

LANGUAGE CONTACT AND LEXICAL BORROWING: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF HAUSA LOANWORDS IN YORÙBÁ

By

Abdullahi Na’Allah

Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages

Faculty of Arts

University of Ilorin

Email: naallah.a@unilorin.edu.ng

Phone: 08038636215

&

Dr. Adebola A. Isaiah

Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages

Faculty of Arts

University of Ilorin

Email: adebola.isaiah@kwasu.edu.ng /

Isaiah.aa@unilorin.edu.ng

Phone: 08038495607

Abstract

Lexical borrowing is one of the most visible consequences of language contact and serves as an important indicator of historical, cultural, religious, and socio-economic interaction between speech communities. In multilingual societies such as Nigeria, the prolonged contact among indigenous languages has resulted in extensive lexical exchange, reflecting centuries of migration, commerce, religious diffusion, and intercultural communication. This study examines the sociolinguistic dimensions of Hausa loanwords in Yorùbá to explain the historical circumstances that facilitated borrowing, the linguistic processes through which Hausa lexical items have been nativised into Yorùbá, and the sociocultural significance of these borrowings. The study adopts a qualitative research design based on documentary sources, field observations, and native speaker intuitions. The analysis is anchored in the Theory of Loanword Adaptation through Production proposed by Peperkamp and Dupoux (2003), complemented by insights from Language Contact Theory. It explores the socio-cultural factors that facilitate linguistic exchange, particularly trade, religion, and education, highlighting their phonological,

morphological, and semantic adaptation. The findings reveal that sustained contact between Hausa and Yorùbá speakers has led to extensive lexical borrowing, reflecting deep historical, economic, and cultural interactions. The study concludes that loanwords not only enrich vocabulary but also serve as indicators of inter-ethnic relations and cultural integration.

Keywords: language contact, Hausa, Yorùbá, nativisation, multilingualism.

1. Introduction

Language is both a medium of communication and a repository of culture. Beyond its communicative function, it reflects the historical experiences, social organisation, beliefs, and patterns of interaction among its speakers. Because societies rarely exist in complete isolation, languages inevitably come into contact through trade, migration, conquest, education, religion, intermarriage, and technological advancement. One of the most enduring consequences of such contact is lexical borrowing, whereby words and expressions from one language are incorporated into another. Borrowing is therefore not simply a linguistic phenomenon; it is also a historical and sociocultural record of interaction between communities.

The study of language in relation to society constitutes the central concern of sociolinguistics. Since its emergence as a distinct field of inquiry in the twentieth century, sociolinguistics has examined how language varies according to social variables such as age, gender, ethnicity, education, occupation, religion, and geographical location. It also investigates how language both shapes and is shaped by the societies in which it is used. As Safra (2005) observes, sociolinguistics occupies an interdisciplinary position between linguistics, sociology, and anthropology because it seeks to explain linguistic behaviour within its social context. Consequently, language contact, multilingualism, bilingualism, code-switching, language maintenance, language shift, and lexical borrowing have become major themes within sociolinguistic research.

Among these phenomena, lexical borrowing has attracted considerable scholarly attention because it illustrates the dynamic nature of language. Languages continuously expand their vocabularies by adopting lexical items that enable speakers to name new objects, express unfamiliar concepts, or

accommodate innovations introduced through contact with other communities. Haugen (1950), in his pioneering work on linguistic borrowing, explains that borrowed words are rarely transferred unchanged. Instead, they are systematically adapted to conform to the phonological, morphological, and semantic systems of the recipient language. Similarly, Weinreich (1953) argues that borrowing is a natural outcome of bilingualism and sustained language contact rather than evidence of linguistic deficiency. Contemporary studies of language contact have further demonstrated that borrowed words often become fully integrated into the receiving language to the extent that speakers may no longer recognise their foreign origin.

Nigeria provides one of the most suitable environments for investigating language contact because of its remarkable linguistic diversity. With more than five hundred indigenous languages, the country has experienced centuries of interaction among ethnic groups through trade, migration, religion, politics, and education. These interactions have created extensive networks of multilingualism, resulting in widespread lexical exchange among Nigerian languages. Hausa, Yorùbá, Igbo, Kanuri, Fulfulde, Nupe, Tiv, Edo, and numerous other languages have all contributed lexical items to one another over different historical periods.

Among these contact relationships, the interaction between Hausa and Yorùbá occupies a particularly significant place in Nigerian sociolinguistic history. Although the two languages belong to different language families—Hausa being an Afro-Asiatic language and Yorùbá belonging to the Benue-Congo branch of the Niger-Congo family—their speakers have maintained sustained contact for several centuries. This interaction predates British colonial rule and intensified through trans-Saharan commerce, long-distance trade, Islamic scholarship, migration, political relations, and later colonial transportation networks. Hausa trading communities established settlements in many Yorùbá towns, while Yorùbá merchants regularly travelled to northern Nigeria to exchange kola nuts and other commodities for livestock, leather goods, grains, onions, and textiles. These economic relationships created favourable conditions for continuous linguistic exchange.

Religion also played a significant role in strengthening Hausa–Yorùbá contact. The spread of Islam throughout northern and southwestern Nigeria

facilitated the diffusion of Arabic religious vocabulary, much of which entered Yorùbá through Hausa. Islamic education, Qur'anic scholarship, pilgrimage, and commercial activities contributed to the adoption of numerous religious expressions that have since become part of everyday Yorùbá usage. Likewise, colonial education, urbanisation, and increased internal migration further expanded opportunities for linguistic interaction across ethnic boundaries.

The influence of Hausa on Yorùbá is evident in several semantic domains. Borrowed words relating to food, agriculture, commerce, clothing, religion, leadership, social relationships, and traditional occupations have become firmly established within the Yorùbá lexicon. Terms such as *kùnú*, *fúrá*, *tàtàsé*, *àlùbòsà*, *dógóyáró*, *séríkí*, and *àlùmọ̀njìrì* illustrate the depth of lexical integration that has resulted from prolonged contact. These borrowings have undergone varying degrees of phonological adaptation, morphological adjustment, and semantic reinterpretation in accordance with the structural characteristics of Yorùbá. Their continued use demonstrates that lexical borrowing is not merely a linguistic process but also an expression of shared historical experience and cultural interaction.

Although earlier studies have documented examples of Hausa loanwords in Yorùbá, much of the existing literature has concentrated on listing borrowed lexical items or describing their phonological adaptation. Comparatively little attention has been devoted to examining the broader sociolinguistic factors responsible for borrowing or how linguistic adaptation reflects social history, cultural integration, and inter-ethnic relations. Consequently, there remains a need for a comprehensive analysis that combines linguistic description with sociolinguistic interpretation.

