

Comparative Analysis of Hadejia and Guddiri Dialects of Hausa

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ABSTRACT: *It is a common phenomenon in any society to have a different group of people who speak the same language based on their regional or social identity, but one may find that, there are some similarities and differences among the languages of these groups. These differences are called variation. The particular variation which is peculiar to a specific region or social group is called dialect (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015). The Hausa language is one of the languages that is full of different dialects. Those include Kanananci (Kano dialect), Sakkwatananci (Sokoto dialect), Guddiranci (Guddiri dialect), Hadejanci (Hadejia dialect) and so on. This dynamism of language as a means of communication is what makes it an area worthy of research. The Hadejia and Guddiri dialects are said to be the same by some researchers. Thus, this study aims to examine the differences and similarities between Hadejia and Guddiri dialects.*

KEYWORDS: Comparative Analysis, Hadejia, Guddiri, Dialects, Alternation, Germination, Tone, Metathesis Hausa

INTRODUCTION

A language is a system of communication that consists of a set of rules governing the use of words, sounds, and grammatical structures to convey meaning. It includes both the lexical (vocabulary) and grammatical (syntax) components of a spoken or written form of communication. Languages vary widely in their structure, complexity, and cultural significance, and are classified into families based on shared linguistic features. The study of language is known as linguistics, which encompasses various subfields such as phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics (Swann et al., 2004). Understanding the intricacies of language is crucial for effective communication, education, and cultural preservation. Hausa is a major world language, spoken as a mother tongue by more than 30 million people in Northern Nigeria and Southern parts of Niger, in addition to diaspora communities of traders, Muslim scholars and immigrants in urban areas of West Africa (Southern Nigeria, Ghana, Togo, and the Blue Nile Province of Sudan). It is widely spoken as a second language and expanded rapidly as a *lingua franca* (Jaggar, 2001:1).

However, in this paper we are going to state that research question, significance, design, theoretical framework method of data collection as well as data analysis techniques for accurate and objective comparison of the two dialects in question.

Research Questions

This research will answer the following questions:

1. What are the phonological differences and similarities between Hadejia and Guddiri dialects?
2. What are the syntactic differences and similarities between Hadejia and Guddiri dialects?
3. What are the semantic differences and similarities between Hadejia and Guddiri dialects?

Significance of the Study

Understanding the relationship between the Hadejia and Guddiri dialects can be significant for several reasons, including:

1. Analysing the relationship between these dialects can shed light on the historical migration patterns of the communities who speak them. This information can be used to reconstruct the linguistic evolution of the languages and their diversification from a common ancestor.
2. Both Hadejia and Guddiri dialects may be under-resourced and face endangerment. Studying their relationship can contribute to their documentation and preservation efforts, ensuring the survival of these unique linguistic expressions.
3. Studying the shared and divergent features of Hadejia and Guddiri dialects can contribute to the field of comparative dialectology, providing valuable insights into the processes of linguistic change and variation.

Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics is a subfield of linguistics that explores the relationship between language and society. It examines how social factors such as gender, age, ethnicity, social class, and region influence language use and variation. Sociolinguistics also investigates how language is used to construct and maintain social identities, power relations, and cultural values. This interdisciplinary field draws on insights from anthropology, sociology, psychology, and communication studies to provide a holistic understanding of language in its social context (Swann et al., 2004). The study of sociolinguistics has practical applications in fields such as education, linguistic planning, language revitalization, and language policy (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015).

Dialect

Wardhaugh & Fuller (2015) explained dialect as a regional or social variation of a language that is characterized by distinctive pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary. Dialects can arise due to geographic isolation, historical settlement patterns, migration, and social factors such as education and socioeconomic status.

Regional dialects develop as a result of geographic isolation and contact between speakers. For example, speakers in different parts of the Hausa lands may pronounce words differently due to differences in settlement patterns. These regional dialects can be so distinct that speakers from different regions may have difficulty understanding each other. The Hausa dialects consist of three Subsections: East, West and North. The eastern dialects include *Kananci* (Kano dialect), *Zazzaganci*

(Zaria dialect), *Guddranci* (Guddiri dialect), *Bausanci* (Bauchi dialect) and *Hadejanci* (Hadejia dialect) respectively. The western dialects include *Sakkwatanci* (Sokoto dialect), *Zamfaranci* (Zamfara dialect), *Kabanci* (Kebbi dialect), *Gobiranci* (Gobir Dialect), and *Katsinanci* (Katsina dialect) respectively. The northern dialects include *Damagaranci* (Damagaran dialect), *Arawanci* (Arawa dialect), *Dauranci* (Daura dialect), and *Gumalanci* (Gumel dialect) respectively.

