GENDER MARKING IN ZAZZAGANCI

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY

BY

ABDULLAHI AHMED KUNDILA

MA/FASS/13642/86-87

A thesis submitted to the Ahmadu Bello University Zaria – Nigeria in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Language

May, 1998

DECLARATION

I hereby affirm in my honour that this study is my original work. All materials that are used in the study have been duly acknowledged. Although the study was undertaken the guidance of a supervisor, it must be said that all short comings in the study are traceable to the writer.

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis has been read and approved as having met the minimum standard of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria – Nigeria.

Signature: -_____

(Main Supervisor)

Date:-_____

Signature: -_____

(Second Supervisor)

Date:-_____

Signature: -_____

(External Examiner)

Date:-_____

Signature:-_____

HEAD OF DEPARTMENT

Date:-_____

Signature:-_____

DEAN, POST GRADUATE SCHOOL

Date:-_____

DEDICATION

This study is warmly dedicated to Professor J.S Aliyu and Dr. Tijjani Isma'il for their gracious concern for my career growth and personal development. I became aware of Dr. Tijjani Isma'il through the very positive comments passed on him by Prof. J.S Aliyu who supported me academically and sometimes financially throughout my undergraduate studies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My very profound gratitude and deep appreciation are heartily extended to my major supervisor, Professor Aliyu Mohammad whose critical comments proved most useful and motivating. I wish to thank him very much also for giving me the opportunity while he was the Head of English Department to be the first B.Ed (Language Arts) graduate to pursue an M.A. (Language) programme in the University. I remain most grateful. I wish also to extend my gratitude to my second supervisor Mal. Bello Alhassan for the generous assistance he rendered to me towards the successful completion of this study.

I am also very appreciative of the assistance rendered to me in various ways and degree by the following: Dr. Sani Aliyu Abba, Dr. Tanimu Abubakar, Dr. G.Y. Sadiq, Dr. Lawal Bello Dogarawa, Hajia Aishatu Usman, Alhaji Ibrahim Ahmed Gundutse, Alhaji Saidu Bako Gumel, Alhaji Haruna Muhammad Shanono, Mal. Musa M. Dogara, Mal. Ibrahim M. Dogara, Mal. Idris Sambo, Assoc. Prof. C.Y. Garba, Alhaji M.B. Umar, Moh. I. Balarabe, Bashir Dalhatu, Mal. Haruna Bamalli, Kabir Sani Tambaya (J.J.), M.G.J. Bamalli, Bulama Ibrahim (Kanuri informant), Gagare Yunana, Isa Ibrahim Rafee (Gbagyi informants), Usman Baba Gabi, Danjuma Akanya, Mohammad. Nda Agbanya (all Nupe informants), Mansur Lawal and Mohammad Bello Abbas. Professor Munzali Jibril was particularly kind at the initial stage of the study. I also value the very rich discussion I held with Mal. R.M. Zarruk in my search for a viable topic.

Briska Labaran, Fatima Sulaiman Abdullahi, Halima Halliru Abubakar, Dr. Tunde Lakoju, Mr. and Mrs Bolatito Akanbi, Alhaji Salahudeen Yusuf, Khairat Yusuf, Abdullahi Idris Yunusa, Suraj Zubairu and Mr. Joseph (Departmental Secretary) deserve a special mention for their concern. I am grateful to Rev. Sylvester Ugbe for the computer work and to Mr. G.S. Adaji for the binding. My sincere thanks and appreciation are extended to Muktar Aminu and Alh. Ibrahim Auwal for extra computer work to correct all earlier errors/mistakes.

ABSTRACT

The objective of the study was to survey and describe the pattern of gender marking in Zazzaganci. The study also sought to discover the difference(s) (if any) between the pattern of gender marking in the speech of the modern educated and the non-modern educated. The study used judgmental sampling technique and collected data through the recorded interview technique, test-frame (questionnaire), photo-identification technique and unsystematic observation. A total of eight hundred and thirty three respondents were used.

The result of the shows that the pattern of the application of the stabilizer ne/ce in Zazzaganci tilts significantly towards the standard Hausa usage. The pattern of gender marking in Zazzaganci as it relates to other gender features (wanda/wadda, wani/wata, ta/naiya/ta etc) are surprisingly much near standard however. No significant difference was observed in the speeches of the modern educated and the non-modern educated in relation to the variable used in the study. The study concludes that Zazzaganci does not have a unique philosophy of gender different from that found in other Hausa dialects. Zazzaganci simply differs from other Hausa varieties in terms of its preponderant application of the masculine stabilizer in most context irrespective of the gender of the nouns/nominal concerned. Feminine gender is actually recognized in the dialect.

TITLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page		i.
Declaration		ii.
Approval Page		iii.
Dedication		iv.
Acknowledgments		v.
Abstract		vi.
Table of Contents		vii.
List of Tables		ix.
List of Appendices		x.
Chapter One (Introduction)		**Page**
1.1	Hausa Dialects	1
1.1.1	Zazzaganci	2
1.1.2	Urban Morphology of Zariya	2
1.2	Statement of the Problem	3
1.3	Research Objectives	5
1.4	Research Hypothesis	6
1.5	Scope	6
1.6	Significance	7
1.7	Definition of Terms	7
Chapter Two (Review of Literature)		
2.1	Definition and Concept of Gender	11
2.1.1	The Hausa Gender System	14

2.1.2 Classification of Nouns in Hausa Gender System 16

2.1.3 Arbitrary Selection of Gender 18

2.1.4 Gender in Hausa Standard Versus Dialects 20

2.2 Concord between the Stabilizer and Nominals 22

2.3 Equational Function of Ne/Ce 22

2.4 A Theoretical Consideration of Gender 28

2.5 Theoretical Framework 32

Chapter Three (Research Methodology)

3.1 Introduction 36

3.2 Sampling/Population Sample 36

3.3 Contact with Informants 38

3.3.1 Informants 38

3.4 Data Collection Methods 39

3.5 Research Instruments 40

3.5.1 Measurement Device (Test Frame) 40

3.5.2 Questionnaire 42

3.5.3 Recorded Interview 42

3.5.4 Complementary Technique 43

3.6 Data Collection (Field trips) 45

3.6.1 Phase One 45

3.6.2 Phase Two 46

3.6.3 Phase Three 48

3.7 The Data (Sample) 48

3.8 Transcription

Chapter Four (Data Presentation and Analysis)

4.1 Method of Analysis 53

4.1.1 Identification of Linguistic Variables 53

4.1.2 Method of Frequency Count 53

4.1.3 Individual versus Group Analysis 54

4.2 Brief Introductory Description Statement 56

4.3 Data Presentation 58

4.3.1 Ne/Ce in Identification or
Nominal Construction (Written Response Data) 58

4.3.2. Data on Ne/Ce in Identificational Construction:
Photo-Identification Technique 62

4.3.3. Data and Analysis on Responses to 18 Fem. Nom. 64

4.3.4 Data on Ne/Ce on Nominal Construction from
Recorded Interview 69

4.3.5 Data from Recorded Interview
(Non-Modern Educated Respondents) 71

4.4.1 Syntagmatic Relationship between the Stabilizer
and Nominals Depicting Man-Made Objects or Permutations 73

4.4.2 Data on Ne/Ce in Correspondence to Nominals
Depicting Man-Made Objects/Permutation (Recorded Interview) 76

4.5 Data on Hyper-Correction 81

4.5.1 The Data 81

4.6 Data Analysis 86

4.6.1 Application of Gender in Zazzaganci 86

4.6.2 Gender in Zazzaganci 86

4.6.3 Application of Other Gender Markets 102

4.6.4 Why the Difference? 105

4.7 Social Variation 110

4.8 Hypothesis Testing 111

4.8.1 Hypothesis One 111

4.8.2 Further Discussion 112

4.8.3 Hypothesis Two 113

Chapter Five (Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation)

5.1 Introduction 116

5.2 Summary of Findings 117

5.2.1 Gender Pattern 117

5.2.2 Social Variation 118

5.3 Conclusion 120

5.4 Direction for Further Research 121

Bibliography **125**

Appendix Ia Data on Measurement Instrument (Modern Educated) 130

Appendix Ib Data on Measurement Device (Non-Modern Educated) 133

Appendix IIa Area and Grand F1 for Measurement Device
(Modern Educated) 137

Appendix IIb Area and Grand F1 for Measurement Device
(Non-Modern Educated) 138

Appendix IIIa Breakdown os Standard Form-usage (SE)
Into Masc. and Fem. From the Respondents 139

Appendix IIIb Breakdown of Standard Form Usage (SF) Into Masc.
and Fem. From them Responses of Non-Modern
(Educated Respondent)

Appendix Iva Ne/Ce in Equational Construction:
Data from Recorded Interview (Modern Educated) 143

Appendix IVb Ne/Ce in Equational Construction:
Data from Recorded Interview (Non-Modern Educated) 149

Appendix Va Co-Occurrence of Ne/Ce with Man-Made
Objects/Permutations (Modern Educated Respondents) 152

Appendix Vb Co-Occurrence of Ne/Ce with Man-Made
Objects/Permutations (Non-Modern Educated) 153

Appendix VI Data from Photo-Identification Technique
(F1 for various Nominals) 154

Appendix VII Categorization by Sex of Respondents Interviewed. 160

Appendix VIII Questionnaire (Test Frame in Hausa

Using Roman alphabets) 161

Appendix IX Questionnaire (Test Frame in Hausa)

Using Arabic alphabets 165

Appendix XI Questionnaire Served on Teachers

of Hausa Language in Secondary Schools 166

LIST OF TABLES

Table I	58
Table II	60
Table III	62
Table IV	66
Table IVb	67
Table Va	70
Table Vb	71
Table Vc	72
Table VI	74
Table VIb	75
Table VII	78

List of Appendices

Appendix Ia Data on Measurement Instrument (Modern Educated) 130

Appendix Ib Data on Measurement Device (Non-Modern Educated) 133

Appendix IIa Area and Grand F1 for Measurement Device
(Modern Educated) 137

Appendix IIb Area and Grand F1 for Measurement Device
(Non-Modern Educated) 138

Appendix IIIa Breakdown of Standard Form- usage (SE)
into Masc. And Fem. From the Respondents 139

Appendix IIIb Breakdown of Standard Form usage (SF) into Masc.
and Fem. From the Responses of Non-Modern
(Educated Respondents) 141

Appendix Iva Ne/Ce in Equational Construction:
Data from Recorded Interview (Modern Educated) 143

Appendix IVb Ne/Ce in Equational Construction:
Data from Recorded Interview (Non-Modern Educated) 149

Appendix Va Co-Occurrence of Ne/Ce with Man-Made
Objects/Permutations (Modern Educated Respondents) 152

Appendix Vb Co-Occurrence of Ne/Ce with Man-Made
Objects/Permutations (Non-Modern Educated) 153

Appendix VI Data from Photo-Identification Technique
(FI for various Nominals) 154

Appendix VII Categorization by Sex of Respondents Interviewed. 160

Appendix VIII Questionnaire (Test Frame in Hausa

using Roman alphabets) 161

Appendix IX Questionnaire (Test Frame in Hausa)

using Arabic alphabets 163

Appendix X Recording Sheet for Photo-Identification 165

Appendix XI Questionnaire Served on Teachers

of Hausa Language in Secondary Schools 166

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Hausa Dialects

The demographic strength and importance of Hausa and its widespread use as a lingua franca in some African countries, and also as a language of international broadcast are so over-whelming that some people may never realize that "despite the prominence of Hausa in all these respects, it is but one language in the Chadic language family which comprises over 100 languages spoken in Northern Nigeria, Northern Cameroun and Central Chad." (Shuh, 1983:1). Hausa is also spoken in Niger Republic.

Hausa dialects are said to be regional dialects because they revolve around geographical locations of a number of cities prominent among which are Kano, Zariya, Sakkwato, Daura, Zinder, Gumel, and Katsina.

An indication of the regional nature of Hausa dialects is evident in the broad categorization of the dialects into Eastern and Western Hausa dialects accordingly. Garba (1985) observes that the division into East and West is colonial, in order to create linguistically dependent satellites around the two politically recognized centres of Hausa society – a religious locus, Sokoto (Hausa, Sokoto (sic), for Western Hausa and commercial locus, Kano for Eastern Hausa. It was convenient to refer to the Hausa spoken in the Niger Republic as Northern Hausa. The Eastern dialect group comprises Kananci, Bausanchi, Dauranci, Guddiranci and Zazzaganci. The Western dialect group is on the other hand made up of Sakkwatanci, Arewanci, Katsinanci, Gobiranci and Kurhwyanci.

1.1.1 Zazzaganci is the dialect spoken by Zagezagi in the Zazzau Emirate with Zariya ($11^0$3N,$7^0$42$^{1/}$), located on plateau at a height of about twenty-two thousand feet (22,000) above sea level in the centre of Northern Nigeria and more than 400 miles (643. 6km) away from the seat, P. (Hore, 1970). Zariya is situated on plains that are "part of the vast, gentle undulating plains scenery" which is surmounted by hill features and which existends almost unbroken from Sokoto to Lake Chad and beyond…" (Hore, op. cit).

Zariya, and its traditionally associated areas, Soba, Dutsen Wai, Makarfi, Anchau, Paki, Ikara, Giwa, Igabi and Turunku form the most southern boundary of Hausaland.

1.1.2 **Urban Morphology of Zaria**

The urban area of Zariya itself is made up of live distinct, loosely coordinated units namely: Ganuwa (the old, walled city), Tudun Wada, Sabon Gari (the colonial township), the University area and Samaru village, and Wusasa, the base of the Christian missionaries. The morphology of the urbanized area of Zariya can be neatly categorized into terms of pre-colonial (traditional), colonial (1903 – 1960) and post colonial (Nigerian), phases (Urtquhart, 1970). The city, which is the old walled part of Zariya has over the years resisted colonial and modern influences and has continued to be more or less, pre-colonial, traditional and conservative.

Tudun Wada, like Zariya city, is occupied largely by Hausa-Fulani although it has lay-out and institutional complexes. Sabon Gari or Zariya township is, as its name signifies, a recent settlement. The township was founded in the first decade of the 20^{th} century (Urquhart, op.cit) Situated about 3.5 kilonetres north of the city, the township, is centre of commercial life. It is clearly colonial. The Ahmadu Bello University area is partly colonial but essentially post-colonial. The university site is a faithful reflection of the conservative idea of the separation of teaching and research institution from local towns and cities, although, a new settlement called Samaru has developed (Urquhart, ibid).

1.2 **Statement of the Problem**

This study was borne out of the observation that the study of Hausa dialects has continued to be based on traditional dialectology. Most studies in Hausa dialects tend to give broad outlines of the dialects. The social dimension is yet to be included in the studies of Hausa dialects. In fact even the present geographical description of the dialects lacks comprehensiveness since the rural aspect of variation in Hausa dialects is not highlighted by any of the studies. The present Hausa dialectology generally ignores variation in its subtlety and is largely criticized on the ground of whether the form of speech it describes is truly representative of the speech habits of the speakers of any particular dialect area. The questions that this study raises are: is the pattern of gender marking in Zazzaganci $(ZZ)^2$ homogeneous?; Is there no social variation in the pattern of gender marking among the speakers of the dialects?; Do all speakers of Zazzaganci find it difficult to apply the stabilizer *Ne/Ce* correctly?; Is it true also as Garba (1985) claims that Zazzaganci has a unique philosophy of gender? This study therefore raises also the problem of generalization that linguists have made

about the dialect. These generalizations are a consequence of traditional dialectology which does not give room for social variation.

A typical example of these generalizations is Garba's which says: "Zazzaganci has a dialectally unique philosophy of gender WHERE ALL PHYSICAL OBJECTS THAT ARE NATURAL ARTE MASCULINE IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, WHILE ALL MAN-MADE OBJECTS OR PERMUTATIONS ARE FEMININE" (Garba, 1985). Garba (ibid) gives only one example to buttress this lofty statement. The example is:

1. Jirgi ta iso – train has arrived

   In this example, Jirgi (train) which is masculine (masc) is in concord with the feminine (fem) genitival copula ta. The correct concord is:

1. Jirgi ya iso: The concord is now correct as Jirgi is represented in its true form as a masculine nominal in relation to the masculine pronoun ya.

My intuition as a ZZ speaker immediately revolted against Garba's example. My doubt about the validity of Garba's example was confirmed when some ZZ speakers studying in Advanced Teacher's College (now FCE) Kano rejected Garba's example, Jirgi ta iso upon being tested. Perhaps therefore, Garba's statement is either not valid or that there are some ZZ speakers who utter such an utterance in which case myself and the other ZZ speakers who rejected the utterance are not part of those who say Jirgi ta iso. This kind of argument or problem indicates the possibility of variation with regard to the application of the gender and its exponents in ZZ.

Furthermore, it indicates the need to include the social dimension in the description of ZZ. Muhammad (no date) made a similar observation when he remarked that "We may come across certain individuals whose use of the gender may sound normal to us". Muhammad (not dated) was writing with reference to ZZ speakers and the main issue now is who are these individuals whose use of gender may sound normal to us? Has their use of the gender normally or abnormally, any social correlation?

1.3 **Research Objectives**

The objectives of this study are:

1. To discover through a survey to describe therein the pattern of gender marking in Zazzaganci;

2. To state the philosophy of gender marking in Zazzaganci;
3. To find out whether there are any speakers of the dialect whose pattern of gender marking differs from the "norm" and to state thereof whether there is any social correlation to the differential pattern of gender marking.
4. To find out whether hyper-correction is observable in the speech of any speakers of the dialect.

1.4 Research Hypothesis

1. There is an observable difference in the pattern of gender marking in the speech of the modern and non-modern educated speakers of the dialect.

2. There is an observable measure of hyper-correction in the speech of the modern educated speakers of the dialect.

3. To verify Garba's (1985) hypothesis to the effect that: "Zazzaganci has a dialectally unique philosophy of gender "WHERE ALL PHYSICAL OBJECTS THAT ARE NATURAL ARE MASCULINE IN THE FIRST INSTANCE WHILE ALL MAN-MADE OBNJECTS OR PERMUATATIONS ARE FAMININE".

1.5 Scope

The main linguistic variable used in this research is the stabilizer ne/ce although broadly speaking, other gender particles are our concern also. The main linguistic variable ne/ce will be examined in nominative and/or identification construction only.

The main social variable employed in this research is that of modern education. It should be noted that modern education as a variable entails that only the modern educated are to be sampled, as their performance will be judged in relation in relation to an external criterion (i.e correct usage). Only the variable of modern education is used because it is felt that the modern educated are those who belong to the so-called elite class and are therefore those who are most likely to try to apply the gender correctly for some reasons.

1.6 Significance

The research is simply descriptive. It is of great importance however because it is the first of its kind in the investigation of ZZ or in fact, any Hausa dialect. In this regard it would open up a new chapter in the discussion of gender

in ZZ. The social dimension would have been added to the description of ZZ as a major Hausa dialect. As noted earlier in1.2, the social dimension has long been neglected in the study of Hausa dialect. The study will hopefully shed more on the pattern of gender marking in Zazzaganci.

1.7 **Definition of Terms**

1. Daidaitacciyar Hausa: Hausa term for 'standard Hausa variety', usually associated with Kananci.

2. Dialect: Typically defined as "an habitual variety of a language set off from other such varieties by a complex of features of pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary (Bynon, 1977) Dialects may be regional or social.

   Regional dialects, such as the Hausa dialects are based on regional differences in speech while social dialects are based on social indices such as socio-economic and political status, age, sex, education and so on.

3. Dialect Mixture: Refers as elsewhere, to use by dialect speakers of the features of other dialects.

4. Gender: A classification of nouns for pronominal reference of concord.

5. Genitive Copula and Linker: Exponents of gender in Hausa. Na/ta. na is masc. while ta is fem. and usually na becomes the linker –n while ta becomes - r.

6. Hausar Birni Hausa term for 'urban dialect'.

7. Hausar Karkara Hausa term for 'rural dialect'.

8. Hyper correction: Refers to a process whereby speakers monitor their speech habits to conform to the dialects of some other variety for one reason or the other but usually for prestige. In so doing, such speakers erroneously extend the correction to words or constructions where it is not applicable.

9. Jinsi: Hausa term for "gender"

10. Kananci: the Hausa spoken in Kano.

11. Kanawa: The people of Kano.

12. Katsinanci: The variety spoken in the Katsina region.

13. Katsinawa: The people of Katsina.

14. Linguistic area: Denotes a group of geographically contiguous language characterized features which are the result of contact. (Hudson, 1980).

15. Linguistic community: often used with the same meaning as "speech community" but here avoided.

16. Masu Kudi/Attajirai: The rich/wealthy people.

17. Masu gari/masu sarauta: Those who hold traditional or modern political authority.

18. Modern education is used here to mean "Western education".

19. "Norm" – this refers to standard Zazzaganci.

20. Over-correction: See hypercorrection.

21. Relative pronouns: Wanda (masc. sing), wadda (fem. sing) wadanda (pl).

22. Sakkwatanci: The Hausa variety spoken in Sakkwato area.

23. Speech community: No definition is attempted here, but for the purpose of this study, the speech community of the Zagezagi will be taken to include all native speakers of ZZ irrespective of where they live as long as it is not permanent migration.

23. Speech monitoring: the deliberate efforts by individuals to speak in a particular way (Labov, 1972).

24. Stabilizer: Gender exponent in Hausa: ne/ce (Masc.) Ce (fem.)

25. Standard language variety. "A codified form of a language accepted by and serving as a model to a larger speech community" (Bright 1964) Usually, the variety spoken by the elite and used in formal circles for example, schools, courts governmental affairs etc.

26. Sub-standard variety. It is a verity seen as belonging to a smaller speech community and not accepted therefore as a model by speakers of the other dialects.

27. Vernacular: Casual speech

28. Zagezagi: Plural, for the indigenes of Zazzau area.

29. Zariya: Usually means Zariya city, Tudun Wada, Sabon-Gari, Wusasa and Samaru put together. Sometimes refers to person – Ahmadu Bello Zaria.

30. Zazzau: Usually means the Zariya region: Zariya as a regional headquarters and other smaller districts such as: Sabo, Giwa, Igabi, and so on.

31. Zazzaganci: The Hausa dialect spoken in the Zariya region.

32. Zazzagawa: The Zariya people. A variant of Zagezagi.

1. The spelling Zariya, is preferred and used here for the same reason that Abubakar (1983) cited. The modern spelling, Zaria, is a negative influence of English.
2. The abbreviation will be used to indicate Zazzaganci.

End Notes

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Definition and concept of Gender

Gleason (1969:22) defines gender as a set syntactic sub-classes of nouns primarily controlling concord. Lyons (1968:284) on the other hand sees gender as a grammatical category related to the operation of nouns for pronominal reference or concord. The two definitions are clearly complementary. "Gender" which generally means 'class' or 'kind' (from Latin genus), is largely a linguistic categorization of nouns into groups for syntactic purpose. In traditional grammar, gender was closely related to sex. The gender of nouns was in this regard identified as masculine (male), feminine (female) or neuter (general). In the English language, gender is largely restricted to the referential function of pronouns (he, she, and it). But, "… in (some) languages with a well-developed concord system, adjectives are usually inflected for gender, that is, no adjective has an inherent gender but may be inflected to produce a form for each gender" (Gleason, ibid p. 229).

The Hausa language is one of those languages which could be said to have a well developed concord system. Indeed adjectives are inflected for gender.

Examples:

1. Kazanta[1] (dirt)

1a. Kazami (dirty boy/man) – Kazamin mutun ne: He is a dirty man (masc.sing.noun)[2].

1b. Kazamiya (dirty girl/woman): Kazamiyar mace ce: She is a dirty woman. (Fem. sing. noun.)[3]

2a. Fari (White) Farin keken can: that white bicycle masc sing. noun.

2b. Fara (white) Farar motar can: That white car Fem. sing. noun.

2. Jaraba – (Flirtation)

3a. Jarababbe: (Flirtatious/Sexy): Guntun jarababben malamin makaran tar can That cursed flirtatious/sexy school teacher masc. sing. noun

3b. Jarababba: Guntuwar Jarabbabar malamar can:

That cursed flirtatious school teacher.

(fem. sing. noun).

4. Tabuwa – madness

1a. Tababbe (mad) Tababben mutumin can: That mad man.

(Masc.sing.noun)

1b. Tababba/tababbiya (mad) Tababbiyar mutuniyar can: that mad woman (Fem. sing. noun).

2. Kangara (stubborness)

2a. Kangararre (hardened/sturbborn/naughty): Kangararren yaron can dan limamin gari ne: that stubborn boy is son of the town's Imam.

(Masc. sing. noun)

2c. Kangararra: Kangararriyar yarinyar can 'yar Limamin gari ce: that stubborn girl is a daughter of the town's Imam . (fem. sing. noun)

3. kyau-beauty

3a. kyakkyawa beautiful (neuter).

4. hauka – madness

4a. mahaukaciya – a mad woman/girl

4b. mahaukaci – a mad man/boy.

