نصوص وأبحاث عربية وعربية جنوبية
CONTACT BETWEEN ARABIC AND HAUSA IN SUDAN
A Semantic Perspective

Al-Amin ABU MANGA and Catherine MILLER

1. Semantic transfer in case of language contact

For the last fifty years, language contact has been increasingly attracting the attention of linguists, thus giving birth to lengthy and rich literature in this field. More recently, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) overviewed the different theories and hypotheses advanced in this study area and pointed out that "it is the sociolinguistic history of the speakers and not the structure of their language that is primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of language contact. Purely linguistic considerations are relevant but strictly secondary overall" (Thomason & Kaufman 1988 : 35). Therefore, socio-historical factors are regarded as decisive factors for the diversity of the linguistic output of language contact. In other words, it is the type of contact, such as the modality, intensity and duration of contact between two groups or two languages and the degree and spread of bilingualism among the population(s) concerned which determine the linguistic
outcome of language contact, ranging from mere lexical borrowing to complete structural change.

In this paper we intend to study contact between Arabic and Hausa with a special emphasis on the semantic transfer from Arabic to Hausa and vice versa in the Sudanese context. In the case of Arabic influence on Hausa, it can be labelled as "borrowing" from a second language (L2) to mother tongue (MT) while in case of Hausa influence on Arabic, it can be labelled as interference from MT to L2.

The case of Arabic and Hausa provides an interesting example of language contact as the contact between these two languages covers different periods of time, different geographical areas and different types of contact. Contact between Arabic and Hausa occurred first in Western Africa between the 14th - 16th centuries with the spread of Islam and the formation of a Hausa Muslim intellectual elite (malams). But the migration of Hausa speakers and their permanent settlement in the Sudan since the second half of the 19th century provided a new context of language contact with Hausa speakers forming a minority migrant community in a dominant Arabic environment. The situation of Hausa in Sudan therefore lends itself more to language shift or language depertition (cf. migrant communities in a foreign environment), than to traditional language maintenance. Referring to this socio-historical situation, we will thus compare Arabic borrowing in Western African Hausa (WAH) to Arabic borrowing in Sudanese Hausa (SH). In West Africa the contact between Hausa and Arabic is restricted to mere lexical borrowing while in the Sudan it also involves one-directional bilingualism, language shift, cultural adaptation and assimilation. For linguistic materials we will rely on Greenberg (1947) and Hiskett (1965) for WAH, whereas for the SH and Arabic varieties spoken by Sudanese Hausa we will rely on data collected by Abu Manga in 1983 and updated in 1993. These data are in the form of individual speech samples recorded from 30 informants (mainly adult males between 15 to 70 years old) from different places in Sudan. The interviews cover different topics ranging from historical topics to daily life matters.

Many studies described the Arabic influence on West African languages by providing a list of loanwords and discussing their morphological integration into the recipient language, but few of them, as far as we know, were concerned
with the phenomena of semantic adaptation. Semantic transfers or calques or loan translations, are less predictable than phonetic or syntactic changes and more difficult to systemize in a linguistic description. But they represent a very important aspect of language contact as they embrace both syntactic and semantic phenomena. As we shall see below in the case of Hausa and Arabic, the loan translation phenomenon is correlated with direct transposition, from one language to another, of specific collocational patterns expressing specific semantic concepts. In the case of bilingualism and language contact, it reflects, on the one hand (i.e. when from Arabic to Hausa), the integration of new semantic categories or of new representation into the native language and, on the other hand (i.e. when from Hausa to Arabic), the transfer of native semantic categories or representation into the target language. It thus helps us to evaluate the intensity of contact and the degree of change. Recent studies in this matter (Manessy 1994) have shown the transposition of African semantic categories into the French varieties spoken in West Africa. This transposition of semantic categories (particularly at the level of deixis, or direction of process to or from ego) has an impact on the syntactic level and thus explains for example the "abnormal use of serial verbs" in Western African French, even among the high educated class. If loan translation and semantic transfer imply a certain degree of bilingualism, it seems to function on a somehow 'independent level' compared to other structural borrowing and transfer phenomena.

