

## TWO STUDIES IN TEXT METER VERSUS PERFORMANCE METER

GOAL: Two case studies of meters of oral songs adapted to written poems with the performance grids mediated by the text grids.

### I. Anti-Mutadaarik: Mamman Shata → Akilu Aliyu → Aliyu Namangi

- Detailed description in unpublished ms. “Text and Performance in Hausa Metrics”  
[http://linguistics.ucla.edu/people/schuh/Papers/ms\\_1994\\_anti\\_mutadarik.pdf](http://linguistics.ucla.edu/people/schuh/Papers/ms_1994_anti_mutadarik.pdf)
- MSK: Mamman Shata Katsina, “Mata Ku Yi/Bi Aure” [Women, Get Married]
  - Oral genre with soloist and chorus of drummers/singers
  - Basic theme is admonition to respect the institution of marriage
  - Two versions with identical refrains but no overlap in verse lines:<sup>1</sup> 77 distinct lines
- AAA: Akilu Aliyu, “Yar Gagara” [The Cantakerous Woman]
  - Meter explicitly taken from the Shata song (Muhammad 1980:92); performed a cappella
  - The theme is an over-the-top denunciation of prostitutes<sup>2</sup>
  - Written in couplets; there are two versions: a recorded version (EMI HMV(M) 092), which is the basis of discussion here, and a published version (Aliyu 1976:7). The published version is unusual in being entirely unrhymed. The recorded version has internal rhyme in each couplet, and the text differs substantially from the published version, but the two versions converge at some point, where both are unrhymed.
- ANM: Aliyu Namangi, “Begen Annabi” [Yearning for the Prophet]
  - Meter explicitly taken from the Akilu Aliyu poem (recorded interview between the poet and the late Neil Skinner, made September 25, 1968); performed a cappella
  - The theme is praise of the Prophet Muhammad and discussion of the author’s pilgrimage to Mecca
  - Written in couplets with external rhyme *-na*; published in Namangi (1978:28)



<sup>1</sup> The version referred to as “A” in Schuh (1994), like many oral songs, is highly allusive and, in my view as someone who doesn’t understand the context, is devoid of substance. Version “B”, though also allusive and vague, has more of a theme, catisgating one “Dan Mani, lout of Bauchi”—perhaps the Dan Mani Caji discussed in part II of this handout—who apparently had publicly dismissed the importance of marriage.

<sup>2</sup> Akilu got on a moralizing roll and composed at least three further poems in the same meter denouncing gay men, pimps, and overprivileged youths. These are on the same audiocassette as “Yar Gagara”, suitable for those who need their moralizing fix.

## 1. Text Meter: ANTI-MUTADAARIK

Ex2	Ex1	SS	W	S	W	SS	W	W	S	W
SS		x				x				
S		x		x		x			x	
W		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
G	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
-2	-1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
										10
										11
										12
										13
										14
										15
										16

- 16 grid positions, starting SS; “Ex2 Ex1” are extrametrical positions sometimes used as an *anacrusis* by MSK and ANM, but never by AAA
- Example lines from each text, aligned to the *text meter*

Ex2	Ex1	SS	W	S	W	SS	W	W	S	W
SS		x				x				
S		x		x		x		x		x
W		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
G	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<b>MSK (B)</b>										
001a	A	don	sal-	laa	da	sa-	laa-	til	faa-	(ti- ha)
001b		Al-	baR-	kaR	gir-	man		Mai	Gir-	maa
001c	= 001a									
001d	A	don	Al-	lah	maa-	taa	ku	yi	au-	ree
002a	I-	naa	ku- ma	zan	ga	gi-	jin-	gon	Bau-	ci
002b		Dxan	Maa-	nii	mai		waa-	kxaR	ban-	zaa
<i>Chorus</i>										
003a, b		Dat-	ti-jo	nee	baa		yaa-	roo	nee	ba
003c	Am-	maa	yaa	soo-	ki	mu	tun	cin	au-	ree
<b>AAA</b>										
001a		Too	bi- si- mil-		la	da	faa-	ra-	fa-	dxa-
001b		Zan	ma- ga- naa		bi-	sa	jaa-	kaR		maa
002a		Mai	fi- ti- naa		bab-		baR	wa-	ta	gwa-
002b		Baa	ta nu- fin		zi-	ki-	Rii	ciR		ban-
003a		Mai	laa- laa-		taa		mai	raa-	gai-	taa
003b		Mai	gaa- baa		da	ma-	au-	raa		maa-
<b>ANM</b>										
001a	Al-	laa-	hu	shi ban	hi-	ki-	maa	da	ba-	sii-
001b		In	ta	ya- boo	baa-	kin		kxar-	fii	naa
002a		In	ya-	bi Sii-	di	Mu-	ham-	man	Baa-	waa
002b		Mai	ha-	na sau-	ran		baa-	yii	kxuu-	naa
003a	Yi	da- dxin	tsii-	raa	Al-	lah		da	a-	min-
003b		Gun	Man-	zon-	ka	da-	ree	haR	raa-	naa

## 2. Performance Meters

### 2.1. MSK

- Refrain as sung by the Chorus is assumed to be the “canonical” setting (underlined words in lines 001c-001d)
- “t’s” are drum beats: lower case “t” high pitch, upper case “T” low pitch large drum
- Idealized/canonical setting aligns SS with TACTUS

