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Exploring The Pattern Of Colour Terms And Their Distribution In Zarma

Bello Danladi Dogondaji, PhD¹ & Abdulhakim Saidu²

¹Department of Linguistics

Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, Nigeria

danladi.bello@udusok.edu.ng +23480-359-79046

²Department of English and French,

Faculty of Humanities,

Umaru Musa Yar'adua University Katsina, Nigeria

abdulhakim.saidu@umyu.edu.ng +2348031383596

ABSTRACT

The power of colour terms to name, classify and describe people, animals, insects, birds, plants and other things in societies cannot be overemphasized. It goes beyond serving as object of beauty to communicate thoughts, ideas, feelings and emotions different from those induce by fine music. This study explores the nature of colour naming, the richness of colour terms, their pattern and distribution in Zarma. The data was obtained from one hundred and twenty four informants through the questionnaire and ten of the sample responded to the interview questions. They were drawn from some localities in Sokoto and Kebbi states where speakers of the languages were found. The study discovers that Zarma has a very rich scheme of colour naming which has confirmed the claim of Lukiesh (1920), Zarruk (1978), Bature (2005), Danladi (2010) and Butari (2012) that the domain of most frequent colour application seem to revolve around the classification of cultural items of most intimate historical relationship with the society. Hence, colour naming, perception and usages are important part of the Zarma language.

Keywords: Semantic field, cognitive linguistics, culture, colour terms, Zarma

INTRODUCTION

Zarma belongs to Nilo-Saharan language family with over 3.5 million native speakers across the globe (Klotchoff, 2016; Eberhard, Simmons & Fennig, 2022). Although, the language is spoken in four West African countries, only the speakers from the two North western states of Nigeria (Kebbi state and Sokoto state) were considered. The dialects of the language are classified according to geographical boundaries and these include: Kaado, spoken in Niger, Koyraboro Senni in Mali and Dendi/Songhai in Kebbi (Muhammad, 2014). It should be noted that this study uses the Dendi/Songhai dialect. Zarma is one of the longest living languages in Africa which is able to retain its ancient taste.

The Zarma people speak the Zarma language and are predominantly found in Western part of Niger Republic, but are also found in significant numbers in the adjacent areas of Nigeria and Benin, along with smaller numbers in Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, and Ghana. They were originally from Mali and are close relatives of the Songhai. They are excellent farmers, herders of animals, fishermen and merchants to a lesser degree. According to Muhammad (2014), Zarma people formed the strongest cavalry team in

Islamic armies who fought many wars in the Songhai Empire. The people have great love for their language and are proud to use it anywhere, anytime. In addition, they have great business skills and can strive and work under any kind of situation or condition to survive. Due to their excessive passion for the language, they never stop using it as long as there is somebody that speaks and understands it.

METHOD

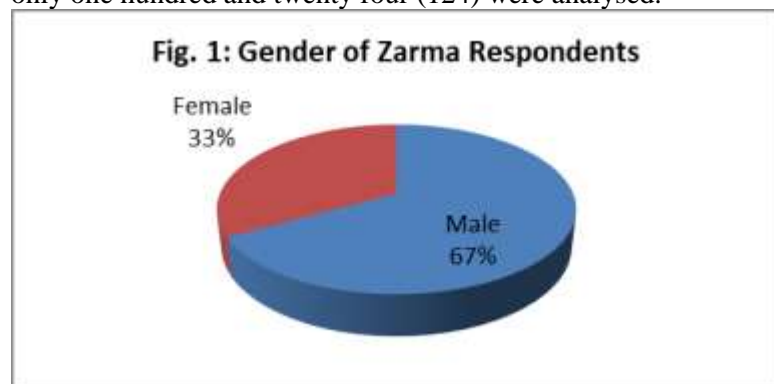
This study selected a sample size of One Hundred and Sixty (160) subjects from the recent estimated population of Zarma speakers in Nigeria using the NPC Population Projection Formula. Ten (10) out of the One Hundred and Sixty (160) were interviewed while the rest responded the questionnaire.

The informants were selection across Bankanu in Gwadabawa LGA, Unguwar Zabarmawa and Gidan Igguwai in Sokoto South LGA and Kisawai, Mata Waji and Argungu in Argungu LGA and Masama in Gwandu LGA of Kebbi state through purposive and snowball techniques which Alvi (2016) believes to be the best techniques for descriptive studies of this kind.. These places were chosen because it is believe that they accommodate the purest versions of Zarma.

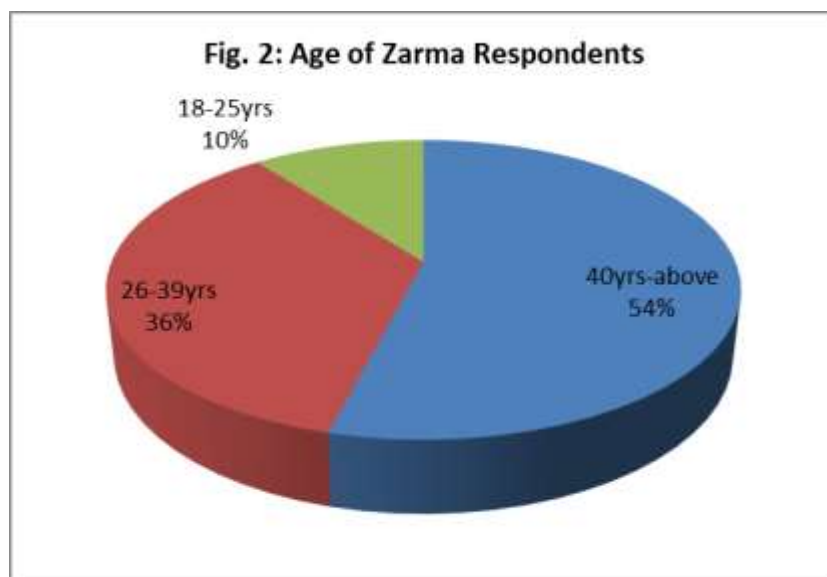
The study used questionnaire that contains twenty (20) structured questions and seven (7) items on the interview questions. A part from this, the study probes further in case of unsatisfactory answers. The responses from the interview were recorded on a cell-phone and a digital tape recorder for efficiency and accuracy which were later transcribed and analysed. The data were presented in figures, tables and charts, using descriptive statistics to work the percentages and lastly, the study adopted Lucy's (1992) characteristic referential range and formal distributional potential as means of linguistic analysis of the colour terms.

