

## THE FORM AND METRICS OF NGIZIM SONGS<sup>1</sup>

Russell G. Schuh  
UCLA Department of Linguistics

### Abstract

This paper discusses the formal properties of songs in Ngizim, a Chadic language of northeastern Nigeria. All the songs in this study were sung by women, most with a soloist and chorus singing in call-and-response mode. A number of criteria allow songs to be broken down into lines of definable lengths. Properties of text structure and melodic properties in performance suggest that for some songs, one can also speak of “verses” of at least couplet size. Sung performances, often accompanied with rhythmic clapping, grinding, or (in videotaped performances) rhythmic movement, provide independent evidence for claimed metrical properties of song text, though the match of musical setting and metrical text properties is indirect. Ngizim text metrics are weight-based, i.e. alignment of heavy vs. light syllables with positions on a metrical grid (where light = CV, heavy = CVV or CVC). In the analysis here, an invariant grid of alternating S(trong) and W(eak) positions underlies the metrics of all songs. Songs can be typologized as having duple or triple meter and as have three or four S positions per line. A set of constraints determine the optimal settings of the syllables of a line of text to positions in the grid for that song. The paper also proposes a separate set of performance constraints that allow a performer to deviate in certain ways from settings predicted by text-setting constraints. The metrical properties of seven songs are studied in some detail. An appendix lists all the songs that were considered for this paper and provides complete text, translation, and scansion for the songs that were studied in detail.

### 1. Background

Ngizim is a Chadic language spoken in Yobe State of northeastern Nigeria. Specifically, it is a West Chadic languages of the “B” sub-group and is closely related to Duwai and Bade (Newman 1977). Like essentially all ethnicities, Ngizim has its own repertoire of traditional songs. These are passed on orally from generation to generation. Ngizim has no written literature of any kind.<sup>2</sup> This is the first study of Ngizim songs, and indeed, of the songs of any of the minority ethnicities of northeastern Nigeria.

The songs discussed in this study are from recordings made in various Ngizim villages beginning around 2004. There are 14 different songs, some in multiple versions by different singers. All the songs are by women, mostly a soloist with a chorus repeating a refrain. Attached as an appendix is a list of the songs considered for this paper with recording information, performance type, and themes.

The focus of this paper is on the formal structure of Ngizim songs rather than content. Ngizim songs, and indeed the songs of all the peoples of Yobe State and probably many others, do not tell linear stories as in, say, English folk ballads. Songs have a theme, such as marriage, death, rivalry between women, praise, complaints or compliments about

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<sup>2</sup> The only written works in Ngizim are collections of oral literature published in Potiskum, Nigeria in 2003, 2004, 2007, and 2009 as part of the projects listed in footnote 1. At this time I have no information on how or by whom songs are composed. References in songs to relatively recent phenomena show that songs are continually renewed and added to, e.g. reference to the Potiskum General Hospital (built in the 1960’s), to the current Mai Pataskum (who was turbaned in the 1980’s), and a welcoming song sung in Jala in 2009 that explicitly mentioned my name. Undoubtedly, completely new songs are sometimes added to the repertoire.

spouses, etc. Lines in a song make allusive comments to people and events, create metaphors, etc. that relate to the theme but that are obscure to the outsider and often seem poorly understood even by members of the society. The lines follow no particular order, as can be seen by comparing multiple versions of the same song. On the other hand, songs are well-structured, both in verse form and metrically. One can therefore study these aspects of Ngizim song with minimal understanding of content as long as the lines are reliably transcribed.

Section 2 considers the overall form of lines and verses and the types of evidence for claiming that such forms exist. By definition, songs are *sung*.<sup>3</sup> Section 3 considers the formal relation between the structure of the text and the structure of its musical setting. Section 4 presents a typology of songs based on an idealized metrical structure of song lines. Section 5 presents a line-by-line analysis of some of the songs listed in §4.

## 2. Performance and Song Forms

As noted in the introductory section, all the songs in this study were performed by women, typically by a soloist and a chorus of two or more women who repeat a refrain or a whole line following the soloist. Only one of the songs considered here has instrumental accompaniment, but most have clapping where claps fall at metrically definable spots, a great help to the metrist who is seeking evidence for metrical structure independent of the text itself! Two of the songs are performed by a woman as she grinds on a grindstone, creating an automatic rhythm against which she sets her text. Video performances show women swaying or dancing to the rhythm of the song.

Figure 1. Women singers in performance



Refrains are of two types: *short refrains* and *long refrains*. Both types of refrain are usually meaningless words, akin to *hey diddle-diddle* in the English children's song, "Hey diddle-diddle, the cat and the fiddle...", that embody the rhythm of the particular song metrics, though in a few songs the refrain does have a meaning, e.g. in (1b).<sup>4</sup> *Short refrains*, comprising three to six syllables, are integrated into a line of the song, filling out the second half of a line. Usually the refrain ends every line, as in (1a), but the soloist may also sing a line and a half with the chorus filling the second line with the refrain, as in (1b). In the latter song, the soloist sometimes continues a thought from the first line to the second, sometimes she begins the second line with the refrain. *Long refrains*

<sup>3</sup> The practice of composing written metrical language for spoken, non-metrical recitation, much less silent reading, must be a recent phenomenon in human history. Even in Hausa, which has a large body of verse composed in writing, all metrical language, composed in writing or not, is intended to be sung or chanted.

<sup>4</sup> The apparently meaningless short refrains, in particular, look like they could be real words or names, but none of the ones in songs studied here were identified as independent lexical items. Since songs are named for their refrains, it would be worthwhile to look into the sources for these words, and, assuming that new songs are sometimes composed, how the composer decides on a refrain.

comprise a full line of a song. With long refrains, the soloist sings one substantive line<sup>5</sup> and the chorus sings the refrain, as in (1c). In a hybrid style, the soloist may sing a full line, including a short refrain, and the chorus repeats the entire line, as in (1d).<sup>6</sup>

- (1) a. S: **Wa dlam kāwāwa, C: Dangana aliso.**  
S: Let's play our games, C: *Dangana aliso*. (DaA007)
- b. S: **Gaḃshu ngum dlam bayi bai,**  
**Barē bəlan, C: Ā bai bai.**  
S: **Kuragama jingəri Talātan,**  
**Ā bai bai, C: Ā bai bai.**  
S: An ugly one is not to be gotten,  
Much less a good-looking one, C: He will not get (her). (ABB2003)  
S: Kuragama has gone to Talatan,  
(But) he will not get (her), C: He will not get (her). (ABB2006)
- c. S: **Pərokēsik Sōnō ā rawan?**  
C: **Ai karniga jinga karniga.**  
S: Where is Professor Sono? [*sono* means 'shoe' in Ngizim!]  
C: *Ai karniga jinga karniga*. (KJK1013)
- d. S: **Mā mōta gəna wən gama aiwa,** (refrain underlined)  
C: **Mā mōta gəna wən gama aiwa.**  
S/C: They say a car befits the son of a black woman.<sup>7</sup> (WGA2009)

To this point, I have been using the terms “lines” and “verses” in a way that suggests that the existence and properties of these entities are self-evident. Fabb and Halle (2008:1) say, “What distinguishes all poetry from prose is that poetry is made up of lines (verses),” without explicitly stating what a “line” is. Hayes and MacEachern (1996) provide arguments for definable lines in folk poetry, even though a poetic text is laid out against a continuous grid that, itself, does not show line breaks (likewise for the music to which it is performed if it is sung). They use arguments from consistent matches of structural breaks to certain grid positions and convergence of these breaks with rhyme and rhythmic cadences. We can use such criteria to justify lines in Ngizim song. Because the metrical details differ across songs we will here consider just a couple of examples.

As an example of coincidence of major linguistic structural breaks and line boundaries consider the four lines in (2) from KJK1. As we will see in detail in later sections, Ngizim metrics is based on syllable quantity (CV syllables are *light*, CVV and CVC syllables are *heavy*).

<sup>5</sup> Occasionally the soloist will sing two substantive lines with no refrain between, which has the effect of giving the song a certain boost in energy, at least as I hear it.

<sup>6</sup> Transcriptions will use the following conventions: ə = IPA [ɨ], sh = IPA [ʃ], zh = IPA [ʒ], c = IPA [tʃ], j = IPA [dʒ], tl = IPA [ʈ], dl = IPA [ɟ]. In examples set to a grid, it is most convenient to use Courier font, which does not have proportional spacing. The Courier font face does not have ə, so I have substituted @; likewise, Courier does not have the symbols b and d, so I have substituted b' and d' respectively. Ngizim has two rhotics, an alveolar tap trill R = IPA [r] and a retroflex flap r = IPA [ɽ]. Vowel length in examples where the focus is scansion is marked by a doubled vowel; in transcriptions of texts where scansion is not the issue, vowel length is marked by a macron or not marked at all. Tones are not marked in examples for scansion nor in most of the full transcription of texts in the appendix. Where tone is marked, grave accent (à) marks low tone, circumflex (â) marks falling tone, and high tone is unmarked.

<sup>7</sup> I have translated **gama aiwa** literally as ‘black woman’. The word for ‘human being’ in Ngizim is **nəng aiwa**, literally “black person”. Parallel to this expression, I suspect that **gama aiwa** means something like ‘mortal woman’. I have not checked this with an Ngizim speaker.

- (2) 003 Kaa-ne soo bee kaa-rak de-n-ga-raa  
 008 Kaa-ne a n-ci k@-muu yaa-ree- wa da  
 013 P@-roo-kee-sik Soo-noo aa ra-wan?  
 ref Ay -ye kar-ni-ga jin-gaa kar- ni-ga

003 Hey! here-it-is (*soo*) a nice (*kaarak*) thing (*bee*) has come  
 008 Hey! he wants (*nci*) to hear (*kəmuu*) our language (*yaaree-wa*) indeed  
 013 Where is Professor Schuh? (lit: Professor Schuh is where?)  
 ref *Ayye karniga jinga karniga* (“hey diddle-diddle” words)

The syllables of these lines align as to weight, with the exception of reversal of the heavy-light pattern of 003 (= 008) to light-heavy in 013 and the regular correspondence of two lights for a heavy in 008 and the refrain, beginning at the fourth syllable. However, the only consistent structural alignments are the sentence ends with the ends of the lines. This is consistent throughout both KJK1 and KJK2, which use the same meter and refrain, i.e. the lines as determined by the metrics are always coterminous with main clauses whereas line internally there are no consistent alignments of structural divisions with metrical divisions.

