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*Some Additional Remarks on Arabic Loan Words in Hausa**

Several studies have been published on Arabic loan words in Hausa since Cannon Robinson [20, 173–191] devoted a few pages in his grammar on this subject. Some of them, like those by Greenberg [10], Hiskett [13], and Gouffé [9], are very important. But Greenberg's article is still now fundamental, after almost half a century. *Inter alia* it is the most important study for the number of loans examined¹, but despite this there is still a lot of work to do. This paper is intended to add some remarks, when possible, to Greenberg's article, analysing some points which were underestimated or misunderstood by Greenberg.

My remarks are based on a large corpus of loans collected while preparing my unpublished doctoral dissertation discussed in 1982 at the Sobonne, Paris [3]. The loans were those registered in the main dictionaries (Robinson, Bargery, Abraham, and Newman and Newman) with

* This paper was read at the 5th International Hamito-Semitic Congress (Wien 1987), but problems of length prevented its publication under this form in the Acts.

For the sake of simplicity, bibliographical references will be given by two numbers: the first, in italics, gives the number of the work listed in the bibliography at the end, while the latter refers to the pages of the work quoted. Every word quoted, unless differently specified, is taken from Wehr's dictionary for Arabic and from Abraham's for Hausa. As concerns Arabic, Wehr's transcription is followed and for Hausa the transcription is according to the Parsons-Gouffé system [18; 7, 191, note], except for words registered only by Robinson, which are quoted as given by the author. The meaning of the Arabic and Hausa words is that given by the two standard works used for this research, it not differently stated.

** *Abbreviations*: AR = Arabic; Dg. = Damagaram (Zinder) Hausa; HA = Hausa; Kt. = Katsina Hausa; Nor. = Northern Hausa; Sk. = Sokoto Hausa.

¹ They are 456, gathered under 17 sections. Most of the items are in the last section, *Abstract and General*, 180, and under *Religion*, 70. The smallest sections are: *Animals* with three items and *Building* with four items.

some other taken from other sources². The bulky inventory is formed by 1,245 loans³.

In order to have the widest inventory possible, I have also included the Arabic loan words that came into Hausa through other African languages⁴, i.e.: from Kanuri, *ʔalloo* 'slate, board', *bindigàa* 'gun', *hankàlii* 'intelligence', *kàasuwa* 'market', *laafiyàa* 'health', *laahiràa* 'the Next World', *lardii* 'district, division', *laymàa* 'tent', *maalàmii* 'teacher', *sirdii* 'saddle', *sooroo* 'entrance room of compound'; from Fulfulde, *hubbaarè* 'tomb of religious leader', *doolè* 'power'; from Tuareg *takardaa* 'paper', *tàmantàkaa* 'belt', etc.

I also included the words which were loans in Arabic itself, like: *ʔiblīs* 'Satan, Devil' < AR *iblis* < Greek *diábolos*; *ʔinjil* 'New Testament' < AR *injil* < Greek 'euangélion'; *múr* 'myrrh' < AR *murr* < Greek *mýrrha*; *sàabulùu/sàabunii* 'soap' < AR *ṣābūn* < Greek *sápon*; *yaakuutù(u)* 'sapphire' < AR *yākūt* < Greek *uákintos*; *zumùrrudù(u)* 'emerald' < AR *zumurrud* < Persian *zomorodi*, etc.

Apart from a small number of mistakes present in his article⁵ and the reproaches moved by Hiskett⁶ Greenberg's article has some weak points I tried to focus on. For example, in the process of borrowing loans from Arabic into Hausa, Greenberg devoted his attention mainly to classical Arabic and to spoken Arabic, without considering the importance of such intermediaries as Kanuri, Fulfulde, Tuareg, and other West

² The words *màʔadinay* 'mine' from Armitage's article [2, 31]; *ʔaludi(u)* 'lute' from Greenberg's article [10, 92]; *gafalàa/fagalàa* 'foolishness, stupidity' and *kimiiyyàa* 'natural sciences' from the current literature.

³ Of these 1,245 loans, most were supplied by Abraham's dictionary (1,159 items), by Bargery's (51 items), by Robinson's (28 items), by Newman's (3 items) and from other sources (4 items). The research which started as a comparison of Arabic loan words common to Hausa and Swahili, was based on Abraham's dictionary, which was the first examined.

⁴ This list of words which is not exhaustive, could be much richer if we also consider words like *liimân* 'imam', *lookàcùu* 'time', etc., which coexist with *ʔimaamii* and *wakàcùu*, respectively, coming directly from Arabic.

⁵ For example: «North American influence» for «North African influence» [10, 87]; the absence of the Arabic phoneme /ʃ/ in the list of the Arabic consonants [10, 88–89]; the mixing up of the Hausa verbal forms: *hàllakà/hàlakà* d^o3 intransitive, given as transitive and *hallàkaa/halàkaa* d^o1 transitive, given as intransitive.

⁶ Hiskett [13, 18] criticizes Greenberg's «method to differentiate by phonetic criteria between two main groups, which he terms group I and group II. The first of these he regards, on phonetic evidence, as old. The second as more recent» and he suggests «to examine in greater detail the historical and literary background to the borrowing process; to query Greenberg's view that colloquial Arabic influences played a part in the early stages of this process; and to see to establish a more precise chronology».

African languages. He became aware of this while writing his article on Kanuri [11].

A second aspect, not discussed by Greenberg, regards the phenomena of dissimilation which while not frequent is present in the Arabic loans: AR *fa'l* 'good omen' > HA *ʔàlfaalù(u)/ʔàlfaanù(u)* 'bringing luck'; AR *nadāma* > HA *nàdaamàa/làdaamàa* 'remorse, regret'; AR *ni'ma* 'benefit, blessing' > HA *nìʔimàa/liʔimàa* 'prosperity'.

A third aspect is represented by cases of metathesis: AR *jāla* < HA *jalāwtaa* 'to wander about'; AR *ṭalāsīm* (plural of *ṭilasm*) 'talisman' > HA *dālāamùsay* 'type of written charm'; AR *raḥaba* 'public square' > HA *hàraabàa* 'enclosed space round mosque'.