This study therefore investigates Hausa loanwords in Yorùbá from a sociolinguistic perspective. Specifically, it seeks to explain the historical circumstances that facilitated lexical borrowing, identify the principal semantic domains in which Hausa loanwords occur, analyse the phonological and morphological processes involved in their adaptation, and examine the sociocultural significance of these borrowings within Yorùbá society. By integrating language contact theory with contemporary models of loanword

adaptation, the study contributes to a deeper understanding of lexical borrowing as both a linguistic and a social phenomenon.

2. Literature Review

Language contact has long been recognised as one of the principal mechanisms through which languages change. Whenever speakers of different languages maintain sustained interaction, linguistic features are transferred across language boundaries. Such transfer may involve phonological patterns, grammatical constructions, discourse conventions, or lexical items, with lexical borrowing being the most widespread outcome. Consequently, studies of language contact have occupied a central position within sociolinguistics, historical linguistics, and contact linguistics.

The modern study of lexical borrowing owes much to Haugen (1950), whose analysis established borrowing as a systematic linguistic process rather than a random accumulation of foreign vocabulary. Haugen argued that borrowed lexical items undergo varying degrees of substitution and adaptation before becoming fully integrated into the recipient language. His work demonstrated that linguistic borrowing reflects both structural compatibility between languages and the sociocultural relationships existing between their speakers. Weinrich (1953) further expanded this perspective by arguing that bilingualism provides the social environment within which borrowing naturally occurs. According to Weinreich, interference between languages is an inevitable consequence of sustained multilingual interaction, making lexical borrowing a normal feature of language development rather than evidence of linguistic corruption.

Subsequent scholarship has continued to refine theories of borrowing. Van Coetsem (1988) distinguished between borrowing initiated by speakers of the recipient language and imposition resulting from language shift, while Paradis and LaCharité (1997) demonstrated that phonological adaptation follows predictable principles determined by the phonotactic constraints of the borrowing language. More recently, Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009) have shown through cross-linguistic comparison that lexical borrowing is a universal phenomenon affecting virtually every language, although the extent and semantic distribution of borrowed vocabulary vary according to patterns of cultural contact.

Within the Nigerian context, studies of lexical borrowing have highlighted the multilingual nature of the country's linguistic ecology. Trade, migration, religion, colonial administration, education, and urbanisation have facilitated continuous interaction among indigenous languages. As a result, Hausa, Yorùbá, Igbo, Kanuri, Nupe, Fulfulde, Edo, and numerous minority languages have exchanged lexical items over several centuries. These borrowings have enriched indigenous vocabularies while simultaneously documenting historical patterns of intercultural contact.

Earlier Nigerian scholars have examined borrowing from both descriptive and sociolinguistic perspectives. Garba (1979) conceptualises borrowing as a sociolinguistic process through which lexical items and expressions are transferred between languages in response to communicative needs. Similarly, Olaoye (1994) argues that loanwords constitute historical evidence of contact between societies because they preserve traces of technological innovation, commercial exchange, migration, and cultural diffusion. According to his analysis, lexical borrowing provides valuable insights into the historical relationships between speech communities and the processes through which languages evolve.

Research specifically focusing on Hausa–Yorùbá contact has demonstrated that borrowing extends beyond isolated lexical items to encompass expressions associated with trade, religion, administration, food, clothing, and social life. Na'Allah (2006, 2008) documents numerous Hausa lexical items that have become fully integrated into Yorùbá, observing that many speakers no longer perceive them as foreign borrowings. Malik (1995) similarly illustrates how Arabic vocabulary transmitted largely through Hausa has profoundly influenced Yorùbá Islamic discourse, religious education, literature, and everyday communication.

Despite these important contributions, existing studies have generally concentrated on cataloguing loanwords or describing isolated phonological changes. There remains comparatively limited research integrating historical evidence, sociolinguistic theory, and contemporary models of loanword adaptation into a unified explanation of Hausa lexical influence on Yorùbá. The present study addresses this gap by examining lexical borrowing not only as a linguistic process but also as an expression of long-standing historical

contact, cultural interaction, and social integration between two of Nigeria's largest linguistic communities.

3. Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored in the Theory of Loanword Adaptation through Production proposed by Peperkamp and Dupoux (2003). The theory is supported by insights from Language Contact Theory (Weinreich, 1953) and Haugen's (1950) theory of linguistic borrowing. Together, these perspectives explain both the social conditions that facilitate lexical borrowing and the linguistic processes through which borrowed words become integrated into the recipient language.

Language contact is widely recognised as one of the principal sources of language change. Weinreich (1953) argues that prolonged interaction between speakers of different languages inevitably results in linguistic interference, which may occur at the phonological, lexical, morphological, syntactic, or semantic level. Among these, lexical borrowing is the most common because vocabulary is more readily transferred than grammatical structure. Thus, borrowing is viewed as a natural consequence of bilingualism and multilingual communication rather than a sign of linguistic inadequacy.

Building on this view, Haugen (1950) explains that lexical borrowing is a systematic process in which foreign words are incorporated into a recipient language through varying degrees of adaptation. Borrowed forms rarely retain their original structures; instead, they are modified to conform to the phonological and grammatical patterns of the receiving language. Subsequent studies have refined this understanding by showing that loanword adaptation is constrained by the phonotactic and morphological systems of the recipient language (Paradis & LaCharité, 1997; Van Coetsem, 1988). Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009) further observe that lexical borrowing is a universal linguistic phenomenon whose extent depends largely on the nature and intensity of contact between speech communities.

Despite these important contributions, this study adopts the Theory of Loanword Adaptation through Production because it provides the most suitable explanation for the adaptation of Hausa loanwords in Yorùbá. Peperkamp and Dupoux (2003) argue that loanword adaptation occurs primarily during speech production. In attempting to pronounce unfamiliar

foreign words, speakers unconsciously modify them to conform to the phonological, phonetic, and grammatical patterns of their native language. As a result, unfamiliar sounds are replaced with the nearest native equivalents, impermissible sound sequences are restructured, and vowels may be inserted to satisfy native phonotactic constraints. Through repeated use, these modified forms become conventionalised and eventually accepted as part of the recipient language.

The theory also acknowledges that adaptation may begin during perception and lexical learning. Speakers interpret unfamiliar sounds through the perceptual categories of their native language, and this influences the forms they subsequently produce. Loanword adaptation is therefore understood as a dynamic interaction between perception, learning, and speech production.

