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ARABIC LOANWORDS IN HAUSA

Lawan Danladi Yalwa

Introduction

No community can live without having contact with other communities around it. It is through this contact that communities influence one another at various levels—linguistic, cultural, social, and, in some cases, religious as well. This is what happened between the Hausa and Arab communities at the very early stage of the spread of Islam in the Western Sudan. The Hausa people borrowed a lot from Arabs through trade and the religion of Islam. One of the areas in which the Hausa borrowed heavily from the Arabs is language. In this paper we propose to discuss the borrowing of Arabic words into Hausa language.¹ This borrowing can be explained as a culturally motivated innovation since the two communities were not neighbors. Neither can it be said that the two languages are dialectal variants, though there seem to be some similarities in the pronominal forms if one considers the historical and comparative linguistic evidence which has led to the consideration of Hausa as a member of the Hamito-Semitic family of languages (see Robinson 1896; 1906).

The history of Hausa shows that the language has been exposed to a lot of external influences which have affected and still affect both the language and the people. Such external influences include Azben, the earliest language to affect Hausa, and Arabic (see Ibrahim 1978 and Liman 1978). It has now reached a stage where most native speakers of Hausa can hardly differentiate between the native vocabulary of their language and that borrowed from other languages. Arabic influence now has a permanent effect on Hausa in all areas of life, as evidenced in the Hausa language itself as spoken orally and as used in written literature. It is, however, very difficult to explain the moment of the first contact between the two languages, since we lack written materials that would show us the trend of such contact. The speakers of Hausa can only guess or speculate by making reference to historical documentation transmitted orally from one generation to another before the massive use of the *AJAMI* (Hausa written in Arabic script) in the post-jihad period of Sheik Usman Īan Fodio (see Bivar *et al.* 1962; Hiskett 1965, 1969, 1975; Liman 1978; and Ibrahim 1982).

Lexical borrowing:

A lot has been written on lexical borrowing from Arabic into Hausa. However, not much has been said about the causes of this borrowing. Apart from Hiskett (1965; 1975) and Zarruk (1978), most other works give only partial analyses of this issue. One such important work is that of Greenberg (1947). In this paper he claims that the influence of Arabic on Hausa was not directly from classical Arabic, but rather through colloquial Arabic spoken in North Africa, Egypt and some parts of Sudan. He goes on to say that the loans are divided into two phonologically distinct groups. The first group, which he identifies as earlier loans, came through colloquial Arabic. These words consist of terms of everyday life, trade, technology, and elementary aspects of the Islamic religion which mark the period when the Hausa community started to embrace Islam. As for group two, he claims that they came through classical Arabic and include words denoting personal names of Qur'anic origin and technical terms of pseudo-sciences mostly used by Hausa Islamic teachers. His claim is mainly based on the phonological evidence observed from the borrowed words by referring to the original Arabic words. He claims that the definite article *al-* was borrowed from North African dialects as this is a common feature in those dialects. Likewise the changing of $\theta > t$, $\theta > d$, $g > d$, $\xi > s$, $aw > o$: or u :; $a > e$; palatalization of alveolar consonants before front vowels; and the dropping of the article *al-* ("the") were borrowed from North African dialects. These are all features observed in Egyptian, North African and Sudanic dialects. These phonological changes came to Hausa through colloquial dialects and, therefore, must be of words in group 1 (see *ibid.* 1947). As for the second group, the words are constantly borrowed with the article *al-*, denoting the spread of Islam at a later period. He also includes words on horsemanship in this group.

Hiskett (1965) on the other hand gives a slightly different view concerning determining the history of adopting Arabic words into Hausa and the relative history of their coming, whether from classical or colloquial varieties. He mentions that we should not classify Arabic loans into Hausa only by phonological processes observed, but rather we should also consider the history of the language as well. The question one has to ask is: can one-sided generalizations with respect to group 1 loanwords be made? That is, can we rely on phonological processes alone as observed in the loans without referring to the history of the people as done by Greenberg? I would certainly say no. We have to refer to the history of the people and their literary background as well. Furthermore, I would not totally accept the view that all the words in group 1 (i.e. earlier loans) came through colloquial Arabic. There were some that really came through classical Arabic, notably from the Qur'an

and Hadith (i.e. Prophet Muhammad's [SAW] Traditions as observed by his companions).

At the historical level, observing some Arabic sources from the Kano Chronicle (see footnote 2) and the writings of the Arab geographers, we see that Islam was in existence in Hausaland earlier than what Greenberg asserts (cf. Greenberg 1946; 1947). It existed even before the massive arrival of Arabs into Hausaland (Hiskett 1965 and the introduction of his 1975 book). Arabs started to come to Hausaland in the 12th century A.D. during the reign of King Nagaji d'an Dārīku (1194-1247 A.D.) where they found a number of people practicing the Islam. Probably, as the history shows, the Mandingoes (or Wangarawa) were the people who first brought the religion to the Hausa people through trade and missionary activities. A great number of them were in Kano during the reign of Yaji Dantsamiya (1349-1385 A.D.), and were then followed by Fulanis of pre-jihad period (Hiskett 1965, Zarruk 1978, and Liman 1978). The Fulanis found the Hausa with the Qur'an and Hadith. This indicates that Islam was there earlier than many historians claim. It was after the Fulanis of the pre-Jihad period that the Arabs started to come to Hausaland in great numbers. This was during the reign of Muhammad Rumfa (1463-1499 A.D.). Muhammad b. Abdulkarim Al-Maghili (d. 1504; see Gwarzo 1972) is said to have written a treatise on Islamic law for Muhammad Rumfa. Another Arab called Sheik Tunis was also among the advisers of Muhammadu Kisoki (1509-1565 A.D.). A Maghribite, Sheik Abubakar was also an advisor to Muhammadu Zaki (1582-1618 A.D.).²

All of this information indicates that the coming of Islam really pre-dated the coming of the Arabs into Hausaland by at least 100 years. Therefore, we can say that the small number of the Muslim Hausa community (mostly the Malams or 'Muslim scholars') had the Qur'an before the massive coming of the Arabs. Another fact is also the order given by Yaji (1349-1385 A. D.) for the observance of the five daily prayers in Kano. This could not have been possible without a knowledge of the Qur'an and Hadith (see also Liman 1978 for such a view). Can we then establish the fact that not all words of group 1 came from colloquial Arabic? The answer is yes, if we only accept the fact that the Muslim Hausa community had these two great books before the massive coming of the Arabs into Hausaland. With this, we can straight away dismiss the argument that they borrowed all the Arabic loans from colloquial dialect(s), i.e. a kind of classical Arabic corrupted by the North Africans and Sudanic Arabs (cf. Goener et al. 1966; Muhammad 1968).³ I therefore hold the view that all words in the Qur'an denoting the basic teachings of Islam were transmitted to the Hausa in their classical forms. These include terms of trade, cavalry, and horsemanship which are found in the Qur'an. They were borrowed into

