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Towards a *Hausa Metaphorical Lexicon: Body Part Nouns*

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 1991*a*, 1991*b*) 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 (1991*b*: 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

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.

A) Internal: *cikì* 'stomach', *hanjī* 'intestines', *hantā* 'liver', *harshè* 'tongue', *hūhū* 'lung(s)', *jījīyā* 'vein', *jinī* 'blood', *kāshī* 'bone', *zūcìyā* 'heart'.

B) External: *bākī* 'mouth', *bāyā* 'back', *cībìyā* 'navel', *dantsè* 'arm', *diddigè* 'heel', *farcè* 'fingernail', *fuskà* 'face', *gàbā* 'front', *gāshī* 'hair', *girā* 'eyebrow', *gwīwā* 'knee', *habā* 'chin', *hakōrī* 'tooth', *hancī* 'nose', *hannū* 'hand', *idō* 'eye', *kāfadā* 'shoulder', *kāi* 'head', *kūnnē* 'ear', *kwībī* 'side between thorax and hips', *kafā* 'foot, leg', *kīrgī* 'chest', *lēbè* 'lip', *sàu* 'foot', *tāfī* 'palm of hand', *wuyā* 'neck'.

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.

phorical sense of an expression' (Lessau 1994: 581).

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 *cikî̀*:

- (3) *cikî̀* ‘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 *cikî̀*, 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 wutā*
lit. mouth.of fire (Bross, Baba 1996: 16)
- (5) *bâkin kôgī̀*

- lit. mouth.of river (Newman, Ma Newman 1977: 9)
 (6) *bâkin tsāgâ*
 lit. mouth.of crack (Bross, Baba 1996: 15)

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’,² (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) *màganâ tâ yi bâkī yâu*
 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 *hancî* ‘nose’. In the case of ‘nose’ the selected features seem to be two, namely ‘extremity’ and ‘form’:

- ‘nose’ > POINTED EXTREMITY
 (8) *hancîn dāwâ*
 lit. nose.of guinea corn
 ‘guinea corn chaff’ (Abraham 1962: 369)
 (9) *hancîn 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).

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 desemantization, 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 Hünne Meyer 1991a; cf. Heine, Claudi and Hünne Meyer 1991b: 52); each link in the chain represents a particular metaphorical category, following the scheme, which is further explained in Section 3:

(10) PERSON > OBJECT > ACTIVITY > SPACE > TIME > QUALITY

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

Tab. 1 Grammaticalized Items

BODY PART	ACTIVITY	SPACE	TIME	QUALITY
<i>bākī</i> ‘mouth’		‘near’	‘when’	‘in exchange of’ ‘as the equivalent of <i>x</i> ’
<i>bāyā</i> ‘back’		‘behind’	‘earlier’ ‘after’ ‘afterward’	
<i>fuskā</i> ‘face’		‘direction’		
<i>gābā</i> ‘front’		‘in front of’ ‘in front’ ‘beyond’	‘in the future’	
<i>hancī</i> ‘nose’				‘a bit of’
<i>hannū</i> ‘hand’				‘via’
<i>idō</i> ‘eye’				‘unit’
<i>kāi</i> ‘head’		‘on’ ‘on the top’		‘self’ ‘-self’ ‘regarding’ ‘because’ ‘because of’ ‘a bit of’ ‘in order that <i>x</i> ’

<i>sau</i> ‘foot’			‘times <i>x</i> ’	<i>used to form ordinals</i>
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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) (1991*b*: 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:³

Tab. 2 Grammaticalization: Source-to-Target

SOURCE	>	TARGET		
<i>bàkī</i> ‘mouth’	>	LOCATIVE TEMPORAL EQUATIVE	<i>bàkin</i>	‘on the verge of <i>x</i> ’ ‘when’ ‘as the equivalent of <i>x</i> ’
<i>bāyā</i> ‘back’	>	LOCATIVE TEMPORAL TEMPORAL	<i>bāya</i>	‘behind’ ‘after’, ‘afterwards’ ‘earlier’
<i>fuskà</i> ‘face’	>	VERB DIRECTION	<i>fùskantà</i>	‘to face’
<i>gàbā</i> ‘forehead’	>	LOCATIVE LOCATIVE LOCATIVE FUTURE	<i>gàba dà</i> <i>gàba</i> <i>gàban</i> <i>nân gàba</i>	‘in front’, ‘in front of’ ‘beyond <i>x</i> ’ ‘before <i>x</i> ’ ‘in the future’
<i>hancī</i> ‘nose’	>	QUANTIFIER	<i>hancìn</i>	‘a bit of’
<i>hannū</i> ‘hand’	>	INSTRUMENT	<i>hannun</i>	‘via <i>x</i> ’
<i>idō</i> ‘eye’	>	COLLECTIVE	<i>idō</i>	‘unit’
<i>kāi</i> ‘head’	>	LOCATIVE REFLEXIVE ⁴ INTENSIVE- REFL CONCERN CAUSE	<i>à kân</i> <i>kân–</i> <i>kân–</i> <i>à kân</i> <i>à kân</i>	‘on <i>x</i> ’, ‘on the top <i>x</i> ’ ‘self’ ‘-self’ ‘regarding <i>x</i> ’ ‘because’, ‘because of <i>x</i> ’

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

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

<i>sau</i> 'foot'	>	QUANTITY QUALITY	<i>sàù</i>	'times <i>x</i> ' used to form ordinals
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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 sub-groups: 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) *kashè idò* > lit. to kill eye > 'to blink'

Nevertheless, there are some renderings admitting both literal and metaphorical meaning. From a pragmatical/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 literarily (cf. Levinson 1983: 53). For example:

- (12) *bā dà hannū* > lit. to give hand > 'to help'

- (13) *budè idò* > 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 *tàimakā* ‘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 homophonous 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).

