

This edited book deals with the linguistic encoding of emotions in the following African languages: the Bantu-speaking group, Wolof, Dogon, Hausa, Igbo, Nigerian English (Fulfulde, Hausa, and Akan). The contributions included in the volume present a variety of approaches and research perspectives ranging from historical linguistics and ethno-linguistics to cultural-cognitive and cognitive analysis. Each chapter develops a different topic discussed in detail and from (what we believe to be) an original standpoint.

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# Encoding Emotions in African Languages

edited by  
Gian Claudio Battic

with contributions by  
Maduabuchi Agbo  
Gladys Nyarko Ansah  
Sergio Baldi  
Gian Claudio Battic  
Olivier Bordéelle  
Kathryn M. De Luna  
Elisa Florio  
Laura McPherson  
Akin Odebummi  
Kirill Prokhorov

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# Love Encoding in Hausa: Sources and Conceptual Models

Gian Claudio BATIC  
University of Naples “L’Orientale”

## Abstract

This chapter deals with the conceptual and lexico-grammatical means adopted by Hausa (Afroasiatic, Chadic, West) to encode love and love-related events. Part of our experiential linguistic encoding is culture-driven: the strategies displayed by human languages to express experiential events employ a limited set of universal cognitive structures. The differences among languages reside in the way these structures are realized in everyday language usage, and particularly in the (re)conceptualisation laying behind such usage. The way a community sees things or conceive emotional *status* can be detected by means of what I simply name ‘idealized models’, recalling the concept of ‘Idealized Cognitive Model’ proposed by George Lakoff (1987). An idealized model is a multi-level conventionalisation standing on ideas rooted in a community imagery; the detection of productive models is necessary in order to give the experience a definitory frame. Thus, love and love-related experiences are defined on the basis of their underlying models. The functional approach followed in my contribution takes into account two very different sources: the Hausa *tatsuniyoyi* (folktales belonging to the oral tradition) and the emotion talk across social network discussions.

## 1. Preliminaries

The purpose of this article is to offer new insights into the linguistic encoding of love-related concepts in Hausa, an Afroasiatic language belonging to the Chadic family. Adopting a functional standpoint, my analysis will follow a multi-level approach aiming at the detection of the productive conceptual models laying behind the umbrella term ‘love’. I would like to stress that the term ‘love’ is not meant to be definitory, but it is rather conceived as an open term covering all those experiences involving two people and a feeling of affection, either mutual or monodirectional.<sup>1</sup>

The set of events falling under the heading of ‘love’ can be seen as a basic-level experiential sub-domain, especially if we consider that people’s lives are always characterised by attraction, rejection and, more frequently, by a combination of both. On the other hand, the position of ‘love’ as a basic-level experience is undermined by the fact that when such a concept is discussed (also beyond the boundaries of scientific analysis), we do not focus on elementary feelings but rather on emotional *status* whose degree of complexity is the result of cultural-oriented conventionalisation.

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<sup>1</sup> Of course there is always an ideology of ‘love’. The main vehicle of an ideology of love in Europe has been literature; through the literary creation the idea of love as we know and recognize it in our times has reached a complexity it didn’t have at the beginning. Literature and, of course, Christianity. Christian revolution, exactly like every other revolution, imposed some models. In the Christian vision of society the monogamic marriage rests on the idea of a strong and indissoluble union between a man and a woman; however, this idea, in order to become something real and be accepted, needed an effective rhetoric and then, to evolve (namely by absorbing certain deviations and softening the repression) and be criticized, an even further effective free literary discussion (see Farley 2009, Gudorf 2001).

## 2. The position of Hausa

Hausa is spoken by about forty million speakers in Northern Nigeria, Niger and by several Hausa communities in all West Africa (for instance, in Ghana, Togo and Benin) and Lybia (Ghadames, Ghat). Hausa is an Afro-asiatic language belonging to the Chadic family, West branch, A, A.1.

Hausa is probably one of the best-described African languages. It has a long literary tradition and a very rich tradition of scholarship. Reference grammars have been published in English (Newman 2000; Jaggar 2001), in German (Jungraithmayr *et al.* 2004; Wolff 1995), and French (Caron 1991). Among the teaching grammars we remember Cowan and Schuh (1976) and Kraft and Kirk-Greene (1973). Hausa has some of the most comprehensive dictionaries ever compiled for an African language, e.g. English-Hausa (Abraham 1949; Bargery 1951; Skinner 1985; Ma Newman 1990); Hausa-English (Newman and Ma Newman 1977; Newman 2007); Hausa-French (Mijinguini 1987); French-Hausa (Caron and Amfani 1997).