This theoretical model is particularly appropriate for analysing Hausa loanwords in Yorùbá because the two languages differ considerably in their phonological structures. Yorùbá predominantly employs open consonant-vowel (CV) syllables and generally avoids consonant clusters and complex codas, whereas Hausa permits phonological patterns that are absent in Yorùbá. Consequently, Hausa lexical items undergo systematic restructuring before they are fully integrated into Yorùbá. Typical adaptation strategies include vowel epenthesis, consonant substitution, tonal assignment, and syllable restructuring. For example, the Hausa word *albasa* is adapted as *àlùbòsà* in Yorùbá through vowel insertion and phonological modification. Similarly, borrowed words acquire Yorùbá morphological characteristics and function like native lexical items within the language's grammatical system. Some also undergo semantic extension, narrowing, or broadening as they become established in new sociocultural contexts.

The Production Theory therefore provides a comprehensive explanation for the phonological, morphological, and semantic changes observed in Hausa loanwords in Yorùbá. It demonstrates that these modifications are not arbitrary but are natural outcomes of repeated language use as speakers adapt foreign lexical items to the structural requirements of their native language. By integrating the perspectives of Peperkamp and Dupoux (2003), Weinreich (1953), and Haugen (1950), this study accounts for both the historical

circumstances that encouraged borrowing and the linguistic mechanisms through which Hausa loanwords have become fully nativised within the

4. Methodology

4.1 Research Design and Data Sources

This study adopts a qualitative descriptive research design to examine the sociolinguistic adaptation of Hausa loanwords in Yorùbá. A qualitative approach is appropriate because it seeks to describe and interpret lexical borrowing within its historical, cultural, and social contexts rather than to test statistical hypotheses. The study relies on both primary and secondary data. Primary data comprise naturally occurring Hausa loanwords used in everyday Yorùbá speech, identified through the researcher's observations, informal interactions with competent native speakers, and personal linguistic competence as a native speaker of Yorùbá. Secondary data were obtained from relevant books, journal articles, conference papers, dissertations, dictionaries, and other scholarly publications on language contact, lexical borrowing, and Hausa–Yorùbá linguistic relations.

4.2 Data Analysis

The collected loanwords were classified into semantic categories, including food, religion, commerce, clothing, agriculture, administration, and social interaction. Each lexical item was analysed to identify the processes of phonological, morphological, and semantic adaptation through which it became integrated into Yorùbá. Comparisons between the Hausa source forms and their Yorùbá equivalents were used to identify recurring patterns of nativisation.

The analysis further examined the sociolinguistic factors underlying lexical borrowing, particularly the roles of trade, migration, religion, education, and long-standing historical contact between Hausa and Yorùbá communities. To ensure the credibility of the findings, data collected through native-speaker intuition and observation were cross-checked against documented examples in previous scholarly studies. Although the study does not aim at statistical generalisation, it provides a reliable qualitative account of the adaptation and integration of Hausa loanwords into Yorùbá, thereby contributing to a broader

understanding of language contact and lexical borrowing in multilingual societies.

5. Historical Contact Between Hausa and Yorùbá

The extensive presence of Hausa loanwords in Yorùbá is not an accidental linguistic phenomenon but the outcome of centuries of sustained interaction between two of Nigeria's largest ethnolinguistic groups. Although Hausa and Yorùbá belong to different language families, their speakers have maintained continuous social, economic, political, and religious relationships for several centuries. These interactions predate the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1914 and have continued through the colonial and postcolonial periods. Consequently, lexical borrowing between the two languages reflects a long history of cultural exchange, economic cooperation, and mutual influence.

Historical studies of language contact consistently demonstrate that prolonged interaction between speech communities creates favourable conditions for lexical borrowing. When communities engage in regular commercial exchange, intermarriage, migration, education, or religious activities, speakers frequently adopt lexical items that facilitate communication or express concepts associated with the contact culture. In the Nigerian context, Hausa and Yorùbá speakers have interacted in virtually all these domains, resulting in one of the most extensive cases of indigenous language contact in West Africa.

5.1 Trade as the Principal Agent of Language Contact

Trade represents the most significant factor responsible for lexical exchange between Hausa and Yorùbá. Long before colonial rule, Hausa merchants had established themselves as some of the most active long-distance traders in West Africa. Commercial caravans regularly travelled from Hausaland to the forest regions of southwestern Nigeria, transporting livestock, leather products, textiles, grains, onions, peppers, potash, and other agricultural commodities. In return, Yorùbá traders supplied kola nuts, locally woven cloth, palm products, and various forest resources that were highly valued throughout the savannah regions.

The commercial relationship between the two groups was strengthened by the development of organised trading networks connecting Kano, Katsina, Zaria, Ilorin, Oyo, Ibadan, and other important commercial centres. These networks facilitated not only the exchange of goods but also continuous interpersonal interaction among traders, apprentices, transporters, and consumers. As bilingual communication became necessary in marketplaces and trading settlements, numerous Hausa lexical items gradually entered everyday Yorùbá usage.

Lovejoy (1980) notes that the kola nut trade played a particularly significant role in strengthening commercial relations between Hausaland and the Volta Basin. Hausa merchants organised large trading caravans comprising traders, guides, families, and support workers who travelled considerable distances to obtain kola nuts for distribution across West Africa. Since kola nuts were widely consumed and also held religious significance among Muslim communities, the trade became an enduring economic link between northern and southwestern Nigeria. Such sustained commercial interaction inevitably facilitated linguistic exchange, with vocabulary relating to trade, measurement, food, transportation, and commerce crossing linguistic boundaries.

Many Hausa loanwords found in contemporary Yorùbá belong to the semantic field of trade and commerce. Words such as *dìlálì* (middleman), *tàdà* (ink), *kànáfurù* (cloves), *gàlùrà* (marking ink), and *dógóyáró* (neem tree) illustrate the close relationship between commercial activities and lexical borrowing. These words entered Yorùbá because they denoted commodities or occupational concepts that became familiar through regular interaction with Hausa traders.

Trade also facilitated the borrowing of food-related vocabulary. Lexical items such as *fúrá*, *kùnù*, *tàtásé*, *àlùbòsà*, *dàwà*, *màsà*, *kúlí*, *wánkè*, *núnù*, and *túwó* reflect the introduction and diffusion of northern food products into Yorùbá-speaking communities. Today, many of these words are so deeply integrated into Yorùbá that speakers frequently regard them as indigenous lexical items.