A fourth aspect concerns the Arabic article *al-*, which according to Greenberg "is usually borrowed with the noun (this is also found to some extent in group II)" [10, 86]. But in my opinion, it does not seem to play a prominent role in the borrowing of nouns in Hausa. In fact, among 1,051 Arabic nouns giving nouns in Hausa⁷ it was present only in 156 cases (14.84%). This amount becomes smaller if we consider that in 36⁸ (23.07%) the forms with the article coexisted with those without it: AR *misk* > HA *miskii/ʔàlmiskii* 'musk'; AR *tājir* 'merchant' > HA *ʔà-taajirii/taajirii* 'wealthy person'. Among the remaining 120 cases we have the following situation:

1) 60 cases (38.46%) keeping the article before an Arabic noun starting with a lunar consonant: AR *amr* > HA *ʔàl'amàrii* 'matter, business'; AR *qidr* 'cooking pot, kettle' > HA *ʔàlkidirii* 'iron pot';

2) 14 cases (8.97%) keeping the article before an Arabic noun starting with a solar consonant: AR *nūr* 'light' > HA *ʔànnuurii* 'afterglow of sun';

3) 13 cases (8.33%) keeping the article before an Arabic noun starting with a solar consonant, but without reduplication of the initial Arabic consonant⁹: AR *ra'd* > HA *ʔàraadù* 'thunder';

4) 6 cases (3.84%) keeping the article previously assimilated in the

⁷ A list of Arabic nouns giving verbs, interjections, and particles in Hausa can be found in the Table of my communication to the *Symposium on Chadic Linguistics*[4].

⁸ In this figure we have 26 words starting in Arabic with a lunar consonant and 10 words starting with a solar consonant. In this latter case five Hausa words agglutinated the Arabic article without the gemination of the initial consonant: AR *ṣandūq* > HA *sànduukii*/(Kt.) *ʔàsànduukii* 'box'.

⁹ In three cases the two Hausa forms with (— and without —) the reduplication of the initial Arabic consonant coexisted: AR *ḍakar* > HA *ʔazakàrii/ʔàzzakàrii* 'penis'; AR *ṭa'ām* > HA *ʔàdḍàʔaami(i)/ʔàdḍàʔaami(i)* 'food'; AR (*yaum*) *as-sabt* > HA *ʔàsabàr/ʔàssabàr* 'Saturday'.

African language (mainly Kanuri) which was the intermediary among Arabic and Hausa: AR *ard* 'earth' > Kanuri *lárdà* 'earth, country' > HA *lardii* 'district';

5) 6 cases (3.84%) where the Hausa forms – with and without the article – coexisted with different meaning: AR *dā'ira* > HA *daaʔiraa* 'circle' and HA *ʔaddaaʔiraa* 'short-sleeved gown such as worn by N.A. police';

6) 21 cases (13.46%) keeping the article, but with some modifications: AR *kafan* > HA *likkafānii/lākafānii* 'shroud'.

A fifth aspect concerns the phonology of the Arabic loans into Hausa, which is as follows:

AR /ʔ/ > HA /ʔ/: AR *amāna* > HA *ʔamaanà* 'trust'; AR *išāra* > HA *ʔišaara* 'sign'; AR *umm* > HA *ʔummaa* 'mother'; AR *dā'imi* > HA *daaʔimii* 'everlasting'; AR *mu'annaṭ* > HA *mùʔannàsa* 'feminine (in gender)'; AR *ša'n* > HA *šaʔanii* 'affair, business'; AR *balā'* 'misfortune' > HA *bàlaaʔii* 'calamity'; AR *juz'* > HA *juzùʔii* 'part (esp. of Koran)'; AR *du'ā'* > HA *dùʔaaʔii* '(personal) prayer'. In initial position it disappears in loans that arrived into Hausa not directly from Arabic but through other West African languages, mainly Kanuri, where the Arabic article *al-* had been previously assimilated: AR *al-adān* 'call to prayer' > Kanuri *ladān* 'muezzin' > HA *làadān/làadaanii* 'muezzin'; AR *al-ard* 'earth' > Kanuri *lárdà* 'earth, globe; country' > HA *lardii* 'district'; AR *al-islām* > Fulfulde *lislāma* > HA *lislāma(a)* 'Islam'; AR *al-aḥad* > Kanuri *lādà* > HA *laadi/laàidi/lahàdi*¹⁰ 'Sunday'. To these interferences it could be assumed that AR /ʔ/ > HA /w/, a phenomenon present in just three cases: AR *allafa* II v. > Fulfulde *wallifa* v. > HA *wàllaafāa* v. 'to compose'; AR *aḍān* > HA *wazanà* 'call to prayer'; AR *allāh* 'Allah' > HA *wallàcee* (Sk.) v. 'to swear by God'. There are also two cases where AR /ʔ/ > HA /h/: AR *aṭlas* > HA *hàtalàšii*¹¹ 'satin'; AR *allāh* 'Allah' > HA *hàllàa-hallaa* 'worshipper's chorus'. In median position if it disappears, the preceding short vowel becomes long: AR *ta'ṭir* > HA *taasiirii* 'influence'; AR *ta'ḳir* > HA *taahiiri(i)* 'delay'; AR *ta'lif* > HA *taaliifii* «literary work»; AR *ta'riḳ* > HA *taariihii* 'history'; AR *mu'min* 'believer' > HA *muuminii* 'true believer in Islam'. At last there is a case where AR /ʔ/ > HA /y/: AR *ḡā'iṭ* > HA *gaayàdii/gaayis'ii* 'human excrement'. In final position it disappears in just a few cases: AR *hawā'* 'air' > HA *hàwaa* 'sky'; AR *zinā'* > HA *zinaa* 'adultery'; AR *kīmiyā'* > HA *kimiyàa*

¹⁰ This last variant arrived directly from Arabic.

¹¹ The form coexists with *ʔadālàšiiʔatalàšii*, etc.

'chemistry; alchemy'; AR *intihā* 'end, termination' > HA *ʔintàhaa* 'limit'.

