

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 → Aḳilu 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- Detailed description in unpublished ms.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
- 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:¹ 77 distinct lines
- AAA: Aḳilu 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 prostitutes²
 - 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 Aḳilu 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)



¹ 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, castigating 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.

² Aḳilu 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		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	
	-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		S		W
SS			x								x						
S			x				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
MSK (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-	jín-		gon		Bau-		ci
002b			Dxan		Maa-		nii		mai		waa-		kxaR		ban-		zaa
<i>Chorus</i>																	
003a,b			Dat-		tii-jo		nee		baa		yaa-		roo		nee		ba
003c	Am-		maa		yaa		soo-		ki	mu	tun		cin		au-		ree
AAA																	
001a			Too		bi- si- mil-				la	da	faa-		ra-	fa-	dxaa-		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
ANM																	
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. 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					
S	x			x			x			x		
W	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>	(T)	<u>T</u>	<u>T</u>	
Idealized												
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	ku	bi	au-	ree.	I-
002a	naa	ku-	ma	zan		ga	gi-jin-		gon	Bau-	ci,	
002b	Dxan		Maa-	ni		mai	waa-		kxar	ban-	zaa	
CHORUS												
003a,b	Dat-	tii-	jo	nee		baa	yaa-		roo	nee	ba,	Am-
003c	maa		yaa	soo-	ki	mu-	tum		cin	au-	ree	
As sung												
SS	x						x					
S	x			x			x			x		
W	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>	(T)	<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	ku	bi	au-	ree.	I-
002a	naa	ku-	ma	zan		ga	gi-jin-		gon	Bauci,		
002b		Dxan	Maa-		ni	mai	waa-		kxar	ban-	zaa	
CHORUS												
003a	Dat-	ti-	jo	nee		baa	yaa-		roo	nee	ba	
003b		Dat-	ti-jo	nee		baa	yaa-		roo	nee	ba,	Am-
003c	maa		yaa	soo-	ki	mu-	tum		cin	au-	ree	

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				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
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
SS	x					x			
S	x		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	x x	x x
001a		Too bi- si- mil-		la da faa-		ra- fa- dxaa-		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		lau-		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 ³ nikxkxaa		goo		maa	
006a		Nii na ra- dxaa		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
ALIGN RIGHT (LINE, MPHRASE)	yes for all
*LIGHT > 1 MMORA	yes for ANM and AAA; probably for MSK
*HEAVY < 2 MMORAS	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 initial 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 anacruses

ANM and MSK frequently have extrametrical anacruses, AAA never does

³ 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 clear 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 anacruses 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 anacruses. 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	<u>Da</u> 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 Zuhai <u>ru</u> ,
022b	<u>A</u> kan waakxansu na daadxin kwaanaa.	<u>For</u> their song and a pleasant night.
029a	<u>Inaa</u> kxauranka Rasullulla <u>ahi</u> ,	<u>I</u> have affection for you, Prophet of Allah <u>i</u> ,
029b	<u>Muxa</u> ikin 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 Allah <u>i</u> ,
031b	Watan Ramalaana a barcin raanaa.	The month 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 anacruses are the first line of the verse. Intraverse lines can, however, have anacruses. 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 anacruses from version “B” of the song:

003b	Dattiijo 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) Idan 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	Dxan Maani ya cee masu kas sui auree.	Son 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.

$$\begin{array}{l} / \mathbf{v} \, \underline{\mathbf{v}} \mathbf{v} \mid - \underline{\mathbf{v}} \mathbf{v} - \underline{\mathbf{v}} \mathbf{v} \mid - \underline{\mathbf{v}} \mathbf{v} \, (\mathbf{v}) \\ / \mathbf{v} \, \underline{\mathbf{v}} \mathbf{v} \mid - \underline{\mathbf{v}} \mathbf{v} - \underline{\mathbf{v}} \mathbf{v} \mid - \underline{\mathbf{v}} \mathbf{v} \, (\mathbf{v}) \\ / \mathbf{v} \, \mathbf{v} \mathbf{v} \mid - \mathbf{v} \mathbf{v} - \mathbf{v} \mathbf{v} \mid - \mathbf{v} \mathbf{v} \, (\mathbf{v}) \dots \end{array}$$

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 anacruses 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 heavy⁴
- 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)

⁴ 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,⁵ 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 Doommin / 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.