Ngizim song does not have rhyme, so this indicator is not available to demonstrate line breaks. Most songs, however, do have a refrain, which in a sense is like a multisyllabic rhyme. Refrains always fall at points that coincide with particular metrically determined spots. Lines of KJK, illustrated in (2), are each followed by the refrain, which itself constitutes a metrically complete line. The lines in (3) are from “Awande” (Awd), which has a short refrain incorporated into the line, as in (1a).

- (3) 005a Muu-y-aa- naa yan, A-wan-dee,  
 005b Soo bee a- ci bau, A-wan-dee.  
 006a Dee-d aa d@v(u) d'aa, A-wan-dee,  
 006b Maa dee- du-n tai?, A-wan-dee.  
 007a Dee-d-aa-n a- ci, A-wan-dee,  
 007b Maa j-ii ra-wan? A-wan-dee.

005a My friend, come (and see), *Awande*,  
 005b Here's the thing that he got, *Awande*.  
 006a He brought (it) from the road to town, *Awande*,  
 006b They ask, “Who brought (it)?”, *Awande*.  
 007a It's he who brought it, *Awande*,  
 007b They ask, “Where did he go?” *Awande*.

The repetition of the refrain, *awandee*, could constitute evidence for line ends parallel to line-end rhyme. But what is the evidence that the refrain is part of the line and not a line on its own, as in (2)? After all, the material preceding the refrain always constitutes a complete clause, which was cited as evidence for line ends in (2). There are reasons for rejecting such an analysis. Two such reasons have to do with line length. First, if the refrain were not part of the line, the lines would have only 3-5 syllables. One does encounter lines with few syllables in some songs, but these are either sung as long notes taking up the same performance time as syllabically longer and more complex lines (the refrain of “Dadəgərakəm” in (7) provides an example), or they omit syllables at the beginning of a line and start the line late (“Yawai Yawai” in §5.4.2), whereas “Awande” always starts on the “downbeat”. Second, if the refrains were separate lines on their own, the alternating lines would be of different lengths (roughly, the equivalent of four heavy syllables vs. a light and two heavies). This might be conceivable if, say, the syllables of *awandee* were extended to make their performance duration equate to the duration of the

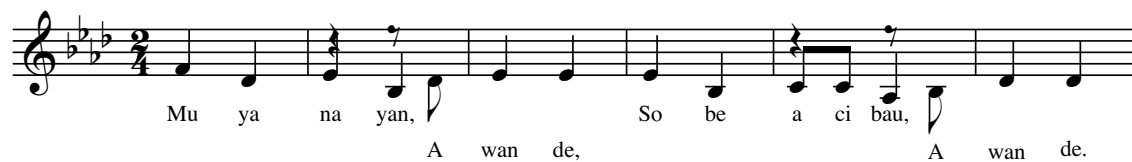
remaining material in the lines of (3), but this is not the way these lines are performed. The syllables of the refrain are performed with durations equivalent to syllables of comparable weight of the first part of each line, and there is no pause between the refrain and the beginning of the next line.

In addition to these cues for lines that can essentially be taken from the text, there are melodic cues. In this paper, I will not consider melodic factors in any detail, though sung melody does interact in important ways with the text, not only as a cue for structural beginning and end points, but also because, like all Chadic languages, Ngizim is a tone language and sung pitches correlate with pitch changes associated with linguistic tones. To my ear, admittedly trained in and exposed to the Western European diatonic musical tradition rather than the pentatonic Ngizim tradition, units designated as lines here always end in a cadence that signals a musical end point, viz. what I generally hear as harmonic authentic cadences or half cadences.<sup>8</sup>

The relation of melody to structure provides a segue to the next question: Do Ngizim songs have *verses*? Turning back to the songs in (1), it seems that for some songs, such as that in (1a), there are no verses distinct from lines. In this song, the singers often repeat the same line twice, but other than that, there is nothing to group lines into larger units. On the other hand, the songs represented in (1b-d) group lines into couplets, and though the second line of each couplet, at least in (1c-d) is predictable, nonetheless, these represent identifiable units larger than a line.

The song in (3) provides an example of possible melodic evidence for verses comprising more than one line. Note that the lines in (3) are paired as 00#a, 00#b. This pairing is based on the melodic properties of the two lines taken together, shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Sung melody of two lines of “Awande” (Awd005a-005b)<sup>9</sup>



Expressed in blatantly Western musical terms, the tonic seems to be Db,<sup>10</sup> the first line ends on Eb (which my diatonic ears hear as implying an Eb minor chord), and the second line ends on Db (which my diatonic ears hear as implying a Db major chord). Whether or not this interpretation has any connection to mine or the singers’ actual respective cognitions, I believe that any listener, Ngizim or American, would hear the first line as “there is more to come before we get to the end” and the second as “this could stand for the end”.

A number of songs form melodic grouping of lines in similar ways. The extent to which this grouping has structural import, say, grouping lines that form some sort of

<sup>8</sup> All music of this region uses a pentatonic scale (replicable by playing the black notes on a piano keyboard). Musicologists may cringe at my West-ocentric hearing of implied harmonies, but whether or not this is the correct technical musical interpretation, there is no question that there are discernable melodic cues as to whether a melodic phrase has ended or will be continued.

<sup>9</sup> I notated this using Finale 2008, with which I have only a rudimentary ability. The rests in the second and fifth measures represents the chorus, which comes in only at the end of these measures. Moreover, like all the text setting to grids and music in this paper, the setting is highly idealized. When played back in Finale, about the only resemblances between the sound of the performance and the playback is that the string of pitches is approximately the same and each line can be divided into six beats, notated as three measures in 2/4 time in Figure 2.

<sup>10</sup> The key signature, with four flats, would be that of Ab major in Western diatonic notation, but in a pentatonic scale starting on Db (Db, Eb, F, Ab, Bb), there could not be a Gb, which would be in the heptatonic Western Db scale.

sense group, needs study. Lines 005a-b do seem to form such a group (calling a friend, then showing her something), but 006b is a question to which 007a is the answer, and 007b is another question, which seems backwards in terms of a natural flow of meaning relations. However, the singer repeats the question of 007b as 008a and answers it in 008b (008a: They ask, “Where did he go?”, 008b: He went to Hadeja.), and looking through the song, which is rather long and has numerous question-answer pairs like this, they seem virtually always to be grouped melodically.

### 3. Musical Structure vs. Text Structure

Kiparsky (2010) distinguishes *narrow metrics* from *broad metrics*. It is necessary to distinguish *verse design* (the metrical system), *verse instance* (specific text parsed by the rules/constraints of the metrical system), and *delivery instance* (recitation, sung performance). Only verse design and verse instance are the province of narrow metrics, i.e. though delivery may be analyzed in terms that are similar to metrics proper (organization of elements in the form of a grid, formation of hierarchical groups with heads, etc.), it is not part of narrow metrics. This is the position of Fabb and Halle (2008), for example. Kiparsky (2010) argues for a broad metrics that incorporates performance conventions which, combined with metrical analysis, account for acceptable deliveries of metrically well-formed text. In my opinion, an understanding of the metrics of Ngizim folk poetry/song would be impossible without considering performance conventions. This is not to say, however, that the performance equates to the metrical analysis.

My methodology in working out the metrics of Ngizim songs (and the metrics of folk song/poetry in other Chadic languages, including Hausa), is to listen to the performance, attempt to discern rhythmic patterns, and to locate the syllables of the text that align most closely with the strong beats of the performance. Then, assuming that these text/performance alignments represent key points on a grid, work out a grid pattern that accommodates intervening material. It is, more often than not, the case that the musical setting does not show a one-to-one match to the optimal metrical analysis of the text, but they will be related in systematic ways.

Consider the musical transcription of the two verses of KJK1, 003-04 and refrain, in Figure 3, transcribed with translation in (4).

Figure 3. “Karniga Jinga Karniga 1”, lines 003-004 + refrain

Kaa ne soo bee kaa rak den ga ra, Ai kar ni ga jin ga kar ni ga. An d@

6  
mii na Maa lam Baa ba yoo, Ai kar ni ga jin ga kar ni ga.

- (4) 003: **Kānè sò bè kàrak dèngarà, Ai karniga jinga karniga.**  
 004: **Àndàmìna Mālām Bābayò, Ai karniga jinga karniga.**  
 003: Hey here it is, something nice has come, *Refrain*.  
 004: Greet (pl. imperative) Malam Babayo, *Refrain*.

In Western musical terms, the music is in 4/4 time, with a strong downbeat on each measure. The last beat or beat and a half of every other measure is felt as a pick up note



heavy syllable **ai**. The position can even be unfilled. In the selection in (6) from KJK2, the soloist “borrows” the final S from the preceding line in 004, stretching **kaanee**<sup>13</sup> over two metrical positions; the chorus sings a single heavy that fits the idealized text-to-grid match; the soloist leaves the position empty in 005a and immediately continues 005b with no intervening refrain with the heavy-light sequence **see da** ‘then he...’. Such variability at the beginning of a line is typical of songs in all the Chadic languages that I am familiar with, and in this song it is facilitated by the fact that the alternation with the chorus permits the soloist to come in earlier than the idealized grid matching would predict.

(6)	(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
004	Kaa-	nee	maa-	r@m	guu	n@n	n@n	Da-	ja,		
ref		Ai	kar-	ni-ga	jin-	ga	kar-	ni-	ga.		
005a			Ba-taa-	ba	r@p-	tu	ga-dlii-	g@-	ri-n,		
005b	see	da	ram	maa,	“Gwar-	boo	aa	ra-	wan?”		

004: Hey! The important one is the person from Daja,  
 ref: *Ai karniga jinga karniga.*  
 005a: Bataba, when he opens his granary,  
 005b: then he will say, “Where is Gwarbo?”

