FEMALE PRAISE SINGERS IN NUPELAND: A FORMALIST STUDY OF FATIMA LOLO BIDA AND HAWAWU KULU LAFIAGI'S SELECTED SONGS

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(Ph. D/ARTS/1986/2011–2012)

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Department of English and Literary Studies,

Faculty of Arts,

Ahmadu Bello University,

Zaria.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has been written by me, and it is a record of my own research work. It has not been submitted in any previous application of a higher degree. All quotations are indicated and the sources of information are suitably acknowledged by means of references.

Sharu Muhammad

Date

CERTIFICATION

This thesis, entitled "Female Praise Singers in Nupeland: A Formalist Study of Fatima Lolo Bida and Hawawu Kulu Lafiagi's Selected Songs" by Sharu Muhammad meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Literature of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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Chairman, Supervisory Committee

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Dean, Postgraduate School

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Almighty Allah (S.W.A.) for making things possible for me and to my family.

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All praise and gratitude are solely due to The Almighty Allah for making the task of this research a successful one. I remain indebted to the team of Supervisors, Professor Sani Abba Aliyu, Professor A.A. Liman and Professor Abubakar Tanimu whose fatherly and brotherly guidance greatly nurtured this work to fruition. I also extend my appreciation to the team of external assessors in and outside the department and particularly the diverse but yet useful insights of observers during seminar presentations at the Faculty. I must mention Professor Tajudeen Surakat, the Head of the Department of English and Literary Studies, Dr. Edward Abah and Mr. Joseph Stephen all who went through my first presentation and offered me useful suggestions. The same special thanks go to Professor Jimada Idris Shaba and Dr. Sule Muhammad of History Department, A.B.U. Zaria who gave me materials on the Historical background of Nupeland. The same appreciation go to Dr. Aliyu Kawu of URP Department, FUT Minna, Arc. Bello and Surveyor Moses Kolo of the Environmental School, Federal Polytechnic, Bida for providing me with a Geo-Historical map of Nupeland.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a formalist study of the selected Songs of Fatima Lolo Bida and Hawawu Kulu Lafiagi and the state of oral songs in Nupeland in general. It investigates the Nupe Praise Song by analyzing its structure, theme, content, form and other poetic devices deployed by the singers. This study of the Nupe Praise Song also highlights the inherent literary qualities. The research is premised on the fact that oral art forms, by their nature as unwritten materials are not always properly appreciated and documented in an environment dominated by the culture of writing and printing. Significant quantities of materials have been lost from the almost inexhaustible store of Nupe rich tradition of oral artistry. A reasonable number of Nupe performers lived and died without any attempt to document their works for posterity. Again, only little was done to portray the aesthetics of the people's culture. And the little too was anthropologically attempted by foreigners who were by all standards ill-equipped to understand and appreciate the African way of life. To this end, the major objectives of the study are: to illustrate the functional and literary status of the selected songs and to demonstrate that the study of Nupe praise song is not only academically challenging but also quite distinctive in its style of performance. The research deploys essentially interview approach in its data collection and analysis. The responses from the interviewees form the major findings and conclusions of this research. The songs were transcribed using an orthography that is as phonetic as possible and a translation that is near literal so as to maintain a balance between the original sense in the source language and clear meaning in the target language. The theoretical framework designed for this work was combined approach, that is, formalistic, humanistic and empirical. This is because the approach is more literary, analytical and descriptive in nature.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 The Nupe Praise Song and Its Contents

There is hardly any occupation in Nupe society that does not require the performance of traditional songs. Occupations ranging from fishing, hunting, black smithing and farming to collective or individual labour require that specific kind of song be performed. To this end, the Nupe people have the 'Eni Kyadyazhi' (song for the fishermen), 'Eni Egbe (song for the hunters) 'Eni Enu' (Farmers' song) and 'Eni Tswachizhi' (song for the blacksmiths) etc. These performances in most cases are aimed at giving encouragement and nourishment to the people involved. For instance, wrestling song (Eni Gani), song for local cementing of floor (Eni Bapa) and ritual songs (Eni Kutizhi or Ndako Gboyazhi (masquerade songs) are very much in existence in Nupe society. The fact that Africans had and have traditional gods to be worshipped or appeased through ritual performances require that traditional songs be rendered during such performances.

On the whole, the above is a general classification of Nupe traditional songs and praise attribute remains a unique feature in all of them. Generically, these songs are Nupe folk songs, however, each of them can be said to be a genre of Nupe oral poetry. This is because each genre has a distinct tone of voice in which it is chanted, the different people that chant them and the different occasions which they are chanted or sung and finally a different drumming and dancing pattern. Again, each genre is also distinguishable by the type of information it gives to the audience or listeners. For example, 'Eni Kyadyazhi' is sung by the fishermen during fishing festivals and hunters song

'Eni Egbe' is for the commemoration of a hunter's death or his exploits. It is an elaborate poetry and chanter being the composer and performer. He may gatecrash into a festival gathering or a simple bacchanal and start chanting– without any formalities. 'Egbe' combines elements of panegyric, elegiac and lyrical. As vocation, it is exclusive. The poet himself must have some connections with hunting or war – hence, it is not unusual that the two are linked. There is also degree of heredity. As the son took over his father's hunting gear, he also assumed his poetic skills, which he in turn would refine and improve upon making it both creative and inherited.

The 'Eni Kutizhi or Ndako-gboyazhi' (Masquerade Songs) is essentially for rituals. Ordinary persons do not sing them unless they belong to the cult. It is regarded very sacred in nature. The 'Eni Bapa' (Song for local cementing of floors) is exclusively sung by women during local cementing of floors in those days; especially in rural areas where the socio-economic status is extremely low. Women go to the bush to fetch laterite sand to make the floors of their rooms. Although, it is less or not financially burdensome, it is quite a labourious task and women render special songs – a kind of work song to boost their morale.

The praise song is the most popular and most commonly used in Nupeland. Every occasion provides an opportunity for the adulation of the Etsu. The praise song celebrates the Etsu, eulogies are addressed to him, his ancestors are glorified using lofty and effusive language. The glorious qualities of the Etsu, his illustriousness, ascendancy, prowess and the deeds of his ancestors form the main focus of the praise songs. The praise songs employ praise phrases and praise names which consist of names of animals, objects and natural phenomenon. They in addition highlight striking qualities and are

used to emphasize the Etsu's primacy in Nupe society. These songs play essentially eulogistic role of extolling the good qualities and virtues of the Etsu and the royal dynasty.

Similarly, the Nupe female praise songs also deal with the praise of persons such as chiefs, heroes and tribal leaders. Men with outstanding qualities are also praised because they earn recognition in the society. The praise songs are used to extol the subjects as well. They exaggerate their deeds beyond human capability and are sung or chanted to a stylized melody, tempo and rhythm. The singers refer to people by different kinds of names. For instance, proper names, names of totems, age set, distinctive praise names, prefix, father of first born (name) and husband or wife of so–and-so– etc. The songs employ various poetic devices such as simile, metaphor and hyperbole to achieve the eulogistic role. Perhaps, it is for profuse use of poetic devices in praise poems that Finnegan (1970:11) views praise poetry as the most developed and elaborate poetic genre in Africa.

It is critically important that to understand an oral praise singer, one has to comprehend the historical, cultural and social aspects of the singer's society. An oral singer is that individual who improves his or her songs most of the time and only rehearses them occasionally. He or she does not write nor read or recite his or her songs the way modern poets do. The traditional praise singer is spontaneously creative and does not follow any rigid rhyme or metre, hence the structure and form of his or her songs are basically flexible.

In Nupe society, just like their Hausa/Fulani counterpart, oral singers employ proverbs, metaphors, similes, allusions, satire, irony, hyperbole, sarcasm and other figurative forms of speech in their traditional songs. There is

a remarkable difference between the praise singer and any other member of the community because of his or her creative and imaginative abilities expressed in his/her method and style. The artist uses his/her creativity to transform ordinary proverbs and other figurative forms of speech into chants and songs. It is usually this creativity that makes him or her unique. The traditional Nupe praise singer unlike what is most obtainable from present generation of singers; instructs about tradition, customs, and cultures of the ancestors. She also praises, condemns, warns and advises depending on the situation and circumstances unlike the present generation that emphasizes entertainment aspect through the use of modern equipment.

Praise songs are very important components of the folklore of many Sub-Saharan African groups and they occur in various forms. These songs are basically epithets called out in reference to an object (a person, an animal, a town and so on) in celebration of outstanding qualities and achievements. Such praise epithets are known as *Kirari* among the Hausa, O*riki* among the Yoruba, *Mantoore* among the Fulbe, *Izibongo* among the Zulu and *Taki* a borrowed word from the Hausa *Take* or *Praise* among the Nupe.

It is of interest to point out that oral praise-singing is an institutionalized phenomenon among many Sub-Saharan African groups. Songs generally play an important role in all aspects of African life, and there is hardly an occasion or any occupation that does not involve singing. Most oral praise singing is performed typically in public, most often in a group, with the solo and chorus. It is also generally accompanied with a single musical instrument or a combination of types of musical instruments. Thus, the occasion for musical performances among African people are numerous and varied. This does not in

any way rob the praise–singing the opportunity of being a trade or profession. That is to say, professionalism in praise–singing can be achieved by being an apprentice to someone or by inheritance from one's parents or guardian.

The performances of Nupe praise singers like other African praise singers are determined by their role and social status in society. Some praise singers sing to mould public opinion through entertainment in sponsored or self-induced musical performances. This is especially true with the court-singers who are associated with royal courts and receive reward as professionals. According to Finnegan (1970:83):

> *In traditional kingdoms of Africa, poets were attached to the courts of powerful kings, to the retinues of nobles of lesser chiefs. The speciality of these court poets was panegyric. One of such examples is the elaborate praise songs of the Zulu or Sotho in Southern Africa, the songs of the official singers of the ruler of Bornu, the royal praises of the Hausa emirs, and eulogies addressed to rulers in the various kingdoms of the Congo. In all these areas monarchs and their ancestors were glorified in poems, and real and ideal deeds were attributed to them in lofty and effusive language. Preservation of the historical record and of genealogies was often a part of their art.*

These court poets depend on royal or chiefly patronage, given them in an official capacity and often implying exclusive rights over their services. Their performances are public with the emphasis on their ceremonial functions rather than their entertainment value. And their audiences are primarily those who attend either the royal court or state occasions in the royal capital. In Nupeland, they are referred to as the "Egi Majelisatsuzhi (The councillors). This is a body of experienced and learned titled chiefs. The present Etsu Nupe's (Alhaji Dr. Yahaya Abubakar) council is made up of the following title holders: Mayaki Nupe (Alh. Muh'd Sani Bako), Ndeji Nupe (Alh. Bababologi), Shamaki Nupe (Alh. Umaru Edota), Galadiman Gari (Alh. Usman Toma), Galadiman Makaranta

(Ambassador Alh. Aliyu Yerima), Lubwati Nupe (Alh. Muh'd Dyadya), Sarikin Arewa (Alh. Shehu Ahmad) and Wakilin Alikalai (Alh. Aliyu Musa). Most spectacular and public are the frequent occasions on which rulers are praised. As Finnegan (1970:120) observes:

> *Sometimes this takes a very simple form and it may be a huge public occasion as in Muslim chiefdoms in Nigeria – Hausa, Nupe, Yoruba – when 'Sallah' rituals (the Muslim festivals of Id-el Fitr and Id-el Kabir) the subordinate officials attend the king on horsebacks. Any sort of public event (the arrival of important visitors to the ruler, the installation ceremonies of a chief, a victory in battle) may be the occasion for praises by official bards or other experts; the ruler's position is commented on and recognised by the stress laid both on the dignity of the office and, more explicitly, on the achievements of its present incumbent.*

In return the ruler acknowledges their praise by gifts or money which are often given publicly. Unlike court poets, the performances of free-lance singers are not at the service of one exclusive patron and they can move on or threaten to move on to another patron who is prepared to give them a better price. It is therefore not surprising that these poets have sometimes been the object of fear as well as of admiration, and the reward given to this type of singer by his temporary patron may seem to be more like a buying off than any positive appreciation of his talents. They depend largely on private enterprise, wandering from patron to patron and living on their wits. They sing praises for those who are able to employ their services, like wealthy merchants, traders or when they are invited to perform during important ceremonies such as weddings or the installation of a new emir or chief. Although this appears to be a Hausa categorization, it is also applicable to Bida the headquarters of Nupeland. Here they mainly address themselves to the relatively wealthy men, the larger farmers, businessmen and women. People with officially recognised high status through noble birth, religious position or high government employment are not

attacked in this way, but people from other areas or local people of low birth are picked on even if they are civil servants. Again, the declamation begins as praise but failure to pay soon generates embarrassing comments. Instead of laudatory remarks about his ancestry, prosperity, and political influence, the victim soon hears innuendo on all these themes, as well as derogatory references to his occupation, reputation, political integrity and of course, his meanness. Although there is never open mention of ultimate insult – imputation of ambiguous paternity but this lies behind the ever increasing pressures on the man addressed. The men professional groups that fall into this category are namely: Ndagi Nnaba, Babajiya and Ahmad Waka from the Nupe community while Ibrahim Rabo and Sankira Garba are from Katsina but had been living in Bida for a very long time. The women groups are: Hajia Adi Bangaie, Hajia Muriamu, Hajia Wusa Saganuwan and Hajia Hassana Adamu. These professional performers known in Hausa as *Maroka,* in Zulu as *Imbongi,* in Wolof or Madinka as G*riot,* in Kanuri as *Duwu,* in Yoruba as A*kewi,* and in Nupe as *Nigba* can in the course of their performances criticize the most powerful ruler with impunity. These praise singers can also sing praises for families and individuals in return for gifts as well. On the whole, the success of praise-singers in many African societies as Hiskett (1975:5) notes "depends largely on their skill in using innuendo. For the conventions include restrictions on the directness with which they may phrase their insults; and public resentment is quickly aroused by excess or clumsiness".

Nevertheless, the manifold social significance of the praise song is clear. It can validate status by the content of the praise, by the number and quality of the performers. Praise song stresses accepted values: the Hausa praise their rulers in terms of descent and birth and the Zulu emphasize military exploits.

Indeed, the role played by African praise singers is more than mere entertainment. At certain times, they do not hesitate to criticize and condemn the actions of their patron, if he violates traditional norms and values. Among the Hausa of Nigeria for example as Abdulkadir states (1975:37) "An oral singer not only entertains his community, he also informs the public about current events as well as the ancient historical accounts and instructs new generations about traditions, custom, history, folklore and culture of ancestors. He can also praise, warn, condemn, ridicule or advise, depending on the situation and circumstance."

To this end, the praise song which is the focus of this thesis has a prime place in the entertainment domain and it meets the education needs of each society. The praise singers are not only well informed about the subject matter, theme or topic in any given song, they are also very talented in the art of presentation, transmission and most important of all, performance. The nature of the oral art form makes it necessary for transmitters to exploit all creative possibilities in the course of transmission and performance. The reason is that the audience sustained interest determines the success or failure of every performative act. Mapanje (1983:4) explains further that:

> *Whichever genre of poetry or song is adapted by a poet or singer, her creative ingenuity inevitably determines reception, acceptability and even popularity of the song amongst segments of people in the society. When a song is well sung, everybody admires it, when it is badly sung, everybody knows it. If the language is fresh, the singer is praised for creative imagination. If the song is simply repeated without new insight, it is rejected.*

In the light of the above, when a poet begins a story or when a singer leads off a song, everyone present shares to some extent a certain framework of assumptions, a set of expectations about the sort of things which can be said in

this kind of song as opposed to that kind of song, about the kind of language in which it should be said, about the social occasions to which it is suited, about how far the performer should respect custom and how far he or she may invent and experiment. At the same time the poet and audience will have in common certain ideas about what makes a good poetic performance. The oral artist never disregards the fact that the material he or she performs can be shared with other members of the audience. He or she must never forget that he or she is frequently before a critical audience. To this end Okoh (2008:78) observes that:

> *Art is not created in a vacuum; it is the work not simply of a person, but of an "author" (sic) fixed in time and space, answering to a community to which he is an important, articulate part. Because of the communal roots of oral Literature, then, no oral artist can correctly lay claim to the material he is performing or, more accurately, to its copyright. Rather, the oral artist readily recognises the debt he or she owes the society, even when within given limits, he or she can exercise his or her poetic licence or take liberty with such inherited communal property.*

The societies of Africa have a rich tradition of oral arts what in Pio Zirimu's celebrated coinage is referred to as 'orature'. The term orature has been used variously since the Uganda linguist coined it in the early 1970s to counter the tendency to see the arts communicated orally and received aurally as an inferior or a lower rung in the linear development of Literature. He sees orature as an autonomous entity, separate and apart from other forms of literature with its own tradition and norms. All languages, written or unwritten, have vast vocabularies, rich in abstract concepts as well as in the specialized terms related to the needs of the societies in which they function. For the purposes of ordinary communication in their environment and for artistic expression, unwritten languages are just as adequate as the written ones, and they all use

very similar devices, especially in poetry. Metaphoric dictions and symbolisms etc are just as common in oral literature as in written ones.

It is, however, unfortunate that the pioneers of orature in the 19th century specifically in Nupeland included mainly anthropologists, missionaries, and district officers like Nadel S.F., Roger Blench, Crowther S.A. and Mason M. The supposed unilinear evolution of society meant that what they called 'folklore' are no more than crude survivals from the past. The fact that such materials adapted are created and recreated variously and anew by narrators had been overlooked for so long by anthropologists. And since such pioneers according to Okoh (2008:10) had no literary background, they at best applied their anthropological tools to such materials they collected which genuinely come under the domain of Literature. To buttress this point, he further observes that:

> *The nineteenth century evolutionist and folklore studies easily gave the impression that narratives, for example, constitute simply a body of materials transmitted from one generation to another in fixed, perhaps word-perfect fashion... various writers have echoed this earlier assumption which envisaged oral artists as passive transmitters of tradition. The structural functional school of British Anthropology, for example, concentrated mainly on the function of an item of oral Literature in the given society. Such practical, utilitarian objective of course could have no room for literary considerations.*

Thompson (1946) gave a remark that vindicated the above impression when he stated that:

> *The characteristic feature of the folktale is the fact that it is handed down from one person to another and there is no virtue in originality. The story teller never chose his own words ... he always had the story by heart and recited the words from memory.*

By implication, such a conservative view of tradition like the above, deemphasized, indeed, denied the importance of the individual narrator and, of course, his creative capacity. Again, Burton (1865) also gave a nasty image of Africa as a land without indigenous literary tradition when he said that:

> *The savage custom of going naked, we are told, has denuded the mind and destroyed all decorum in the language. Poetry there is none ... There is no metre, no rhyme, nothing that interests or soothes the feelings or arrests the passions.*

On this note, Okpewho's comments encapsulate such prevalent attitudes like the ones shown above, the relics of which are still encountered in various forms today. To this, Okpewho (1988) says that:

> *There used to be a widely held view especially among European intellectuals who observed African societies in the nineteenth century ... that there was nothing of the true poetic merit in African oral literature. Poetry, these scholars argued, is a mark of an advanced culture or civilisation and the business of men of specialized skill and training who devoted their time to observing and commenting on life with beauty and seriousness. Traditional African societies were, on the contrary, still groping in the dark and battling with elementary problems of existence and had not attained the level of perception where men could engage in the pursuit of poetic excellence; besides, their languages were not yet sufficiently developed to cope with the complex techniques of poetic expression.*

Orature, however, after these erroneous perceptions of 19th century has been re-conceptualized by African literary scholars like Ngugi (2007) to mean an interdisciplinary aesthetic system weaving together numerous genres in performance. It mixes different performing genres in one. The same literary work can be sung, it can be a story or a drama at the same time. Oral poetry in Africa like what can be found in other parts of the globe is quite standard and specie-specific. The panegyric, that is, praise poems of chiefs or kings and their forebears are eulogized in verse. The "griots" popular in Senegambia (Finnegan 1970:96) are, like the court poets, the preservers of historical records and genealogies. The epic is a very familiar form of African oral poetry as is the lyric, most common in form of songs for virtually every occasion; birth, initiation, marriage, death – the last (death) giving rise to elegiac poetry which is more or less dirge in form, is an inevitable feature of funeral rites in many traditional

societies. The hunting and war poems are all important features of virtually every traditional African society.

These corpus of literary artifacts exist in inexhaustible abundance across these societies, so that they form a distinctive beauty, identity and emblem which defines them. In other words, these oral art forms namely: folktales, folksongs, proverbs, myths, and legends, known collectively as folklore constitute the sum total of what is known about a given society; linguistically, culturally, socially and even politically. Although there are significant similarities in some if not most of these oral art forms across Africa, there are yet some remarkable distinctive differences in terms of flavour, performance and transmission. Overall, every culture has its own distinctive way of identifying, defining and even securing itself in concert or independent of the other.

On the whole, orality should not be seen as the absence of 'literacy' like some Europeans choose to make us see. The artist who performs in the medium of the spoken word is engaged in the same creative process as the writer who creates through the written word. The oral artist shares with the writer the same elements of creativity and language manipulation when engaged in story–telling as in folktales or legends or in the evocation of imagery when reciting poetry or creating melody in lyrical self expression. The oralist improvises. He creates originality by introducing new and exciting words, images, even names of objects. In some cases, contemporary issues and personalities may be introduced to reflect the everyday realities. Orature is concerned with the expressive area of human culture and its study therefore tells us more about that human society in general.

1.1 Statement of the Research Problem

The study is premised on the assumptions that oral art forms by their nature as unwritten materials are not adequately appreciated and documented. A good number of Nupe oral songs with their inherent aesthetic values have been lost from the almost inexhaustible store of Nupe rich verbal culture. A sizeable number of Nupe oral performers lived and died without any effort to document their works for posterity. Oral praise singers in particular are generally regarded as ordinary or mere entertainers. For this reason, their place in relation to education, socialization, maintenance and modification of societal values are inadequately captured.

To this end, there is little in existence written to portray the aesthetics of the Nupe people's culture. Again, the little that was done was anthropologically attempted by foreigners who are by all standards ill-equipped to understand and appreciate the African way of life or understand the inner-workings of the African mind and of imaginative creativity. They have also confused notions about what constitutes African aesthetics and have therefore failed to realise that the literature of Africa does not begin with the written mode. It rather extends back to an oral tradition that was and is defined by its own aesthetics which can be found in oral songs, poetry, and folktales etc. In the light of the above, this study revolves around the following presuppositions:

1. There are many Nupe female singers, but Fatima Lolo and Kulu Lafiagi dominated Nupe oral poetic performances;
2. There is something peculiarly 'female' or feminine about the praise songs of Fatima Lolo and Kulu Lafiagi and want to determine the extent to which that influenced their audience;
3. The oral compositional strategies/techniques employed by the two singers qualify them as professionals and sustainers of Nupe orature; and
4. The two oral praise singers are the leading stars, they also responded to and were influenced by globalization among the Nupe.

1.2 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of the study is to investigate the Nupe praise song by analysing the stylistic structure, content, form and other devices deployed by Fatima Lolo and Kulu Lafiagi. To achieve this, the objectives of the study are:

a) To illustrate the functional and literary status of Nupe female praise songs in order to ascertain their contributions to orality;

b) To demonstrate that the study of Nupe praise songs is not only academically challenging but also quite distinctive in nature for its style of performance; and

c) To illustrate the place and function of praise songs in Nupe society in the face of globalization and explain its continued survival.

1.3 Significance of the Study

Oral art forms, by their nature as unwritten materials are not always properly appreciated and documented in an environment dominated by the culture of writing and printing. Significant quantities of materials have been lost from the almost inexhaustible store of our rich tradition of orature. The Nupe, compared to the Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo, are perhaps the worst hit. The reason for this poor literary attention is not unconnected with the absence of early indigenous creative or literary scholars from Nupeland.

In the light of the above, a reasonable number of Nupe singers and oral performers lived and died without any attempt to document their works for posterity. It is therefore against this background that the researcher decided to focus on Kulu Lafiagi and Fatima Lolo Bida who are not only court singers but the two most famous praise singers to have emerged from Nupeland. The justification for this study is also premised on the need to present their songs as

a rich collection of Nupe folksongs that may inspire others to bring to limelight the hitherto hidden talents of other Nupe oral performers.

Again, this aesthetic study of selected Nupe praise songs will contribute immensely to the state of scholarship on oral poetry in Africa since the works of scholars like Finnegan and Blench did not include any detailed literary analysis of the songs. While Finnegan's work was generally on oral Literature in Africa, Blench's work was on Nupe oral literature genres and not on Nupe praise songs. He in specific terms, treated Nupe musical genres and spoken genres with particular reference to proverbs, riddles, tongue-twisters, folktales, historical narrative, jests and ridicule. He then concluded the study with Nupe children's songs, Nupe titles and praise-names.

1.4 Scope and Limitation

The study is limited to Nupe oral songs. The scope of this research, therefore, revolves mainly on some selected praise songs of Fatima Lolo Bida and Kulu Lafiagi. This therefore, will constitute the samples of the songs from which literary analyses are undertaken. These songs are deliberately chosen not only because of their thematic concerns but also to specially highlight the literary textures inherent in them so as to ascertain the richness of these Nupe oral songs. Thus, after taking into cognizance the number of songs produced by the singers; the researcher considered the choice of twelve songs out of twenty-one for the purpose of this research as quite representative. This is because the two court poets have used similar motifs in their songs to a higher degree. Therefore, the choice of twelve songs altogether is a calculated attempt to avoid unnecessary repetition.

1.5 Methodology

In line with the empiricist approach, this research involved the use of tape-recorded collection of songs performed during performances. The songs were obtained from the following Radio stations, namely: Radio Nigeria, Kaduna (Nupe Section), Radio Niger Minna and Radio Niger Bida. And since Fatima Lolo Bida is late, interviews were conducted with important surviving members of her performing group in Bida, Niger State. Mallam Katamba Ma'aba (the praise shouter and a trusted companion of Fatima Lolo) was one of the three surviving members of this group. Kulu Lafiagi is still alive with two other members of the performing group and this made the interview easier, thereby obtaining useful data for this research. This group can be found in Lafiagi town, Kwara State.

The songs were transcribed using an orthography that is as phonetic as possible and a translation that is near literal. The aim is to maintain a balance between the original sense in the source language and a clear meaning in the target language. The researcher is not unaware of the challenges of preserving the values, dramatic effects and language sources as contained in the original language, that is, Nupe language to enable him preserve as much as possible the essential values of the selected praise songs. The reason is that, in documentation and translation, the fieldworker has to ensure that the African mode of thought and expression are reasonably approximated.

In the light of the above, the researcher has had to use an appropriate method of translation to achieve the desired result. In this case, a Creative Translation (CT) method which has a degree of creativity and imagination was found to be most suitable. Creative translators believe that translation requires intelligibility, creativity and imagination as against Machine Translation (MT)

method in that computers cannot translate literary texts accurately. Therefore, in the course of translation, one has been faced with the issue of trans-cultural translation since the two languages involved are totally different. The Nupe language is tonal while the English language is dependent on stress, and as such it has not been easy to find equivalents in English which are exactly the same as the Nupe words they seek to translate. Hence, the researcher has tended to interpret more than translate except where there has been word-play. And even so, other people might have different interpretations or translations from the ones in this thesis. For this, there is attempt to interpret the songs leaving the general ideas intact. However, certain words which cannot be interpreted in English without destroying their meanings were left in the Vernacular forms. Such words include exclamations, proper nouns, praise names and belief systems to which there were no English equivalents and a glossary of Nupe terms was provided to cater for such deficiencies.

1.6 Geo-Historical Background of Nupeland

Geographically speaking (Oboli and Harrison 1962:33-37) the people known as the Nupe live in the heart of Nigeria, that is, in the low basin formed by the valleys of the two rivers (Niger and Kaduna) between 9^0 30 and 8^0 50 North Latitude. This land mass is eleven thousand and two hundred square kilometres (11,200sq km). A line drawn from Leaba stretching eastward to Katayeregi marked the Northern boundary of Nupeland. Another line drawn Eastward from Share (or Tsaragi) to Abugi and onto the Niger South of Gidi (Baro) forms the Southern boundary. The Niger flowing almost straight North-South between Leaba and Jebba divides Nupeland from Yoruba in the West, the slow rising land, East of Lapai and Gidi, slopping upwards the hills of Gbari. It

is a low-lying softly undulating landscape, not more than 200 feet (60.96 metres) above sea level in most parts. A few low ridges of broken rocky hills stretch out, from the river-valleys and symmetrical flat-slopped hillocks rise abruptly here and there from the plains. The highest points are not more than 800 feet (243.84 metres) above sea-level. See figures 1 and 2.

It is a fact (Obayemi 1995:142-144) that the early Nupe kingdom grew in the area near the confluence, which was its first high roads as well as its natural boundaries. A net of smaller rivers and creeks, rich in fish, abound in Nupeland thereby providing an efficient system of natural irrigation. In most parts of Nupeland the soil is rich and fertile especially in thinly inhabited districts West of River Kaduna, which is still the only part of Nupeland that possesses large areas of virgin forest. East of River Kaduna, especially around Bida with dense population, intensive cultivation has reduced the fertility of the land. It is the typical soil of northern Nigeria red earth mixed with laterite and rich in silicates, a fact, which was responsible for the native glass industry in Bida. In a few districts, around Sakpe in Edati Local Government and Ebuagi (Lemu) the headquarter of Gbako Local Government, the pure white sand is much more fertile soil. And Mohammed (2011:1) locating and defining Nupeland historically stated that:

> *"Kin" Nupe (Nupeland) lies within the middle Niger region. The region extends from Niger-Benue region. The region extends from Niger-Benue confluence at Lokoja in the South to Timbuktu in the North. It covers large tracts of land on both sides of the River Niger. On the eastern side within Nigeria the region extends to as far as Kuta area and on the Western side to as far as Kaiama area. Their settlements are spread along the Niger Valley on both sides of the river from the Niger-Benue confluence area to the frontiers of Borgu territory. The land they occupy on the eastern side of the Niger extends from the river to as far as Kataeregi; and on the western side to far as Share.*

Today, Nupe people are found in Niger, Kwara, Kogi States and the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria. More specifically, they occupy the following places: Agaie, Bida, Edati, Gbako, Katcha, Lapai, Lavun, Mokwa and Wushishi Local Government areas and Zugurma district of Mariga Local Government area of Niger State. In Kwara State, they can be found in Lafiagi, Patigi, Tsonga, Jebba, Eggan, Abugi, Kpada and Ndanaku. They occupy Lokoja, Gboloko and part of Idah in Kogi State and also Abaji area of the Federal Capital Territory.

Nupe language has several dialects. These dialects include the following: Bini, Chekpan, Ebangi, Zam, Gbedegi, Kupa, Kakanda, Dibo, Gana-Gana, Zhitako, Koro, Kede, Ebe, and Bassa-Nge. These can be further grouped into two major linguistic groups. The first group constitutes what for the purpose of this study will be referred to as Central Nupe. This is because it is mutually intelligible. The second group consists of dialects that are not mutually intelligible. Nupe language belongs to the 'Kwa' sub-group of the Niger-Congo language family. That is to say that it is one of the languages spoken in the eastern part of Ivory coast, Southern part of Ghana, Togo land, Benin Republic and South-Western part of Nigeria (Hermann, 1952; Blench, 2010).

The first group is made-up of Bini, Chekpan, Ebangi, Zam, Gbedegi, and Ebe. The Bini are found in Bida, Doko, Gaba, Tafya, Nupeko, Eda, Ewu, Egbe, Essan, Yesa, Towagi and Pandzuru. The Chekpans live in Vunchi, Kpada, Duro, Echi, Rogun, Wako, Mamba, Gakpan, and Kajita. Zam is spoken in Kutigi area. The Ebes live in Zugurma district, Safo, Fazhi, Beji, Mandzwakwa, Mule, Kwaso and Idan. Gbedegi is spoken in Rifun, Matokun and Tankpafu.

The second sub-group includes Gana-Gana, spoken in Abagi area, Kupa spoken around Abugi area; Ezhitako spoken in Kakpi, Wonigi, Wace, Koloinji,

Ndako; Kakanda spoken around Muye, Arah, and Budan; Dibo spoken around Gulu, Zago, Koroka, Gberaka, Palemi and Ebo; Bassa-Nge, spoken in Gboloko, Akabe, Ecewu; Koro can be found around Rogun (Sheshi 2000:6-8).

Of all dialects of Nupe, Bini is the most widely spoken. It is the one found in literature, used in mass media and taught in schools. In fact when other dialects go by their various names, the Binis are flag bearers, they go by the name Nupe. It is therefore the intention of this study to use the Bini dialect for the purpose of translation which is also the dialect of the two praise singers.

1.7 Socio-Cultural Role of Nupe Orature and Praise Songs

The tradition of courtly praise-singing goes back before the establishment of Sokoto Caliphate in the early years of the nineteenth century. Despite attempts by the leaders of the Jihad and their descendants to discourage the praising of any figure other than the prophet, such courtly praise-singing has continued down the years as an integral part of the daily routine of Nupe emirates administration. “Within the panorama of un-Islamic practices that were the focus of clerical attack, popular song was a significant target. It was inappropriate to sing the praises of any mortal other than the prophet” (Furniss 1966:203). The praise singer will appear and perform during public occasions such as the appointment of a new official, a celebration in the yearly calendar, or indeed simply the official movement of the emir from one place to another. Even though much power and administration has moved to the State and Federal government of Nigeria since 1960 when she got her independence, the praise singer remains part of the trappings of emirate system. That is to say, although the appointment of emirs receives official approval of the State Governors; over the years, the focus of most attention of praise singers as far as song is concerned has been courtly praise-song, combining the vilification of

rivals with characterisation of the patron in terms of power, authority, lineage, prosperity, tradition and influence.

In the light of the above, traditional praise singing is not peculiar to the Nupe alone; since it is more or less an universal African phenomenon. Its elements, as the name implies, are found along the traditional lines of the people, though its performance may differ from society to society and that goes a long way to justify that each society has its own way of identifying its self artistically. In Nupe society, praise song is rendered on man, other creatures and objects. The singer uses quite often metaphorical statements accentuating the positive qualities of persons, social roles, events in which people participate, or objects found to be beautiful in the surrounding environment and at times negative qualities are also employed to criticise or condemn unwanted or unapproved behaviour. In most cases these songs are basically epithets called out in reference to a person, or animal, a town, an event and so on in celebration of his or its outstanding qualities and achievements. For instance, part of the praise song rendered for the Emir of Patigi; Idrisu Gana in 1989 by Adi Tsaragi include such epithets as:

Etsu Idirisu Gana
The great one
God's own choice
A cat in the midst of two hundred rats
Yakubu Baba Bauchi
Let all be careful
With what belongs to the emir.
.....

Praises are also rendered on objects. Fatima Lolo, for instance, in her performance during the celebration of Idil-fitr in 1965 at Bida sang praises for

Etsu Usman Sariki's car and Alhaji Bagudu Waziri's chartered private jet at a time when these objects were very rare in Nupeland.

Performance requires that the singer has to rely largely on metaphorical and proverbial devices to develop her themes. These themes are not fixed and are subject to change from occasion to occasion. And as Abdulkadir (1975) notes:

> *The theme is a recurrent element of narration and description in oral poetry. Unlike formular it is not subjected to any restriction on the basis of metric consideration; also it is not limited to exact word to word repetition.*

In essence, the singer sings that which 'the brain has patterned'. That is, the themes are fixed in the singer's head just as Lord and parry (1938) noted in the case of oral singers in Yugoslavia: "Composition of the oral singer in Yugoslavia relied largely on the stock of the formulas and themes that had been fixed in the creator's head". And to buttress this fact; in the case of Nupe praise songs, Kulu Lafiagi in one of her responses to a question during an interview by the researcher opines that: "Mie tswa eni ndoro shishia. Edanan miga le zanazhi mia koni nan yenan, miajin kpe nyanan mia konan." (I do not have rigid themes or formulas; whenever I see my audience, I know and pick the formula and theme on which my song is to be based). Convention requires that the Nupe praise singer does not read or recite her songs, since they are not even written down. The tradition requires that she be spontaneously creative. Again, Kulu in the affirmative adds that: "Ngan ungoyin nan nigba'a lebaye wangi nan, to tukpau maa wogan wangi nan kaminan ungae koni nan ebo chenlebauyi be enimigociuzhi" (A Praise Singer is expected to have sharp eyes and good ears for judgement while performing so that she does not create a communication gap in

the course of performance). She nevertheless, pauses at intervals to allow the chorus sing the refrain and within that short period creates the new stanza that is to follow immediately.

Apart from the above, the Nupe praise singer is not expected to follow any rigid rhyme or metre scheme. This explains why the structure as well as the form is flexible depending on the occasion, audience and their response and of course the mood of the performer. Hardly do identical performances based on the conditions laid above repeat themselves word to word. In essence, it is expected that a later performance is to be an improvement upon the former. At different performances, the singer may add new elements to her song or drop some either through embellishment, or by the addition of a complete new episode to expand her performance. This is true of Kulu Lafiagi in her song of "Nan Gibigi da gbin gan nan, Gibigia de gangba" (The Extrovert got informed through his curiosity) when she said that: "Mia jin koni nanan ya cigbe jincizhi danazhio kaakaayin. Mi konin nan ya to egi makantazhi nya Lafiagi yi babo lyani. Agan ebonan keminan cigbe jincizhie wa fini to gbere za nan, a ciga a'tso wa kpikpe zao" (I have been rendering this song for herbal medicine practitioners at different occasions or places. I have ever sang this song to a group of students in our Lafiagi. In the students' opinion; they are always in pursuit of knowledge just like herbal medicine practitioners are always in search of leaves and roots). To this end, this song is a stereotype and each time she has opportunity to sing for herbal medicine practitioners or students; she does so but with a variation. This is because the audience, the occasion and the venue may differ. The only thing that is constant is the drumming pattern.

In Nupe traditional praise songs, the mood of the singer and the versatility of her memory in no doubt; are among the factors that contribute to the excellent production of her songs during performance. She has to be witty enough to draw from the variety of the traditional materials such as proverbs, satire and other figurative forms which are supposed to be in her memory or readily at her disposal. Again, from the analysis of the selected songs of the singers in the next chapters, that is, chapters three and four, it is evident that they have made adequate and excellent use of proverbs and other figurative forms to enrich their performance. The fact that the singer has to draw from the variety of traditional materials shows that though individualistic, the performance depends on the dictates of the tradition in rendering her songs. This is because the audience have in common certain ideas about what makes a good poetic performance. To this end, the writer agrees with Abdulkadir that poet's songs:

> *Stem from their own creative talent, yet because traditions exert a major influence on the creativity, the end products may not be viewed as radically individualistic forms. Some limitations on their repertoire derive from society's traditional rules determining what is appropriate to a specific song, from what kind of conduct is proper in a given context. These traditional rules and values are stable, and the greater the stability, the more binding they are, and the more continuity there can be in the resulting product, ...*

Praise songs in Nupe society as in other African societies are important as they feature in all aspects of the Nupe life. Praise songs in Nupeland are rendered during naming ceremonies, wedding ceremonies, 'Gani' (wrestling festivals), coronation or turbaning ceremonies, Idil-Fitr and Idil-Kabir Sallah celebrations. This role of praise songs in Nupe society conforms with Bichi's statement (1985) on Hausa society:

> *Songs are very important components of the folklore of many African groups. Folksongs generally play a vital role in all aspects of African life, and there is hardly any occasion or any occupation that does not involve singing.*

The praise singer in Nupeland composes her song while performing. This again, also agrees with Lord's contention (1968) that 'a poet in the oral poetic tradition compose his poems during the actual performance, and for this reason depended on a special technique of composition to facilitate the rapid narration or performance of oral songs'. This is similarly true of the Nupe praise singers; for they hardly have time to pause, to reflect. And as such, they are always composing under the pressure of sustaining an active communication process between them and their audience. The situation during performance, just as Dorson (1972) has pointed out demands that:

> *The band and the performer facing their live audience employs gestures, eye contact, intonation, pantomime, historionics, acrobatics, and sometimes costumes and props as the author of written words never does.*

In fact, this question of live performance and audience readily sets oral praise singing apart from written songs. The performer is able to sustain and maintain her music, adding and bringing aesthetics to her performance. It is good to note that praise poetry is not exactly praise singing or a praise song. In public performance, song is usually instrumentally accompanied, often sung by a group with the lead singer and chorus, and is performed without reference to anything written down. Poetry on the other hand can be chanted publicly without accompaniment but is often simply read in silence. The process of composition also tends to differ; where poetry is written and reworked by the individual poet, song is often composed within a group and re-performed from memory. Poets not singers have tended to be scholars or students from the

clerical class, singers have often inherited a family profession in which they are bound in strong patron-client relationships with a socially superior patron. Singing is often a family profession, is heavily patronised and the artist is liked for his/her artistic composition or performance but not otherwise respected. While poetry is non-professional and is not as clearly patronised, and the artist is respected for his message rather than for his performance.

In Nupe society, praise singers, regardless of having fixed patrons, also travel from place to place (often without any formal permission from the patron) singing praises for individuals and families who demand for and can afford to pay for their services. Fatima Lolo's performance at FESTAC'77, Kaduna Durbar, MAMSER and WAI occasions during the reign of Lt. Col. David Mark as governor of Niger State readily justifies this privilege. The singers perform conveniently when the request or invitation to do so is from someone much higher than a particular patron. For example, the Federal Government or State Government, in which case, the President or Governor are higher in status than any Etsu. In this case, the singers have no choice but to oblige. The real news, or better still, the most humiliating moment, will be when the singers leave the patron to perform for someone much lower than an Etsu and again, not a friend of the royal court.

Apart from that, no matter what the nature of performance is, it is expected that the group would be rewarded. And their success depends highly on what Hiskett notes about the Hausa praise singers;

> *... Depends largely on their skill in using innuendo. For the convention include restrictions on the directness with which they may phrase their insults; and public resentment is quickly aroused by excess or clumsiness.*

Thus, to achieve great reward, the singer has to be witty, humorous and satiric so as not to outrightly go against the wishes of the people she is performing for. It has also been noted by Finnegan (1970:284-294) that:

> *Some praise songs or rather political songs are widely used in Africa as a vehicle for communication, propaganda, political pressure, and political education. Their exact nature and purpose vary but they have in common the fact of being oral rather than visual propaganda ... By the late 1950s and early 1960s political songs in Africa seem to have become a standard accompaniment of recognised political parties and the election campaigns that were by now becoming more and more a feature of political activity in African colonies and ex-colonies. Songs formed part of election campaigns in, for example, Sierra Leone and Senegal in 1957, Nyasaland in 1961 and Northern Rhodesia in 1962. Some politicians managed to exploit oral propaganda even further and, like the Western Nigerian leader Adelabu, organised the circulation of gramophone records of songs supporting them.*

The above assertion credited to Finnegan readily brings to mind the happenings in Nupe society during the second republic in 1979–1983 in Nigeria when Fatima Lolo sang for NPN (National Party of Nigeria) to boost the party's campaign strategies. She in particular sang a praise song for President Shehu Shagari, the party and notable NPN members in Bida, Niger State thus:

NPN enaworo, NPN ena gaskiya
NPN ena guru
Alhaji Shehu Shagari, na'ama Shagari'o nan
Egi Maimuna, egi Hawawu Kulu
Egi Abdullahi, masoyi magajin gari nya Bida
Nyanan sokoa jin bo zao nan, a'gugan'a
NPN ena darija
NPN ena hankali
NPN ena arziki
NPN ena musulumizhi
Mie paye tukpa gan ebida ena NPN
To baagi, to nyizagi
Nyana laudan michi gan achin nan
Mide shitukpa za kpaata

Ezaguru zagwru kpaata NPN boa dan'o
Eza asali, eza asali zhi kpaata, NPN boa dan'o
Eza aziki eza aziki kpaata, ena NPN boa dan'o
Eza hankali, eza hankalizhi kpaata, NPN boa dan'o

Translation:

NPN is a new party and also a trustworthy party.
NPN is a reliable party
Alhaji Shehu Shagari who is born at Shagari
The son of Maimuna, the son of Hawawu Kulu
The son of Abdullahi, and a friend of Magajin garin Bida
No one ever miss what God has destined for him.
NPN is a party of dignity
NPN is a reasonable party
NPN is a progressive party
NPN is a party for the clerics
I am warning you all to join NPN
Men and women
The reason for saying this, is that
I have gone round to find out that
All the good people are in NPN
All the nobility are in NPN
All the rich are in NPN
All the reasonable people are in NPN

The above is a clear testimony to or demonstrates that a Nupe praise song could be used as a vehicle not only for communication but also for propaganda and political education. Again, Finnegan observed that:

> *Praises do feature in Nupe society ... Amongst other Muslim chiefdoms in Nigeria during 'sallah' rituals (the Muslim festivals of Idil-Fitr and Idil-Kabir) and that the subordinate officials attend the king on horseback, accompanied by their praise singers ... As their allegiance is shown by cavalry charge with drawn swords outside the palace; the official praise-singers take part in the gallop, piping and drumming the king's praises on horseback.*

This is still in operation today in Nupe society. It was a common sight to see Fatima Lolo and other fellow praise singers; for instance, in Bida on horseback performing for the Etsu Nupe in company of the subordinates who take part in the durbar rendering or singing praises to their patrons as shown in appendix 19.

Praise in general, is used to shape character and give direction as well as incentives. Praises are important instruments in the education of the society; not only do they act as incentive, but also ratify approved conduct. In view of this, traditional praise songs are used to record and preserve events and history most especially in terms of lineage and genealogy. An attentive listening to the song by Fatima Lolo on the twelve emirs that reigned in Bida does not only give their names but their genealogy, lineage, characters as well as important events that took place during their reigns respectively.

Similarly, praise song is also a means of bringing about conformity to the approved modes of behaviour in Nupe society just as Smith notes for the Hausa:

> *... praise singing is an informal regulative institution through which praise or shame are distributed. As an informal regulative institution, it simultaneously imposes social control and reflects honour in the formal agencies of social control.*

In Nupeland, approval of a particular behaviour is a licence for continuous search for such approval as others would strive to emulate such approved mode of behaviour. On the other hand, vices are condemned and not ideally sought for. In essence, it is a means of social regulation. It also gives the Nupe people some intellectual values as well as aesthetics. The wordings of the songs are valuable to scholars as historical records, as well as examples of linguistic and literary elocution. The figurative language contained in the songs are of high

value to understanding the lives of the people just as they also aid in vocabulary development.

It also serves political functions in the society. The community is informed through such songs about ancient and recent political happenings in the society. Praise singers are quite often called upon to sing praises to leaders and government functionaries in order to elevate their positions and publicise their policies hyperbolically. In this view, the praise singer is not merely an entertainer, but a reminder of times, as supporter of the ruling, an interpreter of events and a transmitter of the past. To skilfully carry out this job, the singer must among many other things be a master of flattery. It is good to note that to flatter is to praise one in an insincere manner in order to gain favour for oneself. It also has to do with giving a feeling of pleasure or honour to one so that one looks particularly attractive or seem more attractive than one really is. That, however, does not mean to say that praise singers function mainly to flatter and entertain their patrons like Finnegan would want us to believe. This is because Kulu Lafiagi and Fatima Lolo like other African praise singers do not hesitate to criticize and condemn the actions of their patrons or audience whenever they violate traditional values. To this end, the researcher agrees with Abdulkadir that:

> *An oral singer does not only entertain his community, he also informs the public about current events as well as the ancient historical accounts and instructs new generations about traditions, customs, history, folklore, and culture of their ancestors. He can also praise, warn, condemn or advise depending on the situation and circumstance.*

Fatima Lolo in particular responding to this role did not hesitate to condemn Etsu Bubakar's response to the European invasion when they arrived Wuya on

their way to colonising the Nupe emirate. She readily condemns the emir's 'ill-motivated action' at the face of inevitable defeat in which many lives were lost on the side of the Nupe people. For according to her, the emir should have just surrendered and there would have been no question of engaging the European in that fruitless battle.

In addition, praise songs are used as indicators to show the good qualities of a person, his life, profession and status in society. Lolo, for example, in an attempt to explore and portray clearly her qualities also exalts herself by way of singing her own praises. This exaltation is employed to devoid her songs of any doubt and to authenticate any claim or proficiency the singer attributes to herself. This exaltation goes like this:

> *Lolo Jiwo Lolo che (self praise i.e. taki)*
> *The one that was born before her mother*
> *The one in whose presence the Fulani's appeared in Nupeland*
> *The one who is a living witness to the beginning of kingship in Nupeland.*

At another level, the praise song is also economically a profitable enterprise for those who engage in its performance. Apart from material gains such as plots of land and houses shown in the appendixes 21 and 22, it also gives the performers political and social privileges over others. Today, a performer like Kulu Lafiagi is well known throughout Nupeland; for her recorded songs are not only available for sale but are also always being played by Radio Niger Bida. However, unlike Lolo, her material possession is very limited. As captured in the appendix 16 and 17, she has only her own house where the researcher conducted the interviews on 10th July 2013 and 1st June 2015 respectively. All the same, it can be said that once one is able to excel in the art of performance,

especially with the new crop of singers in our society one has ample opportunity to acquire wealth and favour too.

On the whole, it has been clearly illustrated that praise songs function as media for entertainment, education, socialisation, maintenance and modification of values, experiences of daily events of the audience, and custodians of palace history as well as Nupe culture and history.

1.8 Formalism as Theoretical Framework

Formalism is a school of Literary criticism and Literary theory having mainly to do with structural purposes of a particular text. It is the study of a text without taking any outside influence. It refers to critical approaches that analyse, interprete, or evaluate the inherent features of a text. These features include not only grammar and syntax but also literary devices such as metres and tropes.

The formalist, therefore, sees literary work as an object in its own right and tend to devote their attention to its intrinsic nature concentrating their analyses on the interplay and relationships between the text's essential verbal elements. They study the form of the work as opposed to its content and seek to be objective in their analysis focusing on the work itself and eschewing external considerations. They pay particular attention to literary devices used in the work and to the pattern these devices establish. Formalists have generally suggested that everyday language, which serves simply to communicate information is stale and unimaginative and argued that "literariness" has the capacity to overturn common and unexpected patterns of grammar, or storyline thereby rejuvenating language.

Formalism is a very appealing method of literary analysis that based its representation essentially on formal structure. It is one of the many theoretical approaches used to study literary artist, the audience and how each contributes to the meaning of a literary work. It was introduced into the world of literary analysis after the Russian Revolution of 1917. When it was started, formalism was more of a school of thought than a movement since it was conceptualized by like-minded colleagues who used to meet frequently in order to discuss the best approach to use in reading and interpretation of texts.

The key proponents of formalism include Roman Jakobson, Yuri Tynyanov, Victor Shklovsky, Boris Eichenbaum and Boris Tomashesky. These analysts were in support of a literary approach to literature that was scientific and formally ordered. They argued that literature should only be approached in its own unique terms, without any form of external influences. They opposed attempt to encompass personal characteristics, historical conditions or the socio-political atmosphere in which the work of literature has been written. In other words, things like a personal history of the author or historical events at the time of literary composition are irrelevant details as far as literary analyses are concerned.

The name “formalism” was chosen by opponents of the literary movement who considered the approach controversially structured and formal. The critics wondered why the author’s socio-political positioning was ignored yet it was the main source of insights and motivation during composition. However, according to formalists argument, formalism was an attractive approach since one could devise a methodology that was applicable across a wide cross-section of literary works, regardless of geographical or historical considerations. They argued

further that poetic attributes of language if well used, could enable the reader perceive a familiar situation in a completely new way, thereby enhancing meaning while at the same time making the text more interesting. In the light of the above, Tony Bennett (1979) says: Jakobson seeking retrospectively to set the record straight after the formalist acceptance of the Kantian thesis of 'art for art's sake' wrote:

> *Neither Tynyanov, nor Mukarovsky, nor Shklovsky, nor I have preached that art is sufficient unto itself; on the contrary, we show that art is a part of the social edifice, a component correlating with others, a variable component, since the sphere of art and its relationship with other sectors of social structure ceaselessly changes dialectically. What we stress is not a separation of art, but the autonomy of the aesthetic function. (emphasis mine).*

It is undeniable that oral poetry is functional. The fact that it emanates from a society makes it serve some functions, useful and relevant to the people in that society. This functionalist view is essentially an extrinsic one which shows that oral poetry plays some clear roles in the society. However, the functional aspect is not all there is to Nupe female praise songs. One has to consider the content and the artistic qualities which make it a literary product.

This work is on orality, as such it has to do with a conceptual analysis which takes into cognizance the place of Literature and oral art forms in the society. Liz Gunner (2007:67) on Africa and orality says: the continent of Africa can be viewed as a site of enormous, long, and ongoing creativity in relation to orality as a vector for the production of social life, religious beliefs, and the constant constituting and reconstituting of society, ideology, and aesthetics. That, if it is language which has a crucial role in the production and reproduction of society, then in the case of orality it is often language combined with the performativity of the body, and enacted in both the public and private

spaces. Orality, he emphasized, was the means by which Africa made its existence, its history long before the colonial and imperial presence of the west manifested itself. In this sense, orality needs to be seen not simply as "the absence of Literacy" but as something self-constitutive.

The focus of the work is not just on the functional aspect of the praise songs but also on their literariness – special use of language. Interest in the songs is centered on the functioning of literary devices rather than on content and this can be done through analysis, description and evaluation. The task of evaluating the songs to ascertain their literariness is an elaborate one. It has to take into account the stylistic structures, forms, language and content of the songs.

In the historical development of orature the focus was usually anthropological and socio-cultural with little or no room for literary attention or aesthetics. Today, however, the study of the subject has reached an advanced stage in which the literariness of the various oral genres are being analysed, described and evaluated. Harry Blamires (1991:357) on literariness says the critic is not concerned with the content of a work of Literature as such or with what it represents of human life and so-called reality. He is rather concerned with the literary devices employed in the work and that is the proper province of criticism.

To this end, a humanistic and empirical approaches could be suitable for this study. What the humanistic approach does is to collect as many oral poems as possible and then classify them under various subject groups for study. In so doing it is hoped that similarities in styles and themes could be found between oratures from various societies of the world. And because language is the one

thing which all human races engage in, it is used for assumption by the humanists. And again, since praise songs of Fatima Lolo and Kulu Lafiagi are delivered through a language; the study of Nupe praise songs using humanistic approach would have some validity. This is because only then can it be ascertained that Nupe praise songs have some elements of literariness inherent in them.

It was Albert Lord (1965) who observed that the concept of humanistic approach lay great emphasis on the creative role of the performer during a performance. That, "we must grasp fully who or more correctly what our performer is. We must eliminate from the word "performer" any notion that he is one who merely reproduced what someone else or even he himself has composed". The fact is that during a performance many techniques come into play. The language is usually a selected form with many philosophical formulations. For instance, in the art of incantation the performer attempts to draw spiritual facts. It is, therefore, accepted that during any performance; a poetic delivery by a performer makes him the master of his art. This is possible because of his extraordinary grasp of skilful handling of the vocabulary which is beyond the usual day to day usage and by implication he has defamiliarized habituated perception and ordinary language. As a result of the narrator's control of language and its metaphorical properties, grammar and flexibility, he is able to thrill his audience. The literary device is the key to defamiliarization, for it impedes perception and draws attention to the artifice of the text. In the like manner, the recitative skill of an individual whether consciously or unconsciously acquired is the key to a successful performance. In general, though, the tendency with oral poetry is to place emphasis on immediate effect. The oral poet is less concerned with the completeness and overall unit of his

poem than with what can be referred to as 'the drama of the moment'. He or she cannot like the poet with a pen, address his/her work to eternity, waiting to be appreciated by a later generation. The audience is there in front of him or her, the one available and his or her first business is to hold their attention. In other words, an oral poetic performer must have some form of credibility for her performance to succeed. Her success rests on her ability to sustain the interest of her audience as long as possible. Whatever "historical fact" she has must be sustained by a good command of language skill.

The empirical approach on the other hand lays strong emphasis on the performer and his audience. Its aim is always to establish how the song functions in a traditional setting. The assumption here is that the way a performer and his audience respond to a song underlies the importance of both the style and theme of that particular performative act. The poems or songs automatically become standard bearers of culture or sustenance of certain social institutions. The song/poem becomes a justifier of whatever happens to individual or the society from the beginning to the end. Therefore, through a careful observation and acquisition of intimate knowledge of these oral songs that are in current use, a lot of knowledge about a society can be acquired. This analysis fits the present study of Nupe female praise singers and changing times.

Therefore, the proposed theoretical framework designed for this study shall be combined approach (formalistic, humanistic and empirical) which also shall be literary, analytical and descriptive in nature, so as to provide a platform for appreciating Nupe female praise singers as oral artists. This is because the songs for discussions in the thesis oscillate between their aesthetic and

thematic effects. It is this as much as anything else that explains the richness and liveliness of the songs. They do not only communicate but they are also topical. This research, therefore, is predicated on the fact that the study of Nupe oral artists can yield useful contribution to our knowledge of traditional African verbal art and creative aspirations.

The next chapter, which is chapter two is a review of related literature that gives the readers the required background information to understand the study of Nupe oral praise songs. It, therefore, x–rays some important research reports, contributions and background works that have been carried out by scholars in the field.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.0 Introduction

The literature review is an indispensable aspect of the research process that gives readers background information needed to understand a study. It also assures readers of familiarity with the research that has been carried out in an area and finally it establishes the study as one link in a chain of research that is developing and enlarging in a field. To this end, some background works have been done by eminent African scholars like Isiodore Okpewho, Ngugi Wa Thiong'O and Chinweizu et al.

There is as yet no known human society that does not have an established form of literary expression. More than the written form, the oral form is closely tied to the evolution –anthropological, social and historical development of any society. This is true of every society, Africa inclusive. Thus, the history of the evolution of African societies cannot be farther from the evolution and growth of its cultural artefacts and invariably rich oral traditions.

Within Africa, great societies and empires emerged, reigned, declined and faded into insignificance over time. Yet, they are still remembered, the exploits of their people and leaders identified and recognised, alongside the mass of their cultural artefacts. While the story of their people and leaders form the myths and legends of their societies, their cultural artefacts and oral productions defined their identity and uniqueness as a people. The Nok culture, the famous Benin and Ife bronze masks, the brass and glass works of the Nupe are representations of the socio-cultural and historical narratives of the people

frozen in time and space. Invariably, no medium covers the rich history of the living people across the world than the rich and time tested oral tradition of storytelling, folksongs, myths and legends.

2.1 The Problem of Definition and Concept Clarification

The dichotomy of meanings in the term orature shows that there is a wide continuum of meanings. A cursory examination of the wide and diverse range of terms as Oral Literature, Orature, Traditional Literature, Folk Literature, Verbal Arts and Oral Arts attest for the need to have a clear-cut statement as to the key differences between the terms utilized. It is also very clear that the current onslaught of modern communication, in other words, globalization, is posing a serious challenge to the survival and sustainability of Orature or Oral Literature. Nevertheless, that inspite of the digital age, there is hardly any culture in the world that has no kind of story telling art or folksongs which invariably play important roles as instrument of self-control by the morals they teach, thereby helping to bring order to the society, among other things. That is to say that the study of Orature is not just a study of a gathering of old tales and songs or wise-cracks that the old folk delight in seasoning their chart with. It is rather a reflection of those customs, ideas and outlooks whereby Africans have traditionally identified themselves and constantly sought reassurances in the face of severe cultural and other challenges. The study also provides evidence of a fundamental creative spirit whereby, in the oral culture, cherished traditions are subjected to continual reconstruction and thus increased by new materials.

The problem of definitions is one of those knotty issues that have featured in scholarly discourse in the African domain, notably because many disciplines

are still struggling to rid themselves of encrusted prejudices of well intentioned but ultimately misguided pioneering amateurs in the field of African studies. All the same, over the years, scholars have made some significant attempt to study and delineate this form of literature as distinct from the written form. In particular, great energy has been dissipated in the attempt to arrive at some theoretical refinement for the field. First in line of this attempt is Apronti (1973) who argues for, and the deployment of the term oral literature to describe the form of literature which exploits oral media in its composition and transmission, and all its associated materials. He in specific terms argues against the use of the term 'verbal art' as according to him:

> *The primacy of speech over writing in all cultures is unquestionable. But whether a culture is literate or not, it manifests modes of expression that we organise as literary because they contain evidence of the imaginative use of language in a creative perspective to comment on the human condition, help man to cope with his environment and heighten man's awareness of the beautiful and the sublime. The appeal to the etymology of the word 'Literature' which leads some scholars to insist that the term should be limited in its application to written materials is untenable. It smacks of unnecessary absolence and provides some cover for those who, in addition to propounding such views would like to insinuate that written materials are deserving of more serious literary study than unwritten ones ...No the term ' verbal art' is somewhat otiose and lacks the precision we would like to see in our terminologies.*

The other term which has gained considerable understanding and currency among scholars and students is "orature", a term deployed by Pio Zirimu to denote poems, plays, stories etc in oral form ... reserving the term literature for the same things in their written form. He originally coined the term in the early 1970s as a substitute to palliate, the alleged contradiction apparent in the phrase 'Oral Literature'. However, he never lived long enough to develop the concept, his life was untimely cut short by the brutal Idi Amin dictatorship, whose agents poisoned him in Nigeria during the famous Festac '77.

Nevertheless, Pio Zirimu in specific terms defined orature as "the use of utterance as an aesthetic means of expression".

Okpewho (1982) however, notes that various terms have been used such as "Oral Literature, Traditional Literature, Folk Literature and Folklore", but he would rather accept the term Oral Literature to mean: "Literature delivered by word of mouth" which has now turned out to be a useful concept for scholars interested in examining the cultural relationships between those who can read and write and those who cannot, or to give it a more professional touch, between orality and literacy. He, however, goes further to say that orature is a recent but seldom used term ... that emphasizes the oral character of the literature.

Ngugi (2007) puts it that orature is "an oral form of plays, stories and poems. Orature preserves the values, sensibilities, aesthetics and achievement of traditional African thought and imagination. It is the creative and imaginative art of composition that relies on verbal art for communication and that culminates in performance". He does not agree with those who see African Literature as a branch of European school and not a system of its own. Similarly, Sani Abba Aliyu in Peter and Ashiwaju's *Nigeria since independence* (1989:152) asserts that orature is much more preferred and says the term is often used "to overcome the broad non-literary inclusiveness of folklore on the one hand and the conventional "Literature" fixation of "Oral Literature" on the other hand. The choice, he reiterates, "the term orature allows us to stress the primacy of oral performance characteristic, and the changing ideological nature of artistic endeavour". The term orature is an attempt to get away from the term *literature* as literature is a term which defines certain activities. The term

literature derives its meaning from the word *literal*. Anything that is oral cannot be properly called *literature* which started with the importation of books and writing. Orature can be said to be the creative and imaginative art of composition that relies on verbal art for communication and that culminates in performance or at the very least, appeal to readers for performance. Orature is made for the people and by the people. The distinction between learned and popular literature does not exist in the domain of orature. There is also no question of a small class of literary persons that produces, and a passive mass that is contented with consuming what is produced. The African bard, for instance, forms an intimate part of and is inseparable from his people. His work is truly representative, not of himself alone but of his group and it is in this sense that this orature is collective and anonymous. However, the names of talented bards become associated with poems or songs which they are master raconteurs. The performer, for example, as a bard, is supported, questioned and accompanied by his audience to such an extent that the narrativity becomes a drama, each spectator playing his part in it.

