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Préface

Le Sixième Colloque international bisannuel sur les langues tchadiques (Biennial International Colloquium on the Chadic Languages, BICCL) s'est tenu près de Paris les 24 et 25 septembre 2011. Il s'est déroulé dans une salle de conférences du Centre André-Georges Haudricourt (Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Villejuif) qui avait été retenue par le laboratoire « Langages, langues et cultures d'Afrique noire » (LLACAN, Inalco, CNRS, PRES Sorbonne-Paris Cité) au nom du Comité permanent du BICCL¹, représenté en l'occurrence par Henry Tourneux.

Localement, nous avons reçu un soutien inestimable de Martine Vanhove, Directrice du LLACAN, qui a appuyé financièrement la rencontre, de Jeanne Zerner et de Magali Diraison qui en assuraient à la fois le fonctionnement matériel et l'accueil des participants. La réalisation de la belle affiche du colloque était due à Danielle Bonardelle (LLACAN).

Au cours de ces deux journées, 16 communications (dont 13, reprises dans le présent volume) ont été présentées. Les participants venaient des pays suivants : Allemagne (Bayreuth, Hambourg, Leipzig), Cameroun (Maroua), France, Grande-Bretagne, Hongrie, Italie, Russie (Moscou) et Tchad. L'étude de Václav Blažek (République Tchèque) a été présentée *in absentia*.

Les chapitres qui suivent sont classés par ordre alphabétique d'auteur. Ils traitent de langues du Nigeria : bole-tangale (S. Baldi, U. Zoch), bure (G. Cl. Batic), mwaghavul (R. Blench), geji et pelu (B. Caron), lamang-hdi (H. E. Wolff) ; du Cameroun: kotoko (H. Tourneux) ; et du Tchad (mawa (J. Roberts), kera, kwong et zime de Pala (M. Pearce). Un chapitre (O. Stolbova), porte sur un ordre de consonnes vu dans l'ensemble de la famille tchadique, et un autre sur l'ensemble du Tchadique central (R. Gravina). Deux auteurs (V. Blažek et G. Takács) confrontent quelques langues particulières à l'Afroasiatique pris comme un tout.

L'éventail des sujets abordés au cours de ces deux journées prouve, une fois de plus, la fécondité de ces rencontres régulières, sans lesquelles les chercheurs du domaine tchadique n'auraient guère d'occasions de se retrouver entre eux.

Maroua, avril 2013

Henry Tourneux²

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1. Le Comité permanent du BICCL est actuellement composé de trois représentants, à savoir Dymitr Ibrizimow (Lehrstuhl Afrikanistik II, Université de Bayreuth), Henry Tourneux (LLACAN) et H. Ekkehard Wolff (Institut für Afrikanistik, Université de Leipzig).
 2. L'éditeur de ce volume remercie Michael Apuge et Martial Meutem, enseignants à l'École normale supérieure de Maroua, pour l'aide qu'ils lui ont apportée.

Arabic loans in Bole-Tangale languages

Sergio Baldi¹

The idea of this topic for the present Colloquium was inspired by remarks made in a review I got for my *Dictionnaire des emprunts arabes*. Dr Gian Claudio Batic, my *assegnista* and a former student, was criticizing the fact that for such a dictionary, Bole material available on the Internet was not consulted. These remarks were at the same time right, but even not concerned because, if I would have consulted all stuff on the Internet and not limited my research to published material, even twenty years would not have been sufficient to achieve my goal.

This paper is intended to analyze all dictionaries by Russell Schuh (i.e. Bole, Ngamo, Karekare, Bade, Duwai, and Ngizim) available on the Internet. The paper also discusses Arabic loans present in those languages, and attempts to trace their origin. I have to stress that these languages are spoken by a dissimilar number of people and the dictionaries are different in size, so the number of Arabic loans could be a little higher than predicted in my analysis. In this respect, Duwai, and Karekare are less influenced by Arabic, but their lexicon is also the smaller. The hypothesis which I had in mind at beginning of my research was supported by the fact that in some occurrences, the names for Sunday and Tuesday, which are Arabic loans in all languages tested, in Duwai it is not. I do not know whether such words were not lent or just not recorded. Ngizim is augmented by few items, which were in the previous Schuh's dictionary (1981) and quoted as written there: *jìnáadi* and not *jìnādi*.

The material was arranged in eleven columns: in the first one is appearing a number which sends back to my dictionary, quoted previously, where it is possible to find all information related to the Arabic etymon, Hausa word, as well as to eventually Fulfulde and Kanuri, if an Arabic loan is present in these languages. In the second, the Arabic etymon as found mainly in Wehr's Arabic dictionary: when necessary is quoted also another Arabic dictionary with its reference. The Arabic words are listed alphabetically according to the Arabic dictionaries. In the third one the Hausa loan as found in Abraham's dictionary and the following columns the languages considered in alphabetical order. The last one gives the English meaning common to all languages, which, for simplicity reasons, I tried, when possible, to reduce it at minimum: so under Ngamo *mālûm* is given 'teacher' only and not 'teacher, learned person, herbalist; [G] learnedness' (Schuh 2009: 65).

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Another aspect to be stressed is the area where those Bole-Tangale languages are spoken. The entire linguistic belt, which stretches from the Northern region of Yobe State up to the town of Gombe, represents in a certain way the linguistic boundary between the Hausaland (at the west) and the wide region of Fulfulde and Kanuri influence (at the east).

From all Schuh's dictionaries, I was able to identify the following number of Arabic loans, whose items are in brackets :

Bole (123), Ngizim (108), Bade, Western Dialect (82), Bade, Gashua Dialect (76), Ngamo (38), Duwai (27), Karekare (26).

All the loanwords originate from 175 Arabic etymons and are also attested in Hausa, except those four ones which do not have Arabic equivalent loanword in Hausa: Ar. *bada^ca* v. 'to start' in Ngizim *bàdītu* v. via Kanuri *badijīn* v.; Ar. *gumâji* / *gumâjiyât* (JdP 515b) 'vêtement long, robe, boubou' in Ngizim *gumājè* via Kanuri *gəmáje*; Ar. *ma ar* (RL 465b) 'maize' in Ngamo *masàr* via Kanuri *másar*; Ar. *māl* 'goods; wealth; money' in Ngizim *lāmân* via Kanuri *lāmân*.

These data tell us that the highest concentration of Arabic loans is in Bole and the lowest in Karekare.

After examining the loans in Table 1, it can be observed that only three Arabic words are attested in all the languages studied:

hinnā 'henna', *as-sabt*, pl. *as-subūt* 'Saturday', *sirr* 'secret'.