5a. kato (big) – attracts masculine singular nouns

5b. katuwa (big) - " feminine " "

6a. baki (black) " masculine " "

6b. baka (black) " feminine " "

7a. kore (green) " masculine " "

7b. koriya (green) " feminine " "

8a. gajere (short) " masculine " "

8b. gajere (short) “ feminine “ “

9a. dogo (tall) “ masculine “ “

9b. doguwa (tall) “ feminine “ “

Many African languages are said to have a highly developed gender controlling concord (Gleason, op. cit) In Swahili, “Gender is relevant not only for the selection of the correct singular or plural form of any given noun but also for the determination of the verb, adjectives modifiers in construction with it (Lyons, ibid, p.285).

2.1.1 The Hausa Gender System

Gender in Hausa has been considered as basically a two tier system (see Abraham (1974) and Parsons (1960). According to Abraham (1974:29), “All plurals in Hausa are grammatically masculine even if referring to logical feminine” Gender in Hausa language comprises a two term system basically: masculine-singular, and feminine singular (Newman, 1967:245). In the Hausa language, the concept of gender and number could be said “to constitute a single system” (Parsons, 1960:121). In fact, “at the purely syntactic level… there is no significant difference between gender and number in Hausa” (Parsons, op. cit).

Gender of nominals is indicated by a variety of linguistic signals in the Hausa language. These markers could be identified as follows:

i. The stabilizers ne and ce:

Aliyu ne: It is Aliyu: Masculine (Aliyu being the name of a male)

Aishatu ce: It is Aishatu (Feminine (Aishatu being the name of a female).

Gida ne: It is a house: Masculine-singular

Kofa ce: It is a door: feminine-singular

Gidaje ne: They are houses: Masculine-plural

Kofofi ne: They are doors: Masculine-plural

ii. The linkers -r and -n

kofar Doka: Doka gate (in Zariya: -r is used here because Kofa is feminine Gidan Dapta Aliyu na zamani ne: Dr. Aliyu’s house is modern:

-n is used here because gida is masculine.

There is therefore a concord relationship between the linkers and the nominals.

The linkers indicate gender.

iii. Genitive copula na and ta

na is masc. while ta is fem.

matata ce: She is my wife: ta is used here as mata (wife) is feminine

gidana ne: It is my house: na is used as gida (house) is masc.

iv. The pronouns, wani, wata, shi, ita.

Wani and shi collocate with masc. nominal wata and ita agreem with fem. nominal.

Examples:

Wani gida ne kyakkyawa: It is a certain beautiful house.

Wata tsaleliyar yarinya ce na gani: It is a certain beautiful girl that I saw.

Wata is used as Yarinya (girl) is fem.

Shi ne wanda kake nema: He is the one you have been searching for: Shi and wanda are used as the antecedent is masc. (shi).

Aisha?

Ita ce wadda kake son gani: Yes. She is the one that you want to see: Ita and wadda are used as the antecedent is fem. (Aisha).

v. The relatives wanda and wadda (See examples above).

vi. The partitives. dan and yar (Jinju, 1980:15)

Example:

dan sanda: Policeman

yar sanda: Policemen

It should be noted that na and ta are actually the full representation of -n and –r. The use of linkers -n and –r seems to indicate a kind of contraction while na and ta indicate to contraction. Example from (Jinju, op. cit).

dokin Aliyu: Aliyu's horse – doki na Aliyu

rigar Aliyu: Aliyu's gown – riga ta Aliyu

2.1.2 Classification of Nouns in Hausa Gender system

It seem appropriate to say that nouns in Hausa language are classified as masculine of feminine according to four main criteria namely: type of vowel ending, natural sex, arbitrary consideration and grammatical consideration.

In the Hausa language, most feminine nominals end in the -/a/ vowel while other nouns ending in any other vowel or consonant are usually masculine (Zaria, 1981). There are however a few feminine nominals that do not end in the /a/ vowel and conversely, a few nouns which have the /a/ vowel at the end, but are masculine nominals.

Examples: of words ending with -/a/ vowel that are femine:

baturiya: white woman

barauniya: thief-female

tsunsuwa: bird-female

mota: motor-vehicle

kawa: friend-female

According to Zaria (ibid) the suffixes for masc. nouns are as follows:

labule: window/door blind (curtain)

aboki: friend

bako: stranger

hannu: hand

fai-fai: wooven tray

This phonetic analogy is a matter of linguistic convenience.

In the Hausa language, some nominals are classified as masculine or feminine on the basis of the biological sex of the nouns. Examples.

Bunsuru ne: It is a billy goat

Akuya ne: It is a nanny goat

Sa ne: It is a bull

Saniya/Sanuwa ce: It is a cow

Namiji ne: It is a male

Mece ce: It is a female

Kare ne: It is a dog (male)

Karya ce: It is a cat (female)

Mage ce: It is a cat (female)

Muzuru ne: It is a tom cat

But this criterion cannot be taken too far because such naturalness is very limited. There is evidence that biological considerations is not the main yardstick that is used in the identification of the gender of nouns in most languages of the world (See Lyons, 1968). People with a poor knowledge of the biological sex of animals may not be able to identify the gender of the nouns referring to such animals. In Hausa for example, vulture, that is Ungulu, is masc. Therefore all vultures are masc. in Hausa. Again all elephants are seen as females in Hausa conception. But biologically there are male as well as female elephants. They do mate and reproduce.

2.1.3 Arbitrary Selection of Gender

It is not always that nouns which end in the /a/ vowel are classified as feminine. There are some nouns depicting an array of animate objects, which end in the /a/ vowel, but are however, masculine:

Examples: Taken from (Abraham, 1974)

adada: - rectangular house with thatched roof

baka: - bow

baya: - back (human)

dawa: - bush

duma: - gourd

fada: - quarrel

fama: - struggle

fata: - hoping

kuda: - fly

gida: - house

ruwa: - water

wata: - the moon

The selection of gender in these nouns is not based on any linguistic, semantic or natural criterion. The selection is arbitrary. Other examples of such kind of nouns are count words and names of days which look masculine in view of their phonetic ending, but are actually feminine. The nouns referring to days (Asabar, Litini etc), year (bara, bana, badi), geographical directions (gabas, kudu etc) wards, towns, and countries, are all arbitrarily classified as feminine (Jinju, 1980:17) It would be noted here that although the count words ashirin, arba'in and the name of day, asabar end in the /i/ vowel and the consonant /r/, accordingly, they are feminine not masculine. This is therefore contrary to our earlier statement that nominals ending in any other vowel than /a/, or in any consonant are masculine not feminine.

There are instances of grammatical consideration in the classification of the gender of nominals in Hausa. For instance, all plurals in Hausa are said to be masculine, (Abraham, 1974:29). Some of the plurals are logically feminine nouns but the syntactic system of the Hausa language dictates that these plurals should be in concord with the masculine gender. In actual fact, some of the plural nouns lose their denotation of sex which they otherwise retain at the singular level. For instance, while we can identify kaza (hen) as fem. and zakara (cockerel) as masc. sing, the plural kaji contains both hens and cockerels. It is therefore difficult to decide the sex semantically speaking. This explains perhaps why in such cases, the

masc. is used. But there are some nominals which do not lose gender orientation carried over from the sing.

Examples:

mace: female (fem. sing)

mata: females/women (pl.[4])

This illustration suffices to show that gender classification is sometimes grammatical issue in the Hausa language. It is worthy to note the use of names of places in nominative or locative construction. In one instance, Kano (the name of a town) could collocate with ne, while in another, it may be in concord with ce depending upon the nature of the grammatical construction in which Kano is used. (See Parsons, 1963:171).

2.1.4 Gender in Hausa: Standard Versus Dialects

The core system of gender in Hausa as described in 2.1.1 applies to SH.[5] Kananci seems closest of SH however, and as far as gender is concerned, Kananci and SH share the same features.

SH gender features such as ne/ce, the linkers -n (masc.) and -r (fem), relatives wadda/wacce, wanda (masc.) wata (fem.) shi (masc), equally apply to Kananci. Furthermore, the SH gender features masc. sing, ne, fem. sing. (ta) and pl(ne) are observed in Kananci.

Other Hausa dialects such as Dauranci, Katsinanci, Sakkwatanci, Arewanci, Gumalanci, all observe the two term SH gender systems. There are, however, some differences at suffix level. For instance, the linker -r in SH corresponds to -t in Sakkwatanci and Kurhwayanci, while -r corresponds to -1 in Dauranci, and –y in Kastinanci. The masc. linker n is applicable to all dialects.

Examples: Taken from (Zaria, 1980)

Standard Hausa and KN	Sakkawatanci	Dauranci	Katsinanci
riga –r	riga-t	riga-1	riga -y
yarinya –r	yarinya –t	yarinya -1	yarinya –y

Furthermore, the stabilizers ne/ce in SH and Kananci correspond to na/ta in Sakkwatanci.

Standard Hausa/Kananci	Sakkwatanci
motata ce	motata ta
gidana ne	gidana na

In Sakkwatanci, there is the need to introduce a linker in some cases in nominative construction, whereas in SH there is no such need.

Standard Hausa/Kananci	Sakkawatanci
Aliyu ne	Aliyu ne
Amina ce	Amina ta

The last two examples perfectly demonstrate the correspondences between ne/ce in SH/Kananci, on the one hand and Sakkawatanci on the other.

2.2 Concord Between the Stabilizer and Nominals

The single-nominal or nominal-group controls the concord as a rule in any construction with it (Parsons, 1963:166)

Examples:

(a) Single Nominal:

(24) Aliyu ne: It is Aliyu = masc. (Aliyu)

(25) Littafi ne: It is a book = masc. single (littafi)

26. Kandala ce: It is Kandala = fem. sing (Kandala)

27. Zariya ce: It is Zariya = fem. sing (Zariya)

28. Akwatuna ne: They are boxes: pl.

(B) Nominal Group:

29. Yar Kallamu ce: It is Kallamu's daughter = fem. sing (Ya)

30. Rigar ruwa ce: It is raincoat = fem. sing (riga)

31. Wata tsohuwar farkata ce: It is an old mistress of mine = femm. sing (farka)

2.3 Equational Function of NE/CE

Schachter (1966) identifies two functions of the stabilizer as the equational function and the emphatic one. The equation function of the stabilizer ne/ce is illustrated in the following examples:

35. Aliyu malami ne: Aliyu is a teacher

36. Halima amarya ce: Halima is a bride.

Here, (35) and (36) are utterances that consist of a subject nominal followed by a predicate nominal in concord with ne and ce accordingly. These examples are evidently simple and are not helpful in the exercise of determining which of the nominal, subject or predicate selects the stabilizer since the two nominals in each of the sentences are of the same kind. In other words, sentence (35) contains two nominals, subject and predicate both of which are masc. sentence (36) on the hand contains fem. nominals. Of interest therefore should be constructions with gender differing subject and predicate nominals. In other words, if there is a subject nominal and a predicate nominal which have different gender in an equational construction, which of the nominal would govern the selection of the stabilizer? This problem first occurred to me on 27th March, 1988 in a general non linguistic discussion with my mother- in-law who speaks katsinanci. She made the following utterance:

(37) Ai kin san Kano gidanshi ce

(As you know Kano is his home)

The two nominals in this utterance are Kano (name of a town) as subject nominal and gidan (home) (the predicate nominal). In this instance, Kano (fem.) seems to have governed the choice of the stabilizer. I thought that the choice of the stabilizer should have been governed by the predicate nominal gida-n. But being a speaker of a dialect (Zazzaganci) which has gender confusion, I accepted the utterance and deemed it grammatically correct and acceptable.

On another visit to Katsina, I heard another Katsina man who spoke Katsinanci so eloquently say:

(38) Mota dace ne: (A car is luck)

This utterance contains two nominals: One is subject, the other, predicate. The predicate nominal could actually be called verbal noun in this case. The utterance is an equational construction. Unlike (7), the choice of the stabilizer was governed by the verbal nominal. Yet again, I heard and recorded a speaker of Kananci (which is by and large seen as forming, the bulk of the so-called daidaitacciy-ar Hausa (Standard variety) utter the following:

(39) Waka wajibi ce: (A song is obligatory)

Again as in (37) but not (38), the choice of the stabilizer is governed by the subject nominal, waka. Being alert most of the time to the use of gander by speakers of Hausa dialects in general, I was lucky on another occasion to record another utterance in a township bus service in Kano. It is difficult to be too sure that the speaker was a native Hausa speaker but he sounded like one. He said.

(4) Mace rogo ce: (A woman is like cassava)

Here again, mace (sub. Nom.)[6] selects the stabilize and not the predicate nominal.

According to Schachter (1966)

> From the point of view of meaning what apparently determines which of the two nominals, the subject or the predicate controls ne or ce is whether the subject nominal is or is not specific in reference. The most common formal correlate of specific reference is the occurrence of a linker, the so-called 'genitive link', after the head noun.

In other words, if the subject nominal is specific in reference especially if it is marked by a linker –n or –r, the predicate nominal selects the stabilizer Schachter's example is as follows:

(41) karen Audu dabba mai hankali ce

(42) (Audu's dog is a well behaved animal)

In (41) Karen Audu is the subject nominal while dabba is what is specific in reference being marked by the masc. linker -n, Therefore the selection of the stabilizer rests with the predicate nominal dabba which selects the fem. stabilizer, ce in effect. But in generic reference as in Schachter's example below.

(43) Kare dabba mai hankali ne.

(a dog is a well behaved animal)

the subject nominal Kare (Masc.) attracts the masc. stabilizer, ne in effect.

Schachter's analysis agrees with what I recorded below of some native speakers using constructions involving a generic subject nominal and a predicate nominal.

(39) Waka wajibi ne = = (A song is obligatory) where the subject nominal is generic and being fem. selcts the stabilizer ce as Schachter explains.

(4) Mace rogo ce: = = (A woman is cassava)

Mace, the subject nominal is also generic and selects the stabilizer ce in that construction.

But a problem arises with the other utterance I recorded:

(38) Ai kin san Kano gidanshi ce

(As you know Kano is his home).

In this utterance, Kano the subject nominal is specific in reference in all respects. But it does the selection of the stabilizer. The predicate nominal gidan did not select the stabilizer. According to Schachter's explanation, the utterance should be thus:

(38) Ai kin san Kano gidanshi ne.

In which case, gidan as the predicate nominal selects the stabilizer ne. It is with regard to utterances such as (38) and Schachter's example below that a roblem of selection seems to arise:

(41) Shinkafar Audu abinci mai dadi ne.

On the early morning of 16th August, 1990, I tested these two utterances on five Kano natives four of whom said that (41) should be Karen Audu dabba mai hankali ne while one dissented and agreed with Schachter's example: Karen Audu dabba mai hankali ce. This informant who is actually from Hadejia said: (44) Kare dabba ce mai hankali. The informant, however, added that a speaker could say:

(45) Kai dabba ne (referring to a male).

(46) Ke dabba ce (referring to a female).

One of the four informants who felt that in (41) ne should be selected, explained to me that although dabba is fem. and ordinarily selects ce, it applied actually to all animals irrespective of sex. Since in the case of (41) kare is mac, the stabilizer ne should be selected.

This explanation seems to agree with (45) and (46), the utterance made by the Hadejia informant. In Schachter's other example, (41) two of the informants felt that ce should be selected (by the subject nominal) Shinkafar Audu while three others felt that ne should be selected by the predicate nominal (abinci).

Other examples that show such conflict are:

(47) Zariya ce.

(48) Zariya babban garinmu ne/ce.

(49) Babban garinmu Zariya ne/ce.

Schachter calls this kind of ambiguity "a conflict between semantic and formal criteria in determining the selection of ne and ce". (See Schachter, 1966 P. 38 for more details).

The primary concern here is actually not with the conflict as such. The conflict is highlighted in an effort to demonstrate two theoretical or procedural points. Firstly, that relying on just one informant as the source of data for linguistic analysis of the homogenous type can be inadequate because usage may not be absolute and the informant's competence may be idiolectal moreso as certain linguistic conflict or difficulty is prevalent in the choice of variants as demonstrated by the utterances discussed earlier in this section. There is therefore the need to sample the speech of many more informants taking into consideration sociolinguistic factors in performance. Secondly, casual speech is proven from the analysis of the conflict above to be the most reliable source of procuring data for linguistic analysis. Listening to native speaker's speech in day-to-day activities and recording same for description and analysis as it were, seems preferable to asking the native speakers to say what they think they utter in certain contexts. Focusing on linguistic items by informants could lead to the elicitation of erroneous data if not checked. This conflict also shows that the application of the stabilizer ne/ce is not absolutely without confusion even among speakers of Hausa dialects other than ZZ.

2.4 A Theoretical Consideration of Gender

To the lay man, gender is a simple issue of identifying the sex of nouns. But gender is more complex than that. In as much as there is some 'natural', semantic consideration in the classification of gender of nouns, "Gender as a grammatical category is logically independent of any particular semantic association that might be established between the gender of a noun and the physical properties of the persons or objects denoted by noun" (Lyons, 1968). In this regard gender must be seen to have nothing to do with the semantic configuration of sex always, or indeed with any rigidly defined criteria other than those of linguistic convenience and arbitrariness. In Indo-European Languages for instance, may words which denote inanimate objects are classified as masculine or feminine which results in a lack of correspondence between grammatical gender and naturalness.

In the Hausa language, the data tends to show sometimes that there is a natural semantic bias in the determination of the gender of nouns as follows: Male animals and human beings correspond to the masculine gender:

Bunsuru ne: (It is a billy-goat)

Sa ne: (It is a bull)

Aliyu ne: (It is Aliyu)

Similarly, female animals/human beings correspond naturally to the feminine as follows:

Kaza ce: (It is a hen)

Akuya ce: (It is a manny-goat)

Yarinya ce: (It is a girl)

But in some other instances, (and indeed largely), the gender of nouns seems to vary with the morphemic features of the words rather than with the nature of the referent. For instance, while it seems logical to presume that all fruit bearing trees will be feminine, this is not exactly the case. Examples:

Itaciyar gwaiba ce: (It is a guava tree)

Itaciyar kadanya ce: (It is a shea-nut treet)

Itaciyar kuka ce: (It is a baobab tree)

These trees are fruit bearing and they are classified as feminine – so also are the fruit they bear although not all fruits are feminine in Hausa. But the following:

Itacen mangwaro: (It is a mango tree)

Itacen dabino ne: (It is a datepalm tree)

Itacen lemo ne: (It is an orange tree)

are classified as masculine even though they are fruit bearing. Then, some other trees which are not fruit bearing are classified as feminine. For instance,

Cediya ce (It is a fig tree). This is a non-fruit bearing tree but it is classified as feminine. It seems therefore that, gwaiba, kadanya, kuka and cediya have been classified as feminine on the linguistic fact that they end in /a/ vowel. Conversely, although mangwaro, dabino, and lemo are all fruit-bearing trees, they are classified as masculine ostensibly because they do not end in vowel /a/.

It is noteworthy, however, that it is not all nouns that end in /a/ vowel that are classified as feminine. Take for instance the case of rana (the sun) and wata (the moon) which are two natural celestial bodies. While rana is classified as feminine from the evidence of a popular SH expression as rana bata karya sai dai uwar diya ta ji kunya, wata is on the hand, masc. For example wata ya tsaya (The moon has appeared). There seems to be no natural, semantic consideration in these classifications.

At other times, different words denoting the same referent attract different gender. For instance:

hanya	-	path/road/way	=	attracts fem. gender
titi	-	road	=	attracts masc. gender
kyaure	-	door	=	attracts masc. gender
kofa	-	door	=	attracts fem. gender

Mutually exclusive words could be said to bring about different gender classification to themselves even though they refer to the same object or phenomenon.

In another instance, objects which belong to the same family and share physical properties and concept are made to have different gender depending upon the linguistic feature of the words denoting them. For instance, kujera (chair) and tebur (table) are furniture usually made of wood, but while the former is fem, the latter is masc. Similarly, while mota (motor vehicle) is fem. jirgin kasa/sama (train/aeroplane), babur (motorbike) and keke (bike) are masc.

It must be concluded that the notion of gender is not exactly that of natural sex. Furthermore, the classification of the gender of nouns is sometimes based on some 'natural' semantic concept of sex but by and large, gender has nothing to do with the physical properties of the objects.

Finally, a little thought is given to the potentiality of the existence of neuter in the Hausa language. Gender in Hausa has so far been described by many writers (Abraham, Schacter etc) as two-term system. But there exists a group of words that tend to be general in nature. Some of these words are:"

kaka	-	(grandmother or father)
jika	-	(grandson or daughter)
agola	-	(stepson or daughter)
auta	-	(youngest son or daughter)
shugaba	-	(leader)
jagaba	-	(pioneer)
jagora	-	(guide)
butulu	-	(ingrate)
kurma	-	(deaf)

From the translation given of these words it would be seen that these words are general. Gender in these words, that is in the traditional labels of masculine, feminine or neuter, is resolved by the speaker's intention and sense (context of usage). In this sense, it could be said that neuter nouns exist in the Hausa language. In our opinion the existence of neuter nouns does not necessarily warrant nor substantiate the existence of a three- term

gender system in Hausa. In reality, Hausa has a two-term gender system as demonstrated extensively by gender markers such as:

the stabilizer ne/ce

the genitive copula na (masc.) ta (fem)

the genitive linker –r (masc.) –n (‘fem)

the pronouns ya (masc.) ta (fem)

the pronouns shi (masc.) ita (fem)

the indefinite specifiers wani (someone) masc wata (some, fem)

The evidence here indicates that in very traditional terms tersm, the Hausa language has masculine and feminine gender. But of course, gender in Hausa is more complex than that as adjectives are inflected for gender.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

Present day variety of the Hausa spoken in the Zazzau area suggests that the variety is in a state of flux. Unlike other Hausa dialects, Zazzaganci seems to have relic aspects. For instance, the form daga angana (from where (are you) is today replaced by daga ina? Similarly barahuni an old term for ‘kerozine’ is today replaced by the borrowed word kalanzir or kananzir. A typical feature in the formation of question in Zazzaganci is the addition of the emphasizer (rhetoric) ye as in: daga angana ye? Wane ne ye? A unique tone was added in the pronunciation of ye different from the final tones in the formation of questions in other Hausa dialects. ‘Ye’ is now a relic. There are other such usages at the grammatical level. For instance, Hausa speakers of Zazzaganci around Lere, Anchau, Ikara, Gadagau and Igabi had the following forms:

Da a zo, da a ba mu, da mu raba

(When she came, she gave us and we shared).

This form is markedly elliptical. The pronoun is not clearly shown and is replaced by a gender pronoun form aka is also omitted; the modern day version is as follows:

Da ya zo, sai ya ba mu, muka raba

The modern day version shows that the connective sai is also contained in the relic version above. This raises a question: what is happening and why? Research experience shows that even in the villages, the younger speakers do not exhibit the relic features in their speech.

These examples, coupled with the observed state of flux in the application of gender by the speakers of Zazzaganci tend to suggest that Zazzaganci is in a state of change. There is good evidence to suggest that synchronic variation in the speech community is precisely the vehicle by means of which language change progresses, favouring or disfavouring (and thus the survival or the elimination) of competing variants being governed by social pressures (Bynon, 1977). A synchronic variation study of ZZ seems relevant so as to throw more light on the source, form, pace and direction of change in the dialect.

The necessary social pressure to trigger change in the dialect are prevalent. Education, social mobility and greater urbanization are such social variables. Through the acquisition of modern education and literacy in general, and social contact with speakers of other Hausa dialects, more and more Zagezagi acutely know the kind of 'mistakes' they make in the application of gender exponents in their speech. Such variant use of the gender exponents by the Zagezagi could, in some social circles, be embarrassing particularly in Kano. There is a tradition in Hausaland that allows people from one area to tease people from another area. The Kanawa are the play-mates of the Zagezagi in this kind of tradition. The Kanawa generally take pleasure in 'ridiculing' Zagezzagi over the latter's variant use of gender exponents. This sort of social pressure that the Kano people exert on Zagezagi could be a social motivation for change in the speech of some Zagezagi.

The point here is that the structure of a language or at least the patterns of language use could be influenced through the mechanism of speech monitoring, usually a result of social pressure. "The intensity and geographical distribution of these mechanisms are related to social pressures both within and outside the speech community" (Anderson 1973). It is observed further that the origin of social motivations for change may be found within the speech community reflecting internal social situations or they may originate in the external environment such as neighbouring languages and dialects (Anderson ibid). The origins of social motivations for change in the speech of Zagezagi, at least with regard to the application of the gender, could be said to be external: one arises from the influence of the Kano people and so the Kano dialect, and the other is

from the school environment where the so-called standard Hausa variety is taught to the students since Hausa is a compulsory subject.

The study has therefore proceeded within the premise that a wave of change is beginning or in fact might have begun to take place among Zagezagi, thus previous homogeneous data on their speech may not be valid or representative. If the speech pattern of the Zagezagi could no longer be described homogenously because change is taking place as a result of social pressure from within or without, then a research of the kind that takes into consideration social factors in the description of language varieties is necessary. Finally, as Kay (1978) observes, "language change, frequently, if not invariably, involves interaction of linguistic and social constraints."

The general framework within which this study is based, thereof, agrees with Hymes to the effect that:

> Variation, competition, differential use, and survival among speech habits whether within one language, between several languages or both, can be described naturally as part of the linguistic picture of the population as a whole… Indeed, such a sociolinguistic unit, the speech habits of a population or community, seems the natural unit for the study of processes of linguistic change and evolution. (Hymes).