2. Arabic-Hausa contact in West Africa

Arabic-Hausa contact is believed to have started long before the introduction of Islam in Hausaland, as this region used to have commercial links with North Africa through the trans-Saharan trade routes. However, the significant influence of Arabic on Hausa, as reflected by loanwords, derive from two main - though not of equal importance - sources: Islam and trade. Both of them were first introduced into Hausaland in the 14th century by non-Arab agents\(^1\). The Arabs followed only a century later (Hiskett 1965 : 21). The 17th

---

1 Madinka, Fulani and Kanuri for Islam and Mandinka for trade.
and 18th centuries witnessed development of local circles of intellectuals in the field of Arabo-Islamic literature which reached its apogee with the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate (1804-1903) (Hiskett 1975). The six hundred years of contact between Arabic and Hausa through Islamic literature, trade or other aspects of life resulted in an extensive borrowing of words from the former language into the latter. These words are borrowed from both oral and written sources and both directly and through intermediary lingua-francas (mainly Berber, Songhai and Kanuri; cf. Wexler 1980). A relatively vast literature covers this subject, ranging from collection and classification of these loanwords and explanation of their morpho-phonological behaviour in the recipient language (Greenberg 1947 and Baldi 1989) to the chronological phases of their naturalization (Hiskett 1965, Gregersen 1967) and the various channels of their diffusion (Gouffé 1974, Wexler 1980). The different channels of diffusion have led to different degrees of integration of these loanwords; not all the loanwords showing the same phonetic treatment.

A detailed analysis of the Arabic loanwords in WAH falls outside the scope of this paper. It suffices here to note that, like in other West African languages (cf. Dumestre 1979 for Bambara, Labatut 1979 for Fulfulde, Caprile & Décobert 1976 for Chadian Languages), contact between Arabic and Hausa resulted in a process of extensive lexical borrowing. This lexical borrowing has had some effects on Hausa’s phonological structure 3 but did not produce any marked morphological changes; moreover, only a very limited cases of syntactic borrowings were recorded 4.

On the semantic level, Arabic loanwords refer, in most instances, to terms or objects which were unknown to Hausa before their contact with Islamic culture. Semantic domains linked with the spread of Islamic culture which have been invested by Arabic loanwords concern horsemanship, religion, art of writing and Islamic sciences. In his classified list of Arabic loanwords,

---

2 See the disagreement between Greenberg and Hiskett on this matter in Hiskett 1965.
3 One of these phonological restructuring is the establishment of the glottal stop /?/ as a distinct phoneme representing both /?/ and /?/ in Arabic loanwords (Greenberg 1947).
4 It concerns mainly the Hausa subordinating construction which involves the borrowing of the Arabic particles ?in and ?dan (< Ar ‘iza) ‘if’. Numerals and cardinal numbers are borrowed from Arabic (except for 1 to 10, 100 & 1000) but the syntactic order of compound numbers follows the Hausa pattern (Ar khamsa wa ?ishrin “twenty five” > Hausa ?ashirin da biyar ).
Greenberg gives many other semantic fields such as trading and political organization, minerals and precious stones, organic products and cultivated plants as well as many words classified as abstract or general. But Arabic loanwords can also coexist side by side with the native words. For example, the educated Hausa speakers tend to use the Arabic words rather than the Hausa ones in reference to sexual and excretory expressions; the corresponding native Hausa words have taken a vulgar connotation. The majority of the Arabic loanwords in West African Hausa retain their original (Arabic) semantic properties, but some of them undergo a certain degree of change in meaning as a means of adaptation to the new cultural environment through one or more of the following processes:

- semantic extension: cf. Ar al-ḥājj "pilgrim" > Hausa alhaji "a personality with a high social esteem"
- semantic shrinking: cf. Ar da ʾiʃi' "weak" > Hausa la'ifi "sexually weak"
- semantic intensification: cf. Ar jamʿiyya "association, society" > Hausa jam'iyya "political party"
- semantic devaluation: cf. Ar. fitnah "sedition" > Hausa fitina "annoyance, disturbance".

From this brief description of Arabic borrowing in WAH, one concludes that the introduction of Arabic loanwords into Hausa led to a lexical renewal and enrichment but never disrupted the structure of the language. Most Arabic loanwords have been phonetically and morphologically integrated into Hausa. No phenomena of loantranslation seemed to have taken place. Contact between Arabic and Hausa in Western Africa never lead to a widespread bilingualism.

3. Arabic - Hausa contact in the Sudan

3.1. The Hausa speech communities in the Sudan

Following the Sudanese Arab tradition, the Hausa in the Sudan are included in the generic term 'Fallata' (generally migrants of West African origin).

5 For more details see Abu Manga 1989.
Their migration and settlement in the Sudan are expected to have started from the time when West African pilgrims, instead of crossing the Sahara, began to follow routes across the Nilotic Sudan. However their migration and settlement intensified between the 19th and 20th centuries. The main reasons for the existence of Hausa communities in the Sudan are religious (pilgrimage), religio-political (the advent of ‘Christian colonialism’) and religio-economical (to secure necessary means for performance of pilgrimage). Therefore, they are scattered all over the Sudan as small traders and concentrated along the pilgrimage road from El Geneina to Port Sudan, along the railway routes and in all the agricultural schemes areas (Gezira, Gedaref, Blue Nile, River Atbara, etc.). In many towns, along the pilgrimage route (Nyala, Fasher, Obeid, Gedaref, Kassala and Port Sudan), they live together in their own quarters, which in fact have developed out of the old zangos (stop-over stations for pilgrims).