At the other side we have the following occurrences:

ibra 'needle', *talātā* 'Tuesday', *jum^ca* 'Friday', *hattā* 'until', *masjid* 'mosque', *šāy* 'tea', *‘ajab* 'astonishment', *‘āfiya* '(good) health, *lijām* 'bridle', in all loans, except Duway (see Table 2);

ḵair 'blessing', *sarj* 'saddle', *‘aql* 'intelligence', in all loans, except Ngamo (see Table 3);

zabād 'civet', in all loans, except Karekare (see Table 4).

Concerning the origin of the Arabic loans into these languages, it can be said that most of them arrived via Kanuri, as the following examples illustrate:

Ar. *al-aḥad* 'Sunday' > Kanuri *lādə*; Hausa *Lâdi*, Lahàdi; Bade (G.D.) *Lādi*; Bade (W.D.) *Lāduwà*; Bole *Lādi*; Karekare *Lâdi*; Ngamo *Lādi*; Ngizim *Lādūwà*;

Ar. *arḍ* 'earth; land, country, area' > Kanuri *lárdə*; Hausa *laṛḍi*; Bade (G.D.) *laṛḍi/laṛḍu*; Bade (W.D.) *lárdān*; Bole *lardi*; Ngizim *Laṛḍi*;

Ar. *amr* 'matter, affair' > Kanuri *lamar* > Bade (G.D.) *lamàṛ*; Bade (W.D.) *lamarən*; Ngamo *lāmâr*; Ngizim *lāmâr*;

Ar. *āya* 'Koranic verse' > Kanuri *lāya*; Hausa *lāyà*; Bade (W.D.) *lāyān*; Bole *laya*;

Ar. *baraka* 'benediction' > Kanuri *bárga* > Bade (G.D.) *baṛkà*; Bade (W.D.) *barkán*; Bole *barkà*; Ngamo *barkà*; Ngizim *baṛkà*;

- Ar. *talāṭā* 'Tuesday' > Kanuri *talāgə* > Bade (G.D.) *Tālākū*; Bade (W.D.) *Tālākūwà*; Bole *Tālāki*; Karekare *Tālātà*; Ngamo *Tālāki*; Ngizim *Tālākəkək*. Here the loan in Karekare could have been arrived via Hausa;
 Ar. *al-ittinain* 'Monday' > Kanuri *lətəlín* > Bade (G.D.) *Rītərin*; Bade (W.D.) *Litərin*; Bole *Lītərin*; Karekare *Rītərin*; Ngizim *Rītərin*.

Others via Hausa:

- Ar. *baraṣ* 'leprosy' > Hausa *àlbaṙàs* > Bade (G.D.) *ləluwà*; Bade (W.D.) *rərwən*;
 Ar. *baṣal* 'onion' > Hausa *àlbaṣà* > Bade (W.D.) *árbasamə*; Bole *àlbasàr*; Duway *àrbasàn*; Karekare *àlbasà*; Ngamo *àlbasàr*; Ngizim *àlbasàr*;
 Ar. *jāmi'a* 'university' > Hausa *jāmi'ā* > Bole *jāmiyà*;
 Ar. *maḥjūr*, pl. of *maḥjūr* 'one placed under guardianship' > Hausa *àlmājīrī* > Bade (W.D.) *àlmājèrin*;
 Ar. *kuṭba* 'public address; sermon' > Hausa *hutsubā*, *hudubā* > Bole *kudubà*;
 Ar. *kaima* 'tent' > Hausa *laimā* > Bole *lēmà*; Karekare *lāyimà*; Ngizim *lāyimā*. In this case I believe that the loan is arrived via Hausa and not via Kanuri *lāima* on semantic base. In Hausa it has the meaning of 'umbrella' and not 'tent' as in Kanuri.
 Ar. *dallāl* 'broker' > Hausa *dillālī* > Ngizim *dəllāl*;
 Ar. *dawāh* 'inkwell' > Hausa *tādawā*, *tāddawā* > Bole *àdawà/tàdawà*.

Fulfulde as a medium of transmission of Arabic loans into the languages of this group does not seem to have played an important role. In fact, in addition to this example, which is a loan only in Hausa, few instances the medium of transmission of which could be Hausa are provided later:

- Ar. *maḡrib* 'prayer at sunset' > Fulfulde *mangariba* > Hausa *màngàrībà*.

Even if it seems, as shown later, in certain loans that it is not possible to guess how they arrived: i.e. either via Hausa, Kanuri or Fulfulde.

In some occurrences it is difficult to guess which language was the medium among Arabic and Hausa or Kanuri. Here are some examples:

- Ar. *ḥarām* 'forbidden, prohibited' > Hausa *hàṙām* / Kanuri *haṙām* > Bade (W.D.) *hàrām*; Bole *hàrām*; Duway *hàṙām*;
 Ar. *karāj* '(land) tax' > Hausa *hàṙājī* / Kanuri *harājí*, *arājí* > Karekare *arājò*; Ngizim *hàṙājì*;
 Ar. *kums* 'one fifth' > Hausa *kumsà* / Kanuri *kúmsa* > Bole *kúmsà*;
 Ar. *dabbara* v. (II) 'to make plans, to plan' > Hausa *dàbāṙā* / Kanuri *harām* > Bade (G.D.) *dàbāṙ*; Bade (W.D.) *dàbāran*; Bole *dàbārà*; Karekare *dàbarà*; Ngizim *dàbāṙ*;
 Ar. *duniyā* 'world' > Hausa *dūniyā* / Kanuri *dunyā* > Bade (W.D.) *dūniyan*; Bole *dūniyà*; Karekare *dūniyà*; Ngizim *dūniyā*.

In a few cases the loan could have arrived through Fulfulde, Hausa or Kanuri. I cannot say for the moment which language was the medium:

- Ar. *kasāra* ‘loss, damage’ > Fulfulde *asar* / Hausa *hàsāṙà, àsāṙà* / Kanuri *asár* > Bade (G.D.) *àsaṙ*; Bade (W.D.) *àsarən*; Bole *àsar*; Duway *àshaṙ*; Ngizim *àsaṙ*;
- Ar. *dōle* (Kaye 25b) ‘must’ > Fulfulde *dōle* / Hausa *dōlè* / Kanuri *dóle* > Bade (W.D.) *dōlè*; Ngizim *dollè*;
- Ar. *dīnār* ‘dinar’ > Fulfulde *dīnar* / Hausa *dīnāṙī, zīnāṙiyā, zīnāṙī* / Kanuri *dīnar* > Bade (W.D.) *zīnāṙiyán*; Bole *dīnār*; Karekare *dīnīri*; Ngizim *dīnāṙ*;
- Ar. *sirr* ‘secret’ > Fulfulde *asiri* / Hausa *àsīṙī* / Kanuri *ashīr* > Bade (G.D.) *àsīṙ*; Bade (W.D.) *àsīrən*; Bole *àsir*; Duway *səṙkàk*; Karekare *asir*; Ngamo *àsir*; Ngizim *àshəṙ*.