AR /b/ > HA /b/: AR *burj* 'sign of the zodiac' > HA *burùjii* 'good luck; [17, 15b] the Milky Way'; AR *baḥr* > HA *bahàr/bahàrii* 'sea'; AR *bid'a* > HA *bidiʔaa* 'heresy'; AR *zabīb* > HA *zàbīb* 'raisin(s)'; AR *dābba* > HA *dabbàa* 'beast, animal'; AR *bābūr* (< English *vapour*) 'locomotive' > HA *bàabur* 'motor-cycle'; AR *sabab* > HA *sabàbii* 'reason, cause'; AR *wājib* > HA *waajib/waajibii* 'incumbent'; AR *kaḍūb* 'liar' > HA *ʔàlkà-zùb/ʔàlkàzubù(u)* 'telling a lie'. In intervocalic position AR /b/ > HA /f/: AR *ṭaub* > HA *tufàa* 'garment'; AR *jaib* > HA *ʔàljifuu* 'pocket'; AR *kitāb* > HA *littaafii/littaafiyaa* 'book'; AR *rikāb* > HA *likkaafāa* 'stirrup'; AR *libd* 'felt' > HA *lifidii/(Kt.) lihidii* 'protective quilting for horses'; AR *subḥ* 'morning' > HA *saafe/(Sk.) sʔafe/(Kt.) sʔahhe* 'in the morning'; but sometimes the two Hausa variants coexist: AR *muṣība* > HA *mùsiibàa/màsiifāa*¹² 'misfortune'; AR *ʔajab* 'astonishment' > HA *ʔàlʔajàbii/ʔàlʔajàfii* 'surprise'; AR *jawāb* > HA *jàwaabii/jàwaafii* 'reply'; AR *kaḍba* 'lie' > HA *kazàb/kazàf* 'false'; AR *maḡrib* > HA *màgàribàa/[5, 25a] ʔàlmagariifà(a)* (Dg.) 'prayer at sunset'; AR *adab* > HA *ladàbii/ladab/ladàfii* 'good manners'; AR *ḍunūb*¹³ pl. > HA *zùnubii/ zùnufii* 'sin, crime'; AR *ḥisab* > HA *hisaabii/lissafii* 'reckoning'; AR *ʔaib* > HA *ʔaybù*¹⁴/lāyfii 'fault, blemish'. There is a case where AR /b/ > HA /m/: AR *bi-ṭair* 'with the image of a bird on it' > HA *bùudâr/mùtâr* 'Maria Theresa dollar'¹⁵. As concerns AR *ibra* > HA *ʔalluuràa* 'needle', Greenberg [10, 88] gives an explanation to justify the loan: "Hausa *b* > *w* in syllable-final"; considering that this case is very rare in all loans tested, I believe that the loan arrived through Kanuri *lívèla* 'needle'. Finally, two special cases: AR *zabād* > Kanuri *jibdà* 'civet cat; perfume obtained from it' > HA *jibdàa* (Sk.)/*juudàa* 'musk from civet cat' and AR *lubnā* 'storax tree' > HA *lùbbân/lùbbanni(i)* 'a gum used for incense'. In this last case I was unable to find the eventual intermediary.

AR /t/ > HA /t/: AR *tuhma* > *tùhumàa* 'suspicion'; AR *tauḥīd* > HA *tàwhiidii* 'belief in the unity of God'; AR *takrīm* > HA *tàkàriimii* 'honoring'; AR *zaitūn* > HA *zàytùn* 'olive'; AR *matn* > HA *matànii* 'text'; AR *ḡātim* > HA *haatimii* 'seal'; AR *zait* > HA *zaytii* 'oil'; AR *ṣaut* > HA *sawtii* 'sound, voice'; AR *bait* > HA *baytii* 'verse'. There is a case where AR /t/ > HA /s/: AR *taḡīr* > HA *taahiiri(i)/sʔahiiri(i)* 'delay' and one

¹² Cf. Fulfulde *masībo* 'misfortune' [21, 135].

¹³ It is the plural of *ḡanb*, which gave Hausa *zàmbaa* 'fraud'.

¹⁴ Cf. Kanuri *áivù* 'sin' [16, 183].

¹⁵ See Dominique Guégon [12, 105].

where this phoneme disappears: AR *kibrīt* > HA *ʔalkibirii/kibirīiti(i)* 'sulphur'. As concerns Greenberg's hypothesis [10, 88]: AR *ḥattā* > HA *har* 'until', I am very cautious after Gouffé's article [8, 161–162].

AR /t/ > HA /t/ or /s/: AR *ṭabbata* II v. 'to fasten' > HA *tabbà-taa* v. 'to make sure of confirm'; AR *ṭaman* > HA *tamānii* 'price, value'; AR *ṭamānīn* > HA *tāmānin* 'eighty'; AR *ṭurayyā* > HA *surāyyaa* 'Pleiades'; AR *ṭawāb* > HA *sāwwabāa* 'religious merit'; AR *ṭumn* > HA *sumūnii/samānii* 'one-eighth'; AR *ṭalaṭīn* > HA *tālāatin* 'thirty'; AR (*yaum*) *at-ṭalāṭa* > HA *tālaatāa* 'Tuesday'; AR (*yaum*) *al-iṭnain* > HA *littinīn/liitīnīn*(Sk.) *ʔattānin* 'Monday'; AR *al-kaufar* > HA *ʔalkawsaraa/kāwsaraa* 'name of a river in Paradise'; AR *waṭīqa* 'document, paper, record' > HA *wāsiikāa/wāsiikāa* 'letter'; AR *miṭāl* > HA *misaalii* 'parable, example; pattern'; AR *baṭṭ* 'spreading' > HA *ʔalbattū(u)* 'extravagance'; AR *ḥadīṭ* > HA *ḥaddisii/hādīsīi* 'Hadith, traditions about the Prophet Muhammad'; AR *warīṭ* 'heir' > HA *wārīi-sā(a)* 'inheritance'.

AR /j/ > HA /j/: AR *jāhil* > HA *jaahilii* 'ignorant'; AR *janāba* > HA *jānabāa* '(religious) impurity'; AR *jihād* > HA *jāhaadii/jihaadii* 'holy war'; AR *wājib* > HA *waajib/waajibii* 'incumbent'; AR *ajal* > HA *ʔajālii* 'deadline'; AR *daraja* > HA *darajāa* 'rank, step, honor'; AR *farj* > HA *farjii* 'vagina'; AR *ḥajj* > HA *ḥajī/hajjī* 'pilgrimage to Mecca'; AR *karāj* 'land-tax' > HA *hāraajii* 'poll-tax'. AR /j/ > HA /z/: 1) by assimilation to preceding /z/, AR *zunjufur* > HA *zānzāfūr* 'cinnabar'; AR *zanjabīl* > HA *zānjābil/zānzābīr* 'ginger'; 2) in the intervocalic position, like in Kanuri, AR *lijām* > HA *linzaamii/lizaamii/lizzaamii* 'bridle', cf. Kanuri *lizām* 'bridle'; 3) sometimes in the initial position, AR *janāʔiz*¹⁶ pl. > HA *jānaaʔizāa/zānaaʔidāa* 'funeral'. This phenomenon is much more common in Kanuri: *zānā* 'heaven' > AR *janna* 'paradise'; *zāmā* > AR (*yaum*) *al-jumʔa* 'Friday'. In this case it cannot be related, as stated by Greenberg [10, 88], to Fulfulde, where /z/ does not exist. AR /j/ > HA /d/ only in AR *sarj* > Kanuri *sārdā* > HA *sirdii*(Nor.) *sardi(i)* 'saddle (for horse)'. In one case this phoneme is assimilated by the following one: AR *ijtihād* > HA *ʔittihaadi(i)/ʔijtihaadi(i)* 'effort' and in one other it disappears: AR *masjid* > HA *masiidi(i)* (Nor.) 'mosque'.

