From body to space and time: Hausa gaba and baya
Bernard Caron

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It is common in languages of the world to have grammatical words deriving from lexical words, and more precisely adverbs and prepositions deriving from names of body parts.

Hausa is no exception. If we have a look at prepositions, Hausa has few « true » prepositions: " (in, at on), ì/yì/wà (relatively to), gà (at), dà (with), dàgà (from), bisà (on).2 Pseudo-prepositions are then derived from names of body parts, like gàban (in front of), báyan (behind), cikin (inside), à (à) gindin (at the bottom of), derived respectively from gàbà (the chest); báyà (the back); cikî (the inside, the stomach) and the gindî (the buttocks).

In this paper, we will study the semantic variations that characterize and account for the use of two lexical notions (báyà, the back and gàbà, (i) the chest, the front of body of person or animal, or (ii)(euphemism) male or female genital organs) in different parts of Hausa grammar, and will link those observations with cognitive considerations.

From báyà (m.) are derived báya (adv.) : behind, backwards. báyan (prép. & conj.) (i) : afterÎ; (ii) behind.

From gàbà (m.) are derived : gàba (adv.) : in front, forward, ahead ; gàban (prép.) : (i) in front of, before (ii) beyond, on the other side of.

1. Body parts
Let us see a few examples of the use of those notions naming body parts. 3

1.1 báyà
1.
Da safiya ta yi sai ya karɓe ni daga báyan uwata ya aza ni a kwacciyar sird insa, domin ya ji tusahaan uwata da ta ke goye da ni. [S.U., 25]
In the morning, he took me from my mother's back and put me on the pommel of his saddle, because he was having pity of my mother who was carrying me on her back.

2.
Tun da ya kama hanya bai waiwaya ma ya dubi garin ba, sai da ya tabbata a ranṣa cewa ya ba shi baya da gaske. [S.U., 9]
When he left, he did not even turn back to look at the town, but he only thought about leaving the town for good. (lit : bá shi báyà = give it (the) back)

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1.4ter, route des Gardes - 92190 MEUDON - FRANCE - caron@cnrs-bellevue.fr
2. May be we can include zuwà (towards) although it is derived from the verb zú/jé (venir/partir).
3. The Hausa examples are taken from a short story, Shehu Umar (hence S.U.), written by Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. It relates the story of a small Hausa boy who, captured and sold a slave to the Arabs, becomes a renowned marabout.
1.2 gàbà

3. Iyalinsa duk sai suka amsa gaba daya suka ce [...] [S.U., 4]
   All his parents answered together and said [...] (lit. gàbà daya = one front)

4. Gàbansà ya fàdí. (Abraham, 277b)
   He lost heart. (lit. his front fell)

5. Sun sà gàbà gabàs. (id.)
   They turned eastward. (lit. they put front eastward)

1.3 bàya = adverb

When preceded by the preposition à (at), bàyà can be used in a locative sense meaning on the back. The final vowel is shortened and the final result is the adverbial phrase à bàya.

6. [...] sai kowace mace ta dauki danta ta sabà a baya. [S.U., 15]
   [...] then each woman took her child and put [it] on [her] back. (à bàya : at back)

2. Space

2.1 Adverbs

The first use of bàyà and gàbà with a meaning that no longer refers to body parts but to space only is in the adverbial derivation. This derivation is characterized by a shortening of the final vowel: bàyà > bàya; gàbà > gàba.

   [...] we took the way home. Our chief was behind carrying his bow and arrow, his two younger brothers were in front with their own weapons. We, children and women, we were between them.

8. Suka ce, "Wuce mu tafi."
   Suka sa shi a gaba suna ta ingizarsa har suka taho da shi kan iyaka. [S.U., 7]
   They said "Let's go."
   They put him in front, they pushed him until they took him to the limit [of the village].

   There, they said good-bye again, Makau went forward, the hunter went back to the place where he had met Makau.

10. na gaba ya yi gaba, na baya sai labari. [S.U., 5]
    The one who is in front goes on; those left behind can only comment. (proverb)

2.2 Prepositions

The prepositions are formed by adding the genitive link to the name of the body part, thus forming a noun phrase with its complement.

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4 Remarquons que dans les exemples (3) et (5), les emplois métaphoriques du nom des parties du corps s’appuient sur l’orientation intrinsèque du corps humain.
2.2.1 gaban

11. Na zo na durkusa gaban ba kon nan, na ni ka masa ya karɓa ya sha. [S.U., 29]
   I went and kneeled in front of the guest, gave him [the drink], he took [it] and drank.