5.2 Migration and Settlement

Another major factor that promoted language contact was migration. For centuries, Hausa traders established permanent settlements in many Yorùbá

towns, particularly in important commercial centres such as Ibadan, Ilorin, Abeokuta, Lagos, Ogbomoso, and Osogbo. These settlements served as centres of commerce and facilitated continuous interaction between Hausa residents and the surrounding Yorùbá communities.

Migration encouraged bilingualism among traders, artisans, transport workers, and religious leaders. Daily interaction in markets, neighbourhoods, and workplaces created an environment in which lexical borrowing occurred naturally. Borrowed words spread gradually from bilingual speakers to the wider speech community through repeated use in ordinary conversation.

Urbanisation during the colonial and postcolonial periods further intensified these contacts. The construction of railway lines linking Lagos to Kano in the early twentieth century significantly increased the movement of people and goods across Nigeria. Improved transportation networks enabled traders, civil servants, students, and religious scholars to travel more frequently between northern and southwestern Nigeria, thereby increasing opportunities for linguistic interaction. Consequently, many Hausa loanwords became established throughout Yorùbá-speaking communities rather than remaining restricted to border regions.

5.3 Religion and Cultural Exchange

Religion constitutes another important channel through which Hausa vocabulary entered Yorùbá. The spread of Islam throughout West Africa significantly strengthened cultural and linguistic ties between Hausaland and Yorùbáland. Islamic scholarship, Qur'anic education, pilgrimage, and commercial networks introduced numerous Arabic religious concepts into Hausaland, many of which later reached Yorùbá through Hausa-speaking scholars, traders, and clerics.

Because Hausa served as a major language of Islamic communication in northern Nigeria, many Arabic religious expressions became familiar to Yorùbá speakers in their Hausa-adapted forms. Consequently, several religious loanwords in Yorùbá reached the language indirectly through Hausa mediation. Examples include *Hajj*, *Umurah*, *Sallah* (Ìláyá), *Jumu'ah*, *àlùmọ̀njìrì*, *sálámùalékúm*, *wàásù*, and *sharī'ah*. These expressions are now widely recognised among Yorùbá Muslims and constitute an important component of religious discourse.

Malik (1995) observes that Arabic has exerted a profound influence on the linguistic and cultural life of the Yorùbá through Islamic education and religious practice. Many Arabic-derived lexical items entered Yorùbá through Hausa before becoming fully integrated into local speech. These borrowings appear in Islamic sermons, religious literature, radio broadcasts, poetry, and everyday greetings, demonstrating that religious contact has been one of the most productive sources of lexical expansion in Yorùbá.

Religious interaction also fostered broader cultural exchange. Annual celebrations such as Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha (Ìláyá), participation in Qur'anic schools, and the observance of Ramadan created opportunities for continuous communication between Hausa and Yorùbá Muslims. Through these interactions, numerous religious terms became part of ordinary Yorùbá vocabulary and gradually lost their perception as foreign words.

5.4 Education and Intellectual Exchange

Education likewise contributed to sustained language contact between Hausa and Yorùbá. Prior to colonial rule, Islamic education provided one of the principal avenues for literacy throughout northern Nigeria. The widespread use of Àjàmí, the adaptation of the Arabic script for writing Hausa, facilitated the transmission of religious knowledge, literature, and administrative practices. Yorùbá scholars who pursued Islamic education frequently interacted with Hausa teachers and acquired vocabulary associated with theology, jurisprudence, education, and religious administration.

The introduction of Western education during the colonial period created additional opportunities for linguistic interaction. Schools, teacher-training colleges, universities, and government institutions brought together students and professionals from different linguistic backgrounds. Increased literacy and internal migration encouraged further lexical exchange, while the expansion of the media enabled borrowed expressions to circulate beyond their original communities.

Educational institutions also promoted the documentation and study of Nigerian languages, making speakers increasingly aware of similarities and differences among indigenous linguistic traditions. This awareness contributed to the preservation and continued transmission of many Hausa loanwords within Yorùbá.

5.5 Political and Administrative Relations

Political developments further strengthened Hausa–Yorùbá interaction. Before colonial rule, diplomatic relations existed among several northern and southwestern kingdoms through trade alliances, military cooperation, and commercial agreements. During the colonial period, the amalgamation of Nigeria into a single administrative entity intensified movement across regional boundaries. Civil servants, soldiers, traders, and transport workers were increasingly deployed to different parts of the country, creating new opportunities for multilingual communication.

Following independence, rapid urbanisation and national integration policies further accelerated internal migration. Large cities such as Lagos, Ibadan, Abuja, Kaduna, Kano, and Ilorin developed into multilingual centres where Hausa and Yorùbá speakers interacted daily. These urban environments continue to facilitate lexical borrowing, demonstrating that language contact remains an ongoing process rather than merely a historical phenomenon.

5.6 Sociolinguistic Consequences of Historical Contact

The cumulative effect of centuries of interaction has been the extensive incorporation of Hausa lexical items into Yorùbá. These borrowings extend across numerous semantic domains, including agriculture, commerce, religion, governance, clothing, cuisine, social relations, traditional institutions, and everyday communication. Their integration illustrates that language contact is not simply a linguistic event but a reflection of broader historical processes that shape social relationships and cultural identity.

Importantly, the borrowing observed in this study does not indicate linguistic dependence or cultural subordination. Rather, it reflects reciprocal interaction between neighbouring communities whose economic and social lives became closely interconnected over time. Many Hausa loanwords have undergone such extensive phonological and grammatical adaptation that they now function as ordinary Yorùbá lexical items. Their continued use demonstrates how languages evolve naturally through sustained human interaction while simultaneously preserving evidence of shared historical experience.

The historical evidence presented in this section provides the sociocultural foundation for understanding the linguistic patterns analysed in the following

section. The phonological, morphological, and semantic adaptations exhibited by Hausa loanwords in Yorùbá are therefore interpreted not as isolated linguistic changes but as the cumulative outcome of centuries of trade, migration, religion, education, and cultural exchange between the two speech communities.

6. Results and Discussion

The analysis demonstrates that Hausa has contributed significantly to the expansion of the Yorùbá lexicon through sustained language contact. The borrowed lexical items identified in this study span diverse semantic domains and illustrate the close historical, economic, religious, and cultural relationships that have existed between Hausa and Yorùbá communities over several centuries. More importantly, the findings reveal that these loanwords have undergone systematic phonological, morphological, and semantic adaptation before becoming fully integrated into the Yorùbá language.