TACTUS												TACTUS													
SS	x				x				x			x			x			x			x				
S	x				x				x			x			x			x			x				
W	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
	<u>t</u>	<u>t</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>t</u>				<u>t</u>	<u>t</u>			<u>t</u>	<u>t</u>		<u>(T)</u>	<u>T</u>								
<b>Idealized</b>																									
001a	Don				sal-	laa	da		sa-	laa-						til	Faa-	(ti)							
001b	Al-				baR-	kaR			gir-	man						Mai	Gir-	maa.							
001c	Don				sal-	laa	da		sa-	laa-						til	Faa-	(ti),	A						
001d	Don				Al-	lah			maa-	taa-						bi	au-	ree.	I-						
002a	naa				ku-	ma	zan		ga	gi-jin-						gon	Bau-	ci,							
002b	Dxan					Maa-	ni		mai	waa-						kxar	ban-	zaa							
<i>CHORUS</i>																									
003a,b	Dat-				ti-	jo	nee		baa	yaa-						roo	nee	ba,							
003c	maa					yaa	soo-	ki	mu-	tum						cin	au-	ree	Am-						
<b>As sung</b>																									
SS	x								x							x			x			x		x	
S	x					x			x			x			x	x		x		x		x	x	x	
W	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
	<u>t</u>	<u>(T)</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>T</u>														
001a	Don				sal-	laa	da		sa-	laa-						til	Faa-	ti							
001b					Al-	bar-			kar	gir-	man					Mai	Gir-	man.							
001c	Don				sal-	laa	da		sa-	laa-						til	Faa-	(ti),	A						
001d	Don				Al-	lah			maa-	taa-						bi	au-	ree.	I-						
002a	naa				ku-	ma	zan		ga	gi-jin-						gon	Bauci,								
002b					Dxan	Maa-			ni	mai	waa-					kxar	ban-	zaa							
<i>CHORUS</i>																									
003a	Dat-				ti-	jo	nee			baa	yaa-					roo	nee	ba							
003b					Dat-	ti-jo	nee			baa	yaa-					roo	nee	ba,							
003c	maa					yaa	soo-	ki		mu-	tum					cin	au-	ree	Am-						

## 2.2. ANM

Performance grid = text grid

Ex2	Ex1	SS	W	S	W	SS	W	S	W															
SS		x				x																		
S		x		x		x		x																
W		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x															
G	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x															
001a	Al-	laa-	hu	shi	ban	hi-	ki-	maa	da	ba-	sii-	Raa												
001b		In	ta	ya-	boo	baa-	kin		kxar-	fii		naa												
002a		In	ya-	bi	Sii-	di	Mu-	ham-	man	Baa-	waa													
002b		Mai	ha-	na	sau-	ran	baa-		yii	kxuu-	naa													
003a	Yi	da-	dxin	tsii-	raa	Al-	lah		da	a-	min-	cii												
003b		Gun	Man-	zon-	ka	da-	ree		haR	raa-	naa													

## 2.3. AAA

- As I hear it, he treats the first SS-W of the text grid as a three mora anacrusis and shifts the TACTUS to the first S
- Sung duration is usually faithful to moraic value (except for the first heavy), but he occasionally delays and squeezes a heavy *à la* Shata
- The heavy of the initial SS of the text grid is (virtually?) always “squeezed”
- He never has an extrametrical anacrusis

	TACTUS						TACTUS					
	SS	W	S	W	SS	W	S	W	S	W	S	W
SS	x				x							
S	x		x		x	x			x			
W	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
G	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
001a	Too	bi-	si-	mil-	la	da	faa-	ra-	fa-	dxa-	taa	
001b	Zan	ma-	ga-	naa	bi-	sa	jaa-	kaR	maa	taa		
002a	Mai	fi-	ti-	naa	bab-	baR	wa-	ta	gwaa-	zaa		
002b	Baa	ta	nu-	fin	zi-	ki-	Rii	ciR	ban-	zaa		
003a	Mai	laa-		laa-		taa	mai	raa-	gai-	taa		
003b	Mai	gaa-		baa	da	ma-	au-	raa	maa-	taa		
004a	Kaa	ru-	wa	baa		ta	nu-	fin	ta	yi	au-	ree
004b	Kai	dai		baR	ta	a	waa	san	tsii	rii		
005a	Suu	naa		yen	ta	a-	kwai	su	da	daa-	maa	
005b	Nii	yxaR			gaa-	ga-	raa <sup>3</sup>	nikxkxaa	goo		maa	
006a	Nii	na	ra-	dxa	ma-	ta	wan-	nan	suu-	naa		
006b	Doo	min		sun	za-	ma	dai-	dai	juu-	naa		

### 3. Conformance to suggested constraints

From Handout 8: “yes” = obeys the constraint

STRONG/TACTUS

yes for all (at least in MSK idealized setting); AAA shifts the TACTUS to the metrical S positions

yes for all

ALIGN RIGHT (LINE, MPHRASE)

yes for ANM and AAA; probably for MSK

\*LIGHT > 1 MMORA

yes for ANM; no for AAA (3a, 4a, 4b, 5b), usually to make up for violation of \*HEAVY > 2 MMORAS; no for MSK because of squeezing 16 moras into 12 grid slots, but also frequent in optional performance settings.

\*HEAVY < 2 MMORAS

yes for ANM; no for AAA (same lines as violations of \*HEAVY < 2 MMORAS); infrequently violated for MSK

\*HEAVY IN WEAK

yes for ANM; violated by AAA for every line initial syllable and occasionally elsewhere (4b); violated by MSK, but in the sample here, it is most frequent in the line intial syllable (1b, 2b, 3b)—cf. AAA—and sometimes in setting the last two syllables (1a, 2b)

FAITH (MORA, MMORA)

yes for ANM; moderate violations for AAA; many violations for MSK, but they are mitigated by the other more highly ranked constraints

### 4. Extrametrical anacrases

ANM and MSK frequently have extrametrical anacrases, AAA never does

<sup>3</sup> Metrically, the final syllable of *gaagaraa* should be light. Lexically the word has a long final vowel, but proper names often have short final vowels and names can even be derived by shortening a final vowel. AAA clearly performs the vowel as short and may be using *'Yar Gaagara* as a derived proper name.

#### 4.1. ANM

ANM performs each couplet as a stand-alone unit. Most of the anacrases are at the beginnings of couplets (the “a” lines), where they are extrametrical (shown in 005a and 022a in the examples below in small caps). In the 34 couplets of my recorded sample, there are 30 lines with anacrases. Of the five with an anacrusis in the “b” line, the “a” line ends in a short vowel.