In the light of the above, one can possibly see the justification for the persistence and of course angry rejection associated with the use of the term “Folklore” by some African scholars. This is perhaps understandable when one considers how often and for how long it has been used with implications of unsophistication, uncouthness, archaism or primitiveness. However, this lingering search for terms needs not to be seen as a negative development in its entirety. Rather, it demonstrates a process of self questions and self-examination without which scholarship in any field may seem to exhaust its own possibilities and argue itself to a dead end. Orature, therefore, brings together the live, dynamic, flexible, repetitive and mnemonic qualities of spoken

Literature and the permanent features, especially the letters of written literature. While the oral and aural dimensions of spoken literature are often lost when the folklorist transcribes spoken tradition into print. The artist of orature in contrast to the folklorist uses different typographic techniques in order to preserve the oral aural element of spoken literature. The usual purpose of defining anything is to get a clearer idea of the thing in question. Although this study is not entirely on "what is orature debate" it nonetheless gives due prominence to the contemporary nature, place and function of orature so as to aid the study in the explication of the relevance of Nupe female praise singers as oral singers and their contribution to orality.

To this end, Okoh (2008) in his book titled *Preface to Oral Literature* asked a number of questions which could be relevant to the issues raised in this research work.

a) Do such works or compositions such as Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* and Okot P'Bitek's "Song of Lawino" qualify as literature simply because they are in print?

b) Is the mode of existence of Literature necessarily and inextricably tied up with print or writing?

c) What is the exact relationship between writing and literature?

d) Can Literature be unwritten?

e) Is the concept of orature a veritable, viable or valid one?

This dissertation focuses on the role of Nupe female praise singers and the changing times. However, answers to the questions raised above could be very instrumental to issues in this research work. The questions and focus of this dissertation are linked to the relevance and qualification of the term orature and Nupe orature in particular as a distinct form of literature. The African student needs to be aware that in African orature, many discussions and

debates have evolved, and will continue to do so, on this crucial issue. The researcher, however, agrees or shares the views of Achebe (1973) when he says:

> *... African people did not hear of culture for the first time from Europeans; that their societies were not mindless but frequently had a philosophy of great depth and value and beauty, that they had poetry and above all, they had dignity.*

Each society has its own unique way of life, that is, its music, dances, clothing and food etc. independent of European or western societies. Thus, to say that non literate cultures in, say, Africa and Asia lacked such literary capability or creativity is an evitable by-product of a general western prejudice concerning some other cultures. Chinweizu et al (1985:83) debunk strongly the Eurocentric view that African oral art forms are primitive and inferior to the written mode when they state that:

> *Since even the best available written texts of the oral narratives – and they are clearly in the minority – are nevertheless limited in their success at capturing the performance techniques, notations, formulas and codes for reproducing in writing such performance aspects of oral narrative as they have so far not been able to capture in print ... our scholars, critics and writers have a responsibility to make innovations for reproducing oral narratives in full writing. They should face up to this task instead of trying to avoid it through the escapist claim that the oral tradition is inferior to the written tradition and therefore has little or nothing to offer. The fashionable idolatry of the written medium is so far as it leads to automatic and habitual disparagement of the oral medium, is unwarranted.*

For literature the central document is the written text itself. For orature the central document, the work itself, is the live performance. Claims that a work of orature does not have one thing or another and is therefore inferior to a comparable work of literature are not to be taken seriously unless it is made clear that the work itself, that is, the performance has been consulted, or that an adequate copy of the performance, or an adequate written transcript, has been examined. Finnegan (1970:12) also argues that African oral art forms are

also literature because they carry the aesthetic qualities of the written texts. To this end, she observes that:

> *Many oral recitations arise in response to various social obligations which, in turn, are exploited by poet and narrator for his own purposes. The performer of oral pieces could thus be said to be more involved in actual social situations than the writer in more familiar literate traditions ... To ignore these in an oral work is to risk missing much of the subtlety flexibility and individual originality of its creator and, furthermore to fail to give consideration to the aesthetic canons of those intimately concerned in the production and reception of this form of Literature.*

In the light of the above, the views of Eurocentric critics that African oral art forms are either primitive or inferior lacked depth because long before the First Century BC there had been evidence of writing in Egypt, and what is now present day Sudan and Ethiopia (Chinweizu et al 1985: 26).

The above is a calculated attempt to further debunk a blatant exhibition of prejudice regarding Africa as a land lacking in literary sensibilities. Okoh (2008:9) in his argument contends that "the posture that Africa could boast of nothing significant regarding language and literature is a groundless, negative and bleak literary portrait of Africa that only deserves to be punctured". There is a great link here–a kind of symbiotic relationship. We cannot have literature for example, without language. Again, literature nurtured the language of a people and conversely, is itself preserved and nurtured by the language. He maintains that it is, however, not difficult to understand the erroneous reasoning that the Africans had no literature. A language that is in the western sense known, or has no orthography, that is, not reduced to writing, cannot preserve the literature of a people. By some coincidence, of course, the overwhelming majority of scholars to first study African institutions were foreigners, and since the literary materials for study were not accessible in print form, they easily

eluded any hasty western scholar. Lindfors (2002:6) on Folklore in Nigerian Literature corroborates this view and comments that:

> *Literary criticisms remains the most underdeveloped of African arts. One reason it has remained so is that the majority of the practitioners of this art have not been themselves Africans. They have been foreigners – mostly Europeans and Americans trying to cope with world views different from their own. Some have had outstanding credentials as professors of Literature or anthropology, as long-term residents of Africa, or as life-time students of African culture. And several have been very serious about their work, even to the extent of sacrificing a number of personal comforts in order to undertake difficult, painstaking research "in the field". Yet like obstetricians or voyeurs, they have always stood outside looking in, observers rather than participants in the creative process that absorbs so much of their attention and yet is alien to their own cultural experience.*

This is not to say that the foreigners are completely unhelpful. They may have done a great deal to encourage and perhaps publicize the birth of new literatures in Africa. However, there are sensitive zones – the inner sanctuaries and sacred grooves which may be closed to strangers and accessible only to those within a society. "No man can understand another whose language he does not speak" (Achebe 1962:62). By "language" Achebe meant not simply words but "a man's entire world view". One is not arguing that there is no place for the non-African critic of African orature, only that he should know his place. Again, Chinweizu et al (1985:81-82) put it that the same yardstick should not be used to apply to the novel and oral art forms because each serves different functions in society and observes thus:

> *Beyond the narrative texture there are other ingredients in oral performance which not even a master verbal artist himself can be expected to recapture when he writes down his own telling of a story. The research problem would be one of significantly enlarging the technical capabilities of the written medium so that it can convey the "heard", "felt" and "seen" aspects of the spoken word in the performance context in which it is delivered. The point of such notation would be to assist the average reader to recreate in his mind's eye the original performance, in much the same way as a*

> *drama director from a written page constructs in his mind's eye a fleshed – out performance before he recreates it on stage.*

The need to dwell on the state of orature as an academic discipline became necessary in order to create an enabling environment for a meaningful discussion on the literariness or otherwise of African praise songs. This is most desirable considering the divergent views on the existence of African orature as literature. Therefore, praise songs which form an integral part of African folklore are expressions of a culture that become fully active in process of performance. To this end, Chinweizu et al (1985:2) finally submits that:

> *African orature is the incontestable reservoir of values, sensibilities aesthetics and achievements of traditional African thought and imagination.*

Therefore, against the evolutionist view, praise songs are not handed down through the generations in a word-perfect-form which they say is similar among all peoples at the same time and stages of evolution. The implication of this is that the evolutionists viewed oral poetry as survivals from earlier generations, crude and communal; lacking individual creativity; static; and of no variability, since it is in word-perfect-form through generations. Similarly, Bowra (1968) also subscribed to the evolutionist view in his work *Primitive Song* when he observed that:

> *The task of composition which is created with such care and seriousness is helped as in all oral poetry, by existence of formulas and of ready–made phrases which a man is entitled to and is even expected to use them when he makes a song.*

Bowra's view helps in furthering the evolutionist belief on communal ownership of oral poetry materials and the absence of individual creativity in a primitive song. All that the composition of a primitive song entails the argument avers, is the mere assemblage of formulas and ready-made phrases. Trevo Cope (1968) is

also another evolutionist who in his *Izibongo Zulu praise poems* asserts that there is no individuality of style in a folksong, for according to him: "The singer is a specialist in collecting, committing to memory and particularly in reciting the praises than in composing them". Although Bole Butake (1978) agrees that traditional African societies are communalistic but argues that:

> *Operating within an inherited framework or structure, or form, he is still making an original composition in so far as style is concerned. He can be said to be like the creative writer who decides to use the form of a novel to tell a story.*

Ruth Finnegan (1970) also debunks the popular evolutionist's view when she argues that there is composition in performance, thus individuality of style and creativity in oral poetry. She puts it that:

> *The recitation itself can also lead to additions by the performer ... each separate performance of the traditional poem may involve a certain amount of composition in the sense of introducing variant forms into a poem which has a clear outline but is not fixed into an exact verbal identify.*

Here, both Butake and Finnegan successfully deflate the evolutionist claims that oral poetry is devoid of individual creativity and style. It is, however, undeniable that oral poetry is handed down through generations but not in a word-perfect form; there is improvisation and verbal variability. In the light of this, Nupe female praise songs which is the main focus of this thesis is not ordinary survivals of the past that is lacking in individual creativity. It is rather a body of oral poetry, rich in intrinsic literary qualities – an aspect overlooked by the evolutionists.

This elaborate review on definitions and clarifications of orature and orality will be incomplete without considering specific contributions of scholars and students alike to this great field of human endeavour. Ruth Finnegan's contribution seems to be one of the most outstanding on studies in oral poetry

in Africa. In her book, *Oral Literature in Africa*, Finnegan devotes a chapter to the discussion on the panegyric in Africa. She examines primarily praise poems directed at kings and chiefs composed and recited by members of their entourage. The first part of the work takes a general overview of the nature, occasion, composition and social significance of the panegyric. Through analysis of some of the poems, Finnegan shows that the subject of the poems is usually animals, objects or human beings. She however says that the poems on human beings are the most developed and famous while those composed and recited by professional bards on kings or chiefs are the most ambitious and elaborate.

The second part of the work is a detailed survey of praise poems among the peoples of the southern Bantu cluster. The praise name is an important feature of Bantu praise poems. It ranges from one word, phrases, lines to verses. The stanzas are linked together by their general application to the hero of the poem. Each praise name, verse, stanza and poem is an extension of the previous one and literary significance attached to each finds its fullest expression in the complex and extensive poem. She also sheds some light on the poetic devices and stylistic features of the Bantu praise poem but however says the first interest of the poem is towards laudatory description of the hero rather than description of natural phenomenon or the straight forward narration of events. It is to this panegyricizing end that the general form and the detailed style of these poems all tend.

Finnegan also looks at the delivery pattern of Bantu praise poems and says that it is fast, in high pitch and accompanied by dramatic gestures. Its occasions include festivals, installations of a new chief and public gathering. The author argues that though the praise poems have a clear outline but some composition takes place during performance. She successfully evaluates the

social significance of the poems and concludes the work on an enthusiastic note that despite reforms in the society, panegyric continues to thrive. Finnegan (1970:145–146) sums it up thus:

> *... Inspite of new interests and inevitable changes of outlook consequent on the passing of the old aristocratic order, the literary form of praise poetry still flourishes, in however modified a form, and the ancient praises still bring inspiration and a formal mode of literary expression to modern artists. Praise poetry still performs its functions of recording outstanding events, expressing praise and recalling the history of the people.*

The approach employed in panegyric by Finnegan is analytical and also takes into cognisance all spheres of praise poetry among the Bantu people. The fact that the area of focus–all southern Bantu people deprives the work of minute details which a single study like Nupe praise songs would have entailed. However, the analytical framework provides a useful starting point for the analysis of Nupe praise songs.

Jack Mapanje and Landeg White's *Oral Poetry from Africa* as an anthology introduces to students as well as teachers of oral poetry a selection of the marvellous and varied oral poetry from Africa. The poems in this collection illustrate the vitality and immediacy of oral literature. *Oral Poetry from Africa* contains poems, and songs which comment upon the whole range of human experience: poems of praise and celebration; poems to amuse and entertain; poems of love and of loss; work songs and protest songs. The first section out of the seven sections was dedicated to poems of praise. Each section has an introduction linking and commenting upon the poems. Detailed notes at the end of the book provided helpful background information on each poem. In addition, practical guidance is given on the teaching of oral poetry in the classroom. These notes also provide information on where each poem comes from and the language from which it has been translated and brief description where possible

of the context of the original performance together with comments on the meaning. It is, however, important to remember, though, that literature is literature and not ritual and that popular songs are popular songs. They take on a life of their own and no notes can confine them to specific situations or exact meanings. A good poem always says more than it seems to say. In the light of this, these notes are better regarded as a kind of assistance to find one's own enjoyment in the poems of the anthology.

The anthology is pan–African in scope and aims at illustrating above all the variety of the oral poet's art. Mapanje and White (1983:2) corroborating this, summed it up thus:

> *Oral Poetry from Africa contains poems translated from no less than 54 different languages and originating from even greater number of different places: without the facilities of print and translation, they would remain unknown to larger audiences. Ideally, if a Zimbabwean wishes to experience performances of Yoruba 'Ijala', he should learn Yoruba and travel to Nigeria. But few people have such opportunities and who could master all the languages involved? A set of English translations, though a poor substitute, is a vast improvement on ignorance*. (emphasis mine)

Whatever it is, the fact remains, though, that these poems have been extracted from other languages and from the living contexts of performance. To this end, certain issues are likely to be involved. First, can those oral poems be really translated? And is it possible to reproduce accurately in a foreign language the nuances of meaning and the qualities of expression of the original version? These questions are only intended to highlight and appreciate the effort of the authors – hence the emphasis above. Again, even if the whole anthology could be printed in the original languages, another problem would still arise. That is to say, can oral poetry be written down? What happens when the performer can no longer look his audience of friends and fellow-towns-men straight in the eye?

What happens when his gestures, his shifts in tone and emphasis, his use of topical allusions, his whole 'game' with his audience have all to be supplied in private by an anonymous reader helped by an editor's notes? These questions are not only rhetorical but also a calculated attempt to further appreciate the efforts of the authors. Their comments and practical guidance on these praise poems have been very useful for analytical approach of Nupe praise songs. For instance, "The Sultan of Bornu" – a Kanuri praise poem from ancient kingdom of Bornu in northern Nigeria serves as a good guide for analysis of Nupe female praise songs. The poem, which was recorded in 1926 describes an individual king, Sultan Momadu Ajimi, who reigned in 1937–51. But it is also a statement of what an ideal king should be like, providing the Sultan with a pattern that official praise singer implies he should follow. Thus, the Sultan is praised for the variety of different kings and peoples over whom he rules, for the generosity with which he provides for his people, and for his achievements as a warrior in extending the kingdom he inherited from his grandfather. Above all, he is praised as a person of very terrible power– "you can collect or disperse people at will". As with many of the praise poems in this section, the poem is built up of a series of parallel statements. Everything is said once and then repeated, with slight extensions of meaning or variations of rhythm. The effect of this technique is an extremely dignified, impressive and considered style which carries much authority.

Another scholarly study is Graham Furniss *Poetry, Prose and Popular Culture in Hausa.* The book is a comprehensive, detailed and richly informed study of an entire literary culture of a people. The author dedicated the last four chapters out of the nine chapters to "Song and Poetry". For instance, chapter

six that is on “Song and Freelance Popular Singers” discusses extensively Freelance and ‘tied’ singers. There is similarity in function between the freelance and ‘tied’ singers. While both types of singers are involved in praise and commemoration, a singer like Shata represents the freelance singer who both performs in praise of patrons and is free to sing on whatever subject pleases him while others perform for one single patron and are the custodians of genealogies and oral history. Certain famous royal singers, such as Saidu Faru are said to have never performed anything other than royal praises while others have switched patron, or moved from freelance to “tied to royalty” status. The chapter also discusses the functions of songs, distinguishes song and poetry; refrains and choruses and concludes with performance style among freelance singers.

A whole of chapter seven discusses critically and on an elaborative note, singing for combatants, singing for farmers and court praise- singing which serves as a background to the study on Nupe female praise songs. Graham Furniss (1996:175) validating the long time existence of court praise-singing in northern Nigeria observed that:

> *The tradition of courtly praise-singing goes back before the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate in the early years of the nineteenth century ... Despite attempts by the leaders of the Jihad and their descendants to discourage the praising of any figure other than the Prophet, such courtly praise-singing has continued down the years as an integral part of the daily routine of emirate administration.*

The remaining chapters eight and nine were specifically on poetry. While chapter eight discusses form and background of Hausa Poetry, Chapter nine discusses Modern Hausa Poetry. The author then went further to add that in form, while poetry has regular stanzas, line-end rhyme schemes, and generally operates with Arabic-derived metres, song operates with variable length verses

with refrains and uses rhythmic patterns that appear not to be derived from Arabic metres. In public performance, song is usually instrumentally accompanied, often sung by a group with lead singer and chorus, and is performed without reference to anything written down. The process of composition also tends to differ; where poetry is written and reworked by an individual poet, song is often composed within a group and re-performed from memory.

She concluded this chapter on an analytical note when she analysed the extract of Musa Dankwairo's song sang for Saudauna after his assassination in 1966 under the sub-topic "Symbols and Allegiances". Within this extract in praise of Saudauna, we see the classic categories of aristocratic praise, the personal qualities, the relationships with underlings and clients, administrative skills, his clinching claim to legitimate authority through his direct descent from the leader of the jihad, Shehu Usman dan Fodiyo. A recurring feature of court praise – songs is the deployment of common symbols – animals, colour in association with the person of the patron, as we see in that extract. Furniss (1966:184) list common symbols as follows: 'giwa' (elephant); strength and dignified authority; 'zaki' (lion): strength, courage and respectability; 'doki' (horse): influence and wealth; 'kura' (hyena): greed, ferocity and threat; 'jaki' (donkey): stupidity: 'rakumi' (camel): endurance; 'mujiya' (owl) unpopularity: 'ja' (red): danger, bravery and severity; 'baki' (black): invincibility, bad omen; 'kore' (green): fertility, agriculture; 'fari' (white): happiness, harmlessness, weakness; 'ruwa' (water): cleanliness, purity, power and prosperity.

In general, though, the author provided the historical background of the poets, the thematic concern of the songs and translations of the songs but never

gave detailed analysis of each song on the basis of its poetic devices such as metaphor, simile, hyperbole, alliteration, assonance, allusions etc. *Poetry, Prose and Popular Culture in Hausa* is a general study of singers and their songs; therefore, could not provide the minute details of each song as may be required or expected.

Isaac Schapera's *Praise poems of Tswana Chiefs* moved away from several sub-genres of praise poetry to concentrate on the praise poems of chiefs. The example of Schapera's work is relevant and useful to the study of Nupe female praise songs in the sense that both deal with poetry associated with the royalty. Both Fatima Lolo Bida and Hawawu Kulu Lafiagi are traditional court poets. Schapera surveys praise poems in Tswana life and discovers that the poems are a form of traditional literature common in all cluster of southern Bantu. The content of the poems the author says always include eulogies of the chief himself … "direct or implied criticism of his conduct or disposition. The eulogy is generally related to some specified events so that the poem is, in effect, a flattering account of what the chief has done to distinguished himself" (Schapera 1965:10).

Schapera examines the structure of the Tswana chiefs praise poems which he says consist of series of stanzas. The first line introduces the events and is followed by the eulogy of the chief; the cowardice of his enemies; reference to members of his family; and past history. The poem ends with the poet requesting for reward. The author also sheds light on the elegant variation which he says is an act of referring to a person by different kinds of names. For example, proper names, names of totems, age-set, tribe, distinctive praise name, prefix, father of first born (name) and husband of so-and-so. The elegant

variation is a common feature of Tswana poems. So also is the praise names and laudatory epithets.

The discussion on the cultural setting provides us with a better understanding of the Tswana people, their history, the status and role of Tswana chiefs as well as events and phenomenon alluded to in the poems. The second section presents praise poems of chiefs of four Tswana tribes – Kgafela–Kgatla, Kwena, Ngwaketse, and Ngwato. Though attempt is made at textual analysis of each of the poems, the focus and concentration seems to be more towards the historical significance of the poems. Each poem is traced to a particular chief, tribe, period of reign and major historical events during his reign. Although Schapera's work leans heavily on the sociological aspects; it is undoubtedly a commendable effort.

Henry Morris work, *The Heroic Recitations of the Bahima of the Ankole* is similar to Nupe female praise songs in its broad concept as praise poetry. Morris focuses on the praise poems of the Bahimas of Uganda which he says are the only principal artistic expression of the Bahima. In a thorough discussion of the historical and social background of the poems, the author gives us an insight as to why heroism in battle is often the subject of the poems. He also adds that warfare originally provided inspiration for the composition of Bahima praise poems but with decrease in warfare mere incidents such as fight at a watering point could now inspire composition of the poems. Morris insists that though the poems are based on actual events, they do not describe the events but boast of valour.

The author locates categories of the Bahima praise poems into two – Ekirahiro and Ekyerugo – using the subject matter criterion. Ekyerugo deals

with exploits in battle field while Ekirahiro extols the beauty of cattle. Morris follows up the section with an extensive study of the structure of the poems and also looks at the delivery pattern of the poems which he says is delivered without pause of breath, while the pitch tails off as the line proceeds. The poems have evenly spaced syllable. The work also throws more light on praise name, which the author says is one of the outstanding features of Bahima praise poetry. The poems usually begin with praise names. Morris work is a good generalised study of the Bahima praise poems. However, he fails to examine the poems in detail, that is, in terms of their contents and features.

Gods and Heroes by W. Shack and H. Marcos is another illuminating contribution to the literature of praise poetry. The work concentrates on the praise poems of deities, tribal leaders and heroes of the Gurage people of Ethiopia. The authors categorise Gurage praise poems into two – secular and religious. The religious poems are composed for Gurage deities and are to honour the deities who are conceived of as being closely involved in the day-to-day activities of tribesmen, especially in regulating their behaviour towards one another. The Gurages have three national deities: 'Bwaza', the thunder god, 'Wak', god of war and 'Damwawit', the goddess of Gurage women. The secular poems deal with praises of persons such as chiefs, heroes and tribal leaders. Like Nupe community, men are praised among the Gurage because they earn recognition in the society. The poems extol their subjects, exaggerate their deeds beyond human capability and are chanted to a stylised melody, tempo and rhythm.

In discussing the cultural and political setting of the poems (Shack and Marcos 1974:32) insist that "information about persons, customs and events

contained in the poems are insufficient, even for the Gurage listener let alone an English reader of the text" The authors also gave a glimpse into the general stylistic peculiarities of the poems and the rest of the work is in three sections. The first section is on the praise poems of the deities, the second has praise poems of chiefs and praise poems of war in the final section. A fair attempt was made at textual analysis of the poems in the sections.

Another significant study is Gladys E. Agboola's thesis on "Analytical study of Ekpoma court poetry". The study probes into the court poetry of the Ekpoma people. The Ekpoma people are a part of the Ishans, found in the North Eastern part of Edo State. According to (Agboola, 1992:3) "Ekpoma court poetry is made up of incantations, praise poems, dirges and social songs. The social songs are performed during communal festivals such as new yam festivals, ancestral festivals, installation of the Onojie and during initiation – Iruen. Incantations are chanted during court rituals in Ekpoma and the praise poems are performed during all palace activities and proceedings."

The praise poem is the most popular and most commonly used in Ekpoma court just like the Etsu or Emir Court in Nupe Community. Every occasion provides an opportunity for the adulation of the Onojie. The praise poem celebrates the Onojie, eulogies are addressed to him, his ancestors are glorified using lofty and effusive language. The glorious qualities of the Onojie, his paramountcy, illustriousness, ascendancy, prowess and deeds of his ancestors form the main focus of the praise poems. The praise poems employ praise phrases and praise names which consist of names of animals, objects and natural phenomenon. The praise names highlight striking qualities and are used to emphasise the Onojie's primacy in Ekpoma. The praise poems play

essentially eulogistic role of extolling the good qualities and virtues of the Onojie and the royal dynasty.

Incantation is another strain of Ekpoma court poetry. It communicates something mainly of religious significance. Incantations are employed during communal rituals and sacrifices at the Ekpoma court, so it is spoken with seriousness and solemnity. Incantations in Ekpoma court poetry consist of innovations, supplications and request, with concrete intentions of the Onojie and the community. Praises and praise names are also employed to eulogize and cajole the gods into granting the request of the Ekpoma people. The author emphasises that the theme of praise really is the most dominant element of Ekpoma court poetry. It features in the praise poems, incantations, dirges and social songs. Ekpoma court poetry means praise poetry associated with Ekpoma royalty as it exists in Ekpoma.

The author, also discussed the socio-cultural background of Ekpoma court poetry, court poets, training and audience and concluded the study with a literary analysis of some of the selected poems. Agboola's work is a very good reference material for students researching into the traditional literature of their people.

Idris Yabagi's thesis on "A minstrel as Historian: Recreating the Fulani Lineage of Bida in the songs of Fatima Lolo" explores Lolo's life and art to show how she employs her creative skills to not only entertain her teeming supporters and fans but also to recreate the Fulani lineage of Bida Emirate in Niger State, Nigeria. Lolo, through a rare combination of poetic use of Nupe language and artistic composition of musical notes praised her patron to ecstasy, holds her audience spell bound and propagate her own world view and philosophy.

In its general outlook, Yabagi's work features mainly through four chapters. The first chapter introduces the work, the purpose of the research, the relevance of Nupe Song in recreating historical events, the methodology as well as the scope and limitation of the work. The chapter two reviews related literature in which he appraised the works of Okpewho, Yahaya and Abdulkadir, the views, show that even though Lolo is quite popular, her poetic works have not attracted much critical attention. In chapter three, he isolates three representative songs for close textual analysis, however, only one of the songs was mainly addressed to the Fulani lineage of Bida Emirate. He concludes in chapter four by attempting to show the quality and impact of the artist performance on the audience.

On the whole, Yabagi's work seems to be too limited in scope and his choice of only three songs is also considered to be inadequate for a work of this magnitude. This explains why the entire thesis is sixty-three pages in volume excluding the appendices. Nevertheless, his work has given us an insight into Nupe orature.

Ndakotsu Tsuzom Mawo's thesis on "An analysis of transmission and Composition of Jigbe Oral Poetry of the Niger–Benue Confluence Nupe" is another contribution to the scholarly debate on the origins of songs/poems in African orature; a debate of a very lively nature which has inspired a closer look at the traditional literature of individual societies.

'Jigbe' is essentially hunters poetry and because of the nature of it, a direct translation into standard Nupe would have been unnecessary and indeed depreciated the quality of the songs. This is because according to (Mawo, 2000:9) "the poetry is peculiar to the Bassa-Nge dialect with embellishments

from the 'Akuya' sub-dialect. The performance of "Jigbe", the author maintains, now transcend just the commemoration of hunter's death or its exploits. It is an individualistic poetry and chanter being the composer and performer. The poet displays his creativity through the weaving of proverbs, riddles, and praises, he usually comes down to allow audience participation by rounding off a 'stanza' with a familiar chorus. Being a hunters' affair 'jigbe' panegyric content often extol the prowess of such horrid beasts as the buffalo (believed to possess supernatural powers). The slaying of such beast is usually an appropriate occasion for 'jigbe' performance more than even the funeral for which it was created. And since it is usually a solo affair, the chanter alone, wielding a buffalo tail holds the stage. His points are punctuated by gesticulations with the tail to the accompaniment of the "enyadukun", (pot drum) in the background. The pot drum is itself a sacred instrument reserved only for such solemn occasions such as the burial of very old men at which 'jigbe' features.

The prowess of a singer is judged not by his vocal capability but by his dexterity in handling proverbs, riddles and narratives. It is through this that his messages get more poignant and meaningful. Thus, the ingredients of 'jigbe' are ready made but the putting together of such depends on the skills of the performer. Mawo's work is specifically on a genre of Nupe poetry – 'jigbe' (hunting) which also deals with praises of hunters and animals as well. It is this element of praise–singing together with its analytical approach that makes it a relevant material for the study of Nupe praise songs.

CHAPTER THREE

AN ANALYSIS OF THE SONGS AND CAREER OF FATIMA LOLO BIDA

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the life of Fatima Lolo and the classification of her songs. It also in the main gave a detailed analysis of Lolo's songs with particular emphasis on the composition, form, content and style of her songs. The chapter finally concludes with a detailed discussion on members of her audience. It will therefore be pertinent to open this chapter with P'bitek's comments on what literature should be. P'bitek (1973) in his book titled *African's Cultural Revolution*, observes that:

> *Literature must not be allowed to degenerate into a quest for 'knowledge' to be attained through pains... Literature cannot fully be a subject for an examination. Because felling (sic); not knowledge, is the central aim of any expressive activity. At a funeral, mourners do not cry so that they get a certificate; nor does anybody laugh for an examination. The question is not 'How much do you know about the structure and form of this song?' but 'How much have you enjoyed it?' 'How has it affected you' And these are questions that can best be left to the individuals to answer for himself or herself.*

The implication of the above is that literature can at best be read, enjoyed and appreciated. The fact that literature deals with emotions, one may say that such arguments have some merits. Nevertheless, it will not be out of place when one takes cognizance of the crucial nature of this study and devise some ways of analyzing a literary piece by appreciating it or its component parts. It is, to this end, that the researcher decided to look into the songs with a view to identifying the styles, language and thematic concerns of the chosen songs.

A full appreciation must depend on an analysis not only of the verbal inter play and overtones in the piece, its stylistic structure and content but also of the various detailed devices which performers have at their disposal to convey their products to the audience, and varying ways these are used by different individuals. Something also needs to be said of the role or status of the composer or performer who is the one to communicate this oral art directly to his or her public, audience and occasion, the re-actions and participations likely to be forthcoming from listeners and spectators, the respective contributions, if any, of musical or balletic elements, and finally the social contexts in which this creation and re-creation takes place. In the light of this, the traditional chiefly courts of Nupe have been the focus of much 'taki' (praise) performance in the context of praise-singing tradition with a clear distinction among the performers. Thus, we have the singing group and the individual praise crier, that is, the Nda Ma'abba (Dan Ma'abba in Hausa) whose shouted phrases are often interpolated into the performance of a singing group.

In performance a group may find itself accompanied, sometimes both without its consent and against its will, by at least one Nda Ma'abba 'praise crier' an individual who shouts over the top of the singers, occasionally correcting them, calling out praise – epithets and providing additional, often specialized information both directly to the audience and to the singers for incorporation in the song as it goes along. Particularly where the praise singer is not local, these local Nda Ma'abba who may well know the details of genealogies and history, will be an invaluable source of information for the singer as they look for backgrounds and details to incorporate in their songs but in the view of some singers, they can also constitute an unwelcome distraction.

3.1 The Life of Fatima Lolo Bida

Hajiya Fatima Lolo was born in Patigi district of Bida province in Northern Nigeria in the first decade of the twentieth century. According to my informant, Lolo lived for eighty–three (83) years before her demise in 1997. This is a rough calculation, since she did not know her exact birthday. In rural areas such as Patigi, people do not keep or write down birth records. The actual house in which she was born in Patigi could not be identified because according to my informant, Lolo's parents had fled from Bida to Patigi as a result of the invasion of Bida by the British Colonial administration early in 1897 (Madaki 2004:32).

However, Fatima Lolo's compound in Bida is about 150metres away from the new Umaru Majigi Central Mosque. The house encompasses about a quarter of an acre. It is enclosed by an oval shaped wall made of sun-dried mud bricks. The main entrance to the compound in the early part of the year 2014 received a face-lift from a close relation. The entire compound is occupied by Lolo's relatives. It is important to note that Fatima never had her own biological child. She left behind her late brother's only daughter and her husband's children from the co-wife in her compound at Bida.

She began her singing career at the tender age of ten as an apprentice under her mother. She used to accompany her mother to perform during naming and wedding ceremonies whenever she was invited. Lolo therefore began as a member of the chorus in her mother's group and later she became a full time artist after the death of her mother. The veteran Nupe traditional singer and of course the then reigning queen of Nupe praise singers was appointed the Court singer at the age of 21 by the nineth Etsu Nupe, Muhammadu Ndayako who ruled Bida between 1935–1962. And even after she got married to Mallam

Muhammadu Emijiko at the age of 29, she still continued with her career. Usually, a husband may not want his wife to continue singing after marriage but here the case was different because Lolo's husband was the head drummer of her ensemble. Her patron the 9th Etsu Nupe Muhammadu Ndayako popularly known and called Babakudu officially appointed Lolo to replace Kaka Nigba (the then incumbent Sagi Nigba Nupe) who was already weighed down by age. Lolo thus moved to the emir's court in Bida as the new Sagi Nigba Nupezhi (Leader of Nupe Oral Singers) in 1935 – a position she occupied until her death on 15th May, 1997. Unlike Kaka Nigba, she was more popular with the audience because she was greatly endowed with artistic attributes such as her attractive dancing style and possession of powerful memory for historical documentations. After her demise, Hajiya Halima became the next Sagi until she resigned from singing in 2005 on account of old age and Hajiya Nnasha Emigubagi took over to date. It should be noted that the 'Sagis' were never placed on any salaries by the emirate rather they receive marvellous gifts during performances at state functions. This could be in form of cash or kind such as money, cars, plots of land and a ticket to go and perform holy pilgrimage at Mecca.

As the leader of the traditional singing groups, Lolo has the power to direct any singing group and it is expected that other singers will obey her as long as she remained their leader. This is why in grandeur occasions such as Sallah festivals, national and international performances all heads or leaders of other groups formed her chorus. She represents the Nupe as a whole during such national or international occasions. Lolo's name became a household item in Bida and in the entire Nupeland. Hardly did any important social function in Niger State take place without Fatima Lolo's performance. For instance she

performed during the coronation ceremonies of His Royal Highness Alhaji Usman Sarki, the 10th Etsu Nupe in 1962, His Royal Highness Etsu Musa Bello the 11th Etsu Nupe in 1969, Etsu Umaru Sanda Ndayako the 12th Etsu Nupe in 1975 and also Alhaji Faruk Bahago, the incumbent Emir of Minna. She also sang during the launching of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) Niger State Chapter in 1979. Infact, Lolo is a singer capable of raising the roof each time she performed. That is to say, her excellent performances usually attract a lot of cheering and shouting from the audience, thereby showcasing that a particular performance has been successful. And what is more, she has a street named after her in Bida town at Umaru Majigi ward even while she was still alive.

Today, an award tagged 'Fatima Lolo Merit Award' is being given to distinguished performers at the Nupe Day Celebration which comes up on 26th of June every year in order to immortalise her name for her tremendous contribution to cultural development of Nupe society. The date chosen for the Nupe Day Celebration also has a historical significance. Historically, it was on the 26th of June 1896 that the Nupe people vehemently resisted the European incursion at Ogidi in present Kogi State. To corroborate this, (Jimada 2005:137) said:

> *Most humiliating to the British, to the Royal Niger Company and to Goldie, personally, was the outcome of the hostilities between the company's constabulary and units of the army of the Emirate of Bida, which occurred at Ogidi, on 26th June 1896.*

The cerebration of Nupe day which started in 2004 was a calculated attempt to bring Nupe people from all the emirates together so as to give fresh impetus to the agitation for the creation of Ndaduma State in Nigeria. That is to say, although the activities of the celebration day is mainly cultural performances and to this end it serves as a forum for cultural revival in Nupeland but not

completely without political undertones. It is good to note that the idea of the celebration of Nupe Day came up after the 13th Etsu Nupe, His Royal Highness Alhaji Dr. Yahaya Abubakar ascended the throne on 11th September, 2003.

Fatima Lolo can lay claims to many firsts in Niger State. She is the first Nupe traditional singer to own a microphone in Bida, the first Nupe singer to sing for six successive emirs in Bida; excluding the present emir – Etsu Yahaya Abubakar. She was the first oral performer on the list of the Niger State Contingent to FESTAC '77 and finally the first female singer in the State to be awarded with the prestigious national honour – 'Member of the Order of the Niger (MON) in 1980 as a result of her excellent performance for the then President of Federal Republic of Nigeria, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, the then Secretary to Federal Government, Alhaji Aliyu Makama Nupe and other prominent government officials at the State house in Lagos. It was another occasion in which she recreated and sang again the historical song of "Eni Etsu Guwo be Gubae Na'agi Bidao nan" (The Song of the Twelve Emirs who Ruled Bida) – the song that was reputed to be her magnum opus.

She is a glamorous oral praise singer with no formal educational background. She, therefore, relied on her memory of rich repertoire and never for once depended on any written text before she produces a song. The artist had high intensity of tonal expression and gesturic enthusiasm that always impressed her audience. This nature of her performance marked her out so well that she easily and completely won the admiration of both her patrons and audience. Although Lolo was primarily a court singer, she also sang outside the court sometimes with or without the permission of her patron. For instance, her song 'Wulele, Wulele Eyayi Wulele' (Ululation, Ululation gives us ululation)

which she sang for medical nurses at Bida General Hospital in 1995 during a sensitization campaign for modern methods of child delivery was never a court song. It was a song intended to keep expectant mothers in Nupe community abreast with modern methods of child delivery. Her political song for National Party of Nigeria (NPN) in 1979 which was intended to boost the winning chances of the party during the elections was also not a court song. Usually she pulled large crowds because of her creative use of words and unique style of dancing whenever she performed.

Fatima Lolo openly violated the traditional Islamic convention practice of keeping women in purdah – an Islamic ideal which recommends that women are not to be seen or heard publicly. Hauwa Mahdi's article "The position of women in Islam" in which she quotes from the *Qur'an* and the *Hadiths* (the sayings of the holy prophet) to refute the claims of the religious bases for many practices against women by men who administer their communities could be a good reference point here. She cites chapter four, verse three and chapter four, verse one hundred and twenty-nine of the Qur'an as well as Sahih Bukhari's translations of the Hadiths to prove that the Qur'an decreed women's freedom from forced marriage, freedom from being forced to polygamous marriages as well as freedom from all restrictions of women such as in purdah. From the above standpoint, Lolo could be said to have been vindicated. To this end, she sees nothing bad in her career. Most of her patrons have been from the men folk and they have been her greatest fans and admirers (her numerous material achievements come from them). Therefore, Kolo (1990:15) during one of his B.A. project interviews with Lolo quoted her thus:

> *If I could be so honoured and accepted by this sex, it only goes to show that they do not see me as a deviant or antagonist but as an ally of progress.*

Similarly, her husband was one of her foremost well-wishers. He was also a member of her group and sometimes beat the drum for her. This further makes them endearing to one another right from the time they got married and started their music career. Her career as a traditional praise singer was not unexpected; for she was only living up to the dictates of the society that produced her.

Lolo, in conclusion, also opines that the lukewarm response of some people towards the traditional music generally can be traced to some negative religious perceptions people have against the performance of her kind of music. Lolo, nevertheless, resolved this issue when she said:

> *And if singing is really bad, I pray that Allah will make me ask for forgiveness as my mother was said to have done some years before she died.*

3.2 The Classification of Fatima Lolo's Songs

There are various types of traditional songs and various types of performances in Nupe society. Such songs that are found in the society include: Praise songs, Occupational songs, and Masquerade or ritual songs. Praise, however, is a distinct feature in almost all forms of traditional and contemporary songs in Nupe society. This situation cannot be divorced from the fact that quite a number of occasions for the performance of traditional songs demand that praises be showered or rendered on the audience most especially the deserving individuals. Such individuals are in most cases those who give gifts in cash or kind in appreciation of the performance. In fact, hardly do wealthy people and important personalities escape the tongue of the performer. Again, such individuals could be repeatedly referred to or praised in subsequent

songs by the performer at other similar occasions as a mark of appreciation for their open generosity in previous occasions. It is expected that, this will further tempt the audience at such occasions to give out more.

Nevertheless, after listening critically with a literary mind to the recorded songs of both Fatima Lolo and Hawawu Kulu, together with consultations with other members of the Nupe society, the researcher arrives on a more realistic or rather suitable classification. Again, advocating what he calls the 'qualitative' approach in oral literature studies, Okpewho suggests careful weighing of what informants say against the fact before the investigator, so that the investigator can draw valid conclusions. To this end, the classification of Fatima Lolo's song in particular takes a different dimension. The classification is rather based on functional/content criteria. That is to say, it is essentially based on the thematic concern or thematic preoccupation of the singer. To this end, the researcher classified her songs into namely: (a) 'Eni Etanzhi' (Historical Songs) (b) 'Eni Dandanzhi' (Occupational Songs) (c) 'Eni Zamanzhi' (Songs of Topical Issues of the Moment) and (d) 'Eni Chinchinzhi' (Unity/Love songs).

In the light of above, the 'Eni Etanzhi' (Historical Songs) such as 'Eni Etsu Guwo be Guba 'e na'agi Bida ona' (The Song of Twelve Emirs who Ruled Bida) and 'Eni Ezhi Rudi be 'Gubae' (The Song of Thirty-Seven Villages) belong to this category of Lolo's songs. For instance, 'The Song of Twelve Emirs who Ruled Bida' is a song which celebrates the heroism and positive contributions of the twelve emirs who ruled Bida from Etsu Usman Zaki to the reign of the twelfth Etsu (emir), Etsu Umaru Sanda Ndayako who passed away on 2nd October 2003. The twelve emirs were of the Fulani descent, a branch from the famous Sheikh Usman Ibn Fodio, whose revivalist jihad swept through Nupeland with

Mallam Dendo as his ambassador and emissary (Nadel, 1942:76). Thus, the song is an artistic reconstruction of the structure of the emirate system in Bida from the point of entry to the twelfth emir and the study of the famous struggle against colonial dominance by one of the emirs – Etsu Bubakar in 1895–1897 leading to his banishment to Lokoja, a town which later played host to several banished emirs from Bida and from other parts of Northern Nigeria.

The second classification is 'Eni Dandanzhi' (Occupational Songs). As the name implies, this group of songs are rendered either on behalf of or by different occupations or professions. For instance, Lolo's praise song titled 'Wulele, Wulele Eyayi Wulele' (Ululation, Ululation, Give Us Ululation) is a suitable example for this study. The song was rendered for the nurses at Bida General Hospital during a sensitization workshop. She praises the Medical workers for effective handling of delivery and other related issues in our hospitals. Lolo as well touches on the ethics of nursing profession in this song.

Closely associated with the above, is the 'Eni Zamanzhi' (Songs of Topical Issues of the Moment). We have within this category the following songs: (a) 'Eni Bagudu Waziri BCC' (The Song of Alhaji Bagudu Waziri BCC), 'Eni NPN' (Song of National Party of Nigeria), 'Eni Ewo Woro' (Song of New Money) and 'Eni State Woro' (Song of New State). The song of Bagudu Waziri is a song composed for Alhaji Bagudu Waziri, the Wazirin Nupe, a multimillionaire businessman and a philanthropist of great standing who should be emulated so as to guarantee societal development. Similarly, the 'Song of NPN' is rendered to praise all categories of people who are members of the party so as to ensure the party's victory at the polls at all times. She in specific terms says NPN is a party for the elite, the rich and the clerics in the country. Her 'Song of New Money' celebrates the power and the great role money performs in the life of man.

The last category in this classification is the 'Eni chinchinzhi' (The Song of Love/Unity). Here, we have the songs of 'Eni Alhaji Ndakuta Zaria (Song of Alhaji Ndakuta of Zaria), 'Eni Ena Soyaya Kulobu Nya Bida (Song of Unity for Bida Club) and 'Eni Ketso Chizhi' (Song of Ketso People). All these songs stress unity, love and understanding among people and villages in Nupeland so as to ensure progress and societal development.

3.3 Composition, Form, Content and Style of Fatima Lolo's Songs

Composition here, by implication, is an attempt to explain how Fatima Lolo practises her art and by extension its performance. It also has to do with knowing the ways and means she employs in teaching members of her chorus as she creates, composes and performs with them.

There are various ways in which she collects information concerning the person or persons she intends to sing for. To do this, she is always concerned with knowing the intended patron's character, genealogy, occupation and other basic raw materials necessary for the composition of her praise song. To achieve this, Lolo employs the services of people who know certain things about the person she intends to sing for. In this case, she visits the 'Etsu-dzan' the head drummer of the town or village, who furnishes her with all the necessary information required on the intended subject.

In some cases, she makes use of the services of a local resident 'praise-crier' who shouts the praise names of the people the singer is performing for. The only thing she does is to listen attentively to the description being narrated by the praise crier. It is usually along that line she renders her own praise song. Again, she also obtains vital information on any particular town or village as

well as individuals from songs performed by other singers who had sang in such town, village and for those she now intends to sing for. It is usually left for her to pick on the important information she requires and develop it in her own style without necessarily toeing the lines of the earlier performers. In other words, she was always careful and creative in sifting through the multitude of information at her disposal to enable her select the ones that will dovetail with her new creation.

Fatima Lolo performs her songs with a group, who at the same time sing with her and supply the musical accompaniment although, it can be said that the composition of her song is wholly her responsibility. However, she involves the chorus in singing the refrains. And again, the drummers and the chorus are usually around to produce the right rhythm to her song. She does not necessarily need to rehearse her songs before any performance, after all, the group members are always ready to take their respective roles whenever they are out to perform. Thus, the question of confusing tunes is very rare during performance by the group.

In practice, Lolo singing performance session starts with the lead–singer opening while the chorus listens attentively. In most of Lolo's songs, she usually repeats within the first lines, the lines that will form the main refrain. The refrain lines are short and on other occasions consist of rhythmic chanting meant to provide tone and the rhyme to the song. Her recorded performance in praise of the royal lineage in Bida "Eni Etsu Guwo be Gubae naa gi Bida'o nan" (The Twelve Emirs Who Ruled in Bida) and "Eni Nyan Sitate Woro" (The Song of a New State and "Eni Bagudu Waziri BCC" (The Song of Bagudu Waziri BCC) are very good examples.

There is usually a formality in her performance. She does not just start. She is first introduced by her 'praise-crier' whenever she is to start her song. This usually serves as an introduction, a stimulus and an opening formular:

The person to sing now is Hajiya Fatima Lolo
The leader of all singers in Nupe society
---------- (The title of the song is given)
---------- (The venue and purpose is given)

The praise–crier who on most occasions dress in a complete caftan; stands beside Lolo throughout the period of performance. This is to create an enabling environment for cueing her promptly when the need arises. However, it should be noted that Lolo has a very sharp memory and hardly require the services of her praise crier apart from the initial introduction. From there, she starts by singing the refrain which the chorus is expected to repeat after each line. For instance, in her song "Etsu guwo be gubae na'agi Bidao nan", she proceeds to the theme of her song thus: Alhaji Shehu Shagari has requested that I sing for the twelve Emirs who ruled Bida, she does this after giving the audience a multitude of self praise using some proverbial sayings of the Nupe community to drive home her point. This of course goes a long way to reveal that she is the custodian of the historical facts about the nobility in Bida.

Through this performance technique, she demonstrates that she is the most knowledgeable Nupe singer and at the same time praising her subjects as captured below:

It is he who values the Kolanut
That wraps it in leaves
And he that values the black cloth
Wraps it in a paper
Lolo'o Jiwo, Lolo'oce (a self praise)

Lolo whose birth preceded that of her mother
Whoever want to engage in any risky business
Should be prepared to avoid its consequences.
Only one who knows the value of a story, tells it.
Everything happens before our very eyes.
Alhaji Shehu Shagari, Usman Shehu Shagari,
Usman Aliyu, the Son of Aliyu.
You request me to sing the song of the twelve emirs
The twelve emirs who ruled in Bida.
I asked you why?
And you said because of the new regime
And also because I am better endowed.
You know that other singers can sing the song
But whichever way, a villager cannot equal an urban dweller.
Yam porridge cannot compete with pounded yam.
Debt is never theft.
Original substance is different from adulterated one -
(Appendix 1, Lines 2–26)

With this, she goes into historical records, tracing their genealogy i.e. (roll calling) and reigns back to the period of the nineteenth century jihads, specifically, the Usman Danfodio's and their arrival in Nupeland. She proceeds to lists the emirs in the course of her performance; in succession attributing to each of them their qualities, periods of reign, giving important information about each Emir's personality.

Similarly, in her performance 'Eni Sitate Woro' she sings about the installation of the new emir and the creation of Niger State in 1976. Her song in this instance, most especially if the right to the throne was keenly contested (which is usually the case with emirship) is made up of phrases which are purported to raise the status of the emir or the title holder to the object of admiration just as she solicits for the people's confidence as can be noticed below.

The cock is pursued by many
At last only one person catches it
The person chosen by God
To him others can do nothing.
You better forget your differences
Or leave the town for the bush.

(Appendix 3, Lines 40–45)

She proceeds to raise the status of the emir above others attributing to his might and achievement, the creation of the new state as follows:

Umaru Sanda, Etsu Nupe, grandson of Muhammadu
Umaru Gana, Etsu Nupe, son of Musa
Since Umaru Gana became the emir
Everything is new.
We got a new State.
We got it because of his endowed attribute.
. . . When the state was at Kaduna, we were going there
When the State moved to Sokoto, we were going there,
Then, we asked, when will we have a State?
Until Umaru Gana became the emir.

(Appendix 3 Lines 46–57)

Hajiya Lolo like every other oral narrator or singer employs repetition at times to make her song more immediately understandable and retainable by the chorus as well as the audience. It is also used to emphasize a point and authenticate a claim. She dynamically relates to her chorus and drummers in the course of the performance. The use of complex communication technique-gesture between the groups is very important. Through this, they work in unison and take correction immediately when a mistake is made. The drummers are often ready to remind the singer of some important facts through drum language in the course of performance. With this the whole performance is usually harmonious. She does not have to rehearse her song before

performance at public functions, for she can hardly tell those who will be in attendance. According to Katamba, Lolo nevertheless, gets on smoothly because as soon as she set her eyes on her audience, she readily picks on what to sing for them from her wealth of experience which is and could be brought up to date by her sources of information as discussed earlier. In essence, she composes usually in the course of her performance.

Lolo's praise songs are improvised and could change during performance since the singer responds to changing performance situation. For instance, during performance, a new guest may be welcomed and that becomes part of the song and other incidences at the venue may be commented upon. It is this process of composition in performance which Lord refers to when he says "for the oral poet or singer, the moment of composition is the performance." This is also largely true of the Nupe female praise singers. The pressure on the performer is further heightened by the presence of the audience which could easily be bored. Lolo has to be alive throughout the performance to prevent her audience from showing any sign of boredom. Thus if the audience show any signs of boredom, the singer either alters the tune or tone or technically reduces the length of the song. To this end, it could be said that she depends largely on inspiration and improvisation while composing.

In addition, Nupe praise songs are analyzable in terms of what the songs say and the manner they say them, that is from the angle of content and form. Form is the different structural devices employed by the singer to put her content across to the audience. Form, therefore, is the vehicle for expressing content. It is the receptacle of content and also gives content its shape. Form enhances content while content gives significance to form. Thus form and

content are interdependent and inseparable. Form, in other words is the shape or organizational mode of a particular poem or song. It is the external appearance or structure of a literaty work. It is one of the most frequent terms in literary criticism, but also one of the most diverse in its meanings. However, in this application, the form of a work is the principle that determines how a work is ordered and organized. Form here, therefore, includes repetition, parallelism, stanza and other structural devices employed during performances by the oral singers to put across various aspect of Nupe praise songs to the audience.

In the light of the above, Lolo's praise songs to a large extent are lengthy like English epics mostly addressing the heroic deeds of the kings or emirs. For instance, one of her longest songs 'Eni Etsu guwo be gubae na'agi Bida'o nan' (The Song of the Twelve Emirs who Ruled in Bida) is 560 lines in length. Here, the heroic deeds and positive contributions of the emirs at different times were celebrated. Although it is a very lengthy song, however, a good number of the lines are short as can be noticed from this song and other songs. The songs are not traditionally stanzaic since they are not in a written form rather, they are prosaic. They also have a free verse like nature, with no consistent metre pattern, and rhyme. They tend to follow the rhythm of natural speech. Free verse is, despite its freedom not entirely free. Although it has no much formality, yet it is not formless. It displays some elements of form. Perhaps that is why Jesper Kruse (2012) sharing the views of Eliot says "No verse is free for the man who wants to do a good job." That is to say, although free verse has no metre, rhyme or other traditional poetic techniques: for oral singers like modern poets, one can still notice some sense of structure in their songs.

In the song “The Twelve Emirs who Ruled in Bida” ‘repetition’ which is one of the integral features of ‘form’ is highly utilized by Lolo and this makes her song very memorable. One example that readily comes to mind here is the repetition of “Lolo whose birth precedes that of her mother” in lines 5, 29 and 360 respectively. The singer made use of this unusual metaphor to stamp her authority. “Lolo whose birth precedes that of her mother” does not in any way imply that she is older than her mother but that she is endowed with wisdom that can match or even supersedes that of her mother. In popular Hausa proverbs ‘Kunne ya girmi kaka.’ As unusual as the metaphor is, the idea contained in the statement is a logical one. And since wisdom is a gift from God, it is not impossible for a child to be highly endowed with it than his or her parents. And especially when the mother herself was a less well-known singer – performer.

Similarly, there is repetition “when one pole falls, another one gets erected” in lines 58, 81, 98, 117, 123, 134, 397, 409, 438 and 444 which are all aimed at emphasizing the traditional role of the heir. That is to say, when an emir dies, the vacuum is immediately filled. There is also the repetition of “I will never be the white-man’s emir” in lines 157, 163, 180, 194 and 204. The repetition here is an attempt to emphasize the extent to which Etsu Bubakari vehemently resisted the colonial domination of Nupeland between 1895-1897. He was later banished by the British to Lokoja, a town which later played host to several banished emirs from Northern Nigeria. According to Nadel (1942) Bubakari “was no friend of the white-man.”

Another important feature of form is parallelism. This is a device used to make moments in literature memorable and alluring. It is also a literary device

in which parts of the sentence are grammatically the same, or are similar in construction. It can be a word, a phrase or an entire sentence repeated. Some examples from 'Ambo' traditional hunting songs of Zambia could be cited here for illustration. For this and according to Finnegan (1970:229-230) parallelism could be used to lead up to a climax at the very end of the piece as demonstrated below:

Heavens, my heart is throbbing,
While I see them standing.
Heavens, my heart is throbbing,
While I see them standing,
While I see the game standing.

This song, expressing the hunter's thrill at the sight of the game, leads up to an effective climax when the final word 'game' is at last uttered as if with awe. Similarly, the Ambo hunter's grim tenacity and perseverance in the face of hardship are often extolled:

Let the hunter take out the torn,
Let the hunter take out the torn,
Then cursing and roving.
You love it, you will die of the torn
Off he went to the veld.
Off he went to the veld, the great hunter.

Success is sometimes tinged with jealousy when the hunter compares his own achievement with those of others. One song, for instance, describes the success of a hunter's companions:

It's boiling and boiling
The hunters are cooking in a big pot.
It's boiling and boiling
Truly it's boiling hard
I'll kill two head tomorrow

These Ambo hunting songs are simple, direct and involve glorification of the hunter, the expression of his hopes and fears. The poems are relatively short and lyrical – hence its repetitive nature.

Lolo, the Nupe oral singer too made use of parallelism in her song of "The Twelve Emirs who ruled in Bida" as can be noticed in line 60-65 below:

> *Having a child is an antidote to death*
> *Certainly, a child is the antidote to death.*
> *Do not be deceived, a child is the antidote to death.*
> *Manko has gone to where many had gone.*
> *That was why I then called on Usman Zaki*
> *That's Manko's eldest son.*
>
> (Appendix I, Lines 60-65)

The repetitive nature of the first three lines above do not merely emphasize a point but they are also philosophical as well as memorable. Repetition is vital to the technical build-up of the songs. The first three lines (60-62) comments on the importance of leaving a child behind after death. Not that a child has anything to do to lessen the pain of death or can stop one from dying, however, a child will save the family name from going into extinction by playing the positive roles. The remaining three lines (63-65) are justifications for the explanations offered. Again, the excerpt above could be regarded as irony. It is very ironical in the sense that Lolo herself is childless but has not died because of her songs which are children. That is to say, as long as her songs exist in human society, she will continue to live. More examples of parallelisms can be found in appendix I, lines 216–217; 257–258; 336–338; and 537–540.

This song, the song of twelve emirs, is to Fatima Lolo what "Bakandamiya" is to the Hausa singer, Mamman Shata. Not only is it

considered as her magnum opus, it also heralded the defining moment of her career as a court singer. It is a typical Nupe praise – cum–heroic song which recreates the Fulani lineage in the Bida emiral system. As oral songs are dependent on performance, so are they informed by specific occasions. The specific occasion for this song was in Lagos in the early eighties at the instance of the then President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Alhaji Usman Shehu Aliyu Shagari. The praise crier remarks:

> *Upon invitation to Lagos by President*
> *Alhaji Usman Aliyu Shehu Shagari*
> *To recount the history of Bida monarchic rule*
> *By the unrivaled leader of all Nupe oral singers, Hajiya Fatima Lolo*
> *In company of the praise-crier*
> *Katamba Ma'aba and the venue is Lagos. Carry on:*
>
> (Appendix I)

It is important thus to note that with oral songs occasion influences not only performance but also modes of transmission. Song of the Twelve Emirs is thus an imaginative reconstruction of historical reality, distinguished in style and performance, from one oral performance to the other. In other words, what defines performance is the levels of style and creative ingenuity deployed by the oral performers in the course of transmission.

Fatima Lolo's style and creative ingenuity has timeless significance in the sense that her songs appeal to every segment of the society. The nobility and their subjects, the rich and the poor, the young and the old, and both men and women. "The song of the twelve emirs" by the very nature of the occasion, can be considered as a "command performance". It was performed at the State House in the presence of President Shagari, the then Secretary to the Federal Government, Alhaji Shehu Ahmadu Musa, who incidentally is a Nupe man and

a traditional title holder of Makaman Nupe , top government functionaries and members of the then ruling National Party of Nigeria.

For the performance, Fatima Lolo was in her element. From the video footage, it is easy to notice the flow of the song, rhythm and the chorus is in complete harmony with the drums. The drums and the drumming was a great performance in their own right, and a delight to watch; the head drummer pacing about in his sitting position, following the beat and the rhythm of the sound. The harmony created by the song, the chorus and the deeply vibrating drums in turn creates an electrifying sound that keeps the audience alive.

The style employed by Fatima Lolo in song of the twelve emirs is a very unique one. The song itself was first foregrounded with a preamble or what might aptly be referred to as the "opener".

> *Here comes a song by the acclaimed leader of all Nupe oral singers.*
> *A renowned authority on the history of Bida aristocracy*
> *Upon invitation to Lagos by the President*
> *Alhaji Usman Aliyu Shehu Shagari*
> *To recount the history of Bida*
> *Carry on, Hajiya Lolo.*
> *You the unrivaled leader of all Nupe singers*
> *In company of the praise crier*
> *Katamba Ma'aba*
> *Carry on.*
>
> (Appendix I)

The opener here explains the reason and why of the song and self eulogism characteristic of most oral performances. It was obvious from the opener that she sang the song at the instance of the President Shehu Shagari's invitation. What is not obvious, however, is whether Shagari thought she is the one best placed to sing the song of the twelve emirs. It is true that she is the

"Sagi Nigba Nupechizhi" (the head or leader of Nupe singers) and a creatively endowed singer, but she cannot claim monopoly over what is obviously a historical fact and a common knowledge. This is because there are equally endowed singers such as Hajiya Kulu Lafiagi, Hajiya Halima, Hajiya Nnasha, Hajiya Nnadzwa and Hajiya Fatima Dokota who are notable singers in their own right but who serve as her ready chorus in grandeur performances such as this one. Thus it behoves her to eulogise her ingenuity, demonstrating not only her self -worth but also control and authority over what she sings. Indeed, the hallmark of every oral performance is the ability of the performer to demonstrate that he/she has clear knowledge and understanding of the theme, subject matter, or topic of the song that he/she sings. Nowhere is this explicitly demonstrated than in the opening of the song of the twelve emirs. Here, not only are we made conscious of her self-worth, we are also inundated by her authorial grasp of the theme over and above every other person.

Only one who knows the value of a story, tells it.

Everything happened before our very eyes.

Alhaji Shehu Shagari, Usman Shehu Shagari

Usman Aliyu, the son of Aliyu

Salute to the President

You request me to sing the song of the twelve emirs

The twelve emirs who ruled in Bida

I asked you why?

And you said because of the new regime and also because I am better endowed.

And because people are remembered for what they did.

Indeed people are remembered for whatever is accomplished during their life time.

I hope you have heard that now?

He (Shagari) instructed that I sing the song of twelve emirs

And the reason why he choose me to do so is that:
He knew that other singers can sing the song
But whichever way, a villager cannot equal an urban dweller.
Yam porridge cannot compete with pounded yam.
Debt is never theft
Original substance is different from adulterated one.
The twelve emirs who ruled in Bida
They all ruled in my presence
Lolo whose birth precedes that of her mother.

(Appendix I, Lines 8–*29*)

From this opening, it is easy to note what Lolo is aiming at. The use of contrast here is intended clearly to distinguish herself from the pack. It is pretty obvious that other singers can sing the song but they do not possess the kind of grasp and understanding that she has. From the rendition, the President could not have chosen someone else and that his choice of her is truly a wise and informed choice. Thus the contrast employed demonstrates how high she towers above her contemporaries such as Hajiya Nnasha and Hajiya Kulu Lafiagi.