AR /ḥ/ > HA /h/: AR *ḥujja* 'argument, pretext' > HA *hujjāa* 'reason, excuse'; AR *ḥādīq* > HA *haazikūi* 'intelligent'; AR *ḥikma* > HA *hikimāa* 'wisdom'; AR *saḥūr* > HA *sāhūr/sūhūr* 'last meal before day-break during the month of Ramadan'; AR *naḥw* > HA *nahawūu* 'grammar'; AR *siḥr* > HA *sihirīi* 'sorcery, magic'; AR *rūḥ* > HA *ruuhūu* [5,

¹⁶ It is the plural of *janāza*.

866b] ‘soul, spirit’; AR *ṣāliḥ* ‘good’ > HA *saalihii* ‘honest’; AR *ṣulḥ* > HA *sulhiu* ‘peace, reconciliation’. AR /ḥ/ > HA Ø in intervocalic or final position: AR *malih* ‘salt, salty, briny’ > HA (*bàhàr*) *maaliyà/(bàhàril) maaliyà* ‘Red Sea; Mediterranean Sea’; Ar *qamḥ* > HA *ʔalkamàa*¹⁷ ‘wheat’; AR *naṣīḥa* > HA *nàsihàa/nàsiyyàa* ‘advice’; AR *ḍahīya* ‘blood sacrifice’ > HA *layyaa/lahiyaa* ‘sacrificing a ram during the festival of Id-el-Kabir’; AR *ribḥ* > HA *riibàa* ‘money-profit (legal)’; AR *lauḥ* > Kanuri *alló* > HA *ʔalloo* ‘slate, board’, but in this case the /ḥ/ was lost in Kanuri, where together to Fulfulde we notice an analogous phenomenon: cf. Kanuri *fadà* ‘witness’ > AR *fahada* [14, II, 640b] ‘gérer avec soin les affaires de quelqu’un en son absence’ or Fulfulde *fāma* ‘to understand’ < AR *fahm* ‘understanding’. Another example is represented by AR *ṭam-māḥ* ‘high-aspiring’ > Kanuri *tāmā* ‘thought; expectation’ > HA *tām-maanii* ‘thinking; expectation’ beside the Hausa variant *s’ammaanii* coming directly from Arabic with the Hausa suffix *-aanii*. In fact AR /ṭ/ > Kanuri /t/ and Hausa /s’/. In a few cases /ḥ/ > HA /ʔ/: AR *farah* ‘joy, happiness’ > HA *faraʔaa* ‘permanently cheerful disposition’; AR *baḥṭ* > HA *baʔasii/bahàsii* ‘investigation’. I also found AR /ḥ/ > /b/: AR *jāʔiḥa* ‘calamity’ > HA *jaaʔibàa* ‘misfortune’, but I doubt it is the right etymology. If it is, it should be explained by this phonological passage.

AR /k/ > HA /h/: AR *kaṭar* > HA *hasʔarii/hadàrii* ‘danger’; AR *kuṣūma* > HA *hūsuumàa* ‘quarrel’; AR *kiḍma* > HA *hidimaa* ‘service’; AR *al-fakar* ‘glory’ > HA *ʔalfahàrii/ʔalfaàrii/fahàrii* ‘ostentation’; AR *al-ākira* > HA *laahiràa* ‘Next World’; AR *maḳlūq* > HA *màhàluukii* ‘creature’; AR *zarniḳ* ‘arsenic’ > HA *zàrnihi(i)* ‘a yellow pigment used on manuscripts’; AR *taʔrik* > HA *taariihi* ‘history’; AR *ṣaiḳ* > HA *ṣay-hiù/ṣeehiù/ṣeefiù* ‘sheik’. In a very few cases AR /k/ > HA Ø, sometimes in loans through Kanuri: AR *kaima* > Kanuri *läimà* > HA *laymàa* ‘tent’; AR *aḳbar*¹⁸ *pl.* > HA *làabaarii* ‘news’; AR *fakar* ‘glory’ > HA *ʔalfahàrii/ʔalfaàrii* ‘ostentation’. In two cases AR /k/ > HA /k/: AR *ḳubz* ‘bread’ > HA *ʔalkubùs* ‘type of wheaten food’; AR *ḳums* ‘one fifth’ > *kumsà(a)* ‘sign marking end of every 5th verse of Koran’ and once AR /k/ > HA /f/: AR *baḳūr* ‘incense’ > HA *bàafūr/bàahūr* ‘*tawra*-tree gum used as incense’, where the Hausa variant with *-f-* could be explained by a false regression.

AR /d/ > /d/: AR *dāʔimī* > HA *daaʔimii* ‘everlasting’; AR *duʔā* > HA *ʔadduʔaa/ dùʔaaʔii* ‘(personal) prayer’; AR *dīn* > HA *ʔaddii* ‘religion’;

¹⁷ Cf. Fulfulde *alkamāri* ‘wheat’ [21, 4].

¹⁸ It is the plural of *kaḳbar*. The supposed passage is *al-aḳbār* > *laḳbār* > *lahbār* > *labār* > *làabaarii*; cf. Kanuri *lavār*.

AR *ṣandal* > HA *sandàl* 'sandalwood'; AR *'ādil* > HA *'aadilii* 'just, honest'; AR *ḡādir* > HA *gaadirii* 'treacherous; deceitful'; AR *ra'd* > HA *'ā-raadù* 'thunder'; AR *hudhud* 'hoopoe' > HA *'ālhudàhudà/hudà-hudà* 'Senegal hoopoe'; AR *mufrad* > HA *mufuràdii* 'singular'. In one case AR /d/ > HA /z/: AR *dīnār* 'a monetary unit' > HA *ziinaariyaa* 'gold' and in another one AR /d/ > /s/: AR *bārūd* > HA *'ālbārūs/ālbārūuṣii* 'gum powder'.

AR /ḍ/ > HA /z/: AR *ḍalāqa* > HA *zàlaakàa* 'eloquence'; AR *dīkr* > HA *zikirii* 'mention of God's name'; AR *dū al-qa'da* > HA *zùlkiidàa* '11th month'; AR *aḍīya* > HA *'aziinaa* 'trouble'; AR *iḍn* > HA *'izinii/(Sk.) 'iznii* 'permission'; AR *'uḍr* > HA *'uzurii* 'excuse'; no example available in final position. AR /ḍ/ > HA /d/ only in a very few cases, in opposition to what is stated by Greenberg [10, 88], who says: AR /ḍ/ > HA /d/ or /z/. In fact these were the only examples I found: AR *aḍān* 'call to prayer' > Kanuri *ladān* > HA *làadān/làadaanii* 'muezzin', cf. Fulfulde *ladan* 'muezzin'; AR *'aḍḍaba* II v. 'to afflict' > HA *hàddabàa/àddabàa* v. 'to pester; to perplex'; AR *iḍan* 'when, in that case' > HA *'idan/'izan* 'if'. We have also from AR *ḍirā'* > HA *zìraa'ā(a)* 'cubit' and HA *dara'ā(a)* 'breadth'. The case of AR *baḍā'* 'obscenity' > HA *baas'aa* 'lewd conversation', where AR /ḍ/ > HA /s/ and the initial vowel, short in Arabic, becomes long in Hausa, is puzzling. Could it have arrived into Hausa through Fulfulde *bata* 'to speak to; to tell'?

