TWO STUDIES IN TEXT METROLOGY VERSUS PERFORMANCE METROLOGY

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 → Aƙilu 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- Detailed description in unpublished ms.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**: Aƙilu 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
  - 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 Aƙilu 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, catisgating one “Ɗan Mani, lout of Bauchi”—perhaps the Ɗan Mani Caji discussed in part II of this handout—who apparently had publicly dismissed the importance of marriage.

2 Aƙilu 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ex2</th>
<th>Ex1</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ex2</th>
<th>Ex1</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>G</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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- naar ku- ma zan ga gi- jin- gon Bau- ci
002b  Dxan Maa- nii mai waa- kxaR ban- zaa

**Chorus**

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 raag- gai- taa
003b  Mai gaag- 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- dixin 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
Handout 9: Text Meter vs. Performance Meter

### 2.2. ANM

**Performance grid = text grid**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex2</th>
<th>Ex1</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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

### 2.3. AAA

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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

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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 Gaagar* 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 his children,
005b  Da muu mabiyansa daree haR raanaa.  And we his followers, night and day.
012a  HaR sanadii ya tafoo aka kai mu,  And the reason, he came and one took us.
012b  Da nii da na gooma cikin yxaayxaanaa.  Both me and the tenth among my children.
022a  Su kai maa imruxu shii da ZuhaiRu,  THEY bring also ??, he and Zuhairu.
022b  A kan waakxansu na daadxin kwaanaa.  For their song and a pleasant night.
029a  Sukai maa imruxu shii da ZuhaiRu,  I have affection for you, Prophet of Allah.
029b  Akan waakxansu na daadxin suunaa.  The one sent here with the wonderful name.
031a  Wadda ta haifi Rasulullaa,  The one who bore the Prophet of Allah.
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  Dattijo nee baa yaaroo nee ba,  He’s a grown man, not a child,
003c  Ammaa yaa sooki mutumcin auree.  But he dismisses the dignity of marriage.
005a  (after refrain)  Idaan yaa taashi bidxaR maataa nee,  When he sets to seeking out women,
005b  HaR tsubbu yakee ya bi maatan auree.  Even does he do sorcery going after married women.
010c  Koowaccee mace daa 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.

/ 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 anacuses and metrical positions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>An.</th>
<th>p1</th>
<th>p2</th>
<th>p3</th>
<th>p4</th>
<th>p5</th>
<th>p6</th>
<th>p7</th>
<th>p8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heavy</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8/8</td>
<td>41/33</td>
<td>22/15</td>
<td>42/34</td>
<td>14/10</td>
<td>37/29</td>
<td>42/35</td>
<td>41/34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light-Light</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5/1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0/1</td>
<td>15/11</td>
<td>27/21</td>
<td>4/5</td>
<td>0/1</td>
<td>0/1</td>
<td>0/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6/3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0/1</td>
<td>0/1</td>
<td>0/1</td>
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<td>0/1</td>
<td>0/1</td>
<td>0/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavy-Heavy</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0/1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light-Heavy</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0/1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavy-Light</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4/0</td>
<td>1 (Ø)</td>
<td>1 (?)</td>
<td>1 (Ø)</td>
<td>0/1</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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.
- 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)

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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 – \( \frac{vv}{-} / \frac{vv}{-} / \frac{vv}{-} \) 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:

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

  \[
  \text{AAA } 030a \quad \text{Kin ban / haushi / tsaaawaa / zan miki,} \\
  \quad \text{030b } \text{Doomin / kin mini / zancen / kxaryaa.}
  \]
  \[
  \text{You have vexed me, scolding I do to you,} \\
  \text{Because you have told me a string of lies.}
  \]

  \[
  \text{ANM } 004a \quad \text{Da / aaloo/linsa da / kau sahabai nasa,} \\
  \quad \text{004b } \text{Maasu sa/nin daRa/joojin / juunaa.}
  \]
  \[
  \text{Both his family members and his followers,} \\
  \text{Those who know each others’ worth.}
  \]

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

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\(^5\) The only other meter that I know of that has such parallelism inviting a line \( vv \) option is \textit{ramal-caji}, discussed in section II, with a scansion – \( v - \frac{vv}{-} / v - \frac{-}{-} \). 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):

