

HAUSA PHRASEOLOGISMS AS A STRUCTURAL PROPERTY OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL VALUE

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Abstract: The paper discusses phraseological units in Hausa as combinations of lexical units which have grammatical and cultural motivations. Its purpose is to identify language-specific types of structural phraseologisms and their culture-specific meanings. At the structural level, the most productive patterns of verbal phrases and nominal compounds are being presented. Special attention is devoted to various types of verb-based nominal phrases which refer to perceiving the surrounding world through instances of people’s behavior. The structural phraseologisms are also seen as a means of abstract conceptualization and a source of grammaticalization processes. The cultural background of the Hausa phraseologisms is referred to culture key-words and the traces of cultural experience which determine the meaning of the whole phrase. This approach includes a comparative perspective in studies on phrasal expressions in the Hausa language. The examples are taken from lexicographic sources and from descriptive works, they are also extracted from literary texts, the text of “Magana Jari Ce” [Speech is an Asset] by Abubakar Imam in particular.

Key words: phraseologisms, lexicalized sentences, culture key-word, linguistic conceptualization, Hausa

1. Introduction

Phraseological studies is a separate research field within linguistic studies that goes beyond formulating rules of general applicability and focuses on investigating individual items which are conventional phrases and have the form of multi-word expressions.

A sizeable descriptive and theoretical literature on phraseological units deals with various questions related to the scope and areas of

interest within phraseology.¹ One of the disputed questions refers to terminology and interpretation of phraseologisms. The term covers various types of conventional phrases identified as phraseological units, idiomatic expressions, word combinations, collocations, proverbs (Bushnaq 2015).

In common understanding, phraseologisms are various stable word combinations which have a unique meaning not deductible from those of the individual words. This definition leaves not much room for comparative works, because every particular language has its specific word combination rules and the individual word may be involved in expressing various meanings.

Phraseological units include various types of multi-word expressions ranging from clause constituents up to full sentences. In the lexicographical tradition, they are seen as lexical items which, however, create many problems for grammatical analysis. Depending on whether syntactic or semantic criteria are dominant, they are identified as restricted collocations or idioms (i.e. expressions that are semantically completely opaque in the latter case). Additionally, phraseologisms can be also mirrored from the stylistic perspective and interpreted through their figurative and expressive functions (Naciscione 2010: 20–22).

Being an element of grammatical structures, phraseology strings also have cultural connotations. They constitute the “language of culture” and part of cultural heritage in which abstract concepts are embodied in the concrete views. For that reason, both the form and the meaning of phraseological expressions are relevant for ethnolinguistics which studies the relationship between language and culture, and the way different ethnic groups perceive the world. The concept of linguistic worldview (Underhill 2011; Bartmiński 2006; Głaz et al. 2016) which

¹ The achievements and current topics in phraseology were presented in Cowie (1998). In this evaluation, the European tradition, Russian research in particular, was presented as a significant contribution to the development of phraseology, making it a major field of research for linguists. See also Zykova (2016).

has its roots in the earlier theories and works² combines the knowledge of language with the knowledge of the world and directs research interests to identifying and describing cultural components of meaning.

The paper discusses phraseological units in the Hausa language as both grammatical feature and cultural phenomenon. With reference to works dealing with various aspects of Hausa phraseology (Newman 2000: 109–124, 260–261; Jaggar & Malami Buba 2009; McIntyre 1988; 1995; Ahmad 1994; Piłaszewicz 1990; Yusuf 1978; Grabka & Pawlak 1989; Galadanci 1972), the presentation of the distinguished groups focusses on their lexical constituents which determine the meaning of the whole phrase. The structural peculiarities are referred to the patterns of conceptualization and the links to cultural values. The purpose of this attitude is to identify language-specific types of structural phraseologisms and their culture-specific meanings. The examples for the analysis are taken from lexicographic sources; they are also extracted from literary texts, the text of “Magana Jari Ce” [Speech is an Asset] (Imam 1980, MJC hereafter) in particular.³

2. Patterns of phraseological units in Hausa

On a typological basis, syntactic patterns associated with phraseological units have much in common in many languages of the world. Similarly to other languages, the Hausa phraseologisms represent nominal (compounds) or verbal phrases, clausal units or sentences. However, peculiar characteristics of the language become apparent in more detailed analyses which make this classification not fully transparent.

² E.g. the Sapir – Whorf hypothesis from the first half of the 20th century and the works of Wilhelm von Humboldt from the first half of the 19th century.

³ With the exception of the quotes from original literary texts, the presented examples are marked for tone and vowel length according to the following transcription rules: \grave{a} = low tone, \hat{a} = falling tone, high tone is unmarked; \bar{a} , \bar{i} , etc. = long, a , i , etc. = short. Orthographic convention for the consonants: \hat{b} , \hat{d} = laryngeal implosives, ℓ , ts = ejectives, 'y = glottalized palatal glide, c and j = palato-alveolar affricates.

One of the most distinctive features of the Hausa phraseology has to do with the fine line between nominal and verbal phrases. With reference to phrases identified as compounds, Galadanci (1972: 47) presented their structural features as follows: “These are utterances with internal structure identical with, or closely resembling, that of a phrase – nominal phrase or verbal phrase, but they are distinguished from the phrase by behaving within the nominal phrase as a single, invariable and indivisible unit, with virtually the same syntactic behaviour as a noun.”

The syntactic criteria enable the distinguishing patterns of Hausa phraseological units as either nominal or verbal constituents. The status is confirmed in their contextual use, but they are also identified as independent entries in the Hausa lexicon, having their word class attributes. The most productive patterns will be discussed in the following sections.

2.1. Verbal phrases

Within the variety of patterns in Hausa phraseologisms, one group deserves special attention for its “noncompositional meaning” and the status of “idiomatic phrasal verbs” (Newman 2000: 260). They are fixed verb-object collocations, such as *kāwō hanci* ‘approach, get close (lit. ‘bring nose’), *bātà rāi* ‘frown, be upset’ (lit. ‘spoil life’), *sā hannū* ‘sign’ (lit. ‘put hand’), *aunà arzikī* ‘have a stroke of luck, luckily escape death or serious harm’ (lit. ‘measure the prosperity’). In this presentation, the attention is focused on verbs which may create combinations with different elements as their objects⁴ and express different meanings. The words used commonly in this type of expressions represent monosyllabic verbs which are classified within Grade 0 (Newman 2000: 630) forms, as in examples (1)–(3).

⁴ In a number of cases, the constituent following the verb is something other than an object or the phrase which is extended by an additional (adverbial) component, e.g. *bugā (wà wani) jinī à ciki* ‘to vex, to upset somebody’ (lit. ‘hit someone’s blood inside’).