## 3. Idealized models: between culture and cognition

An idealized model is constituted by a set of background assumptions accepted by a given community on the basis of a process of conventionalisation.

Consider for example the model illustrated in (1), which stands on the stereotypical representation of Hausas conveyed by some religion-oriented members of the community:

- (1) a. Hausas are muslim.
- b. Muslims do not make magician practices.
- c. Hausas do not make magician practices.

Of course, the above definition does not have any objective claim, nor it should be analysed in terms of true or false. One could argue against this model saying that not all Hausas adhere to the Islamic religion, or that some pseudo-magic practices exist in the Hausaland and fall outside an ortodox conception of Islam. A variant of (1) is given by the ‘language model’, which could state: ‘Hausas are those who speak the Hausa language’.

Generally, a model is a complex resulting from the composition of different and simpler models. Thus, a productive model employes a variety of realities:<sup>2</sup>

- |        |                    |                         |
|--------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| (2) a. | Hausas speak Hausa | LINGUISTIC <sup>3</sup> |
|        | <i>and/or</i>      |                         |
| b.     | Hausas are Muslim  | RELIGIOUS               |
|        | <i>and/or</i>      |                         |

---

<sup>2</sup> It should be observed that the nature of an ICM depends on the cultural universe it belongs to. Generally, Igbo people living in Kano accept a very common ICM for which what fits the world at his best is the statement «in northern Nigeria all Muslims are Hausas». This is more evident shifting from north-west to north-east, especially in the west Bornean area which, being no longer Hausaland and not yet truly dominated by Kanuri language, is often perceived as the continuation of Hausaland. The ICMs employed by hosted groups referring to the hosting community stand on prototypical («a Hausa person is a typical northerner») and differential selection («others are what we are not», taking into account that almost all Igbos - even those devoted to some animist cults - adhere to Christian religion).

<sup>3</sup> Language model is one of the most current shape to determine and attribute national and cultural identity. Nevertheless, many ethnic groups do not use the language to define themselves: see the case of some sedentary Fulanis who, in spite of speaking only Hausa, do not make any attempt to call themselves Hausas. See Tosco 1998 for Eastern African languages.

- c. Hausas live in northern Nigeria      GEOGRAPHIC  
*and/or*
- d. Hausas live in the historical hausa    ETHNIC-HISTORICAL  
towns (e.g. Kano, Sokoto, etc.)  
*etc.*

Such a model (or parts of it) can be shaped by various factors, one of them being the rise of a cosmopolitan or multi-cultural environment. Cosmopolitan culture, for example

is increasingly the order of the day in the cities and towns of Nigeria. In this environment 'being Hausa' is not necessarily a fixed attribute: identity is by no means convergent with language, for example. Simply to say that someone speaks the Hausa language is to say as little about identity as saying that someone speaks English or Serbo-Croat. (Furniss 1996:6)

The linguistic encoding of an ICM is represented by the expressive means adopted by the language to encode experiential events. The phraseological and lexico-grammatical material is moulded and organised by some universal cognitive structuring principles such as those recognised by Lakoff in his definition of ICM: image-schema, metaphor, metonymy and propositional structure (Lakoff 1987).

The employment of these principles within a specific cultural group or community made up of people who accept to share part of their identity, generates double-faced models which are cultural and universal at the same time. If metaphors, and the imaginative dimension in general, attract so much scientific interest, it is because, from a cross-linguistic standpoint, metaphors can *still* be different and not so predictable. If everybody expressed the same things by using the same set of expressions (it does not matter whether congruent or not), many scholars would feel too bored to carry out the task - probably because there would be no task at all.

The linguistic encoding of emotions, for example, stands on cultural-oriented models built upon general cognitive principles. An ICM should be redefined by taking into account its cultural dimension as well as its theoretical proximity to the idea of cultural model proposed by Quinn and Holland:

[...] 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)

Culture does play a role. Figure 1 illustrates the strategies adopted in the linguistic encoding of basic-level experiences in Hausa and Bole (West Chadic, A.2). For some experiential domains, e.g. mental and physical events, the preferred strategy is represented by congruent (=label) encoding. Quite differently, renderings describing emotional events seem to require an imaginative (=non-congruent) solution whose realizations are included in a variety of macro-strategies such as symbol, metaphor, image-schema, or metonymical-based metaphor.