A more complex relation between music and text is found in the wedding song, “Dadəgərakəm”.

Figure 4. “Dadəgərakəm” (Dad1001a-b)



001a: *Andiye andiyaye, Yaye yaye-ee-yee,*  
 001b: Head of the house, Peace be on you (*Salamu alaikum*).

Among the songs examined for this paper, this one is unusual not only in having a very long refrain, but also in BEGINNING the verse (assuming that there are verses) rather than ENDING the verse with the refrain. In performance, the soloist sings a full phrase, exemplified in Figure 4, and the chorus repeats the entire phrase. Figure 4 shows that the music consists of a melodic line that extends over six bars, i.e. one cannot pull out the melody of the refrain separate from the melody of the text, much less sing the refrain and the text to the same melody, as would potentially be possible in the “Karniga Jinga Karniga” songs. Moreover, the refrain extends over three and a half bars (with an upbeat to the first bar), whereas the verse text has a duration equating to only two musical bars, beginning and ending in the middle of bars. Because of mismatch both of the beginning

<sup>13</sup> **Kaanee** is an interjection widely used in northeastern Nigeria, meaning something like, “I’ll be darned!”, “Who would have thought that...?” Usually mid vowels are long in Ngizim, but in an interjection like this, there is some variability, accounting for the possibility of singing either **kaane** or **kaanee**.

point of the musical measure and the beginning of the text and of the length of refrain vs. the length of the verse text, one possible analysis would be to call the whole thing one line, as in songs with short refrains like those seen in (1a-b) and (5), for example. Such an analysis would not be very revealing in terms of structure and would run counter to typical line form in Ngizim song, which otherwise always has three or four S(trong) metrical positions.

I propose an analysis that takes its cue from the length of the verse text, which comprises eight musical beats. The refrain extends over 16 musical beats, i.e. twice the length of the verse text. From a musical standpoint, both the refrain and the verse text begin in the last two beats of a measure, i.e. a grid offset similar to that seen in (5). These considerations lead to the following text grid:<sup>14</sup>

(7) Text grid for “Dadəgərakəm”

	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
001ai		An-		di-	yee			an-		di-	yaa-	yee					
001aai				yay-	yee					yay-	yee						
001b	Baa-	ci	wun-	du-	wa			sa-	laa-	mu-	a-	lai-	kum				

I will not pursue the metrical analysis further here (see §5.4.3), but suffice it to say that analyzed in this way, the entire song can be laid out against this grid, with the non-refrain lines always beginning on the S position corresponding to the one in (7) and extending over four S's.

To summarize, the main points of this section, the sung performance of songs provides crucial information as to the performers' sense of text metrics by associating particular syllables of a text line with strong musical pulses. The grid for the text metrics, however, cannot be equated to the grid for the musical setting. A coherent text grid must correspond to structural properties of the text, and the beginning and end points of this grid will typically be offset with respect to the beginning and end points of the musical grid translated from standard musical notation with measures consisting of a strong downbeat and a certain number of musical beats within the measure. Moreover, a musical phrase implied by melodic patterns may encompass more than one line of the text grid.

#### 4. Typology of Ngizim Metrical Structures

Formalization of metrics using a grid provides a way to typologize meters. In this section, I list the Ngizim songs considered for this study in terms of meter and verse structure. In §5, I analyze individual songs, justifying these typologies. Meters can be typologized along three parameters:

- Duple or triple meter: The gridline has two or three x's respectively from one S or W metrical position to the next. This parameter determines whether a canonical idealized line will have alternating syllable sequences ...vv — vv —... or ... — v — v... .
- Number of S's per line: Ngizim songs have three or four S's per line. In triple meters it is not always clear whether the S vs. W distinction is relevant. This parameter, by definition, determines line length and invariably correlates with syntactic boundaries.

<sup>14</sup> To simplify things, I have set the transcription in 4/4 time, which shows where the four S's fall in the line. At the lowest level, it is actually a triple meter in 12/16, i.e. four beats per measure, each subdivided into threes. This can be heard in the polyrhythmic drum accompaniment, which is far too complex for me to even consider transcribing, but which one can hear an underlying fast TA-ka-da-TA-ka-da... pattern. I return to this song in §5.4.3.

- Line begins with S or W: In §3, I suggested that lines of “Karniga Jinga Karniga” begin on a W but the non-refrain lines of “Dadəgərakəm” begin on a S. A third possibility is that a line begins on a S but allows for an extrametrical syllable before the S. In some cases, a W vs. an extrametrical beginning may be indeterminate. This parameter roughly correlates with (in)variability of line beginnings.

Following is a list of the 14 songs considered for this study, typologized according to the above parameters. In addition to these metrical parameters I state the line ~ verse patterns using the criteria discussed in §2.

### Duple rhythm

#### Four S's per line

##### Begins on W

“Karniga Jinga Karniga” (KJK)<sup>15</sup>

Verse structure: Soloist sings line of text  
Chorus sings refrain as second line of verse

“Ai Bone Darari” (ABD)

Verse structure: Solo sings line of text  
Chorus sings refrain as second line of verse

##### Begins on S

“Dlaḡa” (Dla)

Verse structure: Solist sings two lines, each ending in “Dlaḡa”  
Chorus repeats same two lines

“Tarewa” (Tar)

Verse structure: Solist sings half line, chorus sings refrain as half line  
(the recorded versions have no chorus; full line by soloist)  
No apparent grouping of lines into verses

##### Begins on S with possible extrametrical

“Dangana Aliso” (DaA)

Verse structure: Solist sings half line, chorus sings refrain as half line  
No apparent grouping of lines into verses

### Three S's per line

#### Begins on W

“Awande” (Awd)

Verse structure: Solist sings half line, chorus sings refrain as half line  
Melodically, lines are grouped as couplets

<sup>15</sup> *Ai karniga jinga karniga* is a general “hey diddle-diddle” refrain that can be used with any song having lines of the rhythmic pattern  $\underline{v}v - \underline{v}v - \underline{v}v - v -$ .

“Arayye Gaja/Gəzha” (ArG)<sup>16</sup>

Verse structure: Solist sings half line, chorus sings refrain as half line  
Melodically, lines are grouped as couplets; in the first line of the couplet the chorus sings *Arayye*, in the second line they sing *Arayye gaja*

### Triple rhythm

#### Four MP's per line

#### Begins on W

“Ayye Yarinaye” (AyY)

Verse structure: Soloist sings a full line of text  
Chorus repeats soloists line  
“Refrain” sung as first line/verse, occasionally repeated  
Lines have two distinct melodic patterns sung by soloist and repeated by chorus, but no obvious grouping of lines

#### Begins on S

“A Bai Bai” (ABB)

Verse structure: Soloist sings six strong beats of text (1.5 lines)  
Chorus sings refrain over two strong beats (.5 line)

“Ruwa Adak Vənyi” (RAV)

Verse structure: Soloist only  
Considerable variability in line length & where line begins  
Lines seem to be grouped by melodic patterns, roughly correlating with sense grouping

“Yawai Yawai” (YYw)

Verse structure: Dipodic structure, with grouping of two four-beat “sub-lines” into a superordinate four-beat line  
Soloist sings one dipodic line  
Chorus repeats soloist (only YYw4 has a chorus)  
Dipodic lines seem to be grouped by melodic patterns, roughly correlating with sense grouping

“Dadəgərakəm” (Dad)

Verse structure: Soloist sings refrain and one line of verse  
Chorus repeats soloist's full refrain plus verse line  
This song is a kind of hybrid: the verse line starts on a strong beat and extend for eight beats, meaning it could be broken into four beat lines; the refrain starts on a weak beat

<sup>16</sup> I hear this song as rhythmically and melodically like “Awande”, but in both recorded versions, it is difficult to pin down the text-setting in such a way as to verify the metrics. ArG1 sounds as if it may be in a triple meter rather than duple, whereas “Awande” seems fairly clearly to be duple.

**Six MP's per line  
Begins on S**

“Dawuya” (Daw)<sup>17</sup>

Verse structure: Soloist sings two strong beats of text (2/3 line)  
Chorus sings refrain over last strong beat (1/3 line)  
No apparent grouping into verses

**Begins on S with possible extrametrical**

“Wun Gama Aiwa” (WGA)

Verse structure: Soloist sings full line, ending refrain *wun gam(a) aiwa*  
Chorus repeats soloist's full line  
No apparent grouping into verses

**5. Text Metrics and Text Setting of Individual Songs**

The parameters in §4 provide the inventory of metrical grids available for the texts of Ngizim songs.<sup>18</sup> In the remainder of this paper, I provide detailed analyses of the metrics and text setting of seven songs. The seven (from the total 14) not examined here are problematic in having rather arhythmic performances in the available versions and/or in not having enough reliably transcribed lines to lead to an analysis that I can support with much confidence. An appendix presents full transcriptions, translations, and scansions of the songs analyzed in the sections below.

No songs ever conform to the ideal setting of one syllable per  $x$  on the gridline or even to a simple rule such as “project a light syllable to one grid position and a heavy two two grid positions”. Every song has apparent syllable weight mismatches to grid positions and apparent mismatches of the number of available syllables to available grid positions. I therefore propose constraints to account for these mismatches. The ultimate goal of a theory of Ngizim metrics (and, more ambitiously, a theory of weight-based metrics) will be to narrow down the conditions under which these constraints apply to account for the class of well-formed lines and well-formed settings of those lines. I divide the constraints into two types.

**5.1. Text-setting constraints.** These are constraints that account for an idealized setting of particular syllable sequences to particular metrical grids. MP = metrical position, i.e. a grid position projected to a column more than one  $x$  high and the one or two  $x$ 's following it; S = strong MP, i.e. an MP beginning with a column of three  $x$ 's; W = weak MP, i.e. an MP beginning with a column of two  $x$ 's.

HEAVY SETTING: Set a heavy syllable to two gridline  $x$ 's.