Demographic Characteristics of the informants

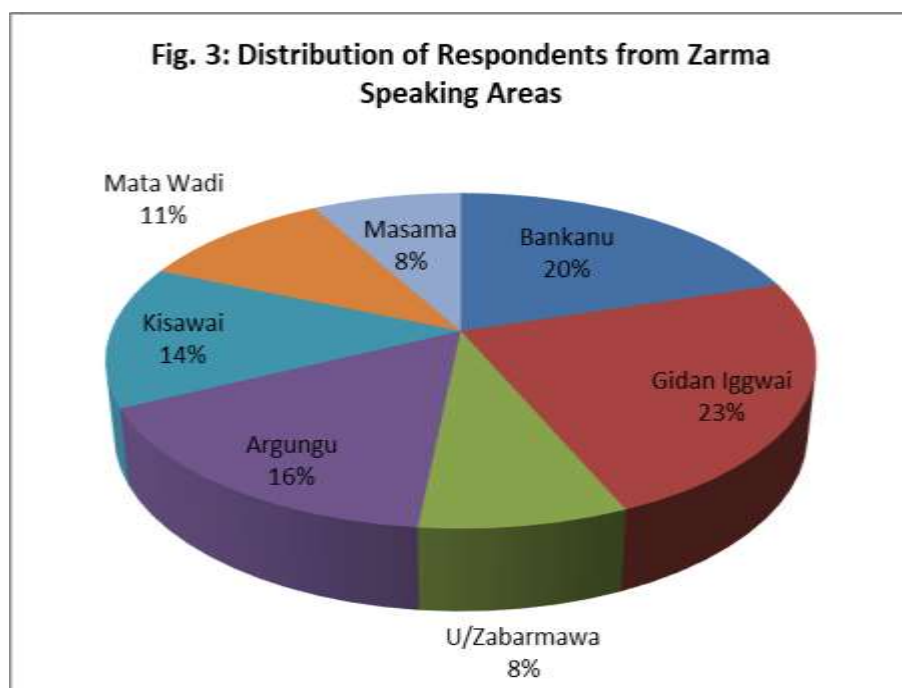
A total of one hundred and fifty (150) questionnaires were distributed to the respondents. Out of which only one hundred and twenty four (124) were analysed.



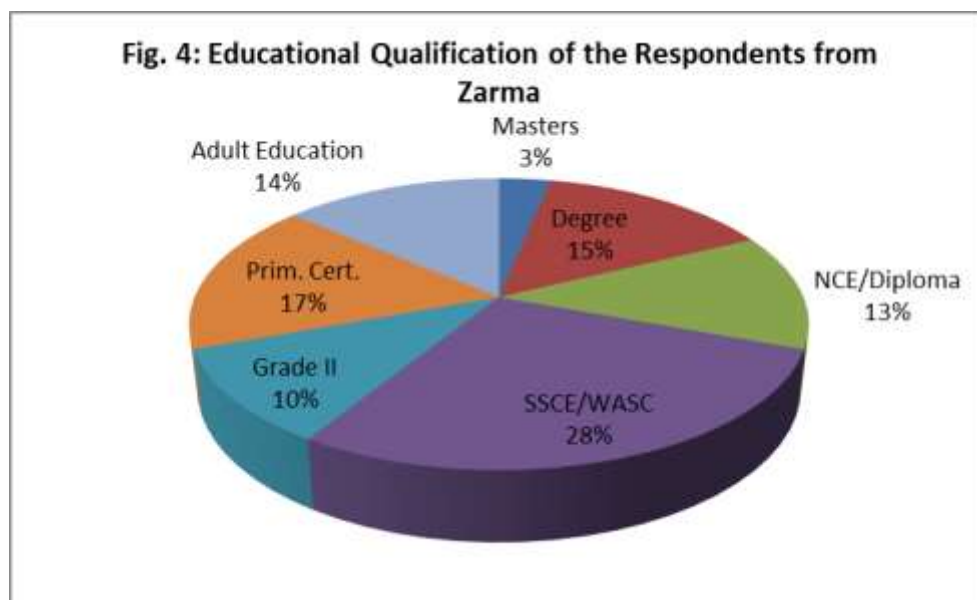
The above figure represents the percentage of the respondents based on gender. The male constituted 67% while the females 33% which implies that the number of male respondents is higher than that of female.



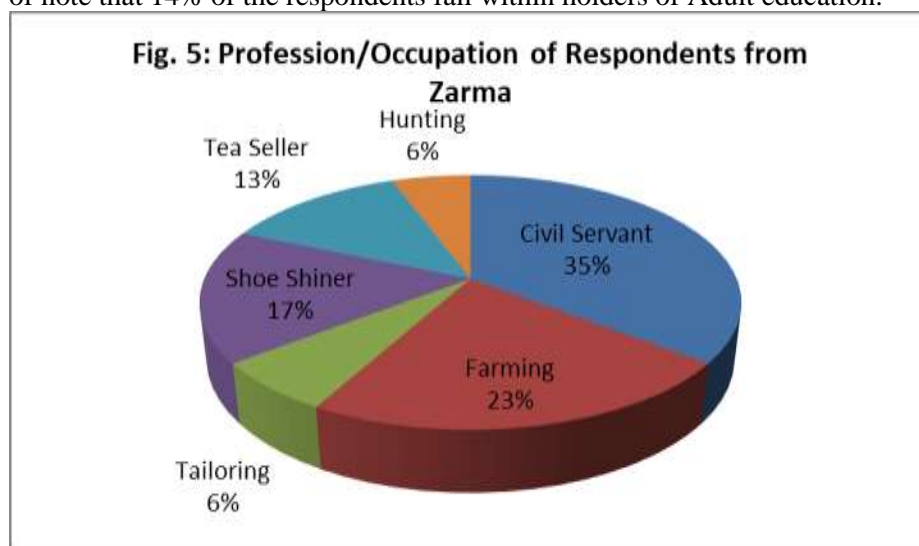
The above figure represents the various age groups of the respondents from Zarma. It clearly shows that the highest percentage of fifty four (54%) was recorded for respondents in the age group 40yrs and above. The second category which represents 26-39yrs recorded 36% and lastly the respondents within the bracket of 18-25yrs recorded 10% which is virtually the lowest percentage of them all.