Rather than representing random lexical additions, Hausa loanwords constitute evidence of prolonged social interaction. Their widespread use in contemporary Yorùbá confirms that lexical borrowing is both a linguistic and a sociocultural phenomenon through which languages respond to changing communicative needs.

6.1 Types of Loanwords

Loanwords in Yorùbá can be classified into:

a. Direct Borrowings

Words adopted with minimal changes:

- *dàwà* (guinea corn)
- *túwó* (solid food)
- *kùnú* (local drink)

b. Adapted Borrowings

Words modified to fit Yorùbá phonology:

- *tàtàsé* (from Hausa *tattasai*)
- *àlùbòsà* (from *albasa*)

- *dógóyáró* (from *dogonyaro*)

6.2 Phonological Adaptation

Yorùbá phonology imposes constraints on borrowed words:

i. Avoidance of Consonant Clusters

Hausa clusters are broken with vowel insertion. Yorùbá prohibits consonant clusters, thus, vowels are either inserted or germinate consonants are deleted.

Hausa Yorùbá

a. masallaci → *mósálásí* ‘mosque’

In the example (a) above, in order to conform to Yorùbá *CC constraint, the germinate /l/ becomes deleted.

ii. Sound Substitution

Yorùbá Non-native sounds are replaced:

- *kuxi* → *kúdí*

iii. Vowel Length Adjustment

Long vowels replace diphthongs:

- *tattasai* → *tàtàsé*

6.3 Semantic Domains of Borrowing

Loanwords occur across various domains:

a. Food and Trade

- *fúrá* (porridge)
- *kúlí* (groundnut cake)
- *sóbò* (local drink)

b. Religion

- *àlùmọ̀njìrì* (beggar, Islamic student)
- *séríkí* (chief)

c. Social Life

- *làbàrè* (news)
- *àrísìkí* (wealth)

6.4 Borrowed Proverbs

Loanwords also appear in Yorùbá proverbs, indicating deep cultural integration:

- *Gániáfíjì* (“Seeing is believing”)
- *Kòsìṣenitímándàlà ò wù* (“Everyone makes mistakes”)

On the issue of religion, the Hausas have helped in the propagation of the Islamic religion through the influence of the Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio of the early 18th century. On the other hand, the Westerners had launched the religion of Christianity in the West. This religion has spread through the colonialists and missionaries to other regions, and most especially into the Eastern part of Nigeria. Examples of Yorùbá loanwords in Hausa include: *àsha:na:* (matches), *da:diro* (to stay in seclusion), *sàbka:lè* (to unload), *ayayo:* and *àlayyàfo* (green vegetables), *mà:su-ki:ri* (hawkers), *àdire*, and *kàmfa:là* (locally dyed clothes), *kwata:-kwata* (completely), *kpalaba:* (bottle), *àgwa:lùma* (seed), etc. On the issue of education, the introduction of Arabic and Islamic religion encourages the use of Arabic and Islamic knowledge and culture from the Eastern part of the world into the North and later into the Western part of Nigeria. This development brings about the development of another linguistic phenomenon called *Àjàmi*: a systematic way of using the Arabic alphabet in writing the Hausa language. The colonialists who brought Western education later perceived that it was important to introduce Western education to teach people how to read and write the new religion. As a result, Western education was established in the West and later, in other parts of the country.

6.5 Morphological Adaptation

Olaoye (1994:95) observes the cases of Nigerian language borrowing from another Nigerian language, whereby the loanwords undergo slight morphological adaptation. He mentions examples of Hausa loanwords into the Yorùbá language, including: *gà:fàrà:* (excuse), *àlááfíà* (peace), and *kánwún* (potash). He further explains that Hausa has borrowed extensively from

Arabic, most especially, words about religious worship and other things. In his discussion on the impact of Arabic on the linguistic and cultural life of the Yorùbá, Malik (1995:37) observes that "Despite the impact of education in English or French over the past years in Yorùbá land, neither English nor French has influenced Yorùbá language as Arabic".

The above quotation of Malik has indicated that the impact of the Arabic language on the linguistic and cultural life of the Yorùbá cannot be over-emphasized. He gave examples of Arabic loanwords used in ewi (Yorùbá poetry) write-ups, including *sábàbí* (cause), *kádàrá* (destiny), and *àlùfànsá* (indiscipline). Other examples of Arabic loanwords in Yorùbá through the medium of Hausa include: *Àlamọ̀rì* (affairs), *tuúbá* (repentance), and *àníyàn* (intention), etc. He further mentions examples of Arabic loanwords in Yorùbá news bulletins to include: *sá:rá* (commendation), *ìbá:dà* (divine service, act of devotion), *àlẹ̀bù* (fault), *sàdánkátà* (you have spoken the truth), *serià* (Islamic law). Arabic loanwords in radio advertisements include: *ribá* (usury, bribe), *hàrámu* (illegal act). Arabic loanwords in various editions of the Yorùbá Bible include: *Àlàáfíà* (good health, well-being), as used in Matteu, 28:9, Samueli, 3:21 and Iwe Owe, 17:A1àdùrà (prayer) used in Orin Dafidi, 102:1, 65:2 and 142-8, *Káláàmù* (Pen) used in Orin Dafidi 41:1. *Wàásù* (sermon, preaching) used in Marku, 1:7 and Matteu, 10:7, *Wòlî* (saint, holy man) etc. (Malik, 1999:30).

Ahmed and Dauru (1980:12) observe that there is a serious relationship between most ethnic groups in Nigeria, which is commercially oriented but not united politically from early times. They listed the Hausa and Yorùbá loanwords and categorized them into two places, thus:

1(a) Words loaned from Yorùbá into Hausa are common words to both languages, but difficult to decide to which of the two such words belong:

Hausa	Yorùbá	Gloss
<i>Gyále</i>	<i>gélé</i>	head tie
<i>Gòoje</i>	<i>dööjé</i>	local musical instrument
<i>Gànga</i>	<i>gángǎn</i>	drum
<i>Báabaa</i>	<i>bàbá</i>	father

Iyà *iyá* mother

Source: Ahmed and Daura (1980).

1(b) Loan-words with definite Yorùbá derivation:

Hausa	Yorùbá	Gloss
<i>Adiré</i>	<i>àdirẹ</i>	dyed cloth
<i>Káatáako</i>	<i>pátákó</i>	planks of timber

Source: Ahmed and Dura (1980).