- (1) **ci** [ci] ‘eat’, e.g. *ci àmānà* ‘breach trust’ (lit. ‘eat trust’), *ci dūniyā* ‘enjoy life’ (lit. ‘eat the world’), *ci gāba* ‘carry on’ (lit. ‘eat the front’), *ci gūmī* ‘enjoy oneself’ (lit. ‘eat sweat’), *ci jarràbāwā* ‘pass an examination’ (lit. ‘eat an exam’), *ci kwāf* ‘win the cup’ (lit. ‘eat a cup’), *ci littāfi* ‘read the book thoroughly’ (lit. ‘eat a book’), *ci mutunci* ‘treat with disrespect’ (lit. ‘eat humaneness’), *ci nāsarā* ‘win, be victorious’ (lit. ‘eat victory’), *ci kāsūwā* ‘make purchases, have a successful day at the market’ (lit. ‘eat the market’), *ci sàrautā* ‘attain kingship’ (lit. ‘eat rulership’).
- (2) **sha** [shā] ‘drink’, e.g. *shā àlwāshī* ‘declare, make a promise’ (lit. ‘drink a promise’), *shā azūmī* ‘break the fast’ (lit. ‘drink fasting’), *shā bàmbam* ‘be different’ (lit. ‘drink being-different’), *shā iskā* ‘go for a walk’ (lit. ‘drink the wind’), *shā kāshī* ‘suffer, have a very bad time’ (lit. ‘drink excrement’), *shā kùnū* ‘manifest contempt or anger’ (lit. ‘drink gruel’), *shā ràunī* ‘get hurt’ (lit. ‘drink hurt’), *shā wàhalā* ‘suffer trouble’ (lit. ‘drink trouble, difficulty’), *shā wiyā* ‘suffer hardship’ (lit. ‘drink trouble’), *shā tábà* ‘smoke (a cigarette)’ (lit. ‘eat a cigarette’).
- (3) **ji** [ji] ‘hear, feel’⁵ e.g. *ji yunwā* ‘feel hungry’, *ji tsōrō* ‘be afraid of’ (lit. ‘feel fear’), *ji Lārabci / Hausa* ‘know (understand) Arabic / Hausa’ (lit. ‘hear Arabic / Hausa’), *ji jikī* ‘feel out of sorts’ (lit. ‘feel the body’), *ji gārī* ‘be short of money’ (lit. ‘hear the town’), *ji dōyin mutānē* ‘to be haughty’ (lit. ‘to smell the stench of people’).

A lexical basis for many idiomatic phrases is also found in the irregular verb forms *bā* ‘give’ and *sā* ‘put, place’⁶, as in examples (4)–(5).

⁵ The basic meaning of *ji* is ‘hear’, semantic derivation has extended it to ‘feel’ and to ‘understand’.

⁶ The two verbs are widely used in the formation of phrases which change the syntactic relations within a sentence, for example *Tā bā ni tsōrō* ‘She made me afraid’ (lit. ‘She gave me fear’), *Yā sā tà yi rawā* ‘He made her dance’ (lit. ‘He caused that she did dancing’).

- (4) **ba** [bā] ‘give’, e.g. *bā dà bākī* ‘implore, persuade’ (lit. ‘give mouth’), *bā dà fuskà* ‘be receptive’ (lit. ‘give a face’), *bā dà hannū* ‘(to) signal’, *bâ kâi (gà)* ‘give in (to)’ (lit. ‘give [one’s] head to’), *bā dà sa’â* ‘to indicate the most appropriate time’ (lit. ‘give the propitious time’).
- (5) **sa** [sâ] ‘put, place’, e.g. *sâ râi* ‘expect, anticipate’ (lit. ‘put life’), *sâ bākī* ‘interfere’ (lit. ‘put [one’s] mouth’), *sâ hannū* ‘sign’ (lit. ‘put [one’s] hand’), *sâ rana* ‘set a day or time’ (lit. ‘put a day’), *sâ (wà wani) sūnā* ‘give (someone) a name’ (lit. ‘put a name’).

Among monosyllabic verbs which are involved in creating phraseological units in their basic and morphologically extended versions are *jā* ‘pull’, ‘drag’ and *kai* ‘take’, ‘take to’, as in examples (6)–(7).

- (6) **ja** [jā] ‘pull, drag’; **jawo** [jāwō] ‘pull (this way), bring about’, e.g. *jāwō hankàlī* ‘draw attention’ (lit. ‘pull attention’), *jā fagē* ‘fight a battle’ (lit. ‘pull a field’), *jā yākī* ‘wage war’ (lit. ‘drag war’), *jā hatsī* ‘eat a lot of food’ (lit. ‘pull grain’), *jā dà bāya* ‘step back, retreat’ (lit. ‘pull backward’).
- (7) **kai** [kai] ‘take, take to’; **kawo** [kāwō] ‘bring’, e.g. *kai/kāwō harī* ‘raid, mount an attack’ (lit. ‘bring a raid’), *kai tikitī* ‘die’ (lit. ‘take a ticket’), *kai takàrdā* ‘die’ (lit. ‘take a letter’), *kāwō kâi* ‘be at hand, be just about to happen’ (lit. ‘bring head’), *kāwō hancī* ‘approach, get close to’ (lit. ‘bring [one’s] nose’), *kai ruwā rāna* ‘cause controversy, quarrel’ (lit. ‘bring rain in sun(ny weather)’).

The verb *yi* ‘do’ is also used in verb-object collocations, but in most cases it is semantically empty and has the status of a verbalizer, especially when followed by action nouns, e.g. *Yā yi barcī* ‘He fell asleep’ (*barcī* ‘sleep, sleeping’), *Yā yi yāwò* ‘He took a walk’ (*yāwò* ‘walk, walking’) or is the equivalent of ‘(to) be’ when followed by nouns of quality, e.g. *Yā yi kyāu* ‘It is beautiful’ (*kyāu* ‘beauty’) *Yā yi*

tsàdā ‘It is expensive’ (*tsàdā* ‘expensiveness’). Termed as a pro-verb (Newman 2000: 473), *yi* is rather a grammatical element which in some constructions (in continuous) may be omitted, therefore *Yanà barcī* ‘He is sleeping’, *Yanà yāwò* ‘He is walking’.⁷ However, some phrases with *yi* are worth indicating as a special type of Hausa structural phraseologisms which contain ideophones, as in (8).

- (8) *yi* [yi] ‘do’, e.g. *yi farat* ‘suddenly’ (lit. ‘do rush’), *yi wup* ‘in a flash’ (lit. ‘do wup’), *yi fatō-fātō* ‘(be) large and broad’ (lit. ‘do overly large and broad’),

Although ideophones are mostly verb phrase modifiers, the structures with *yi* often occur as part of conjoined sentences, such as *Yā yi cūkù-cūkū yā sàmi aikì* ‘He got the job through the back door’ (lit. ‘He did in-an-underhand-way he got job’).

A number of other phrasal verbs is used in the Hausa fixed expressions. Some of them manifest a fairly large number of collocations. Let me focus on a number of the following items, shown in (9)–(12).