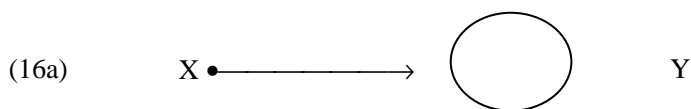
Idioms of this kind are essentially irreversible binomials assuming the form X-and-Y. Their semantic opacity is a function of the order of words they contain:

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

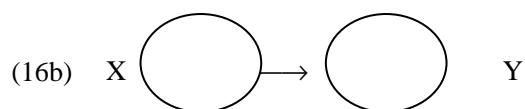
A variant is the structure X-preposition-Y, as in

- (15a) *bākī hař zūcīyā*
 ‘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:



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



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

- (16) *kāfadā̀ dà kāfadā̀*
lit. shoulder and shoulder
'side by side' (Abraham 1962: 446)

- (17) *idṑ dà idṑ*
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 Hünemeyer (adapted to the Hausa data) for the grammaticalized items:

BODY PART > OBJ(ect) > 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, Hünemeyer 1991*b*: 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’.⁶ 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 cikì* 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) *cikìn tsōfō*
lit. stomach.of old
‘advanced pregnancy’

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

- (19) *gòbããrã cikì*
lit. conflagration.of stomach
‘diarrhea’

- (20) *bakìn jinī*
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) *nadè hanjī*
lit. to roll up intestines
'to be miserly'

(D) grammaticalized items;

- (22) *(yanà) bāya*
lit. (s3m) behind
'(he is) behind'

(E) syntactic idioms;

- (23) *kāi dāya*
lit. head one
'unanimously'

Possessive expressions such as *X gārē shì*, *màì X*, *yanà 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-Categorical Metaphors

	OBJ	ACT	SPA	TIM	QUA
Eye	6	11	0	0	12
face	1	13	1	0	3
hand	6	11	1	1	6
head	3	10	1	0	21
heart	0	4	0	0	14
mouth	9	12	1	2	7

nose	15	0	0	0	4
stomach	2	10	0	0	9

Tab. 4 highlights the relation between syntagmatic delimitation and the categorial chain.

Tab. 4 Patterns-Categorial Metaphors

	OBJ	ACT	SPA	TIM	QUA
A	97	3	3	1	34
B	2	20	0	0	16
C	0	69	0	0	24
D	0	1	7	6	9
E	9	1	2	1	7
	108	94	12	8	90

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 asyntactic 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:

$$(24) \quad (\text{OBJ} - \text{ACT}) - \text{SPA} - \text{TIM} - \text{QUA}$$

In this way OBJ/ACT items can be reconceptualized in SPA, and from SPA to

TIM and QUA category.

APPENDIX⁷

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

bàkī ‘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’ *bàkin wutā* (lit. mouth.of fire) (B&B: 16); 6. ‘opening of mortar’ *bàkin turmī* (lit. mouth.of mortar) (B&B: 15); 7. ‘beginning of a seam of a mended calabash’ *bàkin tsāgā* (lit. mouth.of incision) (B&B: 15); 8. ‘bank (of river or ocean)’ (N&M: 9) e.g. *yā jē bàkin tèku* ‘he went to the ocean’s bank’ (TB: 22);

ACT – (B) 1. ‘lobbying’ *ban-bàkī* (lit. giving.of mouth) (AH: 146); 2a. ‘sweet talk’ *dādin-bàkī* (lit. sweetness.of mouth) (AH: 148); 2b ‘sweet talk’ *zākin bàkī* (lit. sweetness.of mouth) (AH: 152); 3. ‘false appetite’ *jīn bàkī* (lit. feeling.of mouth) (AH: 149); (C) 1a. ‘to interfere’ *sā bàkī* (lit. to put mouth) (AB: 63); 1b. ‘to interfere’ *tsōmā bàkī* (lit. to dip mouth) (SP: 13); 2. ‘to curse someone’ *yī bàkī* (lit. to make mouth) (N&M: 9); 3. ‘to show surprise’ *rikè bàkī* (lit. to keep mouth) (AB: 735b; cf. Dan Goggo and Kano 1969: 29); 4a. ‘to conspire’ *hadā bàkī* (lit. to join mouth) (MA: 50b; cf. Daura, 1990: 28); 4b ‘to conspire’ *gamā bàkī* (lit. to combine mouth) (MA: 50b); 6. ‘to pick a quarrell’ *jā bàkī* (lit. to pull mouth) (AB: 410b); 7. ‘to abstain from eating in deference to a fast’ *kāmā bàkī* (lit. to catch mouth) (N&M: 61b); 8. ‘to speak wheedlingly’ *gyārā bàkī* (lit. to repair mouth) (AB: 356a);

SPA – (E) 1. ‘very near’ *bàkī dà hancī* (lit. mouth and nose) (N&M: 9);

TIM – (D) 1. ‘on the verge of *x*’ *bàkin x* (lit. mouth.of) (AB: 63); 2. ‘when’ *bàkin* (lit. mouth.of) e.g. *yanā bàkin zuwā* ‘he’s just about to arrive’ (AB: 63);

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

⁷ The following abbreviations are employed: Abraham 1949 (AB); Bargery 1951 (BA); Bross, Baba 1996 (B&B); Dikko, Maciddo 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).