12. Da za a tashi sai maigidana ya kira ni ya dauke ni ya dora ni a gabansa a b isa kan rakuminsa. [S.U., 33]
   As we were leaving, the master called me, took me and put me before him on his camel.

2.2.2 bāyan

13. Ba a jima ba sai na fara jin gurnanin wani abu mai ban tsoro a bāyan daki . [S.U., 21]
   Soon I heard a frightful growling behind the hut.

14. "A’a, ya tafi bāyan gari, amma zai dawo gobe."
   "No, he went to some villages (lit. behind town), but he will come back tomorrow."

15. Da ya sakar na jī a bayansa yain da zai kwanta, amma da ya fara gwartin na n tsoro ya kama ni [...] [S.U., 21]
   He had put me behind him before lying down, but when he started to snore, I was frightened [...] [S.U., 21]

2.2.3 Orientation

The spatial orientation at work here is obvious, from the orientation of the the human body itself, with the face and the eyes giving a direction. Nevertheless, a difference between Hausa and European languages like French or English as regards spatial orientation is worth noticing here. If a speaker (S) is looking at two objects (A and B) which he wants to locate, whereas a European speaker would say (a) « B is behind A », or « B est derrière A » (which lexically corresponds to bāyan in Hausa), a Hausa speaker would rather use (b) « B nā gāban A » (lit. « B is in front of A », « B est devant A »):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
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<td>B</td>
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<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

English : « B is behind A » (a)
French : « B est derrière A » (a)
Hausa : « B nā gāban A » (b)

This means that, whereas in European languages, this type of spacial location is speaker-centered, in Hausa it is object-centered.

3. Time

The spatial orientation given by the body is reproduced in the representation of time. The orientation of visual perception is paralleled in the representation of time, which is oriented from the "back" to the "front", with « past » in the back of the speaker and « future » ahead.6

5 See (HILL 1982) for more details.
6 If this is the case for French, English and Hausa, it is not necessarily so for all languages.
We will thus find a rough equivalence between the chest (gābā) and the future on the one hand, and the back (bāyā) and the past on the other hand.

3.1 Adverbs

3.1.1 dāgā gāba = nan gāba = in the future
16 Nan gāba, kù rìkà shārè dākìnkù!
    In the future, you should sweep your room!

3.1.2 à bāya = in the past, previously
17. àbìn dà mukà gayà à bāya ... (Gouffé 79)
    What we said previously...

3.1.3 à gāba = dāgā bāya = later on
However, this general symmetry is blurred with the expression of "later on". Both notions can be used, but with different prepositions : à, at in the case of dāgā, from in the case of bāya.
18. To, sai fa ki dɔuki hankuri, kin san halin yaron, kullum abin da ya ke so y a yi in ba a bar shi ba sai ya yi kuka, amma idan ana barinsa ya yi abin da ya so a gaba ba zai ji dadi ba. [S.U., 18]
    Well, be patient, you know how a child is, the thing he wants to do, if you don't let him do it, he will cry, but if you let him do the thing that he wants to do, later he won't be happy.

3.2 Prepositions

3.2.1 gāban
This use of gābā is not common. No example is to be found in S.U. One example is found in Abraham’s dictionary. (ABRAHAM 1962)
20. Bà à san àbìn dà ya fāru à gāban rān nan ba. (Abraham 62 : 279b)
    It is not known what happened after that day. (lit. in front of that day)
NB. dāgā rān nan, or can gāba (cf. ex. n°16) is preferred to à gāban rān nan.

3.2.2 bāyan
21. Bayan wannan suka zauna suka yi ta tāfì har [...] [S.U., 18]
    After this, they sat down and chatted until [...]

22. "Bayan gaisuwa, ga wannan mutum sunansa Makau [...] [S.U., 15]
    After greetings, here is somebody called Makau [...] (beginning of a letter)
23. Sai inna ta fara tsammani a ranta ko Allah ya kiraye ni ne bayan tashinsu daga Kagara. [S.U., 26]
Then, mother started thinking to herself that maybe god had called me back (e.g. I had died) after their departure from Kagara.

24. Yaron nan dai bayan tashinki da kwana tara, wani dan sane ya sace shi. [S. U., 27]
This boy, nine days after you had left, a sorcerer kidnapped him.
In the following example, notice the translation of bāyan by « before » instead of the usual « after ».