005a	DA maataayensa da yxaayxaayensa,	BOTH his wives and <u>his</u> children,
005b	Da muu mabiyansa daree haR raanaa.	<u>And</u> we his followers, night and day.
012a	HaR sanadii ya tafoo aka kai <u>mu</u> ,	And the reason, he came and one took <u>us</u> ,
012b	<u>Da</u> nii da na gooma cikin yxaayxaanaa.	<u>Both</u> me and the tenth among my children.
022a	SU kai maa imruxu shii da Zuhai <u>Ru</u> ,	THEY bring also ??, he and Zuhair <u>u</u> ,
022b	<u>A</u> kan waakxansu na daadxin kwaanaa.	For their song and a pleasant night.
029a	Inaa kxauranka Rasullulla <u>ahi</u> ,	I have affection for you, Prophet of <u>Allahi</u> ,
029b	Muxaikin nan mai daadxin suunaa.	<u>The one</u> sent here with the wonderful name.
031a	Wadda ta haifi Rasuululla <u>ahi</u> ,	The one who bore the Prophet of <u>Allahi</u> ,
031b	<u>Watan</u> Ramalaana a barcin raanaa.	<u>The month</u> of Ramadan, when one sleeps during the day.

#### 4.2. MSK

Refrains by the chorus are interspersed between “verse” lines by the soloist. An anacrusis to the next verse line can be sung before the refrain is finished. In the “B” version of the song, nine of the twelve verse lines with anacrases are the first line of the verse. Intraverse lines can, however, have anacrases. The last two syllables of a line are canonically set to beats 4 and 5 of the 6/8 rhythm, leaving a beat available for the anacrusis to the next line. Here are the three examples of intraverse anacrases from version “B” of the song:

003b	Dattijo nee baa yaaroo nee ba,	He's a grown man, not a child,
003c	<u>Ammaa</u> yaa sooki mutumcin auree.	<u>But</u> he dismisses the dignity of marriage.
005a	(after refrain) <u>Idan</u> yaa taashi bidxaR maataa nee, <u>When</u> he sets to seeking out women,	
005b	<u>HaR</u> tsubbu yakee ya bi maatan auree.	<u>Even</u> does he do sorcery going after married women.
010c	Koowaccee mace dai ta bi auree,	Every woman indeed should pursue marriage,
010d	<u>Dxan</u> Maani ya cee masu kas sui auree.	<u>Son</u> of Mani tells them they shouldn't marry.

#### 4.3. AAA

AAA has no lines with extrametricals. He maintains the following constant rhythm across lines and across stanzas. Stanza ends are signaled by musical cadence. Slashes (/) = text line boundaries, vertical strokes (|) = musical measure boundaries, (v) = grid position not aligned with text.

/ v vv | - vv - vv | - vv (v)  
 / v vv | - vv - vv | - vv (v)      / v vv | - vv - vv | - vv (v) ...

## 5. Scansion

The table below shows the distribution of syllables across the 16 moras of the text lines plus the extrametrical position in the sample studied in Schuh (1994): 77 lines from the songs of MSK, 100 lines each from the respective poems of AAA and ANM. The headings “p#” = “positions” 1-8, where a “p” comprises two moras. In the MSK section, the larger number is the total for the two songs, the smaller numbers are individual counts for song “A” and song “B” respectively.

### (12) Counts of syllable configurations in anacrases and metrical positions

	An.	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8
Alhaji Mamman Shata, “Mata Ku Yi Aure”									
Heavy	16 8/8	74 41/33	37 22/15	76 42/34	24 14/10	76 42/34	66 37/29	77 42/35	75 41/34
Light-Light	6 5/1	1 1/0	26 15/11		48 27/21		9 4/5		1 0/1
Light	9 6/3	1 0/1	2 0/2	1 0/1			1 1/0		
Heavy-Heavy	3 3/0		3 1/2		3 1/2		1 0/1		
Light-Heavy									
Heavy-Light	2 2/0		8 3/5		2 0/2				1 1/0
Other	4 4/0	1 (Ø) 0/1	1(?) 1/0			1 (Ø) 0/1			
Alhaji Ak’ilu Aliyu, “Yar Gargara”									
Heavy		100	48	100	19	100	78	100	96
Light-Light			52		81		22		4
Light	1								
Alhaji Aliyu Namangi, “Tsarabar Madina”									
Heavy	3	98	50	100	32	100	68	100	93
Light-Light	4	2	49		68		32		3
Light	30								4*
Other			1 (h-l)						

\*P8 is counted as a single “light” only when the next line has a single light as an anacrusis (see §6).

### 5.1. “Quantitative clausula” ~ “metrical caesura”

- Odd numbered positions: nearly 100% heavy for all poets.
- Even number positions: p2 roughly equal heavy ~ light-light for all; p4 strongly favors light-light; p6 strongly favors heavy<sup>4</sup>
- Quantitative clausula: a preference for ending lines with a series of heavies, noted in other meters as well; in Schuh (1994), having never heard of quantitative clausulae, I suggested referring to this as a “rhythmic caesura” (having failed to find any evidence for a structural caesura in any of these poems)

<sup>4</sup> It is interesting that MSK favors this most strongly. The literate poets would have been able to think about lines, trying variants, etc. The MSK songs are entirely oral, changing from performance to performance (indeed, there is no overlap between “A” and “B” other than the refrain), probably often with lines improvised on the spot. The singer would thus be working entirely by “feel”.

### 5.2. Two lights in p8

- Most meters, at least written meters, standardly require a scansion with a line final heavy (with heavy or a single light being metrically equivalent in this position)
- This meter – vv / – vv / – vv / – — invites vv at the end to make the final foot parallel to the others,<sup>5</sup> and in fact all three poets have occasionally exercised this option, for example

MSK 004c Sai jaa / nee duk /in shai/daa masu, I draw full attention of inform them,  
 004d øøø su / san haa/lin gi/jingon / Bauci. That they know the ways of the lout of Bauci.

