

⁶⁴ It is very difficult to determine what שמא־בר consisted in. The word משא־בר is given different meanings: "uprising", "utterance", "burden", "portion" BDB. BDB renders משא־בר in our passage as "exacted or enforced gift from inferior". The word is very often translated: "a grain tax" Sh. Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 157; "grain tax" H. Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 230; "tribute of corn" J. Mayes, *op. cit.*, p. 90; "Getreideabgaben" W. Rudolph, p. 194; "exaction of grain" William R. Harper, *A critical and exegetical commentary on Amos and Hosea*, Edinburgh 1960, p. 119.

⁶⁵ H. Wolff, p. 233.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

⁶⁷ W. Rudolph, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

⁶⁸ G. Fleischer, *Von Menschenverkäufern, Basankühen und Rechtsverkehren*, Athenaum Verlag, Frankfurt am Main 1989, p. 164; בושסכס is supposed to be a qal form.

⁶⁹ G. Fleischer, *op. cit.*, p. 164; Sh. Paul lists other places in the Bible where the roots .ב.ו.ס. and .ב.ו.ס. occur with the same meaning - "to trample": Isa 14, 25; 63, 6; Ps 60, 14, Sh. Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

⁷⁰ G. Fleischer, *op. cit.*, p. 164; Torczyner's point of departure is the assumption of identity between בושסכס and משא־בר. He first of all looked for a term parallel to משא־בר and then attempted to explain in what way the developed form בושסכס - parallel to *šabašu*, bequeathed in BH could arise in Am 5, 11, G. Fleischer, *op. cit.*, p. 16. This assumption is rather doubtful since the word משא־בר occurs in the Bible in the meaning of "tax" only very late (The Book of Chronicles) and then in the context of taxes rendered to the Temple (2 Chron 24, 6, 9).

⁷¹ G. Fleischer, *op. cit.*, p. 165-166.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁷³ Sh. Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 172-173.

⁷⁴ G. Fleischer, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

⁷⁵ "The word... is known only in nA. It is derived from nasāhu with which it is regularly used, and which is known from other nA contexts to have the meaning «raise (money, etc.)», «exact». J. N. Postgate, *Taxation and conscription in the Assyrian empire*, Biblical Institute Press, Rome 1974, p. 186.

⁷⁶ G. Fleischer, *op. cit.*, p. 169-170.

⁷⁷ J. Ellis, quoted by Fleischer, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

⁷⁸ G. Fleischer, *op. cit.*, p. 172-173.

⁷⁹ T. Fenton, *Ugaritica - Biblica*, "Ugarit Forschungen" 1 (1969), p. 65.

⁸⁰ "If the pristine root was *ts the shift s>š after t in the Ugaritic might be compared with the regular š>t before t, and if it was *ts the š would naturally have been dissimilated in Hebrew to avoid the creation of a root-morpheme *ššš/y after the North-west Semitic shift t>š", *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁸¹ This view appears to be supported by the Targum whose reading implies a Hebrew text with both ya'an and b (the preposition), and the verb šss (halap b'mibbaz'kon miskenayya: halap = ya'an, b' = b' and mibbaz'kon = šuss'kem). *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁸² See note 66 above.

⁸³ The passage which is, perhaps, a popular proverb reflects the people's confidence in the face of the calamity announced. Through this saying, they manifest their making light of the losses which will result from the invasion, probably Assyrian. G. Buchanan Gray, *The Book of Isaiah, I-XXXIX, A critical and exegetical commentary on the Book of Isaiah*, Edinburgh 1912, p. 183.

⁸⁴ A. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, ABRL, Doubleday, New York 1990, p. 472.

⁸⁵ "Such masonry appears in stratum IVB-VA in most of the public buildings, in contrast to the private dwellings built of field stone". Y. Shiloh, *The protoaeolic capital and Israelite Ashlar Masonry*, QEDEM 11, Jerusalem 1979, p. 57.

⁸⁶ M. Weiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-152.

⁸⁷ H. Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 249; M. Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

MACIEJ KUŚ

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME HAUSA: A SLAVIC ANALOGY

Several theories have been postulated in order to explain the origin of the Hausa nation and its name. The aim of this short paper is to present a brief critical revue of them and offer a new suggestion with reference to the solution to the problem.