⁵ 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]⁶
- *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):

⁶ The word is a non-assimilated loan from Arabic, based on the root *f-r-j* ‘to comfort’ (among other meanings). *Imfiraji* 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.

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.⁸

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 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-	faa	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]_{LINE END} invites this realization (see §5.2).

⁸ 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 dīmaucee / 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 anaa gai/sai shi amsaa,	From when he would be greeted and answer,
014b	HaR ya gaagara / maa ya kaasaa,	Until it was too 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	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	
G		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Drum		B		B		B	B		B		B		B	B	B	B		
001C		Shi	ya	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-	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				
Imfiraji 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, MPHRASE). 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.⁹
- 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.

⁹ 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.

Mata Ku Yi Aure

(HaO30)

Mamman Shata Katsina



1a. À don sal - làa dà sà - laa - til Faa-ti(hà)

1b. Àl-baR - kàR gir -

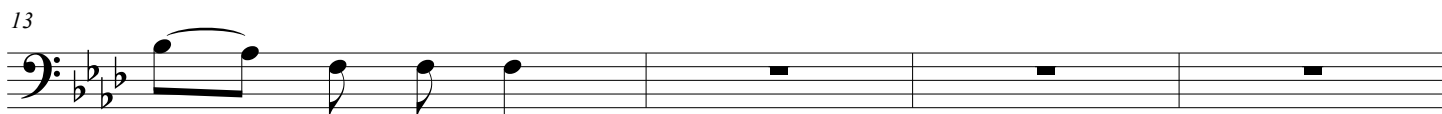


man Màì - Girmaa. 1cC. Don sal - làa dà sà - laa - til Faa(tihà) 1dC. À don Àl-làh maa -

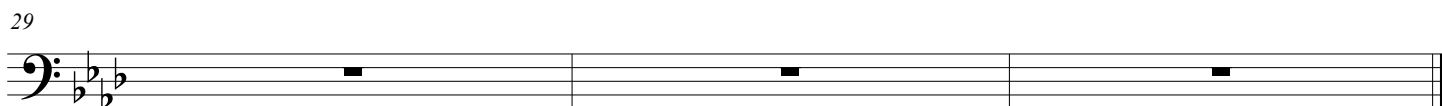
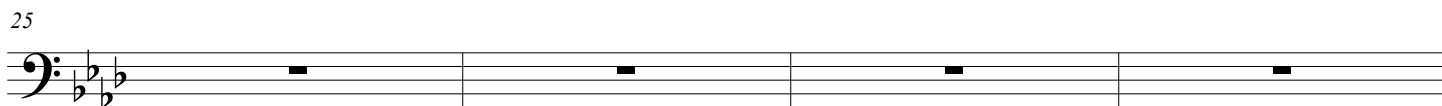
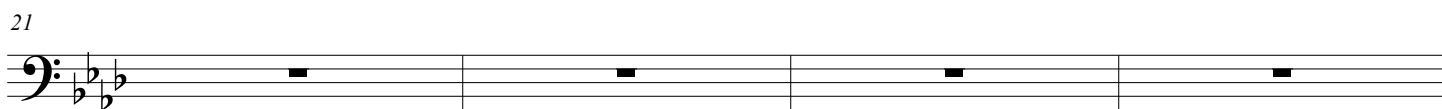
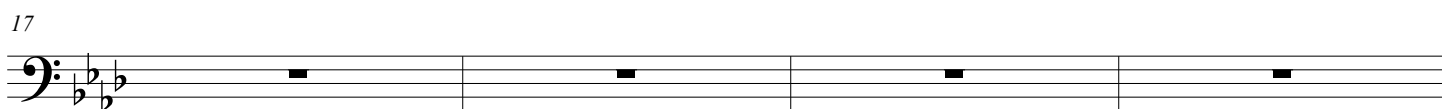


taa kù yi au - ree. 2a. Ì - naa ku - ma zân — ga gí - jìn - gon Bau-ci?

2b. Maa - ni màì



waa - kxàR ban - zaa.



