A Summary of a Sociolinguistic Survey of the Adara of Kaduna and Niger States, Nigeria

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Abstract

The survey team visited the Adara language group of Kachia, Kajuru and Paikoro Local Government Areas (LGAs) of Kaduna and Niger States in Nigeria, from March 1st to March 16th 2011. We did not visit Muya LGA because the dialect is the same as the one spoken in Paikoro LGA. The Adara people are commonly called Kadara, especially by outsiders. They are known to speak dialects of the Kadara language. The dialects are Adara [kad], Ada [kad], Eneje [kad], Ajiya [idc] and Ekhwa [ikv]. The main goal of the survey was to determine the most suitable dialect(s) that all speakers of Adara understand and accept as the best for a standard written form of Adara that would serve all of them. The survey team tested for intelligibility, interviewed different people and groups, gathered words for checking lexical similarity and asked them about their potential support of a language project. Our findings indicate that Adara may be developed to serve Adara, Ada and Eneje, while Ajiya and Ekhwa may need separate literature. Alternatively, Ada may also be developed to serve only Ada and Eneje, while Adara, Ajiya and Ekhwa may each need separate literature.
Acknowledgements

This survey would not have been possible without the support of many people throughout the language area surveyed. We express our profound gratitude firstly to the paramount ruler, His Royal Highness, the Agom-Adara\textsuperscript{1}, Mr Maiwada Galadima (JP\textsuperscript{2}), who permitted us to go into the villages of the Adara people to do our work. We also express our appreciations to the various district, village and family heads who mobilized their people to participate in the survey process.

We appreciate the time and energy of those who volunteered to help us in eliciting the wordlists from the five Adara varieties, those who narrated the stories used for testing dialect comprehension as well as the pastors, other church leaders and teachers who, in spite of their tight schedules, responded patiently to the questions on our interview forms.

\textsuperscript{1} literal translation from the Adara language means “chief person” or more likely “chief of the Adara people”. Agom means chief. Adara means person.

\textsuperscript{2} JP means Jerusalem Pilgrim
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1. Introduction

The purpose of the Adara survey was to elicit data that would assist the Adara people and interested organisations that are involved in language development to identify which of the dialects of the Adara language group of the southern parts of Kaduna and Niger States of Nigeria is most suitable and accepted by the people for a standard written form of the Adara language. The survey team visited the Adara language group of Kachia, Kajuru and Paikoro Local Government Areas (LGAs) of Kaduna and Niger States in Nigeria, from March 1st to March 16th 2011. The Adara people are commonly called Kadara, especially by outsiders. They are known to speak dialects of the Kadara language. The standard dialect(s) must be one(s) that all Adara people are able to understand well. The dialects surveyed are Adara dialect [kad], Ada [kad], Eneje [kad], Ajiya [idc] and Ekhwa [ikv]. Note that there are two meanings of Adara used in this report, ‘Adara dialect’ and ‘Adara language’. One dialect of the Adara language is also called Adara. So in this report, we will be referring to this dialect as ‘the Adara dialect’, the whole language as ‘the Adara language’ and the people as the ‘Adara people’. We will use Kadara in square brackets after Adara when referring to the language and the people, for example: ‘Adara [Kadara] language’ and ‘Adara [Kadara] people’.

We gathered data primarily based on the goals of determining: how the people identify themselves socially; the vitality of their language; the mutual intelligibility of the various dialects to the people of the Adara [Kadara] language; the accepted dialect (or dialects) that seem suitable for future literature; the people's ability to read and write the Adara [Kadara] language; and their support of local projects.

The people in Kurmin Kare were said to be discussing changing the name to Kurmin Jama’a.

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3 The people in Kurmin Kare were said to be discussing changing the name to Kurmin Jama’a.
We chose these three LGAs because that is where the five dialects of the Adara [Kadara] language are spoken. We did not choose to work in Muya LGA because the dialect in Muya is the same as the one spoken in Paikoro LGA.