The vast and comparatively fertile plains of Hausaland always attracted attention not only of their neighbours and nomadic pastorals but also various adventurers searching for an easy prey, or being in need to seek a refuge. The sedentary, peaceful peasant society of this land has frequently been invaded, looted, subjugated to the neighbouring political powers and often visited by various groups of immigrants who contented themselves with acquiring a place to live and sometimes obtaining an important position amongst the local ruling elite. Such newcomers from far and near melted in the local society adding new elements to its culture, thus resulting in development of the multi-ethnic Hausa nation which is united by cultural rather than tribal bonds.

Many migrations into Hausaland have been recorded in historical documents or, in the case of the events very remote in the past, have their legendary transmissions. The oldest migrations are said to be from the Near East. We can mention here, for instance, the Gobirawa traditions of origin,¹ the Kisra migration² and the Bayajidda legend.³ These traditions and similarity of words *Hausa* and *Habasha* 'Abyssinia' lay at the base of the hypothesis that the name *Hausa* is a corrupt form of the name of the founders of the Hausa states having come from Ethiopia.⁴ Unfortunately, in no legend Ethiopia is mentioned as a starting point of the migrants' wanderings. Moreover, *habesh* is an Arabic word meaning 'mixture' and the Ethiopians never called themselves by such a name. Thus this etymological deduction is not easily acceptable.

Flora Shaw-Lugard, as early as 1905, suggested that the name of the Hausa nation might be derived from an ancient Egyptian king named Housal, a servant of Astarte.⁵ It has been recognised for some time that some of the old Hausa rites resemble those of Astarte, but practically the same rites were to be seen at Carthage and other places, so the derivation is rather doubtful.

In 1908, C. W. Orr wrote erroneously that the correct designation of the "Hausa race" was *Habe*,⁶ but next year he retreated of that view and reported

H. R. Palmer's suggestion that the plural of *So* or *Sau*, autochthonic people of the Lake Chad basin, may be *Hausa*.⁷

In 1914 A. J. N. Tremearne proposed a slight modification of the *habesh* theory. He maintained that

"the name *Ba-Haushe* (a Hausa) comes from a term of contempt bestowed upon them by the Arabs on account of their mixed origin, though there need not be any more connection between them and the Abyssinians than there is between the Kafirs of South Africa and of India. The words *Ba-Haushe* and *Hausawa* show the same changes as *Ba-Maguje* and *Magazawa*, and there is no doubt about the origin of the name in this case — the *Magazawa* did not come from Persia".⁸

This opinion can not be supported by any evidence from Arabic sources. Contacts between the Hausas and the Arabs were for long time very scarce and the name *Hausa* does not appear in medieval Arabic writings.

Another hypothesis is even more difficult to be recognised as a substantiated one. It is also based on the similarity of words. According to this hypothesis, the name *Hausa* originates in *hawa sa* which means to ride on bull back because the ancient Hausas were supposed to use this means of locomotion. Until recently the Shuwa in Borno rode sometimes on oxen and used them to carry loads from one place to another.⁹ But there is no evidence that the Hausas ever did so and even that they were ever cattle-growers. In climatic conditions of Hausaland it is almost impossible to grow cattle on large scale maintaining simultaneously the sedentary, agricultural way of life. There is not enough pasture land and conflicts between Fulani pastorals and Hausa farmers occur permanently. Sometimes they even transform into bloody fighting between villagers defending their crops against hungry cows and cattle-breeders desperately looking for fodder for their herds. In addition to that, the very idea of anybody naming himself a bull-rider is a bit unusual. It does not seem possible that the French could adopt for their nation the popular epithet *frog-eaters*.

One more theory on the origin of the name *Hausa* is the one deriving this name from the Hausa word *haushi* (to bark).¹⁰ We put it among jokes. It cannot be considered as a kind of so-called 'linguistic evidence' in tracing the origins of the name *Hausa*.

R. C. Abraham also contributed to obscuring the problem writing about "the Hausa people who take such pride in their language that they call it '*The Language*' (*Hausā* derived from Arabic *al-lisān*, Hebrew *hallāshōn*)".¹¹

