Friendship, hatred and joking relations

'Brothers' and 'sisters' in Hausa from a cognitive semantic point of view

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Résumé : Le haoussa est une langue dans laquelle 1) il y a des termes pour « frère » et « sœur » indépendamment de la différence d'âge avec le locuteur (à côté des termes singuliers pour nommer un frère ou une sœur plus jeune ou plus âgé(e)) ; 2) ces termes sont étymologiquement transparents, ils signifient littéralement « fils/fille de (ma) mère/mon père ». L'article analyse les concepts qui sous-tendent les différents termes pour « frère » et « sœur » (y compris les beaux-frères et les belles-sœurs) du point de vue de la sémantique cognitive en utilisant la méthode d'*attribute listing task*. En nous appuyant sur notre expérience, nous considérons en outre l'opposition pertinente entre les structures conceptuelles des locuteurs du haoussa en tant que première langue et celles des locuteurs du haoussa en tant que deuxième langue (ou autre).

Mots-clés : langue haoussa, termes de parenté, sémantique cognitive

Abstract: Hausa is a language in which 1) there are terms for 'brother' and 'sister' irrespective of the age difference to the ego (i.e. the speaker, beside the special terms for 'younger' and 'elder' brother or sister); 2) these terms are etymologically transparent, they mean literally 'son/daughter of (my) mother/father'. The article analyses the concepts behind the different terms for 'brother' and 'sister' (including "brother/sisters in-law") from a cognitive semantic point of view using the method of attribute listing task. Based on our experience, we consider in addition the relevant opposition between the conceptual structures of the speakers of Hausa as a first language and those of Hausa as a second (or further) language.

Key-words: Hausa language, kinship terms, cognitive semantics

1 Kinship terms and systems

In a number of articles which appeared between 2002 and 2008 (see especially Ibriszimow & Porkhomovsky 2005b, 2006, 2008) we developed a universal coding system to account for all kinship terms and systems known to us from different branches of Afroasiatic. We also proved the functionality and practicability of our coding system

especially in regard to easy comparisons of the kinship terms and systems in individual languages. We based our analyses on first hand data (with the exception of Tuareg Berber[1]) from the following Afroasiatic languages: Semitic: Socotri, Amharic, Tigrinya, Neo-Aramaic East, Adari; Cushitic: Somali, Oromo (Shewa and Wollega varieties); Berber: Tashelhit (Amajgag and Tafraut varieties), Kabyle; Chadic: Hausa, Bole, Karekare, Ngamo Gudi, Ngizim, Bura, Higi Baza, Kilba, Margi Lasa, Zulgo (see Ibriszimow & Porkhomovsky 2001, 2005a, b, 2006).

In the present paper we shall concentrate on the Ego level of kinship labelled by an 'E' before the number code. In our coding system, the male part is coded always with an odd digit and the female with an even one. Thus, E-1 stands for the husband of a female Ego (E_f), E-2 for the wife of a male Ego (E_m). In this article we focus on 'brother' and 'sister', i.e. E-3 (in the anthropological literature usually abbreviated Br, i.e. Ego's brother irrespective of whether the Ego is male or female) and E-4 (Si, i.e. Ego's sister). We reflect also upon 'half-brothers' and 'half-sisters', in this case of the same father (Fa2WiSo, i.e. father's second/other's wife son coded by us E-0.0.1 and Fa2WiDa E-0.0.2). Furthermore, we consider also the "brothers/sisters-in-law". In-law relationship by marriage is coded with a preceding '&' sign. Thus, the spouse's siblings in the Ego generation are coded '&' plus the code of Ego's siblings. From a male Ego point of view we shall deal with wife's brother, i.e.E_m-&3 (WiBr) and wife's sister, i.e.E_m-&4 (WiSi). From a female Ego point of view, these would be husband's brother, i.e.E_f-&3 (HuBr) and husband's sister, i.e.E_f-&4 (HuSi).