Indeed, the history which is recreated in the song is a very familiar one. The history of the twelve emirs (etsus) who ruled Bida kingdom from 1833 when Usuman Zaki became the emergent Fulani emir of Bida. It is not any different in style from the usual prosaic narrations of similar discourse. Nevertheless, what has made this narration unique is the way in which it has been rendered in a song. That a subject matter as serious as that of twelve emirs can be rendered in a song is quite refreshing. Even so, the style of narration adopted in the song by Fatima Lolo is not only authoritative but also interesting and memorable. The style is Lolo's own way of demonstrating control over her narration. She has moved from being a mere witness to a de-facto power broker who decides who became the next Etsu. Lolo said thus:

That was why I then called Usman Zaki
That's Manko's eldest son
Usman Zaki I (Lolo) ordered them to call you!
The reason I have called you
A child is the succour to death.
I advise that Manko be crowned as king.
He insisted that a cleric cannot become a monarch
And I very well agreed with his opinion
And after sometimes, death snatched him away
And since a child is a succour to death.
And now that it is your turn, do accept.
Usman Zaki said he has no objection to my suggestion
I then ordered him to accept the crown
It was then Usman Zaki became the emir
That is the eldest son of Manko Kolo.

(Appendix I, Lines 63–77)

After the opening lines, the song proceeds with what might be considered as a test question as a way of tickling the interest of the audience to the business of narration. Further, it demonstrates that Lolo has great sense of history and she is not engaged in mere speculations. For anyone who is conversant with history, after the success of the Sheikh Uthman Danfodiyo's Jihad, the process of political consolidation was carried out by Abdullahi, his brother based at Gwandu and Sultan Bello, who took control and headship of the caliphate at Sokoto. The kingdom of Nupe, which was described in pre-jihad era by Nadel (1942) as "A Black Byzantium" came under the control and authority of the Gwandu Emirate. It is thus from this emirate that Mallam Dendo (Manko) a Fulani Cleric and flag bearer of Usman Danfodiyo emerged. Fatima Lolo proceeds thus:

Can you tell the year Manko left Gwandu?
Manko the son of Abdullahi
I was with him when he left Gwandu
And we came to Nupeland
When he travelled to Raba, I was together with him
When he went to Lade, I was also with him
When Manko travelled to Zhigi, we went together
When he went to Dabban, we were together
He went together with Fatima Lolo
It was at Dabban that
I betrothed NnaFatimako to Manko
NnaFatimako, the daughter of Imam of Dabban
That is the Woman who gave birth to Etsu Masaba
It was when we left Dabban
That we finally arrived at Bida
Manko spent eighteen years
Manko was growing in popularity
He was growing in popularity with the aid of prayers.
It was at that point I asked Manko to ascend the throne
He prayed that I leave him alone, that he is a cleric
And a cleric cannot metamorphose into monarch
Let me be, Lolo
And thus I left him
But after twenty-eight years
Manko departed this deceitful world
Manko went to where many people had gone before him.
Where his father Abdullahi had gone
May Allah forgive our predecessors
When one pole falls, another gets erected.

(Appendix I, Lines 30–58)

From the proceeding, one can appreciate the pains taken by Lolo to recollect the root or the genealogical tree of the twelve emirs who ruled Bida. Nowhere in any history text would anyone find the history of Bida emiral system read to him in one swoop like she has demonstrated in her song. This act marked her out clearly as a historical poet who has carved a niche for herself.

The next song for analysis is “Eni Bagudu Waziri” (The Song of Bagudu Waziri). Although Fatima Lolo is traditionally a court singer, she has always sang for the royal and privileged class in the society who relate, dine and wine with the royal class. Whenever occasion demanded that she sings for a member of this privileged class, as she has done for Bagudu Waziri BCC, and Alhaji Ndakuta of Zaria, she does so with the express consent of the emir under whose service she subsists. From investigation, she does not get this approval always, especially if the invitee is not a friend of the palace or someone that does not seem to show respect for the traditional institution. In fact, from the period of Etsu Muhammadu Ndayako up to the period of her death in 1997 during the reign of Etsu Nupe, Alhaji Umaru Sanda Ndayako, she remained the “Sagi Nigba Nupezhi” (The Leader of all Nupe Singers).

A brief life commentary of Bagudu is necessary so as to put the picture of the persona into proper perspective. Alhaji Bagudu Waziri a leading Nigerian personality was born in Bida in 1913 to the humble family of a well known devout Muslim Scholar Muhammadu Kolo Ndagani. He received his elementary education in Bida town where he attended various Qur’anic schools. He took part in several advance courses conducted by schools for higher Arabic and Islamic Studies.

At the age of 27, he took to trading, serving as dealer for the royal Niger Company then based at Lokoja. He got registered as a contractor in 1950 and continued working as an individual until he succeeded in establishing the Bagudu Construction and Commercial Company Limited and became its chairman. At a point, the company became one of the leading Construction Company in Nigeria offering employment to a good number of people in various

fields. While in Ibadan, the second largest city in West Africa, Alhaji Bagudu Waziri was appointed supervisory councillor in charge of Lands and Public Health (1933-1956) and was also duly recognized by the then residents as the accredited representative of all non-indigenes resident in Ibadan.

As a devoted Muslim, he has contributed tremendously to the propagation of Islam through the building of Mosques, schools, free distribution of religious books, financial assistance to various Islamic organizations, building and maintenance of cemeteries. He spent most of what God bestowed on him in helping the poor and the needy generally. Apart from his interest in awarding scholarships to indigent students, hundreds of Muslims performed the holy pilgrimage in Mecca on his ticket.

In recognition of his numerous achievements and contributions to the welfare of his people, the Etsu Nupe, Alhaji (Dr.) Umaru Sanda Ndayako conferred on Alhaji Bagudu in February 1979 the important title of Magajin garin Bida, the traditional mayor of Bida Emirate. He later became the Waziri Nupe of Bida, a position he held until his death in 2002.

Some of the manifest qualities of Alhaji Bagudu are attested to be by vast majority who know him, are his wealth of business experience, high sense of organization coupled with transparent honesty, generosity and dedication to the service of God. This song by Fatima Lolo, outside her traditional court singing, is one of her excellent performances – a song sang to individuals with political, and economic power who brought their power and influence to bear on the development of their community. There are some other notable individuals like Alhaji Ndakuta of Zaria, Alhaji Umaru Gwagwada Makurdi, Wambai Nupe and Alhaji Isah Muhammadu (Director) and a former Senator from 1999-2007.

These individuals contributed to the development of Bida in particular and Nupe in general. They manifest great respect for the traditional institution, and especially the emir, who reciprocated their gestures by conferring traditional titles on some of them.

Praise singing is therefore a central motif running through this song "Eni Bagudu Waziri BCC" (The song of Bagudu Waziri BCC). It is a celebration of sheer wizardry in business and philanthropy and the capacity for human compassion, accommodation and tolerance. The opening lines of the song will herald the direction of discourse about the persona thus:

However long a man lives, he will cease to exist someday
But while he is dead, his name lives on
I hope you heard what Fatima Lolo is saying
We are in a State, whose capital is Minna
To sing the song of Magajin Gari Bida
Alhaji Bagudu BCC, Magajin Garin of Bida
The son of Ibrahim, the son of Dangana
The son of Ramatu, the son of Alaasan
The son of Yusuf, the son of elder Dangana
The son of younger Dangana
He busied himself with God's work
He loves the world as well as hereafter
The great husband of one wife
I've gone round the whole world
But it's difficult to find Bello Tsado's match
I've gone round the whole world
But could not find the son of Ramatu's equal
The man who fought for the world as much as hereafter
The father of all orphans
The father of the poor and needy.

(Appendix 2, Lines 1–20)

As mentioned earlier, Fatima Lolo rarely sing for individuals because of her domestication as a court singer. And where she does sing for them as in the case of individuals mentioned above, they must be outstanding people in the society. The persona of the song, therefore, is one of such individuals whose phenomenal achievements will take time to beat by any other individual.

The song is thus basically a celebration of the life and achievements of Alhaji Bagudu Waziri. The opening lines of the song introduces the persona, his parentage and humble beginnings. The first two lines of the song draws our attention to the fact that man has a fixed time of life, meaning of course that man is a mortal being and will cease to live after sometime. This fact is acknowledged in the case of the persona in the song. In other words, it is the name that a man makes that is immortal and not the physical being of man himself. Therefore, even as Alhaji Bagudu Waziri was alive and physically strong when this song was composed in the early eighties, he has already created a niche for himself. His name is heard and had positive impact felt everywhere across the nooks and crannies of the Nupeland and beyond.

Lolo says of the persona in lines (14-17) “I’ve gone round the whole world and it’s difficult to find Bello Tsado’s match”. This of course is an exaggeration (hyperbole) that is effectively employed by Lolo to demonstrate the uniqueness of Bagudu Waziri, his distinctive nature and way of doing things. As a man endowed with great wealth, he is equally endowed with large heart and is therefore, reaching out to the poor and needy with this wealth. He has provided food, shelter and employment to countless homes and people. This is why it is difficult to find his match and this goes a long way to demonstrate his untiring capacity to tolerate and to accommodate every person who comes to him for assistance.

As a philanthropist, the persona has built schools mosques and cemeteries across cities and towns such as Minna, Ibadan, Jos, Makurdi, Kaduna and his birth place, Bida. From the song's narration, Lolo visited these cities and was shown either schools, cemeteries and mosques. Again, each time she enquires about the person behind these wonderful acts of charity. The response has always been, "it is Bagudu Waziri". The song, therefore, stressed the humane spirit and the persona's tremendous capacity for generosity. He is always anxious and willing to channel his wealth in the service of Allah and the propagation of his religion. This chosen course is amply demonstrated by his countless philanthropic activities in the aforementioned towns. Instances of these are captured by Lolo in her song thus:

The first day I went to the beautiful Eko (Lagos)
I met an extraordinary mosque standing
It has no equal
They said BCC built it
They said he built it for the sake of God
I then headed for Badan (Ibadan)
There, I met a mosque standing
I searched the whole Badan (Ibadan)
But I could not find the mosque's match
They said BCC built it
That, he did it for Allah's blessing
When I arrived at Ilori (Ilorin)
I find a wonderful mosque there.
Its equal cannot be found anywhere.
Again, they said BCC built it.
And he built it for the sake of God.
It was then that I went to Baronu (Bornu)
I met a mosque standing.
Bello, the son of Ramatu, they said you built it
He said he built it for the sake of God
When I got to Jasi (Jos)
I met a mosque there
They said Bello Tsado built it

(Appendix 2, Lines 26-48)

The song goes on to list more towns and cities where Bagudu registered his Islamic philanthropy. Such towns included Bauchi, Kano, Sokoto, Makurdi, Zaria, Minna and Bida. The logic of this listing by the singer is to represent the strength and range of Bagudu's philanthropic activities. Further, it also demonstrates the persona's deep sense of understanding of the Islamic perspective of wealth as a test for mankind. Thus, the only way a person can show gratitude to Allah for the privileged blessing is to expend the wealth in his cause and to empower the less privileged and needy in the society. All through the song, Bagudu's name has been prefaced with the title 'father' meaning 'father of all orphans and the less privileged in the society'. Although he is not their biological father, he is so called because he has proved himself a strong pillar on which they can rely.

When Lolo returned from her tour of mosques in towns and cities, she finally arrived in Bida – the home of Bagudu Waziri to witness yet other wonderful performances. Here, the persona built twelve beautiful fenced cemeteries at the twelve main city gates of Bida town, with three security men expensively dressed at each gate. As if that is not enough, he in addition bought all the "alago" cloth (Muslim burial cloth) available in Ibadan and Ilorin as a kind of gift for the dead. While it is an exaggeration to say all the burial cloth in Lagos, Ibadan and Ilorin have been bought by an individual, it also sound euphemistic to say the cloth is to serve as gift for the dead. To this end, Lolo in her song says:

When I arrived at Bida where he was born
At Bamisun Gbogi, Bamisun Gbogi
I met a great wall standing
With an iron door together with three men

Each of the uniform they were, cost twenty thousand naira
They wore turbans
They said, they were security men of the graveyard.
And where is the graveyard?
They said, "look at it there with a wall".
And with an iron door.
Who did that for you? I asked
They said, BCC built it
From there, I went to Banwuya
I met a great wall standing with three men there
With an iron door
What are you doing here?
Imagine the house here like a paradise
They remarked, "but it is a graveyard."
The son of Bello Tsado kept us here
I left there for Bamisun Etsu Yisa.

(Appendix 2, Lines 85–104)

The singer goes on, until she visited all the twelve Bida city gates and their cemeteries and finally went for the burial cloth as presented thus:

Then, I left for Eko (Lagos)
I went round the whole of Eko, "Alago" is finished.
Magajin Gari has taken them to the hospital.
He said, they should use it for the burial of the dead.
He did that for the sake of God.
I said alright, I will go to Badan whether I will get a little.
When I got to Badan, I said I want "Alago" cloth
I went round the whole of Badan, they said "Alago" is finished.
They said BCC has bought them and taken all to town
When I got to Ilorin, they said it's finished
Magajin Gari bought all for Bida Hospital where he was born.
He said that should serve as gift for all the deceased.

(Appendix 2, Lines 151–163)

On the final analysis of this song, Lolo concluded by justifying her claim that Bagudu has no equal as a philanthropist when she says:

I saw water tanker vehicles
Twelve water tanker lorries were there.
Who has all the lorries
They said "they are water tankers"
And BCC brought them for us
He said both visitors and indigenes; men and women
Here are water tankers for you.
Whether the taps are running or not
They will have water to drink
Here are water tankers; they said BCC bought them
He said, he bought them for the sake of God.
(Appendix 2, Lines 168–177)

It is good to note that it is not the amount of wealth a man has that determines his level of generosity. After all, one may be rich but may lack the spirit to give. The persona as portrayed by Lolo is blessed and in addition, he is always willing to share with the less privileged members in the society. This song is, therefore, stylistically didactic. We are not in doubt as to how to live in this world. That we must utilize positively the opportunities available to us in our life time. This reminds us of James Audu's popular NTA programme – "A chance to meet" where he always started thus:

There is a time to be born
And there is a time to die
In between is the privilege to live
To live to the glory of our lord
And in the service of humanity (emphasis mine)

Another interesting song on topical issues of the moment is Lolo's song of "Eni Ewo Woro" (The Song of New Money). It is a song which takes Fatima Lolo further away from her primary role as a court singer and queen of the royal

court. It is however, not difficult for her to compose the song because of the importance and topical nature of money in the determination and of course, definition of people's way of life and relationship in the society. Although, she is not the only one who has composed a song about money, others such as Hajiya Halima and Ibrahim Ma'aba have done so, however, her song appears to be more elaborate and soul-searching. The theme of money in traditional oral songs is a recurring feature, and is thus not restricted to Nupe alone. In fact, within cultural configurations in the North, the traditional Hausa oral songs are believed to manifest more themes on money than any other culture. The songs of Mamman Shata, Musa Dankwairo, Danmaraya Jos and Sani Dan Indo, all demonstrate the beauty and varieties there are as far as the song of money is concerned.

For Fatima Lolo, although a relatively short song, the song of money, condenses as it were, the sum total of the effect or the power that money wields over affairs of men. Indeed, more than a mere article of trade, Lolo demonstrates that money defines man. It boxes man into segregated personalities, either as rich or poor, and propertied or non-propertied class. Lolo begins this way:

You want to join an association, have you got money?
. . .Money intoxicates more than freshly-tapped palmwine
Poverty harms more than a curse
Falsehood kills faster than a sledge
Backbiting destroys a village faster than witchcraft
Money!
Whenever men are discussing business
The weakling is also tempted to chip in
Whenever people give out of sheer generousity
Misers are always gripped with fear.
One can only be remembered for what he did.

(Appendix 5)

The singer opens with a question to demonstrate the power of money. That, when you are contemplating to join an association, have you got money to do so? That is to say, money is the backbone of any association. Without money there is no association of any kind. She then goes on to tell the audience more on the power and influence of money. That, even as money is being sought for by everybody, only few people can overcome the temptations that money can lead man into. Only on rare cases would you find a young man who is blessed with money (riches) who does not engage in drinking and philandering. Sometimes he may start engaging in activities that are clearly above his capacity. Hence, the singer says "money intoxicates more than freshly tapped palm wine". Again, lack of money could be dangerous as well hence "poverty harms more than a curse" just as falsehood could kill faster than a sledge or backbiting could destroy a village faster than witchcraft. Oxymorously put, possession of money is a necessary evil.

Lolo also explain the kind of prestige and privilege that money invest people with. According to her, money elevates a person to a position that ordinarily may not be his. A person who has money gets all the attention that he desires and is always able to rub shoulders with people that matters in the society. For these claims above, she says:

Whenever men are discussing business
The weakling is also tempted to chip in
Whenever people give, out of sheer generousity
Misers are always gripped with fear
One can only be remembered for what he did.

(Appendix 5)

The central theme here of course, is that money creates possibilities, some positive and some negative. Money (wealth) invests a young man with

personality and aura of an elder in the family, in the community and even in the larger society. He strives to carry himself in the best possible way to demonstrate his new-found status. On the other hand, money also denigrate man and reduces him to a status of an irresponsible, socially deviant personality.

The remaining part of the song and which forms sub theme dwells essentially on appreciation or acknowledgement in respect of all those who give as they would be remembered for their generosity and kind gesture by the singer. She simply made use of this part of the song to coax or persuade the audience to give as various amount given by individuals were mentioned and appreciation expressed. Lolo and the chorus stylistically end this song not only poetically but also on a philosophical note thus:

Oh! This is sour, this is sweet
This one is sweeter than the other
The bee brews and the wasp also brews
We will buy only the sweetest wine
The vulture brews and the crocodile also brews.
We will buy only the sweetest wine.
Oh! the river of Maigari land.
When a firewood is too smoky;
It should be removed and dowsed.
The breeze that move stones is coming.
Soon the forest will be emptied of dry leaves.
When the rat devours the clay pot;
The safety of the calabash is at stake.
Bororo should thank the cow
The cow is to thank the forest
The forest is to thank "Rugangba"
The "Kyadyas" are to thank Ndabe
Ndabe is to thank "Egba"

Egba is to thank "Kuta"
Kuta is to thank "Nuwangba"
"Nuwan" is to thank "Yikangba"
"Yikan" too is to thank "Ruwa"
So that "Ruwa" could thank "Gununko"
That is our usual way of giving thanks.

(Appendix 5)

The usual self eulogism associated with most of Lolo's songs could be spotted here too. This is why she starts with a kind of contrast. That is to say, there are songs and yet there are songs. While her own song is sweet (melodious) others are sour. And singers like brewers, the audience who are the consumers will surely go for the sweetest wine. Again, to register her supremacy over others, she through series of metaphors puts it that: "when a firewood is smoky; it should be removed and dowsed" that is to say any of her member who choose to be an obstacle, would be summarily dealt with. Furthermore, she says: she is the breeze that move stones, others who are nothing but dry leaves must bow to her weight. She is also the rat that devours clay pots; and, therefore, others who are mere calabashes should give way to ensure their safety. Perhaps, this is why she is always at loggerheads with Kulu Lafiagi who also considers herself another "Sagi" on the other side of Nupeland.

She finally concludes her song through a careful analysis of the interdependence that exist within an environment. In fact, it resembles an ecosystem where living things (plants, animals and organisms) in a given area are interacting with each other, and also with their non-living environments (soil, climate, weather, earth, sun and atmosphere) According to Lolo: "Bororo should thank the cow". In other words, the Fulani man should thank the cow; for apart from being their source of wealth, it provides them with food from its

rich varieties of milk, fat and cheese. The cow in turn must also thank the forest where it also grazes for food. The “Bata” (forest) must also thank the “Rugangba” (Ruga-the Fulani settlement). In Nuperland, the “bata” people, that is, people living in the forest areas also make use of cow dungs for farming and even the fishes derive food from the dungs. Again, during the periods of overflow of the rivers, the fishermen also harvest fishes there too. The “Kyadyas” (the fishermen) are to thank Ndabe who is third in command to Kuta who holds the highest title within the Kyadya community. Muregi is their headquarter in Nupeland. Ndabe who is third in command should thank Egba who is second in command to Kuta. Kuta himself should thank “Nuwangba” (river) it is for the river he has a title. The “Nuwan” (River) is to thank the “Yikangba” (fishes) that is to say, a river is only worthy of its name for the fishes inside it. Similarly, the “Yikan” (fishes) must also thank “Ruwa”. According to my informant, “Ruwa” is a specie of grass known as “essan” in Nupe where fishes could take refuge at times. It is said to be a kind of fish habitat and well secured. Fishermen have to work hard to get at them. They have to use sharp implements, “Ruwa” gives fishes food apart from being their safe habitat. And finally again, even “Ruwa” has no option than to thank “gununko” which is another name for Kuta. This excellent poetic rendition further justifies Lolo as truly a riverain woman who is totally at home with the rural, watery and fish environment. It should be noted that historically Fatima Lolo was born at Patigi – a riverain town, although her parents were originally from Bida. This claim could be further justified by her song of thirty-seven villages popularly known as “Eni Ezhi Rudi be Gubae”. Infact, all the thirty-seven villages mentioned in that song were in the riverain. It was very much after her parents returned to Bida that the Nupe Merchants in Bida and the traditional court became her major audience. Therefore; Eni Ezhi

Rudi be Gubae" (The Song of Thirty-Seven Villages) could be cited as one of the songs she sang before 1935 when she became a court singer and of course "Sagi Nigba Nupezhi"

Closely associated with the above is the song "Wulele, Wulele, Eyayi wulele" (Ululation, Ululation, give us Ululation) like its predecessor, "The Song of Money", it took Lolo away from her primary role as a court singer, however, it was even easier for her to compose as the nurses who demanded for it had already composed one that serves as a guide. This is a professional or an occupational song that requires some professional touch of the content, especially that it is medically inclined. That is to say, being a sensitization song for expectant mothers, the song desires some special facts on maternity matters, that is, from conception to the time of delivery.

Nevertheless, a critical study of the song reveals that Fatima Lolo exhibited her creative ingenuity in the use of artistic devices which clearly demonstrates that she is an acclaimed singer. To buttress this claim, she says:

> *We are talking of child delivery*
> *We are talking of a child that is delivered*
> *We are not talking of a child that is excreted*
> *Because the child that is delivered differs from the child that is excreted.*
> *Whoever wants to cross a river, must package up his things while at the bank of the river*
> *No matter the distance of a village,*
> *there is always another ahead of it.*
> *The preparation for an evening event is better started in the morning.*
> *I am talking to expectant mothers.*
>
> (Appendix 4, lines 17–24)

In the first three lines, we can see how Lolo made use of repetition with slight variation in each line to hammer on the thematic concern of this song.

According to her, the thematic preoccupation of this song is child delivery not child excretion. This is because an expectant mother that goes through unnecessary strain during delivery is likely to end up excreting that child. Her emphasis is apt here. This is then followed by a proverbial statement thus: "whoever wants to cross a river, must package up her things while at the bank of the river". This is of course, a clear warning to expectant mothers who would prefer to deliver rather than to excrete the child. In other words, "the preparation for an evening event is better started in the morning" (line 23). All these are to say that expectant mothers must start their preparation early enough to avoid saying "had I known" at the end of the day. Again, not that expectant mothers cannot receive assistance elsewhere but the best of all assistances comes from the nurses in their clinics. This is why Lolo repeatedly in lines 22, 75, 105 and 158 says "No matter the distance of a village, there is always another ahead of it" These nurses receive better training and have attended workshops in the white-man's country (England). They are specialist on child delivery as presented in the following lines:

This is because the hospital has several departments
But theirs was a workshop on child delivery
They went as far as England
And when they got there; they were successful
They were able to achieve their aim
(Appendix 4, Lines 10–14)

In a flashback, Lolo embark on a kind of comparison when she says:

In those days when one got pregnant at home,
She was expected to deliver at home
But today it is different
Then, the whites had not come.
The children of "Bani Israaila" were not here
They are the second God.

This is the climax of the sensitization campaign in this song. This is the crux of the matter. She now requires a convincing language to persuade her audience to rely less on the traditional methods of child delivery and embrace the modern methods of delivery. That "in the past, they say it was impossible to influence delivery" (line 154) "but today it is very possible" (line 155) "God gives the pregnancy but humans influence the delivery" (line 156) The singer earlier on through a kind of exaggeration says the whites are the second God. None of the two giant religions believes there are two Gods, however, Lolo must praise the nurses and their modern methods of child delivery. And in her usual type of self approval and praise says: "Ululation please" (line 35) Note that "ululation" is the dominant imagery in this song. It signifies "peace" and "happiness". It was later personified when she says:

Ululation usually goes to the house where there is peace
Ululation usually goes to the house where there is happiness
Ululation usually goes to the house of the well-to-do person
(Appendix 4, Lines 50-52)

It is good to note that this song is not quite an elaborate one but the singer has successfully employed series of artistic devices to drive home her points.

Finally, the last song for analysis of Lolo's songs is "Eni Nyan Ena Soyaya Kulobu Bida" (The Song of Soyaya Club Bida). This song by classification is a love/unity song. It is one of the songs outside the royal court and not essentially for an individual but for a group of well-meaning individuals concerned with the progress and development of Bida town. Lolo in her characteristic manner of self praise starts this song with a rhetorical question – "The bird does not quarrel with a tree; for where will it perch?" This statement is also metaphorical in a sense. It is aimed at stressing her position in the midst of her subordinates

who must be loyal to her. She is to them what a tree is to the birds. Again, to stamp her supremacy, she asked yet another rhetorical question – "Which Nna Lolo?" And as we all know "The Etsu Nupe's singer" (line 8) This is not only to further affirm that she is a royal court singer but also to distinguish herself from the pack. No wonder she is "Nna Lolo that was born before her mother was" (line 9) and the grass that can only be shaken by the breeze but cannot be uprooted (line 12).

Lolo is always conscious of her enviable position of "Sagi Nigba Nupechizhi" (The leader of Nupe singers) for this reason she will always want to keep others informed of her enviable but sacred position in most of her songs. This song is no exception when she says:

When all birds were killed for food
The vulture was an exception
We all know that it was because of the vulture the fire was built
However, it was used to roast a different bird
If one does not know one's grandmother,
You cannot tell the history of her grandchild
If a child grows to witness his father's life time
The father must be cautious in narrating the autobiography
No matter the hotness of a grandmother's food,
It will never burn her grandchild's hand
An heir apparent never gets stuck in,
Unless he is an heir to a drinker.
A bird does not quarrel with a tree;
For where will it perch?

(Appendix 6, Lines 9–22)

The above is therefore a demonstration of the sacred nature of her being, hence, she says "when all birds were killed for food, the vulture was an exception". It was not that the vulture was voluntarily left out but it was not just possible to consume it. This is to say that the vulture is not an ordinary

bird in Nupe community. You cannot see them even around the slaughter houses where they were mostly found in those days. Despite the power or influence of religion today, no one will feel comfortable on seeing a vulture on the roof of his house. In fact, it will generate ugly interpretations from some members of the community.

It is not uncommon in Nupe community especially in Bida town to come across people who are curious about the origin of other people. This is what informs the statement – "If one does not know one's grandmother, you cannot tell the history of her grandchild" Note that the singer was not born at Bida. The parents fled to Patigi District of Bida province in Northern Nigeria where she was born during the invasion of Bida by the Colonial administration at that time. In the same manner, "If a child lives to witness his father's life time, the father must be cautious in narrating the autobiography so as to avoid giving wrong information". The singer by these statements is taking necessary precaution to avoid unnecessary embarrassment that might emanate from misinformation. Although this type of ugly mentality is almost being wiped out, there is still a social stigma attached to people who are not born in Bida town. In those days, people who came from places other than Bida were referred to as "gberi" or "latici" (the bush people) Lolo in this song is gradually touching on one of the thematic concerns of the song. Progress and development in Nupe community will remain a mirage forever in the absence of attitudinal change among the people. This is one social factor militating against love and unity among the Nupe people and Lolo hammering on it thematically says:

> *To be dark complexioned does not suggest that one is uncivilized*
> *And to be fair complexioned does not suggest any form of royalty*
> *Each person is born to resemble his father*
>
> (Appendix 6, Lines 156–159)

To the singer, people have to shun all forms of discriminatory tendencies. And that regardless of where you come from or who gave birth to you; we must come together to forge ahead so as to ensure progress in Nupeland.

Lolo still affirming her unrivalled reputation of artistic inheritance puts it that "No matter the hotness of a grandmother's food, it will never burn the grandchild" And in the same manner, "An heir apparent never get stuck in, unless he/she is an heir to a drinker" These proverbial sayings are clear testimonies that she is very comfortable with her inheritance of singing profession. Unlike Kulu Lafiagi, Lolo inherited her singing career from her mother and started singing very early in life. To this end, she does not always hesitate to tell the audience that:

What is original can never be the same with what is adulterated
The villager can never be the same with an urban dweller
So will yam porridge not compete with pounded yam
Debt is never the same with theft

(Appendix 6, Lines 56–59)

On the whole, the song praises all members of the Soyaya club and individuals with unique qualities were highlighted using their "Taki" (Praise names or Phrases). For instance, Alhaji Bamisun, a great Nupe Merchant in Bida together with his wife were praised thus:

I am talking about the beloved one.
The beloved one, the wife of Alhaji Bamisun
The fowl is being chased by many;
But only one person catches it.
The great husband of one wife.
A bird that allows itself to be caught by a dog
the shame is for the bird

(Appendix 6, Lines 37–43)

From the above, it can be inferred that the lady's hand in marriage was keenly contested for. She is the beautiful fowl that was pursued, only to be caught by Alhaji Bamisun. According to Lolo, she made the right choice by marrying Alhaji Bamisun. Metaphorically, if she had allowed any other contestant whom the singer referred to as the dog to marry her it would have been her shame (the bird).

Similarly, Wambai of Nupe was also praised for his sterling qualities as presented below:

I'm talking of the patrons of the club
Patrons of the club
On matters of financial strength, Wambai is here
Wambai the sun of Saidu, the handsome one
Wambai the son of Muhammadu, Madu the younger one
The son of Hajiya, the husband of twelve Hajiyas
It is not the size of the axe that matters
Rather, it is the quality of its blade
That is the praise phrase of Alhaji Wambai of Nupe
The smallness of a needle should not be despised,
For, it is an iron.
No cock can swallow it.
And if it does, it will be slaughtered.
That is another praise phrase for Alhaji Wambai of Etsu Nupe

(Appendix 6, Lines 92–106)

After acknowledging the financial strength of the Wambai, Lolo goes on to talk of his prompt positive response when it comes to matters of performance in the club. This is why she sounded metaphorical when she says: it is not the size of an axe that matters but the quality of its blade "Again she added, the smallness of a needle should not be despised: for it is an iron and no cock can swallow it" The fact is that, Wambai is physically small in stature but very

diplomatic in dealing with people. That is to say, he cannot be taken for granted. He is consistent and maintains his dignity at all times.

Finally, the singer distinguished Alhaji Ndazungi with some special attributes which earn him recognition as captured thus:

Alhaji Ndazungi is there:
The husband of Hajiya Nna Iya
I love Ndazungi for three things
I love Ndazungi for his eye balls.
I love Ndazungi for his eloquence
I love Ndazungi for his generosity.
That is one father of the club
(Appendix 6, Lines 138–144)

3.4 Lolo's Career

Lolo started her singing very early in life. There are two versions to the story. Her mother was a folk-singer whom she accompanied to naming or wedding ceremonies whenever the former was invited. Lolo was said to have begin as a chorus member and later became a full time artist at the age of 15. The second believes that she started singing during the process of grinding guinea-corn on the traditional stone. Whatever it is, at the age of 21, the nineth Etsu Nupe, Muhammadu Ndayako who ruled Bida between 1935–1962 has appointed her as the court singer. Etsu Muhammadu Ndayako who was also Lolo's patron officially appointed her as the new "Sagi Nigba Nupezhi" to replace Hajiya Kaka Nigba, who at that time, was too old to continue with her career. Fatima Lolo thus moved to the emirs court in Bida as the "Sagi Nigba Nupezhi" in 1935. She occupied this position until her death in 1997.

In the light of above, it is evident that at the beginning she was not a court singer. Therefore, her audience then were the entire members of the Nupe

community or anyone who could afford her service. However, when she later moved to the emir's court in 1935, she had a different audience. That is, her specific audience then was the emir's court and the friends of the court. Fatima Lolo is primarily a court singer and also sang for the aristocracy. But she sometimes sang outside the court with the consent of her patron. For instance, she sang for Alhaji Bagudu Waziri BCC, Alhaji Ndakuta of Zaria and Alhaji Umaru Gwagwada of Makurdi who were also friends of the court.

She pulls large crowd whenever she performs at naming or marriage ceremonies, Sallah festivals or any other occasion to which she is invited. This could be attributed to not only extraordinary penchant for creative and imaginative use of words through the deployment of convoluted sensuous imagery, repetition, wit, striking metaphors and very sarcastic similies but also her dancing style. From what we have seen on the video footage, the artist is an acclaimed dancer. Her movements are gestural and they range from simple to complex. They are spread all over the parts of her body. Beginning from the face, she moved the eyebrow, then the cheeks and extend or draw in her lower lips, open and close her eyes and mouth, then move the head and torso. At the climax, Lolo wriggles her girdle laden waist, rhythmically to the accompaniment of the music until she gets to her knees. This artistic performance moves the audience emotionally and spurs them into a loud ovation and showering of gifts, money and materials.

Lolo successfully portrayed the much cherished Nupe traditional costumes/attires e.g. "edeko," "kpasa" and beads to the outside world in very good light. Her mastery of the Nupe cultural heritage helped her in symbolizing emotional feeling and transmitting them to audiences through body movements

without going out of the cultural bounds. One good thing, she does to the Nupe community is that, she has opened the gate for others. Today, we do not only listen to her oral songs on the radio and television but also that of others who are following in her footstep. Traditional music scene which was formally dominated in the past by Bida women, now feature men such as Nma Gongoni, Umaru Lanle, Babaminin, Hamza and Ahmed Waka groups who all specialize in angale music which is very popular with the youth.

The next chapter, that is, chapter four, essentially discusses the life of Hawawu Kulu Lafiagi and the classification of her songs. It also went further to make a critical analysis of her songs with particular emphasis on the composition, form, content and style of her song. The chapter then summed up with a brief discussion on members of her audience.

CHAPTER FOUR

AN ANALYSIS OF THE SONGS AND CAREER OF HAWAWU KULU LAFIAGI

4.0 Introduction

The chapter three has provided a general background to the classification of Nupe folksongs. This chapter concerns itself specifically with Hawawu Kulu's songs. Like what obtains from Fatima Lolo's songs, the categorization is predominantly based on the thematic concerns of the performer. This thematic classification became necessary because singers do not sing in a vacuum. Usually, something must have prompted them to do so. Therefore, whatever prompted them to sing or better still whatever they sing about becomes their subject-matter, topic or theme. Again, this creates a better enabling environment for understanding the literariness inherent in their songs. To this end, the researcher categorized her songs into namely: (a) "Eni Etanzhi" (Historical Songs) (b) "Eni Chinchinzhi/ Eni Zamanzhi" (Songs of Love/Unity and Topical Issues) and (c) "Eni Dandanzhi" (Occupational Songs). The chapter, in addition, discusses the life of Hawawu Kulu Lafiagi and provides a critical analysis of her selected songs with great emphasis on composition, form, content, style and sums up with a discussion on members of her audience.

4.1 The Life of Hawawu Kulu Lafiagi

Kulu Lafiagi was born in Lafiagi, Edu Local Government of Kwara State, around 1935 to the families of Mallam Mamankolo and Mallama Salamatu. Her parents were not oral artists but blacksmiths by occupation unlike Fatima Lolo Bida whose parents and guardians were all singers. Kulu was an apprentice to

one of her friends called Shaba Dzuma from the neighbouring village of Puta around Lafiagi town; learning how to sing songs.

She started singing at the age of 20, during the reign of Etsu Abubakar – Shaba Kyadya who ruled Lafiagi between 1954–1965. Her songs at that time were predominantly wedding songs using calabashes usually called 'Eni Epun' (calabash songs). This was mainly for entertainment purposes for the youths. It was much later in 1962 after learning to sing for about eight years; that the royal class or the court started inviting Kulu for performances and that marked the beginning of her court or praise songs. She started performing through the guidance of a male drummer who usually had a list in which names of all the emirs of Lafiagi were written. Historically we have twelve Nupe emirs including the incumbent in Lafiagi, Alhaji Sa,adu Kawu Haliru.

According to Kulu, during an interview on 1/6/2015 (see appendix 16) her earliest fans were the masses or ordinary people and the youths but later on her patrons became the emirs, that is the royal class. With the change in her social strata, that is, her increased popularity; she became the 'Sagi Nigbazhi' (head of female singers) of Lafiagi in 2009. However, and surprisingly too, with the attainment of this position, she decided to retire in 2011 from professional praise singing to live a private life so as to make better her relationship with her creator. This became evident when she responded to the question "why do you have to retire barely two years after attaining the prestigious position of Sagi Nigba Lafiagi?" thus: "Mie wa zuzoge be Sokoe, mi maa kuku" (I want to end well with God and I am also too old to continue singing). Although her decision to retire from singing could be viewed to have religious undertones and therefore, it was for spiritual upliftment. However, it can also be implied from the above response that old age is the most important determinant factor. The

fact that she was already 76 years old in 2011 when she retired from active performance was enough justification for her retirement. In fact, when she was rendering one of her songs again to buttress a point for me on 1st June, 2015 (see appendix 15) her usual melodious voice was totally gone, not to talk of the dancing steps that were supposed to accompany the song.

One of her greatest challenges was that her husband refused to grant her permission to continue singing after marriage in 1957, eight years before the Nigerian civil war started. It took her four years to be able to convince her husband so that she can continue with her performance. Kulu had to plead with her husband that singing is her only means of livelihood and promised to uphold the ethics of good marriage before being granted permission to continue. Her retirement from singing was another challenging moment. This was because some members especially the male members of the group saw in advance that they would be out of job. The group was made up of seven women and nine men but today, only two female members are still alive. According to her, only three male members who joined her group later are still alive. All those who started with her are now late. Although Kulu is not barren, she has no surviving child. Her first male child died on the eighth day after birth and she had two premature deliveries. Nevertheless, her husband has six surviving children from his second wife who are always with Kulu.

Kulu does not compose and rehearse her songs before presentation. She rather composes and delivers simultaneously on the spot. Like Fatima Lolo, this feat made them popular among other performers. Kulu is also known for her historical presentations. She travelled widely and had traded along the Niger River to places as far away as Onitsha, Asaba, Aba and Enugu and could speak Igbo language with a high level of proficiency. However and surprisingly too,

Kulu does not speak Yoruba despite the fact that Lafiagi town is in the Yoruba speaking area of Kwara State.

She attended national occasions like the 1981 Kaduna Durbar, Festac 1977 at Lagos. She performed in Sokoto on several occasions while it was the capital of North Western State. She also performed during the turbaning ceremony of the present or current emir, Faruk Bahago at Minna. Many of her songs were recorded on tape at the Plateau Broadcasting Corporation Studio, Jos. Kulu today lives in her own compound after the demise of her husband. The compound is just about 200metres away from the emir's palace at Lafiagi.

4.2 The Classification of Hawawu Kulu's Songs

The classification of Hawawu Kulu's songs differs slightly from that of Fatima Lolo. This is so because while the latter's song can be broadly and clearly classified into four categories, that of the former can only be conveniently classified into three broad categories. To this end, Kulu's songs can be categorized into namely: (a) "Eni Etanzhi" (Historical Songs) (b) "Eni Chinchinzhi/Eni Zamanzhi" (Songs of love/unity and topical issues) and finally (c) "Eni Dandanzhi" (Occupational Songs).

In the light of the above, Kulu's song titled "Eni Etsuzhi Nyan Lafiagi" (The song of Emirs who ruled Lafiagi) belongs to the category of historical songs. The song celebrates the heroism and contributions of the emirs who ruled Lafiagi from the time of Mallam Maliki who was the founder of the town but was never an emir himself. According to Kulu who is one of the veteran Nupe praise singers, Lafiagi town has been in existence for about one thousand, eight hundred and sixteen (1,816) years today. She stated this clearly in the opening of her song "Eni Etsu Nyan Lafiagi" (The Song of Emirs that Ruled Lafiagi) in

2009 when she says “Ude eya kpauta yinan raeee! cia tu shitsun gutota cia tu guwo, na’a la Lafiagi shishi nan” (It is one thousand, eight hundred and sixteen years when Lafiagi was founded).

The second classification is “Eni chinchinzhi/Eni Zamanzhi” (Love/unity songs and songs of topical issues of the moment) this classification proves a bit burdensome because of the peculiar manner in which Kulu handles the themes of her songs. Kulu, in her characteristic manner, is not a stranger to having two or more themes within one broad song. That is to say that, there are issues of mixed themes associated with her songs. For instance in her song “Eni Etsuworo” (The song for the New Emir), Kulu suddenly switches without any preamble to “Kona Dubu Da Dari” (Song of One Thousand One Hundred Bends) which was purely a song delivered to praise lorry drivers. In another song titled “Ebida Dagun’i” (Let’s go for our Guest), although she did not switch-off to a different song, the classification was not without difficulty because of the intricacies therein.

Thematically, the song about receiving a guest has to do with one who is their own, that is, from Lafiagi emirate and of course not an enemy. To this end also, it has the implication of love and unity among the people and could be classified as love/unity song. However, the occasion which necessitated the home-coming of the guest (Alh. Abdulkadiri, the Makama of Lafiagi) could lead one to a different classification. This is because the guest was coming home to take a title and not to be given a title. By implication, to ‘take’ a title implies that the recipient deserves to hold such a title while to be ‘given’ a title implies that the recipient does not deserve to hold it but was only favoured and thus given. A man’s position in society should be determined either by the strength of his arm on the farm or absolute commitment, dedication and honesty to his government

work. Therefore, any man who is guilty of theft, is to immediately lose his title or titles if he/she has more than one. Today, we have kept the materialism and thrown away the spirituality which should keep it in check. Some chieftaincy titles we assume today would greatly shock our ancestors. From this perspective, it could be classified as a song on "topical issues of the moment" for Alhaji Abdulkadiri, according to my informant is a dedicated civil servant at Ilorin who also has a great concern for his people.

The final classification here is "Eni Danadanzhi" (The Occupational Songs) By implication, the occupation referred to in this song is the orthodox medical profession and her song that falls into this category is the one titled "Nan Gibigi da Gbin Gan Nan, Gibigia de Gangba" (The Extrovert got Informed Through his Curiosity). The extrovert is persistently searching for medicinal herbs and other magical powers that could be used to solve the problem of man. The singer by extension during the second interview says the song also covers the needs of some group of students in her Lafiagi emirate who often requested her to sing the song for them on several other occasions. That, as a group of intellectuals, they are always out to hunt for knowledge in the most inquisitive manner. Their inquisitiveness qualifies them to be labeled as "Gibigi" (The Extrovert) who are always restless and out there searching for Knowledge relentlessly.

4.3 Composition, Style, Form and Content of Hawawu Kulu's Songs

It is good to note very early that the two singers, that is, Fatima Lolo and Hawawu Kulu are contemporaries in the singing career even though the former is fairly older than the later. To this end the duo shared the same pattern of composition of their praise songs. That is to say, Kulu also collects information concerning the people or persons she intends to sing for. She does this by knowing the intended patron's character, genealogy, occupation and other basic

raw materials that might be required for the composition of the song. She usually relies heavily on the services of people who know certain things about the intended subject she intends to sing for. On most occasions, Kulu will make use of the head–drummer to get what information she wanted. This was because it was gathered that someone within the emirate council who has the historical records of the palace intentionally refused to hand over the list of kings to Kulu. Therefore, Kulu depended largely on her drummers whose parents had either served the previous emirs as praise singers for information to enable her compose her song especially "The Song of the Emirs who Ruled Lafiagi"

Like Lolo, she made use of the services of her praise crier – Kudu Maaba, who at times introduced her before she started singing. Kudu "The Praise Crier" sometimes with the help of a paper where the names of the people being sung for are written; will shout their praise names intermittently for the singer to pick. All she had to do was to listen attentively to the description being narrated by the praise crier. And along that line she would render her song creatively. Usually, she repeats the first lines that will form the main refrain. The refrain lines are short and sometimes consist of rhythmic chanting meant to provide tone and the rhyme to the song. The refrain changes almost immediately with the change of an idea or object of praise in a song. With Kulu, the chorus is more alive to its responsibilities. For instance, in the song "Eni Etsuworo" (The song of the New Emir) we have not less than six main refrains. They are:

(a) "Ya da baza tsuworo" (We will discuss about the new emir)

(b) "Yabaza Yabaiwa" (We will discuss about Yabaiwa)

(c) "Kona dubu da dari" (One thousand and one hundred bends)

(d) "Amma jinyi mana" (They were kind to us)

(e) “Umma jinyi mana” (He or she was kind to us)

(f) “Manaa ma goyi gwa” (Their kindness benefited us)

Similarly, in her song titled “Esun Sun Nyanwun’a, Egaa So Dochiman” (Do not forsake one, who is your own). Here, we have four main refrains despite the fact that the song is a very short one. They are:

(a) “Esun Sun Nyawun’a, Egaa So Dozhiman” (Do not forsake one who is your own).

(b) “Tsuwo be yinaa, Ega ya dozhiman” (Yesterday is not like today, hold on to each other).

(c) “Yedea gwae Sundozhi, yedebae lotun guru” (Just hold on to each other to ensure progress).

(d) “Za guba gae wadozhi, amaa gaa ya dozhiman” (If two people are in love; they must hold on to each other).

Kulu also gets additional information about a a particular town or village as well as individuals from the songs performed earlier by other local singers. The only thing she does is to update the song by giving it her own creative touch. She often composes her songs single handedly. Nevertheless, the drummers and the chorus are always there to provide her with the right rhythm and therefore she does not necessarily rehearse her song before performance. The lead-singer just starts her song while the chorus listens attentively. Kulu like every other narrator or oral singer employs repetition at times not only to emphasize a point but to make her song more immediately understandable and memorable to the chorus as well as the audience.

Folksongs very often reveal a stylized use of diction and syntax. The words chosen, the order, rate and pattern in which they are very often differ from the mode of speech. This stylization which may be conscious or unconscious imposes a peculiar artistic quality upon the given composition of the songs.

These stylistic effects are also responsible for the achieved aesthetic effects of the given folksong. Furthermore, the imaginative use of language is a persistent aspect of the creativity of folksongs in general; thus, many singers employ the use of imagery, symbolisms and many other figurative expressions to communicate their ideas and experiences.

In the light of the above, different singers employ different stylistic devices in order to communicate their ideas, experiences and information that are of value to the community, thus in the words of Osgood (1960:293) "style is an individuals deviation from norms or situation in which he is encoding". By extension, style is the way an author writes. Nevertheless, style is not exactly what an author writes, but the manner in which she writes it. It is an author's unique way of communicating ideas. One might say that style is the verbal identity of a writer, or a composer.

Hawawu Kulu Lafiagi like Fatima Lolo adopts the oral group performance patterned along a call-and-response rendition where she is the lead voice and the other performers, the chorus, unlike Ndace legbo Mokwa who is almost a soloist but not strictly like Danmaraya Jos (Hausa Singer/Performer) Ndace Legbo Mokwa, a veteran hunter is reputed to have hunted game such as elephants, tigers and lions. He usually performs with simple tools made up of beer bottles beaten with a tiny steel or nail. The group is made up of two persons only that is, himself and his wife. His song focuses on self glorification of his hunting escapades, celebration of famous hunters and games of different kinds.

Stylistically, the nature of Kulu's praise songs like what obtains from Lolo's songs is that their songs are not governed by regular line pattern. That is to say, the end of the lines do not necessarily rhyme and do not have regular

length. What she does is to use the refrain line which consists of accentuated or unaccentuated stresses usually following the rhythm of the accompanying music. Their style of music is “Gbagurasa.” Bigger drum that can be hung on the shoulder. “Gbagurasa” itself stemmed or is derived from “Eyandukun” (Pot drum). It is different from the Nupe “Angale” (Narrow drum) which is quite sensational and attractive to the youth in those days. Gbagurasa is beaten mostly by men with fairly long sticks curved at the tip like the Hausa “Kalangu” drum stick. The drummers are four in number. Kulu used to have a chorus of five young ladies and a praise crier; all standing behind her during performance (See appendices 19, 25 and 26 for “Gbagurasa drums”, “Eyanduikun” (Pot drum) and “Angale drums respectively”)

Different singers employ different methods of signals for the chorus to join in. In general, there is always an adopted form peculiar to each performing group which is employed as their signal. Hawawu Kulu is not an exception as she uses this style too. She will in some of her songs have her chorus join her at the end of each line or stanza and the end of idea which developed between the leader and the group. An example is in her song titled “Nan Gibigi Da Gbin Gan Nan, Gibigia de Gangba” (The Extrovert got Informed Through his Curiosity).

Nigba: *Eba Antisi, eyan bologi*
Eeh! Lamilo Ibrahim’a?
Luwo, ezhi Bode Sabae bami yinlo,
Lamigun Muhammadu, lamigun Abu Garba
Lamigun Mamma Salifu, Ndako nyan ege daonan
Alhaji Sulaimanu udanbo
Eya man, yagi man
Ga karatu, ga ibadah,
Gberea be daa!
Za yami wo, mi lan shi cigbeo?
Enimigocizhi: *Gberea be daa, gberea be daa,*
Ebe yayi wo, yili shi cigbe.

Translation:

Solo: *The husband of Antisi, the beautiful one.*
Yes! Who will take me along?
I want to go to Luwo, the beautiful village of Bode Saba
An intimate friend of Muhammadu
An intimate friend of Abu Garba
A good friend of Mamma Salifu, the handsome one
Alhaji Sulaimanu is also there.
The son of the cleric as well as the grandson of the cleric
They are well read and dedicated to the service of God
The roots will disappear
Who will give me money to buy medicine?
Chorus: *The roots will disappear, the roots will disappear*
Men, come and give us money to buy medicine.

Again, another noticeable item of style of Hawawu Kulu's song is the use of code-mixing. It could be observed that she makes use of Hausa words in some of her songs consciously to create harmonious delivery. For example she makes use of the following expressions in the songs selected for analysis in this research thus:

(a) "Ga karatu, ga Ibadah" (to be knowledgeable and to render services to God).

(b) "Badan tumbin giwa" (Ibadan, the elephant's belly).

(c) "Hannun damazhi" (The right-handers i.e. the drivers).

(d) "Kona dubu da dari" (One thousand, one hundred bends).

(e) "Yaya jikan sharu" (Yaya, the grandson of Sharu).

(f) "Jimada baturen gona" (Jimada, the Agricultural Officer).

(g) "Dogo egi Abu Garba" (The tall one, the son of Abu Garba).

(h) "Sarki Umaru" (Umaru, the emir).

(i) "Ahmadu Gofe dan Guruza" (Ahmadu Gofe the son of Guruza).

(j) "Ebida Sabon naira, Sabon Kudi" (Let us go to New naira, new money).

(k) “Eba Ramatu mai nasara daonan” (The husband of Ramatu, the lucky one).

(l) “Mamman na Abashe mai tumbin kudi” (Mamman of Abashe, the money bellied one).

In each of the above expressions, Hausa/Nupe words have been conveniently married without serious damage to their semantic values. It is just that the performer has chosen to code-mix perhaps for aesthetic purposes otherwise, the Nupe language expressions or words are very much available.

Closely associated with the above, is the content analysis of Kulu’s songs. Usually, Nupe praise songs could be said to be analyzable in terms of what the songs say and the manner they say them. The prowess of a singer is judged not only by his/her vocal capability but also by his/her dexterity in handling proverbs, riddles and narratives. It is through this that his/her messages get more poignant and meaningful. Thus, the ingredients of Kulu’s praise songs are ready-made but the appropriate use of such depends on the skills of the performer. To this end, the singer made maximal use of repetition in her song titled “Eni Etsuzhi Nyan Lafiagi” (The song of the Emirs who ruled Lafiagi). For example, there is repetition of “It happened before the very eyes of Kulu Dufya” in lines 5, 11, 16, 19, 21, 26, 29, 32, 38, 45, 51, 103 and 105. The purpose of repetition here is to clear any possible doubts that might exist in the minds of the audience or listeners. It is also to further stamp the authenticity of what is being said or heard. That is to say what is being said or heard does not only come from an authoritative source but it is also nothing but the truth. There is also the repetition of “I who was born before my mother was.” In lines 6, 33, 39, 46 and 106. When the singer was asked to explain in an interview, the possibility of giving birth to one before her mother. She first of all gave a little smile and then replied that:

> *My son (Referring to me) you can see that practically it is impossible but ideally it is. Nobody knew my parents while they were alive but today, you here, came all the way from Bida because of my popularity in Nupeland and beyond. In this case, I am saying that my popularity surpasses that of my parents even though they arrived in this world far ahead of me.*

Therefore, the statement "I was born before my mother was" is metaphorical in a sense. Again, for a fair analysis of the sound associated items like the rhyming patterns, alliterations and onomatopoeia, the researcher has to go to the source language, that is, Nupe and not English – the target language. This is because the researcher is sometimes unavoidably interpreting or creatively translating and not directly translating the Nupe language into English language. This is done to retain the liveliness and humour of the original, that is, the Nupe version and also to prevent it from losing its flavour as much as possible. Perhaps, this is why Smith and Dale (1920) cited in Finnegan (1970:382) commented that:

> *The problem of "catching it all" during a performance of oral literature is a well known but difficult one. We have to reconcile ourselves to the fact that for us at least, it is impossible to do justice to these tales or songs and we doubt if the most skilful hand could reproduce in a transmission the quaintness, the liveliness and humour of the original… They gradually lose flavour as they pass from African's telling, first into writing and then into foreign idiom. It would need a combination of phonograph and kinematograph to produce a tale or a song as it is told or sung.*

In consonance with the above, the researcher decided to x-ray the rhyming patterns that added special quality to the song thus:

> *Unga be gitsu anasara'o*
> *Gana ga gitsu anasara'o*
> *Bello Gana gitsu eya Gbanwo*
> *Eh! be eye Kulu Dufya nya jinwun'o*
> (Appendix 7, lines 42–45)

Rhyme usually is the quality shared by words or syllables that have or end with the same sound as each other, especially when words or syllables are used at the ends of lines of poetry or song. To this end, the recurrence of the vowel sound /Oʊ/ at the end of the lines of the above excerpt is an example of a rhyming pattern in this song. Another example is between lines 67–76 as demonstrated below:

Nan gana gitsu nan
Yiga lo babo, kantin chinan
Yiga zhin babo, kanti zhinan
Zaman nyan sariki umaru
Nyan nan yiye wa lo ezhi zazhi kpaata nan
Nyan ga zhi dan Lafiagi'o yinan
Eh! Umaru Gana wun nyan wun'o
Asibiti general, Umaru Gana wun nyan wun'o
Kampani Sugar, Umaru Gana wun nyan wun'o
Sarari kontaya, Umaru Gana wun nyan wun'o

(Appendix 7, lines 67–76)

Apart from the rhyming of the syllables 'nan' at the end of the first five lines above, there are also alliterations in lines 67, 69 and 71. In line 67 "Nan Gana gitsu Nan", the recurrence of the nasal sound /n/ alliterates while in line 69 "Yi ga zhin babo, kantin zhinan", the recurrence of the voiced palatal–alveolar /ʒ/ sound alliterates and also in line 71 "Nyan nan yiye wa lo ezhi zazhi kpaata nan", the recurrence of the nasal sound /n/ alliterates. Again, lines 73–76 all rhymed and there is an alliteration of the bilabial semi-vowel /W/ sound in each of the lines too and this added quality to the rhythm of the song.

Similarly, in line 87, "Sun gan ayi kukukuku sun gan ayi kukukuku" has given us an example of onomatopoeia. The expression "kukukuku" here

suggests the hypocritical manner in which the subjects discuss matters of the emirate in low tones. Matters according to the performer which do not concern them and of course which do not bother the then incumbent emir – Umaru Gana. And in extolling the great qualities of the said emir, she added in a lengthy metaphorical expression that:

Yikunuci nikin,
Nyananyin bonan dokun
Edin managia zheya
Munge managia zheya
Emidzurugia zheya
Tyatya managia zheya
Yikunu tsakpagia zheya
(Appendix 7, lines 90–96)

Translation:

The palm-tree has fallen
We have lost so many things:
The sweet palm kernel oil has been lost
The sweet palm wine has been lost
The red palm oil has been lost
The sweet palm oil dregs has been lost
The palm kernels too have been lost

The word “Zheya” or “Lost” at the end of each line, provided a beautiful rhyming pattern in the song. However, because of the above rendition, Kulu was banned from singing for “over praising” the late emir for three years by the Lafiagi emirate council. She was then asked to go for the good man in the grave. The song essentially recreates historical record of Lafiagi emirate council and wonder why it should lead to a ban at all.

Furthermore, on sound effects in this song, the rhymes from lines 109–112 have also contributed greatly to the artistic quality of Kulu's performance as demonstrated thus:

Aliyu man wun'o
Gimba Saba man wun'o
Mandzuma Gana man wun'o
Hanatu Dzuwa man wun'o
(Appendix 7, lines 109–112)

Finally, the song was sealed by an alliteration in line 143 thus: Un dewo de, ewo dewun'a." The recurrence of the voiced alveolar /d/ sound in that line is another good example of alliteration in this song. Therefore, and in summary, it could be said that the singer made extensive and effective use of sound effects in this song which had kept the audience active throughout the period of performance.

The next song for analysis is "Esun Sun Nyawun'a, Ega'a so Dozhiman" (Do not forsake one who is your own) Kulu, who is traditionally a court singer always sang for the royal and privileged class of the society. However, this song which started like a song for the emir – Alhaji Sa'adu Kawu Haliru Lafiagi is in the main the song of love/unity in the entire Nupe community. The first stanza of the song does not only eulogize the Etsu but also highlights his glorious qualities to demonstrate that the crown was eventually worn by the most deserving head. The first stanza which celebrates the nobility of the emir opens thus:

The great Alhaji Sa'adu
Son of Aliyu, son of Suma'u Yiye
It is the son of Bello Gana we are calling

The monkey is not energetic
And the energetic chimpanzee says he won't serve anybody
The chimpanzee wants to go to the market
Unfortunately, it has no clothes to wear
The vulture wants to travel
Unfortunately, it has a bald head
And the owl whose head is hairy, is hollow-eyed.
Those who criticize you do so with extreme fear
Discussion provides room for telling lies
Whoever doubts the sacredness of a thing
Will surely regret it
Alhaji Sa'adu, the excellent companion of Umaru Sanda
Son of Babakudu
When the lotus is dancing
Its drummers are beneath the water
Alhaji Sa'adu, if they wish, let them be pleased
For if it pleases God, surely it has to please them
Alhaji Sa'adu if you must condemn anybody
Do so with great care
For one may condemn someone now;
Only to find reason to readmit him again.

(Appendix 8)

This first stanza of the song is very eulogistic. The stanza is a celebration of the outstanding quality of the emir and it also showcases his great suitability when compared to his opponents. These striking qualities are used to emphasize Alhaji Sa'adu's primacy in Lafiagi emirate. The first three lines introduce the persona, his parentage and humble beginnings or genealogy.

In lines 4 to 10, Kulu, the praise singer embarks on a kind of contrast to showcase key differences between Alhaji Sa'adu and his opponents or other key fellow contestants at that time. She sounds very witty and sarcastic too by calling them names such as monkeys, chimpanzees and vultures that are all incapacitated in one way or the other. These lines established him as the most

qualified of all the contestants for the most cherished throne of Lafiagi emirate. Line 11 points at the revered position of the Etsu. He is held in high regard by his people and here "Those who criticize him, do so with fear." After all, he is said to be sacred as contained in lines 13 and 14. He enjoys a strong support of his royal ancestors as demonstrated in lines 17 to 20 and hence the proverbial statement "When the lotus is dancing, its drummers are beneath the water." In other words when a child is walking through the dead of the night; his elders are very much behind him. And being a God chosen emir, others have no option but to accept him. Finally, in the stanza, the last 4 lines i.e. lines 21–24 are a kind of advice to the emir. That is to say, he must be very careful in condemning people; less he may find reason to love or readmit them again.

The second stanza dwells on love/unity in the Nupe community and of course it is one broad theme that runs across the entire song. Kulu sounds very philosophical in this stanza as she starts outlining the set of beliefs or attitudes to life which should serve as guiding principles to behaviour among the people so as to ensure societal development and progress. In other words, the stanza essentially concerns itself with principles and guidelines to be followed so as to achieve the much desired or cherished love/unity among the Nupe people. To this end, she was remarkably philosophical when she says:

Do not forsake one who is your own
Nupe people; can't you see?
That yesterday is not like today;
Do not listen to hearsay.
If two people are in love;
They must not engage in backbiting
No one is faultless; so hold on to one another.
Hold on to each other to ensure progress
Young men do not fall in love with lazy and unhygienic women

In ten years time, all lazy and unhygienic women will be divorced
The young should be warned not to laugh at the elders
And the elders too must not leave their mouths untidy;
After chewing kola-nuts.

(Appendix 8)

From the above which was sifted from the main stanza we can see that the singer is practically calling for the love/unity which has long eluded the Nupe community. It gives pieces of advice on how to forge ahead and condemns misbehaviour among the people; especially the youth. The first 8 lines of this stanza specifically preach unity and its importance in Nupe society. The lines 9 and 10 have marital implications hence the singers say in line 9 that, "young men do not marry lazy and unhygienic women." This is of course a direct warning to all young men who should avoid lazy and unhygienic women who are only not economically viable but who could also dampen the pride of their husbands. Here too, the act of laziness and unattractive appearance on the part of women is being condemned totally. Thus, women are being warned of the social consequences associated with laziness coupled with poor sanitary habits in a matrimonial home. The last 2 lines are a mockery of the elders who engage in some unwholesome behaviour. Therefore, to avoid being despised by the young ones, they must desist from any act that is capable of ruining their reputation.

Another interesting song on topical issues of the moment is the song titled "Eya, Yitso Lyaye gan zazhi" (Friend, we know them more than anyone else). It is a very short song on hypocrisy with a spectacular rhythm. According to the performer–Hawawu Kulu Lafiagi; this song was composed to ridicule the character of one Adi who claimed to be a responsible wife among the four wives of her husband. She claims to be dutiful, trustworthy, and always appeared to

be free from any act of philandering. This, however, turns out to be false as available evidence showed at the end of the day. She wanted to divorce her husband but could not; for her moral and financial bankruptcy. Adi had been caught on several occasions with gifts and food prepared for her lover. For this and other shameful acts, she was later thrown out of her matrimonial home even when she had two children for her husband. This is an action Adi considers very humiliating and embarrassing but could not help it.