(lit. mouth.of one) (cf. Daura 1990: 14,17,25); 3. ‘sincerely’ *bākin haĩ zūcìyā* (lit. from mouth to heart) (SP: 13); 4. ‘in the mood for happiness’ *bakà dà hanci* (lit. in mouth and nose) (D&M: 7);

bāyā ‘back’ > OBJ > ACT > SPA > TIM

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

ACT - (C) 1. ‘to backbite’ *ci bāyā* (lit. to eat back) e.g. *yā ci bāyammù* ‘he backbit us’ (AB: 92a);

SPA - (D) 1. ‘behind’ e.g. *yanā bāya* ‘he’s at the back’ (AB: 92b);

TIM - (D) 1. ‘afterwards’ *dàgà bāyā* e.g. *dàgà bāyā sai sukà kī* ‘after they didn’t accept (AB: 93a); 2. ‘after’ *dàgà bāyā* e.g. *dàgà bāyā nân* ‘after that’ (AB: 93a); 3. ‘earlier’ e.g. *shēkarùn bāyā* ‘some years ago’ (AB: 92b);

cībìyā ‘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 cībìyā* (AB: 139b);

SPA - (A) 1. ‘centre’ (AB: 139b)

cikì ‘stomach’ > OBJ > ACT > QUA

OBJ - (A) 1. ‘compartment’ (AB: 143a); 2. ‘livelihood’ in *àbin tàimakon cikìnsà* ‘the thing that help his stomach’ (AB: 142b);

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

QUA - (A) 1. ‘advanced pregnancy’ *cikìn tsōfō* (lit. stomach.of old) e.g. *tanā dà cikìn tsōfō* (lit. she is with old stomach) (AB: 142b); (B) 1. ‘glutton’ *bāwàn cikì* (lit. slave.of stomach) (AB: 142b); 2. ‘inscrutableness’ *zurfin cikì* (lit. depth.of stomach) (AB: 142b); 3. ‘energy’ *wutař cikì* (lit. fire.of stomach) (AB: 142b); 4. ‘happyness’ *farin cikì* (lit.white.of stomach) (AB: 254a; cf. Dan Goggo and Kano 1969: 9; TB: 16, 28); 5. ‘unhappiness’ *bakin cikì* (lit. black.of stomach) (AB: 254a; cf. Daura, 1990: 7; TB: 9, 25); 6. ‘protection’

rufan cikī (lit. cover.of stomach) (AB: 517a); (C) 1. ‘she is recently pregnant’
sāmi cikī (lit. to get stomach) (AB: 142b); (D) 1. ‘-self’ e.g. *bà à san cikīnkà*
 ‘we don’t know you’ (AB: 142b, 835b);

dantsè ‘arm’ > QUA

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

diddigè ‘heel’ > ACT > QUA

ACT - (C) 1. ‘to tread on the heels’ *cī diddigè* (lit. to eat heel), e.g. *yanà cīn diddigèṅā* ‘he is treading on my heels’ (AB: 211); 2. ‘to worry someone to pay his debt’ *cī* (lit. to eat heel) (AB: 211);

QUA - (C) 1. ‘to be junior’ *cī diddigè* (lit. to eat heel) (AB: 211);

farcè ‘fingernail’ > ACT

ACT - (C) 1. ‘to eat (*tuwō*)’ *kōnà farcè* (lit. to burn fingernail) (AB: 253a);

fuskà ‘face’ > OBJ > ACT > SPA > QUA

OBJ - (A) 1. ‘surface’ (AB: 275a);

ACT – (B) 1. ‘insult’ *cīn fuskà* (lit. eating.of face) (AH: 146); 2. ‘welcoming expression’ *ban-fuskà* (lit. giving.of face) (AH: 146); 3. ‘to shave’ *gyāran fuskà* (lit. to repair face) (AH: 42); 4. ‘to solve a problem’ *gyāran fuskà* (AH: 42); (C) 1. ‘to humiliate’ *cī fuskà* (lit. to eat face) (AB: 275); 2a. ‘to frown’ *hadà fuskà* (lit. to join face) (Dan Goggo and Kano 1969: 9); 2b. ‘to frown’ *gamà fuskà* (lit. to join face) (AB: 291); 3. ‘to look impressive’ *cikà fuskà* (lit. to fill face) (AB: 141); 4a. ‘to scowl’ *batà fuskà* (lit. to loose face) (AB: 88); 4b. ‘to scowl’ *muřtùkè fuskà* (lit. to stir up dust of the face) (MA: 236); 4c. ‘to scowl’ *durbùnà fuskà* (lit. to grimace face) (MA: 236); 5. ‘to show anger’ *daurè fuskà* (lit. to imprison face) (D&M: 30); (D) 1. ‘to face’ *fùskantà* (N&M: 38);

SPA – (A) 1. ‘direction’ e.g. *à fuskàř nān* ‘in this direction’ (AB: 275b); 2. ‘cardinal point’ e.g. *fuskàř arèwa* ‘face of north’ (AB: 275);