1. The phonemic and phonetic transcriptions are not used in this study. All utterance under focus are written in the conventional way of writing Hausa. A line is drawn underneath all words in Hausa. A translation in English is further provided to resolve all possible occurrences of ambiguity in the utterances/words in Hausa.
2. Masculine is abbreviated as masc. in other contexts of this write-up while singular is abbreviated as sing.
3. Feminine is abbreviated as fem. elsewhere in this study.
4. PI. Stands for plural.
5. SH stands for Standard Hausa.
6. Sub. Nom. stands for subject-nominal.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This research is broadly speaking within the realm of quantitative sociolinguistics. The study is meant to be a break-away from traditional Hausa dialectology. The study aims at establishing the relationship between a linguistic item (gender) and a social index (education).

3.2 Sampling/population sample

The method of sampling used in this study is judgmental or deliberate selection. Samples were selected based on the researcher's pre-research awareness of the linguistic state of the speech area under study.

To achieve systematicity and comprehensiveness in geographical coverage, the speech area (universe of study) was divided into two broad zones: the most southern part of the speech area (Zone I) and the most northern part of the speech area (Zone II).

Zone I: Zariya city, Tudun-Wada, Tukur-Tukur, Dogarawa, Giwa, Gamagira, Tama, Gurbabiya, Soba, Lere and Shika.

Zone II: Ikara, Wambai and Auchan.

Categorization of informants is next tackled. Non-linguistic features such as age, sex and socio-economic status which are correlates to variation are restricted to the minimum (for the relevance of this, see Cheshire, 1983:5). A dichotomy, modern educated ZZ speakers versus non-modern educated ZZ speakers is used. The social index employed is education.

Achieving the ideal representative sample in this kind of study is beyond the scope of this study. In effect, the size of the corpus is here restricted by the practical consideration of collecting and processing data. Samarrin (1967) observes that "…size must not have priority over quality and adequacy" in data collection. There is the equally important, practical and useful 'rule of thumb' which states that "when the investigator finds that all additional material yields nothing not already contained in his analysis, he may consider his corpus adequate" (Samarrin, ibid).

Below is table a showing the sum total of informants sampled according to zones and education.

	Modern Educated		Non – Modern Educated		
		Style			Style
Area	Test Frame	Interview	Photo Identification Technique	Test Frame	Interview
Zariya, Shika, Gamagira,	265	78	62	119	40
Ikara, Wambai Auchan	59	39	64	46	27
Sub-total	324	117	126	165	67
Kano Based	15	18	-	-	-
Sum total	339	136	126	165	67

3.3 Contact with informants

The interview method particularly in linguistic researches brings to fore the observer's paradox. In this study, the strategy of using friends to interview friends (Bolssevain, 1974) was used as a means of reducing the effect of observer's paradox with relative success. But for the usual false starts, hesitations and other redundancies of repetitions and the initial feeling of strangeness before the respondents warmed up, the recording sessions could be described as devoid of the frigidity associated with formal recording sessions. A friend close by always served as an assurance to the respondents that the researcher is not a spy or a nosey journalist. Even with recording sessions involving students with whom the researcher is usually well at home as a teacher, the researcher always insisted that one of the students' teachers be present. In fact, in some cases, the teachers participated or even did the recording for the researcher. Notwithstanding the success of the 'friend of friends' strategy, the study wishes to acknowledge the usefulness of other equally sound if not better techniques employable in an effort to mellow down the severe effect of observer's paradox or the tension associated with formal interview recording session. One of such techniques is to involve the interview "in the topic to the extent that the constraints of the interview situation are over-ridden by the intensity of the emotions generated" (Laborv, 1978).

3.3.1 Informants

The informants in this study were Zagezagi both male and female, non-modern and modern educated. The informants are categorized into two basic groups: modern educated and non-modern educated living in the Zazzaganci speech area and a sub-classification into modern educated 'living' in Kano and non-modern educated 'living also in Kano. By 'living', it is here meant, students of Zariya area studying in Kano, Zagezagi working in kano but with contact in Zariya (i.e go on week-ends there for example) and those who may have an on - and off extensive commercial or trading contact with Kano. Unfortunately however, it was extremely difficult tracing those illiterates with extensive contact with Kano or staying in Kano but with home contact. None is sampled from this sub-class therefore. Non-modern educated informants were mainly middle-aged. It is difficult nowadays to get non-modern educated below the age of 20 or 25. On the other hand, the age of modern educated informants ranged from 15-38 years old. The advantage of sampling those between the range of 15-38 years for the modern educated is that they proved more likely to listen to the researcher and indeed proved more accommodating. The researcher falls between this age range. They were easier to contact and are here considered as valid sample. In some areas such as Gamagira, it was difficult tracing modern educated indigenes of the area because most, if not all, were either in colleges or in urban areas working.

3.4 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

The data collection methods employed in this study are: recorded interview sessions, test-frames and unsystematic observation/selective listening/eaves dropping.

2.5 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

Clues of gender application by the population sample are discoverable from a careful analysis of texts in Zazzaganci either through the tasks of writing essays, or letters or translation. Earlier dialectologists employed the translation exercise technique. For instance, respondents were asked to translate from standard French to the local dialect (Pettyt, 1980:46) or from English to Hausa (Ahmad and Daura, 1970). But nearly everyone now accepts that this is usually less likely to produce a genuine and natural response (Pettyt, ibid) than eliciting the forms required in a less direct manner. In this study therefore, two research instruments are used; the first is a measurement instrument and the second, the interview. Two other

complementary techniques were used: these are the photo identification and casual observation (eavesdropping).

3.5.1 Measurement Instrument (Test Frame)

This instrument was used for the gathering of data on the application of the stabilizer ne/ce in sentences. 40 words were vertically listed. To the right of each word was a space where the stabilizer ne/ce was to be filled in. 25 of the words attract ce while 15 attract ne. There are less ne attracting words because a corollary hypothesis of this research states that there is a preponderance of the application of ne irrespective of the gender of words. Of the 40 words listed, 22 key ones were be used to form the basis of analysis.

Apart from the exercise mentioned above, some preliminary questions were included in the test frame. For instance, respondents were asked to provide their names, age, level of education attained whether Hausa was read as a subject and whether the respondents felt that they could differentiate between the gender of words in Hausa.

Critics might say the test frame is not ideal for the elicitation of samples of the vernacular because written languages (especially Hausa) are different from spoken ones, and also because the respondents are called upon to focus consciously on linguistic features. This may be so. But the test frame is meant to be an indicator of basic competence (Chomsky, 1957, 1965). Only the intuition of the respondents is called for and not the analysis of linguistic features. Respondents were not asked to analyze how the use of ne or ce for the different words was arrived at or how to identify the morphological features/markers of feminine words. Experience in this research and elsewhere shows that speakers of others Hausa varieties tease the population sample for being unable to apply the gender correctly in their speech. If speakers of other varieties know which words are feminine and which are masculine from intuitive knowledge, the same kind of knowledge can be tested with the population sample. If the respondents do not possess the basic intuitive knowledge of the gender of the words being tested, then they would not apply the gender correctly in their speech.

The use of testing technique here is further justified because as the recording sessions later indicated, eliciting the stabilizer ne/ce in equational utterances was difficult. An informant could speak for up to 5 or even 10 minutes without using the stabilizer in an equational function. The equational function is

crucial to this study because errors are frequently by the population sample in that kind of function

3.5.2 Questionnaire

Apart from the test frame, the questionnaire technique was used. This was given to teachers of Hausa in the various high schools sampled. The main goal of the questionnaire was to inquire from the teachers whether any special effort or provision is made in the syllabus or in the teaching programme towards 'eradicating' the gender misapplication phenomenon in the speech of the population sample. The responses here could serve as a predictor of the directionality of change from the perspective of the teaching programme in western-styled schools. Data from this instrument do not form part of the analysis in this study, however.

3.5.3 Interview (Recorded)

The interview technique is a direct method which necessitates a face-to-face interaction between the field-worker and the informants. Formally situation and the feeling of unfamiliarity are constraints on the informants use of vernacular. The "observer's paradox" (Labov, 1978) and ways of alleviation the severity of the problem have been highlighted (See 3.3).

In this section therefore, attention is on recording procedure and the structure of the interview and perhaps, a delineation in relative terms of the nature of the formality situation. The recordings were done in quiet offices in the schools, in the researcher's office, in the houses or in the places of work of some informants. The formality level therefore, varied from one recording place to another but the general tendency was the same in all. The speech behaviour of the respondents tended to be normal and did not affect the elicitation of the features under focus. Therefore, the data generated from the different recording procedures or situations could be taken as being very close to each other if not in fact on the same scale in a continuum of speech style in terms of the attention that speakers give to their speech.

Except for three recordings done by three friends, in all other cases, the recordings were done by the researcher in the presence of a friend. In the case of students, there was always present one of the teachers (Research Co-ordinator). The interview was usually unstructured except in the cases of informants in Kano who were asked questions along premeditated lines. There was no limit or

specification of the topics of discourse. Similarly, length of time was not strictly adhered to. It was estimated that each informant would be given 10 minutes only but in actual field-work, the recording was stopped when the researcher felt the speech sample had been elicited or when the subject of discourse was 'exhausted'. Sometimes because of the need to gather enough quantity of data, informants were asked direct question on the stabilizers ne/ce. But generally, the recording sessions span 10-15 minutes at most.

3.5.4 Complementary Technique

For the fact that the interview is time consuming and not many informants were willing to be interviewed, other complementary techniques of data collection were used in order to reinforce the data. These techniques are eavesdropping/selective listening (Labov, 1972) and a technique herein called photo identification technique. The eavesdropping/selective listening technique requires the field-worker to join a group of interlocutors in the course of normal interaction and to record their speech without any prompting or cueing from the field-worker. The usual method of recording is the use of index card. The use of a tape recorder will amount to surreptitious recording. The informants are usually casual and off guard in their speech in the eavesdropping/selective listening situation and the field-worker does not present him self as a field-worker. The data from the selective listening/eavesdropping technique is limited to general observation purpose only. In this study, the eavesdropping/selective listening technique was used to gather general but relevant data. In the numerous instances that the field-worker used this technique, it was discovered that there is indeed a state of flux with regard to the use of gender exponents particularly the stabilizer ne/ce but most unfortunately the data came in trickles and it was often not enough to make the field-worker form a conclusion on one speaker. This is more so as surveys of this kind are devoid of crucial demographic information of the kind the field-worker obtained on his specific informants. But the great thing about eavesdropping/selective listening and other such contemporary techniques (such as Labov's unsystematic observation) is that they can point to us the measure of success data on the basic systematic vernacular form of the language.

Furthermore, the photo-identification technique was used. In this technique, what the field-worker did was to collect photographs of certain objects namely: car, motor bike, bicycle, train, aeroplane, helmet, worm and the picture of an old woman thrashing corn under the tropical sun and surrounded by other items such as calabashes, woven tray, mortar, pestle and her shadow. An album of these

pictures was then taken around on the field-trips. The field-worker explained to the informants what they were expected to do: answer the field-worker's question (what is this? – mene ne wannan) as a test of their ability to recognize photographs. The question invariably meant that the respondents had to use the stabilizer ne/ce in their answers. For example, when the field worker showed the picture of a helmet the respondents were required to say hulan karfe ne. Of course, some respondents did not feel compelled to always include the stabilizers in their answers because it is actually possible to omit the stabilizer and have a perfect response.

In summary therefore, the following techniques were used in this study:

i. Test Frame
ii. Interview
iii. Photo Identification Technique
iv. Eavesdropping/Selective Listening/unsystematic observation

3.6 Data Collection (Field-Trips)

Actual data collection proceeded in three phases spanning almost two years. Phase one: Administration of test frame followed by a long interval; Phase two involved recording the speech of informants (both modern and non-modern educated) and phase three was devoted to collecting data on informants with Kano connection.

3.6.1 Phase One

In phase one of the field-work, a measurement devise (test frame) was administered on the population sample usually with the help of their friends. The test frame contains 40 words for each of which the respondents were to supply the appropriate stabilizer ne or ce. If a word is feminine for example, ce was to be written by the right hand of the word in a space provided. The test frame was written of course in Hausa using Roman and Arabic alphabets. The Arabic alphabets based Hausa writing called ajami was used so as to sample many more 'illiterates' who may not be able to read Hausa written in Roman alphabets.

It is clear that the administration of the test frame preceded the recording session. The intermediaries who helped the fieldworker in distributing the test frame were specifically enlightened and in some cases instructed not to inform the respondents that there was to be a follow up interview. Furthermore, a time lapse

between the administration of the test and the interview recording session was also observed. A minimum length of two months and a maximum of twelve months was observed in most cases. This measure was actually not very necessary because the phenomenon of deliberate or conscious attention to language use was also under observation. It really did not matter whether the respondent knew the specific goal of the research or not because the research is also interested in recording instances of hypercorrection which is result of conscious use of language. This notwithstanding the measure were taken so that as much as possible casual speech is recorded first and foremost.

3.6.2 Phase Two

In the second phase of the fieldwork, recording sessions with the "illiterate" group of informants took place. This proved the most challenging aspect of the field work.

Traveling to rural areas, spending nights there and finally getting the "illiterate" informants have their speech recorded, were big tasks; the 'friends of friends' strategy proved less useful in this case. Apart from fetching the field workers a hand-shake, easy accommodation and often feeding, the 'friends of friend' strategy did little in persuading the 'illiterate' informants to open up to the recording situation. The following points became apparent to the field worker at the end of the fieldwork:

(i) For successful recording session, the assistance of village or ward head should have been solicited for so that the informants become enlightened by a credible sources;
(ii) A 2-3 day stint in the villages was not enough to get a field worker through.

As a last resort therefore, the field worker employed what is here called 'open-secret recording' and the interview became indirect – totally oblique. This technique is barely new because actually, it approaches Labov's surreptitious recording technique except that in the case of this research, the informants actually saw the tape recorder but were not told that their speech was being recorded and neither were they given room to suspect so. Attention was hardly on the recording equipment which was held with a calculated measure of indifference.

Furthermore, another strategy that was used to beat the unwillingness of the informants to open up was to allow a friend lead the discussion and hold its thread with the fieldworker hardly saying anything. In one or two instances, a friend did

the recording alone. But in the end, because of the severity of their unwillingness to respond, the sample of the illiterate group is necessily smaller than that of the population sample of the modern educate group. The small quantity of the data with regard to this group did not cause any drawback in analysis because the main hypothesis of the study relates to the sample of modern educated.

3.6.3 Phase Three

In the final phase of data collection, the data relating to the group of modern educated informants and those informants temporally living in Kano (particularly those on studies) was collected. This group was very familiar with the process of research. They eagerly cooperated with the field-worker both in the schools and offices visited and in the researcher's office. The recording session was loosely structured. Informants were first asked either to recount a brief history of their life or to talk on some other issues. Later, a focus on linguistic features (dialect in general and gender in particular) was introduced. The purpose of the deliberate focussing on linguistic features was to observe the possible occurrence of hypercorrection.

3.7 The Data

The recorded conversations were largely unaffected by background noise. The recordings were actually made in places where the interview sessions were untrammelled by any background noise expect in the case of some of the recordings in schools which were affected by rowdy students on break. Generally, however, the recordings were clear. Samples collected from the interview indicate a scanty nature of gender features; particularly, the occurrence of the stabilizer ne/ce in equational sentences was very minimal. Other features such as wanda/wadda, wani/wata, ita/shi, ya/ta, na/ta occurred in what is here considered a satisfactory. Below are samples of an interview session.

Fieldworker (F): Mallam Haruna, wadanne alamomi kan bambanta Hausan Zagezagi da ta sauran Hausawa?

Haruna: To, Bismillahi Rahmanir-Raheem. A – a halin gaskiya Zagezagi suna da wasu bambance-bambance tsakanin wasu Hausawa da suke kasan nan. Domin a halin gaskiya na farko dais u Hausawa-su Zagegzagi suna (da) matsalan bambancewa tsakanin watau maza da mata – am – na farko watau Hausawa Zagezagi suna da matsala wajen bambance

jinsin namiji da na mace – misali ta wajen keke, su Hausawa Zagezagi sukan mai da keke namiji – ai sukan mai da keke mace a wani loakci na taba jin wani bazazzagi wanda yake takaman shi bazazzagi ne cikakke ya ce "wannan keketa ce" kuma a halin gaskiya keke namiji ne don bai cancanta a ka'idodin nahawun Hausa ba, mutum ya rika ba hakkin cudanya tsakanin jinsin maza da na mata. Dole ne ka'idan nahawun Hausa ta ware cewan dole ne a rika ba hakkin namiji namijinshi kuma mace kuma hakkinta na mace….

Field-Worker: Kamar yadda nake cewa dazu, bincike nake yi kamar irin namu na yan makaranta, ni ma malami ne kamar shi. Ina karatu a Jami'ar Ahmadu Bello ta Zariya, to, ba wani abu nake so mu tattauna a kai ba sai abubuwa biyu: na daya ya danganci sufuri – kin san sufuri ko? Abin da ake ce ma da Turanci 'transport' ko 'Transportation'. Amma da Hausa za mu yi Magana. Ni zan iya Magana da Turanci don na saba.

Teacher: Amma ke ana son ke ba da amsoshinki cikin Husa.

Fieldworker: Kin jiya?

Teacher: Kuma Hausan da kike amfani das hi nay au kullum Kaman yadda ki ka saba tare da wani makeke ba…. (noise….interruption from outside).

Fieldworker: To na fari dai abin da….(interruption as someone comes into the office – jarring noise made by movement of chairs as way was made for him).

To, kamar yadda n ace….'yan makaranta dai kuna 'day' kp?

Student informer (SI): 'E'

Fieldworker: Sabo da haka, hawa wani abu kuke yi ku zo makaranta?

SI: 'E'

F: Kamar me kike hawa?

SI: Mota

F: To, abin da nake so in tambaye ki a misali shi ne: a ganinki mene zai fi dace maki ki rika hawa zuwa makaranta, mota ko keke ko ko babur?

SI: Motan dai. Kamar motan dais hi zai fi amfani saboda wasu ba su da yanda za su iya ko su sami kek ko babur….. saboda wasu babansu ba ya da – karfin da zai saya masu 'machine' dole ya cancanta su je su sami 'bus' su shiga su biya kudi ko da……

3.8 Transcription

Initially, the transcription of recorded speech was done verbatim; everything that was uttered by the informant was transcribed (see preceding examples). At a later stage, however, when it became apparent that this method was redundant and time consuming, another method of transcription was evolved. The initial method meant that all language items and contexts whether relevant or not, were transcribed. In the latter method, however, only language items including contexts of utterance relevant to gender were transcribed. Special care was paid to the context of utterance. For example, if gender items such as te/ne, shi/ita were used in a reference situation, the nominal referred to was usually identified. For example, ba dai Hausawan ainihi ke cikinta ba (ta refers to Zariya). The occurrence of such utterances in the transcription was actually minimal. As much such as possible the context of usage was transcribed to avoid ambiguity.

In the second method of transcription therefore, the fieldworker listened to the speech, identified contexts where gender items were used and transcribed such. A frequency count of the occurrence of non-standard usage and standard usage of the gender items was then taken. This proved valid and efficient; valid because the data was not distorted and efficient because it proved fast and reliable.

Below are examples of data transcribed via the second method of transcription:

Informant Frequency Indices

Salisu (20 Years old) A. Non-standard form

Educated Examples: Shekaran da aka haife ni shi ne……

Studied Hausa

Makarantan na gaba da firamare...

Kano shi ne zabi na farko.

E, to, aure a gaskiya muna na da ainihin matsala ne na yau da kullum shi ya sa.

Wata kalma ne

B. Standard form:

Examples:

An haife ni a wani gari da ake ce mashi Zuntu…

ita ma wannan makarantan Islamiyyan… wata makaranta… muka kai ga karshenta (referring to school).

Shi aure al'amari ne na Ubangiji.)

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION ANA ANAYSIS

4.1 Method of Analysis

4.1.1. Identification of Linguistic Variable

Gender in the Hausa language is indicated by a number of features prominent among which is the stabilizer: ne (masc.) and ce (fem.). In this study, only the stabilizer is considered because it is felt to be basic to the identification of the gender of nominals in Hausa. The linguistic variable ne/ce is considered in identificational or equational constructions only.

4.1.2 Method of Frequency Count

The data in this study is quantitative. In other words, it is that type of data that is counted, expressed in number and treated as number (Fox, 1969:632). The occurrence of the linguistic variable is noted and then counted. In this study, the occurrence of any non-standard usage of ne/ce is, therefore, counted. Similarly, the occurrence of standard usage is counted. The frequency index for the occurrence of the non-standard usage of form (hence-forth, NSF) was then expressed in the Labovian way as follows:

Frequency Index (FI) equals

Total number (TN) of occurrence of NSF cover

Total number of occurrence of Standard Form (SF) plus total number of occurrence of non-standard form multiplied by a hundred.

In formulae terms,

$$F1 = \frac{\text{TN of NSF}}{\text{TN of SF + TN NSF}} \times 100$$

Source (Cheshire, l1982:27)

4.13 Individual Versus Group Analysis

Frequency indices for individual respondents were calculated in the cases of the written response and the photo identification but not in the case of the recorded interview session. This study uses group analysis for two reasons: firstly the aim of the study is to discover broad pattern of usage according to the social index of education and secondly, group analyses are said to allow a fuller linguistic investigation since they are based on a larger number of occurrences of variable… (Samarin, 1967). This last reason is justified from the experience in this study. The elicitation of ne/ce in the desired construction proved very difficult in the recorded interview session rendering individual analysis of data elicited through the recorded interview session impossible or useless. Frequency indices for the two social groups, modern educated respondents and non-modern educated respondents, are tabulated according to two main geographical pivots: Zariya which is made up of Zariya, Soba, Gamagira, Shika, Giwa and so on and Ikara which is made up of Ikara, Wambai and Auchan. This division according to area of settlement is adhered to in a bid to investigate the guess that geography plays a role in the pattern of sub-dialect differences on the broad Zazzaganci dialect. The frequency indices for the modern educated respondents in Zariya and Ikara, put together are then calculated to find a cumulative or grand frequency index for the purpose of discussion on the broad pattern of data for the whole Zazau speech area. The same process is followed for the non-modern educated respondents.

The pattern of presentation of the data and its analysis then took this format: brief general introduction descriptive statement of pattern of usage from data elicited and analyzed, presentation of sub-group area frequency indices for both groups of respondents and presentation of cumulative or grand frequency indices for both groups of respondents according to the serial order of instruments used: measurement device (written) response, photo identification and recorded interview sessions for ne/ce in equational or identification construction, data on pattern of use of ne/ce with reference to nominal indicating man-made objects and permutations and finally data on hypercorrection. Each table was followed by an analysis. Hypothesis testing formed the last part of this chapter. It should be noted finally, that all arithematic of the calculation of frequency indices could be found in the appendices.[1]

The reader is saved the trouble of grappling with any form of elementary arithmetic or statistics in the body of this chapter in a study that is linguistic and not arithmetical!

4.2 Brief Introductory Descriptive Statement

We began this study with the familiar assumption that the respondents or population sample who speak a variety of Hausa called Zazzaganci (ZZ) have gender problem in their speech; they appear unable to correctly use various gender markers with the appropriate nominals in their uttereance. The descriptive data on this in general sources mentioned in chapter two, outlining the patterns of gender confusion in the speech of the population sample might sound like flogging a dead horse. But perhaps, the horse will be flogged in a different and fresh manner as it had never been flogged before.

The summary of the linguistic situation at a purely descriptive level but based on the data elicited is as follows:

1. *Motar Audu ne: It is Audu's car.
   Feminine nominal + linker – nominal – stab. (masc.)
   (possessive)
2. *Kekena ce: It is my bicycle
   Masculine nominal – copula (masc.) – stab. (fem)
3. *Keketa ne: It is my bicycle
   masc: nominal – copula (fem.) – stab. (masc.)
4. *Hula ita ma mace ne – Cap is also feminine.
   fem. nom. – pronoun (fem.) – adv. – fem. nom. – stab (masc)[3]
5. Wata kalma ne: It is a certain word
   - Fem. nom. – stab (masc.)
6. * Magana ne wacce – It is a talk which…
   fem. nom. – stab. - (masc.) – relative (fem.)
7. *Tsohuwa ne (referring to a car): It is old
   fem. nom – stab. (masc.)
8. *Koriyan nan ce (ref. to a cap): It is that green one
   fem. nom. + linker (fem) + deictic marker-stab. (fem).
9. *Wata anguwa ne: It is certain ward.
   Pron. (fem) – nom. (fem) – stab. (masc.).

These recorded utterance show that the wrong stabilizer is often used. And in one breath, a nominal is ascribed the status of a feminine and masculine nominal. This is not so in SH. The rule is this simple: a feminine nominal attracts other feminine gender markers while a masculine nominal attract masculine gender features. The kind of confusion as demonstrated from utterances recorded from the

speech of the respondents represents a neat summary of the pattern of gender usage across the length and breath of Zazzau with occasional differences at ideolectal and geographical levels. This will be discussed further in later analysts.

4.3 Data Presentation

4.3.1 Ne/Ce In Identificational of Nominal Construction (Written Responses Data)

Table 1: Frequency Indices for non-standard ne/ce in identificational or nominal construction (see appendix II a & b for details of arithmetic).

