

Gian Claudio Batic, Sergio Baldi
University of Naples 'L'Orientale'

'MY HEART IS BLACK, YOUR BELLY IS WHITE': ENCODING EMOTIONS IN A WEST AFRICAN CULTURE¹

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter investigates some aspects of the linguistic encoding of emotions in Hausa, an Afro-Asiatic language belonging to the west branch of the Chadic family. The analysis will focus on the role of a special set of lexical items: ideophones.

Ideophones constitute a very productive set of sound-symbolic lexical items across African languages, and Hausa is no exception. Despite their frequency in everyday life discourse, the semantic as well as pragmatic features of Hausa ideophones remain almost unexplored.

In the last decade, a growing literature has been throwing light on evolutionary, psychological, and anthropological facets of emotions. Linguistics too concurred in widening this field of research: Lakoff and Johnson's theory of metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) stimulated the production of important contribution, especially from the field of cognitive semantics (among others: Kövecses 1999, 2005; Niemier and Dirven 1997).

2. HAUSA IDEOPHONES

The first scholar to write on African ideophones was Harry Thurston Peck (1856-1914). His article "Onomatopoeia in Some West African Languages" appeared in *The American Journal of Philology* in 1886. More recently, some comprehensive works, dealing also

¹ In this paper Hausa is written in Standard Hausa, but tonal marks and vowel length are given. Long vowels and low tones are marked (long vowel = macron over the vowel, as in *yā*; low tone = graphic grave accent over the vowel, as in *yanà*). Short vowels and high tones are unmarked. The following abbreviations are used:

ANA	anaphoric	O	direct object
DEM	demonstrative	PER	perfective
ID	ideophone	POS	possessive
IMP	imperfective	REL	relative
IO	indirect object	ST	stabiliser

with African languages, have been published: *Sound Symbolism*, edited by Ohala, Hinton and Nichols (1994), and *Ideophones*, edited by Voeltz and Kilian-Hatz in 2001.

An ideophone has been defined by Doke as “a vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity” (Doke 1935:118). The notion of ‘vividness’ has been retained by Cole: he saw ideophones as “descriptive of sound, colour, smell, manner, appearance, state, action or intensity ... [that is, they are words that are] vivid vocal images or representations of visual, auditory and other sensory or mental experiences” (Cole 1955:370). Hence, ideophones seem to be employed to describe both physical and mental experiences. However, as we will discuss later, their semantics seems to be highly specialised: ideophones are used mostly to designate physical, perceptive and sense-related events.

Ideophones in Hausa have been investigated and partially described by several scholars, namely by Moore (1968), Williams (1970), Galadanci (1971), Newman (1968, 1989, 2000, 2001), and Pajak (1989). Newman observed that “ideophones have a much more significant role in the language than do English onomatopoeic words, with which they should not be compared” (Newman 2000:242).

Ideophones in Hausa do not constitute a distinct part of speech, but some of them function to modify verbal actions or adjectives. Others modify nouns, and further constitute nouns. They are a large group of very specialised particles varying widely from each other and, very often, from all other words in the language.

2.1 Phonetic characteristics

Ideophones in Hausa have specific phonological and phonotactic features which distinguish them from other word classes. They do not display any particularities at segmental level, except as it concerns the word-final consonant. In fact in Hausa, apart verbs of grade 5, older loanwords from Arabic, many loanwords from English, really few Hausa words end in a consonant.

Hausa is a tonal language with 5 vowels that could be long or short. Long and short vowels occur in Hausa ideophones: *kwararo* ‘describes round thing being too large or wide’; *balō-bālō* ‘clearly and distinctly’; *fale-fale* ‘thin and flimsy’; *kulū-kulū* ‘large and round (of)’; *wukī-wùkī* ‘feeling ashamed’.

Many ideophones are monosyllabic CVC: *cif* ‘fully, exactly’; *dam* ‘squarely, firmly’; *fal* ‘chock-full’; *gam* ‘firmly, tightly’; *kaf* ‘completely’; *sak* ‘straight, erect’; *taf* ‘completely full or filled up’; *tsaf* ‘completely and neatly’; *wuf* ‘sudden, quick movement’; *zau* ‘very hot’.