3.2. Hausa language in the Sudan

Reliable statistics on languages and their respective speakers in the Sudan are completely lacking. Therefore, one can hardly make any estimation about the number of Hausa speakers in the Sudan. The few available sources (Abu-Manga 1978, Nasr & M. Duffield 1980, Balomoan 1981) usually speak of Fellata or West Africans in general and estimate their number between 1 to 6 millions\(^6\)!

The Hausa in the Sudan do not form a homogeneous community at the linguistic level. Many of them are in a continuous process of arabization and language shift, especially in large and relatively old settlements such as Maiurno on the Blue Nile and in urban centres such as El Obeid, Khartoum, Gedaref, Kassala and Port Sudan. However, today bilingualism (Hausal/Arabic) represents the dominant pattern of their language use. As found out by Abu Manga (1978), in the bilingual or in some cases trilingual (Hausa-Fulfulde-Arabic) communities Arabic is primarily used in intergroup and public relation, as well as intra-group communication in formal (e.g. political) and religious settings. But Hausa still

---

\(^6\) Balomoan (1981: 240) argued that the number of West Africans people in the Sudan has been completely underestimated in the 1956’s census. In this census their number is assessed as 908,686 while Balomoan estimates it as much as 6 millions following the British policy of encouraging settlement of West Africans in the agricultural schemes.
remains the dominant language in intimate intra-group communication and is even known as a second language by some other Westerner migrants such as the Fulani. However, this bilingualism is one-directional, as it can be observed in patterns of code-switching. When speaking Hausa, speakers may show many instances of Arabic code-switching according to the topic, the context, etc. But no or very few instances of Hausa code-switching occur in Arabic-based speeches.

In this paper we will not deal with all aspects of language contact such as the phenomena of code switching, individual variation, language deprecation and so forth. We will restrict ourselves to what can be considered as "an average level of Hausa among bilingual Hausa speakers" and thus deal with Arabic loanwords which have been fully integrated in Sudanese Hausa.

4. Sudanese Arabic (SA) loanwords in Sudanese Hausa (SH)

4.1. Phonological and morphological adaptation

Arabic loanwords in Sudanese Hausa are mainly borrowed from Standard Sudanese Colloquial Arabic (SSCA) and they have been adapted to Hausa with less phonological restructuring than in West Africa.

SA loanwords in SH display a somehow regular conformity to the Hausa morphological patterns. For example the plural forms of some nominal loanwords are constructed solely through Hausa tonal change (sg. low/high/low > pl. low/low/high: hadisī sg > hadisī pl. "new(s)" or sawwāɡī sg. > sawwāɡī

---

7 When we say here Standard Sudanese Colloquial Arabic we mean that most of the Arabic loanwords in Sudanese Hausa belong to the pandialectal stock used in the Northern Sudanese urban centres. However there must be a number of loanwords taken from other regional dialects with whom the Hausa have been in contact (cf. the word darrāba from Western Sudan). No data are yet available on this matter.

8 The phonological adaptation of SA loanwords in SH includes the following realization of SA consonants: t > t, d > d, z > z, s > s, h > h, c > ?, x > h, ɡ > k, the neutralization of /f/ and /b/ in final position (kałb > kałB "dog", Gikirif > GëdëriB "name of a town").

9 See Abu Manga (forthcoming) for more details on morphological adaptation of Arabic loanwords in Sudanese Hausa.
pl. "driver(s)"") and others through Hausa plural morphemes (*sharē "street" > *sharōri "streets"). But other loanwords retain their original Arabic plural forms. The Arabic definite article *al* is usually dropped¹⁰. Verbal loanwords display even a higher degree of conformity to the Hausa verbal patterns. Once a verb is borrowed it behaves exactly like a Hausa proper verb. The same applies to other grammatical categories such as adjectives and participles.

### 4.2. Semantic fields of Arabic loanwordss

Apart from "religion, grammar, mathematics and astrology", each of Greenberg's semantic fields have been added with many more Sudanese Arabic words. Moreover, Arabic loanwords in SH cover many others semantic fields. In fact SA loanwords in SH extend over all aspects of life of the Hausa community, ranging from plants, animals, food, commodities, instruments, household, clothes, vehicles, weapons, family customs, marriage, death, inheritance to kingship terms, law, politics, etc. Vocabulary pertaining to religion and traditional Islamic sciences remain stable, as these two semantic fields stabilized before the Hausa migration to Sudan.