Social dialects, on the other hand, reflect differences in social class, education, and ethnicity. For example, speakers from lower socioeconomic backgrounds may use different vocabulary or grammar than speakers from higher socio economic backgrounds. These social dialects can be influenced by factors such as education and exposure to different linguistic communities.

The Relationship between Hadejia and Guddiri Communities

Currently, Hadejia is situated northeast of Jigawa. Hadejia's name comes from the names of the prominent hunter "Haxe" and his wife "Jiya," who is credited by history with founding the town (Wakili, 1989, p. 1). The Emir of Hadejia is the head of the Council of Kings of the kingdoms of Jigawa state because his kingdom was the hub of this kingdom and is also the largest of the kingdoms in Jigawa state. Eight local government areas make up the Hadejia emirate: Guri, Kiri kassama, Auyo, Birniwa, Hadejia, Kafin-Hausa, Mallam Madori, Kaugama, and Kiri kasama.

One of the well-known Hausa lands, Guddiri land is situated in what is now the states of Bauchi and Yobe in north eastern Nigeria. Katagum is the centre of Guddiri territory. In addition, Misau, Damban, Azare, Lanzai, Yayu, and other cities are located on this territory. We can be certain that *Guddirawa* are Hausa people since the leaders of these towns have the typical Hausa leadership styles. Apart from Hausa, Guddiri land is comprised mainly of Fulani, Kanuri and Kare-kare tribes. These native clans were tightly knotted by marriage and of course by religion. The name Guddiri was derived from the epithet 'BornoN'guddiri', meaning "little Borno" (Ibinola, 2009). *Guddirawa* is the popular folkloric name of the inhabitants. Their major occupations were farming, fishing, iron smelting and hunting (Ibinola 2009).

The Guddiri area and Hadejia are adjacent. The town's founders were brothers from the start, according to history. Since the Shehu Usman DanFodio Jihad and the Hausa wars, they have had an excellent relationship. Their marriage, political, and economic ties are still strong. For instance, King Haji of Katagun married King Muhammadu's daughter, while King Mamman of Misau married King Muhammadu's daughter of Hadejia (Tukur, 1999, p. 103).

Then Hadejia and Guddiri dialects are subsection regions of Hausa eastern dialects. They are also related to similar languages including Fulfulde, Bade and Kanuri languages. This has helped a lot in making the dialects look similar despite the many differences between them.

Theoretical Framework

The theory of language variation laid out by Labov (1972) will be applied in this study. In 1972, William Labov proposed a ground-breaking theory of language variation in his book "Sociolinguistic Patterns." This theory challenged the traditional view of language as a fixed and uniform system. Instead, Labov argued that language is inherently variable and that this variation is patterned and systematic.

Research Design

Descriptive qualitative research is being utilized in this study of the differences and similarities between the Hadejia and Guddiri dialects. The descriptive qualitative approach in the field of dialectology is a research methodology that focuses on documenting and analysing the linguistic features of dialects in a detailed and comprehensive manner.

Method of Data Collection

In this study of the similarities and differences between Hadejia and Guddiri dialects, a multidimensional approach that integrates interview, observation, questionnaire and the analysis of existing literature is used. During interviews with native speakers, researchers gather information about their language usage, including pronunciation, vocabulary, and sentences. Observations of native speakers in naturalistic settings like conversations or community interactions reveal unique linguistic features. Previous documents including academic studies, linguistic atlases, and other relevant sources provide context for new findings and help to identify similarities and differences between the dialects. In addition, a total of 1,400 respondents completed the questionnaire, with 700 of them coming from each of the seven local government areas of Hadejia and Guddiri. By combining these methods, the researcher obtains a comprehensive understanding of the similarities and differences between Hadejia and Guddiri dialects.