There are also examples in which the same Arabic loan arrived through different languages, i.e. through Hausa or Kanuri into the languages of this tested group:

- Ar. *ḵamīs* ‘Thursday’ > Hausa *àlhamīs* > Bole *Àlāmīsùwà*; Ngamo *Àlāmūsùwà*; > Kanuri *lamīsə* > Bade (W.D.) *Lāmīsùwà*; Karekare *Lāmīsùwà*; Ngizim *Lāmīsùwà*;
- Ar. *‘āfiya* ‘(good) health’ > Hausa *lāfiyà* > Bade (W.D.) *lāfiyán*; Bole *lāpiyà*; Karekare *lāfiyàn*; Ngamo *lāfiyā*; > Kanuri *kələfa* > Bade (G.D.) *kàlāpiyà*; Bade (W.D.) *kàlāpiyán*; Ngizim *kàlappiyà*.

Concerning the semantics of loans, we observe that in general there is no sensible shift of meaning between the Arabic etymon and the borrowed words. Among all loans we notice just very few examples: Ar. *ḵaima* ‘tent’ which acquires the meaning of ‘umbrella’ in Bole *lēmà*; Karekare *lāyimà*; Ngizim *lāyimà*, very probably due to Hausa *laimà* ‘umbrella’, as previously noted; Ar. *dawāh* ‘inkwell’, which acquires the meaning of ‘ink’ in Bole *tàdawà*, due to Hausa *tàdawà* ‘ink’ or the case of Ar. *sūr* ‘wall; enclosure’, which acquires the meaning of ‘rectangular room’ in Bole *sōro*; Duwai *sōṙo*, due to Kanuri *sóró*.

A closer observation shows that the number of loans related to the Muslim religion, is relatively low considering what happened in other languages spoken in the area, probably because of the little diffusion of Islam among these populations (?). On the contrary, most of them are related to everyday’s life, as in the following examples:

- Ar. *baraṣ* ‘leprosy’ > Hausa *baṙàs* > Bole *baràs*; Duwai *baṙàs*;
- Ar. *dawāh* ‘inkwell’ > Hausa *tàdawà* > Bole *tàdawà*.

Religion

Most of the lexemes of Arabic origin found in our corpus are related to religion. They mainly came via Kanuri and/or Hausa into the respective languages. Especially for Bade, Bole, Karekare, Ngamo, Kanuri was the donor language. Hausa was in many cases the source for Bole:

- Ar. *iblis* ‘devil’ > Hausa *iblis* > Bade (G.D.) *ibəlis*; Bole *Ibilisà*; Ngizim *lifəṙ*;
- Ar. *adān* ‘call to prayer’ > Hausa *wazanā* > Bole *wazanà*

- > Kanuri *ladân* ‘muezzin’ > Hausa *lâdân*; Bole *lâdân*
 Ar. *imâm* ‘imam’ > Kanuri *limân* > Hausa *lîmân*; Bole *Rimân*;
 Ar. *āya* ‘Koranic verse; talisman’ > Kanuri *lāya* > Bade (W.D.) *lāyān*; Bole *laya*;
 Ar. *baraka* ‘benediction’ > Kanuri *bārga* > Bade (G.D.) *baṛkà*; Bade (W.D.) *barkân*;
 Bole *barkà*; Ngamo *bàrkà*; Ngizim *baṛkà*;
 Ar. *tāba* v. ‘to repent’ > Fulfulde *tūbu* v. / Hausa *tūbā* v. > Bade (G.D.) *tùbātu*; Bole
tūbu v.
 Ar. *jinn* ‘djinn, demons’ > Hausa *àljanī* > Bole *jinnù* (?); Karekare *àljin*
 Ar. *janna* ‘garden, paradise’ > Hausa *àljannà* > Bade (G.D.) *jannà*; Bole *jannà*;
 Ngizim *jannà*;
 Ar. *ḥarām* ‘forbidden, prohibited’ > Hausa *hàṛām* / Kanuri *harām* > Bade (W.D.)
hârām; Bole *hârām*; Duwai *hârām*;
 Ar. *kuṭba* ‘public address; speech; sermon’ > Kanuri *kútiwa* > Bole *kudubà*;
 Ar. *kumsa* ‘one fifth’ > Kanuri *kúmsa* > Bole *kumsà*;
 Ar. *tasbīh* ‘glorification of God’ > Kanuri *tajiwú* > Bole *tàbji*; Ngamo *tàbji*;
 > Hausa *càzbī* > Ngizim *càzbi*;
 Ar. *masjid* ‘mosque’ > Kanuri *máshidi* > Bole *māshīdi*, *masīdi*; Ngamo *māshidi*;
 Ngizim *māshīdi*;
 > Hausa *masallācī* > Bade (G.D.) *masallāci*; Bade (W.D.) *masallācin*;
 Karekare *masallāci*;
 Ar. *muslim* ‘Muslim’ > Hausa *mùsùlmī* > Bole *Musulùm*;
 Ar. *sharīʿa* ‘law of Islam’ > Hausa *shāriʿà*, *shāriʿā* > Bole *shàriyà*; Ngizim *shāriyà*;
 > Fulfulde *sariʿa* > Bade (G.D.) *sāriyà*; Bade (W.D.) *sàriyan*;
 Ar. *sharīf* ‘sherif, title of descendants of Mohammed’ > Hausa *shārīf*, *shārīfī* > Bole
shārīpù > Bade (G.D.) *sārīpù*;
 Ar. *ṢLW* v. (II) ‘to pray’ > Hausa *sallā* ‘pray’ > Bole *sallà*; Duwai *salà(a)*; Ngamo *sallà*;
 Ar. *aṣ-ṣaum* ‘fast (of Ramadan)’ > Hausa *azùmī* > Bade (G.D.) *āsīyām*; Bade (W.D.)
āsīyāmān; Bole *ajimi*, *azimi*;
 Ar. *ḍaḥīya* ‘blood sacrifice’ > Hausa *layyā* > Bole *lāya*
 Ar. *zuhr* ‘midday prayer’ > Kanuri *dúwar* > Bade (G.D.) *duwār*; Bade (W.D.) *duwār*;
 Bole *duwār*; Ngamo *duwār*;
 Ar. *ʿajab* ‘astonishment’ > Hausa *àlʿajābī* > Bole *lājàbì*; Ngamo *lājàbì*
 > Kanuri *ájap* > Bade (G.D.) *ājap*; Bade (W.D.) *ajàpən*; Karekare *ajabà*, *ajàbà*;
 Ar. *ʿišā* ‘evening; evening prayer’ > Hausa *līshā* / Kanuri *lashá* > Bade (G.D.) *lèsa*;
 Bole *lèshá*; Ngizim *lèshā*;
 Ar. *ʿaṣr* ‘afternoon; afternoon prayer’ > Hausa *làʿasàṛ* > Bade (W.D.) *lāsàr*;
 > Kanuri *ásar* > Bade (G.D.) *asàṛ*; Bole *asàr*; Duwai *ādùwək*; Ngizim *asàṛ*;
 Ar. *al-qurʿān* ‘Koran’ > Hausa *àlkùṛʿàn* / *àlkùṛʿānī* > Bade (W.D.) *àlkùrānān*;
 > Kanuri *Luwurān* > Bole *Lùkùrām*; Ngizim *lùkùṛān*;
 Ar. *qiyāma* ‘resurrection’ > Hausa *kīyāmā* / Kanuri *kiyāma* > (?) Bole *àlkīyāmà*
 Ar. *malʿak*, pl. *malāʿika* > Hausa *mālāʿikà* / Kanuri *malāiyya* > Bole *mālèkà*; Karekare
mālèkà;
 Ar. *nabīy* ‘prophet’ > Hausa *ànnabī* / Kanuri *náwi* > Bole *Annabì*, *Nabì*;
 Ar. *munāfiq* ‘hypocrite’ > Hausa *munāfukī* / Kanuri *munáfək* > Bade (G.D.) *mənāfək*;
 Bade (W.D.) *mənāfək*; Bole *mùnāpuk*; Ngizim *mənāfək*;
 Ar. *wadāʿa* ‘purity, cleanness’ > Hausa *àhwālā* > Bade (W.D.) *àhwàlan*;
 > Kanuri *wólo* > Bole *wolò*; Ngizim *walo*;