- (9) *buga* [bùgā]⁸ and [bugā] ‘beat, hit, strike’, e.g. *bugà bindigà* ‘fire a gun’ (lit. ‘strike a gun’), *bugà hari* ‘to raid’ (lit. ‘beat raiding’), *bugà hisābī* ‘work out the total’ (lit. ‘beat working-out-spells-mathematically’), *bùgi kīrjī* ‘strongly asseverate, attest’ (lit. ‘beat a chest’), *bugà jārīdā / littāfi* ‘print a newspaper / book’ (lit. ‘beat a newspaper / book’), *bùgi lāyā* ‘swear on the Koran’ (lit. ‘strike the religious text (wrapped in leather)’), *bugà tāfirētā* ‘type’ (lit. ‘hit typewriting’) *bugà wayà* ‘make a phone call’ (lit. ‘beat wire’).

⁷ This situation is different from that of phrasal verbs with verbs ‘do, make’ in some European languages in which they have the status of phrasal constituents (*zrobić wielkie oczy* in Polish – *сделать большие глаза* in Russian ‘show surprise’ (lit. ‘to make big eyes’), cf. Krucka 1996: 28).

⁸ *Bùgā* represents the morphological class of verbs which change the final vowel *-ā* into *-i* before a noun object.

- (10) *dauka* [daukà⁹] ‘take, take away’, e.g. *daukà* (*wà wani*) *hankàlì* ‘grab someone’s attention’ (lit. ‘take someone’s attention’), *dau cikì* ‘become pregnant’ (lit. ‘take [a] stomach’), *daukè kafà dàgà...* ‘cease doing (something)’ (lit. ‘take someone’s foot away from’), *daukè* (*wà wani*) *idò* ‘dazzle’ (lit. ‘take someone’s eye’), *dauki rānā* ‘fix a date’ (lit. ‘take a day’), *dauki fōtō* ‘take a picture’ (lit. ‘take a picture’), *dauki harshè* ‘speak loudly’ (lit. ‘take a tongue’), *dauki zōbè* ‘imagine’ (lit. ‘take gold’).
- (11) *daura* [daurà] ‘tie (up)’, e.g. *daurà àlkāwārī* ‘to make a promise’ (lit. ‘tie a promise’), *daurà aurē* ‘perform a marriage’ (lit. ‘tie marriage’), *daurà àniyà* ‘exert oneself to do something, be determined to do something’ (lit. ‘tie determination’), *daurà àbūtā* ‘form a friendship’ (lit. ‘tie a friendship’), *daurà fuskà* ‘scowl’ (lit. ‘tie a face’), *daurà* (*wà wani*) *gìndī* ‘support, back up (somebody)’ (lit. ‘tie someone’s buttocks’), *daurè kái* ‘do not understand’ (lit. ‘tie [someone’s] head’).
- (12) *kashè* [kashè] ‘kill’, e.g. *kashè idò* ‘dazzle’ (lit. ‘kill an eye’), *kashè kái* ‘commit suicide’ (lit. ‘kill head’), *kashè aurē* ‘divorce’ (lit. ‘kill marriage’), *kashè kudī* ‘spend money (wastefully)’ (lit. ‘kill money’), *kashè kāsūwā* ‘spoil chances’ (lit. ‘kill the market’), *kashè gārā* ‘eat extra-special food’ (lit. ‘kill wedding-presents’), *kashè hakī* ‘escape’, ‘abscond’ (lit. ‘kill blade-of-grass’).

The phraseologisms of this type are regular phrases, in which particular elements function within clausal structure as their constituents. Therefore, the verbs occur in the form of their morphological variants appropriate to the context, including the verbo-nominal form. The components of the phrasal verbs can be separated when some other elements (such as indirect objects) are inserted. The phrasal verb may be stranded when the object is indicated by the context, and it still

⁹ *Daukà* used as a phrasal verb may have the variant forms *dauki* or *daukè*, depending on the syntactic environment, in some contexts also *daukō* or *daukē*. Optionally the clipped form *dau* may be used.

carries the meaning acquired in the phraseological unit (the verb *ci* ‘eat’ carries the meaning ‘pass’ when combined with *jarràbâwā* ‘exam’ in a phrasal unit), as in (13).

- (13) ... *da ka da yi jarrabawan nan bai ci kome ba.*
 ‘when the examination was held, he didn’t **pass**.’ (MJC: 80)

However, the meaning of the phrase may be determined by the situational context. The expression *ɗagà hannū* (lit. ‘raise (some)one’s hand’) may be interpreted like a gesture which is connected with the action taken. Even though the phrase may have bad connotations (e.g. *Yā ɗagà hannū zāi mārē shì* ‘He **raised his hand** intending to hit him’, in some particular situations (with the direct object is inserted between the two components) it can also express quite a different meaning. Here are some examples extracted from the novel *Maijidda* (Kaduna 2017) in which the phrase *ɗagà / ɗagō hannū* is a metaphor of greeting (14).

- (14) *Sunayenku ba zai rubutu ba sai dai in ɗago muku hannu in muku fatan alheri.*
 ‘It is not possible to mention all names, so let me **greet you** (lit. raise the hand to you) and send you best wishes.’ (Kaduna 2017: 5)

In some other parts of the text, the phrase is used with a literal meaning (15).

- (15) *Ta kara budā bakin za ta yi magana, ta ɗaga mata hannu* “No, no no na ce miki zai sake kira, ok?”
 ‘She wanted to say something else, but she only **raised (her) hand to stop her** (and said): do not do that, as I said, wait for his second call.’ (Kaduna 2017: 9)

The above examples direct attention to the question of the status of particular phraseologisms within the language system and their development from free collocations to fixed expressions.

2.2. Nominal compounds

Phraseological units are also represented by some other sequences of two or more words that are bound together to constitute a single word. Among them, nominal compounds are the most common. They are noun-linked compounds (*kàren mōtā* ‘driver’s mate, lit. ‘dog of a vehicle’) or adjectival compounds (*farar hūlā* ‘civilian’, lit. ‘white cup’). Being regular compounds,¹⁰ they are distinguished by “lexical integrity” (Newman 2000: 109) which stipulates that any modifications, insertions or substitutions are not possible. They are unique combination of words, but some lexical elements can be identified as their shared components. Lexical items which are commonly used in nominal compounds (as the first or second element, depending on the phrase¹¹) can be grouped into some categories.

2.2.1. Nouns which refer to home and family members

The compounds with nouns referring to the home and family members are deeply rooted in the Hausa phraseology and Hausa derivational patterns. Here are the examples of their use in nominal compounds, as in (16)–(21).

- (16) **gida** [gidā] ‘house, home, compound’, e.g. *gidan gizò / gidan kùrkukū* / *gidan sarkā* ‘prizon’ (lit. ‘house of spider / house of prison / house of chain’), *gidan gàskiyā / gidan gòbe* ‘the next world’ (lit. ‘house of truth / house of tomorrow’), *gidan àshānā* ‘matchbox’ (lit. ‘house of matches’), *gidan jiyà* ‘unchanging situation’ (lit. ‘house of yesterday’).