25. Ban sake ganinta ba sai bayan shekaru da yawa ! [S.U., 18]
I did not see her again before many years.

3.3 Conjunctions
In conjunctions, there is no equivalent to gābā, and instead, the word kāfin is borrowed from Arabic :

3.3.1 *gāban = kāfin

26. Kafin su shiryama sharan sun yi nisa. [S.U., 5]
Before they got ready, the raiders had gone far.

27. Tun kafin safiyya ta yi Makau ya rigaya ya shiryaya sarai [...] [S.U., 10]
Before the morning had arrived, Makau was already well prepared [...] 

3.3.2 bāyan
bāyan appears regularly as a conjunction meaning « after (that)... », and is used to locate a chronological succession of events. The locating event, or locator (following bāyan) is in the non-relative tenses (Perfect and Continuous). The located events are in the relative tenses (Relative Perfect and Relative Continuous).

28. Bayan an gama washe-washen nan duka, sai aka hada kayan aka kawo wuri Sarki. [S.U., 8]
After they had finished ransacking [the house], they gathered the goods and brought them to the emir.

29. [...] amma manzon Sarki bai tashi zo masa ba sai bayan an yi sallar azahar . [S.U., 10]
 [...] but the messenger of the emir did not come to his place until (after) they had done the afternoon prayer.

30. Bayan ta fita kadan sai kakata ta cika, [...] [bāyan tā fita ...]
Not long after she had gone, her grand-mother died, [...] 

31. Wata rana wajen goshin la’asar bayan Shaihu Umar ya ba da karatu ga al majiransa, , sai wani almajirinsa ya tambaye shi cewa, [...] [S.U., 1]
One day, in the afternoon, after S.U. had taught his pupils, , one pupil asked him, [...]
32. Bayan wannan ya kare, cikin kyakkyawan hali tare da uwata a gidan Makau, sai ran nan [...]. [S.U., 3]
   After this was finished, peacefully with mother in Makau’s house, when one day [...]

bāyan dà is a variant of bāyan. The locator (following bāyan dà) is in the relative tenses (Relative Perfect and Relative Imperfect)

33. Bayan da aka gama hira duka Makau shiga gida domin kwanta. [S.U., 9]
   After they had finished talking, Makau went home to his bed.

34. Bayan da aka jima amsa mata, [...] [S.U., 10]
   After a while, then he answered her, [...] [S.U., 10]

35. Bayan da mutanen nan suka gama tadī suka huta, tashi, [...] [S.U., 14]
   After those people had finished talking and had rested, they got up, [...] [S.U., 14]

This use may nevertheless look strange if we consider that a « natural » derivation from body parts, would be for gāba(n) to refer to the future and bāya(n) to the past, if we follow the anthropomorphic orientation. For this type of chronological succession, where one is, as it were, « facing the future », gāban is the only choice in so far as conjunctions are concerned. This means that this anthropomorphic explanation does not hold here.

4. Cognitive considerations

An explanation may be found if we examine a metaphorical use of the word bāyā, (back) meaning in this case the end, the completion.

36. Nā ga bāyan aikã. (Abraham, 92a)
   I've finished the work (lit. I've seen the back of work)

So, the point of view is not anthropomorphic, but objective. What is considered here is the completion of the event, and the other events are located in relation to that completion. The point of view is aspectual, and not temporal.

Now, we can explain what happens in (18) and (19) where à gāba and dāgà bāya are both translated as later on:

18. To, sai fa ki dauki hanfuri, kin san halin yaron, kullum abin da ya ke so y a yi in ba a bar shi ba sai ya yi kuka, amma idan ana barinsa ya yi abin da ya so a gaba ba zai ji dadi ba. [S.U., 18]
   Well, be patient, you know how a child is, the thing he wants to do, if you don’t let him do it, he will cry, but if you let him do the thing that he wants to do, later he won't be happy.

19. Ina so ka yi masa halin arziki, ka lura da shi, ka ba shi gona da wurin da zai yi gida, domin yana da iyali suna zuwa daga baya. [S.U., 10]
   I want you to treat him well, to take care of him, to give him a place to farm and build a house, because he has a family that will come later.

In (19), the point of view is objective and aspectual. The arrival of the family is located in relation to the actions of the father (farm, build a house). Whereas in (18), « he won’t be happy » is located in relation to the speaker. The point of view is anthropomorphic and temporal, which explains the use of à gāba.
5. Summary

<table>
<thead>
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<th>body parts</th>
<th>space</th>
<th>time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noun</td>
<td>adverbs</td>
<td>prepositions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gàbā the chest, the front part of body</td>
<td>gàba in front</td>
<td>gàban in front of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bàyà the back</td>
<td>bàyà at the back</td>
<td>bàyàn behind</td>
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References


