Hausa and Swahili: A Common Arabic Heritage*

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Tsakure

Hausa da Suwahili su ne harsunan da suka fi yaɗuwa daga kudancin shara na Afirka. Mafiyawan al'umomin waɗannan harsunan sun kar6i addinin musulunci, saboda haka ne larabci ya yi tasiri matuƙa a kan harsunan. Sama da kashi talatin na kalmomin waɗannan harsuna an aro su ne kai tsaye daga Larabci ko kuma an baddala su daga Larabci. Byan tasirin da aron kalmomin Larabci daga Al'ƙur'ani, akwai kuma wani aron da Hausa ta vi ta fuskar Larabcin gargaliya na mutanen Misra da wasu kare - karen Larabcin Magaribawa. Haka ma Suwahili ya yi irin wannan aro daga Larabcin gargaliya na Omaniyawa da Yamalawa. Saboda haka ire - iren waɗannan kalmomin aro sun ƙara bunƙasa waɗannan harsunan a dukkanin fannonin rayuwa, tunda yake shi Larabci harshe ne da tuni ya samu gatan rubutu. Wannan maƙala an nuna cewa a hanyoyi daban daban bayanan da aka gabatar sun fi karkata ne wajen nuna yadda kalmomin aro na Larabci suke tasarrufi a Hausa. A yayin da kalmomin aro na Larabci a Suwahili suke kusan ƙin sarrafuwa. Yawancin kalmomin aro an fi

 $^{^*}$ In this paper, we use the following abreviations: AR(rabic), BA(mbara), DA(gbani), DO(gon), FU(lfulde), HA(usa), KA(nuri), MA(ndingue), NU(pe), SA(ngo), SO(nghay), SW(ahili), WO(lof), YO(ruba). The transcripttion of Arabic is that one given by Wehr's dictionay. As it concerns the other languages, the words are given according to the writing system used in dictionaries quoted in references, except for Hausa, given in the scientific transcription usually employed, which marks long vowels and tons, which are not marked in Standard Hausa, and Yoruba, where some corrections are made for words quoted from Abraham's dictionary. In Hausa flapped r are not marked, on the contrary trilled \neq are given with an hyphen.

samun su ne a rukunin suna. Amma waɗannan harsunan, an gano akwai ararrun kalmomin aikatau da dama. Ta wata fuskar kuma Suwahili ya yi aro a Larabci da kuma harsunan Nahiyar Asiya, misali Pasiya. Ko da yake, duk da tasirin Larabci nahawun harshen bai jirkita ba, tsarin sauti ya samu karɓuwar wasu sautukan Larabci tare da ƙarin kalmomin aron.

Hausa and Swahili are the most wide spread languages in Sub-Saharan Africa. Although they belong to linguistic phyla¹, they have many features in common. Both are spoken outside a single state and are used as a communication medium in a very large part of West Africa, in the case of Hausa, and East Africa in the case of Swahili. Apart from there border crossing distribution, there is a further common factor in both languages, which lies in their heavy Arabic influence on them. Both languages were both first written in ajami, i.e. with the Arabic alphabet². The acceptance of Islam by the majority of speakers of these languages has had such a great impact, that more than 30% of their lexicon is directly or indirectly borrowed from Arabic. Apart from classical Arabic, i.e. Arabic from the Koran, the main influence arrived from colloquial Arabic, i.e. from Egypt and some Maghrebinian dialects into Hausa and from Omani and Yemenite into Swahili. If we compare the loans which arrived into those languages, we see many astonishing similarities. Apart from the common loans related to the new religion (i.e. words related to law. customs, culture, etc.), one can find many words which substitute or

¹ Hausa is a Chadic language belonging to Afro-Asiatic phylum, whereas Swahili is a Bantu language, more specifically a member of the Sabaki subgroup of North East Coast Bantu (Nurse & Spear 1985: 46; Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993: 490-496).