¹⁰ The nominal compounds have the structure of a regular genitive phrase. The linker is attached to the first constituent (head noun). Its form depends on the gender and number of the head noun: it is *-r* for feminine ending in *-a(a)*, *-n* for others. Similarly, the prenominal adjective takes the linker *-r* or *-n*, according to its gender/number category. On phonologically marked instances see further in §3.3.

¹¹ *Bāyan gidā* ‘latrine’ and *gidan bāya* ‘back seat of a car’ have the same conceptual basis in the word *bāyā* ‘back’ from which a more specific meaning (behind) has been derived, but the position of this word in the two phrases is different.

- (17) **dā** [dā] ‘son’, e.g. *dān jārīdā* ‘newspaper reporter’, *dān sàndā* ‘policeman’ (lit. ‘son of a stick’), *mūgùn dā* ‘thief’ (lit. ‘wicked son’), *dān-adām* ‘mankind, human being’ (lit. ‘Adam’s son’), *dān fashī* ‘robber’ (lit. ‘son of robbery’), *dān giyā* ‘drunkard’ (lit. ‘son of beer’), *dān iskā* ‘idler’ (lit. ‘son of wind’), *dān tākarā* ‘political candidate’ (lit. ‘son of competition’).
- (18) **’ya** [’yā] ‘daughter’, e.g. *’yar ciki* ‘light shirt worn under a gown’ (lit. ‘daughter of inside’), *’yar yāu* ‘cake made of cassava’ (lit. ‘daughter of today’), *’yar Murtālā* ‘twenty naira bill’ (lit. ‘daughter of Murtala’), *’yar rānī* ‘smallpox’ (lit. ‘daughter of dry season’).
- (19) **’ya’ya** [’yā’yā] ‘children’, e.g. *’yā’yan rānā* ‘mirage’, ‘illusion’ (lit. ‘children of sun’), *’yā’yan itācē* ‘fruits’ (lit. ‘children of tree’). In compounds, the short variant *’yan* is often used, e.g. *’yan kasā* ‘citizens’ (lit. ‘children of country’), *’yan bakā* ‘rumor-mongers’ (lit. ‘children of mouth’).
- (20) **uba** [ùbā] ‘father’, e.g. *ùbangidā* ‘master, boss, employer’ (lit. ‘father of the house’), *ùbangiji* ‘the Lord God’ (lit. ‘father of the house’¹²), *ùban tàfiyā* ‘headman of caravan’ (lit. ‘father of traveling’), *ùban wutā* ‘leader’ (lit. ‘father of fire’).
- (21) **uwa** [uwā] ‘mother’, e.g. *uwargidā* ‘(senior) wife’, also ‘Madam’, *uwar gōyō* ‘maid servant (who carries baby on her neck)’ (lit. ‘mother of an infant’), *uwar makērā* ‘anvil’ (lit. ‘mother of a smithy’), *uwar kūsā* = *uwar bùrgwī* ‘(woman) thief’ (lit. ‘mother of theft’), *uwar mātā* ‘married woman’ (lit. ‘mother of wives’), *uwar yāki* ‘commander-in-chief’ (lit. ‘mother of war’).

2.2.2. Body part terms

A large number of compounds includes body part terms which occur in adjectival phrases or in nominal compounds, e.g. the word **ciki** [cikì]

¹² The form *giji* is referred to the old form of the adverbial use of the noun *gidā* ‘house, compound’.

‘belly’ is used as the second element of the following compounds: *farin ciki* ‘happiness’ (lit. ‘white belly’), *bakin ciki* ‘sadness’ (lit. ‘black belly’), *bāwànciki* ‘glutton’ (lit. ‘slave of stomach’), *wutar ciki* ‘energy’ (lit. ‘fire of belly’). The semantic extensions of the meaning ‘belly’ as well as those of many other body parts have already been discussed in some works (Almajir 2013; Will 2019). When used as the first element of the nominal phrase, the noun for body part is a grammatical rather than lexical element of the phrase, e.g. *cikin gidā* ‘(in)side the house’ in which, however, the etymological relation of *cikin* to ‘belly’ confirms the change of its status (cf. §3).

It should be also added that *hannū* ‘hand’ is used to designate the left and right sides (similarly to what occurs in some European languages), therefore *hannun hagu* ‘left-hand, to the left’ (lit. ‘left hand’) and *hannun dāma* ‘right-hand, to the right’ (lit. ‘right hand’) respectively.

The status and function of body-part terms in Hausa phrasal expressions are different. Some of them are part of free combinations, as in *hannun àgōgo* ‘hand of a clock’, *hannun rīgā* ‘sleeve (lit. ‘hand’) of a shirt, blouse, robe’, some other ones are fixed expressions based on metaphorical extensions of their meanings, e.g. *gōyon bāyā* ‘support’ (lit. ‘carry a baby on the back’), *bāyan gidā* ‘toilet’ (lit. ‘behind the house’), *idòn dūniyā* ‘the best (thing)’ (lit. ‘eye of the world’). Many names of plants have the reference to body-part-terms, e.g. *jan bākī* ‘a type of passerine bird’ (*cardinal-bird*, lit. ‘red mouth’). The variety of structural patterns and conceptual metaphors involving body-part terms in Hausa makes them the basis of comparative works in the area of grammaticalization and cognitive studies.

2.2.3. Other nouns used in phrasal compounds

Phrasal expressions are often seen as lexically restricted in terms of their membership and meaning. Many nominal compounds in Hausa make use of the lexical component which has a recurrent meaning adapted to the semantics of the referent. Here are examples of the

nouns *sarkī*, *àbōkī* and *ruwā* used in phrases that are loose compounds, as in (22)–(24).

- (22) **sarki** [sarkī] ‘emir, king, chief’, e.g. *sarkin kidā̀* ‘chief drummer’, *sarkin yā̀kī̀* ‘military General’ (lit. ‘chief of war’), *sarkin kwai* ‘type of beetle with a hard wing-case’ (lit. ‘chief of egg’), *kān sarkī* ‘postage stamp’ (lit. ‘head of chief’).
- (23) **aboki** [àbōkī] ‘friend’, e.g. *àbōkin aikī̀* ‘coworker’ (lit. ‘friend of work’), *àbōkin gā̀bā̀* ‘opponent’ (lit. ‘friend of enmity’), *àbōkin burmī̀* ‘an associate’ (lit. ‘friend of inverting calabash’).
- (24) **ruwa** [ruwā̀] *ruwan samà̀* ‘rain’ (lit. ‘water of heavens’), *ruwan kasā̀* ‘brown’ (lit. ‘water of earth’), *ruwan tṑkā̀* ‘gray’ (lit. ‘water of ashes’), *ruwan kudī̀* ‘interest of money’ (lit. ‘water of money’), *rī̀gar ruwā̀* ‘raincoat’ (lit. ‘gown of water’), *jirgin ruwa* ‘ship’ (lit. ‘vehicle of in-water’).