From the material on Chadic, to which Hausa belongs, we could observe the following in regard to terms for siblings at E-level:

a) The West Chadic languages except Hausa, i.e. Bole, Karekare, Ngamo Gudi, and Ngizim, do not have a term for age-neutral siblings. In other words, the terms refer always to elder or younger brother/sister ((Ibriszimow & Porkhomovsky, 2001).

b) The Central Chadic languages, i.e. Bura, Higi Baza, Kilba, Margi Lasa, and Zulgo as well as the West Chadic Hausa have terms which are age-neutral (for Kilba *cf.* Ibriszimow & Porkhomovsky, 2005, p. 274-276).

c) In the case of the Central Chadic Bura and Higi Baza as well as of the West Chadic Hausa, these terms are etymologically transparent, i.e. they are literally 'son/daughter of mother/father'. In the case of the remaining Central Chadic languages from our sample, i.e. Kilba, Margi Lasa, and Zulgo, there are special terms, i.e. they are not etymologically transparent.

d) In the case of the West Chadic Ngamo Gudi, the terms for younger brother and sister are etymologically transparent (Ibriszimow & Porkhomovsky, 2001, p. 172-173).

[1] The material on Tuareg (12 groups) presently available to us comes from the written source by Nicolaisen & Nicolaisen (1997, p. 615-653): Bella of Timbuktu, Ahaggar, Ichedennharen, Ineden, Immeddederen, Kel Intesser, Kel Erlal, Kel Tahabanat, Ikherkheren, Irawatten, Imezzureg, Kel Ewey.

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2 Cognitive semantic approach

In a series of articles that appear since 2005, we were the first to apply the cognitive semantic approach to language based on the prototype model of category structure to African languages. We adapted and developed the methodology known from the studies of Eleonor Rosch in the 1970s and utilized it in our research project "Contrastive Cognitive Semantics. Conceptual structures of everyday lexemes in regional Nigerian languages and Nigerian English in relation to language and social context" in the framework of the Humanities Collaborative Research Centre (SFB/FK 560) "Local Action in Africa in the Context of Global Influences" at the University of Bayreuth, Germany[2]. We shall concentrate in the present paper on the results achieved with the method of attribute-listing-task[3]. The words which we shall analyse from the point of view of their conceptual structures belong to the semantic field of 'kinship terms'. We examined further members of this semantic field in three other articles (Ibriszimow & Zulyadaini, 2011, 2014 and Ibriszimow *et al.*, *sous presse*).For the basic difference in the conceptualisations of L1 and L2 speakers of Hausa, *cf.* Ibriszimow *et al.*, 2005 as well as Ibriszimow & Zulyadaini, 2009. Therefore, we organise and compare our data according to these two groups. Attributes mentioned by less than 20% of the respondents are not taken into consideration and will be cited only for comparative purposes. A dash (–) stands for lack of the respective attribute in one of the groups. The respondents mention very often similar but not identical attributes. In these cases we give one of the attributes followed by a comma and three dots (, …).

3 Hausa 'brothers' and 'sisters'

Below we shall consider those Hausa terms for which the respondents offered attributes that are culturally specific and/or that are different for the two groups. That is why we shall skip the information on the terms *ƙanèe*[4] 'younger brother' and *wâ* 'elder brother' for whom attributes like 'male', 'person', 'brother', etc. are given; or *ƙanwa* 'younger sister' with attributes 'woman', 'young', 'sister', 'person', etc.

The following Hausa terms will be analysed here: *ɗan 'uwaa* (E-3), *ɗan 'ùbaa* (E-0.0.1), *'yar 'uwaa* (E-4), *'yar 'ùbaa* (E-0.0.2), *wân mijìi* (E_f-&3), *ƙanìn mijìi* (E_f-&3), *ƙanìn màataa* (E_m-&3), *yâr mijìi* (E_f-&4), *ƙanwàr mijìi* (E_f-&4), and *ƙanwàr màataa* (E_m-&4).