AR /r/ > HA /r/, always rolled: AR *rummān* > HA *rùmmān* 'pomegranate'; AR *rahma* > HA *rahamàa* 'mercy'; AR *rida* > HA *riddaa* 'apostasy'; AR *za'farān* > HA *zàa'āfārān* 'saffron'; AR *farj* > HA *farjii* 'vagina'; AR *marīḍ* > HA *màriilii* 'ill'; AR *zinjafr* > HA *zànzàfūr* 'cinnamon'; AR *ša'ir* > HA *šà'ir* 'barley'; AR *faḳār* 'glory' > HA *'ālfahà-rüi/fahàrii* 'ostentation'. I found among all loans tested just one word with the flapped ʀ: AR *burma* 'earthenware pot' > HA *bùr-mà(a)* 'grass-bag for storing clothing', so I wonder if it is a real loan having a so different meaning, cf. Fulfulde *burma* 'a woman's fibre cover for a load'. The double Arabic /r/ is reduced to a single one in Hausa: AR *ḍurrīya* > HA *zùri'āa/zùriyàa* 'descendant'; AR *barra'a* II v. 'to exculpate' > HA *bàra* v. 'to be declared innocent'; AR *kurrāsa* > HA *kùraasà(a)* [5, 649a] 'booklet'. On the contrary we have: AR *taṣaruf* 'free disposal; administration' > HA *tasarràfii/tasarrùfii* 'trading'. Sometimes we have the assimilation with the following consonant: AR *rizq* 'means of living' > HA *'azzikii/'arzikii* 'property; good luck'; AR *tartīb* > HA *tàttiiibi(i)/tàrtiiibi(i)* 'order'; or with the preceding consonant: AR *darūra* > HA *làluuràa/làruuràa* 'necessity'. Once it is affected by a phenomenon of dissimilation: AR *ḥarīr* 'silk' > HA *'ālhàriim(i)* 'various silky fabrics'.

AR /z/ > HA /z/: AR *zabīb* > HA *zàbīb* 'raisin(s)'; AR *zindīq* 'free-thinker' > HA *zindīkīi* 'heretic'; AR *zūr* > HA *zūr* 'lie'; AR *qinzīr* > HA *ʔalhānzīr/ʔalhinzīr* 'pig'; AR *lāzim* > HA *laazimīi/laazūmīi* 'necessity'; AR *muʔjiza* > HA *mūʔūjizāa/muujizāa* 'miracle'; AR *ʔājiz* 'weak' > HA *ʔaajizīi* 'mortal'; AR *janāʔiz*¹⁹ pl. > HA *jānaaʔizāa* 'funeral', cf. Fulfulde *janāʔija*; AR *ʔajūz* > HA *ʔajuuzaa* 'old woman'. But AR /z/ > HA /j/: AR *zabād* 'civet' > Kanuri *jibdà* 'civet-cat; perfume obtained from it' > HA *jibdāa* (Sk.)/*juudāa* 'musk from civet cat'. This phenomenon is frequent in Kanuri: *jinādà* 'firestone' > AR *zinād* 'fire steel', cf. HA *zinaadi(i)* [5, 1139b] (Dg.) 'the hammer of a dane-gun' and it is regular in Fulfulde, which does not have /z/: *Jābūra* 'the Psalms of David' > AR *zabūr* '(Book of) Psalms', cf. HA *zābuuraa*. In one case AR /z/ > HA /s/: AR *qubz* 'bread' > HA *ʔalkubūs* 'type of wheaten food'.

AR /s/ > HA /s/: AR *samm* > HA *sammūu* 'poison'; AR *sitr* 'veil' > HA *sitirāa/sùturāa* 'clothing'; AR *sukūt* > HA *sükütīi* 'silence'; AR *misk* > HA *miskīi/ʔalmiskīi* 'musk'; AR *bāsūr* > HA *baasūr* 'haemorrhoids'; AR *fāsiq* > HA *faasikīi* 'profligate'; AR *barnūs* > HA *bàrnūs/bàrnuusi(i)* 'burnous'; AR *waswās* 'doubt' > HA *wàswaasīi/wàsùwaasīi/wùswaasīi* 'reflection'; AR *iblis* > HA *ʔiblis* 'Satan, Devil'. But AR /s/ sometimes > HA /š/ before front vowel: AR *aṭlas* > HA *ʔādalašīi/ʔatalašīi* 'satin'; AR *nafs* 'soul, spirit' > HA *numfaasīi/lumfaasīi* 'breath'; AR *mufallas* 'bankrupt' > HA *mùfallašīi/mùfallàs* 'spendthrift'; AR *qums* > HA *humūšīi/humūsīi* 'one fifth'; a similar phenomenon is found in Kanuri: *ashūr* < AR *as-sirr* < AR *al-sirr* 'secret', cf. HA *ʔasiirīi*. In one case AR /s/ > HA /z/: AR *tasbīh* 'glorification of God' > HA *càzbīi/tàsbiī* 'rosary'.

AR /š/ > HA /š/: AR *šaʔr* > HA *šàʔir* 'barley'; AR *širka* > HA *širkāa* 'partnership'; AR *šugl* > HA *šagàlii* 'business'; AR *bišāra* > HA *bīšaarāa/būšaarāa* 'good news'; AR *mušrik* > HA *mūširikīi/mūšurūkīi/mīširikīi* 'polytheist'; AR *mašhūr* > HA *màšàhuurīi* 'well-known'; AR *naʔš* > HA *ʔannaʔašīi* 'bier'; AR *arš* > HA *ʔaaràšīi* 'blood money'; AR *gīšš* > HA *gīššīi* 'fraud'. But sometimes AR /š/ > HA /s/ under the influence of Fulfulde, where it is regular: AR *qurūš* (pl. of *qirš*) 'piaster' > Fulfulde *gurus* > HA *gurūs* 'Maria Theresa dollar'; AR *gāšš* > Fulfulde *algus* 'adulteration' > HA *ʔālgūs/ʔālguši(i)/ʔālgušū(u)* '(form of) fraud in selling'; AR *muškil* 'turbid; ambiguous, intricate' > HA *miskilīi* 'puzzling; contrary or difficult'. In this last case I was unable to find a Fulfulde intermediary. Once AR /š/ > HA /j/: AR *ušr* > HA *ʔujiraa/ʔuširāa* 'tenth part (of legacy, always due to M. Treasury)', which is very interesting.