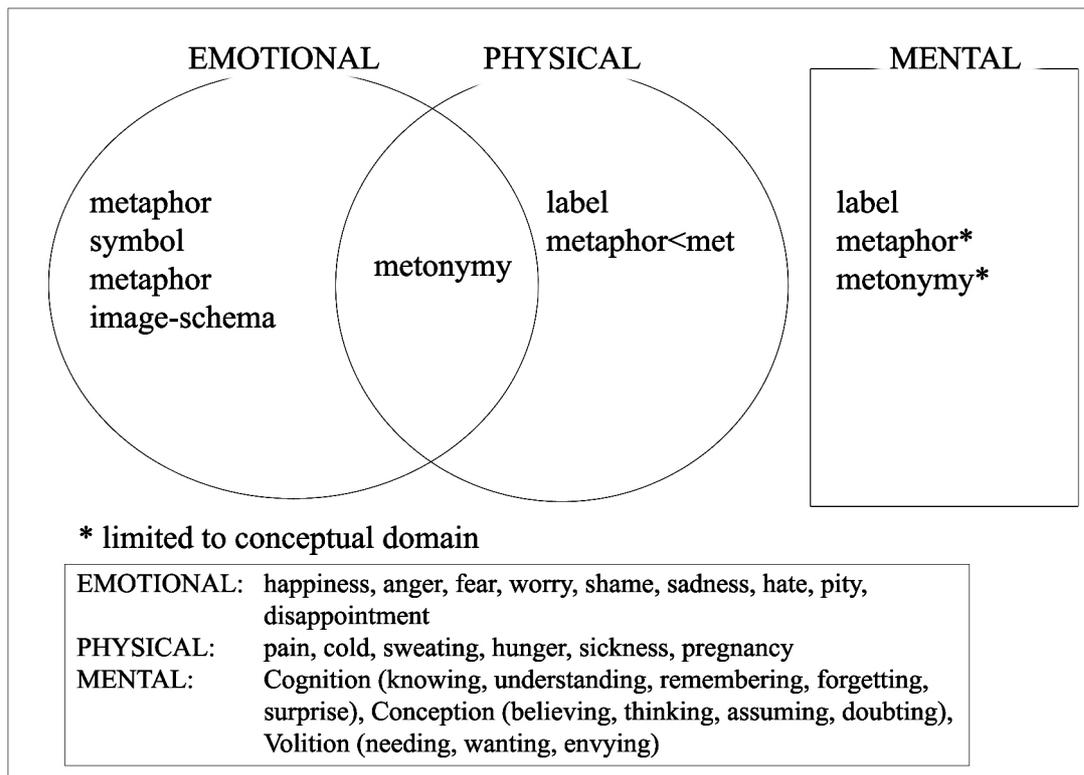


Fig. 1. Experiential domains and encoding strategies (based on Batic 2009a)

Universal cognitive principles are employed to generate linguistic renderings whose specificity in terms of metaphorical and imaginative usage is essentially culture-driven. “Concepts do not exist only by themselves, objectively; the most human concepts are defined and understood only within conceptual frameworks that depend on the nature of human experience in given cultures” (Johnson 1987:xiv).

#### 4. Love encoding in *tatsuniyoyi*

The first approach takes into account the use of love-oriented words across the *tatsuniyoyi*, the most representative outcome of Hausa oral literature. A *tatsuniya* (pl. *tatsuniyoyi*) is a story characterised by the presence of fabulous elements - such as animals interacting with human beings or supra-natural entities like monsters and giants – narrated with the aim of communicating a moral message.

From a quantitative point of view, the presence of love-oriented items is quite limited. In the *tatsuniya* collected by Harris (1907), titled ‘The two lovers’, a boy and a girl love each other against the will of their respective parents. Their mutual affection and the consequent opposition of their parents is represented below in examples (3) and (4) respectively:

- (3) a. Yaro ya son yarinya, ita kuwa ta so shi.  
 b. Sai su suka so junansu.

- a. *The boy loved the girl, and she loved him too.*  
 b. *They loved each other.*

- (4) a. Uwan yarinya ba ta son yaro, uban yarinya ba ya son yaro.

- b. Yaro ya tashi, ya dauki tabarma, ya dauki yarinya, suka tafi daji da dare [...]
  - c. Iblis ya zo, ya kashe yaro, yarinya tana zauna, tana kuka ta dauki yaro.
- a. *The mother of the girl doesn't like the boy, the father of the girl doesn't like the boy either.*
  - b. *The boy stood up, took a mat, took the girl, and they left for the forest in the night [...]*
  - c. *Iblis came and killed the boy. The girl stood still, she was crying while lifting up the boy.*

The young couple decides to run away from home, but once the boy and his beloved reach the forest a demon comes and kills the young boy. In the meanwhile, the mother of the boy goes to the forest in search of her son whom she will meet together with the girl and the evil spirit called Iblis. Borrowed from the Islamic inventory and fully integrated in the Hausa language, the term Iblis (from the Arabic *iblis* 'satan, devil') stands here for some kind of spirit whose intervention is meant to reveal the true nature of the characters involved, leading the young boy to a final decision.