2. Methodology

2.1. Interviews

We visited 10 villages. In one village from each dialect area (Adara dialect, Ada, Eneje and Ekhwa), we interviewed a group of 40 individuals of both sexes and all ages. We also interviewed teachers and church leaders. We did not do individual interviews in any Ajiya village because we did not plan for it. We thought the Ajiya dialect was the same as the Adara dialect, until we discovered, during a group interview in Rubu village, that the Adara dialect speakers could not understand it.

2.2. Recorded Text Testing (RTT)

We did RTT in each dialect area in order to ascertain mutual intelligibility between the speakers of different dialects of the Adara [Kadara] language.

2.3. Wordlist

We collected five 364-item wordlists in each dialect area in order to determine cognates that are similar between the dialects. The analysis of these wordlists helps us to identify the dialects that are lexically similar and those that are not.

2.4. Observation

We also used the participant observation method (Spradley 1980) in order to investigate the general language use of the people we visited in each dialect area.

2.5. Sampling

We randomly chose the respondents for individual interviews. We met them in informal places and interviewed them. For the RTT testing, we randomly chose a separate group of 10 to 20 subjects who had little or no contact with speakers of other Adara dialects.

Our sample consisted of:

- 40 respondents each in Kurmin Kare (Ovah), Sabon Gari Ankwa, Barga and Rubu for individual interviews.
- 10 to 20 subjects in each dialect area who have little or no outside contact for the RTT testing.

3. Previous research/background information

O. Temple reports that Adara [Kadara] is spoken in the southern part of the old Zaria Province in Northern Nigeria, in the districts of Zana, Wali and Kajuru as well as at Riban and in Fuka, in Kuta District of the former Niger Province (Temple 1919: 179). Gunn further writes that the Adara [Kadara] language is spoken in Bida, Agaie

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4 Individual interviews data were not collected at Tudu-Iburu.
and Abuja Emirates. These areas are now parts of Paikoro and Muya LGAs (1956: 123). However, he maintains that the actual settlements of the speakers in these three places are not known. Dancy and Gray, in their survey report of 1966, state that the language is spoken north of Abuja and north-east of Minna, while Crozier and Blench (1992: 62) report that the speakers of Adara [Kadara] are located in Kachia LGA of Kaduna State and in the former Chanchaga LGA, now Paikoro and Muya LGAs of Niger State.

Temple writes that Hausa is generally understood by the Adara [Kadara] speakers (1919: 180). Dancy and Gray say that most young and a few older people speak Hausa (1966: 2). Temple also maintains that the Adara [Kadara] speakers in Fuka also speak Gbagyi. Gunn feels that the people may be assimilating into the culture and language of other groups in these areas (Gbari, Koro and Ganagana) (Gunn 1956:123).

Three wordlists were collected over the years, the Swadesh one hundred-item wordlist that was collected in 1966 by Dancy and Gray; John Ballard’s list of Adara words as incorporated into the Benua Congo Comparative wordlist (Williamson 1973: lxi) and another recent set in 2004-2006 by Alex Maikarfi with Roger Blench, of the Adara [Kadara] language group who has been working on his dialect of Ada.

4. Language Identification

4.1. How many dialects of the Adara language are spoken in the area?

The people of the villages that we visited reported that five Adara dialects are spoken in the area: Adara dialect, Ada, Ajiya, Ekhwa and Eneje. However the respondents did not know the dialect names that the speakers of each dialect used for their dialects. The speakers of each dialect could easily identify each other by their different ways of expressing the emphatic phrase: ‘I say...’ in their respective dialects (see Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISO code</th>
<th>Language/dialect</th>
<th>‘person’</th>
<th>‘people’</th>
<th>‘I say...’</th>
<th>Other name(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

* These phrases, which mean ‘I say . . . ’ are used for identification of each other by all speakers.