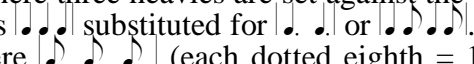
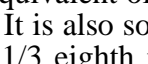
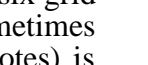

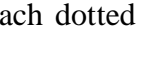
LIGHT SETTING: Set a light syllable to one gridline  $x$ .

DUPLER METER LIGHT PAIR SETTING: Set a pair of light syllables in a duple meter to a W.

<sup>17</sup> I am fairly sure that this song is best analyzed as having a triple meter, but Kristine Yu, who is a formally trained musician with a good ear, hears Daw1 as triple meter but Daw2 as duple. This song seems to be sung as an accompaniment to games, and neither version has enough reliably transcribed lines to provide a definitive analysis.

<sup>18</sup> The total number of meters definable by these parameters is 2 (duple vs. triple) X 3 (start on W, S, extrametrical), X 2 (three or four S's per line) = 12. This inventory is probably exhaustive for Ngizim songs. Of the possible 12, eight are exemplified in those studied for this paper. The only missing types are duple with four S's beginning with S or with extrametrical, triple with four S beginning with extrametrical, and triple with three S's beginning with W.

TRIPLE METER LIGHT SETTING: Set a single light syllable in a triple meter to the third x of an MP if available, otherwise to the first x of an MP.

HEMIOLA: Set (the equivalent of) three heavy syllables to two MP's. This is most common in triple meters where three heavies are set against the equivalent of six grid positions. Musically, this is  substituted for  or . It is also sometimes found in duple meters where  (each dotted eighth = 1 1/3 eighth notes) is substituted for .

<sup>19</sup>

FINAL HEAVY: Scan a final syllable as heavy, regardless of phonological weight. This constraint is really a family of constraints: FINAL HEAVY (LINE), which would rank very high in that line final syllables always scan as heavy; FINAL HEAVY (PHRASE), which would apply to final syllables of line internal phonological phrases but could be outranked by other constraints; FINAL HEAVY (WORD), which would apply to any word final syllable. This last constraint seems to be violated less freely than with phrase final syllables.

ALIGN RIGHT EDGE: Align the syllable of the right edge of a line to the last MP of the grid. This constraint expresses the fact that there are rarely unfilled MP's at the end of a line. This constraint, in effect, also prevents a line from necessarily ending in a light syllable, since an MP will always dominate two or three grid positions.

\*UNFILLED LINE-MEDIAL x: Disallow grid positions to be unfilled after the beginning of a line, where "beginning of a line" means any place after the first syllable. That is, line medial silences are disfavored.

**5.2. Performance constraints.** These constraints are, strictly speaking, not part of metrics. However, they are needed to account for certain types of text settings that do not match the idealized settings embodied in the *text-setting constraints*. I formulate them as constraints under the assumption that they characterize conventional Ngizim performance style. At the moment, they are rather informally stated guesses based on random observation.

ANTICIPATE BEAT: Sing a syllable slightly ahead of the beat of the musical and text grid. This is typical of singing in jazz and Western popular music and pervades Ngizim singing style and West African singing in general. Conformance to this performance constraint is so pervasive that essentially all the text-settings to grids in this paper should be viewed as idealizations and in some cases possibly even distortions.

START LATE (SQUEEZE SYLLABLES): The beginning of a line can be started later than the regular performance rhythm would predict. Assuming that the text grid is somehow associated with a fixed time line, syllables early in the line can be "squeezed" in order to get back onto the regular rhythm later in the line.

START LATE (OMIT SYLLABLES): This is the same idea as the preceding constraint, but allows the singer to omit syllables at the beginning of a line, particularly syllables that can be reconstructed from grammar, meaning, or previous lines.

In Ngizim songs, I have observed application of START LATE constraints mainly in the performance of a woman singing while grinding, who needed to catch her breath! However, Hausa singers who perform to a musical accompaniment that keeps track of the

<sup>19</sup> Strictly speaking, *hemiola* ("one and a half" in Greek) is putting two beats against three underlying beats. This never seems to be the optimal analysis for Ngizim (or other weight-based meters in Chadic languages that I know of), i.e. the underlying metrical pattern always seems to involve two or four positions with an alternate pattern of three set against them.

metrical positions routinely use lines where the texts leave metrical positions at the beginning of a line unfilled.

### 5.3. Duple meters

**5.3.1. “Karniga Jinga Karniga”** (four S’s per line, starts on W). As noted in footnote 15, the refrain (*ai*) *karniga jinga karniga* is a general refrain that can potentially be used with any song text whose base meter is that in (8).

(8) “Karniga Jinga Karniga” rhythm:  $\underline{v\bar{v}} - \underline{v\bar{v}} - \underline{v\bar{v}} - v -$

I videotaped performances of two unrelated songs (KJK1 and KJK2) that use this refrain in Jala on January 16, 2009, and I have at least one audio recording with this refrain, so far untranscribed, made on another occasion by Usman Babayo Garba. This refrain is used by singers in languages other than Ngizim as well, such as the professional Yobe State singer Bazaza (~ Basasa), who is Karekare but sings primarily in Hausa. The rhythmic pattern that this refrain exemplifies is even more widespread, being used, for example, by many Hausa singers and poets (see Schuh (1995) for an analysis of a set of Hausa songs in this meter). Representative lines from KJK1 and KJK2 are given in (9).

(9)

			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

KJK1

007 Kaa- ne Dok- **ta** Gim- **ba** de-n- g@- ri,

008 Kaa- ne a n- ci k@- muu yaa- ree- wa da,

009 Kaa-nee yaa- **re** Ng@-z@m see D’ak Ja- la,

KJK2

018 Kaa-nee k-ee- ka za- dau n@n kaa ra- wa,

019/020 Kaa-nee n@n za- yi bai nda ra- k ii du- wa,

021 Kaa-nee na n- ci ra- mau yee naa ka- lau,

022 Kaa-nee Sar- kin d’aa- ’aa Bag- z@- bi,

023 Kaa-nee yaa- wai yaa- wai Maa- ma- lee.

KJK1 007: Hey! Doctor Gimba has come,

008: Hey! He wants to hear our language, indeed,

009: Hey! Ngizim language, only in Jala Town,

KJK2 018: Hey! If you see that type (of person) you will run away,

019/020: Hey! A person and no rope, he was chased into a well,

021: Hey! Though I wanted to say it, I was afraid,

022: Hey! [in Hausa] The King of Polite Behavior is Bagzubi,

020: Hey! Oh my, oh my Mamale.

I have already mentioned the variability of the text and text-setting of the initial W in the discussion related to (4-6). Note the two settings in (9), one squeezing **kaane** into a little more than one MP, the other “borrowing” a full MP from the preceding line, made possible by the fact that the singer can come in “one top of” the chorus.

The lines in (9) include six examples of DUPLÉ METER LIGHT PAIR SETTING, i.e. paired lights set to a W. KJK1 and KJK2 together have 25 non-repeated lines, excluding the refrain and lines where the text was not clear and hence could not be reliably parsed. In these 25 lines, there are no cases of paired lights set to a S.

This meter systematically obeys LIGHT SETTING of the penultimate syllable, which is always light. Since LIGHT SETTING requires that a light syllable project to only one grid



showing that singers can choose to not apply the rule if the metrics require a light syllable before the NC-initial word. A possible example is in KJK1009, where it seems that the **n-** of **Ngəzəm** has not formed a coda with the preceding syllable because the grid position would require a light. There is a problem in this case, however, since mid-vowels in Ngizim are all underlyingly long, and in KJK1008, there is an example of the very word **yaaree** ‘language’ where the final syllable must be metrically heavy.<sup>22</sup> Regardless of whether or not NC SYLLABIFICATION has applied to the **n-** of **Ngəzəm**, it seems that KJK1009 is unmetrical in that the second syllable of **yaare(e)** in this line violates HEAVY SETTING.

As a final remark on the metrics of the lines in (9), consider KJK1007. Note that the final syllables of **Dokta Gimba** ‘Doctor Gimba’ are written as short but take up two grid positions each, in violation of LIGHT SETTING. Among the constraints proposed in §5.1, the only way to account for this and retain metricality would be to argue that this setting is allowed through FINAL HEAVY. This noun phrase is the subject of the verb **dengəri** ‘has come’, and the boundary between a nominal subject and a verb is treated as a phonological phrase boundary in many languages.<sup>23</sup> However, there is certainly no phrasal boundary separating **Dokta** and **Gimba**. There are two possible explanations for why this setting is allowed. One is that suggested in the discussion of the FINAL HEAVY constraint, viz. this is an example of FINAL HEAVY (WORD), which would permit a phrase internal but word final light to be scanned as heavy as long as a grid position is available to accommodate the heavy. The other explanation has to do with the fact that **Dokta** is a loanword, probably via Hausa. Virtually all native Ngizim substantive words ending in /i, u, a/ have short final vowels. On the other hand, most recent loanwords, like **Dokta**, come through Hausa, where final vowels are canonically long, and speakers of Ngizim today are all fluent speakers of Hausa. Treating a word like **Dokta(a)** as having a long final vowel for metrical purposes may thus be a sort of code switch.

### 5.3.2. “Tarewa” (four S’s per line, starts on S). Consider the lines in (11) from Tar1.

(11)	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
012	Doo-	ma-	ci	d@n-	g@	g@-	zhee,			Ta-	ree-	wa,				
013	D@n-	g	aa-	Roo	da	d'-	kee,			Ta-	ree-	wa,				
014	Ai	m@-	s@-	g	aa-	m-aa-	nai,			Ta-	ree-	wa,				
015	K-ee	ka-n	aa	ra-	ma	bai,				Ta-	ree-	wa,				
016	Ka	l@n-	t@-n	kaa	gan-	ga,				Ta-	ree-	wa,				
cf.003	Ka	b-	dl@-n	kaa	gan-	ga,				Ta-	ree-	wa,				

012: The *Vernonia kotschyana* tree is medicine for the heart, *Tarewa*,

013: Medicine for life is more important, *Tarewa*,

014: Oh my first husband [lit: husband of my wifehood], *Tarewa*,

015: If you see it, it is not talked about, *Tarewa*,

016: If you touch him (he is) like a drum [i.e. he will protest], *Tarewa*,

cf. 003: If you dig into him (he is) like a drum, *Tarewa*,

<sup>22</sup> The word **yaaree** is borrowed from Hausa (where it means “minority language”). The final vowel happens to be long in Hausa, but since it is a mid-vowel, it would be borrowed as long in Ngizim regardless of source language vowel length.