On the other hand, all new semantic fields (i.e. those relating to modern life or reflecting adoption of Sudanese Arab customs) are filled up with Sudanese Arabic loanwords, including SA words of foreign *traktar* "tractor", *taksi"taxi", etc. This seems to show that SH vocabulary is renewed almost exclusively through borrowing from Arabic. As we shall see below, this borrowing process from Arabic to Hausa does not prohibit the reinterpretation of Arabic words according to Sudanese Hausa categories. There is thus a kind of 'nativization' of Arabic loanwords. This phenomenon origin passed through Arabic, like may affect the evolution of the Hausa vocabulary as well, i.e. the meaning of a former Hausa 'generic word' may suffer semantic shrinking of semantic specialization (cf. exemples *miyar laló* in section 5.1.).

WAH on the other hand is both borrowing directly from a variety of languages (English, French, Classical Arabic and other major Vernaculars) and

---

¹⁰ While in WAH old Arabic nominal loanwords have been integrated with the article *l* or *li* cf. H. *ittāfī* < Ar. *al-kaṭāb* "book"; H. *layfi* < Ar. *al-*ayb* "fault" ; H. *liṣṣāfī* < Ar. *risāb* "reckoning".
evolving internally. Thus, WAH and SH can now be said to be evolving in
different directions, at least at the lexical level. An exception to this trend has
been encountered among five of our informants\textsuperscript{11}, whose speech samples include
some words from the present day WHA such as \textit{lantarki} "electricity", \textit{sati}
"week", \textit{kati} "card", \textit{agogo} "clock", \textit{kwalba} "bottle", \textit{dozin} "dozen", \textit{akawu}
"accountant", \textit{mako} "week", \textit{wato} "that is to say", \textit{sabulu} "soap", \textit{lamba}
"number", etc. No sufficient data are available to evaluate the extent of this
phenomena. It may, for the time being indicate that the link between Sudanese
and Western African Hausa is not completely cut and that WAH may still have a
certain influence on SH.

Not all SA loanwords do exhibit the same degree of integration in SH.
Some words are gradually acquired as a result of bilingualism and their use is
conditioned by the individuals' proficiency in both Arabic and Hausa. This is
why semantic confusion (where a word is mistaken for another) is common in
Sudanese Hausa at the individuals' speech level. In our data the following
confusions were encountered:

- use of \textit{xutba} "speech" instead of \textit{xutūba} "engagement"
- \textit{kuma sai ka yi xutba} "and then you make a speech" (he means\textit{xutūba}
"engagement").
- \textit{tsakanin takari da ‘yan hawwara aka sami mahawara} "between the West
Africans and the Hwawara Arabs there were a dialogue", he means
\textit{mujādala} "verbal conflict".

With increasing arabization, these cases of semantic confusion are
expected to be \textit{temporary} phenomena which are not going to be systemized
within SH. On the other hand, the cases of semantic shrinking and specification
(see below) attest the complete integration of these Arabic loanwords in SH.
They carry specific semantic function reflecting the integration of Arabic
Sudanese cultural elements within Sudanese Hausa communities.

\textsuperscript{11} Two of these informants acquired Hausa in Nigeria in their childhood but the three other
informants have no direct connection with Nigeria. The modern Hausa words in their speech
seem to have been picked up either through listening to BBC or through interaction with Nigerian
Hausa pilgrims.
5. Process of semantic adaptation in Sudanese Hausa

The direct contact between Arabic and Hausa in the Sudan, where speakers
of the two languages concerned come to live closely together, and the eventual
development of natural bilingualism thereabout, lead to the emergence of
peculiar linguistic features at the semantic level in both languages when used by
Sudanese Hausa speakers. Of these, more interesting for the purpose of our study
are the phenomena of semantic shrinking, semantic specification, loan
translation and semantic transfer. The difference between the first and second
phenomena is one of degree rather than quality. The same can be said of the
difference between the third and the fourth phenomena. Therefore each two related
phenomena are treated together.

5.1. Semantic shrinking and semantic specification of SA
loanwords in Sudanese Hausa

As noted with regard to WAH, many Sudanese Arabic loanwords in SH
undergo semantic shrinking and specification. Loanwords under this process are
used in a narrower sense than their inherent semantic limits\(^\text{12}\). Their original
meanings are expressed by other words from Hausa proper. Cases of semantic
shrinking recorded in our data include the following:

- *hajar* pl. *hujar* "battery" from SA *hajar* "stone". In SA the word *hajar* is used in
the construction *hajar battariyya* 'stone of torch' to mean "battery". In SH *hajar*
alone, without specification refers to battery. Otherwise, for 'stone' the Hausa
word *dutse* is used.

- *sarīr* "iron bed" from SA *sarir* "bed". In SA, *sarir* refers to any kind of bed, and
it needs specification like *sarir hadīd* for "iron bed". In SH *sarir* refers to iron
bed exclusively. For the traditional wooden bed, the Hausa word *gado* is used\(^\text{13}\).