Iblis in fact can bring the boy back to life, but not before having tested the love and the courage of the two women: the young girl who saw his fiancé die and the mother who lost her son. Thus, Iblis will save the boy on the condition that either the mother or the girl will put at risk her life by bringing him a calabash placed in a tree hole. To reach this tree the bravest of the two women will have to swim in a river of fire, and then in a river of water. Finally, she will need to kill a snake.

Such a proposal provokes two different reactions: fear generates cowardice, whereas love generates courage. Consider (5):

(5) MOTHER: A'a, a'a! Ba na iya ba in shigga kogin wuta, in komo in shiga kwogin wuta, in komo in shiga kogin ruwa, in shiga kwogon gamshi, in dauki maciji, in ajiye, in kawo dummo. Ba na iya ba. Wuta ta cinyeni. Kogin ruwa ya cinyeni. Maciji ya kishe ni. Ba na iya ba.

GIRL: Ni in na shiga na kawo, babu komi?

(99)

*MOTHER: No! No! I can't enter into the river of fire. Enter into the river of fire, then into the river of water, then into the hole of the indiarubber tree and take the snake, put it away and come back. I can't do it. The fire will burn me. The water will drown me. The snake will kill me. I can't do it.*

*GIRL: I, I will enter [the river] and come back. Is there any problem?*

The mother, too afraid to undertake such an arduous enterprise, will desist from her desire to see her son alive again. On the contrary, the girl readily accepts: her courage will be rewarded and the calabash inside the tree will be given back to Iblis. One last step is required by the narrative mechanics in order to have the girl's love recognised: Iblis will ask the boy to choose which of the two women deserve to live, and which one has to die. Consider (6):

(6) Yaro ya tashi da rai. Iblis ya ce: «Yaro za in yanka dummon nan, uwaka zata ta mutu, in kuwa ka ce “A'a, ba na so uwata ta mutu”, yarinya za ta mutu. Ka zaɓe ɗaya».

*The boy came back to life. Iblis said: «Boy, I'll cut this calabash and your mother will die. But if you say "No, I do not want her to die", then it will be the girl to pass away. Choose one».*

Similarly to other Hausa dilemma tales, also 'The two lovers' presents an open ending: will the boy condemn his mother to death? Or will he decide to let his rescuer die?

I will consider now the tale known as *Maganan yarinya da samari fudu* ('The story of the girl and the four young men'). This tale, included in Shön's collection *Magána Hausa* (1885), narrates the story of a beautiful girl and the boy she fell in love with: a foreigner whose feelings meets the firm opposition of the girl's father. The first part of the story can be schematised as follows:

- (7) a. Yarinya wannan tana da kyau; cikin garinsu duka babu budurwa da ta fi ta. Da samari fudu suna da kyau kaman ita, suke ce: «Muna zuwa, mu dauka yarinya nan».
- b. Haka nan yaro na wani gari ya zaka ya dauke ta, ya kai ta garinsu.
- c. Ubanta ya ji labari diyansa ta yi arime; ya tashi ya hawa bisa dokinsa, ya tafi garinsu yaro nan, ya kawo diyansa cikin gidansa.
- a. *This girl was beautiful, the most beautiful girl in town. Four young men - as handsome as she was – said: «We are coming to take this girl».*
- b. *Then, a boy from a[nother] town decided to take her and bring her to his town.*
- c. *Her father heard the story about his daughter getting married. He mounted his horse, went to the town where the boy was from and took his daughter back to home.*

Once the undesired suitor has been chased away (7c), the girl seems to be forced to choose one among the four young men (7a). In order to do so she arranges a camel-riding contest: the man who completes three rides will marry her, as in (8):

- (8) b. Ya tara mutane duka; yarinya ta ce: «Kowanne ya hawa bisa rafumi nan, ba shi fadi ba shi ne mijina».
- a. *She said: «Whoever will ride the camel for three times without falling, he will be my husband».*

None of the four men succeed in completing the three rides, but another contender appears. This fifth young man is none other than the boy chased away by the father of the girl. In spite of his disguising clothes (he is wearing a *buzu*, a 'goatskin or sheepskin'),<sup>4</sup> the girl will immediately recognise him. As the boy completes the third ride, he catches the girl, puts her on the camel's back and gallops towards his hometown. The father tries to stop the couple by running after it with his horse, but with no success:

- (9) Yaro ya shiga cikin gidansa, ya rufe kofa. Uban yarinya kafa dokinsa ta madu ga itacen kofa.