<sup>23</sup> I have not worked through Ngizim songs to see how this boundary is treated for metrical purposes, but my guess is that this is a flexible boundary that allows singers to apply FINAL HEAVY or not, depending on the exigencies of the metrics.



“Karniga Jinga Karniga”, where of the 25 distinct lines available for analysis, 24 minimally have a heavy syllable, and most have two syllables (only one line, 005a seen in (6), leaves the initial W unfilled). Second, the refrain of “Dangana Aliso” starts on a S and is set over four MP’s. Since each line clearly has four strong and four weak beats, there would be no way for the refrain to end in a W and the verse start with a W.<sup>24</sup>

HEMIOLA: This song has a few lines that set three syllables against four grid positions, as in 001h. There are, however, several arguments for maintaining the duple meter as the base meter. First, only five of the 40 distinct lines have the triple setting. Second, the clapping, represented by the C’s in (12) (see footnote 24) is in a duple rhythm and stays constant through the lines with hemiola. In addition to “canonical” hemiola lines like 001h, I analyze 014h as using hemiola. In this line, the two heavy-light pairs (**-ban A-mii-na**) have the feeling of two triplets, each set against pairs of eighth notes, and in terms of mora count they equate to three heavy syllables. As a final remark related to HEMIOLA, I note that the setting of the refrain as shown in (12) line 000 is idealized. In fact, as I hear it, the six syllables of the refrain are performed with more or less equal duration over seven grid positions. The first three syllables, **dangana**, must be heavy-light-light but are sung with about equal durations. It is not clear what the base weight of the first syllable of **a(a)lisoo** is.

FINAL HEAVY: This song has a number of examples where a single light is set to two grid positions, such as 024 where the syllables **-wa** (final syllable of **wunduwa** ‘home’) and **-pa-** (the second syllable of **bappa** ‘uncle’). This violates LIGHT SETTING, which requires that an unpaired light be set to a single x but would be sanctioned by FINAL HEAVY (WORD), i.e. a phonologically light syllable of word can be scanned as heavy if there is an available grid position not projected to another syllable. The latter example (**bappa-gaa** ‘my uncle’) shows that the constraint can even refer to a stem followed by a clitic.

HEAVY SETTING to three x’s or unfilled x? In 025 and 032, there is a heavy syllable (**Baa-** first syllable of **Baaba** ‘Dad’, **suu** ‘this one’) set at the first S followed by two x’s and a light (**-ba** second syllable of **Baaaba**, **wu-** first syllable of **wunya** ‘daughter’) set at the fourth x, just before the next S. In the 40 available lines, there are five lines with a heavy-light configuration set in this way. The question that arises is whether the heavy is extended to three x’s, in violation of HEAVY SETTING, or the third grid position is left unfilled, in violation of \*UNFILLED LINE-MEDIAL x? I will not try to resolve this here. A second issue has to do with *narrow metrics* vs. *broad metrics* discussed at the beginning of §3, differentiated by whether *delivery instance* is part of metrics or not. The setting of heavy-light at the beginning of a line (excluding extrametricals) is potentially indeterminate. An alternative setting would be to set the heavy to the first two x’s (HEAVY SETTING) and the light to the next two (invoking FINAL HEAVY), e.g. in 025, setting the word as **Baaba[a]**. The only way to resolve this indeterminacy is delivery, i.e. what did the performer actually do? In the case of 025, the singer set the line as in (12), but at line 029 **Gaada[a] bee bai** ‘For no good reason [Because-of thing not]’, the second alternative is used (this is the only case of heavy-light set this way). Note that in 032, this second alternative would not be available because the light syllable **wu-** is not word-final, and such syllables are never treated as heavy. Many more lines would have to be available to know whether some principles are at work to resolve this indeterminacy or whether it is simply free choice, but in any case, the issue can only be studied on the basis of actual delivery.

DUPLE METER LIGHT PAIR SETTING: This song has two cases like that exemplified in 033, where paired light syllables are set to a S rather than to a W as predicted by the

<sup>24</sup> Another possible argument is claps, represented by C’s in (12). The first is on the first S of the verse, and the last on the first syllable of the refrain, seemingly signaling the beginning and end of the verse. This argument alone isn’t very strong, however, since the claps are, in a sense, the “music”, and we saw in §3 that the metrical structure of the music is often offset with respect to the metrical structure of the text.

formulation of the constraint give in §5.1. Aside from the refrain, where the setting is ambiguous (see above), there are, in contrast, nine cases where paired lights are set to a W. This constraint is thus violable, but settings like that in 033 are clearly disfavored.

**5.3.4. “Awande”** (three S’s per line, starts on W). I have already discussed this song in (3) and (4) with respect to line and verse structure. Here, I consider its metrics and text setting. This discussion is based on 54 distinct lines.<sup>25</sup>

By my analysis, the metrical line starts on a W, even though my tendency is to hear it as beginning on S. The first sung pitch of a line is always higher than the second, perhaps accounting for this tendency. Nonetheless, there are at least two reasons for preferring initial W. First, DUPE METER LIGHT PAIR SETTING selects for setting paired lights to a W, and in this song, paired lights are always set at the first and/or third metrical positions. This, of course, looks like circular reasoning: if there are paired lights, set them to a W; how do we know a position is W? Paired lights are set to it. However, in meters where there are other indicators of S vs. W, such as “Karniga Jinga Karniga”, paired lights overwhelmingly prefer W. Second, the song is accompanied by three claps, indicated by “C’s” in (13). The first and third claps fall on positions that I have shown as metrically S. It would seem strange to feel these as “clap CLAP clap” rather than “CLAP clap CLAP”, and in other songs with clapping, various criteria indicate that the last in a series of claps falls on the downbeat of a musical bar line. Though the beginnings of musical phrases and text grids are typically offset with respect to each other, initial beats in a musical bar seem invariably to correlate with S metrical positions. Finally, aesthetically, the song takes on a more interesting swing if one sings along, purposely feeling it as 1 2 3 4 5 6 rather than 1 2 3 4 5 6!

Representative lines of “Awande” are given in (13).

(13)		C		C						C
				x				x		x
		x		x		x		x		x
		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
(a)	001a:	Ai-	wan-	dee-	dee,	A-	wan-	dee,		
	003b:	Dee-	naa	s@-	li	gi,		<i>refrain</i>		
	006b:	Maa	dee-	du-n	tai?			<i>refrain</i>		
	007a:	Dee-	d-aa-n	a-	ci,			<i>refrain</i>		
	021a:	Soo	am	g@-	ji,			<i>refrain</i>		
	021b:	K@	vi-	ya-g	an-	dad',		<i>refrain</i>		
(b)	017b:	Naa	ba-	rii-	ci	bai,				
(c)	051b:	Ra-	ma	kaa-	rak	t@n,		<i>refrain</i>		
	032b:	Aa	f@-	na-	g@-	ri,		<i>refrain</i>		
(d)	052b:	M@-	r@n	R-	d'-ii	m@-	s@k	bai,		<i>refrain</i>
(e)	029a:		Tam-	baa-	zai,			<i>refrain</i>		
	cf. 019a:	Tam-	baa-	zii	wam,			<i>refrain</i>		
	cf. 032a:	Ai	tam-	baa-	zai,			<i>refrain</i>		

<sup>25</sup> The recording is 9:23 long. Mohammed Adamu transcribed the entire song, but I have typed up and translated only 106 lines, of which 52 are repetitions. This amounts to only 4:17 of the song, i.e. less than half. Eventually I will go through the whole song, but the 54 lines examined should give a good picture.

- (a) 001a: [Soloist] *Ai wande-dee*, [Chorus] *A wande*,  
 003b: He brought silk,  
 006b: They ask, “Who brought it?” [...Brought (it) who?]  
 007a: It was HE who brought it, [Brought (it) he]  
 021a: Here is water for drinking [thirst],  
 021b: That for washing the intestines,
- (b) 017b: I won't give it to him,
- (c) 032a: In his gourd bowl,  
 051b: This pleasant talk,
- (d) 052b: A lover is no substitute for a husband,
- (e) 029a: *Tambazai*, (a confection made of millet flour and sugar)  
 cf. 019a: *Tambazai* indeed,  
 cf. 032a: Oh, *tambazai*.

Discussion here refers only to the half-line before the invariant refrain. The most frequent line types are those in (13a). The types and counts from the 54 lines examined are as follows:

- (i) heavy syllables in all four positions (001a, 006b): 23
- (ii) paired lights in position 3 (003b): 7
- (iii) paired lights in position 1 (021b): 8
- (iv) single light in position 3 with heavy at next x (007a, 021a): 13

Types (ii, iii, iv) include lines where the remainder of the line is set to one of the other common patterns, e.g. type (ii) has heavy in position 2 but may have heavy or paired lights in position 1. Types (i-iii) conform to HEAVY SETTING and DUPL METER LIGHT PAIR SETTING. There are four or five lines where FINAL HEAVY must be invoked line internally, e.g. 044a: A dlam<sup>a</sup> calam, ‘Make water-mixed-with-flour’ (see §5.1 and §5.3.3 for discussion of this constraint). The setting of type (iv) is found systematically at the end of lines in “Karniga Jinga Karniga”. See §5.3.1 for two possible metrical interpretations of this setting.


The setting of 017b seen in (13b), where a single light is set at position (2) followed by a heavy and another light, appears only once in the sample here, but it is not uncommon in duple meters. It seems natural since it preserves the four-mora count over two metrical positions and elicits the same syncopation as line final light-heavy found in line type (iv).

