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LE LANGAGE DE L'ÉMOTION :
VARIATIONS LINGUISTIQUES ET CULTURELLES

Édité par

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Emotions in Hausa. Encoding strategies between cognition, culture and lexicon

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Abstract

In the last few decades, the studies dealing with the language of emotions have significantly increased. Minority and less-known languages have been targeted by this growing interest, and several scholars started approaching the way different communities encode and express emotions. This article analyses the language of emotions in Hausa from a cognitive and lexico-grammatical standpoint. Taking into account the so-called ‘basic’ emotions (i.e. happiness, sadness, fear, anger, worry, disgust, and surprise, plus the non-basic love), this study offers a categorisation of the encoding strategies (congruent vs. imaginative) productive in Hausa. Special attention is paid to the position of culture and cognition within the conventionalised models by means of which the language of emotions is iterated and understood by the speakers. Through the interplay of cognitive categories and cultural influences, it will be shown how the language of emotions can be considered as a culture-modulated output whose structure is essentially cognitive, that is, culture-independent.

Keywords

Hausa, basic emotions, language of emotions

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Résumé

Au cours des dernières décennies les études sur le langage des émotions ont pris un essor considérable. Les langues minoritaires ou peu connues n’ont pas été oubliées dans cet intérêt croissant et plusieurs chercheurs ont commencé à s’intéresser à la façon dont diverses communautés encodent et expriment les émotions. Cet article analyse le langage des émotions en haoussa d’un point de vue cognitif et lexico-grammatical. En considérant les émotions dites ‘fondamentales’ (à savoir bonheur, tristesse, peur, colère, inquiétude, dégoût et surprise, ainsi que la notion moins centrale d’amour) cette étude propose une catégorisation des stratégies d’encodage – conformes (*congruent*) ou au

contraire créatives (*imaginative*) – qui fonctionnent en haoussa. On portera une attention particulière aux places qu'occupent culture et cognition au sein des schémas conventionnels au moyen desquels le langage des émotions est reproduit et compris par les locuteurs. Partant de l'interaction entre catégories cognitives et influences culturelles, on montrera comment le langage des émotions peut être considéré comme une production culturellement ajustée, dont la structure est essentiellement cognitive, c'est-à-dire indépendante de la culture.

Mots-clés

haoussa, émotions fondamentales, langage des émotions

Introduction

Despite the richness of descriptive and typological works as well as of the increasing amount of documental material, the study on the encoding of emotions in African languages is almost in embryo. As pointed out by Pawlak (2009: 95), the recent attention to emotions in linguistics and social sciences (among others, Heelas 1986, Harré and Parrott 1996, Niemeier and Dirven 1997, Athanasiadou and Tabakowska 1998, Wierzbicka 1999, Kövecses 2003, Boster 2005) fostered some research efforts in the Africanist field, but with no systematic outcome. In the last fifteen years, the language of emotions has been investigated by a small number of scholars, covering languages such as Dholuo (Omondi 1997, Reh 1998c), Ewe and Twi (Ameka 2002, 2004), Wolof (Becher 2003, Bondéelle 2011), and Hausa (Batic 2009, Batic 2012, Pawlak 2009).

This article aims at analysing the lexico-grammatical and phraseological inventory productive in Hausa to encode basic-level emotions and emotion-related events. The different encoding strategies will be extensively exemplified according to an analytical framework that takes into account the congruent as well as the imaginative (e.g. metaphorical) dimension of the renderings.

The Hausa language

Hausa is an Afro-Asiatic language belonging to the West branch of the Chadic family. One of the best described languages of Africa¹, Hausa is spoken by about 50 million people spread across northern Nigeria and southern Niger as well as by many Hausa communities scattered all over West Africa and along the former pilgrimage route through Sudan. Hausa is spoken as a first language in northern central and western Nigeria. As a vehicular language, Hausa spread eastwards, southwards, and east-southwards, establishing itself as *lingua franca* in the Borno region (Nilo-Saharan Kanuri area), in the *middle-belt* (Chadic and Niger-Congo area) and in the Adamawa (Chadic and Niger-Congo Adamawa area) respectively. Quite often, a language contact process sees small communities entering a phase

¹ Traditional reference dictionaries: Abraham (1962), Bargery (1934); modern reference dictionaries: Newman (2007), Ma Newman (1990); practical dictionaries: Newman and Ma Newman (1977), Awde (1996), Caron and Amfani (1997); reference grammars: Newman (2000), Jaggat (2001), Wolff (1993).

of bilingualism whose main outcome is the abandonment of the local language in favour of Hausa that changes its status from vehicular to mother tongue language.

Hausa is a Subject/Agent-Verb-Object language with three main word classes: nominals, verbals, and particles. A distinction of gender (masculine and feminine) and number (singular and plural) is active at the lexical, pronominal, and aspectual level (in the second and third person of the singular). Hausa has two punctual tones, high and low, with the possibility of a modulated falling tone (high-low).