*The boy entered his house and blocked the door. The father of the girl, on the horse's back, crashed on the wood door.*

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<sup>4</sup> Generally used as a prayer mat.

The *labari* titled *Sarki da mai dafan tuwo* ‘The chief and the cook of *tuwo*’<sup>5</sup> reported by Rattray (1913) is the story of a chief whose wife and cook (the wife’s lover) orchestrate a plot in order to get rid of the *sarki* and take hold of his money.

- (10) a. Shina da wani mai dafuwan tuwo, shina da matansa, shi sarki nan, wadda shi ke so.  
 b. Mai dafuwan tuwo shina neman mata nan, ita kuwa tana sonsa, har wata rana aka kwarmata ma sarki

- a. *He had a cook preparing him tuwo, and a wife that he, the Chief, loved.*  
 b. *The man who cooked tuwo was seeking the woman, and she too, she loved him, until the day somebody told the Chief.*

- (11) Mafari ke nan aka ca: «So mai sonka, rabu da maƙiyinka, kar ya ba ka magani, ka ci, ka mutu».

*And that’s the origin of the saying: «Love who loves you, but keep off from your enemy, and don’t take any medicine from him: if you take it, you’ll die».*

Table 1 summarises the three *tatsuniyoyi* discussed above, presenting the experiencers involved in the feeling of affection, the outcome of the affection and the lexical means adopted in the story to encode the emotional event:

TALE	AGENTS AND AFFECTION <sup>6</sup>	OUTCOME	ENCODING
<i>Masayoyi biyu</i>	<u>Affection:</u> boy ↔ girl boy’s mother ↗ boy	[boy + girl]?	<i>so</i> ‘want’
<i>Maganan yarinya da samari fudu</i>	<u>Affection:</u> four boys ↗ girl boy ↔ girl <u>Conflict:</u> girl’s father ↗ boy	boy + girl	no specific encoding: affection is expressed by the context.
<i>Sarki da mai dafan tuwo</i>	<u>Affection:</u> chief ↗ wife wife ↔ cook <u>Conflict:</u> wife ↗ chief [chief ↗ cook]	wife + cook	<i>so</i> ‘want’ <i>nema</i> ‘seek’

Table 1. Love in *tatsuniyoyi*

## 5. Love encoding in social networking

In this section I will consider linguistic data taken from some Facebook groups where Hausa is used as a first language. Roughly speaking and for the purpose of my analysis, a ‘wall’ is made up of ‘users’, ‘posts’ and ‘comments’: any FB user (U) registered into a group can add a

<sup>5</sup> *Tuwo* is a staple food made from guinea-corn, rice or millet flour. It is cooked in boiling water and stirred until thick.

<sup>6</sup> Symbols used: ↗ unilateral affection; ↔ mutual affection; ↗ dislike; + fulfilled affection.

‘comment’ (C) to a specific ‘post’ (P), thus generating a discussion. (12) exemplifies what a user-post-comment system looks like:<sup>7</sup>

- (12) P U<sub>1</sub> today is election day!  
 C<sub>1</sub> U<sub>2</sub> we know who will be the next ☺  
 C<sub>2</sub> U<sub>3</sub> may GOD guide us  
 ... ..  
 C<sub>n</sub> U<sub>n</sub> Yes, but I love this country even if it’s jaga-jaga.

Any group administrator can create a discussion section where users registered into the group have the possibility to create and join forum focusing on specific topics. Similarly to wall posts, comments entered into a discussion forum follow a post-comment system.