- Ar. *waʿz*, *waʿza* ‘admonition; sermon’ > Hausa *wa’azī* > Bade (W.D.) *wāzin*; Bole *wāzù*; Ngizim *wāzàk*;
 Ar. *walīy* ‘curator; holy man’ > Kanuri *luwáli* > Bole *luwar*; Ngizim *lùwâl*.

Works, employment, tools and material (including cloth)

The second greatest number of Arabic loans found belongs to this section. Here, the source, be it Hausa or Kanuri has not always been easy to identify. It seems, however, that Hausa is the prominent donor language to those languages (like Karekare and Ngizim) which geographically do not directly border the Hausa extension:

- Ar. *ibra* ‘needle’ > Hausa *àllūrā* > Karekare *àlīfirā*; Ngizim *àlībèṛām*;
 > Kanuri *lívula*, *lífērā* > Bade (G.D.) *ḏībèṛā*; Bade (W.D.) *nīpārán*;
 Bole *lipirā*; Ngamo *liprā*;
 Ar. *barāqīʿ*, pl. of *burquʿ* ‘veil’ > Hausa *bāṛgō* ‘any blanket’ > Kanuri *bārgō* >
 Duwai *bāṛgo(o)*;
 Ar. *bunduqīya* ‘gun’ > Kanuri *bándáǵa* > Bade (G.D.) *bəntəǵi*; Bade (W.D.)
bəntəǵin; Bole *bundiki*; Ngizim *bəndəǵi*;
 Ar. *bait al-māl* ‘treasure house’ > Fulfulde *baital-māli* > Bade (G.D.) *bētəlmān*; Bole
bàitəlmāni; Ngizim *bītəlmān*;
 Ar. *jubba* ‘jubbah, a long outer garment’ > Fulfulde *jabba* / Hausa *jabbā* > Bole
jabbā;
 Ar. *jarraba* v. ‘to test; to try’ > Fulfulde *jarriba* v. / Hausa *jaṛṛābā* v. > Bole *jàrribu* v.
 > Hausa *jaṛṛābāwā* ‘examination’ > Bole *jarrabāwa*;
 Ar. *jaib* ‘pocket’ > Kanuri *líwu* > Bade (W.D.) *rīpən*; Karekare *līpu*; Ngizim *līfi*;
 Ar. *ḥalwā*, pl. *ḥalāwā* ‘candy’ > Hausa *hālāwā*, *àlēwā* / Kanuri *aléwa* > Karekare
àlēwā;
 Ar. *ḥinnā* ‘henna’ > Hausa *lallè* > Bade (W.D.) *lallén*; Duwai *lallè(e)*; Karekare *lallè*;
 Ngizim *lallè*;
 > Fulfulde *nalli* / Kanuri *nälle*, *nallé* > Bade (G.D.) *nallai*; Bole *ndālè*; Ngamo
ndallè;
 Ar. *kaīma* ‘tent’ > Hausa *laimā* ‘umbrella’ / Kanuri *lāima* ‘tent’ > Bole *lēmà*
‘umbrella’; Karekare *lāyimà* ‘umbrella’; Ngizim *lāyimā* ‘umbrella’;
 Ar. *dawāh* ‘inkwell’ > Hausa *tādawā* ‘ink’ / Kanuri *adúwa* ‘ink’ > Bole *àdawà*,
tādawà ‘ink’;
 Ar. *dīnār* ‘dinar’ > Fulfulde *dīnar* / Hausa *dīnāṛī* / Kanuri *dīnar* > Bade
(W.D.) *zīnāriyān*; Bole *dīnār* ‘gold’; Karekare *dīnīri* ‘gold’; Ngizim *dīnāṛī*;
 Ar. *ribḥ* ‘gain, profit; interest (on money)’ > Fulfulde *riiba* / Hausa *ṛībā* > Bade
(G.D.) *ṛībā*; Ngamo *riibā*;
 Ar. *sarj* ‘saddle’ > Kanuri *sárdá* > Bade (G.D.) *səṛdi*; Bade (W.D.) *sárdān*; Bole *sirdi*;
 Duwai *səṛdi*; Karekare *sirdi*; Ngizim *səṛdi*;
 Ar. *sukkar* ‘sugar’ > Hausa *sukāṛ* / Kanuri *shúwur* > Bade (G.D.) *sukūr*; Bole *shukùr*,
sukùr; Duwai *sukùṛ*; Ngizim *səkàṛ*;
 Ar. *misalla* ‘large needle, pack needle’ > Hausa *màsillā* > Bade (G.D.) *màsillon*;
 Bade (W.D.) *màsillon*; Bole *màsilla*;

