), in combination with other lexical items (e.g. nouns and verbs), gives rise to unlimited metaphorical employments covering all fields of human experience.

Categorial metaphors are based on universal taxa of human language. In this way, we can hypothesize first a classification of metaphorical renderings structured on the semantic chain proposed by Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (adapted to the Hausa data) for the grammaticalized items:

BODY PART > OBJ(ec)t > ACT(ivity) > SPA(ce) > TIM(e) > QUA(lity)

In merely empirical terms, we notice that each of these categories answers the question posed by interrogative pronouns (who ?, what ?, where ?, when ?, how ?); they occur in most of the languages and mirror the cognitive contours of our understanding (Heine, Claudi, Hünnemeyer 1991b: 55). The evident advantage of such an approach is the formal simplicity that permits one to embrace the different semantic environments in which metaphorical renderings take place. On the other hand, this simplicity is only apparent: in fact, even for metaphorical-based renderings other than grammaticalized items we notice a continuum rather than discrete semantic steps.

OBJ, SPA and TIM categories do not pose specific problems, being domains of the physical and concrete, spatial and temporal orientation respectively. More complex is the situation regarding ACT and QUA fields. Since an
action can be qualitatively marked, the general criterion we use to define ACT category is based on the idea of ‘dynamic situation’. Moreover, a dynamic situation involves a transmission of force, whereas a QUA action does not. Generally, actions carrying the notion of cognition, perception and emotion are classified as abstract, fall under the heading of ‘quality’. Further discussion of particular cases will be found in section 4.

3.1 Syntagmatic Delimitation

We have seen that two domains are concerned by metaphorization: the lexical domain (polysemy, metaphorical extension, body parts phrases) and the grammatical domain (grammaticalized items). In 2.5 I argued that asyntactic idioms can in some cases function adverbially (see exs. 15).

Since my aim is to analyze the correlation between the cognitive paradigm and the morphological-linguistic taxonomy, this paragraph is devoted to a formal presentation of the syntagmatic patterns mirrored by the strategies illustrated in section 2.

Five patterns of construction are distinguished.

(A) X-of-Y, where body part (BP) is X (head);

polysemous items and lexemes which have acquired a superordinate sense are included in (A), Adjectival-like constructions (e.g. farin cikî lit. white.of stomach) are ordered in (A) as well: from a functional point of view in fact, some adjectives in Hausa function as nominals in associative relationship with the head noun (cf. Newman 2000: 22).

(18) cikîn tsofô
lit. stomach.of old
‘advanced pregnancy’

(B) X-of-Y, where BP is Y;

(19) gôbaŋaŋ cikî
lit. conflagration.of stomach
‘diarrhea’

(20) baŋin jînî
lit. black.of blood
‘unpopularity’

6 ‘If a dynamic situation is extended in time, it is a process; if it is momentary, it is an event; and, if it is under the control of an agent, it is an action. Finally, a process that is under the control of an agent is an activity; and an event that is under the control if an agent is an act’ (Lyons 1977: 483).
(C) Verb-Complement constructions, where BP is complement;

(21) \textit{nâdē hanjî}
lit. to roll up intestines
‘to be miserly’

(D) grammaticalized items;

(22) \textit{(yanâ) bâya}
lit. (s3m) behind
‘(he is) behind’

(E) asyntactic idioms;

(23) \textit{kâi daya}
lit. head one
‘unanimously’

Possessive expressions such as \textit{X gârê shi}, \textit{mài X}, \textit{yanâ dà X} are conceived as noun phrases, consequently they will be ranged in (A).

4 Summary

From a study of 320 renderings extracted from a reference corpus (see Appendix), we are led to a multiplicity of observations. Among all items in which a metaphorical employment has been noted only a few present a significant distribution along the syntagmatic-syntactic-semantic chain. My discussion will concentrate on the 35 body part lexemes that are productive source items in the general process of metaphorization (see section 1). I refer to the most productive items as ‘powerful’ ones; in this view, powerful lexemes are: eye, face, hand, head, heart, mouth, nose, stomach. Tab. 3 below illustrates the occurrences of these strong items.

Tab. 3 BPs-Categorial Metaphors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>ACT</th>
<th>SPA</th>
<th>TIM</th>
<th>QUA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eye</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>face</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heart</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tab. 4 highlights the relation between syntagmatic delimitation and the categorial chain.

**Tab. 4 Patterns-Categorial Metaphors**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>ACT</th>
<th>SPA</th>
<th>TIM</th>
<th>QUA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>E</td>
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<td></td>
<td>108</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From a quantitative point of view, ACT category includes a wide number of metaphorical renderings. This is due to its nearness to the OBJ category and then – as a consequence of this abstractive proximity – to the low degree of reconceptualization: OBJ items are ‘rough’ material whose concrete nature is manipulated and extended in ACT category but not yet changed.

On the other hand, SPA-to-TIM abstraction seems to enjoy a special status: Tab. 3 shows its general limited occurrence whereas Tab. 4 points out that the syntagmatic patterns involved in these categories are essentially represented by grammaticalized items and syntactic idioms.

OBJ items and ACT items are more related to each other than – let us say – ACT and SPA ones. Looking at Tab. 3 and 4 it is almost evident that if conceptually the categories constitute a continuum, the analysis of the relation between the abstraction chain and the syntagmatic delimitation breaks such continuity. For example, ACT category is mostly a domain regarding A, B and C constructions and has nothing to do with SPA and TIM categories. As pointed before, OBJ-to-ACT abstraction presents a weak conceptual shift. It could be better understood as a macro-category whose items (which fit in A, B and C patterns) are characterized by physical concreteness:

(24) (OBJ - ACT) - SPA - TIM - QUA

In this way OBJ/ACT items can be reconceptualized in SPA, and from SPA to TIM and QUA category.
APPENDIX