Nominal compounds may also represent other structural patterns, some of them are linked by *dà* ‘with’, less often by *a* ‘at’, e.g.: *mà̀cè̀ dà̀ gṑyṑ* ‘snap fastener’ (lit. ‘woman with a baby on her back’), *cikī̀ dà̀ fālṑ* ‘apartment consisting of two rooms a bedroom and a parlor’ (lit. ‘belly / inside and parlor’). Juxtaposed compounds (Newman 2000: 119), i.e. compounds without the use of linker are rather rare, an often cited example is *bindigā̀-dā̀dī̀* ‘trigger-happy’ (lit. ‘gun-pleasantness’).

2.3. Verb-based nominal phrases

These phrases contain a verb but they function as nominal components of a sentence. Their status of single units is commonly marked by a hyphen in orthographic convention.

In this group of phraseologisms, **verb-based compounds** should be distinguished first. They consist of a verb and its object or adverbial complement. As a sequence of elements, they are similar to verbal phrases, but they fill the syntactic slots of nouns (adjectives in some

cases). They have some common phonological features (see further in §3.3), but individual phrases have specific characteristics. Their morphological forms vary and the exact source of the form used in the compound is not so clear.¹³ Here are some examples of this type of phrases which are based on monosyllabic and disyllabic verbs, as in (25)–(26).

- (25) a. *jā-gōrā* ‘guide, leader’ (lit. ‘pull-bamboo’¹⁴)
 b. *gā-ruwa* ‘water selling’ (lit. ‘here is water’)
 c. *bā-duhù* ‘a charm that makes one invisible’¹⁵ (lit. ‘give-darkness’)
 d. *jā-kūnnē* the term for the ‘gesture of warning’ (lit. ‘pull [someone’s] ear’), cf. *jā kūnnē* ‘warn, reprimand’
- (26) a. *fādā-wuta* ‘moth’ (lit. ‘fall into fire’)
 b. *daurè-fuskā* ‘scowling’ (lit. ‘tie face’)
 c. *sādā-zumuncī* ‘keeping family ties’ (lit. ‘connect family relationship’)
 d. *shāfā-lābārī-shūnī* ‘exaggerator, statement beyond the truth, lie’ (lit. ‘smear on indigo over the news’)

Another type of expressions has the form of **lexicalized sentences**.¹⁶ They assume the form of a clause and function as fixed expressions, see e.g. (Piłaszewicz 1990; Newman 2007), as in (27).

¹³ Verb-based nominal compounds are lexical phenomenon, not the regular derivational path from verbal phrases, although the two forms may overlap, (as in *sā-hannū* ‘signature’ and *sā hannū* ‘sign one’s name’). More often, words in the nominal compound do not copy the lexical tone and vowel length of the original items. Whereas *ci gāba* ‘proceed’ (lit. ‘eat front’) is the verbal phrase, the form *cī gāba* ‘progress’ is a noun which “does appear to constitute a discrete lexical compound” (Newman 2000: 114) without any linker between the two constituents.

¹⁴ Originally, this is a cane used to lead a blind person.

¹⁵ *Bā* ‘give’ is here followed by the thing given without overt mention of the recipient.

¹⁶ Also termed as sentential compounds (Newman 2000: 120).

- (27) a. *fāḍi-tāshi* ‘struggle, effort’ (lit. ‘fall down and get up’)
 b. *fāḍi-kà-mutu* ‘chinaware, breakable dishes’ (lit. ‘fall down and die’)
 c. *dā-nā-sanì* ‘regret, repentance’ (lit. ‘if I had known’)
 d. *kà-cìci-kà-cìci* ‘riddle, quiz’ (lit. ‘make a guess, make a guess’)
 e. *ka-cè-na-cè* ‘argument’ (lit. ‘you said, I said’)

Lexicalized sentences are used as clausal constituents following the rules of their incorporation into the sentence structure. Therefore, they form the prepositional phrases with *da* ‘with’ and may function as constituents of linked compounds; they may be also preceded by an indefinite demonstrative, as in (28)–(30).

- (28) *Allà yà tsarè mu dà dā-nā-sanì.*
 ‘Let Allah protect us from doing things that require **regret**.’
 (*dà dā-nā-sanì* lit. ‘from if-I-had known’)
- (29) *Mutānēn dà sukà yi àbin à-zō-à-ganī...*
 ‘people who made **interesting things**’
 (*àbin à-zō-à-ganī* lit. ‘thing for-someone-to come-and-see’)
- (30) *Fāḍḍāwan nān sai sukà dāukē ta wata shā-kà-tāfi.*
 ‘The guards thought her stupid (they took her for a **stupid girl**).’
 (*wata shā-kà-tāfi* lit. ‘someone drink-and-go’)

When used in a nominal compound, such a lexicalized sentence functions as a nominal modifier, e.g. *àbin-cī-kār-kà-mutu* ‘tasteless food’ (lit. ‘food eaten in order not to die’). In this type of phraseologisms, the imperative or subjunctive verb forms occur commonly (31).

- (31) a. *bār-ni-dà-mūgù* ‘pimples in adolescents’ (lit. ‘leave me with ugliness’)
 b. *sākō-tumāki* ‘simpleton’ (lit. ‘release a sheep’)
 c. *tāfi-dà-mālāminkà* ‘any book with a long foot-notes’ (lit. ‘go along with your teacher’)

- d. *bā-ni-ìn-bā-kà* ‘exchange of goods’ (lit. ‘give me so that I could give you’)
 e. *à-ci-bàlbàl* ‘oil lamp’ (lit. ‘one-eat-flickering’)

Many culture terms have the form of verb-based phraseologisms (32).

- (32) a. *būdā-bākī* ‘taking the first meal of the day during Ramadan’ (lit. ‘open mouth’)
 b. *jē-ka-dà-kwàrinkà* ‘type of marriage; marriage in which a husband lives in a wife’s home’ (lit. ‘go with your bow and arrows’)
 c. *tāsā-ni* ‘visit by a groom and his friends to express thanks to relatives and in-laws after a wedding ceremony’ (lit. ‘raise me’)
 d. *cikà-cikì* ‘the month of Al-Muharram’ (lit. ‘fill up one’s stomach’)
 e. *shā-jinī* ‘plant used as remedy for headache’ (lit. ‘drink blood’)

Phraseologisms function as conventional phrases, many of them are terms used by professional groups, e.g. *mù-ci-tàre* ‘co-trader’ (lit. ‘let us eat together’) (Fagge 2004). Being a part of the standard lexicon, the phrases are used in the texts representing various stylistic norms. They are the structural and stylistic components of literary texts (Piłaszewicz 1988), the publication by China Radio International also confirms the use of these phrases in its information program (33).