- Ar. *šāy* ‘tea’ > Hausa *shāyī* / Kanuri *shāyi* > Bade (G.D.) *sāyi*; Bade (W.D.) *sāyin*; Bole *shayi*; Karekare *shāyi*; Ngamo *shāyi*; Ngizim *shāyi*;
- Ar. *šābūn* ‘soap’ > Hausa *sābulū* > Bade (W.D.) *sābulān*; Bole *sābūl*; Duway *sābāl*; Ngamo *sābulūm*;
- Ar. *šan‘a* ‘trade, occupation’ > Hausa *sāna’è* > Bade (G.D.) *sānā*; Bole *sāniyà*; Ngizim *sāniyà*;
- Ar. *ṭabl* ‘drum’ > Hausa *tambàrī* / Kanuri *tāmbal* > Bole *tambāl*; Karekare *tambāl*; Ngizim *tambāl*;
- Ar. *‘iṭr*, pl. *‘uṭūr* ‘perfume, essence’ > Hausa *tūṭāṭē*, *tūṭāṭē* > Bole *tūrāre*;
- Ar. *‘alam* ‘flag’ > Hausa *alam* / Kanuri *alām* > Bole *alām*; Ngizim *ālān*, *ālan*;
- Ar. *ḡaiṭa* ‘au Maghreb, sorte de hautbois’ > Hausa *ālgaitā* > Bade (G.D.) *ārgītā*; Bade (W.D.) *ālgētān*, *ālkītān*; Bole *ālgītā*; Duwai *ārgītā*; Ngizim *ālgītā*;
- Ar. *fitna* ‘intrigue; sedition, riot, discord, dissension’ > Hausa *fitinā* / Kanuri *fitōna* > Bole *pitinā*;
- Ar. *qirṭās* ‘paper’ > Hausa *takāṛḏā* > Bole *tagārda*; Ngizim *takāṛda*;
- Ar. *miqāṣṣ*, pl. *al-maqāṣṣ* ‘scissors’ > Hausa *ālmakāshī* > Bade (G.D.) *makās*; Bade (W.D.) *makāsīn*; Bole *masakī*, *mashakī*, *makās*; Ngizim *makās*;
- Ar. *qāḏīn* ‘judge’ > Hausa *alkali* > Bole *ālkālī*; Kanuri *ālkālī*; Ngamo *ālkālī*; Ngizim *lāḡāri*, *liyāṛī*;
- Ar. *qalam* ‘pen’ > Hausa *ālkalāmī*, *ālkalāmī* / Kanuri *alkālam* > Bade (W.D.) *ālkalāmīn*; Bole *ālkarām*; Karekare *ālkalāmi*;
- Ar. *qamḥ* ‘wheat’ > Hausa *ālkamā* > Bole *alkamā*; Duwai *alkamā*; Karekare *alkamā*; Ngamo *ālkamā*; Ngizim *ālkamā*;
- Ar. *kāfūr* ‘camphor’ > Hausa *kāfūr*, *kāfūrī* > Bole *kāpūr*; Ngizim *kāpārī*;
- Ar. *kātib* ‘scribe’ > Hausa *kātibī* > Bole *kātibū*;

Community, education, family and marriage

This section of Arabic loanwords is quite extensive. Most of the lexemes which were found cover community, education and family and are less concerned with marriage. The distribution between the donor lexes of Hausa and/or Kanuri is equal:

- Ar. *jam‘a* ‘group (of people); community’ > Hausa *jāma’ā* / Kanuri *jamā* > Bade (W.D.) *jāmā*; Bole *jāmā*; Karekare *jāmā*; Ngizim *jāmā*;
- Ar. *jāmi‘a* ‘university’ > Hausa *jāmi’ā* / Kanuri *jamīya* > Bole *jāmiyà*;
- Ar. *ḥāl* ‘condition, state; status’ > Fulfulde *hali* / Hausa *hālī* / Kanuri *hāl* > Bade (G.D.) *āl*; Bade (W.D.) *ālān*; Bole *alī*, *halī*; Ngizim *hāl*;
- Ar. *ḡabar* ‘news, story’ > Kanuri *lawār* > Bade (G.D.) *lābār*; Bade (W.D.) *lābārən*; Bole *lābār*; Ngamo *lābār*; Ngizim *lābār*;
- Ar. *ḡasāra* ‘loss, damage’ > Fulfulde *asar* / Hausa *hāsārā*, *āsārā* / Kanuri *asār* > Bade (G.D.) *āsār*; Bade (W.D.) *āsārən*; Bole *asar*; Duwai *āshaṛ*; Ngizim *āsār*;
- Ar. *dabbara* v. (II) ‘to make plans, to plan’ > Hausa *dābārā* ‘plan’ > Bade (G.D.) *dābār*; Bade (W.D.) *dābārən*; Bole *dābārā*; Karekare *dābarā*; Ngizim *dābār*;
- Ar. *dalīl* ‘sign; evidence’ > Hausa *dālīlī* / Kanuri *dalīl* > Bade (W.D.) *dālīlīn*; Bole *dālī*, *dilbū* ‘reason’; Karekare *dālīlī* ‘reason’; Ngizim *dālīl*;