Data Analysis Techniques

Content analysis is used to analyse the data in this research on the similarities and differences between the Hadejia and Guddiri dialects. Content analysis is a technique used to methodically look over and analyse the text, audio, or visual content. Tavakoli (2012) defined content analysis as a procedure which is used to convert written or spoken information into data that can be analysed and interpreted.

The Phonological Differences and Similarities between Hadejia and Guddiri Dialects

Phonology is defined as a branch of linguistics that studies the sound system of a language. Many variationists' sociolinguistic studies have focused on phonological variation, or how the pronunciation of certain phonological features varies between speakers and contexts. Typically this would involve identifying a set of phonological variables (e.g. phonemes whose realisation varies) (Swann et al., 2004, p. 238).

The Phonological Differences between Hadejia and Guddiri Dialects

The Hadejia and Guddiri dialects exhibit some phonological differences. They are as follows:

Alternation

Alternation term occurs in phonology for the indication of variation in pronunciation of a particular phoneme, usually determined by adjacent sounds or syllables (Swann et al., 2004 p. 8.). Thus, alternants of the phoneme /u/ in Hausa are [i], [ɪ] and [u] as in *biki*, *biki* and *buki* respectively. The word *gadoo* (bed) ends with the vowel /oo/, but when the suffix {-n} is added as in *gadon*, the vowel is pronounced [a]. The sound alternations that occur in the Hadejia and Guddiri dialects show both their similarities and differences. They are as follows:

a. When the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ comes before an unrounded vowel in the Hadejia dialect, it becomes a palatalized voiceless glottal fricative [hj]. In Hausa, the unrounded vowels are /i/, /ii/, /e/, /ee/, /a/, and /aa/. However, when /ʃ/ comes before an unrounded vowel in the Guddiri dialect, it is not realized as [hj]. Consider the following examples:

b.

Guddiri dialect	Hadejia dialect	Gloss
Shakkaa	Hyakkaa	Doubt
Shaayi	Hyayii	Tea
Shinkaafaa	Hyinkaafaa	Rice
Shimi	Hyimi	Undergarment
Sheege	Hyegee	Bastard
Sheewaa	Hyeewaa	Scream for pleasure

As you can see from the above examples, in Hadejanci, the /ʃ/ sound that occurs before the unrounded vowel sounds are realised as [hj] sound in every word, whereas in Guddiri dialect, the /ʃ/ sound does not change. Additionally, this contradicts the opinions of academics like Baba (1988), who claimed that the Hadejia dialect is the same as the Guddiri dialect.

c. An additional way to differentiate the Hadejia dialect from the Guddiri dialect is by observing that in the Hadejia dialect, the /ʃ/ sound that appears in a word-final syllable before a vowel /i/ is realised as the sound [h], whereas in Guddiri, it remains unchanged. Take a look at these instances:

Guddiri Dialects	Hadejia dialect	Gloss
Gaashii	Gaahii	Roasting
Gooshii	Goohii	Forehead
Rashii	Rahii	Loss
Taashii	Taahii	Flight
Baashii	Baahi	Debt

d. In the Guddiri dialect, the sound /k/ is always realised as the [ʔ], regardless of the vowel sound that comes after it. However, this substitution does not occur in the Hadejia dialect. Consider the below examples:

Hadejia Dialects	Guddiri dialect	Gloss
Qafaa	ʔafaa	Leg
Qirgaa	ʔirgaa	Count
Qeetaa	ʔeetaa	Malice
Buƙaataa	Buʔaataa	Need
Qootaa	ʔootaa	Wooden handle

e. Vowels are also different in Hadejia and Guddiri dialects, because in the Hadejia dialect the vowel /u/, when it comes at the beginning of a word after the sound /ʔ/, is realised as the vowel [a]. But in the Guddiri dialect, this does not happen as can be seen in the following examples:

Guddiri Dialects	Hadejia dialect	Gloss
ʔungozoomaa	ʔangozoomaa	Midwife
ʔunguwaa	ʔanguwaa	Quarter
ʔunguluu	ʔanguluu	Vulture
ʔungurnuu	ʔangurnuu	Potash

f. There is a realisation of the sound /ʔj/ as the [kj] in the Guddiri dialect, which does not occur in the Hadejia dialect. Additionally, this alternation has a few examples. The research presented on the difference between Standard Hausa and Guddiri dialects such as Bagari (1978), Ali (1986) and Sani (2003) gave one example. Here it is:

g.

