POETIC EXPRESSOIN LELNA SONGS

BY

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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA, IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN LITERATURE.

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH,
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY,
ZARIA, 1994.

DECLARATION

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

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DEDICATION

To Chunna, Aya, Ganta and Tømi,
on the love of whom I thrive.
And for the liberation of A'lela,
the land of Lelna, from cultural
bondage.

SAMUEL ANGO PENI

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Glory be to God in the Highest and to the Lord, Jesus Christ, who strengthened me through the hectic period of writing this thesis.

My most sincere thanks go to Dr. Ode S. Ogede, my supervisor, whose patient and painstaking guidance made this work a reality.

I must thank Cige, Eska, Alande, Døssi, NaAllah, Gada, Germace, Reetu and Tebe, the Lelna artists who gave freely of their skills and time, and without whose co-operation this work would not have been possible. Deserving heartfelt thanks also are the numerous members of the audience during the performances of the songs used for this work. Their comments and criticisms were immensely helpful.

Finally, I thank my father and mother, Mr and Mrs Ango A. Peni, who looked after my wife and children while I was away in pursuit of this work.

May God bless you all. Amen.

Samuel Ango Peni.

CERTIFICATION:

This thesis entitled: "Poetic Expression in Lelna songs'by Samuel Ango Peni meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of M.A. Literature of Ahmadu Pello University,and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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Content

		PAGE
1.	Dedication	iv
2.	Acknowledgements	v
3.	Certification	vi
4.	Abstract	viii
5.	Chapter One	1
6.	Chapter Two	26
7.	Chapter Three	45
8.	Chapter Four	57
9.	Chapter Five	71
10.	Chapter Six	79
11.	Bibliography	86
12.	Appendix I:C'Bomo (Praise)Songs	90
13.	Appendix II:C'Kemgbe (Blame)Songs	140
14.	Appendix III:Nam C'Debe (Lament)Songs	170

ABSTRACT

Very little has been written about the history or culture of the Lelna people of Zuru Emirate in Kebbi State of Nigeria. The situation is worse in the area of Lelna oral literature, where nothing significant has over been documented or analysed. This work is an attempt to fill this gap and to make Lelna oral literature available to those who do not understand C'lela (the language of the Lelna). The work focuses on songs, the most dominant form of Lelna oral literature, end discusses three genres of Lelna songs, namely: C 'Bomo, C'Kemgte, and Nam C'Debe, corresponding respectively to the categories in English known as the praise, blame and lament genres. This six-chapter study demonstrates the stylistic devices which the artists use to espouse Lelna world view, values and beliefs. The composers make effective use of the intrinsic qualities of poetry to impart their messeages permanently in the minds of their listeners

The first chapter gives a general background of Lelna people and the socio-cultural context of their songs- After reviewing the available literature on oral poetry, as well as on African oral literature in general, the work's theoretical framework, methodology and scope are stated. In the presentation of the material, a chapter each is devoted in turn to the three genres of Lelna songs.

One chapter presents the training and career of Lelna artists and the conclusion discusses the functions of Lelna songs, the problems and prospects of the continued existence of Lelna oral poetry and possible areas of further research.

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

Lelna, Commonly referred to as the Dakkarkari people, occupy the Zuru, Danko-Wasagu and Sakaba local government areas of Kebbi State of Nigeria. Lelna are largely farmers: therefore every activity among them either revolves around or is asubsidiary to the cultivation of food crops.

All cultural activities among Lelna are arranged according to the seasons as they relate to farming. Golmo is a striking example. A system of co-operative farming through which prospective husbands work for their in-laws, usually for a period of soven years, golmo starts with the begnning of the rainy season each year and ends with the harvesting and threshing of guine-corn, the staple crop of Lelna. At the end of the period of initiation of new comers into golmo, which takes about three months, Lelna celebrate D'biti, both to mark the end of initiation into golmo and to pray for a good harvest.

The end of each farming season ushers in an era when Lelna celebrate U'hola. This is to mark the end of the year and the coming of age of those boys who are to go into golmo the following season. Girls who are to go to their husbands' homes are also not left out of the festivities.

out of the festivities.

The threshing of guineacorn is carried out mainly after U'hola. It is usually accompanied by drumming, dancing and singing. It is both an economic and a cultural activity. Between the threshing of corn and the next rainy season, farm work is slack. This is the period during which Lelna hold their death anniverseries, title-taking ceremonies and wedding ceremonies. These are periods of recreational activities. Elderly persons usually gather at drinking places to sing and dance to c'gula (talking drum) music, and young boys and girls gather in the evenings to sing and dance to molo (a two-stringed instrument).