In order to collect significant data illustrating the linguistic and conceptual encoding of love, I joined the group *Mu kyakkyata* ‘Let’s break out laughing’<sup>8</sup> and created a forum called *soyayya* ‘love’. Then I asked the following question:

- (13) Me ma’anar soyayya take? Mece ce soyayya?  
*What is the meaning of love? What is love?*

The question generated a discussion, reported in (14):

- (14)a. Soyayya sha’awa ce da namiji da mace suke ma juna, waddan takan gushe da zarar an cim ma abin da aka assasa soyayyar...  
 b. An ce tsuntsaye da dabobbi ma sun san soyayya ballan ta na mutum  
 c. Soyayya dai a nawa ra’ayin shi ne zuciyoyi biyu su haɗu a kan abu ɗaya  
 d. Kash! da a ce na san irin soyayyar da ake nufi da na ƙoƙarta, domin soyayya kala-kala ce.  
 e. kai amma malam abubakar banyarda da amsarkaba sabida bahaka ne soyayya takeba wannan shi akekira sha’awa amma soyayya ita ce haɗuwar zuciyar wasu halitta don taimaka wajuna.  
 f. To malam Aliyu, Ita haɗuwar zuciya shi ne ake kira Kauna, Soyayya ko wani abu ne da ke makale a zuciya, wanda da ka same shi sai ka ji bukatar ka ta biya, ita ko Kauna ai ba ta gushewa malam. Idan kana bukatar karin bayani ina jiran ka.  
 g. hahahaha! ai ka san mutane suna yawan yin kuskure ba su san banbancin soyayya da ƙauna da kuma sha’awa ba shi ya sa yanda ka fara bayanin soyayya bayyi kama da soyayyan ba sai dai sha’awa ka gane kuma ka san hausawa a kan soyayya sai a hankali ba su iya ta sosai ba amma idan kana da wani karin magana muna jinka.  
 h. Malam \*\*\* ban YARDA DA MA’ANARKA BA. SHA’AWA kalma ce ta larabci; wace tana nufin Jindadi, misali: Mata. KAUNA kuma a zuciya akeyinsa, kamar dan uwa, Aboki har ma mace. Ita kuma kalma ta SOYAYYA ba ta da cikakkiyar ma’ana, sai dai mutum ya gayama abin da ya fahimta daga ita.

<sup>7</sup> When creating a FB account the user is asked to provide his/her first and last name. It is a free choice made by the user whether to use his/her real names or not. Users’ names are not relevant here and they have been removed from the examples.

<sup>8</sup> The purpose of the group is the exchange of Hausa riddles, jokes and other funny stories, often depicting prototypical situations deeply rooted in the Hausa culture. Being language-oriented, almost all the comments posted on the group wall are in Hausa. The extensive use of Hausa and the very nature of this forum make the group English-free (Batic 2011).

- a. *Soyayya* [<love] *sha'awa* [<interest] is this: a man and a woman who stay together, and once love moves on with [its] 'vacillation', reconciliation is achieved...
- b. They say that birds and animals know *soyayya* [<love] and not only the man
- c. In my opinion, love is this: *zuciyoyi* [<heart] that stay together like one thing
- d. Oh dear! I know the kind of *soyayya* [<love] that heads towards somewhere, and I try very hard, because love can be of different types.
- e. Oh, but Malam \*\*\* I don't agree with your answer because love it's not like that, you're talking about *sha'awa* [<interest], but *soyayya* [<love] is this: when some people's hearts meet in order to help each other.
- f. Well, Malam \*\*\*, this, the union of hearts is what's called *kauna*, *soyayya* or anything that lodges in the heart. When you get it, you feel your needs satisfied and, well yes, *kauna* is not dying malam! If you need an explanation, I'm here.
- g. Ahahaha! Yes, you know, there are many men doing the mistake, they don't know the difference between *soyayya*, *kauna* and *sha'awa*. This determined the way you started your explanation for *soyayya* [<love], making a difference between *soyayya* and *sha'awa*. So you understand that Hausa people don't know too much about *soyayya*, but if you have any proverbs, we are listening.
- h. Malam \*\*\*, I do not agree with your definition. The word *sha'awa* is Arabic, and intends to mean 'feeling of pleasure', for example women. *Kauna* too is located in the heart, like [the love for] one's father, friend and also woman. The word *soyayya* doesn't have a full meaning, unless somebody tells what he can understand from it.

Example (14) shows that the emotional lexicon employed to encode the concept of love is represented by a very limited set of lexical items. These items are:

1. *kauna* 'mutual affection'
2. *soyayya* 'love'
3. *sha'awa* 'interest'
4. *son* 'wanting, desire'
5. *zuciya* 'heart'

Whereas it is possible to draw a clear distinction between *sha'awa* 'interest, desire' from one hand, and *soyayya* and *kauna* 'love, mutual affection' from the other, a sharp definition of *soyayya* and *kauna* is not so immediate – at least not by using contrastive means. *Sha'awa* mirrors the physical component of the experience, *soyayya* and *kauna* the emotional one. These emotional events are conceived as taking place inside the heart differently from *sha'awa* for which no imaginative location is specified. The question now is: who can be affected by *soyayya*, and who by *kauna*? For sure, these two concepts display a set of overlapping features, the most important being the mutuality.

