

THE METRICS OF THREE HAUSA SONGS ON MARRIAGE BY DAN MARAYA JOS

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1. Background

Alhaji Dan Maraya Jos is a popular Hausa musician from Jos, Nigeria. He is a solo performer, singing songs of his own composition while accompanying himself on a *kùntigì*, a small, plucked one-stringed instrument, the body of which is generally made from a large, oval-shaped fish can, covered with goatskin. The instruments I have seen used fishing leader for the string, but Umar (1977) describes Dan Maraya as using hair from a horse's tale.

Dan Maraya, whose Islamic given name is Adamu, was born in in 1946 in Bukur, about 20 kilometers south of Jos in Plateau State, Nigeria.¹ Ethnically, his parents were Sakkwato Hausas, but his father was a drummer in the court of Sarkin Bukur (Chief of Bukur), Alhaji Muhammadu. Dan Maraya's father died a week after Dan Maraya's birth, and his mother died before he reached the age of weaning, hence his name, which means 'Little Orphan'. Dan Maraya came under the care of Sarkin Bukur, who attempted to get him to go to school, but Dan Maraya showed little inclination for books, and Sarkin Bukur died when Dan Maraya was only 7 or 8, leaving him again with no permanent caretaker. He showed an early interest in music and came under the influence of a female musician, Zabiya Mamu, who had two boys about Dan Maraya's age. Zabiya Mamu and the three boys eventually ended up in Maiduguri, where he was impressed by local musicians and made his first *kuntigi*. After some time there, where he learned something about playing music from Zabiya Mamu and worked under her tutelage, giving her whatever money he collected from street performances, he returned to Jos. There he did small jobs for bus drivers, all the while playing his *kuntigi* for his own pleasure and the enjoyment of others. It was at this time that he composed his first song, *Wākàr Kàren Mōtā* 'Song of the Driver's Mate' (lit: 'Song of the Dog of the Car').

Dan Maraya's young life was not an easy one since he had no family or patrons to support him, but through these difficult early years, he continued singing, playing, and building up a repertoire and following. Today, he has become one of the most popular of all Hausa musicians, and he has enjoyed great success as a recording artist and public performer, but because of the influences of his early life, his songs have always dealt with common people and themes relevant to their life.

This paper deals with three songs which Dan Maraya composed on marriage:

- *Jàwābìn Aurē* 'Discourse on Marriage'
- *Auren Dōlè* 'Forced Marriage'
- *Gùlmā-Wuyà* 'The Busy-Body'

Jàwābìn Aurē is an admonition to married couples to try to see through their differences and not be influenced by gossip. The song describes the problems and indignities which await the wife who leaves her husband and returns to her family home and the husband whose wife leaves him. I have three versions of this song. The version most closely studied in this paper comes from an off-air recording and transcription of the song as performed during an interview on Radio Kaduna, probably sometime in the early

¹I have two sources of biographical information on Dan Maraya: Umar (1977) and a recorded radio interview from the late 60's or early 70's (CSNL, n.d.). The information here comes from Umar (1977).

1970's. I obtained the recording in 1975 from the archive of the Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University, Kano (CSNL, n.d.). The second version is the text alone in Umar (1977:63-65). This version incorporates some of the ideas found in *Gùlmà-Wuyà* where the wife seeks help from an herbalist to reconcile her marriage. The third version is a recording of a live performance, which I obtained from the CSNL archive. It is similar to the version in Umar (1977), though expanded from that. The lines in (1) state the theme of the song. Line numbers are those in the CSNL (n.d.) version.

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|-----|--|--|
| (1) | 4 Dà farkō Allāh nē gàba,
5 Sànnan kuma aurē nà bìye,
6 Uwā dà ùbā kò sunà bìye,
7 Kā ga Mānzon Allāh nà bìye.

11 Mài gidā dà uwařgidā,
12 In an yi fadā don Annabì,
13 Don Allāh à bar saurin fitā. | 'To start, Allah is at the forefront,
Then marriage is right after,
The mother and father are next,
You see Allah's Messenger is next.'

'Master and Mistress of the house,
If there is a fight, for the sake of the Prophet,
For Allah's sake, don't be quick to leave.' |
|-----|--|--|

Auren Dōlè is an admonition to parents to allow their daughter to marry the man of her choice rather than force her to marry someone that the family chooses. The song warns that a girl forced to live with a man she dislikes will leave home and turn to loose living. The text of this song studied for this paper is an off-air recording and transcription from a listener request program on Radio Kaduna, February 27, 1983. The lines in (2) present the admonition and state what, in Dan Maraya's opinion, happens too often.

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|-----|---|--|
| (2) | 1 Uwā dà ùbā gā gāřgādī,
2 Kun ga auren tīlās bābù kyāu,
3 Shī yakàn sakà yāřà gāntālī.

7 Mālām wannàn 'yāřkà cē,
8 Gā wandà takè sô tuntùnī,
9 Tun sunà yāřà kānkanà,
10 Sai kà cē matà bā kà bā tà shī. | 'Mother and father, here's a warning,
You see that forced marriages is not good,
That's what causes young people to roam.'

'Sir, this is your daughter,
Here's the one she has loved for a long time,
Ever since they were small children,
But you tell her you won't give her him.' |
|-----|---|--|

Gùlmà-Wuyà describes how a busybody, referred to as *gùlmà-wuyà* in Hausa, stirs up trouble in a family by telling a woman that her husband is planning to marry a second wife. It turns out that the *gùlmà-wuyà* is in collusion with an herbalist, who tells the wife that he can get the husband to give up his plan if she will provide him with various animals, merchandise, and money. The point of the song is to warn against allowing people like the *gùlmà-wuyà* to interfere in one's life. The effect of this song, in particular, would be lost without hearing it in performance because Dan Maraya performs it as a multi-part drama, changing his voice as he takes the parts of the *gùlmà-wuyà*, the wife, the herbalist, and the narrator (the latter being his natural voice). He uses the same technique in the third version of *Jāwābīn Aurē* mentioned above, which must have been amusing to see as well as to hear, judging from the crowd's laughter in this recording of a public performance. The text of *Gùlmà-Wuyà* studied for this paper is an off-air recording and transcription from a listener request program on Radio Kaduna, February 27, 1983. Lines 1-4 in (3) condemn the herbalist and his co-conspirator. Lines 11-13, spoken by the busybody to the wife, tell the gossip that will lead the wife to seek the herbalist's help.

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|-----|---|--|
| (3) | 1 Sànnan kun san bōkā dābam,
2 'Yař kōren bōkā mā dābam.
3 Gùlmà-wuyà mài sha'ànin
tsiyā,
4 Mài sôn rabà sunnār Ārabbānā. | 'Now you know the herbalist on one hand,
And the herbalist's agent on the other,
The busybody, purveyor of evil deeds,
The one wishing to sever our Lord's rite.' |
| | 11 "Gà lābārī đan kàđan,
12 Nā jiwō nè can kò à ànguwā,
13 Mālām zāi mikì kīshiyā." | "Here's a little piece of news,
I heard it out in the neighborhood,
The gentleman is going to get you a co-wife." |

I have no information on when Dan Maraya composed these songs. However, *Jāwābīn Aurē* must have been composed before 1975 since I obtained the recording in that year, and it was not new at the time. All the songs had to have been composed before 1977 since they are all mentioned in Umar (1977). The three songs were surely composed at different times, and the *kuntigi* accompaniment for each of the three is unique to that song. Yet all three songs share the same textual meter. This paper will study that meter and the way Dan Maraya sets the meter to music. In particular, §2 will discuss the features of the meter which are shared across the three songs, and §3 will discuss how the same text meter can be performed in three rhythmically dissimilar musical settings.

2. Text Meter

2.1. A framework for the study of metrics. Before discussing the meter of these songs, I will present some background on the framework I will be using to discuss meter. The basis of all poetic meters in Hausa is *syllable weight*. There are only two syllable types in Hausa:

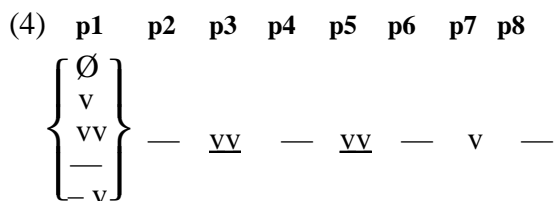
Light syllables: CV (V = short vowel)
Heavy syllables: CṼ, CVC (Ṽ = long vowel or diphthong)

A given meter in Hausa poetry will have recurrent patterns of heavy and light syllables. Most studies of Hausa poetic metrics have described these patterns using the framework developed for Classical Arabic poetry by the 8th century prosodist, al-Xalīl ibn Ahmad. This framework has worked fairly well for the huge body of Hausa "written" poetry since most poetry in that tradition uses meters historically derived from Classical Arabic meters. The Xalilian system organizes lines of poetry in terms of two or more feet, with the feet being defined by specific patterns of light and heavy syllables. This method of analysis was developed to describe an entire prosodic system and the way particular meters fit into that system. It therefore has marginal applicability at best to meters of traditional Hausa oral poetry or song, the tradition from which Dan Maraya's work arises.²

In discussing the meter of Dan Maraya's poems, I will follow Halle and Keyser (1966) and Prince (1989) and speak of *metrical positions* rather than feet or syllables as the basic unit of scansion. The meter of all three poems in this study has lines that can be

²See Hiskett (1975) and Galadanci (1975) for two detailed studies applying this Xalilian system to Hausa "written" poetry. See Schuh (1988) and references cited there for the distinction between the "written" and "oral" traditions of Hausa poetry. Hausa has a single word, *wākā*, meaning both 'poem' and 'song'. Hausa poetry/song in both traditions is intended for oral performance, and it is always sung, never recited. I will generally use English 'poetry' when referring to the linguistic text and 'song' when referring to the performance setting, but I view the two terms as interchangeable as translations of *wākā*.

described as having 8 metrical positions, arranged as in (4). In this schema, v = light syllable, — = heavy syllable, vv = either two light syllables or one heavy.³



Lines of poetry have levels of organization above and below metrical positions as well. This is best described in terms of a *metrical grid*. Consider the line in 5 (JA:15),⁴ set to a metrical grid:

(5)	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8
		x		x		x		x
	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Wà-tà-	kī-	là gi-	dân	dà mù-	nà-	fù	kai

JA:15 ‘Perhaps there are dissemblers in the household’

The bottom *row* of the grid shows the *grid positions* (or “x-positions”) for this meter. Each grid position corresponds to the smallest linguistic unit which can be a unit of prosody. In Hausa metrics, this unit may be thought of as a light syllable, but more precisely, it is a *mora*, where a light syllable has one mora (corresponding to that syllable’s short vowel nucleus) and a heavy syllable has two moras (corresponding to the vowel nucleus plus a mora of vowel length or the vowel nucleus plus a syllable final consonant). By speaking of moras, we thus see that each of the metrical positions p1-p8 spans two moras, and in the illustrative line, there is a linguistic unit of two moras filling each of those metrical positions except for p7-p8, to which I will return in §2.2.3.