Area	Group	Ne	Ce	No of Respondent
Zariya	Modern Educated (ME)	12.83	41.50	265
Ikara	Modern Educated (ME)	2.11	24.57	59
Grand F1	=	10.87	38.42	324
Zariya	Non- Modern Educated (NME)	8.61	41.12	119
Ikara	Non-Modern Educated (NME)	1.63	12.92	46
Grand F1	=	6.66	33.26	165

NB: In the calculation of the grand frequency index throughout this study, the sub-group area frequency indices were not added up. Instead, the total number of non-standard forms (NSF) for the two major areas was found and this was multiplied by a hundred and divided by the total number of non-standard forms added to the total number of standard forms from the raw data to arrive at the grand frequency index. If the sub-group area frequency indices are added up they give higher frequency indices which are not representative of the true picture of the pattern of responses as per the formula being used for the calculation of the frequency index in this study. This represents the difference for instance between 10.87 which is the grand F1 for ne for the modern educated instead of 14.94 if the two frequency indices (12.83 and 2.11) had been added up to find the grand F1 in this instance.

Now let us go back to table. 1. In the written response, respondents were required to indicate the gender of 4 masculine. Items and 18 feminine ones by using ne and ce accordingly. Table 1, therefore, gives us a picture of the response of a total of 324 modern educated respondents, and a total of 165 non-modern educated respondents. The respondents were required to indicate gender of the following “masculine” nouns.

jirgi - train

littafi - book

agogo - wrist-watch or clock

babur - motor bike

These masculine nominals were not chosen at random. Their choice was based upon a pre-research linguistic knowledge about the usage of the items. This knowledge or linguistic awareness was derived from literature or from the researcher's own personal linguistic awareness being a potential respondent himself. For instance, Zarruk (1979) writes that the population use ce with agogo while Garba (1985) writes that Jirgi is accompanied by feminine features. Form the researcher's interaction with the population, littafi and babur are found to be frequently used as feminine nominals Furthermore, only 4 masculine items are used because as Zaria (1981) rightly observes, there is a preponderance of the use of ne irrespective of the gender of the nominal. If many nominals are shortlisted therefore and the respondents apply ne as they normally to irrespective of the gender of a nominal, this would not be helpful towards ascertaining whether the respondents could identify the gender of a nominal at a discrete level or not.

From the written response, it was discovered that of the 4 masculine items listed above, babur was indicted as feminine a total of 72 times by the modern educated respondents, agogo a total of 28 times. These figures are not high at all. Below is a table indicating the frequency indices for the 4 masculine nominals for both modern and non-modern educated respondents:

Table II: Frequency indices for Non-Standard Ne/Ce in Nominal Construction with Jirgi, Littafi Babur and Agogo

Group	Nominal	Zaria	Ikara	Grand F1
Modern Edcuated	Jirgi	10.18	1.69	8.64
	Littafi	14.33	1.69	12.03
	Agogo	5.66	0.00	4.62
	Babur	25.66	6.77	22.22
Number of Respondent		265	59	324
Non-Modern Educated	Jirgi	5.88	0.00	4.24
	Littafi	10.08	0.00	7.27

	Agogo	7.56	4.34	6.66
	Babur	33.61	6.52	26.06
Number of Respondent		119	46	165

A cursory look at the frequency indices will show that the indices with could fairly be said to be a low incidence of occurrence of the feminine stabilizer ce with masculine gender attracting nominals. This is as expected because earlier it was said in this research and in others, for example, Zaria (1981) that there is a high incidence of the occurrence of the masculine stabilizer ne with nominals irrespective of their gender, in the speech of the population sample. Data from eavesdropping and unsystematic observation (not recorded of course) indicates that Zagezagi do indeed very frequently attribute the feminine stabilizer ce to the nominal littafi and babu, particularly to the latter. Little wonder therefore that babur has the highest number of incidence of occurrence with the feminine stabilizer, ce,. Two or three visits were made to the Zariya Railway Station in a very dramatic but necessary bid to carry out an unsystematic observation of the application of gender features to the nominal jirgi which is masculine but which some linguists say, is an outright feminine nominal in Zazzaganci. If it could be recalled, it was stated in the statement of the problem that the dissatisfaction with the categorical statement that the population apply the feminine stabilizer ce to jirgi was one of the motives for the conduct of this study. The feeling is that actually there are some Zagezagi who apply ce to jirgi but on the hand there are some who do not at all. The visits to the Zariya Railway Station indicated that most of the time, jirgi was referred to as ne or ya and not ce or ta. But of course, it was not easy to quantify this nor to be certain that the speakers were all Zagezagi as the Railway Station is a public place and speakers were furthermore not asked about their demographic particulars. But as the written response shows, there is indeed a very low incidence of the occurrence of ce with the nominal, jirgi. In fact,

58 of the 59 modern educated respondents and all the 46 non-modern educated respondents from Ikara applied ne correctly to the nominal Jirgi.

4.2.1 Data on Ne/Ce in Identificational Construction: Photo Identification Technique

More data on the correspondences of occurrence between the stabilizer ce and nominals was gathered through a corollary data verification technique herein called photo-identification technique. This was a result of the apprehension of the researcher that the written response discussed above might be full of random guesses. The photo identification technique afforded the researcher the opportunity to feel the responses of the respondents personally. Each respondent was shown a series of pictures and was required to say in full what each picture was by saying for instance: mota ne or ce which ever be the case. The same 4 "masculine" items that were included in the written response device, and analyzed above, were also included in the photo identification data collection method to enable the researcher carry out a measure of verification. Below is a table indicting the frequency indices of the responses for the 4 masculine items.

Table III: Frequency indices for non-standard Ne/Ce in identificational construction with 4 masculine nominals (jirgi, littafi, agogo and babur).

Group	Nominal	Zariya	Ikara
Modern	Jirgi	16.12	4.68
	Littafi	9.67	10.93
	Agogo	6.45	3.12
	Babur	25.80	9.37
	Bindiga	74.19	10.93
Number of Respondent		62	64

In the photo identification data collection technique, only 126 modern educated respondents were sampled and they alone were sampled because in actual fact, it is their speech pattern that we wished to describe in the study. Furthermore, only 126 respondents were sampled because the photo identification technique was only a data verification technique and not a major data collection technique.

If the sets of frequency indices for the two methods of data collection are put side by side for each of the nominals, there is what could be ordinarily called a high measure of correlation.

It might have been noticed that in table III above, a fifth nominal was introduced. This is bindiga – (gun) which was introduced here for a purpose. Bindiga is a feminine nominal. It was introduced to highlight a point already made, by way of contrast; it has been said over and over again that there is a high degree of occurrence of ne with nominals irrespective of their gender. Correspondingly therefore, what this means – and this has often not been clearly said, is that there is a low occurrence of ce with feminine or even masculine nominals in the speech of Zagezagi. The population sample find it difficult to correctly apply ce to feminine nominals. The frequency indices for bindinga expresses this tendency especially for the Zariya area where the frequency index is as high as 74.19. If this frequency index was translated into percentage for the lay reader, what it means is that only 25 8% of the 62 respondents sampled were only able to get correctly the gender of bindiga.

4.3.3 Data and Analysis on Responses to 18 Fem. Nominals

So far, data on 4 masculine nominals has been presented. But there were 18 other feminine nominals. There is a higher number of feminine nominals because it is felt that the population find it more difficult to identify the gender of feminine nominals. It is not incidental that we ended our discussion of the 4 masculine

nominals by the introduction of a feminine nominal, bindiga with which we sought to make the point that there is a high occurrence of ne in correct syntagmatic relationship with masculine nominals but a correspondingly low occurrence of ce in the same kind of relationship with feminine nominals. The 18 feminine nominals are:

1. mota - motor vehicle
2. buta - kettle
3. hanya - path/road/way
4. kofa - door
5. marmara - solidified laterite[4]
6. zuciya - heart
7. kasuwa - market
8. rijiya - well
9. sama - sky
10. kasa - ground/earth
11. takarda - paper
12. arba'in - forty
13. ungulu - vulture
14. fitila - lamp
15. wahala - suffering
16. sakkwo - name of a town
17. gaskiya - truth
18. madara - milk

These nominals were picked entirely at random. Below is a table indicating the frequency indices for each of the nominals in terms of occurrence with a wrong stabilizer, for each of the groups of respondents.

Table IV:

Nominal			Grand F1			Grand F1
	Zariya	Ikara		Zariya	Ikara	
Moto	18.86	1.69	17.28	23.52	21.17	17.57
buta	9.05	5.08	11.41	29.41	4.34	32.43
hanaya	28.67	11.86	25.61	50.42	2.17	37.57
kofa	43.77	15.25	38.58	54.62	76.08	60.60
marmara	38.86	16.94	34.87	43.69	4.34	32.72
Zuciya	20.37	8.47	18.20	24.36	0.00	16.96
kasuwa	23.01	10.16	20.67	26.89	0.00	16.96
Rijiya	25.28	8.47	22.22	23.52	0.00	16.96
sama	74.33	71.18	73.76	68.90	43.47	61.81
Kasa	49.81	35.59	47.22	45.37	8.69	36.36
Takarda	41.13	8.47	35.18	43.69	4.34	32.72
arba'in	87.92	79.66	86.41	78.99	34.78	66.66
Ungulu	44.52	13.55	38.88	38.88	38.65	10.86
Fitila	23.01	10.16	20.67	31.93	10.86	26.06
Wahala	52.07	28.81	47.83	53.78	15.21	43.03
sakkawato	60.37	49.15	58.33	63.02	28.26	53.33
gaskiya	41.13	35.59	40.12	36.13	36.08	33.33
Madara	51.69	13.55	47.75	47.75	17.39	40.60

From the frequency indices above, it is plain that the figures are much higher than those of the masculine nominals. This is indicative therefore that the respondents and by extension perhaps the population do indeed find it difficult to correctly apply the feminine stabilizer ce to feminine nominals. A little closer look at the frequency indices above will also show that both categories of respondents

found it more difficult to correctly apply the stabilizer to more nominals. These nominals are:

sama (sky), kasa (earth/ground), arba'in (forty) and sakkawato (a town). A small table will help to show this picture more clearly.

Table IVb: Frequency indices for non-standard application of the stabilizer to 4 outstanding feminine nominals.

Nominal	Modern Educated	Non-Modern Educated
Sama	73.76	61.81
Kasa	47.22	36.36
arba'in	86.41	66.66
No. of Respondens	324	165

The four nominals used here, are good examples of nominals with high frequency indices, for the modern and non-modern educated respondents. Apparently no statistical computation other than this is needed to demonstrate the difficulty the respondents had in using the correct stabilizer with feminine nominals. Why the respondents responded in this manner with regard to these four nominals is difficult to say. Most surprising is the case of sama and kasa. In the course of interaction not necessarily connected to research, the population have been heard uttering such expressions as:

kasa ta bakwai: and

sama ta bakwai

The presence of the copula ta which is feminine indicates the presence of the knowledge that, sama and kasa are feminine nominals. But this knowledge was not brought to fore in the application of the correct stabilizer to these two nominals by the respondents in their written responses. Perhaps this is a pointer that the

respondents responded to the measurement device without much deliberation or conscious thinking, otherwise , they would have remembered that the two nominals are feminine by analogy to the expressions quoted above.

But what this clearly signifies is the typical nature of the confusion hat arises in the application of gender by the population sample. Some of the utterance recorded from the speech of the respondents contained instances of the application of double and contradictory gender features to the same nominal. For instance:

(i) *Hula ita ma mace ne: A cap is also feminine

(ii) *Wata kalma ne: It is a certain word

(iii) *Keketa ne: It is my bicycle

Each of the three utterances above contains an instance of two different gender features all relating to one nominal. In (i) for instance, hula which is feminine is further qualified by ita, a feminine pronoun and by the feminine nominal mace. But finally, ne the masculine stabilizer is applied to this pile feminine features. What has been explained and exemplified above needs no more demonstration. What needs to be done is to search for a plausible explanation as to why the utterer of such an utterance elects to apply a masculine stabilizer even when it is clear from the series of feminine features describing the object of his utterance, that the nominal (subject) is feminine.

4.2.3 Data on Ne/Ce in Nominal Construction From Recorded Interview (Sessions):

If there is any feeling in the reader that the written responses data present patterns of language use which may differ from those of actual speech, and therefore the written responses data must be qualified as written, data on the use of the stabilizer in nominal construction was further elicited through the recorded interview technique.

A total of one hundred and thirty five modern educated respondents were interviewed on various subjects ranging from sports to politics. Each respondent spoke for as long as he had something to say or until the field worker felt at least five occurrences of gender usage have been recorded. Usually, anyway, the interview session never lasted for more than 10 minutes. For the 135 respondents therefore, at an average of 6 minutes per respondent, 810 minutes 13.5 hours worth of speech was recorded from the modern educated respondents.

For the 135 modern educated respondents, a total of 323 occurrences of ne/ce in identificaitonal construction were recorded while for the 67 non-modern educated respondents, a total 141 occurrences were recorded. The occurrences were then sorted out into non-standard form (NSF) and standard form (SF) usages and thereafter the number of correct and wrong occurrences of the individual stabilizers were recorded. The frequency index for the occurrences of ne/ce in identificational construction for the 135 modern educated respondents is 33.47 while for the 67 non-modern educated respondents, it is 36.87. (See appendix IVa for details of calculation and examples).

Set out below is a showing the frequency of occurrences of ne/ce in correct usage in identificational constructions from the recorded interviews sessions with the modern educated respondents.

Table V (a) Showing the frequency of occurrence of ne/ce in standard form usage for the modern educated respondents.

STABILIZER

Area	Group	NE	CE	No. of Standard Form	No. of Respondent
Zaria	Modern Educated	27	13	65	78
Ikara		50	20	45	39
Kano Based	-	32	18	40	18
	Total	109	51	150	135

The table above indicates that of a total of 150 standard form or correct usage of ne/ce in normal construction in the speech of a total of 135 modern educated respondents, ne, the masculine stabilizer was used correctly, 99 times while ce the feminine stabilizer was used correctly, only 51 times. To complete the picture for a wholistic discussion, there is need to set out a table indicating the frequency of occurrence of ne/ce in non-standard form usage in nominal construction. Table V(b) below shows the frequency of occurrence of ne/ce in non-standard form usage in nominal construction.

	Group	NE	CE	No. of Standard Form	No. of Respondent
Zariya	Modern Educated	23	11	34	78
Ikara		17	13	20	39
Kano Based	-	22	1	23	18
	Total	62	25	77	135

For non-standard form usage of the stabilizer, 79 occurrences were recorded. 62 of the occurrences were ne occurring with a wrong nominal and 25 were occurrences of ce in wrong nominal context. It seems therefore that ne has a higher number of occurrences in both standard and non-standard form usages of the stabilizer in idenitication construction. The FI is 33.47

4.2.4 Data from Recorded Interview Sessions with Non-Modern Educated Respondents

A total of sixty-seven 67 non-modern educated respondents were interviewed. At an average of 6 minutes per each interviewee, a total of 402 minutes or 6.7 hours worth of speech of this category of respondents, forms the data and basis for analysis. A total of 141 tokens were recorded. Of this number of occurrences of ne/ce in the structure under consideration, 72 represents – standard form usage of ne/ce while 52 represents non-standard form usage of ne/ce in identificational construction. This gives a grand FI that is equal to 36.87. Below is a table showing the breakdown of occurrences of ne/ce in both standard and non-standard usage. (See appendix IVb for details of data collected and calculation of FI).

Table V(c) Frequency of Occurrence of Ne/Ce in Identificational Construction in the Speech of Non-modern Educated respondents:

Area	Group	NE	Ce	NE	Ce	No of Respondents
Zariya	NME	42	3	58	1	40
Ikara	-	5	2	14	16	27
	Total	47	5	72	17	67

Although the tokens are relatively small, again the pattern here is similar to that in the speech of the modern educated respondents. As with the modern educated respondents, there is a high occurrence of the masculine stabilizer ne in

both standard and non-standard form usage in identificational construction in the speech of the non-modern educated respondents. As the table indicates, ne occurred 72 times in standard form usage leaving only 17 occurrence to ce. In general terms, therefore, the data has so far been indicating a pattern of higher correct usage of ne in the structure under focus.

4.4.1 Syntagmatic Relationship between the Stabilizer (NE/CE) and Nominals Depicting Man-Made Objects or Permutation

One of the prime goals of this study was to set out nominals representing man-made objects or permutation and to determine their correspondences or pattern of occurrences with the stabilizers. This is based upon the statement by Garba (1985) that all nominals representing (symbolizing) man-made objects and/or permutations collocate with the feminine stabilizer, ce in the speech of the population sample. Towards achieving this objective therefore, the written responses data from the test frame was reshuffled and 17 nominals naming man-made objects or permutations were identified in order to determine the stabilizers that co-occurred with them in the written responses of both modern educated and non-modern educated respondents. More data on this was also collected through a corollary instrument, the photo identification technique, and also through recorded interview sessions.

Table VI: Frequency Indices for the occurrence of the stabilizers with nominals depicting man-made objects or permutations (written response), for both modern educated and non-modern educated respondents.

Group						
Area	Zariya	Ikara	Grand FI	Zariya	Ikara	Grand FI
Nominal	265 Respondents	59 Respondents	324 Respondents	119 Respondents	46 Respondents	165 Respondents
mota (ce)	18.86	1.69	17.28	23.52	2.17	17.57

jirgi (ne)	10.18	1.69	8.64	5.88	0.00	4.24
littfi (ne)	14.83	1.69	12.03	10.08	0.00	7.27
buta (ce)	9.05	5.08	11.41	29.41	4.34	22.42
rediyo (ne)	12.83	16.94	13.58	10.08	28.26	15.45
gida (ne)	8.30	3.58	7.40	10.08	2.17	7.87
matsefi (ne)	8.67	3.38	7.71	5.88	0.00	4.24
lullubi (ni)	8.67	5.08	8.02	11.76	2.17	9.09
baka (ne)	46.60	37.28	53.39	68.90	95.65	72.12
agogo (ne)	5.66	0.00	4.62	23.63	4.34	6.66
babur (ne)	25.66	6.77	22.22	33.61	6.52	26.06
karaga (ce)	50.71	16.94	45.37	58.61	23.91	49.09
fitila (ce)	23.01	10.16	20.67	31.93	10.86	26.06
rijiya (ce)	25.28	8.47	22.22	23.52	0.00	16.96
kofa (ce)	43.77	15.25	38.58	54.62	76.08	60.60
kasuwa (ce)	23.01	10.16	20.67	26.89	0.00	19.39
takarda (ce)	41.13	8.47	35.18	43.69	4.34	32.72

For the ordinary numerical value of the stabilizer for each nominal listed in table VI above, please see appendix (Va) and (b).

The written responses in table VI indicate that the feminine stabilizer, ce, is actually not applied to every nominal depicting man-made objects or permutation in the speech of both the modern and non-modern educated respondents as claimed by Garba (1985). A point that must be apparent to the reader by now is that the written responses are meant to serve actually as potential indicators of actual speech habit by way of providing a picture of the respondents' basic competence. To verify or confirm this supposition that the written response pattern are potential indicators of actual speech habits of the respondents, the photo

identification technique was specifically applied to the modern educated respondents. Below is the result:

Table VI(b) Frequency indices for the occurrence of the stabilizer with nominals depicting man-made objects/permutations (modern educated respondents) photo identification.

Area	Zariya/Ikara		
Nominal	Stabilizer NE	CE	Frequency Index
mota (ce)	24	102	19.04
agogo (ne)	120	6	4.76
babur (ne)	104	22	17.46
keke (ne)	94	32	25.39
jirgin kasa (ne)	113	13	10.31
bindiga (ce)	53	73	34.12
littafi (ce)	113	73	10.31
tsuta (ce)	45	81	35.71
doko (ne)	126	0	0.00

Total number of respondents = 126.

(Please see appendix VII for frequency indices according to area)

The first six nominals in table VIb depict objects of modern technology: motor vehicle, wrist watch or clock, motor bike, train and gun – perfect examples of man-made objects to say the least! As with the written responses, the data elicited through the photo identification technique shows as indicated in table VIb that the feminine stabilizer is not blindly applied to every nominal depiciting man-made object without a consideration of the gender of the nominal. In their response to mota (motor vehicle), the respondents titled towards ce because mota is a feminine nominal. But in their responses to agogo (wrist watch or clock), babur (motor

bike), keke (bicycle), jirgin kasa (train), the respondents choice of the stabilizer was heavily baised towards the masculine stabilizer ne, because the nominals are all masculine. A similar pattern of inclination towards the masculine stabilizer was also recorded for littafi (book). It will be noted however that only 20 occurrences separate the stabilizer ne/ce with regard to bindiga (gun); ce has 73 and ne, 53. The reason for this kind of split for bindiga is that bindiga is a feminine nominal and we have since noted the high occurrence of the masculine and feminine nominals. But all the same, the respondents, particularly the ones from Ikara area, displayed a high inclination for ce when 57 out of the 64 respondents sample in the area identified bindiga as bindiga ce thereby using the feminine stabilizer, ce 57 times to ne's 7.

4.4.2 Data on Ne/Ce in Correspondence to Nominals Depicting Man-made Objects/Permutation from Recorded Interview Sessions:

Two reasons prevent the categorization or arrangement of data from recorded interview session in the manner that the data from written response and photo identification instruments were arranged in tables VIa and b. First, the respondents were not bound to use the same nominals in their speech even if subjects of discourse were the same unlike in the written and photo identification instruments which were structured. Secondly, the treatment of data from recorded interview sessions does not take to previous pattern because the methods of transcription used was 'clipped'. In an effort to achieve a very efficient transcription of data, instances were heard from the cassette tapes and recorded by way of a check mark according to whether an instance belonged to the category of non-standard form or standard form usage. The check marks were then added up to the calculation of overall frequency indices for the two groups of respondents. The problem here is that although some of the check marks were accompanied by the utterance or usages which they represent, not all the checks were favoured in this manner.

Table VII shows examples of the use ne/ce with man-made objects or permutation for the modern educated respondents

Nominal	NE	CE	
mota (ce)	4	7	It is motor vehicle
babur (ne)	9	4	It is a motor bike
keke (ne)	9	4	It is a bike
jirgi (ne)	5	1	It is a train
littafi (ne)	4	0	It is a book
agogo (ne)	3	0	It is a wrist-watch/clock
karfe (ne)	1	0	It is a steel
gida (ne)	1	0	It is a house
inji (ne)	1	0	It is an engine
makaranta (ce)	0	1	It is a school
riga (ce)	1	0	It is a gown
taki (ne)	1	0	It is a fertilizer
kwallo (ne)	0	1	It is a ball
kwalla	0	1	It is a container (certain type)
jamia (ce)	0	1	It is a University
kasuwa (ce)	0	1	It is a market
jam'iya (ce)	2	0	It is a political party
magani (ne)	1	0	It s a drug
aure (ne)	5	0	It is a marriage
masallaci (ne)	1	0	It is a mosque
sana'a (ce)	0	2	It is a profession
noma (ne)	3	0	It is farming

Certainly, the number of tokens in the examples in table VII is necessarily small because the identificational structure in which ne/ce are used is such as elementary one with a low communicative frequency in the speech of adults who spend more of their time talking about ideas, events and people rather than identifying man-made objects or permutations in equational structures. The small quantity notwithstanding, the data can be said to be rich in terms of the variety of occurrences of different nominals depicting man-made objects and permutations. What is outstanding even in this small quantitive data is that the modern educated respondents did not apply the feminine stabilizer unilaterally to all the nominals listed in table VII.

The reader needs to take only a glance at the data recorded off the speech of the non-modern educated respondents to observe the high occurrence of ne with nominals irrespective of their gender (see appendix IV (b) for details). But below are some of the examples from the speech of non-modern educated respondents from Zariya area:

1.	*Gaskiya ne (3X)	It is true
2.	*Motan ne	It is the car
3.	* Ita ne (3X)	It is the one (referring to a motor vehicle).
4.	* Kanwana ne	It is my younger sister
5.	*Tsohuwa ne	It is old (ref. to a moto vehicle).
6.	*Tsohuwa gaske ne	It is old (again ref. to a motor vehicle).
7.	* Dukiya ne	It is wealth
8.	* Koriyan nan ne	It is the green one (ref. to a cap).
9.	* Sana'a ne (2X)	It is a profession
10.	* Dabara ne	It is a way out (a plan).
11.	* Bidi'a ne	It is a tradition (un-religious).
12.	* Gwabnati ne	It is government
13.	* Jami'a ne (2X)	It is a university

14. * Asara ne It is a loss

15. *Shawara ne It is (a piece of) advice.

The 15 nominals that occurred with ne are nominals depicting man-made objects or permutations. Their standard gender is feminine but here ne is ascribed to all of them. If the non-modern educated respondents had applied the feminine stabilizer ce to all these 15 nominals depicting man-made objects or permutations as Garba (1985) claims they do, then in this instance the use of the stabilizer by the respondents would have been perfectly standard. This would have been ironical.

4.5 Data on Hypercorrection

This study was able to record very scanty data on the phenomenon of hypercorrection. The incidence of hypercorrection is very low because there was a deliberate attempt at each recording session to play down any conscious focus on language use. The strategy of "friends of friends" which meant that at each recording session a face very familiar to the interviewee was present, helped a great deal in easing the tension of the formality situation. In fact, it is worth noting that the few incidents of hypercorrection recorded, were from the speech of three research assistants who were well briefed about the goals and focus of the research. The research assistants belonged to the research population. Two of the assistants are journalists working principally in the Hausa section of their media houses. The instances of hypercorrection by one of these journalist who is actually a nephew, were indexed in the course of personal conversation. The others recorded their own in the course of handling interview sessions on behalf of the researcher.