*Soyayya*, "the word that does not have a full meaning" ((14)h.), seems to cover 1) the hidden, complex and intimate experience shared by lovers, 2) the unidirectional affection felt by one person towards another man or woman, and 3) a collective feeling of love, for example towards the members of a given group or the humankind. *Kauna*, which appears to be more semantically marked than *soyayya*, can apply to various kinds of affection ranging from the love felt for one's father to the fondness for friends or places.

Moreover, *kauna* usually does not involve more than two persons, even if exceptions exist. See the following examples:

- (15)a. Waiyo garina kano ina saki ina kaunarki allah yadawwamar da ke cikin zaman lafiya.
- b. Mu talakawan NIGERIA sai mun canza halin mu zuwa gaskiya da rikon amana da kaunar juna sannan mu sami shugabanni na gari masu irin wadancan halayan.
- a. *Oh my town, Kano, I can't stop loving you, may Allah make you eternal and keep you always in good health.*
- b. *We the poor people of Nigeria, we must change our behaviour towards truth and look after peace and mutual love, and after that let's get leaders having this nature.*

Table 2 illustrates the employment of *soyayya* and *kauna* with respect to their conceptual *locus*, the participants involved and the kind of relationship.

<b>soyayya</b>	<b>kauna</b>
- heart	- heart
- person ↔ person	- person ↔ person
person ↔ person	person ↔ object/place
person ↔ object/place	
- lovers' relationship	- generic relationship

Table 2. *Soyayya* and *kauna*

'Heart' is conceived as an emotional *locus*. Thus, both *soyayya* and *kauna* are reconceptualized as processes taking place or involving this specific body part. Such reconceptualisation gives rise to a few metonymical-based anthropomorphic expressions where 'heart' stands for the 'person' (*par pro toto* metonymy) and the body part is encoded as the Agent or Subject of the action. The examples below illustrate the anthropomorphic use of *zuciya* 'heart' and *hankali* 'good sense' respectively:

- (16)a. zuciyoyi biyu su haɗu  
[heart two]<sub>SUBJECT</sub> PER:3pl unite  
'two hearts join each other (like one thing)'
- b. Ba na jin kusunniya wato  
NEG IMP:1sg hear restlessness that\_is  
hankali ya tashi  
[good sense]<sub>SUBJECT</sub> PER:3sg:m rise  
'I don't feel restlessness, that is I'm nervous' (lit. 'good sense has risen')

Other uses of 'heart' as an emotional *locus* are given in (17):

- (17)a. Daidaita soyayya ko son mata biyu a cikin zuciyar mutum shi ne Kur'ani yake maganar ba zai yiwu ba.  
[http://mujahidah.htmlplanet.com/ry12.htm]
- b. Soyayya wata aba ce mai karfi da tasiri a zukatan jama'a, wanda ke kawo farin ciki da nutsuwa a tare da ita  
[http://dir.groups.yahoo.com/group/ANAKano/message/9]

- a. *To make it straight whether **soyayya** could be the desire [**son** ‘wanting of’] of two women in a man’s heart, the Kuran says that this is not possible.*
- b. *Love is a thing strong and powerful in people’s hearts, that brings with it happiness and deep reflection.*

Examples (18)a-c offer further renderings employing *soyayya* ‘love’:

- (18)a. Wai Jama,a miyasa duk yarinyar dana tunkara da al,amari mai kyau wato Soyayyasai tace bata sona? Ni na kalli kaina a nadubi gaskiya banga munin fuskata ba...WA YA SAN DALILI..?
  - b. Gaskiya ne da akace duk wanda ya bar gida gida ya barshi kuma nayi murna da shiga wannan native group. I luv = soyayya daya
  - c. Shin kana bukar a baka shawara a kan wani abu da ke damunka a Soyayya ko ka ga wata kana so amma ka kasa gaya mata? To ka garzaya zuwa wannan shafi Mai suna ‘Dandalin masoya (lovers’ field)’ dan a magance maka matsalarka... karka manta kana iya rubuto sakonka da harshen Hausa ko da na Turanci... Thanx...!
- a. *Goodness people , why all the girls I make advances to with good intentions, that’s to say **Soyayya** (>Love), have to say they don’t want me? As for me, I looked at myself in order to find the truth, but I don’t see any ugliness in my face... Who knows the reason?*
  - b. *It is true what is said, that everyone who leaves his house, the house will leave him, also I’m happy for joining this native group. I love = soyayya daya*
  - c. *May be you need to be given an advice on the thing that you are worried about, or may be you have seen a girl whom you like but you failed to tell her? Well, move to the page named “Lovers’ Forum”, and your problem will be treated... Do not forget that you can write your message(s) in Hausa as well as in English. Thanks!*