The *columns* of the grid show relative *strength* between the grid positions. The more x’s in a column, the greater the strength of that grid position. Note, in particular, that the metrical grid formalizes a system of alternating weak and strong positions. In this meter, the even numbered metrical positions have 3-level columns as their first grid position and are thus stronger than the odd numbered metrical positions, which have 2-level columns as their first grid positions. Grid *strength* is a more abstract feature of prosody than grid *position*. It is possible to “hear” the positions in the sense that there will generally be some audible linguistic material there (setting aside lines of a poem which might leave one or more positions empty—see §2.3.1). Strength may also have audible manifestations, e.g. in a language utilizing stress in its prosodic system, syllables with primary stress will fall at strong positions but not at weak positions. However, evidence for relative strength between positions is more often circumstantial. Such evidence generally includes statistically documentable preference for or avoidance of certain linguistic material in the various positions and the setting of strong and weak metrical

³This meter closely resembles the Classical Arabic meter Mutadaarik, differing primarily at p7, where Mutadaarik would have vv rather than v (see Schuh (1989; Schuh (1995) for discussion of this and similar meters). Although the meter in (4) is used by some poets composing in the “written” poetic tradition, it is primarily an oral meter, and there is no evidence that it is related to the system of Classical Arabic meters.

⁴Henceforth, I will refer to individual lines of the poems as follows: JA:10 = line 10 of “Jawabin Aure”, AD:10 = line 10 of “Auren Dole”, GW:10 = line 10 of “Gulma-Wuya”.

positions at performance positions for which there is independent evidence of strength or weakness. This paper will be devoted, in part, to explaining certain aspects of these poems/songs and their performance based on the notion of strong and weak positions and, conversely, evidence for the relative strengths of positions that might come from choice of linguistic material and performance.⁵

2.2. The metrical setting of Dan Maraya’s marriage songs. The lines of Dan Maraya’s three poems conform to the pattern in (4), with some exceptions to be discussed below. Tables 1-3 give counts of syllable configurations in each metrical position for the versions of the three poems examined in this paper.

Table 1. “Jawabin Aure”: syllable configurations for metrical positions (81 lines)

	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8
heavy	31 38%	76 94%	28 35%	80 99%	51 63%	80 99%		62 77%
light-light	7 7%		43 53%		25 31%			
light	18 22%		4 5%		3 4%		81 100%	18 22%
heavy-light	12 15%		3 4%					
light-heavy					1 1%			
heavy-heavy	1 1%				1 1%			
empty	12 15%	5 6%	3 4%	1 1%				1 1%

Table 2. “Auren Dole”: syllable configurations for metrical positions (54 lines)

	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8
heavy	8 11%	54 100%	20 37%	54 100%	45 83%	53 98%	1 98%	49 91%
light-light	2 4%		33 61%		9 17%			
light	6 4%		1 2%			1 2%		4 7%
heavy-light	18 33%							
light-heavy								
heavy-heavy								
empty	20 37%							1 2%

⁵See Prince (1989) and references cited there for the metrical grid, esp. Kiparsky (1977) and Hayes (1983) for discussion of the metrical grid applied to English prosody.

Table 3. “Gulma-Wuya”: syllable configurations for metrical positions (79 lines)

	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8
heavy	16 20%	71 90%	44 56%	77 97%	50 63%	74 94%		56 71%
light-light	4 5%		29 37%		22 28%	1 1%		
light	12 15%		3 4%		3 4%		75 95%	18 23%
heavy-light	13 16%				1 1%			
light-heavy	1 1%							1 1%
heavy-heavy								
empty	33 42%	8 10%	3 4%	2 3%	3 4%	4 5%	4 5%	4 5%

Tables 1-3 show that although a large majority of lines have syllable configurations that conform to the pattern in (4), there are other configurations. In §§2.2.1-2, I will discuss the regularly filled positions other than p1. In §2.2.3, I will discuss the relation between p7 and p8 which creates an offset seen in the metrical grid in (5). In §2.2.4, I will discuss p1 and the reason for such variation there. In §2.3, I will discuss all the lines with “irregularly” filled positions.

2.2.1. Regularly filled even positions (p2, p4, p6, p8). In all three poems, p2 and p4 are filled by a single heavy syllable in almost every line. The only exceptions are lines in “Jawabin Aure” and “Gulma-Wuya” where these positions are empty: p2 is empty in 5 lines in “Jawabin Aure”, and 8 lines in “Gulma-Wuya”; p4 is empty in 1 line in “Jawabin Aure” and 2 in “Gulma-Wuya”.

Being empty does not constitute an irregularity for the position itself. Dan Maraya is virtually 100% consistent in *finishing* lines in conformity with the meter, i.e. (with the exception of a few lines in “Gulma-Wuya”—see (10c) below) the text of a line will match the meter starting from the end of the line working back. However, there may be several empty positions before reaching the first syllable of text. For example, the text of JW:26 is *In kin tunà* ‘If you recall.’ The four syllables of this line, which scan — — v —, align with metrical positions p5-p8. It is possible for poets using instrumental accompaniment to leave positions empty because the melodic and rhythmic line of the accompaniment allows the performer to always know where he is within a line. The text of a line may thus be shorter than what is required to fill out the full eight metrical positions as long as it conforms to the metrical positions with which it aligns. “Short lines” may pick up at any metrical position, though lines where the text begins later than p3 are rare as are lines that do not fill positions at the end of the line. See §2.3.1 for further discussion of short lines.

Returning to the realizations of even numbered metrical positions, p6 is only slightly less regular than p2 and p4. Setting aside 4 lines with empty p6 in “Gulma-Wuya”, p6 is filled by a light rather than a heavy in one line of “Jawabin Aure” and “Auren Dole” respectively, and by two lights rather than a heavy in one line of “Gulma-Wuya”. I return to these three lines in §2.3.2. In the case of p8, the apparent numerous light rather than metrically specified heavy syllables are irrelevant. Line final syllables in Hausa poetry always scan as heavy regardless of phonological weight. This means that for p8, only the few examples listed as “empty” and one line in “Gulma-Wuya” listed as being filled by light-heavy need explaining. I return to this in §2.3 below.

If we set aside empty positions, we thus see that Dan Maraya fills the even numbered metrical positions with heavy syllables (or syllables scanned as heavy in p8) nearly 100% of the time. Only 1% or fewer cases in p6 and p8 do not conform. This virtual invariance of fillers for strong metrical positions confirms the arrangement of the grid in (5), with the even number positions in the grid being *strong*. Heavy syllables form the most stable anchoring for rhythmic strength.

2.2.2. Regularly filled odd positions (p3, p5, p7). P7 is as regular as the even positions. With the exception of one line in “Auren Dole” where p7 is filled by a heavy syllable and four lines in “Gulma-Wuya” where this position is empty, p7 is always filled by a single light.

Tables 1-3 show much more variation in p3 and p5. The schema in (4) shows that the canonical fillers for these positions are one heavy or two lights. A large majority of lines do conform to this pattern. Adding the number of lines that have either one heavy or two lights in these positions, we arrive at the following figures:

Table 4. Percentages of p3, p5 filled by vv

	p3	p5
“Jawabin Aure”	71/81 lines 88%	76/81 lines 94%
“Auren Dole”	53/54 lines 98%	54/54 lines 100%
“Gulma-Wuya”	73/79 lines 92%	72/79 lines 91%

The example lines in Table 5, drawn from (3), show all the possible combinations in p2-8 that represent regularly metrical lines:

Table 5. Examples of “regular” metrical lines

	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8
		—	<u>vv</u>	—	<u>vv</u>	—	v	—
GW:1	Sàn	-nan	kun	san	bō	-kā	da	-bam,
GW:3	Gùl	-mā	-wuyà	mài	sha`à	-nin	tsì	yā,
GW:4	Mài	sôn	rabà	sun	-nār	Ŕab	-bà	-nā.
GW:13		Mā	-lām	zâi	mikì	kī	-shì	-yā.”

Given the metrical schema in (4), one would expect, everything being equal, that there would be a roughly equal number of single heavy syllables vs. pairs of light syllables in p3 and p5. In p3, this expectation is borne out, with no strong skewing toward either configuration. “Jawabin Aure” and “Gulma-Wuya” fill slightly over half the p3’s with heavy (53% and 56% respectively) and a little over a third with two lights (35% and 37% respectively), with the remainder being empty or irregular; “Auren Dole” has roughly the same proportions in reverse— 37% heavy vs. 61% light-light. P5, on the other hand, shows a strong preference for a single heavy: “Jawabin Aure” has 63% heavy vs. 31% two lights; “Auren Dole” has 83% heavy vs. 17% two lights; “Gulma-Wuya” has 63% heavy vs. 28% two lights.

Schuh (1995) shows the same effect in 3 poems by three different poets in a meter referred to as “Anti-Mutadaarik”. That meter also has 8 metrical positions, configured as

— vv — vv — vv — vv

This will be recognized as roughly the reverse of the meter of the marriage poems, in the sense that the strong metrical positions (those consistently filled by —) are the odd numbered positions. The Anti-Mutadaarik poems studied in Schuh (1995) show a strong preference for filling p6 with a single heavy rather than two lights. In both meters the result of the skewing noted here is a majority of lines with a string of heavy syllables the second half of the line as opposed to more variety early in the line, not only because the early weak positions are often filled by pairs of lights, but also because of the variety of fillers for p1 and a significant number of lines with empty positions early in the line. In Schuh (1995), I suggest that relatively consistent differences in the line halves give an overall feel that the meter has a “rhythmic caesura”, with a sort of “tension” built in the first half of the line, and a “smoothing” in the latter half.

Turning to the issue of relative strength between metrical positions, p7 clearly is weak compared to its neighboring even numbered positions: p7 is always filled by a light syllable whereas p6 and p8 are always filled by syllables scanned as heavy. It is a little harder to argue that p3 and p5 are weak, because they are often filled by heavy syllables (indeed, preferably so in the case of p5, as we saw just above). However, I believe that the “instability” of these positions, which vary between light-light and heavy, is evidence of weakness relative to the neighboring even numbered positions, which are invariably heavy. As we will see in §2.3.2, these positions may also be filled by a single light as a non-preferred option.