AAA 030a Kin ban / haushi / tsaawaa / zan miki, You have vexed me, scolding I do to you,  
 030b Doomin / kin mini / zancen / kxaryaa. Because you have told me a string of lies.

ANM 004a Da / aaloo/linsa da / kau sahabai nasa, Both his family members and his followers,  
 004b Maasu sa/nin daRa/joojin / juunaa. Those who know each others' worth.

- Not surprisingly, this option is exercised only in non-final lines.

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<sup>5</sup> The only other meter that I know of that has such parallelism inviting a line vv option is *ramal-caji*, discussed in section II, with a scansion – v – vv / – v – —. I believe that two line final lights are occasionally found in this meter. There examples in the oral version of the meter.



## II. Ramal-Caji: Singers of *caji* → Aliyu Namangi → many other poets



### 1. Background

- The blind poet, Aliyu Namangi, was author of a long composition called *Imfiraji* [title translated as “Song of Comfort” by the late Neil Skinner]<sup>6</sup>
- *Imfiraji* has been published in nine cantos, though there are many unpublished stanzas, maybe even whole cantos by Namangi and probably others
- *Imfiraji* is widely sung by blind singers as they move through neighborhoods seeking alms and hence is familiar to the broader Hausa community
- In the first canto, Namangi is explicit about the source of the poetic form (First Canto, Stanza 66):

<sup>6</sup> The word is a non-assimilated loan from Arabic, based on the root *f-r-j* ‘to comfort’ (among other meanings). *Imfiraaji* is a nominal form of the form VII of the verb (with nasal prefix), defined in the Wehr dictionary as ‘relaxedness, relaxation’. The poem is a highly picturesque depiction of life and death events in Hausa Islamic society.

066a	Wanga taalifii da naj ji,	This composition that I have heard,
066b	Waake-waaken maasu caaji,	(It was from) the songs of <i>caji</i> performers,
066c	Nai wa 'yaataa cee Ajuuji,	I sang it to my daughter, Ajuuji,
066d	Sai na saa mata <i>Infiraaji</i> ,	And I gave it (the name) <i>Infiraaji</i> ,
066e	Mai yinta ba zai bañin cikii ba.	The one who performs it will not be unhappy.

- *Caji* is a performance style particular to certain musicians, described in Harun Arrashid Yusuf, *Hamza Caji da Wakokinsa*, Kano: Shonuga Commercial Press, 1970.

## 2. Text Meter of *Ramal-Caji*

### 2.1. Text meter of written *ramal-caji*

- *Ramal* is a traditional Arabic meters with Xalilian feet – v – – / – v – (underlined portions are invariable “pegs”)
- I am skeptical that the meter discussed in this section is of Arabic origin at all—see Handout 5, §3. I thus distinguish between “traditional” *ramal*, which may be attributed to the Arabic tradition, and *ramal-caji*, which I believe is a native Hausa meter.
- Scansion of *ramal-caji*:

*Ramal-caji*: – v – vv / – v – –

Alternative line of *ramal-caji*: vv / – vv – v / – v – –

- *Imfiraaji* is in quintains (internal rhyme lines a-d, external rhyme *ba*), with lines a-d scanning as the first line above and line e scanning as the “alternative line”.
- Some poets writing in this meter follow this stanzaic pattern, some write quintains but with all lines scanning in the base pattern, some use other stanzaic patterns with or without an alternative last line
- Scansion of stanza above:

	Extrm.	SS	W	S	W	SS	W	S	W
SS		x				x			
S		x		x		x		x	
S		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
G	x x	x x x	x x x	x x x	x x x	x x x	x x x	x x x	x x
066a		Wan-	ga	taa-	lii-	fii	da	naj	ji
066b		Waa-	kxe-waa-	kxen	maa-	su	caa-	ji	
066c		Nai	wa	yxaa-	taa	cee	A-	juu-	ji
066d		Sai	na	saa	ma-	ta	In-	fi-	Raa-
066e	Mai	yin-	ta	ba	zai	ba-	kxin	ci-	kii
									ba

- Extrametrical two moras line initial: Virtually all Hausa poetry/song has four beat lines, but the light syllables aligned with the first and third “W” columns make lines a-d add up to 14 moras each, which is not evenly divisible by 4. One way to “stretch” 14-mora lines to 16 is to lengthen two of the heavies to three moras. This is the pattern commonly used in *kaamil*, where dimeters also add up to 14 moras per line.<sup>7</sup> Another way is to use a 16-position grid in which two of the moras may or may not be aligned with text. This is the strategy in *Imfiraaji*,

<sup>7</sup> I have found at least two performances of poems in *ramal-caji* that use internal heavy syllable lengthening to achieve 16 mora lines: Akilu Aliyu “Jiya da Yau” and Yusufu Kantu Isa “Ni da Shaidan”.

where two grid positions (“Extrm.” in the grid here) are unaligned with text in lines a-d, but with two moras of text aligned with those positions in line e.

## 2.2. Text meter of oral *ramal-caji*

- Dan Mani Caji: songs recorded off-air from Radio Kano, August 1996
- Style is traditional soloist with chorus of drummers/singers.
- Below is an extract followed by a scansion of the text meter. Lines sung by the chorus are in italics with “C” following the line number.<sup>8</sup>

001C	<i>Shii yake da abin da zaa a rookxaa.</i>	It is he who has the thing that one is pleading for.
002	Wanda kee neemaa ga haalikxuu,	The one who seeks from a (mortal) creature,
003	In kanaa neemaa ga Allah,	If you seek from Allah,
004	Allah ya nufaa a baa ka,	May Allah intend that it be given you,
005	Yaa Rubuuta rabon jikinka,	He has written your share on your body,
006	Makxiyii maa fa ya baa ka kyautaa.	May your enemy too give you gifts.
007C	<i>Haka nee Maalam na Maude,</i>	Thus it is Malam of Maude,
008C	<i>Baa da kxaryaa baa da zaaxidaa.</i>	Without lies, without exaggeration.