The lines in (13c) are performed with settings that run counter to what one might expect. In line 051b, the syllable **-rak** is heavy and would be expected to fill a full MP, but the singer sings it as filling only about one grid position. This violates HEAVY SETTING, which is very rare, so it may simply be a lapsus in performance, though the singer is so consistent throughout this long song that one would like another explanation. In line 032b, it looks like the singer is in a quandry. The first syllable, **aa** ‘in, at’, is heavy and should thus be set to two grid positions, i.e. the same expectation as for **-rak** in 051b. Doing so, however, would require setting paired lights at a S, which is a setting not found in this song, at least in the lines examined. The singer thus sets **aa** to a single x, the initial light syllable of **fəna** ‘gourd bowl’ to the next x, and **-na** to the S, invoking FINAL HEAVY, thus putting the setting of the line back on track for the remainder of the line.

The line in (13d) is a mystery. It is completely unmetrical, with at least three heavy syllables (**-rən**, **-d-ii**, **-sək**) set to single x's. It is, moreover, not reparable by applying the phonological rules in (10), and indeed, the performance sounds “crowded”. Lines that fall outside any metrical or phonological explanation are rare in Ngizim song. This line sounds like it could be a standard aphorism, and it is possible that the singer chose to insert it here as best she could without concern for the fact that it does not conform to the metrical pattern of this song.

Line (29a) in (13e) seems to be an example of the performance constraint START LATE (OMIT SYLLABLES) suggested in §5.2. The initial W is left unfilled, but the rest of the line conforms to regular text-setting constraints. The two variants of the same line, also given in (13e) seem to support this interpretation.

## 5.4. Triple Meters

**5.4.1. “Ruwa Adak Vənyi”** (four MP's per line, starts on S). The base metrical pattern of this song is — v — v — v — v, where the first and third heavy syllables are set at S and the second and fourth at W. Not much hangs on the S vs. W distinction, and the evidence for differentiating S from W (rather than four undifferentiated MP's) is indirect and not particularly compelling. First, each line arguably comprises two hemistiches. It seems not unreasonable to assume that each hemistich is initiated by an S. Corresponding to this division is that fact that the music seems to be two 6/8 measures, , and this rhythm is divided into groups of six rather than, say, three or twelve, because there is the sense of a stronger pulse on the first of six and a secondary pulse on the fourth.

In this song, the singer was singing while grinding on a grindstone (see middle picture in Figure 1). Her grinding, with a longer downward movement and a shorter upward movement, set up a natural — v — v... rhythm to which she sang. I have 100 transcribed lines, though the song as recorded is much longer. Of those 100 lines, eight are verbatim performance repetitions of other lines, and four seem not to be accurately transcribed, making the parse unreliable. There are thus 88 parsable lines that differ from each other in content and/or text-setting.

A full analysis of the metrics and text-setting of this song would deserve a paper on its own. Here, I will draw attention to a few aspects of the song and its performance that expand on issues already discussed. Representative lines are seen in (14).

(14)

	x						x					
	x			x			x			x		
	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>hemiola</i>	X		X		X		X		X		X	

(a)

001a		Ii	Dl@-rii	kee	bai,
001b		Ii	Ngu-z@m	gu t@-	nu,
001c	Naa	ra- mau	da yaa-	ree-	gaa.
002a	[Naa	ra-]mau	da yaa-	ree-	gaa,
002b	Naa	ra mau	da yaa-	ree	bai.
003a	[Kun]	ngaa- kun?,	Ja n-	gaa-	ja,
003b	Su n-	d@- ma N-	g@-	z@m	bii bi?
003c		Sau-ra- gaa,	A-	la n-	g@b- roo,
003d	Na n-	d@- mau	k@	ndat-	taa- wa.
004a	Duu-	ni- ya	k@	n@n	ga- yi bai,
004b	Duu-	ni- ya	k@	n@n	guu- ma,

- |  |      |        |     |     |          |      |      |
|--|------|--------|-----|-----|----------|------|------|
|  | 004c | Gus-   | ku  | an- | zha-run  | yaa- | yee, |
|  | 004d | Wa z-  | ga  | an- | zha-run  | bee  | bai. |
|  | 005a | [Wa z- | ga] | an- | zha-run  | bee  | bai, |
|  | 005b | Bii-   | wu  | see | ga- za-n | taa- | na.  |
- (b) 014b Naa ma- naa ta- wan?  
 014c Naa ma- naa ta- wan? Am- ma,  
 014d Naa ra mau da yaa- ree bai.
- (a) 001a: I am not, indeed a Karekare,  
 001b: I am that Ngizim [woman],  
 001c: [And] I am speaking in my language.  
 002a: [I am speak-]ing in my language,  
 002b: I am not speaking in a foreign language.  
 003a: “Are [you (pl)] well?”, “We (excl) are fine,”  
 003b: Isn’t this and Ngizim greeting?  
 003c: “My in-law, may your life be abundant,”  
 003d: I have performed a greeting of the elders.  
 004a: The world is not for one person,  
 004b: The world is for ten people, [i.e. for everyone]  
 004c: Even if today is tomorrow,  
 004d: We know that tomorrow is nothing.  
 005a: [We know that] tomorrow is nothing,  
 005b: (Of) that thing all that remains is memories.
- (b) 014b: Which one have I taken?  
 014c: Which one have I taken? Well [literally: “But”]  
 014d: I won’t say it in a foreign language.

I have divided this song into verses, shown by letters “a”, “b”, etc. after the same line number. There are two bases for this grouping. First, melodically, lines not indicated as the last line of a verse end in what, in Western musical terminology, would be non-authentic cadences, i.e. these lines do not sound like they have reached a melodic end point. Second, the end of each grouping into verses is often accompanied by a pause in the singing as the performer continues to grind. Finally, the verse groupings roughly correspond to sense groupings, as examination of the lines in (14a) will show.

HEAVY SETTING, LIGHT SETTING, and FINAL HEAVY: This song conforms to HEAVY SETTING and LIGHT SETTING 100% of the time as far as I can tell. Line internally, FINAL HEAVY (treating a word final light syllable as metrically heavy) is rarely invoked. One of the few cases is seen in 004a-b, where the final syllable of **duuniya** ‘world’ is lexically light.<sup>26</sup> This song makes frequent use of the phonological rule (10) NC SYLLABIFICATION to create heavy syllables, e.g. line 003b **Suu ndāma Ngəzəm bii bi?** ‘Isn’t this an Ngizim greeting’, where the underlying light syllable **-ma** forms a coda from the **n-** of the prenasalized **Ng-** of ‘Ngizim’.

HEMIOLA: In a triple meter, each MP has three grid positions, and HEMIOLA sets three heavy syllables evenly to the six grid positions of two consecutive MP’s, creating a three-

<sup>26</sup> Though in native Ngizim pronunciation **duuniya** would have a final light, this word is borrowed from Arabic via Hausa, where it does have a long final vowel. As suggested at the end of §5.3.1, Hausa loanwords with Hausa features of pronunciation might be considered momentary code switches.

against-two rhythm. This song applies HEMIOLA to the second half of each line nearly 100% of the time.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, of the 88 line sample, the only line where hemiola is unequivocally not applied is a line in Karekare rather than Ngizim, 007d **Maa wayim ma ambala** ‘they say money of *ambala*’ (Malam Usman did not know the meaning of *ambala*—perhaps a proper name). The other case (repeated three times) where HEMIOLA seems not to apply is represented by 024a **Maa Magaajiyān Gulee** ‘they say it is Gule who is the Madam’. Malam Usman gave the name as **Gullee**, with a geminate **l** that would provide the heavy syllable for HEMIOLA, but I hear the singer sing it as **Gulee** with a light initial syllable and a — v — rhythm over the underlined part. Whereas HEMIOLA is essentially always applied to the second half of each line, the only case in the 88 lines where it applies to the first half of the line is 003a in (14a).

Despite the way that HEMIOLA is consistently applied, the underlying grid must be invariantly the triple meter spread across four MP’s. First, the “accompaniment” of the grindstone, for physical reasons, necessarily retains a constant triple rhythm.<sup>28</sup> Second, all six gridline x’s remain “available”. This is shown by the rare, but possible, setting of — v — v text to the second half of a line (and conversely, rare application of HEMIOLA in the first half of the line), but even a text applying HEMIOLA can use more than every other x. This is seen in lines 001b and 004a of (14a), where two light syllables are set to the two x’s required for HEMIOLA.

**ALIGN RIGHT EDGE and START LATE:** A number of lines in this song do not start at the leftmost MP of the grid. This is seen in 001a-b, where the first syllable is set to the second (W) MP of the line. Settings where positions early in the line are not filled are found in a number of other lines, e.g. 011a (—) **Akuuci shar shar shar** ‘your back [is moving] *shar-shar-shar* (while dancing)’, which starts on the third grid position. The relative freedom with which positions early in a line may be left unfilled is in contrast to the fact that lines virtually always end with line final MP’s filled. This is accounted for by ALIGN RIGHT EDGE, which stipulates that the last syllable of a line align with the final MP of a grid. This stipulation is almost never violated, though the lines in (14b) show that it can be. Line 014b in (14b) leaves the last MP unfilled. I believe that this is the only line in all the songs examined where this happens, which indicates the high ranking of this constraint.<sup>29</sup>

Starting a line at a grid position after the first one in the grid must be distinguished from lines like 002a, 003a, 003c, 005a in (14a). In these line, the singer starts singing later than the point indicated by the first x in the grid, but these are all cases of the *performance constraint* START LATE, not cases of setting the first syllable of a line somewhere after the first grid position. Lines where material is enclosed in brackets are cases of START LATE (OMIT SYLLABLES), i.e. the singer omits syllables that would fill out the line but can be reconstructed from the text of previous lines. Other lines (003c in (14a) and 014c in (14b)), where a syllable is set later than the initial grid position are examples of START LATE (SQUEEZE SYLLABLES), i.e. in the lines cited, a heavy syllable is squeezed into a part of the grid that ordinarily would accommodate only a light syllable. Viewed purely in terms of lexical syllable weight, these lines conform to regular metrical syllable-setting constraints.

<sup>27</sup> The singer sometimes “swings” the three syllables of HEMIOLA, i.e. she lengthens the first slightly and shortens the second, which approaches the underlying — v — pattern. I have not tried to capture this in the text-setting grid, since this performance setting is randomly applied and is variable in degree.