Hausa in their Qur'anic and not in colloquial Arabic forms. If their forms changed, it was due to either direct or indirect innovation by the Hausa themselves in trying to pronounce the words by imitation of the existing patterns either consciously or unconsciously. This might have influenced the adaptation by which the Hausa speakers replaced Arabic sounds by Hausa phonemes that are phonetically closer to the borrowed ones (cf. Salim 1977 for similar adaptation processes with English loanwords and Sani 1986). In this process of earlier borrowings the innovation cannot be a one man's work but rather many people were involved. It is possible that what one person heard cannot be the same as what others might have heard due to physiological differences found among the hearers. This might have caused the differences found in the loans. Although there are some loan words in group 1 which got into Hausa through colloquial Arabic, generalizations made by Greenberg on group 1 loans do not totally hold true.

Sources of Arabic Loans

There are five basic sources from which Hausa borrowed Arabic words:

Islam and Trade

It is to this source that most of the older words can be traced back, since the earlier people who had contact with the Hausa were both missionaries and traders (i.e. Wangarawa Islamic Missionaries; cf. footnote 2). Therefore all words denoting the fundamentals of Islam (including the concept of Belief) and some basic words on trade found in the Qur'an and Hadith were the first to be borrowed. These were immediately followed by words denoting items used for horse-riding and war because of the condition of Hausaland (insecurity for the kings) at that time. The Hausa borrowed these terms from the foreigners who introduced new techniques of warfare to them.

Literature and Grammar

The second source is literature and grammar of (a) the pre-Jihad period as in the works of Sufis like Wali *ḍan* Masani and Wali *ḍan* Marina (see Ibrahim 1982; Sa'id 1977) and, (b) the Jihad period where most Arabic words were borrowed and used in poetry written in *Ājāmi* writing system (cf. Hiskett 1975; Zarruk 1978). Most of the words borrowed were those denoting praise to Allah (SWT) and Prophet Muhammad (SAW), Islamic theology, warnings/admonitions to

Muslims about what they do and what the consequences for their activities will be, and words on Islamic law (cf. Bivar et al. 1962 and Zarruk 1978). Some of the borrowed words include the following:

(1)	adàbii	literature	da'rasii	lesson
	akàsii	opposite	haalli	condition
	baitii	stanza/ line of verse	jam'ii	plural
	bàlaagàa	eloquence	kalmàa	word
	diiwaanii	register	lamiifii	pronoun
	fasaahàa	skill	àlaamàa	indication/sign
	illà	defect	baabii	chapter/category
	jumlàa	sentence	bàlagàa	puberty
	kàsiidàa	poem	faa'lii	doer of action
	ajàlii	fate/deadline	hikaayàa	story
	ba'aa	joke/mockery	jinsii	gender
	d'abii'aa	behavior/ custom	kaamil	complete

Islamic School System

The third source is the establishment of Qur'anic Schools (i.e. slate-schools) established all over Hausaland. In these schools, malams (teachers) introduced many innovations including the teaching of Arabic consonants. Some of these innovations included the teaching of the Arabic consonants some of which were given Hausa names as *àlù* = Arabic /alif/; *ambàakin wòofii* = Arabic /'ayn/; *haakurii* (borrowed from Kanuri) = the Arabic rounded /h/, etc. Some of the words borrowed through Islamic schools include:

(2)

Ar: Allah >H: Allàh "God", Ar: Muslim >H: Mùsùlmii "Muslim", Ar: al-Mumin >H: Muumini "Believer," Ar: al-ima:m >H: liimaamii/liimân "Muslim leader," Ar: al- na:ib >H: naa'ibii "deputy leader," Ar: al-Nabiy >H: Ànnabii "Prophet," Ar: al- Hadith >H: Hàdiisi "Prophetic tradition," Ar: Hajj >H: Hajji "Pilgrimage (to Mecca)," Ar: hala:l >H: hàlâl "lawful", Ar: hara:m >H: hàr'âm "unlawful", Ar: Sala:t >H: Sallàa "prayer," Ar: siya:m >H: azùmii "Fasting," Ar: al-Qur'an >H: ÀlKùr'aanii "Quran," Ar: al-zaka:t >H: zàkkaa "Alms or religious tithe paid in the form of farm produce, livestock, jewelery, or money," etc.

Administration, Law, and Politics

Hausa terms used in administration, law, and politics also constitute a great number of Arabic words borrowed especially during the post-Jihad period. That was the time when the Fulani established an Islamic system of government and reforms over the Hausaland under the leadership of Sheik Usman ibn Fodio. This new system was channeled through sermons and writings using the Ajami in Hausa, Fulani or Arabic. This is directly connected to the sources of Arabic loan words discussed in the next section. The following are a few of the loanwords on administration, law, and politics:

(3)

Ar: al-'adab >H: ladàbii "punishment," Ar: bai'ah >H: bai'aa/mùbaaya'aa "pay homage," Ar: baitu al-ma:l >H: bàitulmaali "treasury," Ar: daulah >H: daulaa "kingdom," Ar: diyyah > H: diyyaa "ransom/compensation," Ar: ha:kim > H: haakìimii "district head," Ar: huku:mah >H: hùkuumaa "government," Ar: jamhu:riyyah: >H: jamhuuriyaa "republic," Ar: khara:j > H: hàraajii "tax," Ar: majalis >H: màjàlisaa "council," Ar: mulk > H: mulkii "administration," etc.

Modern Writings:

Modern writings which include both poetry and prose have been used to correct the traditional behavior of a great number of Hausa Muslims (including most of the Hausa kings) of mixing Islamic practices and other traditional religious practices which were in use before the introduction of Islam to Hausaland. Most of the words borrowed through the methods outlined in this section and the one before were adopted somewhat in a fixed form, in the sense that the loans were used just as they were in the source language without radical changes in their phonology or morphology. It seems to me that this was possible due to the fact that the people were aware of the foreign language, hence a correct version of Arabic was used. At the present time some of the older forms (of the pre-Jihad period) are used side by side with the ones corrected by the learned Hausa speakers. Also some of the older forms are being replaced by other loans from English, while some survive only in religious activities. For instance, the word *dubuu* (one thousand) is sometimes replaced by the Arabic: *alf* in counting years, while in general counting of things like money, the Hausa *Zambàr d'arii* (million) is totally replaced by *miliyàn* (million). We also do not find people using the word *goomiyaa* + number as in *goomiyaa*

biyu (twenty), but rather they use the loanword *àshifin*. There are also instances where the loanwords acquired new meanings that differ from their meanings in the original language with a semantic shift (see Rufa'i 1979). For example, Arabic: *màqbul* (accepted) has two meanings in Hausa. The first meaning is as in the source language, while the second one is "master or observer of people involved in their activities." These examples indicate that language change is gradual and unpredictable.