	Extrm.	SS	W	S	W	SS	W	S	W
SS		x				x			
S		x		x		x		x	
W		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
G	x x	x x	x x	x x	x x	x x	x x x	x x	
001C	Shiiya	kee	da	a	bin	da	zaa	a	roo- kxaa
002		Wan-	da	kee	nee	maa	ga	haa-	li- kxu
003		In	ka	naa	nee	maa	ga	Al-	lah
004		Al-	lah		ya nu- ffaa		a	baa	ka
005		Yaa	Ru-	buu-	ta	ra-   bon	ji-	kin	ka
006		Ma	kxi-yii		maa	fa	ya	baa	ka kyau- taa
007C		Ha-	ka	nee		Maa-	lam	na	Mau- de
008C		Baa		da	kxar-	yaa	baa	da	zaa- xi- daa

### Comments:

- 001 has the alternative scansion used in final lines of *Imfiraji* stanzas (assuming squeezing of the first syllable of 001 here).
- 002-008 have the canonical – v – vv / – v – vv *ramal-caji* scansion except for the first hemistichs of 004, 006, 007.
- 002 and 008 use the light-light realization in the final W, also seen occasionally in *anti-mutadaarik*, where the ... – vv]<sub>LINE END</sub> invites this realization (see §5.2).

<sup>8</sup> On the recording, the song starts with a little over a minute that mixes Hausa and Arabic in ways making it difficult to work out scansion. The extract here essentially begins where scannable text that is fully in Hausa begins. The song is quite long and, as is typical for this type of music, is allusive and elliptical, and it is often not easy to fit the text to the music in a clear way.

### 3. Performance and Text Setting

#### 3.1. A cappella performance of written *ramal-caji*

*Imfiraji*, Canto 3, Stanzas 13-14

013a	Tun mutum naa / im ma taashi,	From the time a person is able to rise,
013b	HaR abin kan / gaagaree shi,	Until things become too much for him,
013c	Ga jikii saa/shai da saashai,	Here's his body in all its parts,
013d	Ya dímaucee / ban da niishii,	He's perplexed, aside from groaning,
013e	Baa / a saami abin da / zai iyaa ba.	He finds nothing that he is able to do.
014a	Tun anaaa gai/sai shi amsaa,	From when he would be greeted and answer,
014b	HaR ya gaagara / maa ya kaasaa,	Until it was toom much and he failed,
014c	Yxanxuwaa su ta/hoo a neesaa,	Friends would come from afar,
014d	TambayaR kwaa/nan jikinsa,	Asking about how he felt during the night,
014e	Bai / san jama'aa ta/naa zuwaa ba.	He doesn't know people are coming.

Fauziyya Sarki Abubakar performance grid (YouTube video)

	SS	W	S	W	SS	W	S	W
SS	x				x			
S	x		x		x		x	
S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
G	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
013a	Tun	mu- tum	naa	ii	ma	taa	shii	
013b	HaR	a- bin	kan	gaa-	ga-	ree	shi	
013c	Gaa	ji- kii	saa-	shii	da	saa-	shii	
013d	Yaa	dxi-mau-	cee	ban	da	nii-	shii,	Ba a
013e	saa-	mi a-	bin	da	zai	i-	yaa	ba

- As a 4/4 musical grid (as implied by SS every fourth beat): Faithful performance of moras to musical grid positions (eighth notes) causes all the syllable to be offset early from the musical beat until the syllable following the light in the second hemistich.
- Silent line final beat: To achieve an even 16 moras, the performance adds one beat (= 2 moras ~ 2 eighth notes) of silence at the end of lines a-d; this beat is filled by a vv text between lines d and e, i.e. the grid columns labeled “Extrametrical” in the text scansion.
- Alternative musical scoring in 8/4 (= 16/8): A 4/4 performance notation is anomalous because it requires that the downbeat of the second measure in every line be set to the second mora of a heavy syllable. A more perspicuous musical setting might be 8/4, i.e. a single musical phrase for each line.
- Two other performances:
  - Hamsatu Sani Bello: A blind singer recorded at K'ofar Wambai, Kano, in 1985 (HaW02); similar setting to that of Fauziyya
  - Mudi Mayanga: singer on an audio cassette purchased in Sabon Gari Market, Zaria in 1983 (HaW01); more complex setting than the other two

### 3.2. Performance of *caji* by traditional singers

- Here is the music grid for the performance by Dan Mani Caji of the song in §2.2, with the performance grid of Fauziyya from §3.1 for comparison.
- “B” shows the drum beat pattern for each line of text.

TACTUS							TACTUS							
SS		x						x						
S		x			x			x			x			
W		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	
G		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	
Drum		B	B	B	B	B		B	B	B	B	B	B	
001C		Shiiya	kee		da	a-	bin		da	zaa	a	roo-	(kxaa)	
002		Wan-d-a	kee		nee	maa			ga	haa-	li-kxu			
003		In	ka	naa	nee	maa			ga	Al-	lah			
004		Al-	lah		ya	nu-	faa		a	baa	ka		Ya-	
005		-a	Ru-	buu-	ta	ra-	bon		ji-	kin-ka				
006		Ma-	kxi-yii		maa		fa		ya	baa-	ka	kyau-	taa	
007C		Ha-	ka	nee	Maa-	lam			na	Mau-	dee		Ba-	
008C		-a	da	kxar-	yaa	baa			da	zaa-	xi-	daa		
<i>Imfiraji</i> as sung by Fauziyya														
Drum		B	B	B	B	B		B	B	B	B	B		
013a		Tun	mu-	tum	naa	i-	i	ma	taa-	shii				
013b		HaR	a-	bin	kan	ga-	a-	ga-	ree-	shi				
013c		Gaa	ji-	kii	saa-	shi-	i	da	saa-	shii				
013d		Yaa	dxi-mau-		cee	ba-	n	da	nii-	shii	Ba	a		
013e		saa-	mi	a-	bin	da		zai	i-	yaa	ba			