QUA – (A) 1. ‘manner’ e.g. *ta wàcè fuskà sukà fī mù?* ‘in what way are they superior to us?’ (AB: 275a); 2. ‘popularity’ e.g. *fuskà gārè shì* or *yanà dà fuskà* ‘he is popular’ (lit. he is with face) (AB: 275b); (E) 1. ‘hypocrisy’ *fuskà biyu* (lit. two faces) (AB: 274b);

gàbā ‘front’ > OBJ > SPA > TIM > QUA

OBJ – (A) 1. ‘male or female genitals’ (N&M: 39a); 2. ‘the distance of out-stretched arms from fingertip to fingertip’ (N&M: 39a);

SPA – (A) 1. ‘fathom’ (AB: 277); (D) 1. ‘in front’ *gàba* e.g. *yanà gàba* ‘he’s in front’ (AB, p.278a); 2a. ‘in front of’ *gàban* e.g. *yanà gàba dà nì* ‘he’s in front of me’ (AB: 278b); 2b. ‘in front of’ *gàban* e.g. *yā fādī gàban sarkī* ‘he

prostrated himself before the chief' (N&M: 39a); 3. 'henceforth' *nân gâba* (N&M: 39a); 4. 'beyond' *gâban* e.g. *yanà gâban kôgî* 'he is on the other side of the river' (N&M: 39a);

TIM – (E) 1. 'simultaneously' *gâbā daya* (lit. one front) (N&M: 39a);

QUA - (C) 1. 'to show a dignified appearance' *cikà gâbā* (lit. to fill front) (D&M: 18);

gāshì 'hair' > OBJ

OBJ – (A) 1. 'eyelash' in *gāshìn idò* (lit. hair.of eye) (AB: 309a); 2. 'moustache' in *gāshìn bākī* (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*)' (dial. of Katsina)⁹ (B&B: 17);

girā 'eyebrow' > OBJ > ACT

OBJ - (A) 1. 'edge of top of building' (AB: 323b); 2. 'edge of *gwandā*-cloth' (AB: 323b);

ACT - (B) 1. 'frowning' *daurìn girā* (lit. imprisonment.of eyebrow) (AB: 323a); (C) 1. 'to frown' *daurà girā* (lit. to imprison eyebrow) (AB: 323a);

gwīwā 'knee' > OBJ > ACT > QUA

OBJ – (A) 1. 'elbow' in *gwīwār hannū* 'knee of hand' (AB: 203);

ACT – (C) 1. 'to put persons in mutual relationship' *gamà gwīwā* (lit. to combine knee) (AB: 291b; cf. TB: 11); 2. 'they pooled their resources' *gamà gwīwā* (lit. to combine knee) (AB: 291b);

QUA - (C) 1a. 'to suffer' *gamà kâi dà gwīwā* (lit. to join head and knees) (D&M: 37); 1b. 'to suffer' *hadà gwīwā* (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' *kētàra habà* (lit. to cross over the chin) (AB: 357);

hakōrī 'tooth' > OBJ

OBJ – (A) 1. 'first layer of the bloom' (B&B: 77); 2. 'white turban with pink edge' *hakōrin farā* (lit. white tooth) (AB: 364a); 3. 'herring-bone embroidery on trousers' *hakōrin farā* (lit. white tooth) (AB: 364a);

hancī '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' (dial. of Bauchi) (B&B: 194); 4. 'wooden tool to smoothen leather sur-

⁹ *bàlīsè* in Standard Hausa.

face' (dial. of Bauchi)¹⁰ (B&B: 194); 5. 'triangular charm worn around the neck by male only'¹¹ (dial. of Daura) (B&B: 131); 6. 'trigger' e.g. *hancìn bindigà* 'nose of gun'¹² (cf. Fulani, 1982: 10); 7. 'eye of needle' (N&M: 50); 8. 'different type of embroidery either front or back of a large gown' (B&B: 186); 9. 'prow' *hancìn jirgī* (lit. nose.of vehicle) (AB: 369a); 10. 'guinea corn chaff' *hancìn dāwā* (lit. nose.of guinea corn) (AB: 369b); 11. 'the part of sandal-strap fitting between toes' (AB: 369b); 12. 'short stem attaching some fruits or vegetable to main-stem' (AB: 369b); 13. 'type of incense' (dial. of Katsina) *hancìn kàbēwā* (lit. nose.of pumpkin) (AB: 369b); 14. 'place where crutch-piece joins trousers' *hancìn wàndō* (lit. nose of trousers-ankle) (AB: 369b); **(B)** 1. 'bridge of the nose' *karan hancī* (lit. stalk of nose) (AH: 150);

QUA – **(A)** 'a mere nobody' *hancìn gautā* (lit. nose.of dried form of bitter tomato); **(C)** 1. 'to be affected by' *tabà hancī* (lit. to touch nose), e.g., *àbin dà ya tabà hancī* 'the thing that affects (us)' (AB: 369a); 2. 'to quarrel' *cī hancī* (lit. to eat nose) (AB: 369a); **(D)** 1. 'a bit of' e.g. *hancìn kudī* 'bribe' (N&M: 50a);

hanjī 'intestines' > OBJ > QUA

OBJ – **(A)** 1. 'mainspring of watch' *hanjin àgōgo* (lit. intestines.of watch) (AB: 370b); 2. 'lamp wick' *hanjin fītilā* (lit. intestines.of lamp) (AB: 370b); 3. 'beans intersown with corn' *hanjin gōnā* (lit. intestines.of farm) (AB: 370b); 4. 'rags lining sword-sling' *hanjin hāmīlā* (lit. intestines.of sword-sling) (AB: 370b); 5. 'bobbin-nipple' *hanjin kōshiyā* (lit. intestines.of wooden ladle) (AB: 370b); **(B)** 1. 'child born late in mother's life' *kālan hanjī* (lit. gleaning.of intestines) (AB: 370b);