Target emotions

The study of emotions and emotion encoding requires a definition of the very subject of our enquiry and should address the question *What is an emotion?*. This article takes into account a diagnostic set of emotional events labeled as ‘basic’. The existence of a limited set of ‘basic emotions’ has been postulated by Paul Ekman and Wallace Friesen in reference to the study of facial expressions: their work revealed that for a very restricted set of emotions (happiness, sadness, anger, surprise, disgust, and fear) both literate and pre-literate groups associate the same emotion concepts with the same facial behaviours (Ekman and Friesen 1971)². The presence of a distinctive physiology is one of the eight characteristics of emotions individuated by Ekman, the others being automatic appraisal, commonalities in antecedent events, presence in other primates, quick onset, brief duration, unbidden occurrence, and existence of a universal signal (Ekman 1994: 18). As Ekman points out, the terms ‘basic’ is used to highlight “the role that evolution has played in shaping both the unique and the common features that emotions display, as well as their current function” (Ekman 1994: 15).

| 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 sets of basic emotions

In the last decades emotion theorists reached a consensus about the characteristics of the so-called ‘basic emotions’³ and several emotion lists have been

² See also Ekman and Friesen (1968, 1969), Lazarus (1991), Averill (1997), Sherer (1997).

³ A comprehensive summary of these characteristics can be found in Tracy and Randles (2011). A basic emotion is discrete, originates in the subcortical structures, and evolved as a response to

proposed. Table 1 above illustrates the emotional sets proposed by Izard (2011), Panksepp and Watt (2011), Levenson (2011), and Ekman and Cordaro (2011).

As shown in the table, the four sets do not present any major difference: apart from the easily overcoming terminological discrepancies (e.g. Happiness/PLAY/Enjoyment), the issues focus on the inclusion of Contempt, Love (LUST/Love), and Surprise (CARE/Relief/Surprise).

In this article, I will consider a set of emotions resulting from the merging of the lists of Izard and Ekman and Cordaro (i.e. happiness, sadness, fear, anger, disgust, and surprise). To this list I will also add the experiences of shame, worry, hate, and love, and I will do so for two main reasons: firstly, it seems important to extend the field of enquiry at least to the most pervasive and recognised emotional experiences (even if not 'basic', such as love or shame). Secondly, the same set has been considered, with some modifications, by other scholars who dealt with experiential renderings in African languages, namely Reh (1998a, 1998b), Becher (2003), and Batic (2009).

Models and encoding strategies

The issue I will address in this section is synthesised by the question *How are emotions rendered?* Before answering such a question and starting an analysis of emotional encoding in terms of lexico-grammatical and phraseological inventory, it seems important to look at the emotional event by framing it within a larger perspective.

The very existence of 'basic emotions' is not dependent on culture: their universality is an evolutionary product fostered by the need to answer specific environmental challenges. Does this mean that there is no room for culture? We know, for example, that culture does not play any role in creating basic emotions *de novo* (Tracy and Randles 2011: 398), but we also know that the biological-oriented view fades away when dealing with other aspects of the emotional event, e.g. the variability in conceptualising emotions across people and cultures. A culture-driven conceptualisation entails the existence of a shared set of 'models': such models are extensively conventionalised and function within a given group or community as binders of identity and mutual recognition. The iteration of models through language and behaviour defines the views a group has about a wide range of experiences and events. If we consider the pool of models active within a group, it will be possible to distinguish between dominant models – highly productive and shared by a great number of individuals – and minority models – shared only by a sub-group.

The models we are interested in are both cognitive and cultural. They are cognitive because they represent an evolutionary outcome functional to the human need for categorisation: their inner dynamics, for example, stand on universal

specific ecological and social challenges (Ekman and Cordaro 2011). To identify a basic emotion two criteria are adopted: 1) the presence of a dedicated neural circuitry, and 2) cross-species generalization.

structures such as metaphor, metonymy, and image-schema. But they are also cultural in the sense that they are subject to modulation operated by groups and individuals: recognising the existence of a universal frame (the ‘cognitive’ side) does not entail any specific knowledge about how this frame is filled, that is, about its content (the ‘cultural’ side).

The nature of this double-sided entity found a definition in Lakoff (1987) and Quinn and Holland (1987): the first stressed on the importance of the four main cognitive structures upon which models are built (proposition, metaphor, metonymy, and image-schema), conceiving a model as a set of background assumptions possessed by the speakers about a given experience. The latter focused on the cultural specificity of each model: they argued that idealised models are “presupposed, taken-for-granted models of the world that are widely shared (although not necessarily to the exclusion of other, alternative models) by the members of a society and that play an enormous role in their understanding of that world and their behaviour in it” (Quinn and Holland 1987: 4).

The ethnographic research on emotional experiences takes into account the outcome of these idealised, shared models, namely focusing on the manifestation of emotions at three different macro-levels: the linguistic, individual, and social level. The individual and social levels are particularly interesting from an ethnographic point of view because they involve a set of display rules that defines the way a given emotion is seen, accepted and controlled by the experiencer and his/her group (Le Guen 2009: 38). The study of the linguistics of emotions, on the other hand, aims at identifying the lexical inventory as well as the syntactic and thematic strategies adopted by the speakers to encode emotional states and attitudes.