- Squeezing first syllable: The first syllable of each line (except 004) is sung as light. The effect is to create an alignment of the three drum beats starting with the SS (the downbeat of the musical measure). Note that the “alternative” hemistich type seen in the first half of 001 starts on the downbeat, unlike the performance of *Imfiraji* where the first syllable of the alternative type actually fills out the end of the preceding line.
- Conformance to constraints: The setting obeys the highest ranked constraints STRONG/TACTUS and ALIGNRT (LINE, MPHASE). The only systematically violated constraint is the rather low ranked \*HEAVY<2 MORAS in the first syllable, noted in the first bullet point. Otherwise the syllable weight to music grid match is almost entirely faithful.<sup>9</sup>
- Imfiraji* vs. *caji*: As a point of reference, the drum beats from *caji* are shown with the lines of *Imfiraji*. The only real difference between the two text settings (aside from a bit more metrical freedom in the first half of the oral song) is the fact that the first syllable of each line is not squeezed, thus creating a different match of syllables to drum beats, were *Imfiraji* performed to drum beats. As suggested above for *Imfiraji*, the suggested 4/4 transcription seems not to be optimal for *caji* either. Each line should probably be considered a single 8/4 (= 16/8) phrase.

<sup>9</sup> The grid alignment shown here tries to match the performance. One could make even a cleaner setting by slight idealizations, placing the initial syllables of 005 and 008 directly in the SS column and aligning the last one or two syllables of lines 002-006 with grid columns rather than slightly before them.

## Score

# Mata Ku Yi Aure (HaO30)

Mamman Shata Katsina

5

1a. À don sal - làa dà sà - laa - til Faa-ti(hà) 1b. Àl-baR - kàR gir -

9

man Mài - Girmaa. 1cC. Don sal - làa dà sà - laa - til Faa(tihà) 1dC. À don Al - làh maa -

13

taa kù yi au - ree. 2a. Ì - naa ku - ma zân\_\_ ga gi - jìn - gon Bau - ci? 2b. Maa - ni mài

17

waa - kxàR ban - zaa.

21

25

29

Score

# 'Yar Gagara

(“Yar Gagara” version)

Akilu Aliyu

1a. Tôo bì-si - mil - là dà faa - rà fà - dxaa - taa, 1b. Zân ma-ga - nàa bi-sà jàa-kaR  
5  
maa - taa. 2a. Mài fì - ti - nàa bâb-baR wa-ta gwaa - zaa, 2b. Baa tà nu - fin zi-kì-Rii ciR  
9  
ban - zaa. 3a. Mài làa - laa - tàa mài ràa - gai - tàa, 3b. Mài gàa - baa dà ma-àu - raa  
13  
maa - taa. 4a. Kaa-rù - wà baa tà nu-fin tà yi au - ree, 4b. Kai dai bâR ta à wàa - san  
17  
tsii - rii. 5a. Suu-nàa - yen - tà à-kwai sù dà daa - maa. 5b. Nii yxaR gàa-ga - rà nikx kxaa -  
21  
goo - aa. 6a. Nii na ra - dxàa ma - tà wân - nan suu - naa, 6b. Dòo-min sun za - ma dai - dai  
25  
juu - naa. 7a. Mài ra - ba Yàa - ya dà mân - yan kxan - nai, 7b. Mài ra - bà Bàa - ba dà mân - yan  
29  
dxi - yaa nai.

Score

# Begen Annabi

Aliyu Namangi

1a. Àl - laa - hù shì bân hi - ki - mà dà bà - sii - Ràa, 1b. Ìn ta yà - boo bà -

5  
kin kxar - fii - naa.

2a. Ìn yà - bi Sii - di Mù - ham - màn Baa - wàa,

9  
2b. Mài ha - nà saur - ran baa - yii - kxuu - naa.

3a. Yi da - dxìn tsii - raa Al - làh \_\_ dà a - min - cii,

14  
3b. Gûn Màn - zon - kà dà - ree haR raa - naa.

4a. Dà aa - loo - lin - sà dà kau sà - hè - bai na - sà,

19  
4b. Mâa - su sa - nìn da - Ra - joo - jin juu - naa.

5a. Dà maa - tà - yen - sà dà yxaa - yxàa - yen - sà, 5b. Dà

24  
muu ma - bì - yan - sà da - ree haR raa - naa.

6a. À bai - cin naa ci - kà wan - nàn kal - màa,

29  
6b. Bèe - gen Àn - na - bì nee ma - nu - faa - naa.

Score

Imfiraji, Canto 3, 13-14  
Fauziyya Sarki Abubakar (YouTube) Aliyu Namangi

5 13a. Tun mù - tûm nàa ii \_\_\_\_ mà taa - shìi, 13b. HaR à - bîn kàn gâa - gâ - ree - shì,

9 13c. Gâa jì - kii sàa - shìi \_\_\_\_ dà saa - shìi, 13d. Yaa dxî - màu - cee \_\_\_\_ bân \_\_\_\_ dà nii - shii, 13e. Bâ à

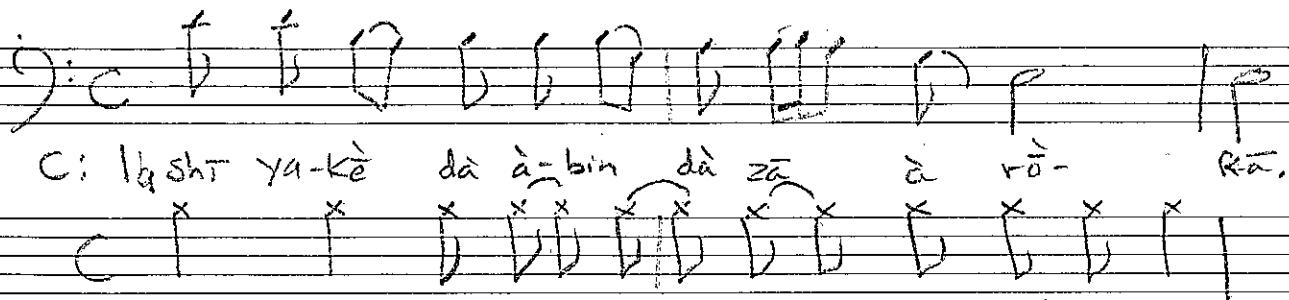
14 sàa - mi à - bîn dà zâi \_\_\_\_ i - yâa ba.