However, the song by extension, is a sheer mockery or rather a satire of the Nupe society at that time. Kulu Lafiagi sings of a period when men and women generally do not respect marriage relationships. The fact that a man may have four wives does not in any way stop him from having extra marital affairs within or outside his matrimonial home. There was high level of insincerity or gross hypocrisy exhibited in the society. In other words, people were simply pretending to be different from what they really are.

In the light of the above, this song which appears to be merely praising individuals has a serious message beneath it. The main butt of attack has never been Adi but the entire society for its moral decadence. The audience are taken away by the euphoria of the rhythm and praises showered on them by the singer, each time she is calling their praise names. From the opening of the song, it is clear that there is a problem of a hidden identity which also smacks of hypocrisy. This is perhaps why the song opens stylistically with the chorus thus: “Oh! The person that left resembles someone.” By convention or tradition, the lead singer usually starts with what is supposed to be the main refrain of the song and this is often repeated. In this song, there is a deviation from the normal convention. And again, the refrain is highly hypocritical when it says

"the person that left resembles someone." The performances at naming or wedding ceremonies are often started in the-evenings and could stretch into late night or even dawn. To this end, the period of performance is symbolic. It symbolizes "Night" – a period lovers find convenient to meet and hence, makes the identity of the person that left difficult for the chorus. Lovers like thieves also need to take cover to avoid being caught.

Closely associated with the above is the use of the second refrain of this song. It is good to note that, this song makes use of only two types of refrains throughout the performance and they are the carriers of the main theme of the song. For instance, the title of this song which reads thus: "Eya yitso lyaye gan zazhi" (Friend, we know them more than anyone else) is also the main refrain of the song. This title is also hypocritical in a sense. That line of the chorus, apart from its thematic import is also a reaffirmation that the chorus has been a very vigilant group of singers. This is why they know the hypocrites more than anyone else. Not only do they know the audience physically but they also know them in their private engagements. In other words, not only do they know them outwardly but also inwardly.

Finally, on this short song, Kulu (during our final interview on 1/6/2015) supported this content analysis when she sang a portion of one of her songs thus:

Sokoa wan zanae jingun nan
To yeshi, to yigidi
Amma migan yancin dacya
Sokoa egun nanan da eti eguntso
Foga wun'a kpe nyanau jinan'o

Translation:

God, put a curse on an evil doer
Both in the night and also in the day
But not on lovers or philanderers
May God return evil to the evil doer
It's only on that day he will know what he did

The researcher was quick to ask the performer why lovers or philanderers must be exempted from the wrath of God after committing such a crime. To this, she says:

> *Yes, it is bad to do evil but when a man goes after another man's wife, he may not be doing a bad thing completely. It may not be a crime as the society believes and may want us to see it. Note that, not all men are capable of getting a child from their legitimate marriage. Therefore, a woman or man who philanders and gets a child for another person has not really done anything criminal and should not be cursed. After all, it is possible for a life to emerge from the dead. Again, one who may remain childless forever is being helped.*
>
> (An interview on 1/6/2015)

It can be drawn from the above that Kulu's perception of life differs from that of the society that hatched her. Therefore, in her view and oxymorously put; philanderers are only being criminally kind to others.

The next song for analysis is "Ebida Dagun'i" (Let us go for the Guest). It is very true that Kulu like Fatima Lolo is traditionally a court singer but could sometimes sing for the privileged class in the society who relate, dine and wine with the royal class. However, in this song, she is still performing for the court because, Alhaji Abdulkadir is coming home from Ilorin to be turbaned as the Makama of Lafiagi by his royal Highness Alhaji Kawu Haliru. All the same, it is also a song for a deserving individual who has distinguished himself as a community guest. The word "guest" here symbolizes love, friendliness and acceptance.

Stylistically, unlike what obtained from other songs, this song opens with the chorus who bear the main theme of the song. That is to say, the chorus starts the song with the thematic concern of the song thus: “Let us go for our guest, let us go for our guest, let us go for our guest since the place of meeting him is not far. There is something special in this meeting.” The thematic preoccupation of the song is woven around the personality of Alhaji Abdulkadir who is the special guest about to be met and given a befitting welcome.

There is no high participation by the chorus in this song. For this, they only join in occasionally after a lengthy rendition by the lead singer. Each segment of this rendition could be said to constitute an idea which in turn made up a stanza. The repetition of the main refrain “Ebida dagun’ i” by the lead singer is used to signify or mark the end of each stanza. The chorus will then join in conveniently. The rhythm of this song is relatively slower compared to her other songs where the chorus and the lead singer; in quick succession, alternate in single lines. The chorus had only join in 8 times throughout the entire performance inspite the fact that the song is about 253 lines in length. To demonstrate that the special guest has a very wide acceptance, the song enumerates the categories of people who are on the emir’s entourage to give the new Makama a rousing royal welcome. First on the list, is the Royal Saa’du as captured by Kulu thus:

Yes! in the name of Allah, that is Alhaji Saadu the new emir
The Son of Aliyu, the son of Mandzuma
The Son of Hajiya Fatima, the Son of Hajiya Rakiyetu
The Son of Abu Garba
The son of Aliyu, the younger brother of Muhammadu
That is also the younger brother of Adisatu Kyatswa
The husband of four Hajiyas

The son of Hajiya Asmau
The frog is not lengthy; but has width.
When the pepper gourd is emptied
Nobody dares blow air into it for the sake of the eyes
An heir apparent never gets stuck in
Unless he is an heir to a drinker
Gradually, gradually, an anthill takes over the footpath
That is Alhaji Sa'adu the new emir
The day he was given the staff of office
The son of Sarki Umaru
He was also there to receive the guest
Oh! Let us go for the guest
(Appendix 10, lines 4–22)

A critical appreciation of the above reveals that the guest is a person of proven integrity. This explains why we have the emir in attendance. Again, lines 5–11 which form part of the stanza of the song, briefly discuss the emirs genealogy and this gives us an insight into his noble ancestral background. The lines 12–17 are essentially on the emir's ascendancy, paramountcy, prowess. That is to say, his dominant political power and control, importance; outstanding skills and ability are all metaphorically captured in the following lines by the performer when she says:

The frog is not lengthy; but has width
When the pepper gourd is emptied
Nobody dares blow air into it for the sake of the eyes.
An heir apparent never gets stuck in
Unless he is an heir to a drinker
Gradually, gradually, the anthill takes over the footpath.
(Appendix 10, lines 12–17)

From here, the singer goes on to list other important dignitaries from far and near who went for the guest. Such individuals include Abdulkadir

Kwangila, friend of Wambai who was said to have a minting machine and the new commissioner Usman Shehu; using their distinctive praise names to highlight their status in the society. For instance, in lines 40–41, Abu Garba distinctively praise thus: “Abu will get and others will get too, however, Abu will have more than others” This is a beautiful “taki” (praise) for Abu which portrays him as a man of great fortune. In line 43, his wife Aminatu is also distinctively labelled as “God gives pregnancy but Aminatu does the delivery” this praise name is usually accredited to maternity nurses who are always in charge of child delivery. In line 81 again, Gani Tsowa is distinctively addressed as “Black Cotton does not grow on any farm” cotton by its nature is always white and not black. The next line explains the meaning of the praise or “taki”. This is a kind of affirmation that Gani will ever remain brave like his Yoruba ancestors who are known for their bravery. Gani will forever never be different from his ancestors. Finally, on these lines 135–139 Aliyu who is always known for his stubborn character and rash behaviour is addressed as thus: “Aliyu, when the cow eats cassava; we ask for the cost of damage. Now that the locust has eaten our guinea corn; what do we do to the security man of the farm” This is to portray Aliyu as a no nonsense man who wouldn’t allow anything to go unchecked. Aliyu is further addressed thus: “Aliyu eats to discover more soup; that of course marks the beginning of eating.” That is to say, when Aliyu engages in a duel; the more he discover supportive facts, the more terrible he becomes.

Similarly, the singer makes extensive use of proverbs in this song to drive home her points. In lines 28–29, for instance, “It is not a question of going somewhere; but who will accompany me back home.” Is used repeatedly to

stress the unpredictable nature of human beings. In other words, it emphasizes the inconsistencies associated with the human character. That is to say, man in his characteristic manner will readily help you in decision making but will not assist you to accomplish. For the singer, she says God is the greatest companion. He helps you in decision making and at the same time assists you to accomplish. In line 30, there is an impressive use of the proverb "chika bici zo yintso" (it is difficult to catch up with a runway). This is a unique Nupe proverbial saying used to highlight the personality of the guest. To this end, it is used to emphasize that anything consciously planned or planned or done with thoughtfulness is likely not to fail. The implication of this, is that Alhaji Abdulkadir is coming home for a well deserved honour. He merited it because he had worked hard enough to take the title. He is, therefore, not just given the title but has taken the title. For this, his rivals find it difficult to beat him to it hence "It is difficult to catch up with a runway." In this same vein, in line 185, the proverbial saying that: "Someone was dropped and someone was added" is intended to present a good picture of the personality of Hassan Kolo whom the next line i.e. 186 described as "… a man of progress…" to be dropped implies that the one dropped has certain deficiencies while the one added or taken has certain outstanding qualities to justify such acceptance. Hence, Hassan Kolo was added. Not only that, in line 226, Kulu makes use of her popular proverbial saying thus: "Echia deli wun'a de zunye" (A leafy growing yam should have shame) This is to say that the more people an elder has behind him/her, the more sensible such an elder becomes. Impliedly, the more leafy a growing yam is: the bigger the yam tuber, hence the shame. In this case, an elder is expected to exhibit high level of sound character especially that he/she has more people around him/her. And by extension, the performer (Kulu) adds that the richer

the client (the person praised) is, the more generous he is expected to be. Thus, each time the proverb is used, the person praised feel elevated and reciprocates with a bigger amount of money in form of gift to the singer since he/she would not want to lower his/her presumed dignity. Also in line 236, Muhammadu the son of Kallamu Musa is proverbially referred to as an heir apparent who should never get stuck in. In other words, it is least expected that any legitimate heir will suffer any misfortune from his/her inheritance. Finally on proverbs, the singer concludes with yet another beautiful Nupe proverb in line 138 thus: "One does not answer a call from his hiding place" Denotatively, it would amount to a kind of foolishness for one to answer a call from a hiding place. Connotatively, however, this is to say that, one must not disclose all about oneself especially where one's strength lies. One should always conceal some matters concerning oneself to avoid regret.

On the final note, the performer makes use of rhetorical questions extensively in this song. The use of "wo lieuya?" (can't you see him) repeatedly is for the purpose of emphasis only and not intended to elicit any answer from anybody. In fact the question is not specifically directed at any member of the audience; rather it stresses the importance of the personality praised at that time.

Another interesting song of Hawawu Kulu due for analysis is her song titled "Eni Etsuworo" (The song of the new Emir). The performer has been most wonderful and showed exceptional ability in her delivery of this song. It is a very lengthy song with a fantastic tempo and mixed thematic concerns. The length, however, does not in any way rob the audience of the flavour and joy which a good performance ought to offer them

The artiste started like one who is about to start reading the holy Qur'an even though with a musical tone. She does this as if she wants to win the approval of the clerics first before embarking on her main business of the day. However, in her response to why she opens this song unlike others with "Bismillahi-rahamani", she retorted that:

> *But every Muslim starts work with "Bismillahi-rahamani". And I was about to start my work too. Is it wrong then for me to start my work the way others do? After all, even witches have mallams who pray for them before killing others.*
>
> (An interview on 1/6/2015)

On realizing the sensitive nature of this question, the researcher nodded for approval to give room for more questions on the song.

In the light of the above, the lines of the song are short in length. On most occasions, names of individuals constitute a line and the chorus say something about them. In other words, the chorus provides the 'predicate' for the 'subject' identified by the lead singer. It is therefore, through the chorus that the audience receive fuller information about the object of praise. To this end, the chorus is playing a complementary role for balanced information to be achieved. In certain cases, the lead singer merely calls out the name of the person to be praised, his/her parents and friends – while the chorus complements in the next line or lines. The first 26 lines of the song can be used to corroborate the claims made above thus:

Nigba:	*Bismillayi'o, Aramani'o, Bismillayi'o*
Enimigocizhi:	*Aramani'o*
Nigba:	*Eh! Bismillayi'o*
Enimigocizhi:	*Aramani'o*
Nigba:	*Alhaji Sa'adu wo le niyan ya*
Enimigocizhi:	*Na shidzo ya tun nan*

Nigba: *Alhaji Sa'adu wo le niyan ya*
Enimigocizhi: *Na Shidzo ya tun nan*
Nigba: *Alhaji Sa'adu wo le niyan ya*
Enimigocizhi: *Na Shidzo ya tun nan*
Nigba: *Etsuworo kici'o?*
Enimigocizhi: *Ya baza tsuworo*
Nigba: *Alhaji Sa'adu*
Enimigocizhi: *Ya baza tsuworo*
Nigba: *Eba Hajiya gunni ye lieuya?*
Enimigocizhi: *Ya baza tsuworo*
Nigba: *Alhaji bakon Makka*
Enimigocizhi: *Ya da baza tsuworo*
Nigba: *Lamigun Santali Bologi Usman*
Enimigocizhi: *Ya da baza tsuworo*
Nigba: *Alhaji bakon makka*
Enimigocizhi: *Ya da baza tsuworo*
Nigba: *Alhaji Sa'adu*
Enimigocizhi: *Ya da baza tsuworo*
Nigba: *Etsuworo nya Lafiagi daonan*
Enimigocizhi: *Allah yi ganre, za banau tagwa*
(Appendix 11, lines 1–26)

Translation:

Solo: *In the name of Allah, the most gracious, in the name Allah*
Chorus: *the most gracious*
Solo: *In the name of Allah*
Chorus: *The most gracious*
Solo: *Alhaji Sa'adu, can't you see that intention*
Chorus: *Comes before a work.*
Solo: *Alhaji Sa'adu, can't you see that intention*
Chorus: *Comes before work.*
Solo: *Alhaji Sa'adu can't you see that intention*
Chorus: *Comes before a work*
Solo: *Which new emir?*
Chorus: *We will discuss about the new emir*
Solo: *Alhaji Sa'adu!*
Chorus: *We will discuss about the new emir*
Solo: *The husband of four Hajiyas, don't you see him?*

Chorus: *We will discuss about the new emir.*
Solo: *Alhaji, the special guest from Mecca*
Chorus: *We will discuss about the new emir.*
Solo: *A good friend of Santali Usman*
Chorus: *We will discuss about the new emir.*
Solo: *Alhaji, the special guest from Mecca*
Chorus: *We will discuss about the new emir.*
Solo: *Alhaji Sa'adu*
Chorus: *We will discuss about the new emir.*
Solo: *That is the new emir of Lafiagi*
Chorus: *God is still giving, one who is in need Should stretch out the hands*

(Appendix 11, lines 1–26)

From the above, it can be understood as earlier on claimed that lines 1–4 of the song demonstrated a kind of prayer with a beautiful rhyming pattern of /OU/ vowel sound. And also, lines 6–10 demonstrate complementary nature of the chorus with yet another impressive rhyming pattern of palatal-semi vowel /j/ and alveolar nasal /n/ sounds alternately as given by the source language – Nupe. The short nature of the lines manifested themselves in the Nupe version which is the source language and again, the remaining lines from 11–26 further showcase the complementary nature of the chorus. For instance, after the rhetorical question "Etsuworo Kicio?" (which new emir). It is the chorus who submits that "Ya baza tsuworo" (we will discuss about the new emir). This is to say that discussion from now will be centered on the new emir. And until finally in line 26, when the chorus confirm to us that: "Allah yi ganre, za banau tagwa" (God is still giving, one who is in need should stretch out the hands). In other words, people should not be unnecessarily jealous of the successes of the new emir as God is ever merciful. His doors are open to all and one can always make request for whatever one wants.

It should be noted that this song praises mainly three categories of people, namely: (a) Etsuworo (The new Emir) (b) Yabaiwa and (c) Direbazhi (Drivers) and therefore, others should not be envious of the personalities that are praised. For this, the refrains are the main bearers of the song's message. This is why they keep on reminding the audience that "God is still giving, one who is in need, should stretch out the hands." Sometimes they inform the audience that: "Soko jin nyanwun'o wun'a bau gbaani wun'a yejin" (It was God who did it and if He so wish now, He will do it again). Similarly, when the lead singer started listing the drivers; the chorus complemented with the reasons why they were being praised thus:

(a) "Umma Jinyi mana" (He was kind to us)

(b) "Amma Jinyi mana" (They were kind to us)

(c) "Manaa man goyi gwa" (Their kindness benefited us)

It is clear from these complements that praises are not just showered on people arbitrarily. They are rather meant for members of the society who deserve them for making their impact to be very much felt by the wider society or in particular, the singers themselves.

And finally, the last song for analysis is Kulu's occupational song titled "Nan Gibigi da Gbin gan nan, Gibigia de Gangba" (The extrovert got informed through his curiosity). This is the shortest of all the songs of Kulu selected for analysis. It is basically a short praise song for herbal medicine practitioners. It has to do with persistent searching and researching for medicinal herbs and possibly other magical powers by dare-devils. The first part of this short song paints a picture of very curious individuals who are able to discover medicinal herbs and powers even at their own peril. This is corroborated by the chorus

when they say: “Afe nan gibigi daa gbin gan nan, Gibigi cia de gangba” (So, the extrovert got informed through his curiosity). It is this manly attitude that earns them Kulu’s praise. Sometimes, one has to damn the consequences so as to achieve successes in life.

The second segment of the song emphasizes the power of the roots and leaves which must not be allowed to disappear. The word “root” here symbolizes the herbal medicine and of course the black power. This is what actually prompted the rhetorical question thus: Gberea be daa! Za yami wo, mi lan shi cigbeo? (The roots will disappear. Who will give me money to buy medicine?). This rhetorical question is intended to highlight the power of herbal medicine that is inherent in the roots. The singer is agitating for a cultural revolution. The society is currently undergoing a socio-cultural transformation but not without its attendant problems of cultural decay. Therefore, Kulu together with her chorus conclude by re-emphasizing rhetorically that: “Za bayi fini wareo, yide bai jiun gangbao?” (who will assist us to collect leaves, so that we can get him informed) In other words we have always had our ways as a people which we must guard and keep. We must take our refuge there; for our safety and survival hinges on the root.

4.4 Kulu’s Career

Kulu is a famous praise singer not only in her Lafiagi emirate of Kwara State but in the entire Nupeland especially in Bida, the traditional headquarter of Nupeland. In fact, the patronage of her songs generally is very much higher in Bida town and its environs when compared to what obtains even in her Lafiagi home. Kulu buttresses this view during our first interview on the 10th July, 2013 when the researcher asked her on the availability of her tape recorded

songs in Lafiagi town. To this, she remarked that: “Mi de yi Lafiagi ci, ammaa enimizhi kpaata sai ekpan yetso’o” (Truly, I am from Lafiagi town, however, most of my songs can only be found in your area–meaning Bida). Her songs at the beginning were predominantly wedding songs using calabash usually referred to as “Eni or Enya Epun” like the type performed by Mama Kolo Patita in 1981 (see appendix 27).

Epun is a musical genre accomplished by striking the convex surface of an upturned hemispherical calabash laid on a cloth as part of the musical accompaniment to marriage songs. The calabash is struck either with the palms or with a pair of short, straight sticks and laid on a folded cloth, to prevent it rattling against the ground. Performers raise the calabash from the cloth rhythmically during performance to change the resonant frequency of the instrument and provide a timbre contrast. This is one of the few instruments exclusively played by women. Epun is, therefore, typically performed when the girl to be married has been ‘captured’ and hennaed and simulates grief for the impending separation from her home. The performance is usually at the village level and therefore, the group performs for all the marriages in their own village. However, Kulu, through invitations goes to perform in other neighbouring villages. The chorus is informally composed and may vary from one day to another. Therefore, Kulu’s graduation from ‘Eni Epun’ (calabash song) to “gbagurasa’ performance has greatly altered her social status which eventually earned her the position of “Sagi Nigba” Lafiagi from the Lafiagi Emirate Council. Again, this implies that she has now regained the confidence and support of the emirate council as her greatest audience in addition to the whole Nupe - speaking areas of Kwara and Niger State.

It is evident that Kulu is not just an ordinary singer but also a reputable subhead in her immediate community–Lafiagi. The fact that she used to be a chorus member to Lolo during the popular Sallah festivals of Idil-Fitr, Idil-Kabir and other national or international occasions does not in any way limit her audience. This is because she had also performed at occasions like the turbaning ceremonies of His Royal Highness, Ahmadu Bahago, the father to the current emir of Minna in 1950 and also that of the son, His Royal Highness Faruk Bahago in 1988. She also performed in Sokoto on several occasions while it was the capital of the North Western State of Nigeria out of which Niger State was created.

Finally, from her songs selected for analysis, one can easily notice that Kulu has a very large audience. She sang for the court as well as friends of the court in her song of "Eni Etsuzhi Nyan Lafiagi" (The song of the emirs who ruled Lafiagi). Hawawu also sang for the herbal medical practitioners and a group of lorry drivers in her song of "Kona dubu da dari" (One thousand, one hundred bends). She pulled a very large crowd whenever she performed at naming and wedding ceremonies. Therefore, her audience are the entire members of Nupe community and even beyond or anyone who could afford her service. The fantastic tempo generated by the rhythm of the drums make the youths more endearing to her kind of music. This has invariably increased the number of her audience.

The next chapter that is, chapter five, is a comparative analysis of the praise poetry of Fatima Lolo Bida and Hawawau Kulu Lafiagi. It therefore surveyed the socio-political status of the performers first before making a critical comparison of their praise songs selected for study in this research

work. This is done to portray or highlight the creative ingenuity of the duo and to finally ascertain the level of contribution of the singers to Nupe praise poetry in general.

CHAPTER FIVE

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE SONGS OF FATIMA LOLO BIDA AND HAWAWU KULU LAFIAGI.

This chapter in the main, as the title implies provides a comparative analysis of the praise poetry of Fatima Lolo Bida and Hawawu Kulu Lafiagi. This became necessary considering the fact that the two praise singers are contemporaries in "gbagurasa" music and both of them have contributed tremendously to Nupe oral poetry. This will not only satisfy our intellectual curiosity but it will also go a long way to highlight the creative and imaginative talents inherent in their oral praise songs in a comparative style. The chapter will x-ray the socio-political status of the performers before delving into their praise songs with a view to making a more creditable juxtaposition of their oral praise poetry. And finally, this will afford us the opportunity of assessing the artistic endowment of the duo.

There exist among the Nupe a group of professional singers, both men and women with obvious experiences and talent who perform with confidence and skill. The professional singing group in Nupe society are made up of a number of performers: drummers, men and women singers and dancers (who rarely come from one family or household) associating themselves into a group or a 'band' and they adopt the name of the head-singer as the name of the group. They are, in addition, known to be fully engaged in the performance of the traditional art and are rarely engaged in any other occupation except for the rural singers who engage in subsistence farming.

Any of the professional group is and can be patronized by any wealthy individual, certain noble families and of course individuals who can afford to pay for their services. The attainment of professional status is not by family tradition or by birth-right but by each group's ability. This provision explains why the traditional singing groups have their members coming from various compounds and quarters to form a professional ensemble. Such ensembles in Nupe society include: Hajiya Kulu Lafiagi, Hajiya Fatima Lolo, Hajiya Halima, Hajiya Nnadazwa Egwa and respective groups (amongst the female professional singers) and Babaminin, Alhaji Mayaki Ndanuwon Kpadaragi, Alhaji Ndayisa Kusomunu and Ndace Legbo Mokwa (amongst the male professional singers).

The head singer and in rare cases the head drummer is the leader of each professional group until old age or death requests that she is no longer capable of leading the group. A clear confirmation of this according to Hawawu Kulu is when she had to step aside due to old age for others to continue in 2009 and when Fatima Lolo had to step into the shoes of Kaka Nigba in 1935, who had to relinquish her position due to old age. Therefore it is important to note that throughout Nupe society singers of talent, experience and skill exist and sustain the populace with traditional songs whenever the need arises. For all this, the researcher concludes that both Lolo and Kulu are Nupe female professional court singers of very high repute.

To start with, Fatima Lolo Bida is older than Hawawu Kulu Lafiagi and therefore started singing earlier than the latter. Lolo inherited the singing career from her parents who were themselves performers in the dim past. She eventually became the overall "Sagi Nigbazhi" of Nupeland in 1935. This was a title conferred on her by her patron, His Royal Highness, the Etsu Nupe,

Muhammadu Ndayako. Kulu on the other hand is relatively younger than Lolo whom she calls mother not only because Lolo bears the same name with her biological mother but also because she was actually older and therefore, she is her senior colleague in "gbagurasa" performance. Kulu is the "Sagi Nigbazhi" of Lafiagi emirate and not the entire Nupeland. Unlike in the case of her counterpart; she learnt the trade from her friend, Shaba Dzuma of Puta village.

This question of one inheriting singing and drumming rarely exists in Nupe society. This is because the desire to take up singing as a career after one's parents is highly dependent on the choice of the off springs. The educational system, socio-political factors and the power of religion were also main determinants in this connection. Therefore, the ability to learn and master the skills of performance requires that one undergoes training under those who had mastered the art of performance. In most cases those who are interested in the singing career are attached to any of the established singers of their choice as apprentices whose initial duty is to go about with the master participating in dancing as well as singing in the chorus. It is expected that he/she will continue to learn from the master as well as the older members in the ensemble. Such is the case of Kulu Lafiagi who was an apprentice to her friend.

The potential singer is expected to possess wisdom and wit as the words of a song are equally as important as the song. With this, the novice keeps on learning from the master until such a time when it is noted that he/she has achieved some commendable skills in performance. Such skills include having a good voice, knowing the songs to be rendered in different situations, as well as mastering or having suitable ears for drumming that rhymes with songs. The skills to be fully mastered are dependent yet interrelated since they all have to

go in harmony to be able to produce a worthwhile performance. Within sometime of hard work and dedication, the novice is from time to time given the privilege to lead other members of the group in opening the performance and singing solo when the head singer is yet to feature or taking recess after a prolonged performance.

Lolo was undoubtedly a more gifted singer who never regretted what she inherited. She was very confident and comfortable with her inheritance. This was why she kept saying repeatedly in her songs that: “An heir apparent never gets stuck in, unless he is an heir to a drinker.” Usually or alternatively, after a commendable level of mastery, the apprentice is given the chance to break away to form his/her own group if he/she so wishes or stay along with the ensemble. In such cases they continue to sway roles in the course of performance. According to Kolo (1990) Fatima Lolo, commenting on this issue says:

> *I should have gone my way when I was eighteen years old. But with patience I waited and God in His own mercies made me great when I had to take over from Kaka Nigba. You see! I am now great and I still remember and sing praises for those under whom I grew and trained.*

This was different from what obtained from Kulu who left the ensemble to start her own group after training as an apprentice. This was what gave Lolo the advantage of standing tall in the midst of other great professionals of her time. She had a chorus of five young ladies and during national or international festivals, she employed familiar lead female artistes from other bands as chorus including the famous Kulu Lafiagi who all do stand behind her during key performances.

One area that readily offers itself for comparative analysis is the historical songs of the performers. It is important in this regard to state very early that Lolo was the first of the duo to sing about the “Twelve Emirs Who Ruled Bida”

before Kulu sang for the emirs who ruled Lafiagi. It is, therefore, not surprising when in her conclusion of this song, that is, lines 546–560, she remarked that:

My friend do not imitate Nnalolo
Do not imitate loloojiwo, lolooce
If you know this, you won't know that
If you say this, you won't be able to say that
You're joking; original is different from fake
You're joking; yam porridge is never pounded yam
You're joking; debt is never theft
When all birds were consumed, the vulture escaped
Although the fire was prepared for the vulture
But it was a different bird that was roasted on it
It is night and the pathway is still there.
Whoever will trek through it must fear
Even though the frog does not bite
Nobody will put it in his underwear.
(Appendix 1, lines 546–560)

This is Lolo the unrivalled singer of Nupeland asserting her superiority and dwarfing other professional singers. There is nowhere else in all the songs where Lolo; the queen and the lioness of Nupe oral singers established or claimed her superiority over others like she did in "The Song of Twelve Emirs who Ruled Bida". Not only that the above lines testified to her claim of superiority; they also justify her as that lizard that jumped down from a high iroko tree. It praises itself since no one else did. She has to praise herself after a wonderful delivery. She wouldn't wait for someone else to do it, hence the spontaneous overflow of her inner feelings.

In addition, to be able to sing the song of the twelve emirs, she relied heavily on stock knowledge derived from different narrations. For a tradition

that dates back to the 1800s, it was impossible for Fatima Lolo to bring forth the history of the emirs who ruled over a hundred years before she was born without a well rehearsed knowledge of history. What made Fatima Lolo's case even more unique in this song was that she portrayed herself as specially endowed, as someone who metaphorically came before her mother. As no child comes before his or her mother, what we may construe in this statement is that even though she learned the trade from her mother, she has outshined her in terms of skill, depth and knowledge and understanding of the royal history of Bida. In fact, she left no one in doubt as to her enviable status when she kept saying repeatedly that: "Lolo whose birth preceded her mother's birth". It no longer came to us as a surprise when Shagari instructed her to sing the song of twelve emirs who ruled Bida at a state function. This is because she was reputed to be better endowed.

Furthermore, inspite of the thematic inconsistencies associated with oral composition which Albert Lord highlighted in one of his works, Lolo is able to cover such obvious inadequacies in her song with the investment of what Lord referred to as "ornamentation". Abdulkadir says Lord uses the word "ornamentation" to refer to how a singer expands his text through the addition of new elements such as episodes, metaphors and epithets. In fact, Lolo's creativity asserts itself in her ability to add episodes as well as beautiful scenes to enrich her performance. It is not a gainsay that Lolo's song of "Twelve Emirs who Ruled Bida" has an intimidating length of 560 lines as against Kulu's similar song of 145 lines. And one good thing about this lengthy song is that, she was able to sustain the interest of her audience throughout the performance, inspite of its frightening length.

Closely associated with the above, is that as a reputable court singer, Lolo is usually always in her elements when she sings for her patron who in this case is any reigning Etsu Nupe. It is true that she also sings for other title holders but the song of her patron is usually outstanding. This is because she has a vast knowledge and understanding of the history and workings of the royal house, and their patrons. This is also true of most royal court singers, especially around the communities in Northern Nigeria covered by the caliphate system. Yahaya (1981) in his article "The Hausa poets" analyses how oral singers exploit language to achieve maximum effect in their songs and he says:

> *The realm of language is effectively explored by the oral singers through the selectivity of value loaded terms or attributes which are associated with the target of the songs, in this case Sarauta (ruling). These singers are especially gifted in manipulating language to create pride in the target of their songs by designating certain attributes to the candidate.*

The above clearly demonstrates the great pain taken by reputable oral singers like Lolo to perform their songs, harmonizing language, drums and other acoustic instruments to create the desired effect. This is necessary because songs are socially active instruments to societal survival and continuous rejuvenation.

Similarly, their occupational songs provide another interesting area for a comparative analysis. The singers share similar thematic preoccupations in the songs delivered with a very slight difference. Fatima Lolo's song is on modern method of child delivery while Kulu's song is for herbal medicine practitioners. Although Lolo received guidance from the nurses before that performance, she exhibited a greater understanding of the theme during the performance. She added new elements to enrich the song during the performance. This is actually what makes the song a master piece. The song is about 180 lines in length

while Kulu's song on herbal medicine practitioners is not more than 69 lines in length.

Cumulatively, however, most of Kulu's songs provide a greater rhythmic tempo and are therefore, made up of shorter lines. For instance, her songs of (a) "Eni Etsuworo" (The Song of a New Emir). (b) Esun sun Nyawun'a, Egaa so Dozhiman" (Do not Forsake one who is your own). (c) "Eya yitso lyaye gan zazhi" (Friend, we know them more than anyone else) are very good examples. The chorus also has several variations for their refrain especially in "Eni Etsuworo" (The Song of a New Emir) and this removes boredom. Variety is said to be the spice of life. Some of Kulu's songs are satiric in nature as demonstrated in her songs of "Esun sun Nyawun'a Egaa so Dozhiman" and "Eya yitso lyaye gan zazhi".

Fatima Lolo's songs on the other hand are more prosaic in nature and as such have more of the longer lines. She also uses proverbs more extensively when compared to her counterpart Kulu. She uses proverbs at very short intervals in most of her songs and could go on to use five or more at a time. For instance, in the song of twelve emirs who ruled Bida she opened it thus:

It is he who values the kolanut
That wraps it in leaves
And he that values the black cloth wraps it in paper
Lolo whose birth precedes that of her mother
Whoever wants to engage in any risky business
Should be prepared to avoid its consequences
Only one who knows the value of a story, tells it

(Appendix 1, Lines 2–8)

In the song of a new state, she started thus:

A bird does not quarrel with a tree
For where will it perch
Lolo that was born before her mother was
The crab is strong enough to walk on its back
The lump on the middle of the back
Although the hand reaches it, but the eyes cannot see it
It is already night and the street is still there
But any pedestrian must be cautious
Although we are like frogs that do not bite
Nobody can wear us like short knickers around his waist
(Appendix 3, lines 1–12)

In the song of Soyaya Club of Bida, lines 5–22, she says:

The breeze can only shake the spear grass but cannot uproot it
When all birds were killed for food
The vulture was an exception
We all know that it was because of the vulture the fire was built.
However, it was used to roast a different bird.
If you do not know one's grandmother
You cannot tell the history of her grandchild
If a child grows to witness his father's life time;
The father must be cautious in narrating the autobiography
No matter the hotness of a grandmother's food
It will never burn the grandchild's hand
And heir apparent never gets stuck in
Unless he is an heir to a drinker
A bird does not quarrel with a tree
For where will it perch?
(Appendix 6, lines 5–22)

Finally, Lolo can be said to be more philosophical and poetic in some of her performances. For instance, in her song of money she stylistically ended the song not only poetically but also on a philosophical note thus:

Oh! this is sour, this is sweet
This one is sweeter than the other
The bee brews and the wasp also brews
We will buy only the sweetest wine
The vulture brews and the crocodile also brews.
We will buy only the sweetest wine.
Oh! the river of Maigari land
When a firewood is too smoky
It should be removed and dowsed.
The breeze that move stones is coming.
Soon the forest will be emptied of dry leaves.
When the rat devours the clay pots
The safety of the calabash is at stake
Bororo should thank the cow
The cow is to thank the forest
The forest is to thank "Rugangba"
The "Kyadyas" are to thank "Ndabe"
"Ndabe" is to thank "Egba"
"Egba" is to thank "Kuta"
"Kuta" is to thank "Nuwangba"
"Nuwan" is to thank "Yikangba"
"Yikan" is to thank "Ruwa"
So that "Ruwa" could thank "Gununko"
That is our usual way of giving thanks

(Appendix 5)

The above rendition is a further testimony to Lolo's unrivalled creativity when compared to Kulu Lafiagi. No wonder Lolo advised her colleague (Kulu) not to imitate her; for her knowledge of Nupe rural and cultural environment together with her endowed creativity as captured above has no equal. This was why she earlier sarcastically and metaphorically warned Kulu thus:

My friend, do not imitate Nnalolo
Do not imitate Loloojiwo Lolooce
If you know this, you won't know that
If you say this; you won't be able to say that
You're joking; original is different from fake
You're joking; yam porridge is never pounded yam
You're joking; debt is never theft.

(Appendix 1, Lines 546–552)

Lolo is saying it loud and in a clear contrastive manner that she can never be compared to Kulu. This is because artistically, there are things she know and she can do but her "friend" (Kulu) does not know and therefore won't be able to do. It was therefore not surprising when Lolo said that she is 'original' because she actually inherited the singing career from her mother while Kulu is considered 'fake' because she learnt how to sing from her friend. Lolo also considered herself to be "pounded yam" – a special food or delicious meal for a special guest in Nupeland while Kulu is ordinary 'yam porridge'.

Although Lolo is more urban than Kulu, she demonstrated a greater artistic ability by painting a beautiful rural landscape and showing the interdependence that exist therein. And again, in another sharp contrast, Lolo continued thus:

Oh! this is sour, this is sweet
This one is sweeter than the other
The bee brews and the wasp also brews
We bill buy only the sweetest wine
The vulture brews and the crocodile also brews
We will buy only the sweetest wine

Appendix 5

It is not difficult to say from the above excerpt that Lolo is metaphorically that bee and crocodile that brews the sweetest wine. The audience who are, of course, the consumers must surely go for the sweetest wine (song). The next few lines attested to Lolo's might and tremendous power over any other singer when she said:

The breeze that move stones is coming
Soon the forest will be emptied of dry leaves
When the rat devours the clay pots
The safety of the calabash is at stake

(Appendix 5)

From the above, it can be concluded that there is a remarkable difference between the two singers. At the end of it all, Kulu decided to retire from active performance, Lolo did not but lived and died as reputable Nupe female praise singer.

The next chapter which is chapter six is essentially concerned with Nupe oral poetry and the role of globalization. In other words, it is a chapter that gives account of what changes have taken place in the Nupe poetic delivery over the years. The chapter finally sums up with the influence of educational system, socio-political arrangements, advent of the media and power of religions on Nupe orature.

CHAPTER SIX

THE STATE OF NUPE ORAL SONGS

6.0 The State of Nupe Oral Songs

The duo, that is, Fatima Lolo Bida and Kulu Lafiagi are notable Nupe female praise singers of first generation whose area of specialization is "Gbagurasa" (Big drums that are hung on the shoulders of male drummers).They used simple traditional musical instruments such as "enyako" (large drums) and "kpansanagi" (local flute) for their kind of performance. Their performances were usually late in the evenings with the help of gas lamps since there was no electricity power supply at the beginning. It was much later they started using public address systems to standardized their performances. The hybridization of traditional and modern forms, in specific terms, the increasing effects of the convergence of folkloric forms with modern technological breakthroughs are consistently opening up new horizons, vistas, potentialities and possibilities of cultural experiments which have never been previously imagined. To this end, this chapter examines Nupe oral poetry and the changing times under the influence of globalization. In other words, the chapter is concerned with the Nupe oral poetry and the role of globalization in the process of accounting for what changes or rather new developments have taken place in the traditional Nupe poetic performance. The chapter finally concludes by discussing the influence of The Educational System, Socio-Political Arrangements, Advent of the Media and Power of Religion on Nupe Orature.

In Nupeland, oral singers function at all levels, moving from palace to street. Usually on most occasions; they improvise songs appropriate to

particular situations accompanied by musical instruments and a chorus. These oral singers in Nupeland can be categorized into two major groups; the attached singers and the itinerant ones. While the attached ones are closely connected with emir courts and patronized by the ruling establishment, the itinerant ones attach themselves to any institution, patron or audience that can provide them with daily means of livelihood. Nevertheless, at times they sing for their Etsus or kings as a demonstration of their loyalty and recognition of such traditional institution. Fatima Lolo and Hawawu Kulu Lafiagi are good examples of the attached singers while Hajia Adi Bangaie and Hajia Muriamu Batati are also befitting examples of itinerant singers. The solo praise singers (Nigba misun) are in the minority group of oral singers in Nupeland. Their performance is without assistance and their movement is from one place to the other mostly in the rural areas. As soon as they recognise appropriate situation for singing whether late at night, early in the morning or at the market place, they carry on with their trade. The only important thing is to ensure that the man addressed does not escape and the "Nigba" (singer) is free to declaim without being interrupted. This group rarely exist in Nupeland today.

In the light of the above, praise singing in Nupeland is an integral component of her oral poetry and therefore, it is a performative act which forms a base for communication. By this and in consonance with Akporobaro (2006:4) praise singing is an aspect of Nupe orature which involves the evocation of imagery and transmission of vital information through the medium of "...speech accentuated and rendered alive by various gestures, social convention and the unique occasion in which it is performed." Praise singing, therefore, is a part of Nupe oral poetry which shows or exhibits their creative endowment. This act of

creativity involves expressions composed largely for specific reason of communicating ideas, experiences and or information that are of values to life and man's relationship to the world outside him. Again, praise singing provides a context in which the Nupe express their world view, culture, history, philosophy and artistic aspirations. This is because the Nupe sing when they fight as can be found in "Gani" (an annual wrestling festival in Kutigi area of Niger State. They also sing when they work as demonstrated by "Eni bapa". This is a type of singing by women that accompanies the pounding of potsherd floors. When a floor has been laid, it is sometimes covered in potsherd or small terracotta discs, set in a hard paste made from locust-pod extract and mud. When this is done, the surface must be beaten with wooden pounders known as 'epa'. Traditionally, whoever paid for the floor called women and provided food and drink for them in return for their services. The song then accompanied the rhythmic pounding of the beaters. Appendix 29 shows the earliest image of "Eni or Enya bapa" being performed as captured by Banfield in 1905.

"Eni or Enya bapa" has almost disappeared both because the currently fashionable cement floors must be laid by individual professional craftmen, and because women have become self-conscious about the songs. In floor-laying sessions, older women began to sing, however, the lack of choral response from the younger women later effectively killed the performance. To buttress this view (Blench, 1981) remarked that:

> *'Eni bapa' songs lives in a curious way, as part of a performance that the guild of women praise singers put on any major social event, such as the visit of State Governor, or during the Nupe Cultural Festivals begun in 1980. The women hold the floor-beaters and make gestures with them, while singing some choruses associated with 'Enya bapa'. The words, however, are now directed at the usual targets of praise-singers and the whole bears only a passing resemblance to the original inspiration.*

To this end, praise songs in Nupeland are wide, elaborate and varied. They are held in high esteem and play significant roles in the lives of the Nupe people. They always tell the qualities of men, position and events or objects that are found in a particular area. In brief, it reflects the people's lives, their beliefs and inclinations. Praise names in Nupeland emanates from names or titles given to individuals by parents, friends, elders as well as those given by singers and drummers. It is therefore a common sight in Nupeland to hear drummers announcing the praise names of individuals while performing. Apart from attributing the qualities of historical figures or ancestors to a person, the qualities of different people of historical significance could also be inherited or transferred to a person. Today, some titles that are taken in Bida emirate are more or less a kind of praise of the personality involved. For instance, Alhaji Babanna Kashi – a renowned corn-merchant in Bida has just been crowned as the "Danshe Nupe" (Full-measure of Nupe) by Bida Emirate Council, for his transparency, honesty and kindness to the masses in his community. Professor Jerry Gana, a one time Minister of Information in Federal Republic of Nigeria was also turbaned as the "Hasken Nupe" by His Royal Highness, the 13th Etsu Nupe, Alhaji (Dr.) Yahaya Abubakar. The professor is not said to be like "light" to the Nupeland but "light" itself. This is to say most of these praise songs more often than not are intended to incite people to action by use of metaphoric comparisons as can be noticed above. These hard earned titles are mentioned repeatedly during the praise–singing sessions so as to serve as a morale booster for the recipients and other members of the society.

Another strain of Nupe oral poetry is "Kutido" (incantation). It communicates something mainly of religious significance. Incantations are employed during communal rituals and sacrifices at the "kutiba" (shrine). Thus,

it is spoken with seriousness and solemnity. Incantation is a Nupe cult poetry that consists of invocations, supplications and request with concrete intentions of the "Ndazhigi" (priest) and the community. Praises and praise names are also employed to eulogize and cajole the gods into granting the request of the Nupe community concerned. This practice is still very much in place in rural areas like Sonmajigi and Kowongi villages in Lemu area, headquarter of Gbako Local Government in Niger State. Today, the annual traditional medicine festival is still being held by the orthodox medicine practitioners. The occasion provides opportunity to produce "Wasa" (anti-snake bite powder) and other curative herbs and roots in very large quantities for the community.

Social song is another aspect of Nupe oral poetry. The songs deal with other socio-cultural aspect of life not touched by praise songs and incantations. In Nupe oral poetry, the songs are accompanied by clapping of hands and stamping of feet by the girls at night and usually take place in villages. The social songs glorify virtues, express the people's beliefs, joys, sorrows and notions about right and wrong. The songs provide graceful and memorable means of celebrating festivals. The Nupe sing when they love or hate, when a child is born and when death takes a toll. That is to say, they also have choral poetry in which women sing together as they circle their dances at naming and wedding ceremonies where love songs, songs of courtship and absences are performed or rendered. Men render songs that celebrate death like the one performed during the death of a hunter by the "Enya dukun" ensemble in Patitagi (see appendix 25). It should be noted that all these songs are not merely referred to or celebrated in abstract but performed with much vigour in those days.

From the generic perspective, ‘angale’ performance is another form of Nupe oral poetry. ‘Angale’ is an ensemble of drummers and singers popular among the Nupe to accompany celebratory dances. According to (Blench, 2010) between 1979–1982, there were two performing groups working in Central Nupe, one based in Kuci, South of Bida, the other in a village near Kutigi, the present headquarter of Lavun Local Government Niger State. A third group was based in Doko but got disbanded in the 70’s. The relative economic success of ‘angale’ is indicated by the fact that both groups have their own minibus to bring the dancers and singers to the place where they perform. ‘Angale’ was originally invented in 1928 in Lokoja, among the Nupe Tako. It was brought up the river shortly afterwards and enjoyed a great period of popularity in Bida area in the 1950’s and 1960’s as a rural dance form. It is still played in areas east of Bida among the Dibo where the ensembles are found in every small cluster of villages.

In Central Nupe, ‘angale’ had undergone a considerable transformation in the late 1960’s and early 1970’s. From being a secular dance form appropriate to marriages and naming ceremonies, it becomes incorporated into ‘political’ music and professional women praise singers used it to accompany their singing as a replacement for the more normal “enyako” or “gbagurasa” (bigger drums). At this period a number of commercial recordings resulted from this collaboration. A response to this from the owners of the ‘angale’ was to make their performances more elaborate by using their female relatives as dancers and singers. The female ‘angale’ singers evolved a characteristic singing style with a hip-shaking dance style that produced a comprehensive spectacle. Influential Nupe did not approve these innovations, because ‘angale’ declined in

status during the 1970s, and the senior women singers ceased to use it as an accompaniment. The open eroticism of the dancing offended some of the influential clerics, and it became consequently unfashionable to invite the 'angale' troupe to the higher level social occasions. Nevertheless, the professional performance an 'angale' group can deliver is useful to Local Governments, and they can be called for Government functions, to honour visiting dignitaries, and for cultural festivals.

Another crucial genre of Nupe oral poetry is the "Domba" performance. This is a type of Islamic chanting only performed during Ramadan period. In rural areas, groups of men travel from place to place during the month, singing every night in a different village. A group consists of a single male soloist, and a chorus of four or more, all bearing dismounted hoe-blades (dugba kpere) with wooden sticks. The chorus continually repeats a short refrain, and the cantor praises important individuals present. (Appendix 30) shows a typically group recorded in 1981. Sometimes the groups sing historical texts about rulers of Bida. It is not possible to find a group performing this way now. The performers in a 'domba' group are normally rewarded with food and drink and gifts in kind, such as cloth and enamel bowls. An elder, Alhaji Kolo Basakun Bida, during an interview suggest that 'domba' was borrowed from the Hausa, as also the use of a dismounted hoe-blade. Nonetheless, there is no obvious etymology for this word, nor is there a tradition as to when and by what process, 'domba' entered Nupe life.

Similarly in Nupe oral poetry, we also have the "Bumbum' which is an ideophone describing the sound of an upturned gourd, floating in a basin of water, struck with a stick. This is common throughout the whole of Niger–

Kaduna area, it may be associated with ancient Northern influence. Unlike the Dibo and Gbari, the Nupe float only a single large calabash in a basin, thus producing a heavy bass note. As the gourd moves up and down in the water, the compression of the air trapped beneath it creates noticeable changes of pitch. It is struck either with the palms or two straight wooden sticks. This instrument is also played by women, to accompany the songs they sing when a daughter of their compound leaves to marry. It may be played alone or in conjunction with the struck gourd "Epun' or the struck basin 'Gbangbami'. This was popular in Bida in the 1950s', but have now virtually disappeared from the town although it is still used extensively in the rural areas.

In addition, the 'kanangu' group performance is part of Nupe oral poetry. Kanangu is an hourglass-drum played throughout most of Northern Nigeria. According to (Blench 2010) in his paper on oral literature genres of the Nupe of Central Nigeria, it was introduced into Nupe by itinerant bands of performers, who came to Bida in the dry season in the late 19th century. At that time, there were two groups in Bida, each consisting of about six drummers, all of Hausa origin. They perform for aristocratic houses, and claim to have entered into 'bara' clientage with two specific houses, although today they are freer to play for other people than in the past. Their praise songs were, until recently, exclusively in Hausa, but they now perform in a mixture of Hausa and Nupe. Occasionally, freelance performers make their way from Hausa and these are often seen in the Sallah processions, a single 'Kanangu' player accompanying a group of 'enya' players.

'Kpanganagi' is another genre of Nupe oral poetry created in about 1960, consisting of a single player of the hourglass-drum 'kanangu'; and one or two

'enya' (drum). In around 1980 – 1982, this was the most widespread musical accompaniment for marriages and naming ceremonies in the urban Nupe areas, as it has advantage of being cheap and mobile. The procession from the house of the bride to her husband's compound is normally preceded by 'Kpanganagi' players and women's dancing is normally performed to it. Today, however, brides are being conveyed by cars and this has completely killed the performance. At a wedding, the players make the rounds of the male guests, drumming proverbs and 'taki' praise–epithets for them, in return for small presents of money. The players in this ensemble present closest parallel to the 'elevated beggar' status that many praise-drummers have in Hausa society (Ames and King, 1971). They are regarded by guests at wedding as a nuisance that must be tolerated, and, although, eventually they do give small sums of money to the players, it is often with an ill grace.

Unfortunately though, instead of appreciating these experiences or rather beautiful cultural landscape of Nupe oral poetry, it is regrettable that globalization is threatening its survival. Globalization is a multifaceted phenomenon conceptualised by various people based on their backgrounds. Some focus on the economic aspect and emphasize the global economic outlook and others concern themselves with the global cultural aspect, or how it has affected their socio-cultural patterns. Globalization can be equated with advanced technology, especially in the fields of communication and transportation. It is in respect of this diversity that Andrews (2006) submits that there are economic globalization, political globalization, environmental globalization and there is indeed a socio-cultural globalization. Again, Okwudishu, (2003:3) adds that globalization is a catch-phrase that describes

increased mobility of goods, services, labour, technology and capital all over the world. It is a process in which geographical distance becomes a factor of diminishing importance in the establishment and maintenance of cross border economic, political and socio-cultural relations. In essence, globalization is viewed as an advanced stage of growth and predominance of western civilization in thought, worldview, values and attitudes to life as well as the unprecedented increase in the empowerment of western culture. The reality of globalization is articulated in a rather alarmist manner by James Kurth in the Templeton Lecture on Religion and World Affairs (cited in Reidhakrishnan, 2004):

> *Globalization is often described as a process: steadily progressing over time pervasively spreading over space and clearly inevitable in its development. But globalization is also a revolution, one of the most profound revolutions the world has ever known. Indeed, globalization is the first truly world revolution. All revolutions disrupt the traditions and customs of a people. Indeed they threaten a people's very security, safety and even identity. The world revolution that is globalization in some measure threatens the security of every people on the globe.*

Today, globalization as a social and cultural process in which individuals of different cultural backgrounds interact with each other in all spheres of life on a larger scale may have impacted on our oral traditions, particularly on African praise songs. When cultures interact, some get changed or destroyed at the expense of others. As Bichi (2013) observes:

> *Globalization of African folklore (verbal and non verbal) has been diverse. It has impacted negatively on the various genres of our folklore such as praise songs, folktales, proverbs, legends, and riddles. The time and place of the communicative events have also changed considerably. Praise singers currently use modern musical instruments to accompany their songs such as the guitar, piano, saxophone, etc, instead of using the traditional instrument as used by their predecessors.*

In a nutshell, the total performance of African praise singing has taken a different dimension. As such, these songs are no longer presented to a live audience. Instead, praise songs of mostly politicians and other stakeholders are recorded in studios and transmitted through the radio by a presenter who himself or herself has little or no knowledge of the culture of the community. This has apparently resulted in various distortions of the good traditions and values of the people.

However, it is good to note that globalization is not a new concept. According to Phillip Emeagwali, a Nigerian–American Computer scientist extolled by former US President Bill Clinton, as "one of the great minds of the information age", globalization "began 400 years ago with the Trans–Atlantic Slave Trade". It has only accelerated now because "the internet and cell phone now enables you to communicate instantaneously with any person on the globe (Emeagwali, 2003).

In the light of above, Nupe oral poetry could be said to be at the risk of dying. A good number of her oral poetry have either gone into extinction or are on the verge of extinction. For instance, the "Enya bapa", "Domba", "Bumbum", "Angale", "Kutido", "Kpanganagi" and other social oral performances which were intensively discussed in chapter six of this thesis as major components of Nupe oral poetry suffered very serious setbacks in the course of time.

Therefore, it is difficult for now in Nupeland to cite concrete examples of old men and women in towns or villages who still spend the nights narrating "Ecin" or "Tatsuniya" in Hausa, that is, stories to the youths. The youths now rely on mobile telephones, foreign television programmes and other forms of Information Communication Technology (ICT) for entertainment. They would

rather prefer to watch foreign soccer games than to watch our Nigerian soccer club sides. It is very common to hear them say that they are fans of foreign soccer clubs like Manchester United, Arsenal, Chelsea, Barcelona or Real Madrid etc. They also prefer to wear shirts with the inscriptions of the names of foreign players or wrestlers.

Traditional folklore is being replaced by messages on WhatsApp, YouTube, Twitter, Tom and Jerry, and other cartoons; while computer and television games are replacing traditional activities. For instance, instead of the youths and even adults to go to Kutigi or Jipan village in Lavun Local Government of Niger State to watch the "Gani" Nupe wrestling festival, they prefer watching WWE's Wrestlemania or Smackdown tournaments. Rather than listen to some of our traditional songs and stories, many of our children now prefer to listen to and dance to foreign music. Infact, the youths are aping without reservation.

However, it should be noted that, this is not the first time that technology is posing threats to folklore. The threat posed by radio and television was turned into an advantage for propagating folklore and Nupe oral poetry is no exception. In virtually all cultures, radio and television plays that were very close to traditional folklore became very popular. In Hausaland, many people still remember – with nostalgia – the plays of Kasimu Yero, Samanja, Danhaki, Karkuzu and many others. In Nupeland, like in Hausaland, there was a Nupe drama titled "Yizhe'o Oku" (The world is full of wonders) directed and produced by Isah Kodan for Radio Niger Minna. There was also a Nupe programme titled "Nupe Gunkin Wowo?" (What is your level of Nupe language proficiency? That programme emphasizes the use of Nupe proverbs and tongue twisters. Even in

print or writing as far back in 1916, Banfield has published a little book titled "Gamaga nya Nupe" (Nupe proverbs with English translation and moral). At present, a programme titled "Ecin" (Story telling) takes the air between 7.30pm and 8.30pm every Thursday. In summary, globalization is all about changes and the only thing permanent in life is change. Nevertheless, it should be that change that is nurturing our cultural capital. After all, Japan, India, and China, for example, are now high tech cultures like Europe and North America, but these cultures do not represent themselves as apes or mimics of western cultures.

6.1 Nupe Orature and the Socio-Political Arrangements, Advent of the Media, the Educational System and the Power of Religion.

In Nupeland like other traditional societies surrounding them, places a lot of importance on the social status of its members. At the top of the pyramid is the Etsu, followed by the ruling aristocracy, then the Quranic scholars (clerics) and farmers respectively. Behind this class comes the wealthy merchants. The musicians are apparently at the bottom of the social ladder. Singers are interestingly still subjected to some kind of restrictions that are not imposed on the upper class. For instance, a female singer may find it difficult to marry into a royal or learned family, that is, the clerics. Singers like butchers are seriously detested for marital relationships in Nupe society. The objects of this research could be cited as typical examples. For instance, Fatima Lolo got married to the head-drummer of her ensemble while Kulu Lafiagi got married to a blacksmith in her community. The situation has not changed much even among the youth singers of nowadays. Mamudu Mokwa, a Mokwa-based male artiste got married to Salamatu Sibonbo – a colleague and female artiste in his group. Again, one

Salamatu – a female artiste from Kogi State but based in Bida tried fruitlessly to get married but could not until her death in June 2014. Ndako Kutigi – a famous youth singer, director and producer also got married to one Aisha in his group. To be candid, a good number of these Nupe female youth singers are so beautiful that no man would ever want to miss them but for their frightening exposure.

In addition to the above, Dandatti (1975:52) observes that the low rank accorded oral singers and the negative attitude people have towards the occupation may have been responsible for the reluctance of talented persons to enter into the profession. This view was corroborated by Ndako Abubakar Kutigi during our interview on 18th January, 2016 when he submitted that: "I decided to go into music profession when I couldn't continue with my studies at Federal University of Technology Minna where I was reading Agricultural Engineering but had to withdraw voluntarily in 2006 because I have no money". That is to say that, as a talented young man, if he had got a sponsor, he would not have gone into music profession. Dandatti (1975:53) went further to shed light on how to distinguish a traditional singer from other members of the community thus: "There are two badges of their status. The obvious one is the musical instrument on their person and the nature of their dress".

The Nupe male drummer or singer can also be identified by the way he greets a person who is highly placed in the society. Again, Dandatti (1975:53) adds that:

> *The musicians manner of greeting to patron and potential patrons and generally person of higher status is revealing ... they usually squat down on their haunches ... and initiates the greeting with moral pious blessings than usual.*

And like in the Hausa/Fulani society, singers and other musicians are discriminated against in Nupeland at naming and wedding ceremonies. Instead of sitting inside the entrance hall (katamba in Nupe) where the ceremonies are performed, they sit out and would not enter unless invited. During visits to patrons they neither sit in the same room with them nor on the same mat. Rather they sit outside the room or in the "katamba" (entrance porch). In addition to this, people who are not singers would not want to share the same dish with a singer. Although singing profession is considered like an "etungwa" or a "sana'a", in Hausa, that is, craft that is lower than something like weaving, dyeing and tanning. The singers largely depend on it for subsistence. Majority of singers who live in urban areas devote most time to their profession and obtain more of their income from the trade than their rural counterparts. Unlike in the rural areas, various places exist in the towns where people from all walks of life gather. This provides an opportunity for an unattached singer who can pay visit to such places to perform his music. The attached singer who works for the royal court is also not left out. The royal houses in most cases serve as administrative centres where office holders such as "Alikalizhi" (Judges), "Etsu Yankpazhi" (Village heads) or "Hakimizhi" (District Heads) regularly visit to pay their homage to the Etsu (Emir) or make consultations with administrative officials on certain issues.

Nevertheless, singers who live in the rural areas engage in other crafts such as farming during rainy season to augment their income from singing. This is because they do not consider singing their most important occupation. Besides, they do not grow enough food to last them throughout the year. Although, there exist a good number who practise modern farming, their number is comparatively lower than those who do not.

It should be noted, however, that long gone are the days when the only way or means of seeing and hearing a verbal art performance was by being physically present as the story was told, the song was sung, or the play enacted. According to Micheal (1982:43), live performances are the most ephemeral of all art. They vanish within moments of being brought into existence and only remain as a memory, in short, they are transient by nature. The performances of some traditional activities like folksongs have almost ceased under the deleterious effects of radio, television and modern culture. This was what led to the establishment of State and Federal level ministries of arts and cultures which have seen it as their function to protect and enhance our cultural edifice. This is to also allow some security and freedom to particular artists who have been able to write and perform poetry, sing their songs, or whatever, with remuneration being provided by these organisations.

Nevertheless, in some cases, this has had the effect of transferring the clientage relation from previous 'customers' to the state with all the consequent effect upon content and performance occasion. State co-option of art forms is, however nothing new. It has a long and illustrious history going back at least to the early nineteenth century. One consequence of the cultural revival movement, whether through state organisations or elsewhere, has been to 'fix' a notion of 'tradition' and this is most evident in the formation of dance troupes, often labelled as representing particular ethnic groups, that are bussed from one state event to another to put on repeated disembodied performances. In Niger State, for instance, we have the 'Gwape' cultural troupe, that is Gwari/Nupe culture put together. State festivals of arts and culture have been fora in which a wide variety of artists have been able to perform before large audience. And most important of all, the radio and television stations have

taken with alacrity to the broadcasting of performances by singers and poets in addition to the sponsorship of their own TV drama shows. While TV has remained primarily an urban phenomenon until recently, radio has been ubiquitous in city, town and village for at least fifty years now. Whichever way we concern ourselves or we want to look at, it is very clear that the dominant medium for their transmission is oral and visual and should not be regarded as a threat in total.

In today's modern world, performances have taken a new style and dimension, instead of live performances, the performer or the artiste has created a vibrant stage, stealing away the audience from the theatre. They record their performances on compact disc, digital videos or cassettes for the audience to watch. Unlike live performances which are ephemeral in nature, the recorded performances can be watched when there is the need for it. Hence the media modifies and transforms the folk culture. Moreover, media is generally believed to be a very important social unit of any contemporary society as it is highly involved in stimulating the thinking's and shaping the action of the people in the society. In the course of these performances with the aid of the new media technology, the performer educates, informs, and projects social values, morals and culture of our society and at the same time they entertain and mould the consciousness of the people.

However, inspite of the above enormous advantages associated with the media technology, from Marshall Mcluhan to Herbert Schiller, the deterministic power of communication technology has been a major theme in communication theorizing. While McLuhan adopts a utopian view of communication/ consciousness dialectic in which the global village made possible by technology

engenders an image of a world in which everyone's voice has a chance to be heard and information is freely shared, Schiller adopts a dystopian view. Schiller (1998) argues that communication technology fuels the type of globalization that not only gives western values a pride of place in the culture of non-western peoples but also contributes significantly to the destruction of traditional cultures in the atmosphere of increasing dependence on western value systems. That is to say, instead of fuelling the existence and experience of multiple cultures worldwide, the proliferation of media technology has the tendency to produce mono-cultures across the world or local adaptations of monocultures spawned by western values.