2.2.3. P7 and p8: “borrowing” grid positions. The diagram in (5) shows that the syllable filling p8 is always offset to the left in the metrical grid. This can be accounted for in terms of a metrical position “borrowing” a grid position from a neighboring metrical position. In the meter studied here, p7 is always filled by a light syllable, which takes up only one grid position. The second grid position in p7 is thus always available to be borrowed by p8. In some performance settings (see §§3.1-2 below), this creates syncopation, with the heavy musical beat falling later than the onset of the syllable to which that beat corresponds. In the meter here, borrowing of a grid position from p7 by p8 is a regular aspect of the meter. It is quite common for poets/singers to add rhythmic interest in performance by borrowing from other positions as well. For example, Dan Maraya, in performing these songs, sometimes borrows from p1 in anticipation of p2, as in the following line. In this case, the borrowing results in “cheating” the heavy syllable of p1, which should be allotted two moras, though we will see that the performance setting of the song obviates any rhythmic problem (§3.2):

(6)	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8
		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 x	x x
	'Yan	gul-	ma dà	mā-	kir-	cìn	tsì-	yā

JA:64 ‘The busy-body has evil wiliness’

In Schuh (1995:§5), I discuss a number of cases of grid position borrowing internal to lines. Moreover, in the Anti-Mutadaarik meter discussed there, an anacrusis to a line can be accommodated only by borrowing from p8 (Schuh 1995:§4.2.2).

2.2.4. P1 as an anacrusis. The *American Heritage Dictionary* defines an anacrusis as

One or more unstressed syllables at the beginning of a line of verse, before the reckoning of the normal meter begins.

This definition fits the form and function of p1 in the marriage song meter quite well. Tables 1-3 and the discussion in §§2.2.2-3 show clearly that the “normal” positions in each line are p2-8: p7 is invariably filled by one mora and the other positions by two moras; in the even numbered positions the two moras must take the form of a heavy syllable. P1, on the other hand, has variants ranging from Ø to 3 moras, with the Ø option being the most common of the four possible options in “Auren Dole” and “Gulma-Wuya” and the option used in 15% of the lines of “Jawabin Aure”. Because the Ø option is so common, one is tempted to treat p1 as *extrametrical*, i.e. as not occupying a real metrical position, but rather being one or two syllables added before a line at the discretion of the poet.⁶ Working strictly from the text of Dan Maraya’s marriage songs, this analysis might work. However, in written poetry using this meter, p1 is obligatorily filled, and indeed, maximally filled with a single heavy syllable or two syllables (either light-light or heavy-light).⁷ This is in contrast to the Anti-Mutadaarik meter, which, as noted at the end of the preceding section, can have anacrusis only by borrowing from p8. Moreover, there is evidence in the performance setting of Dan Maraya’s songs that p1 is not extrametrical in that the musical meter provides a rhythmic position for p1, whether or not it is filled by text. Besides providing evidence that p1 occupies a true metrical position, the musical setting provides further evidence that p1 is an anacrusis. The musical position for p1 is always aligned with an upbeat to a strong downbeat on p2. In the light of these facts, I conclude that p1 in the marriage song meter, although treated as rhythmic anacrusis, is a true metrical position.

Let us now consider the syllable configurations which can fill p1. In (7) are the attested and unattested configurations up to 3 moras in length found in p1—cf. (4) and Tables 1-3:⁸

(7) a. Ø b. v c. vv d. — e. —v f. *v—

How do explain the acceptability of these configurations and just these configurations in p1? If we consider p1 to be an anacrusis and if an anacrusis is optional, we account for the Ø configuration in (7a). An anacrusis should be weaker than the position that it leads to. P2 is always filled by a heavy syllable. Since a light syllable is weaker than a heavy syllable, we account for the v configuration in (7b). Configurations (7c, d) can be accounted for by the comparative strength and weakness of metrical positions. P1 is at a weak position, and p2 is at a strong position. Although p2 and the p1 configurations in (7c, d) all have two moras, those in p1 are *metrically* weaker than those in p2 and are thus acceptable as an anacrusis to p2.

Reasons for the acceptability of configuration (7e) and the inacceptability of (7f) are less immediately obvious. The acceptability of (7e) follows from the discussion on borrowing of positions in §2.2.3. There we saw that p8 always borrows a grid position from p7. If metrical positions are normally allotted two grid positions, then p8 has an extra grid position which it can “lend” to the next metrical position, which happens to be p1 of the next line. This is exactly what happens when p1 has the configuration of (7e), as illustrated by AD:1-2 from (2):

⁶See the references cited in fn. 5 for the notion of extrametricality.

⁷An example is “Wakar Ci Uku” by Garba Ebisidi, cited in Schuh (1989). There are many others.

⁸Table 1 shows one line of “Jawabin Aure” with two heavies in p1: JA:45 *Ā'ā'jè ki cikin yârā kî kwan* ‘No, go among the children and go to bed’. Table 3 shows one line of “Gulma-Wuya” with light-heavy in p1: GW:5 *Kwatsàm! ø Sai gâ ta cikin gida* ‘Crash! There she is in the house’. In both cases the fillers of p1 are ideophones or interjections, with a syntactic hiatus before what follows. They might therefore be considered extrametrical or even non-metrical comments fitted into the spot normally allocated to the metrical p1. In the latter case, the text would actually scan as a regular line, with *Kwa-* in p1 and *-tsàm* in p2. However, in performance, Dan Maraya clearly pronounces the word before the downbeat on which p2 would fall, leaving that beat empty (marked by ø).

(8)	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8	p1	p2	p3
		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 x	x x	x x	x x	x x	x x	x x
	U-	wā	dà	ù-	bā	gà	gãĩ-	gà-	dī,	Kun	ga au- ren ...

AD:1-2 ‘Mother and father here’s an admonition, You see marriage ...’

Although it appears that (7f) should also fit p1 by borrowing a grid position, it does not occur. The reason has to do with the alternation of weakness and strength. The p1 fillers in (7b-e) followed by p2 present a feeling of such alternation. The non-occurring (7f), however, would result in what Bruce Hayes (p.c., citing Kiparsky (1977) and Prince (1989:54)) has referred to as “the dawn’s early light” phenomenon, based on the first line of “The Star Spangled Banner”. Compare the real first line in (9a) and an unmetrical construct in (9b). Words in small caps are in strong metrical positions, words in lower case are in weak positions. Acute accent represents primary stress, grave accent is secondary stress, and no accent is unstressed. The position of interest is underlined:

- (9) a. Òh SÁY can you SÉE by the DÁWN’s éarlı̀ LÍGHT?
 b. *Òh SÁY can you SÉE by the DÁWN’s ređúced LÍGHT?

The word *éarlı̀* with a falling stress pattern in the weak position is fine. However, *ređúced*, with a rising stress pattern is not. The reason is that it builds in strength toward the following strong position, as a result diminishing the contrast of weak-strong alternation. The *v— pattern of (7f) would do the same. Figure 1 represents the patterns graphically. The size of a circle represents inherent strength of a syllable type (light vs. heavy). Thickness of the circle represents strength deriving from placement in the metrical grid (odd vs. even numbered metrical positions). The shading in the last box indicates unacceptability.

Figure 1. Anacrusis acceptability based on alternating strength and weakness

	p1	p2
(weak-)weak -STRONG	((1)) (1)	(h)
strong-STRONG	(h)	(h)
strong-weak-STRONG	(h) (1)	(h)
*weak-strong-STRONG	(1) (h)	(h)

2.3. Lines with irregularly filled metrical positions. Section 2.1 presents a framework for describing poetic meter, and in particular, the meter of Dan Maraya’s three songs about marriage. Section 2.2 shows how most lines—what we might call *canonical lines*—can be accounted for and understood in terms of this framework. There are,

however, lines which do not fit the canonical patterns. The subsections below examine all the lines from these three songs which show some departure from canonicity.

2.3.1. Lines with empty metrical positions (other than p1). Working purely from a printed text, a fair number of lines appear either not to have enough syllables to fill all the metrical positions or to have syllable configurations which do not conform to the restrictions on the metrical positions where they would seem to fit. Hearing the songs in performance shows that nearly all these lines conform to the canonical metrical structure, but that some metrical positions are empty or “silent”. As we will see in §3, metrical positions of the text consistently align with particular points in the musical setting. In (10) is an exhaustive listing of lines having empty positions, with \emptyset in the positions where there is no text but where, in performance, the portion of music corresponding to that position in the text is played.

There are three places in a line where metrical positions may be empty. Empty positions at the beginning of a line are by far the most common, as shown in (10a). Only lines with empty positions from p2 or later are of interest, since lines with empty p1 are among the canonical line types (§2.2.4). In every case but one, seen in (10c), the text following the empty positions fills out the line in a regular way through p8. This is a case of the “beginnings free, endings strict” phenomenon common in prosodic systems throughout the world (Kiparsky (1968)). Another example in the meter of the songs studied here is the preference, noted in §2.2.2, for filling p5 with a heavy rather than two light in order to create the “smoothing” effect of a string of heavy syllables in the second half of a line.

Empty positions may occur medial in a line, with text on both sides. The texts here presented only two cases of this, seen in (10b). In these examples, the indicated positions are truly empty (and performed as such), i.e. it is not the case that Dan Maraya hurried early positions or delayed later positions, leaving a spot vacant. If the empty spots in these lines were ignored as gaps in performance only, the lines would not scan in the canonical way: JA:25 would have two lights in p2 and a heavy in p3; JA:33 would have either a light or heavy-light in p2.

Empty positions at the end of a line, seen in (10c), are unusual in Hausa poetry and song. There are good reasons for this. One is the general principle of “beginnings free, endings strict”, though this principle may be a corollary to a constellation of other features of poetry and song, including the fact that cadences, by definition, fall at line ends, rhyme is normally line end, and, in general, the line end tells performer and audience alike where they are in the song. All the lines with empty positions at the end are from “Gulma-Wuya”, and they clearly result from the structure of this song, which is a three-character drama, with each character having speaking parts (see §1). Three of the four lines in (10c) are the voice of the narrator introducing a speaking part by one of the characters, who begins speaking in the next line. The empty positions give Dan Maraya a chance to “change character”, as it were. The fourth example in (10c) is a standard Hausa greeting (from Arabic) and is part of the dialog. What is remarkable about the lines in (10c), and the structure of “Gulma-Wuya” in general, is that the text of the entire song, including the “incomplete” lines, scans canonically when matched to the positioning of syllables in the musical setting!