² The earliest existent Swahili manuscript poem known to scholars is *Utendi Wa Tambuka*, an epic or heroic poem written in Pate for Fumo (Sultan) Laiti Nabhani, and is dated AD. 1728 (in the Library of the Seminar für afrikanischen Sprachen, Hamburg, No. 3554 H. 119). Hausa was comprisingly described first in a grammar by Schön in 1862.

took over the old local ones, considered from that time on as vulgar: it is especially the case of words indicating some private parts of the body³. So the loans enriched the local languages not only in the field of the new religion, but also in other spheres of their lexicon, since Arabic had the prestige to be a written language.

In a work published in 1988, I compared most of the common Arabic loans in those languages and they were related to almost all semantic fields. Giving examples on these topics, I would like to examine some grammatical aspects of borrowings from Arabic.

Grammar

Article.

In many cases the Arabic article is agglutinated in loans arrived into Hausa. Sometimes the forms with the article coexisted with those without it: $misk\bar{t}$, $almisk\bar{t}$ (< misk 'musk'); $t\bar{a}jir\bar{t}$, $almisk\bar{t}$ (< misk 'musk'); $t\bar{a}jir\bar{t}$, $almisk\bar{t}$ (vealthy person' (< $t\bar{a}jir$ 'merchant'), laifi and aibu. On this topics more examples are given by Baldi (1991: 84-85).

On the contrary the article is nearly never agglutinated in Swahili loanwords. The examples are very few: $alasiri\ (<^c asr)$ 'afternoon'; $alfajiri\ (< fajr)$ 'dawn'; $alhaji\ (< h\bar{a}jj)$ 'pilgrim'; $Alhamdulillahi!\ (< al-hamdu\ lill\bar{a}h)$ 'praise be to God'; $Alhamisi\ (< \underline{kam\bar{i}s})$ 'Thursday'.

Adverbs.

In Hausa adverbs are divided into several groups. Each group contains both primary and derivatory adverbs; the latter are formed in various ways. Among them there are some of Arabic origin: $haka \ (< h\bar{a}ka\underline{d}\bar{a})$ 'thus'; $d\bar{o}le \ (< daula$ 'power') 'necessarily'; $l\bar{a}budda$ ($< l\bar{a}budda$) 'doubtless, etc.'.

As distinct grammatical or lexical items, adverbs hardly exist in Swahili⁴. Most of them are derived from nouns, verbs or pronouns.

³ It is the case of $azakar\bar{i}$ 'penis' (< AR $\underline{d}akar$, cf. SW dhakari), Robinson (1925: 23b) says: "a word used by educated men for $b\bar{u}+\bar{a}$ "; or $farj\bar{i}$ 'vagina' (AR < farj 'vulva') at the place of $d\bar{u}+\bar{i}$, $gat\bar{o}$, $g\bar{u}ts\bar{u}$.

⁴ Myachina (1981: 54).

The non-derived adverbs are very small in number: among them most are borrowings from Arabic: afadhali 'rather, better' (< afdal 'better'); aghalabu, aghlabu (< a\overline{g}lab) 'usually'; baada (< ba^cda) 'after'; bado 'not yet' (< ba^cdun 'then; still, yet'); dahari 'always' (< dahr 'time; age'); daima 'perpetually' (< da'im 'lasting; perpetual'); dike, tike (< bi-diqqa) 'exactly'; fauka, foko (< fauqa) 'more'; ghafula 'suddenly' (< \overline{g}afla 'negligence'); hadhara 'in public, before' (< \overline{hadra} 'presence'); halafu 'after a bit'(< \overline{k}alfu 'back'); hasa 'specially' (< \overline{k}\overline{a}\overline{s} s 'special'); hobelahobela 'anyhow' (< \overline{k}abal 'confusion'); hususa 'expressly' (< \overline{k}u\overline{s}\overline{s} an' 'especially'); kadhalika 'in like manner' (< kad\overline{d}\overline{a}lika 'so, like so'); nusura 'almost' (< nazr 'little'); salimini 'safely' (< sal\overline{m} 'safe'); sana 'very much' (< san\overline{a} 'brilliance'); sawia 'then' (< saw\overline{ly} 'quickly' (< tash\overline{l} 'facilitation'); wahedu 'alone' (< wa\overline{hid} 'one; sole'); zamani 'formerly' (< zam\overline{a}n' 'time').