One major factor responsible for this ugly incidence is the dwindling cultural capital of the Nigerian citizens. Cultural capital has to do with each class's capacity and competence to develop an associated class culture involving ways of seeing the social world, ways of doing things within that world, with each class developing such cultural skills out of the experiences of each class in the social world (Sekoni 2013). The availability of a majority of citizens to apply their traditional cultural competence and critical response to social and political stimuli adversely affects the intellectual and cultural participation of Nigerian artist or performers, especially those in the video menu. The cultural capital engendered by primary orality has been whitted down to insignificance under the influence of unregulated secondary orality. To this end, Sekoni (2013) remarked that:

> *The symbolic capital made possible by primary orality includes the following: articulateness, an uncanny ability on the part of the average community members to negotiate, contextualize, and resist social and personal messages. These characteristics are created by the fluid ownership of ideas in primary oral contexts, not necessarily because Africans are different from other human beings, but primary*

> *orality allows each citizen to feel like a subject or an agent of ideas, regardless of class. It was such a cultural capital that our Achebes, Soyinkas, J.P. Clarks, Okpewhos, Ojaides, Osofisans Obafemi etc carried into the typographical culture fostered by colonialism to create aesthetic experiments for which African literature has become world famous.*

Nevertheless, such cultural capital has been relegated to the background or obliterated by the ownership structure and ideological orientation of users of technologies of secondary orality and the intensity of government and cultural institutional interventions in the production of performance of culture in Nigeria. In the context of the narrative and performance of globalization programmes on government-owned radio and television stations have been overrun by American popular cultural products. Our children know as much as Mickey Mouse and Disneyland as their American counterparts and nothing about local archetypes like tricksters, Ajantala and other folk heroes, and even heroes from written Nigerian literature in whatever language. The point of this thesis is not to discourage Nigerians from participating in the global culture or western culture that has been transformed into global culture by owners of modern communication technology. The point is that Nigerian indigenous cultural production has to nurture Nigerian cultural identities while participating in the global culture of the time. We should think global but act local. It is the realisation of the paradox of global thinking and local acting that will enable non-western societies to be in a position to retain their cultural identities in the face of the onslaught of the narrative and aesthetics of globalization that are already raging in every corner of our country, despite positive government rhetoric about cultural diversity and existence of over thirty-six ministries of culture in the country.

Similarly, even efforts by Nigerian entrepreneurs in the thriving business of video and DVD-based movies to act locally by producing programmes with Nigerian cultural content has been significantly influenced by archetype of violence as a means of seizing and sustaining the interest of young and even adult audience. Most of such programmes are not in the mould of redemptive violence once popularized by local aesthetic traditions of trickster protagonist. DVD and Video texts are now replete with violence as a therapeutic device, a sign of serious dangers lying ahead when consumers of such programmes become adults. The notion of the effect of television violence on behaviour is not new and therefore very familiar to us. In Nigeria, the style in which armed robbers kill and maim bank workers, bank customers and innocent citizens already indicate that the images of violence that pass through both imported movies and their local variants that use violence as an attention snatcher are as bad to imagine as they are to experience.

All the same, each society whether simple or complex, has its own system for training and educating its youth, and education for good life has been one of the most persistent concerns of men throughout history. However, the goal of education and the method of approach may differ from place to place, nation to nation and people to people. In the light of this Fafunwa (1974:15) remarked that:

> *The Greek idea of an educated man was one who was mentally and physically well-balanced. The Romans, on the other hand, placed emphasis on oratorical and military training. During the Middle Ages in England the knight, the lord and the priest were considered classical examples of a well-educated elites; in France, the scholar was the hallmark of excellence; in Germany, it was the patriot. In Old Africa, the warrior, the hunter, the nobleman, the man of character or anyone who combined the latter feature with a specific skill was adjudged to be a well-educated and well-integrated citizen of his community.*

From the above it can be noticed that oratory – one of the by-products of poetic skill is highly emphasized by the Romans and this is also applicable to Africans as well. In African society the purpose of education is clear: functionalism is the main guiding principles. By extension, African society regards education as a means to an end and not an end in itself. Education is generally for immediate induction into society, which also stresses social responsibility, job orientation, political participation and spiritual and moral values.

However, the fact that indigenous education failed to conform to the ways of the westernised system, Fafunwa (1974:17) added that: "some less well-informed writers have considered it primitive even savage and barbaric". Nevertheless, such contentions should be seen as the product of ignorance and due to a total misunderstanding of the inherent value of informal education. After all, education is the aggregate of all the processes by which a person develops the abilities, attitudes and other forms of behaviour which are of positive value to the society in which he lives. That is to say, it is a process for transmitting culture in terms of continuity and growth and disseminating knowledge either to ensure social control or to guarantee rational direction of the society or both. All educational systems whether traditional or western-oriented, seek to achieve these goals irrespective of the curriculum, methods and organisation designed for the purpose. This is why when evaluating any educational system, one must determine the extent to which it is meeting the needs of a particular society at any given time.

It is with this, that one can say that the Nupe orature has been greatly influence by the educational system. The coming of the British to Nigeria in the middle of the nineteenth century is responsible for the changing circumstances in the socio-cultural life patterns or styles of the Nupe people at that time after

their initial attainment of Arabic and Islamic education. In 1904 the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) with headquarter in Britain established a school in Edogifu in Bida for the training of Evangelist teachers who were to convert people to Christianity. Among the places where such teachers worked were Doko, Gbadafu and Kataeregi. In November 1911, the first elementary school was opened in Bida at Bamisun Gbara opposite the present Abubakar Anike Primary School by Mallam Ahmadu Abubakar. In 1914, the school was moved to the present site of Bida Government College and was renamed Bida Provincial School. Although the school bore that name, it catered for students from the North Eastern Province of Northern Nigeria. Recruitment of boys into the school was made from Benue, Plateau, Bauchi, Adamawa and Kogi States (Madaki, 2004:85).

In the light of above, there were changes of taste socially and culturally among the products of these schools which eventually permeated the entire Nupe community as the formal schools increased in number in the course of time. The introduction of UPE in 1976 was quite instrumental in this direction. Those who were fortunate to receive western education then were seen as enviable models in the society. They move around with great pride and dignity and also exhibit high sense of superiority thereby creating inferiority complex for those who were not opportune to go to school.

Those things that formally constitute our cultural edifice started to dwindle and eventually were relegated to the background. The language spoken with pride was no longer Nupe language but English language. A school boy in the family was almost treated like a little king. Once one excels and was able to go to secondary school, one is free from going to farm and attending Quranic

school. The dressing, dancing pattern and music all receive their own share of foreign influence. Today, Nupe traditional singers are hardly invited by youths for performance during marriage ceremonies even in villages not to talk of urban centres. These youths would rather organise elaborate parties to grace marriage ceremonies. What is happening in Nupe society and indeed many other traditional African societies can be likened to Ngugi's observation in *Writers in Politics* (1981:4) when he said that an "African pupil was once asked why he wrote about winter when he meant harmattan. In his response, he said the other boys would call him a bushman if he did such a thing". One would not have thought that there was something shameful in African weather. The only way this type of misconception can be purged is for writers and teachers to teach this boy that there is nothing disgraceful about African weather, that the palmtree is a fit subject for poetry. In the same manner, the acquisition of western education should be used positively to create an enabling environment for a better appreciation of our cultural endowment which are by all means distinctive in nature. The poor responses of African pupils to social issues like the above emanates from poor exposure. Since literature and the educational system are suppose to be problem solving in nature, they should be relevant to the socio-cultural environment of the society and that is essentially a question of education, in the best sense of that word.

In the light of above, one of the manifestations of education in Nupe society and Nupe orature in particular is aesthetically and methodically exemplified by the appropriation of the technique of parody, pastiche and collage in contemporary popular artist' experimentation with both the old and new forms. To this end, Liman (2013) remarked that:

> *The resultant mishmash of artistic forms and texts from different historical periods has produced a mongrel popular culture which is ostensibly characterized by the processes of hybridization and polyvalence. Hybridity and polyvalence are indeed categories of post colonial theory that open the possibilities for the popular culture industry, especially through its robust experiments with both the old and new, traditional and modern, African and non-African. This important development is obviously re-energizing the entire cultural landscape not only here in Nigeria but throughout the world. As a result of this form of cultural hybridization, a new form of popular culture has emerged which has tremendous appeal to women, youths and children.*

The implication of the above is that there are several experiments with the old forms by artists and producers of films and musical performances as part of films and musical performances as part of contemporary culture in Nigeria. By dint of cultural nationalism, the popular culture industry in Nigeria is attempting to rejuvenate and reinvigorate traditional folkloric forms through the medium of the video film production. That is to say, the old folkloric forms are processed through modern electronic media gadgets in order to produce a new effect. This is exactly what the present youth singers like Ndako Abubakar Kutigi, Mamudu Mokwa and Salisu Mohammed popularly known as "Teacher Eyekondunu" who are all film directors, singers and producers are doing in Nupeland today. Their knowledge of western education had not only paved way for their creative achievement but also boosted it.

Ndako Abubakar Kutigi for instance was born to the families of Alhaji Abubakar Isah on 20th August, 1979. His parents engaged in simple farming and business respectively. Ndako attended Central Primary School Kutigi between 1987–1992 and Junior Day Secondary School Kutigi between 1993–1995. He then proceeded to Government Teachers' College Mokwa for his Senior Secondary Education between 1996 –1998. Ndako gained admission to Federal University of Technology Minna where he was reading Agricultural Engineering

between 2002–2006 but unfortunately had to abandon the programme temporarily to enable him gather enough money for his studies. In 2011 he left for International Animation and Media Academy (IAMA) Malaysia where he read creative Media Production and graduated with a HND in 2012. Ndako in 2014 got another admission into Niger State Polytechnic Zungeru where he read Computer Science and graduated with another HND in 2015.

From the above profile, it is clear that this contemporary Nupe youth singer unlike the parent generation is literate and therefore well-informed. He is the producer and director of Clean Video Production which came into existence in 2007 with nine actors as members. He has today produced not less than fifteen albums and each album contains at least five songs. Infact, some albums have nine to eleven songs. His major preoccupation is singing in addition to producing and directing films.

Usually, contemporary Nupe youth singers compose their songs in the studio and not on the spot of performance. That is to say, they prepare ahead of time to avoid communication gap. First of all, they write the lyrics and then go ahead to search for the tune. According to Ndako during our interview on 18th January 2016, care must be taken to write only the lyrics that will match the tune got. All these preparations are done effectively before going to the studio to compose the sound-track that will match the tune and the written lyrics. It is at this juncture, the group gets a voice-over on the sound-track and finally mix-down the voice-over and the sound-track into a song. The voice-over has to do with the voice of the major character in the song, the back-up singers and the response.

The performers get their tunes sometimes in a dream or even while driving or any other time. They could get it by listening to other projects or even while praying or bathing. When this happens, they quickly save it in their mobile phones or quickly put it on a paper so as not to lose that rare opportunity. This is because, once such opportunity slips away; it is usually difficult to regain or one may never get it again. Getting the tune is often situational. It may be through a situation report or by being an eyewitness yourself. The singers work on previous songs by fine-tuning them and making some useful improvements. They also engage in adequate rehearsal by listening to a performance on their mobile phones or car systems so as to either edit or get familiar with it before putting up a performance. The lapses noted are immediately corrected to ensure a very good outing. Experts like choriographers are invited to teach dancing steps that are suitable for a particular performance. The choriographers also give advice or suggestions on befitting stage appearance, miming and gestures that are most desirable for a performance.

On instrumentation for performance, the youth singers make use of piano- keyboards, and other computer related devices. They also make use of computer application softwares like “sonar” used for recording FL (fruity loops) that is also used for composing sound-tracks. They also use “Antares auto-tune” which is used for achieving tune quality. Other instruments include Hypersonic, Reason and Sony sound-Forge. They also make use of public address systems extensively. This include power amplifier, HD (High Definition Speakers) and wireless microphones. Ndako’s knowledge of computer appreciation helped him a lot to put across his message across in a faster and wider capacity. Ndako is widely known in Niger State and Nupeland in

particular. He visited other places like Benin Republic, Egypt, Thailand, Malaysia and Saudi Arabia.

Unfortunately, despite these laudable experiences, it is regrettable that religion is one major factor that is now threatening the survival of Nupe praise songs and folklore generally in Nupeland and Nigeria at large. Rather than listening to some of our rich traditional songs and stories, many of our children now prefer to listen to and dance to foreign music. Okediran (2015) in his paper titled "Oral Poetry in Nigeria, Prospects and Challenges in 21st Century" made an interesting observation thus:

> *I have ever come across some of our well placed leaders who do not see anything good in some of our films that are deeply rooted in our culture. In the same vein, some Christians and Islamic clerics see many aspects of our tradition and culture as fetish and so discourage their followers from being partakers of our rich culture in the name of religion. I once attended a family wedding where an elderly relative who was busy showering the bride with excerpts of her family's praise name (oriki in Yoruba) being rudely interrupted by the attending religious cleric who accused the old lady of pouring devilish incantations on the young bride.*

Again, Adekoya (2013), in his paper titled "Problems of Fieldwork Research in Nigerian Folklore" also made another interesting observation concerning his Muslim doctoral student who was researching into "Orisa" (deities) worshippers and their dramatic significance thus:

> *A Muslim, my doctoral student is no longer at ease being seen by fellow Muslims as he mingles with "Orisa" (deities) worshipers, who have literally become his cohorts. Browbeaten into bowing before a divinity on one occasion, he suffered an intense moral dilemma and felt like calling it quits at that point in time. As if to complicate matters, he narrated the disquieting episode to his wife who promptly urged him to abandon the research, make penance for his sin and return to Allah pronto. As far as she was concerned, a doctoral degree was not worth losing one's faith for. His own inner conflict and struggle are exacerbated by the increasing amount of data he gathers on field trips.*

In the light of above; overwhelmed by stunning discoveries, he was said to have adjusted the scale of his research and imposed limits to his participation in ritual performances. He has learnt to suddenly disappear when stuff sacrificed is to be eaten or drunk as protection against attacks by enemies and when emollient concoction prepared is to be rubbed on the body. Such disappearances are said to be capable of creating doubt in his informants of his credibility and sincerity as well as the genuineness of his motives. They might begin to suspect that he is a spy sent by enemies to discover their Achilles heel; and once doubt replaces trust, the very life of the research is endangered.

As a result of the unexpected disconcerting situation, the wider the doors of informants, priests and priestesses now open to him, the more apprehensive and more reticent he becomes in going to enthusiastically make more astonishing discoveries. The ethical dilemma presented by the embarrassing situation in which an ardent Muslim is found commingling with idol worshippers and unbelievers at their groves and shrines and the reticence and inner turmoil bred by the conflict cannot be casually dismissed, particularly when an invitation to get initiated and cease being a novice and an outsider is being given. It would appear as if little by little his feet are sinking in the quicksand of apostasy.

From all of the above the power of religion whether Christianity, Islam or traditional on orature generally cannot be doubted. Foreign religions, especially Christianity and Islam, constitute enormous challenge to our orature. Their followers despise all festivals of ancestors and divinities and condemn all traditional art as fetish. Cleansing rites are execrated as evil practices in which a born-again Christian or a true Muslim must not participate. Again, Adekoya (2013) added that:

> *Yet many of the holy ceremonies and observances in the religious, such as Adoration of Mary, baptism, burning of incense, circumcision, Holy Communion, Easter, Holy Trinity, immaculate conception, liturgical chants, naming of newborn babies, obsequies, praying with rosaries, slaughtering of rams at Ramadan (sic), throwing of stones at Satan during hajj, unction, wedding, and wearing of crucifix have their roots buried in ancient pagan practices and rites.*

All these are clear or practical instances of what religions do to Folklore in general. The adherents of both Christianity and Islam have never been too comfortable with many aspects of our culture or tradition.

To further corroborate this notion, the objects of this research, that is, Fatima Lolo Bida and Hawawu Kulu Lafiagi made useful comments on different occasions in this regard. For instance, Lolo observed earlier that the lukewarm response from people towards traditional music generally emanated from some negative religious perceptions some people have against her own kind of performance. She then resolved this issue by praying for Allah's forgiveness as her mother was said to have done some years before her death. Kulu Lafiagi similarly pointed out during our interview on 1st June, 2015 (see appendix 16) that she has to retire from active performance because she wanted to end well with God even when it is clear that at 76; she is too old to continue. This idea of repentance in each case points to the power of religion.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

7.0 FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

First and foremost, this formalist study of Nupe female praise singers illustrates the functional and the literary status of Nupe praise songs. To this end, it has also ascertained the contribution of Nupe oral songs to orality in general and Nupe orature in particular. Secondly, it demonstrates that the study of Nupe praise songs is not only academically challenging but also distinctive in nature for its style of performance. Thirdly, the study illustrates the place and functions of praise songs in Nupe society in the face of globalization and explains its continued survival.

In conclusion, this work has revealed some general characteristic of oral poetry as proved by other eminent researchers. First, the songs are sung or delivered spontaneously during performances and not in any way written down. Secondly, there were no rehearsals prior to performances. It thus turned out that regular performance made deliberate memorization unnecessary. Again, fluidity which is said to be one of the major characteristics of oral poetry was revealed. The Nupe traditional praise singer is spontaneously creative and does not follow any rigid rhyme or metre, hence the structure and form of her songs are basically flexible. The fact is that, with the singers familiarity with their art, some degree of constancy was maintained and therefore this flexibility also ensures that re-composition is possible.

This thesis also establishes that there is hardly any occupation in Nupe society that does not require the performance of traditional songs. Occupations

ranging from fishing, hunting, black smithing and farming to collective or individual labour require that specific kind of song be performed and praise attribute remains a unique feature in all of them. The songs employ various poetic devices such as simile, metaphor, hyperbole, irony, sarcasm to achieve the eulogistic role since they deal with the praise of persons such as chiefs, heroes and tribal leaders. Men with outstanding qualities are praised because they earn recognition in the society.

Furthermore, this work presented both Fatima Lolo Bida and Kulu Lafiagi as professional Nupe female praise singers by analysing the artistic merit and relevance of some of their songs. It also examined the implicit historical reconstruction of the Fulani lineage of Bida emirate evoked in especially “the Song of the Twelve Emirs who Ruled Bida by Fatima Lolo. The essence of this focus was to examine the interface between history and oral composition. In other words, it is clear that history belonging to the narrative realm is amenable to skills of oral composition and performance. This process of transformation of the narrative piece to the performative act is not only seen to be both artistic and refreshingly dramatic but has also confirmed Fatima Lolo as truly the “Sagi Nigba Nupe” (The leader of Nupe Singers). In one but unusually long song, Fatima Lolo engages the history of the twelve emirs who ruled Bida with intellectual dexterity as any historian would. The artistic quality of the song is premised on the singer’s power of imagination and the deployment of figurative language to give value to her narration. The functional and thematic aspect of Nupe praise songs, the structural and linguistic devices make the poetry a living art form, worthy of serious scholartic study.

Again, this work on Nupe Female praise singers has gone a long way to debunk the ugly evolutionist perception that praise songs are handed down through the generations in a word–perfect–form which they say is similar among all people at the same time and stages of evolution. By implication, the evolutionists viewed oral poetry as survivals from earlier generations, crude and communal; lacking individual creativity; static and of no variability. In some cases, the singer is seen to be a specialist in collecting, committing to memory and particularly in reciting the praises than in composing them. To this end, the composition pattern of the duo has shown that on most occasions they do not have a prior or full knowledge of their audience; hence they sometimes have to employ the services of people who know certain things about the subject they intend to sing for. It was usually left for them to pick on the important information they require and develop them in their own style without necessarily toeing the lines of the earlier performers. This also suggests that these Nupe female praise singers possess the ability to expand their texts through the addition of new elements as artistically demonstrated in their songs chosen for this analytical study.

It is also evident from this research that there exist among the Nupe a group of professional singers both men and women with obvious experiences and talent who perform with confidence and skill. The question of one inheriting singing and drumming rarely exist in Nupeland. The desire to take up singing as a career after one's parent is highly dependent on the choice of the off springs. The ability to learn and master the skills of performance requires that one undergoes training under those who had mastered the art of performance. For this, the potential singer is expected to possess wisdom and wit as the

words of a song are as important as the song. The skills to be learnt include having a nice voice, knowing the songs to be rendered at different situations, as well as having sound ears for drumming that rhymes with songs. The skills to be fully mastered are dependent yet interrelated since they all have to go in harmony to be able to produce a worthwhile performance. In the light of this, it became clear through a credible juxtaposition of the oral praise poetry of the performers that Fatima Lolo Bida is undoubtedly a more gifted singer.

This thesis also noted in the final analysis the impact of globalization worldwide and on Nupe orature in particular. The point of this thesis, however, is not to discourage the Nupe people and or Nigerians at large from participating in the global culture. It rather suggests that the Nupe or Nigerian indigenous cultural production has to nurture Nupe or Nigerian cultural identities while participating in the global culture of the time. It is better we adhere to the paradox of global thinking and local acting. It is the adherence to this paradox that will enable us to be in a position to retain our cultural identities in the face of the ongoing globalization. This analytical study of Nupe female praise singers and globalization classifies Nupe praise songs into sub-genres, translate them into English, examine their literariness and document them for posterity. However, the study is not exhaustive, it only aims essentially to stimulate further research in the area.

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www.enhancingfieldwork.org.uk. Accessed 16th March, 2013. Web.

GLOSSARY

Word/Phrase	Meaning
Egbe	Hunters ceremonial performance for the dead.
Gani	The Nupe annual wrestling festival organised in Kutigi, the headquarter of Lavun Local Government Area of Niger State.
Ndako Gboya	The masquerade
Ndazhigi	The priest
Kutiba	The shrine
Kutido	Incantation
Wasa	Anti-snakebite powder
Alago	A white Muslim burial cloth
Eni Dandanzhi	Songs specially delivered for people who engage in certain occupations e.g. farmers, fisherman or traditional berbers.
Eni Zamanzhi	Songs commenting on what is currently happening in the society i.e. topical issues of the moment
Eni Chichinzhi	Songs expressing love and unity
Eni Etanzhi	Songs recounting the history of a people
Katamba	The entrance porch
Etungwa	Craft
Warishi	A corrupt form of Nupe word for Captain George Wallace, the British Soldier who commanded the West African Frontier Force in 1897 at Wuya near Bida.
Manko	Mallam Dendo – a cleric and one of the descendants of Usman Dan Fodiyo who lived in Bida for twenty-eight years before the colonial invasion of Nupeland.
Banin–Israyila	The whites
Bumbum	An ideophone describing the sound of an upturned gourd, floating in a basin of water, struck with a stick.
Domba	A type of Islamic chanting only performed during Ramadan period.
Kpanganagi	A bridal performance song i.e. a musical accompaniment for marriages and naming ceremonies consisting of a single player of the hourglass-drum.
Bata	Marshy fields.

Kyadya	Fisherman
Rugangba	Another Nupe word for Fulani temporary settlement or camps.
Nuwangba	River but could also mean water in a different linguistic environment.
Ruwa	A safe habitat for fishes
Kuta	The highest traditional title in Kyadya community.
Dankun	A parent anthill.
Bapa	Pounding of potsherd floors
Epa	Wooden pounders.

APPENDIX 1

ENI ETSU GUWO BE GUBAE NA'AGI BIDAO NAN

Alhaji Usman Aliyu Shehu Shagari nan ji shugaban kasa nyan Nigeriya nan, ci shi Eko'o nan. Ugan we wagan Fatima Lolo nan yi sagi nyan Nigba nyan kin Nupe kpata nan un' koni Etsu guwo be gubae na'agi Bidao nan gangani be katamba ma'abae. Eko bo mayi zhio. Woya:

Barikayi be yinae
Zanan kpe elo ebi nan, eyau finio re.
Zae kpe elo ewozhiko nan, eshi takada'o.
Lolo'o jiwo lolo'oce
Lolo naaman shizdo aci man nnau nan.
Zaa cewo gala nan,
Untswa bo gala
Zae kpe elo etan nan, ekpinwun'o re
A jiun kpaata nan be eye yin'o
Alhaji Shehu Shagari, Usman Shehu Shagari
Usman Aliyu egi Aliyu
Eku shugaban kasa
Ungan min koni etsu guwo be guba'e
Etsu guwo be gubae naagi Bida'o nan
Migan ebo keebo?
Ungan ebo muliki woro'o.
Ebo nan nyanan zandoroa jinan agaa tunye'o (2x)
Achin jin lokaciu yin nan
Yewo wuncin'ani
Ungan min la eni etsu guwo be gubae nko
Nyana man laudan ucin gan acin nan
Un kpeke zandoro mau ko nan
Ewo fanci gun be gberi nya
Chingini paci gun be salun nya
Gbataa kperi be yigbe
Asali gun be lanka nya

APPENDIX 1

THE SONG OF TWELVE EMIRS WHO RULED BIDA

Upon invitation to Lagos by the president of Nigeria; Alhaji Usman Aliyu Shehu Shagari to recount the history of Bida monarchic rule by the unrivalled leader of all Nupe oral singers in person of Hajiya Fatima Lolo and in company of the praise-crier (Katamba ma'aba). The venue is Lagos. Please carry on:

Let us congratulate ourselves today,

It is he who values the kolanut; that wraps it in leaves.

And he that values the black clothes; wraps it in a paper.

Lolo, o jiwo, Lolo'o ce – (a self praise)

Lolo whose birth precedes that of her mother.

Whoever wants to engage in any risky business,

Should be prepared to avoid its consequences.

Only one who knows the value of a story, tells it.

Everything happened before our very eyes.

Alhaji Shehu Shagari, Usman Shehu Shagari

Usman Aliyu, the son of Aliyu

Salute to the president

You request me to sing the song of the twelve emirs.

The twelve emirs who ruled Bida

I asked you why?

And you said because of the new regime and also because I am better endowed.

And because people are remembered for what they did

Indeed people are remembered for whatever is accomplished during their life time.

I hope you have heard that now?

He (Shagari) instructed that I sing the song of twelve emirs.

And the reason why he choose me to do so is that:

He knew that other singers can sing the song

But whichever way, a villager cannot equal an urban dweller.

Yam porridge cannot compete with pounded yam

Debt is never theft

Original substance is different from adulterated one.

Etsu guwo be gubae naagi Bidao nan
Ama giu kpaata nan be eye miyin'o
Lolo naaman shidzo aci man nnau nan
Wokpe dagan nan Manko nakin gwanduo nan?
Manko nakin nan, gangani eenakin'o
Manko egi Audullahi
Yici be kin Nupe'o
Un daa Raba, ganganin eelobo
Manko daa Lade, ganganin eelobo
Manko be daa Zhigi nan ganganin eelobo
Kaminan wun'a lo Danban nan, gangani eelobo
Be Fatima Lolo unlobo.
Kanga nan yida tun Dabban ganci nan,
Baaga bo mi ba Nna Fatumako ya Manko.
Nna Fatumako egi Liman nyan Dabban
Nna na man Etsu Saba nan daonan
Nayi be nakin Dabban'o nan
Acin yizhin Bida ganci'o
Manko ci fe eyashi din guba,
Manko fe pingwa pin lo (2x),
Ganganin be aduwae
Achin migan Manko a'etsugi ganci
Ugan Lolo lumigwa man wun yio, man mae gitsua.
Man wunyio, man maa gitsua
Lolo an lugwa.
Mici'a Manko lugwa ganci
Eya nangun eya gbanwo din guba nan
Manko cia yizhe ya cibo
Manko daa banan eza dokun nan
Banan Audu ndau lo nan
Allah ye jikan marigyaye

The twelve emirs who ruled Bida
They all ruled in my presence.
Lolo! Whose birth precedes that of her mother.
Can you tell the year that Manko left Gwandu?
Manko the son of Abdullahi
I was with him when he left Gwandu
And we came to Nupeland
When he travelled to Raba, I was together with him
When he went to Lade, I was also with him.
When Manko travelled to Zhigi, we were together.
He went to Dabban, we were together
He went together with Fatima Lolo
It was at Dabban that
I betrothed NnaFatimako to Manko
NnaFatimako, the daughter of Imam of Dabban
That was the woman who gave birth to Etsu Masaba
It was when we left Dabban
That we finally arrived at Bida
Manko spent eighteen years
Manko was growing in popularity
He was growing in popularity with the aid of prayers
It was at that point that I asked Manko to ascend the throne
He prayed that I leave him alone, that he is a cleric
And a cleric cannot metamorphose into a monarch
Let me be, Lolo
And thus I left him
But after twenty-eight years
Manko departed this deceitful world.
Manko went to where many have gone before him.
Where his father Abdullahi had gone
May Allah forgive our predecessors

Karengbe yetu karengbe yeshi

Egi yi cigbe etsutsuo

Egi yi cigbe tsutsuo re

Agan nya gan, egi tsa yi cigbe tsutsuo

Manko daa banan eza dokun nan

Kanga migan a'ada yi Usman Zakia be

Egi nunsa nyan Manko daonan

Usman Zaki migan a'ayiwoya beo re

Yanama laudan mici yiwonan

Egi yi cigbe tsutsuo

Migan Manko ula etsuugi

Unmagan man wun yio, man mae gitsua

Egan namau gan nan unbami

Amma nan Manko Sajin nan, wun ya zhibo

Egi mayi cigbe tsutsuo nan sunkun,

To nan wun'a to we egi nan, waa gi

Usman Zaki gan sai nyanan migaa gan nan

Migan cea lo miyi shinan; migan cea lo da gitsu miyi shinan.

Kanga Usman Zaki be gitsu gancio

Egi nunsa Manko Kolo daonan

Baagi eba nyinzagi ninin

Usman Zaki gitsu eya gbanwo din guba

Etsu nan wun yaro nan, ci be gwo wun'o

Karengbe yetu karengbe yeshi

Eza ye da loani, eza zuma ma yi shinan.

Migan edayi Mamma Saba be yin.

Saba kaka gugu kakae

Zanaa jin cigbe naa de nyangban

Kau de nyangban'a, ungaa bici, cigbe magaa bici ma.

Mamman Saba, mi Fatima Lolo yi woyo

Agan Usman Zaki da banan eza dokun nan

When one pole falls another one gets erected.
Having a child is the antidote to death
Certainly, a child is the antidote to death
Do not be deceived, a child is the antidote to death
Manko has gone to where many had gone.
That was why I then called Usman Zaki
That's Manko's eldest son
Usman Zaki I (Lolo) ordered them to call you!
The reason I have called you
A child is the succour to death,
I advised that Manko be crowned as the king.
He insisted that a cleric cannot become a monarch
And I very well agreed with his opinion
And after sometime, death snatched him away:
And since a child is a succour to death.
And now that it is your turn, do accept.
Usman Zaki said he has no objection to my suggestion.
I then ordered him to accept the crown.
It was then Usman Zaki became the emir
That is the eldest son of Manko Kolo.
The great husband of one wife.
Usman Zaki then ruled for twenty-eight years
And the Lord who has given him to us on loan, collected him
When one pole falls, another one gets erected.
An elder has gone, the younger one is awaiting.
I ordered for Mamma Saba
Saba ("kaka gugu kakae") – praise phrase
Whoever that will display magical feats, must be brave
Otherwise, if he out of fear, runs away, the magic will fail.
Mamma Saba, I Fatima Lolo is the one who called you
Since Usman Zaki has gone to the land of many,

Wun’a ke we ganci.

Etsua to we ganci.

Ugan Sai nyanan Lolo gaa gan nan

Migan ce lo da gitsu miyi shinan

Mamma Saba ci be gitsu ganci

Etsu Saba nan Nnafatimako ma nan.

Manko Kolo ma mau be

Mamman Saba ci gitsu eyashi be gutwabae

Estu nanwun yaro nan, be gwu be

Karengbe yetu karengbe yeshi

Eza ye da loani, za zuma mayishinan

Etsua to Sarki na uku

Umaru egi Shaba Majigi

Umaru mie yiwoyo

Ngan wowo nan agan Mamma Saba daa nan?

Saba de daa nan, woma yi shinan

Etsu’a to we ganchin

Ugan sai nyanan Lolo gaa gan nan.

Migan cea lo da gitsu, miyi shinan

Umaru jikan Umaru

Egi Shaba Majigici daonan

Marafa Wusa ma man wun’o

Marafa Wusa matu Umaru

Yimi nusa Shaba Maajigi daonan

Kanga etsu Umaru gitsu ganci’o

Etsu daa gutani daonan

Umaru ci gitsu eya-rudin din gubae

Etsu nan wun yaro nan, ci be gwo wun’o

Karengbe yetu karengbe yeshi

Eza ye de gogan, za zuma, mayi shinan

Etsu da eti etsu gunni ganci

You're the next fellow now,
It is your turn to ascend the throne.
He said "Lolo, your wish is my command"
I then said, "go ahead and ascend the throne, I'm behind you"
Mamma Saba then became the emir,
Etsu Saba that was born by NnaFatimako
He was also born by Manko Kolo
Mamma Saba ruled for twenty-seven years
Before he died.
When one pole falls, another gets erected.
An elder has gone, however, the younger one is alive
It is the turn of the third emir
Umaru the son of Shaba Maajigi
Umaru, I'm the one calling you
Have you heard that Mamma Saba has gone?
Saba, truly has gone but you are still alive.
It is your turn to ascend the throne
He too said, he has no objection to my decision.
I said, go ahead and ascend the throne. I'm behind you
Umaru the son of Umaru
The son of Shaba Maajigi
The son of Marafa Wusa
Marafa Wusa, the younger sister of Umaru
That is the eldest wife of Shaaba Maajigi
It was then that Umaru became the emir.
That is the third emir now.
Umaru ruled for thirty-three years.
Before he too died.
When a pole falls, another one gets erected.
The elder has gone, but the younger one is here, waiting.
The fourth emir is about to be crowned.

Etsu Maliki, Etsu Maliki
Etsu Maliki, Etsu Usman man wun'o
Etsu Maliki mie yi we
Karengbe yetu karengbe yeshi
Yegan wonan agan Umaru Gana daa nan
To nan mau be daa nan, woma yi shinan
Etsua to we ganci, etsu Maliki
Ugan sai nyanan Fatima Lolo gaa gan nan
Migan ce lo da gitsu miyi shinan
Etsu Maliki egi wodua zhiri migan'o re
Egi Usman Zaki nunsa
Etsu Maliki ci gitsu ganci
Etsu Maliki ci gitsu eyashi be gutsun'i
Etsu nan wun yaro nan be gwu be.
Karengbe yetu karengbe yeshi
Zayedega be gogan, za zuma mayi shinan
Etsua to Bubakari Gana ganci'a
Etsua to Etsu Bubakari nan mamma Saba ma nan
Eya nan Etsu Bubakari be gitsu ganci nan
Eya gaa warishi be Nupe'o
Eya nan Etsu Bubakari gitsu nan,
Ga'a warishi be Nunpe'o
Amma Bubakari a etsu eya gunni gi bedzo
Warishi cia cin shi wuya'o
Yici bea le takada warishi ye
Yita etsu Bubakario
Bubakari gan ada yimi nya be
Takada woro cinan be
Ba takada fe beo?
Ugan wuya ezhi Aliyu bo

Etsu Maliki, Etsu Maliki
Etsu Maliki was born by Etsu Usman
Etsu Maliki, I'm the one calling you
When one pole falls, another one is planted
I hope you heard that Umaru Gana has gone
Although he has gone, you are here,
It is your turn to be crowned, Etsu Maliki
He said, my decision is final.
I then said, go ahead and wear the crown. I'm behind you.
Etsu Maliki, the son of Wodua Zhiri.
The son of the eldest Usman Zaki
Etsu Maliki, then became the emir.
Etsu Maliki ruled for twenty-five years
Before he too died.
When a pole falls, another one gets erected.
An elder has passed away, but the younger one is alive
It is the turn of Bubakari Gana to be crowned
The crown is now for Bubakari Gana, the son of Mamma Saba
The year Etsu Bubakari became the emir
It was the year Warishi (Wallace) attacked Nupeland.
It was the year Bubakari ascended the throne
That Warishi (Wallace) came into Nupeland
But Etsu Bubakari had reigned for four years
It was in the fourth year that Warishi attacked the Nupe
Warishi stationed at Wuya
Then we received Warishi's letter from Etsu Bubakari
Bubakari then sent for me
He says, here is a new letter.
Where did it come from? I asked.
He said, from Wuya, the mystical town of Aliyu.

Agan nasarazhi zhi wuya'o gan ala takada bea ya win.

Nyandoro yizhe, degi, deigi, degi

Muliki nyan agwayizhi kun'a ni

Wun'a toa egi baniisiraaila zhi

Awun gancio

Migan agan nya gan, wun'a fan

Etsu Bubakari gan unga wunma gan mao

Ade nyanala wun'a gitsu Anasara naa

Usman nan ka tsu ginan, ungitsu Anasaraa

Mamma Saba gitsu nan, ungitsu Anasaraa

Umaru Gana de gitsu nan, wun gitsu Anasaraa

Estu Maliki gitsu nan, ungitsu Anasaraa

To Bubakari egi Mamma Saba dan nan,

Wun'a gitsu ya Anasaraa

Afe nyanan agaa jin nan, adea jin jin.

Asha ekoa kperi be epin

Rongbo gun be sangi nya

Eko pata be la gwarozo ye

Gworozo gun eya guta achi lieuye tsari bao be.

Asa Anasaraa gya

Kanga Etsu Muhammadu Makun nda nya Babakudu, Muhammadu ma yi dan maakun'o

Hankuri wadan mai shi

Dafa mutun da ruwan sanyi

Mici daaba Makun Muhammadu

Achin migan maakun, daniyan,

Wode labari nanbe nan?

Takada fe wuyao be dan ba etsu Bubakario

Gbani, gan Nasarazhi gan muluki nya ye goyizhi kun'ani

Wun'a toa Nasarazhi gancin

Mima nyandoro ta, be Etsu Bubakari, umma gan wun'a gba Nasaraa

The whites are at Wuya and they sent this letter to me.
This life is about change
The Fulani dynasty must give way to the colonialist
It's now the turn of the European invaders
It's their chance now.
I (Lolo) said, it is impossible.
Etsu Bubakari says, that was what he said too.
There is no reason for him to become a whiteman's emir
Usman who first ruled, was never a whiteman's emir
Mamma Saba too, was never a whiteman's emir
Umaru Gana ruled and was never a whiteman's emir
Etsu Maliki also ruled and was never a whiteman's emir
And now, Bubakari the son of Mamma Saba is here
And I will never be a whiteman's emir
Or else, let them (the whites) do whatever they feel or think.
Ah! A clenched fist is hotter than ordinary palms in a fight
A cane can never be compared to a sledge
A fist has broken the nose of the brave.
It took the brave three months before he could reappear in the wrestling arena.
The whiteman is dangerous
At that time, Muhammadu Maakun, the father of Babakudu was still holding the title of Maakun.
Patience is an asset for whosoever has it.
He is the cold water that burns
I went to Maakun Muhammadu
Then I said, Maakun, Daniyan
Have you got the news that came?
A letter from Wuya is now with Etsu Bubakari,
That the Fulani dynasty should give way to colonial administration.
It is their turn to rule now
And I said all I could with Etsu Bubakari,

Umma gan wun’a gitsu anasaraa
Daganan ma woyi Etsu hankuri nan.
Be daa ban ganre be Etsu Bubakari
Sokoe wan zae wun nyau na.
Afe zwalunchi tsa wa jin wun’o
Ekaa degi ma, wun’a bea logwa
Be da jin gyara beu yin
Yaa nakin daonan to Makun Muhammadu,
Yi daonan yita Etsu Bubakario
Egan nan yi magan kpaata nan yiya gan
Etsu Bubakari gan kpoo yin’a
Egi Mamma Saba, ugan kpoo yin’a
Yanan laudan uyin’a gbaa nan
Egi bani israailazhi, zanaagitsu yayenan la bea,
Amma unjin wun Bubakaria gitsu Anasaraa
Me danan, mi nanyi gan’ago nyan goyizhinan
Mia yandoro ta, Bubakari gan kpoo nya.
Asa za guta fe tawun’o
Kachin’a goyizhi ‘enagan mi voa’
Asa Alikali Mantafyanci fe tawun’o
Bo nan ugayi man nyan etsu Bubakario
Ugan wun’a ati jin, wun ma isabi jin
Ati magan wun gaa yema, isabi magan wun gaa yema,
Nyanan Nasara gaa wa kpaata nan, wunjin ganin beu yin.
Wun’a gitsu Anasaraa
Asa Lakpene Yusufu, wun cie tawon’o,
Ugan Bubakariu ga yema
Eyan ewun ndoro nan Nasara gaa denan,
Udan kata wun bo, wun nan Mamma Saba ma nan
Asa Lakpene Yusufu fe tawun’o

And he said, he will never be the whiteman's emir
Since you're a patient one,
Do assist me to talk, to Etsu Bubakari
God has never denied one of his legitimate property,
The owner of a property can only be cheated
And in a very brief moment, the property will be his.
Come and settle us.
I left together with Maakun Muhammadu
We went to Etsu Bubakari
We said all we could
Etsu Bubakari vehemently rejected our offer.
The son of Mamma Saba vehemently rejected our offer.
He said, his reason for rejecting the whites is that
The whites are looking for one who will be their emir
And I Bubakari will never be the whiteman's emir
And I (Lolo) who is the chief adviser of the Fulani dynasty
I said all I could but Bubakari refuse to accept.
Unfortunately, there were three people that were deceiving him
Otherwise, the royal ones are not stubborn.
It was Alikali Mantafya who was deceiving him
He was the personal soothsayer of Etsu Bubakari
He (Alikali Mantafya) said he has divined
And the information he got from his divination
Is that, Etsu Bubakari must not succumb to the whites
He must not be the whiteman's emir.
It was Lakpene Yusufu who was deceiving him
He said, Etsu Bubakari shouldn't accept
That whatever military power the whites possess
He has them in the room, the son of Mamman Saba
It was Lakpene Yusufu who was deceiving him

Asa Mayaki Ndajiya ce tawun’o re

Mayaki Ndajiya naa ma Mayaki Aliyu bonan.

Kata kuti ga’a gbin

Asa kata kuti nya Nasarazhi we gan’o

Kata kutia gbin gbin

Kanan Nasara be nan, ebonan wun danboa nan de.

Ebonan wun daa efu Gidi nan

Ebonan wundaa kuta wari nan

Kachian zae yebi Anasara’o

Eyan ewun ndoro nan Nasara gaa de nan

Wun dan kata wun nan Mamma Jiya ma nao

Asa zaguta nan kaun gan yin go nan daonan

Yici fayin ganci.

Achin migan to nyan mia zoani re

Kanga mide rakun bako fe tun kanga.

Achin migan wun’a yi mina koni shidzo yawo bo nan, mi sajin ani.

Yici da wuya ezhi Aliyu

Yici lo, unga daa fan, ya leye

Kaa gan unda fan, ya leye

Yi daonan sai wuya ezhi Aliyu

Wuya gaa yi da tun gancin’o

Warishizhi maa evun jinzhi kpata misun’o

Warishi ci shiye, wun cia yi leye

Yiye ce bidinga fi Nasara ni daonan

Bidingae lo, bidingae zhin

Warishi ce chiyin le dai

Asa wun’e jin yin, ega jin

Ari yi de eti Nasara ninia ba

Achin warishi gan yichi lo

Yichi chie manin zhi daonan, yiye lo ye zhi daonan

It was also Mayaki Ndajiya who was deceiving him
Mayaki Ndajiya who was born at Mayaki Aliyu
He said, the house of the gods will collapse
He was referring to the house of the gods of the whiteman
The house of the gods will collapse
Whites came because I was not in then.
Because I went to Efu Gidi
Because I went to Kuta Wari
Otherwise, who is that whiteman.
No matter what weapons the whites possess
They will find its equivalent in the room of the son of Mamman Jiya
These are truly the three people that were deceiving him.
For this, we left him alone.
I (Lolo) then said, I'm through with you.
That time, I use to have a male camel for touring around
And I said; I'm prepared to lead you to the battle front with a song if you want.
We then went to Wuya, the mystical town of Aliyu.
We continue moving and hoping for success.
However, we were also prepared to accept defeat, all the same.
Until we got to Wuya and mystical town of Aliyu
When we reached Wuya
The Warishi had tents at the river banks
Warishi then peeped and saw us
We started shooting with our guns
Sound of gun shots were heard all over the place.
Warishi was just looking at us.
He was just being patient
Until we beheaded one of his men
Warishi then allowed us to go
We were jubilating on our way home

Yigan ebe leye, ekunyi daa Nasara gia ni
Eti begi danan, eti begi danan, eti begi danan
Asa sunkpazhi, uga'a kunyi mi
Sunkpazhi be tun nan, yi daonan sai wuya ezhi Aliyu
Daganan tsotacia ma yinnan,
Yiye loye lo lo yin nan.
Asa yinnan ga wun'a da kun yi mio
Kpaata yicia nakin, kafinan yatunzancita nan
Eba nan pazhiko na fe tinye
Kafinan yiya tun wuya sokomba nan
Eba nan pazhiko nan fe tinye
Kaafinan yiya tun lavun misun nan
Eba shizhiko kpooyin be
Eda nan warishi shiye ci le yinye nan
Warishi ci tugwa zuni keee te
Za kpauta be shibae fe kpanya dokoo.
A daa ba nan eza dokun naa ni
Wun'a ke Bubakari Gana gbaugi
Wun'a ke Fatima lolo gbaugi
A'a ya lugwa re
Etsu Bubakari ce zhin migan woyo
Yegan wo wogan, Yakubu Jiya daa nan.
Wakantaba daa nan, Halidu Giwa daa nan
Zuriya Mamma Saba kpaata, agan zashinin be guwoe a dan rayi'o bea
Nyanan laudan migan woyo daozhi nan
Zananan gunbe zananan nyan
Ewo faci gun be gberi nyan
Chingin paci gun be salun nyan
Migan wo gan gbataa kperi be yigbe
Cezhin zuma Etsu Bubakari

We called on everybody to come and witness our victory
Here is a little monkey's head, little monkey's head, a little monkey's head.
Not knowing that we will pay dearly for it in three days to come.
On the third day, we went back to Wuya, the village of Aliyu.
And since we were victorious the day before yesterday
We were moving with full pride today.
Not knowing that we are going to pay dearly for it today.
We all left and before we reached Zancita village
What looks like a gloomy day became bright
Before we could reach Wuya Sokomba village
The cloudy atmosphere became brighter
Before we could reach the bank of Lavun river,
It was completely dark again
Immediately Warishi peeped and saw us
Warishi took single aim at us
At once, six hundred and forty men fell off from their horseback
They have gone to the land of many.
It now remains Bubakari Gana alone
It now remains Fatima Lolo alone
Ah! You all stop this.
Etsu Bubakari do come back
You must have heard that Yakubu Jiya has gone
Wakantaba too has gone and Halidu Giwa has gone.
The family of Mamma Saba, about ninety of them are no longer alive.
The reason why I'm asking you to come is that:
This person is not like the other person
A villager cannot be compared to an urban dweller
Yam porridge cannot compete with pounded yam
I told you that debt is never theft
Do come back Etsu Bubakari

Zananan gunbe zananan nya
Ebo nan Etsu Bubakari gaa zhe nanan, wun'a zhe nanan
Ungaa zhe pati wun'a zhe gudu
Etsu Bubakari gaa zhe enan, wun'a zhe nuwan
Eka deigi wun'a zhe nampa
Estu Bubakari bea zhe dagba
Eka deigi etsu Bubakaria zhe jikana
Wo le eza ya, wo kew nyan
Agan agaa gbigan mi Fatima Lolo man
Yinzagi mi yio.
Yinzagi mi yio, nigba mi yio
Warishi gan aga kemi nyan man
Yiye zhiani daoonan be
Keminan yi loyelo tsotaci nan
Yiya zhe godo zhin daoonan
Wokpe nyanan ye godo nan?
Elundoci nataa gunjio nan
Wogaa lieuye, waa yegan tolotoloo.
Wun'ajin ufe badaba jyajya yin
Elu naye godo nan ga daoonan
Keminan de yin shibokun lo kpaata nan, yi badabazhin yinnan danan
Zandoro ci daa cin
Muhammadu Maakun nda nya Babakudu ugan wundya loa
Wun de gan ya Etsu Bubakaria ni ungan ulau chiuta,
Deigi deigi sokoe yayan'o
Wunma ganyau gan, sokoe wan zae wunyau na
Abeke Manko ga goa yagio nan
Eka deigi wun'abea logwa
Wunma gan nan, Etsu Bubakari ma goa nan
Mi daonan, migan Maakun, Daniyan

This person is not like the other person
This is because if Etsu Bubakari becomes this, he turns to that.
If he becomes a mountain, he becomes a valley
If Etsu Bubakari becomes fire, he becomes water
In a moment he becomes a tiger
Etsu Bubakari becomes an elephant
In a short moment Etsu Bubakari becomes sand
It is impossible to shoot the person you do not see.
They said I Fatima Lolo should be ignored
That I'm a woman
She is a woman and a singer
Warishi said, they should not shoot me
Then we set for home again
Unlike the way we move with pride day before yesterday
Today, we become "godo"
Do you know what is called "godo?"
It is a type of bird always found on the island.
It resembles an ostrich when you see it.
It usually walks in a tiptoed manner
That is the bird called "godo"
The proud manner we walked earlier is now substituted with a tiptoe-like movement.
We all went to our various homes.
Muhammadu Maakun the father of Babakudu says he won't go
And he had told Etsu Bubakari earlier to be patient
God gives those who are patient
And he told him that God does not deny anyone of his legitimate property.
And that, if they are true grandchildren of Manko,
In a short moment, it will be theirs.
Although he advised, Etsu Bubakari never heed.
There and then I (Lolo) said "Maakun Daniyan"

Maakun Gana egi Umaru, Daniyan
Yagi Shaaba Maajigi, Daniyan
Marafa Wusa gaa mawun'o
Achin maakun gan zee daboo?
Migan Fatima Nna Loloe Saumio
Ungan michen be mana
Mi zhin wuyaani?
Migan aeeba.
Eti Nasara gunkin man yide yinao?
Achin migan Daniyan, nya yinaotso gya
Zuriya goyizhi kpaata nazhi alkiyami yina nan gun eza shini be guwo
Egwa zuni ma warishi tu daonan
Yibadabazhin yinan
Achin Maakun gan nyanan wun leyenan daonan
Michigan Etsu Bubakariu lau lugwa'o
Hankali yizao re (3x)
Ewode jin zaa sai hankali
Katunji unjin zaa, sai hankali
Egi waani jin zaa, sai hankali
To Lolo wa daoda emia.
Emi gaa mitun deigio
Eka deigi tunci Etsu Bubakari danan
Etsu Bubakari gan ayi miya bebe
Garbao Bagadozhi
Bubakari Gana Bagadozhi
Etsu Bagadozhi (2x)
Minan woyinan, mizhiani, ki jin'o?
Achin wungan dagan yinan, wun'a saukijin
Amma eminan wunkpe wucin gan wun'agitsu ya Nasaraa nan,
Be kosha ndanamaunae, wun'a gitsu Anasaraa

Maakun Gana, the son of Umaru, “Daniyan”
Grandson of Shaaba Maajigi, “Daniyan”
The son of Marafa Wusa
Then, Maakun said, who is there?
I said, Fatima Lolo is the one greeting you.
Then he said, come in then,
Are you back from Wuya?
I said Yes
How many European heads do you harvest today?
Then I said, “Daniyan” that of today is terrible.
The Fulani descendants, about ninety in number, died today.
And Warishi took just a single aim.
We tiptoed back home
Maakun said, that was what he saw ahead,
And advised Etsu Abubakar to desist
Sense of judgement makes a man (3x)
Possession of wealth does not make a man but sense of judgement
Possession of knowledge does not make a man but sense of judgement
One’s social status does not make a man but one’s sense of judgement
Now, Lolo do go home.
When I got home briefly,
Within a short while, the messenger of Etsu Bubakari came.
Etsu Bubakari is asking you to come
Garba! “Bagadozhi”
Bubakari Gana “Bagadozi”
Etsu “Bagadozhi” (2x)
You called me. I’m here, what is it?
Then he said, from today, he has given up the challenge.
However, and by the grace of his father’s grave,
He will never be the whiteman’s emir

Bida cionan, Bida cionan,
Bida cionan, wun’a Bida yami
Zaanan gaa bami, nan milan gitsu
Amma sunkpaazhi wungaa nakin
Wunga Bida lugwa
Migan Garuba, bawalo?
Egi Mamma Saba bawalo?
Yagi Maliki bawalo?
Yagi Manko Kolo bawalo?
Achin ungan sai sunkpaazhi waa kpe bamie lo nan.
Sunkpaazhi cibe tun ganci
Foga mayi liteninfoe, yiya nakin to Etsu Bubakari
Unakinan, wun’a eti tun eko Badegi
Migan mimaa yioo, Etsu mia yiwe
Bandoro nan wogaa lonan mia lo
Yidaonan sai Badegi
Yinakin Badegio nan sai Dagba Ubandaki
Yida tun Dagba Ubandaki nan ganci nan
Migan Bagadozhi mila wo sunna banan we lonaa?
Banan mi kezhe be Etsu Bubakari ganci nan
Wugan mia kezhe babo? Migan eeeba
To, wungan wun’a yami wuzhibagi shitsun
Wun’a yami wuzhi nyizagi shitsun
Wun’a yami ewo zabo shitsun
Wun’a yami takpo shitsu
Wun’a yami yantsugi shitsun
Wun’a yami doko shitsun
Wun’a yami rakun shitsun
Ewo zhionan gura shitsun wun’a yami
Lolo yao lo, Loloojiwo Lolooce

See Bida there, see Bida there.
See Bida there. I give Bida to you.
Give it to whoever you want as the emir
But he will leave day after tomorrow.
He will leave Bida
I said, Garba where are you going?
The son of Mamma Saba, where are you going?
The grandson of Maliki, where are you going?
The grandson of Manko Kolo, where are you going?
Then he said, day after tomorrow, I will know where he was going?
When day after tomorrow came
That day was Monday. We left together with Etsu Bubakari
He headed towards Badegi village
I said, I will accompany you. Etsu I will accompany you.
I will go with you to wherever you're going.
We then left for Badegi
When we left Badegi, we went to Dagba Ubandaki
When we reached Dagba Ubandaki I said to him,
Bagadozhi, I have not heard the name of where you're going.
Where I left Etsu Bubakari
He said, you're leaving me here? I said Yes.
Then he said, he will give me hundred slaves.
He will give me hundred female slaves.
He will give me hundred "zabo" clothes
He will give hundred "takpo" cloths
He will give me hundred girls
He will give a hundred horses
He will give me a hundred camels.
Here is money in hundred bags for you
Lolo go well. Lolo jiwo, loloo ce

Lolo naamanshidzo aci ma nnau nan
To Etsu mia gbiogan, bawalo?
Achin wungan, Lokoja we lo
Migan ungaa gun tswa guba wa lenye
Karengbe yetu karengbe yeshi
Ezaye gogan nan, za zuma ma danan
Etsu Bubakari daloani re
Etsu chia to Hancin Kura
Muhammadu Maakun, Etsua to Muhammadu Maakun
Etsua to hankuri wadan mai shi
Etsua to dafa mutun da ruwan sanyi
Michi daaba Muhammadu Maakun
Achin migan to, Etsu Bubakari daloani re
Etsua to we ganci
Daganan wode hankuri nan, Etsua to we ganci
Estua to Muhammadu Maakun nda nya Babakudu
Eda yimaakun Muhammadu be, gan mie yiu
Etsua to we ganci
Etsu Muhammadu Maakun nda nya;
Babakudu, ugaa ka etsu Anasaragi Bida bo
Muhammadu Maakun chia etsugi eya gbanwon be gubae
Wokpe nasara nan gi nda Babakudu etsu nan ye?
Gomina lugan (2x)
Nasara nan ka gomina gi Nigerio nan daonan
Gomina naegi kpaata daanan, gomina lugan cha wun,o
Unga ka gomina yingi Nigeria bo
Nda nya Babakudu ma unka roni nya etsu yi pao
Wun sajin sajin nan wunyi yazhibo
Karengbe yetu karengbe yeshi
Etsua to hancin kura, Etsu Bello, Etsu Bello
Bello egi Maliki, jikan Usman Zaki

Lolo whose birth preceded her mother's birth
Now, Etsu, let me ask you, where are you going?
He said, he was going to Lokoja
Then I said, "he will see me in two months time".
One pole falls, another one gets erected.
An elder departs but there is a subordinate awaiting.
Etsu Bubakari has gone.
It is the turn of Hancin Kura to ascend the throne
Muhammadu Maakun, it is the turn of Muhammadu Maakun to be crowned.
It is the turn of "patience is a great virtue"
It is the turn of "the one that cooks with cold water"
I went to Muhammed Maakun
Then I said, Etsu Bubakari has gone
It is your turn to be emir now.
And since you are a patient one, it is your turn to be crowned.
The throne is for Muhammadu Maakun the father of Babakudu
Go and call Muhammadu Maakun
It is his turn to be the emir
Babakudu is the first emir under colonial regime in Bida
Muhammadu Maakun ruled for thirty-two years
Do you know the whiteman that made the father of Babakudu the emir?
Governor Lugard (2x)
That is the whiteman that first became governor in Nigeria.
All governors we have today, started from Governor Lugard.
He is the first governor in Nigeria.
And the father of Babakudu is the first emir he turbaned.
After sometimes he (Muhammadu Maakun) left us
When one pole falls, another is erected
The throne is now for Hancin Kura, Etsu Bello
Etsu Bello, Bello the son of Maliki, the grandson of Usman Zaki

Etsua to Etsu Bello ganci

Agan fula nda, atsagiti. Etsu Bello banbe nya wunyi.

Nya nda wun logau gaa pinti win deigi

Gwalagi nagan gboko nan

Bello baagi ba Nyizagi ninin

Etsu Bello ci gitsu eya gutwaani

Etsu nan wun yaro nan, be gwu be

Karengbe yetu karengbe yeshi

Etsua to etsu Saidu

Saidu na malam Mamudu

Etsua to yagitsu Saba

Ekin gbaagbagba, kachan yankpao

Amma ta bisheba nan lau yinan

Taki Saidu Ganao mundi

Etsua to egba ciwan jin gbaa, sai egbau gye yankpao

Taki Saidu Ganao Mundi

Etsua to Etsu Saidu

Etsu Saidu ci gitsu eya gutswanyin cia tu tswa gunni

Etsu nan wun yaro nan, be gwu be

Karengbe yetu karengbe yeshi

Sarkin nasara, sarikin nasara

Babakudu Koloo Giwa

Egi Diza yiye yiyeo kobo

Yagi Alaasan gutwaaba

Etsu nan Etsu ma nan

Etsu nan Etsu go yagi nan

Bonan Muhammadu Maakun ma wun’o

Etsu umaru ma gwu yagio

Etsu nan yeboza ke egiu nan

Etsua to Babakudu koloo giwa

It is the turn of Etsu Bello to be crowned

They said, usually a father's cap is always an oversize for the son's head.

Etsu Bello says that his father's cap almost undersized him.

He is the branch that is bigger than the trunk

Bello, a man and husband of one woman.

Etsu Bello ruled for nine years

The supreme king and the owner who gave him to us temporarily, took him away.

When one pole falls, another gets erected.

It is the turn of Etsu Saidu to be crowned

Saidu of Mallam Mamudu

The throne is for the grandson of Etsu Saba

Although the needle is small, it is an iron

No full grown cock, can swallow it

That is the "taki" of Etsu Saidu

The throne is now for "it is not the largeness of the axe that matters but the quality of its blade"

That is another "taki" of Etsu Saidu

It is the turn of Etsu Saidu to be crowned.

Etsu Saidu ruled for six years and four months

The supreme God that gave him to us temporarily; decided to take him away

When one pole falls, another one is planted.

The emir of great fortune, the emir of great fortune

Babakudu Kolo, the elephant

The son of Diza Yiye Kobo

The grandson of seven Alhassans

The emir that was born by another emir

The grandson of an emir.

This is because Etsu Muhammadu Maakun was his father

And Etsu Umaru was his grandfather

The Etsu that loves one as he loves his own child

It is the turn of Babakudu Kolo "the elephant" to ascend the throne.