Hadejia dialect	Guddiri dialect	Gloss
ʔyaaʔyaa	Qyaaqyaa	Plural of son and daughter

Gemination

Gemination is the articulation of a consonant for a longer duration than that of a single sound in phonology. Gemination is commonly interpreted as the doubling of the consonant and is symbolized as a doubled letter in several writing systems (Crystal, 2008 & Salim, 1990). Gemination as a non-dialectal is found in all dialects, as in *hannu* (hand), *kunne* (ear), *kalli* (look at), *shakka* (doubt), and *hamma* (yawning). There are dialectal which is also found in northern dialects, such as *hulla* (cap) instead of *hula*, *jakki* (donkey) instead of *jaki*, and *kassuwa* (market) instead of *kasuwa*. The distinction between the Hadejia and Guddiri dialects can be explained in terms of germination. Consider the following examples:

Guddiri Dialect	Hadejia Dialects	Gloss
Baa nii da laafiyaa	Ban nii da laafiyaa	I am sick
Baa kaa da laafiyaa	Bakkaa da laafiyaa	You are sick
Baa kii da laafiya	Bakkii da laafiya	You are sick
Baa shii da laafiyaa	Bas shii da laafiyaa	He is sick
Baa taa da laafiyaa	Bat taa da laafiyaa	She is sick
Baa mu da laafiyaa	Bam mu da laafiyaa	We are sick
Baa kuu da laafiyaa	Bakkuu da laafiyaa	You are sick
Baa suu da laafiyaa	Bas suu da laafiyaa	They are sick

As we have shown in the aforementioned cases, germination takes place in the Hadejia dialect between the long vowel sound of negation (where the vowel becomes short) and the consonant sound of the pronoun. However, there is no such scenario in the Guddiri dialect.

Tone

The use of pitch in language to differentiate between lexical and grammatical meaning is known as tone. Hausa is a tonal language. Each of its five vowels may have a low tone, high tone or falling tone in a word. The following examples illustrated by Sani (2003) show how the tonal realizations of the Hadejia and Guddiri dialects differ:

Hadejia dialect	Guddiri dialect	Gloss
Dánwákee	Dànwákee	Dumpling
‘Yàrkáazaa	‘Yàrkáazaa	Little chicken
Dónʔállah	Dònʔállah	Please
Dónmé	Dònmé	For what
Dányáaro	Dànyáaro	Little boy

In Hadejia dialects, all of the words that come before them in the above-mentioned examples have a high tone, as do the words that come after them. However, the first word has a low tone in the Guddiri dialect, whereas the words that follow have a high tone. In other words, this is because the Guddiri dialect exhibits tonal polarity in these situations.

The Phonological Similarities between Hafejia and Guddiri Dialects

Alternation

Despite the phonemic realisation of the Hafejia and Guddiri dialects differ in many ways as previously mentioned, the dialects are similar when it comes to standard Hausa's realization of /fj/ as [f]. Here is an example to prove what is explained above:

Standard Hausa Dialects	Hafejia and Guddiri Dialect	Gloss
Fyaacee	Faacee	fed up
Fyaadee	Faadee	Rape
Fyauce	Fauce	Swoop down

Metathesis

Phonological metathesis occurs when two adjacent sounds switch places, as in *bincike* (research) [1 2 3] and *binkice* [1 3 2] (Sani, 1999). The Hafejia and Guddiri dialects exhibit a range of metathesis, which at times highlights their distinctions and at other times highlights their commonalities. Consider the below examples:

Standard dialects	Hafejia dialect	Guddiri dialect	Gloss
Yaaloo	Laayoo	Laayoo	Garden egg
Bagaaruwaa	Bagaaruwaa	Gabaaruwaa	Egyptian mimosa
Daurayaa	Daurayaa	Darwayaa	Rinse
Kusurwa	Sukurwa	Sukurwa	Corner
Gauraya	Garwaya	Garwaya	Mix

Apart from the fact that the word's meaning remains unchanged, this metathesis has an additional interesting feature. If the syllable from which the metathesis is derived has a high tone, it maintains that tone, without switching to low or falling tones.

The Syntactic Differences and Similarities between Hafejia and Guddiri Dialects

An aspect of grammar refers to sentence or clause structure (i.e. how words combine to form sentences). Syntactic structures may vary between languages and language varieties, and also socially and stylistically (Swann et al., 2004, p. 307).