AR /š/ > HA /s/: AR *šaut* > HA *sawtīi* 'sound, voice'; AR *širāt* >

¹⁹ See note 16.

HA *siraadīi/siraas'ii* 'way, path, i.e. on hell from which sinners fall'; AR *ṣulḥ* > HA *sulḥuu* 'peace, reconciliation'; AR *naṣṭha* > HA *nàsihàa/nàsiyyàa* 'advice'; AR *ḥaṣṣada* II v. > HA *hàssadàa* v. 'to envy'; AR *faṣl* > HA *fasàlii* 'section, chapter'; AR *baraṣ* > ?*àlbaràs/baràs* 'leprosy'; AR *naṣṣ* > HA *nassì(i)* 'text'; AR *rukṣ* > HA *rùhusà(a)* 'cheapness'. But AR /š/ > HA /š/ before front vowels: AR *maqāṣṣ* (pl. of *miqāṣṣ*) > HA ?*àlmakàšii* 'scissors'. AR /š/ > HA /z/ reflecting a Tuareg intermediary: AR *ṣirf* 'pure, unadulterated' > Tuareg *azrəf*²⁰ > HA ?*azùrfaa* 'silver'; AR *ṣaum* > Tuareg *aḥum*²¹ > HA ?*azùmii* 'the fast (of Ramadan)'. Just once AR /š/ > HA /z/ or /j/ before /aa/: AR *ṣārim* 'sharp, harsh, hard' > HA *jaarùmii/zaarùmii* 'brave man'.

AR /ḍ/ > /l/: AR *ḍarūra* > HA *làruuràa* 'necessity'; AR *ḍamir* 'heart, mind' > HA *làmiirii* 'intention'; AR *ḍiyāfa* > HA *liyaafāa* 'hospitality'; AR *'araḍa* v. > HA ?*àralà* v. 'to happen'; AR *ḥaḍra*²² > HA *halaraa* 'Friday afternoon prayers of Tijani's'; AR *waḍā'a* > HA ?*àlwà-laa/?àlwàllaa* 'ceremonial purity'; AR *ḥaiḍ* > HA *haylàa* 'menstruation'; AR *marīḍ* > HA *màriillii* 'ill'; AR *'iwaḍ* > HA ?*iwàlii* 'substitute'. But AR /ḍ/ > HA /d/ only in: AR *arḍ* 'earth' > Kanuri *lārdə* 'earth; country' > HA *lardii* 'district'; AR *maḍara* v. 'turn sour (milk)' > HA *madaraa* 'fresh milk'; AR *raḍiya* v. 'to be satisfied' > HA *yārda* v. 'to consent, agree, approve'. AR /ḍ/ or /ʔ/ only in: AR *rāḍin* 'satisfied; willing' > HA *raaʔii/raadīi* 'willingness'.

AR /t/ > HA /s/ or /d/: AR *ṭibb* 'medecine' > HA *s'ubbù/s'ibbù* 'magic'; AR *ṭabī'a* > HA *s'ābiiʔaa/dābiiʔaa/(Nor.) tabiiʔaa* 'character'; AR *ṭayyāra* > HA *dāyyaaràa/s'āyyaaràa/tāyyaaràa* [5] 'airplane'; AR *aṭlas* > HA ?*àḍalàšii/?atalàšii/?as'alàšii* 'satin'; AR *ḵaṭar* > HA *has'arīi/hadārīi* 'danger'; AR *ḵuṭba* > HA *hus'ubāa/hudubāa* 'M. Friday sermon'; AR *ḡā'iṭ* > HA *gaayādīi/gaayis'ii* 'human excrements'; AR *ṣarṭ* 'condition' > HA *ṣarādīi/ṣaràs'ii* 'agreements'; AR *ḡalaṭ* > HA *galādīi/galàs'ii* 'mistake'. Sometimes AR /t/ HA /t/ or very seldom /d/: AR *ṭāsa* 'drinking vessel' > HA *taasàa* 'metal bowl'; AR *quṭṭan* > HA *kāftaanii* 'caftan'; AR *faḡaṭ* 'only, no more' > *fākat* 'that's all I wanted, thank you'; AR *ṭalā* v. 'to paint' > HA *dāalayàa* v. 'to pare'.

AR /z/ > HA /z/: AR *zāhir* > HA *zahir* 'obvious, clear', AR *zulm* > HA *zulmù(u)* 'tyranny'; AR *zulāma* 'iniquity, injustice' > HA *zūlaamà(a)* 'tyranny'; AR *minzar* 'spyglass; mirror, speculum' > HA *minzàrii*

²⁰ See Gouffé [9, 372] and père Ch. de Foucauld [6, IV, 1989].

²¹ See Gouffé [9, 360] and Père Ch. de Foucauld [6, IV, 1966].

²² The word was found in *Vocabolario arabo-italiano* [22, I, 222]: «riunione in comune dei membri di una confraternita musulmana».

'eyeglasses; monocle'; AR *'azzama* II v. 'to glorify' > HA *'azzàmaa* v. 'to pay honor'; AR *munāzara* 'supervision, control, inspection' > HA *mūnaazarà(a)* 'referring to a book of reference'; AR *lafz* > HA *lafāzii* 'pronunciation'; AR *wa'z* > HA *wa'āzii* 'sermon, preaching'; AR *ḥazz* 'good fortune' > HA *hadḏii* 'fortune-telling'. AR /z/ > HA /d/ only in: AR *zāhir* 'obvious, clear' > HA *daahir* 'undoubtedly'.

AR /' / > HA /ʔ/: AR *'uryān* > HA *'uryān/ʔaryān* 'naked'; AR *'ādīd* > HA *'aadālii/ʔadīlii* 'just, honest'; AR *'ibāda* > HA *'ibaadāa* 'worship'; AR *ma'nān* > HA *mā'ānaa* 'meaning, sence'; AR *fī'l* > HA *fī'īlii* 'verb'; AR *bid'a* > HA *bidi'āa* 'heresy'; AR *jimā'* > HA *jīmaa'ii* 'sexual intercourse'; AR *māni'* > > HA *maani'ii* 'obstacle'; AR *jam'* > HA *jam'ii* 'plural'. AR /' / > HA Ø with a lengthening of the preceding vowel: AR *ra'd* > HA *'āraadū* 'thunder'; AR *mu'jiza* > HA *muujizāa/mū'ū-jizāa* 'miracle'; AR *mu'allim* > HA *maalāmii* '(Muslim) teacher', but in this case there is the Kanuri intermediary *mālām* 'malam'. AR /' / > HA /h/ only in: AR *'aḏḏaba* II v. 'to afflict' > *hāddabāa/ʔāddabāa* 'to pester; to perplex'; AR *'alāma* > HA *hālaamāa/ʔālaamāa* 'mask, sign, indicator'.