The above chart represents the distribution of the respondents across the Zarma speaking areas in Sokoto and Kebbi states. Seven areas/villages where Zarma is spoken in Sokoto South and Gwadabawa Localgovernments in Sokoto state, which include Gidan Iggwai with 23%, Unguwar Zabarmawa with 8% and Bankanu with 20% respectively, were covered. Other places covered in Kebbi include Argungu with 16%, Kisawai with 14%, Mata Wadi with 11% and lastly Masama with 8%. This indicates that Gidan Iggwai, Bankanu and Argungu accommodate many speakers of Zarma.



It could be seen from the above chart that, the respondents were of various educational Qualification. The highest percentage of twenty seven (28%) was recorded for holders of SSCE/WAEC. Those with Primary Certificates have 17% while holders of degree (B.A/BSc Hons) record 15%. Also those with Master Degree constitute 3% and NCE/Diploma and Grade II have 13% and 10% respectively. It is also worthy of note that 14% of the respondents fall within holders of Adult education.



It could be seen from the above that 35% of the respondents were civil servants, 23% were farmers and 17% were shoe shiners. Those that engaged in selling tea, hunting and tailoring have recorded 13%, 6% and 6% respectively. There was none of them that engage in tanning as means of livelihood.

Empirical Studies

The notable work in colour studies is the famous work of Berlin and Kay in 1969, though Conklin (1955) conducted study on Hanunoo colour terms and revealed how the colour terms are actually used by native speakers. Yet, Conklin's study was not a breakthrough in the studies of colour terms. From the traditional anthropology to the Barlin and Kay's (1969) Frequency and Evolutionary Hierarchy Model, Lehrer's

(1974) Semantic Field Model, Kay and Maffi's (1991) Trajectory Model, and Goddard's (1998) Prototypical Cognitive Model, different methods of enquiries were employed and several findings and conclusions were made on the study of colour terms across languages.

The study of Berlin and Kay (1969) as a pioneer model of colour terms studies surveyed one hundred and ten (110) languages using arrays of Munsell Colour Chips (a broad-scale inventory of colour perceived by the eyes that exist in the natural world) and report that the similarities and differences among languages in respect of the way in which they divide up colour spectrum are not as arbitrary as they had once been thought to be. They further emphasize on the importance of focal meaning of a term, rather than its peripheral meaning.

Berlin and Kay (1969) further propose that the basic colour terms in a culture, such as black, brown, or red are predictable by the number of colour terms it has. According to them all cultures have terms for black/dark and white/bright. If a culture has three colour terms, the third is red. If it has four, it has others as yellow or green. Thus, they conclude that all languages appear to have between 2 and 11 basic colour terms. Lucy (1997) observes that the Berlin and Kay hypothesis aroused some controversies. First, is the universal and non-universal substructure in the vocabulary of colour and second, is on the saliency of some colour-foci and their universality.

Forbes (1979) conducted study on French colour words where she examined the relation between the two French words for BROWN: *brun* and *marron*. She introduces a contextual element to colour designation in the study where informants were asked of the colour word they would use to describe a collection of objects. The study reveals that the domain of the described object sometimes with 'nuance' determines the choice and use of one or the other synonymous forms: *brun* and *marron*. Thus, *marron* was only rarely used about hair, irrespective of the nuance, whereas *brun* was clearly the preferred term in the domain described above. What is interesting here is that neither *marron* nor *brun* can be said to be restricted to a narrow class of objects as is English *blond* for example, although there is still a clear pattern of domain reference. Needless to say, merely looking at frequency would not have revealed this pattern.

Of course, Forbes does use frequency in the study but then she applies a diachronic perspective to demonstrate that the *marron/brun* ratio is increasing, which may be taken as a sign of an ongoing change through which *marron* may succeed *brun* as a basic term. In the later study, Forbes (1986) shows that there are also dialectal differences in the distribution of *brun* and *marron*.

Steinvall (2002) reviewed different methods that were used in the study of colour terms from different perspectives and reports that early works on colour array were carried out using anthropological method to name, map the colour array and identify their focal points. Steinvall (2002) also acknowledges the method was applied in the linguistic analysis of colour terms and connected the various patterns with the evolutionary hierarchy of colour terms suggested by Berlin and Kay (1969). Steinvall (2002) further remarks that some researchers have followed a different track to look at colour terms beyond mere frequency. For example, In his study on English Colour Terms in Context, Steinvall (2002) combines all three approaches described above. He also uses Corbett and Davies's statistical method to reveal the general patterns for further and closer investigation of colour terms. He however, uses Forbes' domain approach and Biggam's token approach to look for patterns beyond frequencies.

Payne (2003) investigated some colour vocabularies in Masai, a language spoken in Tanzania. She completely part ways with Berlin and Kay's evolutionary stage of colour terms and concentrated on their formations. The study reveals that some colour vocabularies are formed through derivation as in *suya* (gray colour) which is derived from a noun *osuyani* (wild dog or wolf)); *sikitoi* (yellow colour) is derived from *i-sikitok* (colostrum milk) and *kukuo* (dark black) from *en-kukuo* (piece of charcoal). Similar study in Japanese reveals that green has two derivational names: 'midori' derived from 'midoru' (to be in leaf, to flourish in reference to trees) and 'guriin' which is derived from the English word 'green'.

Another notable exception in the linguistic analyses of colour terms is Biggam's (2007) work on Old English colour terms. In her meticulous studies of colour terms for GREY and BLUE, Biggam offers an impressively detailed analysis of the sense relations that obtain for each colour term. Among other things,

she considers collocations, referents and contrasts to be able to draw conclusions about the extension of the word in terms of colour shades. She uses the shades to determine the hyponymous status of the word as well as to decide whether a term is a basic colour term or not. Thus, her work illustrates that detailed contextual studies of a collection of individual tokens can be useful in the overall semantic characterisation of a given term.