The lists of all tested words and their structures were elicited in cooperation with colleagues, Hausa native speakers, of the Department of Languages and Linguistics, University of Maiduguri[5]. Although we had long hours of discussion on problems related to categories and concepts which challenged our own reflections on the Hausa vocabulary, it seems that in the semantic field of "kinship terms" we did not collect

[2]We are deeply grateful to the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG, German Research Foundation) for the financial support of the project between 2001 and 2007.

[3]For details of our methods and of the development of our general theoretical insights *cf.* Ibriszimow & Zulyadaini, 2005, 2006 and 2009 as well as Ibriszimow *et al.*, 2005 and Schmid *et al.*, 2008.

[4]Only in this section we write the terms according to the academic notation for Hausa, i.e. marking the tone and vowel length: high tone – unmarked, low tone – accent grave (ˊ), falling tone – circumflex accent (ˆ), vowel length – double character (e.g. aa). Further in the text we use the usual Hausa orthography.

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data for the terms *yâ* or *yàayáa* 'elder sister',*wân màataa*'wife's elder brother' and *yâr màataa* 'wife's elder sister'. The fact that the terms for the respective 'younger sisters' was considered on the list for test words but not on the 'elder sisters' may have a cognitive dimension regarding their assumed relevance (see 4 below). This aspect has to be examined in our future work.

3.1 'Brothers'

The term for a 'brother' (E-3) without specifying his age difference to the Ego is *ɗan uwa*. It is a semantically transparent term which literally means 'son of mother'. The meaning of *ɗan uwa* seems to be more than that of a male sibling. The main Hausa dictionaries give the following explanations: (Bargery 1934, p. 228) "1. Brother (whether full … ; or by same father only ; or by same mother only). 2. Any relation by blood or marriage. 3. A fellow-townsman, fellow-countryman met with away from home ; a confrère ; a co-religionist …"; (Abraham 1946, p. 191) "1. brother (strictly full brother, but commonly used for any brother, relative, fellow-countryman) … 4. *'yan uwanci*. … being on friendly terms …"; (Newman 2007, p. 52) "1. Brother, cousin, relative. 2. Buddy, mate, comrade, fellow …"

Our respondents gave the following attributes to the stimulus *ɗanuwa*:

ɗan uwa	**brother (E-3)**	**L1 in %**	**L2 in %**
namiji	male	56	67
dangi,…	relative(s), kin	44	(17)[6]
uwa ɗaya,…	same mother	44	33
uba ɗaya,…	same father	44	25
ƙane	younger brother	39	—
na jini,…	blood (relation)	28	(13)
yaya	elder brother	28	—
aboki	friend	22	—
uwa ɗaya uba ɗaya,…	same father same mother	22	38
mutum	person	—	38

There is another term in Hausa for 'brother' *ɗan uba*. It is also semantically transparent and means literally 'son of father'. The dictionaries state: (Bargery 1934, p. 228) "1. A half-brother, a son of same father by different mother. 2. An enemy ; p. who dislikes one (on account of the invariable hostility common to half-brothers."; (Abraham 1946, p. 191) "half-brother by same father (usually mutually hostile, so *'yan ubanci*. hostility …); (Newman 2007, p. 52) "1. (usu. pejor.) Half-brother (sibling with the same father and different mother.) 2. (pejor.) Enemy, s.o. who is envious of another …".

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The attributes in our data for ɗ*anuba* are:

ɗan uba	**brother (E-0.0.1)**	**L1 in %**	**L2 in %**
uba ɗaya,...	same father	50	29
namiji	male	44	75
ɗan uwa	brother	39	(13)
uwa daban,...	different mothers	39	29
ƙiyayya,...	mutual hatred	33	—
ƙane	younger brother	28	—
mutum,...	person	22	29
yaron baba,...	father's son	—	21

The comparison between the sets of attributes for the two terms shows that:

a. For both L1 and L2 groups, ɗ*an uwa* stands for the brother with whom one has the same mother and father. Nevertheless, there is a small difference in the answers: the attributes 'same mother' and 'same father' were given by an equal number of L1 speakers – 44%. Within L2, 'same mother' was noted more often (33%) than 'same father' (25%). This may be due to a possible literal understanding of the term. This hypothesis seems to be supported by the fact that in the L2 group we have also for ɗ*an uba* an attribute which is a literal translation of the term – *yaron baba* 'father's son'.