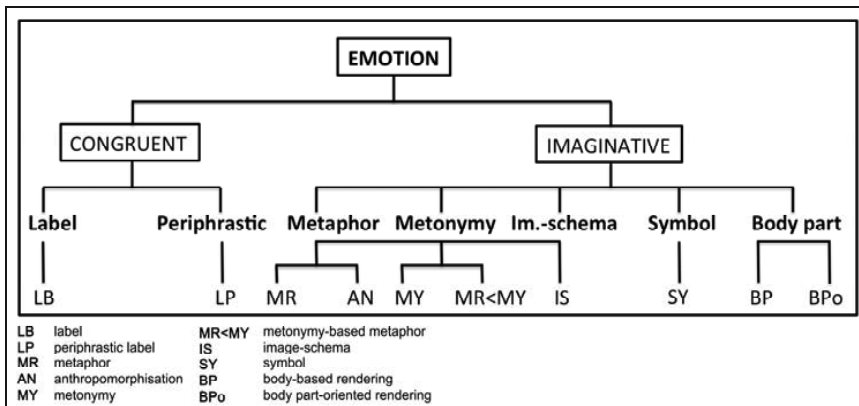


Figure 1. Encoding strategies

The analytical framework I will adopt to examine the Hausa language of emotions is illustrated in figure 1. Emotional renderings are classified into two main categories: congruent and imaginative renderings. Label renderings consist

of unmotivated sound sequences and are divided into two sub-categories: label and periphrastic label. Imaginative renderings are less discrete and are often represented by complexes combining two or more cognitive strategies (e.g. metaphor *plus* metonymy *plus* image-schema). The framework distinguishes between metaphor, metonymy, image-schema, anthropomorphisation, symbol, body-based and body-oriented renderings (see Becher 2003, Batic 2009).

Emotions in Hausa

The general category of emotions is not represented in Hausa by a concise solution, e.g. a congruent label term. The term for ‘emotion’ is rendered with the non-congruent expressions *mòòtsin rāi* (lit. ‘movement of life’), *jīn zuuciyyaa* (lit. ‘feeling of heart’), and *soosūwar rāi* (i.e. life as head of guinea-corn which grains have been stripped, cf. Pawlak 2009: 103-105). Each of these three expressions depicts different stages within the chain of events of an emotion: *mòòtsin rāi* targets the dynamic aspect of the emotion, *soosūwar rāi* the inner sensation, and *jīn zuuciyyaa* an intermediate state between the cognitive appraisal and the inner sensation (Zajonc 1980). Such expressions describe what is taking place between the onset event (the trigger or precipitation event) and the expression/action event (the physical outcome). When it comes to single emotions, Hausa displays a variety of strategies ranging from concise congruence to body part renderings. In this section I will examine such strategies adopting the analytical framework presented in the previous section (figure 1).

Congruence

The experiencer-oriented renderings make use of different constructions. One solution is represented by a verbless ‘have’ construction, i.e. the particle *mài* (pl. *mààsu*) ‘possessor of, having, being characterised by’ followed by the label emotion term. Example (1) illustrates the case of *murnàà* ‘happiness, joy’, *tsòòroo* ‘fear’ and *fushii* ‘anger’:⁴

- (1) a. *kai mài murnàà nee*
 IP.2sg.m having joy ST
 ‘You are happy’
- b. *shii mài tsòòroo nèè*
 IP.3sg.m having fear ST
 ‘He is afraid’
- c. *suu mààsu fushii nèè*
 IP.3pl having anger ST
 ‘They are angry’

⁴ See Abbreviations at the end.

The experiencer's point of view can also be encoded in terms of a locative relation. In this case the experiencer is rendered with the imperfective aspectual pronoun and the experience is encoded as the locative noun that indicates where the experiencer is. Example (2) illustrates the case of *murnàà* 'happiness, joy' and *tsòòroo* 'fear'. The stimulus can be introduced by means either of a preposition (2a) or of an associative construction (2b-c):

- (2) a. *munàà murnàà dà wannàn page*
 IMPER.1pl joy with DEM (web)page
 'We are happy for this webpage' (lit. 'we are in happiness with this page')
- b. *yanàà murnà ganin-tà*
 IMPER.3sg.m joy of seeing-OBJ.3sgf
 'He is happy to see her' (lit. 'He is in happiness of seeing her')
- c. *yaaraa nàà tsòòron àraadù*
 kids IMPER.3pl fear of lightning
 'Children are afraid of lightning'

Label solutions to encode the experiencer as the subject of a clause are also possible. In such case, non-periphrastic renderings employ label verbs to encode the experiencer's point of view. The intransitive verbs *tsòòratà* 'become frightened' and *dààmù* 'be worried' code the experiencer as the subject of the clause (3a-b). The transitive verb *tsòòrataa* 'fear' can be used either transitively or intransitively: in (3c) the experiencer is the subject (and not the agent, since it doesn't exert any control over the experience), while the stimulus is coded as the object.