The history of Arabic loan words in Hausa shows that such words got into Hausa at different times. However, we do not know what the form of these words was at the time of their borrowing. An examination of the history of Hausa phonology and morphology will help us to understand how the loan words adapted to Hausa linguistic changes and in that way attempt to reconstruct their original form.

Evidence for Relative Chronology of Arabic Loans: Phonological Evidence

In this section we shall discuss the accounts of early writers on Hausa phonology. These writers include, among others, Klingenberg 1928, Greenberg 1945, Hiskett 1965. I will show that there are some sets of words from Arabic which if nativized would be expected to have a particular FORM, but to the contrary they do not. For instance, the Arabic word *qiyâ:s*, meaning "analogy," would be expected to be nativized as **kiyaashii*. But this is not what is found. Instead we find *kiyaasii*. I therefore conclude that [*kiyaashii*] would not be the earlier form and *kiyaasii* should be the later form, i.e. it must be a recent loan (see Greenberg 1941 for the palatalization processes and Bargery 1934 and Abraham 1962 for more forms that fail to undergo such a rule). At the phonemic level, the question of alternation between [f] and [p] does not arise, since they both occur in Hausa and no distinction or change of meaning is involved. So there is only one phoneme /f/. However, looking through the loans we find that sometimes the Arabic /f/ when borrowed into Hausa is realized as /b/ intervocalically, word finally or after a semi-vowel followed by a vowel. Consider the following:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|---------------------|---------|
| (4) | Arabic: al-kitâab > | Hausa: littaaŋii | 'book' |
| | Arabic: al-ŋayb > | Hausa: lâifii/aibii | 'fault' |

This change can be represented by the following general rule:

Ar: b > Has: f / [V-V]; [V-#]; [G-V] or [G-C]

This process shows us that /f/ is a distinct phoneme in Hausa. However, in the later loans Ar: /b/ is realized in Hausa as /b/ in all environments, showing that there is no change in such positions. It seems that the above rule changing Ar: /b/ > H: /f/ does not apply to the most recently borrowed words. Note that at the phonological level, there is also a rule called 'nasal assimilation' whereby a nasal consonant has the same place of articulation as that of any following consonant. The following rules indicate the environments where such a process occurs:

- (5)
- | | | | | |
|----|---|---|----|------------------------------------|
| a. | n | > | ñ | /-----# |
| b. | n | > | m | /-----C
[+labial] |
| c. | n | > | ñ | /-----C
[+Velar] |
| d. | n | > | n | /-----# C
[-velar]
[-labial] |
| e. | n | > | nʸ | /-----C
[+palatal] |
| f. | m | > | ñ | /-----\$ C
[+velar/alveolar] |

Some of the alternations can be seen in the following:

- (6)
- | | | | | |
|----|--------------------|---|-------------|----------------|
| a. | tànbayàa | > | tàmbayàa | 'ask/question' |
| | (Rule #b) | | | |
| | ask | | | |
| b. | liitaafii + n + mù | > | liitaafimmù | 'our book' |
| | book of us | | | |
- (7a) tàmm + tàmbayàa (< reduplication of 1st syllable)
>tàntàmbayàa 'ask repeatedly'
 ask
(Rule #f)
- (8b) tumkiyaa > tunkiyaa 'sheep'
(Rule #f)

- (9) ruwaa +n + kà (possessive phrase) > ruwañkà
'your water'
water of you (2ms.)
(Rule #c)
- (10) maalàmii + n > maalàmiñ 'the teacher'
(Rule #a)
teacher ref.
- (11) maalàmii + n + nàñ > maalàmin nàñ 'this teacher'
(Rules # d & a)
teacher of this
- (12) tsintaa > tsin^yts'èe 'picked up all one
by one' (Rule #e)
get something by chance or
pick up something one by one

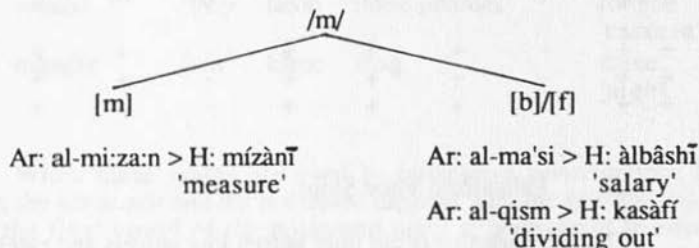
Some of these rules can be merged into a single rule. For instance, rules (5a) through (5e) can be represented in the following single rule:

- (13) C -----> [β place] / ----- C
[+nasal] [β place]

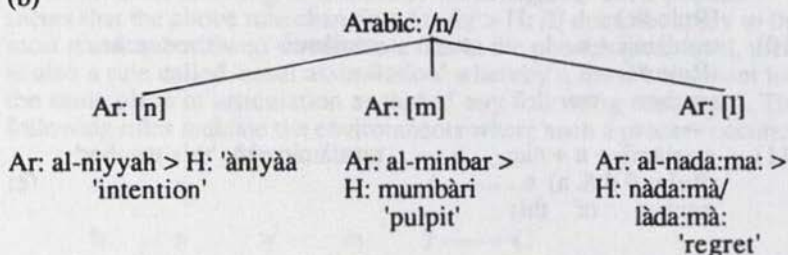
From the above examples we can conclude that there is a motivation for positing /m/ and /n/ as having an underlying phonological reality. We also find that [ñ] is an allophonic variant of /n/ in word-final position and before velar consonants. As for the Arabic loans, we find the following alternations in addition to what is given above:

- (14) Split Processes:

(a)



(b)



Neutralization Processes in Hausa

Neutralization in Hausa is very common where certain pairs of phonemes contrast minimally by one or more features. These include voicing for consonants, glottalization of consonants and lengthening or shortening of vowels in certain environments. Velar consonants are palatalized or labialized before front or back vowels respectively. Similarly, short high vowels /i/ and /u/ in some non-final positions are sometimes indeterminate in the sense that they can be written as either /i/ or /u/ without change in meaning. This can be seen in words like *sùmintii* or *sùmintii* or even *simintii*; *bùkii* or *bikii*; *furaa* or *firaa* meaning 'cement, ceremony, porridge' respectively. The three sets of velar consonants can be put in three different tables in order to examine their distribution. In (15i) we see that the velar consonants do not occur with short mid vowels /e/ and /o/. This is indicated by a plus or minus sign for occurrence or non-occurrence respectively.