(10) p1 p2 p3 p4 p5 p6 p7 p8

a. Lines with empty positions at the beginning

JA:26	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	In	kin	tun-	à	‘If you recall’
JA:42	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	Tò	in	kin	tu-	nà	‘Well if you recall’
JA:11	\emptyset	\emptyset	Mài gi-	dā	dà u-	waĩ-	gi-	dā	‘Master and mistress’
JA:70	\emptyset	\emptyset	Wan-	nàn	mà-	taĩ-	kà	cē	‘This is your wife’

GW:52	∅	∅	∅	Bâ	shak-	kà	kù-	wa	‘No doubt about it’
GW:28	∅	∅	Kì	tàm-	bàyi	mài	gi-	dā	‘Ask the master of the house’
GW:72	∅	∅	Tā	kō-	mă	can	gi-	dā	‘She goes off back home’
GW:73	∅	∅	Jā-	wō	kwal-	lā	sà	yaĩ	‘Drag out finery and sell it’
GW:75 ⁹	∅	∅	Tā ta-	raĩ	tā	mī-	kà	ku- dĩn	‘She finds she hands over the money’
GW:77	∅	∅	Bō-	kā	ya	tat-	tā-	rē	‘The herbalist has collected’
GW:78	∅	∅	Bō-	kā	ya	han-	dā-	mē	‘The herbalist is satisfied’

b. Lines with empty internal positions

JA:25	Mutu-	kaĩ	∅	in	ràbu-	wā	ta	zō	‘In the end, if divorce comes’
JA:33	Kānà	∅	wasu	mā	sun	kaĩ-	kà-	cē	‘Then, some get bent up’

c. Lines with empty positions at the end

GW:33	Tā ca-	nè	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	‘She says’
GW:44	Àssà-	lā-	mù à	lai-	kùm	∅	∅	∅	‘Peace be with you’
GW:69	Tā ca-	nè	masà	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	‘She says to him’
GW:59	∅	∅	Tā	cē	∅	∅	∅	∅	‘She says’

The examples in (10b) show empty metrical positions medial in a line. In those lines, we probably could have figured out that a position had been left empty, and we might even have predicted the silence in the performance because, as pointed out above, the running text would not scan canonically without the empty position. There are, however, a few lines where the text alone would scan canonically but where Dan Maraya “displaces” the text in performance. All such lines, seen in (11), are from “Gulma-Wuya”. Two of the lines, GW:9 and GW:23 are like those in (10c) in that they introduce quotes. Dan Maraya squeezes the syllable that one would expect to fall in p2 (*-nè* and *cē* respectively) into the space allotted to p1. As noted above for the examples in (10c), this is probably a way for him to give himself a space to “change character”. I mentioned line GW:5 in fn. 8 and have no better explanation than the one given there, viz. the line actually starts at p3, and the line initial ideophone or interjection is really an extrametrical comment spoken in the space normally allotted to p1. In §3.3, I suggest that GW:41 may be a performance error. If the syllable *Tā* were in p1, the line would scan canonically. However, Dan Maraya sings that syllable at the point normally allotted to p2, forcing him to compress the time allotted for the syllables in p2-p3. He does this by singing the syllables in p3 at double speed (see §3.3).

(11)	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8	
GW:5	Kwatsàm!	∅	Sai	gà	ta ci-	kin	gi-	dā	‘Crash! There she is in the house’
GW:9	Tā canè	∅	Ai	Mā-	lām	yā	fì-	ta	‘She says, “Oh, Master went out”’
GW:23	Ta cē	∅	∅	Yā-	yā	zā	nà	yi?	‘She says, “What will I do?”’
GW:41	∅	Tā jē	ta wa-	jen	bō-	kā	ku-	ma	‘She goes to the herbalist’


2.3.2. Lines with non-canonical syllable configurations for metrical positions. Some lines do not scan correctly unless certain minor adjustments are made.


Several lines have a light syllable in p3 or p5 rather than two lights or a heavy. There are enough examples of this to show that it is a fairly standard, albeit unpreferred option. All the lines with this option are listed in (12). The way this option is performed depends on the performance setting. In “Jawabin Aure”, light and heavy syllables can be performed with equal durations, so light syllables in the positions require no performance

⁹See §2.3.2 for the two syllables in p8.

compensations. In the other songs, contiguous heavy syllable are given extra duration to compensate for the missing mora (see the respective subsections of §3).

(12)	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8	
a. Lines with a single light in p3									
JA:37, 47, 54	Dâ	can	ki-	nà	kò gi-	dan	mi-	jì	'Before, you were at your husband's house'
AD:44	Wata	tā	fi-	cè	à gi-	dan	mi-	jì	'A certain one will depart from her husband's house'
GW:28	∅	∅	Ki	tàm-	bàyi	mài	gi-	dā	'Ask the master of the house'
b. Lines with a single light in p5									
JA:18	Sân-	nan	ita	zā	tà	bìn-	cì-	ke	'Then she will investigate'
JA:21	Sân-	nan	shī	zā	yà	bìn-	cì-	ke	'Then he will investigate'
GW:77	∅	∅	Bō-	kā	ya	tat-	tà-	rē	'The herbalist has collected'
GW:78	∅	∅	Bo	kā	ya	han-	dà-	mē	'The herbalist is satisfied'
c. Lines with a single light in both p3 and p5									
JA:16	À	bin	dà	mài	gi-	dā	ya	yi	'What the householder does'
GW:61	À-	kwai	kò	yad-	dà	zā	à	yi	'There's something that one can do'

Several lines have heavy-light rather than light-light in p3 or p5. Significantly, most of these are from “Jawabin Aure”, where light and heavy syllables can be performed with equal duration. The added mora thus does not require compensation in performance. In the example from “Gulma-Wuya”, the heavy light combination is performed as .

In this performance setting, two lights are usually performed as , which is the musical metrical equivalent (see §3.3). As in the case of p1, there are no attested examples of light-heavy in p3 or p5. The explanation again is “the dawn's early light phenomenon”, discussed above at (9).

(13)	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8	
a. Lines with heavy-light in p3									
JA:11	∅	∅	Mài gi-	dā	dà u-	waĩ-	gi-	da	'Master and mistress of the house'
JA:13	Don	Al-	lāh à	bar	sau-	rin	fī	ta	'For Allah's sake, avoid a quick exit'
JA:43	Sai da-	rē	lōkà-	cin	kuma	kwàn-	ci-	ya	'Then at night, at bedtime'
b. Lines with heavy-light in p5									
GW:54	Mālā-	min	nàn	lal-	lai i-	nā	ga-	nī	'This teacher, surely he sees'

One line has two lights in p6, which canonically would be filled by a single heavy. Even though two lights in this position is non-canonical, it provides the two moras that the position needs. It is surprising that Dan Maraya did not choose the “two lights” option more frequently for even numbered metrical positions. Although this is always an unpreferred option, it is not uncommon in works by poets composing in this and other meters that alternate strong and weak two-mora metrical positions (see Schuh 1989, 1995).

(14)	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8	
GW:51	Wan-	nàn	kò	lal-	lai	hakà	ya-	kè	‘That indeed is the way it is’

A few problematic lines remain. I list them all in (15) with comments following. The problematic portions are underlined.

(15)	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8		
JA:23	Sai	kā	ga hà-	sù-	<u>mū mā</u>	tā	hà	đu	‘Until you see malice has come together’	
JA:59	U-	wā	dà ù-	bā	yà kù-	<u>la</u>	dà	sū	‘Mother and father, he cares for them’	
JA:77	Don	Al	lành	’yan-	<u>’uwā-</u>	nā	ma-	zā	‘For Allah’s sake, my male brethren’	
AD:20	∅	Sai	ka ga	’yā	tā	<u>gāřđau</u>			‘Then you see the daughter ??’	
AD:51	Au-	ren	sô	shī	nè	<u>ya</u>	fi	kyâu	‘Marriage for love is better’	
GW:48	<u>Ābîn</u>	<u>dà</u>	<u>dai</u>	<u>ka-</u>	sā	ta ga-	yà	mi-	nì	‘What this earth tells me’
GW:75	∅	∅	Tà ta-	rař	tā	mī-	kà	<u>kudîn</u>	‘She finds that she hands over the money’	

JA:23 has two heavy syllables in p5 rather than one heavy or two lights (or heavy-light, as in (13b)). Recall that in the musical setting for “Jawabin Aure”, heavy and light syllables can be sung with equal duration. Dan Maraya sings the syllables here in that way, such that they would be indistinguishable from two lights. In the printed version of this song in Umar (1977), the word *mā* ‘indeed, moreover’ is omitted, making the line scan canonically. I suspect that Dan Maraya has added the word here simply because the performance setting allows it to be incorporated without disruption.

JA:59 has a light at p6, which canonically should have a heavy, and because it is a strong metrical position, surely should not have a light. The transcription with light may well be incorrect. There are two pronunciations for this word: *kūla* and *kulā* ‘care for, watch over’. In the performance, the singing line goes from a lower to a higher note, matching the low-high tone pattern of the first variant of the word. Dan Maraya is fairly consistent in matching melodic singing contours to linguistic tonal contours, hence my transcription. However, he may have intended the high-low variant, which ends in a heavy syllable. Because the performance of “Jawabin Aure” allows light and heavy syllables to be sung evenly, there is no way to tell. Under either interpretation, something is amiss, either in the metrics or in the tone-tune match.

JA:77 appears to have light-heavy at p5, a combination said to be disallowed because of “the dawn’s early light phenomenon” (cf. discussion at (9, 13) and Figure 1). There are three possible explanations. One is that this line violates canonicity. A second possibility is that the underlying two-syllable sequence is phonetically one syllable *’wā* where *’w* is a glottalized *w*. In speech, this is usually how I hear this word pronounced.¹⁰ A third possibility is that *Allàh* has a short final vowel, *Allà*, a pronunciation found in certain idiomatic expressions. If this were the case, the moras from p3-p5 might be distributed *v — v —* rather than the canonical *vv — —* or *— — vv*, giving a syncopated effect. Again the equal performance duration for heavy and light syllables in “Jawabin Aure” makes it impossible to know which of these explanations, if any, is correct.

¹⁰The word *’yan’uwā* ‘brethren’ is a compound meaning ‘children (*’yā*) of (*-n*) mother (*uwā*)’. All Hausa words written with an initial vowel actually begin in a glottal stop. With syncopation of the short initial *u-* of ‘mother’, the glottalization is transferred to the following *w*. Pronunciation of *uwā* ‘mother’ in abusive phrases is also typically reduced to *’wā*.

AD:20 has an uninterpretable filler, which I hear as *gard'au*, starting at p6. The Hausa speakers whom I have asked about this also could not make out what Dan Maraya was intending to sing. It seems that he stumbled on this line and did not complete it, a suspicion reinforced by the fact that in the next line he repeats a line sung immediately earlier, probably to get himself back on track. I have no other versions of this song to check what the text should be.



AD:51, like JA:59, has a light at p6 where a heavy should be required. The performance rhythm for this line in “Auren Dole” suggests that Dan Maraya fully intended to have a light syllable here. In “Auren Dole” he is 100% consistent in singing heavy syllables with twice the duration of lights, and he does indeed sing this line exactly as the shown durations would predict. It therefore seems that this line truly violates canonicity.

GW:48 shows a non-canonical distribution of syllables across p1-p3. The sung distribution is also as shown. The line would scan canonically if the syllable *dai* ‘indeed, exactly’ were omitted, which it could be with no effect on grammaticality, i.e. p1 = *À-*, p2 = *bîn*, p3 = *dà ka-*. This line is spoken rather than sung in the performance, and I suspect that Dan Maraya overrode the metrical constraints for a conversational effect.

GW:75 has two syllables in p8. As noted in §2.2.3, p8 always borrows a grid position from p7, leaving a “vacant” grid position at the end of p8. This position is sometimes picked up by p1 of the next line (§2.2.4), but in GW:75, it seems that it has been used to accommodate an extra syllable for p8. It is worth noting that this second syllable is *not* part of p1 for the next line, which is *An kai wâ bōkā nan dà nan* ‘One takes it to the herbalist right away’. The syllable *An* fills p1 for this line.