'Yar Gagara

("Yar Gagara" version)

Akilu Aliyu



1a. Tòo bì-si - mil - là dà faa - rà fà - dxa - taa, 1b. Zân ma - ga - nàa bì-sà jàa - kaR

5



maa - taa. 2a. Màì fì - ti - nàa bàb - baR wa - ta gwaa - zaa, 2b. Baa tà nu - fin zi - kì - Rii ciR

9



ban - zaa. 3a. Màì làa - laa - tàa màì ràa - gai - tàa, 3b. Màì gàa - baa dà ma - àu - raa

13



maa - taa. 4a. Kaa - rù - wà baa tà nu - fin tà yi au - ree, 4b. Kai dai bàR 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



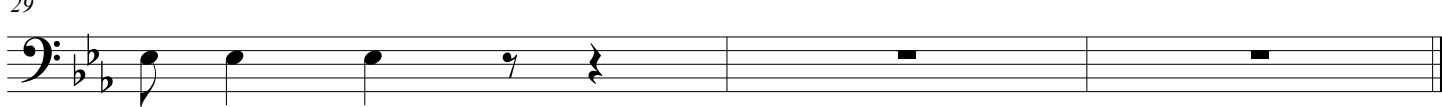
goo - aa. 6a. Nii na ra - dxàa ma - tà wân - nan suu - naa, 6b. Dòo - min sun za - ma dai - dai

25



juu - naa. 7a. Màì ra - ba Yàa - ya dà mân - yan kxan - nai, 7b. Màì ra - bà Bàa - ba dà mân - yan

29



dxi - yaa nai.

Begen Annabi

Aliyu Namangi

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

5
kin kxar - fii - naa. 2a. Ìn yà - bi Sii - dì Mù - ham - màn Baa - wàa,

9
2b. Màì ha-nà saur - ran baa - yii-kxuu-naa. 3a. Yì da - dxìn tsii-raa Àl - làh — dà a-min-ciì,

14
3b. Gùn Mân - zon - kà dà - ree haR raa - naa. 4a. Dà aa - loo - lin - sà dà kau sà-hà-bai na-sà,

19
4b. Maa-su sa-nìn da-Ra - joo-jin juu-naa. 5a. Dà maa-tàa-yen-sà dà yxaa-yxàa-yen-sà, 5b. Dà