- (3) a. *naa tsòòratà*
 PER.1sg become frightened
 'I became frightened'
- b. *naa dààmù*
 PER.1sg be worried
 'I am worried'
- c. *kun tsòòratee shì*
 PER.2pl be afraid of OBJ.3sg.m
 'You are afraid of him'

Anger and fear do not differ significantly in the kind of verbal solutions they make use of. Nevertheless, the inventory for anger is slightly richer: several unrelated verbs are employed to encode the experiencer's point of view, each solution describing a different nuance and intensity of gradation. This small subset of intransitive verbs is constituted by *fusaatà* 'become angry', *tùnzurà* 'become angry' (an extension of *tunzùraa* 'incite'), and *hàrzuka* and *hàsalà* 'be (very) angry, infuriated'. Apart from *fushii* 'anger, bad temper, irritability', another term to designate this negative emotion is *hàsalàà* 'anger' (from Arabic *ḥaṣala*).

- (4) *kun hàrzuka*
 PER.2pl get very angry
 ‘You got very angry’

In the examples presented so far, I discussed verbal clauses displaying concise lexical solutions. However, for quite a number of emotions the encoding options include also periphrastic constructions involving the verbs *yi* ‘do’ and *ji* ‘hear, feel’. In such constructions, the experiencer is coded as the subject and the experienced event as the object of the clause (<‘do’/‘feel’ + emotion term>). The object is not the patient and there is no control exerted by the experiencer over the experienced event.

- (5) a. *naa yi murnà*
 PER.1sg do joy
 ‘I am happy’
 b. *yaa yi màmaakii*
 PER.3sg.m do surprise
 ‘He was surprised’

The patient is introduced by the preposition *dà* ‘with’, as shown in (6) with *yi fushii* ‘do anger’. Here, the anger felt by the experiencer targets *suu* ‘them’. From a psychological standpoint, the emotion felt towards something or somebody represents the expression/action event, that is, the outcome following the inner sensation and individual evaluation of the precipitation event. It should also be highlighted that ‘being angry with *x*’ does not necessarily mean that the state of anger has been provoked by *x*.

- (6) *sun yi fushii dà suu*
 PER.3pl do anger with IP.3pl
 ‘They got angry with him’

Other emotions are ‘felt’ or ‘heard’. The use of the verb *ji*⁵ applies to *tsòòroo* ‘fear’ (7) and to *daadfi* ‘pleasantness’ (8), a happiness-related event:

- (7) a. *inà jîn tsòòroo*
 IMPER.1sg feeling fear
 ‘I am feeling fear’
 b. *kar kà ji tsòòroo*
 SUJ.NEG SUJ.2sg.m feel fear
 ‘Don’t be scared’

⁵ The notions of ‘feeling’ and ‘hearing’ are rendered with *ji*. In Hausa as well as across a great number of African languages, there is neither semantic nor conceptual opposition between these two notions. Therefore, *ji* should not be seen as a case of polysemy. For simplicity, in this article I will translate *ji* with the term ‘feel’.

- (8) *inàà jì-n daadfi*
 IMPER.1sg feeling-of pleasantness
 ‘I am in a good mood’

The notion of shame is rendered in Hausa through the term *kunyàà*. Differently from others terms such as *murnàà* ‘happiness, joy’ and *tsòòroo* ‘fear’, *kunyàà* refers to a set of values specific to the Hausa culture and encompasses notions such as shame, modesty, and self-consciousness. Therefore, *kunyàà* can be considered as a culture key word in the sense of Wierzbicka (1997): the meaning of this term (that for convenience we associate to the umbrella term of ‘shame’), its real significance, is given by the specific way the group appraises and evaluates the event as well as by the set of display rules that are allowed.⁶

- (9) *naa ji kunyàà*
 PER.1sg feel shame
 ‘I was ashamed’

In their discussion on the metaphorical extensions of the verbs *shaa* ‘drink’ and *ci* ‘eat’, Jaggar and Buba (2009) analysed the specificities of the thematic roles taken on by the two verbs. The verb *shaa* interests us because it is productive in the encoding of the happiness and sadness-related events of pleasantness, laughter, and sufferance. The main extension of *shaa* is ‘undergo’ (realized as undergo, endure, and suffer): as shown in (10) and (11), the experiencer is the subject (i.e. not the agent), and the experienced event, coded as an object, is the stimulus (i.e. not the patient). Moreover, *shaa* entails no manipulation (the stimulus does not undergo any change) and is conceptually extended over a period of time (Jaggar and Buba 2009: 234).