Abdulsalam (2009) conducted a study on the topic *Semantics of Colour Terms in Nigerian English* as her Ph. D thesis using the cognitive linguistics theory as framework. She used 250 Nigerian speakers of English across 31 ethnic groups drawn from 27 states of Nigerian. She also used about 183 poems, 22 novels, 22 newspapers published in Nigeria, Roger Blench's Dictionary of Nigerian English and Herbert Igboanusi's The Nigerian English Dictionary as sources for data. As part of her findings, Abdulsalam reports that verbalized colour words in Nigerian English may take suffixes such as '-en', '-ed', '-ing', '-ened' and '-ening' as in 'whiten', 'purpled', 'browning', 'blackened' and 'reddening' respectively but did not discuss deeply the processes involved and the circumstances surrounding them. She however reveals that colour words can function as verbs and as adjectives.

On the frequently occurring colour terms in Nigerian English and of course in some Nigerian languages, Abdulsalam (2009) reports that all the most frequent occurring colour terms in the languages are within the eleven (11) basic terms but do not follow the Berlin and Kay's (1969) pattern. She argues that perhaps 'black' and 'white' are not 'counted' as colours in the true sense of the word, but being included in the list of colours show that they are seen as colours by Nigerian speakers of English. She also reports that females irrespective of age, educational status or occupation have a larger repertoire of non-basic colour terms compared to their male counterpart.

In the area of semantics, Abdulsalam discovers that hyponymy, as a type lexical field, is one of the commonest sense relations that colours have in Nigerian English. Specically, the findings of Abdulsalam reveal that the meaning of non-basic colour terms is tie to the things or objecsts they reflect, reduplication is a common phenomenon of expressing saturated colours in Nigerian English, the colour symbolism is a common phenomenon across cultures of Nigerian speakers of English irrespective of ethnic background and that Berlin and Kay (1969) criteria for categorising basic from non-basic colour terms are not adequate for Nigerian English and by extension, some indigeneous languages in the country. She therefore, suggests that colour categorization is determined by the behavior of colour terms in actual usage of the language.

Zarru} (1978) conducted a study on Hausa colour terms using Berlin Kay's colour hierarchy model and discovers that colours are not only use to visualize or romanticize sceneries, imaginations, or objects, purely on aesthetic and sentimental grounds but are also use in idioms, traditional epithet, naming and classifying cultural items of the most intimate historical relationship with Hausa society. In particular, Zarru} proposed a common hierachical order of Hausa colour in line with order of importance in table 2 below.

Table 1: Zarru}'s (1978) Hierarchy of Hausa Colour Terms

| Stage | Colour | Glossary |
|-------|---------|----------|
| I | Jáa | Red |
| ii | bá}íí | Black |
| iii | Fáríí | White |
| iv | shúu}íí | Blue |
| V | Kóorèe | green |

It should be noted that Zarru}'s classification and ordering of the above colour terms is judged purely on the basis of frequency of verbal usage he noted among his informants.

Zarru} (1978) further reported that colour terms in Hausa can be used as noun/noun phrases, adjectives/adjectival phrases. For example:

- a) Shùjí (blue) noun (N)
- b) Shùjáyár rìgà (blue shirt) Adjectival phrase (Adj. P)

In fact, Zarru } (1978) did not rely heavily on Berlin and Kay theory because according to him, the value system used as criteria are chosen arbitrarily and that the theory failed to account for cultural relativism and semantic evolution of colour in languages. He therefore concludes that a deeper cultural understanding of languages under investigation should be the basis of any theories of colour terms.

Zarru }'s study on Hausa colour terms revealed that colours are rarely used to visualize or romanticize sceneries, imaginations, or objects, purely on aesthetic and sentimental grounds. So, he concluded that the domain of most frequent colour application seem to revolve around the classification of cultural items of the most intimate historical relationship with the Hausa society. In particular, Zarru } orders Hausa colour terms according to their importance as in the following.

jáa, bá}ìi, fàríi, shùu}í and kóorèè = red, black, white, blue and green bá}ì í

It should be noted that Zarru }'s classification and ordering of the above colour terms is judged purely on the basis of frequency of verbal usage he noted among his informants.

On the other hand, Danladi (1998) conducted a comparative study of Gbagyi, Hausa and English colour terms using Berlin & Kay (1969) Hierarchy model and the Kay and Maffi's Trajectory model. Questionnaires and face to face interview were administered to a total of two hundred (200) speakers with 100 from Hausa and 100 from Gbagyi while as for English; texts were used to extract the sense and nature of colour terms. The findings confirmed the position of Zarru } (1978) that some colour vocabularies are formed with single, reduplication, ideophones and compounding. The study also revealed that colour terms are use in traditional epithet, idioms and naming and classifying things in traditional society.

Similarly, Aujara (2021) conducted a study on colour terms in Hausa language on the title *Exploring meaning of Colour Terms in Hausa Language*. He used Berlin and Kay (1969) model of colour terms study as applied by both Zarru } (1978) and Bature (2005) in their respective studies on colour terms. Aujara however, went beyond evolution of basic colour terms and their hierarchy to the various shades of meaning both basic and non basic colour terms enjoy in Hausa language as well as how the Hausa culture influenced them to name and classify things, animals and persons in purely traditional ways.

Aujara (2021) did not indicate the methods he used in data collection and data analysis. Nevertheless, he followed the pattern of Zarru } (1978) in data presentation and analysis. As part of his findings, Aujara revealed that Hausa language has both basic and non basic colour terms which have the same status with the English ones used by Berlin and Kay (1969). According to the findings of the study, some colour terms in Hausa are adopted from English with little modifications, such as: 'yàló' for 'yellow', 'ásh' for the English 'ash', 'fáfúl' for 'purple' and 'búráwùn' for 'brown'.