4.4.1 The Data

Below are the recorded instances of hypercorrection

1. * Wakoki ce : They are songs

The feminine stabilizer ce is extended to a plural nominal. It might be recalled that in chapter two it was stated that all nominals in the plural form in Hausa attract masculine gender. In this instance therefore, since wakoki (songs) is the plural of waka (song), the masculine stabilizer ne should have been used. It might be reasoned that this over-extension of the use of ce with wakoki took place because the nominal in its singular form attracts a feminine gender. It might also be concluded that the utterer of this utterance was making a very overt effort to apply the gender rule correctly in view of the fact the he was himself part of the process of data collection in this study and was always conscious of his use of gender. The researcher often chided him for any wrong use of gender moreso as he is a BA (Hausa) graduate of Ahmadu Bello University.

2. * Wannan 'Id Card" din girlfriend dinshi ce – (This is his girlfriend's Id card)
3. * Sunan anguwar ca ake ce wa Kan Fage – The name of the ward is what is called Kan Fage

In these two utterances (2) and (3) above, also uttered by the same speaker who uttered (1) and (2) discussed earlier, the speaker applies a wrong feminine stabilizer to the wrong nominal. In each of the two utterances, there are two nominals each with a contrasting gender. In utterance (2) the two nominals are Id Card (identity card) which is masculine and girlfriend which is feminine. In utterance (3), the two nominals are sunan (the name of) which is masculine and anguwa (ward) which is feminine. 'Id Card' in utterance (2) is subject complement preceded by a nominal in the possessive cases. Utterance (2) is an identificational structure. What is being identified is Id Card and therefore it should control the selection of the stabilizer ne in view of the fact that it is masculine nominal. But the speaker was overwhelmed by the presence of girlfriend and applied ce

ostensibly to make an impression. The utterance was actually made in the course of a casual conversation with the researcher and some friends. Utterance (3) was also recorded in similar circumstances. In (3) the subject is Suna-n (the name of) which is masculine and should therefore attract the masculine stabilizer ne. But the feminine ce is wrongly selected upon the premise perhaps that anguwa (ward) which is feminine controls the selection of the stabilizer.

There is finally this utterance (4) which only demonstrate speaker consciousness at the time of utterance rather than hypercorrection. It also signifies correction. The same speaker said.

(4a) Matanshi kawar matata ce.

(His wife is my wife's friend).

The speaker exhibited a high degree of confusion and uncertainity when he uttered this utterance. The speaker was certainly aware of his speech and felt concerned about the correctness of his utterance for he quickly added:

(4b) Matanshi abokiyar matana ne.

(His wife is my wife's friend).

In the first of these two similar utterances (4a) and (4b), the interlocutor correctly used the feminine copula ta and the feminine stabilizer, ce, with mata which is feminine nominal. In (4b) however, the masculine coupula na, and stabilizer ne are wrongly used. As observed earlier on, this in fact does not represent an instance of hypercorrection. Rather, it indicates that the speaker was conscious of his speech and that therefore, the speaker is prone to hypercorrection in his speech.

The next speaker in whose speech instances of hypercorrection were recorded is a close friend who uttered the utterance in the course of interviewing

some respondents in this study. The utterances were uttered at different dates but at close interval, perhaps, a day in between. The utterances are:

(5) batir din na bedford ce – (The battery is the bedford's).

(6) da ma na babban mota ce – All along (after all) it is a big lorry's) ref. to a battery).

The structure of the two utterances are the same; basically they are all identificational constructions of a sort. The nearness of the post-verbal nominal Bedford on mota in (5) and (6) respectively, to the stabilizer must have prompted the speaker to use ce in an effort to apply the gender correctly. It is interesting to note here that if the speaker had behaved as the Zagezagi do in their use of gender, and applied ne, his utterance would have not been under this focus at all. The fact is that the post-verbal nominal bedford and mota do not control the selection of the stabilizer. Batir (battery) in (5) and (6) controls the selection of the stabilizer and since the nominal batir is masculine, the masculine stabilizer is what should be used here. This utterance could be rendered as follows to clarify the situation more.

(7) batir ce na baban mota – (It is a battery for a lorry).

In (7), ce has a truly contiguous relationship with the nominal batir – clear enough to show that batir controls the selection of ce. In (7), which is meant to be a paraphrase of (5) and also (6), the semantic import of (5) and (6) is actually retained although the structure is different at surface level.

The last of the recorded instances of hypercorrection was from the speech of another research assistant who is a staff member of Radio Zaria, a satellite radio station. He said:

(8) *Kowace karshen wata - (every month end).

(9) *Wata irin rashin dabara – (a certain lack of planning).

Why kowace (every) is used in (8) is entirely baffling because neither wata (month) nor karshen (end) is feminine at a discrete level. It is understandable however why wata (a certain) in (9) is used. Its occurrence is probably triggered by the presence of dabara (plan) which is a feminine nominal.

All in all, the data on hypercorrection could be conveniently described as scanty but not negligible. The data is important because it is indicative of the potentiality of the occurrence of hypercorrection in the speech of the modern educated ZZ speakers. Speech monitoring is possible among the modern educated ZZ speakers. Indeed some of the Kano based modern educated ZZ speakers responded (during the interview session) that they sometimes monitor their use of gender particularly when they are speaking in the midsts of Kanawa, who often mock them for wrong use of gender. see chapter one for an explanation of the cultural genesis of this). Whenever therefore there is a need for any speaker to measure up to certain social expectations in his speech, as it often is with zazezagi living in Kano, a fertile ground is laid for the occurrence of hypercorrection.

4.6 Data Analysis.

4.6.1 Application of Gender in Zazzaganci.

The statistics give a clear picture of the mode of gender application in the speech of the population sample. Data from the measurement device set out in tables, I, II, IVa and b indicate two points:

1. The population sample find it difficult to correctly identify the gender of feminine nominals.
2. Correspondingly, therefore, the population sample apply the masculine stabilizer to most nominals irrespective of the gender of the nominal.

Table I gives a summary of the responses of the respondents with regard to the two stabilizers, ne (masc.) and ce (fem.) and from it we can discern that the frequencies of occurrences of errors in the use of masculine nominals are always lower than the frequencies of occurrences of errors in the use of feminine nominals. Take for instance, the case of the 4 masculine nominals set out in table II i.e jirgi, littafi, agogo and babur. For both categories of respondents, the responses were generally good and therefore the frequencies of occurrences of error in the identification of the gender of the nominals are very low, except in the case of babur with 22.22 for modern educated and 26.06 for non modern educated respondents. But the case of babur is not strange as such because in the actual speech behaviour of the population from a vantage point of casual or unsystematic observation, babur is treated as a feminine nominal and such expressions as baburta ce (it is my motor bike), babur dina ta yi faci (my motor bike has a flat tyre), babur ce (it is a motorcycle) and so on are frequent. The same applies to keke (bike) which is also treated as a feminine nominal in Zazzaganci.

One clearly discernible and statable aspect of the gender philosophy of Zazzaganci, therefore, is that identification of the gender of nominal is a 'thorny' issue to the population and (to be the safe side?) the masculine stabilizer seems to be preferred for most nominals, differences in the gender of the nominals notwithstanding (see table IV). We can therefore now agree with Zaria's (1981) statement that there is a high preponderance of the application of ne to nominals irrespective of their gender in Zazzaganci.

Garba's (1985) postulation that Zazzaganci has a dialectally unique philosophy of gender where all physical objects that are natural are masculine in the first instance while all man-made objects of permutation are feminine (emphasis mine), must be rejected at the beginning because of the apparent fallacy of generalization contained in it (all physical objects and all mad-made…). Secondly, the postulation must be set aside because the data collected in this research indicates that the application of gender in Zazzaganci is not predicted

upon whether nominals depict objects that are physical and natural or are man-made objects or permutations. Certainly the gender of nominals is not determined from this kind of logic or categorization either in Zazzaganci or in other Hausa dialects. Determination of gender of Hausa nominals will seem to be generally arbitrary although linguist have been able to identify a useful morphological marker /-a/ vowel which comes at the end of most feminine nominals in Hausa. But this does not hold all the time and it is possible to find feminine nominals without an /-a/ ending. For instance mage (cat), ungulu (vulture). Conversely, it is possible to find Hausa nominals with an /-a/ ending but which are, masculine and not feminine. Examples: gauta, tsumma, gida, gora, nama and so on. Therefore, it is wise to state here that a number of criteria are used in the determination of feminine gender in Hausa. Prominent among these criteria are the phonological feature and the biological sex of the objects (mammals, reptiles, birds) so symbolized by the nominals.

The philosophy of gender in Zazzaganci is generally based on the basic principles of gender in other Hausa dialects. The difference is mainly in the preponderant and indiscriminate application of the masculine gender. The data set out in tables VIa and b do not portray an outright and total application of ce for all nominals depicting man-made objects or permutations. The frequency indices are indicative of variation in the use of gender for man-made objects or permutation. If ce is applied to all nominals depicting man-made objects, or permutation in Zazzaganci, then the frequency indices would have all been 00.00 – representing a perfect observation of this aforesaid unique gender philosophy in Zazzaganci. But as the data indicates, usage generally tends to follow the general pattern of gender use in other Hausa dialects – of course not perfectly. In other words, responses seem to tilt towards the standard usage. Take for example the case of mota (motor vehicle) which is a borrowed feminine nominal. Of a total 324 modern educated respondents, 273 correctly indentified the gender of the nominal mota as ce. Only 51 ‘dissented’ by indicating ne. Similarly, 296 respondents correctly identified the

gender of jirgi (train) by indicating ne against the nominal. The case is similar all through (see tables VI a and b appendices Va and b for details).

The outstanding point is that Zagezagi do not apply ce unilaterally or indiscriminately to all nominals depicting man-made objects or permutations nor do they apply ne to all nominals naming physical objects that are natural. Four physical objects that are natural were included in the measurement device and the photo identification instrument sama (sky), and kasa (earth/ground) were included in the measurement device for respondents to indicate their gender. On the other hand tsutsa (worm) and doki (horse) had their photographs placed in an album and respondents were required to identify them in complete sentences by answering the questions mene ne wannan (what is this?). In table IV the reader will see the frequency indices for sama (sky) and kasa (earth/ground) for both modern and non-modern educated respondents. The frequency index for sama for the modern educated and non-modern educated respondents are 73.76 and 61.81 respectively. This indicates a high occurrence of ne with the two physical but natural objects. This will seem to support Garba's position that all objects that are physical and natural attract the masculine gender in Zazzaganci. This is not so actually. In the first instance, the two nominals, sama and kasa are actually feminine in standard Hausa. But they have attracted the masculine stabilizer ne in the responses of the population sample not because Garba's hypothesis has been observed but simply because the population use ne for most nominals irrespective of their gender. There are some physical but natural objects which have a clearly visible biological sex classification for instance:

zakara - cockerel
rago - ram
doki - horse
jaki - donkey (male)

These four nominals attract the masculine gender. Every native Hausa speaker irrespective of the dialect he or she speaks, knows or should know that

these nominals cannot attract the feminine gender. It is wondered here whether any zagezagi will actually say zakara ce* rather than zakara ne, or rago ce* rather than rago ne. But the converse is very possible with the feminine versions of these nominals. For instance, it is quite possible to catch zagezagi sayin kaza ne* rather than kaza ce or jaka ne* rather than jaka ce. This will be due to the already stated phenomenon of high rate of occurrence of the masculine stabilizer ne with nominals irrespective of their gender. In the case of the four masculine nominals zakara, rago, doki and jaki it will be difficult to say whether the speech population are observing the unique gender philosophy of applying ne to all physical but natural objects or whether they are actually applying the gender correctly as in standard Hausa usage. A plausible, immediate and acceptable explanation is to say that ne is used with these nominals because after all, there is a preponderance of the occurrence of ne with most nominals in the speech of the population.

The reader who speaks Hausa language might have realized that the last two nominals in table VIb are actually not symbolic of man-made objects or permutation because man does not produce worms nor horses! The last but one of the nominals, tsutsa, means worm while the last nominal, doki stands for horse. Doki in particular was introduced to demonstrate the possibility of the correct occurrence of gender with certain nominals, particularly masculine gender attracting nominals. It is doubtful whether any other respondents could ascribe the feminine stabilizer ce to doki on being tested. But it may be argued that the perfect correspondence between ne and doki (represented by 0.00 index) in response of the research population, is not enough to provide an absolute basis for any outright conclusion. No sweeping statement is actually made here. What is herein made is a speculation that in view of the high occurrence of the masculine stabilizer ne with both masc. and fem. nominal in the speech of the population sample, and also in view of the fact that doki possesses a clearly visible biological sex indication as male, it could be assumed that for such masculine nominals as doki, jaki (donkey)

and so on, there would be perfect correspondence between the nominals and the masculine stabilizer ne at all times in the speech of the population.

Some of the nominals for which it is felt that the population (of Zagezagi) could perfectly apply the stabilizer ne to (barring any performance factors), are:

almubazzari	-	a male spendthrift.
barawo	-	thief (male).
zakara	-	cockerel.
rago	-	ram.
bunsuru	-	billy-goat
sa	-	bull
malam	-	mister.

The gender of these nominals is manifested as masculine because of the biological connotation of male sex associated with the nominals. There exist opposites of these nominals indicationg female sex. For instance:

almubazzara	-	female spendthrift.
barauniya	-	thief (female).
kaza	-	female chicken/hen.
tunkiya	-	female sheep.
akuya	-	nanny goat.
sarauniya	-	queen.
sanuwa/saniya	-	cow (female).
malama	-	miss/madam.

The point stressed here is that with regard to the first set of nominals with biological gender of male, it could be assumed that no speaker could lose his head or lack the competence to utter these faulty utterances:

*almubazzari ce.

*barawo ce.

*zakara ce.

*rago ce.

*bunsuru ce.

*sa ce.

*sarki ce.

*malam ce; etc

Even with performance factors (Chomsky, 1965) such as shift in attention, memory lapse, mental fatigue and so on, the population would indeed be able to score a faultless score in the application of the stabilizer to this category of nominals for two reasons: the first is that the nominals have a gender feature that is overt and is semantically reinforced by biological connotations and physiological features. Secondly, the Zariya area has since been described as a speech area where ne is dominant in the use of the stabilizer with nominal in the variety called Zazzaganci.

But the same could not be said of the feminine version of these masculine nominals. The logic here is that the population typically find it difficult to correctly apply the feminine stabilizer ce in equational construction. Although the speakers of Zazzaganci in the Zazzau speech community are semantically conscious that what they are referring to is feminine and they can identify the object, say, nanny-goat by say its features of mammary-glands, they still could be found saying:

*Akuya ne. - It is a goat

Examples on correspondences of ne/ce to depicting man-made objects or permutation, show yet again that the respondents did not apply the feminine stabilizer ce all through. In fact, of the few tokens recorded for some nominals, the ne stabilizer was used by all the respondents. (See table VII for detailed examples). For instance, of the four times littafi (book) was mentioned, it was accompanied by ne, the masculine stabilizer. Similarly for the three times gida (house), noma (farming) and agogo (clock) were each mentioned, they were accompanied by the masculine stabilizer ne. The high occurrence of ne with

nominals denoting man-made objects or permutation becomes more glaring in the speech of the non-modern educated respondents (See appendix IVb). The 15 nominals which occurred with ne as listed after table VII, depict man-made objects or permutation. This goes a long way in demonstrating what has been illustrated from the data collected via the measurement device to the effect that the population do not use ce indiscriminately for all nominals signifying man-made objects or permutation. Indeed the responses and speech samples indicate that usage tends to follow the standard usage pattern although never perfectly.

Still with reference to the 15 nominals picked from the speech of the non-modern educated respondents, we see the domination of ne as the principal stabilizer that occurs with all kinds of nominals. The examples re-illustrate or elucidate the typical pattern of gender use in Zazzaganci as briefly described in 4.1., The pattern could be set out as follows:

1. Masculine nominal followed by masculine ne. This will not form part of our discussion. There is no gain in illustrating this since the Zagezzagi usually get this pattern correctly owing to the high indiscriminate application of ne to all sorts of nominals.
2. Feminine nominal followed by masculine stabilizer ne. This is relevant because it is the highlight of the form of deviance in the use of gender by the Zagezagi and is also the major pointer to the high preponderance in the use of ne by the speech community in question. Examples from the speech of the non-modern educated are given as follows:

a. *Gaskiya ne - It is true.
b. *Tsohuwa ne - It is an old woman.
c. *Marmara ne - It is a solidified laterite.
d. *Dukiya ne - It is wealth.
e. *Dabara ne - It is a plan.
f. *Yarinya ne - It is a girl.

g. * Shawara ne - It is a piece of advice.

h. *Asara ne - It is a loss.

i. * Bidi'a ne - It is an innovation (usually with religious connotation).

j. * Jami'a ne - It is a university

These examples are most common in the speech of not only the respondents but also the speech of every stereotype ZZ speaker.

3. Feminine nominal followed by masculine linker – n and masculine stabilizer ne as in:

k. *motan ne - It is the car

l. *tsohuwan nan ne - It is that old one (ref. to a vehicle).

m. *koriyan nan ne - It is that green one (ref. to a cap).

4. Feminine nominal followed by masculine genitive copula na and masculine stabilizer ne as in:

n. *kanwana ne - It is my younger sister

5. Feminine pronoun followed by masculine stabilizer ne as *ita ne – It is the one (referring to a motor vehicle).

Let not the reader conclude or think that just because the examples are from the speech of the non-modern educated, the modern educated speakers are exempt from suck kind of utterance. The examples are also relevant to the speech pattern of the modern educated for if we look at appendix Iva we can see from the samples recorded off the speech of the so-called modern educated respondents the following similar patterns:

Pattern 2: Feminine nominal followed by masculine stabilizer as in:

*Anguwa ne - It is a ward.

*Magana ne - It is a talk.

*Gaskiya ne - It is the truth.

*Mace ne - It is a woman.

Pattern 3: Feminine nominal followed by masculine linker –n and masculine stabilizer ne as in:

*Motan (Audu) ne - It is (Audu's) car/motor vehicle.

*Yarinyan mutane ne - It is someone's daughter.

*Tafiyan awa biyar ne - It is a five hour journey.

Pattern 4: Feminine nominal followed masculine fwnitive copula na as in:

Motana ne - It is motor vehicle

Pattern 5: Feminine nominal followed by feminine stabilizer ce as in:

*babur ce - It is a motorbike.

*kekena ce - It is a bike.

*Babura ta hawa ce - Motorbike is for riding.

Pattern 6: Feminine nominal followed by masculine genitive copula na and feminine stabilizer ce as in:

*Kekena ce - It is my bike

These examples from the speech of the modern educated respondents suffice to illustrate further the pattern of occurrences of gender features in the speech of the Zagezagi.

4.6.2 Gender in Zazzaganci:

From the data collected, we can demonstrate how gender operates in ZZ and show the differences between the operation of gender in ZZ and other Hausa dialects. Gender in ZZ could be said to be basically a one term system with regard to the operation of the stabilizer. From the data gathered in this study, the feminine stabilizer ce is rarely used in the ZZ speech area. This is one major area of difference between ZZ and other Hausa dialects with regard to the operation of the stabilizer. In standard Hausa (SH), Kananci, Katsinanci, Sakkwatanci and other Hausa dialects with the exception of Bausanchi, (Ahmed and Daura, 1970), the operation of the stabilizer is a two way system with clearly conventionalized environments of the application of ne and ce accordingly. In SH, Kananci, Katsinanci, Sakkwatanci and other Hausa dialects, the stabilizers are used

appropriately to classify nouns as masculine or feminine in nominal, identificaitonal and equational constructions. For instance:

ZZ	SH/other dialects	
Yaro ne	Yaro ne.	It is a boy.
*Yarinya ne	Yarinya ce.	It is a girl.
*Yara ne.	Yara ne.	They are boys.

It is important to note here that the correspondences of ne and ce in Sakkwatanci are na and ta, as follows:

Yarona.

Yarinyata.

Yarana.

The absence of ce in ZZ represents what has been described as partial gender loss by in Zaria (1981).

The partial loss of gender in ZZ is with regard therefore to the identification or classification of nouns as feminine. Distinction of nouns as feminine through the use of ce, wadda, and the linker –r are largely absent in ZZ.[6]

These items represent the significant areas of differences between ZZ and other Hausa dialects. In environments where ce, wadda –r are supposed to occur, their mutually exclusive opposites, ne, and –n are applied. For example:

ZZ	SH/Kananci.
*Kofan Gayan.	Kofar Gayan.
*Motan Baba.	Motar Baba.
*Hulan dan Wanzam.	Hular dan Wanzam.

The –r linker is rarely used by ZZ speakers in the classification of the gender of nouns except by those who for one reason or the other have acquired the use of the linker which is used with feminine singular nouns in Standard Hausa, kananci and other dialects. In this respect, there is a difference between

ZZ and SH/kananci because –r is not used in ZZ. But with respect to the classification of the gender of masculine singular nouns and plural nouns, ZZ and SH/Kananci operate in the same manner. Indeed, in general, ZZ and SH/Kananci operate in the same way with regard to the classification of the gender of masculine singular nouns and plural nouns. The area of differences is in the classification of the gender of feminine singular nouns.

The partial loss of gender in ZZ in terms of the rare classification of feminine nouns leads to the classification of one nominal as both masculine and feminine in a sharp contrast to usage in standard Hausa and other dialects. For example, two mutually exclusive gender features are used to identify one nominal in these recorded utterance:

ZZ	SH/Kananci.
*Wata kalma ne.	Wata kalma ce.
* Keketa ne.	Kekena ne.
*Siyasa ba ta gaba ba ne.	Kekena ne.

In the ZZ utterance, a nominal such as kalma (word) which is a feminine noun is identified as feminine by virtue of the presence of wata but it is also identified as masc. noun. By the use of ne which is a masculine noun stabilizer.

The difficulty in the identification of the gender of nouns by ZZ speakers is not exactly a semantic issue for even in cases where the referent has a manifest biological sex for instance, girl, the ZZ speakers still somehow mix up their identification of the noun. For instance;

*Kanwana ne She is my younger sister.

*Wata mace ne It is a certain woman.

The mix up we are considering here is in the light of what operates in SH and other dialects. As a system of its own, there is no mix up as far as ZZ is concerned. But this is the most significant area of different between ZZ and other Hausa dialects.

Other differences and similarities exist here and there between ZZ and other Hausa dialects with regard to the classification of certain classess of words, or the operation of specific gender features. In ZZ for instance, count words are treated as masculine nouns whereas in SH, kananci, katsinanci and other Hausa dialects, count words are treated as feminine nouns. But in both ZZ and other Hausa dialects, the names of days are treated as feminine nouns. Similarly, in ZZ, the partitive ‘yar and dan which co-occur with feminine and masculine nouns accordingly, are used as in other Hausa dialects.

4.6.3 Application of other Gender Markers.

The remarkable discovery in this study relates to other gender markers, such as:

(i) Wanda (which/that/who) masc.
(ii) Wadda/Wacce (which/that/who) fem.
(iii) Wani (someone) – masc.
(iv) Wata (someone) – fem.
(v) Shi (he/him/his) - masc.
(vi) Ita (she) - fem.
(vii) Ya (he) - masc.
(viii) dan - masc.
(ix) ‘yar - fem.

The respondents displayed a very near standard performance in the usage of these gender markers. The performance was not wholly standard because of the fundamental ‘problem’ of the respondent application of the stabilizer (masculine) in most contexts irrespective of the gender of the nominals concerned. This study recorded a very good quantity of the correct usage of these gender markers. The data relating to these gender markers were not quantified however. Therefore no frequency indices are available. This is due to fact that they were not part of the scope of the study.

However, examples are given below for purpose of illustration:

(i) Wani – indefinite specifier, 3rd person, masc. sing.

Wani lokaci (certain time), wani gari (a certain town) wani littafi (a certain book), wani dan darasi (a certain small lecture/lesson), wani taimako (a certain assistance), wani kauye (a certain village) wani abu ne (It is a certain object), wani dutse (a certain stone) wani sabon salo (a certain new way), wani hutu (a certain holiday) and so on.

(ii) Wata – Indefinite specifier, 3rd person, fem. sing.

Wata makaranta (a certain school), wata jiha (a certain state), wata hanya (a certain way), wata rana (a certain day), wata hula (a certain cap) wata cikakkiyar sana'a (a certain adequate profession) etc.

(iii) Wanda – relative pronoun, 3rd pers., masc, sing.

Aure abu ne wanda ya (Marriage is a certain thing that-)

wanda yake (referring to Zato-suspicion) etc.

(iv) Shi - independent personal prn/onject prn./possessive prn.

Sunanshi (Its name – referring to jirgi (train), shi labarin (it) the story), shi ma (referring to babur (motorcycle), na ji dadinshi (referring to littafi (book), shi jirgin sama (it) the aeroplane), jirgin kasa shi ma (the train also), Wannan tsari da aka shigo das hi (this new plan that was introduced), etc.