(15)

(i) Plain and glottalized velar stops:

	a	a:	e	e:	i	i:	o	o:	u	u:
k	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
ḳ	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
g	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+

(ii) Palatalized Velar Stops:

These consonants occur only before low vowels and rarely before high long back vowel /u:/ as can be seen in the following table:

	a	a:	e	e:	i	i:	o	o:	u	u:
kʸ	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+?
ƙʸ	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
gʸ	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

These sounds occur in very few words such as the following:

- (16) *kyàamaa* 'feeling of aversion towards' *kyûuyaa* 'indolence'
kyûu ~ tsûu 'anxiety (ideophone)' *gyàd'aa* 'peanuts'

(iii) Labialized Velar Stops:

These occur before low vowels /a/ and /a/ or long front high vowel /i:/ and sometimes long mid front vowel /e:/ as in the word *gweebà/gwaibà* 'guava', but never before back vowels whether long or short. Their distribution is illustrated in the following table:

	a	a:	e	e:	i	i:	o	o:	u	u:
kw	+	+	-	?	-	+	-	-	-	-
ƙw	+	+	+	-	?	-	+	-	-	-
-										
gw	+	+	-	?	-	+	-	-	-	-

Having seen the distribution of these consonants, the question now is where do the short mid vowels /e/ and /o/ occur? The answer is simply that they generally neutralize to /a/ or a *shwa* /ʔ/ in final closed syllable. But first let us consider the following nouns:

- (17) *yaarò* 'boy' *taroo* 'three pennies' *roogò* 'cassava'
màagʸe 'cat' *kàree* 'dog' *daree* 'night'

When these nouns are used in possessive constructions by linking the possessor and the possessed element with the genitive linker -n/-ŋ, the final vowel of the possessed noun is neutralized to *shwa*. This is also the case where an element like a noun, an adjective, or a

nominal phrase in general is used referentially or made definite by attaching the previous referential marker *-n/-ŋ* to it as we saw in (10) above. That is, the vowels /e/ and /o/ are neutralized. Such processes are illustrated in the following:

- (18i) yaarò + n + Audù > yaarə-n Audù 'Audù's
 boy'
 kàree + n + Audù > kàrə-n Audù 'Audù's
 dog'
 màagʸee + n + Audù > màagʸə-n Audù 'Audù's
 cat'
- yaarə-n 'the boy (mentioned earlier)' tarə-n 'the three
 pennies' roogə-n 'the cassava'
 màagʸə-n 'the cat' kàrə-n 'the dog'
 darə-n 'the night'

To summarize our discussion on the restrictions on /e/ and /o/, we can generalize that:

- (18ii) (a) They do not occur in word final position.
 (b) In closed syllables, they phonetically change to *shwa*.
 (c) If the consonant before them is a velar, the consonant is labialized before /o/ and palatalized before /e/.

The changing of /o/ or /e/ to *shwa* /ə/ is a morphophonemic alternation. This process is also found in some of the Arabic loans where they behave just like in the native words. This is illustrated by the following examples:

- (19) Ar: al-kohl > H: kwállii [kwəlli] 'antimony chloride'

Here we have the following processes:

- (20) a. k > kw / ---- V
 [-high]
 [-low]
 [+back]
 b. o > ə / C ---- C

This change must have occurred in the earlier period, since the most recent loans do not follow this pattern of change.

Another common phonological change that can be seen as an instance of neutralization is the palatalization of alveolar consonants t, d, s, and z to palatal series č, ʒ, š, and ʝ before front vowels respectively (see Klingenberg 1928 and Greenberg 1941 for details of these processes). Another set of alveolar consonants do not follow this pattern. These are d', n, l, ts', and r. The application of palatalization rule can be seen in the following morphological processes of plural formation:

(21)

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Underlying forms</u> (plural formation)	<u>Surface forms</u> (plural forms)	<u>Gloss.</u>
(i) taasàa	taas-oo-s-ii	taasooshii	'bronze vessel'
(ii) azii	azuuz-uwàa	azuuzuwàa/azuujuwàa	'class'
(iii) gidaa	gid-àa-d-ee	gidàajee	'house/home'
(iv) ciizaa	ciz-ee-ciz-ee	cije-cijee	'bite'
(v) řùbùutaa	řùbùut-e-řùbùut-e	řùbùuce-řùbùuce	'write'
(vi) tantii	tant-oo-t-ii	tantoocii	'tent'

The above alternations can be reduced to the generalization that /s, t, d, and z/ alternate with the closest palato-alveolar segment. /z, d/ are voiced and realized as /j/ because it is the only voiced palato-alveolar sound. /s/ is realized as /š/, because /š/ is the only fricative voiceless palato-alveolar sound. And /t/ is realized as /č/, because /č/ is the only voiceless non-continuant available. We can, therefore, postulate a general formal rule for these processes as follows:

(22) [+ obstruent] —————> [+ palato-alveolar] / — [V]
 [+ alveolar] [- Low]
 [-back]

Condition: the alveolar consonant is not one of these: [d', n, l, ts', or r].

In the above examples, *ubùutaa* is an Arabic loan, but it behaves just like the other native words. This indicates that the earlier loans accepted Hausa phonological changes. However in some places we find instances where velar consonant /g/ is derived from palato-alveolar consonant /j/ before a high back vowel /u/. For example Arabic: *al-*

majuus > Hausa: *Bàmaagujèe* 'a pagan/Magian'. There are also split processes like the following:

- (23) a. Arabic: /s/ → Hausa: s, š/[#---] or [V]#
 [-low]
 [-back]

Examples:

<u>Arabic:</u>		<u>Hausa:</u>	<u>Gloss:</u>
sab'i:n	>	sàbà'in	'seventy'
nafs [soul]	>	numfaashii	'breath, breathing, soul'

- b. Arabic: /š/ → Hausa: s, r, z / [#----]
 [V---V]
 [----#]

Examples:

<u>Arabic:</u>		<u>Hausa:</u>	<u>Gloss:</u>
naşr	>	nasafãaa	'victory'
al-tasbah	>	càsbii/càzbii/càʔbii	'rosary beads'
al-şaarim	>	zaaʔũmii/jaaʔũmii	'brave'
al-şawm	>	azũmii	'fasting'

- c. Arabic: /z/ → Hausa: /l/, /z/ / [in all environments].