The Syntactic Differences between Hafejia and Guddiri Dialects

There are several noticeable syntactic variations between the Hafejia and Guddiri dialects, despite their extensive vocabulary and grammar similarities. These are a few instances:

Pronoun

The Hausa language has many types of pronouns (Sani, 1999). However, the variations in the usage of personal pronouns between the Hadejia and Guddiri dialects will be discussed in this section. The usage of personal pronouns in non-sentence settings is impacted by this distinction. Whereas employing them in a sentence doesn't differ in any way. Consider the following examples:

Guddiri Dialect

Persons	Singular	Plurals
First person	Nii	Muu
Second person Masculine Feminine	Kai Kee	Kuu
Third person Masculine Feminine	Shii Itaa	Suu

Hadejia Dialect

Persons	Singular	Plurals
First-person	Niiyaa	Muuyaa
Second person Masculine Feminine	Kaiyaa Keeyaa	Kuuyaa
Third person Masculine Feminine	Shiiyaa Itaayaa	Suuyaa

The examples given above clarify what was said earlier, that Hadejia and Guddiri dialects are different dialects, not as Bagari (1978) and Baba (1988) described them as the same dialects.

Tenses

However, to account for the similarities and differences in tenses between the Hadejia and Guddiri dialects, emphasis will be placed on the usage of the relative and general continuous tenses.

The time that something is being done is indicated by the general and relative continuous tenses in the Hausa language. The general continuous tense is used in general sentences, whereas the relative continuous tense is used in relative sentences. This is one of the distinctions between the two types of tenses. The employment of tense markers is another. "kee" is used for the relative continuous tense and "naa" for the general continuous tense. The Guddiri dialect's usage of the two tenses is supported

by the information provided. Regarding the use of tense markers, however, things are different in the Hadejia dialect. Tone distinguishes the general continuous tense and relative continuous tense markers in the Hadejia dialect. Similar to how the relative continuous tense has "nàa" with a low tone, the general continuous tense has "náa" with a high tone. This distinction is a significant fact that establishes the differences between the Hadejia and Guddiri dialects.

Dative

Dative describes the relationship between the verb and the nouns in a sentence (Gital, 1987). Hadejia differs from the Guddiri dialect in the way it uses dative form, as will be seen in the following examples:

Hadejia Dialect	Guddiri dialect	Gloss
Audu yaa taaraa wa Ali kuɗi	Audu yaa taaraa kuɗi a Ali	Audu collected money for Ali
Lamii taa gasaa wa Kande nama	Lamii taa gasaa nama a Kande	Lami baked meat for Kande

The "wa/ma" dative changes to "a", which verifies the difference between the two dialects in the case of noun and pronoun datives.

Possessive

The possessive indicates that one noun takes ownership of another noun. There are two types of possessive, long possessive as in *mota taka* {your car} and short possessive as in *motarka* (your car) (Galadanci, 1976). The application of short possessives will be examined in this study. The use of the short possessive, which has a noun at the beginning, a link element (which indicates gender and number), and a pronoun, is where Hadejia and Guddiri dialects vary. If the third person singular masculine is used, this is where the differences lie, as demonstrated by the following examples:

Standard Hausa Dialect	Guddiri dialect	Hadejia dialect	Gloss
Kuɗinsaa	Kuɗinshii	Kuɗinhii	His money
Jakinsaa	Jakinshii	Jakinhii	His donkey
Gonarsaa	Gonarshii	Gonarhii	His farm

Negation

A negative sentence indicates that some action is not happening, something no longer exists or that a subject does not possess a particular quality. In most scenarios, it can be easily identified by the words *ba...baas inbazaizoba* (he will not come), *babu/ba* as in *babu/ba kaya* (there is no stuff) and *kada*, as in *kadakashiga* (don't enter). The Hadejia and Guddiri dialects differ in how negative sentences are constructed. Consider the following examples:

Guddiri dialect	Hafejia dialect	Gloss
Ba ka daawoo gidaaba	Ba ka daawoo ba gidaa	You didn't come home
Ba ta baa ni kwabon ba	Ba ta baa ni ba kwabon	She didn't give me a coin
Ba su sha ruwa ba	Ba su sha ba ruwa	They did not drink water.