His Royal Highness, the Agwom-Adara told us that the name or term Kadara is the Hausa term for the name, Adara, which means people. Furthermore, many respondents reiterated the Agom-Adara’s claim during the group interviews. Contrastingly, an elderly man who is a speaker of Ajiya dialect said Kadara, as
written by previous researchers, was the original name. He maintained that Adara referred only to the speakers of Adara.

4.2. How related are the dialects?

Our respondents for group and individual interviews in Rubu, Barga, Rafin Kunu, Barakwai, Kurmin Kare and Mai Ido Rafi reported that all the dialects (and their speakers) are linguistically, socially and culturally related but that the Ekhwa and Ajiya dialects have a high degree of linguistic variation from the other three dialects.

4.3. How similar are the dialects?

Speakers of the Adara, Ada and Eneje dialects who we interviewed reported that they speak the same as each other, but with lexical and phonological variations. On the other hand, the Ekhwa and Ajiya people were reported by the other groups to speak very different dialects.

4.3.1. Lexical similarity

In each of the five dialects we collected a wordlist of 364 items. In all but the Ajiya dialect, this list was re-elicited in a second village to verify that the correct words were transcribed. Similar word forms were identified using the rules described by Frank Blair (1990: 27-33). The percentage of similar forms between dialects is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Lexical Similarity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Similarity (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adara (Rafin Kunu)</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eneje (Mai Ido Rafi)</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eneje (Mai Ido Rafi)</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ada (Barakwai)</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eneje (Mai Ido Rafi)</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ada (Barakwai)</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajiya (Tudu Iburu) (Not checked)</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajiya (Tudu Iburu) (Not checked)</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajiya (Tudu Iburu) (Not checked)</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajiya (Tudu Iburu) (Not checked)</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajiya (Tudu Iburu) (Not checked)</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajiya (Tudu Iburu) (Not checked)</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajiya (Tudu Iburu) (Not checked)</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekhwa (Sabon Gari Ankwa)</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekhwa (Sabon Gari Ankwa)</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekhwa (Sabon Gari Ankwa)</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekhwa (Sabon Gari Ankwa)</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the lexical similarity we can make the following observations:

- Ekhwa is a separate language from all the other dialects surveyed (less than 30% similarity) (which is in agreement with the reports of the people).
- Ajiya is clearly a very different dialect from Adara, Eneje, Ada, and Ekhwa (less than 35% similarity).
- Eneje is lexically the most central dialect, having higher similarity with the Adara and Ada dialects than these two have with each other.
- Eneje may be slightly more similar to Ada (70%) than the Adara dialect (64%).
- The Adara dialect has a rather low similarity with Ada (57%). It seems likely that speakers of these dialects will have difficulty understanding each other.
5. **Social Identity**

5.1. **How do the speakers of the Adara [Kadara] language relate to each other?**

The speakers of all Adara [Kadara] dialects see themselves as one people speaking the same language. They live freely and happily among themselves and intermarry with each other without discrimination. They also participate in all Adara [Kadara] cultural activities.

5.2. **How do the Adara [Kadara] speakers relate to people of neighbouring language groups?**

The Adara language speakers co-exist happily with the Kuturmi, Kamatan, Ikulu, Gbari, Gbagyi, Jabba, Koro, Fulani and Ganagana people groups. They go to the same markets, farming areas, churches, mosques and schools. They also intermarry and are at peace with each other.

5.3. **What is the nature of church networks and Christian Associations in the Adara [Kadara] language area?**

There are many churches of various denominations cooperating and working with each other in promoting God’s kingdom in the area. The churches are: Evangelical Church Winning All (ECWA); Catholic; Baptist; Maranatha; Assemblies of God; Deeper Life; Chapel of Good News; Anglican; Seventh Day Adventist; Chapel of Grace; Methodist; and Living Faith. Furthermore, many Adara [Kadara] people attend ECWA and Catholic churches because they are the two big denominations that are found in many villages in the area. Also, there are a few subgroups in each church working hand in hand with the leadership. These include the women’s fellowship, Youth fellowship, Choir and Boys and Girls brigades. These subgroups from the various denominations bring the speakers of the various dialects together during inter-church group or association programmes. The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) is the large fellowship umbrella and the forum that brings all the churches and the speakers of the various dialects together, through its regular general meetings.