The Hausa verb *so* ‘want’ is used to express a general feeling of desire. Consider the following example:

- (19) Idan na ga yarinya ina **son**ta ko kuma ta iya tafiya sanna ta iya sa kaya [...]zan iya binta domin ina son ta yarda ni nake **son**ta ko za ta amince da soyayyata.  
*‘if I see a girl and I like her and also the way she dresses [...] I can follow her because I want her consent, and we’ll become friend and we’ll love each other.’*

The volitional component of love/desire represented by the employment of the verb ‘want’ to express love-related concepts is a widespread phenomenon in African context. Example (20) is taken from Bole, a Chadic language (West, A.2) spoken in northern Nigeria. Here, like in Hausa, love/desire developed by metonymical extension from ‘want’ (*ndol*-).

- (20) n        ndoli    n        kai.to        nko    n        ndol.ta.wo  
S:1SG    want    S1:SG    marry.O3F    because S:1SG    want.O3F.CM  
‘I want to marry her because I love her’

Figure 2 illustrates and summarises the experiential position of love-related terms as resulting from the definitions provided by social network users.

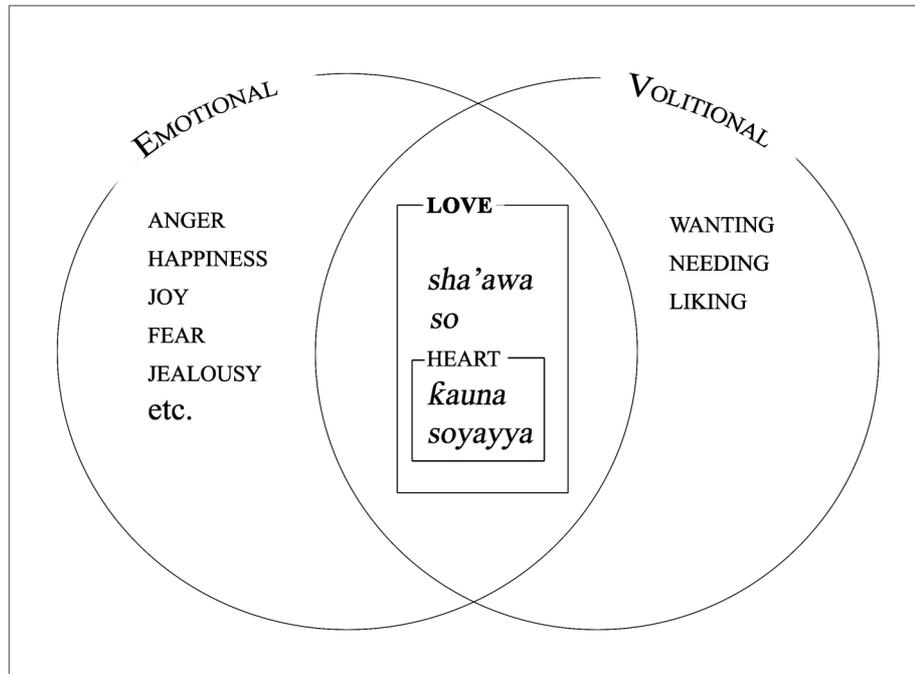


Figure 2. The position of love-related terms in experiential domains

### Conclusions

From the foregoing discussions we have seen two different approaches for investigating love and love-related concepts in Hausa. Both the approaches took into account very specific sources: the traditional Hausa stories known as *tatsuniyoyi* on one hand, and the virtual discourse generated through social network interaction on the other. The three *tatsuniyoyi* – ‘The two lovers’, ‘The story of the girl and the four boys’ and ‘The Emir and the cook of *tuwo*’ – showed a modulation of patterns in terms of persons involved (e.g. agents), affection type (affection vs. conflict), outcome (e.g. the relationship established at the end of the story) and linguistic encoding (e.g. lexical or contextual).

The perspective followed in the second section of the chapter aimed at identifying the lexicogrammatical means adopted in the linguistic encoding of love as resulting from the semantic and conceptual definitions provided by social network users. Particular attention has been paid to the concepts of *soyayya* and *kauna* with respect to their emotional *locus* as well as the relationship of their implied participants. We have also stressed the volitional component of love-related concepts whose encoding is derived by metonymical extension from pure volitional verbs.

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