QUA – **(C)** 1. 'to be miserly' *nadē hanjī* (lit. to wrap around intestines) (AB: 370a);

hannū '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'¹³ (dial. of Bauchi) (B&B: 55); 3. 'handle of flail' in *hannun bugū* 'hand of a flail'¹⁴ (dial. of Zaria) (B&B: 218); 4. 'stump of maimed arm' *mugùn hannū* (lit. bad hand) (AB: 681a); 5. 'channel' e.g. *hannun tēku* (lit. hand.of sea) (AB: 371b); 6. 'relatives' e.g. *hannū gārē shì* (lit. he has hand);

ACT – **(B)** 1. 'applying charm to child to cure it of pilfering' *daurìn hannū* (lit. imprisonment.of hand) (D&M: 30); **(C)** 1a. 'to help' *bā dà hannū* (lit. to

¹⁰ *taitaimā* in Standard Hausa.

¹¹ *lāyā* in Standard Hausa (AB: 617a).

¹² Pointed out by Piłaszewicz (1988: 210) as idiomatic expression of recent attestation.

¹³ *fātār kallī* in Standard Hausa.

¹⁴ *wutsiyāř dan bugū* 'tail of a little flail' in Standard Hausa (B&B: 218).

give hand) (MA: 117a); 1b. ‘to help’ *sâ hannū* (lit. to put the hand) e.g. *zò kà sâ manà hannū* ‘came and help us’ (AB: 751a); 2. ‘to pay attention’ *sâ hannū* (lit. to put hand), e.g. *sarkī yā sâ masà hannū* ‘the Emir has turned his attention to him’ (AB: 751a); 3a. ‘to interfere’ *tsōmà hannū* (lit. to dip hand) (MA: 117a); 3b. ‘to interfere’ *sâ hannū* (lit. to put the hand) e.g. *kadà kà sâ hannū cikin àl’amàřinsà* ‘don’t interfere in his affairs’ (AB: 751a); 4. ‘to take part’ *sâ hannū* (lit. to put hand) e.g. *yā sâ masà hannū* ‘he took part in it’ (AB: 751a); 5. ‘to sign’ *sâ hannū* (lit. to put hand) e.g. *yā sâ hannū à takàřdā* ‘he signed the letter’ (AB: 751a); 6. ‘to take a hand in x’ *sâ hannū* (lit. to put hand) e.g. *sun sâ hannū gā rikōn kasař* ‘they’ve begun to administer the country’ (AB: 751a); 7. ‘to consume marriage (with virgin-wife) *kāmà hannū* (lit. to catch hand) (AB: 371b); 9. ‘to begin to menstruate’ *ga hannū* (lit. ‘to see hand’), e.g. *tā ga hannuntà* ‘she began to menstruate for first time’ (AB: 371b);

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

TIM – (A) 1. ‘minute/hour’ *dōgon / kàramin hannū* (lit. the short/long hand) (MA: 117);

QUA – (A) 1. ‘dependence’ e.g. *sunà hannun sarkin Bàřno* ‘they are at the dependence of the Emir of Barno’ (AB: 371); 2. ‘skill’ e.g. *hannū gārē shì* (lit. hand in possession of him); 3. ‘liberality’ e.g. *hannū gārē shì* (lit. hand in possession of him) (AB: 371); **(C)** 1. ‘to be soiled’ *yā shā hannū* (lit. he drunk hand) (AB: 371b) **(D)** 1. ‘via’ *ta hannun* (lit. through hand.of) e.g. *yā àikà dà jàwābìnsà ta hannun Audù* ‘he sent his reply via Audu’ (AB: 371b); **(E)** 1. ‘with joy and respect’ *hannū bibbiyu* (lit. two hands) (Daura, 1990: ii);

hantà ‘liver’ > ACT

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

harshè ‘tongue’ > OBJ > ACT > QUA

OBJ – (A) 1. ‘flame (carbonic or not)’ e.g. *harshà wutā* (lit. tongue.of fire) (AB: 379a; B&B: 79); 2. ‘tip of whip’ e.g. *harshà bŭlālā* (lit. tongue.of wip) (AB: 379a); 3. ‘tip of sword or knife’ e.g. *harshàn takōbī* (lit. tongue.of sword) (AB: 379a); 4. ‘tip of loincloth’ e.g. *harshàn bantē* (lit. tongue.of loincloth) (AB: 379a);

ACT – (A) 1. ‘language’ (AB: 379a); **(B)** 1. ‘fluent speaking’ *kaifin harshè* (lit. sharpness.of tongue) e.g. *kaifin harshè gārē shì* ‘he speaks fluently’ (AB: 379a); **(C)** 1. ‘to speak correctly’ *harshè yā fīta sōsai*, e.g. *harshànsà bā yā fīta sōsai* (lit. his tongue doesn’t exit well) (AB: 379a); 2. ‘to rave’ e.g. *harshànsà yā karai* ‘he is in the delirium which precedes the death’ (AB: 479b); 3. ‘to protract’ *yi harshè* (lit. to make tongue) e.g. *dāmūnā tā yi harshè* ‘rain season protracted’ (AB: 379a); 4. ‘to speak loudly’ *daukà harshè* (lit. to carry tongue) (AB: 379a);