5.4. **Who are the government officials in the area?**

The Adara [Kadara] language speakers are headed and guided by His Royal Highness, the Agom-Adara and other senior title holders. There are also lower chiefs, village heads and their assistants who are answerable to the paramount ruler. The palace of His Royal Highness, the Agom-Adara, in Kachia town serves as a place where the speakers of the various varieties of the Adara language meet and interact with each other.

5.5. **Are there any local development associations?**

The people reported that there is an Adara Development Association at the village, state and national levels. The entire Adara [Kadara] people, home and abroad, come together every year to celebrate their cultural festival named *Adara-
Day and to discuss the way forward for the entire Adara language group. There is also an association called the Akpazuma (in the Adara dialect) or Akpazwā (in the Ada dialect). Each dialect group is said to have their own Akpazuma which draws people together to discuss the problem and progress of their own community.

5.6. Where are the economic/commercial units?

There are many markets in the area. The markets are held on specific days shown in Table 3. These markets provide opportunities for speakers from the different dialects to meet each other.

Table 3: Markets and market days

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of market</th>
<th>Market days</th>
<th>Dialects spoken by those who attend the market</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kachia</td>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>All dialects except Ajiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kufana</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>All dialects except Ajiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasuwan Magani</td>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>All dialects except Ajiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ankwa</td>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>All dialects except Ajiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doka</td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>All dialects except Ajiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rafin Kunu</td>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>All dialects except Ekhwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mai Ido Kufai</td>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>All dialects except Ajiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adunu</td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>Ada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ishau</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Ada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amalle</td>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>Ada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kafin</td>
<td>Every four days</td>
<td>Ada</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.7. What is the estimated population?

Table 4 below presents the 2006 national population census figures of the four LGAs in Kaduna and Niger States, where the Adara [Kadara] language speakers predominantly inhabit. In order to find out the present population of Adara [Kadara] language speakers in these LGAs, we asked Alex Maikarfi about the population of the people in the area. He estimated the percentages of the speakers in each LGA as they appear in the Table. Then we used the percentage increase of Kaduna and Niger States: 3.0% and 3.4% respectively (The Federal Government of Nigeria, 2007). We used the 2006 figures and the annual growth rate percentages together to calculate the population in the four LGAs in 2011. We used the percentages of Adara [Kadara] speakers as they were given to us by Alex to determine the estimated population in each of the LGAs for 2011. We estimate the population to be almost 300,000.

Table 4: Percentages of Adara [Kadara] language speakers per LGA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Census</th>
<th>Estimated</th>
<th>Percentage of Population of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

6
6. Language Vitality

6.1. Do the children speak their dialect of the Adara [Kadara] language fluently?

In the villages that we visited the children were reported to speak and we observed them speaking their dialect of Adara fluently in informal contexts. The children at Rafin Kunu, Barakwai, Tudu Iburu and Rubu appeared not to speak Hausa well. In fact, the primary six pupils who were our subjects at Rafin Kunu and Tudu Iburu found difficulty responding to our questions in Hausa. We had to seek for the assistance of interpreters to have the children respond.

6.2. In what domain is Adara [Kadara] the primary language?

Adara seems to be the language most often spoken in the home domain. The people reported and were observed speaking the Adara [Kadara] language in their homes with all age categories- for example parents with children, grandparents with grandchildren, wives with husbands and brothers with sisters. The Adara [Kadara] language was said to be mainly spoken during hunting, on the farm and at play with age-mates and friends in school during the recess.

6.3. Which language dominates each domain?

The Adara [Kadara] language was reported and observed to dominate in the home, farm and hunting domains. Hausa was said to dominate in the church while English was reported to dominate in the school domain. Hausa and the Adara [Kadara] language were also reported to be used in school, even for instruction.