- Ar. *sirr* ‘secret’ > Fulfulde *asiri* / Hausa *àsīrī* / Kanuri *ashīr* > Bade (G.D.) *àsīrī*; Bade (W.D.) *àsīrən*; Bole *àsir*; Duwai *sərkək*; Karekare *asir*; Ngamo *àsir*; Ngizim *àshəř*;
- Ar. *salām* ‘peace; salutation; salute’ > Kanuri *salām* > Bade (G.D.) *sàlamkò*; Bade (W.D.) *sallam*; Bole *sàlām*; Ngizim *sàlām*;
- Ar. *sūr* ‘wall; enclosure’ > Hausa *sōřō* ‘entrance room’ / Kanuri *sóró* ‘rectangular room’ > Bole *sōro* ‘rectangular room or house’; Duwai *sōřo*;
- Ar. *šakk* ‘doubt’ > Hausa *shakkà* > Bole *shakkà*;
- Ar. *šahida* v. ‘to witness’ > Hausa *shaidà* > Bade (G.D.) *sāidà*; Bade (W.D.) *sāidan*; Bole *sàyidà*; Ngizim *saidà, sháida*;
- Ar. *šāhid* ‘witness’ > Hausa *shāhidī* > Bole *sàidu*;
- Ar. *mu‘allim* ‘teacher’ > Hausa *mālāmī* > Bade (W.D.) *mālamən*; > Kanuri *mālām* > Bade (G.D.) *māləm*; Bole *mālùm*; Ngamo *mālùm*; Ngizim *māləm, mālām*;
- Ar. *ma‘nan* ‘sense, signification’ > Hausa *mà‘anā* / Kanuri *maaná* > Ngamo *mànà*;
- Ar. *‘ayyil*, pl. *‘iyāl* ‘family’ > Hausa *iyālī* > Bade (G.D.) *yālī, yál*; Bade (W.D.) *yālī*; Bole *yālī*; Ngizim *yál*;
- Ar. *‘aun* ‘minor official (*Tun.*)’ > Kanuri *lawân* > Bole *lāwân*;
- Ar. *‘aib* ‘fault, defect’ > Hausa *lāyfi* > Bole *lāipi*; > Hausa *aibù, aibi* / Kanuri *áiwu* > Bade (G.D.) *āyáp*; Bade (W.D.) *āyapən*; Duwai *āyàp*; Ngizim *aipù*;
- Ar. *qara‘a* v. ‘recite; read’ > Kanuri *kóra* > Bade (G.D.) *kəřātu*; Bade (W.D.) *kəřātu*; Bole *kàrātu*; Ngamo *kàrantà*; Ngizim *kəřātu*;
- Ar. *qirā‘a* ‘reading’ > Hausa *makařantā* > Bade (G.D.) *makařantan*; Bade (W.D.) *makarantan*; Bole *makaranta*; Ngamo *makarantā*;
- Ar. *wašā* v. ‘embellish’ > Hausa *àlwāshī* > Bade (G.D.) *àlwāsi*; Bole *àlwāshi*;
- Ar. *wakīl* ‘representative’ > Kanuri *wákkil* > Bole *wokkil*.

Wealth and values

Under this heading we find the fourth greatest distribution of Arabic loans in the northern Bole-Tangale languages. The analysis reveals that Kanuri was the main source through which those lexemes came into the respective languages:

- Ar. *adab* ‘good manners’ > Fulfulde *ladabu* / Hausa *ladābī* > Ngizim *ladàp*;
- Ar. *amr* ‘order, command, instruction; matter, affair’ > Kanuri *lamar* ‘occasion, event; situation’ > Bade (G.D.) *lamāř* ‘matter, affair’; Bade (W.D.) *lamarən* ‘matter, affair’; Ngamo *lāmār* ‘affair, deed, act’; Ngizim *lāmāř*;
- Ar. *amāna* ‘trust’ > Kanuri *amān* > Bade (G.D.) *āmān*; Bade (W.D.) *āmānán*; Bole *āmān*; Ngizim *āmān*;
- Ar. *karāj* ‘(land) tax’ > Hausa *hàřāji* / Kanuri *haráji, aráji* > Karekare *arājò*; Ngizim *hàřāji*;
- Ar. *kair* ‘blessing; wealth; welfare’ > Hausa *àlhēřī* ‘kindness’ > Karekare *àlhēri* ‘good fortune, beneficence’;

- > Kanuri *hēr* ‘peace, tranquillity’ > Bade (G.D.) *heř* ‘good fortune’; Bade (W.D.) *hērón* ‘good fortune’; Bole *hēr* ‘good fortune’; Duwai *hēr*; Ngizim *hēr*;
- Ar. *dōle* (Kaye 25b) ‘must’ > Fulfulde *dōle* / Hausa *dōlè* > Kanuri *dóle* > Bade (W.D.) *dōlè*; Ngizim *dollè* ‘it is necessary’;
- Ar. *rukṣ* ‘cheapness, inexpensiveness’ > Hausa *àřàhā* > Bole *àràha*; Ngizim *àřàha*;
- Ar. *rizq*, pl. *arzāq* ‘wealth’ > Hausa *ařzikī* / Kanuri *arżagi* > Bade (W.D.) *arżàkīn*; Karekare *arżiki*;
- Ar. *zakāh* ‘alms tax’ > Hausa *zàkkā*, *zakkā* > Bole *zàkka*;
- Ar. *šawar* ‘advice’ > Hausa *shāwārā* / Kanuri *shawári* > Bade (G.D.) *sawarī*; Bole *shawari*; Ngizim *shāwār*;
- Ar. *šaiķ* ‘sheik’ > Hausa *shēhū* > Kanuri *shéhu* > Bade (G.D.) *Sēkū*; Bole *shēkū*;
- Ar. *šaitān* ‘Satan, devil’ > Hausa *shàitsān* / Kanuri *shetān* > Bade (G.D.) *shētān*; Bole *Shētān*;
- Ar. *širf* ‘pure, unadulterated’ > Hausa *azūřfā* ‘silver’ > Karekare *azirfa*;
- Ar. *āda* ‘habit, custom’ > Hausa *ādā* > Bole *ādā*; Karekare *ādā*; Ngizim *ādā*;
- Ar. *faqīr*, pl. *fuqāra* ‘poor; dervish, Sufi mendicant’ > Kanuri *fuwurá* > Bade (G.D.) *pùkàřa*; Bade (W.D.) *pùkàrān*; Bole *pùkàra*;
- Ar. *miskīn* ‘poor’ > Hausa *màskīnī* > Bole *màskīn* ‘handicapped person, disabled person, such a blind, lame, or leper’.

Time and space

Most of the Arabic etymons concerning the above topic entered the languages via Kanuri. It can be noted that the name of the days are quite unique. They do not differ much from the original Arabic words:

- Ar. *al-aḥad* ‘Sunday’ > Hausa *lādi* > Bade (G.D.) *Lādi*; Bade (W.D.) *Lāduwà*; Bole *Lādi*; Karekare *Lādi*; Ngamo *Lādi*; Ngizim *Lāduwà*;
- Ar. *talātā* ‘Tuesday’ > Hausa *tālātā* > Karekare *Tālātā*;
- > Kanuri *talágə* > Bade (G.D.) *Tālākū*; Bade (W.D.) *Tālākuwà*;
- Bole *Tālāki*; Ngamo *Tālāki*; Ngizim *Tālākək*;
- Ar. *al-iṭṭnain* ‘Monday’ > Kanuri *lətəlīn* > Bade (G.D.) *Rītərin*; Bade (W.D.) *Litərin*;
- Bole *Litərin*; Karekare *Ritərin*; Ngizim *Ritərin*;
- Ar. *jum‘a* ‘Friday’ > Fulfulde *‘aljuma* > Bade (G.D.) *jiləmə*; Bade (W.D.) *Jəməwà*;
- Bole *Jūmə*; Karekare *Āljimmà*, *Āljummà*; Ngizim *dləməwà*;
- > Hausa *jumma’ā* > Ngamo *Jūmə*, *Jummà*;
- Ar. *kamīs* ‘Thursday’ > Hausa *àlhāmīs* > Bole *Ālāmīsùwà*; Ngamo *Ālāmūsùwà*;
- > Kanuri *lamisə* > Bade (W.D.) *Lāmīsùwà*; Karekare *Lāmīsùwà*; Ngizim *Lāmīsùwà*;
- Ar. *al-ərbā‘ā* ‘Wednesday’ > Hausa *lāřàbā* > Bade (G.D.) *Lāřabà*; Bade (W.D.) *Lāřàbà*; Bole *Lāřabà*; Karekare *Lāřabà*; Ngizim *Lāřabà*;
- Ar. *zamān* ‘period’ > Kanuri *zamān* > Bade (G.D.) *zāmān*; Bade (W.D.) *zāmānən*;
- Bole *zāmān*; Ngizim *zāmān*;
- Ar. *as-sabt* ‘Saturday’ > Kanuri *səbdə* > Bade (G.D.) *Səbdù*; Bade (W.D.) *Səbduwà*;
- Bole *Supudù*; Duwai *Səbdì*; Karekare *Sibdù*; Ngamo *Subdù*, *Supdù*; Ngizim *Səbdùwà*;