N. Skinner presented another attempt of explaining the riddle.¹² He suggested that the word *hausa* has come to Hausa language from Songhai where it means 'east, left bank of river, bush (in the West African sense of wild, uncultivated country — cf. Hausa *daji*) and bushman (a term of abuse, savage)'. After exposing some similarities between Songhai and Hausa words Skinner concludes that the Hausas were the borrowers "in such sophisticated fields as administration, finance, and knowledge of the outer world". His approach and results, especially

in the field of housing, have already been ridiculed by H. T. Saad.¹³ The examples presented by Skinner as the evidence of Hausa borrowing from Songhai appeared mostly to be the proofs for the opposite direction of loan. Similarity of words does not need to be equivalent to borrowing, and even if there is a borrowing then the fundamental question arises who is the lender and who is the borrower, which is not always easy to be answered. Skinner's reasoning suggests that he has rather low opinion on Hausa achievements in any other field than trade and farming. The discussing of his view is not a matter of concern to this paper, but the insinuation that the name by which the Hausas call themselves has been borrowed from a Songhai pejorative word is so striking that it cannot be left without a comment.

The Hausas occupy their present location, with minor changes, for at least one thousand years, i.e. many centuries before they could have been subjugated by the Songhay empire.¹⁴ It is hardly conceivable that during the supposed Songhay supremacy, quite short-lasting from historical point of view, they abandoned totally their own name and replaced it with an alien word. Besides, the name *daji* does not match at all for Hausaland which is an example of extensive and effectively utilized farmland. Moreover, this "Songhay word" has been forgotten in Songhay itself. Skinner states: "Songhai today, in apparent ignorance of its past initiative in the matter, call the Hausa by a word borrowed from the Fulani — *Hausanko'en*."

Such a turn of events is highly improbable if not impossible. The Hausas or *Hausawa*, as they call themselves, are given many various names by their neighbours (*Abakwariga*, *Afno*, *Afunu*, *Shonka*, *Kenchi*, *Gambari*, *Agana*, *Morrawa*, *Anobarke*, and so on). Had they ever been in need to borrow a name for themselves, they could choose any without negative undertone.

These and other similar theories are all based only on a resemblance of some words, collected from various languages, to the word *Hausa*. Through such a manipulation of linguistic data it is possible to "prove" almost any supposition.

There is an important and commonly known fact neglected in all of the above mentioned hypotheses. Namely, the word *Hausa* in Hausa language denotes not only Hausaland. It has also other meanings. According to G. P. Bargery, *hausa* means: '1. The Hausa language, 2. Any language, 3. The country where the Hausa language prevails, 4. Meaning'.¹⁵

Significant from our point of view the second and the fourth equivalents of the word *hausa* are also given in some other dictionaries.¹⁶ There is also another meaning of the word, namely: 'clearly, frankly'.¹⁷

In fact, in Hausa speech the term *hausa* is often employed as the generic designation for language. Already Orr mentioned that the word *hausa* denotes language. Languages which are not Hausa, or dialects of it, can also be referred to as *hausa* in conversation. The languages which are not referred to as *hausa* are either tongues (*harsuna*, sing. *harshe*), manner of speech (*baki*), or gibberish (*yare*), the last two of which carry decidedly derogatory connotations. *Yare* (pl. *yarurruka*) serves furthermore as the name denoting any non-Hausa tribe or language.

Now let us change from West Africa to Eastern Europe.

The words *Ślowianin*, *Slován*, *СЛАВЯНИН*, *СЛОВ'ЯНИН*, *Slaven*, *Ślowjan* mean Slavs in Polish, Slovak, Russian, Ukrainian, Croatian and High-Lusatian languages respectively. They denote people who use words or peoples expressing themselves by means of words ('word' *stowo*, *slovo*, *СЛОВО*, *slüviü*; to express = *wystawiać*). This stands in opposition to *Niemcy* (*Nemci*, *НЕМЦЫ*, *НІМЦІ*, *Němcy*, *Němce*) which means etymologically 'dumb' or 'non-speaking people' and which denotes the Germans, the closest neighbours of the Slavs. Of this word (*stowo*), the names of some Slavic nations and states have been created; for instance: *Slovák* 'Slovak', *Slovensko* 'Slovakia', *Slovenija* 'Slovenia', *Jugoslavija* 'Yugoslavia' (where *jugo* means 'southern').¹⁸

The presented Slavic manner of naming themselves as the people who can be understood because of their usage of verbal expressions suggests possibility of the Hausas (*Hausawa*) too referring to themselves as to the people speaking clearly using language (*hausa*) as contrasted with other peoples who do not communicate in (understandable) language.