6.4. Which group (s) speaks without mixing their dialect with Hausa?

All the age groups in each village that we visited reported and we observed that they mainly spoke their language among themselves. Even so, Ekhwa speakers in Sabon Garin Ankwa seemed to use Hausa loan words. They also use complete Hausa clauses in long discussions.
6.5. Which language/dialect is mostly used in rural and urban areas?

In all the villages that we visited it was reported and we observed the people using their own dialects of Adara [Kadara] in all non-formal domains. We also observed some use of Hausa in all of the villages we visited. It was reported and we observed that Hausa was mostly used in the towns. Curiously, in Katari, a big town of the Ada speakers, people of all age groups were observed speaking the Ada dialect at the houses near the palace. This indicates that the desire to maintain the Ada dialect is strong, because despite the contact they have with Hausa speaking outsiders, they still maintain their language.

6.6. What is the Adara [Kadara] people’s perception of the vitality of their language/dialect?

The people in the villages we visited said that everyone in their villages speaks their Adara [Kadara] dialect. They said their children start learning this language first before any other language. They also said that a few of their non-Adara neighbours, both adults and children, also learn to speak their language. Furthermore, they reported that they use their language in all domains, except with non-Adara [Kadara] speaking outsiders. Contrary to Gunn’s 1956 view that the Adara [Kadara] people are assimilating other cultures and languages (see section 3), the Adara [Kadara] language is very much in use, despite the general use of Hausa in their areas.

6.7. What are the people’s attitudes towards the shift and death statuses of their language?

All the people interviewed in the villages we visited responded both in the group and individual interviews that they would never be happy if their language was diminishing or dying. The group in Barakwai expressed strong optimism that the Adara [Kadara] language would never diminish or die and they maintained that “even the unborn generation would continue to speak the Adara [Kadara] language”. The group in Ankwa felt that the diminishing or death of the Adara [Kadara] language would amount to throwing away their heritage and culture.

6.8. What is the attitude of the Adara [Kadara] people towards languages of wider communication?

Almost every group we interviewed appeared to have a moderately positive attitude towards the use of English and Hausa. In fact the people in Tudu Iburu, Barakwai and Ankwa appeared to have strong positive attitudes towards English. The people in these three villages feel that learning to speak English will make their children “... bring cars home”, they feel it will “help them in life” and that it will show that their children are educated. They also said that they speak English and Hausa because they are general languages. These beliefs are common in Nigeria, where English is considered as a language of prestige and economic advantage. It appears that English is desired because of its perceived advantage while Hausa is used because it is widely spoken in the Adara [Kadara] language area.
7. Language acceptability

7.1. Which dialect of the Adara language are people willing to read and write?

The information gained from the questionnaires, interviews and the participatory method of data gathering showed that most people would choose the Adara dialect as the dialect that should be developed for all the Adara [Kadara] people to read and write in. Their second choice would be Ada followed by Eneje. Furthermore, the answers showed that the speakers of Ekhuwa and Ajiya would also choose the Adara dialect. However, the intelligibility and lexical similarity results showed that Ajiya and Ekwa are separate languages both from the other three dialects and from each other and would benefit from separate development.

7.2. Which dialect is most acceptable and might be used as a standard written form for all Adara people?

The groups and individuals that we interviewed would choose Adara as the main dialect that could be used for all the Adara [Kadara] people to read and write in. In the same vein, Adara was again chosen as the dialect that could be used for all the Adara [Kadara] people to read and write in during the facilitation of the participatory method of data gathering. The groups gave reasons that, “everyone understands the tongue”, “they [Adara dialect speakers] are the majority”, “it is central and easy” and “it is like the general one”. The groups in Barga (Eneje) and Sabon Garin Ankwa (Ekhuwa) chose Ada and Eneje respectively. This choice could have been made because of the proximity between Ekhuwa, Ada and Eneje villages. The group in Barga felt that Ada was “pure, no adulteration”.