LH	
bīris	'ignoring a person, turning a deaf ear'
biřjik	'abundantly'
cāncak	'completely gone'
cūnkus	'in profusion, abundance'
jīngim	'plentifully, abundantly'
jūgum	'despondently'
ķūrmus	'completely'
māķil	'abundantly, chock-full'
řēfas	'well arranged'
sūntum	'be puffed up, fat'
tātil	'describes being full after eating or drinking (too much)'
tiņjim	'in large numbers, in great abundance'
tiřmis	'in abundance'
tsāmbam	'in abundance, full up (usu. of money)'
tsūndum	'emphasises deep involvement in something'
zīndiř	'stark naked'
zūndum	'describes sth. very full of liquid'

HH	
ařas	'breakable brittleness'
bulus	'sth. got cheaply or without effort'
bulbul	'excessively fat'
butuk	'stark naked'
daķau	'hard and dry'
dandan	'firmly'
dařam	'stable, firm'
duķus	'very short'
đigil	'very short'
fařat	'at once, suddenly'
futuk	'primitive'
jagab	'very wet, damp'
kacal	'emphasises contempt and smallness of value'
kakaf	'completely, entirely'
kankan	'tightly'
kařaf	'suddenly'
ķalau	'very'
ķandas	'lacking in oil'
ķirin	'emphasises blackness'
řamas	'completely dry'
řayau	'emphasises dryness'
sulai	'smooth, slippery'
sumul	'smooth, shiny, clean'
tatas	'abusing, condemning person'
tsidik	'happening suddenly, unexpectedly'
tsugul	'very short'
tumuř	'firm, filled out'
wayam	'complete emptiness'

Monosyllabic ideophones usually have a H tone, but a few are a L tone: *bàl* ‘flickering or fluttering’; *bif* ‘thud’; *bùs* ‘extremely unpleasant smell’; *cā̀* ‘emphasises crowding, thronging’; *cū̀* ‘sizzling noise’; *dā̀u* ‘emphasises intense heat or pain’; *dīm* ‘thud’; *fà̀u* ‘describes sudden bright flash of light’; *řĩ* ‘describes sound of people or animals moving together as a group’; *řim* ‘describes sound of s.o. or sth. heavy falling’; *sū̀* ‘slithering, sliding sound’; *sùm* ‘bad smelling’; *tik* ‘sound of heavy thing falling’; *wùl* ‘passing by very quickly’.

They share in the language the normal phonological inventory. Newman (2001:251) observes that “The only possible exception is *cwái* ‘very sweet’ with the labialised /c/, which presumably is a contraction of the coexisting variant *cákwái*”.

Disyllabic ideophones end in a consonant, occasionally a diphthong. Disyllabic ideophones display LH, HH, HL and LL tonal patterns.

HL	
<i>facàl</i>	‘sound of sth. falling into shallow water’
<i>kwatsàm</i>	‘suddenly’
<i>riris</i>	‘describes intensity of crying, weeping’
<i>zĩzā̀</i>	‘exceedingly good, fine’

LL	
<i>bàlàu</i>	‘emphasising gaping hole or opening’
<i>dàbàs</i>	‘sitting heavily, firmly’
<i>kĩkàm</i>	‘motionless, silently’
<i>māřmāř</i>	‘blinking, fluttering (of eyes, heart)’
<i>nùkùs</i>	‘indices dampness’
<i>řùgùm</i>	‘describes sound of sth. falling with a boom, bang, thud’
<i>tsindùm</i>	‘sound of medium-size object falling into water’
<i>tùntùm</i>	‘stuffed full’
<i>zùkùt</i>	‘loud sound of swallowing sth. whole’
<i>zùndùm</i>	‘sound of heavy object falling into water’

Some ideophones display reduplicated forms. Reduplicated forms in ideophones can be of two kinds: segmental (no tonal change, e.g. *bàl-bàl* ‘flickering or fluttering’, *caka-caka* ‘describes pock-marked face’, *faca-faca* ‘spattered all over with liquid’) or suprasegmental (a tonal change takes place, e.g. *buguzum-bùgùzùm* ‘walking in an ungainly fashion’, *bùndùm-bundum* ‘floundering or splashing around noisily while swimming’, *fata-fàtà* ‘wide, broad’, *tsamō-tsāmṑ* ‘dripping wet, soaked through and through’).

Trisyllabic and polysyllabic ideophones are typically monotonal LLL or HHH, with a final vowel, consonant or diphthong:

LLL	
dàlâlà	‘indicates sth. very slimy or viscous’
dùgùzùm	1. ‘thick, unkempt (of hair)’ 2. ‘ragged’
kwàngàñm	‘emphasises clanging sound made by falling object’
kērērē	used in <i>tā tsayā à gàbansà</i> ~
ràbàjà	‘describes sth. very spread out, voluminous’
řàdàdà	‘describes sth. very spread out, voluminous’
řàkwàcàm	‘disorderly state’
řàmbàtsàu	‘disorderly, in a variety of odd colours’
řigijà	‘describes fullness of sth.’
řùgùzùm	‘used in <i>fādi</i> ~ fall headlong’
sàmàmà	‘shuffling, rustling movement’
sàràrà	‘walking aimlessly’
shēkēkē	‘contemptuous look’
sùkùkù	‘despondently’
sùlùlù	‘moving noiselessly, stealthily’
sùmùmù	‘silently and stealthily’
tsòlòlò	‘very tall and thin’
yàlòlò	‘describes long, fine hair’
zākākā	‘appearance of sth. very long (snake, stick, etc.)’
zòřòřò	‘very long or tall’