3. Performance Meter

Although Dan Maraya’s three marriage poems/songs all have the same text meter, they have three distinct musical settings. The settings are identified by the rhythmic pattern and tune which he plays on the *kuntigi* as he accompanies himself. Each song begins with an instrumental introduction repeating the *kuntigi* pattern from two times (“Jawabin Aure”, “Gulma-Wuya”) to six times (“Auren Dole”). He uses the same pattern at irregular intervals to fill in between lines or “verses” within the song. These instrumental interludes occur at intervals averaging 3-4 lines of singing, but they range from a minimum of one line to a maximum of fourteen lines. He most commonly repeats the interlude pattern only once or twice before he begins singing again, though each song occasionally has longer interludes. The introductions and interludes repeat the same rhythmic and melodic pattern, but in the accompaniment to his singing, he parallels the sung tune with the *kuntigi* melody. He may also vary the played note durations.¹¹

In order to facilitate comparison of the musical settings, I have chosen the eighth note ( or ) as the musical notational unit corresponding to a light syllable (or mora) in all three songs. Performed units (sung syllables or played notes) of shorter duration than this basic notational unit are almost non-existent in the three performances, and units of

¹¹The interrelation of the *kuntigi* accompaniment and singing raises many issues which would be worthwhile studying but which go beyond the scope of this paper. One such issue is the reason(s) for choosing particular points in the song to insert interludes. Does Dan Maraya place interludes at the same points every time he performs a particular song? Are the interludes integral to the meaning of the text, i.e. do they serve to highlight important thoughts or to signal the beginnings or endings of ideas? Are the interludes purely a performance device, giving Dan Maraya time to collect his thoughts or take a breath? Another issue concerns the details of how the singing and the *kuntigi* accompaniment match each other. Is the *kuntigi* an ostinato-like accompaniment or a parallel voice?

longer duration are always whole multiples of it—usually two ($\text{♪♪} = \text{♩}$) or three ($\text{♪♪♪} = \text{♩}$). This is not to say that ♪ represents an element of equal absolute duration in the three songs. The songs differ a great deal in this respect, with “Jawabin Aure” being sung at what gives them impression of being a relaxed pace of about 320 eighth notes per minute, and “Gulma-Wuya” at a very fast 666 eighth notes per minute, on one interpretation.

3.1. “Auren Dole”. Of the three songs, “Auren Dole” has the most straightforward text-to-music match. Figure 2 shows the *kuntigi* pattern used in “Auren Dole” with a sample line (AD:1) showing how the text coincides with the rhythmic structure of the accompaniment. For those familiar with Western musical notation, the staves will appear reversed, with the bass clef (♭) on the top and the treble clef (♩) on the bottom. I have used this arrangement as a way to show iconically that the *kuntigi* is an accompaniment UNDERLYING the sung text. I must emphasize that the *kuntigi* line shown here is the melodic pattern played in the introductory passage and the interludes, *not* the pattern which is played accompanying this specific text.¹² The text and *kuntigi* lines here are juxtaposed to show how the RHYTHM of the sung text matches up with the RHYTHM of the *kuntigi* line. The basic features of this match, to be discussed below, are essentially invariant.¹³

Figure 2. “Auren Dole” musical setting

$\text{♪} = 510$

	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8	p1	p2
Sung	U - wā dà ù - bā gā gā - gā - dī, Kun ga au.									
<i>kuntigi</i>	[Musical notation]									

The *kuntigi* line is in a straightforward 8/8 meter with each line of text spanning exactly two measures. However, the beginning of the *kuntigi* line does not coincide with the beginning of the text line. Rather, the *kuntigi* line begins at p2, with p1 of the previous line serving as an upbeat. The downbeat of each measure of the *kuntigi* line is signaled by a repeated C#, and the upbeat signalling a return to the beginning of the two measure pattern is signalled by a drop from the highest note (F#) to the lowest note (G#) in the pattern.

In §2.2.4, I argued that p1 is an anacrusis, and I discussed the possible syllable configurations for p1, giving metrical reasons for why \emptyset , v, vv, —, and —v, but not *v— serve as “good” anacruses. Turning to the musical realization of p1 in “Auren Dole”,

¹²The transcription of the *kuntigi* line is also simplified. Dan Maraya uses numerous ornaments.

¹³I will not be discussing melodic and harmonic features of the music at all. For those interested in these aspects of the music, I can note the following. All traditional Hausa music is based on pentatonic scales. The tonic of “Auren Dole” and “Jawabin Aure” is B with the same arrangement of intervals as if one played the black notes of a keyboard starting on F#. The key signature of four sharps indicates which notes will have to be played as sharped in this pentatonic scale beginning on B. The tonic of “Gulma-Wuya” is also B, but with the scalar intervals arranged as if one played the black notes on the keyboard starting at D#. Hence the different key signature.

there is a span of three eighth notes over which the anacrusis can be realized, seen on the syllables *Kun ga* ‘You see’ in Figure 2. However, the configurations v, vv, and — do not require the full three eighth notes. For p1 to serve as a good musical anacrusis, it must lead directly to the downbeat. Stated in terms relevant to the text/music match here, the syllable(s) of p1 must always fall on the latest possible beats which will accommodate them. Following p8, the *kuntigi* pattern provides the equivalent of three eighth notes for p1, but Dan Maraya never exploits the logical possibility of, say, singing p1 comprising a light syllable on the first available eighth note. The lines in (16a-e) illustrate all the possible line beginnings, matching each metrical position with the sung durations, represented as eighth or quarter notes. The constructs in (16f, g) exemplify impossible timings for p1. The vertical lines between p1 and p2 and between p5 and p6 represent bar lines in the *kuntigi* accompaniment, the solid line showing the beginning of the phrase and the dotted or wavy line the intermediate bar line. In p1, γ is metrically equivalent to ♪ with no sung syllable corresponding to it. The translation of AD:53 is ‘Moreover for the sake of the value of daughter of our Lord.’ See (2) for translations of the other lines in (16).

(16)

	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8
a. AD:7	$\gamma\gamma\gamma$	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
		Mā-	lām	wan-	nàn	'yaĩ-	kà	cē
b. AD:1	$\gamma\gamma\text{♪}$	♪	♪♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
	U-	wā	dà ù-	bā	gà	gãĩ-	gà-	dī
c. AD:53	$\gamma\text{♪♪}$	♪	♪♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
	Kuma	don	daĩra-	jãĩ	'yaĩ	ĩab-	bà-	nā
d. AD:8	$\gamma\text{♪}$	♪	♪♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
	Gã	wan-	dà ta-	kè	sô	tun-	tù-	nī
e. AD:2	♪♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
	Kun ga	au-	ren	tī-	lās	bā-	bù	kyâu
f. *	$\text{♪}\gamma\gamma$	♪	♪♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
	U-	wā	dà ù-	bā	gà	gãĩ-	gà-	dī
g. *	$\text{♪}\gamma$	♪	♪♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
	Gã	wan-	dà ta-	kè	sô	tun-	tù-	nī

The musical setting for “Auren Dole” shows clearly that p1, when it is filled at all, serves as a metrical anacrusis for the metrically strong p2. The music further shows that the even metrical positions p4 and p6, which I argued in §2 are metrically strong, fall at strong musical positions, viz. at the mid point of measure 1 (= the third beat if the meter were recast in the more standard Western 4/4) and on the downbeat of measure 2.

The final even metrical position, p8, falls on an offbeat (on the “and” of beat 2 in a 4/4 setting) because of the light syllable in p7, which is invariably performed as a single eighth note. This syncopated pattern at the end of the line may be part of the reason for why this poetic meter has been so popular not only among poets working in the

traditional oral mode but also poets working in the written mode. The basic meter is conceptually very simple, with eight metrical positions filled in constrained ways, yet the built-in syncopation between p7 and p8, combined with the flexibility at p1 and the choice between vv or — at p3 and p5, provide for great variation.

3.2. “Jawabin Aure.” Figure 3 shows the musical setting for an example line of “Jawabin Aure”.

Figure 3. “Jawabin Aure” musical setting

♩ = 320

sung

kungiti

Wa - ta - k̄i - l̄a gi - d̄an dà mù n̄a - f̄u - k̄ai, À - b̄in

JA:15 ‘Probably there are dissemblers in the household’

The same caveats are necessary for this example as for that in Figure 2: the bass and treble clef staves are reversed from that of the standard notation in order to put the vocal line on top; the notes of the *kungiti* pattern shown are those played in the instrumental introduction and interludes, not the actual notes played to accompany the illustrative sung line; instrumental ornaments are not shown (fn. 12).

Although the musical meter of this song is 6/8, vs. 8/8 for “Auren Dole”, the two settings share a number of features: (i) both songs match one line of poetic text to two measures of music; (ii) p1 aligns with an anacrusis in the *kungiti* pattern; (iii) p2 of the text coincides with the downbeat of measure 1 the *kungiti* pattern; (iv) the even positions p2, p4, and p6 fall at strong musical positions, viz. the the downbeats of the two measures and the mid-point of measure 1;¹⁴ (v) the interplay of p7 and p8 creates syncopation, with p8 falling on the third eighth note rather than the strong beat of the fourth eighth note.

With respect to point (ii), the anacrusis position, p1, obeys the same constraint as observed for “Auren Dole”: p1 always begins on the latest musical beat which will allow it to be accommodated before the downbeat of the next measure. I illustrate this with just one line here, but a full set comparable to those in (16) could be assembled. See (1) for the translation of the illustrative line in (17).

(17)

	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8
a. JA:6	U-	wā	dà ù-	bā	kò su-	nà	bì-	ye
b. *	U-	wā	dà ù-	bā	kò su-	nà	bì-	ye

¹⁴As in Western music, Hausa music analyzable as 6/8 has the basic feel of two strong beats per measure, i.e. within a measure there are two groups of three rather than the logical alternative of three groups of two (a grouping which would be notated as 3/4 in Western music), although hemiola is quite common in Hausa music, causing a switch between a two-beat and a three-beat feel. As for grouping within the two groups of three in 6/8, Hausa music does not show the strong Western preference for the grouping. This

grouping is common, but so is .