Examples:

<u>Arabic:</u>		<u>Hausa:</u>	<u>Gloss:</u>
al-muuzidd	>	mùliddii	'envious person'
al-zuhr	>	'azzahàʔ	'afternoon prayer'

- d. Arabic: /j/ → Hausa: d, g, z, or ʃ / [in any environment]

Examples:

<u>Arabic:</u>		<u>Hausa:</u>	<u>Gloss:</u>
al-sirj	>	siʔdii	'saddle'

al-Mà juusii	>	Bàmaagujèè	'Magian'**
al-Janaazàa	>	jànaa'izàa	'funeral'
al-ǰila:l	>	ǰàlaalàa	'embroidered saddle cover'

e. Arabic: /t/ —————> Hausa: /t/, /t̪/, /c/ / [in any environment].

Examples:

<u>Arabic:</u>	<u>Hausa:</u>	<u>Gloss:</u>
sitti:n	sittin	'sixty'
ḥatta:	(a) hàttaa (b) haḥ	'even' 'up until/up to/as far as'
alwaqt (a)	wookàcii (b) lookàcii	'time/period/era'

The above examples indicate that palatalization existed in Hausa language even before the contact with other external speech communities. There may also have been phonetic borrowings from some other languages but even if there were, their proportion is very small.

Arabic Laryngials and Pharyngials

Among these groups, the only one Hausa has is /h/. And wherever Arabic /h/ or /x/ occurs, it is realized in Hausa just as /h/. Likewise an *ayn* /ʕ/ is changed to glottal stop /ʔ/ which is also believed to have been borrowed from Arabic. Sometimes the *ayn* or glottal stop is replaced with a /w/ as in Arabic: *ʔallafa* > Hausa: *wallàfaa* (to compose/publish a book/paper/poem). As for the *ayn* /ʕ/, there is sometimes a merger, and the vowel quality is found as in Arabic: *muʕallim* > Hausa: *maalàm* (teacher), Arabic: *naʔib* > Hausa: *naaʔibii* (deputy). This process can be represented as follows:

(24)	a.	u ʕ	b.	a ʔ
		∨		∨
		a		a

Velars and Bilabials in Syllable Final Positions

In this section I will examine the following diachronic changes (the so-called Klingenheben's 1928 rules):

(25) a. syllable final labials change to /u/ as in older Sakkwato dialect, *zamnâa* is realized as *zaunâa* (sit), in Kando dialect.

b. syllable final velars change to /u/. An example of this rule is found in the alternation between *talâkâ* (poor), and *talaucii* (poverty), derived from the root **talak-*.

In order for these rules to apply, we have to posit another intermediate rule which will first convert the obstruent to a semi-vowel, since it usually involves a long process in deriving a vowel/semivowel directly from a consonant. Without this rule it is hard to make a concrete generalization. It is also very difficult to merge the two rules. I therefore propose the following simplified rule:

(26)	V	C	\$	==>	V	\$.
	[a low]	{velar}			[+ long]	
		{labial}			[+ back]	
	1	2			[a diph]	
					1+2	

The above rule implies that the combination of a vowel and a velar or labial consonant is changed directly into a diphthong. Here, the problems with velars, labials and glides are solved. We can now formulate our general rules as:

(27)	a.	{velars}	----->	G	/----	\$.	(G = glide)
		{labials}		[+back]			
	b.	VG	----->	VV	/-----	\$.	
				[+ diph.]			

These two rules can be used to get the surface forms of the following words which might be the representation of the older forms of the loans:

(28)	<u>Arabic:</u>	<u>Gloss:</u>	<u>Root:</u>	<u>Derivation (a) &</u>
				<u>(b):</u>
				(a) (b)
	i. halaqa	'create, perish' >	halaqt- >	hàliktàa > hàlittàa

- ii. al-waqt 'time' > waqt-> wukti > w/lookàcii
 iii. abd 'slave' > abd-> awdù > audù
 iv. sabab (lathi)'reason, cause' > sabab- da > sabàw dà
 > sabòodà

There are also instances of phonetic lag observed in the loanwords where the system of assimilation in Hausa words also applies to the borrowed words. Consider the following:

(29)

<u>Affected sequences:</u>	<u>Arabic:</u>	<u>Hausa:</u>	<u>Gloss:</u>
kt > tt / V-V	ləktab/al-kita:b	littaafii	'book'
rk > kk/ V-V	lərkab/al-rika:b	likkaafāa	'stirrup'
ḥs > ss / V-V	ḥəṣab/al-hisa:b	lissaafii	'reckoning/ arithmetic'
al-ṣ(alatu) > aṣ-ṣ / V-V	aṣṣalatu	àssàlaatù/sallāa	'prayer'

The Arabic sounds that are not found in Hausa are replaced with Hausa sounds that are closest to the Arabic ones. Some of these sounds are:

(30)

<u>Arabic:</u>		<u>Hausa:</u>	
θ	>	t	later > s ~ sh Arb: thala:tha > Hau: talata 'Tuesday'
ð	>	d or z	Arb: iðn > Hau: izini 'excuse'
d	>	d	
t	>	ɗ	
q	>	k, g, or ƙ	
ḥ	>	h	
ḫ/x	>	h, k, or ƙ	

These alternations can be seen in the following examples:

- (31) a. Arabic: /q/ —————> Hausa: /k/, /k̄/, /g/ [in any environment].

Examples:

<u>Arabic:</u>	<u>Hausa:</u>	<u>Gloss:</u>
al-qabar	kabàr̄ii/kabàr̄ii	'grave'
al-qa'idah	k̄aa'idàa/k̄aa'idàa	'principle/rule/ limit'
al-qahwah	gahawàa	'coffee'

- b. Arabic: /l/ —————> Hausa: /r/, /n/, /l/ [in any environment].

Examples:

<u>Arabic:</u>	<u>Hausa:</u>	<u>Gloss:</u>
al-qawal	àlkawàr̄ii/àlkàwàr̄ii	'promise/ reliability'
Jibril:	Jibriilù/Jibirin	'Angel Gabriel'
al-waliy	wàliyyii	'Saint/holy man/ friend'

- c. Arabic: /r/ —————> Hausa: /r/, /n/ [in any environment].

Examples:

<u>Arabic:</u>	<u>Hausa:</u>	<u>Gloss:</u>
al-xaraj	hàraajii	'tax'
al-ka:fir	kaafīr̄ii	'infidel'
al-ḥarir	àlhàr̄iini	'kind of silk thread or fabric'

All the above explanations indicate that earlier loans conform to most of the Hausa phonological rules. It is therefore plausible that any word that undergoes such changes will be considered as an earlier loan,

because "the phonetic developments of the loan show up in the phonetic form at the time of the borrowing (Bloomfield 1933)".