b. ɗ*an uba* is for both groups clearly the brother with whom one has the same father and different mothers. Interestingly, 39% of L1 (but less than 20% of L2) mention the other term for 'brother', ɗ*an uwa*, the term which is obviously the more general one.

c. For the L1 group, ɗ*an uwa* is clearly a blood relation: *dangi* 'relative(s), kin' (see also bellow) and the explicit attribute *najini* 'of blood (relation)'. This aspect is not very present among the L2 speakers with both attributes offered by less than the relevant 20% of responses. In regard to the term ɗ*an uba*, it obviously does not belong to the category of blood relation for the L1 speakers.In this context a Hausa saying comes to our minds: ɗ*an uwar abin jiki*, literally 'brother (ɗ*an uwa*!) is half of body' with a similar meaning like the English proverb "blood is thicker than water".

d. The aspect of friendship *versus* hostility mentioned in the dictionaries is clearly present in the conceptualisation of the two terms among the L1 group but totally absent within the L2 group. 22% of the L1 respondents give the attribute *aboki* 'friend' for ɗ*an uwa* and even more, i.e. 33%, ƙ*iyayya* 'mutual hatred' for ɗ*anuba*. There is a Hausa saying that reflects the latter: ɗ*an uba rigar*ƙ*aya* 'ɗ*an uba* is a thorny gown'. But as one would expect, a strong family cannot accept hostility as a way of living. Another saying ɗ*an uba ri*ƙ*on mai ha*ƙ*uri* 'in caring for ɗ*an uba* one needs patience' shows the way of solving family tension. Eventually, be it ɗ*an uwa* or ɗ*an uba*, another saying makes it clear: *naka naka ne, koya ci namamka ba ya taunaƙashinka* 'yours is yours, even if he eats your meet he cannot chew your bone', i.e. no matter what your brother is doing, he is your brother.

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e. We learned from our research on Chadic kinship terms and systems that in Hausa ɗ*an uwa*, usually in the form ɗ*an uwana* 'my brother', applies beside to E-3 (Br), also to E-6.1 (FaBrDaHu, father's brother's daughter's husband, i.e. the husband of Ego's female cousin (uncle's daughter) paternal side) and to the male cousins of the aunts and uncles both paternal and maternal side, i.e. to E-5 (FaBrSo), E-7 (FaSiSo), E-9 (MoBrSo), and E-11 (MoSiSo). Moreover, it may be used as a term of address also to E-0.0.3 (Mo2HuSo, i.e. mother's second/other husband's son[6]).

3.2 'Sisters'

The term for a 'sister' (E-4) without specifying her age difference to the Ego is *'yaruwa*. It is also a transparent word, 'daughter of mother'. Two of the main Hausa dictionaries, Abraham (1946, p. 191) and Newman (2007, p. 52), mention simply *'yar uwa* as the feminine form of ɗ*an uwa*. The third one, Bargery (1934, p. 1111) refers partially also to the 'brother' term: "1. A female relative. 2. A female friend or acquaintance, used in the same broad sense in which ɗ*an uwa* is used."

Our respondents gave the following attributes to the stimulus *'yar uwa*:

'yar uwa	**sister (E-4)**	**L1 in %**	**L2 in %**
dangi,...	relative	56	—
mace	woman	44	67
uwa ɗaya,...	same mother	44	33
kanwa	younger sister	33	(17)
uba ɗaya,...	same father	28	25
wacce aka haɗa jini,...	who (fem.) shares the same blood	22	(13)

There exists, formally parallel to the case of 'brothers', another 'sister' term, *'yar uba*, which is not reflected in the Hausa dictionaries. Our respondents noted the following attributes for this stimulus:

'yar uba	**sister (E-0.0.2)**	**L1 in %**	**L2 in %**
uba ɗaya,...	same father	50	21
kanwa	younger sister	39	—
mace	woman	39	71
kishiya,...	rival	28	—
'yar uwa	sister	22	—
uwa daban-daban,...	different mothers	22	21
mahaifi,...	father	—	29
yarinya	girl	—	29
mutum,...	person	—	21

The comparison between the sets of attributes for the two terms offers insights similar to the 'brother' terms:

a. *'yar uwa* is the sister with both the same mother and the same father as Ego's. This time, both L1 and L2 are more explicit regarding the "sameness of the

[6] What is meant here regarding the Hausa society is the possibility of having a woman who has married for a second (or further) time and who has a son from her first/previous marriage.