18

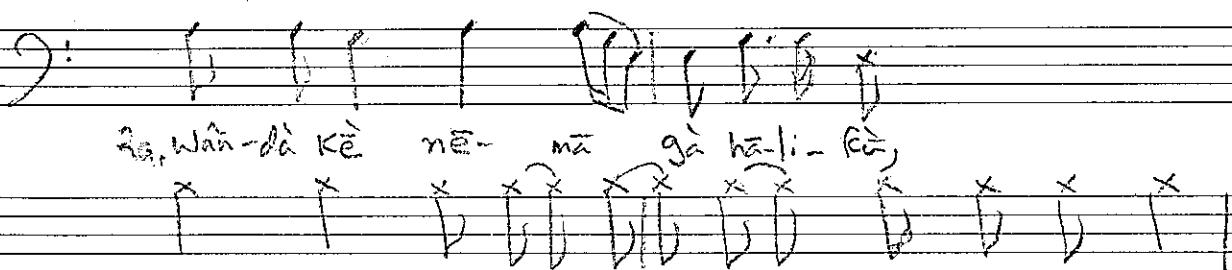
22

26

30

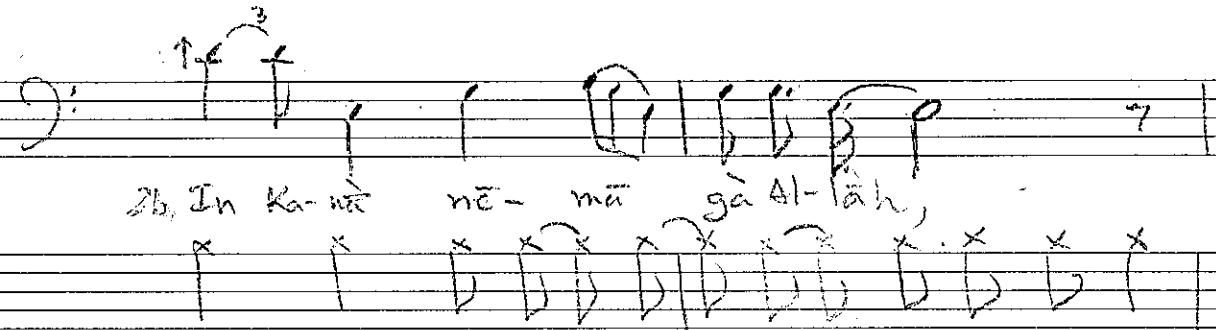
1: C: 

c: 1gشت ya-kè dà à̄-bin dà zā a rā- rā.

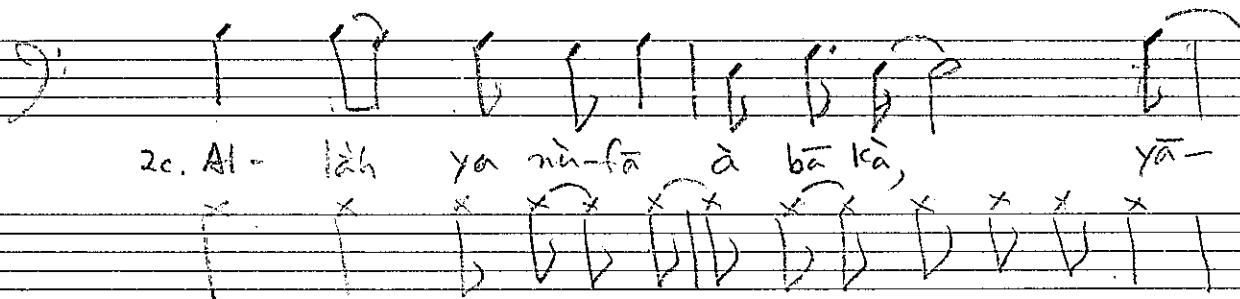
2: 