<sup>28</sup> In fact, in a video of this singer (taken on a different occasion from the recording analyzed here), she periodically stops grinding to add corn to the grindstone, but she keeps the rhythm up by moving the end of the grinder back and forth.

<sup>29</sup> Lines 014c-d are included in (14b) as also being of interest for their rarity. *Enjambement* essentially never occurs in Ngizim (and other Chadic) folk music. Line 014c, however, repeats line 014b, which (exceptionally) leaves the last MP unfilled, and fills it with a conjunction that links it to line 014d. This is not, of course, a classical case of *enjambement*, which would set a line break in the middle of a constituent, but even cases like this, where the final constituent of a line “look to” the next line, are vanishingly rare.



(16)	Claps (YYw4)																		
	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
001a		Yaa-	wee,	yaa-	wa-	yee!													
006b		Kaa	da ka-	kal-	ka-	kal,													
002a		Jib-	naa y(u)aa		gu-	nai,													
002b		Kaa	bee	daa-	ma-	san-	da-	ya-n	da	ya-n-	ga-	r-ee	gu-	nai.					
007a		Tlaa-	d'in	aa	ra-	wan?													
007b		Baa-	buR	aa	ra-	wan?													
007c			Naa	an-	gu-	luk	Ja-	naR	dee-	naa	y(u)ii	Ja-	nar,						kum,
007d		Dee-	naa y(u)ii		Ja-	naR	ba-	ya		bii-	wu	de-n-	ga-	ra,					
007e		Bii-	wu	de-n-	ga-	ra,				Jib-	naa	y(u)aa	gu-	nai.					
008a		[Jib-]	naa y(u)ii		gu-	nai,				'Yii	bii-n	tam	nya?						
003a		Mii-	gaa	a n-	c(i)	ii bai,				A-	f@-	gaa	a n-	c(i)	ii bai,				

001a: Oh my, oh my! Oh my, Mamale!

006a: As bulging (*kakal-kakal*) eyes, like the eyes of a crowned crane.

002a: It (labor pains in child-birth) has seized my loins, it has seized my back,

002b: Like the way sharp pain of a foot gone to sleep, it has come to my loins.

007a: Where are the oxen [to take me to the hospital]? They are loading sugar cane,

007b: Where is the motorcycle? The motorcycle is in Potiskum,

007c: There is the Hospital ambulance, may it take me to the Hospital,<sup>31</sup>

007d: May it take me to the Hospital inasmuch as the thing [i.e. birth] has come,

007e: The thing has come, it has seized me in the loins.

008a: It has seized me in the loins, if it is not birth what else might it be?

003a: My mother doesn't like me, my father doesn't like me.

There are several factors favoring this dipodic analysis. One is features that would appear to reveal native intuition about groupings. In performance, the “a” lines (see footnote 30) begin with a rising melody, then fall toward the end, but all the other lines have a downward moving melodic pattern from beginning to end, i.e. the singer treats the entire dipodic line as part of a single melodic phrase. To divide the song into lines as in (15) would split this melodic phrase in half. Second, though Ngizim is not a “written language”, when literate speakers have been asked to transcribe this song, they write the entire dipody as one line.

Perhaps more important from the standpoint of metrical analysis is the issue of how lines would be isolated for an analysis like that in (15). Most lines of the song are like 001a, 006b, and 002a in (16), i.e. the second W is filled, then grid positions are left unfilled until the third or fourth grid position after the third S. There are, however, a number of lines like 002b and 007c-d, where all MP's (except for the initial S) are filled in conformity with HEAVY SETTING and LIGHT SETTING. If such lines were set as in (15), at best the setting would require extrametrical syllables preceding the putative second line, and in a few lines, of which 002b would be an example, such a setting would require an analysis with radical *enjambement*, i.e. the word **daamasandaya**, defined in the dictionary as ‘pain of foot going to sleep’, would have to be broken across lines. In songs where each line is an unequivocal metrical unit, *enjambement* never occurs in Ngizim nor in any other Chadic folk meters that I know of.

<sup>31</sup> *JanaR* ‘Hospital’ is the Ngizim name for Potiskum General Hospital.

Finally, in favor of dipody is the rhythmic feel of the performance. Using a parallel from English, one can give a sing-songy rendition of the line from Gilbert and Sullivan’s “Modern Major General” in (17) as eight *iamb*s (second syllable of each iamb bold-faced), but in performance there is a feel of four strong *beats* (shown by capitals).<sup>32</sup>

(17) I **AM** the **very** **MODEL** of a **MODern** **major** **GENeral**

In the same way, one can feel the dipodically represented lines of “Yawai Yawai” in the rhythmic performances of YYw2 and YYw4 with either four strong beats per line (corresponding to the superordinate duple meter) or with eight beats (corresponding to the lower level triple meter). One does not have this sense of two possible rhythms in songs like “Ruwa Adak Vanyi”.

For the most part, the setting of this song illustrates constraints that have been illustrated in other songs. HEAVY SETTING consistently sets a heavy to two x’s; LIGHT SETTING consistently sets an unpaired light to one x; FINAL HEAVY turns out to (almost?) never be invoked in this song except for line-final syllables, where it always applies; ALIGN RIGHT EDGE assures that the line final MP (and in this song, the final MP of each half line of the dipody) is filled by a syllable; \*UNFILLED LINE-MEDIAL x assures that no line medial grid positions are unfilled within half lines of the dipody—I return to this below; HEMIOLA assures that a heavy is set to every other x of the lower level triple meter.

HEMIOLA at line beginnings: Between the first and second S and between the third and fourth S, HEMIOLA is invoked in most lines to set two heavy syllables to the final four x’s of the triple meter (**yaa-wee** twice in 001a, **tlaa-d’in** and **aa loo-** in line 007a, etc.) Sometimes paired lights fill the second position (**kaa da ka-** and **kaa da gu-** in line 006b). Since there are only two heavy syllables but six x’s, HEMIOLA interacts with \*UNFILLED LINE-MEDIAL x to set the syllables to the last four x’s, leaving the first two x’s unfilled. At the beginnings of some lines, there is only a single heavy (**naa** in 007c) or a heavy-light sequence (**bii-wu** in the second half of 007d and in the first half of 007e). Again, \*UNFILLED LINE-MEDIAL x assures that these are set as far to the right as possible. It should be noted that in the actual performance, the singer frequently invokes START LATE (SQUEEZE SYLLABLES), performing line initial heavy-heavy and heavy-light in more or less the same way. There are also a few cases of START LATE (OMIT SYLLABLES) in this song, e.g. omission of **jib-** ‘seize’ in 008a.

HEMIOLA in the second half of a dipodic line: A few lines show HEMIOLA after the second and fourth S’s. In these cases, the first heavy is set to the first two x’s, as in 003a, phonetically transcribed and syllabified as [.an.cii.bai].<sup>33</sup> In line 008a, there are only two syllables, **tam nya** ‘what or else?’ (the latter treated as heavy because of FINAL HEAVY). I assume that this line does not violate ALIGN RIGHT EDGE since the second mora of the second syllable fills the last MP. Note the same reasoning accounts for non-violation of ALIGN RIGHT EDGE in meters like “Karniga Jinga Karniga” in §5.3.1 where a v— sequence is set to the two x’s before the final MP.

“Feminine endings” or “extrametricals”? “Yawai Yawai” has two lines like 007b, where a syllable follows the final filled MP (the **-kum** of **Pataskum** in this case). This is a violation of ALIGN RIGHT EDGE and is quite unusual in Ngizim songs. The auditory effect is like that of feminine ending in European poetic traditions, but it is not clear that the notion “feminine ending”, which refers to an unstressed final syllable following a stress, makes sense in a quantitative meter. My preference is to view this syllable as

<sup>32</sup> Example taken from <http://www.poetryfoundation.org/harriet/2007/11/dipodic-verse/>.

<sup>33</sup> This setting invokes the phonological rules NC SYLLABIFICATION and VOWEL ELISION. Underlyingly, the phrase is /a nci iyu bai/ ‘he/she likes me not’. The initial prenasal resyllabifies to give **an-**. One of the identical /i/’s elides and combines with the y to form long **ii**, and the medial **-u** following the long vowel elides.



## (19) Lines from “Dadəgərakəm”

a.	<p>Áji Mbala-láa mbalá mbala Mu-zá v v̄ v v - v v v v v -</p>	(seem to be nonsense syllables)
b.	<p>Úmaru Buubaa-rám goodíya sam bar-ká v v v̄ - - - - v v - - -</p>	Umar Bubaram (Mai Potiskum), thanks, blessings.
c.	<p>Vórə da məzba báí vərə dá mav-gée v v v - v - v v v̄ - -</p>	One doesn't go out a hole in the wall, one goes out the front door.
d.	<p>Ái muuyi gáa muuyi káawak gaa-nyá - - v̄ - - v - - - - -</p>	Oh, my girlfriend, friend who played at midday.
e.	<p>? Tárku naa dəba báí dəbáu paaraa-káu - v - v̄ v̄ - v - - - -</p>	An orphan has no <i>faifai</i> mat, her <i>faifai</i> is the Sodom apple leaf. [I don't hear <b>tərku</b> 'orphan' in this and the next line.]
f.	<p>? Tárku naa daawii báí daawii bambu-lée - v - - - - - - - v -</p>	An orphan does not have a pot, her pot is the flower of a baobab (about to break open).
g.	<p>Muuyi ləvaati yú maa (a)t(u) áa yee z(ə)ba báí - v v - v̄ v - - - - v -</p>	She taunted me that she would never marry.

The point of the exercise in (19) is to show that there is no evident metrical pattern at all to the text of this song—if there is and I have missed it, I would be grateful for someone to point it out to me! Yet all is not metrical chaos. Every line is made fit into exactly the same metrical space, always starting and ending at the same places in the continuous grid. Second, in performance, insofar as my transcription matches reality, there is a very close match of relative sung duration to syllable weight, that is, there seem to be no cases where a heavy syllable is given shorter duration than a light in the same (sub)phrase or vice versa except for those cases where final FINAL HEAVY might be invoked or, in the first syllable of (19g), which might be accounted for by START LATE (SQUEEZE SYLLABLES). Indeed, by choosing to apply or not apply HEMIOLA, within the same (sub)phrase, the soloist generally sings syllables that have the same weight with the same durations.