As with many other African groups, artistic expression is part and parcel of the life of Lelna people. Traditionally a non-literate people, Lelna express themselves mainly in the oral mode. Songs dominate all spheres of Lelna cultural practice. There is hardly any occasion that does not afford an opportunity for songs in which poetic expression features prominently. Thus at festivals, funerals, work or play, such as those described above, Lelna compose songs which essentially help to socialize, mobilize and control social behaviour in their communities. By criticising acts of misdemeanour, Lelna songs help to

reduce their occurrence. By praising acti worthy of emulation, the songs encourage such acts. At work, the melody, rhythm, content and other stylistic devices employed in the songs work together to enhance efficiency and discourage laziness. At play, the songs enhance social harmony. Even when they are songs of blame or lament, they have a therapeutic effect since they provide an outlet for expression of grievances without resorting to violence. Above all, the composition and p performance of Lelna songs provide an avenue for the expression of poetry and realization of aesthetic pleasure.

Over the years and with increasing westernization and islamization, however, Lelna forms of traditional poetic expression have been threatened, with all other forms of their cultural life. For example, Lelna sons and daughters who are sent to school acquire western education or islamic influences and consequently seek modern occupations which tend to move them away from rural areas. They abandon agriculture and other traditional occupations and get removed from the setting within which traditional poetry is expressed. Nowadays, most modern Lelna are more familiar with western or islamic music than with traditional songs.

Occasionally, some modern Lelna do reproduce a few fragments of Lelna poetry at drinking places, but such

efforts too often lack the depth, sophistication and hence impact of the Lelna songs in their traditional contexts. The productions are superficial and fail to convey a full sense of the richly poetic qualities which Lelna songs are capable of evoking when performed in context. There is no doubt that the advent of western and eastern influences has deeply eroded traditional Lelna artistic practices.

Between 1980 and 1991, a modest effort to popularize Lelna culture was undertaken by Rima Radio and NTA Sokoto. But one can question the gap that existed between the Lelna songs featured in such programmes and the socio-cultural context in which they traditionally happen. The programmes could be charged as being intended to pander to the tastes of an urban aesthete and foreign tourists, presenting Lelna poetic expression as in interesting fossil for the amusement of the owners of television and radio sets. Such an interpretation is supported by the fact that those who presented the programmes made no efforts to explain the importance of the songs and dances to the viewers and linsteners, beyond stating the communities from which the performers came and the name of the cultural activity at which the songs and dances were performed.

Worse still, those who sang and danced for television and radio were usually collected from their villages outside the cultural setting of their poetry, after which they were paid off and allowed to go back to their peasant lives. Modern media has therefore failed to stem the decline in Lelna poetic expression. Wande Abimbola, in describing a similar process that took place among the Yoruba, lamented;

> ....a violent process of westernization is eroding our cultural values and beliefs so that gradually we are breeding a group of westernized children to whom most of the common place aspects of our culture are foreign.[1]

And, as a panacea, Abimbola recommends steps to redress the erosion of Yoruba culture, which can equally be applied to the Lelna situation that we are concerned with:

> The need for.....collection of oral literature.... is urgent because most of the traditional artists who are familiar with our literature are nearing death. Since there is no continuity of tradition, with the death of every artist, we lose a tremendous amount of useful material forever.[2]

J. Macaulay expresses a similar view:

> In a situation where elders have passed away without their latent talents having been recorded anywhere, such resources are lost forever. It therefore becomes highly necessary to make use of advanced technology for the conservation and disemination of our cultural heritage.[3]

The study of C'Bomo, C'Kemgte and Nam C'Debe songs attempted here should be regarded as a positive step in the direction of preserving Lelna poetic culture.

One of the most sallient findings in current oral literature research is the fact that oral literature happens within specific cultural milieu. This study takes such an approach, analyses Lelna songs in their socio-economic, political and historicall contexts.

This study reveals the way poetry helps to preserve the moral structure of Lelna society by heightening the awareness of the consequences of good and evil. Above all, Lelna society has a rich poetic tradition which is worth preserving and which provides a good basis for the development of modern Lelna poetry.

Lelna poetry is sung by non-professional cantors who do not make a living off singing. The existence of a few molo artists who perform at a quasi-professional level is a fairly recent development which is yet to take firm root as a Lelna cultural practice. Most Lelna artists engage in farming, which is their main source of livelihood, but like some other non-professional artists' works found all over Africa, Lelna poems show immense creativity in their composition and performance.