HHH	
ayyuřuřui	‘shrilling done by women to express joy’
đàbàbà	‘very clear, obvious, noticeable’
đandađas	‘squatness, dumpiness’
đigiřgiř	‘very short’
řirgigit	‘emphasises sudden, startled movement’
hululu	‘abundantly’
kwararo	‘describes round thing being too large or wide’
kēmēmē	‘used to emphasise <i>ki</i> or <i>hanà</i> ’
mītsi	‘emphasises smallness’
řatata	‘describes lots of things scattered about’
řututu	‘describes abundance of things’
sakayau	‘light in weight’
tangařan	‘seeing clearly, being bright and clear’
tsiřigi	‘very small and thin’
tsùdùdù	‘emphasises narrowness (e.g. of doorway or neck of pot)’
tsululu	‘overly diluted with water’

A few ideophones display a different tonal scheme:

HLLL	<i>innàřididi</i>	‘large and unruly (of crowd)’
LLH	<i>sùkùtum</i> <i>tàntàřwai</i>	‘whole, complete’ ‘seeing clearly, being glossy or bright’
HHL	<i>tubuřàn</i>	‘complete state of madness’
HLH	<i>tukùru</i>	‘great amount’
HLL	<i>wuřjànjàn</i>	‘doing sth. relentlessly’

2.2 Ideophones as nominal modifiers

Many ideophones are employed to modify colour terms. Each colour term has one or more ideophones which may occur with the noun to intensify what is indicated. Examples are:

(1)	<i>fari</i> 'white'	<i>fat / kal / sal</i>	'snow white'
(2)	<i>kōrē</i> 'green'	ID.	
(2)	<i>bakī</i>	<i>shař</i>	'bright green'
		ID.	
(3)	'black'	<i>kirin / sidik / sil</i>	'pitch black, jet black'
	<i>jā</i>	ID.	
(4)	'red'	<i>wuř / jiř / zuř</i>	'red as red can be, scarlet, blood-red'
		ID	
(5)	<i>sai</i> <i>yākī</i>	<i>akē</i> <i>yī</i> <i>jā</i>	<i>wuř</i>
	but	war	PER:4
			make
			red
			ID
	'but bitter war is in progress'		

Some ideophones display also an intensifying effect, as in the case of *ful*, *tak* and *sak*:

(6)	<i>saaboo</i>	<i>ful</i>	'brand new'
	'new'	ID	
(7)	<i>dāya</i>	<i>tak</i>	'one and only one'
	'one'	ID	
(8)	<i>kudū</i>	<i>sak</i>	'due south'
	'south'	ID	

2.3 Verbal phrase modifiers

Ideophones functioning as verbal modifiers are:

(9)	<i>fařat</i>	'at once, suddenly'
	<i>tikīs</i>	'emphasises great tiredness'
	<i>tsai</i>	'still, pensive'

This type of verbal modifiers generally occurs in final sentence position (10), but they can be moved to the position in order to mark focus (11):

(10)	<i>yā</i>	<i>tsayà</i>	<i>tsai</i>	<i>yanà</i>
	<i>kallōna</i>			
(11)	PER:3m	stand		
	ID			
	IMP:3m	watching.POS:1s		
	'he stood still looking at me'			
	<i>fařat</i>			
	<i>yā</i>	<i>tāfi</i>		
	ID	PER:3m	be off	
	'suddenly he was off'			

2.4 Ideophones as adjectives

Ideophones can also function as adjectives. Some adjectival ideophones are listed in (12):

(12)	<i>digĩřgiř</i> <i>dagwas</i> <i>řambàsɓàs</i>	'very short' 'well-formed, symmetrical' 'huge and shiny'
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Like regular adjectives, they can attributively modify a head noun in postposition, e.g.

(13)	<i>kwāɓin</i>	<i>fulāwàř</i>		
	<i>yā</i>		<i>yi</i>	
(14)	balls.of	<i>digĩřgiř</i>		
		dough.ANA	PER:3m	make
		ID		
	'the balls of dough are firm'			
	<i>yāriɓā</i>	<i>cē</i>		<i>yař</i>
		<i>dagwas</i>		
	noun	stabiliser		noun.of
		ID		
	'she is a small well-built girl'			

2.5 Ideophones as noun phrases

A subset of items can function as noun phrases. The ideophones belonging to this subset has been described in terms of “dynamic-activity nouns [that] take determiners and have grammatical gender (final *-aa* = feminine, otherwise masculine)” (Jaggar 2001: 696). They generally present a reduplicated structure.