QUA – (A) 1. ‘verboseness’ e.g. *harshè yakè* (lit. to be with tongue) (AB: 379a); 2. ‘length’ e.g. *gashìntà yanà dà harshè* (lit. her.hair is with tongue) (AB: 379a);

hùhù ‘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 hùhù* (lit. to make lung(s)), e.g., *tā yi hùhù* ‘he became angry’ (AB: 390);

idò ‘eye’ > OBJ > ACT > QUA

OBJ – (A) 1a. ‘ankle’ *idò kafà* (lit. eye.of leg); 1b. ‘ankle’ *idò sàu* (lit. eye.of sole) (N&M: 54a); 2. ‘distal end of the ulna’ *idòn hannū* (lit. eye.of hand) (AB: 397a); 3. ‘hollow’ e.g. *idòn itàcè* (lit. eye.of tree) (BA: 473); 4. ‘water-spring’ *idòn ruwā* (lit. eye.of water) (BA: 473); 5. ‘special dish prepared in Kano (*ba yarime*)’ *idòn mùzūrū* (BA: 473); 6. ‘feminine ornament’ *idòn hazbiyā* [lit. eye of pigeon] (BA: 473); 7. ‘silver coin used as ornament by women’ *idòn mōtā* (lit. eye of car) (BA: 473);

ACT – (C) 1. ‘to become able to do something’ *yi idò* (lit. to make eye) e.g. *yā yi idò cikin kārātū* ‘he has done the eye in reading’ (AB: 396); 2. ‘to learn fast at school’ *yi idò* (lit. to make eye) (N&M: 54a); 3. ‘the rising or forming of something little’ *yi idò* (lit. to make eye) e.g. *yā dāwà ta yi idò* ‘grains have formed in head of bulrush-millet’ (AB: 396); 4. ‘to bring to senses’ *budè idò* (lit. to open eye)¹⁵ e.g. *yā budè musù idò* ‘he brought them to their senses’ (AB: 395b); 5. ‘to face someone’ *yi idò huđu dà* (lit. to make four eyes with) (Katsina 1980: 101); 4. ‘to slap’ *wankè idò* (lit. to wash eye) e.g. *nā wankè masà idò* ‘I slapped him’ (AB: 396a); 5. ‘to look attentively’ *zubà idò* (lit. to pour into eye) e.g. *sai mukà zubà idò kawàì* ‘then they looked serenely’ (N&M: 54a); 6. ‘to wait expectantly’ *sā idò* (lit. to put eye) (N&M: 54a); 7. ‘to wink’ *kashè idò* (lit. to kill eye) (N&M: 54a); 8. ‘to dazzle’ *dàuki idò* (lit. to overcome eye) (AB: 201b); (E) 1. ‘I don’t sleep, I hear’ *idònā... biyu* (lit. my eye... two) (D&M: 49);

¹⁵ From a pragmatical/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 *idòn dājī* (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’ *idòn yākī* (lit. eye.of war) (BA: 474); 3. ‘ability of itinerant trader’ *idòn safāṛā* (lit. eye.of itinerant trader) (BA: 474); 4. ‘slack’ e.g. *idò gārē shì* or *yanà dà idò* (lit. he has eye) (AB: 395); 5. ‘sense of propriety’ e.g. *bā shi dà idò* (lit. he doesn’t have eye) (AB: 396); 6. ‘parsimony’ e.g. (*yanà*) *idò* (lit. he is eye) (AB: 396); (B) 1. ‘insolence’ *atsaurin idò* (lit. hardness.of eye) (AB: 396b); 2. ‘power to see things invisible to other people’ *wankìn idò* (lit. washing.of eye) (BA: 396); (C) 4. ‘to be brazen’ *idònsà yā kōnè* (lit. his eye dried up) (AB: 537); (E) - 1a. ‘vis-à-vis’ *idò dà idò* (lit. eye with eye) (D&M: 49); 1b. ‘vis-à-vis’ *idò hudu* (lit. four eyes) (D&M: 49); 2. ‘wealth, prosperity’ *idò dà tōzālī* (lit. eye with antimony) (D&M: 49); 3. ‘publicly’ *à idò jàma ’à* (lit. in eye.of people) (N&M: 54a)

jījīyā ‘vein’ > OBJ

OBJ – (A) 1. ‘root’ e.g. *jījīyā itācē* (lit. vein.of tree) (N&M: 58a);

jinī ‘blood’ > OBJ > QUA

OBJ – (A) 1. ‘menstruation’ (AB: 430);

QUA – (B) 1. ‘popularity’ *farin jinī* (lit. white.of blood) (N&M: 58b); 2. ‘unpopularity’ *bakin jinī* (lit. black.of blood) (N&M: 58b); (C) 1. ‘to be on guard’, ‘to become afraid’ *shā jinin jīkī* (lit. to drink body blood) (AB: 430a) .

kāfadā ‘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’ *kāfadā dà kāfadā* (lit. shoulder and shoulder) (AB: 446);

ACT - (C) 1. ‘to stay beside someone’ *yi kāfadā dà* (lit. to make shoulder with) (AB: 446); 2. ‘to help’ *yi kāfadā dà* (lit. to make shoulder with) (AB: 446); 3. ‘to be on someone’s side’ *yi kāfadā* (lit. to make shoulder) (AB: 446);

kāi ‘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, *dājī*, 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 (défrichage, 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 dājī)» (Guy 1975: 432).