- (33) *Kasar Sin ita ce kasar farko da ta kera fadi-ka-mutu.*
 ‘China is the first country to produce **porcelain**.’
 (*fādi-kà-mutù* lit. ‘fall down and die’)

In the typological spectrum of Hausa phraseologisms, some patterns belong to the recognized “special features of African languages”, such as ‘child’ compounds, adpositions, ‘eat’ ~ ‘win’ ~ ‘have sex’ derivation (Güldemann 2006; 2008; Greenberg 1983). They need further

comparative works in areal dimension, extended to the reconstruction of linguistic world view and its cognitively based prototypes. From the Hausa perspective, the verb-based nominal phrases, lexicalized sentences in particular, are one of the most distinguishing features of Hausa phraseology. They are manifested in petrified structures which became single units in the Hausa lexicon.

3. Hausa phraseology in historical development

The most common patterns and their recurrent lexical elements to express different notions have their impact on structural transformations within the language. The evolution of coding means which affects phrasal expressions includes the following processes:

- a. semantic derivation within the terms used in phrasal expressions,
- b. development of grammatical morphemes from lexical items,
- c. incorporation of the fixed phrases into regular derivational process.

With reference to the examples given earlier in this paper, these processes can be illustrated by vocabulary sources, the data extracted from Hausa newspaper texts and some reconstructions of the contemporary structures.

3.1. Semantic extensions of the phrasal components

Phraseologisms are exposed to lexical mechanism, which is responsible for an extending of vocabulary of the language. Therefore, with reference to its use in various compounds, the Hausa noun *gidā* ‘house/home’ has extended its meaning into various semantic domains and is a term for ‘building’, ‘container’, ‘portion’, but it also refers to the idea of ‘country (state)’ which enables it to be used in phrases such as *gyàre-gyàre à gidā* ‘internal reforms’ (lit. ‘home repairs’) or *lābàru na cikin gidā dà kasàshen dūniyà* ‘news from the country and the world’ (lit. ‘news from home and from countries of the world’). With these meanings, it also remains open for the use in new compounds, both as its first and second element, such as *tsàron gidā* ‘civil defence’

(lit. ‘protection of the house’), *gidan Hàusàwa* ‘Hausa webpage’ (lit. ‘house of Hausa-people’). Similarly, phrasal expressions have developed the meaning ‘master’ from the noun *sarkī* ‘emir, ruler’. This meaning is attributed to the noun in its contextual use or to a constituent of a newly created phrase, such as *sarkin kàmputā* ‘master of computer science’.

A distinguishing feature of Hausa phraseologisms is an extensive use of body-part terms in various types of structural patterns. They are components of conceptual metaphors and metonymic structures. When used with phrasal verbs, the noun *bāki* ‘mouth’ is used to encode the following meanings, as in (34).

- (34) a. *tābè bākī* ‘open the mouth wide to yawn’ or ‘bawl out’
 b. *rikè bākī* ‘show surprise’ (lit. ‘grasp [one’s] mouth’)
 c. *tsōmà bākī* ‘butt into the conversation’ (lit. ‘put mouth’)
 d. *cikà bākī* ‘be presumptuous, boast’ (lit. ‘bloat lips / mouth’)
 e. *sā bākī* ‘interfere’ (lit. ‘put mouth’)
 f. *kāmà bākī* ‘keep silence’ (lit. ‘catch mouth’)
 g. *bā dà bākī* ‘give the consent’ (lit. ‘give mouth’)

Depending on the conceptual basis of the metaphor, semantic derivation of the noun *bāki* can evolve towards the notion of ‘speech’ ‘character’ or ‘agreement’ (Pawlak 2005).

As in many other languages, the body-part terms show a variety of meanings when they are used to talk about things other than the body (cf. Almajir 2013). Along with similarities with many languages of the world, the Hausa body-part terms manifest some peculiar features which are also attested in phraseology. The most distinctive feature has to do with connecting the idea of emotions with the stomach (rather than heart, as in some European languages), i.e. *farin cikī* ‘happiness’ (lit. ‘white stomach’), *bakin cikī* ‘sadness’ (black stomach), therefore *Yā yi farin cikī* ‘He was happy’. Heart (*zūciyā*) is the contextual equivalent of the mind, as in *rikè à zūciyā* ‘to keep in (one’s) mind’ (lit. ‘to keep [something] in [one’s] heart’). The examples also include

conceptualization of positive values through the adjectival notion *farī* ‘white’, whereas negative values are expressed by *bakī* ‘black’, as in *bakin jinī* ‘unpopularity’ (lit. ‘black blood’).

The verbs denoting various activities are also used to encode more abstract meanings. The group of phraseologisms based on verbs *ci* ‘eat’ and *shā* ‘drink’ is characteristic for a cognitively-based extension of ‘eating’ to the notion of OVERCOME (CONTROL/DOMINATION) and ‘drinking’ to the notion UNDERGOING (Jaggar & Buba 2009). These structures are peculiar to the Hausa language as the derivation of this kind does not function in European languages, even though the verbs ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ are used in phrasal expressions (e.g. *eat one’s fill*; *drink a toast*).

3.2. Grammaticalization of lexical items in the phrasal units

The most spectacular transformation refers to grammaticalization processes in which individual items become a class of words which follow restrictions peculiar to their grammatical status. Among the ‘kinship terms’, the word *dā* ‘son’ and its feminine counterpart *’yā* ‘daughter’ function as derivational morphemes in compounds which indicate a person associated with a particular profession, activity, or place of origin (Newman 2000: 122). However, there are some structural variants of these compounds which are result of their individual development. For example, the plural form used in some compounds is the regular reduplicated form *’yā’yā* ‘children’, whereas in some other ones it is the short variant *’yan*, as in *’yan siyāsā* ‘politicians’ (lit. ‘children of politics’).

The word *dā* (m.) and *’yā* (f.) when used in the form of *dān* and *’yar* respectively, (i.e. in the form of the first constituent of a genitive linking structure) function as grammatical markers in another type of compounds. This is the function of a diminutive marker, when *dān* or *’yar* is followed by a noun that agrees with it in gender, e.g. *dān tsibirī* ‘small island’, *’yar takardā* ‘small (piece of) paper’. Moreover, the masculine variant *dān* is used as an adverbial modifier for verbs, e.g. *Yā dān gāji* ‘He got a little tired’.

The Hausa phraseological units constitute a special resource of the grammar that may be regarded as “grammatical metaphors”.¹⁷ The grammaticalization process has affected many body-part terms which has changed their metaphoric exponent of space into the prepositional markers. In Hausa, the list of the so-called genitive prepositions (Newman 2000: 470) derived from body-part terms to denote spatial or temporal relations includes the following units, see (Newman 2000: 470; Pawlak 1986: 37–41), as in (35).