(15)	<i>cùkù-cukù</i>	<i>yā</i>		<i>yi</i>
	<i>yawā</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>kaſař</i>	
		<i>nàn</i>		
	ID			
	PER:3m	make	abundance	in country.of
	DEM			
	'there is too much underhand dealing in this country'			

2.6 Ideophones as adverbs

There are ideophones whose role stands very close to the adverbial function.

(16)	<i>wutā</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>yi</i>
	<i>bàl-bàl</i>	[> <i>bàl-bàl</i> 'flickering or fluttering']	
(17)	fire	PER:3f	make
		ID	
(18)	'the fire is burning brightly'		
	<i>yā</i>	<i>fitō</i>	<i>butuk</i>
		[> <i>butuk</i> 'stark naked']	
	PER:3m		come out
		ID	
	'he came out naked'		
	<i>yā</i>	<i>wàнку</i>	
		<i>kwasai-kwasai</i>	
		[> <i>kwasai-kwasai</i> 'very clean']	
	PER:3m		wash
		ID	
	'it is well washed'		

2.7 Syntax

Syntactically, they function primarily as adjectives and adverbs, but one also may find 'ideophonic nouns' (Newman 2000:242). In the following examples, the ideophones *dababa* 'very clear', *saĩai* 'completely' and *ziĩgā-ziĩgā* 'going to and fro' fill the adjective, object and subject slot respectively.

(19)	<i>yanā</i>	<i>dā</i>	<i>shāsshāwā</i>
		<i>dababa</i>	
(20)	IMP:3m	with	facial markings
			ID
	'he has very clear facial markings'		
(21)	<i>tā</i>	<i>gānē</i>	
	<i>saĩai</i>		
	PER:3f	understand	ID
	'she understood completely'		
	<i>wannān</i>		
	<i>ziĩgā-ziĩgā</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>dāmē</i>
	DEM		<i>nì</i>
		ID	
	PER:3f	bother	OBJ:1s
	'this to-ing and fro-ing bothers me'		

3. TARGET EMOTIONS OF THE STUDY

In order to carry out a quantitative analysis on the presence of ideophones in Hausa emotional encoding, we will proceed by defining a set of diagnostic emotions. This set is based on the notion of what Paul Ekman called 'basic emotions' (BEs) (Ekman 1999 Ekman and Cordaro 2011). Different sets of BEs, differing in the exclusion or inclusion of certain emotional experiences, have been proposed by scholars. Table 1 below summarises the models proposed by Izard (2011), Panksepp and Watt (2011), Levenson (2011), and Ekman and Cordaro (2011) respectively.

Izard	Panksepp & Watt	Levenson	Ekman & Cordaro
Happiness	PLAY	Enjoyment	Happiness
Sadness	PANIC/GRIEF	Sadness	Sadness
Fear	FEAR	Fear	Fear
Anger	RAGE	Anger	Anger
Disgust		Disgust	Disgust
Interest	SEEKING	Interest?	
Contempt			Contempt
	LUST	Love?	
	CARE	Relief?	(Surprise)

Table 1. - Four models of basic emotions

As we can see, apart from the differences concerning the role of 'contempt', 'love', and 'surprise' (regardless of the terms used by the six authors), a general consensus is quite clear. Under a psychological perspective, the main features characterizing a BE can be synthesised as follows:

Feature	DESCRIPTION
1. discreteness	It has a fixed set of neural and bodily expressed components
2. fixed motivational component	"fixed feeling or motivational component that has been selected for through longstanding interactions with ecologically valid stimuli" (Tracy and Randles 2011:398)
3. primitiveness	a. it originates in sub-cortical brain structures b. (a)it is most active in its purest form, that is with minimal cognitive and behavioral regulations
4. culture-freeness	BEs are possible only via genetically encoded neural structures

Table 2. - Basic emotions: defining features (Tracy and Randles 2011)

Linguists too have dealt with emotions. Researching on the encoding of basic-level experiences in eastern African languages, Wolof and Hausa, Reh (1998a, 1998b), Becher (2003) and Batic (2009) applied a list of emotional events which, with a few small

differences, mirrors Levenson and Ekman & Cordaro's models. This list comprises also 'love', 'jealousy'² and 'hate'.

4. ENCODING STRATEGIES

4.1 Strategies

Emotions and emotional states are encoded by means of segmental and supra-segmental strategies. Congruence, metaphor, metonymy and image-schema are the main cognitive frames upon which emotion-related renderings are built. Due to their phonetic realizations and pragmatic motivations, ideophones are (ideally) placed midway between the segmental and supra-segmental dimension (figure 1).