7.3. In which languages is literature available within the area?

Hausa and English literature is available throughout the Adara [Kadara] language area. The expressed feelings of the groups and individuals interviewed seemed to not be very favourable to literature in Hausa and English.

7.4. What are the Adara [Kadara] people’s feelings about related languages?

The Adara [Kadara] people reported that the Kuturmi, Kamatan and Ikulu languages are related to the Adara [Kadara] language. In fact, His Royal Highness, the Agom-Adara also stated that Kuturmi, Kamatan and Ikulu are not just neighbouring languages, but parts of the Adara [Kadara] language group. He further supported the claim when he showed us the poster of the Adara [Kadara] family tree, on which Kuturmi, Kamatan and Ikulu are indicated as offshoots of Adara [Kadara].

8. Intelligibility

We used the Recorded Text Testing (RTT) method to directly measure the intelligibility between the Adara dialects. Generally, if results are less than 75% on an intelligibility test, separate literature needs to be developed (SIL 1991). However, if the results are 75% or greater, other factors need to be considered before we can be sure that literature can be understood by speakers of two or more dialects.
8.1. On which dialects of Adara [Kadara] can people score above 75%?

The question of a specific cut-off is not as straightforward as it might seem. Questioning the reliability\(^5\) of the RTT method, we recorded three texts from the same speaker in the Eneje dialect, labelling them Eneje Love, Eneje Travel, and Eneje Farm. We played one text from each dialect\(^6\) to a sample of nine to eleven subjects in five villages, using the text “Eneje Love” to represent Eneje. These results are shown in Table 5. Then using a different sample of 15-20 subjects in three villages, we tested the three Eneje texts, with the results shown in Table 6. These two tests did not yield the same results.

As seen in Table 5, only Eneje subjects were able to score significantly above 75% on any text besides their own. In fact, on average they were able to score above 95% on both the Adara and Ada dialect texts. Strikingly the intelligibility is not mutual. The Adara and the Ada subjects did not get a mean score above 75% on the Eneje test. The difference may be due to Eneje speakers learning to understand the other varieties (acquired intelligibility, see the comment on contact in section 11.1 as well as the discussion in this section) or it may be that there is an asymmetric inherent intelligibility.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Test Sites</th>
<th>Texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dialect</td>
<td>Subjects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adara</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eneje</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ada</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajiya</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekhwa</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In an attempt to measure contact, we asked the subjects if they could tell where the speaker of each text was from and if they knew anyone from that place. Their answers showed that a few Eneje subjects have contact with the Adara and Ada dialects, but many even mistook them as their own Eneje dialect.

If we take into account the second test using the three Eneje texts, we can observe two surprising changes (see Table 6). First, when the same “Eneje Love” text was played again for more subjects from the Adara and Ada dialects, a new result, this time higher than 75%, was achieved. In addition to this, the Ada subjects scored quite well (89%) on the two new Eneje texts. However, the Adara dialect subjects scored less well (76% and less) on the new texts.

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\(^5\) Reliability refers to how similar the results will be if the test is repeated. Validity, in contrast, refers to how well the results reflect the actual intelligibility.

\(^6\) We discovered the Ajiya dialect after we had finished testing in most of the other dialects, and so we did not play the Ajiya text for the other dialects.

\(^7\) Note: If the eighth question is removed from the test, the Adara subjects score 79% on Eneje Love. The other sites results do not change significantly if this question is removed.
### Table 6: Comparing three Eneje texts (different subjects)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Test Sites</th>
<th>Texts</th>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Own text</th>
<th>Eneje Love</th>
<th>Eneje Travel</th>
<th>Eneje Farm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dialect</td>
<td>Village</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eneje</td>
<td>Mai Ido Rafi</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>See ➔</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adara</td>
<td>Rafin Kunu</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ada</td>
<td>Amalle(^8)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekhwa</td>
<td>Ankwa</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 8.2. On which particular Adara [Kadara] dialect can all score above 75%?