The study also revealed that there are modernized colour terms in Hausa whose names were influenced by civilization. Similarly, the study discovered that there are some colour terms that name and classify persons, animals, things generally. Aujara concluded that every society has its unique way of colour naming, their literal meaning as well as contextual.

Theoretical Framework

This study uses combined theoretical frameworks in semantics researches: the Cognitive linguistics and the Semantics Field. The study uses a corpus based approach where linguistic data were generated through multiple complimentary methods such as interview, questionnaire, textual analysis and observation.

Lehrer (1974) uses the theory in her study on Semantic Fields and Lexical Structure and reports that a word can acquire its meaning through its relationship of contrast with other words in the domain. She later identifies colour as one of such domains and goes further to reveal that the general domain of colour would include 'red', 'green', 'blue', and the restricted terms would include terms such as 'rust', 'sand', 'turquoise, etc. As part of her findings, she argues that colour of hair cannot be placed on this for the fact

that there is not a clear cut one-to-one correspondence between the general colour terms and restricted hair- set colour terms as many shades of ‘yellow hair’ would also fall into a part of ‘brown range in addition to those of red hair.

This study uses the theory in accordance with Lehrer’s (1974) disposition on English colour terms and Abdulsalam’s (2009) study of colour terms in other languages. Specifically, synonyms, homonyms and polysemy were investigated in the colour terms Zarma.

The cognitive semantics theory deals with mental representation of the concept generated in the individual cognitive power as people conceive it. It argues that lexical meaning is conceptual and that the meaning of a lexeme is not necessarily reference to the entity or relation in some real or possible world that it refers to, but corresponds with a concept held in the mind based on personal understanding or experiences with that entity or relation. It stresses that semantics is not objective and semantic knowledge is not isolatable from encyclopaedic knowledge. Hence, semantics is amenable to the same mental processes as encyclopaedic knowledge (Talmy, 2003).

This theory is suitable for this study in the sense that meaning of a colour is conceptualized in the mind of an individual person. Colour meaning in this case is a matter of construal and conventionalization since it vary across cultures and one’s cognitive power.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Colour terms in West African societies are capable of giving semantic interpretation and wide range of usages across socio-economic, religious and cultural aspects. It is an indivisible tool that keeps some historical diffusion of the societal norms and values together for a very long time and transmits them from one generation to another within a solidified entity of the community. Studies of Colour terms in West African languages such as Hausa had been carried out by various scholars such as Zarru } (1978), Bature (2005), Danladi (2012) and Aujara (2021).

Of course, millions of colours exist in the world but no language is able to name all of them. Danladi (2012) reaffirms this claim when he observed that colour naming is tie to how complex is the societal cultural norms and values. The more sophisticated is the relationship between the culture and the colours, the more viable for those different colours to be named. He therefore concludes that a society gives name to colours that are captured only within the space limit of its societal culture.

The study reveals that Zarma has name for the colours as could be vividly seen in the table 2. The table represents the equivalent terms in Zarma for the twenty colours term in English. The informants have mentioned at least one term for each of the colour presented to them in the Zarma with exception of the ‘sky blue’ and ‘light green’. Some of these colours have more than one term in the language, which are mostly formed with variant single word. However, some colour terms in Zarma are formed through compounding and reduplication.

Table 2: The Zarma Colour Terms

| S/N | ENGLISH COLOUR TERMS | STUDY AREAS | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| | | Bankanu | Gidan Igkwai | Unguwar Nufawa | Argungu | Kisawai | Mata Wadi | Masama |
| 1. | Black | Bi | bi, biri, biyo | biri, bi | biyo, biri, bi | bi, biri | bi, biri | bi, biris |
| 2. | Grey | boosu-boosu | boosu-boosu | boosu-boosu | boosu-boosu | boosu-boosu | boosu-boosu | boosu-boosu |
| 3. | White | Kwaaray kwarayo | Kwaaray, kwarayo | Kwaaray, Kwarayo | Kwaaray, kwarayo | Kwaaray, kwarayo | Kwaaray, kwarayo | Kwaaray, kwarayo |
| 4. | Red | ciray, cira | ciray, cira | ciray, cira | ciray, cira | ciray, cira | ciray, cira | ciray, cira |
| 5. | Scarlet | ciray, coy/cuy | ciray, coy/cuy | ciray, coy/cuy | ciray, coy/cuy | ciray, coy/cuy | ciray, coy/cuy | ciray, coy/cuy |
| 6. | Pink | ciray gina | ciray gina | ciray gina | ciray gina | ciray gina | ciray gina | ciray gina |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. | Light green | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 8. | Grey green | yeeri/yeero, ro, boogu | yeeri/yeero, boogu | yeeri/yeero, boogu | yeeri/yeero, boogu | yeeri/yeero, boogu | yeeri/yeero, boogu | yeeri/yeero, boogu |
| 9. | Blue | Buula, suudi/Suudiyo | Buula, suudi/suudiyo | Buula, suudi/Suudiyo | Buula, suudi/Suudiyo | Buula, suudi/Suudiyo | Buula, suudi/suudiyo | Buula, suudi/Suudiyo |
| 10. | Indigo blue | sii no/sii ni | sii no/sii ni | sii no/sii ni | sii no/sii ni | sii no/sii ni | sii no/sii ni | sii no/sii ni |
| 11. | Violet | hansi (kari) (kuri) (kuro) buguda-buguda | hansi (kari) (kuri) (kuro) buguda-buguda | hansi (kari) (kuri) (kuro) buguda-buguda | hansi (kari) (kuri) (kuro) buguda-buguda | hansi (kari) (kuri) (kuro) buguda-buguda | hansi (kari) (kuri) (kuro) buguda-buguda | hansi (kari) (kuri) (kuro) buguda-buguda |
| 12. | Purple | Suniya | suniya | Suniya | Suniya | Suniya | Suniya | Suniya |
| 13. | Yellow | say/sayo (skd) oole/ool a | say/sayo (skd) oole/ool a | say/sayo (skd) oole/ool a | say/sayo (skd) oole/ool a | say/sayo (skd) oole/ool a | say/sayo (skd) oole/ool a | say/sayo (skd) oole/ool a |
| 14. | Orange | say-say gooro hari gooro haro kalkoti hari tonko hari | say-say gooro hari gooro haro kalkoti hari tonko hari | say-say gooro hari gooro haro kalkoti hari tonko hari | say-say gooro hari gooro haro kalkoti hari tonko hari | say-say gooro hari gooro haro kalkoti hari tonko hari | say-say gooro hari gooro haro kalkoti hari tonko hari | say-say gooro hari gooro haro kalkoti hari tonko hari |
| 15. | Brown | labu-labu daara guraw gurawo | labu-labu daara guraw gurawo | labu-labu daara guraw gurawo | labu-labu daara guraw gurawo | labu-labu daara guraw gurawo | labu-labu daara guraw gurawo | labu-labu daara guraw gurawo |
| 16. | Dark brown | Haama | haama | Haama | Haama | Haama | Haama | Haama |
| 17. | Army green | boogu-boogu | boogu-boogu | boogu-boogu | boogu-boogu | boogu-boogu | boogu-boogu | boogu-boogu |
| S/N | ENGLISH COLOUR TERMS | STUDY AREAS | | | | | | |
| | | Bankanu | Bankanu | Bankanu | Bankanu | Bankanu | Bankanu | Bankanu |
| 18. | Green | boogu/booga (skd) yargay/yarga | boogu/booga (skd) yargay/yarga | boogu/booga (skd) yargay/yarga | boogu/booga (skd) yargay/yarga | boogu/booga (skd) yargay/yarga | boogu/booga (skd) yargay/yarga | boogu/booga (skd) yargay/yarga |
| 19. | Sky blue | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 20. | Light blue | Jaluu buula gani | jaluu buula gani | Jaluu buula gani | Jaluu buula gani | Jaluu buula gani | Jaluu buula gani | Jaluu buula gani |