Modern articles and ideas from overseas that came to Hausa land from the coast and borrowed indirectly through Yorùbá:

Hausa	Yorùbá	Gloss
<i>Àgoogo</i>	<i>aágóṣwọ</i>	Wrist watch
<i>Àkàawu</i>	<i>ákowé</i>	Clerk
<i>Jàbu</i>	<i>Ijẹbú</i>	Counterfeit coin
<i>Kwaanò</i>	<i>paánù</i>	plate
<i>Sulè</i>	<i>Silè</i>	Shilling
<i>Likità</i>	<i>Dókítà</i>	Doctor

Source: Ahmed and Daura (1980).

Other examples of Hausa loanwords into Yorùbá indicating words and phrases in day-to-day life activities of the Yorùbá include:

Hausa	Yorùbá	Meaning	Usage
Làabaarì	Làbàrè	News	<i>E wá gbọ làbàrè tí mó mú wá.</i> (Listen to the national news)
Árzìkì	Árísìkí	The rich	<i>Alárisiki ni ọmọnáà</i> (The boy is richly blessed)
Gani ya fi ji	<i>Gáníáfjǵí</i>	Seing is believing	<i>Gáníátǵji, iròyìn òtò ámójúbà</i> (Seing is believing)

Shùugàba	<i>Sùgàbá</i>	Leader	O jẹ sùgàba léwọn lórí (He played leadership role over them)
Masallaaci	<i>Mọsáláasii</i>	Mosque	Mọsálási pọ nilu Ilorin (There are plenty mosques in Ilorin)
Sàràaki	<i>Sàràkí</i>	The rich	Awọn sàràkí eniyan pọ nibi àyẹyẹ naà (There are many rich people at the ceremony)
Talàka	<i>Tálíkà</i>	The poor	Ọmọ talikà ni mi (I am a son of poor parentage)
Rìkici	<i>Oni-rìkísí</i>	The rebellious	Oni rikisi enian pọ layiiká (There are many rebellious people around)

Faaràawa	<i>Ìfààrà</i>	Introduction	<i>Ifaarã iwe nã a jọmi-lójú púpọ</i> (I was so much impressed by the introductory part of the book)
<i>Barà</i>	<i>Oní-bàrà</i>	Beggar	<i>Ẹ fún oní-bàrà ni ówó</i> (Give some money to the beggar)
Sarki	<i>Séríkí</i>	Chieftaincy Title	Wọn fi onisowo na a joye seriki oni-gbagbọ. (The trader was given a chieftaincy title)
<i>Àlmaajiri</i>	<i>àlùmánjiri</i>	Begger	<i>Ẹba mi pe àlumanjiri kan</i> (Call a begger for me).
<i>Doogon yaarò</i>	<i>Dógóyáró</i>	neem tree	Ẹ fi ewe e dogoyaro se agbo fun arun íba. (Use neem tree to prepare concoction to treat malaria).
<i>Fura</i>	<i>Fúrá</i>	Porridge	<i>Ẹ mu fura tutù</i> (Take cold porridge)
Alkamà	<i>Alikámà</i>	Wheat	<i>Mo fẹ lẹ horo alikama.</i> (I want to grind wheat).

Àlbasa	Àlùbòsà	Onion	oja alubosa po nile Awusá. (There are many onion markets in Hausa land).
daawà	Dawà	Gueanea corn	ɛ da dawa sile fun adie. (Pour guineacorn for the chicken)
naamà	ɛran-namɔ	flesh part of meat	Shola ra ɛran-namaloja. (Sola bought meat from the market).
Geero	Jeró	Millet	Mo fe fi jero se ogi mi. (I want to use millet to prepare my pap).
kúlii-kúli	Kúli	groundnut cake	Alawe fɛran ki o má á fi kúlí mu gàrí (the guy is found of using groundnut cake to drink gari).
Maasà	Másà	millet cake	ɛ pin masa fun awon eniyan nibi àisun. (distribute millet cake at the wake-keep)
Soo bô	Sòbò	local drink	E má á mu sóbò tûtù lèkan lójúmò (Always take cold sobo drink once daily)
Tàttàasai	Tàtàsé	soft pepper	E ra tàtàsé púpò látojà. (Buy plenty pepper from market).
Tuwo	Túwó	Solid food	È bere bóyá ìya oní túwó ti dáná tán. (Confirm from the tuwo seller if it is ready).
Waake	Wanke	Beans	E je wanke kí ɛ mumi si. (Take some beans and additional water).
Fura	Fūra	Porridge	Se ɛ ni fura tutu nile? (Do you have some cold porridge at home?)

<i>Noonò</i>	<i>Núnù</i>	Fermented Milk	<i>Núnù yi kan púpọ. (This sour milk is too fermented).</i>
<i>Àlmaajiri</i>	<i>Àlùmọnjìrì</i>	Beggar	<i>Àlùmọnjìrì pọ nilẹ Awúsá. (There are many beggars in Hausa land.)</i>

6.6 Words Related to Clothes

Hausa	Yorùbá	Gloss	Usage in Yorùbá
<i>Àlkyabba</i>	<i>Àlùkimbà</i>	Traditional gen	<i>Oloye wọ àlùkimbà (The professor is wearing a traditional gen).</i>
<i>Fùula</i>	<i>Fìlà</i>	Cap	<i>Fila rẹ sò ó lórí. (His cap oversized his head).</i>
<i>Fùulaa ha òàr kadà</i>	<i>Flà á lábànkádà</i>	Traditional cap	<i>Qkọ iyàwó na wọ filà á lábànkádà. (The groom is wearing a traditional cap).</i>
<i>Táajiya</i>	<i>Tààjìyà</i>	Traditional cap	<i>Filá táàjìyà pọ nilẹ Awúsá. (There are plenty traditional caps in Hausa land).</i>
<i>Rawàni</i>	<i>Láwàni</i>	Traditional head gear	<i>Olori alufa wé láwàní rẹ. (The head clergy man puts his turban on).</i>
<i>Abaaya</i>	<i>Àbááyá</i>	Traditional shirt	<i>Gbenga wọ àbááyá àti sòkòtò. (Gbenga is wearing a traditional shirt and trouser).</i>
<i>Dooguwar rìiga</i>	<i>Dàndógó</i>	Long dress	<i>Olùkọnà wọ dandogo. (The teacher is wearing a long dress).</i>