The following list is only a proposal for a possible ‘Metaphorical Lexicon’, and it is not exhaustive. By the way I have reason to believe that the most recurrent employments have been included, as far as Standard Hausa is concerned. As an hypothesis of research, a deeper investigation of the different dialectical uses will open new vistas upon the richness of the bodily paradigm.8

bâ’kì ‘mouth’ > OBJ > ACT > SPA > TIM > QUA

OBJ – (A) 0. ‘extremity’; 1. ‘top of the furnace’ (B&B: 15); 2. ‘upper edge or neck of earthenware receptacles’ (B&B: 15); 3. ‘blade of a farm tool or axe’ (B&B: 175); 4. ‘heavy round end of a pestle’ (dial. of Zaria) (B&B: 90); 5. ‘conical structure at the front of bellows, made of clay, leading into the heart’ bâ’kìn wûtâ (lit. mouth.of fire) (B&B: 16); 6. ‘opening of mortar’ bâ’kìn turmî (lit. mouth.of mortar) (B&B: 15); 7. ‘beginning of a seam of a mended calabash’ bâ’kìn tsâgâ (lit. mouth.of incision) (B&B: 15); 8. ‘bank (of river or ocean)’ (N&M: 9) e.g. yà jë bâ’kìn têku ‘he went to the ocean’s bank’ (TB: 22);

ACT – (B) 1. ‘lobbying’ ban-bâ’kì (lit. giving.of mouth) (AH: 146); 2a. ‘sweet talk’ dâ’in-bâ’kì (lit. sweetness.of mouth) (AH: 148); 2b ‘sweet talk’ zâ’kìn bâ’kì (lit. sweetness.of mouth) (AH: 152); 3. ‘false appetite’ jîn bâ’kì (lit. feeling.of mouth) (AH: 149); (C) 1a. ‘to interfere’ sâ bâ’kì (lit. to put mouth) (AB: 63); 1b. ‘to interfere’ tsômâ bâ’kì (lit. to dip mouth) (SP: 13); 2. ‘to curse someone’ yi bâ’kì (lit. to make mouth) (N&M: 9); 3. ‘to show surprise’ rîkê bâ’kì (lit. to keep mouth) (AB: 735b; cf. Dan Gogo and Kano 1969: 29); 4a. ‘to conspire’ hâdâ bâ’kì (lit. to join mouth) (MA: 50b; cf. Daura, 1990: 28); 4b ‘to conspire’ gmâ bâ’kì (lit. to combine mouth) (MA: 50b); 6. ‘to pick a quarrel’ jâ bâ’kì (lit. to pull mouth) (AB: 410b); 7. ‘to abstain from eating in deference to a fast’ kâmâ bâ’kì (lit. to catch mouth) (N&M: 61b); 8. ‘to speak wheedlingly’ gyârâ bâ’kì (lit. to repair mouth) (AB: 356a);

SPA – (E) 1. ‘very near’ bâ’kì dâ hancî (lit. mouth and nose) (N&M: 9);

TIM – (D) 1. ‘on the verge of’ bâ’kìn x (lit. mouth.of) (AB: 63); 2. ‘when’ bâ’kìn (lit. mouth.of) e.g. yanâ bâ’kìn zuwâ ‘he’s just about to arrive’ (AB: 63);

QUA – (B) 1. ‘insensitive utterance’ dânyen-bâ’kì (lit. raw mouth) (AH: 149); (D) 1. ‘in exchange of’ x bâ’kìn x (lit. mouth.of) (AB: 63); 2. ‘as the equivalent of’ x bâ’kìn x (lit. mouth.of) (AB: 63); (E) 1. ‘unanimously’ bâ’kìn daya (lit. mouth.of one) (AB: 63a, cf. Daura, 1990: 5); 2. ‘at the same time’ bâ’kìn daya

7 The following abbreviations are employed: Abraham 1949 (AB); Bargery 1951 (BA); Bross, Baba 1996 (B&B); Dikko, Maciddõ 1991 (D&M); Ma Newman 1990 (MA); Newman, Ma Newman (N&M); Sipikin 1971 (SP); Tafawa Balewa (TB).

8 Even if Hausa is a much investigated language, studies on its dialectical diversity are very few. Most of the dialectical renderings considered in this article are taken from Abraham (1949), Bargery (1951) and, above all, from Bross, Baba (1996).
bàyā ‘back’ > OBJ > ACT > SPA > TIM

OBJ - (A) 1. ‘toilet’ bāyān gidā (lit. back.of house) (D&M: 9); 2a. ‘excrement’ bāyān gidā (lit back.of house) (D&M: 9); 2b. ‘latrine’ bāyān dākē (lit. back.of room) (D&M: 9);

ACT – (C) 1. ‘to backbite’ cī bāyā (lit. to eat back) e.g. yā cī bāyammū ‘he backbit us’ (AB: 92a);

SPA – (D) 1. ‘behind’ e.g. yánā bāyā ‘he’s at the back’ (AB: 92b);

TIM – (D) 1. ‘afterwards’ dāgā bāyā e.g. dāgā bāyā sai sukā kū ‘after they didn’t accept’ (AB: 93a); 2. ‘after’ dāgā bāyā e.g. dāgā bāyā nān ‘after that’ (AB: 93a); 3. ‘earlier’ e.g. shēkarūn bāyā ‘some years ago’ (AB: 92b);

cībīyā ‘navel’ > OBJ > ACT > SPA

OBJ – (A) 1. ‘circular spread of hair at back of head of some person’ (AB: 139b);

ACT – (C) 1. ‘to choose a place with a particular purpose’ yi cībīyā (AB: 139b);

SPA – (A) 1. ‘centre’ (AB: 139b)

cīkē ‘stomach’ > OBJ > ACT > QUA

OBJ - (A) 1. ‘compartment’ (AB: 143a); 2. ‘livelihood’ in ābin taimakon cīkēnas ‘the thing that help his stomach’ (AB: 142b);