- (10) a. *yaa shaa daadfi*
 PER.3sg.m drink pleasantness
 ‘He is happy’ (lit. ‘he drunk pleasantness’)
- b. *yaa shaa dààriyaa*
 PER.3sg.m drink laughter
 ‘He laughed a lot’ (lit. ‘he drunk laughter’)
- (11) a. *mun shaa wàhalàà*
 PER.1pl drink trouble
 ‘We suffered’ (lit. ‘we drunk trouble’)
- b. *taa shaa kuukaa*
 PER.3sg.m drink crying
 ‘She cried a lot’ (lit. ‘she drunk crying’)

⁶ Other Hausa culture key words are *laafiyàà* ‘well-being’ and *gàskiyaa* ‘truth’ (on *gàskiyaa* see Pawlak 2012).

Causative and periphrastic causative

To encode phenomenon-oriented experiential renderings, Hausa displays two congruent strategies: label causative and periphrastic causative. In the label causative solution the stimulus of the target experience is represented by the agent argument of the verb, while the entity undergoing the experience is coded as the object argument. This solution is strictly dependent on the specificity of the language verbal system: the Hausa verbs used to encode the point of view of the stimulus are derived from the correspondent nouns (e.g. ‘fear’ > ‘to frighten’) and are usually transitive verbs of grade 1 and 2.

The following example illustrates the label causative solution for fear, anger, worry and shame, rendered through the verbs *tsooràtaa* ‘frighten’, *fusààtaa* ‘anger’, *dààmaa* ‘worry sb’, and *kunyàtaa* ‘shame’ respectively.

- (12) a. *taa tsooràta àbooki-ntà*
 PER.3sg.f frighten friend-of.POS.3sg.f
 ‘She frightened her friend’
- b. *mun fusààta ùba-mmù*
 PER.1pl anger father-of.POS.1pl
 ‘We angered our father’
- c. *taa dààmee mù*
 PER.3sg.f worry OBJ.1pl
 ‘She worried us’
- d. *sun kunyàtaa mù*
 PER.3pl bring shame OBJ.1pl
 ‘They shamed us’

Only a few emotions make use of such a concise, elegant solution: for several emotional experiences, the process of nominal derivation doesn’t take place, leaving the verbal inventory devoid of a causative label lexical item. In this case, the preferred strategy is a periphrastic construction involving verbs such as *sá* ‘put’ (13) and *baa* ‘give’ (14).

- (13) a. *yaa sá mu murnàà*
 PER.3sg.m put OBJ.1pl joy
 ‘He made us happy’ (lit. ‘he put happiness on me’)
- b. *haalín-tà yaa sá shi fushii*
 behaviour-POS.3sg.f PER.3sg.m put OBJ.3sg.m anger
 ‘Her behaviour made him angry’
- c. *yaa sá kù jî-n kunyàà*
 PER.3sg.m put OBJ.1pl feeling-of shame
 ‘He shamed you’ (lit. ‘he put shame on you’)

- (14) a. *yaa baa ni murnàà*
 PERF.3sg.m give OBJ.1sg joy
 ‘He made me happy’ (lit. ‘he gave me happiness’)
- b. *taa baa mù tsòòroo*
 PER.3sg.f give OBJ.1pl fear
 ‘We became frightened’ (lit. ‘she gave us fear’)
- c. *yaa baa ni mààmaakì*
 PER.3sg.m give OBJ.1sg surprise
 ‘He surprised me’
- d. *yaa baa mù dààmúwaa*
 PER.3sg.m give OBJ.1pl worry
 ‘He worried us’

Anthropomorphisation

To render some emotion-related events, label items can be associated with actions or qualities belonging to the material word. These label items designate either the emotion-related event itself or the organ functional to the event. This specific kind of metaphor entails a process of conceptual anthropomorphisation: emotional states can ‘catch’, ‘raise’, or ‘lie’, exactly as they were human.

- (15) a. *hankàlii-naa yaa kwântaa*
 sense-POS.1sg PER.3sg.m lie down
 ‘I don’t have any worries’ (lit. ‘my sense lied down’)
- b. *hankàlii-naa yaa taashì*
 sense-POS.1sg PER.3sg.m rise
 ‘I got worried’ (lit. ‘my sense rose’)
- c. *lààbaari-n yaa taa dà hankàlin-sà*
 news-DEF PER.3sg.m raise sense-POS.3sg.m
 ‘The news worried him’ (lit. ‘the news raised his sense’)
- (16) a. *haushii yaa kaamàà shi*
 annoyance PER.3sg.m catch OBJ.3sg.m
 ‘He is annoyed’ (lit. ‘annoyance caught him’)
- b. *daadì yaa kaamàà shi*
 pleasantness PER.3sg.m catch OBJ.3sg.m
 ‘He is happy’ (lit. ‘pleasantness caught him’)

Body parts

The human body is a logical and cognitive *prius*. The inner sensation and evaluation of an emotion activate a bodily reaction (heart beating, sweating, moving faster, trembling, etc.), and this is reflected in the linguistic encoding of