---

\(^{12}\) This process is referred to by Bloomfield (1935: 28) as "narrowing" and exemplified by the
old English *mētā* (meat) which is used to mean "food".

\(^{13}\) In rural areas, Sudanese Arabs also used a similar distinction between *sarīr* and *angarēb*
"traditional Sudanese bed".
- *samak* "fried fish" from SA *samak* "fish". In SA *samak* can be used with qualifiers for further specification e.g. *samak nāšīf* "dry fish". In SH it means only fried fish, and the Hausa word *kītī* is used for fish in general.

- *diʔāya* "circulating bad information against somebody", from SA *diʕāya* "propaganda, publicity". In SA, unless precisely qualified, it has a more positive than negative connotation; cf *ʔaʕ̇mal ʔay ʕāya* "make a good propaganda in my favour". In SH, on the contrary, *diʔāya* is always used in a negative sense *yana nan yanai min diʔāya* "he is there circulating bad information about me".

Similarly, semantic specification brings out a distinction between almost identical items or processes, the one referred to by a Hausa word or old integrated Arabic loanword and the other by a SA recent loan. The first refers to a traditional Hausa concept while the SA loanword refers to a new concept or a new item borrowed from the Sudanese culture. For examples:

*F miyar xudra (or miyar mulūxiyya) / miyar lālo* "Jews mallow sauce". Both Hausa *lālo* and SA *xudra* or *mulūxiyya* refer to the same vegetable, i.e. Jews mellow. But among the Sudanese Hausa, *miyar xudra* refers automatically to the typical Sudanese Arab dish in which meat constitutes an important ingredient. *Miyar lālo* on the other hand, refers to the traditional Hausa dish with beans, instead of meat. The same specification occurs to other dishes such as *miyar bāmiya / miyar kubēwa* "green okra sauce" or *miyar um ṭigēga/miyar darrāba* "dried okra sauce". In this last example, the word *darrāba* is an old integrated loan of Western Sudan Arabic origin.

*F kaita/algaita* "High pitched musical instrument played by blowing on a double-reed mouthpiece". Both *kaita* and *algaita* are Arabic loanwords. *Algaita* is the old integrated loanword of Maghreban origin < *l-ğayt*. While *kaita* represents the Sudanese rendering. In WAH, *algaita* refers to the instrument, but in SH both words are conceived in terms of the type of performance rather than in terms of the instrument itself. *Algaita* refers to the traditional way of performance carried out mainly by the Hausa musicians in praise of chiefs and distinguished personalities against unspecified gifts paid by the praised persons. *Kaita*, on the other hand, is performed by professional groups of musicians, mainly Kanuri who play melodies derived from modern Sudanese music:
- kullum jumma? a sai an busa algaita gidan sarki" every friday algaita is blown in the Chief's house".
- yau da dare za? a kawo kaita" tonight a kaita group will be brought"

*galam* /alkalami*"pen". Again both terms are of Arabic origin, *galam* being recently borrowed and confined to Sudanese Hausa. It refers to the Western modern type of pen (or pencils) while *alkalami* refers to the traditional pen made of corn stalk and mainly used for writing on wooden tablets.
- *jeka ka sai min galam"go and buy a pencil for me".
- *yi min alkalami"make a traditional pen for me".

*tahhara /yi kaciya"circumcise". The general meaning of both terms is "circumcise". But *tahhara* refers usually to the circumcision which is carried out by a modern surgeon, whether at home or in the clinic and is celebrated according to Sudanese Arab customs. *Yi kaciya* refers to the Hausa traditional way of circumcising by a local surgeon, usually a barber, with traditional Hausa celebration.
- *gobe zasu tahnara ya'yansu"tomorrow they will circumcise their children (in a modern way)".
- *gobe zasu yi wa ya'yansu kaciya"tomorrow they will circumcise their children (in a traditional way)".

Nowadays the Arabic term is gradually superseding the Hausa verbal expression, as people, especially in urban areas, are abandoning the traditional process of circumcision.

5.2. Loan translation (calque) and semantic transfer in Sudanese Hausa

Up to now we were treating the loanword as a single semantic unit. But in the cases of loan translation and semantic transfer, the semantics of the loanword is considered in its relation with the other units of the sentence.