ACT – (B) 1. ‘diarrhea’ gōbañār cīkē (lit. conflagration.of stomach) (D&M: 40); 2. ‘woman spending the last month of pregnancy at home with her parents’ gōyon cīkē (lit. taking care.of stomach) (AH: 41); (C) 1. ‘to make space’ yi cīkē (lit. to make stomach) (AB: 143a); 2. ‘to share the loss’ rābā cīkē (lit. to share stomach) (AB: 143a); 3. ‘to irritate somebody’ cīkā mini cīkē e.g. yā cīkā mini cīkē (lit. he filled up my stomach) (AB: 142b); 4. ‘to get information indirectly’ būgi cīkē (lit. to beat stomach) (N&M: 14b); 5. ‘to pump someone’ būgi cīkē (lit. to beat stomach) e.g. yā būgi cīkēnas ‘he pumped me’ (AB: 143a); 6. ‘to crawl along’ in jā cīkē (lit. to pull stomach) (AB: 142b); 7. ‘to abstain from eating’ dūrē cīkē (lit. to imprison stomach) (D&M: 30); 8. ‘to eat’ gyārā cīkē (lit. to repair stomach) (AH: 42);

QUA – (A) 1. ‘advanced pregnancy’ cīkēn tsāfō (lit. stomach.of old) e.g. tanā dā cīkēn tsāfō (lit. she is with old stomach) (AB: 142b); (B) 1. ‘glutton’ bāwān cīkē (lit. slave.of stomach) (AB: 142b); 2. ‘inscrutableness’ zurfin cīkē (lit. depth.of stomach) (AB: 142b); 3. ‘energy’ wutař cīkē (lit. fire.of stomach) (AB: 142b); 4. ‘happyness’ farin cīkē (lit. white.of stomach) (AB: 254a; cf. Dan Goggo and Kano 1969: 9; TB: 16, 28); 5. ‘unhappiness’ bākīn cīkē (lit. black.of stomach) (AB: 254a; cf. Daura, 1990: 7; TB: 9, 25); 6. ‘protection’
Towards a Hausa Metaphorical Lexicon

qə́m (lit. cover of stomach) (AB: 517a); (C) 1. ‘she is recently pregnant’ sāmī cikə̀ (lit. to get stomach) (AB: 142b); (D) 1. ‘self’ e.g. bà à san cikə̀nkə̀ ‘we don’t know you’ (AB: 142b, 835b);

dantsə̀ ‘arm’ > QUA
QUA - (A) 1. ‘luck’ e.g. yanà dà dantsə̀ ‘he brings luck’ (lit. he is with arm) (AB: 191);

diddigə̀ ‘heel’ > ACT > QUA
ACT - (C) 1. ‘to tread on the heels’ cidencyiddigə̀ (lit. to eat heel), e.g. yanà cin diddigə̀nà ‘he is treading on my heels’ (AB: 211); 2. ‘to worry someone to pay his dept’ cɨ (lit. to eat heel) (AB: 211);
QUA - (C) 1. ‘to be junior’ cɨ diddigə̀ (lit. to eat heel) (AB: 211);

farçë̀ ‘fingernail’ > ACT
ACT - (C) 1. ‘to eat (tukwò) kònà farçë̀ (lit. to burn fingernail) (AB: 253a);

fuskə̀ ‘face’ > OBJ > ACT > SPA > QUA
OBJ - (A) 1. ‘surface’ (AB: 275a);
ACT – (B) 1. ‘insult’ cɨ fuskə̀ (lit. eating.of face) (AH: 146); 2. ‘welcoming expression’ ban-fuskə̀ (lit. giving.of face) (AH: 146); 3. ‘to shave’ gyàran fuskə̀ (lit. to repair face) (AH: 42); 4. ‘to solve a problem’ gyàran fuskə̀ (AH: 42); (C) 1. ‘to humiliate’ ci fuskə̀ (lit. to eat face) (AB: 275); 2a. ‘to frown’ hadə̀ fuskə̀ (lit. to join face) (Dan Goggo and Kano 1969: 9); 2b. ‘to frown’ gamə̀ fuskə̀ (lit. to join face) (AB: 291); 3. ‘to look impressive’ cikə̀ fuskə̀ (lit. to fill face) (AB: 141); 4a. ‘to scowl’ bâtà fuskə̀ (lit. to loose face) (AB: 88); 4b. ‘to scowl’ muṟtuƙë̀ fuskə̀ (lit. to stir up dust of the face) (MA: 236); 4c. ‘to scowl’ durbùnà fuskə̀ (lit. to grimace face) (MA: 236); 5. ‘to show anger’ dâurë̀ fuskə̀ (lit. to imprison face) (D&M: 30); (D) 1. ‘to face’ fîskantə̀ (N&M: 38);
SPA – (A) 1. ‘direction’ e.g. à fuskə̀̀ nán ‘in this direction’ (AB: 275b); 2. ‘cardinal point’ e.g. fuskə̀̀ arêwu ‘face of north’ (AB: 275);
QUA – (A) 1. ‘manner’ e.g. ta wâcè fuskə̀ sukà fì mì ‘in what way are they superior to us ?’ (AB: 275a); 2. ‘popularity’ e.g. fuskə̀ gàrë shî or yanà dà fuskə̀ ‘he is popular’ (lit. he is with face) (AB: 275b); (E) 1. ‘hypocrisy’ fuskə̀ biyu (lit. two faces) (AB: 274b);

gàbà̀ ‘front’ > OBJ > SPA > TIM > QUA
OBJ – (A) 1. ‘male or female genitals’ (N&M: 39a); 2. ‘the distance of outstretched arms from fingertip to fingertip’ (N&M: 39a);
SPA – (A) 1. ‘fathom’ (AB: 277); (D) 1. ‘in front’ gàbà e.g. yanà gàbà ‘he’s in front’ (AB, p.278a); 2a. ‘in front of’ gàban e.g. yanà gàban dà nì ‘he’s in front of me’ (AB: 278b); 2b. ‘in front of’ gàban e.g. yà fàdì gàban sàrkì ‘he
prostrated himself before the chief’ (N&M: 39a); 3. ‘henceforth’ nän gàba (N&M: 39a); 4. ‘beyond’ gàban e.g. yanà gàban kôgî ‘he is on the other side of the river’ (N&M: 39a);