- (35) a. *bàkin* ‘at the edge / side of’ (< *bàkī* ‘mouth’), e.g. *bàkin kògī* ‘on the river bank’
 b. *bāyan* ‘after, behind’ (< *bāyā* ‘back’), e.g. *bāyan gārī* ‘out of town’
 c. *cikin* ‘inside of’ (< *cikī* ‘belly’), e.g. *cikin littāfi* ‘in the book’
 d. *gàban* ‘in front of’ (< *gàbā* ‘front part of the body’), e.g. *gàban madūbī* ‘in front of the mirror’
 e. *gēfèn* ‘beside, on the edge of’ (< *gēfē* ‘side, edge’), e.g. *gēfèn hanyā* ‘at the edge of the road’
 f. *gìndin* ‘at the bottom part of’ (< *gìndī* ‘buttocks’), e.g. *gìndin itāciyā* ‘under the tree’
 g. *gòshin* ‘just prior to’ (< *gòshī* ‘forehead’), e.g. *gòshin kākā* ‘just before harvest time’
 h. *jìkin* ‘against, embedded in’ (< *jikī* ‘body’), e.g. *jìkin bangō* ‘in the wall’
 i. *kān* ‘on top of’ (< *kāi* ‘head’), e.g. *kān tēbūr* ‘on the table’

3.3. Phonological and morphological marking of phrasal expressions

The phrasal expressions discussed here represent various stages of their integrity – from regular phrases with the constituents incorporated into

¹⁷ “Grammatical metaphor” (Halliday 1985) is analyzed as a mechanism responsible for extending grammatical exponents in the language. See also (Pawlak 2015).

the clausal structure to the fixed expressions (including clausal expressions) which form a single unit within a clause.

The distinguished types of phrasal expressions have some phonological features responsible for creating a separate sub-class of lexical items. Some distinctive features of compounds which make them phonologically marked have been identified in a number of noun-linked compounds (Newman 2000: 115), such as low tone(s) on the first word and short final vowel on the last which constitute that the form of the components used in isolation is different from their form in the compound, as in *gàshìn bàki* ‘mustache’ (cf. *gāshī* ‘hair’, *bākī* ‘mouth’). Most compounds of this type, however, remain phonologically unmarked. Similarly, in the structural type of verb-based nominal phrases the distinctiveness of phrasal compounds lies in low tone marking on the verb and a short final vowel on the last item in the compound (Newman 2000: 116). It is confirmed in some cases, as in *hàná salla* ‘baseball cap’ (lit. ‘prevent prayer’), cf. *hanà* ‘prevent’, *sallā* ‘prayer’. but individual phrases follow the other rules or remain unmarked, e.g. *jà gàbà* ‘guide, leader’ (cf. *jā gāba* ‘put forward’).

The irregularities of phonological patterns of phrasal expressions in Hausa show that the structural basis of their creation is not unified and they are still in an ongoing process of their development as single units. Some morphological processes which affect the phrases (not their particular constituents) are also connected with their status of lexical units. The word *dan* preceding the verb-based nominal phrases confirms that the following constituent is identified as a noun, e.g. *dan jà-gōrā* (alternative form of *jà-gōrā*) ‘guide’, ‘leader’, *dan à mōrē* ‘vandal, thug’ (lit. ‘son-someone-feel-pleasure’). The abstract noun *jàgōrānci* ‘leadership’ is the regular derivational form of *jà-gōrā* ‘leader’. Similarly, *dan/’yan gā-ruwa* ‘water seller(s)’ from *gā-ruwa* ‘water selling’ (Newman 2000: 113) adhere to the rules of singular/plural variation. A plural form *shùgàbànnī* which adapts one of the patterns of nominal plurality has been attributed to the noun *shùgàbā* ‘leader, chairman’ derived from *shiga-gāba* (lit. ‘enter-front’). Most compounds, however, do not have morphological plurals and the plurality is indicated by their

determiners, e.g. *wannàn idòn-sanì* ‘this acquaintance’ (lit. ‘this eye-know’), *wadànnân idòn-sanì* ‘these acquaintances’ (lit. ‘these eye-know’) (Jaggar 2001: 126).

The verb-object collocations may take the prefix *ma-* to create other derivational formations – the nouns of agent. Among them, the short form *ma-agentials* (Jaggar 2001: 110; Newman 2000: 55) is the most distinctive. In contradiction to the regular nominal compounds, it has no linker, as in *macì-àmānà* ‘treacherous person (lit. ‘eater-trust’), *mabì sarkī* ‘one who follows the emir’, *magà-takàrdā* ‘scribe’ (lit. ‘one who sees paper’), *mashà-ruwā* ‘rainbow’ (lit. ‘drinker-water’).¹⁸ This derivational formation is therefore a specific pattern of nouns denoting human referents. However, the plurals of the long-form nouns of agent may occur with or without a genitive linker before a following noun. The use or non-use of the linker has a semantic motivation, i.e. *madīnkā rīgā* ‘those sewing gowns’ refers to people actually sewing’, whereas *madīnkan rīgā* ‘gown-tailors’ refers to professionals (McIntyre 1988: 81).

The nominal morphology of verbal phrases and verb-based nominal phrases confirms the ongoing process of lexicalization of phrasal expressions and attributing the status of single words to them. A not completely established position is reflected in the varied orthographic convention of the written language which refers to the spelling as one word or separate words and hyphenated words, therefore *jā gōrà* (Abraham 1962) as opposed to *jā-gōrà* (Newman 2007) ‘guide, leader’. Also nominal compounds are coded differently, e.g. *dan’uwā* or *dan uwā* ‘brother’, *ùbangidā* or *ùban gidā* ‘master’, *uwargidā* or *uwar gidā* ‘(senior) wife’, depending on the source (as compared to *uwar-dāki* ‘mistress of a household’). The form *rīgākafi* ‘precaution’ seems to be a fully lexicalized noun from the earlier < *rīgā-kafi* (lit. ‘prevail before pegging’). In the compound *jā-gàban aurē* ‘marriage intermediary’ the linker *-n* is attached to the second element of the phrasal *jā-gàba* ‘guide’ to confirm its status of a single lexical unit.

¹⁸ The tone and vowel length of the verbal element are parts of the attributes of this pattern, therefore *mabì sarkī* ‘follower of the emir’, whereas *bi* ‘follow’.

3.4. Lexicalization of phrasal expressions as modifiers

A special instance of the lexicalization of phrasal expressions are verb phrase modifiers. Being equivalents of adverbs or adverbial phrases, they are often put into the dictionaries as independent entries. These are the following shown in (36).