5.2.1. Loan translation

Loan translation constitutes a salient feature in the speech of the Sudanese Hausas, *both in their Hausa and Arabic*. It refers here to cases in which concepts or idiomatic expressions of one language are syntactically translated by one to
one lexical equivalent from another language, i.e. either Arabic concepts in Hausa words or Hausa concepts in Arabic words. The most important correlate of loan translation is collocation, i.e. the habitual association of a word in a language with other particular words in a sentence. Languages may differ much in collocational relationships which regulate the co-occurrence of their lexical items. Most cases of loan translation in the speech of Sudanese Hausas result from this difference of collocational patterns in Hausa and Arabic and show the transposition of the Arabic collocational patterns in Hausa and vice-versa. Loan translation with idiomatic expressions usually develop first among the Hausa youth living in urban centers and only later are diffused in the rural areas to become gradually part of the average repertoire of the Sudanese Hausas. The semantic concepts of these idiomatic expressions are expressed by other words in WAH. Examples:

- *buda mai* lit. "open for him", from SA *?attaḥ lēhu* which means "neglect him, don't care about him". In WAH, *kada ka damu da shi.*

- *be tarīgassa*¹⁴ lit. "in his own way" from SA *be tarīgtu* which means "it is up to him", in expression of indifference or distanciation. This meaning can be paraphrased in WAH as *shi ya shina, nibana ciki.*

- *ba ka da gadiyya* lit. "you don't have a Court case", from Arabic *mā ۰indak gadiyya,* which means "you don't have a problem, you don't have to worry, this is not your responsibility". The equivalent in Hausa is *ba abinda ya sha ma kai.*

- *to wai don ka ci hatsi tare da su,* lit. "so that you may eat grain (corn) with them", from the Arabic *ašan taakul ṣeš ma′āhum,* which means "so that you may survive among them".

- *in wuta ta yanke,* lit. "if the fire (electricity) cuts", from Arabic *?izā gataḍ at al kahraba* which means "if the electricity goes off". In Hausa *idan an d′auki wuta* (d′ = d implosive).

- *sai su soma sabuwar tafiya,* lit. "then, they start a new journey", from Ar. *yibdu mušwār jadīd* which means 'then they start a new life' (regarding a newly married couple).

---

¹⁴ Pronouns change as required in Hausa *be tarīgakka* "in your own way", *be tarīgassu* "in their own way", etc.
- hira ta kawo hira, lit. "chatting brought chatting" from Ar. al-wanasa jābat al-wanasa which means "chatting brought about the occasion" i.e. to talk about another relevant issue.

5.2.2. Semantic transfer

On the other hand, semantic transfer in this study refers to cases where Sudanese Arabic semantic concepts are transposed into Hausa. This type of semantic transfer is carried out mainly through verbs. It can be regarded as a case of both loan translation and shift in collocational patterns, as it involves a replacement of an Arab word by its equivalent in Hausa. But it goes further to imply a change of perception. This applies to cases where the Hausa speakers in Western Africa and in the Sudan may perceive certain actions and processes in completely different ways. For examples, roomy vehicles in West Africa are perceived as rooms into which one enters (shiga); only vehicles such as bicycles and motor cycles are 'mounted'. In Sudan, on the contrary, all vehicles are looked upon as objects for riding (rakab), like camels and donkeys. Examples:

- "to ride"
  - arabiya zasu hau, lit. "it is a lorry that they will ride", from Ar. birkabu l-قاربيغا. In Hausa, mota zasu shiga, lit. 'they will enter into a lorry'.
- muka hau gatar zuwa Damazin, lit. "we rode a train to Damazin"

- "to paint"
In Hausa proper, paint is usually rubbed: ya shafi gidansa da fente, lit. "he rubbed his house with paint, i.e. he painted his house". In the Sudan, on the other hand, people strike or hit (darab) paint. The same concept appears in SH expressed by the verbs doka or buga:
- muna aikace-aikacemm u cikin gidajẹ muna doka booya, lit. "we do our work inside the house, striking paint"
- ya buga kofar gidansa buhiya, "he stroke his door with paint" (k' = k ejective)

- "issuing documents"
In West African Hausa papers and documents such as passport, driving licence etc. 'are made' or 'one has them made', as in sai ka yi ma lasisi "you need to make a licence, or to have it issued for you". In Sudanese Arabic, one 'takes out' these documents tallaεta jimsiyiya, lit. "I took out the nationality certificate", i.e. "I had a nationality certificate issued for me". Accordingly, in Sudanese Hausa
our data yields *na fidda jinsiyya*, lit. "I took out a nationality certificate", *ya fidda ruksa* "he took out a driving licence", *sai ku fidda tasriih* "you then take out a warrant".