- Ar. *sā'a* 'time; hour' > Fulfulde *sā'a* / Hausa *sā'ā* / Kanuri *sā* > Bade (W.D.) *san*; Bole *sā*; Duwai *sā*;
- Ar. *sūq* 'market' > Kanuri *kasūwu* > Bade (G.D.) *āsāk*; Bade (W.D.) *àskən*; Duwai *āsuk*; Karekare *àskū*; Ngizim *āsək*;
- Ar. *ʿajala* 'hurry, haste' > Kanuri *azāla* > Ngizim *ājālā*;
- Ar. *mağrib* 'prayer at sunset' > Hausa *màgàrībā* > Bade (G.D.) *màgàrībà*; Bade (W.D.) *magàrīpən*; Ngamo *màgīrhū*; Ngizim *màgàrībà*;
- Ar. *waqt* 'time' > Hausa *lōkàcī* / Kanuri *lōktu* > Bade (G.D.) *lakwtù*; Bole *lokòshi*; Karekare *lōkàcī*; Ngamo *lòkoshi*; Ngizim *lakwtù*.

Sky, earth, fauna and flora

Within this group of lexemes one may not find many Arabic loans. Most of them are mainly considered to have entered the language via Hausa:

- Ar. *arḍ* 'earth; land, country, area' > Kanuri *lārdā* 'earth, globe; country' > Hausa *lārdī* 'district, locality' > Bade (G.D.) *lārdī*, *lārdū* 'inhabited area around town'; Bade (W.D.) *lārdān* 'area, region'; Bole *lardi* 'area, region'; Ngizim *lārdī*;
- Ar. *baṣal* 'onion' > Hausa *àlbasā* > Bade (W.D.) *àrbasamən*; Bole *àlbasār*; Duwai *àrbasàn*; Karekare *àlbasā*; Ngamo *àlbasār*; Ngizim *àlbasā*;
- Ar. *dābba* 'animal' > Hausa *dabbā* > Kanuri *dābba* > Bole *dabbà*; Ngizim *dabbā*;
- Ar. *duniyā* 'world' > Hausa *dūniyā* > Bade (W.D.) *dūniyan*; Bole *dūniyà*; Karekare *dūniyà*; Ngizim *dūniyā*;
- Ar. *rummān* 'pomegranate' > Kanuri *rumān* > Bole *rùmān*;
- Ar. *zabād* 'civet' > Kanuri *jibda* > Bade (G.D.) *ñjibdā*; Bade (W.D.) *jibdān*; Bole *jibdā*; Duwai *ənjəbdā(a)*; Ngamo *jibdā*; Ngizim *jibdā*;
- Ar. *zaitūn* 'olive tree; olive' > Hausa *zàitūn* / Kanuri *zaitūn* > Bole *zàitūm*;
- Ar. *laimūn* 'lemon' > Kanuri *lemūn* > Bade (G.D.) *lēmān*; Bade (W.D.) *lēmōn*; Bole *lēmūn*; Ngamo *lēmōn*; Ngizim *lēmān*;
- Ar. *mašar* 'maize' > Kanuri *māsar* > Ngamo *masār*;
- Ar. *ward* 'rose' > Hausa *wārdi* > Bade (G.D.) *wārdi* 'perfume'; Karekare *wārdi*.

Health and illness

One of the smallest section of Arabic loans in the northern Bole-Tangale languages concerns the above headline 'health and illness'. It can be stated that most loans can be traced back to Hausa as the donor language:

- Ar. *baraṣ* 'leprosy' > Fulfulde *baras* / Hausa *baṛàs* / Kanuri *bárasə* > Bole *baràs*; Duwai *baṛàs*;
> Hausa *àlbaṛàs* > Bade (G.D.) *ləluwà*; Bade (W.D.) *rərwan*;
- Ar. *bāsūr* 'haemorrhoids' > Hausa *bāsūr* > Karekare *bāsūru*;
- Ar. *ʿāfiya* '(good) health' > Hausa *lāfiyā* > Bole *lāpiyà*; Karekare *lāfiyà*; Ngamo *lāfiyà*;

- > Kanuri > *kələwa, kələfa* > Bade (G.D.) *kālāpiyà*; Bade (W.D.) *kəlapiyán*; Ngizim *kəlappiyá*;
 Ar. *kafan* ‘shroud’ > Hausa *likkafānī, lākafānī* > Bole *likkapāni*; Ngizim *lākkafā*;
 Ar. *waba* ‘, *wabā*’ ‘infectious disease; epidemic’ > Hausa *ānnòbā*, (Sk.) *āllòbā, àlòbā*
 > Karekare *àlùbā*;
 Ar. *likṭāy*² ‘doctor’ > Hausa *likità, likitā* > Bade (G.D.) *laktā*; Bole *likitā*; Ngamo
likitā; Ngizim *lākītā*.