Morphological Processes

At the morphological level, Arabic loans have not produced any noticeable change or effect on Hausa with the exception of the *-iyaa* suffix. This is due to the fact that when they are borrowed, they automatically fall into the morphological pattern of the native Hausa words. For example, masculine nouns in Arabic have been borrowed as masculine nouns in Hausa by adding the vowels /-i/ or /-u/. Similarly, Arabic feminine nouns have been equally incorporated as Hausa feminine nouns ending in vowel /a/. Also Arabic proper nouns mostly end with the vowel /-u/ in Hausa as in Mùhammadù, Yàakubù, Isyaakù, Ibraahimù, Àuwalù, Saalisù/Saalihù, Yusufu, Kàbfrù etc. So here we can see that the loans are subject to the same analogies as any similar native word.

Prefixes

There are also some instances where the loans attract native words in the process of adaptation. We can see this through the use of a prefix *ma-* to form different types of nominals. It can be attached to a verbal root (and in some cases a nominal root as well) to form an agentive noun which denotes (a) a person performing an action either as a profession or as a habit, or (b) nature of a person. These kind of nominals have masculine, feminine and, plural forms. In the (b) type, the prefix usually takes a low tone in all persons and gender. In other words, the low tone prefix *mà-* is used to form agential noun by the process of back-formation, where the only high tone in the morphologically derived nominal is on the antepenultimate syllable for the singular forms and on final syllable in the plural forms. Similarly, the masculine nominal ends in *-i*, the feminine in *-a*, while the plural ends in *-ai* suffix. This is illustrated in (32) below. The former forms will not be discussed here since they involve a different analysis. The prefix *ma-* may also be used to form locative nouns by prefixing it to a verbal root. In this case the tone of the prefix is high, so are the remaining syllables of the derived singular locative noun. When the locative noun is masculine singular, it ends in *-i*. Where it is feminine singular, it takes the suffix *-a*, while the plural takes the suffix *-uu* (or in some rare cases the suffix *-ai*). While the tones of the feminine singular forms (the predominant forms) are all high, the tones of the masculine singular are not uniform. There is a low tone on the second to the last syllable of some derived nouns, while with others only the prefix and

the suffix take high tones. As for the plural forms all tones are low except the final one. These morphologically derived nominals denote a place/location where an activity is done. The following examples will suffice to illustrate their forms in (33):

(32)	<u>Arabic:</u>	<u>Hausa (singular agentive):</u>	<u>meaning:</u>
	mashhur	mà-shàhuuř-ii	famous (from shahara = to be famous)
	mabşu:ř	mà-bàsuuř-ii	lengthened (from basařa = to lengthen)
	maĵnun	mà-jànuun-ii	mad/crazy' (from janna = to be mad/insane)
	maqbu:l	mà-řàbuul-ii	religious souvenir brought from Hajj
		mà-shàhuuř-iyaa	(famous =feminine singular)
		mà-shàhùuř-ai	(famous = plural)
(33)	maqrah	ma-kařant-aa	school (from qara'a = to read)
	majlis	ma-jalis-ii	sitting/council (from jàlasà = to sit)'
	mahkamah	ma-hukunt-aa	court (from hakama = to pass judgment)
	maqbarah	ma-řabařt-aa	graveyard (from qabar = grave)
	maksu:r	ma-kàsàř-ii	disabled person (from kasarà = to break)
		mà-kàrànt-uu	(schools)
		mà-jàlis-uu/-ai	(councils)

Another very productive prefix is bà- which is prefixed to a stem of a noun (and suffixing the vowel -ee for masculine singular or -iyaa for feminine singular) to form an ethnonym. The plural forms do not take the prefix ba-, they do however take the plural suffix -aawaa which is attached to the stem of the singular noun. The following illustrate their morphological forms:

(34)	<u>Arabic:</u>	<u>Hausa:</u>	<u>Gloss:</u>
	'arabiy	Bà-laařab-èè	Bà-laarab-iyaa
	'Arab'		
	misriyyun	Bà-misiř-èè	Bà-mis(i)ř-iyaa
	'Egyptian'		
	nasaariyyun	Bà-nasaarř-èè	Bà-nasaarř-iyaa
	'Christian/ White man'		
	yahu:dun	Bà-yahuud-èè	Bà-yahuud-iyaa
	'Jew'		
	'askar	Bà-'askař-èè	Bà-'askarř-iyaa
	'soldier'		
		Laařab-aawaa (Arabs)	
		Yahuud-aawaa	(Jews)
		Askař-aawaa	(Soldiers)

For a complete discussion of this morphological process, see Newman 1986.

Suffixes

When we examine the concept of morphological suffixation (when dealing with syllable structure in derivational morphology), we see that the Arabic loans seem to adapt to the processes and behave in the same pattern as the native words (as in 32 through 34 above). Other productive suffixes used in morphological/ (derivational) processes other than those illustrated in a previous section on prefixation are the following:

(35)	(i)	-taa/tà(a)	-takàa
	(ii)	-nta	-ntakàa
	(iii)	-cìi	-ncii

Consider the following loanwords from Arabic to which suffixes are not attached as in 36 below:

aadàlii	'just/honest/upright person'
àlmùbazzarři	'extravagant /spendthrift'
àlkaalii	'judge'
àmiiinii	'trusted or reliable friend'
Annabii	'Prophet'
bàlaagàa	'eloquence'
d'àbii'aa	'behavior/custom/character'
d'aalibii	'student'

fakiiṛii	'poor/destitute'
faa'idāa	'usefulness/gain/benefit'
gaafarāa	'pardon/forgiveness'
haa'inii	'deceitful person'
hālāl	'lawful'
hārām	'unlawful'
haajāa	'merchandise'
haakimii	'district head'
hùkuumāa	'authority/governing body'
hùsuumāa	'quarrel/enmity'
kaafirīi	'infidel/non-Muslim'
jaahilii	'ignorant/illiterate person'
liimān	'leader (especially in prayers)'
'maalām	'teacher'
rāhuusaa	'cheap'
siyaasāa	'politics'
shēedān	'Satan/the Devil'
wāliiyi	'Saint/holy man/representative'
wāziirīi	'vizier/traditional title'
zindiiṛii	'apostate'

These words may take different types of the suffixes (listed in 35). Each suffix used will bring about a change in meaning. Let me now give a few examples of these derivations.