TIM – (E) 1. ‘simultaneously’ gàbà dâya (lit. one front) (N&M: 39a);

QUA - (C) 1. ‘to show a dignified appearance’ cikà gàbà (lit. to fill front) (D&M: 18);

gäshî ‘hair’ > OBJ
OBJ – (A) 1. ‘eyelash’ in gäshîn idô (lit. hair.of eye) (AB: 309a); 2. ‘moustache’ in gäshîn bàkî (lit. hair.of mouth) (N&M: 42); 3. ‘upper layer of cow hide for making the decoration on hide receptacles’ (B&B: 63); 4. ‘red thread at the edge of deleb-palm (Hyphaene Thebaica)’ (dia. of Katsina) (B&B: 17);

gîrâ ‘eyebrow’ > OBJ > ACT
OBJ - (A) 1. ‘edge of top of building’ (AB: 323b); 2. ‘edge of gwandâ–cloth’ (AB: 323b);
ACT - (B) 1. ‘frowning’ daurîn gîrâ (lit. imprisonment.of eyebrow) (AB: 323a); (C) 1. ‘to frown’ dûrûr gîrî (lit. to imprison eyebrow) (AB: 323a);

gîwâwà ‘knee’ > OBJ > ACT > QUA
OBJ – (A) 1. ‘elbow’ in gwîwâf hannû ‘knee of hand’ (AB: 203);
ACT – (C) 1. ‘to put persons in mutual relationship’ gamâ gwîwâ (lit. to combine knee) (AB: 291b; cf. TB: 11); 2. ‘they pooled their resources’ gamâ gwîwà (lit. to combine knee) (AB: 291b);
QUA - (C) 1a. ‘to suffer’ gamâ kâî dâ gwîwà (lit. to join head and knees) (D&M: 37); 1b. ‘to suffer’ hadà gwîwà (lit. to join knee) (D&M: 44);

habà ‘chin’ > OBJ > ACT
OBJ – (A) 1. ‘cap with points used to cover ears’ (AB: 358);
ACT - (C) 1. ‘to take small breakfast’ kêtâra habà (lit. to cross over the chin) (AB: 357);

habàrî ‘tooth’ > OBJ
OBJ – (A) 1. ‘first layer of the bloom’ (B&B: 77); 2. ‘white turban with pink edge’ habàrîn farà (lit. white tooth) (AB: 364a); 3. ‘herring-bone embroidery on trousers’ habàrîn farà (lit. white tooth) (AB: 364a);

hcâncî ‘nose’ > OBJ > QUA
OBJ – (A) 1. ‘navel of a calabash’ (B&B: 78); 2. ‘top of the frame used to build tuyeres’ (B&B: 78); 3. ‘long, pointed wooden tool to open the binding of charms’ (dia. of Bauchi) (B&B: 194); 4. ‘wooden tool to smoothen leather sur-

9 bàlîisè in Standard Hausa.
Towards a Hausa Metaphorical Lexicon

face’ (dial. of Bauchi)
5. ‘triangular charm worn around the neck by male only’
6. ‘trigger’ e.g. hancin bindiga
‘nose of gun’ (cf. Fulani: 1982: 10)
7. ‘eye of needle’ (N&M: 50)
8. ‘different type of embroidery either front or back of a large gown’
9. ‘prow’ hancin jirgi
‘lit. nose of vehicle’ (AB: 369a)
10. ‘guinea corn chaff’
‘nose of guinea corn’ (AB: 369b)
11. ‘the part of sandal-strap fitting between toes’
12. ‘short stem attaching some fruits or vegetable to main-steam’
13. ‘type of incense’ (dial. of Katsina)
‘nose of pumpkin’ (AB: 369b)
14. ‘place where crutch-piece joins trousers’
‘nose of trousers-ankle’ (AB: 369b);
(B) 1. ‘bridge of the nose’
jqam
‘lit. stalk of nose’ (AH: 150);
QUA – (A) ‘a mere nobody’ hancin gauta
‘lit. nose of dried form of bitter tomato’;
(C) 1. ‘to be affected by’ taba hanci
‘lit. to touch nose’, e.g.,
‘the thing that affects (us)’
(AB: 369a); 2. ‘to quarrel’
‘lit. to eat nose’ (AB: 369a);
(D) 1. ‘a bit of’ e.g. hancin kud
‘bribe’
(N&M: 50a);

hanji ‘intestines’ > OBJ > QUA

OBJ – (A) 1. ‘mainspring of watch’ hanjin dagogo
‘lit. intestines of watch’ (AB: 370b); 2. ‘lamp wick’ hanjin fitila
‘lit. intestines of lamp’ (AB: 370b); 3. ‘beans intersown with corn’
hanjin gona
‘lit. intestines of farm’ (AB: 370b); 4. ‘rags lining sword-sling’
hanjin hamiila
‘lit. intestines of sword-sling’ (AB: 370b); 5. ‘bobbin-nipple’
hanjin koshiya
‘lit. intestines of wooden ladle’ (AB: 370b);
(B) 1. ‘child born late in mother’s life’
kalan hanji
‘lit. gleaning of intestines’ (AB: 370b);
QUA – (C) 1. ‘to be miserly’ nadhanji
‘lit. to wrap around intestines’ (AB: 370a);

hannu ‘hand’ > OBJ > ACT > SPA > TIM > QUA

OBJ – (A) 1. ‘pointed part of a ladle’ (B&B: 79); 2. ‘leather straps at the top of
each goatskin bag of the bellows’ (dial. of Bauchi) (B&B: 55); 3. ‘handle of
dail’ in hannun bugu
‘hand of a dail’ (dial. of Zaria) (B&B: 218); 4. ‘stump of
damaged arm’ mugun hannu
‘lit. bad hand’ (AB: 681a); 5. ‘channel’ e.g.
hannun eku
‘lit. hand of sea’ (AB: 371b); 6. ‘relatives’ e.g. hannu gar shi
‘lit. he has hand’;
ACT – (B) 1. ‘applying charm to child to cure it of pilfering’ daurin hannu
‘lit. imprisonment of hand’ (D&M: 30); (C) 1a. ‘to help’ baddannu
‘lit. to