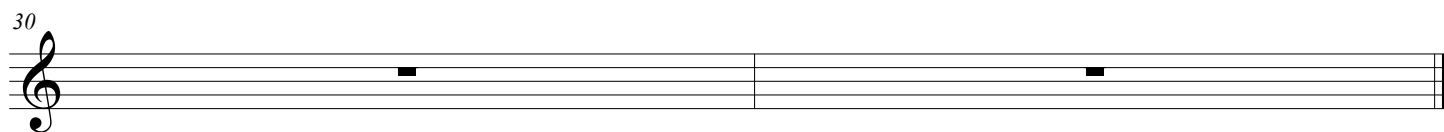
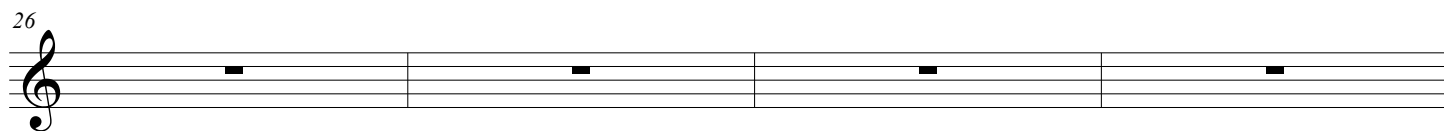
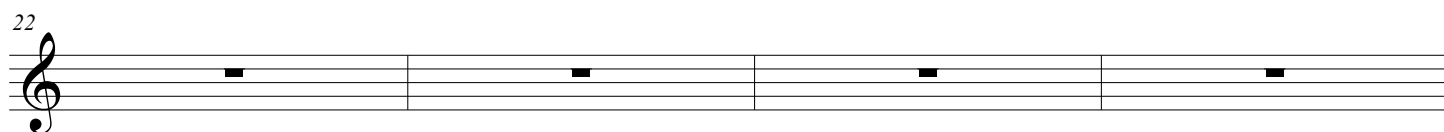
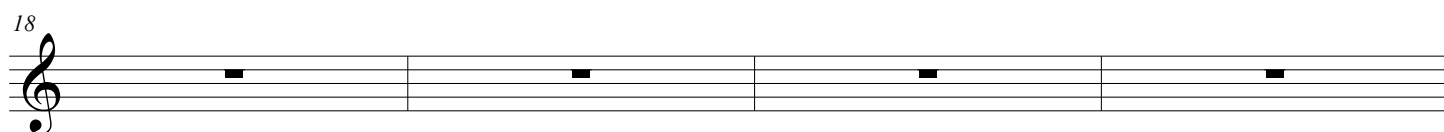
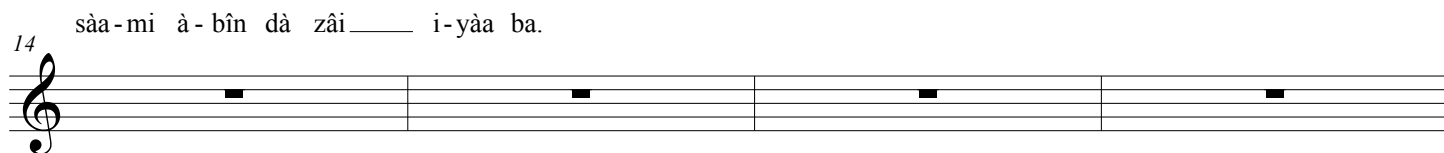
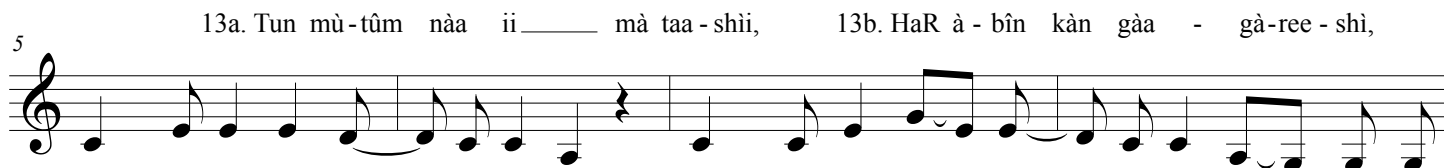
24
muu ma-bì-yan - sà da - ree haR raa - naa. 6a. À bai - cin naa ci-kà wan-nàn kal - màa,

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

Imfiraji, Canto 3, 13-14

Fauziyya Sarki Abubakar (YouTube)

Aliyu Namangi



1. C: 1st ShT ya-kē dà à-bin dà zā à rō- Rā.

2a. Wān-dā Kē nē- mā gā hā-lī- Rā,

2b. In Ka-nē nē- mā gā Al-lāh,

2c. Al-lāh ya nū-fā à bā kā, yā-

2d. a rī-bū- tā rā-ban jī-kin-lā,

2e. mō-rī-yī mā. ta ya bā ka Kyān- tā.

Handwritten musical score on ten staves, featuring lyrics in Chinese and Pinyin. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

Staff 1: C: 3a, Ha - kà nē mā - lam na māu - dǎ, Bǎ -

Staff 2: C: 3b - à dà fā - yā bǎ dà zā - yī - dà Di Gā - ba.

Staff 3: 4a: - ra kà rǒ - Ei rǎ - bō gā hā - li - kà,

Staff 4: 4b. Īn jī kǎ - mai nā - sà nē, bū - wǎ - yī Jǎ là wǎ là, spókan

Staff 5: C: 5a, Wǎn - nan bū - tǎ gǎs - kǐ - yā nē, Bǎ -

Staff 6: C: 5b, - à dà fā - yā zā kǎ lā - hǐ - nǎ ba.

Staff 7: Ba, Mù - ham - a - dū dān Mù - ham - ma dū Mǐ - jīn - yā - wǎ dān Mù - ...

Staff 8: C: 7a, Jī - kǎn mā - lǎm (?) bǎ zǎi ra - sà ba.

Staff 9: 8a, Jī - kǎn Yī - su - fū na Ab - dū,

Staff 10: 8b, Yān dān Yǎ - yā mān - mǎn

Staff 11: 8c, Mǐ - jīn - yā - wǎ dān Mù - ham - ma - dū