Conjunctions.

In Hausa there are very few conjunctions of Arabic origin: $l\bar{o}k\dot{a}c\hat{n}n$ $d\dot{a}$ (< waqt 'time') 'when', $s\bar{a}'\dot{a}d/s\bar{a}'\dot{a}n$ $d\dot{a}$ (< $s\bar{a}^ca$ 'time; hour') 'when'.

Numerals.

In Hausa the decades are all Arabic-based (i.e $ashi\tilde{r}in$, talatin, $a\tilde{r}ba'in$, hamsin, sittin, saba'in, tamanin, $casa'in^5$). There are also some higher numerals borrowed from Arabic which are less

⁵ Also *tìs*(*ì*)'in.

commonly used, including: $miny\hat{a}$ '100', $m\hat{e}tan$ '200', $a\tilde{r}baminy\hat{a}$ '400', and $hamsaminy\hat{a}$ '500', as well as the term for 'zero' ($sifir\bar{\iota} < sifr$). Where all the components of a compound numeral are Arabic borrowings, the Arabic conjunction wa is used instead of the Hausa word da.

In the first ten Swahili numerals three are of Arabic origin: *sita* '6', *saba* '7', *tisa* '9'. From 11 to 19 they coexist with the Bantu terms, but from 20 to 90, as well as the word for 100 (*mia*) and 1000 (*elfu*) they are all of Arabic origin. In such cases there is no concord.

Prepositions.

In Hausa very few prepositions are of Arabic origin: $bil\bar{a}$ 'without' ($\langle bi-l\bar{a}\rangle$; $h\dot{a}tt\bar{a}$ 'even' ($\langle hatt\bar{a}\rangle$).

In Swahili there are no Bantu words which are basically prepositions (Ashton 1947: 195), so, among others, some words are borrowed from Arabic: *bila* 'without' (< *bi-lā*); *hata* 'until, up to' (< *hattā*).

Arabic Nominal Loans

The majority of loans is concentrated in the field of nouns. Here some examples are classified according to their semantic field. The large variety of semantic fields involved shows the enormous impact that Arabic had on these languages:

NATURE: HA *suràyyā*, SW *Thurea* < AR *turayyā* 'Pleiades'; HA *bahàr*, *bahàrī*, SW *bahari* < AR *baḥr* 'sea'; HA *zaibā*, SW *zebaki* < AR *zi'baq* 'quicksilver'; HA *zàbîb*, SW *zabibu* < AR *zabīb* 'raisin(s)'; HA *alhànzîr*, SW *hanziri* < AR *kinzīr*⁶ 'pig';

MAN AS A PHYSICAL BEING: HA sautī, SW sauti < AR ṣaut 'sounds, voice'; HA àlbaràs, baràs, SW barasi < AR baraṣ; HA lāfiyā, SW afya, afia < AR 'āfiya '(good) health'; HA hàlāwā, SW halua < AR

⁶ The standard word for 'pig' in Swahili is *nguruwe*. *Hanziri* seems for me to have a connotation of moral disapproval.

ḥalwā 'sweet'; HA jubbā, SW juba < AR jubba 'jubbah'; HA laimā̄⁷, SW hema < AR kaima 'tent';</p>

MAN AS A SPIRITUAL BEING: HA bàyānī, SW bayana < AR bayān 'explanation'; HA azīnā, SW adha < AR adāh, adīya; HA lāhīrī, SW taahira < AR ta'kīr 'delay'; HA izinī, SW (-)idhini⁸ < AR idn 'permission'; HA kalmā, SW kalima < AR kalima 'word'; HA hìkāyā, SW hekaya < AR hikāya 'story, tale'; HA hìkāyā, SW hekaya < AR hikāya 'story, tale'; HA imāmī, līmân⁹, SW imamu < AR imām 'imam; leader';