6. Hausa interference in the Arabic variety spoken by Sudanese Hausa

As mentioned earlier, most of the Sudanese Hausa are bilingual in their mother tongue and Arabic, with Arabic playing a more and more important role in the daily life. We have seen the effect of this dominant bilingualism with the many cases of lexical borrowings and semantic transfer from SA into SH. However the contact is not totally unidirectional, and acquisition of Arabic by Hausa speakers is accompanied by many instances of interference from their first language at the phonological, morphological and semantic levels. Since the degree of this interference varies with the individuals' proficiency in Arabic, it is difficult to make a general structural description of the Arabic variety spoken by Sudanese Hausa. But again, one can speak of an "average level of Arabic" among bilingual Sudanese-Hausa. Our main concern in this section is the semantic interference, where the collocational operation of certain Hausa verbs with specific nouns are applied *verbatim* to Arabic (word to word translation), thus yielding awkward expressions to the ear of a native Arabic speaker. The following are a few examples from our data:

فارس: *A.šarab* < H. *sha* 'drink'
- *bašrab hawa*, lit. "I drink air", i.e. "I enjoy the fresh air", from the Hausa *ina shan iska*. The correct S. Arabic form is *bašum al-hawa*.
- *širib ?ukkās*, lit. "he drank a stick" i.e. "he received a blow with a stick", from the Hausa *ya sha sanda*. The standard Sudanese Arabic form is *?axad ʾukkāz*
- *širibaš šamiš*, lit. "I drank sun", i.e. "I got an insolation (sunstroke)", from Hausa *na sha rana*. The SA form is *itšammasta*.

فارس: *A. ?akal* < H. *ci* "eat"
- xallîni amsik moya, lit. "let me catch water, i.e. let me pass water and make the ceremonial washing of genital organs" from the Hausa bari in kama ruwa. The SA religious form for this process is xallîni ?gtaâ-al-jumâr.

Conclusion

This paper represents a first attempt to compare the linguistic contact between Arabic and Hausa in West Africa and in Sudan respectively.

Conditions of contact between Arabic and Hausa in West Africa, are characteristic of a long but not very close nor direct contact. This language contact operated through literary, religious or commercial networks, where non-Arab groups played an important intermediate role. It did not operate through an intensive direct contact with Arab speakers. Therefore, the linguistic results of this contact have been restricted mainly to lexical borrowing and limited semantic change. As far as we know, the Arabic loanwords have been integrated without disrupting the Hausa's phonological, morphological and syntactic structures and without involving any kind of structural change. The same phenomenon was recorded for all the neighbouring West African languages and it fits with Thomason & Kaufman's scale of borrowing (cf. T & K 1988: 74-78 'Casual to not so casual contact').

Contact between Arabic and Hausa in the Sudan represents, as we have seen, a more drastic, direct and intensive type of contact, in a situation of language dominance, i.e. where Arabic is the dominant language at the national level but is also playing a more and more important role among the bilingual Sudanese Hausa communities. This intensive contact leads to a more intensive process of lexical borrowing from Arabic to Hausa but seems to have had little impact on the morphological and syntactical structures of Sudanese Hausa. No cases of disrupted morphology were recorded. This is partly due to the fact that bilingual Hausa speakers resort to Arabic code-switching in many instances. Therefore it seems that language shift to Arabic may occur before the process of morphological depedition. However this point may require more research, involving a more systematic study of Hausa morphology and syntax according to age, degree of bilingualism etc. Today the salient feature of the speech of
- biyākul mahīyya, lit. "he eats salary", i.e. "he gets a salary", from Hausa yana cin albashi. The SA construction is biyāxud māhīyya.15.

- al girīṣ da ma biyākul "this piaster does not eat, i.e. this piaster coin has been taken out of circulation", from the Hausa wannan kwabo (girīṣ) bayā ci. The SA construction is al girīṣ da ma bimṣī.

F A. simf < H. jī "hear"
- al-mileh mā simi lit. "the salt has not heard", i.e. "the salt is not enough", from Hausa gishiri bai jī ba. In SA, al-mileḥ mā tàcim.

- basmā jū lit. "I hear hunger", i.e. "I am hungry" from the Hausa ina jīn yunwa. The SA standard form is ana jīcàn.

- basmā sagat, lit. "I hear cold, i.e I feel cold", from the Hausa ina jīn dari. The SA standard form is ana sagtān.

- basmā wajā rās, lit. "I hear headache, I have headache" from the Hausa ina jīn ciwon kai. In SA the standard form is ḥāssi be wajāc rās or muṣaddf

- basmā ?afāna, lit. "I hear a nasty odour, i.e I smell a nasty odour", from Hausa ina jīn wari. The SA standard form is šāmmi (baʃum)c afāna.

F A.?amal < H. yi "make"
- al lēl ?amal, lit. "the night has made, it is already night" from the Hausa dare da yi. The SA standard construction is ad-dunya bigat lēl.

- amalta fatūr ?, lit. "have you made breakfast, i.e. have you taken breakfast?", from the Hausa ka yi karen kumallo. The SA standard form is ṭāṭartā?

F Anazzal < H. sauqar da "bring/put down"

- nazzalta-l-kur?ān, lit. "I brought down the Quran, i.e. I completed recitation of the Quran", from the Hausa na sauqar da alkur?āni. The proper SA form is xatamta-l-gur?ān.