(v) Ya - subject prin., 3rd pers., masc.

labarin da yake ciki (the story that is contained in), keke yana da amfani (a bike is useful) x 10, shi ma ya na da amfani (it is also useful) – referring to motocycle,), babur ya fi, (a motorbike is better), x 2, babur ya fi keke sauki (a motorbike is better than a bike) x 2, babur dina yana bukatan gyara (my motorbike needs repair), jirgi ya fi (a train is better), wannan agogon yana sauri (this wristwatch/clock is fast), kekena ya latace (my bike is spoilt), jirgin kasa yana da wuyan shiga (a train is difficult to board), Zamani ya

canza (time has changed), wurin yana da kyau (the place is beautiful), and so on.

(vi) Ita/ta independent personal prn/subject prn, 3rd pers., fem.

Mota ma tana da wuyan shiga (a motor-vehicle is also difficult to board), motana ta yi faci (my motor-vehicle has a flat tyre), Hukumar Zariya ita ce (It is Zariya's authority), Shekaranta ta karshe (Her final year) in mota ta zo (when the vehicle comes), ita ma kanta gwamnati (the government itself) Karaman hukuma ta na bakin kokarin ta (the local government is doing its best), kowacce kungiya za ta rika…. (every self-help group will continue to….), Hukuman Wasanni ta Nijeriya (Nigeria's sports council), Ma'aikatan lafiya ta jihar Kaduna (Kaduna State Ministry of Health), satan da ake yi tana da ban haushi (the theft that is done is very annoying), to na gane ta (I now recognize it- referring to hula (cap), Shekarata arba'in da biyar dakin maji (I have been married for forty-five years), haka shekaranta ta ke (that is how my years are), ya gama da ita (he dealt with it – referring kura (hyena), Malam! Doyan ma fa tana da tsada (Malam! even the yam is dear), kungiya ta zabi sonka (a request organization) hukuma ta sani fa (the authority should know), Alhakinta ne ta ga cewa (It is the government's responsibility to…), rayuwata (my life), ita babban jami'a ne (it is a big university – referring to A.B.U. Zaria), 'yan asalin Zariya bas a amfanuwa da ita (indigenes of Zariya do not benefit from it – referring to Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria), doka ba za ta yi aiki ba (the law wil not work…), makaranta ta hana ni (school has prevented me) etc.

These examples suffice to exemplify what is meant by the remarkable performance of the respondents in applying other gender markers. Further research is relevant.

4.6.4 Why The Difference?

Of the major Hausa dialects, only ZZ and Bausanchi have the peculiar gender loss highlighted above. "Why Zazzaganci," one may ask. One of the tools available in an attempt to answer this question is historical linguistics which allows the linguist to trace the various forms of a dialects or language over stretches of time so as to determine how forms evolved and from which quarters. Written texts are usually the main data source the linguist relies on in order to achieve this. But the application of the tools of historical linguistics is not quite feasible in this study because of the absence of a written tradition that dates far back in time to enable us trace the stages of change in ZZ.

However, we can still employ some forms of history to speculate on the source or causative factor of the partial loss of gender in ZZ. Using the principle of provenance (Tonkin, 1971) which some sociolinguists used in tracing the origins of Pidgin for instance, it is possible to show how the social-history of the early settlement called Zazzau provides a fertile ground for a plausible resolution of the source of gender confusion in ZZ.

This study shares Zaria's (1981) hypothesis that the partial loss of gender in ZZ could be attributed to the influence 'genderless' Nupe, Gbayi and Kanuri languages might have exerted on the Hausa dialect spoken in the Zazzau area. How did speakers of these genderless language come to be in one area? With regard to the presence of the Gbagyi in this multilingual set up, oral tradition recounts that the Gbagyi (formerly Gwari) people were the native inhabitants of the Zazzau area before they were joined, and later driven further south by a group of settlers, probably Hausa/Fulani, and others. Today, the Gbagyi people are spread in an expanse spanning from Kaduna which is about 70 kilometres away from Zariya, to Abuja and Minna. The Suleja people even today, claim to be the original settlers of the old Zazzau area. The Abuja people are mainly Gbagyi. It is

probable also that the Fiti and Kammuku tribes found in Soba and Lere districts accordingly were once part of the original settlers of the hilly Zariya area. It is pertinent here to observe that Zazzau was the most southern Hausa city state and from all indications was originally not a native Hausa settlement. The farther south we travel, the more we come across non-native Hausa speakers. Today, the ruling class in Zariaya is made up of the Sullubawa Dynasty, Katsin Dynasty (from Katsina), the Barebari Dynasty (Kanuri) and the Mallawa Dynasty (Fulani).

Historical accounts indicate that during the old Hausa city state, particularly during the reign of the famous Queen Amina of Zazzau, the Zazzau Hausa city state stretched as far as to Nupe land to the south (about 700 kilometres) and the Etsu Nupe had to pay tributes to Queen Amina in the form of gifts of eunuchs and kolanuts. The Zazzau Hausa city also extended as far as to Kwararrafa (Jukun) to the far north-east. Slaves and captives were brought to Zazzau from Jukun. Today, there is a ward called Limancin Kona in Zariya City. 'Kona' is reportedly said to mean Jukun in the Kanuri language. There is also a place called Tudun Jukun, mearning a place where the Jukun people settled or were settled. The Zazzau Hausa city state also had extensive links with the Bornu Empire at a later date and in fact, might have paid tributes to the Sefawa Dynasty of Bornu (Stride and Ifeka, 1973, 97).

This multilingual social composition is not *per se* the cause of the partial loss of gender in ZZ; it is very possible for non-native Hausa speakers to learn Hausa and to be able to correctly apply the gender. But there is linguistic evidence to show that Nupe, Gbagyi and Kanuri languages lack an expressive gender system similar to that of Hausa. These three languages were the languages spoken by some of the early settlers of the Zazzau Hausa City State particularly during the reign of Queen Amina when Nupe and Jukun slaves and captives were brought. Ambiguity of references is resolved by context in these languages. According to my informant, since the third person singular pronoun is used only after the name

of a person is mentioned, listeners will understand to whom the one system third person singular pronoun refers to. Examples:

Shi kamu kamuwa	=	She is a tall woman
Shi na kumwu or	=	
Shi ndo twa kunmu	=	He is a tall man
Shita ya nyi	=	She is my mother
Shi nda babanyi	=	He is my father
Shita fero kakke	=	She is my daughter
Shi nda tada nyi	=	He is my son
Shi ba kasuwuro lezons	=	He/she has gone to market

Below is the Nupe case:

We yi eya me, (bagi)	=	He is my friend
We yi eya mi (yizagi)	=	She is my friend (female)

The informant said that there is no “she” in the Nupe language. It is noteworthy, however, that the absence of a two or three term gender system in Nupe does not mean that there are no linguistic forms which distinguish between biological male and female. The examples given below indicate that there are different terms for sex to distinguish referents such as boys/girls, billy/nanny goal. For instance:

Egi bagizhi asa waniko	=	The boys are frightened
Egi yizagizhi e gboma	=	The girls are smiling
wura	=	nanny goat

busuru	=	billy-goat
bishe yi wo	=	hen
karo	=	ram
kinghabga	=	sheep

But this does not detract the important point that in Nupe the feminine gender is not recognized. It is not too difficult to accept the claim that ZZ has a partial gender loss mainly because the Zazzau area was not originally a settlement of native Hausa speakers, and also, the non-native speakers of Hausa in the ZZ area suffered from a problem of interference from their first language (Nupe, Gbagyi, Kanuri and Jukun) all of which are genderless. The first point becomes more apparent when we ask ourselves why the Bauchi dialect is similar to ZZ. The Bauchi dialects is similar to ZZ mainly also because Bauchi was not originally a native Hausa settlement. (Abubakar, 1983:20) Hausa is second or even third language in some quarters in Bauchi which has been described as a city state which stretched the heathen boundries of the south (Clark, 1991: xxxii). Its founder, Yakubu was a member of the tribe of Gerawa "who spoke a language akin to Bolewa closer to Hausa but yet who were not 'Hausa' (Clark, op cit). From this historical account, it could be seen that Bauchi was not originally inhabited by the Hausa people. Apart from the Gerawa and the Bolawa, other tribes found in Bauchi metropolis include Sayawa, Jarawa, Angasawa, Denawa, Fulani, Zilawa, Warjawa, Miyawa, Kubawa and the Hausa people. Hausa seems to have reached Bauchi through the policy of expansion of the Kano Hausa city state whose influence if not empire was pushed into Bauchi and present day Gombe region at Kalam (Adeleye 1976:581). As Abubakar (1983:20) illustrates, there are Hausa settlers in Bauchi. For instance, Unguwar Ilela is named after a town called Ilela in Sakkwato, while Kura and Jahun got their names from Kura and Jahun respectively in Kano State. Coincidently also, Bauchi and Zariya have the same

historical connections. Lere, one of the five governing centres of Bauchi before the reign of Yakubu 1, was known as "Zegi Zegi" (Clark, 1991:xxxiv).

This indicates that the Zariya people (Zage Zage) were settlers in Bauchi.

4.7 Social Variation

In 4.6 our analysis was along a general line. The analysis cut across the two social groups under consideration that is, the modern and non-modern educated respondents. Apart from the intention of providing a more detailed and systematic description of the pattern of gender use in the speech of the population sample, the next prime concern of this study is to determine whether there are differences in the application of gender in the speech of the two social groups.

Variations are usually stated in two forms: firstly, this group uses these variants or speak in this way while the other group does not; secondly, these linguistic features are largely found in the speech of this social group while they are absent in the speech of the others. These statements are along a social axis and not a geographical one. If we are to posit or conclude in this study that there is a significant variation in the application of gender in the speech of the modern and non-modern educated social groups, then the application of gender by one group should be fully standard or "perfect" while that of the other should be ZZ typical that is, non-standard.

From the data analyzed generally, education seems to have had little or no influence at all on the use of gender by the educated ZZ speakers. Certainly nothing is indicative in the data that the educated ZZ speakers pay any attention to the application of gender in their speech. It is pertinent to recall here the observation by Zaria (1981) that even though the modern educated Zaria speakers may attempt in some social circles to use their gender correctly, they do not care about gender while in the midst of other ZZ speakers.

4.8 Hypothesis Testing

4.8.1 Hypothesis One

> "Zazzaganci has a dialectally unique philosophy of gender where all physical objects that are natural are masculine in the first instance, while all man-made objects or permutations are feminine" (Garba 1985)

The concern here is with the part which states that "all man-made objects or permutation as feminine" in ZZ. The data (see 4.4.1 table VIa and b) indicate that the ZZ speakers do not ascribe the feminine stabilizer ce to all nominals depicting man-made objects or permutations. Of a total possible of 9195 occurrences of ce with 24 nominals depicting man-made objects or permutation in usage by 609 modern and non-modern educated respondents, ce occurred only 3765 times which is less than half of the total possible occurrences. Ne occurred 5430 times. Of these 24 nominals, 10 require the feminine stabilizer and in all 10 cases, responses titled towards the standard use. In other words, in the cases of these nominals requiring the feminine stabilizer, there were more ce occurrences than ne occurrences indicating a favourable inclination to ce and an awareness of the gender of the nominals. This is also an indication that ce is not applied indiscriminately to all nominals depicting man-made objects or permutation. We must therefore conclude with a null hypothesis that the ZZ speakers do not ascribe the feminine stabilizer ce to all nominals depicting man-made objects or permutations.

4.8.2 By way of further discussion, it is easy to see that there is a preponderance of the occurrence of ne in the speech of the ZZ speakers. The data overwhelmingly indicate that the population sample frequently preferred to apply the masculine stabilizer ne with most nominals irrespective of the gender of the nominal concerned. Data from the measurement device show that of a possible 8802

occurrences of ce with 18 feminine nominals for 324 and 165 modern and non-modern educated respondents accordingly, ne was used with these nominals a total number of 3,229 times, while ce occurred 5,573 times. With regard to the interview, ne was used in wrong environments, a total of 109 times while ce occurred in similar environments, a total of 30 times, i.e. 79 times less than the wrong occurrence of ne. In the photo identification data, ne occurred only 122 times far less than usual. It must still be stated here that ne actually appears more in the speech of the population sample than ce. Ne occurred less in the photo identification data because respondents from the Ikara zone did very well by providing the correct gender of the nominals. We have since noted that there is a high tendency amongst the Ikara ZZ speakers to correctly apply the gender of nominals correctly. (See appendix III for a tabulation of the responses of respondents from the Ikara zone).

4.8.3 Hypothesis Two - Social Variation

The research hypothesis states that the application of the stabilizer by the modern educated ZZ speakers is standard and therefore different from the application by the non-modern educated ZZ speakers. Since no significant difference was observed, this hypothesis must be rejected. In its place, a null hypothesis is required and it is herein stated as follows: there is no difference in the application of the stabilizer by the modern educated ZZ speakers and the so-called non-modern eduacated educated ZZ speakers. To test this hypothesis, no comparison of the speech behaviour of the two social groups is attempted for two reasons: Firstly, the hypothesis contains the implicit assumption that the usage of the stabilizer by non-modern educated ZZ speakers is not standard as the general body of data on ZZ indicates. Secondly, the application of the stabilizer by the modern educated ZZ speakers is judged in relation to an external criterion of measure, that is, standard usage.

Frequency indices for the occurrences of the stabilizer in the speech of the modern educated in the interview, the photo identification and measurement device indicate that the application of the stabilizer in the speech of the modern educated ZZ speakers is not entirely standard. There are traces of non-standard usage. In the measurement device, the FI is 33.41 while the FI for interview is 33.47 while 22.22 is the FI for photo identification. In all cases, the frequency indices seem low for two reason: one, the sample is not a large one, and two, there is a high tendency for standard usage amongst respondents from the Ikara zone. Nevertheless, the data is indicative of the positivity of the null hypothesis.

END NOTES

1. Please note: In the calculations presented, the TN of SF was added to the TN of NSF all under the TN of NSF multiplied by 100

2. Stab. Stands for stabilizer (ne/ce)

3. Adv is standard abbreviation of adverb.

4. English name given to me by S.B. Sunmonu, a Geographer

5. Cheshire (1982) citing Labov writes that "regular patterns of stylistic and social vatiation could be seen even where the occurrences of a given variable are only 5". In this study, therefore, five occurrences were taken as the minimum number of occurrences of gender features in the speech of individual respondents (See Cheshire, 1982:28).

6. This does not mean, however, that the fem. gender marker is not recognized in ZZ as Abubakar (1983) claims. It is erroneous to say that fem. gender markers are absent in ZZ. No ZZ speaker will say "wani yarinya ya zo. Instead, a ZZ speaker will use the relevant fem. gender markers to say: wata yarinya ta zo. Wata and ta are fem. gender markers. Contrary to Abubakar's claim, this study discovered that ZZ speakers tend to use such fem. gender markers as wata, ta and ita more correctly.

7. This word seems to have been borrowed from the Hausa language which has bunsuru for the same referent.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The major questions this study set out to answer are: Is there any form of variation in the application of gender in the speech of Zagezagi or is the application homogenous? If there is variation, is it socially motivated? The objectives of the research were, therefore, to carry out a survey of the speech of two social groups, the modern and non-modern educated groups, so as to (a) describe the general pattern of application of gender in the ZZ speech area, and (b) to find out whether education plays any role in differentiating the use of gender by the two groups. Three research instruments were used in the study: the measurement device, recorded interview and photo-identification technique. A fourth method, the unsystematic observation was also used to verify the validity of data collected generaly speaking. To reduce the intensity of the observer's paradox, the strategy of friends interviewing friends was employed. Sampling was largely judgmental. More than 500 modern educated respondents sampled had one of the three research applied on them. Similarly, about 232 non-modern educated respondents sampled had one of the two instruments (measurement device or interview) applied on them. This represents a small sample but the data collected was qualitative and revealing enough. The linguistic variable under focus is the stabilizer ne/ce in nominal, equational or identificational constructions. Other gender markers such as the genitive copula ta/na genitive linker -r/-n and pronouns ya/ta shi/ta are discussed only if they occurred in an identificational structure,

for example:

*motana	-	my automobile
*keketa	-	my bike

*Ita ne - She is the one.

*Tsohuwan gaske ne - It is a truly old one.

5.2 Summary of Findings

5.2.1 Gender pattern

The following patterns of gender use with specific reference to the occurrence of the linguistic variable were observed in the data:

1. Masculine nominal + Masculine stabilizer.
   Almubazzari ne: He is a spendthrift
   Karfe ne: It is iron
2. Feminine nominal + Masculine stabilizer
   Magana ne: It is a talk.
3. Feminine nominal + Masculine linker –n and masc. stabilizer.
   Motan ne: It is the car.
4. Feminine nominal + masculine genitive copula + masculine stabilizer
   Motana ne: It is my car.
   Kekena ne: It is my bicycle.
5. Feminine pronoun + masculine stabilizer
   Ita ne She is the one
6. Feminine nominal + masculine copula + masculine stabilizer + feminine copula:
   Kekena ne ta lalace a hanya.
7. Masculine nominal + feminine copula + feminine stabilizer:
   Baburta ce: It is my motor-bike
8. Feminine relative + feminine nominal + masculine stab.
   Wata kalma ce It is a certain word.
9. Masculine nominal + feminine stabilizer
   Keke ce It is a bike.

5.1.2 Social Variation

The social index employed in this study is modern education, otherwise called western education. The social groups were called modern educated and non-modern educated groups. The modern educated ZZ speakers learn Hausa grammar formally in schools and are usually members of the so-called elite group. The research assumed that because the modern educated ZZ speakers have learnt Hausa formally and because they are likely to be more linguistically conscious, their body of speech in terms of correct gender would be standard and different from that of the non-modern educated ZZ speakers. By 'different; it was assumed that the modern educated ZZ speakers would represent a category of those whose application of gender was not typical ZZ. The findings show that the modern educated speakers cannot as a social group be said to apply the gender correctly in their speech. There is no general tendency towards perfect standard usage that is different from that of the non-modern educated ZZ speakers to enable us conclude that the modern educated ZZ speakers exhibit a distinct pattern of use of gender other than the typical ZZ. But something else to be inferred from the findings and from unsystematic observation is that there are actually correct and standard usage by modern educated speakers at an isolated and idiolectal level. These individuals are usually the linguistically inclined, for instance, lecturers in Hausa at the University level or even lecturers in English but with a language background. Such samples of the total population were not caught in the random sample in this study. But we can conclude by saying that it is still erroneous to say that all ZZ speakers behave exactly alike leaving no room for variation even at an idiolectal level. It is evident that variation exists at the individual level and at geographical levels. Speakers of ZZ who are farther nother (Ikara, Paki) use the gender markers more correctly than those who are farther south. Social variation at group level does not however exist in the ZZ speech community as far as the application of gender is concerned. But the possibility of variation cannot be ruled out

completely particularly at the occupational level. Broadcasters from the ZZ area tend to speak well exhibiting standard usage. But this kind of speech must be described in all honesty as formal and perhaps as written.

5.3 Conclusion:

The conclusions reached here are in line with the result obtained in hypothesis testing. We conclude by saying that:

1. The gender philosophy of Zazzaganci is one in which the stabilizer ne is dominant and is applied to both masculine and feminine nominals in most environment of occurrence.
2. The gender philosophy does not indicate that the stabilizer ce is applied to all nominals depicting man-man objects or permutations.
3. Similarly, in Zazzaganci, the stabilizer ce is not unlitaterally or indiscriminately applied to all nominals depicting objects that are natural.
4. As a corollary to the conclusion stated in (1) above, it is implied that in Zazzaganci the stabilizer ce has a low incidence of occurrence and the ZZ speakers find it difficult to correctly identify the gender of feminine nominals.
5. It must also be stated here that the modern educated ZZ speakers do not seem to have any different behaviour pattern in the application of gender in their speech.
6. Furthermore, it could be stated, therefore, that there is no social variation in the application of gender by the modern educated ZZ speakers whose use of gender is not less non-standard than that of the non-modern educated ZZ speakers who were assumed to be unable to use the gender correctly.
7. While it is possible that formal learning of Hausa might influence the use of gender by modern educated ZZ speakers, in this study it is concluded that formal learning of Hausa in modern schools does not seem to have any

multiple or general effect on the standard application of gender by those who learnt Hausa formally.

8. It could be said that 'improvement' in the application of gender in the ZZ speech community is a possibility. The Ikara zone, for instance, seems to contain speakers whose use of the gender features is very near standard if not entirely standard.

5.4 Direction for Further Research

This study was restricted to observation of the occurrence of the stabilizer in equational construction and in correspondences with nominals depicting man-made objects or permutation and natural objects. The stabilizer represents only one aspect of gender features. (See Chapter Two),. A starting point for further research, therefore, is to include a wider range of gender features in any survey of the speech of the Zagezagi speech community for a reaching and total description of the use of gender features in the ZZ speech area. It is not a lapse on the part of this study that its focus was only the stabilizer. Every research has its own focus and objectives.

From the cognate research experience in this study, it is felt that the data collection procedure of any such study in the future could be improved in the following ways:

1. In the mode of contact between the fieldworkers and the interviewees, the friends of friends strategy should be adhered to. This helps greatly in defusing the formality tension associated with recorded interview sessions. Where the fieldwork involves rural areas, the fieldworker should endeavour to reach his responding through the village head to erase all traces of suspicion the villages might have about the field worker and his 'spy' cassette recorder,
2. Topics of discussion should not be political or religious or other such sensitive issues as family planning. General topics on nature and changes in society are

usually appreciated. Discussions could also centre on occupations such as farming, black smithing, fishing, and so on.

3. The interview technique remains the most appropriate technique for collecting data on the vernacular. The field worker needs a lot of patience and tact in handling interviewees.
4. To collect a large sample, the help of numerous competent research assistants should be sought.
5. Unsystematic observation is very helpful in cross-checking the trend of data collected. But even this should be approached systematically and the field worker will do well to have small pocket index cards on him so as to record relevant speech samples whenever he is with potential members of the research population. Sometimes relevant speech data is heard at odd times and places. These pieces of data could be conveniently recorded on the index card to avoid the pitfall of relying on human memory. In fact, recording the data instantly on the index cards makes it more professional and acceptable to a field worker's conscience. But in the process of recording, the field worker should not be too over-zealous as to arouse the curiosity or suspicion of the interlocutors around. The data should be recorded as discreetly as possible. Data, place and general particulars of inter-locators should be recorded.

New lines of research could include a study of the dialect and its sub-dialects. During the conduct of this study it became apparent that apart from the Zazzaganci spoken within the city and its immediate vicinity, there are two other major sub-dialect areas viz Ikara which comprises other villages such as Auchan, Wambai, Paki, and Makarfi: and Igabi sub-dialect which stretches as far as Lere. The Igabi sub-dialect exhibits traces of relic aspects Zazzaganci while in the Ikara area, the speakers of the sub-dialect there seem to have less gender problems. There is a need for a fuller and closer study of the Ikara sub-dialect so as to further demonstrate the possibility of variation in the use of gender among the ZZ speech community.

Another line of research to be pursued is the study of shift in style as a result of differences in formality situation. A study of the speech of Zagezagi while being interviewed formally in television or radio programmes or while making impromptu or unwritten speeches in formal occasions could be conducted to find out the effect of the formality situation on the application of gender in their speeches.

In the sampling procedure, emphasis should be placed not on only on the youth but also the middle aged. In this study, very few senior civil servants were sampled. It is probable that highly placed modern educated ZZ speakers are a good of social variation in the use of gender among ZZ speakers. The speeches of this category of respondents could be recorded via radio/TV interviews to find out the degree of influence in their use of gender or speech generally by the formality situation which is apparent and critical in the studio interview.

BIBLOGRAPHY

Abubakar A. (1983) "Generative Phonology and Dialect Variation. A Study of Hausa Dialects". Unpublished Ph.D Thesis. University of London.

Abraham, R.C. (1974) The Principles of Hausa Language, Kaduna: Government Printer.

Adeleye, R.A. (1971) "Hausaland and Borno, 1600 – 1800" in J.F.A. Ajayi and M. Gowder (ed). History of West Africa. Vol. I London: Longman.

Anderson, J.M. (1973) Structural Aspect of Language Change London: Longman.

Babbie, E.R. (1986) The Practices of Social Research Belmont: Wordsworth.

_____(1973) Survey Research Methods Belmont: Wordsworth.

Bailey, C.J.N. and Shuy, R.W. (ed) (1973). New Ways of Analyzing Variation in English. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Bailey, C.J.N (1973) Variation and Linguistic Change Virgina: Centre for Applied Linguistics.

Bossevain, J. (1974) Friends of Friends. Oxford: Blackwell

Bright, W. (1964) "Social Dialect and Language History" in Hymes, D. (ed) Language in Culture and Society: New York: Harper and Row

Bynon, T. (1977) Historical Linguistic. Cambridge: CUP.

Cheshire, J. (1982) Variation in an English Dialect; A Sociolinguistic Study. Cambridge University press.

Chomsky, N. (1957) Syntactic Structure. The Hague: Mouton.

_____(1965) Aspects of the Theory of Syntax Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Clark, T. (1991) A Right Honourable Gentleman: The Life and Times of Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Zaria: Hudahuda Publishing company.

Fox, D.J. (1969) The Research Process in Education New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Francis, W.N. (1983) Dialectology: An Introduction London. Longman.