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mother" in opposition to the "sameness of the father": L1 44% vs. 28%, L2 33% vs. 25%.

b. *'yar uba* is clearly the sister from the same father but from different mothers. Here again, the L1 respondents mention the other more general term, *'yar uwa*. L2 do not mention it at all.

c. Only *'yar uwa* seems to be connected in the minds of L1 with blood relation. The attributes *dangi* 'relative(s), kin' (see also bellow) and the explanation by 22% *wacce aka haɗa jini* 'who (fem.) shares the same blood' hint at this.

d. In the case of the two terms for 'sister' there is no explicit statement of friendship for *'yar uwa* but a very clear attribute in the case of *'yar uba* with a negative connotation: *kishiya* 'rival' (for the attributes for *kishiya* in the meaning 'co-wife', see Ibriszimow & Zulyadaini, 2011, p. 102-104).

e. The data on Chadic kinship terms and systems shows that in Hausa the term *'yar uwa*, usually with the possessive 'my' *'yar uwata* applies beside to 'sister' E-4 (Si) also tothe female cousins, i.e. the daughters of the uncles and aunts both paternal and maternal side: E-6 (FaBrDa), E-8 (FaSiDa), E-10 (MoBrDa), and E-12 (MoSiDa). Furthermore, to E-0.0.4 (Mo2HuDa for whom also *'yar uba* may be used), and as a term of address to E-5.2 (FaBrSoWi).

3.3 'Brothers-in-law'

In the following we shall present the attributes for 'brother-in-law' from the point of view of a female ego, i.e. 'husband's brother' and from the point of view of a male ego, i.e. 'wife's brother'. Our data for these members related by marriage reflects the age difference relative to the age of the spouse. For a discussion of their attributes, see point 4 below.

wan miji	**husband's elder brother (E_F-&3)**	**L1 in %**	**L2 in %**
yayan miji,...	husband's elder brother	67	21
namiji	male	52	67
babba,...	elder	33	25
uba dàya,...	same father	33	(13)
suruki	in-law	29	—
dân uwan miji, …	husband's brother	24	(13)
mutum,...	person	(19)	38
ya girmi miji,…	elder than the husband	(19)	25

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kanin miji	**husband's younger brother (E_f-&3)**	**L1 in %**	**L2 in %**
namiji	male	48	50
abokin wasa,…	playmate	43	—
karami,…	young	33	29
mai bi ma miji,…	the one who follows the husband	33	29
ɗan uwan miji, …	husband's brother	29	21
dangi,…	relative(s), kin	29	—
mutum,…	person	(19)	33
miji	husband	—	21
uba ɗaya uwa ɗaya,…	same father same mother	(19)	21

kanin mata	**wife's younger brother (E_m-&3)**	**L1 in %**	**L2 in %**
namiji	male	52	54
dangi,…	relative(s), kin	38	(13)
mai bi mata a haihuwa,…	the one who follows in birth the wife	38	(17)
ɗan uwan mata,	wife's brother	33	42
mutum,…	person	(19)	38
karami,…	young	—	25
miji	husband	—	25
uba ɗaya uwa ɗaya,…	same father same mother	—	21

3.4 'Sisters-in-law'