AR /ḡ/ > HA /g/: AR *ḡaraḏ* > HA *garālii/garārii* 'aim'; AR *ḡišš* > HA *giššii* 'fraud'; AR *ḡālib* > HA *gaalibii* 'most of'; AR *balaḡa* > HA *bālaagāa* 'eloquence'; AR *balaḡa* v. > HA *bālagā* v. 'to reach puberty'; AR *ṣuḡl* > HA *ṣagālii* 'business'; AR *balīḡ* 'eloquent' > HA *bāliiḡ(i)* [5, 70a] 'one who can use his intelligence'; AR *farāḡ* > HA *fāraagāa* 'leisure'; AR *bālīḡ* > HA *baaliḡii* 'adult'. AR /ḡ/ > HA /h/ only in: AR *ḡāra* > HA *harīi* 'raiding expedition', which is considered, *inter alia*, by Greenberg [10, 89]: «doubtful derivation». AR /ḡ/ > HA /k/ in: AR *ḡaddāra* 'pistol' > Ha *'āl-kīdiriyā(a)/ʔālkādāriyyā(a)* [5, 22b] *gādāriyyā(a)* 'muzzle-loading pistol'.

Ar /f/ > HA /f/: AR *fujl* > HA *fijil* 'radish'; AR *farj* > HA *farjii* 'vagina'; AR *fīqh* > HA *fīkihū* 'Islamic jurisprudence'; AR *filfil* 'pepper' > HA *filfil* 'type of capsicum'; AR *lafz* > HA *lafāzii* 'pronunciation'; AR *munāfiq* > HA *munaafūkii* 'hypocrite'; AR *ḥarf* > HA *harāfii* 'letter'; AR *mufṛad* > HA *mufūradii* 'singular'; AR *waqf* > HA *wakāfii* 'religious endowment'. Sometimes AR /f/ grows faint > HA /h/ not only before the vowel *u*, as stated by Greenberg [10, 89]: AR *ṣaff* > HA *sahuu/safuu* 'row, line'; AR *'āfiya* > HA *laafiyāa/(Kt.) laahiyāa* 'good health'.

AR /q/ > HA /k/: AR *quṭṭan* > HA *kāftaanii* 'caftan'; AR *qiyāma* > HA *kīyaamāa/ʔālkīyaamāa* 'resurrection'; AR *qabīla* > HA *kābiilāa* 'tribe'; AR *waqy* 'protection; safeguard' > HA *wākīyyāa* 'perfume-phial'; AR *ṣadaqa* > HA *sadakāa* 'alms; charity'; AR *maqbul* 'acceptable, reasonable' > HA *mākābuulii* 'a person who will look after and care for another P. or for a T.'; AR *rizq* 'means of life' > HA *'azzikii/ʔarzikii*

'property; good luck'; AR *fāsiq* > HA *faasikii* 'profligate'; AR *ṣadāq* > HA *sādaàkii* '(bridal) dower'. AR /q/ > HA /g/ reflecting the pronunciation of some West African languages and local Arabic: AR *tāqa* > Kanuri *tágà* > HA *taagàa* 'window'; AR *bunduqīya* > Kanuri *bándəgə* > HA *bindigàa* 'gun'; AR *sūq* > Kanuri *kasugù*²³ > HA *kàasuwaa* 'market'; AR *qurūs* (pl. of *qirš*) 'piaster' > Fulfulde *gurus* > HA *gurūs* 'Maria Theresa dollar'. AR /q/ > HA /k/ used by the learned people to distinguish it from Arabic /k/. I think this tendency will be accentuated nowadays because I found in Newman's dictionary a large stock of words previously recorded in Abraham's with the phoneme /k/: AR *fāsiq* > HA *faasikii*/[17, 73] *faasikii* 'immoral'; AR *qalam* > HA *ʔalkalāmii*/[17, 4b] *ʔalkalāmii* 'pen'; AR *waraqa* > HA *warkàa*/[17, 132b] *warkàa* 'leaf, sheet of paper'.

AR /k/ > HA /k/: AR *kāfir* > HA *kaafir*|*kaafirii* 'camphor'; AR *karāma* > *kàraamàa* 'generosity'; AR *kātib* > HA *kaatibii* 'scribe'; AR *ḥaraka* > HA *harkàa* 'movement'; AR *ḥikima* > HA *hikimàa* 'wisdom'; AR *sukūt* > HA *sùkùtii* 'silence'; AR *silk* 'thread; string' > HA *ʔasilikii* 'tinsel-thread'; AR *šakk* > HA *šakkàa* 'doubt'; AR *mušrik* > HA *mùširikii* 'polytheist, idolatry'. AR /k/ > HA /h/ only in: AR *kusūf* > HA *kùsuufii*/*hàsuufii* 'eclipse'; AR *kilāf* 'difference' > HA *hilaafà(a)* 'discrepancy'. It disappears in: AR *al-kitāb* > *l-kitāb* > *liktāb* > HA *littaafii*/*littaafiyaa* 'book'.

AR /l/ > HA /l/: AR *lafz* > HA *lafàzii* 'pronunciation'; AR *laqab* > HA *lakàbii* 'nickname'; AR *laun* > HA *lawnii* 'color'; AR *kalām* > HA *kàlaamii* 'speech; word'; AR *ilhām* > HA *ʔilhaamii* 'inspiration; instinct'; AR *bālīg* > HA *baaligii* 'adult'; AR *ṣandal* > HA *sandāl* 'sandalwood'; AR *inzāl* 'ejaculation of sperm' > HA *ʔinzaalii* 'orgasm'; AR *baḳīl* > HA *bàhiilii* 'miser'. AR /l/ > /n/ by assimilation by following nasal only in: AR *nafs* > HA *numfaašii*/*lumfaašii* 'soul'. Sometimes AR /l/ > HA /r/: AR *zanjābīl* > HA *zànjābīl*/*zànjābîr*/*zànzābîr* 'ginger'; AR *falaqa* v. 'to cause (dawn) to break' > HA *farkàa*/(Kt.) *falkàa* 'to wake up'; AR *qawl* 'word; statement, declaration' > HA *ʔalkawàrii*/*ʔalkawàlii* 'promise, reliability'; AR *jaula* 'round trip' > HA *jawra*/(Nor.) *jawla* 'peddling, petty trading'. AR /l/ > HA /n/ only in: AR *fa'l* 'good omen' > HA *ʔalfaalu(u)* /*ʔalfaanu(u)* 'bringing luck'; AR *bait al-māl* > HA *bàytùlmâl*/*bùitàmân* 'Treasury'. Two puzzling cases are: AR *baṣl* > HA *ʔalbasàa* 'onion', where the final /l/ disappears and AR *ḥalāl* > HA *hàlāk*/(Sk., Kt.) *hàlāl* 'lawful', where the final *-k* in Hausa standard has no trace in Fulfulde *halal* or Kanuri *halâl*.