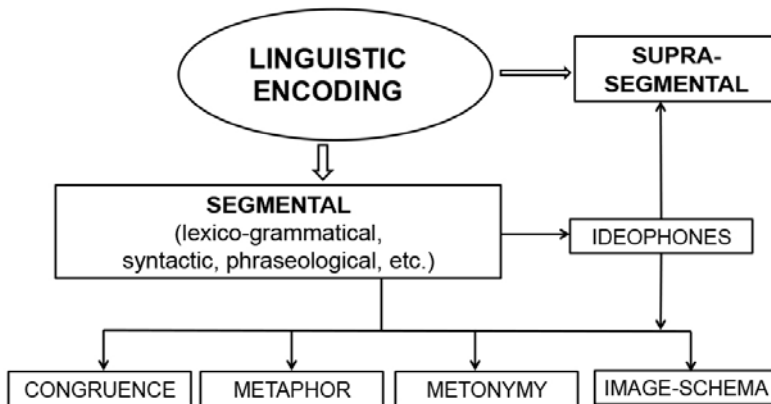


Figure 1 - Linguistic strategies of encoding

Segmental renderings are either congruent or imaginative. Congruent renderings can be label or label-periphrastic, whereas imaginative renderings can display a variety of strategies ranging from metaphor to body part-oriented expression. Figure 2 presents the congruent and imaginative realizations of a basic-level experience, i.e. an emotional event.

² For a discussion on the inclusion of love and jealousy among the BEs see Sabini and Silver (2005).

The stimulus segment is introduced by the de comitative *dà* ‘with’:

(25)	<i>munà</i>	<i>muřnà</i>	<i>dà</i>	<i>wannàn shāfī</i>	
	IMP:1pl	joy		with	DEM
		page			
	‘We are happy for this page’				

Apart from the prototypical *muřnà* ‘happiness’, a happiness-related notion is that of *dādī* ‘pleasantness’. The experiencer-oriented rendering needs a periphrastic construction *jī* ‘feel/hear’ + *dādī* ‘pleasantness’, as in example (26):

(26)	<i>inà</i>			
		<i>jīn</i>		
	<i>dādī</i>		hear	pleasantness
	IMP:1s			
	‘I feel happy’			

Causative constructions display the verbs *sá* ‘put’ (common) and *bā* ‘give’ (rarer), as shown in (27) and (28) respectively:

(27)	<i>yā</i>			
		<i>sá</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>muřnà</i>
	PER:3sm	put	O:1pl	joy
	‘He made us happy’			

(28)	<i>yā</i>			
		<i>bā</i>		
		<i>nì</i>		<i>muřnà</i>
	PER:3sm	give		
		O:1s	joy	
	(lit. he gave me happiness)			
	‘He made me happy’			

4.3 Imaginative

As we have said before, imaginative renderings comprise a variety of strategies. Hausa colour terms are widely used to express a heterogeneous gamma of experiences, attitudes and characteristics. The basic colour terms ‘white’ and ‘black’ are employed to encode the emotional states of happiness and sadness. ‘Having a white belly’ or ‘being white belly’ are the prototypical imaginative renderings to encode happiness. Consider the following example:

(29)	<i>inā̀</i>							
	<i>dā̄maṝ</i>	<i>farin</i>	<i>cikī̀</i>	<i>dà</i>		<i>irin</i>		
	<i>sāmū̀</i>	<i>dà</i>	<i>na</i>					
	PER:1s	white	belly	with	type	chance	REL	
		PER:1s	get					
	'I am happy for this opportunity'							

Analogously to the label *muṛnā̀*, the experiencer-oriented rendering displays the periphrastic construction *yi* 'do' + *farin cikī̀* .

(30)	<i>tā̀</i>							
		<i>yi</i>	<i>farin</i>		<i>cikī̀</i>			
	PER:3f	do	white	belly				
	'she is happy'							

The verbs *cikā̀* 'fill, be filled' and *cikḕ* 'feed up' are employed metaphorically to construct experiencer-oriented renderings. The image-schema carried by 'being filled' and 'being fed up' is used to build the conceptual metaphors THE HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER (31) and HAPPINESS IS FOOD (32):

(31)	<i>nā̀</i>							
		<i>cikā̀</i>						
	PER:1s	<i>dà</i>		<i>muṛnā̀</i>	<i>dà</i>	<i>farin</i>	<i>cikī̀</i>	
	belly	fill	with	joy	and	white		
	'I was filled with joy'							

(32)	<i>yā̀</i>							
		<i>cḕ</i>		<i>yanā̀</i>				
	PER:3sm	<i>cikḕ</i>		<i>farin</i>		<i>cikī̀</i>		
	say	<i>dà</i>		fed up	with	white	belly	
		IMP:3sm	f					
	'He said he is totally happy'							