Below are the attributes collected for 'sister-in-law' at the same principle as above for 'brother-in-law':

yarmiji	**husband's elder sister (E_f-&4)**	**L1 in %**	**L2 in %**
mace	woman	67	75
'yaruwarmiji,…	husband's sister	52	—
babba,…	elder	33	29
uwaɗaya,…	same mother	33	— [1](13)
wacce ta girmimiji,…	who (fem.) is elder than the husband	33	21
ubaɗaya,…	same father	29	— (13)
mutum,…	person	24	25
yayanmiji,…	husband's elder sister	24	(13)

1) In the L2 13% of the respondents wrote attributes of the type *iyayensuɗaya*'same parents' which we compare here to the ones of L1 'same mother' and 'same father'.

kanwar miji	**husband's younger sister (E_f-&4)**	**L1 in %**	**L2 in %**
mace,…	woman	62	83
'yar uwa,…	sister	29	(13)
abokiyar wasa,…	playmate (fem.)	29	—
mai bi ma miji,…	who follows the husband (in birth)	29	29
karama,…	young	24	(13)
miji ya girme ta,…	the husband is elder than her	—	25
mutum	person	(19)	25
uba ɗaya	same father	(19)	25
uwa ɗaya	same mother	(14)	21

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ƙanwar mata	**wife's younger sister (E_m-&4)**	**L1 in %**	**L2 in %**
mace,...	woman	57	79
abokiyar wasa,...	playmate (fem.)	43	—
mai bi ma mata,…	who follows the wife (in birth)	29	21
mutum	person	29	21
'yar uwar mata,…	wife's sister	24	21

4 Conclusion

We want to draw the attention to two culturally relevant and interesting aspects from the material we presented above. Both consider the recurrent appearance of the attributes *dangi* 'relative(s), kin' and *abokin wasa/aboki yar wasa* 'playmate (masc./fem.)'.

Regarding the first one, we discussed the attributes for *dangi* as a stimulus in another article (Ibriszimow & Zulyadaini 2011, p. 105-106). Here we repeat only the data without its discussion (p. 105):

dangi	**relative(s), kin**	**L1 in %**	**L2 in %**
'yar uwa	sister	48	42
mata	women	43	(17)
maza	men	33	(17)
zuriya,...	offspring	33	21
ƙani,...	younger brother	29	—
ɗan uwa	brother	24	—

The material presented above shows that the L1 respondents use the concept of *dangi* 'relative(s), kin' as an attribute for the following kinship terms: *ɗan uwa* 'brother', *'yar uwa* 'sister', *ƙanin miji* 'husband's younger brother', and *ƙanin mata* 'wife's younger brother'. In other words, it seems that not only the direct siblings belong to the category of *dangi* but also the younger brothers related through marriage (but not the elder ones).

The second interesting attribute *abokin wasa/aboki yar wasa* 'playmate (masc./fem.)' is mentioned by the L1 speakers in connection with the following kinship terms: *ƙanin miji* 'husband's younger brother', *ƙanwar miji* husband's younger sister, and *ƙanwar mata* 'wife's younger sister'. Thus, the first one is for a female Ego both *dangi* and *abokin wasa*. He as well as the younger sisters-in-law of a male and of a female Ego are Ego's partners in a joking relationship. Therefore, they play an important positive role in the social life and development of the Ego. This may explain why our list of words for the test with the attribute-listing-task included these terms but not all terms for the elder brothers/sisters-in-law. As we saw, the two examples of *wan miji* 'husband's elder brother' and *yar miji* 'husband's elder sister' above did not include either of the two attributes in question (another culturally relevant attribute, *suruki* 'in-law', in connection with *wan miji* will be treated in a separate study).

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5 Final thoughts

This contribution is dedicated to our dear friend and colleague Henry Tourneux. Since we met for the first time many years ago he became our *ɗan uwa* and a permanent member of our *dangi*. This did not restrain us from treating him also as our *abokin wasa*. His very fine sense of humour guarantees always an excellent basis for witty joking relations. Thank you, Henry for being part of our family! The following Hausa saying depicts you in a perfect way: *zumu*[7] *zuma gazaƙi* 'a close friend is honey full of sweetness'.

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[7] For the attributes of *zumunci*, see Ibriszimow *et al.*, *sous presse*.

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