Considering the observations made in the previous section, we can make several observations about which varieties are understood well by speakers of other varieties:

1. Considering the low lexical similarity between Ekhwa and Ajiya (see Table 2 on page 4), and their low comprehension of other dialects included in this survey, Ekhwa and Ajiya speakers would not be well served by literature in any dialect other than their own. Each of these language varieties will need separate development.

2. The Adara dialect text was understood well by Eneje subjects, and marginally (75%) by the Ada subjects. Perhaps it could serve all three.

3. The Ada text was understood well by Eneje subjects, but the Adara dialect subjects achieved a score of 66% which is below the potential intelligibility threshold.

4. The Eneje texts produced mixed results (see Table 6). Depending on which test result is considered and which village the subjects are from, the results could indicate that speakers of either Adara or Ada score above 75% on Eneje or that speakers from both or even neither of them do. Using the more conservative results, we might question whether speakers of either Adara or Ada can understand Eneje well.

#### 8.3. What dialect of Adara [Kadara] do people think they can understand?

In the group interviews and during the participatory method of data gathering, all the respondents reported that they at least partially understand all the other dialects. Ajiya speakers say they can only understand a bit of the Adara dialect and speakers of the Adara dialect also say that they understand a bit of the Ajiya dialect, only Ekhwa speakers claim to understand all the dialects. However, some of the Ekhwa people, mostly adults, may have acquired the ability to understand the Adara dialect.

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\(^8\) We could not find more than ten subjects who could participate in the research in Barakwai, so we tested the three Eneje texts in a different Ada village.
9. Church support

9.1. Do the church leaders feel Scripture in their language will be helpful?

The church leaders interviewed in the Adara language group area expressed enthusiasm about the translation of Scripture into the local language. They said that if the Scripture was translated into an Adara [Kadara] dialect, people would better understand the gospel, God’s Word would easily touch people’s hearts and children and youth would learn how to read and write in it. Also, they reasoned that the translation of Scripture into the Adara [Kadara] language would help maintain the mother tongue. The church leaders pledged to give their support and do awareness campaigns amongst the people should there be a language development project, so that everyone may support it in various ways.

9.2. Do the people want Scripture in their language?

The Adara [Kadara] language speakers we interviewed appeared desperate to have Scripture in their language. They said they would like themselves and their children to learn how to read and write in their language. They feel that they are left behind, saying many people had Scriptures in their language but they did not. They further demonstrated their desire to have Scripture in their language when they reported that they were ready to get themselves involved in any kind of project that would lead to the development of their language into a standard written form.

9.3. Do the people have the ability to work together and support a language project?

During the interviews it became apparent that the people’s ability to work together for their progress is remarkable. They said they had jointly built primary schools, classrooms, markets, roads to clinics, bridges and had even dug wells in their various communities. In fact, we personally observed some of these projects.

9.4. Do they have people among them who can help with literacy and translation projects?

In each village we visited there are people who may help with literacy and translation work.

10. Bilingual proficiency/Language use

10.1. What other languages are spoken by the people?

Besides speaking their own dialect of Adara [Kadara], almost every person in the villages that we visited was reported and observed to speak Hausa to some level. English was also reported to be spoken well by just a handful of individuals who have acquired higher Western education in the area. Furthermore, a few people were said to speak Kuturmi, Jabba, Kamatan, Ikulu, Gbagyi or Koro.
10.2. Do the Adara [Kadara] people speak any neighbouring languages fluently?

None of the neighbouring languages mentioned in section 5.2 and 10.1 was reported in the group and individual interviews to be spoken fluently by the Adara [Kadara] people. Some people are reportedly able to speak a bit of some of the languages, although a few children and women were said to speak Kuturmi quite well.

10.3. Which language does each segment of the society speak?

All segments of the Adara [Kadara] society speak the local language fluently in all domains. The youth are said to be the primary speakers of Hausa in the region. Many middle-aged people and children are also said to speak Hausa but not as well as the young people, while most old people are said to speak just a bit of it.