MAN AS A SOCIAL BEING: HA *ajàlī*, SW *ajali* < AR *ajal* 'deadline'; HA *zùri'ā*, *zùriyā*, SW *dhuria* < AR <u>d</u>urrīya; HA ladàbī, SW adabu < AR adab 'good manners';

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICS: HA asalī, SW asili < AR aṣl 'origin'; HA tùhumā, SW tuhuma < AR tuhma 'suspicion'; HA jāsūsū, jāsūsī, SW jasusi < AR jāsūs 'spy'; HA kāmùs, SW kamusi < AR qāmūs 'dictionary'; HA bùkārī, SW bikari< AR bīkār 'compass'; HA fā'idā, àlfā'idā, SW faida < AR fā'ida 'profit'; HA himìlī, hamàlī, SW himila < AR himl, ḥaml 'load';

NATURAL LAWS: HA sàwwā, SW sawa < AR sawā' 'equality'; HA jimlā, SW jumla < AR jumla 'sum'; HA màhallī, SW mahali < AR mahall 'space'; HA zāmànī, SW zamani < AR zamān 'time';

Arabic Verbal Loans

In contact between two languages the majority of loans is generally from nouns - and verbs are very few. But in the case of these two languages we can observe, that the number of verbal loans is quite frequent. For Hausa, as a Chadic language, which is genetically is related to Arabic, it is not so unexpected to find many verbal loans, but for Swahili, a Bantu language, it is quite surprising to find such a

⁷ The word comes into Hausa through Kanuri *lăima* 'tent', see Baldi (1992: 11).

⁸ In Swahili it can be a noun and a verb.

 $^{^9}$ This variant, , arrived through Kanuri $\emph{limân}$ 'imam', see Baldi (1992: 12).

great number of loans; sometimes in double forms of loans: *safara* "to travel" gives *-safiri* v. "to travel" and *safari* n. "journey". Here some examples are given:

Arabic	Hausa	Swahili	English
talā	dālayā	-taliza	AR 'to paint'
ļata	ашиуи	-iaitz,a	HA 'to pare'
			<u> </u>
- 17	\ -	7	SW 'to plaster'
ḡayyara II	gayyàrā	-ghairi	'to change'
waṣafa	wassàfā/	wasifu	AR-SW 'to describe'
	wassàftā		HA 'to explain'
^c araḍa	àralà	-aridhia	AR-HA 'to happen'
			SW 'to explain'
^c aliqa		-aliki	AR-SW 'to hang'
ta ^c allaqa V	tà'àllakà/		AR-HA 'to be devoted; to
_	'àllakà		be dependent'
kalifa		-kalifu	AR 'to charge'
kallafa II	kallàfā		HA 'to impose sth. on s.o.'
			SW 'to trouble'
kamala	kammàlā/		AR-HA 'to complete'
	kamàltā		SW 'to trouble'
takāmala VI		-takamali	
balāga	bàlaga	-balehe	'to reach puberty'
halaka I	hàlakā/	-hiliki	AR-HA 'to perish; to die'
hallaka II	hallàkā		SW 'to be destroyed'
salima		-salimu	AR-SW 'to surrender'
sallama II	sallàmā		HA 'to give in'
FSR	fasàrā	-fasiri	'to explain'
FLS		-filisi	AR-SW 'to declare
hallasa II	fallàsā		bankrupt'
			HA 'to squander'
RTB		-ratibu	'to arrange'
rattaba II	rattàbā		

Arabic Adverbial, Conjunctional and Prepositional Loans

Here few examples of common Arabic loans of these two languages can be observed:

abadan	àbàdân/ ābādìn	abadan	AR-HA 'for ever and ever'
abaaan	abadany abadin	abadan	AR-SW 'never'
illā	ìllā	ila	'except'
аи	au	аи	AR-SW 'or'
			HA 'whether or'
bi-lā	bìlā	bila	'without'
lā budda	lā̀būddà	labda	AR-HA 'definitely'
			SW 'perhaps'
bas^{10}	bas	basi, bas	AR-HA 'only'
			SW 'well; it is enough'
bal	bal^{11}	bali	AR-SW 'but'
			HA 'used to intensify a
			contradiction'
ḥattā	hàttā	hata	'even'
sawīya	sauwi ¹²	sawia	AR-HA 'equality'
-			SW 'at that time'
qaṭṭu	kàtsū ¹³	katu ¹⁴	'ever; never'
ka- <u>d</u> ā	kàzā (dà kàzā)	kadha wa	'such and such'
		kadha	
ka-mā	kàmā	kama	AR-SW 'as, such as, like'
			HA 'similarity,
			appearance'
lā	lā	la!	'no'
lākin	lākin	lakini	AR-SW 'but'

See Roth-Laly (1969: 50b).
 See Bargery (1934: 67b).
 See Robinson (1925: 363a).

<sup>Bargery (1934: 586b) gives: kàttsū.
The word is found in Sacleux' dictionary.</sup>

			HA 'for'
ma <u>t</u> alan	masalàn	mathalan	'for example'
na ^c am	nà'am	naam	'yes'
wa-lākin	(dà) wàlākin	walakini	AR-SW 'but, however'
			HA 'there's more than
			meets the eye'

Differences

Hausa has received loans relatively early and not only from (classical and spoken) Arabic, but also via some local West African languages like: Bambara, Fulfulde, Kanuri, Mandingo, Songhay, Tamasheq, etc.

Hausa wàllafà v. < Fulfulde wallifa v. < Arabic alifa v. (II) 'to compose';

Hausa $l\hat{a}d\hat{i}^{15}$ < Kanuri $l\hat{a}d\vartheta$ < Arabic al-ahad 'Sunday';

Hausa lāhirā 'the Next World' < Kanuri lăira 'the Next World' < Arabic *al-ākira* 'the hereafter';

Hausa lardi 'district' < Kanuri lárda 'earth; country' < Arabic ard 'earth; land';

Hausa $l\bar{l}m\hat{a}n^{16}$ < Kanuri $lim\hat{a}n$ < Arabic $im\bar{a}m$ 'imam'; Hausa $l\bar{a}y\bar{a}^{17}$ 'written charm' < Kanuri $l\acute{a}ya$ 'amulet, charm' < Arabic āya 'Koranic verse';

Hausa wànzāmī 'barber' < Songhay wànzâm 'barber' < Tamasheq waahažžam 'barber, cupper' < Arabic hajjām 'cupper'.

On the contrary Swahili has received loans from Arabic and other oriental languages, like Persian, but no Arabic loans entered through any local language. The reason probably lies in its pre-eminent role in the region. The majority of Arabic loanwords entered the language

¹⁵ In Hausa there is also: *lahàdì*, arrived directly from Arabic.

¹⁶ In Hausa there is also: *ìmāmī*, arrived directly from Arabic.

¹⁷ In Hausa there is also: $\bar{a}y\hat{a}$ 'verset (surt. du Coran)', arrived directly from Arabic.

relatively recent; most date back only as far as the period of Omani Arab domination in the 18th and 19th centuries respectively (Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993: 315):

Swahili balozi 'ambassador' < Turkish balyos, $balyoz^{18}$ 'consul of Venice':

But both languages, Hausa and Swahili, spread Arabic words into other neighbouring languages:

Hausa as a medium of spreading Arabic Loans

Hausa has get many loans from Arabic (few through Fulfulde, Kanuri, Songhay, Tamasheq, etc.), but it was also a donor languages:

Arabic *al-aḥad* 'Sunday' > Hausa *lâd*ì¹⁹, *lahàdì* > Buli *alaadi*, *laadi*; Gurenne *lasere daare*, *lahere daare*; Vagla *alaadi*;

Arabic *ammā* 'but' > Hausa *àmmā* > Dagbani *amaa*; Gade *àmá*; Gurenne *ama*; Songhay *àlmáá*; Vagla *ama*;

Arabic baṣal 'onion(s)' > Hausa àlbasa > Buli alabasa; Busa àlùbásàn; Dagbani albasa; Gurenne alabasa; Vagla alibaasa; Yoruba àlùbósa;