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10 taitaim in Standard Hausa.
11 layi in Standard Hausa (AB: 617a).
12 Pointed out by Piłaszewicz (1988: 210) as idiomatic expression of recent attestation.
13 fattyali in Standard Hausa.
14 wutsiya dan bugu ‘tail of a little dail’ in Standard Hausa (B&B: 218).
give hand) (MA: 117a); 1b. ‘to help’ sâ hanna (lit. to put the hand) e.g. zô kà sâ manâ hanna ‘came and help us’ (AB: 751a); 2. ‘to pay attention’ sâ hanna (lit. to put hand), e.g. sarki yâ sâ masâ hanna ‘the Emir has turned his attention to him’ (AB: 751a); 3a. ‘to interfere’ tsômâ hanna (lit. to dip hand) (MA: 117a); 3b. ‘to interfere’ sâ hanna (lit. to put the hand) e.g. kàdà kà sâ hanna cikin dâ ‘amârajinsa ‘don’t interfere in his affairs’ (AB: 751a); 4. ‘to take part’ sâ hanna (lit. to put hand) e.g. yâ sâ masâ hanna ‘he took part in it’ (AB: 751a); 5. ‘to sign’ sâ hanna (lit. to put hand) e.g. yâ sâ hanna â takàrda ‘he signed the letter’ (AB: 751a); 6. ‘to take a hand in x’ sâ hanna (lit. to put hand) e.g. sun sâ hanna gâ rikon kasa ‘they’ve begun to administer the country’ (AB: 751a); 7. ‘to consume marriage (with virgin-wife) kâmâ hanna (lit. to catch hand) (AB: 371b); 9. ‘to begin to menstruate’ ga hanna (lit. ‘to see hand’), e.g. tâ ga hannun ‘she began to menstruate for first time’ (AB: 371b);

SPA – (A) 1. ‘direction’ dà hannun dàma (lit. with the right hand) (MA: 116b);

TIM – (A) 1. ‘minute/hour’ dàgon / kàrâmin hanna (lit. the short/long hand) (MA: 117);

QUA – (A) 1. ‘dependence’ e.g. sunâ hannun sarkin Bårno ‘they are at the dependence of the Emir of Barno’ (AB: 371); 2. ‘skill’ e.g. hanna gârê shi (lit. hand in possession of him); 3. ‘liberality’ e.g. hanna gârê shi (lit. hand in possession of him) (AB: 371); (C) 1. ‘to be soiled’ yâ shâ hanna (lit. he drunk hand) (AB: 371b) (D) 1. ‘via’ ta hannun (lit. through hand.of) e.g. yâ aîkà dà jàwâbnâs ta hannun Audù ‘he sent his reply via Audu’ (AB: 371b); (E) 1. ‘with joy and respect’ hannun bibbiyu (lit. two hands) (Daura, 1990: ii);

hanna ‘liver’ > ACT

ACT - (C) 1. ‘to treat someone liberally’ jikà hanna (lit. to soak liver), e.g. sun jikà hanna tásâ ‘they treated him liberally’ (AB: 373b);

harsh ‘tongue’ > OBJ > ACT > QUA

OBJ – (A) 1. ‘flame (carbonic or not)’ e.g. harshâ wutâ (lit. tongue.of fire) (AB: 379a; B&B: 79); 2. ‘tip of whip’ e.g. harshâ bûlâlà (lit. tongue.of wip) (AB: 379a); 3. ‘tip of sword or knife’ e.g. harshân takôbi (lit. tongue.of sword) (AB: 379a); 4. ‘tip of loincloth’ e.g. harshân bântë (lit. tongue.of loincloth) (AB: 379a);

ACT – (A) 1. ‘language’ (AB: 379a); (B) 1. ‘fluent speaking’ kaifin harsh (lit. sharpness.of tongue) e.g. kaifin harshé gârë shi ‘he speaks fluently’ (AB: 379a); (C) 1. ‘to speak correctly’ harshé yâ ìtà sòsai, e.g. harshânsa bâ yâ ìtà sòsai (lit. his tongue doesn’t exit well) (AB: 379a); 2. ‘to rave’ e.g. harshânsa yâ karâ ‘he is in the delirium which precedes the death’ (AB: 479b); 3. ‘to protract’ yi harsh (lit. to make tongue) e.g. dâmunâ tâ yi harshé ‘rain season protracted’ (AB: 379a); 4. ‘to speak loudly’ dàukà harshé (lit. to carry tongue) (AB: 379a);
Towards a Hausa Metaphorical Lexicon

**QUA - (A)** 1. ‘verboseness’ e.g. *harshê yakê* (lit. to be with tongue) (AB: 379a); 2. ‘length’ e.g. *gashîntâ yanâ dâ harshê* (lit. her hair is with tongue) (AB: 379a);

**hûhû** ‘lung(s)’ > OBJ > QUA

**OBJ - (A)** 1. ‘a food from cassava’ (AB: 390); 2. ‘padding on upper side of saddle’ (AB: 390);

**QUA - (C)** 1. ‘to become angry’ *yi hûhû* (lit. to make lung(s)), e.g., *tâ hûhû ‘he became angry’* (AB: 390);

**idô** ‘eye’ > OBJ > ACT > QUA

**OBJ - (A)** 1a. ‘ankle’ *idô kafâ* (lit. eye of leg); 1b. ‘ankle’ *idô sau* (lit. eye of sole) (N&M: 54a); 2. ‘distal end of the ulna’ *idôn hannû* (lit. eye of hand) (AB: 397a); 3. ‘hollow’ e.g. *idôn itâcê* (lit. eye of tree) (BA: 473); 4. ‘waterspring’ *idôn ruwâ* (lit. eye of water) (BA: 473); 5. ‘special dish prepared in Kano (ba yarine)’ *idôn mûzûrû* (BA: 473); 6. ‘feminine ornament’ *idôn hazbiyâ [lit. eye of pigeon] (BA: 473); 7. ‘silver coin used as ornament by women’ *idôn mûlâ* (lit. eye of car) (BA: 473);