2a. Wān-dā Kē nē- mā gā hā-li- gā

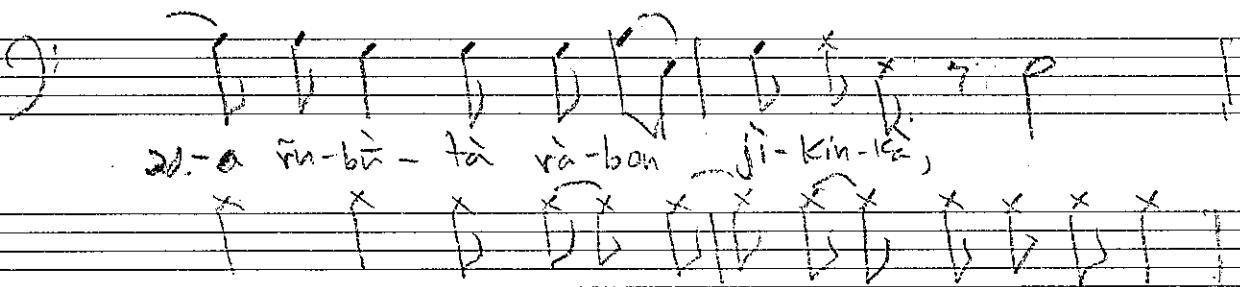
2b. In Kā-nā nē- mā gā Al-lāh,



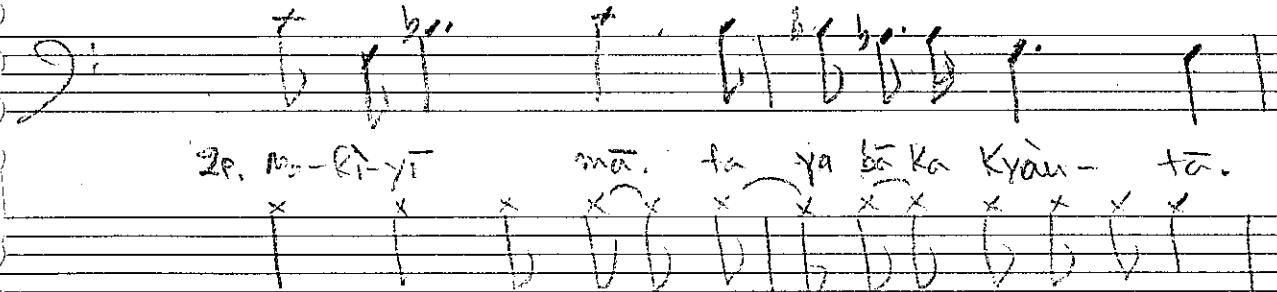
2c. Al- lāh ya nū-fā à bā kā, yā-



2d. a m̄-b̄- tā rā-bān jī-kin-kā,



2e. m̄-k̄-yā mā. fa ya bā kā Kyān- tā.

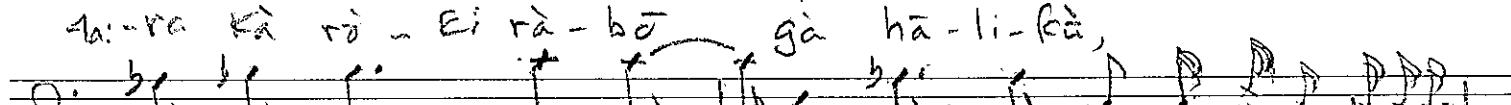


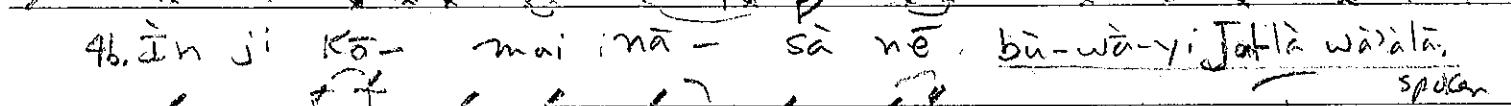
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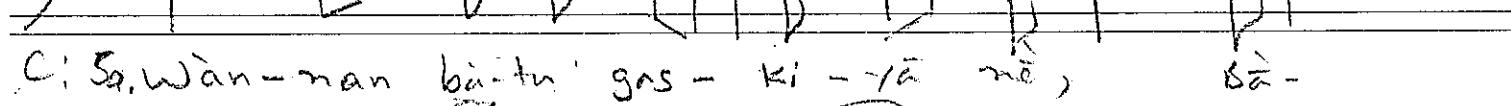
9: 
  
 C: 3a. Ha-ka né Ma-lam na Maan-dé, Bā-

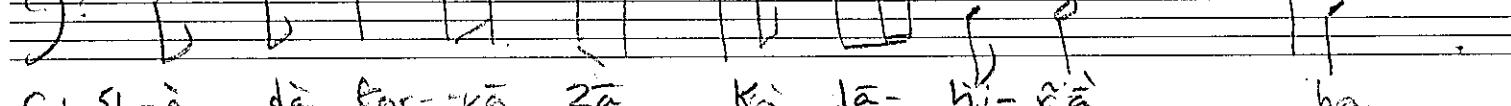
9: 
  
 C: 3b.-a dà far-yā bā dà zāi-si-dé. <sup>D</sup>Gā...ba,

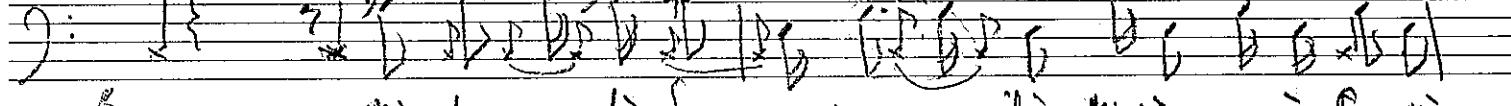
9: 
  
 4a. ra kā rō - Ei rā-bō ga hā-li-kū,

9: 
  
 4b. īn ji Kō mai mā - sā né. bù-wā-yi Jat-lā wā-lā, <sup>spoon</sup>

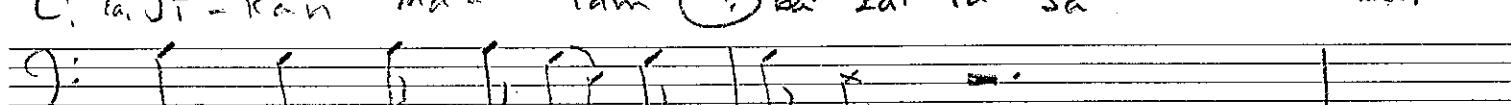
9: 
  
 C: 5a. Wàn-nan bāi-tu' gas - ki - yā né, Bā-

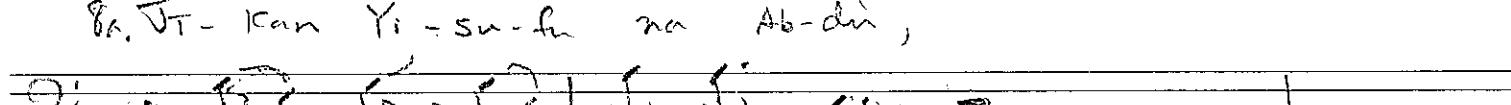
9: 
  
 C: 5b.-a dà far-yā zā Kā lā-hi-sā ba,

9: 
  
 6a. <sup>3</sup> Mū-ham-a-dū dān Mū-ham-mā dū. Mi-jin-ya-wā dān Mū...

9: 
  
 C: 7a. JT - kān Ma - lam <sup>?</sup> bāi zāi ra - sā ba.

9: 
  
 8a. JT - kān Yi - su - lu na Ab - dū,

9: 
  
 8b. Yan dān Yā - ya Maan-mān

9: 
  
 8c. Mi - jin - ya - wā dān Mū-ham - mā - dū