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⁶ 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.
Handout 9: Text Meter vs. Performance Meter

| 066a | Wanga taalifii da naj ji | This composition that I have heard, |
| 066b | Waaƙe-waaƙen maasu caaji, | (It was from) the songs of caaji performers, |
| 066c | Nai wa ’yaataa cee Ajuuji, | I sang it to my daughter, Ajuji, |
| 066d | Sai na saa mata Infiraaji | And I gave it (the name) Infiraaji, |
| 066e | Mai yinta ba zai bakin 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 Waƙokinسا, 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: \( - v - \underline{vV} / - v - - \)
  - Alternative line of ramal-caji: \( \underline{VV} / - \underline{VV} - v / - v - - \)
- Imfiraji 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:

```
Extram. SS W S W SS W SS W S W
SS   x   x
S    x   x   x   x   x
S    x   x   x   x   x   x
G   x   x   x   x   x   x   x   x   x   x   x
066a  Wanga taalifii da naj ji
066b  Waaƙe-waaƙen maasu caaji
066c  Nai wa ’yaataa cee Ajuuji
066d  Sai na saa mata Infiraaji
066e  Mai yinta ba zai bakin cikii 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. 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 Imfiraji,
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.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Scansion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>001C</td>
<td>Shii yake da abin da zaa a rookxaa. It is he who has the thing that one is pleading for.</td>
<td>SS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>002</td>
<td>Wanda kee neemaa ga haalikxuu,</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>003</td>
<td>In kanaa neemaa ga Allah,</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>004</td>
<td>Allah ya nufaa a baa ka,</td>
<td>SS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>005</td>
<td>Yaa Rubuuta rabon jikinka,</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>006</td>
<td>Makxiyii maa fa ya baa ka kyauataa.</td>
<td>SS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>007C</td>
<td>Haka nee Maalam na Maude,</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>008C</td>
<td>Baa da kxaryaa baa da zaaxidaa.</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Extrm.** SS W S W SS W S W

| W   | | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| G   | | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |

**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 …– vvLINE 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

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

**Fauziyya Sarki Abubakar performance grid** (YouTube video)

<p>| | | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>SS</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TACTUS</th>
<th>TACTUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>001C</td>
<td>Shiiya kee da a- bin       da zaa a roo- (kxaa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>002</td>
<td>Wan-da kee nee maa         ga haa- li-kku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>003</td>
<td>In ka naa nee maa         ga Al- lah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>004</td>
<td>Al- lah ya nu- faa         a baa ka      Ya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>005</td>
<td>-a Ru- buu- ta ra- bon     ji- kin-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>006</td>
<td>Ma- kxi-yii maa fa         ya baa- ka kyau- taa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>007C</td>
<td>Ha- ka nee Maa- lam        na Mau- dee    Ba-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>008C</td>
<td>-a da kxar- yaa ba         da zaa- xi- daa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Imfiraji as sung by Fauziyya**

| Drum | B B 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 dx- mau- cee ba- |n da nii- shii Ba a |
| 013e | saa- ml 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 that slightly before them.
Mata Ku Yi Aure
(HaO30)

Mamman Shata Katsina

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

man Mài-Girmaa.
1c. Don sal-làa dàsà-laa - til Faa(tìhà)
1d. À don Àl-làh maa-

taa kù yi au-ree.
2a. Î- naa ku- ma zàn ga gi-jin-gon Bau-ci?
2b. Maa - ni mài

waa- kxàR ban-zaa.

Score
Yar Gagara
(""Yar Gagara" version)

Begen Annabi
Aliyu Namangi

1a. Ál-laa-hû shi bân hi-ki-mâa dâ bâ-sii-Râa, 1b. În ta yâ-boo bâa-

kin kxar-fii-naa.

2a. În yâ-bi Sî-di Mû-ham-mân Baâ-wâa,

2b. Mâi ha-nâ saur-ran baa-yii-kxuu-naa.

3a. Yi da-dxin tsii-raa Al-lâh dâ a-min-cii,

3b. Gün Mân-zon-kâ dâ ree haR raa-naa.

4a. Dâ aa-loo-lin-sâ dâ kau sâ-hâ-bai na-sâ,

4b. Mâa-su sa-nin da-Ra-jooin juu-naa.

5a. Dâ maa-tâa-yen-sâ dâ yxaay-yxâa-yen-sâ, 5b. Dâ

muu ma-bi-yan-sâ dâ ree haR raa-naa.

6a. À bai-cin naa ci-kâ wan-nân kal-mâa,

6b. Bêe-gen Án-na-bi nee ma-nu-faa-naa.
13a. Tun mú-túm nàa ii mā taa-shii,  
13b. HaR á-bin kān gāa gā-rec-shii,  
13c. Gāa ji-kii sāa-shii dā saa-shii,  
13d. Yaa dxi-māu-cee bān dā nīi-shii,  
13e. Bà à sāa-mi á-bin dā zāi i-ya-a ba.