- nazzalta-l-?aris bē miyyat jinēh, lit. "I brought the bridegroom down with a hundred pounds", i.e. "I offered the bridegroom a hundred pounds (on the occasion of his marriage)". The SA form is xattēt le-l-?aris miyyat jinēh

F Awagaf < H. tsaya "stand"

- aṣ šahar wagaf, lit. "the moon has stood, the new moon has appeared", from the Hausa wata ya tsaya. The SA form is aṣ šahar halla.

F Amasak < H. kama "catch"

15 In SA a similar expression is ?akal al gurus, "he ate the money", which is mainly used for corruption practises or refusal to give back money, etc.
bilingual Hausa speakers in the Sudan is the recurrent instances of loan translation and semantic transfer in both their Arabic and Hausa.

However, since language use among the Sudanese Hausa is characterized by a dominant bilingualism (where Arabic is becoming more and more dominant), the two-directional processes of loan translation (i.e. Arabic-Hausa and vice versa) may not continue with equal rates. In other words, an increase in the degree of arabization among the Sudanese Hausa may lead to a corresponding decrease in Hausa influence on and interference in their Arabic and eventually to the gradual disappearance of the Hausa to Arabic semantic transfer (as well as the gradual disappearance of the Hausa structural interference). If this process is confirmed, it may lead gradually to a process of perfect learning of the target language. However, this question needs more investigation among the different Hausa communities of the Sudan, as up to now, little is known about the language uses and language attitudes of these communities. Nothing for the time being indicate the stabilization of a specific "Hausa-Arabic" that could represent the arabic vernacular of the Arabized Hausas.

On the opposite, the Arabic to Hausa semantic transfer may be maintained or may even increase, due to the socio-cultural context. Thus, while the core of the grammar of both WAH and SH remains the same, their vocabulary is found to be evolving in two different directions, with different sources of renewal and enrichment and different semantic concepts. All this leads gradually to the widening of the communication gap between Hausa speakers in the two regions. Thus the question may arise to evaluate to what extent the mutual intelligibility between the two varieties of Hausa will be maintained.

Institute of Afro-Asian Studies, Khartoum
CNRS-CEDEJ, Le Caire
BIBLIOGRAPHIE


— (forthcoming), Hausa in the Sudan: Process of Adaptation to Arabic.


APPENDIX
Sample of corpus

Legend: albasaa "old integrated Arabic loan word"
jinsiyya "SA loanword"
fan "Modern Hausa term"

1) Ishag Mohammed Soba, male, Kassala, 72 years, Quranic school


"You know they are the people of the Umma Party who brought papers (here). They brought (them) saying that who doesn't have nationality certificate will not be registered (for elections), because they are guests, they have no right. People said 'we have right, they were our grandfathers who came here. At that time people are with (i.e. support) the N.U. Party, and it had power. At once they (i.e. leaders of N.U Party) said they (Hausa) must be given (the chance to vote). We were registered and we voted as well".

2) Taj Al Arifin Mohamed Abarshi, male, Maiurno, 47 years, Post-Secondary.

Saq'in da muka tahi (Khatoum) anka kai mu, munka tahi munka zamna gidan ammimmu Abubakar da ammatimmu habbooba Kande. Wa fi'lan wallaahi munka yi kyakkyaa war zamna. Habboobammu kande 'yattsoofuwa cee, ta akrama mu, abincii gurinta muka ci, ashaa da ghadammu da fatuur dimmu duku, duku kaalaaci gidanta muka ci, kuma 'yan'uwammu suna aikoo muna masaariif, kuddii fan ukku ga wata
"When we went to Khartoum, we were brought there, we went and stayed in the house of our uncle Abubakar and aunt Grand Mother Kande. And actually indeed we had a very nice stay. Our grand mother Kande was an old women, she showed us hospitality : food was from her, our dinner, lunch and breakfast all; we take all our meals with her. Also our relatives used to send us pocket-money, three pounds a month.

3) Khadija Salisu, female, Nyala, 15 years, illiterate

In naa daawoo gidaa 'awwal in zuba gawagii a kaanuun, kuma in kaawoo mai in zuba a halla in dooraa, kuma in yanka albasaa. In fuura wut awwali kuma in kaawoo mai in dooraa; kuma in zoo nii in yanka albasaa in zubaa. Kuma in taasoo in zuba ruwa. In ruwan nan yaa sooyu, in ruwan nan ya barraka in zuba barkoonoo in saa manadoora, kuma in yaa dafu in kadaa.

"When I come back home first, I put coal on the stove and then I bring oil and pour it into the cooking-pot and put it (on the stove), and then I cut onion, I blow the fire first and then bring oil and put it on the fire; then I come and cut the onion and pour it into (the cooking-pot). And then I stand and pour water. If this water gets roasted, if this water gets boiled I put pepper and tomatoes, and when it gets cooked I steer (the sauce)."