One difference between the musical setting of the text in “Auren Dole” and that in “Jawabin Aure” is the musical duration allotted to heavy vs. light syllables. Throughout “Auren Dole” the sung duration of heavy syllables is exactly twice that of light syllables. In the illustrative lines from “Jawabin Aure” in Figure 3 and example (17), all syllables, heavy or light, are shown with duration equal to one eighth note each.¹⁵ P6-p8, which are realized as heavy-light-heavy in every line, are essentially always sung as three equal eighth notes at the beginning of measure 2 of the *kuntigi* pattern.¹⁶ P2-p5, which always span measure 1 of the *kuntigi* pattern, show considerable variation for two reasons. First, p3 and p5 can each be realized as either one heavy or two light syllables, meaning that the total number of syllables which must be sung in the span of measure 1 can vary from line to line. Second, there is some latitude in the duration that can be allotted to the syllables. Table 6 lists all the possible syllable combinations in p2-p5 and all the attested patterns of sung durations for those combinations in “Jawabin Aure”.¹⁷

Table 6. Attested sung durations of syllables in p2-5 of “Jawabin Aure”



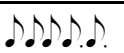



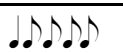



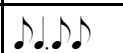

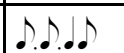


























	p2-p5	Sung durations for each syllable and # of lines with that pattern					Total # of lines
a.	h ll h ll						17
		16	1				
b.	h ll h h						29
		17	9	3			
c.	h h h ll						10
		5	3	2			
d.	h h h h						23
		16	3	2	1	1	
	TOTAL						79

Figure 3 and example (17) illustrate configuration (a) in Table 6. Illustrative lines for configurations (b-d) are seen in (18).

¹⁵P8 is shown as sung on a quarter note, but it could just as well have been noted with an eighth—actual duration before the pause is indeterminate and irrelevant.

¹⁶The only line I heard and transcribed otherwise is JW:5 *Sànnan kuma aurē nà biye* ‘Now marriage comes right after’, where I transcribed ...*nà biye* as . The next two lines end in the same phrase (see example (1)), where the durations of the three syllables are clearly equal. See (19b) below for two more lines which present slight variants.




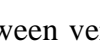



¹⁷Two lines are omitted from this count: JA:16 *Àbìn dà màì gidā i* ‘The thing that the master of the house has done’ and JA:26 *In kin tunā* ‘If you recall’. The first, discussed in §2.3.2, is metrically non-canonical in several respects. P2-p5 (*-bìn dà màì gi-*) scan as — v — v and are sung . The second is a short line, beginning at p5, and is hence not of interest here. The counts include lines with empty metrical positions and metrical positions filled by a single light where heavy would be expected or heavy-light where light-light would be expected. In these cases, the duration of the silence corresponding to the metrical position is counted as if it were sung; single lights always pattern with heavy and heavy-light patterns with light-light in terms of allotted durations.




(18)	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8
b. JA:30								
	À	sam	makì	dā-	kì	d'an	kà-	d'an
c. JA:68								
	Mài gi-	dā	dai	zân	makà	gaĩ	gà-	dī
d. JA:38								
	Wan-	nàn	dā-	kì	nā-	kì	nē	

JA:30 'A tiny room will be gotten for you'

JA:68 'Sir, I will make an admonition to you'

JA:38 'This room is yours'

Table 6 shows that Dan Maraya strongly disfavors giving any syllable a duration shorter than  or longer than . The only line containing syllables in p2-p5 sung with a duration shorter than  is JW:43 *Sai da|-rē lōkàcin kuma | kwànciyā* 'Then at night at bedtime', where the syllables between vertical bars are performed . The only lines containing syllables in p2-p5 allotted a duration longer than  are JW:1 *Shin | nā san Allāh | māgānī* 'Say, I know that Allah is the remedy' and JW:4 *Dà | farkō Allāh | nē gāba* 'To start with, Allah is at the forefront'. The segments between the vertical bars are both sung , i.e. the second syllable is allotted a duration equivalent to , but there is a clear vocal pause after that syllable, symbolized by an eighth rest. The syllable itself is therefore not given a duration longer than a quarter note.

Leaving aside durations shorter than an eighth note or longer than a quarter note, there are 3 possible sung durations for syllables in this song: , , . In a span of 6 syllables, the only possible configuration for these durational values in 6/8 meter is 6 eighth notes, and indeed, with the exception of the one line mentioned in the preceding paragraph, that is the only configuration found for (a) in Table 6. In a span of 5 syllables, as in (b, c) of Table 6, there are 15 possible combinations of the three durational values, and in a span of 4 syllables, as in (d) of Table 6, there are 19 combinations.¹⁸ Yet the Table shows that Dan Maraya exploits only a small number of these possibilities.

Many of the potential combinations can be immediately ruled out by a single clear constraint on the combinations related to syllable weight. Although both heavy and light syllables can have the duration of one eighth note, *light syllables may have ONLY the duration of one eighth note*, i.e. the durations of dotted eighth and quarter are confined to heavy syllables.

Table 6 shows certain combinations to be heavily favored over other attested combinations. The preferred combinations share the following characteristic: *The durational values for syllables are spread as evenly throughout the measure as possible.*

¹⁸The combinations of the three values must always add up to the equivalent of 6 eighth notes for 6/8 meter, of course. I am grateful to Bruce Hayes for showing me how to calculate the combinations of syllable numbers and durations which qualify.

This distribution of durational values comes into play in sequences of two heavy syllables. In the most frequently encountered patterns of (b, c, d), sequences of heavy syllables are assigned the value of dotted eighths rather than the also acceptable combinations of an eighth followed by a quarter or vice versa.

Table 6 also shows a constraint related to metrical positions: *A metrical position is not split by a strong musical beat*. In the 6/8 meter, the strong musical beats are on 1 and 4. The attested combinations for p2-p5 in Table 6 reveal that, with the exception of the two lines mentioned above where p3 is allotted the equivalent of 3 eighth notes (i.e. a dotted quarter), p2 always begins on beat 1 and p4 always begins on beat 4. Even in the two exceptional lines, the p3 is not split by the strong musical beat. Rather, p4 starts “late”, on beat 5. This constraint rules out a number of logical possibilities, such as *♪♪♪♪, *♪♪♪♪ as a realization of h-ll-h-h, etc. The latter non-attested configuration is of interest because this rhythmic pattern does exist as a realization of h-h-h-ll. However, in the non-attested configuration, the strong musical beat would split p3.

There are a few further combinations that would not be ruled out by the constraints above. Particularly surprising for someone accustomed to Western musical tradition is the absence of the configuration ♩♪♪♪, which is by far the most common Western phrasing for the 6/8 meter. In general, Hausa music prefers ♩♪ phrasing over ♩♪. Bruce Hayes (p.c.) suggests that when the text consists of two heavy syllables the first of which falls at a strong musical and metrical position, the ♩♪ phrasing is preferred because the ♩ will have extra weight by virtue of falling on the heavy musical beat. To give this syllable *both* the weight afforded by a longer duration *and* the weight afforded by the heavy musical beat robs the neighboring linguistically heavy syllable of all weight components. Nonetheless, the ♩♪ does occur in some of the patterns in Table 4, though it seems disfavored in downbeat position. None of the patterns repeat either ♩♪ or ♩♪ within a line. However, the number of lines containing either of these combinations is too small to say with certainty whether this is a valid constraint on text setting.

Although the version of “Jawabin Aure” studied here presents no cases of a metrical position in p2-p5 being split between beats 3 and 4, there are a few cases where metrical positions are split across *bar* lines. These all *anticipate* the next metrical position as opposed to carrying a position over to the next musical beat. Below are all the lines where anticipation across a bar line is attested:

(19)		p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8
a.	p2 anti- cipated	♪♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
	JA:2	M-	-àn	zon	Al-	lāh	mā-	gà-	nī
	JA:33	♪♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
	JA:33	Kānà-	-à	wasu	mā	sun	kaĩ	kà-	ce-
	JA:64	♪♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
	JA:64	'Yan gu-	-l-	ma dà	mā-	kir-	cìn	tsì-	yā

b.	p6 anti- cipated								
	JA:22	Kā	san	bā	à	kwāna-	-a	ba-	kwài
	JA:25	Mutu-	kaĩ		in	rābuwa-	-a	ta	zō

JA:2 ‘The Messenger of Allah is a remedy’

JA:33 ‘After that some of them get twisted out of shape’

JA:64 ‘The busybody has evil wiliness’

JA:22 ‘You know one won’t go seven days’

JA:25 ‘The final result, if a break up comes’

In summary, each line of text of “Jawabin Aure” aligns with two measures of music in 6/8 time. P2 and p6 of the text align with the downbeats of measures 1 and 2 respectively. Once these alignments are observed, we can identify the following major constraints on the way Dan Maraya sets the text:

- (1) **Duration range:** Maximum duration for a sung syllable is a quarter note, minimum duration is an eighth.
- (2) **Light syllable duration:** Light syllables can be set ONLY to an eighth note.
- (3) **Equal syllable duration:** Make consecutive heavy syllables equal in duration.
- (4) **Alignment of metrical position with strong beats:** Do not split a metrical position across a strong beat. Stated another way, do not align the weak part of a metrical position (the second half of the position) with a strong musical beat.
- (5) **Alignment of p6-p8:** Align p6-p8 with the first three beats of measure 2.
- (6) **Alignment of p1:** Align p1 as late in measure 2 as possible, consistent with (1) and (2).

These constraints account for a large majority of the attested text settings. However, none of them are absolute. Dan Maraya achieves variety by “deviating” from this canonical setting, especially in relaxations of (2-4). Light syllables may be sung at the duration of sixteenth note (with concomitant adjustments to neighboring syllables). Consecutive heavy syllables can be sung as sequences of quarter and eighth notes. And syllables can be anticipated across bar lines, in violation of (4).

3.3. “Gulma-Wuya”. In terms of musical analysis and text setting, “Gulma-Wuya” is the most difficult of the three songs. Even after repeated careful listening at normal speed and at half speed and after painstakingly transcribing the entire sung text, syllable by syllable, I am still unsure about the meter. The setting which I believe underlies this song is given in Figure 4. The same caveats apply as to earlier figures (see paragraph following Figure 3).

Figure 4. “Gulma-Wuya”: probable correct musical setting

$\text{♩} = 666$
 sung
 À - kwai wa - ni bà - kō kin ji - yâ, Bà - kōn
 kuntigi

Like “Jawabin Aure”, the setting is 6/8, but instead of a text line being spread over two measures, it is spread over three. This setting shares with “Auren Dole” and “Jawabin Aure” the alignment of p1 with the *kuntigi* anacrusis and the alignment of p2 with the downbeat of the measure 1 of the *kuntigi* pattern. However, because it is spread across three 6/8 measures, “Gulma-Wuya” differs from the other songs in that the second strong musical downbeat (measure 2) falls on p5 rather than p4, and the third strong musical downbeat (measure 3) falls on p8, which is in a weak musical position in both the other songs. On the other hand, p4 is in a weak position, not even falling on the second strong beat within its measure, whereas it is on the downbeat of measure 2 in “Auren Dole” and “Jawabin Aure”.

The most puzzling aspect of this claimed setting is the alignment of p5 with a strong musical position. It is the even metrical positions which are strong and would be expected to align with strong musical positions, an expectation met in “Auren Dole” and “Jawabin Aure”. Perhaps the analysis of “Gulma-Wuya” in Figure 4 is wrong. One possibility is that the meter is 9/8, which would match a text line to two measures with p6 falling on the first beat of the second measure as in the other two songs, but with three beats per measure (the separately underlined sections represent each beat):

$\text{♩} | \underline{\text{♩}} \underline{\text{♩}} \underline{\text{♩}} | \underline{\text{♩}} \underline{\text{♩}} \underline{\text{♩}} |$
 À - | kwai wani bàkō | kin jiyâ ...