**ACT – (C)** 1. ‘to become able to do something’ *yi idô* (lit. to make eye) e.g. *yâ yi idô cîkin kârâtû ‘he has done the eye in reading’* (AB: 396); 2. ‘to learn fast at school’ *yi idô* (lit. to make eye) (N&M: 54a); 3. ‘the rising or forming of something little’ *yi idô* (lit. to make eye) e.g. *yâ dâwâ ta yi idô ‘grains have formed in head of bulrush-millet’ (AB: 396); 4. ‘to bring to senses’ *budë idô* (lit. to open eye) e.g. *yâ budë musû idô ‘he brought them to their senses’* (AB: 395b); 5. ‘to face someone’ *yi idô hudû dâ* (lit. to make four eyes with) (Katsina 1980: 101); 4. ‘to slap’ *wankë idô* (lit. to wash eye) e.g. *nâ wankë masâ idô ‘I slapped him’* (AB: 396a); 5. ‘to look attentively’ *zubâ idô* (lit. to pour into eye) e.g. *sâi mukâ zubâ idô kawâi ‘they looked serenely’* (N&M: 54a); 6. ‘to wait expectantly’ *sâ idô* (lit. to put eye) (N&M: 54a); 7. ‘to wink’ *kashê idô* (lit. to kill eye) (N&M: 54a); 8. ‘to dazzle’ *dâuki idô* (lit. to overcome eye) (AB: 201b); (E) 1. ‘I don’t sleep, I hear’ *idônà... biyu* (lit. my eye... two) (D&M: 49);

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15 From a pragmatically/psychological point of view as it has been delineated by Miller (1979), expressions such as *open the eye ‘to understand’* are named sentential metaphors: they are identified by being irrelevant to the surrounding discourse when literally construed (cf. Levinson 1983: 153).
QUA – (A) 1. ‘guide’\(^{16}\)  idôn dâjî (lit. eye.of bush) (BA: 473); 2. ‘soldier brave until his army is advancing, but ready to escape when the other part will reply to attack’  idôn yâkî (lit. eye.of war) (BA: 474); 3. ‘ability of itinerant trader’  idôn safa’â (lit. eye.of itinerant trader) (BA: 474); 4. ‘slack’ e.g.  idô gârê shî or yanâ dà idô (lit. he has eye) (AB: 395); 5. ‘sense of propriety’ e.g. bâ shî dà idô (lit. he doesn’t have eye) (AB: 396); 6. ‘ parsimony’ e.g. (yanâ) idô (lit. he is eye) (AB: 396); (B) 1. ‘insolence’  atsaurin idô (lit. hardness.of eye) (AB: 396b); 2. ‘power to see things invisible to other people’  wankin idô (lit. washing.of eye) (BA: 396); (C) 4. ‘to be brazen’  idônsà yà könê (lit. his eye dried up) (AB: 537); (E) - 1a. ‘vis-à-vis’  idô dà idô (lit. eye with eye) (D&M: 49); 1b. ‘vis-à-vis’  idô hudu (lit. four eyes) (D&M: 49); 2. ‘wealth, prosperity’  idô dà tözâlli (lit. eye with antimony) (D&M: 49); 3. ‘publicly’  à idô jàma’à (lit. in eye.of people) (N&M: 54a)

jìjiyà ‘vein’ > OBJ
OBJ – (A) 1. ‘root’ e.g. jìjiyà itâcê (lit. vein.of tree) (N&M: 58a);

jìnì ‘blood’ > OBJ > QUA
OBJ – (A) 1. ‘menstruation’ (AB: 430);
QUA – (B) 1. ‘popularity’ farin jìnì (lit. white.of blood) (N&M: 58b); 2. ‘unpopularity’ bakin jìnì (lit. black.of blood) (N&M: 58b); (C) 1. ‘to be on guard’, ‘to become afraid’ shà jìnì jìkì (lit. to drink body blood) (AB: 430a).

kâfâdâ ‘shoulder’ > OBJ > SPA > ACT
OBJ – (A) 1. ‘the two main vertical bars of a ploughing hoe blade’ (B&B: 90); 2. ‘upper, horizontal metal bar connecting the ploughing hoe blade with the handle’\(^{17}\) (dial. of Bauchi, Daura and Gudduri) (B&B: 85);
SPA - (E) 1. ‘side by side’ kâfâdâ dà kâfâdâ (lit. shoulder and shoulder) (AB: 446);
ACT - (C) 1. ‘to stay beside someone’ yi kâfâdâ dà (lit. to make shoulder with) (AB: 446); 2. ‘to help’ yi kâfâdâ dà (lit. to make shoulder with) (AB: 446); 3. ‘to be on someone’s side’ yi kâfâdâ (lit. to make shoulder) (AB: 446);

kâi ‘head’ > OBJ > ACT > SPA > QUA

\(^{16}\) The expression is more meaningful than the translation we give of it: ‘guide’ is conceived as a person able to lead someone throughout an unknown region (cf. Bargery 1951: 473), especially into the bush, dâjî, word that ‘désigne le domaine de la nature ‘sauvage’, livrée à elle-même, hantée de forces occultes. … L’entrée en brousse, qu’exigent certains actes (défrichement, installation d’un enclos ou d’un village, chasse, quête de substances de nature médicamenteuse ou ‘magique’, etc.) requiert des rites ‘précis’, qualifiés d’attachement de la brousse (dauren dâjî)’ (Guy 1975: 432).