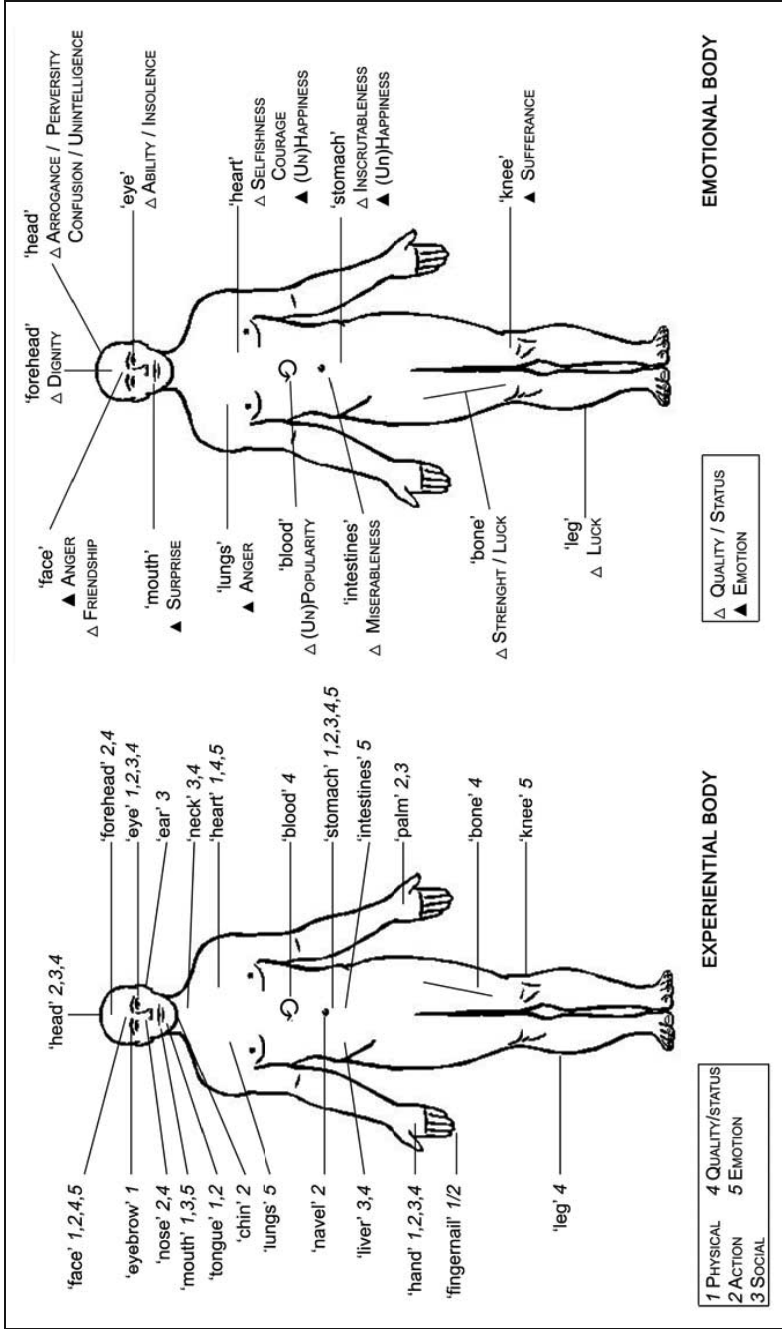


Figure 2. The experiential and emotional body (modified after Batic 2006)

the event. The association of body parts with specific emotions is determined by two factors: the biological basis of their manifestations on one hand, and the reconceptualization resulting from a culture-driven process on the other. Hausa employs a rich set of body part terms to encode a variety of experiences. In figure 2, the stylised body on the left exemplifies the terms used by Hausa to encode different experiences as classified into five macro-domains (physical, action, social interaction, status/quality, and emotion), while the body on the right illustrates the body parts used to render emotions, emotional states, and qualities.

The body part associated with happiness is ‘belly’. The compound *farin cikì* ‘whiteness of belly’ can be used either in a existential-locative relation (17a, cf. ex. 2) or in the construction *yi farin cikì* ‘be happy’ (lit. ‘do white belly’) (17b).

- (17) a. *inàà farin cikì dà daama-r*
 IMPER.1sg white of belly with chance-DEF
 ‘I am happy for this opportunity’
- b. *taa yi fari-n cikì*
 PER.3sg.f do white-of belly
 ‘She is happy’

An interesting case is the rendering built upon the image-schema based metaphor HAPPY IS FULL. The notion of happiness is encoded in terms of ‘being full of’ through the verbs *cikàà* ‘fill’ (18a) and *cikèè* ‘fed up’ (18b). The underlying image-schema is structured on the container-content relation, where the experiencer is the container and the experienced event the content.

- (18) a. *naa cikàà dà murnàà dà fari-n cikì*
 PER.1sg fill with joy with white-of belly
 ‘I was extremely happy’ (lit. ‘I filled with joy and white belly’)
- b. *yaa cê yanàà cikèè dà fari-n cikì*
 PER.3sg.m say IMPER.3sg.m fed with white-of belly
 ‘He said he was totally happy’ (lit. ‘he said he was fed up with white belly’)

The use of the white colour to convey the notion of happiness is maintained also in the stimulus-oriented construction exemplified in (19). Here *faràntaa ràì/zuuciyaa* ‘whiten the spirit/heart’ acquires the meaning of ‘make somebody happy’. The experiencer is represented by the indirect object *minì* ‘to me’, i.e. the person whose soul has been whitened.