The above table provides the following analysis:

1. The terms 'bi', 'biyo' and 'biyi' are all used to refer to black in Zarma. From the total respondents on questionnaire in Zarma, seventy one percent (71%) provided one or two of the above terms. These terms are all monosyllabic words; hence 'biri' and 'biyo' are both formed through suffixation where 'yi' and 'yo' were added to the root 'bi'.
2. The term 'boosu-boosu' is used for 'gray'; the only term for that colour across all Zarma speakers within the selected areas of study. Basically, 97% of the respondents proved that by providing the term 'boosu-boosu' for 'gray' without any deviation or additional term for it. This term is formed through reduplication of the same term 'boosu' in the language.

3. The term 'kwaaray' and 'kwaarayo' are both used for the colour 'white' in Zarma. Historically, 'kwaaray' and 'kwaarayo' are not seen as two different concepts in the language rather is a matter of dialectal variation based on pronunciation. Having Zarma people all over the North West in Nigeria and some parts of Niger, who are enterprising and excellent business men and women, streamlined the use of both terms interchangeably.
4. The red colour in Zarma can be called 'ciray' or 'cira' in Zarma. This was further supported by the responses of 94% of the respondents across all the diversified areas the research covers. However, there was only variation in pronunciation where some pronounce it as /cirei/ and others as /cira/ as proved by most of the people interviewed.
5. The scarlet colour has just one term 'ciray coy/cuy' which is constructed as a compound word. 'coy' or 'cuy' are variation in pronunciation as produced by over 75% of the interview subject which in most cases, does not carry any weight even among the native speakers of the language.
6. The term 'ciray gina' is the equivalent of 'pink' in Zarma and is formed through compounding. Therefore is a compound word. There was no any variation in terms of pronunciation.
7. The terms 'boogu', 'booga', 'yargay' and 'yarga' are used to refer to either of these colours: green, green-blue and hyacinth blue. Despite its multiplicity of application with regards to its various referents in the language, yet it is popularly used to cover 'green' colour.
8. The terms 'yeeri' and 'yeero' refer to the colour 'gray-green' in Zarma. However, a person can use either of them in discourse to refer to the colour without any hitch.
9. The colour 'blue' is called either 'suudi', 'suudiyo' or 'buula' in Zarma. The first two terms varied only in structure and pronunciation but not in meaning. They can be used interchangeably, including the third term 'buula' which was derived from the English term 'blue'.
10. The colour 'indigo blue' is called either 'sii no' or 'sii ni' across all the native speakers of Zarma within Nigeria and Niger. They are used interchangeably.
11. The term 'violet' in Zarma has more than one name. It can be 'buguda-buguda', 'hansi kuri' or 'hansi kuro' but the last two were derived from the colour of dog's blood. Morphologically, the first is a reduplicatory term, the second and third formed through compounding.
12. The term 'purple' is called 'suniya' in Zarma. 92% of the respondents revealed that apart from 'suniya' they do not know any term for 'purple' in the language.
13. The term 'yellow' is called 'say', 'sayo' in standard Zarma and 'oole' or 'oola' in some dialects. However, today all the terms are used interchangeably without recourse to standardization issue.
14. There are several terms for orange colour in Zarma which are all descriptive in nature. These terms include 'gooro hari' and 'gooro haro' which literally refer to 'colanut's colour'; 'kolkoti hari' (maize colour) and 'tonko hari' (hot pepper's colour). All these terms are used to refer to 'orange' colour in Zarma.
15. 'Daara', 'guraw', 'gurawo' and 'labu-labu' are all terms for 'brown' in Zarma.
16. The colour 'dark brown' is called 'haama' across all the geographical areas of the respondents.
17. The term 'boogu-boogu' is a reduplicatory word for 'army green' in Zarma.
18. The term 'jalu' and 'buula gani' are two terms for 'light blue' in Zarma which are single and compound words respectively.

Apart from these colour terms, there are many more distinct colour terms in Zarma that are used in day to day communication among its speakers. Unlike most of the colour terms mentioned in the above table, the following are mostly formed with two words through compounding. From the available data on the additional colour terms in Zarma, many respondents could not provide more apart from the common mentioned in the table above. This was attributed to language shift among most of the youth speakers of the language. Many of them were not fluent in Zarma as a result of Hausa influence. The following colour terms were provided by elderly people from 40yrs and above age group which constitute reasonable percentage.