6.7 Words Related to Other Things

Hausa	Yorùbá	Gloss	Examples in sentences
<i>Balle/ballántána</i>	<i>Bélébéléntése</i>	Despite/nor	Kosi ina belentase omi. (No power supply, nor water).
<i>Dàamuwa</i>	<i>Ìdàámú</i>	Worries	<i>Ìdàámú ojoojumọ yì pọ.</i> (The day-to-day worries are so much).
<i>Kuɗi</i>	<i>Kúdí</i>	Money	Ko si kudi. (There is no Money).
<i>Fitílà</i>	<i>Fitilà</i>	Cap	<i>Ẹ gbé fitílà dání lálẹ</i> (Hold your lamps at night).
<i>Fitina</i>	<i>Fitina</i>	Crises	<i>Ẹ má ko fitínà bawa.</i> (Don't bring any crises to us).
<i>Kurma</i>	<i>Kúrúma</i>	Dumb	<i>Won se bi kuruma ni ọrẹmí.</i> (They thought my friend is dumb).
<i>Gurgù</i>	<i>Gúrúmù</i>	Lamed	<i>Kan kẹkẹ fun gúrúmù.</i> (Build a bicycle for the lamed).
<i>Fitsaari</i>	<i>Fúráari</i>	Urine	<i>Mo fẹ se fusáarí.</i> (I want to ease myself).
<i>Fárawa</i>	<i>Ìfààrà</i>	Introduction	<i>Ìfààrà orin naa jomílójú</i> (The introductory part of the song exited me).
<i>Tsanani</i>	<i>Sánání</i>	Worry	<i>Ẹ ò ní sánání.</i> (You shall not suffer)

Sai an jumà	Sánjúma	It's bye for now	<i>Qba nà se sánjúmà sawon árá ilú.</i> (The king bid good bye to his people).
<i>Suuna</i>	<i>Súná</i>	naming	<i>Qjo súná omọ náà tó.</i> (The naming ceremony of the baby has come).
<i>Súurà</i>	<i>Súrà</i>	Aura	<i>Móri súrà ènìyàn nínúú díqí.</i> (I can see the aura of a human being on the mirror).
<i>Tsòoro</i>	<i>Sòró</i>	Envy	<i>Won ji sòró mi.</i> (They are feeling envious of me).
Tukuici	Tükúsi	Gift	<i>Won fún omọdé birin ná ni tukusi.</i> (The gave the young lady some gift).
<i>Yi haḱuri</i>	<i>Yankūri</i>		Mo ni ki ọkùnrin ná a o yankuri. (I asked the man to be patient).
<i>Yàrda</i>	<i>Yonda</i>		<i>Mo yonda owónáà.</i> (I leave the money for others).

6.8 Words Related to Animals

Hausa	Yorùbá	Gloss
<i>Dan zaakì</i>	<i>Dânsáákì</i>	Son of a loion
<i>Raaḱumi</i>	<i>Ránkúmi</i>	Camel
<i>Dookì</i>	<i>Dókì</i>	Horse
<i>Mussà</i>	<i>Músù</i>	Cat

6.9 Words Related to People

Hausa	Yorùbá	Gloss	Usage in Yorùbá
<i>Àlmaaliri</i>	<i>Àlùmọnjiri</i>	Beggar	Ẹfùn àlùmánjiri ní búrédi kan. (Give one bread to the beggar).
Maalām	Máalàà	Hausa person	Ẹ bá mí pé Málà tò ń rékojá (Call the Hausa person passingby)
<i>Kurma</i>	<i>Kürüá</i>	The deaf	Wọ́n se bí kurumọ́n niwá (They thought we are deaf)

Source: Na’Allah (2006).

6.10 Words Related to Trade and Commerce

Hausa	Yorùbá	Gloss
<i>Túrãare</i>	<i>Tùràré /Turàrí</i>	Frankincense
<i>Lallé</i>	<i>Làálì</i>	Henna
<i>Kànanfäri</i>	<i>Kànáfurù</i>	Cloves
<i>Sàabarà</i>	<i>Ewé é Sàbàrà</i>	Shrub
<i>Gàluurà</i>	<i>Gàlùrà</i>	Ink for marking sacks
<i>Takàrda</i>	<i>Tákädä</i>	Paper
<i>Dìllaali</i>	<i>Dìlálì</i>	Middie man
<i>Tàwadà</i>	<i>Tàadàà</i>	Ink
<i>Doogonyaarò</i>	<i>Dógóyárò</i>	Neem tree

Source: Na’Allah(2008: 74 – 77).

6.11 Complete Borrowing

The words presented under this sub-group are the types of Hausa loanwords that do not contain any form of structural change or meaning:

Daawà	Dáwà	Guinea-com
Duuniyà	Dúniyan	World
Fitinà	Fitíná	Trouble
Fitilà	Fitiíà	Lamp
Liiman	Lèmàmú	Religious leader
Kùnu	Kùnú	Local drink
Mussà	Músù	Cat
Tüwo	Túwó	Swallow
Wahala	Wàhálá	Trouble
Dàbaarà	Dàbàrà	Innovation
Laahirà	Àláírá	Hereafter
Daawà	Dáwà	Guineacorn
Duuniyà	Düniyàn	World/Earth
Fitina	Fitina	Worries

Bará	Oni bārà	Begging	E fún oni-bārà ní owo (Give some money to the beggar)
Sarki	Sériki	Chieftaincy Title	Wan fi onisowo na ye Seriki onígàgbò. (The trader was given the Chieftaincy title)
Almaajiri	Alúmọ̀jìrì	Begger	Ƙ ba mi pe alumanjiri kan (Call a beggar for me).
Alkamà	Alikamà /	Wheat	Mo fẹ̀ lẹ̀ horó ó álikámọ̀. (I

	Álákámọ		want to grind wheatseeds)
Àlbasà	àlùbọsà	Onion	Oja alubosa pọ nilẹ Awusa. (There are many onion markets in Hausa land)
Daawà	Dáwà	Guineacorn	Ẹ da dawasile fun adie. (Pour guineacornfor the chicken)
Naamà	ẹran namo	Flesh part of the meat	Shọla ra ẹran nama loja (Sola bought meat from the market)
Geero	Jeró	Millet	Mo fẹ Fi jéró sé ògi mi. (I want to use millet to prepare my pap).
kulii-kuli	Kúlí	Groundnut cake	Aláwé fẹraán ki ómá á fí kúlí mu gáàri. (the guy is fund of using kuli to drink gari).
Maasà	Másà	Millet-cake	pin másà fun àwọn eniyàn nibi àìsùn. (Distribute millet cake at the wake-keep)
Sooḃòò	Sóbò	Local drink	ẹmá á mu sóbò tutu lẹkan lójúmọ (Always take cold sobo drink once daily)
Tàttàasai	Tàtàsé	Bell pepper	ẹ ra tatase pupọ la'tojaa. (Buy plenty soft pepper from the market).
Tuwo	Tuwo	Solid food	E bere boya lya oni tuwo ti dana tan. (Confirm from the tuwo seller tuwo is ready)
Waake	Wanke	Rice and beans cooked together	ẹ jẹ wanké ki ẹ mumi sii. (Take some rice and beans and additional water)

furaa / huraa	Füra	Porridge	Sē ɛni fúrá tutu nilé? (Do you have some cold porridge at home?)
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Source: Na’Allah (2006) and Na’Allah (2008:5).