Sarikin nasara sarkin nasara

Edanan Etsu to Babakudu nan

Ya lo babo, kanti zhinan

Ya zhi babo kanti zhinan

Nyanan nakin dagan Bamisun gbarao nan re, har be Bamisun Gbogi nan

Yida lieyenan, kanti kpauta zhibo

Lokacin nya Babakudu nya dewun'o

Kofan wuya, kofan nasara

Nyanan nakin dagan Banwuyao nan, har be Bangaie nan

Yida lieyenan kanti kpauta zhibo

Mujeza egi nna Diza Yiye a' dewun'o

Ezhi kpaata cia zhe lantiriki

Lokacin nya egi Diza yiye a'chawun'o

Ezhi kpaata a zhe pompu chi nan

Ebo egi Marafa Wusa boa dewun'o

Eko kpaata zhe kontaya,

Ebo egi Giwa Dufya boa dewun'o

Sokounjin maza gaafara

Karengbe yetu karengbe yeshi

Mamma egi Aliyu, egi Aliyu Laaga

Yagi Almustafa, Muhammadu egi Almustafa

Egi Isah, egi Musa, egi Almustafa Isao boci

Karengbe yetu karengbe yeshi

Etsua to zanaa loyingan uchiye gan nan

Agan ungae gitsu zuyechinboo

Etsua to etsu Usman Sariki

Yagi Muhammadu Mundi

Etsu nan Etsu ma nan

Ebo nan Etsu Saidu Gana manwun'o

Shaaba Muhammadu ma gwu yagio re

The emir of great fortune, the emir of great fortune.
The moment Babakudu became the emir,
The whole town was flooded with shops
We have big stores and shops everywhere
From Bamisun Gbara to Bamisun Gbogi
We saw more than three thousand shops
It was during the reign of Babakudu we got them
The city gate of Wuya, the city gate of great fortune.
From Banwuya to Bangaie
We saw about three thousand shops
It was the growing popularity of the son of
Nna Diza Yiye that brought such tremendous success.
There was the electrification of the whole town
Started during the reign of the son of Diza Yiye
The taps are running everywhere in the town
This was possible because of the son of Marafa Wusa
All the streets were tarred
This was possible because of the son of Giwa Dufya
May God forgive the hero
When one pole falls, another one gets erected.
Mamma the son of Aliyu, the son of Aliyu Laaga
The grandson of Almustapha, Muhammad the son of Almustapha,
The son of Musa, the son of Isah, the son of Almustapha Isao boci
The crown has come to the unbending man
Who was hypocritically said to be a shameless ruler
When one pole falls, another one gets erected.
The crown is now for Usman Zaki
The grandson of Mamudu Mundi
The emir that was born by another emir
For, he was born by Etsu Saidu Gana
And Shaaba Mamudu was his grandfather

Usman Gana Sajin nan win yazhibo
Etsua to sokoe wan zae wun nyau naa.
Afe zwalunci tsa wa jin wun'o
Eka deigi wun'a bea logwa
Etsua to Etsu Musa Bello
Etsu Musa Bello, Etsu Musa bello
Musa Bello, egi hancin kura
Na wakantaba Saba ma nan
Egi Halilu Lahi, egi nan kosodu gboya ma nan.
Yagi Etsu Maliki, eya Usman Zaki
Etsu Musa Bello, nuguncin nya kpootu nyan Nupe
Kpotun Nupe, Usman egi Aliyu
Nugunci kafa nyan Nupe
Kafa Nupe egi hancin kura
Etsua to Etsu Musa na ye shaka sharuwa nan
Ebi detsukun'a, amma ungao da dzukun
Taki nya Etsu Musa
Etsu Musa agbeadya sonu, sonu
Yaba dekaa, yaba ma yegun'a
Taki nyan Etsu Musa
Etsu Musa, za nae kun'a nan zoyikun
Zandoro nan ma kun nan, kun soko
Zanan maga kun soko nan, magaa tso tun
Etsu Musa nan lo yizhe be nasaraenan
Uchi daa eku be darijae nan
Soko ujin maza gafara
Etsu daa guwo be ninin daonan re
Etsu daa eti etsu guwo be gubae ganci
Umaru Maajigi, Umaru Maajigi
Etsua to etsu Umaru Sanda

After sometimes Usman Gana left us
The crown is now for “God never denies one of his property”.
The owner of a property can only be cheated.
And, in a short moment, the property will be his,
It is the turn of Etsu Musa Bello to be crowned
Etsu Musa Bello, Etsu Musa Bello
Musa Bello, the son of Hancin Kura
Who was born by Wakantaba Saba
The son of Halilu Lahi, the son of Kusodu Gboya
The grandson of Etsu Maliki, the great grandchild of Usman Zaki
Etsu Musa Bello, the elder brother of Kpootun Nupe
Kpootun Nupe, Usman the son of Aliyu
The elder brother of Kafa Nupe
Kafa Nupe the son of Hancin Kura
The throne is for Etsu Musa that is called “Shaka Sharuwa”
The excreta has no bones, yet it makes one to limp
That is the “taki” of Etsu Musa
Etsu Musa, the banana tree that has no thorns,
Yet it is difficult to climb
That is another “taki” of Etsu Musa
Etsu Musa, one who is never troublesome is always difficult to torment.
Whoever torments him, torments God
And whoever torments God, will pay for it
Etsu Musa came into this world with great fortune
And left this world with dignity.
May God forgive the hero
That is the eleventh emir
The crown has come to the eleventh emir
Umaru Maajigi, Umaru Maajigi
The crown has come to Etsu Umaru Sanda

Umaru Sanda, Umaru Sanda
Etsu nan soko kpe vun yanan
Ungan zananyizheci gan wun’a tu kata yanan
Etsu nan soko le kunun kpayi yanan
Kabo yizhecia ban nuwan fiu
Ogan nyao gan, kunua tsayea
Kunua ce kin kin,
Kunua ce gye gye,
Ebo nan, egun’e gban egun tsoa,
Afe egun egye fici’a
Wun dea yi jekun nan nnakoza dunao
Jekun wunci wun’a po yagiu egwa boa
Umaru egi Suleimanu, Umaru egi Usumanu
Umaru egi Wacin Annafi, Umaru egi Saidu
Eba Hajiya Katsaci, senior katsaci egi Audullahi
Etsu Nupe, ebaa Hajiya Abiba (2x)
Abiba egi Aliyu, Aliyu Makama nya Nupe migan’o re,
Yagi Mamudu, egi Hajiya gunni
Eba Hajiya Talatu, eba Hajiya Saagi
Saagi egi Muryamu, Saagi egi Muhammadu
Saagi egi Hajiya Biba, gwazuma nya Fokpo
Akimi nya Badegi, eba Hajiya Talatu be
Talatu yagi Aliyu, egi nan Mamma Isa ma nan
Yagi Almustafa, yagi Sharu
Umaru karaayin, egi Aliyu, yaagi Aliyu
Etsu Umaru Sarikin Nupe, egi Hajiya gunni
Egi Hajiya Kulu Wunciko, egi Hajiya Kuku tetengi
Egi Hajiya Maryamu, egi Hajiya Nanasha,
Egi Hajiya Nnadzuma, egi Hajiya Dyadya tetengi,
Egi nan Hajiya Dogo Dwa manan, egi Dogo Bagi, egi Dogo Nyizagi,

Umaru Sanda, Umaru Sanda

The emir whom God has constructed a tent for;

Is greater and more comfortable than the one the humans promise to construct a house for.

The emir whom God has prepared millet porridge for;

No matter the amount of water the humans pour into it;

That porridge will remain thick forever and will never become watery

The porridge will continue to be thicker and thicker

It will be getting better and better and never watery.

Because the heir, never suffers from inheritance.

Except the heir to a drinker

The food that is prepared by a grandmother,

Will never burn the grandchild

Umaru the son of Suleiman, Umaru son of Usumanu

Umaru the son of Wacin Anafi, Umaru the son of Saidu

The husband of Hajiya Katsaci, senior Katsaci the daughter of Abdullahi.

The Etsu Nupe, the husband of Hajiya Habiba (2x)

Habiba the daughter of Aliyu, Aliyu Makama of Nupe

The grandson of Mamudu, the son of four Hajiyas

The husband of Hajiya Talatu, the husband of Hajiya Saagi,

Saagi the daughter of Muryamu, Saagi daughter of Muhammadu.

Saagi the daughter Hajiya Biba, the younger sister of Fokpo Woro

Akimi of Baddegi, the husband of Hajiya Talatu

Talatu the granddaughter of Aliyu, the daughter of Mamma Isa.

The granddaughter of Almustafa, the granddaughter of Sharu.

Umaru go gradually, the son of Aliyu and the grandson of Aliyu

Etsu Umaru Sarikin Nupe, the son of four Hajiyas

The son of Hajiya Kulu Wunciko, the son of Hajiya Kulu Tetengi.

Muryamu, the son of Hajiya Nanasha.

The son of Hajiya Nnadzuma, the son of Hajiya Dyadya Tetengi

The son of Hajiya Dogo, the son of Dogo Baagi, the son of Dogo Nyizagi

Egi Musa Wunciko, egi Musa Tetengi
Umaru egi Zainabu
Etsu Umaru nda nya Makun Woro
Maakun woro Abdulmaliki, Abdulmaliki egi Babakudu Giwa
Etsu guwo be gubae a'guani daona re
Amma za guwo be gubae naa yinan
Za gunni dabo ujin etsu ma'a
Amma etsu gutota nan kenan etsu mao
To nan Ndaazhi gitsua nan, adema ma tsu
Etsu Usman Zaki nan katsu gina, ujin etsu ma wun'a re
We taeta ujin etsu ma Usman Zaki'a
Ujin etsu matsu Usman Zaki'a, Manko ma wun'o
To Ndako wuntso gitsua, nan, wunde ma matsu
Etsu Sabae taeta, wunji etsu ma wun'a
Unjin etsu ma etsu Saba'a, Manko ma wun'o
Manko de gitsua nan, Wunde ma matsu.
Etsu Umaru taeta wunjin etsu ma wun'a
Etsu Umaru Gana taeta wun jin etsu ma wun'a
Ujin etsu ma Umarua,
Shaba maajigi ma wun'o
Maajigi gitsuanan, Maajigi ma matsu
Etsu Saidu taeta, unjin etsu ma wun'a
Shaba Mamudu ma wun'o
Mamudu Gana de be gitsuanan,
Mamudu ma matsu
Etsu gunni nan unji etsu maanan daonan
Amma etsu gutota nan kenan etsu maao
Etsu Maliki, etsu Usman ma wun'o
Etsu Bakari, Etsu Saba ma wun'o
Etsu Muhammadu Maakun, Etsu Umaru ma wun'o

The son of Musa Wunciko, the son of Musa Tetengi
Umaru the son of Zainabu,
Etsu Umaru, the father of Maakun Woro
Maakun Woro, Abdulmaliki, Abdulmaliki the son of Babakudu Giwa
The twelve emirs are complete now
However, out of the twelve emirs;
There were four of them that were not born by emirs.
But the remanding eight were born by emirs.
Although their fathers were not emirs, but they gave birth to emirs.
Etsu Usman Zaki who was the first emir, was not born by an emir.
He is deceiving you, Usman Zaki was not born by an emir
It was not an emir that born Usman Zaki; it was Manko who born him
Even though his grandfather was not an emir, but gave birth to an emir
Even though his grandfather was not an emir, but gave birth to an emir
Etsu Saba is deceiving you; he was not born by an emir.
It was not an emir that born Etsu Saba. He was born by Manko.
Manko was not an emir himself but he gave birth to an emir.
Etsu Umaru is deceiving you; he was not born by an emir.
Etsu Umaru Gana is deceiving you; he was not born by an emir.
It was never an emir that born Umaru,
Instead it was Shaaba Maajigi who born him.
Shaaba Maajigi though not an emir himself but gave birth to an emir.
Etsu Saidu is deceiving you; he was not born by an emir.
He was born by Shaba Mamudu
Mamudu Gana though never became an emir himself.
But Mamudu gave birth to an emir.
Those were the four emirs that were not born by emirs
But the remaining eight were born by emirs.
Etsu Maliki was born by Etsu Usman
Etsu Bubakari was born by Etsu Saba
Etsu Muhammadu Maakun was born by Etsu Umaru

Etsu Bello, etsu maliki ma wun’o
Etsu Babakudu Koloo giwa, Etsu Muhammadu Maakun ma wun’o
Etsu Usman Sarki, Etsu Saidu ma wun’o
Etsu Musa Bello, Etsu Bello Tsado ma wun’o
Etsu Umaru, Etsu Babakudu Kolo ma wun’o
Etsu gutota nazhi Etsu man nan daonan
Eya gaa laye san Nnalolo ma
Ga laye san Loloo jiwo Lolooce ma
Wa kpe nanan wa kpe nanaa
Waa gan nanan, waa gan nanaa
Waa jin nanan, waa denanjin’a
We gan nyo gan, asali gunbe lanka nya
We gan nyo gan, chingini paci gunbe salu nya
We gan nyo gan, gbata kperi be yigbe
Kanaa gilu gbogbo nan, gulua gangwa
Kachia akpeke ebo gulu boa guna’o nan
Amma elu ndoci egaa be pobo
Eyeshinan eko bicia
Amma zanaa daunan a’sudan
To bo tankpoloe koayikan’a
Zandoro laudan tsanka’a dan shi’a

Etsu Bello was born by Etsu Maliki
Etsu Bubakudu Kolo “the elephant was born by Etsu Muhammad Maakun
Etsu Usman Sariki was born by Etsu Saidu
Etsu Musa Bello was born by Etsu Bello Tsado
Etsu Umaru was born by Etsu Babakudu
Those are eight emirs that were born by emirs
My friend do not imitate Nnalolo
Do not imitate Loloojiwo, Loloo ce
If you know this, you won’t know that.
If you say this, you won’t be able to say that.
If you do this, you won’t be able to do that.
You’re joking; original is different from fake
You’re joking; yam porridge is never pounded yam
You’re joking; debt is never theft
When all birds were consumed, the vulture escaped
Although the fire was prepared for the vulture
But it was a different bird that was roasted on it
Although it was night, the pathway did not run away;
But whoever will trek through it must fear
Even though the frog does not bite
Nobody will put it in his under wear.

APPENDIX 2

ENI BAGUDU WARIZI BCC

Katamba Ma'aba: Edzo nanya dzo gbani da'anan, Hajiya Lolo nan yi sagi nyan Nigba nyan kin Nupe kpaata nan, ugae wagan wun'a dzodzo eti magajin garin nya Nupe bo. Alhaji Bagudu BCC ebo etun soko nazhi we lo nan, ke massalaci tu zhi nan, ke we gun ekungizhi ye nan. Minna bo ma yizhi dannao, gani be katamba ma'aba e, woya.

Lolo: Eza ga dabo, dabo, wun'a be daboa
Ka gan wun be daboa, sunnau wunafe dabo
Yewo nan Fatima Loloe gangan nan
Sitate bo ma yi zhi'o, Minna bo yi zhio re.
Mia'a koni magajin gari nyan Bida
Alhaji Bagudu BCC, magajin gari nyan Bida
Egi Ibrahim, egi Dangana nau ma nan,
Egi Ramatu, egi Alhassan, egi Yusufu
Egi Dangana wunciko, egi Dangana Tetengi
Nae lotun soko zanan.
We wa yizhe, umae wa to ku
Bagi eba nyizagi ninin
Mia ezhi kpaata za,
Dozhin Bello Tsado ye dya
Mia ezhi kpaata zaani,
Dozhin egi Ramatu ye dya
Nda nae wa yizhe, umae wa to eku nan
Nda nyan ekungi kpaata
Nda nyan talaka kpa'ata
Soko deu yayi sa'a to yizhe to alkiyami
Keminan ya Bagudu BCC nan
Ramatu nnau gani be Ibrahim ndau
Cibiu de manan.
Yanan laudan mi gan we wa yizhie ume wa to ku nan
Fo nan mi ka Eko (Lagos) mana yi lo nan
Mi da tsun massalaci, ninin kete gibo

APPENDIX 2

THE SONG OF BAGUDU WAZIRI BCC

Katamba ma'aba: The song we are about to sing now is by Hajiya Lolo who is the leader of all singers in Nupeland. She is to sing for Magajin garin Nupe – Alhaji Bagudu BCC for his philanthropy in his community. She is doing this in Minna, the Niger State capital together with Katamba – the praise crier. Carry on:

Lolo: However long a man lives, he will cease to exist someday

But while he is dead, his name lives on.

I hope you hear what Fatima Lolo is saying

We are in a State, whose capital is Minna.

To sing the song of Magajin garin Bida.

Alhaji Bagudu BCC, Magajin garin Bida.

The son of Ibrahima, the son of Dangana

The son of Ramatu, the son of Alaasan, the son of Yusufu

The son of elder Dangana, the son of younger Dangana

He busied himself with God's work.

He loves the world as well as hereafter.

The great husband of one wife.

I've gone round the whole world.

But it's difficult to find Bello Tsado's match.

I've gone round the whole world,

But could not find the son of Ramatu's equal.

The man who sought for the world as much as hereafter.

The father of all orphans

The father of the poor and needy.

God, give us fortune here and hereafter,

As you've given Bagudu BCC

Such that his mother Ramatu together with his father Ibrahim got,

And they were able to give birth to him.

The reason why I said you love the world as well as hereafter is:

The first day I went to the beautiful Eko (Lagos)

I met an extraordinary mosque standing.

Dozhiu wun’a ye dya
Agan BCC tuwun’o
Achi gan ebo ciwon soko bo’utuwun’o
Mi daonan sai Badan (Ibadan)
Mida tsun massalaci gibo
Mi’a ezhi kpa’ata za,
Dozhiu ye dya
Agan BCC tuwun’o
Ebo ciwan soko bo ma utuwun’o
Na mi be tun Ilori (Ilorin) nan
Mia tsun massalaci gibo
Dozhiu ye dya
Agan BCC tuwun’o
Ebo ciwan soko bo ma utuwun’o
Kanga mida Baronu (Bornu)
Mia tsun massalaci gibo
Bello egi Ramatu agan wo tuwun’o
Ugan ebo ciwan soko bo ma utuwun’o
To nan mi be Jasi (Jos) nan
Mia tsun massalaci gibo
Agan Bello Tsado tuwun’o
Magajin gari nyan Bida, Alhaji Bagudu BCC
Ebo ciwan soko bo utuwun’o
Mi kpekpe nan mi da Bawuchi (Bauchi)
Mia tsun massalaci gibo
Bello egi Ramatu a’gan wo tuwun’o
Ugan bo ciwan soko bo utuwun’o
Ebida Kanu (Kano)
Na mida tun Kanu nan, mia tsun massalaci gibo
Agan magajin gari ga tuwun’o re
Ebo ciwan soko bo utuwun’o

It has no equal.
They said BCC built it.
They said he built it for the sake of God.
I then headed for Badan (Ibadan)
There, I met a mosque standing.
I searched the whole Badan (Ibadan).
But could not find the mosque's match.
They said BCC built it.
That, he did it for Allah's blessing.
When I arrived at Ilori (Ilorin),
I find a wonderful mosque there,
Its equal cannot be found anywhere.
Again, they said BCC built it.
And he built it for the sake of God.
It was then that I went to Baronu (Bornu).
I met a mosque standing.
Bello, the son of Ramatu, they said you built it.
He said he built it for the sake of God.
When I got to Jasi (Jos).
I met a mosque there,
They said Bello Tsado built it.
The Magajin gari of Bida, Alhaji Bagudu BCC
He built for the sake of Allah
When I left there, I went to Bawuchi (Bauchi).
I met a mosque there.
Bello, the son of Ramatu they said you built it.
He said he built it for God's blessing
Let us go to Kanu (Kano)
When I reached Kanu, I met a mosque there.
They said Magajin gari built it.
He built it for the sake of God

Mi kpekpe nan, sai Sokoto
Mida tsun massalaci gibo
Agan Bagudu BCC tuwun'o
Ebo ciwan soko bo utuwun'o
La mi gun Umaru Gwaragwada
Na mi tun Makurudi (Makurdi) nan
Mia tsun massalaci gibo
Bello egi Ramatu tuwun'o re
Ugan ebo ciwan soko bo
We wa yizhe, we me wa to ku
Niyan ga'age, etun ga'age
Chaba ga'age, zoba ga'age
Zanan ga'agan bolo nan, ungan tiu,
Zanan ga'agan dede nan, ungan tiu
Yanan soko'a jinbo za'onan, wun'a gugan
Yichi chielo de, yichi chielo de
Yi daonan sai Zariya (Zaria)
Mia tsun massalaci gibo
Bagudu BCC tunwun'o
Ugan migan ebo ciwan sokobo utuwun'o
Yida tun Kaduna nan, mia tsun massalaci gibo
Agan Magajin gari ga tuwun'o
Na yi be tun Minna nan
Massalaci Bagudu BCC dabo
Ebo ciwan soko bo untunwun'o
We wa yizhe ume wa to ku
Nda ekungi kama kpa'ata
Nda nyan talaka kpa'ata
Na mi be tun Bida naa mauna
Bamisun gbogi'o Bamisun gbogi'o
Mia tsun kara wunciko gikini

When I left there, I went to Sokoto

I met a mosque there.

They said Bagudu BCC built it

He built it for God's blessing

A great friend of Umaru Gwaragwada

When I reached Makurdi (Makurdi)

I met a mosque there.

Bello, the son of Ramatu built it.

He said it is for God's blessing.

You love the world as well as hereafter.

A good intention makes for a good work.

A good beginning make a good ending.

Whoever says good, says for himself.

Whoever says bad, says for himself

Whatever God has destined for anyone, will never slipped away.

We continue moving, we continue moving

Until we got to Zariya (Zaria)

I met a mosque there.

Bagudu BCC built it.

He told me that he built it for the sake of God.

When we reached Kaduna, I met a mosque there.

They told me that Magajin garin Bida built it.

When I got to Minna,

The mosque of Bagudu BCC is there

He built it for God's blessing

He sought for the world as well as hereafter

The father of the orphans

The father of the poor and needy

When I arrived at Bida where he was born.

At Banmisun Gbogi, Banmisun Gbogi

I met a great wall standing

Gani be kpako nyan yankpa'e, gani be gbarufu guta'e
Ewo ndoro naa fanan, jin jika dari, dari,
Gani be roni pa.
Agan gaadi aye jin'o, nyan mazugata.
Babo mazugata ma chio?
Agan unga chinao be kara yin'o
Gani be kpako nyan yankpa yin'o
Zijin achin ya yeyio?
Achi gan migan BCC tuwun'o
Mi daonan mida Banwuya
Mia tsun kara wunciko gikini be gbarufu guta'e zhibo
Gani be kpako nyan yankpa'e
Ki yeye jinzhi babo?
Emi chinan ke alijanna nan
Agan mazugata mauyio
Egi nan Bello Tsado manan kuyi zhibo
Mi gogan nan, sai Bamisun Etsu Yisa.
Mia tsun kara wunciko gikini, be gbarufu guta'e zhibo
Gani be kpako yankpa'e
Agan gaadi nyan mazugata aye jin'o
Magajin gari nyan Nupe go'a etun'o
Mi daonan sai Bamisun Gbara
Nan mitun Bangbara nan,
Mida tsun kara wunciko cibo
Gani be kpako nyan yankpa'e
Gbarufu guta zhibo
Ki yeye jinzhi babo?
Achi gan Lolo gan, gaadi aye jin'o
Magajin gari ma go'a etun mazugata bo
Afe mazugata ga chinao?
Agan migan aeeeba, ke aljanna nan

With an iron door together with three men
Each of the uniform they wore, cost twenty thousand naira
They wore turbans
They said “we are security men of the graveyard”.
And where is the graveyard?
They said “look at it there with a wall”,
And with an iron door”
Who did that for you, I asked.
They said, BCC built it
From there, I went to Banwuya.
I met a great wall standing with three men there.
With an iron door.
What are you doing here?
Imagine the house here like a paradise
They remarked “but it is a graveyard”,
The son of Bello Tsado kept us here,
I left there for Banmisun Etsu Yisa
I met a great wall standing with three men,
With an iron door.
They said “we are security men for the graveyard”
Magajin garin Nupe, employed us.
From there, I went to Bamisun Gbara
When I arrived at Bangbara
I met another great wall standing there
With an iron door
There were three men
What are you doing here?
They told Lolo that they were security men
Magajin gari employed them in the graveyard
So, this is graveyard?
They answered, “oh yes, like a paradise”

Nna Lolo de gogan nan sai Banyagi
Na mida tun Banyagi nan, mia tsun kara wunciko gibo
Gbarufu guta zhibo gani be kpako yankpa'e
Ki yeye jinzhi babo?
Agan magajin gari ga go'a tun'o
Gaadi ma aye jin'o
Emi ma chinan ke alijanna nan
Achin agan mazugata'o, BCC ma tunwun'o
Ebo ciwan soko bo utunwun'o
Bello egi Ramatu
Mi daonan sai Bangaye,
Mida tsun kara wunciko cibo
Gbarufu guta zhibo
Yezhibo, ki yeye wazhi babo?
Achin agan gaadi aye jin'o zhi mazugata bo
Bello Tsado ma tunwun'o
Micha'a eban guwo be guba'e nyan Bida za
Mazugata mayi guwo be guba'e
Agan magajin gari tuwun'o
Gaadi guta guta zhibo
Za rudi beni daonan
Mi daonan sai asibiti
Bedzonan mida dzuko lozun
Migan me wa alagon shi
Agan kpa'ata wun'a zo, kozhi'a de'o
BCC a'shi
Babo ukulo kpa'ata danan'o?
Agan asibiti ukulo
Ugan ebo zanangabe dabo'a nan
Aba alago ala'a suu.

When Lolo left there, she went to Banyagi
When I reached Banyagi, I met a great wall there,
With three men and an iron door
What are you doing here?
They said, “Magajin gari employed us”
And they are security men
The house is like a paradise
They said, “it is a graveyard; BCC built it”.
He built it for the sake of God
Bello, the son of Ramatu
From there, I left for Bangaye
I met a great wall there.
Three men were there.
What are you doing here?
They said, “we are security men for the graveyard”
Bello Tsado built it.
I went round the twelve main gates of Bida
The graveyards are twelve.
They said, Magajin gari built them.
There are three security men at each.
That gives you thirty-six security men
I left for the hospital
I first went to the evening market
I said I want to buy “alago”
They said it’s all finished. It’s only “koshi” that remains
BCC bought all.
Where did he go with all of them?
They said, he took them to the hospital.
He said, in case of sudden death
The “alago” should be used for burial.

Ebo ciwan soko bo u'sowun'o
Kanga mi daonan sai Eko (Lagos)
Ede alago me wan shi'o
Mia Eko kpa'ata za, alago kebe'a
Magajin gari a'kuda asibiti
Ugan zanan efo'u ga zonan, ala suu
Ebo ciwan soko bow un jiwun'o
Migan to, mia da Badan ko mia da de degi bo
Mi tun Badan nan, migan alago me wao re
Mia Badan kpa'ata za, agan alago'a zo
Agan BCC a'kpanshi kpa'ata da Bidan gari
Name mi be tun Ilorin nan, agan wun'a zo
Magajin gari a'kpanshi da asibiti nyan Bida banaa mauna
Ugan zanan efo'u ga be'a zonan, ala jun dzanna
Ugan zanan efo'u ga be'a zo nan ala twurya
Ebo ciwan soko bo mau jin wun'o
Michi fayan ganchi
Mi daonan, sai asibiti be.
Mida le mato nyan nuwan ye
Mato nuwan zhinan guwo be guba'e
Zai wun mato nanao?
Agan mato nyan nuwan
BCC shi'u zhibo
Ugan to ega to zhitso, to bagi to nyizagi
Mato nuwan danan, yega de pompu ye'a defin,
Ebe de pompu'a ye'a defin.
Mato nuwan dezhina, agan BCC shi'u zhibo
Ebo ciwan soko bo u'shiwun'o
Tsado, egi Ramatu, Tsado egi Dangana
Nda nyan Alhaji Ndagi Kolo,

That, he did so for the sake of God
Then, I left for Eko (Lagos)
I want to buy the “alago” cloth.
I went round the whole of Eko, “alago” is finished
Magajin gari has taken them to the hospital
He said, they should use it for the burial of the dead
He did that for the sake of God.
I said alright, I will go to Badan whether I’ll get a little
When I got to Badan, I said I want “alago”
I went round the whole of Badan, they said alago is finished
They said BCC has bought and taken all to Bida town
When I got to Ilori (Ilorin) they said it’s finished
Magajin gari bought all for Bida hospital where he was born
He said that should serve as gift for all the deceased
He said that is a gift from him to the dead
He did it for sake of God
I relaxed momentarily
Then I left for the hospital again
I saw water tanker vehicles.
Twelve water tanker lorries were there.
Who has all these lorries?
They said, “they are water tankers”
And BCC bought them for us
He said both visitors and indigenes; men and women.
Here are water tankers for you.
Whether the taps are running or not, they will have water to drink.
Here are water tankers; they said BCC bought them
He said, he bought them for the sake of God.
Tsado, the son of Ramatu, Tsado the son of Dangana
The father of Alhaji Ndagi Kolo

Egi nanbe ndau nan afogwa zhisa'o
To nyan gan, to hankali
Wun'a takaici li kpa'ata
To nyan Nupe kamma kpa'ata'e
U'magi bagi guwo be guba'e
Amma Ndagi Kolo yi nusa'o
Alhaji Baba darekto, BCC mawun'o
Alhaji Nma wunciko, BCC mawun'o
Alhaji Bamisun dabo, BCC mawun'o
Alhaji Idirisu dabo, BCC mawun'o
Alhaji Jibirilu dabo, BCC mawun'o
Mi dai daonan sai Lokoja, ma'azikizhi me wa za'o
Agan emi'a chinan, mi'a sami, atsoa mi sami
Achin migan me wa makudin lo,
Amma minti gutsun me wagan tubo
Kimaala mi lo? Agan ngan mato zhio nan
A'a migan matoa ni, makudi mi gan mia lo re
Minti gutsun me wao, eya fiti me wan dan'o
Agan Fatima Lolo yelo. Amma ewo dannan,
Dari biyar ala ya mi, soko de'a ya'o sa'a
Mi dao nan sai makudi. Na mi tun makudi nan
Ma'aziki tsa me wa za'o
Agan emi'a ma chio nan
Aikin Allah sai Kanlo
Yezhibo ma'aziki makudichizhi
Me wa Jasin lo. Eya fiti mi me wan dan'o
Agan mato dezhio nan,
Na miga'a wanan, mi da dan
A chin migan Jasi mi'a lo re
Minti guba ma mi wa wun'o

A child that resembles his father is free from any form of mischievous remark
Semblance both in speech and thought
He mopped the tears of all
Including the entire Nupe community
He gave birth to twelve male children
But Ndagi Kolo is the eldest of all
Alhaji, Baba Director was fathered by BCC
Alhaji Nma Wuciko was fathered by BCC
Alhaji Bamisun too was fathered by BCC
Alhaji Idrisu too was fathered by BCC
Alhaji Jibrilu too was fathered by BCC
I left for Lokoja searching for the rich.
They said, “here is their house”; we exchange greetings.
Then I said to them “I want to go to Makurdi”,
And want to be there in five minutes only”
They replied, “the cars are available for you”
I said “no I don’t need a car, I want to go to Makurdi fast”.
I want to be there in five minutes and by air.
They said, “Fatima Lolo go well and safe journey”.
However, here is five hundred naira and best wishes”
I then left for Makurdi.
On getting there, I started searching for the rich.
Their house was shown to me.
Allah is indeed marvellous.
Excuse me the wealthy men of Makurdi town
I want to go to Jos and I want to go there by air,
They said “the cars are there for you”
Pick any of them for your convenience
Then I said, “note that it is Jasi (Jos)”
I said “and I want it in two minutes”

Lolo ya'olo, ewo danan dari biyar
Soko de'aya'o sa'a
Mi dao nan sai Kanu.
Mia kanu kpa'ata za, maazikizhi me wao.
Ba nan ma'aziki dokun nan, ma'aziki kanu cizhi
Me wagan mi'a lo Sokoto minti guta vayin.
Agan mato de zhio nan
Mi'a ezhi kpata za, ade ma'aziki nan gomi mi naa
Achin agan mi chen lo Banwuya,
Min dami magajin gari, yanan mia wanan mi'a debo
Na mi be tun Banwuya ganci nan
Mi dao nan sai ba Alhaji Ndagi Kolo
Achin migan ma'azikizhi me wa za'o
Mi ma de ezhi guwo be guba'e
Zan doro ma gomi mia
Mi tun Bida ganci nan, me gbigan ma'azikizhi
Achin ganmi gan Banwuya mi'a lo
Emi BCC Tsado ma mi'a lo
Bello egi Ramatu, Bello egi Dangana
Eba Uwarigida Abuya, Eba Hajiya Iya
Eba Hajiya Yaya be, eba Hajiya Binta
Ba eba Hajiya Muina ma dan'o?
Eba Hajiya Balkisu na'ama okene'o nan
Babo Bello Tsado dan'o?
Achin ugan wun danan,
Amma min da emi Alhaji Ndagi Sonfada Kolo
Yanan mi'a wanan, mi dan tunyebo
Achin agan ki me wa za'o?
Migan me wa eya fitin dan
Achin agan ude sauki

Lolo go well and here is five hundred naira.
Best wishes
From there, I headed for Kano.
I went round the whole Kano town searching for the rich
Kano, where we have a large number of the rich.
I said, “I want to go to Sokoto in three minutes”.
They said, “we have cars for your use”
I went round all the town without success
They suggest that I go to Banwuya
I should go to Magajin gari’s house to request for whatever I want
When I finally reached Banwuya
I went to Alhaji Ndagi Kolo
I said, “I’m searching for the rich”
I’ve gone to twelve towns
Nobody agreed to offer any solution
But when I got to Bida searching for the rich;
I was told to go to Banwuya and
The house of BCC Tsado in particular
Bello, the son of Ramatu, Bello the son of Dangana
The husband of Abuya, the husband of Hajiya Iya
The husband of Hajiya Yaya, the husband of Hajiya Binta
Where is the husband of Hajiya Muina?
The husband of Hajiya Balkisu that was born at Okene?
Where is Bello Tsado?
They said, “here is he”
But I should go to the house of Ndagi Kolo
To mention whatever I want
Then they asked “what do you want?”
I said, “I want to travel by air”
They said, “that is no problem”

A dayi Baba darekito be
Nna Lolo be shinan be rikici'u yin
Ugan eya fiti we wau dan za'o
Ugan bida fili eya fiti zuni
Ba mi ga'a lo nan, afya ala mi'a lo
Bello Tsado egi Ramatu
Takaici Nupe kama kpa'ata li
Keminan yizhe gye nan,
Eku ma daa gye gaun
Woa de nyan dozhin magajin gari,
Woa twarya dozhin magaji'a
Wo ga be twarya dozhin magaji,
Sunna BCC a'ye dya.

They sent for Baba Darekito (Director)
Lolo is here with her bother.
She wants to travel by air.
He said, “let us go the airport immediately”
“Let them take her to wherever she wants”
Bello Tsado the son of Ramatu
The problem of Nupe community is wiped out.
You are happy in this work;
But you will be happier in the hereafter.
If you are wealthy like Magajin gari,
You cannot be as generous as Magajin gari
And if you are generous like Magajin gari,
You can never acquire the name and fame of BCC.

APPENDIX 3

ENI NYA SITATE WORO

Ma'aba: Eni nyan sitate woro nayi de nan, Minna'o. Kaduna bo yimazhio gani be katamba maba'e, woya.

Lolo: Elue dabo be cigban nyan

Babo elumaga yadana'o?

Fatima Lolo, Loloo jiwo, Loloo ce.

Nna Lolo kichio, Lolo Nigba nyan Etsu Nupe.

Nna Lolo na ma shidzo a'chi be ma nnau nan.

Kara gboka a'zuma dazan

Koko zuma taci,

Egwa tunbo, eye maga be lieu ya.

Eya shi, eko mayi chinan.

Ama zanaa dauna'a masha

Tobo tankpolo de ko'a yika'a yi yo

Zan doroa layi jin tsanka'a danshi'a

Enimigocizhi: Aee! Ayio yaya

Lolo: Yizhi Kaduna 'o yinan

Nna Lolo dan Kaduna 'o yinan

Enimigocizhi: Aee! Ayio yaya

Lolo: Ya dauda zuba, zuba, zuba, zuba

Enimigocizhi: Aee! Ayio yaya

Lolo: Be eni sitate woro'e

Enimigocizhi: Aee! Ayio yaya

Lolo: Yanan yayi nan, yi yau de

Enimigocizhi: Aee! Ayio yaya

Lolo: Sitate woro, Niger woro

Etsu woro, Gomina woro

Ebo gabo barika yi beachin

Umaru Sanda Sarkin Nupe

Gomina Muritala Nyako (2x)

APPENDIX 3

THE SONG OF A NEW STATE

Praise crier: The song of our new State with its capital, Minna and we are in Kaduna (for the purpose of recording) together with Katamba, the praise crier. Carry on:

Solo: A bird does not quarrel with a tree
For where will it perch.
Fatima Lolo, Lolo jiwo, Lolo ce (self praise)
Which of the Lolos? Lolo, the lead singer of Nupe court singers
Lolo that was born before her mother was.
The crab is strong enough to walk on its back.
The lump on the middle of the back
Although the hand reaches it but the eyes cannot see.
It is already night and the street is still there
But any pedestrian must be cautious
Although we are like frogs that do not bite;
Nobody can wear us like shorts around his waist.

Chorus: Aee ayio yaya (for rhythmic effect only)

Solo: We are in Kaduna today
Lolo is in Kaduna today

Chorus: Aee ayio yaya

Solo: We will go about it (the song) gradually, gradually.

Chorus: Aee ayio yaya

Solo: With the song of a new State.

Chorus: Aee ayio yaya

Solo: What we lost, we are able to find.

Chorus: Aee ayio yaya

Solo: New State, new Niger
New Emir, new Governor
For that reason, congratulations
Umaru Sanda the Emir of Nupeland
Governor Murtala Nyako (2x)

Gomina woro dao nan
Minna man bo mau udan'o
Etsu ndoro nan gitsu nan, yi kpya ye
Sitate ma lo Nupe'a
Ama mujeza zandondo yi kaa kaayin
Usman Zaki gitsu nan, be eye yin'o
Mamman Saba gitsu nan, be eye yin'o
Umaru Gana gitsu nan, be eye yin'o
Etsu Maliki gitsu nan, be eye yin'o
Etsu Bubakari Gana gitsu nan, be eye yin'o
Muhammadu Makun, nda nyan Babakudu
Gitsu nan, be eye yin'o
Hanchin Kura gitsu nan, be eye yin'o
Saidu na Mallam Mamudu,
Saidu Gana de gitsu nan, be eye yin'o
To Babakudu Sarikin Nupe, Sarikin nasara,
Egi Diza yiye'o kobo, egi Musa, egi Yisa
Egi Almustafa Yisa'o boci
Babakudu de gitsu nan, be eye yin'o
To Etsu Usman Sariki, egi Etsu Saidu, jikan Mamudu
Usman Gana gitsu nan, be eye yin'o
Zan doro de sitate dan Bida boa
Etsu Musa Bello, egi Hachin Kura
Ekin gbagbagba, kachian yankpa'o
Egi wakantaba
A'gbyadya, sonu, sonu,
Yaba de kan'a,
Yaba ma ye gun'a
Taki nyan Etsu Musa dao nan
A'shaka, Sharuwa

That is the new Governor
He lives in the beautiful city of Minna
All emirs who ruled, we know them
But the Nupe have no State
Each emir is endowed with his own distinctive attributes
When Usman Zaki became the emir, it was in our presence
When Mamma Saba became the emir, it was in our presence
When Umaru Gana became the emir, it was in our presence
When Maliki became the emir, it was in our presence
When Bubakari became the emir, it was in our presence
When Muhammadu Makun the father of Babadudu,
Became the emir, it was in our presence
Hancin Kura became an emir in our presence
Saidu of Malam Mamudu
Saidu became an emir in our presence.
Also, Babakudu, Sarikin Nupe, Sarikin Nasara
Son of Diza yiye'o kobo, son of Musa, son of Yisa,
Son of Almustafa Yisa'o boci
When Babakudu became the emir, it was in our presence
And also when Usman Sariki, son of Etsu Saidu, grandson of Mamudu,
Usman Gana became the emir, it was in our presence
Nobody has a State for Bida
Etsu Musa Bello, son of Hanchin Kura
A needle though small, it is an iron
The son of Wakantaba
"Agbyadya sonu sonu" (for onomatopoeic effect)
A banana tree though not thorny
Yet it is difficult to climb.
That is the praise phrase for Etsu Musa
A'shaka sharuwa (for onomatopoeic effect)

Ebi de tsunkun’a, ummae laza da dzukun.
Taki nyan Etsu Musa dao nan
Etsu Musa gitsu nan, be eye yin’o
Yi ma de sitate lo Nupe’a
Daganan Etsu Kezhe da emi Umaru Majigi nan
Ebo nan zakanma tsa yan bishe’o
Zaini ma la nya’u wan
Zanan sokoa li nan
Ade nyan nan yizheci’a jiu na
Wun ga be baa, wun’a baa ni
Wun be baa, wun’a baa ni
Umaru Sanda, Etsu Nupe, yagi Muhammadu
Umaru Sanda Etsu Nupe, egi Musa
Daganan Umaru Gana gitsu nan,
Yandoro yi woro, woro.
Yi yade sitate woro,
Mujeza Umaru Gana yadeu cibo.
Na’a jin kpandara wuya nan, wunci yi nyan Etsu Musa
Nan’ache jin kereminan uchin nyin Etsu Bello.
Sitate da Kaduna, yiche lobo.
U’da Sokoto yiche lobo
Yi gan foci yi yade sitate’o?
Sai nan Umaru Gana be gitsu nan
Asali jikan asali
Sitate woro
Ebo Umaru Majigi bo yi de wun’o
Ebo Hajiya Nnadoko bo yi de wun’o
Nda nyan makun woro, Abdulmaliki.
Egi Babakudu.
Etsu Umaru, Etsu nan de hankali nan

The excreta has no bones, yet it makes one to limp.
That is another praise phrase for Etsu Musa
When Etsu Musa became the emir, it was in our presence
And we have no State in Nupeland.
But now emirship has gone to the house of Umaru Majigi
The cock is pursued by many
At last only one person catches it
The person chosen by God
To him, others can do nothing
You better forget your differences
Or leave the town for the bush
Umaru Sanda, Etsu Nupe, grandson of Muhamudu
Umaru Sanda, Etsu Nupe, son of Musa
Since Umaru Gana became the emir
Everything is new
We got a new State
We got it because of his endowed attribute
Wuya bridge was for Etsu Musa
Abolition of slave trade was for Etsu Bello
When the State was at Kaduna, we were going there
When the State moved to Sokoto, we were going there
Then, we asked, when will we have a State?
Until Umaru Gana became the emir
Tradition, a grandson of tradition
New State!
It was because of Umaru Majigi we got it
It was because of Hajiya Nnadoko we got it
The father to new Makun Abdulmaliki
Son of Babakudu
Etsu Umaru, the emir who is sensible and reasonable

Etsu Umaru, Etsu nan de ilimi nan
Etsu Nupe nan de tunani nan
Etsu Nupe nan de lisafi nan
Eyan guta jin za'are
Hankali yi za'o
Ewo jin za'a
Katunji jin za'a
Egi wani jin za'a
Hankali yi za'o

Etsu Umaru, the emir who is learned and knowledgeable
Etsu Umaru, the emir who is thoughtful
Etsu Nupe who has political calculations
Three things do not make a man
Power of reasoning makes a man
Richness does not make a man
Literacy does not make a man
To be son of an influential person does not make a man
But the power of reasoning makes a man

APPENDIX 4

WULELE WULELE EYAYI WULELE

Eniko nanan yi eniko nan yiye wagan Hajiya Lolo, Etsu Nigba nyan Etsu Nupe uko'u yayi, ebo jama'azhi fya shitukpa kemina yiye wagan ajin be egi focizhi nanzhi de karatu toshi nae. Efo nan agaabe la takarda nyan erizhi yaa nan. Eni wucin ma danan.

Wulele wulele eyayi wulele

Ezae wo wulele nyagban nikinya.

Ka wun wunfe yawoa, afe egi mao.

Ninia shidzo, atu baci ye

Gbarufu nagaa jin yawo nan, atu egi ye.

Yantsugi gaa lo yawo, wun'a tu egi ye.

Wulele wulele eyayi wulele.

Za guba nae wadozhinan, yina be esun'i, ewan atula

Ujin nyanoa jin tsuwonan, ejin yina'a

Ebaagimare'a, uchin yi egan nyan paa yin

Ebaagimare uchin egan nyan yinnan

Egifocizhi ebaagimare

Wulele, wulele, eyayi wulele

Egifocizhi ebaagimare

Egia zhebu, udzunzhin'a

Aemawunchin'a

Egwa tiya, nakan dzuzhian'a,

Aemawunchin'a

Bichi unbebeyi'o nakan dzunzhin'a

Aemawunchin'a

Ewanchi'a sanbaa

Aemawunchin'a

Wumbe be rayin nya,

Sokoa lugwa yi leya

Nakuda gabe, eyi egifoci

Wulele, wulele, eyayi wulele

Yawogi woyoo, ko nnantso

APPENDIX 4

ULULATION, ULULATION, GIVE US ULULATION

This is the song we want Hajiya Lolo who is the head of singers in Nupeland to sing. We want our guests to listen attentively to our nurses that have just completed a workshop on child delivery. The song will be sung on the day of their certificate presentation ceremony. Here is the song:

Ululation, ululation, give us ululation
One does not hear ululation and get afraid.
It is either marriage or child birth
If one happens first, we expect the second to follow.
A young man who gets married expects a child
A young woman who gets married expects a child
Ululation, ululation, give us ululation
When two people are in love, soon pregnancy is confirmed
It is not what was done yesterday that is done today
It is not possible to assist in child delivery is a bygone assumption
It is possible to assist in child delivery is a reality today
Maternity nurses assist in child delivery
Ululation, ululation, give us ululation
Maternity nurses assist in child delivery
The baby is in a horizontal position and cannot come out
They (maternity nurses) are far from that.
One hand is out and the remaining body cannot come out
They are far from that too
The legs are out but the remaining body cannot come out
They are far from that
The body of the expectant mother is swollen
They are far from that too
They child does come out alive
May we not see that
When a woman is in labour, call maternity nurses
Ululation, ululation, give us ululation
For all the brides and house wives

Egi we wao, ujin egia
Eye ago nawuwo, wun'a be le enan kechi ye
Agan gbidun, gbidun, abea wo wulele
Tsuwo be yinnae, aku keba
Chigbe dadan, to chigbe likita aku keba be egifocizhi
Elo'o nan, elo'o nan, za gubaa ba
Egi yiye fo'o, yiye fo egia
Ewan naa be be rikicinan, egan navo, wun la magi re
Ezhi'a lokpa, ezhi dan eyeu bo
Dada lo asibiti, egan'a faa ni
Wulele, wulele, eyayi wulele

Eni dan nan

Egifoci nya asibitizhi gan yi paye tukpa nya zaman
Nosizhi gan yi paye tukpa
Nazhie maagi nyan zaman nan mi gan'o re
Ebo nan tukpa pa we lugwa tukpa'a tsu'a
Yannan ma laudan yiyaa paye tukpa nan
Egifoci nyan asibitizhi kpaata agan aye daa ko'osu
Aye daa ko'osu har Ingila (England) ma'a lo
Ayi woma kpe ko'osu naa lonan?
Ko'osu kicio? Nyan egiman
Bo nan etun asibiti yin kaa kaa yin
Amma koosu nyan egima alo'o
Tun dagan Ingila ma aloo re
Amman da tunan etun'a wun'a gye
Bona nyanaa waloonan wun'a yede
Yannan ma laudan yanaa waloo nan ci gaa yede nan,
Asali jikan asali
Egiman agan'o re
Egina'a ma nan agan'o
Agan egi na'a tsa naa re

It is a child you want not tears

It the eye endures smoke it will surely see flame.

When they say groan, groan; soon you will hear ululation

Yesterday and today are put together

Put orthodox medicine and modern medicine together with the maternity nurses.

Let them go, let them go together

We are for a child delivery, not for tears delivery

Pregnancy with a hitch is due to non adherence.

No matter the distance of a village; there is another ahead of it.

Go to the clinic early and you will solve a lot of problems.

Ululation ululation, give us ululation.

The Song

The maternity nurses ask us to sensitize you

The nurses say we should sensitize you

Those that are concerned with modern way of child delivery

Because repetition is for the purpose of emphasis

And the reason for our sensitization is that:

All the maternity nurses went for a workshop

They went to England.

Do you know the type of workshop they attended?

Which workshop? Workshop on modern child delivery.

This is because the hospital has several departments

But theirs was a workshop on child delivery

They went as far as England.

And when they got there; they were successful

They were able to achieve their aim.

And the reason for their success is that:

Everything has a foundation.

We are talking of child delivery

We are talking of a child that is delivered

We are not talking of a child that is excreted

Bona egi naa ma nan, ugun be egi naa tsa naa re

Dagan kosunbo epakara nuwan'o

Ezhia wunkpa, ezhi mayi zhi eyeu bo (2x)

Dagan la'azhin ebici yeshi'o re

Ye ewan dechizhi mie gan'o re

Hankali ye yau dan be yeyin

Tunani ma nyan ye mau dan be yeyin

Bonan eza gaa ewan de, egi tsa wun'a tu yeo. (2x)

Yizhe paayi, eza ga'a dewanbo,

Nbo ga wun'a magio

Amma banbe zaman woro'e

Kanga nan, nasarazhi la tun'a

Egi banisraailazhi ala'a tun'a

Agaa yi soko bacio'o

Eza gaa ewan de, egima wun'a tun ye'o

Wulele reeee!

Ngan ye wo naa kpa wulele gbaani nan

Banan agaa kpa wulele nan, nyagbancin da baa ga'o

Banan agaa kpa wulele nan, ninma dan baaga'o

Wo gaa wo nae kpa wulele nan, eyan guta danbo

Wa wo naa kpa wulele nan, afe de a'magi

Aga magi, woa womi wulele, ebo nan, nyagbancin daonan

Aga'a dan yawo rufa, akpa wulele ebo nan nyagbancin daonan

Aga'a dan bayawo rufa, akpa wulele, ebo nan nyagbancin daonan

Emi de nan wulele danan, yagbanyin danboa

Emi nan agaa kpa wulele nan, egiti danboa

Emi de nan agaa kpa wulele nan, nyagbanyin danboa

Oga wo naa kpa wulele nan, nyagban kinni dan baaga boa re

Eda nan, owo naa kpa wulele nan, egiti dan baaga boa re

Wode gae wonaa kpa wulele nan bonan nyagbanyin'a danboa

Because the child that is delivered differs from the child that is excreted

Whoever want to cross a river, must package up his things while at the bank of the river.

No matter the distance of a village, there is always another ahead of it.

The preparation for an evening event is better started in the morning

I'm talking to expectant mothers

I want you to be careful

You should also be very reasonable

Because once you're pregnant, you should expect child delivery (2x)

In those days, when one gets pregnant at home

She is expected to deliver at home

But today is different.

Then, the whites have not come

The children of "Bani-Israail" were not here.

They are the second God

When one is pregnant, one expects child delivery

Ululation please

I hope you heard ululation now

Wherever ululation is heard, there is peace there

Wherever ululation is heard, there is happiness

If you hear ululation, there are three things.

If you hear ululation, there is child delivery

When a child is delivered, you will hear ululation because that is happiness.

If a young girl is to be married out, you will hear ululation because that is happiness

If a young man is to get married, they will ululate because that is happiness again.

In a house where there is ululation, there is no sadness

In a house where there is ululation, there is no shedding of tears

In a house where ululation is heard, there is no sadness.

If you hear the sound of ululation, there is no fear there.

Once you hear the sound of ululation, no crying there.

Once you hear the sound of ululation, there is no tragedy there

Emi nan nyagbancin dan nan, wulele lo
Emi nan nimma da nan, wulele lo
Emi wodata wulele lo
Egifoci, nyan Nanjeriyazhi, egifoci asibitizhi
Ye nan lo koosu zhinan yeya'a gi (2x)
Yanan ma laudan mici gan achin nan
Yizhe paayinna agae magi,
Agan bici dea tinya, amma egio tso la bea
Uchinyi nya yizhe paayin.
Wun dan zaman woro nanan boa
Ebo gaa bo yide egifoci nya asibitizhi zhinan'o
Ndocima egwa tinya nakan kpaata nan kenan yin dan nakan nnau bo.
Uchin yin nya yizhe paayin
Udan nya zaman nanan boa
Ebogabo yi jin egifoci nya asibiti kpata achin da koosu'o
Amma daa koosu nan, ada'a gi.
Ebonan yanaa wa loona, adaude
Soko wunde ye saa
Soko uya egifocizhi sa'a
Egifoci nya asibitizhi migan'o re
Nini'a gogan, wa'a tu baci ye
Eda nan agagan bici tinya'o nakan na kenan la bea nan
Eda nan egifoci nya asibiti nazhi lo koosu nan ga'a keba beu yinnan.
Agan eda yi egifoci nya asibitizhi'a be
Nazhi zhin koosu woro nan agan'o re
Achi daa kpitun nya egi manan
Eda nan agaa tun gbaani nan, wa leye nan gamana ga'a zo nan.
Ezhia wukpa, ezhi mayi dan eyeu bo
Eda nan adaa tsun egwa tinyao, nakan nan kenan yin dan naka nnau bo nan,
Egifoci nazhilo koosu nya egi manan migan'o re,

Ululation usually goes to the house where there is peace
Ululation usually goes to the house where there is happiness
Ululation usually goes to the house where there is harmony
The maternity nurses of Nigeria
You that attended a workshop are successful
I have a reason for saying this.
In the past, during a child delivery
They will say the legs are out but the body is still within
That was long ago
It is no longer like that with the new trend.
This is why we have the maternity nurses with us today
In certain cases, the hands are out but the remaining body is within
That was long ago
It is no longer obtainable today
This is why all the maternity nurses went for a workshop
They went and they were successful
Because they got what they wanted
We wish you success
We wish the maternity nurses success
I'm referring to the nurses in our hospitals
Once, one is through, you expect the second
Once they say the legs are out, but the remaining body is still within;
Immediately, the nurses that attended workshop will come in
We will call on the maternity nurses
I mean those that attended a workshop.
A workshop on child delivery;
In no time, the problem will be solved
No matter the distance of a village, there is another ahead of it
Once they discovered that the hands are out but the remaining body is still within;
The maternity nurses who went for a workshop on child delivery;

Eda nan agae tunan, soko ce goami.
Agan annabi soko deawun'o, egifocizhi gan danan'o re
Amma yiye maagi'o
Amma bici'a tinya, nakan nakenan la'bea
Egifoci a'gau cinle kpaata minti gutsun
To egi, to elo azhio nan
Egifocizhi, egaa waaman
Egaa waama, soko gaa wa'a maa
Yanan laudan micigan egifochizhi ye ga'a wa'ama nan re
Etun nan eza ga'a lonan, we gbigan wun'o
Eko nan eza ga'a da nan, we gbingan wun.o
Bonan fonan eko ga'a sanan, eye la'a nun
Unchin yi yizhe paayin
Eda nan eti gaa tinya nakan nnau bonan, nakan na kenan cila bea nan,
Eda yi egifoci nazhi lo ko'osuzhi Ingilao nan
Amma daa tunan, soko ma goami
Soko goami, annabi goami
Eda gaabo, to egi, to elo fe tinya
Yagaa waa man
Ye gaa waa man, soko gaa waa man
Ezhi'a wunpka, ezhi dan eyeu bo
Ndoci, agan binin unyoo
Bici tinyaa ni, nakan nakenan laabea
Agan adaa yi egifocizhi be yin, nazhi lo koosu nan, agan'o re.
Amma da tun koosu nan, aagi
Dagan de nan niyan gye nan, etun'a gaa gye
Yanan a'walonan, soko cia dan'a gwao
Eda nan agaa yeba ewanci nan
Agan, soko a tun'a ni danan
Wotsa yawan'o, amma ade baagi mare

On their arrival, God answers their call.
They will also say, it is God that gives pregnancy.
But they do the delivery.
If it is the legs that are out and the remaining body is still within,
The nurses will observe the pregnant woman for just five minutes.
And both the child and the placenta will be delivered at once
The nurses you're well done
God, you're well done
I have my reason for saying so.
It is good to be knowledgeable in one's field
It is good to inquire about the route one wants to follow
Because of unusual situation which may cause embarrassment
That was long ago
Once the head is out and the remaining body is still within;
Do call on the nurses who went on workshop on child delivery at England.
They were successful; God answers their prayers.
Once they call on God and He answers
Both the baby and the placenta will be delivered
You're well done.
You're well done and God is great.
No matter the distance of a village, there is another ahead of it.
Sometimes, people say it is "bini"
The legs are out but the body is within
Then call on the nurses who went for a workshop on child delivery
And they are successful
And since they have good intention, their work surely will be successful.
They were able to achieve their aim.
Once they come in contact with the expectant mother
They will say, God we have come.
You give the pregnancy but we assist in delivery.

Edagao, to egi, to elo fe tinya
Yigan, egaa waa man
Egifocizhi egaa waa man
Agan nya gan, koosu wangie lo
Iri gutwaba ma lo koosu nan nan'o re
Koosu nya egi ma, Eyagizhi lo
Koosu nya egi ma, Kenchi lo
Koosu zhi nyan egima, Gbira lo
Koosu zhi nyan egi ma, Yagba lo
Koosu zhi nyan egi ma, Kakanda lo
Koosu zhi nyan egi ma, Dibozhi tso lo
Nupenchizhi tso ma loo,
A chiyi za gutwaba na'a lo Ingila nan
Elue dabo be cigban'e woa
Mie gangan daana, migan egan navocia re
Ebo nan egan navo gae la egiti beo
Egan navo gae la yangba yin beo
Egan navo gae kan'a wulele yin wo
Eda denan wa'a de wan nan
Ewan cia gun tswa guta nan
Sanin ce da asibiti (2x)
Yikpeke soko yao ewan'o nan
Amma sanin ce da asibiti
Egifocizhi abea ciwa le bedzo
Egan navo ema sabii
Egan navo mae la egiti be
Banan maa nagan vonan, ewo wulele boa
Bogabo agan yi bida asibiti'o
Ebo adeba kpa wulelea daun
Amagi ma, wulele dabo

At once again, both the body and placenta will be delivered
We say thank you.
The nurses, we say thank you
No wonder, you went for a nice workshop.
Seven tribes went for the child delivery workshop
The Yoruba went for the child delivery workshop
The Hausa went for child delivery workshop
The Gbira went for the child delivery workshop
The Yagba went for child delivery workshop
The Kakanda went for the child delivery workshop
The Dibo went for the child delivery workshop
The Nupe went for the child delivery workshop
They were seven that went to England
A bird cannot quarrel with a tree
This sensitization is not for one who is stubborn.
Stubbornness could make one to cry
Stubbornness could bring disappointment
Stubbornness could prevent the hearing of ululation
Once you're pregnant
And the pregnancy is three months old
Go to the hospital immediately (2x)
We know it is God that gives pregnancy
But quickly go to the antenatal clinic
And undergo checks by the nurses
Stubbornness leads to the delivery of a bastard child
Stubbornness makes one to cry
And where stubbornness exist, ululation cannot be heard
For that reason, go to the antenatal clinic
So that we can ululate
We ululate when a child is born

Adan yawo rufa dan, wulele dabo
Adan bayawo rufa dan, wulele dabo
Awo wucin’a ni daonan re
Nasizhi aejinuuu!
Egifocizhi aejinuuu!
Egi Kakandazhi aejinuuu!
Egi Dibozhi aejinuuu!
Egi Eyagizhi aejinuuu!
Egi Kenchizhi aejinuuu!
Egi Nupechizhi aezhibooo!
Yizhe paayin, agan ae maagia,
Amma bambe zaman woroe
Soko tsa dya wun’o, amma zaman’e maagi’o (2x)
Ade gayi soko zu guta, eda gaa sokoeye’o
Ezhi gaa wunkpa, ezhi dan eyeu bo
Wanan dewan tswaguta nan, be daa asibiti
Dagan kosunbo e pakara nyan nuwan’o (2x)
Dagan lazhin ebici yeshio re
Dagan lazhin ebici yeshio migan woyo re
Be daba egifoci asibitizhi,
Aabe lawun, a cya le, banan wunga zheka danan
Ala wun’a yeajin.
Agan, egia chin esao
Wun’ayi yizhe paayin’o, kpyarya so daonan
Amma bambe zaman woroe
Eda nan wundaaba egifoci nyan asibitizhi nan
Gamana egi gaa zo daonan
Eda gao, agau la ta esau bo jaayin
Yizhe paayin, eza gaa egi ma,
Agan elo la’atun’a

We ululate when a woman is married
We ululate when a man is married
Have you heard all that?
Nurses, you are well done
Maternity nurses, you are well done
The Kakanda, you are well done
The Dibo, you are well done
The Yoruba, you are well done
The Hausa, you are well done
The Nupe, you are well done
In the past, they say it is impossible influence delivery
But today, it is very possible
God gives the pregnancy but the humans influence the delivery
When they call on God three times, He answered.
No matter the distance of a village, there is another ahead of it.
You that is carrying three month old pregnancy, go to the clinic
Whoever wishes to cross a river must put his things together at the bank of the river
The preparation for an evening event is better started in the morning
I said the preparation for an evening event is better started in the morning
Go to the maternity nurses
Go for checkups to ascertain the proper posture of the baby
So that corrections can be done
When the say the baby is not on seat
In the past, it was a sign of great danger
But today, it is nothing
Once you go to the maternity nurses
Your problem is over
The baby's posture will be corrected immediately.
In the past, when the baby is delivered
They say the placenta is still within

Ka elo ma la’atun’a, wulele ma daboa
Amma bambe zaman woroe
Eda nan egifoci gae ye bau nan,
To elo, to egi ganganin azhin’o
Eda gao wotsoa wo nan akpa wulele nan (3x)
Ebo nan wulele gayi egi mao
Wa magi wulelea dabo
Wo gaa jin sunna wulele dabo
Wo ga’a dan yawo rufa, wulelea dabo
Wo ga’a dan bayawo rufa dan, wulelea dabo
Awo wucin’a ni daonan re

And without the delivery of the placenta there is no ululation
Today, it is no longer an issue
With the contact of the maternity nurses
Both the baby and placenta are delivered together.
You then hear the ululation immediately. (3x)
This is because ululation signifies child delivery
When we deliver a baby there will be ululation
During naming ceremony, there is ululation
During the marriage of a woman, there is ululation
During the marriage of a man, there is ululation
You have all heard that now.

APPENDIX 5

ENI EWO WORO

Nigba:	Ena mae bawo yin lonan, ewo ma sukun'i?
Enimigocizhi:	Aee! Ewo masukun'i, ewoa dzun be.
Nigba:	Aee! Ewo masunkun'i ewoa dzun be.
Enimigocizhi:	Aee! Ewo masukun'i, ewoa dzun be.
Nigba:	Ewo peza gan munge, yaaji gbanza gan gun.
	Gamana wuza gan rongbo, rukoto lazhi gan gaa.
	Ewo!
Enimigocizhi:	Aee! Ewo masukun'i, ewoa dzun be.
Nigba:	Ebonan agae baza guru zhizhi,
	Rogo gan we dagan mi
Enimigocizhi:	Ewoa dzunbe, ewoa dzun be.
Nigba:	Eryatuaci'e twarya, wanikwosa yanbotanci
Enimigocizhi:	Ewoa Dzun be, ewoa dzun be.
Nigba:	Yanan zandoro'a jinnan ugae la tunye'o
Enimigocizhi:	Aaa, ewoa dzun be, nawodewo nan, waa woman
Nigba:	Ena ewodecizhi dan Bida'o danan re.
Enimigocizhi:	Nan wode wonan, waa woman
Nigba:	Hajiya Asumawu, ugan ewo danan nera gutsun wun'a yami. Eba pin gban, yimi man pin zungi.
	Yawo Alaajin Madu, yawo Alaaji Waali,
	Yawo Alaaji Yaya Tetengi.
Enimigocizhi:	Ewoa dzun be, nan wode wonan waa woman
Nigba:	Alaaji Etsuman ma danbo, egi Ajiya Muryamu, Egi Abu Garuba, Eba Hajiya Bakomba, eza nyan Alaaji Usuman, Alaaji Shehu nyan Sokoto.
Enimigocizhi:	Ewo woroa, ewoa dzun be
Nigba:	Hajiya Asumawu gan ewo dadan nera gutsun ala yami jaayin.
Enimigocizhi:	Ewo woroa, ewoa dzun be.
Nigba:	Hajiya Asumawu, yegboro dena, zuma ma dena.
Enimigocizhi:	Ewo woroa, ewoa dzun be

APPENDIX 5

SONG OF NEW MONEY

Leader: You want to join an association, have you got money?

Chorus: Yes! the question of money, money has come.

Leader: Yes! the question of money, money has come.

Chorus: Yes! the question of money, money has come.

Leader: Money intoxicates more than freshly tapped palm wine, poverty harms more than a curse, falsehood kills faster than a sledge, backbiting destroys village faster than witchcraft.

Money!

Chorus: Yes! the question of money, money has come

Leader: Whenever men are discussing business,

The weakling is also tempted to chip in.

Chorus: Money has come, money has come

Leader: Whenever people give out of sheer generosity,

Misers are always gripped with fear

Chorus: Money has come, money has come

Leader: One can only be remembered for what he does

Chorus: Yes! Money has come. With money, enjoyment is guaranteed.