Arabic <u>talātā</u>' 'Tuesday' > Hausa tàlātā > Buli talaata; Gurenne attalaata daare; Vagla atalaata; Yoruba àtàlátà;

Arabic *al-itnain* 'Monday' > Hausa *lìttìnîn* > Buli *tani*; Gurenne *attanii daare*; Vagla *atɛnɛɛ*; Yoruba *àtìní*;

Arabic *jum*^ca 'Friday' > Hausa *jumma*'à > Buli *azuma*; Gurenne *azuma daare*; Kotoko *jòmáwà*; Vagla *alajima*; Yoruba *jímó*;

Arabic akbār pl. 'news' > Hausa lābārī > Buli labaari; Dagbani lahabali; Gade làbárí; Songhay lààbááRì; Yoruba làbárì;

Arabic *duniyā* 'word; earth' > Hausa *dūniyā* > Buli *duninya*; Dagbani *dunia*, *duniya*; Gade *dúníya*; Gurenne *dunia*; Vagla *dunia*;

Arabic *zakāh* 'alms tax (*Isl. Law*)' > Hausa *zàkkā*, *zàkā*, *zakkā* > Dagbani *zaka*; Yoruba *sàká*.

¹⁸ The Turkish word is coming from old Italian *balio* (see: *New Redhouse Turkish-English dictionary*. Istanbul 1968: 129).

¹⁹ Via Kanuri *lâdə*.

Swahili as a medium of spreading Arabic Loans

Swahili was not only receiving Arabic loans, but it was also a donor language. Many Bantu and non-Bantu languages have received Arabic loans in the area via Swahili:

- Arabic *barwa* 'waste, scrap' > Swahili *barua* 'letter' > giKuyu *marua* 'letter'; luGanda '*bbàluwà* 'letter'; Madi *bàrúà* 'letter';
- Arabic *bunduqīya* 'rifle, gun' > Swahili *bunduki* 'gun, rifle, musket' > giKuyu *bundūki, bindūki* 'rifle, gun'; luGanda `*mmūndu* 'gun, rifle'; Madi *mùndùkú, bùndúkì* 'gun';
- Arabic <u>kaima</u> 'tent' > Swahili *hema* 'tent' > giKuyu *hema* 'tent'; luGanda *weemà* 'tent'; Madi *kémà* 'tent';
- Arabic daqīqa 'minute (time unit)' > Swahili dakika 'minute' > giKuyu ndagīka, ndakinga 'a minute'; luGanda 'ddakiika 'minute'; Madi dákikà 'minute; one minute; a moment';
- Arabic $s\bar{a}^c a$ 'while; hour; timepiece' > Swahili saa 'time; watch' > liNgala $s\hat{a}$ ($s\hat{a}a$) 'watch' > Sango $s\hat{a}\hat{a}$ 'watch';
- Arabic *māl* 'money' > Swahili *mali* 'wealth' > Ila *madi* 'money'; Ndonga *oshimaliwa* 'money' (via Nama); Shona *mari* 'money (*cash*)'; isiXhosa *imali* 'money';
- Arabic *qahwa* 'coffee' > Swahili *kahawa* 'coffee' > liNgala *káwa* 'coffee' > Sango *káwà* 'coffee';
- Arabic *qarṭas* 'paper' > Swahili *karatasi* 'paper, a piece of paper' > Acholi *kàrtacì* 'sheet of paper';
- Arabic *kūfīya* 'kaffiyeh' > Swahili *kofia* 'fez' > Acholi *kòfià* 'tarboush'.

Although the grammatical structure of the language has been unaffected by its contact with Arabic, the phonological system has absorbed some Arabic sounds along with the borrowed vocabulary (Contini-Morava 1997: 842).

Swahili has being one of the first languages in Africa to be appointed as a national language in Tanzania (1967) and Kenya, has

increased its role, even outside the national boundaries, so that in a near future, without any doubt, it will continue to spread Arabic loans.

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