Similarly, of the handful that speak English well, youth are reported as the predominant speakers in the area, while most middle-aged people and children are reported to speak just a bit of it. In a like manner, only a few old people are said to speak a bit of English.

10.4. Where do they learn these languages?

A child learns his/her dialect in the home and we observed its use everywhere in the village. Furthermore, the people reported that their children learn to speak Hausa from the children of strangers, particularly the Fulani, who live around all their villages. They said their children meet with other children in school and use Hausa as the common and easiest medium of communication between them. Also, teachers are said to occasionally instruct in Hausa whenever pupils appear not to understand concepts in English.

English is the major language of school everywhere in Nigeria. Pupils in the Adara [Kadara] language group area are said to be encouraged to speak it while in class. In fact, a pupil may be reportedly punished for speaking Adara [Kadara] in class. However, we observed primary and secondary school children struggle mostly without success to respond to our questions in English. As a result, we did almost all our interviews in Hausa.

11. Contact patterns

11.1. Do people from different Adara [Kadara] dialects meet with each other?

The Adara [Kadara] people are conscious of their oneness and reportedly men and women from the different dialects intermarry. Wives and husbands speak each other’s dialect or learn to speak them when necessary. Adara Day, the cultural festival of all the Adara [Kadara] people brings people together from Kaduna and Niger States. It is reportedly celebrated in the town of Kachia, where the palace and house of the paramount ruler are located. Kachia remains the primary place of convergence. Also, there are many markets in the various villages that we visited (see Section 5.6) where the speakers of the various dialects meet.
12. Literacy

12.1. Which age group(s) can read and write?
Many people reported in the group and individual interviews that they can read and write. The children, youth, and middle-aged people seem to be the most literate among all of them. Only a few old people are said to be able to read and write.

12.2. In which language(s) can each age group read and write well?
The youth are said to read and write in Hausa and English which they learn at school. Middle-aged people are also reported to be able to read and write in Hausa and English, but not as well as the youth. Only a few old people reported that they are able to read and write in Hausa and English. Only a handful of all the age categories are reported to be able to read and write letters and other notes in the Adara language.

12.3. What is likely to be the best medium that could be used to reach the Adara [Kadara] people with the Scriptures?
Books and audio-visual media seem to be the primary means that could be used to reach the Adara [Kadara] language group with the Scriptures. The youth and children, who are the future of the Adara [Kadara] people, were reported during the group and individual interviews to prefer reading and watching TV to only listening to audio messages. Only a few middle-aged people were also reported to prefer reading, watching and listening to just listening to audio or radio messages.
13. Conclusion

Based on the lexical similarity, the intelligibility results and the interview responses of some individuals, it seems the Adara, Ada and Eneje dialects are similar and people of these dialect groups could possibly use the same literature. Furthermore, all the interviewees from these three dialects appeared to exhibit positive attitudes towards the Adara dialect as their preference for development. They feel that the Adara dialect is generally the best understood and easiest to learn among these dialects. In fact, even songs in the Adara dialect are reportedly understood and appreciated by the speakers of the other two dialects. Therefore, our first suggestion is that the Adara dialect should be developed to serve not only speakers of the Adara dialect but also those of the Eneje and Ada dialects. Table 5 indicates that Eneje speakers understand the Adara dialect well, while Ada speakers may need some time to get used to it.

Since work in the Ada dialect is reportedly in progress, and it appears that Ada speakers may need some time to perfect their understanding of the Adara dialect, we make the alternative suggestion that the Ada dialect may also be developed alongside the Adara dialect. If the Ada dialect is developed, some Eneje speakers may prefer to use that instead of the Adara dialect.

The Ajiya and Ekhwa dialects appear to be very different from the others and from each other. We therefore suggest that they should each have separate literature.

The vitality of all the Adara dialects seems to be high. All the dialects are spoken fluently in every domain by all age categories. There is some level of literacy in English and Hausa which could be built on. In terms of project support, there appears to be a great deal of enthusiasm.


14. Bibliography


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