Interjections and particles

Concerning interjections and particles not many examples were found. It is very difficult to state whether they came from Arabic via Kanuri or Hausa, since most of them can be considered as aerial features. They might have arrived into the respective languages quite a long time ago:

- Ar. *ammā* ‘but’ > Hausa *àmmā* / Kanuri *ammá* > Bade (G.D.) *amma*; Bade (W.D.) *amma*; Duwai *amma*; Karekare *āmā*; Ngizim *amma, àmman*;
 Ar. *ḥattā* ‘until’ > Hausa *hař* / Kanuri *hár* > Bade (G.D.) *hař, kař*; Bade (W.D.) *har*; Bole *ar, har*; Karekare *ar, har*; Ngamo *har*; Ngizim *hař*;
 Ar. *subḥāna llāh* ‘praise the Lord!’ > Hausa *sūbhānāllāhī* / Kanuri *suwána* > Bade (G.D.) *subanā*; Bade (W.D.) *subānā*; Bole *sūbanāllāyi, sūbana*; Ngizim *sūbanā*;
 Ar. *as-salāmu ʿalaikum* ‘peace be with you!’ > Hausa *sàlāmā àlaikùn* > Ngamo *àleikù*;
 Ar. *bi-ismlāhī* ‘in the name of God’ > Hausa *bisimillāhī* / Kanuri *bisəmillāi* > Bole *bisimillāyi, bisim*;
 Ar. *kullum* ‘always’ > Hausa *kullum* / Kanuri *kúllúm* > Bade (G.D.) *kullum*; Ngizim *kulum*;
 Ar. *lā ilāha illā llāh* ‘there is no god but Allah’ > Hausa *lā ilāhā illāllāhū* > Bole *lāhauḷā* ‘certain verses of the Koran which are written on a slate, then washed off and drunk as a type of medicine’;
 Ar. *libd* ‘felt’ > Hausa *lifidī* > Bole *lipidi*; Karekare *libdi*;
 Ar. *lijām* ‘bride’ > Kanuri *linzām, linjām* > Bade (G.D.) *rənjām*; Bade (W.D.) *lənjamən*; Bole *rigijām, igizām*; Karekare *lijām*; Ngamo *ligjām*; Ngizim *lijām*;
 Ar. *lauḥ, lauḥa* ‘board, blackboard’ > Hausa *allo* / Kanuri *alló* > Bade (W.D.) *àllon*; Bole *allo*; Karekare *àllō*.

Miscellaneous

Under this section we have included the loans which do not suit the above mentioned headings. The etymons are so heterogeneous and no clear definition can be given whether they came via Hausa or Kanuri into the respective

2. See Kaye (1986: 52b).

languages. The distribution may be considered as fifty per cent from each donor:

- Ar. *tammāh* ‘high-aiming’ > Kanuri *təmə* > Bade (G.D.) *tūmətu*; Bade (W.D.) *tūman*; Bole *tàmā*; Ngizim *tūmān*;
 Ar. *‘aql* ‘intelligence’ > Kanuri *ángal*, *hángal* > Bade (G.D.) *ankàl*; Bade (W.D.) *ñkàltu*; Bole *ankàl*, *hankàli*; Duwai *ankàl*; Karekare *ankàl̄*; Ngizim *ankàl*;
 Ar. *naṣāra* ‘Christian’ > Hausa *nàsāra* pl. ‘chrétiens, Européens’ / Kanuri *nasára* ‘European’ > Bade (W.D.) *Nasarān*; Bole *Nàsāra*; Karekare *Nàsārā*; Ngamo *Nàsārà*; Ngizim *Nàsāra*;
 Ar. *nīya* ‘intention’ > Hausa *nīyyà* / Kanuri *nyá* > Bade (W.D.) *niyán*; Bole *niyà*; Ngamo *éné*;
 Ar. *waṭīqa* ‘document, paper’ > Hausa *wàsikà*, *wàsíkà* > Bole *wakità*;
 Ar. *wazīr* ‘vizier’ > Hausa *wàzīrī* / Kanuri *waziri* > Ngizim *Wàzīrī*.

TABLE 1
(Loans present in all languages)

No.	Arabic	Hausa Kamuri Fulfulde	Bade, Gashua Dialect	Bade, Western Dialect	Bole	Dirwai	Karekare	Ngamo	Ngizim	English
727	hinnā'	lallèe nalle/nallè nalli	nallai	lallèn	ndalè	lalle (e)	lallè	ndallè (bù)	lallè	henna
1230	as-sabt pl. as- subūt	asabār səbde asawe	səbdù	səbduwà	supudù	səbdi	sibdù	[Y] subdù/supdù (bù)	səbdüwà	Saturday
1272	sirr	àsīrī ashīr asīrī, sīrī	àsīr	àsīrən	àsīr	səfKàk	asīr	àsīr (bù)	àshəf	secret charm

TABLE 2
(Loans present in all languages, except Duwai)

No.	Arabic	Hausa Kanuri Fulfulde	Bade, Gashua Dialect	Bade, Western Dialect	Bole	Karekare	Ngamo	Ngizim	English
5	ibra	allūrā līwula	ɗf̄b̄əṛā	nīp̄erān	lipirā	ālīfirā	liprā	alb̄ōṛām	needle
415	ṭalātā'	ṭalātā ṭalāḡo salāsa	ṭalākū	ṭalākuwā	ṭalākī	ṭalātā	ṭalākī	ṭalākək	Tuesday
507	jum'a	jumma'ā zōma 'ajjuma	jilemā	jemāwā	jūmā	ājimmā/ ājummā	[Y] jūmā /jummā (bù)	dlēmāwā	Friday
590	ḥattā	ḥar hār hade	ḥaṛ/kaṛ	har	ar/har	ar/har	har	ḥaṛ	'until'
1252	masjid / meszid (TC1 963)	masīdī (Nor.) māshīdī misīde	masallāci	masallācin	māshīdī/ masīdī	masallāci	[Y] māshīdī	māshīdī	mosque
1420	šāy	shāyī shāyi sāyi	sāyi	sāyin	shayl	shāyi	shāyi (bù)	shāyi	tea
1782	ʿajab	al'ajābī ājap ajab	ājap	ajapen	lājabi	ajabā/ ajabā	lājabi (bù)	ājap	astonish- ment

1894	°āfiya	lāfiyā keléwa āfiya	kālāpiyā	kəlāpiyān / lāfiyān	lāpiyā	lāfiyā	lāfiyā	kəlāpiyā	(good) health
2527	lijām	linzāmī linjām	rōnjām	lōnjāmōn	rigijām/igizām	lijām	lijām	lijām	bridle

TABLE 3
(Loans present in all languages, except Ngamo)

No.	Arabic	Hausa Kamuri Fulfulde	Bade, Gashua Dialect	Bade, Western Dialect	Bole	Duwai	Karekare	Ngizim	English
862	kair	ālhērī hēr hairu	hēr	hērōn	hēr	hēr	ālhēri	hēr	good luck
1275	sarj	sirdī sārdōs kirke	sērdi	sārdān	sirdi	sērdi	sirdi	sērdi	saddle
1907	°aql	hankālī āngal hakkīlō	ankāl	ñkālto v. i	ankāl/ hankāl i	ankāl	ankālī	ankāl	common sense

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