Causative constructions employ the verb *sā̀* 'put'. The metaphorical *farin cikī̀* 'white belly' and *muṛnā̀* 'happiness' can be combined to express extreme happiness/joy:

(33)	<i>wannàn</i> <i>yā</i>	<i>sā</i> <i>dā</i>	<i>muřnā̀</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>farin</i>	<i>cikī̀</i>
	this	PER:3sm	put	O:1s	white belly	with joy
	'This made me very happy'					

The representation of happiness through an association between the emotional state and the colour 'white' is also kept in the causative construction *faràntā* 'whiten' + *rāi* 'soul, spirit, life' (or + *zūciyā* 'heart'), as shown in example (34):

(34)	<i>ābin</i> <i>dā</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>faràntā</i>	<i>mini</i>	<i>rāi</i>
	thing	REL	PER:3sm	whiten IO:1s	soul
	'The thing that made me happy'				

Iconic expressions are also used, as for examples *bākī hař kúnne* 'mouth up to inside the ear':

(35)	<i>mun</i> <i>bākinsā</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>hař</i>	<i>kúnne</i>
	PER:1pl	see	mouth.P:3s	
		until	in ear	
	'We saw he was very happy'			

Joy and suffering-related events can be rendered with the verb *shā* 'drink' via metaphorical extension. 'Drink' acquires the general meaning of 'undergo' ('endure', 'suffer', etc.). The verb 'drink' does not entail manipulation (the stimulus doesn't change) and is conceptually extended over a period of time. Furthermore, being thematically distinguished from the agent, the subject does not exert any control over the experience.³ Examples (36)-(37) and (38)-(39) illustrate the use of drink in relation to happiness and sadness-related events respectively.

³ For a full account of Hausa *sh* 'drink' and *ci* 'eat' see Jaggar and Buba (2009).

(36)	<i>yā</i>			
		<i>shā</i>		
		<i>dādī</i>		
(37)	per:3sm	drink		pleasantness
		(lit. he drank pleasantness)		
		'He is happy'		
	<i>yā</i>			
		<i>shā</i>		
		<i>dāriyā</i>		
	PER:3sm	drink		laughter
		(lit. he drank laughter)		
		'He laughed a lot'		

(38)	<i>mun</i>		<i>shā</i>	
		<i>wāhalā</i>		
	PER:1pl	drink		trouble
		(lit. we drank trouble)		
(39)		'We suffered'		
	<i>tā</i>			
		<i>shā</i>		
		<i>kūkā</i>		
	PER:3sf	drink		crying
		'She cried a lot'		

'Black belly', 'spoiled soul' and 'spoiled heart' are the most common renderings to express sadness and sadness/disappointment:

(40)	<i>baḵin cikī</i>			'black belly'
	<i>ḅācìn rāi</i>			'spoiled life/soul'
	<i>ḅācìn zūciyā</i>			
				'spoiled heart' > sadness, disappointment

Examples (41)-(43) illustrate the use of *baḵin cikī* and *ḅācìn rāi* in experiencer-oriented renderings:

(41)	<i>shī</i>	<i>māi</i>		<i>baḵin</i>	<i>cikī</i>	<i>nē</i>
	IP:1s	owner	black		belly	ST
		'He is sad'				

(42)	<i>inā</i>							
		<i>baḵin cikī</i>						
		<i>dā</i>		<i>hālin</i>				
	<i>dā</i>	<i>mālāmai sukā</i> ...						
	IMP:1s	black	belly		with	opportunity	that	teachers
	PER:3pl							
		'I am sad because of the opportunity that teachers have ...						

(43)	<i>bāyan</i> <i>dà</i> <i>lābāṙī</i> , <i>inā</i> <i>na</i> <i>samù</i> <i>wannan</i> <i>rāi</i> after REL PER:1s get this news IMP:1s spoiled soul 'After receiving this news, I became very sad'
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Causative constructions employ the verb *bātā* 'spoil' combined either with *zūciyā* 'heart' or *rāi* 'soul':

(44)	<i>ābin</i> <i>dà</i> <i>bātā</i> <i>ya</i> <i>mini</i> <i>zūciyā</i> thing REL PER:3sm spoil IO.1s heart 'The thing that made me sad'
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(45)	<i>ābin</i> <i>dà</i> <i>bātā</i> <i>ya</i> <i>mini</i> <i>rāi</i> thing REL per:3sm spoil IO.1s soul 'The thing that made me angry'
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Example (46) illustrates another wide-spread conceptual metaphor: WORRY IS RISING.⁴

(46)	<i>kullum</i> <i>inā</i> <i>cikin</i> <i>rashin</i> <i>kwànciyaĩ</i> <i>rāi</i> always IMP:1s inside lack.of lying.of soul 'I am always worried'
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⁴ This metaphor finds its positive counterpart in PLEASANT STATE IS STILLNESS / LYING.