- (19) *àbin dà ya faràntaa minì ràì*
 thing.ANA REL PER.3sg.m whiten IND.1sg spirit
 ‘The thing that made me happy’ (lit. ‘the thing that whitened my spirit’)

Analogously to the causative constructions we have seen for the congruent renderings, an alternative solution makes use of the verb *sá* ‘put’. In (20) the experiencer is represented by the object pronoun *ni* ‘me’.

- (20) *wannàn yaa sâ ni fari-n cikù dà murnàà*
 DEM PER.3sg.m with OBJ.1sg white-of belly with joy
 ‘This made me very happy’ (lit. ‘this put white belly and joy on me’)

The black colour is associated to the Hausa term for belly to render the idea of sadness (21a). The idea of sadness can also be conveyed by *râi* ‘life, spirit, soul’ and *zuuciyya* ‘heart’; in this case the soul and the heart are ‘spoiled, damaged’ (21b)

- (21) a. *shii màì bakin cikù nee*
 IND.3sg.m owner black of belly ST
 ‘He is sad’ (lit. ‘he has black belly’)

- b. *inàà baaci-n râi sosai*
 IMPER.1sg spoiled-of soul a lot
 ‘I am vey sad’ (lit. ‘I am spoiled soul’)

Stimulus-oriented renderings display the verb *baatàà* ‘spoil’ with the object slot occupied by *zuuciyya* ‘heart’ (sadness) and *râi* ‘soul’ (anger):

- (22) a. *àbi-n dà ya baatàà minì zuuciyya*
 thing-DEF REL PER.3sg.m spoil IND.1sg heart
 ‘The thing that made me sad’ (lit. ‘the thing that spoiled my heart’)
- b. *àbi-n dà ya baatàà minì râi*
 thing-DEF REL PER.3sg.m spoil IND.1sg spirit
 ‘The thing that made me angry’ (lit. ‘the thing that spoiled my spirit’)

An interesting metaphor is that used to encode worry. In (23), the conceptual metaphors DOWN IS CALM and UP IS ACTION are rendered through the expression ‘being inside the lack of lying’. This ‘being up’ is applied to a non-body part such as *râi* ‘soul’:

- (23) *kullum inàà ciki-n rashì-n kwànciya-r râi*
 always IMPER.1sg inside-of lack-of lying-of spirit
 ‘I am always worried’ (lit. ‘I am always inside the lack of lying spirit’)

The association of colours to body parts characterises the phraseological inventory of emotion and emotion-related events. The use of colours is limited to *farii* ‘white’, *bakii* ‘black’ and *jaa* ‘red’. The use of white and black to convey the ideas of positive and negative emotions (or qualities) stands on the symmetrical conceptual metaphors GOOD IS LIGHT and BAD IS DARK.⁷

- (24) *bakin cikù* ‘black stomach’ > unhappiness
farin cikù ‘white stomach’ > happiness
bakin jinii ‘black blood’ > unpopularity

⁷ See also *farin sani* ‘familiarity’ (lit. ‘white knowledge’), *farin gani* ‘positive response’ (lit. ‘white seeing’), *bakar magana* ‘insult’ (lit. ‘black speech’), *yi haskee* ‘improve’ (lit. ‘do light’), or being *cikin duhiù* ‘ignorant, uneducated’ (lit. ‘inside the darkness’).

| | | |
|------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>farin jinii</i> | ‘white blood’ | > popularity |
| <i>farin kâi</i> | ‘white head’ | > wisdom |
| <i>baƙar zuuciyyaa</i> | ‘black heart’ | > wickedness |
| <i>farar zuuciyyaa</i> | ‘white heart’ | > good, happy |
| <i>jar zuuciyyaa</i> | ‘red heart’ | > bravery |
| <i>jan kâshii</i> | ‘red bone’ | > endurance |
| <i>(farar kafàà</i> | ‘white leg’ | > bad luck) |

The case of love

Affectivity and love-based experiences are encoded in Hausa through several congruent and imaginative solutions. Terms such as *sòòyayyàà* ‘affection, love’, *kàunaa* ‘affection’, *shà’awàà* ‘interest, desire’, *soo* ‘to want, love’, and *sô* ‘wanting’ are all used in the encoding of affectivity-oriented events. In a previous study, I investigated the conceptual load of these terms by asking Hausa speakers to discuss about the meaning of words like *sòòyayyàà* and *kàunaa* (Batic 2012). The main difference is that whereas *sòòyayyàà* can be used to describe a relationship between lovers, *kàunaa* is always mutual (between persons) and covers a broader range of affective experiences, e.g. friendship, mother-son relationship, etc.