Garba, C.Y. (1985) "Towards a Dialectology of Nigerian Language: The Evidence from Hausa". A paper presented at the Linguistic Association of Nigeria Conference. Zaria.

Gital, G.M. (1987) "Typology of Dative Ordering: A case study of Bausanci Dative Movement in Hausa Dialectology" Unpublished M.A. thesis.

Gleason, H.A. Bayero University, Kano.

Gumperz, J.J. (1968) "The speech community" in Sills, D.L. (ed) International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences Vol. 9. London: Macmillan.

Haugen, E. (1972) "Dialect, Language and Nation" in Pride, J.B. and Holmes J. (ed) Sociolinguistics Middlesex: Penguin.

Hill, P. (1972) Rural Hausa – a village and a setting, London: oxford University Press.

Hockett, C.F (1968) The state of the Art. The Hague: Mouton.

Hore, P.N. (1970) Landscape, Weather and Climate in MORTIMORE, M.J. (ed) Zaria and its Region: A Nigerian Savannah City and its Environs. Occasional paper No. 4 Published for the 14th Annual conference of the Nigeria Geographical Society.

Hudson, R.A (1980) Sociolinguistic, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hudges, A. and Trudgill, P. (1985) English Accents and Dialects: An Introduction to social and Regional Varieties of British English. London, Edward Arnold

Hymes, D. (1974) Foundations of Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach.

Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania press.

Hymes, D (ed) (1964). Language in culture and Society. New York: Harper and Row.

Jinju, H.M. (1981) Rayayyen Nahawun Hausa Zaria: Northern Nigeria Publishing Company.

Kay, Paul (1978) "Variable Rules, Community Grammar and Linguistic Change". In Sankoff, D. (ed) Linguistic Variation Models and Methods. New York: Academic press.

Labov, W. (1972) Sociolinguistic Patterns. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

_____ (1978) "Sociolinguistics" in Dingwall, W.O. (ed) A Survey of Linguistic Science. Standford: Greylock.

Lyons, J. (1968) An Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics. London: Cambridge University Press.

Matthews, P.H. (1979) Generative Grammar and Linguistic Change. London: Allen and Unwin.

Miller, Steve (1975) Experimental design and Statistics London: Methuen.

Muhammad, L. (undated) Hausa Dialects, an Occasional Publication of the Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

Newman, P. (1967) "Feminine Plurals in Hausa. A Case of Syntactic Overcorrection" in the Journal of African Languages Vol. 6 Part 2

Parsons, F.W. (1960) "An Introduction to Gender in Hausa" in African Language Studies. Vol. I.

_____ (1963) "The Operation of Gender in Hausa Stabilizer, Dependent Nominals and qualifiers" in African language Studies Vol. IV

Pettyt, K.M. (1980) The Study of Dialect: An Introduction: London: Andre Deutsche.

Pride, J.B. (1971) The Social Meaning of Language. London: Oxford University press.

Samarin, W.J. (1967) Field Linguistics A. Guide to Linguistic Fieldwork New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston.

Sankoff, D. (ed) (1978) Linguistic Variation; Models and Methods. New York: Academic Press.

Schacter, P. (1966) "A Generative Account of Hausa NE/CE" in___Journal of African Language.

Schuh, R.G. (1983) "The Hausa Language and Its Nearest Relatives" A paper delivered at a joint Departmental Seminal, Bayero University, Kano – Nigeria.

Stride, G.T. and Ifeka C. (1973) Peoples and Empires of West Africa. Middlesex, Nelson.

Tonkin, E. (1971) "Some Coastal Pidgins of West Africa" Social Anthropology and Language ASA Monographs London: Tanistack Publications.

Trudgill, P. (1983) Sociolinguistics, Middlesex: Penguin.

_____ (1974) The Social Differentiation of English in Norwish. Cambridge; CUP.

_____ (1978) Sociolinguistic Patterns in British English London: Edward Arnold.

Urquhart, W.A. (1970) "The Morphology of Zaria" in Mortimore, M.J. (ed) Zaria and Its Region: A Nigerian Savannah City and its Environs Occasional paper No. 4 Published for 14th Annual

Conference of the Nigerian Geographical Society.

Zaria, A.B. (1982) "Issues in Hausa Dialectology"
Unpublished Ph.D Dissertation, Blomington: Indiana University.

_____ (1981) Nahawun Hausa Ibadan. Nelson

Zarruk, R.M. (1979) "Darasi Na Suna" Mimeograph. Institute of
Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

APPENDIX 1b

Data on measurement device modern educated
Frequency count of Individual Frequency Indices [FI]

AREA	Level of Education	Age Range	SEX Male	FI	Frequency	NSF	SF
				72.27	/	17	5
				72.72	/	16	6
				68.18	/	15	7
				63.63	//	14 x 2 = 28	8 x 12 = 16
				59.09	///	13 x 4 = 52	9 x 4 = 36
				54.54	/	12 x 2 = 24	10 x 2 = 20
				50.00	/// ///	11 x 8 = 88	11 x 2 = 88
				40.90	////	9 x 8 = 36	13 x 8 = 52
				36.36	//	8 x 2 = 16	14 x 2 = 28
				31.81	//	7 x 3 = 21	15 x 3 = 45
				27.27	//// /	6 x 6 = 36	16 x 6 = 96
				22.72	////	5 x 4 = 20	17 x 4 = 68
				18.18	//// /	4 x 6 = 24	18 x 6 = 108
				13.63	////	3 x 4 = 12	19 x 4 = 76
				9.09	////	2 x 5 = 10	20 x 5 = 100
				4.54	//	1 x 2 = 2	21 x 2 = 42
					55	417	793

APPENDIX 1b [Cont'd]

AREA	Level of Education	Age Range	SEX	FI	Frequency Count		NSF	SF
Zariya	SSS	15.23	Female	72.72	/		16	6
				63.63	///		14 x 3 = 42	8 x 3 = 24
				59.09	/		13	9
				54.54	///		12 x 3 = 36	10 x 3 = 30
				50.00	////		11 x 5 = 55	11 x 5 = 55
				45.45	////		10 x 4 = 40	12 x 4 = 48
				40.90	////		9 x 5 = 45	13 x 5 = 65
				36.36	//		8 x 2 = 16	14 x 2 = 28
				31.81	////		7 x 4 = 28	14 x 4 = 60
				27.27	////	////	6 x 10 = 60	16 x 10 = 160
				22.72	///		4 x 3 = 12	17 x 3 = 51
				18.18	//		4 x 3 = 12	18 x 3 = 54
				13.63	/		3	19
				9.09	///		2 x 3 = 6	20 x 3 = 60
							48	387	669
	Zariya	CSE	15.23	Mixed	81.81	/		18	4
					68.18	////	///	15 x 8 = 120	7 x 8 = 56
					63.63	//		14 x 2 = 28	8 x 2 = 16
					59.09	///		13 x 3 = 39	9 x 3 = 27
					54.54	//		12 x 2 = 24	10 x 2 = 20
					50.00	////	////	11 x 9 = 99	11 x 9 = 99
					45.45	////	////	10 x 9 = 90	12 x 9 = 108
					40.90	////		9 x 5 = 45	13 x 5 = 65
					36.36	////		8 x 5 = 40	14 x 5 = 70
					31.81	////		7 x 4 = 21	15 x 4 = 60
					27.72	////	//// //	6 x 12 = 72	16 x 12 = 192

APPENDIX 1b [Cont'd]

Level of AREA Education	Age Range	SEX	FI Score	Frequency Count	NSF	SF
Zariya CSE	20.35	Mixed	22.72	////	5 x 4 = 20	17 x 4 = 68
			18.18	//// //// /	4 x 11 = 44	18 x 11 = 198
			13.63	//// /	3 x 6 = 18	19 x 6 = 114
			9.09	/	2	208
			4.54	/	1	21
				83	688	1138
Shika CSE	20.35	Male	63.63	/	14	8
			54.54	/	12	10
			50.00	//	11 x 2 = 22	11 x 2 = 22
			45.45	/	10	12
			36.36	///	8 x 3 = 24	14 x 3 = 42
			31.81	//	7 x 2 = 14	15 x 2 = 30
			27.27	///	6 x 3 = 18	16 x 3 = 48
			22.72	///	5 x 3 = 15	17 x 3 = 51
			13.63	///	3 x 3 = 9	19 x 3 = 57
			9.09	////	2 x 4 = 8	20 x 2 = 40
			0.00	/	0	22
				24	146	382
Soba CSE	20.29	Male	63.63	/	14	8
			59.09	/	13	9
			31.81	//// ////	7 x 9 = 63	15 x 9 = 135
				11	90	152

APPENDIX 1b [Cont'd]

AREA	Level of Education	Age Range	SEX	FI Score	Frequency Count	NSF	SF
Soba	SSS	15-20	Male				
				81.81	/	18	4
				72.72	/	16	6
				59.09	///	13 x 3 = 39	9 x 3 = 27
				54.54	//	12 x 2 = 24	10 x 2 = 20
				45.45	////	10 x 4 = 40	12 x 4 = 48
				36.36	/	8	14
				31.81	//	7 x 2 = 14	15 x 2 = 30
				27.27	/	6	16
				22.72	//	5 x 2 = 10	17 x 2 = 34
				18.18	//	4 x 2 = 8	18 x 2 = 36
				13.63	///	3 x 3 = 9	19 x 3 = 57
				9.09	//	2 x 2 = 4	20 x 2 = 40
				4.54	/	1	21
					25	197	353
Gamagira	CSE	20-25	Male	81.81	//	18 x 2 = 26	4 x 2 = 8
				68.18	/	15	7
				54.54	/	12	10
				50.00	/	11	11
				45.45	//// //	10 x 7 = 70	12 x 7 = 84
				40.90	/	9	13
				56.36	/	8 x 2 = 16	14 x 2 = 28
				31.81	/	7	15
				22.72	/	6	14
				22.72	/	6	17
				18.18	/	4	18
					19	191	227

APPENDIX 1b [Cont'd]

AREA	Level of Education	Age Range	SEX	FI Score	Frequency Count	NSF	SF
Ikara	SSS	15-20	Male	59.09	/	13	9
				50.00	/	11	11
				45.45	//	10 x 2 = 20	12 x 2 = 24
				36.36	/	8	14
				31.81	/	7	15
				27.27	//////////	6 x 13 = 78	16 x 13 = 208
				22.72	/	5	17
				18.18	//	4 x 2= 8	18 x 2 = 36
				13.63	////	3 x 4 = 12	19 x 4 = 78
				9.09	//	2 x 2 = 4	20 x 2 = 40
				4.54	/	1	21
				0.00	//	0	22 x 2 = 44
					31	167	515
	CSE			59.09	/	13	9
				36.36	//	7 x 2 = 14	15 x 2 = 30
				18.18	////	4 x 5 = 20	18 x 5 = 90
				13.63	//	3 x 2 = 6	19 x 2 = 38
				9.09	/	2	20
				4.54	/	1	21
				0.00	/	0	22
					13	56	230

APPENDIX 1b [Cont'd]

Calculations of sub-area and
Total area Frequency Indices.

Area	Level of Education	No. Samples	NSF	SF
Zaria	CSE [Male & Female]	83	688	1138
	SSS [Male]	55	417	793
	SSS [Female]	48	387	669
Shika	CSE [Male]	24	146	382
Gamagira	SCE [Male]	19	191	227
Soba	CSE [Male]	11	90	152
"	SSS [Male]	25	197	353
			2116	3714

Sub-are FI = $\frac{2116}{5830} \times 100$

FI = 36.29 For Zariya area.

Area	Level of Education	No Samples	NSF	SF
Ikara	CSE	13	58	228
	SSS [Male]	31	167	515
Wambai	CSE [Male]	15	43	287
			268	1030

Sub-area FI = $\frac{268}{1298} \times 100$

FI = 20.64

Zariya + Ikara FI = $\frac{2384}{7128} \times 100$

FI = 33.44 modern educated respondents.

APPENDIX 1b [Cont'd]

AREA	Level of Education	Age Range	SEX	FI Score	Frequency Count		NSF	SF
Wambai	CSE	20-26						
					36.36	/	8	14
					31.81	/	7	15
					22.72	/	5	17
					18.18	//	4 x 2 = 8	18 x 2 = 36
					13.63	///	3 x 3 = 9	19 x 3 = 57
					9.09	//	2 x 2 = 4	20 x 2 = 40
					4.54	//	1 x 2 = 2	21 x 2 = 42
					0.00	///	0	22 x 3 = 66
						15	43	287

APPENDIX 1c

Data: Measurement Instrument: Non-modern Education.
Frequency Count of Individual Frequency indices [FI]

AREA	Level of Education	Age Range	Sex	FI	Frequency Count	NSF	SF
Zariya	NME	20-45	Male		81.81 //	18 x 2 = 36	4 x 2 = 8
					72.72 /	16 x 1 = 16	6 x 1 = 16
					68.18 //	15 x 2 = 30	7 x 2 = 14
					63.63 ///	14 x 4 = 42	8 x 3 = 24
					59.09 ////	13 x 4 = 52	9 x 4 = 36
					54.54 //// //	12 x 7 = 84	10 x 7 = 70
					50 //	11 xx 2 22	11 x 2 = 22
					45.45 ///	10 x 3 = 30	12 x 3 = 36
					40.90 //	9 x 2 = 18	13 x 2 = 26
					36.36 //// ////	8 x 9 = 72	14 x 9 = 126
					31.8 ////	7 x 4 = 28	15 x 4 = 60
					27.72 ////	6 x 4 = 18	16 x 3 = 48
					22.72 ////	5 x 4 = 20	17 x 4 = 68
					18.98 ////	4 x 6 = 24	18 x 6 = 108
					13.63 //// ////	3 x 4 = 21	19 x 7 = 183
					9.04 ////	2 x 4 = 8	20 x 4 = 80
					4.54 /	9 x 1 = 9	21 x 1 = 21
					0.00 //	0 x 2 = 0	22 x 2 = 44
					66	522	935

APPENDIX 1c [Cont'd]

AREA	Education	Age Range	Sex	FI	Frequency Count	NSF	SF
Shika	NME	20-45	Male	81.81	/	18	4
				72.27	//	12 x 2 = 34	5 x 2 = 10
				72.72	/	16	6
				68.18	//	15 x 2 = 30	7 x 2 = 14
				63.63	/	14	8
				59.09	///	13 x 3 = 39	9 x 3 = 27
				54.54	/	12	10
				50	//	11	11
				45.45	//	10 x 2 = 20	12 x 2 = 24
				40.90	///	9 x 3 = 27	13 x 3 = 39
				36.36	/	8	14
				31.81	//	7 x 2 = 14	15 x 2 = 30
				27.27	/	6	16
				18.18	///	4 x 3 = 12	18 x 3 = 54
					24	243	285
Giwa				36.36	/	8	14
				27.27	/	6	16
				13.63	/	3	19
				9.09	/ // /	2 x 5 = 10	20 x 4 = 100
				4.54	//	1 x 2 = 2	21 x 2 = 42
				0.00	//	0	22 x 2 = 44
					12	29	235

APPENDIX 1c [Cont'd]

AREA	Education	Age Range	Sex	FI	Frequency Count	NSF	SF
Soba	NME	20-45	Male	77.27	//	17 x 2 = 34	5 x 2 = 10
				50	//	11 x 2 = 22	11 x 2 = 22
				54.54	/	10	12
				36.36	/	8	4
				31.81	//	7 x 2 = 14	15 x 2 = 30
					8	88	88
Gamagira				81.81	/	18	4
				72.72	//	16 x 2 = 32	6 x 2 = 12
				59.09	/	13	9
				54.54	/	12	10
				40.90	/	9	13
				36.36	/	8	14
				31.81	/	7	15
				22.72	/	5	17
					9	104	91
Ikara				27.27	//	6 x 2 = 12	16 x 2 = 32
				22.72	////	5 x 4 = 20	17 x 4 = 68
				18.18	////	4 x 4 = 16	18 x 4 = 72
				13.63	///	3 x 3 = 9	19 x 3 = 57
				9.09	////////	2 x 11 = 22	20 x 11 = 220
				4.54	///	1 x 3 = 3	21 x 3 = 63
				0.00	////////	0 x 9 = 0	22 x 9 = 198
					36	82	210

APPENDIX 1c [Cont'd]

AREA Education	Age Range	Sex	FI	Frequency Count	NSF	SF
Wambai NME	20-45	Male	22.72	//	5 x 2 = 10	17 x 2 = 34
			18.18	/	4 x 2 = 8	18 x 2 = 36
			13.63	//	3 x 2 = 6	18 x 2 = 38
			9.09	/	2	20
			4.54	//	1 x 2 = 2	21 x 2 = 42
				10	28	192

Summary/Calculation of FI

Are	NSF	SF
Zariya	522	930
Shika	243	285
Giwa	29	235
Soba	88	88
Gamagira	104	94
	968	1632

$$FI = \frac{9}{2618} \times 100$$

FI = 37.66

Ikara	82	710
Wambai	28	192
	110	902

$$FI = \frac{100}{1012}$$

FI = 12.19

$$\text{GRAND FI} = \frac{1096}{3630} \times 100$$

FI = 30.19

APPENDIX 11a

[Area and grand FI for general performance in Written response: Modern educated]

Area	Educ.	No. of Respondents	NSF	SF	FI
Zariya	SSS [M]	55	417	793	34.46
	SSS [F]	48	688	1138	37.67
Shika	CSE	24	146	382	27.65
Soba	SSS	25	197	152	35.81
"	CSE	11	90	152	37.19
Gamagira	CSE	19	191	227	45.69
		265	2116	3714	45.69

FI for Zariya area = $\frac{2116}{5830}$ X 100 = 36.29

Area	Educ.	No. of Respondent	NSF	SF	FI
Ikara	SSS	31	167	515	24.48
	CSE	13	56	230	20.27
Wambai	CSE	15	43	287	13.03
			266	1032	

FI for Ikara area = $\frac{266}{1298}$ x 100 = 20.49.

Grand FI [Zariya + Ikara = Zazzau] =

$\frac{2382}{7128}$ x 100 = 33.44

TOTAL NUMBER OF MAXIMUM RESPONSES = Total number of respondents multiplied by total number of items. So,

324 x 22 = 7128

Code: SSS [Senior Secondary]; CSE [Completed at least secondary education]

APPENDIX 11b

[Area and grand FI for general performance in Written responses; Non-modern educated].

Area	NME	No. of Respondents	NSF	SF	FI
Zaria		66	458	994	31.54
Shika		24	243	285	46.02
Giwa		12	29	235	10.98
Soba		8	88	88	50.00
Gamagira		9	104	94	52.52
		119	922	1686	52.52

Area FI = $\frac{922}{2618}$ = 100 = 35.21

Area	NME	No. of Respondents	NSF	SF	FI
Ikara		36	82	710	10.35
Wambai		10	28	192	12.72
		46	110	902	12.72

Area FI = $\frac{110}{1012}$ x 100 = 10.86

Grand FI = $\frac{1032}{3630}$ x 100 = 28.42

APPENDIX 111a

Breakdown of Standard Form Usage [SF] into masculine and feminine from responses by modern educated respondents;

Area	Tn of SF	Macs.	Fem.	Tn of Respondents
Zariya	3714	924	2790	265
Ikara	1032	231	801	59
	4746	1154	3591	324

In the written response, respondents were required to indicate the gender of 4 masc. items. Since there were 265 respondents for Zariya, it means that total number [tn] of maximum 4 masc. items 924 times, to represent the FI, we will deduct 924 from 1060. The reminder, 136, represent the NSF, FI therefore equals:

$$\frac{136}{1060} \times 100 = 12.83$$

For Ikara, the same process is followed , So FI is:

$$\frac{5}{236} \times 100 = 2.11$$

Grand FI = $\frac{141}{1296} \times 100 = 10.87$

10.87 = FI for wrong use of stabilizer with the 4 masculine items.

We can go through the same process to arrive at the FI for the wrong use of the stabilizer for the 18 feminine nominals. So, for Zariya, 265 x 18 = 4770 representing maximum number of correct responses . Subtract in of correct responses, 2790 from 4770, the remainder, 1980 represents the NSF.

SO, FI = $\frac{1980}{4770} \times 100 = 41.50$

41.50 represents FI for wrong use of the stabilizer with the 18 feminine nominals.

For Ikara, it is thus:

19 x 18 = 261 – 801 = 261

nsf = $\frac{261}{1062} \times 100 = 24.57$

FI = 24.57

Grand FI = $\frac{1980}{4770} + \frac{261}{1062} = \frac{2241}{5832} \times 100 = 2=38.42$

38.42 represents therefore the frequency index for the wrong use of the stabilizer with the 18 feminine nominals from the responses of modern educated respondents.

APPENDIX 111b

A total presentation of standard form usage [SF] into masculine and feminine from responses by non-modern educated [NME] respondents.

Area	Tn of SF	Masculine	Feminine
Zariya	994	234	760
Shika	285	93	192
Soba	88	27	61
Giwa	23.5	47	188
Gamagira	94	34	60
	1696	435	1261

FI for 4 masculine items = 41 x 100 = 8.61 for Zariya.

Area	Tn of SF	Masculine	Feminine
Ikara	710	141	569
Wambai	192	40	152
	902	181	721

FI = $\frac{3}{154}$ x 100 = 1.63 for Ikara for the 4 masc. items.

The grand FI for the use of the stabilizer with the 4 masculine items = 6.66 0

$\frac{44}{660}$ x 100 = 6.66

For the 18 feminine nominals, the pattern is as follows:

Area	Max. Correct Responses	Tn of SF
Zariya Zone	119 x 18 = 2142	1261
	FI = $\frac{881}{2142}$ x 100 = 41.12	
Ikara Zone	46 x 18 = 828	
	FI = $\frac{107}{828}$ x 100 = 12.92	
Grand FI =	$\frac{881 + 107}{2142 + 828} = \frac{988}{2970}$ x 100	

FI = 33.26 wrong use of the stabilizer with the 18 feminine nominals for non-modern educated respondents.

Appendix Iva Ne/Ce in Equational Construction.
Data from Recorded Interview Session modern Educated.

Area	Non-Standard Usage [examples]	Frequency Count	Standard Usage	Frequency Count
Zariya	Mota ne	//	Jami'a ce mai fa'ida	/
	Motan Audu ne	////	daliba ce	/
	Wannan keke ta ce	//	almubazzari ne	/
	babur ne	//	babban matsala ce	/
	keke na ce	/	matashiya ce	//
	mota na ne	/	Wuya ne [ref. to neck]	/
	magana ne	/	ba al'adamnu ce ba	/
	shinkafa ma tsawo ne	/	ita ce [ref. to Eng. Lang.]	/
	damuwar kuwa shi ne	/	Hausa ta zama zabi ne	/
	tapiyan awa biyar ne	/	Littafi ne	/
	shi ne [ref. to matsala]	/	Jirgin Kasa ne	/
	anguwa ne	/	bubar ce	//
	shawaran da zan ba a		keke ne	//
	ango shi ne	///		
	yarinyan mutane ne	/	agogo ne	//
	gaskiya ne	/	Sana'a ce	//
	babur din Yamaha ne	/	keke ta ne	//
	Jan motan Lawal ne	/	mot ace	///
	babur ta hawa ce	/	Karfe ne	/
	keke ta ce	//	littafi abu ne	/
	Jirgin kasa ce	/	mota ta ce	/
	Keke ta tsohuwa ce	/	babur di na ne agogo na ce	/
	babur ta ce	/	littafi na sabo ne	/
	Matsalan shi ne	/	inji ne	/
	In dai mace ne	/	gida ne/gidanss ne	//
			ba magani ba ne	/
	Keke na ne ta lalace a hanya	/	hankalin ta ne	/
	Number of Tokens	24		

APPENDIX IVa

Area	Non-Standard Usage [Examples]	Frequency Count
Zariya	Motan ne	//
	Motan Audu ne	////
	Wannan Keke ta ce	/
	babur ce	/
	Keke na ce	/
	mota na ce	/
	magana ne	/
	shinkafa mai tsawo ne	/
	damuwar kuwa shi ne	/
	tapiyan awa biyar ne	/
	shi ne [referring to matsala]	/
	anguwa ne	/
	shawaran da zan ango	////
	shi ne	/
	yarinyan matanne ne	/
	gaskiya ne	/
	babur din Yamaha ne	/
	jan motan Lawal ne	/
	babur ta hawa ce	/
	keke ta ce	//
	jirgin Kasa ce	/
	keke ta tsohuwa ce	/
	babur ta ce	/
	matsalan shi ne	/
	indai mace ne	/
	keke na ne ta lalace a hanya	/
	Number of tokens	34

APPENDIX IVa [Cont'd]

Standard Usage	Frequency Count
aure wani abu ne	/
zunubi ne	/
matsaloli ne	/
wasanni ne	/
dole ne	/
it ace [ref. to a fem. athlete]	/
ha'inci…shine ya jawo	/
hakuri shi ne	/
motar sabuwa ce	/
keken can tsoho ne	//
babur na ne	/
keken Chopper ne	////
keke, na Isa ne	/
Jirgin sama shi ne	//
mota ta ce	/
sule biyar ne	/
babanci shi ne	/
'yan makaranta ne	/
Ampanin keke shi ne	/

APPENDIX [IVa Cont'd]

Area	Standard Usage	Frequency Count
Ikara	noma ne	//
Wambai	ai ta Kasar waje ce [ref. to atampa]	/
	Kasuwar Ikara ba wata Kasuwa ba ce	/
	Ita ce [ref. to Kwalla]	//
	Wane lokaci ne	/
	Wannan goro shi ne	/
	ba ta mu ba ce [ref. to al'ada]	/
	zan yi zance a kan aure ner	//
	A kan kais hi da farko ne [ref. to kaya]	/
	jigo ne	/
	dankalin turawa ne	/
	da inji ne	/
	magana ce	/
	budurwa ce	/
	ba ta gaba ba ce wannan siyasar	/
	Siyasa ce	//
	an tauye masu hakki ne	/
	jam'iyya guda biyu ce	/
	halinta fa ba daya ba ne	/
	ba dubu dari biyu ba ne	/
	gargadi ga jama'a shi ne	/
	magana ce wanda	/
	GSS Ikara makaranta ce	/
	aiki ne	/
	naira talatin ne	/
	wasu sukan yi baikon ne	/
	sadaki ne	/
	keke ne	/
	ita ce [ref. to tambaya]	/
	Hausa ita ce	/

APPENDIX IVa [Cont'd]

Area	Standard Usage	Frequency Count
Wambai	It ace [ref. to matsala]	/
	Kano ita ce	/
	rigana ne	/
	name n e	/
	Dalili shi ne	/
	shi ne [ref. to toki]	/
	masallaci ne	/
	Kadanya ce	/
	Gidana ne	/
	barkonu ne	/
	Number of tokens	45

APPENDIX IVa

Area	Non-Standard Usage [NSF]	Frequency Count	Standard Usage	Frequency Count
Kano Based	hanyar neman kudi ne	/	In a Kano ne	/
	mace ne	//	in dai iyaye ne	/
	Riga ne	///	gwaranci ne	/
	Keke ce	/	saboda ba Hausa b ace	/
	Hujjan shi ne	/	harshensu ne	/
	shekaran da aka haife ne	/	takarda ta ce	/
	hula ita ma mace ne	//	keke na ne	////
	wata kalma ne	/	machine di na ne	///
	Hausan haknaka ne maid a			
	Dan wani na ka	/	dankwali ne	/
	In dai Hausan Zaria ne	/	gida na ne	//
	‘yar mai kudi ne	/	mot ace	//
	Maganan d azan yi shine	/	Jirge ne	/
	hula ne	/	wani gari ne	/
	kalma ce	/	mace ce	//
	dabba ne	/	rigarta ce	//
	angulu ne	/	hula ce	//
	Hausa ta Zariya ne	/	takalmi ne	/
	Kasan Kano ne	/	doki ne	/
	Zuwa na Kasan Kano ne	/	matsal ce babba	//
	Number of tokens	23	allon ne bai da kyau	/
			Magana ce	//
	SUMMARY		rayuwa ce tayi wuya	///
	NSF SF		tarihin karatu na shine	/
Zariya	34	68 – FI = 34 x 100 = 33.33		
		102	jaka ce	/
Ikara	20	45 FI = 20	tabarmanmu ce ma na	/
		65 x 100 = 36.76		
Kano Based			agogo namiji ne	/
	23 40		Number of tokens	40
	78 153			
Grand = 78 = x 100				
230				
FI = 33.76				

APPENDIX IVb

Data from Recorded Interview Session
Non-modern Educated.