The Syntactic Similarities between Hafejia and Guddiri Dialects

Despite the explanation of numerous grammatical details on the variations between the Hafejia and Guddiri dialects, a syntactic feature will highlight the shared feature between these two dialects. Here, it is:

Pronominal Subject Copying

Pronominal subject copying is one of the parts of syntax where there are similarities between Hafejia and Guddiri dialects. To gain a better understanding of the information, consider these examples:

Standard Hausa Dialect	Hafejia and Guddiri dialects	Gloss
Malam yaa cee na zoo	Malam yaa cee na zoo ni	The teacher asked me to come
Malamaaceeka zoo	Malamaaceeka zoo ka	The teacher asked you to come
Malam yaa cee ki zoo	Malam yaa cee ki zoo ki	The teacher asked you to come
Malam yaa cee mu zoo	Malam yaa cee mu zoo mu	The teacher asked us to come
Malam yaa cee su zoo	Malam yaa cee su zoo su	The teacher asked them to come

The Semantic Differences and Similarities between Hafejia and Guddiri Dialects

The study of linguistic meaning. Semantics is concerned with the meaning of words and sentences and with the relations between words (sometimes termed 'sense relations'). Word meanings may vary regionally and between social groups, giving rise to semantic variation. The semantic relationships between Hausa dialects can be explained in large part by the meanings of several words (Musa, 1995). To express our meaning, we were compelled by this to use a few terms from the Hafejia and Guddiri dialects.

The Semantic Differences between Hafejia and Guddiri Dialects

The lexicons of the Hafejia and Guddiri dialects differ in how they communicate word meanings. These differences are demonstrated by the following examples:

Hadejia dialect	Guddiri dialect	Gloss
Sayii	Fitsaarii	Urine
Yau	Miyau	Saliva
Likidirii	Bookitii	Bucket
Gwandaa	Kubaashi	Papaya
Qastuwaa	Coocilaa	Torchlight

The Semantic Similarities between Hadejia and Guddiri Dialects

The explanation of the similarities between these two dialects is made easier by these lexicons. The Hadejia and Guddiri dialects use lexicons that are different from Standard Hausa to convey the meaning of words.

Here are a few of their examples:

Standard Hausa Dialect	Hadejia and Guddiri Dialects	Gloss
Quli-kuli	Qaraagoo	fried peanut cakes
Hanya	Turba	Road
Malafaa	Gurumfaa	Straw hat with a wide brim

CONCLUSION

The reason for this study on the relationship between the Hadejia and Guddiri dialects is the assertions made by some Hausa dialectologists that the Hadejia region lacks a distinct dialect because some people confuse the Hadejia dialect with the Guddiri dialect (Baba, 1988). Others do not think that the Hadejia and Guddiri dialects are separate Hausa dialects (Abubakar, 1983). In their opinion, these areas are occupied by numerous ethnic groups, each of whom speaks a dialect of Kano combined with the languages of these minor ethnic groups.

Furthermore, it is a known truth that dialects are not precisely defined by borders (isoglosses), nor do they follow a uniform geographic distribution. The Hausa dialect zones are always separated by a gulf, making it easy to locate parts of one region in another (Zarruq, 1990). Dialectologists like Baba (1988), described Hadejia, the origin of the Hadejia dialect as a portion of the Guddiri dialect. Nonetheless, the data and facts provided for this study have shown that the Hadejia and Guddiri dialects are separate Hausa dialects.

Finally, this study acknowledges that each historical Hausa dynasty had its dialect, with the capital of the dynasty serving as the hub of the dialect that bears that dynasty's name, such as *Sakkwatanci* (Sokoto dialect) from Sokoto, *Kananci* (Kano dialect) from Kano, and *Hadejanci* (Hadejia dialect) from Hadejia. But, as a result of the nature of the Hausa country, which is a wide open country without large rivers and forests, the interaction between the kingdoms developed, which made the people of Hadejia and Guddiri and other types of dialects mix which made it not the ability that makes the dialects look similar to each other. Also, the advent of reading and writing of Western education after the Jihad of Shehu Usman Dan fodio, helped to produce books and newspapers that further confused the clear distinction among Hausa dialects, just as the media of radio and television helped in eliminating the variations between dialects.

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