(37)

<u>-tā(a)</u>	<u>meaning:</u>	<u>-taa</u>	<u>meaning:</u>
àadal-tà	became upright	aadāl-taa	cause to become right
gàafar-tàa	forgiveness	gaafar-taa	forgive/pardon someone
hàa'in-tàa	be deceitful	haa'in-taa	behave treacherously to
hùkum-tàa	be judged/punished	hukùn-taa	give verdict/pass judgement
jàahil-tàa	be ignorant	jaa'hil-taa	be ignorant of
kàafir-tàa	become infidel	kaafir-taa	to call one infidel
màalan-tàa	being a teacher	*maalàn-taa	be a teacher
shàrif-tàa	being a noble	*?sharīf-taa	make one a noble

wàlit-tàa being a Saint/appoint walit-taa appoint one as
 a representative as representative

(38)

<u>-takàa</u>	<u>meaning:</u>	<u>-ntakàa</u>	<u>meaning</u>
ʔaadàltakàa	righteousness	ʔaadàlantakàa	righteousness
ànnàbtakà	prophethood	*ʔànnabàntakàa	prophethood
hàa'ìntakàa	deceitfulness	*ʔhàa'ìnantakàa	deceitfulness
*hàaziikìitakàa	act of being intelligent	ʔhàazikàntakàa	act of being intelligent
*kàafiřtakàa	act of non- belief	*kàfiřàntakàa	act of unbelieving
*kìimàntakà	act of assessing	*kìimàntà'àntakàa	act of assessing
màalàntakà	act of teaching	*màalàntà'àntakàa	act of teaching
shàrifitakàa	act of being noble	*shàrifità'àntakàa	act of being noble
wàlittakàa	act of being a Saint/re representative	*wàlittà'àntakàa	act of being a Saint/ representative

(39)

<u>-cii</u>	<u>meaning:</u>	<u>-ncii</u>	<u>meaning:</u>
aadalcii	righteousness	aadalancii	act of being righteous
annabcii	prophesying	ʔannabancii	prophesying
haa'incii	deceit/fraud/ treachery	haa'inancii	deceit/fraud/ treachery
*haaziikiicii	act of intelligence	haazikancii	act of being intelligent
kaafircii	act of non-belief	ʔkaafiřancii	act of unbelieving
*kiimancii	act of assessing	*kiimanancii	act of assessing
maalancii	teaching	maalamancii	teaching
shàřifcii	act of being noble	shàřifancii	act of being noble
waliccii	act of being a Saint/ representative	*walittancii	act of being a Saint/ representative

When these derivations are considered (in a much larger data) it becomes clear that the suffixes that seem to be used more widely (in both the native and the loanwords) are the *-tâa/-taa*, *-ncii*, and *-cii* while *-takâa* and *-ntakâa* do not occur more frequently than expected. This may suggest that the latter forms are being replaced by the former ones more frequently, even though both groups might have existed side by side at the same time. When borrowed into Hausa these loans also exhibit the same behavior with respect to the issues of transitivity and syllable structure. In other words, they follow the same phonological and morphological patterns found in native words (see Newman 1972 on the issue of Hausa syllable structure).

Loan Shift

This feature of borrowing involves lexical and semantic changes. It deals with the aspect of loan translation or semantic loan. In the examples below, the Arabic models carry one meaning in the source language and another after they have been borrowed into Hausa:

(40)	Ar:	al-damen	'security'	H:	laamùnii 'credit'
	Ar:	al-ayah	'verse'	H:	laayaa 'charm'
	Ar:	al-ajam	'foreigner'	H:	àjàmi 'Hausa in Arabic script'
	Ar:	al-'a:zaan	'call to prayer'	H:	làadân 'prayer caller'

Replacements/Alternations of Words (Taboo Words)

There are certain words which are considered by the learned Hausa as taboo. They, therefore, constantly replace such words with the Arabic loans which are actually semantically the same. For example (~ means replaced by the Arabic loan):

(41)	H:	tsiraicii	~	Ar:	al'auřãa	'nakedness'
	H:	fitsaarii	~	Ar:	bawàlii	'urine'
	H:	kaashii	~	Ar:	gaayàřii	'dung/shit'
	H:	gìndii	~	Ar:	azzakàřii/fařjii	'penis/vagina'
	H:	tuusàa	~	Ar:	řiihii	'breaking wind'

As we can see from the examples so far, the loans came from both classical and colloquial Arabic depending on the nature of the loanword. Here are examples from both sources:

(42)

Classical:	Colloquial:	Hausa:	Meaning:
almubazzar	'al bajjar	almùbazzàrîi	'spendthrift'
albaras	baras	àlbaṛàs	'leprosy'
albarakah	bar(i)ka	albaṛkàa/ baṛkàa	'blessing'
hisaab	hasab	hisaabii	'reckoning'
haqq	haqq	hakii/hakîi	'rights'
alxabar	xabar	làabaaṛîi	'news/story'
dabbah	dabba	dabbàa	'animal'
raahah	raaha	ṛahàa	'leisure/rest'
al-sharif	sarif	shàṛîifi	'noble'
samm	samm	sammùu	'poison'
taarih	tarix	taaṛîihii	'history'
q/gahwa	q/gahwa	gahawàa	'coffee'
wazirun	wazir	wàzîifi	'vizier'
rashwah	riswa	ṛashawaa	'bribery'
awqa'a	awqa'a	àuku/àfku	'happen'
rahuusah	rukhsa	ṛàhuusaa	'cheap'

At the syntactic level, not much influence is found. However, the Maalàrns constantly use Arabic forms in their conversation and in poetry in particular. For example:

(43) À yaa Àllaahù yaa Ahadùn,
 Wà yaa Ràbbaahù yaa Samadù,
 Wà yaa man laa làhu waladùn,
 Wà yaa Rahmaanù yaa Faradù,
 Wà yaa zal juudù wal karamii,
 Kà bân sùturàa à nân duuniyàa.

Oh God the One,
 Oh that whose God is the Eternal,
 Oh He who has no son,
 Oh the Beneficent the Unique,
 Oh Possessor of liberality and generosity,
 Give me guidance in this world.