In short, analyses of all the songs in previous sections have shown that not only is the text of Ngizim songs generally well-structured metrically, but also that performers follow precise rules in setting text to an invariant abstract pattern, characterized here as a grid. Yet even in text that has no apparent metrical structure of its own, performers are sensitive to distinctions in syllable weight and can use an abstract metrical patterns to impose a rational metrical setting.

## 6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have examined the metrical properties of the texts of Ngizim songs. Though this study is based on only 14 songs, and the texts of only seven of those have been examined in any detail, it is evident that the composition and performance of Ngizim song texts follow highly constrained patterns based in the distinction between light and heavy syllables. Moreover, considering the relatively small number of songs examined, there is considerable variety in metrical structures, which I have typologized according to duple vs. triple meters and position and number of S(trong) vs. W(eak) positions per line, defined by the palpable rhythmic feel of a song in performance and more abstractly by a grid showing regularly alternating positions to which there are non-random expectations about the how certain syllable configurations will be matched to the grid. I have characterized these expectations in terms of a (tentative) set of *text-setting constraints*. I have further characterized allowable deviations from these expectations in actual performance in terms of (even more tentative) *performance constraints*.

Although some systems of weight-based metrics have been fairly well-studied, such as those of Ancient Greek, Latin, Classical Arabic, and Classical Persian, almost nothing is known about living systems of weight-based metrics. It has been the intention of this study to take a step in that direction.

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## APPENDICES

### I. LIST OF SONGS AND INFORMATION

### II. SONGS EXAMINED WITH TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS, AND SCANSIONS

Files of the songs analyzed in the paper as well as sound files or videos can be found at

<http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/aflang/Ngizim/ngizim.html>

(“Ngizim poetry/ song” link). If you are reading this file electronically, the song names are links to PDF files and the URL’s open the corresponding sound or video files.

#### **5.3.1. “Karniga Jinga Karniga”** (KJK1)

[http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/aflang/Ngizim/Movies/Songs\\_for\\_paper/karniga\\_1\\_jala\\_09.mov](http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/aflang/Ngizim/Movies/Songs_for_paper/karniga_1_jala_09.mov)

#### **5.3.1. “Karniga Jinga Karniga”** (KJK2)

[http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/aflang/Ngizim/Movies/Songs\\_for\\_paper/karniga\\_2\\_jala\\_09.mov](http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/aflang/Ngizim/Movies/Songs_for_paper/karniga_2_jala_09.mov)

#### **5.3.2. “Tarewa”** (Tar1)

[http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/aflang/Ngizim/Movies/Songs\\_for\\_paper/tarewa\\_lele\\_05.mp3](http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/aflang/Ngizim/Movies/Songs_for_paper/tarewa_lele_05.mp3)

#### **5.3.2. “Tarewa”** (Tar2)

[http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/aflang/Ngizim/Movies/Songs\\_for\\_paper/tarewa\\_hajara\\_05.mp3](http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/aflang/Ngizim/Movies/Songs_for_paper/tarewa_hajara_05.mp3)

#### **5.3.3. “Dangana Aliso”**

[http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/aflang/Ngizim/Movies/Songs\\_for\\_paper/dangana\\_lele\\_05.mp3](http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/aflang/Ngizim/Movies/Songs_for_paper/dangana_lele_05.mp3)

#### **5.3.4. “Awande”**

[http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/aflang/Ngizim/Movies/Songs\\_for\\_paper/awande\\_lele\\_05.mp3](http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/aflang/Ngizim/Movies/Songs_for_paper/awande_lele_05.mp3)

#### **5.4.1. “Ruwa Adak Vanyi”**

[http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/aflang/Ngizim/Movies/Songs\\_for\\_paper/ruwavunyi\\_1\\_jala\\_04.mp3](http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/aflang/Ngizim/Movies/Songs_for_paper/ruwavunyi_1_jala_04.mp3)

**Sample video of singer in 5.4.1 and 5.4.2 grinding. There is no transcript.**

[http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/aflang/Ngizim/Movies/Songs\\_for\\_paper/grinding\\_sample.mov](http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/aflang/Ngizim/Movies/Songs_for_paper/grinding_sample.mov)

#### **5.4.2. “Yawai Yawai” = “Yawai Mamale”**

[http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/aflang/Ngizim/Movies/Songs\\_for\\_paper/yawai\\_mamale\\_jala\\_04.mp3](http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/aflang/Ngizim/Movies/Songs_for_paper/yawai_mamale_jala_04.mp3)

#### **5.4.3. “Dadəgərakəm”**

[http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/aflang/Ngizim/Movies/Songs\\_for\\_paper/dadegerakem\\_YTV\\_02.mov](http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/aflang/Ngizim/Movies/Songs_for_paper/dadegerakem_YTV_02.mov)

## LIST OF SONGS AND INFORMATION

Listed alphabetically by title, and chronologically by recording date for songs with more than one version. Titles without a translation are nonce words. “Ref.”, together with a three-digit number, will be used to refer to lines in songs, e.g. ABB1001 means “line 1 of the song *A Bai Bai* from July 7, 2007”.

Recorders: MA, AB (Mohammed Adamu & Ahmed Bedu)  
 MBA (Malam Baba Ali)  
 RGS (Russell G. Schuh)  
 UBG (Usman Babayo Garba)  
 YTV (Yobe State Television broadcast)

Ref.	Date	Place	R. type	Rec. by	Title	Perf. type	Theme
ABB1	07/07/2007	Potiskum	Audio	MBA	A Bai Bai <i>S/he Not Get (Him/Her)</i>	Soloist w. chorus	Seeking a spouse.
ABB2	01/16/2009	Jala	Video	RGS	A Bai Bai <i>S/he Not Get (Him/Her)</i>	Soloist w. chorus	Seeking a spouse.
ABD1	March 2004	Gegeba	Audio	MA, AB	Ai Bone Darari <i>Oh the Pain Darari</i>	Soloist w. chorus	Funeral lament.
ABD2	March 2004	Jala	Audio	MA, AB	Ai Bone Darari <i>Oh the Pain Darari</i>	Soloist w. chorus	Funeral lament.
ArG1	01/16/2009	Jala	Video	RGS	Arayye Gaja	Soloist w. chorus	Poisoning a rival.
ArG2	11/12/2005	unknown	Audio	UBG	Arayye Gəzha	Solo singer	Poisoning a rival.
Awd	10/23/2005	Lele	Audio	UBG	Awande	Soloist w. chorus	Wife’s attitude toward her husband shaped by his (lack of) generosity.
AyY	01/16/2009	Jala	Video	RGS	Ayye Yarinaye	Soloist w. chorus	Revenge of a girl forced into a marriage she does not want.
Dad1	ca. 2002	Nangere	Video	YTV	Dadəgərakəm <i>It’s your Limit</i>	Soloist w. chorus	Song to a bride on her way to her new home.
Dad2	08/18/2004	Aigada	Audio	UBG	Dadəgərakəm <i>It’s your Limit</i>	Soloist w. chorus	Song to a bride on her way to her new home.
Dad3	ca. 2005	unknown	Video	UBG	Dadəgərakəm <i>It’s your Limit</i>	Soloist w. chorus	Song to a bride on her way to her new home.

Dad4	07/07/2007	Potiskum	Audio	MBA	Dadəgərakəm It's your Limit	Soloist w. chorus	Song to a bride on her way to her new home.
DaA	10/23/2005	Lele	Audio	UBG	Dangana Aliso	Soloist w. chorus	Girls' dance song.
Daw1	March 2004	Gegeba	Audio	MA, AB	Dawuya	Soloist w. chorus	Song of sorcery song to traditional herbalists.
Daw2	07/07/2007	Potiskum	Audio	MBA	Dawuya	Soloist w. chorus	Song of sorcery song to traditional herbalists.
Dla1	March 2004	Gegeba	Audio	MA, AB	Dlafa	Soloist w. chorus	Song about a girl possessed by spirits.
Dla2	08/09/2004	Jala	Audio	UBG	Dlafa	Soloist w. chorus	Song about a girl possessed by spirits.
KJK1	01/16/2009	Jala	Video	RGS	Karniga Jinga (1)	Soloist w. chorus	Welcoming guests.
KJK2	01/16/2009	Jala	Video	RGS	Karniga Jinga (2)	Soloist w. chorus	Song about Ngizim clan relations.
RAV	08/04/2004	Jala	Audio	UBG	Ruwa Adak Vənyi Song on the Grindstone	Soloist singing while grinding	Personal commentary and innuendo.
Tar1	10/23/2005	Lele	Audio	UBG	Tarewa	Soloist w. chorus	Song about a lasting marriage.
Tar2	11/12/2005	unknown	Audio	UBG	Tarewa	Soloist w. chorus	Song about a lasting marriage.
WGA1	04/19/2006	Yindiski	Audio	UBG	Wun Gama Aiwa Son of a Black Woman	Soloist	Praise of a handsome young man.
WGA2	01/16/2009	Jala	Video	RGS	Wun Gama Aiwa Son of a Black Woman	Soloist w. chorus	Praise of a handsome young man.
YYw1	March 2004	Gegeba	Audio	MA, AB	Yawai Yawai Oh My! Oh My!	Soloist	Song of a woman in labor while her lazy husband offers no help.
YYw2	08/15/2004	Jala	Audio	UBG	Yawai Yawai Oh My! Oh My!	Soloist singing while grinding	Song of a woman in labor while her lazy husband offers no help.
YYw3	11/06/2005	unknown	Audio	UBG	Yawai Yawai Oh My! Oh My!	Soloist	Song of a woman in labor while her lazy husband offers no help.

YYw4	01/16/2009	Jala	Video	RGS	Yawai Yawai Oh My! Oh My!	Soloist w. chorus	Song of a woman in labor while her lazy husband offers no help.
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