²³ The word arrived into Hausa through Kanuri, see Greenberg [11, 210–211].

AR /m/ > HA /m/: AR *misk* > HA *miskii*/ʔalmiskii 'musk'; AR *marīd* > HA *màriillii* 'ill'; AR *muṣība* > HA *mùsiibàa*/màsiibàa/màsiifàa 'misfortune'; AR *rummān* > HA *rùmmān* pomegranate'; AR *ḡaima* > HA *laymàa* 'tent'; AR *amāna* > HA ʔamaanàa 'trust'; AR *kalām* > HA *kàlaamii* 'speech; word'; AR *fahm* > HA *fahāmii* 'intelligence'; AR *karīm* > HA *kàriimii* 'generous'; But AR /m/ > HA /n/ before any other consonant but /b/, /f/, /w/, /m/, /β/: AR *fahima* > HA *fāhintàa* 'to understand'; but sometimes this is due to the interference of the West African languages: AR *imām* > Kanuri *ḡimān* or Fulfulde *liman* > HA *liimān* 'i-mam'. In few cases AR /m/ > HA /b/ or /f/ or /p/: AR *katama* [14, II, 863b] 'cathame' > HA ʔalkatāf/ʔalkatāp 'dyeing beard blue'; AR *misalla* 'large needle, pack needle' > HA *bàsillaa*/màsillaa 'large needle for sewing leather and stiff materials'; AR *maʿāš* 'means of subsistence' > HA ʔalbaššii/ʔalbaàkii 'monthly salary'; AR *qasama* v. 'to share' > HA *kasà-fii*/kasàbii 'division'.

AR /n/ > HA /n/: AR *nazar* > HA *nazàrii* 'seeing'; AR *nīya* > HA *niyyàa* 'intention'; AR *nusf* > HA *nusùfii* 'half'; AR *barnūs* > HA *bàrnūs* 'burnus'; AR *amāna* > HA ʔamaanàa 'trust'; ; AR *sunnī* > HA *sùnnii* 'Sunnite'; AR *bayān* > HA *bàyaanii* 'explanation'; AR *yaqīn* > HA *yàkiinii* 'certainty'; AR *matn* > HA *matàanii* 'a curse'. AR /n/ > HA /m/ before labials: AR *minbar* > HA *mumbàrii* 'pulpit'; AR *anbaʿa* IV v. 'to inform' > HA ʔambàtaa 'to mention T. or P.'; AR *danb* 'sin, crime' > HA *zàmba* 'fraud'. AR /n/ > /l/ for dissimilation: AR *nadāma* > HA *nà-daamàa*/lādaamàa 'remorse, regret'; AR *niʿma* 'benefit, blessing' > HA *niʿimàa*/liʿimàa 'prosperity, fertility'; AR *naqdan* > HA *lakdan* 'cash down'.

AR /h/ > HA /h/: AR *hudhud* 'hoopoe' > HA ʔālhudàhudà/hudà-hudà 'Senegal hoopoe'; AR *haiba* 'reverence' > HA *haybàa* 'appearance which inspires respect'; AR *himma* 'endeavor' > HA *himmàa* 'energy'; AR *jāhil* > HA *jaahilii* 'ignorant'; AR *ilhām* > HA ʔilhaamii 'inspiration, instinct'; AR *tuhma* > HA *tùhumàa* 'suspicion'; AR *fiqh* > HA *fikihù* 'Islamic jurisprudence'; AR *wajh* > HA *wajee* 'direction'. Seldom AR /h/ > HA Ø: AR *zuhra* 'brilliancy, light' > HA *zàara* 'planet, big star'; AR *fahm* 'intelligence' > HA ʔālfān 'sagacity'; AR *šāhid* > HA *šaahidii*/šaydàa/šāydii 'witness', cf. Kanuri *shādà*; AR *bi-ʿainihī* 'in person; exactly the same' > HA ʔaynihii/ʔaynii 'realness, essence, reality'. AR /h/ > HA /ʔ/: AR *šahwa* > HA *šaʔawàa* 'longing'; AR *hīla* [14, II, 1459b] 'chose terrible qui inspire la terreur' > (Fulfulde *īla* 'glimmer' > ?) HA ʔiilaa (Kt.) 'sudden misfortune'. AR /h/ > HA /f/ only in: AR *ilhām* 'inspiration' > HA ʔālhiinii/ʔālfiiinii 'sad meditation'.

AR /w/ > HA /w/: AR *waqy* 'protection, safeguard' > HA *wàkiyyàa* 'perfume-phial'; AR *wājib* > HA *waajib*/waajibii 'incumbent'; AR *walīma*

> HA *wàliimàa* 'banquet'; AR *hawā* 'air' > HA *hàwaa* 'sky'; AR *jawāb* > HA *jàwaabii/jàwaafii* 'reply'; AR *hāwiya* > HA *haawiyaa* 'the lowest of M. Hells'; AR *naḥw* > HA *nahawùu* 'grammar'; AR *wāw* > HA *waw* 'the Arabic letter'; AR *adūw* > HA *ʔaduwwi(i)* 'enemy'. AR /w/ > HA Ø in a couple of cases: AR *waqt* > Kanuri *loktù* > HA *lootòò* 'time'; AR *badw* 'nomads' > HA *ʔàlbàdaa* 'commission'.

AR /y/ > HA /y/: AR *yākūt* > HA *yaakuutù(u)* [5, 1101b] 'sapphire'; AR *ya'isa* v. 'to renounce, forgo; to give up all hope'; AR *yahūdī* > HA *bàyahuudī(i)/bàyahuudè(e)* 'Jew'; AR *bayān* > HA *bàyaanii* 'explanation'; AR *ziyāda* 'increase, growth, excess' > HA *ziyaadii* 'loud wrangling; exaggeration'; AR *qiyās* > HA *kiyaasii* 'analogy'; AR *ra'y* > HA *raʔayii* 'opinion'; AR *šaqīy* > *šakiyyii/šakiyyii* 'rogue'; AR *waḥy* 'inspiration, revelation' > HA *wahayii* 'vision'. AR /y/ > HA /ʔ/ in two cases: AR *ḡurrīya* > HA *zùriʔaa/zùriyaa* 'descendant'; AR *jizya* > HA *jiziʔà(a)/jiziyà(a)* 'poll-tax on conquered non-Muslim'. AR /y/ > HA /n/ only in: AR *aḡīya* > HA *ʔaziina* 'trouble'.

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