In this way we have found a peculiar linguistic analogy between the African Hausas (*Hausawa*) and the European Slavs (*Ślowianie*), and between the "gibbering" tribes (*Yarurruka*) and the "dumb" Germanic peoples (*Niemcy*). In the Slavic and Hausa communities, so remote from one another, language appears as a focus of cultural identity.¹⁹

NOTES

¹ For example I. Dankoussou (ed.), *Liste dynastique et généalogique du Gobir*, Niamey 1969; B. Hama, *Histoire du Gobir et de Sokoto*, Paris 1967, pp. 25-37.

² H. R. Palmer, *Sudanese Memoirs*, 3 vols., Lagos 1928 (new impression in one volume: 1967), vol. 2, p. 104; A. B. Mathews, *The Kisra Legend*, "African Studies", IX (1950), No. 3, pp. 144-147; M. Crowder, *Revolt in Bussa*, London 1973, pp. 26-35.

³ For example: E. J. Arnett, *A Hausa Chronicle*, "Journal of the African Society", 9 (1910), No. 34, pp. 162-165; F. Edgar, *Littafi na Tatsuniyoyi na Hausa*, vol. 1, Belfast 1911, pp. 222-225, 229-230; Palmer, *Sudanese...*, vol. 3, pp. 147-153; A. E. V. Walwyn, *History of Daura* in: Palmer, *Sudanese...*, vol. 3, pp. 132-134; R. East (ed.), *Labarun Hausawa da Makwabtansu*, Zaria [c. 1932] (new edition: 1970), vol. 1, pp. 1-3; Abubakar Imam, *Hausa Bakwai*, Zaria 1954; A. Hassan, S. Na'ibi, *A Chronicle of Abuja*, Lagos 1962, pp. 1-3.

⁴ G. Merrick, *Hausa Proverbs*, 1905, p. 91; Palmer, *Sudanese...*, vol. 3, pp. 95-96.

⁵ F. Shaw, *A Tropical Dependency*, 1905, p. 246.

⁶ C. W. Orr, *The Hausa Race* [1], "Journal of the African Society", 7 (1908), No. 27, pp. 278-283.

⁷ C. W. Orr, *The Hausa Race* [2], "Journal of the African Society", 8 (1909), No. 31, pp. 274-278; H. R. Palmer, *The Kano Chronicle*, "Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute", 38 (1908), pp. 58-98.

⁸ A. J. N. Tremearne, *The Ban of the Bori*, 1914, (new edition: London 1968), p. 428.

⁹ P. Krusius, *Die Maguzawa*, "Archiv für Anthropologie" Neue Folge, XIV, 1915, p. 288; see also H. R. Palmer, *The Bornu, Sahara and Sudan*, London

1936 (reprinted: New York 1970), plate XVI.

¹⁰ Palmer, *Sudanese...*, vol. 3, p. 95.

¹¹ R. C. Abraham, *Dictionary of the Hausa Language*, London 1962 (first edition: 1946), p. iv.

¹² N. Skinner, *The Origin of the Name 'Hausa'*, "Africa", XXXVIII (1968), No. 3, pp. 253-257.

¹³ H. T. Saad, *Between Myth and Reality: The Aesthetics of Traditional Architecture in Hausaland*, Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1981, pp. 85-91.

¹⁴ H. J. Fisher, argues that there is no positive proof for this conquest: *Leo Africanus and the Songhay Conquest of Hausaland*, "The International Journal of African Historical Studies", XI (1978), No. 1, pp. 86-112.

¹⁵ G. P. Bargery, *A Hausa-English Dictionary and English-Hausa Vocabulary*, London 1934, p. 459.

¹⁶ Abraham, *Dictionary...*, 1962, p. 383; N. Skinner, *Hausa-English Pocket Dictionary. Kamus na Hausa da Turanci*, revised edition, Zaria 1968 (first published: 1959), p. 37; Д. Ольдерогге (ed.), *Хауса-Русский Словарь. Kamus Na Hausa-Rashanci*, Москва 1963, p. 162.

¹⁷ P. Newman, R. M. Newman, *Modern Hausa-English Dictionary*, Ibadan 1985 (first published: 1977), p. 52; I. Herms, *Wörterbuch Hausa-Deutsch*, Leipzig 1987, p. 75.

¹⁸ L. Niederle, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. II, Praha 1906, pp. 480-482.

¹⁹ Similar analogies can also be found in other languages, cf. ancient Greek Παφλαγονες or Albanian *Shqipëtar* (J. Otrębski, *Ślowianie*, Poznań 1947, pp. 37-38).