It turns out to be impossible to hear or feel the performance in this way.

Another possibility is that the transcription in Figure 4, with an interplay of dotted quarters, quarters, dotted eighths, and eighths is too “etic”. There is no question that there are differences in note durations something like that shown in Figure 4, but perhaps this is an artistic device to add interest, with the UNDERLYING rhythm being more like the rather straightforward rhythmic setting of “Auren Dole” and “Jawabin Aure”. In fact, virtually every time I would put the song aside and go back to it later, I would hear it as in Figure 5, and it would often take me several minutes of replaying and tapping the rhythm to get back to the feel in Figure 4.

Figure 5. “Gulma-Wuya”: hearable but probably incorrect musical setting

$\text{♩} = 592$
 sung
 À - kwai wa - ni bà - kō kin ji - yâ, Bà - kōn
 kuntigi

The setting in Figure 5 distributes a text line over two measures of music, it shares all the features of metrical position alignment with “Auren Dole” and “Jawabin Aure”, and it is possible to hear the song in this way.¹⁹ However, I am quite sure it is wrong. There are several reasons for saying this. First, in my experience, Hausa music in duple meters is generally rhythmically straightforward—“Auren Dole” is a typical example, with played notes having durations of even multiples of each other and the strong beats falling at well-defined positions. Second, and more important, the written timing of the notes in Figure 5 does not match their actual sung or played timing. Unfortunately, neither does the written timing in Figure 4. The durations transcribed in Figure 4 are impressionistically closer to those which Dan Maraya plays than those in Figure 5, but when the line in Figure 4 is transcribed into a computer music notation program and played back through a synthesizer, it is unrelentingly mechanical and “square” compared to Dan Maraya’s performance, especially in playing the longer notes too long and the shorter notes too short.

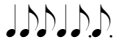
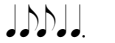


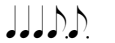





Short of asking Dan Maraya himself what he is doing, there are two reasonably objective experiments that could be applied to the song performance to test whether either of the hypothesized settings has validity. One would be to measure note durations instrumentally. If accurately measured durations over a sufficiently large sample correlated significantly and consistently with one of these patterns (or some other pattern), we would have fairly good evidence that the abstract, perfectly regular pattern probably underlay Dan Maraya’s more fluid performance. The second type of experiment would call on the intuition of Hausa listeners. Presumably Dan Maraya is performing in a framework that can be grasped by listeners experienced in hearing his style of music. If there were substantial agreement among listeners as to where strong beats fall in the performance, as revealed by clapping to the rhythm of the song, etc., this should confirm the correctness of a notation which places the relevant beats at those locations. At this writing, I have not been able to conduct either of these experiments.

However, I have transcribed the entire song, playing it at half speed so as to hear as clearly as possible which notes fall on and off beats. The syllables go by fairly fast, even at half speed, but it is clear that there are subtle durational differences between sung syllables and between the notes played on the *kuntigi*. Moreover, one can usually hear which syllables are sung simultaneously with which *kuntigi* notes. I make no claim to have accurately transcribed the duration of every syllable, but if my transcription shows numerical skewings toward certain durations, I view this as evidence favoring one underlying metrical pattern over the other. The counts for 72 of the 79 total lines are given in Table 7. The 7 lines not included in these counts either have too many empty positions to make them relevant or have irregularly filled positions which make them incomparable to the four main rhythmic patterns. Only durations for p2-p5 are shown.

P1 is always either empty or an anacrusis to measure 1; p6-8 are always performed ♪♪♪.
















































¹⁹Perhaps I should say that it possible for at least one listener who has heard Western music, but not Hausa music, since childhood to hear it this way. I played the song for several members of the UCLA Linguistics Department, some trained in music. The most enlightening comment I received regarding the “basic rhythm” was, “It’s complicated.”

Table 7. Attested sung durations of syllables in p2-p5 of “Gulma-Wuya”

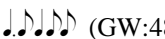
	p2-p5	Sung durations for each syllable and # of lines with that pattern				Total # of lines
a.	h ll h ll	 4				4
b.	h ll h h	 17	 6	 1		24
c.	h h h ll	 13 ²⁰	 4 ²¹			17
d.	h h h h	 11 ²²	 13	 1	 2	27
	TOTAL					72


Illustrative lines for the seven configurations with more than one token are seen in (20). In p8, a tie (˘) before the note indicates that it is anticipated as an eighth note in the preceding measure and held over.

(20)

	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8
a. GW:36	 Sai tà	 d'au-	 ki gyà-	 lèn-	 tà tà	 lul-	 lù-	 bā
b. GW:4	 Mài	 sôn	 rabà	 sun-	 nār̃	 R̃ab	 bà-	 nā
GW:53	 Tò	 sai	 kà ji	 mà-	 tā	 tā	 ca-	 nè
c. GW:13	 Mā-	 lām	 zâi	 mikì	 kī-	 shì-	 yā	
GW:12	 Nā ji-	 wō	 nè	 can	 kò à	 àn-	 gu-	 wā
d. GW:2	 'Yaĩ	 kō-	 ren	 bō-	 kā	 mā	 dā-	 bam

²⁰Includes one case each of the variants  (GW:54),  (GW:49),  (GW:28) .

²¹Includes one case of the variant  (GW:48).

²²Includes one case of the variant  (GW:1).

GW:11	
	<p style="text-align: center;">Gà là- bā- rì d'an kà- d'an</p>

GW: 36 'Then she takes her shawl and covers her head'
 GW:4 'The one who wants to disrupt the rite of our Lord'
 GW:53 'Well then you hear the wife say'
 GW:13 'The gentleman is going to get a co-wife for you'
 GW:12 'I heard it there in the neighborhood'
 GW:2 'The accomplice of the herbalist is yet a different one'
 GW:11 'Here's a little bit of news'

One important feature of the transcribed durations argues for the correctness of the interpretation in Figure 4. In 45 of the 72 measures considered (62.5%), I transcribed the duration of p5 as longer than the other metrical positions, i.e. a heavy syllable in p5 is most commonly transcribed as rather than and two light syllables as rather than . Assuming that this song is not in some asymmetrical meter, there would be no way to accommodate the extra duration at p5 in the meter of Figure 7. Moreover, as shown in (20), in those cases where I transcribed p5 as or , I heard p8 as being anticipated from the previous measure. This would, of course, be necessary to fill out the measure with the correct number of beats in the meter of Figure 4.

Another feature of the transcribed values in Figure 4 shows why I, at least, have a tendency to hear the song as in Figure 5, viz. measure 1 is nearly always realized as the equivalent of three even quarter notes. Moreover, in the realization the note grouping of the 8/8 (= 4/4) rhythm in Figure 5 places the two eighth notes (= p3) on one beat, whereas the note grouping of the 6/8 rhythm in Figure 4 places the second beat on the second eighth note. Not only does this require that the heavy musical beat fall on a light syllable, it also splits p3 across a beat, a configuration which Dan Maraya was seen to avoid in "Jawabin Aure".

In short, the meter of "Gulma-Wuya" is difficult. Admitting that the issue needs more study, I proceed with the assumption that the setting in Figure 4 is correct.

In discussing "Jawabin Aure", we saw that only a small proportion of the mathematically possible text settings was chosen. The proportion of settings chosen out of the mathematically possible settings is even smaller for "Gulma-Wuya". First, there are 3 6/8 measures, giving 18 eighth note positions as opposed to 12 for "Jawabin Aure". Second, in "Gulma-Wuya" Dan Maraya uses sung durations of , , , and , whereas in "Jawabin Aure" he essentially restricts himself to the latter three. Yet the number of common settings is about the same for the two songs. As in "Jawabin Aure", we can account for the choice of settings in terms of syllable weight/musical duration constraints and constraints on alignment of metrical positions with musical beats.

(1) **Duration range:** Maximum duration for a sung syllable is a dotted quarter, minimum duration is an eighth.

(2) **Syllable weight/duration range:** Sung duration for a heavy syllable cannot be less than a quarter note;²³ sung duration for a light syllable cannot be greater than a dotted eighth. To this constraint we might add a subsidiary preference: **prefer maximum duration at p5**. Alternatively, this preference might be derived from a constraint on alignment such as (4) below, which prefers alignment of p6 and p8 with strong beats. In terms of flexibility in choice of duration, “Gulma-Wuya” exhibits a mid-point between “Auren Dole”, where there is a strict equivalence of heavy = quarter note and light = eighth note, and “Jawabin Aure”, where light must have the duration of an eighth note and heavy can range from an eighth to a quarter. Like “Auren Dole” (and most Hausa poetry/song in performance), the durational values for heavy syllables in “GulmaWuya” are complementary to those for light, but durational values are not absolute.

(3) **Even duration for p2-p4:** Give p2-p4 the duration of two eighth notes each. This is not an absolute constraint. Lines not meeting the constraint are mentioned in footnotes 20-22 and in the 3 unusual variants in Table 6 d. However, it can be considered the canonical setting, interacting with constraint (4).

(4) **Alignment of metrical positions and downbeats:** Align p2 with the downbeat of measure 1, p5 with the downbeat of measure 2, and p8 with the downbeat of measure 3. This also is not an absolute constraint, but violations of it are “derived”, e.g. by relaxation of constraint (3) or (5). See immediately below for further discussion.

(5) **Alignment of p1:** Align p1 as late in measure 3 as possible, consistent with (1) and (2).

In discussion of “Jawabin Aure”, we saw that within a musical bar, a metrical position was not split by a strong beat but that beats could be split across bars (see examples in (19)). In “Gulma-Wuya”, we have seen that p3 is essentially always split, and in (20), we saw that p8 can be split by anticipation (examples marked by $\hat{\cdot}$). P2 is also occasionally split by anticipation. In two lines (GW:1, 3), p2 is anticipated, held into measure 1 as an eighth note, then the “borrowed” duration is compensated for by adding duration to p3 (see (21a) for an example). In two lines (GW:14, 18), p2 is anticipated but given a full quarter note value in measure 1 (see (21b) for an example). In two lines, it appears that Dan Maraya anticipates p2, but measure 1 is empty following the relevant syllable. The lines are GW:23 *Ta cè*... ‘She said...’ and GW:33 *Tā canè*... ‘She said...’, both followed by a pause before the “quoted” text is sung. Two lines which entail metrical positions split by a beat are probably “performance errors”. Dan Maraya appears to begin GW:7 (21c) too early, putting p2 fully in the preceding bar with the result that all the metrical positions are “pulled back” a beat from where one would expect them to fall. The text of this line scans normally. In GW:41 he appears to begin too late (21d). The text of this line also scans normally, but he puts p1 on the downbeat of measure 1, forcing him to squeeze p3 by singing the two syllables as sixteenth notes, the only notes this short in the entire piece. Aside from these latter two lines and the

²³In Table 6, d, three lines are shown with one position matched to an eighth note even though all four positions should be filled with heavy syllables. P2 is empty in all these lines (shown by \emptyset below), though this should not affect the duration of the other positions. In two of the lines, p5 is exceptionally filled by a single light, which is sung as an eighth and compensated by added duration earlier. GW:9 is the only line I transcribed which contains a heavy syllable sung with the duration of an eighth. The syllables sung as an eighth are underlined: GW:9 \emptyset *Ai Mālām yā fīta* ‘Well, the Gentleman has gone out’, GW:77 \emptyset *Bōkā yā tattārē* ‘The herbalist has collected’, GW:78 \emptyset *Bōkā yā handāmē* ‘The herbalist has met his gluttonous desire’.

exceptional lines mentioned in fn. 23, a metrical position never seems to be split across the downbeat to measure 2.