As we can see from the verses, all but the last line are in Arabic. And even in the last line the final word used (*duuniyàa* = world) is also Arabic. Sometimes they mix the native words and the Arabic loanwords in certain fixed expressions like the following:

- | | | |
|------|---|--------------------------------|
| (44) | <i>ba'ada</i> baayan hakà | 'after that' |
| | <i>àlaa</i> tiilàs | 'on necessity' |
| | <i>tun fil àzal</i> | 'since from the beginning' |
| | <i>tàlaatàinìn</i> daree | 'three o'clock in the morning' |
| | <i>Màjàlisà</i> d'inkìn <i>duuniyàa</i> | 'United Nations' |

Conclusion

We have attempted in this paper to show that not all words in Greenberg's group (A), i.e. the earlier ones, were borrowed from colloquial Arabic. A great number of them were borrowed from classical Arabic due to the restrictions laid down by Islamic scholars, especially during the early stage of the religion at the time of the Orthodox Caliphs and their followers. It was decided that the reading and writing of the Qur'an be in the dialect of Quraysh in which the Book was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) and, that nothing should be changed. Therefore, words dealing with the basic concept of Islam mentioned in the Qur'an and the Traditions of the Prophet (SAW) were borrowed into Hausa as they are in the Qur'an and the books of Hadith. Words like Allah—God, Ànnabi—Prophet, al-*Ḥù*'aanii—Qur'an, *Hàdiisii*—traditions of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW), etc. came into Hausa through the classical Arabic, the language used in the two most important sources of Islamic learning. Similarly, a great number of words of trade and horsemanship (cavalry) also came through the Qur'an and books of traditions. There is no doubt that some words in both groups came from colloquial Arabic. However, those words mentioned in the Qur'an and books of Hadith must have been carefully transmitted from one person to another, since most of those spreading the religion were well versed in the reading and teachings of the Quran and Hadith, and they knew the restrictions imposed on Muslims with regard to the handling of the Holy Book. The next group of borrowed words includes words describing the religion in a wider form and some technical terms and pseudo-sciences. This can be dated as from the late 17th-18th centuries during the period of the pre-Jihad scholars.

We have also attempted to show that most of the borrowed words were totally absorbed into the phonological and morphological

systems of Hausa. The Arabic sounds that are not found in Hausa sound system were replaced by the native sounds that are phonetically close to the Arabic ones. We can therefore conclude that Arabic loans have brought about an increase in the phonemic inventory of Hausa. Such new sounds include the glottal stop (and, probably the rolled/trilled [ʀ] in words like *rahâa* (pleasant chatting), *řàhuusaa* (cheapness), *řahamâa* (mercy)*ra'âyii* (opinion/point of view). After words denoting the concept of religion in general, we then get those used in Qur'anic schools. These include words like *wasàlii* - (vowel), *izifii* (section/chapter), *haatimii* (stamp), *tilaawàa* (recitation), etc. It was during the pre-Jihad period that *Ājâmi* came into use by the local teachers of the time. It was not however widely used until few years before the Īn Fodio's Jihad and also during and after the Jihad of 1804. This was done through poetry which the Jihadists composed for various purposes. They were mostly concerned with Islamic reforms in Hausaland. And most of the loanwords they used do not always obey the phonological system of Hausa because of direct transliteration from Arabic. Such words include:

(45)

Řisaasii	'estimate',	which should have been	*Řisaashii
mà'aasii	'sinner'	" "	*mà'aashii
baitii	'verse'	" "	*baicii
akàsii	'opposite'	" "	*akàshii
wàs(i)waasii	'doubt'	" "	*wàshìwaashii
sàlaatii	'praise to the Prophet'	" "	*sàlaacii

The style of these people has continued to the present day. It is being used by modern poets and mystics, though some of the Jihadists were Sufis as well. Modern poets use the Arabic form of a word from which it is translated into Hausa morpheme by morpheme. Some of these loans include the following:

(46)

Ar:	kaashif	H:	kaashif	'abundant grace'
Ar:	awliyaa-Allah	H:	'auliyaa-Àllah	'friends of God'
Ar:	dhawq	H:	zaukii	'noumenal understanding'
Ar:	al-shaja:r	H:	àsshajarù	'tree'
Ar:	naasi	H:	naasii	'forgetfulness'
Ar:	bu'si	H:	buu'si	'misfortune or evil'

Ar:	ya'si	H:	ya'asii	'despair'
Ar:	kursiyyi	H:	kũrsiyyù	'chair/seat'
Ar:	na:su:t	H:	naasuutii	'stage of material existence'
Ar:	Ahad	H:	Ahadùn	'the One'

There is a constant change of $q > k̄$ which is the opposite of the earlier change of $q > k$ (see Sani 1986). Similarly, in most of the later loans, the rule of palatalization did not apply. These words are used side by side with the native ones. They however failed to be naturalized because the Maalàms, or the literate persons, knew something of the foreign pronunciation and orthography. The earlier forms of Arabic loans in Hausa can be dated from the coming of Islam to Hausaland to the pre-Jihad period, while the later ones were from the Jihad period to the present. However, the two are used side by side and the Hausa, with the exception of the educated (Western or Islamic) are not even aware of these changes.

NOTES

¹Hausa is the term by which the people of the Hausa ethnic group call themselves. It is also the name of their language. Numerous references to the use of this term to denote the people and the language can be found in Hausa oral and written literature even before the coming of the Sakkwato (Sokoto) Jihad (cf. Smith 1965; Adamu 1978 and Skinner 1977). The Hausa have no other word for their country other than the phrase *K'asar Hausa* where both the people and the language are situated. With regard to the origin of the Hausa people, there have been many theories and each is connected with the famous legend of Bayajidda in Daura, the founder of the Hausa City States. Apart from the traditional accounts by the Hausa themselves, some scholars suggest that the Hausa people originated from the east via Egypt or Ethiopia. Some have the view that the Hausa are a mixture of Arabs and Berbers (cf. Robinson 1906:8-23 and Tremearne 1900:51-2). Smith (1978), however, has suggested that the people who lived in Hausaland at the end of the fifteenth century, lived there from time immemorial. The Hausa have shown themselves to be an assimilating ethnic group in the Western Sudan and the Hausa language has been a colonizing one in that even those ethnic groups that were not originally Hausa and did not use Hausa as their first language later became Hausa by assimilation. This has been the process from the pre-Jihad period to date (cf. Adamu 1978).

²It should be mentioned, however, that some historians of the Central Sudan have argued that Islam was already in Hausaland as early as the 11th Century and was introduced to the Hausa people through trade with the north African traders via the Mandigo people (cf. Hiskett 1975, and "Kano Chronicle" 1883-1893, an anonymous

composition listing the rulers of Kano from Bagauda to Muhammad Bello ibn Ibrahim Dabo translated from Arabic by Palmer, 1908).

³There are other reasons for saying this. Firstly, the nature (i.e. inimitability) of the Qur'an itself as explained below. Secondly, the consensus of Muslims in general about the handling of the Qur'an. In the Qur'an, there are a lot of warnings about what will befall a Muslim if he/she distorts the image of the Qur'an by interpreting it in a way that may have a different connotation. Thirdly, since the time of the four Orthodox Caliphs, it was agreed that the Qur'an should be read in the dialect of the Quraysh which represents the classical Arabic dialect, not the neo-Arabic dialect (cf. Blau 1977 for the terms "classical" and "neo-Arabic" dialects).

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