Table 3: Additional Colour Terms in Zarma

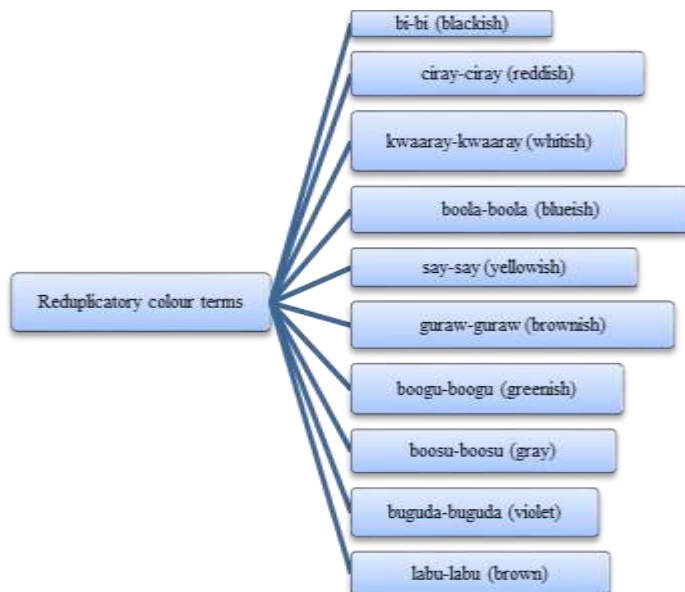
| S/N | Zarma Colour Terms | Gloss |
|-----|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. | Buula nino | Dark blue |
| 2. | Boosu gani | Light gray |
| 3. | Boosu nino | Dark gray |
| 4. | Boosu | Charcoal |
| 5. | Booni, boono, gani and gano | Green of unripe fruit |
| 6. | Tay, tayo | Green of lush herbs, leaves, crops |
| 7. | Ciray gani | Light red, pink |
| 8. | Ciray nino | Dark red (lively) |
| 9. | Ciray moros | Soft strong red |
| 10. | Ciray cos | Real red |
| 11. | Halawyay | Brightness colour of ice |
| 12. | Ciray coy | Scarlet, intense red |

It could be seen from the above table that, apart from number 4, 5, 6 and 11 above which are terms for charcoal, green of unripe fruit, green of lush herbs, leaves and bright colour of ice respectively, the remaining are bi syllabic words which are formed through compounding process.

Reduplicatory Colour Terms in Zarma

Reduplication is a common phenomenon in the colour terms systems of dome languages. Zarma displays quite interesting scheme of reduplicatory colour terms. About eighty eight percent of the respondents gave ten reduplicatory colour terms. The commonest form of reduplication is repeating a single colour term twice.

Fig. 6: Reduplicatory Colour Terms in Zarma



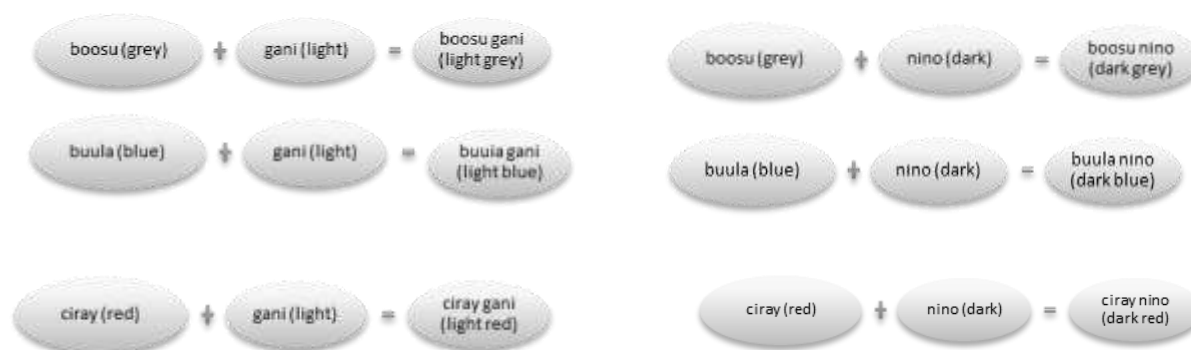
It could be seen from the above that all the reduplicatory terms show intensity of hue of a colour with exception of ‘boosu-boosu’, ‘buguda-buguda’ and ‘labu-labu’ which refer to ‘gray’, ‘violet’, and ‘brown’ respectively. The terms ‘bi-bi’, ‘ciray-ciray’, ‘kwaaray-kwaaray’, ‘boola-boola’, ‘say-say’, ‘guraw-guraw’

and ‘boogu-boogu’ refer to blackish, reddish, whitish, blueish, yellowish, brownish and greenish accordingly.

Idiophones in Zarma Colour Terms

There are colour terms that are formed through the use of idiophones. The study reveals that the following are colour terms that are formed through idiophones.

Fig. 7: Idiophones in Zarma Colour Terms



It could be seen from the above chart that idiophones in Zarma colour terms are generally formed through the use of ‘gani’ and ‘nino’ to indicate light and dark shades respectively. For example ‘boosu’, ‘buula’ and ‘ciray’ are colour terms for blue, grey and red in the language and either ‘gani’ or ‘nino’ can be attached to them to indicate their shades; gani (light) or nino (dark).