(21)

	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8
a. GW:1								
	Sàn na-	-n	kun	san	bō-	kā	dà-	ban
b. GW:14								
	Sa-	-i	kà jì	dai	mà-	taĩ	gi-	dā
c. GW:7								
	Shin ā-	-à	kō kò-	-o ya-	-a	fì-	ta	
d. GW:41								
	Tā	je	ta waje-	-n bō-	kā	ku-	ma	

GW:1 ‘You know there’s the herbalist on the one hand’

GW:14 ‘Then you hear that the woman of the house ...’

GW:7 ‘Or else, no, is it the case that he has gone out’

GW:41 ‘She goes to the herbalist, moreover’

There are two features of the musical setting of “Gulma-Wuya” which run counter to the more intuitively logical settings for the other two songs. One is the fact that the p3 is always split across the two heavy musical beats of measure 1 and the other is that the weak metrical position, p5, always falls on the heavy downbeat of measure 2. The first feature can be explained by the fact that a 6/8 musical meter has two potential groupings for eighth notes: 2 groups of 3 or 3 groups of 2 (cf. fn. 14). Although the former grouping is the normal one for both Western and Hausa music, Dan Maraya consistently shifts to the latter grouping for the first measure (= the first three metrical positions of text) in the “Gulma-Wuya” setting. He is therefore *not* splitting p3 but is performing the entire measure with a feel of three beats, each beat being matched to a metrical position.

At this writing, I have no “non-derived” explanation for the second unusual feature, matching weak p5 against the strong downbeat of measure 2. The “derived” explanation is that the setting from p2-p4 causes p5 to fall on the first beat of the second measure, i.e. unlike the settings for the other two songs, where the principal criterion for matching text and music is to align strong metrical positions with strong beats, with other features of the settings following from that, in “Gulma-Wuya”, the principal criteria are to align strong p2 with the downbeat of the first measure and to give that measure three beats, matching one metrical position per beat.

4. Reconciling Text and Music Metrics

Section 3 describes the musical settings for the three songs, using the standard musical notational system and terminology of Western music and showing how metrical pattern of the text meter aligns with the music as described in those terms. By keeping the eighth note as the unit roughly equivalent to the sung duration of short syllables, some comparability was kept across the three songs. Nonetheless, the grid formalization for the metrics and the standard notation as a formalization for the music inevitably results in describing oranges in terms of criteria for describing apples, or maybe grapefruits. There are two problems in using the standard musical notation. One is certain forced arbitrary choices: why speak of 8/8 rather than 8/16 (which would span the full phrase corresponding to a line of text)? why use the eighth note as the basic beat unit rather than

the quarter note, which would correspond to a full metrical position of the text meter? The second problem with the musical notation is that the certain features of the music cannot be read in any direct way from from the notation without knowing the conventions of the music. For example, there is no way, just looking at musical measures, to know where the heavy beats fall (on beats 1 and 5 in 8/8 time, on beats 1 and 4 in 6/8 time) or to know that ♩ is equivalent to ♪♪ or that ♪ could be subdivided as ♪♪.²⁴

Both text meter and musical meter share two fundamental features: *beat strength* and *beat duration*. The metrical grid described in §2.1 formalizes these two features directly: beat strength is shown but the number of x's in a column (from 1 to 3) and beat duration is shown by the number of grid positions between columns which are two or more x's in height. In this section I will apply the grid formalization to both the text and the musical rhythm used to perform a given line as a way to compare the two directly. The text grid is above the text, the musical rhythm is below, as a sort of mirror image, but as in a reflection of pool of wind ruffled water, certain features of that image are sometimes displaced. As above, I refer to metrical positions p1-p8 of each line of the text. In the musical grid, I refer to b1-b8, etc. for “beat 1”, “beat 2”, etc. for the number of musical beats corresponding to a line of performed text. A “beat” falls at a grid column two more x's in height.

Consider first “Auren Dole”, which §3.1 showed to have a straightforward relation to its musical setting.

Figure 6. “Auren Dole”: match of music and metrical grid

	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8	p1
		x		x		x		x	
text	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	x x
AD:1	U-	wā	dà ù-	bā	gà	gã-	gà-	dī↗,	Kun↗ ga
music	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		x		x		x		x	
	b8	b1	b2	b3	b4	b5	b6	b7	b8

(Small arrows point to the grid position that a syllable “belongs to”—see §2.2.3 for the notion of “borrowing” grid positions.)

Figure 6 shows in a direct way why the musical setting of “Auren Dole” seems “straightforward” compared to the other two songs. The musical grid and the text grid are identical, the only difference being that the musical grid is offset one beat position to the right with respect to the text grid. One might suggest that the p2 of the text should really be p1 and p1 should be p8; alternatively one might suggest that b8 should actually be b1. However, either of these suggestions would run counter to the normal way of writing the text or the music. The standard way that lines of poetry are written on a page and the standard position of bar lines in music clearly reflect an intuition that writers and musicians have about where a “unit” of the relevant medium “starts”. In fact, there is a

²⁴Musical notation is, of course, a method of coding musical performance in a practical way so that its users can perform the musical work or know how others have performed it. It can be compared to a practical orthography, which is meant to transmit the meaning of a text to those who know the language but which is not a phonetic transcription of the language and which uses a variety of devices, such as capital letters, italicized type, punctuation, paragraph indentations, etc. to help the reader interpret the meaning. Moreover, musical notation encodes melodic as well as rhythmic features, which a grid is not equipped to do.

poetic meter which, in performance, does align p1 with b1, p2 with b2, etc. This is the Anti-Mutadaarik meter described in Schuh (1995) and mentioned above in §2.2.2. The differences in text and music alignment are thus a feature distinguishing the meters from each other for performer and listener alike.

The match of text grid and musical grid for the other two songs is more complex. This is primarily because text meter is a *duple meter* (two grid positions between beats) whereas the musical meter is a *triple meter* (three grid positions between beats). The match of the line from “Jawabin Aure” in Figure 3 is shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7. “Jawabin Aure”: match of music and metrical grid

	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8	p1	
		x		x		x		x		
text	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 x	x	
JA:15	Wàtâ-	kī-	là	gi-	dân	dà mù-	nà-	fù-	kai ^ʔ ,	À-
music	x x x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	x	x		x		x		x		
		x				x				
	b4	b1		b2		b3		b4		

Note that the even metrical positions (p2, p4, p6, p8) match two text grid positions to one music grid position, whereas the odd metrical positions match text and music grid positions one for one. This asymmetric matching brings out an interesting difference between the realization of text vs. music: the grid positions of the text must somehow be more abstract than those of the music. The very nature of musical performance in a particular meter requires that beats fall at regularly timed intervals. Otherwise the meter will not be heard as such. In the text, on the other hand, composers and listeners can draw on their implicit knowledge of the language to know how many grid positions a particular syllable should occupy. The syllables at the even numbered positions are phonologically heavy and thus require two grid positions. Composers and listeners will “feel” them as such even if in performance they are given durational value equivalent to light syllables, which take up only one grid position each in the text grid.

The illustrative line in Figure 7 alternates heavy syllables and (pairs of) light syllables. What about lines where all syllables are heavy and performed with equal duration, as in the most common variant seen in Table 4 (d)? Figure 7 give the text and musical grid match for such a line:

Figure 7. “Jawabin Aure”: line with evenly performed heavy syllables

	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	p6	p7	p8	p1
		x		x		x		x	
text	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	x x
JA:15	Ha-	kìn	kō-	mē	in	kun	tu-	nà ^ʔ ,	Tò
music	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 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	x x x	x x x	x x x	x x	x	x x x	x x
	x	x		x		x		x	
		x				x			
	b4	b1		b2		b3		b4	

We can understand the grid matching by subdividing the grid positions of the musical grid. Grid positions of both text and music grid could be potentially subdivided *ad infinitum*, but for practical purposes, it would make little sense to have grid positions corresponding to anything smaller than the smallest actually performed unit. In Dan Maraya's *kuntigi*, accompaniment this would be subdivision of six grid positions per beat (= 16th notes in the musical notation in Figure 3). Subdivided at this level, we see that each heavy syllable of the text beginning at p1 corresponds to three of the lowest level musical grid positions. Since there are six musical grid positions per beat, this means that there are two metrical positions of the text evenly associated with each musical beat. The rhythmic effect is one of hemiola, with a feeling of a shift to a duple meter. Stated in terms of standard music notation, the singing switches to 4/4 sung against the 6/8 accompaniment.

The grid matching notation also makes it easier to see how the performance setting of "Gulma-Wuya" differs from that of "Jawabin Aure" even though both are in 6/8 time. A line of text in "Gulma-Wuya" is spread over 6 beats while in "Jawabin Aure" it is spread over 4 beats. Both these can be compared to "Auren Dole", where a line of text is spread over 8 beats.

Figure 8. "Gulma-Wuya": match of music and metrical grid

	p1		p2		p3		p4		p5		p6		p7		p8		p1
			x				x				x				x		
text	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	x
		À-	kwai	wa-	ni	bà-	ƙō	kin	ji-	yàʹ,				Bà-			
music	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		x
	x		x		x		x		x		x		x		x		x
	b6		b1		b2		b3		b4		b5		b6				

SORRY FOLKS! I NEVER FINISHED WRITING THE PAPER! Below are a few notes to myself if I ever pick it up again. But anyway, you got most of the story!

- text/music correlations: music providing independent confirmation of abstract grid
- syllable weight and sung duration: linguistic weight has iconic realization in physical duration
- metrical position and positioning in measure: claims of metrical strength and weakness match positions of musical strength and weakness; cf. anacrusis
- constraints on setting
 - some follow directly from weight/duration and strength/beat correlations
 - some follow from musical meter (natural distribution of notes in the three songs)
 - some seem more performance oriented: small range of variation in sung lengths compared, say, to Western popular and art music (though probably not folk music); strong (perhaps absolute?) preference for anticipation of notes not sung on beat rather than late singing

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