Leader: There is an association of the rich in Bida

Chorus: Yes! Money has come, with money enjoyment is guaranteed

Leader: Hajiya Asumawu says here is five naira for me. Her husband is very great outside, while the wife is very great within. Asmau the young bride of Alhaji Madu, the young bride of Alhaji Wa'ali and the young bride of Alhaji Yaya Tetengi

Chorus: Money has come. With money, enjoyment is guaranteed.

Leader: Alhaji Etsuman is here. The son of Hajiya Mariam, the son of Abu Garba, the husband of Hajiya Bakonba, friend of Alhaji Usman and Alhaji Shehu Sokoto.

Chorus: New money, money has come.

Leader: Hajiya Asmau says here is five naira for me.

Chorus: New money, money has come

Leader: Hajiya Asmau, your front has a grand design as well as your behind

Chorus: New money, money has come

Nigba: Asumawu egi Mamudu, egi Abu Garuba, egi Audullahi, yawo Alaaji Madu me gan danan

Enimigocizhi: Ewo woroa, ewoa dzun be.

Nigba: Ewo woroa, ewoa dzun be.

Daganan ewo woro benan ewodecizhia woman

Enimigocizhi: Na yi dewonan yaa woman

Nigba: Tundagana ewo woro benan ewodecizhia woman

Enimigocizhi: Tundagana ewo woro benan ewodecizhia woman

Nigba: Ewo masunkun'i

Enimigocizhi: Aee! Ewo masukun'i, ewoa dzun be

Nigba: Ngan ye le ewo ye bagwa mi bo nera gbanwo

Enimigocizhi: Ewo masukun'i, ewoa dzun be

Nigba: Elue dabo be cigban nya.

Enimigocizhi: Ewo Masukun'i ewoa dzun be

Nigba: Alaaji Sode, gan ewo danan nera gutsun, direba Alaaji Ndazungi ma shinan, ugan ewo danan nera gutsun, Hajiya Sumawu ugan ewo danan nera gutsun, Baba Shabakolo nyan asibiti ugan ewo danan nera gutsun. Ndayisa'o! Ndayisao! Alaaji Bakon Makka, manaja tipa, Egi Audullahi, ugan ewo danan nera gutsun be, Alhaji Makun Nupe, Alhaji Makun nae twarya bakombagi nan danan. Yagi Makun Mamma Gana, yagi Umaru Ma'ajigi, ugan ewo danan nera guwo, Alaaji Makun gaa la yami.

Enimigocizhi: Aaa, ewoa dzun be, ewo woroa ewoa dzun be.

Nigba: Abubakar Zhima, Abubakar Zhima, egi Audullahi, egi Aminatu, egi Muhammadu, egi Muryamu, eba Hajiya Kulu, eba Hajiya Zara, ugan ewo danan nera guwo, ala yami. Eba Hajiya Sagi be, Abubakar Zhima ewo nera guwo, wugan ala yami be

Enimigocizhi: Ewo woro, ewoa dzun be

Nigba: Umaru Gbate, baturen gona, Umaru'o egi Boni Adama, egi Hawa Kulu, egi Giwa Dufya, egi Soniyan nyan Nupe

Enimigocizhi: Ewo woroa, ewoa dzun be

Nigba: Hajiya Wusa danbo, yawo Alaajin Madu, Wusa Komanda ma dabo, yawo Alaaji Garuba

Enimigocizhi: Ewo woroa, Ewo dzun be

Nigba: Hajiya Macima, eyekosun ke etswa la nan, yikangi ke chendzu nan, kpatsun ke aliganan.

Leader: Asmau the daughter of Mamudu, the daughter of Abu Garba and the daughter of Abdullahi. The bride of Alhaji Madu.

Chorus: New money, money has come.

Leader: New money, money has come. Since new money came, the rich are enjoying.

Chorus: With money, we enjoy.

Leader: Since the arrival of new money, the rich are enjoying

Chorus: Since the arrival of new money, the rich are enjoying

Leader: The question of money.

Chorus: Yes! the question of money, money has come.

Leader: I hope, you all see thirty naira in my hand

Chorus: The question of money, money has come.

Leader: A bird does not quarrel with a tree

Chorus: The question of money, money has come

Leader: Alhaji Sode has given me five naira, the driver of Alhaji Ndazungi is here and has given me five naira. Hajiya Asmau has given five naira, Babashaba Kolo from hospital has given me five naira.

Ndaisa! Ndaisa! Tipper manager, son of Abdullahi has given me five naira.

Alhaji Makun Nupe who gives generously, the grandson of Makun Mamma Gana, grandson of Umaru Ma'ajigi has given me additional money.

Chorus: Yes! Money has come, new money has come

Leader: Abubakar Jima, the son of Abdullahi, the son of Aminatu, the son of Muhammadu, the son of Mariam. The husband of Kulu, the husband of Zara has given me another ten naira.

He also the husband of Hajiya Sagi, Abubakar Jima said they should give me another ten naira.

Chorus: New money, money has come.

Leader: Umaru Gbate, the Agricultural officer. The son of Boni Adama, the son of the Hawa Kulu, the son of Giwa Dufya, the son of Soniyan of Nupe.

Chorus: New money, money has come

Leader: Hajiya Wusa is here. The bride of Alhaji Madu, Wusa commander is here. The bride of Alhaji Garba

Chorus: New money, money has come

Leader: Hajiya Macima, your eyeballs are like the shining moon and your teeth like fresh kernels.

Enimigocizhi: Ewo woroa, ewoa dzun be

Nigba: Ena komanda Wusazhi'e twarya ke'a wogbata nan. Ewo nan bagwa mi bo nan da nera gbanwo. Aee! Elugwa mia dajin

Enimigocizhi: Mia dajin, elugwa yi lajin gan nanai da.

Nigba to Enimigocizhi: Ewo na tsoci yami danan,

Elugwa mila jin gan nanai da.

Nigba: Ewo na Alaaji Sode yan wuyagi gan'a la be'a

Yami daa nan,

Enimigocizhi: Elugwa yila jin gan nanai da.

Nigba: Ewo Ndagi Direba gan la be'a yami daanan,

Enimigocizhi: Elugwa yi la jin gan nanai da.

Nigba: Ewo denan Hajiya Asumawu gan la be'a yami daa nan,

Enimigocizhi: Elugwa yi la jin gan nanai da.

Nigba: Musa Tela, Musa Tela, egi Muhammadu, egi Abu Garuba, egi Usuman.

Enimigocizhi: Yaa dajin, elugwa yi la jin gan nanai da.

Nigba: Alaaji Musa, ugan ewo danan nera gutsun ala yami. Alaaji Zakariyau yan Bangbara, ugan ewo danan nera guwo ala yami. Alaaji Agoyi, ugan ewo danan nera guwo ala yami be. Eba Hajiya Nna Afa, ugan ewo danan nera guwo ala yami.

Enimigocizhi: Elugwa yi la jin gan nana'i da.

Nigba: Hajiya Kulu ma danan, ewo danan nera guwo ala yami.

Enimigocizhi: O! yaa dajin.

Nigba: Alaaji Ndaliman Penti ce gogan go, ugan ewo danan nera guwo ala yami. Alaaji Isah Bakeko, Galadiman Magani, eba Hajiya Hassana, Hassana naa ma zako'ona, ugan ewo danan nera guwo ala yami, eba Hajiya Antisi, matu Alaaji Maakun egi Rani nyan Nupe nae twarya bakombagi nan. Wun'a yao ewo, u yao ede, u yao roni, unda la alikimba wun'a kpe'o be.

Enimigocizhi: Aaa, yaa dajin, elugwa yila jin gan nanai da.

Nigba: Hajiya Kaka Dzangbodo (2x)

Enimigocizhi: Aaa yaa dajin, elugwa yi la jin gan nanai da.

Nigba: Ugan ewo danan nera gutsun ala yami.
Ndakata wun'a pin gban, wun baarauma pin zungi. Ebo Galadima Magani bo unya mi yan'o

Chorus: New money, money has come

Leader: Commander Wusa and her associates give as if they are paying debts. The money in my hand is now thirty naira. Yes, let me appreciate.

Chorus: I will appreciate. Let us appreciate this kind gesture.

Leader and Chorus: The money that God has given us; let us appreciate this kind gesture.

Leader: That money Alhaji Sode Wuyagi says they should give to me.

Chorus: Let us appreciate this kind gesture.

Leader: That money Ndagi driver says they should give to me.

Chorus: Let us appreciate this kind gesture.

Leader: That money Hajiya Asmau says they should give to me

Chorus: Let us appreciate this kind gesture.

Leader: Musa tailor, Musa tailor, the son of Muhammadu, the son of Abu Garba, the son of Usman,

Chorus: We will appreciate. Let us appreciate this kind gesture

Leader: Alhaji Musa says they should give me five naira

Alhaji Zakariya'u says they should give me ten naira.

Alhaji Agoyi says they should give me ten naira.

Chorus: Let us appreciate this kind gesture.

Leader: Hajiya Kulu is here. She says ten naira is for me

Chorus: Oh: we will appreciate

Leader: Alhaji Ndaliman painter was passing when he says they should give me ten naira. Alhaji Isah Bakeko, Galadiman Magani, the husband of Hajiya Hassana, Hassana who was born at Zako says this ten naira is for me.

The husband of Hajiya Antisi, younger brother of Ma'akun the son of Rani Nupe who gives in manifolds. If he gives you money, he will give cloth, a turban and a robe to match.

Chorus: Yes, we will appreciate. Let us appreciate this kind gesture

Leader: Hajiya Kaka Dzanbgodo (2x)

Chorus: We will appreciate. Let us appreciate this kind gesture

Leader: She says here is five naira for me

That she does this because of Galadima Magani

Nigba to Enimigocizhi: Ewo eda la be'a yami daanan (2x)

Alaaji Bamisun gaa la bea yami daanan

Ndakotsu Twasha gan la bea yami daana,

Alaaji Yabagi gan la bea ya yio daanan,

Alaaji Ebakaka gan la bea ya yio daanan,

Alaaji Liman gan la bea ya yio daanan,

Oranti Aboni Adama gan la bea yayi daanan,

Ewo gan nan ela chi bea yayi daanan,

Enimigocizhi: Elugwa yi la jin gan nanai da.

Nigba: Barije Gogo Yela, ugan ewo danan nera guwo a'laa yami.
Migan egi Kichio? Agan gogo Yaya egi Etsu Bello, yagi Etsu Maliki, eya Usman Zaki, ugan ewo nera guwo, alaa yami be.

Enimigocizhi: Yaa dajin.

Nigba: Ka boa gan, gitsu ga wun Kakatio, wun ga man wun to tambari'o

Enimigocizhi: Elugwa yila jin gan nanani da.

Nigba to Enimigocizhi: Ewo na Alaaji Banmisun gan la bea yayi daanan,

To Alaaji Maalowo gan la bea yayi daanan,

Alaaji Ebaaka gan la bea yayi daanan,

Alaaji Ebatinti gan la bea yayi daanan,

Alaaji Ndagi gan la bea yayi daanan,

Kpaata to Alaaji Ladan gan la bea yayi daanan,

Enimigocizhi: Elugwa yi la jin gan nanai da.

Nigba: Alaaji Ndana ugan ewo danan nera guwo alaa yami.

Enimigocizhi: Elugwa yi la jin gan nanai da.

Nigba: Alaaji Salifu, ugan ewo danan nera guwo alaa yami be.

Alaaji Dawuda gan ewo danan nera guwo be.

Alaaji Ndatsado nyan Mayaki ugan ewo danan nera guwo be.

To Alaaji Maliki ma dabo.

Enimigocizhi: Yaa dajin.

Nigba: Maliki Jikan Mamudu, egi Almustafa ugan ewo danan nera guwo alaa yami be.

Enimigocizhi: Elugwa Yi la jin nanai da.

Nigba: Alaaji Bako, egi Hajiya Rabi.

Leader & Chorus: That money you gave to us (2x)

Alhaji Bamisun says they should give to me.

Ndakotsu Twasha gave to me

Alhaji Yabagi says they should give to us

Alhaji Ebaaka says they should give to us

Alhaji Liman says they should give to us

Oranti Aboni Adamu says they should give to us

That money you gave to us

Chorus: Let us appreciate this kind gesture

Leader: Barije Gogo Yela says they should give this ten naira to me. I asked whose daughter is she?

They said Gogo Yaya the daughter of Etsu Musa Bello, the granddaughter of Etsu Maliki and the great grandchild of Usman Zaki says additional ten naira be given to me.

Chorus: Let us appreciate this kind gesture

Leader: No wonder, the royal trumpet is for the prince and princess.

Chorus: Let us appreciate this kind gesture

Leader & chorus: The money Alhaji Bamisun says they should give to us

And Alhaji Ma'alowo says they should give to us

Alhaji Ebaaka says they should give to us

Alhaji Ebatinti says they should give to us

Alhaji Ndagi says they should give to us

All of them together with Alhaji Ladan says they should give to us

Chorus: Let us appreciate this kind gesture

Leader: Alhaji Salifu says here is ten naira for me.

Alhaji Dawuda says here is another ten naira

Alhaji Ndatsado says here is another ten naira

Chorus: We will appreciate

Leader: Maliki the grandson of Mamudu, the son of Almustafa says here is ten naira for me again

Chorus: Let us appreciate this kind gesture.

Leader: Alhaji Bako, the son of Hajiya Rabi

Enimigocizhi: O! yaa dajin

Nigba: Matu Alaaji Kabi, egi Hajiya Sumawu.

Yagi eyaagizhi me ga danan.

Enimigocizhi: O! Yaa dajin

Nigba to Enimigocizhi: Aee ewo da nae da la bea yayi daana, elugwa yi la jin nanai da.

Nigba to Enimigocizhi: O! nanan ba, nanan man.

Nanan mangan dozhi be.

Efue dagye, bini ma dagye,

Egye na mana yi daa shi'o

Gulutso dagye, kaasa ma dagye,

Egye na mana yi daa shio.

O! nuwan nyan kin maigari,

Cigban de gai sui nawu,

Agan ala wuncia wa boa nu

Efe nae la takun na mae be,

Finin kpaata zo kusowuncin boa ni.

Ah! Etsu nae gi mange nan,

Baboa dabo wun'a yi banna.

Bororo uda jin ya nanko

Nanko mau dajin ya bata ma

Bata mau dajin ya rugangba

Kyadya zhia dajin ya Ndabe

Ndabe mau dajin ya egba ma

Egba mau dajin ya Kuta

Kuta mau dajin ya Nuwangba

Nuwan mau dajin ya Yikangba

Yikan tso mau dajin ya Ruwa be

Ebo Ruwa mau dajin ya gunuko

Achi ga'a daye dajin gan nana'o

Chorus: Oh! We will appreciate

Leader: The younger brother of Alhaji Kabi, the son of Hajiya Sumawu, the grandchild of the Yoruba

Chorus: Oh! We will appreciate

Leader & Chorus: Yes for the money you gave to us, we will appreciate this kind gesture

Leader & Chorus: Oh! This is sour, this is sweet.

This one is sweeter than the other.

The bee brews and the wasp also brews

We will buy only the sweetest wine.

The vulture brews and the crocodile also brews.

We will buy the sweetest wine.

Oh! The river of Maigari Land.

When a firewood is too smoky:

It should be removed and dowsed.

The breeze that move stones is coming

Soon the forest will be emptied of dry leaves.

When the rat devours the clay pot;

The safety of the calabash is at stake.

Bororo should thank the cow

The cow is to thank the forest

The forest is to thank “Rugangba”

The “Kyadya” are to thank “Ndabe”

“Ndabe” is to thank “Egba”

“Egba” is to thank “Kuta”

“Kuta” is to thank “Nuwangba”

“Nuwan” is to thank “Yikangba”

“Yikan” too is to thank “Ruwa”

So that “Ruwa” could thank “Gununko”

That is our usual way of giving thanks.

APPENDIX 6

ENI NYAN ENA SOYAYA KULOBU BIDA

Ma'aba: Sagi nigba nyan Etsu Nupe, nusa nigba kpa'ata eka Etsu Nupe. Uga'e wagan wun'a koni gbani danan'o ganin be katamba ma'aba'e: woya.

Nigba: Elue dabo be cigban nya,

Babo elu maga'a ya danan'o

Enimigocizhi: Aee ayio yaya

Nigba: Barika, barika, barika yi be yina'e

Enimigocizhi: Aee ayio yaya

Nigba: Ye wonan Fatima Lolo gangan nan

Nna Lolo kici'o?

Nigba nyan Etsu Nupe

Nna Lolo na'a man shidzo aci man nnau nan

Yegboro dena zuma ma dena,

Efe ma'e du to du, wun'a muwun'a.

Nnako nyan soyaya kulobu.

Ena woro na'agi dan Bida'onan.

Ena woro, zaman woro (2x)

Kanaa gilu gbogbo nan,

Gulu'a gangwa.

Apkpe kpa'ata ke ebo gulu boa guna zhibo nan,

Ama elu ndoci aga'a be pobo.

Eza kpe nnako za yea,

Wogan wa kpin yagiu etan?

Egi'a kpeye tsun ndau ma,

Ndau dagwa etan kpin

Jekun nan nnako za ga du nan,

We po yagiu gwa boa

Ebo nan egun egban egun tsoa,

Afe egun egye ficin

Elue dabo be cigban nya,

APPENDIX 6

THE SONG OF SOYAYA CLUB BIDA

Praise-crier: The Sagi Nigba of Etsu Nupe. The leader of all singers in Etsu Nupe Emirate is about to sing together with Katamba, the praise-crier. Now, carry on:

Leader: A bird does not quarrel with a tree;

For where will it perch?

Chorus: "Aee ayio yaya"

Leader: Congratulations, congratulations for seeing today.

Chorus: "Aee ayio yaya"

Leader: I hope you heard what Fatima Lolo is saying.

Which Nna Lolo?

The Etsu Nupe's singer

Nna Lolo that was before her mother was.

The front has a grand design as well as the behind

The breeze can only shake the grass but cannot uproot it

The grand patron of Soyaya club.

The new club in Bida

A new club, a new lease of life (2x)

When all birds were killed for food,

The vulture was an exception.

We all know that it was because of the vulture the fire was built.

However, it was used to roast a different bird.

If one does not know one's grandmother,

You cannot tell the history of her grandchild.

If a child grows to witness his father's life time;

The father must be cautious in narrating the autobiography.

No matter the hotness of a grandmother's food,

It will never burn the grandchild's hand

An heir apparent never gets stuck in,

Unless he is an heir to a drinker

A bird does not quarrel with a tree

Babo elu magaa ya danao?
Yizhi Bida'o yinan danan.
Ena soyaya kulobu.
Ndako nyan kulobuzhi kpaata.
Za guwobe gubae ayio.
Komitin nyan kulobu kpaata be,
Eza shini be gube ayi fibo
Kpaata ma Bida boa fio.
Alhaji Ndakotsu Twasha egi Jiya,
Muhammadu egi Maliki
Ndako kulobu ma daonan.
Egi Alhaji Taidi, egi Suleimanu
Eba Hajiya Bobo Kagae
Emi'a gye, ego maga'a gye.
Na de niyan gye nan, etun ga'a gye.
Egwa nan bagi nan me gan danan
Egwa nan bagi nan, yimi Alaaji Banmisun.
Ebo nan zakanma tsa nyan bisheo,
Zaini ma la nyau wan.
Baagi eba nyizagi'o nini.
Elu nan lugwa eshi chiu wan nan,
Zuye yi nyan elugio tsoman.
Egan Alaaji Baminsun miyan gan danan'o.
Alaaji Toma, egi Abu Garuba.
Zandoroe shidzo majin'a
Sai nan zaworo ga be tunan.
Zuma bo ekin maza'o, ekin maza be eyeu nyan
Dozhin Bubakar wun'a ye dya.
Madaki nyan Babakudu Sarkin Nupe.
Eza Hankuri nan laga Gana man nan.
Egi Isah, egi Musa.

For where will it perch?
We are in Bida today
The Soyaya club
The patrons of all the clubs
They are twelve in number
The committees of all the clubs
They are ninety in number
And all of them are from Bida
Alhaji Ndakotsu Twasha the son of Jiya
Muhammed the son of Maliki
The patron of the club
The son of Taidi, the son of Suleiman
The husband of Hajiya Bobo Kaga
It is good at home and so will it be outside
A good intention makes for a good work.
I am talking about the beloved one.
The beloved one, the wife of Alhaji Bamisun
The fowl is being pursued by many;
But only one person catches it.
The great husband of one wife.
A bird that allows itself to be caught by a dog;
The shame is for the bird.
I am talking of Alhaji Bamisun
Alhaji Toma, the son of Abu Garba
A leader is not always acknowledged
Until a new leader comes on board.
A courageous leader is praised after his exist; not while he is serving.
It will be difficult to get the like of Bubakar
The Madaki of Babakudu Sarkin Nupe
The patient one born by Laaga Gana.
The son of Isah, the son of Musa

Egi Almustafa Isao boci.

Egi Diza Yiye, Yiyio Kobo

Yagi Alasan gutwaba

Asali ungun be lanka nya.

Ewo faci, gun be gberi nya.

Chingini paci, gun be swalu nya.

Gbata wun'a kperi be yigbe.

Efe maedu du to du, wun'a muwun'a

Shaba Nupe, zanae kunza'a nan, zo yinkun.

Zana kun'unan, kun Shehu Tinjani.

Egwagi de eyan ewun suanan,

Yegan'ude nagban.

Mi nigba Madami nyan Nupe

Muhammadu egi Babakudu, Kolo'o Giwa

Madami Wunchiko me gan danan.

Wun, a ke Madami Tetengi Abdulkadiri, Abdulmaliki

Abdulmaliki kocio?

Egi Babakudu, matuu Makun Sanda

Makun Sanda egi Babakudu

Eza nyan Sarikin Raba

Major Diko egi Babakudu

Eza nyan Aliyu Laaga

Nda Majaidu Kafa egi Babakudu

Eza Dangana, egi Babakudu

Eza Saidu Minin be

Matu Hajiya Wogbo Woye

Matu Hajiya Giwa Dufya nyan Lapai

Matu Dufya'o Diko,

Kpaata Babakudu ga maa'o

Eza'a dabo wun'a be daboa

A Lolo Lugwa, egi yicigbe tsutsu'o

The son of Almustafa Isao Boci
The son of Diza Yiye, iyio Kobo
The grandchild of seven Alhassans
What is original can never be the same with what is adulterated.
The villager can never be the same with the urban dweller.
So will yam porridge not compete with pounded yam.
Debt is never the same with theft
The breeze may shake the grass, it can never uproot it.
Shaba Nupe, the patient one that is difficult to torment.
And whoever torment him, torment Shehu Tijani
"Egwagi" has no weapon for fighting,
But it is very poisonous.
I the singer of Madami Nupe
Muhammadu the son of Babakudu, Kolo the elephant
I am talking of the elder Madami
Now, remaining the younger Madami, Abdulmaliki
Which Abdulmaliki?
The son of Babakudu, the younger brother to Makun Sanda
Makun Sanda son of Babakudu
A good relation of Sarki Raba
Major Diko son of Babakudu
A good relation of Aliyu Laaga
The father of Majaidu Kafa, the son of Babakudu
A good friend of Dangana, the son of Babakudu
A good relation of Saidu Minin
The younger one of Hajiya Wogbo Woye
The younger one of Hajiya Giwa Dufya of Lapai
The younger one of Dufya'o Diko
Babakudu gave life to all of them.
No matter how long one lives, one day he won't be.
Do not deceive Lolo, having a child is the antidote to death

Egi yicibge tsutsuo’re
Yegboroa gye, to zuma ma’a gye.
Babakudu daboa zuma ma’a gye.
Na niyan’a gye nan, etun ma gaa gye
Kacian yi kpeke ezae shidzo majin’a nan
Sai nan zaworo gaa be tun nan
Zuma boe kin mazao, ekin maza be eyeu nyan.
Kacian dozhin egi Nna Diza yiye’a ye dya.
Egan ndako komitizhi me gan dana’o,
Ndako nyan kulobuzhi,
Ewo oga deo, Alaaji Wambai shinan.
Wambai egi Saidu Bologi
Wambai egi Shaibu bologi
Egi Muryamu, Madu Bologi
Egi Muhammadu, Madu Tetengi
Egi Hajiya, eba Hajiya guwo be gubae
Egba ciwan jin gba’a
Sai egba ugye yankpa’o
Taki Alaaji Wambai nyan Nupe
Ekin gbagbagba, kacian yankpa’o re
Ama ta bi bishe bako nan ga’a lau yin nan.
Ugau layin, amagau zun.
Taki Alaaji Wambai nyan Etsu Nupe
Elue dabo be cigban’e.
Eku Hajiya Nnasha.
Nnasha kichio?
Nnasha nyan ewanko me tun yeo
Egi Mamudu, egi Audullahi,
Egi Lukpan nyan Nupe.
Eza Nma duroba.
Yanaa kpanan, soko kpa’a

Certainly, child is the antidote to death.
Your future is bright and so will it be behind you.
Babakudu is gone but left behind exemplary life.
Since the intention is sound, definitely the work will be good.
Otherwise, we know that a leader is always not faultless
Nevertheless, he is being appreciated when a new leader comes,
A courageous leader is always acknowledged after his departure.
In fact, it is rare to have the like of the son of Nna Diza Yiye.
I'm talking of the patrons of the club.
Patrons of the clubs
On matters of financial strength, Wambai is here
Wambai the son of Saidu, the handsome one.
Wambai the son of Shaibu, the handsome one.
The son of Muhammadu, Madu the younger one.
The son of Maryamu, the pretty one
The son of Hajiya, the husband of twelve Hajiyas
It is not the size of the axe that matters,
Rather, it is the quality of its blade.
That is the "praise phrase" of Alhaji Wambai of Nupe
The smallness of a needle should not be despised for, it is an iron.
No cock can swallow it.
And if it does, it will be slaughtered.
That is another praise phrase for Alhaji Wambai of Etsu Nupe.
A bird does not quarrel with a tree
Well done Hajiya Nnasha
Which Nnasha?
Nnasha of Ewanko
The daughter of Mamudu, the son of Abdullahi
The daughter of Lukpan of Nupe.
A good relation of Nma driver
What they wanted, God did not destined

Niya dya gye, etu maga'a gye.
Nnasha Ewanko, ungan ewo danan, nera gutsun ala yami.
Migan ebo zhibo?
Ugan ebo Etsu Musa'o.
Ndako nyan kulobuzhi.
Alaaji Ndaliman Penti ma danbo.
Yagi Yisao gan ci.
Aee, banan eza dokun nan bo udao.
Eza Hajiya Gogo Kuli.
Eba Hajiya Dyadya.
Eba Hajiya Adisatu.
Eza nyan Alaaji Kitabu.
Eza nyan Alaaji Sani.
We twarya kea wo gbata wo nan
Efo nan Alaaji Bamisun be jin sunan nan
Nna Lolo cilobo gan wun'a da saami nan,
Alaaji Babankogi yami nera eshi, pan guwo.
Alaaji Ladan ma sukun, nyan Nitsa?
Nda nyan Kulobu nini daonan be.
Nan Alaaji Babankogi yami nera eshi nan
Alhaji Ladan Wakiliin Nufawa,
Ugan ewo danan nera eshi alayami
Nda nya kulobu nini daonan
Alaaji Ndazungi ma dabo,
Eba Hajiya Nna Iya.
Eyan gutae bami be Ndazungi yio
Eye kosun ebami be Ndazungi yio
Egangan "ebami be Ndazungi yio
Eryatwa "ebami be Ndazungi yio
Nda nyan kulobu nini daonan be

When the intention is sound, the work will be successful
Nnasha Ewanko says here is five naira for me.
I asked, “on whose behalf?”
She said, because of Etsu Musa.
The patron of Soyaya club.
Alhaji Ndaliman Penti is there.
The grandchild of Yisa
He has gone to where many have gone.
The husband of Hajiya Gogo Kuli
The husband of Hajiya Dyadya
The husband of Hajiya Adisatu
A good relation of Alhaji Kitabu
A good relation of Alhaji Sani
He gives as if he is paying debt.
The day Alhaji Bamisun had a naming ceremony,
Nna Lolo went there for a visit.
Alhaji Babankogi gave me twenty naira
And what of Alhaji Ladan of Onitsha?
That is one of the fathers of the club
When Alhaji Babankogi gave twenty naira
Alhaji Ladan, Wakilin Nufawa,
He says here is another twenty naira for me.
He is another father of the club.
Alhaji Ndazungi is there.
The husband of Hajiya Nna Iya
I love Ndazungi for three things
I love Ndazungi for his fine eye balls
I love Ndazungi for his eloquence.
I love Ndazungi for his generosity.
That is one father of the club.

Alaaji Sode nyan wuuya (2x)
Egi Muhammadu, egi Audullahi,
Egi Maliki
Alaaji Sode gan ewo danan nera gutsun
Alaaji Ndagi direba, direba kicio?
Direba nyan Alaaji Ndazungi.
Nan tsociu wun'a pingban,
Wuntso ma pin zungi nan
Ugan ewo danan nera gutsu alayami.
Migan ebo zhibo?
Ugan ebo Alaaji Ndazungi nan mi tunye nan'o
Direba gaa waama.
Zhikoshi jin gberia
Ddzuru ma jin gitsu'a
Keminan zandoro yinan umawun'o

Alhaji Sode of Wuya (2x)
The son of Muhammadu, the son of Abdullahi
The son of Maliki
Alhaji Sode says here is five naira
Alhaji Ndagi driver, whose driver?
The driver of Alhaji Ndazungi
Whose master cannot be equaled outside
And he, his servant cannot be equaled within.
He says, here is five naira for me.
I ask to know on whose behalf.
And he says, on behalf of Alhaji Ndazungi that I mentioned.
The driver well done.
To be dark in complexion does not suggest that one is uncivilized
And to be fair in complexion does not suggest any form of royalty.
Each person was born to resemble his father.

APPENDIX 7

ENI ETSUZHI NYAN LAFIAGI

Malam Maliki la Lafiagi lashishi

Wun gitsua, ugan man wun'yio

Agan ubeu la etsu gi

Ugan man nya gistua

Be eye Kulu Dufya nya jinwun'o

Minaa man bedzo achi be man nnaminan

Ubea to Malam Maliki Gana

Eya goya nae sa goya nan

Ude eya Kputsun yinan raee! cia tu shitsu gutota, cia tu guwo

Na'a la Lafiyagi shishi nan

Be eye kulu Dufya nya jinwun'o

Ache giu be ka'a ka'a yin

Ebe leye raeee! Ye woa

Etsu Abudulkadiri ga gitsu'o

Unga ka etsu gi Lafiagi bo

Be eye Kulu Dufya nya jinwun'o

Un gitsu eyashi be gunni

Ache giu be ka'a ka'a yin

Be eye Kulu Dufya nya jinwun'o

Unbea to Etsu Halilu, wo leyea!

Be eye Kulu Dufya nya jinwun'o

Wun gitsu eya gutwani

Eba pazhiko kanga

Eba ma'a tinyea ni chinan

APPENDIX 7

THE SONG OF THE EMIRS WHO RULED LAFIAGI

Mallam Maliki is the founder of Lafiagi.

He was not a Monarch and said he a is cleric.

They asked him to ascend the throne.

He said a cleric cannot become an emir.

I (kulu) witnessed all these.

I (kulu) who was born before my mother was.

Later, it was the turn of Mallam Maliki Gana.

The buffalo amidst buffaloes.

It is 1,816 years today

That Lafiagi was founded

It all happened before the very eyes of Kulu Dufya.

The crowning of the emirs was taking place one after the other.

Everybody come and see for yourselves.

Etsu Abdulkadir became the emir

He was the first emir in Lafiagi

It happened before Kulu's eyes.

He ruled for twenty–four years.

The crowning was taking place one after the other.

It happened before the very eyes of Kulu Dufya

Later, it was the turn of Etsu Halilu

It happened before the very eyes of Kulu Dufya

He ruled for nine years

The atmosphere became gloomy then.

But it is now bright again.

Unbea to Etsu Aliyu

Eh!, be eye Kulu Dufya nya jinwun'o

Un gitsu eya gutwani

To wuntso be dabo, dabo, unbe dabo bea

Eh! be eye Kulu Dufya nya jinwun'o

Etsu Abdulrahimi Saba'o daniyan (3x)

Un gitsu eya nini raee!

Be eye Kulu Dufya nya jinwun'o

Minaa man bedzo achi be man nnaminan

Ache giu be ka'a ka'a yin re!

Un bea to Etsu Ahmadu Gofe

Nda'a gi, egia gi

Etsu Ahmadu Gofe gitsu eya shi be gutae

Eh! be eye Kulu Dufya nya jinwun'o

Minaa man bedzo achi be ma nda minan

Ebe leye raee!

Unbea to Etsu Bello Gana

Unga be gitsu anasara'o

Gana ga gitsu anasara'o

Bello Gana gitsu eya gbanwo

Eh! be eye Kulu Dufya nya jinwun'o

Minaa man bedzo achi be man nnaminan

Achie giu be ka'a ka'a yin rae!

Unbea to Etsu Abubakar Garba Kawu

Gworozo egi Muhammadu

Later, it was the turn of Etsu Aliyu.

It happened before the very eyes of Kulu Dufya

He ruled for nine years.

He too lived a while and left.

Yes, it happened before the very eyes of Kulu Dufya

Etsu Abdulrahimi Saba'o Daniyan

He ruled for only one year

It happened before the very eyes of Kulu Dufya

I who was born before my mother was.

The crowing was taking place one after the other.

Later, it was the turn of Etsu Ahmadu Gofe

The father was successful and likewise the son.

Etsu Ahmadu Gofe ruled for twenty three years

Yes, it happened before the very eyes of Kulu Dufya

I who was born before my mother was

Everybody, come and see for yourselves

Later, it was Etsu Bello Gana's turn.

He was the whiteman's emir

Gana is the whiteman's emir

Bello Gana ruled for thirty years.

Yes, it happened before the very eyes of Kulu Dufya

I who was born before my mother was.

The crowning was taking place one after the other.

Later, it was the turn of Etsu Abubakar Garba Kawu

The brave one, the son of Muhammadu

Un gitsu eya gunni

Be eye kulu Dufya nya jinwun'o

Zandoro ga danbo, danbo, wun'a be danboa

Zai ga jin dede nan, ebo etiu bo

Unbea to tsu Maliki Gana

Etsu gutwani bo un dan'o

Wun gitsu eya guba raeee!

Eya man, yagi man

Zae kun za'anan zo yin kun

Zana kun nan kun Shehu Tijanni

Ebe, leye raeee!

Unbea to tsu Abu Garba

Baba nyan Usman Sharu

Wun gitsu eya guwo beni

Kaminan za wunci gitsu nan raeee!

Kanti nini dan Lafiagi boa

Sariki Umaru

Nan Gana gitsu nan

Yiga lo babo, kantin chinan

Yiga zhin babo, kantin zhinan

Zaman nyan Sarikin Umaru

Nyan nan yiye wa lo ezhi zazhi kpata nan

Nyan ga zhi dan Lafiyagi'o yinan

Eh! Umaru Gana wun nyan wun'o

Asibiti General, Umaru Gana wun nyan wun'o

He ruled for four years

It happened before the very eyes of Kulu Dufya

No matter how long one lives, one day he will cease to be

Whoever does evil, it is for himself

It was later the turn of Etsu Maliki Gana

He was the ninth emir

He too ruled for two years

The great, great grandchild of a cleric.

Whoever that is gentle is difficult to torment.

And whoever torment him, torment Shehu Tijani

Everybody come and see yourselves

It is now the turn of Etsu Abu Garba

The father of Usman Sharu

He ruled for eleven years

At the time he ruled;

There was no a single shop in Lafiagi

Sariki Umaru

When Gana became the emir

Shops were available everywhere we go

Anywhere we go, shops were found.

During the reign of Sariki Umaru

All our needs are no longer sought for from outside.

They are available today in Lafiagi

Yes, they are all for Umaru Gana

The general Hospital is for Umaru Gana

Kampani Sugar, Umaru Gana wun nyan wun'o

Sarari kontaya, Umaru Gana wun nyan wun'o

Woga jin'a bolo bolo bolo, kagan'a kpia

Woga jin'a bibi, abe da'a kpere

Zandoro shidzo majin'a (2x)

Wun'ela nyatiu wo, umae la nyan zazhi wo

We wo nyan ga, umae wo nyan zhitso

Ufe wo nyan nda, umae fe wo nyan gi

Sariki Umaru!

We wo nyan nma, umae wo nyan magi

Aliyan eti boa, agan aliu ta'ako'o?

Sariki Umaru!

Sun gan ayi kukuku, sun gan ayi kukuku,

Oho! egwa Gana dan'a

Ebe leye raeee!

Yikunuci nikin,

Nyananyin bonan dokun

Edin managia zheya

Munge managia zheya

Emidzurugia zheya

Tyatya managia zheya

Yikunu tsakpagia zheya

Wuntso gitsu eya guwo gunni

Zandoro shidzo majin'a (2x)

Soko gan yi lai cyinta bedzo

The Sugar Company is for Umaru Gana

The tarred road is for Umaru Gana

If you do good and they do not acknowledge

If you do evil, of course, they will pass comment

A leader is never faultless (2x)

He caters for his household as well as for others.

He caters for strangers or visitors and also indigenes

He listens to the father and also listens to the son

Sariki Umaru

He listens to the uncle as well as the nephew

And he does this in an orderly manner.

Sariki Umaru

He does not believe in hearsay.

Gana is not concern with such.

Everybody come and see for yourselves

The palm tree has fallen.

We have lost so many things:

The sweet palm kernel oil has been lost

The sweet palm wine has been lost

The red palm oil has been lost

The sweet palm oil dregs has been lost.

The palm kernels too have been lost

He too ruled for fourteen years

A leader has never been faultless (2x)

God says we should hold on for a while

Yiya de etsu bologi be (3x)

Alhaji Sadu!

Etsu da guwo gubae yinan raee!

Be eye kulu Dufya nya jinwun'o

Etsu da goma Sha biyu (2x)

Be eye Kulu Dufya nya Jinwun'o

Minaa man bedzo, achi be man nnaminan

Eh, wo leye dao na'a?

Alhaji Sadu Etsuworo

Aliyu man wun'o

Gimba Saba man wun'o

Mandzuma Gana man wun'o

Hanatu Dzwa man wun'o

Eba Hajiya guni daonan

Shaba nyan Lafiyagi, ye lie yea?

Aliyu de nan Aliyu man nan

Halilu Saba man wun'o

Ebe leye raeee!

Baba nyan Muhammadu

Egi Shaba woro daonan

Alhaji Dangana

Egi Shaba woro daonan

Oku Abu Garuba

Egi Shaba woro daonan

Ebe leye raeee!

We have gotten another promising ruler (3x)

Alhaji Sa'adu

The emirs are twelve in number today.

It all happened before the very eyes of Kulu Dufya

The emirs are twelve today (2x)

It all happened before the very eyes of Kulu Dufya

Who was born before her mother was.

Have you all seen that?

Alhaji Sa'adu the new emir

He was born by Aliyu

He was born by Gimba Saba

He was born by Mandzuma Gana

He was born by Hannatu Dzwa

The husband of four Hajiyas

Can you see, the Shaba of Lafiagi?

Aliyu who was born by Aliyu

He was born by Halilu Saba

Everybody come and see for your selfselves

The father of Muhammadu

That is the son of the new Shaba

Alhaji Dangana

That is the son of the new Shaba

Well done Abu Garuba

That is the son of the new Shaba

Everybody come and see for yourselves

Oku Hajiya Hassanatu raeee!

Egi Shaba woro daonan

Hajiya Fatima Dzuwa dabo man

Egi Shaba woro daonan

Adisatu yaya danbo

Egi Shaba woro daonan be

Alhaji Ahmadu, majalisa nyan Etsu Lafiagi

Suleimanu, chata nyan Lafiagi daonan

Malam Mandzuma Gana

Abdulkadir, gworozo egi zubairu

Nda nyan Usuman

Ke Usman jina'o?

Ebe leye raeee!

Muhammadu Bwari Ubandawaki Lafiagi

Ubandawakin gari (2x)

Eya goya nae sa goya nan

Alhaji Shafi danbo

Egi Liman Ahmidu

Un dewo de, ewo dewun'a

Ke Madzuma Gana jina'o?

Kpotun nyan Lafiagi daonan

Well done Hajiya Hassanatu

The daughter of the new Shaba

Hajiya Fatima Dzwa is also here

The daughter of the new Shaba

Adisatu Yaya is also here

She is the daughter of the new Shaba

Alhaji Ahmadu, a member of Lafiagi Emirate Council

Sulaiman is the “Chata” of Lafiagi

Mallam Mandzuma Gana

Abdulkadiri, the brave one, son of Zubairu

The father of Usuman

How is Usuman

Everybody come and see for yourselves

Muhammadu Bwari, Ubandawaki Lafiagi

Ubandawaki gari (2x)

The buffalo amidst buffaloes

Alhaji Shafiyi

The son of Liman Ahmidu

He controls money and was never controlled by money.

How is Mandzuma Gana?

That is the “Kpotun” of Lafiagi

APPENDIX 8

ESUN SUN NYAWUN'A EGA'A SO DOZHIMAN

Bazhini'o Alhaji Sa'adu

Egi Aliyu, egi'a Suma'u yiye

Egi Bello Gana, yiye tunye'o

Kana Gboka'a,

Gboogi nanman gboka nan, gan wun'a wun zandoa

Dzukoe ba gbogi yinlo

Ede man danboa

Ezhi ba gulu yinlo,

Tinyi ma'a fu

Kako nanman de kokari nan, eyeu maa shikodoo!

Zanan zhi kuubo nan, a'kuubo be dasun'e

Ebazaba, a'ce zun gamanan

Za naa gba bo yenan,

Eboa kun mi

Alhaji Saadu, lamigun Sariki Umaru Sanda

Egi Babakudu

A Lonlo, kamani lonlo,

Lonlogi gae nyanyan,

Edzaun dan nuwan nimbo

Alhaji Sadu, uga'a ba, uba

Kagan unbe ba'a, un ba'a

Unga be ba soko, uba'a ni

Wogaa nazavo,

Obebere nazavo

APPENDIX 8

DO NOT FORSAKE ONE WHO IS YOUR OWN

The great Alhaji Sa'adu

Son of Aliyu, son of Suma'u Yiye

It is the son of Bello Gana we are calling.

The monkey is not energetic

And the energetic chimpanzee says he won't serve anybody

The chimpanzee wants to go to the market

Unfortunately, it has no cloths to wear

The vulture wants to travel

Unfortunately, it has a bald head.

And the owl whose head is hairy, is hollow-eyed

Those who criticize you, do so with extreme fear

Discussion provides room for telling lies

Whoever doubts the sacredness of a thing

Will surely regret it

Alhaji Sa'adu, the excellent companion of Umaru Sanda

Son of Babakudu

A'lonlo, kamani lonlo (for onomatopoeic effect)

When the lotus is dancing

Its drummers are beneath the water

Alhaji Sa'adu, if they wish, let them be pleased

They, of course, have no choice

For it pleases God, surely it has to please them

Alhaji Sadu if you must condemn anybody

Do so with great care

25 Eza’a nazavo,

Ube dau bare

Alhaji Sa’aadu, wa’a gi

Nigba: Esun sun nyanwun’a ega’a so dozhiman

Enimigocizhi: Esun sun nyanwun’a ega’a so dozhiman

Nigba: Eh! Nupecizhi ye leya?

Enimigocizhi: Tsuwo beyinaa, ega ya dozhiman

Nigba: Echia deli, wun’a de zunye, ye woa!

Enimigocizhi: Yace loyelo, ega’a wo za ganmman

Nigba: Alhaji Bello Gana

Enimigocizhi: Zaguba gae wadozhi, ama ga’a yin dozhiman

Nigba: Kowa de yibu, ae’ce wandozhi dan.

Enimigocizhi: Yedea gwaesun dozhi, yedebae lotun guru

Nigba: Alhaji Bello Gana, lamigun Abu Garuba

Enimigocizhi: Yedea gwaesun dozhi, yedebae lotun guru

Nigba: Abdulkadiri, egi Abdulsalami nau man nan

Enimigocizhi: Yedea gwaesun dozhi, yedebae lotun guru

Nigba: Commissioner, Usman Shehu

Enimigocizhi: Yedea gwaesun dozhi, yedebae lotun guru

Nigba: Matu Malam Mandzuma, Gana

Enimigocizhi: Tsuwo be yinaa, ega’a ya dozhiman

Nigba: Alhaji Yebosoko, egi Abu Garuba

Enimigocizhi: Tsuwo de be yinaa, ega’a ya dozhiman

Nigba: Kowa de yibu, ae’ce wan dozhi dan

Enimigocizhi: Mi wao le, mima wao bea, daajin hankuri

Nigba: Ebida raee!

25 For one may condemn someone now;

Only to find reason to readmit him again.

Alhaji Sadu you're most successful!

Solo: Do not forsake one who is your own

Chorus: Do not forsake one who is your own

Solo: Yes, Nupe people; can't you see?

Chorus: That yesterday is not like today; do not forsake each other

Solo: If the growing yam has leaves, it will have shame

Chorus: You will continue to progress, do not listen to hearsay

Solo: Alhaji Bello Gana

Chorus: If two people are in love; they must not engage in backbiting

Solo: No one is faultless; do hold to one another.

Chorus: Hold on to each other to enable you progress.

Solo: Alhaji Bello Gana, a good friend of Abu Garba

Chorus: Just hold on to ensure progress

Solo: Abdulkadiri, the son of Abdulsalami

Chorus: Hold on to each other to ensure progress

Solo: Commissioner Usman Shehu

Chorus: Just hold on to each other to ensure progress.

Solo: The Younger brother of Mallam Mandzuma Gana

Chorus: Yesterday is not like today; don't forsake each other

Solo: Alhaji Yebosoko, the son of Abu Garuba

Chorus: Yesterday is not like today; don't forsake each other

Solo: No one is faultless; hold on to each other

Chorus: I love you before but now I don't, please take heart

Solo: Please lets move on:

Enimigocizhi: Mi gi le, mi ma gi bea, daajin hankuri

Nigba: Echia deli, wun de zunye

Enimigocizhi: Mide finle, mima fin bea, daajin hankuri

Nigba: A dokun danyi na'a dan Ilori'o nan.

Enimigocizhi: Mi wao le, mima wao bea, daajin hankuri

Nigba: Hassan Bana man danbo, egi Ibrahima nau man nan

Enimigocizhi: Tsuwo de be yinaa, ega ya dozhiman

Nigba: Lamigun Umaru, nyan Bologi, ye leu ya?

Eminigocizhi: Za guba, gae wa dozhi, amaa ga yin dozhiman

Nigba: Ahmadu Gofe dan guruza

Enimigocizhi: Za guba gae wa dozhi, amaa gaa yin dozhiman

Nigba: Gorozogia, Alhassan

Enimigocizhi: Tsuwo de be yinaa, ega ya dozhiman

Nigba: Alhaji Dokita, Alhaji Dokita

Enimigocizhi: Yedea gwasun dozhi yebebae lotun guru

Nigba: Chairman Bologi dao nan

Enimigocizhi: Yedea gwasun dozhi, yedebae lotun guru

Nigba: Dogo egi Abu Garuba, nau man nan

Enimigocizhi: Yedea gwae sun dozhi, yedebae lotun guru

Nigba: Alhaji Dzunbe, Alhaji Dzunbe

Enimigocizhi: Za guba gae wa dozhi, amaa gaa yin dozhi man

Nigba: Tsonga mana bo a'mawun'o

Enimigocizhi: Za guba gae wa dozhi amaa gaa yin dozhi man

Nigba: Alikali Saba ma dao nan

Enimigocizhi: Mi wao le, mima wao bea, daajin hankuri

Nigba: Eba Hajiya guba ma dao nan, wo leuya?

Chorus: I ate before but now I won't, please take heart

Solo: If a growing yam has leaves, surely it will have shame

Chorus: I drank before but now won't, please take heart

Solo: Many of them lived in Ilorin

Chorus: I loved you before but now I don't, please take heart.

Solo: Hassan Bana is there, the son of Ibrahima

Chorus: Yesterday is not like today; hold on to each other.

Solo: A friend of Umaru, the handsome one, can you see him?

Chorus: If two people are in love, they must not forsake each other.

Solo: Ahmadu Gofe Danguruza

Chorus: If two people are in love; they must avoid backbiting.

Solo: The brave son of Alhassan

Chorus: Yesterday is not like today; do not forsake each other

Solo: Alhaji Dokita, Alhaji Dokita.

Chorus: Just hold on to each other to ensure progress.

Solo: That is the good chairman

Chorus: Just hold on to each other to ensure progress

Solo: The tall one, the son of Abu Garuba

Chorus: Just hold on to each other to ensure progress.

Solo: Alhaji Dzunbe, Alhaji Dzunbe

Chorus: If two people are in love; they must avoid backbiting.

Solo: He is born at sweet Tsonga

Chorus: If two people are in love, they must avoid backbiting

Solo: Alikali Saba is also there

Chorus: I love you before but now I don't; please take heart

Solo: That is the husband of two Hajiyas; can't you see him?

Enimigocizhi: Tsuwo de be yinaa, ega ya dozhiman

Nigba: Egi Dangana Gala, eyan Bologi dao nan

Enimigocizhi: Tsuwo de be yinaa, ega ya dozhiman

Nigba: Eh! Muhammadu Tsowa ma danbo

Enimigocizhi: Yedea gwae sun dozhi edebae lotun guru

Nigba: Egi Alhaji bakon maka, Mamma Saba man wun'o

Enimigocizhi: Yedea gwae sun dozhi edebae lotun guru

Nigba: Alhaji Ibrahima, eyan Bologi man dao nan

Enimigocizhi: Tsuwo be yinaa, ega ya dozhi man

Nigba: Alhaji Bagudu BCC

Enimigocizhi: Tsuwo be yinaa, ega ya dozhi man

Nigba: Alhaji Bagudu BCC

Enimigocizhi: Tsuwo de be yinaa, ega ya dozhi man

Nigba: Kampani gawu, kampani bologi man dao nan

Enimigocizhi: Yedea gwae sun dozhi, yedebae lotun guru

Nigba: Lamigun Alhaji Umaru Sanda, egi Babakudu

Enimigocizhi: Yedea gwae sun dozhi yedebae lotun guru

Nigba: Nagya jikan Mamudu man danbo

Enimigocizhi: Yegae wa dozhi, yemae gaa yin dozhi man

Nigba: Pirimiyan!

Enimigocizhi: Tsuwo de be yinaa, egaa yin dozhi man

Nigba: Alhaji Liman Penti madanbo, ye lieu ya?

Enimigocizhi: Tsuwo de be yinaa, egaa ya dozhi man

Nigba: Nda nyan Alhaji Kitabu man dao nan, Baba nyan Alhaji Sani

Enimigocizhi: Esun sun nyawun'a egaa so dozhi man

Nigba: Alhaji Bagudu nda nya Alhaji Ndagi ma dao nan ye lieu ya?

Chorus: Yesterday is not like today; do not forsake each other

Solo: The son of Dangana Gala; the handsome one.

Chorus: Yesterday is not like today; do not forsake each other

Solo: Oh! Muhammadu Tsowa is also there.

Chorus: Just hold on to each other to ensure progress

Solo: The son of Alhaji Mamman Saba

Chorus: Just hold on to each other to ensure progress

Solo: That is the handsome Alhaji Ibrahima

Chorus: Yesterday is not like today; do not forsake each other

Solo: Alhaji Bagudu BCC.

Chorus: Yesterday is not like today; do not forsake each other

Solo: That is the big and beautiful company.

Chorus: Just hold on to each other to ensure progress

Solo: The friend of Umaru Sanda, the son of Babakudu

Chorus: Just hold on to each other to ensure progress

Solo: Nagya the grandson of Mamudu is there.

Chorus: If you love each other; do avoid backbiting

Solo: Premier!

Chorus: Yesterday is not like today; so avoid backbiting

Solo: Alhaji Liman Penti is there, can you see him?

Chorus: Yesterday is not like today; do not forsake each other.

Solo: That is the father of Alhaji Kitabu and Alhaji Sani

Chorus: Do not forsake one who is your own

Solo: Alhaji Bagudu, the father of Alhaji Ndagi is there can't you see him?

Enimigocizhi: Esun sun nyawun'a, egaa so dozhi man

Nigba: Eba Hajiya guwo be gubae man dao nan

Enimigocizhi: Esun sun nyawa, egaa so dozhi man

Nigba: Eh! Wambai nyan Nupe, man danbo

Enimigocizhi: Tsuwo de be yinaa, egaa ya dozhi man

Nigba: Mi wao le, mima wao bea, daajin hankuri

Enimigocizhi: Tsuwo de be yinaa, egaa ya dozhi man

Nigba: Kaka Rakiya nan me gan daa nan, ye lieu ya?

Enimigocizhi: Kaka Rakiya duban gari

Nigba: Ye gaa wa langbahzi be man

Enimigocizhi: Gbarufuzhi yega wa langba man

Nigba: Wun'a ke ya guwo naa ya langbazhi nan

Enimigocizhi: Tsuwo be yinaa, egaa ya dozhi man

Nigba: Malam Isah, egi Kalamu Musa

Enimigocizhi: Wun'a ke ya guwo naa ya langba nan

Nigba: Egaa wo za gaman raeee!

Enimigocizhi: Gbarufuzhi, egaa wa langba man

Nigba: Gwarozo eba Salimatu

Enimigocizhi: Eda ganya dzakangi'u ga ma nusa tsan man

Nigba: Eh! egaa wo za gan man

Enimigocizhi: Yizhe nan, kowa dea yibu

Nusa'o tsoma ugaa gibi tswami man

Tsuwo de be yinaa, egaa ya dozhi man

Chorus: Do not forsake one who is your own

Solo: That is the husband of twelve Hajiyas

Chorus: Do not forsake one who is your own

Solo: The Wambai of Nupe is also there.

Chorus: Yesterday is not like today; do not forsake each other

Solo: I loved you before but now I don't; please take heart

Chorus: Yesterday is not like today; do not forsake each other

Solo: The Kaka Rakiya I am talking about, can't you see her?

Chorus: Kaka Rakiya; the Sanitary Inspector

Solo: Do not fall in love with lazy women again

Chorus: Young men do not fall in love with lazy women

Solo: Do not fall in love with lazy women

Chorus: Young men do no marry lazy women

Solo: In ten years time; all lazy women will be divorced

Chorus: Yesterday is not like today; do not forsake each other

Solo: Mallam Isah, the son of Kallamu Musa.

Chorus: In ten years time; all lazy women will be divorced

Solo: Do not listen to hearsay.

Chorus: Young men do not marry lazy women

Solo: The great one, husband of Salimatu

Chorus: The young should be warned not to laugh at the elders

Solo: Do not listen to hearsay; for no one is faultless.

Chorus: And the elders too must not leave their mouths untidy;

After chewing kola-nuts.

Yesterday is not like today; do not forsake each other

APPENDIX 9

EYA YITSO LYAYE GAN ZAZHI

Enimigocizhi:	Eh! Zana lonan bezabe
Nigba:	Alaaji Ibrahim!
Enimigocizhi:	Zana lonan bezabe
Nigba:	Alhaji Ibrahim, lamigun Alhaji Usman Tetengi
Enimigocizhi:	Eh! Zana lonan bezabe
Nigba:	Eya goya nae sa goya nan, ye woa?
Enimigocizhi:	Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi
Nigba:	Echia deli, wun'a de zunye, wo lyaye?
Enimigocizhi:	Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi
Nigba:	Eh! Alhaji Muhammadu Babannakara naa man, dabban'o nan
Enimigocizhi:	Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi
Nigba:	Eba Hajaratu eyan bologi man daonan be
Enimigocizhi:	Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi
Nigba:	Eba Rakiyetu eyan bologi daonan, wo lieuya?
Enimigocizhi:	Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi
Nigba:	Eba Nanafatima eyan bologi man daonan wo lieuya?
Enimigocizhi:	Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi
Nigba:	Zabairuo! Zabairu Ladan!
Enimigocizhi:	Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi
Nigba:	Egi Hajiya Rabi man daonan, wo lieuya?
Enimigocizhi:	Eh! Zanan lonan bezabe
Nigba:	Ebidaa Sabongida
Enimigocizhi:	Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi
Nigba:	Ebidaa Sabongida

APPENDIX 9

FRIEND, WE KNOW THEM MORE THAN ANYONE ELSE

Chorus: Oh! the person that left resemble someone

Solo: Alhaji Ibrahim!

Chorus: Oh! the person that left resemble someone

Solo: Alhaji Ibrahim, a good friend of Alhaji Usman Tetengi

Chorus: Oh! the person that left resemble someone

Solo: The buffalo amidst buffaloes.

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: If a growing yam has leaves, it will have shame.

Chorus: Friend, we know then more than anyone else

Solo: Yes, Alhaji Babannakara Muhammadu born at Dabban

Chorus: Friend, we know then more than anyone else.

Solo: He is the husband of the pretty Hajaratu

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: He is the husband of the pretty Rakiyetu

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: That is the husband of Nanafatima, the beautiful one.

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: Zabairu, Zabairu Ladan!

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: That is the son of Hajiya Rabi; can't you see him?

Chorus: Yes! the person that left resemble someone

Solo: Let us go to Sabongida

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: Let us go to Sabongida

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Eh! Muhammadu Sabongida, eba Hawa Kulu

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Anllazi Ibrahima, Eba Nuwadzuru

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Lamigun Umaru, eyan bologi, eba Hassanatu

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Ndako Allaasan eba Adisatu Nnakaka, wo lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Eba Adisatu eyan bologi man daonan be

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Egi Alaaji, matu Alaaji bakon maka wo lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Eyan gae baza, Soko ulau daugwao

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Eh! Eya goya de nae sa goya nan, wo lyayea?

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Ndako Yakubu Sabongida

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Eeh! Abu Gaeruba

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Lamigun dozhi, guba, guta lamigun Muhammadu wo lyayea?

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Eeh! Zabairu bologi man danbo, wo lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Eeh! Wun kunli'o gan gantso.

Nigba: Eeh! Zabairu bologi man danbo, wo lieuya?

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: Yes, Muhammadu Sabongida, the husband of Hawa Kulu

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: Anllazi Ibrahima, the husband of Nuwadzuru

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: The friend of Umaru, the husband of Hassanatu

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: Ndako Alhassan, the husband of Adisatu Nnakaka, can't you see him?

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: The husband of beautiful Adisatu is also there.

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: The son of Alhaji, the younger brother of Alhaji, can't you see him?

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: May God give to one, whatever one wants.

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: Yes, the buffalo amidst buffaloes, can't you see him?

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: Ndako Yakubu Sabongida

Chorus: Friend, we know then more than anyone else

Solo: Yes, Abu Garuba.

Chorus: Friend, we know then more than anyone else

Solo: The intimate three friends, the friend of Muhammadu. Can't you see them?

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: Yes, the handsome Zubairu is also there, can't you see him?

Enimigocizhi: Eeh! Wun kunli'o gan gantso.

Nigba: Oku Hassan Kolo, oku Hassan Kolo (2x)

Enimigocizhi: Eeh! Wun kunli'o gan gantso.

Nigba: Alhaji Al-Mustapha Dan Yaya

Enimigocizhi: Eeh! Wun kunli'o gan gantso.

Nigba: Eba Ayi bologi, Ilori bo may dan'o

Enimigocizhi: Eeh! yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Eba Hajiya Almustapha man daonan

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Eeh! Hassan Kolo, lamigun Malamin Sonmasun

Enimigocizhi: Wun'a kunli'o gan gantso

Nigba: Eba Adisatu Olekpo man daonan, lamigun Abu Garuba

Enimigocizhi: Wun'a kunli'o gan gantso

Nigba: Baba nyan Alhaji Dangana, zumatu Mallam Maliki

Enimigocizhi: Wun'a kunli'o gan gantso

Nigba: Eeh! Alhaji Sarikin Tessan

Enimigocizhi: Wun'a kunli'o gan gantso

Nigba: Lamigun Ndako Zabairu egi Mamma Saba nau man nan.

Enimigocizhi: Eeh! Bagi gaa dewoce

Nigba: Dada Sariki Bello Jiya, eba Hawa Kulu

Enimigocizhi: Eeh! Bagi gaa dewoce

Nigba: Adokun danyi na'a fi bonan, to Ndako Zabairu eyan bologi

Enimigocizhi: Na Adi dewoanan we wabashi'a

Nigba: Eeh! Abdullahi Sheshi man danbo, wo lieuyea?

Enimigocizhi: Na Adi dewoanan we wabashi'a

Chorus: Yes! the witness will suffer it more than the owner of the case

Solo: Well done, Hassan Kolo (2x)

Chorus: Yes! the witness will suffer it more than the owner of the case

Solo: Alhaji Mustapha Dan Yaya

Chorus: The witness will suffer it more than the owner of the case

Solo: The husband of the beautiful Ayi at Ilorin

Chorus: We know them more than anyone else

Solo: The husband of Adisatu Olekpo is there; the friend of Abu Garba.

Chorus: Yes! the witness will suffer it more than the owner of the case

Solo: The husband of Hajiya Almustapha is there!

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else.

Solo: The father of Alhaji Dangana; the younger brother of Malam Maliki

Chorus: The witness will suffer it more than the owner of the case

Solo: Yes! Hassan Kolo the friend of Malamin Sonmasun

Chorus: The witness will suffer it more than the owner of the case

Solo: Yes! Alhaji Sarkin Tessan

Chorus: The witness will suffer it more than the owner of the case

Solo: The friend of Ndako Zabairu the son of Mamma Saba

Chorus: Yes!, that man has a business

Solo: Dada Sariki Bello Jiya, the husband of Hawa Kulu

Chorus: Yes! that man has a business.

Solo: There are many of them including the handsome Zabairu

Chorus: Adi should have relaxed since she has no money

Solo: Yes! Abdullahi Sheshi is there; can't you see?

Chorus: Adi should have relaxed since she has no money

Nigba: Bologi egi Umaru, eba Aminatu

Enimigocizhi: Na Adi dewoanan we wabashi'a

Nigba: Eba Rakiyatu yawo, eba Hawakulu, lamigun Mamma Saalihu

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Lamigun Hassan, eba Wale, Wale, Wale

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Eba Adisatu man daonan, eba Nanafatima ye Iyuyea?

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Sabon Nera, Sabon Kudi, ye lyayea?

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Ndako A'bu Garuba, egi Mamma Saba nau man nan

Enimigocizhi: Eeh! Zanan lonan bezabe

Nigba: Eeh! Lamigun Alhaji Ibrahima

Enimigocizhi: Na Adi dewoanan we wabashi'a

Nigba: Lamigun Alhaji Bako makka guta, wo lyayea?