| <i>sòòyayyàà</i> | <i>kàunaa</i> |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • person ↔ person • person → person • person → object/place • lovers’ relationship • heart | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • person ↔ person • person → object/place • affective relationship • heart |

Table 2. Conceptualisation of *sòòyayyàà* and *kàunaa*

Love is seen as something taking place inside the heart, as exemplified in (25):

- (25) *sòòyayyàà wata àbù cee màì ƙarfii à zukààtan jàma’à*
 affection DEM thing ST having strenght in hearts of people
 ‘*Soyayya* is a thing strong in the people’s hearts’

Love is an experiential complex constituted by two main components: emotion and volition. ‘To love something’ is ‘to want something’: possession is the base of the metonymical extension underlying the notions of *soo* ‘want’ (>‘love’), *shà’awàà* ‘interest, desire’ and *sòòyayyàà* ‘love’ (reduplicated form derived from *soo* ‘want’). What really differentiates the two components is the recognition of an emotional locus, *zuuciyyaa* ‘heart’, for *sòòyayyàà* and *kàunaa*. Figure 3 below illustrates the position of love with reference to the emotional and volitional domains.

| | LB | LP | AN | MY | MR | MR<MY | IS | SY | BP | BPo |
|-----------|----|-----------------------|----|----|---------------------------|-----------------|----|----|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Happiness | ✓ | ✓ 'do' | ✓ | ✓ | - | - | - | ✓ | ✓ 'belly' | - |
| | | ✓ 'put', 'give' | | ✓ | ✓ 'whiten' | - | ✓ | - | ✓ 'heart', 'soul' | - |
| Sadness | - | - | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ 'spoil', 'damage' | - | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ 'belly', 'soul' | ✓ 'heart', 'soul' |
| | - | - | - | ✓ | ✓ 'spoil', 'damage' | - | - | - | ✓ 'heart', 'soul' | - |
| Fear | ✓ | ✓ 'feel' | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | ✓ | ✓ 'give' | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Anger | ✓ | ✓ 'do' | - | - | ✓ 'spoil', 'damage' | - | - | - | - | ✓ 'soul' |
| | ✓ | ✓ 'put' | - | - | ✓ 'spoil', 'damage' | - | - | - | ✓ 'soul' | - |
| Disgust | ✓ | - | - | - | - | ✓ < 'refuse' | - | - | - | - |
| | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Surprise | - | ✓ 'do' | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | ✓ | ✓ 'give' | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Shame | - | ✓ 'feel' | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | ✓ | ✓ 'put' | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Worry | - | ✓ 'feel' | ✓ | - | - | - | ✓ | - | ✓ 'head' | - |
| | ✓ | ✓ 'put' | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Hate | - | - | - | - | ✓ 'lack of lying' | ✓ < 'refuse' | - | - | - | - |
| | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Love | - | - | - | - | - | ✓ < 'want' | - | - | ✓ 'heart' | - |
| | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Interest | - | - | - | - | - | ✓ < 'want' | - | - | - | - |
| | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |

N.B. Abbreviations at the top are based on figure 1 Encoding strategies (p. 483)

Table 3. Encoding strategies: a summary

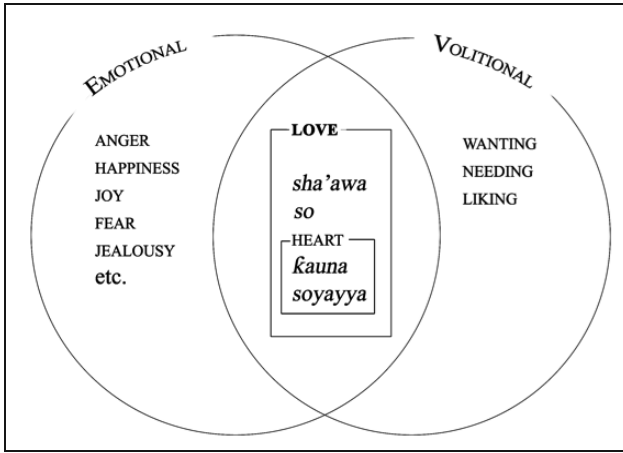


Figure 3. The experiential dimension of love (based on Batic 2012)

Summary

Basic emotions can be triggered, but not controlled, at least not in the inner sensation and individual evaluation stage. This psychological reality is mirrored into the language: as we have seen discussing the different thematic roles, the agential value of the grammatical subject in experiencer-oriented renderings is zero.

Table 3 summarises the findings presented so far. The upper section of each row refers to the non-causative renderings, whereas the lower section indicates the stimulus-oriented solutions.

Abbreviations

| | | | | | |
|-------|------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|-------------|
| ANA | anaphoric marker | IP | independent pronoun | POS | possessive |
| DEF | definite article | m | masculine | REL | relative |
| DEM | demonstrative | NEG | negative | sg | singular |
| f | feminine | OBJ | object pronoun | SUJ | subjunctive |
| IND | indirect object | PER | perfective | ST | stabiliser |
| IMPER | imperfective | pl | plural | | |

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