- (36) a. *kwānā, t̄āshi* (= à *kwānā* à *t̄āshi*) ‘gradually’ (lit. ‘sleep, wake up’)
 b. *kāwō yānzū* ‘so far, up to now’ (lit. ‘bring now’)
 c. *bā zātō bā tsāmmānì* ‘unexpectedly’ (lit. ‘without supposing without thinking’)
 d. *kadà-tà-kwānā* ‘urgent’ (lit. ‘may she not rest’)¹⁹
 e. *kāi tsāye* ‘directly’, ‘at once’ (lit. ‘head in-standing-position’)
 f. *ruwā à jāllo* ‘desperately, with great effort’ (lit. ‘water in the bottle’)
 g. *nan takè* ‘forthwith’ (lit. ‘she is here’)
 h. *gābā dāya* ‘simultaneously, entire, entirely, at once’ (lit. ‘one front’)
 i. *bāki dāya* ‘unanimously, all at once, simultaneously’ (lit. ‘one mouth’)
 j. *nan dà nan* ‘immediately’ (lit. ‘here and there’)
 k. *kwānan bāya* ‘recently’ (lit. ‘day of back’)
 l. *Shī kè nan* ‘That’s O.K.’ (lit. ‘It’s here’)

4. Hausa phraseologisms as a cultural heritage

Phraseologisms are seen as manifestation of cultural norms of language use, its correctness and beauty. At the same time, they are a manifestation of the patterns of conceptualization which are characteristic of a given culture. Looking at the Hausa phrasal units, the first general remark that we may offer is that the terms established in the form of a clause

¹⁹ For the justification of the use of the feminine subject pronoun in this type of structures see (Pawlak & McIntyre 2019).

represent a very peculiar model of conceptualization, which is based on perceiving the surrounding world through processes and instances of people's behavior, as in *sâ gyâtumâ tsallē* – the term for a kind of food that in literal meaning is 'induce an old woman to jump'.

Many other terms widely explored in the Hausa phraseologisms are distinctive for their connotations. They are part of the cultural code and their meaning is identified through the shared understanding of their semantic components. Therefore, they have the status of culture key-words (Wierzbicka 1997). When used, they activate the entire system of associations, which may differ even in relation to commonly known items.

The analysis of the Hausa key-words used in the proverbs (Zajac 2018) shows that at the top of the list there are common nouns such as *ruwā* 'water', *kàrē* 'dog', *kūrā* 'hyena', *gidā* 'compound', *rānā* 'sun'. They are also commonly used in various types of phraseologisms, shown in (37).

- (37) a. *Ìna ruwankà?* 'What concern is it of yours? (lit. 'Where is your **water**?')
- b. *Dan kàran tsòrò gàrē shì* 'He's very timid' (lit. 'He behaves like a little **dog**')
- c. *Yā yi kūkan kūrā* 'He behaved threateningly' (lit. 'He howled like a **hyena**')
- d. *Tā shìgò gidā* 'She's reached puberty' (lit. 'She entered the **house**')
- e. *Sun kai ruwā rānā* 'They're engaged in a bitter quarrel' (lit. 'They brought **rain** in the **dry season**')

The connotative meaning of phraseologisms may be derived from references to cultural realities, such as *ji gūdār haihùwā* 'to hear (ululation) about the birth', *jā akàlà* 'lead or control', esp. in politics or business (lit. 'pull a lead-rope of camel'), *yā dà zangò* 'set up a camp stop for the night' (lit. 'throw away travelers' camp'), *kwāntā dāma* 'die' (lit. 'lie on the right side'). The phrase *ganè gizò* 'understand'

(lit. ‘to recognize the spider’) refers to oral literature and the figure of *gizò* ‘spider’ as a trickster. Sometimes this meaning is conventional because the users of the language have established it in the process of communication. Cultural motivation for fixed linguistic phrases is recognized in the following examples (38).

- (38) a. *mài hannū dà shūnī* ‘prosperous person’ [someone having the hand with indigo]
 b. *kitsèn rōgō* ‘trick’ [suet of cassava]
 c. *tākà sāwun bārāwō* ‘have no success’ [go by a thief’s step]

The cultural charge of these phrases is fully understandable for the native speakers, for comparative studies the context of their use requires more detailed analysis of their etymology and cultural associations.

The cultural dimension of phraseologisms is also recognized at the stylistic level. The Hausa “feeling for language” is based on the positive attitude to *adon māganā* ‘decorative statements’ which includes the use of proverbs and other phrasal expressions.²⁰ Comparing the two language variants of the text, namely English and Hausa, we may notice differences in stylistically marked translation versions. In the novel *Amina* (Umar 2005) the English phrase ‘You’re a lucky woman’ has its Hausa equivalent as *Kē kām Allāh yā yi makì gyadār dōgō* (lit. ‘As for you Allah made you lucky’) in which the structure with Allah as a subject and the idiomatic phrase *gyadār dōgō* ‘exceptionally good luck’ (lit. ‘long peanut’) is preferred (Umar 2014).

5. Conclusions

The term structural phraseologisms refers to the specific patterns of the Hausa expressions which have many variants in terms of lexical representation. Distinguishing the most productive patterns enables one

²⁰ The dictionary of Hausa phraseologisms (Dikko & Maccidò 1991) is entitled as *Kamus na adon maganar Hausa* (lit. ‘Dictionary of the Hausa decorative speech’).

to determine their role in the process of language development and particularly in their syntactic transformation or semantic derivation. In the development of language structures, they constitute the lexical basis of newly created phrases. Therefore, the semantic charge of the Hausa verb *shā* ‘drink’ developed in phrasal expressions is preserved in phrases such as *shā gwagwàrmāyà* ‘to struggle, to fight’ (*gwagwàrmāyà* ‘struggling (with a task)’), whereas the notions associated with kinship terms enabled the creation of the term *uwā-ùbā* for ‘public benefit organization’ (lit. ‘mother-father’).

The words used to create phraseologisms and the way they are involved in encoding the meaning have a cultural motivation. Names of items that are keys to understanding the surrounding world represent culture key-words. They are part of the basic lexicon which is a source of other terms. In Hausa, terms related to kinship and body-part terms are mostly used to create new terms and to encode new concepts. Along with other terms, they represent patterns of conceptualization and document cultural experience which determines the representation of Hausa linguistic world view.

The idea of culture key-words used in phraseologisms also has its comparative perspective. The phraseologisms from different languages may share conceptualization strategies and grammaticalization patterns. Hausa follows the conceptual strategy of encoding reflexives with the noun *kāi* ‘head’ (*Yā zō dà kânsà* ‘He came himself’, lit. ‘he came with his head’) which is common to many languages of West Africa, but not all of them. As much – but still not sufficient – data indicate, the large area in West Africa relies on the term ‘body’ in a process of developing the grammatical marker for reflexives (Heine 2014), whereas the eastern part of this area also derives this marker from ‘soul’ or ‘life’. The noun *rāi* ‘life’ in Hausa is used predominantly to express the notion of SELF (*Rânsa yā yi farī* ‘he was happy’, lit. ‘His life did white’; *Rânsa yā bācì* ‘He was sad’, lit. ‘his life became spoiled’; *Yā cē à rānsà* ‘he said to himself’, lit. ‘He said to his life’). The similarities between languages define the areas of their mutual contacts and the scope of external influences.

Phraseologisms in every language belong to a more advanced level of the language structure, rather than the basic one. Phrasal expressions enrich the structural resources of the language and make the communication more interesting and more effective. The knowledge of their proper use is crucial for good language competence, but the use of idiomatic expressions which are deeply rooted in culture of the language community carries the risk of their improper use or misunderstanding in communication between users representing different language-culture areas. The studies on Hausa phraseology in their areal dimension may provide a better understanding of the concepts and values that are specific to the African cultures.

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