5. IDEOPHONES AND EMOTIONS

The semantic analysis of Hausa ideophones is based on a source corpus of 243 items. In order to proceed with a quantitative categorization, we adopt the classificatory sketch represented in figure 3. This is a working classification that takes into account four macro-groups: emotions, perception, people and objects, and abstract elements.

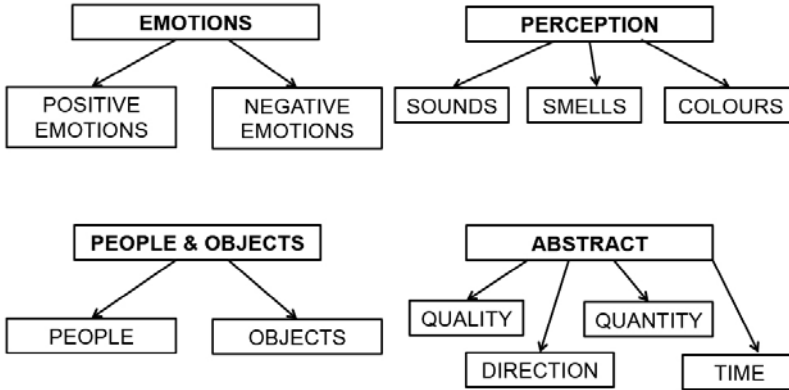


Figure 3 - Classificatory sketch

5.1 Emotions

In this section there are all kinds of emotional attitudes, negative or positive, dealing with joy, anger, fear and shame.

5.1.1 Positive emotions:

Among the ideophones collected those related to this section are seven (2,88 %):

(47)	<i>řam</i> <i>tsai</i> <i>kukut</i> <i>wujigā-wùjigà</i>	'describes closeness or tightness of relationship' 'still, pensive' 'closeness (of relationship)' 'describes action done with great effort and seriousness'
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5.1.2 Negative emotions and attitudes:

Six ideophones are found, e.g.

(48)	<i>biṛis</i> <i>jūgum</i> <i>kērērē</i> <i>sùkùkù</i> <i>tubuṫàn</i>	‘ignoring a person, turning a deaf ear’ ‘despondently’ in <i>tanà zaune</i> ~ ‘she sat dejectedly’ used in <i>tā tsayà à gàbansà</i> ~ ‘she stood in front of him disrespectfully’ ‘despondently’ ‘complete state of madness’
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5.1.3 Joy:

Here only two ideophones (0,82 %) are found, e.g.

(49)	<i>ayyuṛuṛūi kwal</i>	‘shrilling done by women to express joy’ ‘very happy’
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Kwal can be combined with *râi* ‘spirit, soul, life’ to express extreme happiness.

(50)	<i>râinā</i> <i>kwal</i> spirit.POS:1s ID ‘I am very happy’	
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5.1.4 Anger (and related emotions):

Here seven ideophones (2,88 %) are found, e.g.

(51)	<i>kēmēmē</i> <i>zurū-zùrù</i>	‘used to emphasise <i>ki</i> or <i>hanà</i> ’ in <i>yā ki</i> ~ ‘he flatly refused’ <i>ùbantà yā hanà aurensù</i> ~ ‘her father absolutely refused to consent to their marriage’ ‘wide-eyed staring (from surprise, fear, hunger, etc.)’
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5.1.5 Fear:

Here the ideophones are scarce only two (0,82 %) are found, e.g.

(52)	<i>tsurū-tsùrù</i> <i>tààjìn-tààjìn</i>	‘acting in uneasy manner from shame or fear’ ‘feeling agitated, distressed (of a group)’
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5.1.6 Shame:

Here only one ideophone exists (0,41 %), e.g.

(53)	<i>wukī-wùkī</i>	‘feeling ashamed’
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5.2 Physical

Here the ideophones are quite numerous.

5.2.1 Perception > sound:

(54)	<i>bàl</i> <i>bif</i> <i>bùndùm-bundum</i> <i>facàl</i>	'flickering or fluttering' in <i>wutā tā yi</i> ~ 'fire burned up' 'thud' in <i>yaa kāshē shi</i> ~ 'he (wrestler) threw him (opponent) down with a thud' 'floundering or splashing around noisily while swimming' 'sound of sth. falling into shallow water'
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5.2.2 Perception > smells and flavours:

(55)	<i>baje-bàjè</i> <i>cwai</i> <i>salab</i>	'smeared all over (usu. with filth)' 'describes sth. very sweet' in <i>yanā dà zākī</i> ~ 'it is very sweet' 'insipid, tasteless'
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5.2.3 Perception > colours:

(56)	<i>fau</i> <i>sal</i> <i>shaĩ</i> <i>sidik</i> <i>suduk</i> <i>wul</i> <i>wuĩ</i> <i>ziĩ</i>	'describes sudden bright flash of light' 'emphasises whiteness' in <i>farĩ</i> ~ 'snow-white' 'very green' 'emphasises blackness' in <i>bakĩ</i> ~ 'jet black' 'emphasises blue' 'emphasises blackness' in <i>bakĩ</i> ~ 'jet black' 'emphasises redness' in <i>jā</i> ~ 'bright red' 'emphasises redness'
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5.3 People and objects

5.3.1 People:

(57)	<i>buguzum-bùgùzùm</i> <i>bùyàà-bùyàà</i>	'walking in an ungainly fashion' 'walking sloppily in a long flowing gown'
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5.3.2 Objects:

(58)	<i>dàlâlà</i> <i>faca-faca</i>	'indicates sth. very slimy or viscous' 'spattered all over with liquid'
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5.4 Abstract

5.4.1 Abstract > Quality:

(59)	<i>cif</i> <i>jagab</i> <i>kaca-kaca</i> <i>kam</i> <i>tsan tsan</i>	'fully, exactly' 'very wet, damp' 'in a messy or disorderly state' 'securely' 'firmly, securely, cautiously'
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5.4.2 Abstract > Time:

Here only four ideophones are found (1,64 %), e.g.

(60)	<i>fařat</i> <i>kwatsám</i> <i>maza-maza</i>	‘at once, suddenly’ ‘suddenly’ ‘very quickly, as quickly as possible’
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5.4.3 Abstract > Quantity:

The ideophones belonging to this class are quite numerous (26 items, 10,7%). Among them:

(61)	<i>bulus</i> <i>cũnkus</i> <i>hululu</i>	‘sth. got cheaply or without effort’ in <i>sun sãmi</i> ~ ‘they got it very cheap’ ‘in profusion, abundance’ ‘abundantly’
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5.4.5 Abstract > Directions/Orientation:

Here the ideophones are less numerous (5, 2,05 %), e.g.

(62)	<i>sak</i> <i>tsam</i>	‘straight, erect’ in <i>bi yãmmã</i> ~ ‘go straight westward’ ‘sudden movement upward’ in <i>yaa tãshi</i> ~ ‘he got up suddenly’
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6. RESULTS

The analysis of a corpus of 243 items revealed that only 24 ideophones belong to the emotion class (table 3).

Emotions	10	%
OBJECTS	25	%
PERCEPTION	26	%
ABSTRACT	24	%
PEOPLE	7	%
OTHER	8	%
TOT.	100	%

Table 3. - Ideophones and semantic domains (source corpus = 243 items)

Numbers are too small to infer particular behaviours in relation to given emotional states. However, it is possible to observe the marginality of ideophones in emotion encoding and the absolute paucity of items for specific emotional states (table 4).

Positive emotions	28	%
NEGATIVE EMOTIONS	24	%
JOY	24	%
FEAR	8	%
ANGER	8	%
SHAME	4	%
TOT.	100	%

Table 4. - Ideophones and emotions (sub-corpus = 24 items)

7. CONCLUSIONS

In our study, we adopted a quantitative approach within a lexico-cognitive theoretical framework. Such an approach led to a categorization of the main strategies employed to encode basic emotions in Hausa.

The analysis of a source corpus of 243 ideophonic items illustrated the marginal role played by ideophones in emotional encoding.

The findings of our study can be summarised as follows:

- Hausa displays a variety of strategies in order to encode basic-level emotions
- congruent strategies are defined by unmotivated sound sequences
- imaginative strategies are: metaphor, metonymy, metonymy-based metaphor, metaphor plus metonymy, anthropomorphisation, and symbolism
- given the particular nature of emotional events, the imaginative encoding involves physical oriented items such as body parts, colours and physical-oriented constructions
- a small subset of ideophones is productive in emotional encoding
- the number of emotion-oriented ideophones is quite limited
- the use of ideophones does not constitute a primary strategy in emotional encoding
- most of the ideophones employed in emotional encoding refer to physical conditions usually associated with a basic-level emotion

We are far away from thinking that ideophones do not play any role in emotional encoding. Even if that seems to be the case, at least at semantic level, further research should address the pragmatic dimension of ideophones. Given the scarce productivity of their inner semantics at emotional level, we should probably direct our efforts towards another (quite fascinating) work hypothesis: are ideophones 'emotional items' *per se*, self-contained pragmatic units whose emotional charge is activated exclusively in linguistic exchange? Such a question falls outside the purview of this paper, but we remain with the hope that future research will aim at providing a full-scale account of ideophonic usage across African languages.

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