Classificatory or Descriptive Colour Terms in Zarma

Zarma predominantly has classificatory and descriptive colour terms as the table below indicates:

Table 4: Colour Terms for Naming and Classifying People and things in Zarma

| S/N | Term | What it Named or Described |
|-----|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. | Gaaciray/Annasara/ Gakwaray | White person |
| 2. | Gaabi/ Boro bi | Black person |
| 3. | Daara | ligh brown skinned person |
| 4. | Haama | Dark brown skinned person |
| 5. | Hamni kwaaray/ Kwaari | Grey hair |
| 6. | Saage | Brown cow |
| 7. | Gunguri say/sayo | Yolk yellow (yoke for egg) |

It could be observed from table 20 that white people based on race can be called either ‘gaaciray’, ‘gakwaray’ or ‘annasara’ in Zarma. Black person on the other hand is called either ‘gaabi’ or ‘boro bi’. While ‘daara’ and ‘haama’ are terms for light brown skinned person and dark brown skinned person respectively. ‘hamni kwaaray’ and ‘kwaari’ represent grey hair and ‘saage’ stands for a brown cow. Lastly, the colour of yoke for egg is called ‘gunguri say/sayo’

Sources of Colour Terms Naming in Zarma

The study confirmed that some colour terms source their names from different things in Zarma. For example, the term ‘boosu’, which literary stands for black colour gets its name from charcoal. ‘Booni’, ‘boono’ and ‘gani’, ‘gano’ are all terms that got their name from an unripe fruit. ‘Tay’ and ‘tayo’ sourced

their names from colour of leaves or crops in Zarma. In addition, ‘gooro hari’ and ‘gooro haro’ are terms for orange colour which sourced their name from the colour of saliva while chewing colanut.

Symbolic Meaning of Some Colours in Zarma

Symbolism is a feature of colour terms in Zarma which is known virtually by all native speakers of the language. This claim was reiterated by the respondents of the questionnaire who provided the following interpretation of colour in the language.

Fig. 8: Colour Terms with their Symbolism in Zarma

| kwaaray (white) | bi, biyo, biri (black) | ciray/cira (red) | boogu/booga (green) | say/sayo (yellow) |
|---|---|---|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •victory •peace •purity •happiness | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •evil •saddness •sorrow | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •bloodshed •danger •death •anger | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •fertility •freshness •abundance •youth | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •royalty •chieftency •power |

It could be seen from the above that ‘kwaaray’, ‘bi’, ‘ciray’, ‘boogu’ and ‘say’ are the commonest colour terms that symbolize different things in the cultural tradition of Zarma people. This was further supported by the responses to the questionnaire in the language where ninety one percent (91%) of the respondents provided the above symbolic applications of the five common colour terms. Although, these are not the only colours with symbolic meanings in the language but they are the most used with symbolic meaning in the Zarma community. Hence, below is the step by step discussion of the data in fig. 34 above.

i. White

The term ‘kwaaray’ is the equivalent of English ‘white’ and is associated with victory, purity, peace and happiness in Zarma. The white colour is considered sacred because of religious connotations of ‘purity’ and ‘faith’ it has in Zarma culture which was believed to have been influenced by Islam, having being the dominant religion of the people and that they produced great Islamic scholars over the centuries. The common dress of Islamic scholars, traditional rulers and influential people in the society is white colour. White colour signifies victory in Zarma, as attested by many respondents that white flags were waved in the the air as sign of victory whenever a war was won.. Similarly, white has become the predominant colour of happiness for the Zarmas which could be seen from the cloths they wear at some moments of joy.

ii. Black

The term for black in Zarma is ‘bi’, ‘biyo’ or ‘biri’. It has different symbolic connotations in the language which ranges from evil, sadness, sorrow to masculinity and dauntless behavior. In particular, the colour is associated with grief and evil as explained by eighty nine percent (89%) of the respondents. In most Zarma traditional communities ‘black clothes’ are used to mourn the death but in a deeply rooted community with Islamic orientation, the white colour is the most preferred and the dominant. Bori cult which is another dominant practice in Zarma community uses the black in carrying out their activities. For them the colour ‘black’ is the most preferred colour of evil spirits that relate with them in their diabolic practice.

iii. Red

The term ‘ciray’ is for red which connotes danger, bloodshed, anger and death in Zarma. The Zarma speakers use the term to describe braveness, terror and dangerous situations. Specifically, it defines traumatic situations.

iv. Green

The term for green is ‘boogu’ or ‘yargay’ and is stand for youthfulness, freshness and abundance in Zarma. It is a sign of good leaving, wealth, hospitality and happiness.

v. Yellow

The term 'say' or 'oole' is used for yellow in Zarma and it connotes royalty, chieftency and power. This could be seen from the way people of high caliber dress with clothes containing element of yellow in them.

Emotional Connotations of Colour Terms in Zarma

Colour terms in Zarma have power of influencing people's emotions and symbolize different things in traditional Zarma society. This was supported by a significant percentage 86% of the respondents on that. They have successfully decribed some psychological influence of three (3) colour terms in the language which include the following:

- i. Ciray (red) moves emotions of people to a state or feeling of uncertainty, danger and evil. Many respondents revealed that this colour is used in the cloths of palace guards, vigilante, dountless persons who cannot be pierced by sharp iron (yan tauri), and hunters to change their emotional state from calm, simple, considerate, friendly to that of fairless, aggressive, courageous, danger and confidence. Hence, red is one of the most loved colours of members of popular cult group in traditional Zarma community known as 'Bori cult' which relates with evil spirits.
- ii. Bi (black) is also one of the unwanted colours of the Zarma people due to its evil associations. Sometimes it throws people into state of uncertainty and fear as a result of its attachment to sorcerers. It also expresses state of dispers and mourning of death in a traditional Zarma society in addition to its predominant use in shrines and fortune tellers.
- iii. Kwaray (white) is a colour with good connotations and psychological attachments in Zarma. The colour 'white is said to be popular colour of Muslims because of its purity and piety nature. It specifically creates feelings of happiness, confidence and self fulfillment among its users.
- iv. Boogu (green) is a colour that shows abundance, hospitality, youthfulness and freshness in Zarma society. It makes people to feel high and confidence because of the abundant wealth they have. Probably, this is possible due to its associations with agriculture.

CONCLUSION

The study reveals that colour terms are valuable tools of expressing beauty, fame, deep thought and various emotions in purely traditional norms and cultural values of C 'lela, Zarma It further reveals how colour terms can be used to show polysemous, hyponymous and homonymous relationship. The study also confirms the convergence of the colour systems in the language through their power to name, classify and describe people, animals, places, events, things etc. in a pure traditional and cultural view. Of course, the study reveals that saturated colour terms that are warm and shorten are commonly preferred by female gender compared to those whose hue is high. For example, many female respondents prefer pink, light green, white, sky-blue, orange colours due to their cool nature. Hence, Zarma people see colour as watery and as such treat it with characteristic of wetness

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