¹⁷ *jākī* in Standard Hausa.

OBJ – (A) 1. ‘flat-roof (of room/plaited building)’ e.g. *kân dākî / sōrō* (AB: 451); 2. ‘leather covered handle of the Koranic writing board’ in *kân àllō* (B&B: 93); **(E)** 1. ‘leather covered handle of the Koranic writing board’ *kâi dà wuyà* (dial. of Sokoto) (lit. head and neck) (B&B: 93);

ACT – (B) 1. ‘overrating one’s ability’ *fādon kâi* (lit. width.of head’ (N&M: 33b); 2. ‘murder, homicide’ *kisàn-kâi* (lit. killing.of head) (AH: 150); 3. ‘ejaculation’ *zuwàn-kâi* (lit. coming.of head) (AH: 153); 4. ‘savage act/behavior’ *danyen-kâi* (lit. raw head) (AH: 153); 5. ‘to hem’ *cîn kâi* (lit. eating.of head) (AB: 137b); **(C)** 1. ‘to cooperate’ *gamà kâi* (lit. to join head) e.g. *sun gamà kânsù* ‘they cooperate’ (N&M: 41); 2. ‘to absolve oneself of blame’ *wankè kâi* (lit. to wash head’ (N&M: 132a); 3a. ‘to interfere’ *tsômà kâi* (lit. to dip head) e.g. *yā tsômà kânsà cikin mǎganà* ‘he interfered in the question’ (AB: 889a); 3b ‘to interfere’ *kūtsà kâi* (lit. squeeze head) (MA138b); 4. ‘to respect’ *gaidà kâi* (lit. to respect head) (SP: 8);

SPA – (D) 1. ‘on’, ‘on the top’ *à kâi* ‘on head.of’ e.g. *à kân iyākā* ‘on the frontier’ (AB: 469);

QUA – (A) 1. ‘leader’ e.g. *shī nē kânmu* ‘he’s our leader’ (BA: 528); **(B)** 1. ‘egotism’ *sôn-kâi* (lit. will.of heart) (MA: 50a); 2a. ‘arrogance’ *girman kâi* (lit. bigness.of head) (MA: 14a); 2b. ‘arrogance’ *jîn-kâi* (lit. feeling.of head) (N&M: 58b); 2c. ‘arrogance’ *fādin-kâi* (lit. wideness.of head) (AH: 148); 3. ‘perversity’ *mugùn kâi* (lit. badness.of head) (AB: 681a); 4. ‘naiveté’ *duhùn-kâi* (lit. darkness.of head) (AH: 148); 5. ‘learned, wise man’ *farin-kâi* (lit. whiteness.of head) (D&M: 73); 6. ‘ignorant’ *bakin-kâi* (lit. blackness.of head) (D&M: 73); 7. ‘being confused’ *batàn-kâi* (lit. spoiling.of head) (D&M: 15); 8. ‘unintelligent’ *danyen-kâi* (lit. fresh.of head) (D&M: 29); **(C)** 1. ‘to be unanimous’ *kâi yā gāmu* (lit. head has met) e.g. *kânsù yā gāmu* ‘they were unanimous’ (AB: 451); 2. ‘to be unable to understand’ *daurè kâi* (lit. to imprison head) (AH: 30); 3. ‘to suffer’ *gamà kâ dà gwīwā* (lit. to join head and knees) (D&M: 37); **(D)** 1. ‘regarding’ *à kân* (lit. inside head.of) e.g. *yā yi shāwāã dà su à kân* x ‘he consulted with them about the living conditions of their kinsmen’ (AB: 469); 2. ‘because of x’ *bà à kân sansà takè zuwà ba* ‘it’s not by his wish that she’s coming’ (AB: 469); 3. ‘because’ *à kân* e.g. *mǎganàn nân ta kân bài sanī ba* ‘this occurred because he didn’t know’ (AB: 469); 4. ‘in order that x’ *à kân* e.g. *yā yi à kân amincìnmù* ‘he did so in order that our friendship might become ratified’ (AB: 469); 5. ‘reflexive’; 6. ‘intensive-reflexive’ e.g. *nī dà kânā* ‘me, myself’ (Newman 2000: 485); **(E)** ‘unanimously’ *kâi dāya* ‘one head’ (AB: 208a) ;

kūnnē ‘ear’ > OBJ > ACT

OBJ – (A) 1. ‘auricular appendices of the heart’ *kūnnan shaitan* (lit. ear.of Satan) (AB: 556b); 2. ‘handle’ e.g. *kūnnan samfō* ‘handle of bag’ (AB: 556b); 3. ‘each of the prongs of a forked or not forked object’ e.g. *kūnnan kibiyā* (lit. ear.of arrow) (AB: 556b); 4. ‘strap to whip’ *kūnnan būlālā* (lit. ear.of whip) (AB: 556b);

ACT – (C) 1. ‘to cheat someone’ *rūdà kùnnē* (lit. to perplex ear) e.g. *yā rūdà kunnuwànsù* ‘he cheated them’ (AB: 556b); 2. ‘to pay attention’ *kasà kùnnē* (lit. to arrange ear) e.g. *yā kasà kùnnē* ‘he paid attention’ (AB: 556b);

kwībī ‘side of the body between thorax and hips’ > OBJ

OBJ – (A) 1. ‘bean with white stripe’ *kwībīn kùrēgē* (lit. side.of ground-squirrel) (AB: 597); 2. ‘type of cloth with white stripe’ (AB: 597);

kafā ‘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’¹⁸ (dial. of Kano) (B&B: 15); 4. ‘edges of a plaited mat’ (B&B: 130); 5. ‘type of a roof beam’¹⁹ (dial. of Daura) (B&B: 205); 6. ‘completed frame of a roof which has to be thatched’²⁰ (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);