\(^{17}\) jâkî in Standard Hausa.
OBJ – (A) 1. ‘flat-roof (of room/plaited building)’ e.g. kàn dákê / sàrô (AB: 451); 2. ‘leather covered handle of the Koranic writing board’ in kàn állô (B&B: 93); (E) 1. ‘leather covered handle of the Koranic writing board’ kài då wuyâ (dialect of Sokoto) (lit. head and neck) (B&B: 93);

ACT – (B) 1. ‘overrating one’s ability’ fàdôn kài (lit. width.of head) (N&M: 33b); 2. ‘murder, homicide’ jàkkà (lit. killing.of head) (AH: 150); 3. ‘ejaculation’ zuwàn-kài (lit. coming.of head) (AH: 153); 4. ‘savage act/behavior’ danyen-kài (lit. raw head) (AH: 153); 5. ‘to hem’ cûn kài (lit. eating.of head) (AB: 137b); (C) 1. ‘to cooperate’ gamà kài (lit. to join head) e.g. sun gamà kànsù ‘they cooperate’ (N&M: 41); 2. ‘to absolve oneself of blame’ wànkè kài (lit. to wash head) (N&M: 132a); 3a. ‘to interfere’ tsômà kài (lit. to dip head) e.g. yà tsômà kànsù cikin màganà ‘he interfered in the question’ (AB: 889a); 3b ‘to interfere’ kûtsà kài (lit. squeue head) (MA138b); 4. ‘to respect’ gàidà kài (lit. to respect head) (SP: 8);

SPA – (D) 1. ‘on’, ‘on the top’ à kài ‘on head.of’ e.g. à kàn iyàkà ‘on the frontier’ (AB: 469);

QUA – (A) 1. ‘leader’ e.g. shî nè kànnù ‘he’s our leader’ (BA: 528); (B) 1. ‘egotism’ sùn-kài (lit. will.of heart) (MA: 50a); 2a. ‘arrogance’ girman kài (lit. bigness.of head) (MA: 14a); 2b. ‘arrogance’ jîn-kài (lit. feeling.of head) (N&M: 58b); 2c. ‘arrogance’ fùdîn-kài (lit. wideness.of head) (AH: 148); 3. ‘perversity’ mugùn kài (lit. badness.of head) (AB: 681a); 4. ‘naiveté’ duhyùn-kài (lit. darkness.of head) (AH: 148); 5. ‘learned, wise man’ farin-kài (lit. whiteness.of head) (D&M: 73); 6. ‘ignorant’ bàkin-kài (lit. blackness.of head) (D&M: 73); 7. ‘being confused’ bòtàn-kài (lit. spoiling.of head) (D&M: 15); 8. ‘unintelligent’ danyen-kài (lit. fresh.of head) (D&M: 29); (C) 1. ‘to be unanimous’ kài yà gàmu (lit. head has met) e.g. kànsù yà gàmu ‘they were unanimous’ (AB: 451); 2. ‘to be unable to understand’ dàure kài (lit. to imprison head) (AH: 30); 3. ‘to suffer’ gamà kàd då gwirî (lit. to join head and knees) (D&M: 37); (D) 1. ‘regarding’ à kàn (lit. inside head.of) e.g. yà yi shàwarà då su à kàn x ‘he consulted with them about the living conditions of their kinsmen’ (AB: 469); 2. ‘because of x’ bà à kàn sànà takè zuwà ba ‘it’s not by his wish that she’s coming’ (AB: 469); 3. ‘because’ à kàn e.g. màganà nàn tà kàn bài sànî ba ‘this occurred because he didn’t know’ (AB: 469); 4. ‘in order that x’ à kàn e.g. yà yi à kàn amîncîmù ‘he did so in order that our friendship might become ratiﬁed’ (AB: 469); 5. ‘reflexive’; 6. ‘intensive-reflexive’ e.g. nî då kàinà ‘me, myself’ (Newman 2000: 485); (E) ‘unanimously’ kài dàya ‘one head’ (AB: 208a);

kûnnê ‘ear’ > OBJ > ACT

OBJ – (A) 1. ‘auricular appendices of the heart’ kûnnàn shaitsan (lit. ear.of Satan) (AB: 556b); 2. ‘handle’ e.g. kûnnàn samfo ‘handle of bag’ (AB: 556b); 3. ‘each of the prongs of a forked or not forked object’ e.g. kûnnàn kihiyà (lit. ear.of arrow) (AB: 556b); 4. ‘strap to whip’ kûnnàn bûlûlû (lit. ear.of whip) (AB: 556b);
ACT – (C) 1. ‘to cheat someone’ rūdā kūnnē (lit. to perplex ear) e.g. yā rūdā kūnnwānsū ‘he cheated them’ (AB: 556b); 2. ‘to pay attention’ kasā kūnnē (lit. to arrange ear) e.g. yā kasā kūnnē ‘he paid attention’ (AB: 556b);

kwībī ‘side of the body between thorax and hips’ > OBJ
OBJ – (A) 1. ‘bean with white stripe’ kwībān kūrògē (lit. side.of ground-squirrel) (AB: 597); 2. ‘type of cloth with white stripe’ (AB: 597);

kafâ ‘foot / leg’ > OBJ > ACT > QUA
OBJ – (A) 1. ‘handle of a mortar placed close to the bottom’ (B&B: 119); 2. ‘handle of the frame to build tubes’ (B&B: 119); 3. ‘arch of a room’(dial. of Kano) (B&B: 15); 4. ‘edges of a plaited mat’ (B&B: 130); 5. ‘type of a roof beam’ (dial. of Daura) (B&B: 205); 6. ‘completed frame of a roof which has to be thatched’(dial. of Zaria) (B&B: 22); 7. ‘steps of staircase’ (B&B: 156); 8. ‘first and last plaited row of fencing mat’ (dial. of Bauchi) (B&B: 138);