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Eh! babo Jibirilu bakon makka ma dao?

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Gabi Tsowa, Alhaji bakon makka, wo Iyuyea?

Enimigocizhi: Eeh! Chiriri yababa

Nigba: Eeh! Eku Usuman, lamigun Jibirilu

Enimigocizhi: Eeh! Chiriri yababa

Nigba: Alhaji bakon makka, Nda nyan Alhaji Salifu

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Eeh! Nda yan Malam Taidi Gana

Solo: Bologi the son of Umaru; the husband of Aminatu.

Chorus: Adi should have relaxed since she has no money

Solo: The husband of Rakiyatu yawo, the husband of Hawa. The intimate friend of Mamma Salihu.

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: The friend of Hassan, the husband of Wale, Wale, Wale

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: The husband of Adisatu; the husband of Nanafatima. Can't you see him?

Chorus: Friend, we know then more than anyone else

Solo: New naira, new money; can't you see?

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: Ndako Abu Garba, the son of Mamma Saba

Chorus: The person that left, resemble someone

Solo: Yes, the friend of Alhaji Ibrahim

Chorus: Adi should have relaxed since she has no money

Solo: The friend of three Alhajis! Can't you see?

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: Yes! where is Alhaji Jibirilu?

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: Gabi Tsowa, the special guest from Mecca, can't you see him?

Chorus: Eh! Chiriri Yababa (This has no semantic value)

Solo: Yes!, well done Usuman, the friend of Jibirilu

Chorus: Eh! Chirir Yababa (This has no semantic value)

Solo: Alhaji, the special guest from Mecca, the father of Alhaji Salifu

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: Yes!, the father of Malam Taidi Gana.

Emi dukun bo ma’a dan’o

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

Nigba: Oga’a la dukun sakun, okeu kan, ebo bici’o bo

Enimigocizhi: Eya yitso lyaye gan za zhi

He is from Emi Dukkun

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else

Solo: If you are to carry a cracked pot, you lift it with great caution. This is to ensure the safety of your foot

Chorus: Friend, we know them more than anyone else.

APPENDIX 10

EBIDA DAGUN'I

Enimigocizhi: Eh! ebida dagun'i, eh! ebida dagun'i

Ebida dagun'I, dagan de nan dagun'a tsoba zhimi naa,

Eyan dan dagun'o

Nigba: Eh! Bisimillahi, Alhaji Saadu Etsuworo daonan

Egi Aliyu, egi Mandzuma,

Egi Hajiya Fatima, egi Hajiya Rukiyetu nau man nan

Egi Abu Garuba,

Egi Aliyu, matu Muhammadu

Matu Adisatu Kyatswa daonan

Eba Hajiya gunni daonan

Egi Hajiya Asma'u

Tankpolo wunkpa'a, epe ma sukun

Yakae zo bambo'o, a keu fya.

Eye sukun

Egun'e gban egun tsoa

Afe egun ege finci

Degi degi dakun'ago eko

Alhaji Sa'adu Etsuworo daonan

Fona'a la nasara daugwa'o nan

Egi Sariki Umaru

To wuntso man da dagun'o man

Eh! Ebida dagun'i

Dagan de nan egi zhitso jiyan dede naa

Nyan gaa mae leyeo

APPENDIX 10

LET US GO FOR OUR GUEST

Chorus: Lets go for our guest; lets go for our guest

Lets go for our guest, since the meeting point is not far

There is something special in this meeting.

Solo: Yes! In the name of Allah, that is Alhaji Saadu the new emir

The son of Aliyu, the son of Manzduma

The son of Hajiya Fatima, the son of Hajiya Rakiyetu

The son of Abu Garuba,

The son of Aliyu, the younger brother of Muhammadu

That is also the younger brother of Adisatu Kyatswa

The husband of four Hajiyas

The son of Hajiya Asma'u

The frog is not lengthy; but the width.

When the pepper guard is emptied; nobody dare blows air into it.

This is for the sake of the eyes.

An heir apparent never gets stuck in,

Unless he is an heir to a drinker

Gradually, gradually an anthill takes over the foot path.

That is Alhaji Sa'adu the new emir.

The day he was given the staff of office

The son of Sarki Umaru

He was also there to receive the guest

Oh! let us go for the guest

Since the son of the soil is committing evils;

Yet, it is the stranger who receives blame

Enimigocizhi: 25 Eh! ebida dagun'i ebida dagun'i

Ebida dagun'i, dagan de nan dagun'a tsoba zhimi naa,

Eyan da dagun'o

Nigba: Eh! ela milo Ibrahim nya,

Wun'a ke zanaa lamizhin naa.

30 Chika bici zo yin tso

Lami gun Alhaji Usuman

Santali bologi daonan

Egi Muhammadu, egi Mamma Jiya nau man nan

Egi Hajiya daonan

35 Lamigun Alhaji Isaku, egi Boni Adama

Egi Haruna, egi Hajiya Gunni daonan

Alhaji Yusufu, egi Jibrilu, eba Hajiya Gunni

Matu Hajiya daonan, ye lieuya?

Alhaji Namaganan

40 Abu Garuba, Abua de ezazhi maa de

Nyan Abua gan nyan zazhi bo.

Eba Aminatu

Sokoe dea wun'o Aminae ma'a gi'o

Eba Adisatu be

45 Lamigun Alhaji Bello

Eba Hajiya Asma'u, eba Hajiya Halima

Secretari bologi daonan

Muhammadu, Muhammadu

Egi Mamma Saba nau man nan

Chorus: 25: Oh! let us go for the guest, let us go for the guest

Lets go for the guest, since the meeting point is not far

There is something special in this meeting.

Solo: It is not a question of going somewhere

But who will accompany me back home

It is difficult to catch up with a runaway

The friend of Alhaji Usuman

He is a trustworthy counselor

The son of Muhammadu, son of Mamma Jiya

The son of Hajiya

The friend of Alhaji Isaku, the son of Boni Adama

The son of Haruna, the son of four Hajiyas

Alhaji Yusufu, the son of Jibirilu, the husband of four Hajiyas

The younger brother of Hajiya, can't you see him?

Alhaji Namaganan

Abu Garuba, Abu will get and others will get too.

However, Abu will have more than others

The husband of Aminatu

God gives pregnancy but Aminatu does the delivery.

The husband of Adisatu

The intimate friend of Alhaji Bello

The husband of Asma'u, the husband of Hajiya Halima

That is the trustworthy secretary.

Muhammadu, Muhammadu

The son of Mamma Saba

Matu Dangana

Ebida raeee

To wuntso man dan dagun'o man

Eh! ebida da dagun'i

Umaru Sariki'o nan dan gwa dukpan'o naa

Foci miada lieuyeo?

Enimigocizhi: Eh! ebida dagun'i, eh! ebida dagun'i

Ebida dagun'i,

Egi zhitso jinya dede naa

Nyan gaa ma'a leyeo!

Nigba: Abdulkadiri Kwangila, wo lieuya?

Eba Hajiya Wodu.

Eba Salimatu, egwa nan baagi nan

Lamigun Wambai, Wambai

Wambai kici'o?

Wambai na de dukun ewo nan

Wo lieuya?

Alhaji Shafi'i dao nan, egi Liman Ahmidu

Yegi Idirisu, matu Alikali Dangana

To wuntso man da dagun'o man

Komisina woro, woro, woro Usman Shehu

Egi Abu Garuba, matu Mandzuma

Matu Alasan, Ilori bo ma'u dan'o

Oku Umaru, egi Adama, egi Suleimanu nau man nan.

To wuntso man dan dagun'o man

The younger brother of Dangana

Please lets go!

He too is there to receive the guest

Yes! lets go for the guest

Umaru Sariki who is from the river side

When will I see him?

Chorus: Yes! lets go for the guest, yes! lets go for the guest

Lets go for the guest,

Since the son of the soil is committing evils,

Yet, it is the stranger who receive blame

Solo: Abdulkadiri Kwangila, can't you see him?

The husband of Hajiya Wodu

The husband of the beautiful Salamatu

The intimate friend of Wambai, Wambai

Which Wambai?

The Wambai that has a minting machine

Can't you see him?

Look at Alhaji Shafii, the son of Liman Ahmidu

A relation of Idirisu, younger brother of Alikali Dangana.

He too went for the guest.

The new commissioner Usman Sheshi

The son of Abu Garba, the younger brother of Mandzuma

The younger brother of Alhassan who lived in Ilorin.

Well done Umaru, the son of Adama, the son of Suleimanu

He too went for the guest

Hassan Bana danbo

Egi Birama nau man nan

Egi Umaru, egi Jibirilu nau man nan

Lamigun Ahmadu, egi Alassan nau man nan

Alhassan kicio?

Gani Tsowa daonan

Lulu zhiko esun kan boa

Egi Yagi yegban'o gboka rae

To wuntso man dan dagun'o man

Eh! ebida dagun'i,

Dagan de nan egi zhitso jinya dede naa

Nyan gaa maa leyo.

Enimigocizhi: Eh! ebida dagun'i ebida dagun'i

Yawo kontsa tso mae lo dagun'a

Egi be nnaemae lo dagun'a

Ebida da dagun'i

Wo leye nan zhitso jinya dede na'a

Nyan gaa maa leyeo.

Nigba: Eh! eku Ahmadu, Ahmadu kicio?

Ahmadu Likita

Ka we sa'ami lazhin mboa

Woa be da asibiti, wa lo kura zugu twaba guba

Cigbea mae zugamana'a

Eba Hajiya gunni daonan

To wuntso man da dagun'o man

Hassan Bana is also there.

The son of Birama

The son of Umaru, the son of Jibirilu

A good friend of Ahmadu, the son of Alassan

Which Alassan?

Look at Gani Tsowa there.

Black cotton does not grow on any farm

The Yoruba boy; you are very brave

He too went for the guest

Let us go for the guest

Since the son of the soil is committing evils

Yet, it is the stranger that receives blame

Chorus: Yes!, let us go for the guest; let us go for the guest

Worthless women do not go for the guest

The Daughter and the mother do not go for the guest

Let us go for the guest

Can’t you see that the son of soil is committing evils

Yet, it is the stranger who receives the blame

Solo: Yes!, well done Ahmadu. Which Ahmadu?

Ahmadu, the doctor.

If you are not used to greeting your household in the morning

If you go to hospital, you will prostrate seven times two.

Their medicine does not lie

The husband of four Hajiyas

He too went to the guest

Muhammadu'o egi Alhassan

Matu Dangana

To wuntso da dagun'o man

Eh! Lamilo Ibrahim nya

Wun'a ke zanna'a lami zhi naa.

Ebida Kaduna, ebida Kaduna

Muhammadu Egwagi danbo

Egi Abdulsalami nau man nan daonan

To wuntso dan dagun'o man

Eba yaya, eyan bologi danbo man

Ebida Kaduna, Muhammadu Tsowa

Kaduna gabo u'dan'o

Usman Baba danbo

Egi Mamma Saba, egi Hajia Kulu

Lamigun Ndagi Muhammadu

Egi Muhammadu, egi Bello Jiya daonan

Egi Aminatu,

Lamigun Saidu nyan bologi

Eh! Muhammadu Jimada, wo leuya?

Baturen gona daonan

To Wuntso man da dagun'o man

Eh! ebida dagun'i

Dagan de nan zhitso jinya dede naa

Yegaa ma'a leyeo

Enimigocizhi: Eh! ebida dagun'i ebida dagun'i

Muhammadu! the son of Alhassan

The younger brother of Dangana

He too went for the guest

It is not the question of going somewhere

But who will accompany me back home?

Let us go to Kaduna, Let us go to Kaduna

Muhammadu Egwagi is also there

The son of Abdulsalami

He too went for the guest

The husband of the beautiful Yaya is also there

Let us go to Kaduna, Muhammad Tsowa

He is also in Kaduna

Usman Baba is also there

The son of Mamma Saba, the son of Hajiya Kulu

An intimate friend of Ndagi Muhammadu

The son of Muhammadu, the son of Bello Jiya

The son of Aminatu

An intimate friend of Saidu, the handsome one

Yes! Muhammadu Jimada, can't you see him?

That is the Agricultural officer

He too went for the guest

Yes! let us go and receive the guest

Since the son of soil is committing evils

Yet, it is the stranger that receives blame.

Chorus: Yes! let us go for the guest, let us go for the guest

Egi zhitso jinya dede naa

Nyangaa maa le yeo

Nigba: Eh! Muhammadu Nnadoko u'danbo

Ebida Sokoto, ebida Sokoto

Na mi kpekpe baga'o nan, sai kanu zhi wali

Eh! Mamma Isah man danbo, eba Adisatu

Egi Jibirilu, matu Aliyu,

Matu Hajiya Gije daonan

Alhaji Kicio? Alhaji Bamisun daonan.

Woga suyangban, wun'a kpanla rae

Aliyu Nanko gi rogo, agan la wun'a danwo

Boro be giyi,

Kia jin kan paci'o?

Aliyu, gijea tsoni,

Ejegi'a yetswa

Muhammadu Sakiwa danbo

Alhaji Bakon makka, lamigun Idrisu Haruna

To wuntso man dan dagun'o man

Eya man, yagi man,

Egi Muhammadu, egi Ibirahima

Eh! Abdulkadiri, egi Aliyu

Egi Nanasha nau man nan

Eba Nanasha, egi Hajiya gunni daonan

Egi Hajiya Kyatswa man dao nan

Yagi Kotonkomu Mamma Saba man daonan

The son of the soil is committing evils

Yet, it is the stranger who receives blame

Yes! Muhammadu Ndako is also there

Let us go to Sokoto, let us go to Sokoto

When I left there, I headed for Kano, the home of Wali

Yes! Mamma Isah, the husband of Adisatu is there.

The son of Jibirilu, the younger brother of Aliyu

The younger brother of Hajiya Gije

Which Alhaji? That is Alhaji Bamisun

If you are angry, he holds on to a thing completely.

Aliyu when the cow eats cassava, we ask for the cost of damage

When the locust eat the guinea corn,

What do we do to the guard on the farm?

Aliyu eats to discover more soup;

That of course marks the beginning of eating.

Muhammadu Sakiwa is also there.

Alhaji, a good friend of Idrisu Haruna

He too went for the guest

Grandson of the cleric, the great grandson of the cleric

The son of Ibrahima, the son of Muhammadu

Yes! Adbulkadiri, the son of Aliyu

The son of Nanasha

The husband of Nanasha, the son of four Hajiyas

The son of Hajiya Kyatswa

The grandson of Kotonkomu Mamma Saba

Lamigun Hajiya Fatima, matu Jibirilu

Echewoche cea de wo’ wo le ya?

Ebe lami rae! ye woa?

Eh! towuntso man dan dagun’o man

Baba injinia, eba Hajiya Fatima

Eba Hajiya Wodu, eba Hajiya Nnakwa man daonan

Eba Hajiya Aminatu,

Lamigun Alhaji Pataka

Eba Hawa Kulu

O.C. Muhammadu, O.C. Nmadu, O.C. Nmadu

Alhaji Shehu, Kanu bo ma’a dan’o

Egi Hajiya gunni man daonan

Alhaji Bala man danbo, egi Aliyu

Yagi Ibirahima, kanu zhi wali bo maa dan’o

To wuntso man dan dagun’o man

Eh! ebida dagun’i

Dagande nan egi zhitso jinya dede naa,

Nyan gaa maa leyeo

Enimigocizhi: Eh! ebida dagun’i dagan de nan

Egi zhitso jinya dede naa,

Nyan ga’a ma’a leyeo

Yinzagi kontsa mae lo dagun’a

Egi be nnae mae lo dagun’a

Ebida dagun’i

Dagan de nan dagun’a tsoba zhimi naa

A good friend of Hajiya Fati, the younger brother of Jibrilu

It is only through business, one gets rich, can't you see?

Please, my people come and take me along, can't you hear

He too went for the guest

Baba Engineer, the husband of Hajiya Fatima

The husband of Hajiya Wodu and Hajiya Nnakwa

That is the husband of Hajiya Aminatu,

A good friend of Alhaji Pataka

The husband of Hawawu Kulu

O.C. Muhammadu, O.C. Nmadu, O.C. Nmadu

Look at Alhaji Sheshi of Kano there

The son of four Hajiyas

Alhaji Bala, the son of Aliyu is also there

The grandson of Ibirahima, born at Kano

He too went for the guest

Yes! let us go for the guest

Since the son of soil is committing evils

Yet, it is the stranger who receives blame

Chorus: Yes, let us go for the guest

Since the son of the soil is committing evils

Yet, it is the stranger who receives the blame

A worthless woman does not go for a guest

A daughter and the mother do not go for a guest

Let us go for the guest

Since the meeting place is very near home

Eyan dan dagun'o

Nigba: Eh! Hassan Kolo egbia, egbia

Eba Ramatu, mai nasara daonan

Lamigun Haliru, Malamin Sonmasun

Egi Muhammadu, matu Alhaji,

Eba Adisatu Olekpo

Baba nyan Alhaji Dangana

Matu Maliki, Alhaji Bakon Makka

Ganlen ganbia, nao gan tsuwo nan, gae kuomi'o

Santali bologi daonan

Awazaya, a'malaza danbo

Zana'a la danbo nan, a'zhe ezaa ziki nan, ye leya?

Eh! lami lo kulobu

Ena woro, woro, ewo woro daonan

Ena woro nan dan Lafiagi'o nan

Mamudu jikan dan Mamudu

To wuntso man dan dagun'o man

Ndako Zubairu, eba Muryamu,

Egi Taidi Gana

Egi Jibirilu, egi Garuba

Lamigun Ahmadu, Ahmadu Rufai daonan

Eh! ebida kulobu,

Mamma na Abashe mai tumbin kudi

Eba Adisatu Mandara

Egi Abdulkadiri, lamigun Adblsalami

There is something special in the meeting

Solo: Yes! Hassan Kolo, the fat one

The husband of Ramatu, the lucky one

A good friend of Attahiru, Malamin Sonmasun

The son of Muhammadu, the younger brother of Alhaji.

The husband of Adisatu Olekpo

The father of Alhaji Dangana

The younger brother of Maliki

One may refuse to own up what was said yesterday for its consequences.

That is trustworthy Santali there

Someone was dropped and someone was added

The person added is a man of progress, can't you see?

Yes! take me to the club

That is the new association

That is the new association in Lafiagi

Mamudu the grandson of Mamudu

He too went for the guest

Ndako Zubairu, the husband of Muriamu

The son of Taidi Gana

The son of Jibirilu, the son of Abu Garuba

A good friend of Ahmadu, that is Ahmadu Rufa'i

Yes!, let us go to the club

Mamma Abashe the rich one

The husband of Adisatu Mandara

The son of Abdulkadiri, a good friend of Abdulsalami

Ye lieuya? Lokoja bo maa a'man wun'o

Egi Hajiya Ramatu, eba Hajiya Lade

Eba Hajiya Fatima

To wuntso man dan dagun'o man

Eh! ebida dagun'i

Dagan de nan egi zhitso jinya dede naa

Nyan gaa maa leyeo

Enimigocizhi: Eh!, ebida dagun'i

Nyizagi kontsa tso mae lo dagun'a

Ebida dagun'i,

Dagan de nan dagun'a tsoba zhimi naa

Eyan da dagun'o

Nigba: Santali kulobuzhi, wo lea ya?

Abdulsheshi danbo

Egi Umaru,

Adokun danyi naa danbo nan

Lamigun Salifu

Ebida Sabongida,

Muhammadu Dangana, Mamma Daniyan

Oku Alaasan Sabongida

Umaru, wo lieuya?

Lamigun Ibrahima

Aliyu guba, guta danbo

Muhammadu egi Ibrahima nau man nan

Ebida Sabon naira, Sabon kudi

Can’t you see him? He lives in Lokoja

The son of Hajiya Ramatu, the husband of Hajiya Lade

The husband of Hajiya Fatima

He too went for the guest

Yes! let us go for the guest

Since the son of the soil is commiting evils

Yet it is the stranger who receives blame

Chorus: Yes! let us go for the guest

A worthless woman does not go for a guest

Let us go for the guest

Since the meeting point is close to the town

There is something special in this meeting.

Solo: Members of the club, can’t you see them?

Abdulsheshi is there.

The son of Umaru

Many of them are there

A good friend of Salifu

Let us go to Sabongida

Muhammadu Dangana, Mamma Daniyan

Well done Alhassan Sabongida

Umaru, can’t you see him?

A good friend of Ibrahima

Aliyu, two and three are also there

Muhammadu the son of Ibrahima

Let us go to Sabon Naira, Sabon Kudi

Eh wo lea ye, Kaashin wo lea ya?

Hanun dama zhi man danbo

Echia deli, wun’a de zunye

To a’tso man da dagun’o man

Eh! ebida dagun’i

Dagan de nan egi zhitso tsabi zhenpa naa

Nyan gaa mae motso’o

Enimigocizhi: Eh! ebida dagun’i ebida dagun’i

Egi zhitso jinya dede naa,

Nyan gaa maa leyeo.

Nigba: Muhammadu, dogo egi Kallamu Musa

Egun’e gban egun tsoa,

Eba Fatima, Nda nyan Alhaji

Alhaji Kicio?

Adbulrahimi Saba’o Daniyan

Eba Rakiyetu be, wo lieuya?

Eba Hajiya Wodu, eba Macima Bologi

Banan eza sonan, eyiu un yeboa

Abdul’ooo, wo lieuya?

Eba Hassanatu

To wuntso man dan dagun’o man

Ebida dagun’i

Dagan de nan egi zhitso tsabi zhenpa naa

Nya gaa mae motso’oo

Enimigocizhi: Eh! ebida dagun’i ebida dagun’i

Yes! you see them or you can't you see them?

The right hand people are also there

If a growing yam has leaves, it will surely have shame

They too went for the guest

Yes! let us go for the guest

Since the son of the soil is excreting within the compound

Yet it is that of the stranger that smells.

Chorus: Yes! let us go for the guest, let us go for the guest

The son of the soil is committing evils

Yet it is the stranger who receives blame

Solo: Muhammadu, the tall one, the son of Kallamu Musa

A heir apparent does not get stuck in.

The husband of Fatima, the father of Alhaji

Which Alhaji?

Abdulrahimi Saba'o Daniyan

The husband of Rakiyetu, can't you see him?

The husband of the beautiful Macima and Wodu

One does not answer a call from his hiding place.

Abdul ooo! Can't you see him?

The husband of Hassanatu

He too went for the guest

Let us go for the guest

Since the son of the soil is excreting within the compound

Yet it is that of stranger that smells

Chorus: Yes! let us go for the guest, let us go for the guest

Nyizagi kontsa tso mae lo dagun’a

Ebida dagun’i

Dagan de nan egi zhitso jinya dede naa

Nyan gaa maa leyeo.

250 A worthless woman does not go for a guest

Lets go for the guest

Since the son of soil is committing evils

Yet, it is the stranger who receives blame

APPENDIX 11

ENI ETSUWORO

Nigba:	Bisimillayi'o, Aramani'o, Bisimillahi'o
Enimigocizhi:	Aramani'o
Nigba:	Eh! Bisimillayi'o
Enimigocizhi:	Aramani'o
Nigba:	Alhaji Sa'adu wole niyan ya
Enimigocizhi:	Na shidzo ya tun nan
Nigba:	Alhaji Saadu wo le niyan ya
Enimigocizhi:	Na shidzo ya tun nan
Nigba:	Alhaji Saadu wo le niyan ya
Enimigocizhi:	Na shidzo ya tun nan
Nigba:	Etsuworo kicio?
Enimigocizhi:	Ya baza tsuworo
Nigba:	Alhaji Saadu!
Enimigocizhi:	Ya baza tsuworo
Nigba:	Eba Hajiya gunni ye lieuya?
Enimigocizhi:	Ya baza tsuworo
Nigba:	Alhaji bakon makka
Enimigocizhi:	Ya da baza tsuworo
Nigba:	Lamigun Santali bologi Usman
Enimigocizhi:	Ya da baza tsuworo
Nigba:	Alhaji bako makka
Enimigocizhi:	Ya da baza tsuworo
Nigba:	Alhaji Sa'adu
Enimigocizhi:	Ya da baza tsuworo

APPENDIX 11

THE SONG OF NEW EMIR

Solo: In the name of Allah, the most gracious, in the name of Allah

Chorus: The most gracious

Solo: In the name of Allah

Chorus: The most gracious

Solo: Alhaji Sa'adu, can't you see that intention

Chorus: Comes before a work.

Solo: Alhaji Sa'adu can't you see that intention

Chorus: Comes before a work

Solo: Alhaji Sa'adu can't you see that intention

Chorus: Comes before a work

Solo: Which new emir?

Chorus: We will discuss about the new emir

Solo: Alhaji Saadu!

Chorus: We will discuss about the new emir

Solo: The husband of four Hajiyas, don't you see him?

Chorus: We will discuss about the new emir

Solo: Alhaji, the special guest from Mecca

Chorus: We will discuss about the new emir

Solo: A good friend of Santali Usman

Chorus: We will discuss about the new emir

Solo: Alhaji, the special guest from Mecca

Chorus: We will discuss about the new emir

Solo: Alhaji Sa'adu

Chorus: We will discuss about the new emir

Nigba: Etsuworo nyan Lafiagi daonan

Enimigocizhi: Allah yi ganre, za banau tagwa

Nigba: Eh! Lamigun Sariki Sanda

Enimigocizhi: Ya da baza tsuworo

Nigba: Egi Babakudu

Enimigocizhi: Ya da baza tsuworo

Nigba: Eza nyan Manjo Diko

Enimigocizhi: Ya da baza tsuworo

Nigba: Soko gai jin nyan wun'o, wa bau gbani wun'a ye'jin

Nigba: Nda nyan Abudulmaaliki

Enimigocizhi: Ya da baza tsuworo

Nigba: Abdulmaliki, maakun woro

Enimigocizhi: Yada baza tsuworo

Nigba: Egi Suleimanu nau man nan, ye lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Ya da baza tsuworo

Nigba: Egi Isah, egi Musa

Enimigocizhi: Ya da baza tsuworo

Nigba: Nda nyan Bello Gana

Enimigocizhi: Ya da baza tsuworo

Nigba: Matu Hajiya Giwa

Enimigocizhi: Ya da baza tsuworo

Nigba: Lamingun Shehu Ahamadu Musa ye lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Ya da baza tsuworo

Nigba: Shehu Ahmadu Musa Kicio?

Nyan bantigi Gogo

Enimigocizhi: Ya da baza tsuworo

Solo: That is the new emir of Lafiagi

Chorus: God is still giving, one who is in need should stretch out the hands

Solo: Yes! a good friend of Sariki Sanda

Chorus: We will discuss about the new emir

Solo: The son of Babakudu

Chorus: We will discuss about the new emir.

Solo: A friend of Major Diko

Chorus: We will discuss about the new emir

Solo: It is God who does things, if He wishes now, He will do it again

Solo: The father of Abdulmaliki

Chorus: We will discuss about the new emir

Solo: Abdulmaliki, the new Maakun

Chorus: We will discuss about the new emir

Solo: The son of Suleimanu, can't you see him?

Chorus: We will discuss about the new emir

Solo: The son of Isah, the son of Musa

Chorus: We will discuss about the new emir

Solo: The father of Bello Gana

Chorus: We will discuss about the new emir

Solo: The younger brother of Hajiya Giwa

Chorus: We will discuss about the new emir

Solo: A good friend of Shehu Ahmadu Musa, can't you see him?

Chorus: We will discuss about the new emir

Solo: Which Shehu Ahmadu Musa?

That of Bantigi Gogo

Chorus: We will discuss about the new emir

Nigba: Eba Hawa Kulu ‘oo

Enimigocizhi: Ya da baza tsuworo

Nigba: Engineer egi Katsaci daonan

Enimigocizhi: Ya da baza tsuworo

Nigba: Hajiya Mainasara

Enimigocizhi: Wo ga loye, Nmabaa loye,

Ka’o be loyea Nmabaa loye

Wogaa bea kun, Nmabaa gaa kun,

Ka’o be kun’a Nmabaa gaa kun,

Wotso’ nan shitukpa nan wogan bichi’o

Nigba : Eh lamigun Alassan nyan Enagi

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Eya nan yaagi man, ye lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Lamigun Alhaji Baba Mama

Enimigocizhi: Yi gaa ganya we yinan

Nigba: Ebe leye yaee!

Enimigocizhi: Yi gaa ganya we yinan

Nigba: Alaaji Gbate, baturen gana

Enimigocizhi: Tun dagan konpayin

Nigba: Pirimiyan!

Enimigocizhi: Tun dagan konpayin

Nigba: Pirimiyan

Enimigocizhi: Tun dagan konpayin

Nigba: Alhaji Liman Penti

Enimigocizhi: Gberi wanyea, gberi man kanye

Solo: The husband of Hawa Kulu

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: That is engineer the son of Katsaci

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Haji Mainasara

Chorus: If you add, Nmabaa will add

If you refuse, Nmabaa will add

If you sell, Nmabaa will sell

If you refuse to sell, Nmabaa will sell

It is you who listen, that hears foolish things

Solo: Yes, a good friend of Alhassan Gimba of Enagi

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Grandson of the cleric and great grandson of the cleric

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: A good friend of Alhaji Baba Mama

Chorus: We will tell you today

Solo: People come and see!

Chorus: We will tell you today

Solo: Alhaji Gbate, the Agric Officer

Chorus: Ever before now

Solo: Premier!

Chorus: Ever before now

Solo: Premier!

Chorus: Ever before now

Solo: Alhaji Liman Penti

Chorus: A villager is not wise but very curious

Nigba: Eba Hajiya Kuli daonan

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Eza nyan Alhaji Kitaabu

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Eza nyan Alhaji Sani daonan

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Lamigun Alhaji Maakun

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Ebe la mi lo raee!

Enimigocizhi: Eh! Yalo chi'e lo

Nigba: Yaya Nagya jikan Mamudu

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Yaagi Etsu Saba, ye lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Ahmaduooo! Yaagi Ahmadu

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Nda nyan Alhaji nan maganan

Enimigocizhi: Soko jin nyawun'o, wun'a bau gbaani wun'a yejin.

Nigba: Nda Mustapha dan Yaya

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Allah yi ganre za banau tagwa

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Wambai Wambai

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Egi Angulu

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Solo: That is the husband of Hajiya Kuli

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: He is a relation of Alhaji Kitabu

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: He is a relation of Alhaji Sani

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: A friend of Alhaji Maakun

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: My people, come and take me along

Chorus: Yes, let us go

Solo: Brother Nagya, the grandson of Mamudu

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: The grandson of Etsu Saba, can't you see him?

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Ahmadu! the grandson of Ahmadu

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: The father of Alhaji Namagana

Chorus: It was God who did it and if He wishes now, He will do it again.

Solo: The father of Mustapha Yaya

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

God is still giving, those who are in need should stretch out their hands

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Wambai!, Wambai!

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: The son of Angulu

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Nigba: Yaagi Haruna, Baba nyan Haruna, Nda nyan Haruna

Enimigocizhi: Ya gan woe yinan

Nigba: Ebe leye raeee!

Enimigocizhi: Ya gan woe yinan

Nigba: Alhaji Bamisun danbo

Enimigocizhi: Yima gan yawe yinan

Nigba: Egi Suleiman, egi Taeyidi

Enimigocizhi: Tankpolo de kpa'a, epe sunkun.

Nigba: Alhaji Ndazungi man danbo

Enimigocizhi: Yiman ganya we yinan

Nigba: Wo lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Yimaa ganya we yinan

Nigba: Alhaji Babakara nyan Dabban man danbo

Enimigocizhi: Tun dagan konpayin,

Nigba: Gwarozo egi Muhammadu

Enimigocizhi: Tun dagan konpayin,

Gberi wanyea, gberi man kanye

Nigba: Lamigun Usman, wo lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Egi Ibirahima

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Usman Baba Patigi danbo

Enimigocizhi: Ama yi feelo, eyaalo feelo.

Nigba: Eba Aminatu

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Alhaji Jikanagi dan bo, ye lieuya?

Solo: The grandson of Haruna, the father of Haruna

Chorus: We will tell you today

Solo: My people come and see!

Chorus: We will tell you today

Solo: Alhaji Bamisun is there!

Chorus: We will tell you today

Solo: The son of Suleimanu, the son of Tayidi

Chorus: The frog is not long but the width

Solo: Alhaji Ndazungi is also there

Chorus: We will tell you today

Solo: Can't you see him?

Chorus: We will tell you today

Solo: Alhaji Babannakara of Dabban is also there.

Chorus: Ever before now

Solo: The brave one, the son of Muhammadu

Chorus: Ever before now

A villager is not wise but very curious

Solo: A friend of Usman, can't you see him?

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: The son of Ibrahima,

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: The son of Usman Babapatigi is there

Chorus: Let us go, let us go.

Solo: The husband of Aminatu.

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Alhaji Jikanagi is there, can't you see him?

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Ebe leye raee!

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Ebida jankara dzuko a'ziki

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Yaya Baiwa gozan

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Turyagi be nan, ungan gangan kaayin

Enimigocizhi: Ugan gangan ka'ayin

Nigba: Kannagi be nan

Enimigocizhi: Ungan Gangan kaayin

Nigba: Esagi be nan

Enimigocizhi: Ungan gangan kaayin

Nigba: Alhaji kpotun

Enimigocizhi: Ungan gangan kaayin

Nigba: Egi Mamma Massalaci Bologi

Enimigocizhi: Efe yaaloechie lo

Nigba: Ebida Dabban, ebida Dabban

Enimigocizhi: Efe yaalo, echie lo

Nigba: Alhaji Shita be gunni nan fi Dabban'o nan

Ye lya yea? Ye lya yea?

Enimigocizhi: Efe yaalo echie lo

Nigba: Alhaji Abu Garuba

Enimigocizhi: Efe yaalo echie lo

Nigba: Alhaji Boni Adama

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: My people come and see!

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Let us go to Jankara, the market of wealth.

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Yaya Baiwa, the barber.

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: When “Turyagi” (cowrie) came, it says a different thing

Chorus: It says a different thing.

Solo: When “Kannagi” (Cowrie) came,

Chorus: It also says a different thing.

Solo: When “Esagi” (cowrie) came

Chorus: It also says a different thing.

Solo: Alhaji Aliyu Kpotun

Chorus: It says a different thing

Solo: The son of Mamma Massalaci Bo’logi

Chorus: Let us go

Solo: Let us go to Dabban, let us go to Dabban

Chorus: Let us go

Solo: We have sixty-four Alhajis in Dabban

Can’t you see them?

Chorus: Let us go

Solo: Alhaji Abu Garuba

Chorus: Let us go

Solo: Alhaji Boni Adama

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Nigba: Alhaji Auduooo! Egi Salihu

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Eh mushin bo man udan'o

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Alhaji Abudullahi!

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Matu Kallamu Musa

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Alhaji bako maka

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Eko bo mau dan'o raeee! Wo lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Eh! eku Abu Garuba

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Ebida Bacita ganci, ezhi Sugar

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Yaya Baiwa gozan

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Bello Jiya danbo, egi Abu Garuba

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Lamigun Dangana Gaala

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Alhaji Bakon Makka

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Gwarozo egi Mamma Saba nau man nan.

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Solo: Alhaji Audu! The son of Salihu

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: He lives in Mushin

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Alhaji Abdullahi

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: The younger brother of Kallamu Musa

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Alhaji, the special guest from Mecca

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: He lives in Lagos. Can't you see?

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Yes! Well done Abu Garuba

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Let us go to Bacita now, the home of sugar

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Yaya Baiwa, the barber

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Bello Jiya is there, the son of Abu Garuba

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: A good friend of Dangana Gaala

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Alhaji, the special guest from Mecca

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: The brave one, the son of Mamma Saba

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Nigba: Lamigun Mamma Kolo

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Yaggi Tsoede kuti daonan

Eba Hassana guba

Enimigocizhi: Amma jin yi mana

Nigba: Yanan laudan michie twaye nan

Enimigocizhi: Ajin yi mana

Nigba: Yanan laudan michie twaye nan

Enimigocizhi: Ajin yi mana

Nigba: Ebe leye raee!

Enimigocizhi: Ajin yin mana

Nigba: Mustapha dan yaya

Enimigocizhi: Ajin yi mana

Nigba: Alhaji Muhammadu'ooo!

Enimigocizhi: Manaa man goyi gwa

Nigba: Yaagi Saba Koko lamin kuagun

Enimigocizhi: Manaa man goyi gwa

Nigba: Abu Garubaooo!

Enimigocizhi: Manaa man goyi gwa

Nigba: Alhaji basangya

Enimigocizhi: Efe yaalo echie lo

Nigba: Egi Aliyu

Enimigocizhi: Efe yaalo echie lo

Nigba: Gana Sojaooo!, wo lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Efe yaalo echie lo

Nigba: Egi Alhaji

Solo: A good friend of Mamma Kolo

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: The grandson of Tsoede Kuti

The husband of two Hassanas

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: The reason why I am calling their names

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: My people come and see!

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: Mustapha the son of Yaya

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: Alhaji Muhammadu!

Chorus: We benefited from their kindness

Solo: The grand son of Saba Koko Lamin Kuagun

Chorus: We benefited from their kindness

Solo: Abu Garuba!

Chorus: We benefited from their kindness

Solo: Alhaji Messenger

Chorus: Let us go

Solo: The son of Aliyu

Chorus: Let us go

Solo: Gana soldier, can’t you see him?

Chorus: Let us go

Solo: The son of Alhaji

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Yegia Abu Garuba

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Egi Abu Garuba nau man nan

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Egi Hawa Kulu nau ma nan, wo lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Eza nyan Hassanatu

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Sokoe jin nyanwun'o, wa baugbani wun'a ye jin

Nigba: Eza direbazhi miye ba ganci'o

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Eza direbazhi miye ba ganci'o

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Abduooo!

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Abdulkadiri!

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Egi Hajiya Fatima Nna yaya

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Lamigun Mamudu

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Lamigun Mamma Kolo

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Ena direbazhi danan, ye leu yea?

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: The relation of Abu Garuba

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: The son of Abu Garuba

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: The son of Hawa Kulu, can't you see him?

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: The lovely one of Hassanatu

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

It is God who does it and if He wishes now, He will do it again

Solo: I am discussing about the drivers now

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: I am discussing about the drivers now

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: Abduooo!

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: Abdulkadiri!

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: The son of Hajiya Fatima Nna Yaya

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: A good friend of Mamudu

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: A good friend of Mamma Kolo

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: This is drivers' association, can't you see them?

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Nigba: Eh! Ndagi Muhammadu

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Egi kata ganin be Ndakatae

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Gwarozo egi Mamudu nau manan, egi Maliki

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Eh! Eku Ahmadu!

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Shaaibuoo! Egi Alaaji

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Alaasan nae pa mato nan, egi Adisatu

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Eh! Papa direba

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Chata direba

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Eh! Musa direba

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Egi Abu Garuba nau ma nan

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Eba Muryamu

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Adokun danyi naa danbo nan, wo lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Hanun Damazhi

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Solo: Yes! Ndagi Muhammadu

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: The son and the benefactress

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: The brave one, the son of Mamudu, the son Maliki

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: Yes! Well done Ahmadu!

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: Shaaibuoo! The son of Alhaji

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: Alhassan the driver, the son of Adisatu

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: Yes! Papa driver

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: Chata driver

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: Yes! Musa driver

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: The son of Abu Garuba

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: The husband of Muryamu

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: They are many in number, can’t you see them?

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: The rightful men

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Nigba: Hanun damazhi

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Adokun danyi naa danbo nan

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Zakariyaa ’u!

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Egi Alaasan

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Danganaooo!, egi Madiwu

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Eh direbazhi bologi, wo lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Eza direba miye ba ganci’o

Adokun danyi naa dan bo nan, Gana direba

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Eh! Baba direba, eyan bologi

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Yamusa direba

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Muhammaduoo!, wo lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Mamma Yisa danbo, direba

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Soko jin nyan wun’o, wun’a bau gbani wun’a yeji.

Nigba: Eh! Mamma Kolo, direba

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Solo: The rightful men

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: They are many in number.

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: Zakariyau!

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: The son of Alhassan

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: Dangana! The son of Madiwu

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: Yes! Decent drivers, can't you see them?

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: I am discussing aboutdrivers now

They are many in number including Gana driver

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: Yes! Baba driver, the handsome one

Chorus: One thousand and one hundred bends

Solo: Yamusa driver

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: Muhammadu! Can't you see them?

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: Mamma Yisa driver is also there.

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

It was God who did it and if He wishes now He will do it again

Solo: Yes! Mamma Kolo driver

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Nigba: Muhammadu diroba

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Muhammadu Kudu

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Diroba egi Aliyu

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Ae pa nana'a rae! Ye leya?

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Baba yagi diroba

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Diroba kici'o, nyan pirimiyan

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Nya Pirimiyan

Enimigocizhi: Kona dubu da dari

Nigba: Nda nyan Alaasan

Enimigocizhi: Umma jinyi mana

Nigba: Yabagi Tela danbo

Enimigocizhi: Umma jinyi mana

Nigba: Egi Abu Garuba

Enimigocizhi: Umma jinyi mana

Nigba: Gwarozo rgi Kallamu Musa

Enimigocizhi: Umma jinyi mana

Nigba: Eba Adisatu Wusa

Enimigocizhi: Umma jinyi mana

Nigba: Nyanan laudan mici'e tunye nan

Enimigocizhi: Umma jinyi mana

Solo: Muhammadu driver

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: Muhaamdu Kudu

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: Driver who is the son of Aliyu

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: They don't drive nonsense, can you see them?

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: Baba Yoruba driver

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: Whose driver? That of the premier

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: That of premier

Chorus: One thousand, and one hundred bends

Solo: The father of Alhassan

Chorus: He was kind to us

Solo: Yabagi tailor is also there.

Chorus: He was kind to us

Solo: The son of Abu Garuba

Chorus: He was kind to us

Solo: The brave one, the son of Kallamu Musa

Chorus: He was kind to us

Solo: The husband of Adisatu Wusa

Chorus: He was kind to us

Solo: The reason why I am mentioning their names

Chorus: He was kind to us

Nigba: Ae! Yamma kiya kiya

Enimigocizhi: Umma jinyi mana

Nigba: Ae! Maliki, yaagi Guye

Enimigocizhi: Umma jinyi mana

Nigba: Ae! Baba direba man danbo

Enimigocizhi: Umma jinyi mana

Nigba: Egi Adisatu Katsan, wo lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Manaa man goyi gwa

Nigba: Ae! eku kallamu Musa

Enimigocizhi: Manaa man goyi gwa

Nigba: Santali Bologi, wo le ya?

Enimigocizhi: Manaa man goyi gwa

Nigba: Gan le nya bea, wo lea yea?

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Nao gan tsuwo nan gae Kuomi'o

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Egi Mamma Likita

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Ndakon maduooo! wo lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Manaa man goyi gwa

Nigba: Lamigun Dattijo

Enimigocizhi: Manaa man goyi gwa

Nigba: Sokoe gangan'a, kpemi

Enimigocizhi: Umma jinyi mana

Nigba: Nyanan laudan mici'e tuaye nan

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Solo: Yes! Yamma Kiya, Kiya

Chorus: He was kind to us

Solo: Yes! Maliki the grandson of Guye

Chorus: He was kind to us

Solo: Yes! Baba driver is also there.

Chorus: He was kind to us

Solo: The son of Adisatu Katsan, can't you see him?

Chorus: Their kindnsess benefited us

Solo: Yes! Well done Kallamu Musa

Chorus: Their kindnsess benefited us

Solo: Santali Bologi, can you see him?

Chorus: Their kindnsess benefited us

Solo: To withraw a previous statement!

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: Is usually for the sake of the consequencies suffered before

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: The son of Mamma Likita

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: Ndakon Maduooo! Can't you see him?

Chorus: Their kindness benefited us

Solo: A good friend of Datijo

Chorus: Their kindness benefited us

Solo: God doesn't talk; be louder

Chorus: He was kind to us

Solo: The reason why I am mentioning their names

Chorus: They were kind to us

Nigba: Baanmaduooo! Muhammadu Ndagi daonan

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Eba Fatima

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Egi Hajiya Kulu

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Nyanan laudan mici'e tuaye nan

Enimigocizhi: Efe yaalo echi'e lo

Nigba: Ae! Mamma Yisa danbo

Enimigocizhi: Efe yaalo echi'e lo

Nigba: Umaruo! eku Mamma Saba

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza Yabaiwa

Nigba: Ae! Wakilin Gomina

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza Yabaiwa

Nigba: Audoo! egi Muhammadu

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza Yabaiwa

Nigba: Ae! wo lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza Yabaiwa

Nigba: Makama nyan Nupe danbo

Enimigocizhi: Aeee, amurogi man, kendonau man nan

Wae jin'a tuashi

Nigba: Ae! ebida mi sariki

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza Yabaiwa

Nigba: Yaagi Tsoede kuti daonan

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza Yabaiwa

Nigba: Yana laudan mici'e tuaye nan

Solo: Baanmaduooo!, that is Muhammadu Ndagi

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: The husband of Fatima

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: The son of Hajiya Kulu

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: The reason why I am mentioning their names

Chorus: Lets us go

Solo: Yes! Mamma Yisa is also there.

Chorus: Lets us go

Solo: Umaruooo! Well done Mamma Saba

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Yes! Wakilin Gomina

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Auduoo!, the son of Muhammadu

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Can't you see him?

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: The Makaman of Nupe is there

Chorus: Yes! Sweet banana is sweet

But its sweetness causes gonorrhea

Solo: Yes!, let us go to Sariki's house

Chorus: We will discuss about yabaiwa

Solo: That is the grandson of Tsoede Kuti

Chorus: We will discuss about yabaiwa

Solo: The reason why I am mentioning their names

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Ebida raeee!

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Ae! ye leye naa.

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Sabon neira

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Sabon kudi

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Abu Garuba, egi Mamma Saba

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Lamigun Alaaji

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Abu Garubaooo! wo lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Alhaji Shaba nyan Badan man danbo

Enimigocizhi: Asa manaa man goyi gwa

Nigba: Ae! Audu Dakka danbo, wolieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Manaa man goyi gwa

Nigba: Eba Adisatu wo lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Egi Mamma Sani, eba Gitsu

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Alhaji Usmanooo! wo lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Matu Mamudu

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: Let us go!

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: Yes! Can't you see?

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: The new naira

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: New money

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: Abu Garuba, The son of Mamma Saba

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: A good friend of Alhaji

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: Alhaji Shaba of Ibadan is also there.

Chorus: Their kindness benefited us

Solo: Yes!, Audu Dakka is there, can't you see him?

Chorus: Their kindness benefited us

Solo: The husband of Adisatu, can't you see him?

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: The son of Mamma Sani, the husband of Gitsu

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Alhaji Usmanooo! Can't you see him?

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: The younger brother of Mamudu

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Massenja Ndasaba ma danbo

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Massenja Usuman

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Soko jin yanwun'o, wun'a bau gbaani wun'a yeji

Nigba: Alhaji Kawu, eyan Bologi, ye lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Allah yi ganrae, zabanau tagwa

Nigba: Anllazi Ibrahima

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Lamigun Salihu

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Yanan laudan mici'e tuaye nan

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Ae! wo lea ya?

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Alhaji Adamaooo! wo lieu ya?

Enimigocizhi: Uchae toato kaaka yin

Nigba: Nyan Badan tumbin giwa

Enimigocizhi: Uchae toato kaaka yin

Nigba: Eba Asuma'u

Enimigocizhi: Eche yayi kaka yin

Nigba: Wo le ya?

Enimigocizhi: Eche yayi kaka yin

Nigba: Yaya yichi'e lo

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Messenger Ndasaba is also there.

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Usman the Messenger

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

It was God who did it and if He wishes now

He will do it again

Solo: Alhaji Kawu, the handsome one, can't you see him?

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Anllazi Ibrahima

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: A good friend of Salihu

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: The reason why I am mentioning their names

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: Yes!, can't you see them?

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: Alhaji Adamaooo!, cant you see him?

Chorus: It was reaching them in turns.

Solo: That of Ibadan (The elephant belly)

Chorus: It was reaching them in turns.

Solo: The husband of Asma'u

Chorus: We will be mentioning them in turns

Solo: Can't you see?

Chorus: We will be mentioning them in turns

Solo: Sister, let us go

Enimigocizhi: Eche yayi kaka yin

Nigba: Alhaji Sonlawu

Enimigocizhi: Efe yaalo efi lo

Nigba: Eba Muryamu yawo, wo lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Efe yaalo efi lo

Nigba: Nyanan laudan mici'e tyaye nan

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Hajin Ndaaba!

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Eba Hajiya Dangana

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Lamigun Almustafa eyan bologi

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Ae! Mamma Yisa raeee!

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Yaya jikan Sharu

Enimigocizhi: Manaa man goyi gwa

Nigba: Nda nyan yaya yisa be

Enimigocizhi: Manaa man goyi gwa

Nigba: Eba Aminatu

Enimigocizhi: Manaa ma goyi gwa

Nigba: Lamigun Idirisu

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Egi Alaassan nau man nan

Chorus: Go and we will follow

Solo: Alhaji Sonlawu

Chorus: Let us go

Solo: The husband of Muryamu yawo, can't you see him?

Chorus: Let us go

Solo: The reason why I am mentioning them;

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: Alhaji Ndaaba!

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: The husband of Hajiya Dangana

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: A good friend of Almustafa, the decent one,

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: Yes! Mamma Yisa!

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: Yaya, the grandson of Sharu

Chorus: Their kindness benefited us

Solo: The son of Jibirilu

Chorus: Their kindness benefited us

Solo: The father of Yaya Yisa

Chorus: Their kindness benefited us

Solo: The husband of Aminatu

Chorus: Their kindness benefited us

Solo: A good friend of Idrisu

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: The son of Alhassan

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Ebida Rikpata nya Etsu Tsado

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Ahmaduooo! Abu Garuba

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Lamigun Kallamu Musa

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Lamigun Ahmaadu

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Eba Muryamu yawo, wo lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Eba Aminatu Dufya

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Mamma Yisa wo lieuya?

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Ebida raeee!

Enimigocizhi: Yaalo efi lo

Nigba: Mamma Yisa, egi Alhaji

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Ebida raee! Ye le ya?

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Egi Fatima

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Eko bo mau dan'o raeee!

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Ae! Jikana dewo gan san

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: Let us go to Likpata of Etsu Tsado

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Ahmaduooo! The son of Abu Garuba

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: A good friend of Kallamu Musa

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: A good friend of Ahmadu.

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: The husband of Muryamu yawo, can't you see him?

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: The husband of Aminatu Dufya

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Mamma Yisa, can't you see him?

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Let us go!

Chorus: Go and we will follow

Solo: Mamma Yisa, the son of Alhaji

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Let us go, can't you see?

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: The son of Fatima

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: He lives in Lagos

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Yes, sand is more expensive than salt

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Mamma Gana man danbo

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Alhaji Isaaku!

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Lamigun Mamma Yisa eyan Bologi

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Yaya Baiwa Gozan

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Ebida ketso ganci raeee!

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Ae! Mamma Saba man danbo

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Harunaoo! egi Alassan

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Egi Muhammadu

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Ae! eku Usuman

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Egi Jibirilu

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Egi Nana Fatima

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Ezo gye danan raeee!

Enimigocizhi: Amma jinyi mana

Nigba: Amma wo dzuko wo

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Mamma Gana is also there

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Alhaji Isaaku

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: A good friend of Mamma Isah, the decent one.

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Yaya Baiwa, the Barber

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Let us go to Ketso now!

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Yes! Mamma Saba is there:

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Harunaooo!, the son Alhassan

Chorus: They were kind to us.

Solo: The son of Muhammado

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: Well done Usuman

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: The son of Jibirilu

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: The son of Nanafatima

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: The beans is attractive

Chorus: They were kind to us

Solo: But it is meant for advertisement

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: A’kunkun’a

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Ae! Ya Isah daonan

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Eba Fatima

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Yaya Baiwa Gozan

Enimigocizhi: Yabaza yabaiwa

Nigba: Yaya echi’e lo

Enimigocizhi: Eyaalo echie lo

Nigba: Yaya echie lo

Enimigocizhi: Eyaalo echie lo

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: It is not sale

We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Yes! That is Ya Isah there.

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: The husband of Fatima

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Yaya Baiwa, the barber

Chorus: We will discuss about Yabaiwa

Solo: Sister, let us go

Chorus: Go and we will follow

Solo: Sister, let us go

Chorus: Go and we will follow

APPENDIX 12

NAN GIBIGI DA GBIN GAN NAN, GIBIGIA DE GANGBA

Nigba:	Gibi gbigan nan, eeh! gibi de gamgba
Enimigocizhi:	Afe gibigi da gbin gan tsa na'a gibigi cia de gangba
Nigba:	Eh! Mamma Gana, wo lieuya?
	Eba Nanafatima, yawo,
	Nda nyan Salamatu Uwangida
	Egi Hawawu Kulu nau man nan, egi Abu Garuba
	Egi Alaaji bakon makka, egi Yusufu Tsado.
	Eh! gibigi gbin gan nan, Gibigia de gangba
Enimigocizhi:	Afe nan gibi daa gbin gan tsa naa, gibigi cia de gangba
Nigba:	Dzakan wo gbin gan ekoa
	Eh! gibigi daa gbin gan nan, gibigia de gangba
Enimigocizhi:	Eh! gibigi daa gbin gan nan, gibigia de gangba
Nigba:	Eba Antisi, eyan bologi daonan
	Eeh! Lamilo Ibrahim'a?
	Luwo, ezhi Bode Sabae bami yinlo,
	Lamigun Muhammadu,
	Lamigun Abu Garuba
	Lamigun Mamma Salifu, Ndako nyan ege daonan
	Alhaji Sulaimanu udanbo,
	Eya man, yaagi man
	Ga karatu, ga Ibadah, wo lieuya?
	Gberea be daa!
	Za yami wo, mi lan shi cigbeo?

APPENDIX 12

THE EXTROVERT GOT INFORMED THROUGH HIS CURIOSITY

Solo: The extrovert got informed through his curiosity

Chorus: So the extrovert got informed through his curiosity.

Solo: Yes! can you see Mamma Gana?

The husband of Fatima Yawo

The father of Salamatu, the mother of the house

The son of Hawawu Kulu, the son of Abu Garba

The son of Alhaji, the son of Yusufu Tsado

Yes! the extrovert got informed through his curiosity.

Chorus: So the extrovert got informed through his curiosity.

Solo: Yes the little child, you refuse to ask for the way out.

Yes the extrovert got informed through his curiosity.

Chorus: Yes! the extrovert got informed through his curiosity

Solo: The husband of Antisi, the beautiful one

Yes who will take me along?

I want to go to Luwo, the beautiful village of Bode Saba

An intimate friend of Muhammadu

An intimate friend of Abu Garba

A good friend of Mamma Salifu, the handsome one

Alhaji Sulaimanu is also there

The grandson of the cleric and also the great grandson of the cleric

They are well read and dedicated to the service of God. Can you see him?

The roots will disappear

Who will give me money to buy medicine?

Enimigocizhi: Gberea be daa, gberea be daa,

Ebe yayi wo, yili shi cigbe.

Nigba: Alaaji Tsado eba Adisatu Yiye daonan,

Gberea be daa,

Ebe lamilooo! adokun danyi naa danbo nan,

Alaaji Danmallam undanbo,

Alaaji Balagi, wo lieuyea?

Eba Hajiya gunni doanan,

Alhaji Likali man danbo

Alaaji Sulaimanu eyan bologi man danbo

Eeh! Gberea be daa,

Egwa soko a yami wo, milan shi cigbeo?

Enimigocizhi: Gberea be daa, gberea be daa

Ebe yayi wo yili shi cigbe

Nigba: Ewo deigi, cigbe deigi,

Gaskiya deigi, gamana deigi,

Ebida ba Alaaji Maduo Gana

Eya goya de nae sa goya nan

Lamigun Mamma Gana, egi Salifu Bologi

Alaaji bakon makka, Alaaji eya bologi danbo,

Lamigun Alaaji Yisa,

Alaasan man danbo,

Echia deli, wun’a de zunye.

Zhitsu nan labo, ezhi cia le nan

Ungye gan zhitsu nangboka, ezhi cia la nan.

Aliyu nyanooo!, eba Zainabu Yiye

Chorus: The roots will disappear, the roots will disappear

Men, gives us money to buy medicine

Solo: Alhaji Tsado, the husband of Adisatu Yiye is here

The roots will disappear

Men, come to my aid.

Alhaji Dan Malam is also present here

Can't you see Alhaji Balagi?

He is the husband of four wives

Alhaji Likali is also present here

Alhaji Sulaimanu, the handsome one is here too.

Oh! The roots will disappear

For God sake, who will give me money to buy medicine?

Chorus: The roots will disappear, the roots will disappear

Men, gives us money to buy medicine

Solo: A little money; a little medicine

A little truth, a little ---lie

Lets go to Alhaji Madu Gana

A buffalo amidst buffaloes

A friend of Mamma Gana, the son of the handsome Salifu

Alhaji, a special guest from Mecca, Alhaji a good friend.

An intimate friend of Alhaji Yisa

Alhaji Alhassan is also present here.

The more leaves a growing yam has, the more shy it becomes.

A weak ruler who ensures the existence of his village;

Is better than a powerful ruler whose village is deserted.

Aliyu! the husband of Zainabu Yiye

Gberea be daa

Alaaji Shehu eyan bologi, eba Hajiya Wusa daonan

Zaba Alaaji Ndagi daonan, wo lieuya?

Lamigun Muhamma Tete man danbo

Eeh! Mamma Tsado, ebayawo bologi daonan

Alaaji bakon Makka ya Yisa man danbo

Lamigun Usuman, eba Fatima

Ezo gye eye o gye,

A'wo dzuko wo,

A'kunkun'a.

Egi Mamma nau man nan

Etsu Yankpa Yakubu, lamigun Kallamu Musa.

Dangi tetengi, nnau dan dukun tao,

Eeeh! Gberea be daa,

Egwa sokooo! Za yami wo lan shi cigbeo?

Enimigocizhi: Finiooo! Zaa bami fini wareo?

Nchi de banjiun gangba'o

Nigba: Eeh! Baagi, eba nyizagi

Nigba & Enimigocizhi: Za bayi fini wareo yide bai jiun gangba'o?

Yide bai jiun gangba'o?

The roots will disappear

The handsome Alhaji Shehu, the husband of Hajiya Wusa

The friend of Alhaji Ndagi, can you see him?

The intimate friend of MuhammaduTete is also here.

Yes! that is Mamma Tsado, the handsome bridegroom.

Yes! Ya Yisa is also present here.

A good friend of Usuman, who is the husband of Fatima

These beans are fine and free of weevils.

But it is for advertisement

And not for sale

The son of Mamma

Yakubu, the village head, the friend of Musa

The kitten whose mother is waiting patiently indoors.

Oh! The roots will disappear.

For God sake, who will give me money to buy medicine

Chorus: Leaves! who will assist me to collect leaves?

So that I can get him informed

Solo: Oh! Man, the husband of woman

Solo and chorus: Who will assist us to collect leaves

So that we can get him informed

APPENDIX "A"

SET OF QUESTIONS FOR HAWAWU KULU LAFIAGI

1. What is your name?
2. When were you born?
3. Who are your parents?
4. What is their occupation?
5. How did you come about singing?
6. When did you start singing?
7. Who are your patrons?
8. How do you compose your songs?
9. How do you combine your singing with your marital responsibilities?
10. How would you rate your relationship or position among other Nupe female singers in relation to singers like Fatima Lolo, Hajia Halima and others of your time?
11. How many are you in your group?
12. How many of them are still alive?
13. Can you still remember any national or international occasions you attended?
14. When and where did they take place?
15. How many songs have you delivered so far?
16. How many of them were recorded and where were they recorded?
17. Which of your songs would you consider to be the best?
18. What would you say about the present generation of singers like Hadiza Patigi and Salamatu Sibonbo Mokwa?
19. When did you retire from active performance?
20. Why did you retire from singing?
21. Did you encounter any challenges?
22. If yes, how did you overcome them?
23. As a performer, what have you gained materially or otherwise from singing?
24. Who were your audience while you were singing?
25. What would you say about their attitude to your own kind of performance?

APPENDIX "B"

SET OF QUESTIONS FOR KATAMBA MA'ABA BIDA

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. Where did you come from?
4. When did you get married?
5. Who are your parents?
6. What is their occupation?
7. When did you start praise – crying?
8. How did you come about praise – crying?
9. What kind of attire do you wear during performances?
10. What would you say about Hausa praise – criers in Bida town?
11. Is it true that you were a trusted companion of Fatima Lolo?
12. How did you get on with Fatima Lolo, the Lead-singer of your group?
13. When precisely did you join her group?
14. Would you kindly tell me where Lolo came from?
15. Can you briefly tell me all you know about Lolo's life time?
16. Do you think it was proper to give Lolo the title of "Sagi Nigba Nupe" at that time?
17. How many were you in Lolo's group before her death in 1997?
18. What would you say about Muhammadu Emijiko, the first husband of Lolo and the head-drummer of your group?
19. What can you say about the national or international performances of Lolo?
20. Would you please comment on the relationship between Fatima Lolo and Kulu Lafiagi?
21. What have you to say about the present generation of singers like Hadiza Patigi and Salamatu Sibonbo Mokwa?
22. Would you please comment on the material gains of Fatima Lolo?

APPENDIX "C"

SET OF QUESTIONS FOR ALHAJI NDAKO ABUBAKAR KUTIGI

1. What is your full name?
2. What is your Educational background?
3. When were you born?
4. When did you get married?
5. How many wives and children have you got?
6. Who are your parents?
7. What is their occupation?
8. What is the name of your ensemble?
9. How many are you in that group?
10. When did you start performing?
11. What is the source of your inspiration?
12. How many songs have you sang and recorded so far?
13. Which of the following is your major pre-occupation? (a) Dramatist (b) Singer (c) Film Director
14. What are your challenges as a Director?
15. As a singer, how do you compose your songs?
16. How did you come about establishing a studio?
17. How do you rehearse before presentation at the studio?
18. How do you get the themes of your songs?
19. Do you really have a special patron?
20. Compare and contrast your kind of performance with that of the parent generation like Fatima Lolo and Kulu Lafiagi.
21. Comment fully on instrumentation for your performance.
22. How did your knowledge of computer enhance your performance?
23. How many countries have you visited for the purpose of performance?
24. How are you different from Lavun Local Government troupe or any other Nupe cultural troupe?
25. What can you say about the level of patronage?
26. How often are you invited and what are the modalities for invitation?
27. Are there fixed charges for performances?
28. If yes, how do the charges vary?
29. What are your gains so far from this career?