6.12 Borrowing of Hausa Proverbs

Proverbs are being used but not borrowed. What we mean here, there are some proverbs in Yorùbá contained words and phrases of Hausa, and again, the meanings of those proverbs are related to Hausa. The proverbs are:

Yorùbá Adages	Translation
Aponlé ni málà, Awúsá ‘lawúsánjẹ. (Mallam, Hausa)	Call a spade a spade
Gámbarí pa fúlání ò lejonnu. (Gambari, Fulani).	Blood is thicker than water
Gániáfijí, iròyìn tó àfojùbà. (Gani ya kori ji)	Seeing is believing
Kòsɛni tí mándàlā ò wù, ojú-ɔnà ni álawódé ti íbáni (madalla, Allah wadai)	Mistake has no master
Dánsíkí kojá áfi ‘binú dá (‘yar ciki)	Cut your coat according to your size
Mútúàrigánkówá. (Mutuwa rigar kowa)	Death is every body's garment
Rànkünmí tó ‘rẹ̀rù, ‘téwùrẹ̀ n túnrase, àgùntàn á subúlú’lẹ̀tíwọ̀nbàghé é lé é. (raḱumi)	Foolish imitation usually leads to disaster
Mè kúdì bà yarò bá (Mai kuḱi ba yaro ba)	The rich are given best regard
Olè tí ọ̀ gbé kākakin Qba, nibo ni o ti fan?(kakaki)	A pilferer that steals the king's trumper appoints him a herculean task.
Kérémigóró yá fi babán dúsí (ḱaramin	The proof of the burden is in the

goro ya fi babban dutse)	eaten
Labalábátô fê paná á súyà, asoṙe á fàya.(suya)	Do not envy other peoples' glory.
Ẹti gbé sára kojá másálási. (masallaci)	Cut your coat according to your shirt.

Source: Na'Allah (2006).

7.1 Conclusion

This study examined the sociolinguistic phenomenon of Hausa loanwords in Yorùbá, demonstrating how sustained historical, commercial, religious, and cultural contact between Hausa and Yorùbá speakers has shaped lexical borrowing. The study established that language contact has significantly enriched the Yorùbá lexicon, providing vocabulary for concepts, objects, occupations, religious practices, foods, clothing, and everyday expressions that were either previously absent or became widely recognised through interaction with Hausa speakers.

The paper discussed sociolinguistics as the branch of linguistics concerned with the relationship between language and society and reviewed the historical development of loanword studies from both global and Nigerian perspectives. It further examined the sociolinguistic circumstances that facilitated contact between Hausa and Yorùbá communities, leading to the borrowing and nativisation of numerous Hausa lexical items into Yorùbá. Examples of these loanwords illustrate how borrowed forms have been phonologically and grammatically adapted to conform to the structural patterns of Yorùbá while remaining fully integrated into everyday communication.

The findings reveal that Hausa loanwords are more than mere lexical additions; they constitute evidence of long-standing inter-ethnic interaction and shared cultural heritage in Nigeria. Borrowed words relating to food, such as *suya*, *màsà*, *tuwo*, *kùnù*, and *zobo*, have become part of everyday Yorùbá vocabulary, while religious expressions and terms, including *salamualaikum*, *Hajj*, *Umrah*, *Sallah* (Ìláyá), *Jumu'ah*, *Ramadan*, and *Almajiri*, reflect the influence of Islamic culture and the role of language in fostering religious understanding and social cohesion. These loanwords not only enrich the

Yorùbá language but also strengthen cultural ties and promote mutual understanding among Nigeria's diverse ethnic groups.

Overall, the study underscores the dynamic nature of language as a reflection of social interaction and cultural exchange. It contributes to the growing body of scholarship on language contact in Nigeria by demonstrating that lexical borrowing is a natural consequence of sustained intercultural relationships and an important mechanism for linguistic development. The study therefore encourages further research on loanword adaptation in Nigerian languages using contemporary approaches such as corpus linguistics, computational linguistics, sociophonetics, and language technology. Comparative studies involving other Nigerian languages would also provide deeper insights into the processes of lexical borrowing, language change, and linguistic integration in multilingual societies.

7.2 Findings

At the phonological level, Yorùbá does not allow consonant clusters (Associateship certificate in education, Awobuluyi, 1978). This is evident in Hausa words with consonant clusters that are phonologically made to conform to the cv/cv system of the Yorùbá syllable patterns, i.e., by insertion of a vowel, etc. Some characters not moldable in Yorùbá were replaced with Yorùbá consonants, *diaalii* instead of *dillaalii* (middle man), *laalii* instead of *lallee* (henna), and *tatase* instead of *tattasai* (soft pepper).

Many of the Hausa loanwords have been domesticated to appear in many Yorùbá proverbs in (Na'Allah 2008). *ierankumi* (camel), *mutua* (death), *suya* (fried meat), *barawo* (thief), *mandala* (uprightness), and *andalawode* (God forbid). etc (Na'Allah 2008).

Consonant clusters are not available in Yorùbá; now insert a vowel to break the cluster, i.e., *masalaasii* instead of *masallaacii* (mosque), *tatasee* instead of *tattasai* (soft pepper), *bèlé* instead of *belle* (talk more of), etc.

Diphthong sounds are not allowed in Yorùbá (NA'Allah 2008); therefore, long vowels are used. i.e., *mee kudi* instead of *maikuxi* (the rich), *ewe e reree* instead of *rai-xooree*. (shrub), *tataasee* instead of *tattasai*.

Some characters not moldable in Yorùbá, i.e., glottalised consonants available were replaced with Yorùbá consonants. i.e., *kudii* (money) instead of *kuxii*,

rankunmii instead of *raaqumii* (camel), *ankuri* instead of *haqurii* (patience), etc.

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