ACT – (C) 1. ‘to misrepresent’ *daukaĩ kafā* (lit. to take up foot) (AB: 201b);

QUA – (A) ‘bad luck’ *faraĩ-kafā* (lit. white.of foot) (AH: 152);

kàshī ‘bone’ > OBJ > ACT > QUA

OBJ – (A) 1. ‘type of native-woven cloth’ *kàshin gārī* (lit. bone.of town) (AB: 499b);

ACT – (C) 1. ‘to share in each other’s good luck (after previous penury)’ *kàshin yā hàdu* (lit. bone has met) (AB: 499b);

QUA – (A) 1. ‘outline, summary’, e.g. *kàshin àbin dà ya fādā* ‘the summary of what he said’ (AB: 499a); 2. ‘luck’, e.g. *yanā dà kàshī* ‘he’s lucky’ (AB: 499b); 3. ‘unvarnished truth’ in *kàshin gāskiyā* (lit. bone.of truth) (AB: 499b); **(B)** 1. ‘endurance’ *jan-kàshī* (lit. red bone) (AH: 154);

kìrjī ‘chest’ > OBJ > ACT

OBJ – (A) 1. ‘square of thread-adornment between each *tsàdarī*’ (AB: 525);

ACT – (C) 1. ‘to secure cloth above woman’s breasts’ *daurè kìrjī* (lit. to imprison chest) (AB: 525);

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);

ACT – (C) 1. ‘to put two things so that one lies across the other’ *yi lēbē* (lit. to make ear) e.g. *tā yi lēbān uwaĩ mijī* ‘she crossed her cloth over her breast (and let it hang down so that it made flapping noise as she walks) (AB: 618a);

¹⁸ *bàkan gizò* in Standard Hausa.

¹⁹ *tumbā* in Standard Hausa.

²⁰ *bōtò* in Standard Hausa.

sau ‘foot’ > OBJ > ACT > TIM > QUA

OBJ – (A) 1. ‘footprint’ (N&M: 107b);

ACT – (A) 1. ‘trip’ e.g. *mōtāṛ nān tā yi sau biyu yāu* ‘this car has made two trips today’ (N&M: 107b);

TIM – (D) 1. ‘times *x*’;

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

tāḥī ‘palm of hand, sole of foot’ > ACT

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

wuyā ‘neck’ > OBJ > ACT > QUA

OBJ – (A) 1. ‘wrist’ *wuyān 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 earthenware receptacles’ (dial. of Zaria, Kano, Bauchi) (B&B: 15); 4. ‘apex of a round-hut’ e.g. *wuyān dākī* (lit. neck.of hut) (AB: 937b); 5. ‘the stitching called *cīn wuyā*’ (lit. eating.of neck) (AB: 146b); 6. ‘narrow part of something’ (AB: 937b);

ACT – (C) 1. ‘to exceed (a little)’ *yi wuyā* (lit. to make neck), e.g. *yā yi musū wuyā* ‘he exceeds them a little’ (AB: 937b);

QUA – (A) 1. ‘dependence’ *à wuyā* (lit. on neck), e.g. *yanā dà mùtūm gōmā à wuyānsā* ‘he has ten persons dependent on him’ (AB: 938a);

zūcìyā ‘heart’ > ACT > QUA

ACT – (B) 1. ‘diarrhea’ *gōbāṛaṛ zūci* (lit. conflagration.of at heart) (D&M: 40); 2. ‘sighing’ *àjìyāṛ zūcìyā* (lit. storing.of heart) (AB: 977b); (C) 1. ‘to hold a grudge’ *rikè à zūcìyā* (lit. to hold in heart) (N&M: 100b); 2. ‘to sigh’ *ajiyē zūcìyā* (lit. to store heart) (AB: 977b);

QUA – (A) 1. ‘imagination’ e.g. *sai à zūcìyā* (lit. only in heart) (AB: 977b); 2. ‘mind’ e.g. *kà rikè shi à zūcìyā* ‘bear it in mind’ (AB: 977b); 3. ‘bravery’ e.g. *mài zūcìyāṛ nē* ‘to have heart’ (AB: 977b); (B) 1. ‘courage’ *karfin zūcìyā* (lit. power.of heart) (Wall, 1988: 179); 2. ‘vexation’ *bacin zūcìyā* (lit. deterioration.of heart) (AB: 977a); 3. ‘conceit’ *fāḍīn zūcìyā* (lit. breadth.of heart) (AB: 977b); 4. ‘bravery’ *jaṛ zūcìyā* (lit. red.of heart) (AB: 977b); 5. ‘selfishness, greed’ *sōn-zūcìyā* (lit. liking.of heart) (AH: 151); 6. ‘ambition’ *gāsaṛ zūci* (lit. emulation.of heart) (AB: 308b); (C) 1. ‘to make happy’ *faràntā zūcìyā* (lit. to whiten heart) e.g. *yā faràntā minì zūcìyā* ‘he made me happy’ (AB: 252a);

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