kāshī ‘bone’ > OBJ > ACT > QUA
OBJ – (A) 1. ‘type of native-woven cloth’ kāshin gàrī (lit. bone.of town) (AB: 499b); 2. ‘handle of the frame to build tubes’ (B&B: 119); 3. ‘arch of a room’(dial. of Kano) (B&B: 15); 4. ‘edges of a plaited mat’ (B&B: 130); 5. ‘type of a roof beam’ (dial. of Daura) (B&B: 205); 6. ‘completed frame of a roof which has to be thatched’(dial. of Zaria) (B&B: 22); 7. ‘steps of staircase’ (B&B: 156); 8. ‘first and last plaited row of fencing mat’ (dial. of Bauchi) (B&B: 138);

kāshī ‘bone’ > OBJ > ACT > QUA
OBJ – (A) 1. ‘type of native-woven cloth’ kāshin gàrī (lit. bone.of town) (AB: 499b); 2. ‘handle of the frame to build tubes’ (B&B: 119); 3. ‘arch of a room’(dial. of Kano) (B&B: 15); 4. ‘edges of a plaited mat’ (B&B: 130); 5. ‘type of a roof beam’ (dial. of Daura) (B&B: 205); 6. ‘completed frame of a roof which has to be thatched’(dial. of Zaria) (B&B: 22); 7. ‘steps of staircase’ (B&B: 156); 8. ‘first and last plaited row of fencing mat’ (dial. of Bauchi) (B&B: 138);

kàrjî ‘chest’ > OBJ > ACT
OBJ – (A) 1. ‘square of thread-adornment between each tsàdarī’ (AB: 525); 2. ‘dewlap of cow’ (AB, p.618a); 3. ‘the part of a mat projecting beyond another mat’ (AB: 618a);

lēbē ‘lip’ > OBJ > ACT
OBJ – (A) 1. ‘lobe of the ear’ (AB: 618a); 2. ‘dewlap of cow’ (AB, p.618a); 3. ‘the part of a mat projecting beyond another mat’ (AB: 618a);

18 bākān gīzō in Standard Hausa.
19 tumbā in Standard Hausa.
20 bādō in Standard Hausa.
`sau` ‘foot’ > OBJ > ACT > TIM > QUA

**OBJ** – (A) 1. ‘footprint’ (N&M: 107b);

**ACT** – (A) 1. ‘trip’ e.g. *mọtar năn tă yi sau biyu yàu* ‘this car has made two trips today’ (N&M: 107b);

**TIM** – (D) 1. ‘times’;

**QUA** – (A) 1. ‘multiplication table’ e.g. *s̀u na biyu* ‘the multiplication table of times two’ (N&M: 107b); (D) 1. used to form ordinals;

`tăfí` ‘palm of hand, sole of foot’ > ACT

**ACT** – (B) 1. ‘applauding’ *ban-tăfí* (lit. giving.of palm) (AB: 837a); (C) 1. ‘to slap’ *shà tăfí* (lit. to drink palm of hand), e.g. yà shà tăfí ‘he was slapped’ (AB: 837a);

`wuyà` ‘neck’ > OBJ > ACT > QUA

**OBJ** – (A) 1. ‘wrist’ *wuyàn hannū* (lit. neck.of hand) (AB: 937); 2. ‘third part of the furnace near the top’ (B&B: 219); 3. ‘upper edge or neck of earthen-ware receptacles’ (dialect of Zaria, Kano, Bauchi) (B&B: 15); 4. ‘apex of a round-hut’ e.g. *wuyàn dākī* (lit. neck.of hut) (AB: 937b); 5. ‘the stitching called cǹ wuyà’ (lit. eating.of neck) (AB: 146b); 6. ‘narrow part of something’ (AB: 937b);

**ACT** – (C) 1. ‘to exceed (a little)’ *yì wuyà* (lit. to make neck), e.g. yà yì musù wuyà ‘he exceeds them a little’ (AB: 937b);

**QUA** – (A) 1. ‘dependence’ à wuyà (lit. on neck), e.g. yanà dà mûtùm gòmà à wuyànsà ‘he has ten persons dependent on him’ (AB: 938a);

`zụ́cływà` ‘heart’ > ACT > QUA

**ACT** – (B) 1. ‘diarrhea’ *gôbàrằ gụ́cị* (lit. conflagration.of at heart) (D&M: 40); 2. ‘sighing’ *dị̀jị̀yà́ dụ́cłyà* (lit. storing.of heart) (AB: 977b); (C) 1. ‘to hold a grudge’ *riké àsụ̀̀cłyà* (lit. to hold in heart) (N&M: 100b); 2. ‘to sigh’ *dị̀jị̀yà́ gụ́cị* (lit. to store heart) (AB: 977b);

**QUA** – (A) 1. ‘imagination’ e.g. *sài àsụ̀̀cłyà* (lit. only in heart) (AB: 977b); 2. ‘mind’ e.g. kà rîkè sì àsụ̀̀cłyà ‘bear it in mind’ (AB: 977b); 3. ‘bravery’ e.g. mài dụ́cłyà nè ‘to have heart’ (AB: 977b); (B) 1. ‘courage’ *kàrfìn dụ́cłyà* (lit. power.of heart) (Wall, 1988: 179); 2. ‘vexation’ *bàcùn dụ́cłyà* (lit. deterioration.of heart) (AB: 977a); 3. ‘conceit’ *fàdìn dụ́cłyà* (lit. breadth.of heart) (AB: 977b); 4. ‘bravery’ *fàr dụ́cłyà* (lit. red.of heart) (AB: 977b); 5. ‘selfishness, greed’ *sòn dụ́cłyà* (lit. liking.of heart) (AB: 151); 6. ‘ambition’ *gàsàr gụ́cị* (lit. emulation.of heart) (AB: 308b); (C) 1. ‘to make happy’ *faràntà dụ́cłyà* (lit. to whiten heart) e.g. yà faràntà mìnì dụ́cłyà ‘he made me happy’ (AB: 252a);

Gian Claudio Batic
Università di Napoli “L’Orientale”
gbatic@tiscali.it
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