Area	Non-standard Usage [NSF]	Frequency Count	Standard Form [SF]	Frequency Count
Zariya	Pita ce	/	dole ne	/
	Gaskiya ne	///	noma ne	/
	Motan ne	/	sammako ne na yi	/
	Ita ne [ref. To a car]	///	alkawari ne na yi	/
	Kanwa na ne	/	si tiyari ne kawai	/
	Kanwa ba sarakkuwa ba ne	/	Ko dubu goma ne	/
	tsohuwa ne [ref. To a car]	/	in dubu goma ne	/
	tsohuwa gaske ne [ref. to a car]	/	wancan watan ne	/
	marmara ne	/	gaisuwanmu da shi fa sannu sannu ne	/
	dukiya ne	//	keken ne	/
	na bayan ne [ref. to a tyre]	/	ko fari ne [ref. to a bike]	/
	koriyan nan ne [ref. to cap]	/	bariki ne	/
	na Alhaji Babban ne [ref. to a cap]	/	jari ne	/
	ita ne [ref. to a school]	/	ba wani hutu ba ne	/
	roban ma shi ne wahala	/	maraya ne	/
	irin shi ne [ref. to rubber]	/	shekarun ne	/
	hanyan mai kyau ne	/	kogi ne	/
	dabara ne	/	kudi ne	//
	sana'a ne	//	ci gaba ne	/
	dabi'a ne	/	naira ce	/
	bidi' a ne	/	taimako shi ne amfanin kungiya	/
	yarinya ne	/	matsala ce	/

APPENDIX IVB [Cont'd]

Area	Non-Standard Usage [NSF]	Frequency Count	Standard Form	Frequency Count
Zariya	gwabnati ne	/	taimako ne	/
	In dai na duniya ne	/	ban an garin ba ne	/
	Boca ne	/	hark ace	/
	Jami'a ne	//	kuskure ne	/
	Shawara na shi ne	/	aikin banza ne	/
	Shimfidar kuwa da muke ciki	/		
	Shine	/	imani ne/bangare ne	//
	Kubewa ne	/	aikin dan sanda ne	/
	Karya ne	/	alhakin ta ne/alhaki ne	//
	asara ne	/	magunguna ne	/
	babban matsala shi ne	/	gidan ka ne	/
	ita ne [ref. to earth/ground]	/	in so samu ne	/
	mota ne	/	hawa-hawa ne	/
	Number of tokens	45	al'adunmu ne	/
			Kifin rijiya ne	/
			Wasanni ne	/
			ina barayin sa dai kayan miya ne	/
			wani kaya ne	/
			dalili shi ne	/
			muhimmanci aure shi ne	/
			zamani ne	/
			Shimfida ne	/
			Kwadayi ne	/
			Tuwon shinkafa ne	/
			Ruwan maganin da aka daurare	/
			Miki ne	/
			Hakuri ne	//
			Lardi ne	/
			Sumunti ne	/
			Ruwan dare ne	/
			Bara wajibi ne	/
			Hakkin gwabnati ne	/
			Number of tokens	59

APPENDIX IVb

Data from Recorded Interview Session
Non-modern Educated.

Area	Non-Standard Usage [NSF]	Frequency Count	Standard Usage	Frequency Count
	Ikara/Wata anguwa ne	/	a takiace wannan itace yar	/
			Gajeriyar hirar da mu ka ye	/
	Wambai/Kasuwar Ikara dad a		tarbiyyar da tarbiyya c eta	
	Muhimmiya ne	/	kwarai	/
	Ina jaket da wando ce	/	talla ne musabbin lala-	
			Cewar yara mata	/
	Kasa ne mai albarka	/	Ita ce [ref. to Ikara L.G.]	/
	Mota ne ta yi haka	/	barawo ne	/
	auduga ne kadai ba mu nomawa	/	ita ma gwabnati ce ta sata	/
	keken dana hau ce ta yi paci	/	wannan aiki ne	/
	Number of tokens	7	In dai gaskiya ce	/
			A wannan zalunci ne	/
			Wannan wakar maso ya ce	/
			Wata saniya ce	/
			Barkono ne	/
			Babban riga ce	/
			Wando ne	/
FI = 7 x 100			dinkin keke ya kunshi	
37			abubuwa da dama ne	/
= 18.91			hamma ce	/
			Wannan ita ce pilaya	/
Grand FI:	NSF SF		Sita sipana – wannan kuma	
	Zariya: 45 59		babbar ce	/
	Ikara: 7 30		wajen gari ne	/
			Dara ce ta ci gida	/
	FI = 52 x 100		Zamanin namu ne	/
	141		Matsaloli ne suka addabe mu	/
			laifi na hukuma ne	/
	= 36.87		tambayarka tambaya ce mai wuya	/
			Siysar banza ce	/
			mulki ne yanzu	/
			hanya ce kawai ta handama	/
			noma ne ya fi	/
			makaranta ce	
			number of tokens	30

APPENDIX Va: CO-OCCURRENCE OF NE/CE WITH MAN-MADE OBJECTS/PERMUTATIONS. MODERN EDUCATED RESPONDENTS

	NE								CE									NE				CE							
AREWA	**SHIKA CSE**	**ZARIA CSE**	**ZARIA SSM**	**ZARIA SSF**	**SOBA CSE**	**SOBA SSM**	**GAMAGIRA**	**SUB-TOTAL**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**SUB-TOTAL**	**Number of Respondends**	**WAMBAI**	**IKARA CSE**	**IKARA SSM**	**SUB-TOTAL**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**SUB-TOTAL**	**Number of Respondends**	**TOTAL NE**	**TOTAL CE**	**Total Number of Respondent**
WORD																	265												
MOTA	6	8	14	10	1	2	9	50	18	75	41	38	10	23	10	215	"	0	1	0	1	15	12	31	58	59	51	273	324
JIRGI	23	77	48	45	11	24	10	238	1	6	7	3	0	1	9	27	"	15	13	30	58	0	0	1	1	"	296	28	"
LITTAFI	23	74	46	38	10	20	16	227	1	6	9	10	1	5	3	38	"	15	13	30	58	0	0	1	1	"	285	39	"
BUTA	2	2	8	11	2	5	4	34	22	81	47	37	9	20	15	231	"	2	0	1	3	13	13	30	56	"	37	287	"
REDIYO	22	77	48	40	10	24	10	231	2	6	7	8	1	1	9	34	"	11	12	26	49	4	1	5	10	"	280	44	"
GIDA	23	77	50	35	11	25	16	243	1	6	5	9	0	0	1	22	"	14	13	30	59	1	0	1	2	"	350	24	"
MATSEFI	22	77	49	43	11	23	17	242	2	6	6	5	0	2	2	23	"	15	13	29	57	0	0	2	2	"	299	25	"
LULLUBI	24	77	48	48	11	21	19	242	0	12	7	0	0	4	0	23	"	14	12	30	56	1	1	1	3	"	298	25	"
BAKA	16	14	32	30	9	16	7	151	8	42	23	18	2	9	12	114	"	10	8	4	22	5	5	27	37	"	173	151	"
AGOGO	24	78	53	44	10	23	18	250	0	5	2	14	1	2	1	15	"	15	13	31	59	0	0	0	0	"	309	15	"
BABUR	22	67	41	37	2	18	10	197	2	16	14	11	9	7	9	68	"	15	12	28	55	0	1	3	4	"	252	72	"
KARAGA	9	48	27	21	10	11	11	137	15	35	28	27	1	14	8	128	"	1	1	8	10	14	12	23	49	"	147	177	"
FITILA	8	18	9	11	1	7	7	61	16	65	46	37	10	18	12	204	"	0	1	5	6	15	12	26	53	"	67	259	"
RIJIYA	4	27	7	18	1	6	4	67	20	56	48	30	10	19	15	198	"	1	2	2	5	14	11	29	54	"	72	252	"
KOFA	8	42	19	24	3	10	10	116	16	41	36	24	8	15	9	149	"	0	2	7	9	15	11	24	50	"	125	199	"
KASUWA	2	28	7	11	2	6	5	61	22	55	48	37	9	19	14	204	"	0	2	4	6	15	11	27	53	"	67	257	"
TAKARDA	6	32	24	16	7	13	11	109	18	51	31	32	4	12	8	156	"	0	1	4	5	15	12	27	54	"	114	210	"

APPENDIX Vb: CO-OCCURRENCE OF NE/CE WITH MAN-MADE OBJECTS/PERMUTATIONS. MODERN EDUCATED RESPONDENTS

	CE						NE							CE		NE						
AREWA	**ZARIA**	**SHIKA**	**GIWA**	**SOBA**	**GAMAGIRA**	**SUB-TOTAL**	**ZARIA**	**SHIKA**	**GIWA**	**SOBA**	**GAMAGIRA**	**SUB-TOTAL**	**Nuber of Respondents**	**IKARA**	**WAMBAI**	**SUB-TOTAL**	**IKARA**	**WAMBAI**	**SUB-TOTAL**	**Number of Respondents**	**TOTAL NE**	**TOTAL CE**	**Total of Respondents**
WORD																							
MOTA	55	12	12	7	5	91	11	12	0	1	4	28	119	35	10	45	1	0	1	46	29	136	165
JIRGI	5	0	1	1	0	7	61	24	11	7	9	112	"	0	0	0	36	10	46	"	158	7	"
LITTAFI	10	0	0	2	0	12	56	24	12	6	9	109	"	0	0	0	36	10	46	"	153	12	"
BUTA	51	10	11	6	6	84	15	14	1	2	3	35	"	34	10	44	2	0	2	"	37	128	"
REDIYO	5	1	3	0	3	12	61	23	9	8	6	107	"	12	0	12	24	10	33	"	141	24	"
GIDA	11	1	0	0	0	12	55	23	12	8	9	107	"	1	0	1	35	10	45	"	152	13	"
MATSEFI	3	0	0	3	1	7	63	24	12	5	8	112	"	0	0	0	36	10	46	"	158	7	"
LULLUBI	6	1	0	4	3	14	60	23	12	4	6	105	"	0	1	1	36	9	45	"	150	15	"
BAKA	32	0	2	0	3	37	34	24	10	8	6	82	"	2	0	2	34	10	44	"	126	39	"
AGOGO	6	2	1	0	0	9	60	22	11	8	9	110	"	1	1	2	35	9	44	"	154	11	"
BABUR	12	23	0	3	2	40	54	1	12	5	7	79	"	2	1	3	34	9	43	"	122	43	"
KARAGA	30	5	9	4	1	49	36	19	3	4	8	70	"	28	7	35	8	3	11	"	81	84	"
FITILA	49	14	11	3	4	81	17	10	1	5	5	38	"	35	6	41	1	4	5	"	43	122	"
RIJIYA	54	18	10	4	5	91	12	6	2	4	4	28	"	36	10	46	0	0	0	"	26	137	"
KOFA	26	8	11	6	3	54	40	16	1	2	6	65	"	1	10	11	35	0	35	"	100	65	"
KASUWA	51	14	12	5	5	87	15	10	0	3	4	32	"	36	10	46	0	0	0	"	32	133	"
TAKARDA	41	6	11	6	3	67	25	18	1	2	6	52	"	35	9	44	1	1	2	"	54	111	"

APPENDIX VI

Data from photo Identification.
Frequency Indices for Responses on
Various nominals.

Area	Zariaya		FI	Ikara		FI	Total		Grand FI
Nminal	Ne	Ce		Ne	Ce		Ne	Ce	
Nota [ce]	24	28	38.70	0	64	0.00	24	102	19.04
Agogo [ne]	58	4	6.45	64	2	3.12	120	6	4.76
Babur [ne]	46	16	25.80	58	6	9.37	104	22	17.46
Keke [ne]	47	17	24.19	47	17	26.56	94	32	25.39
Jirgin Kasa [ne]	52	10	16.12	61	3	4.68	113	13	10.31
Littafi [ne]	56	6	9.67	57	7	10.93	113	13	10.31
Bindiga [ce]	46	16	74.18	7	57	10.93	53	73	34.12
Tsutsa [ce]	37	25	59.67	8	56	12.5	45	81	35.71
Doki [ne]	62	0	0.00	64	0	0.00	126	0	0.00
	62 Respondents			64 Respondents					

126 Respondents

APPENDIX VI [Cont.]

Supplementary Data
Photo Identification Technique
Modern Educated

Kalma [Word]	Stabilizer [NE]		Stabilizer CE		No. of tokens
	Zariya	Ikara	Zariya	Ikara	
Mota	24	0	38	54	126
Agogo	58	62	4	2	126
Babur	46	58	16	6	126
Keke	47	47	17	15	126
Jirgin Kasa	52	61	10	3	126
Littafi	56	57	8	13	126
Bindiga	46	7	16	73	126
Doki	62	64	0	0	126
Tsutsa	37	8	25	156	126

$$\text{Zariya area FI} = \frac{233}{757} \times 100$$

$$FI = 29.98$$

$$\text{Ikara area FI} = \frac{33}{420} \times 100$$

$$FI = 7.85$$

$$\text{Zariya + Ikara FI} = \frac{266}{1197} \times 100$$

$$FI = 22.22$$

Details if non-standard and standard usage by individual respondents could be seen in continuation of appendix IV on following sheets.

APPENDIX VI [Cont'd]

Area	Age	Level of Education	Sex	FI Score	NSF	SF
Zariya	22	CSE	Male	35.29	6	11
	25			20.00	2	8
	23			9.09	1	10
	27			40.00	4	6
	22			22.22	2	9
	23			27.27	3	8
	18			44.44	8	10
	26			20.00	3	12
	23			0.00	0	16
	25			38.46	5	8
	28			50.00	10	10
	32			40.00	4	6
	34			0.00	6	10
	29			25.00	2	8
	24			30.00	3	7
	32			20.00	2	8
	35			11.11	1	9
	30			12.5	1	8
	36			50.00	3	6
	26			33.33	4	8
	34			0.00	0	9
	34			12.50	1	8
	35			30.76	4	9
	36			55.55	5	4
	26			27.27	3	8
	25			44.44	4	5
	26			44.44	4	5
	32			22.22	2	7
	37			0.00	0	9
	36			12.5	1	8
	21			28.57	2	7
	24			28.57	2	5

APPENDIX VI [Cont'd]

Area	Age	Level of Education	Sex	FI Score	NSF	SF
Zariya	18	SSS	Male	22.22	2	7
	17			33.33	3	6
	16			46.15	6	7
	19			38.46	5	8
	17			44.44	4	5
	16			33.33	3	9
	18			30.00	3	7
	19			85.71	6	7
	17			50.00	8	8
	15			47.05	8	9
	17			37.50	6	10
	15			42.85	6	8
	15			50.00	7	7
	16			46.66	7	8
	16			37.50	6	10
	17			23.07	3	13
	15/5			33.33	6	12
	16			26.66	4	11
	16			25.00	4	12
	17			33.33	4	8
	18			8.00	2	23
	18			23.52	4	13
	15			35.29	6	11
	15			37.50	6	10
	16			50.00	9	9
	15			11.11	1	9
	15			40.00	4	6
	15			25.00	2	6
	18			66.66	6	3
					233	544
					757	

APPENDIX VI [Cont'd]

Area	Level of Education	Age	Sex	FI Score	NSF	SF
WAMBAI	CSE	22	Male	0.00	0	9
		32		11.11	1	8
		24		0.00	0	9
		26		0.00	0	9
		28		0.00	0	9
		21		11.11	1	8
		26		0.00	0	9
		20		0.00	0	9
		19		11.11	1	9
		25		22.22	2	7
		32		11.11	1	8
	SSS	24		11.11	1	8
		18		11.11	1	8
		16	Fem.	0.00	0	9
		18	Male	0.00	0	10
		18		11.11	1	8
		18		11.11	1	8
		?		11.11	1	8
		18		11.11	1	8
		18		0.00	0	10
IKARA	CSE	19		11.11	1	8
		25		0.00	0	10
		31		0.00	0	10
		22		11.11	1	8
		22		0.00	0	10
		21		11.11	1	8
	SSS	18		11.11	1	8
		18		0.00	0	10
		19		33.33	3	6
		16		11.11	1	8
		17		11.11	1	8
AUCHAN	JSS	13	Male	0.00	0	14
		11		7.14	1	13

APPENDIX VI [Cont'd]

Area	Level of Education	Age	Sex	FI Score	NSF	SF
Auchan	JSS	12	Male	0.00	0	12
				23.07	3	10
				0.00	0	17
				0.00	0	11
				0.00	0	17
				0.00	0	13
				0.00	0	17
				0.00	0	11
				9.09	1	11
				9.09	1	11
				30.00	3	10
				0.00	0	12
				9.09	1	11
				0.00	0	17
				0.00	0	13
				0.00	0	14
				6.66	1	15
				0.00	0	17
				0.00	0	20
				0.00	0	12
				0.00	0	14
				0.00	0	15
				5.88	1	16
				14.28	2	12
				0.00	0	18
					33	387

APPENDIX VII

Interview With Modern Educated Respondents

	Male	Female	Zariya
SSS	27	30	Zariay
CSE	20	1	Zariya
SSS	19		Ikara
CSE	14		Ikara
CSE	6		Wambai
CSE	16	2	Kano Based
	102	33	135

Non-Modern Educated

Male	Female	Zariya
25		
15	4	Ikara
8	-	Wambai
10	-	Gamagira/etc
		Tama Gurbabiya
5		Lere
63	4	= 67

APPENDIX VIII

BINCIKE DOMIN SAMUN BABBAB DIGIRI
[JAMI'AR AHMADU BELLO TA ZARIYA]

1. Suna:……..….
2. Shekaru:……
3. An yi Makaranta book zuwa Sakandare ['E' ko A'A]…….....
4. An karanta Hausa a makarantar gaba da firamare watau Sakandare ['E' ko A'A]……..
5. An iya ban banta mace da namiji tsakanin kalmomi? ['E' ko' A'A]……

To don Allah ayi amfani da ne ko ce domin a banbanta jinsin Wadannan Kalmomi.

MISALI

Alkami	ne

Kalma	Rubuta ne ko ce
1. Mota	…….
2. Jirgi	…….
3. Littafi	…….
4. Karya	…….
5. Buta	…….
6. Hanya	…….
7. Kofa	…….
8. Rediyo	…….
9. Marmara	……..
10. Zuciya	…….
11. Kasuwa	…….
12. Iyawa	…….
13. Rijiya	…….
14. Name	…….
15. Lullubi	…….
16. Matsefi	…….
17. Sama	…….
18. Kasa	…….
19. Yatsa	…….
20. Takarda	…….
21. Arba'in	…….
22. Gida	…….
23. Ungulu	…….
24. Wata	…….
25. Katanga	…….
26. Baka	…….
27. Jara	…….

28. Hotel …….
29. Fitila …….
30. Karaga …….
31. Istimeti …….
32. Wahala …….
33. Sakkwato …….
34. Agogo …….
35. Ashirin …….
36. Babur ……..
37. Wuya [na jiki] …….
38. Gaskiya …….
39. Madara …….
40. Kasa …….

Na gode

A.A. KUNDILA.
KANO.

APPENDIX IX

سانتسي نسي

دن الله أن أنفانسي د نسي كوتسي:

دومن أنيسك غراسن ولك سرى أجكي

كلمومن داك زان

ما .....

سمرو بمرونس .

.....

كلومن	فرنسي
١ — موتا	.....
٢ — جوتس	.....
٣ — لتفس	.....
٤ — قرى	.....
٥ — بوت	.....
٦ — قوف	.....
٧ — سبتس	.....
٨ — ري ديو	.....
٩ — مرمرا	.....
١٠ — زوتس	.....
١١ — كاسوا	.....
١٢ — ايوا	.....
١٣ — ليس	.....
١٤ — نام	.....
١٥ — لله	.....
١٦ — متشي	.....
١٧ — سم	.....
١٨ — قن	.....
١٩ — غدا	.....

كلمون	غريبين
٢٠ ـــــات	.....
٢١ ـــ تكـــودا	.....
٢٢ ـــ أنـــمـــل	.....
أنـــغـــلـــو	.....
٢٤ـــ وتـــا	.....
٢٥ ـــ بـــكـــا	.....
٢٦ ـــ كتنفـــا	.....
٢٧ ـــ كـــرا	.....
٢٨ ـــ أوتـــل	.....
٢٩ ـــ فـــتـــل	.....
٣٠ ـــ كـــرغـــا	.....
٣١ ـــ اســـتـــمـــتـــى	.....
٣٢ ـــ و مـــلا	.....
٣٣ ـــ سـكـــوتـــو	.....
٣٤ ـــ أغـــوغـــو	.....
٣٥ ـــ أشـــرن	.....
٣٦ ـــ بـــمـــو	.....
٣٧ ـــ و ى	.....
٣٨ ـــ غـسكـــى	.....
٣٩ ـــ مـــدرا	.....
٤٠ ـــ قـــدل	.....

APPENDIX X
DATA COLLECTION

1. Name of Respondent:…….
2. Age:…….
3. Level of Education:……
4. Area of Settlement:……
5. Responses:

		NE	CE
i.	Mota	……	……
ii.	Agogo	……	……
iii.	Babur	……	……
iv.	Keke	…….....	……
v.	Tsutsa	……	……
vi.	Jirgin Kasa	……	……
vii.	Littafi	……	……
viii.	Bindiga	……	……

[a] TOTAL NO. SF =

[b] TOTAL NO. SF =

[a] + [b] =

Frequency Index = $\frac{NSF}{NSF + SF}$ x 100. So, FI = _____ x 100 =

Fieldworker:

APPENDIX XI

BINCIKE AKAN ZAZZAGANCI

Tambayoyi domin malamai masu koyar da Hausa a makarantun gaba da firamare a lardin Zazzau.

Don Allah a taimaka a bada amsoshi kamar yadda ya kamata.

1. Shekaru ana koyarwa a wannan matsayin_____
2. A cikin tsarin darusa ana koyar da jinsi?
3. Ana sane da matsalar jinsi a Zazzaganci?
4. Me ake yi a darusa domin a taimakawa yara su gyara kurensu wajen amfani da jinsi?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Na gode

Na ka/ki

A.A. KUNDILA
ATC/ABU,
KANO.