Literature Review

Published material on Lelna oral literature is very scanty. Some work, undertaken as far back as 1934 by Paul Ummel on Lelna orthography, entitled Litafi Kun Karatuv C'Lela Kum'ete (The First Book For Reading C'Lela or 'Dakkarkari Reader'), 4 includes a few oral traditions about Lelna origins as reading texts, but no songs. The poor orthography aside, the effort is too modest and inadequate. Moreover, it is more concerned with establishing an orthography than recording Lelna culture.

Another book, Littafik CSipa (Dakkarkari Hymn

Book) published in 1917,5 contains translations of christian hymns. The tunes, content and form of the hymns are all of European origin and are meant for the propagation of christianity. Sometimes used in church, the book does little for Lelna oral literature. At best, both books provide a tentative orthography for writing C'Lela and so are a potential tool for recording Lelna oral literature.

Although Patrick J. Ebewo's 'The Uhola Festival in Sokoto State'6 is too sketchy to represent an adequate attempt to familiarize the outside world with the essential aspects of Lelna culture, his comments on the content of songs performed during U'hola, which he describes as'satirical attacks' on those 'who have not lived up to the expectations of the community,' are valuable. He recognises that the songs contain socio-political issues, but his main concern in the article is not Lelna songs, hence he fails to provide song texts or engage in elaborate analysis of their content, form and performance.

As for A.R. Augi and S.U. Lawal in their Studies in the History of the People of Zuru Emirate,7 they provide some information on Lelna art and culture which helps to establish Lelna origins but, due to the purely historical concern of the book, Lelna oral litera-

literature is not treated in any significant detail. This study, therefore, is the first major attempt to document and analyse Lelna poetic expression.

Much work has been done on the oral literature of many peoples in Africa. Such efforts have contributed immensely to the development of oral literature studies. One must mention in particular a recent study editted by Isidore Okpewho entitled The Oral Performance in Africa, 8 in which oral literary scholarship is shown to have advanced beyond the purely ethnographic approach, towards a marriage of ethnographic information and literary analysis. In his review of The Oral Performance in Africa[9], Ode Ogede describes Okpewho's book as being valuable, especially for 'the painstaking care with which the contributors undertake to capture the spirit of oral literature as a performing art, while paying close attention to the artistic devices that account for the subject's richness'.[10] This concern to marry ethnographic research and literary analysis has engendered the study of specific performers in specific performance acts, leading to more valid statements about oral literature.

Edris Makward's presentation of two Senegambian griots, with examples of their performances; 11 Chukwuma Azuonye's detailed analysis of the material of a performer

of the oral epic among the Ohafia Igbo; 12 and Enoch S.T. Mvula's description of a specific performance of Gule Wamkulu 13 are good examples of the marriage between the enthnographic and aestheticist appraoches towards which oral literature studies have moved. Using specific ethnographic examples, they make valid aesthetic statements about oral literature.

Theoretical Framework

This work, therefore, adopts the empiricist approach to the study of oral literature. Contextual analysis of song texts as well as a discussion of the training, career and personalities of Lelna artists are used as the basis for functional and aesthetic judgements on Lelna poetic expression.

The work is based on the premise that the content, form and performance of oral literature reflect the structure of the society within which it is produced, and aids understanding of that society. Also, oral literature helps to maintain the structure of society by influencing members to conform to it. It is also capable of influencing change in the behaviour, not only of individuals, but of the community as a whole, by introducing new ideas in its content and form. At the same time, changes in society causes

changes in the content and form of oral literature. Thus, art and society influence and reflect each other.

Methodology

In line with the empiricist approach, the work involves tape-recorded collection of songs performed during some Lelna cultural practices. Numerous interviews were held with the performers and some members of their audience. The songs were transcribed using an orthography that is as phonetic as possible, and a translation that is near-literal. The aim has been to maintain a balance between the original sense in the source language and a clear meaning in the target language.

When analysed, the performers' performance skills and their materials show that their works meet the standards of artistic practice found among other African groups. As discussion of the training and career of Lelna performers, as well as the functions of Lelna songs show, the performers are largely non-professionals, but all of them approach their work with a high sense of dedication.

Collection of the Songs

The majority of the songs analysed in this work

were collected around U'Manga area of Zuru Emirate. Some were recorded at Peni, about twenty kilometres away from Zuru town. Other possible sources could have been areas such as U'Reba, Dere, U'Daba, U'Sara, A'Zugru, D'Koto, Gele and U'Poku, that speak different dialects of C'lela. Ahmed Issouf (1982), in his study of Tuareg oral poetry, reasons that where there are many dialects, the best results in any analysis of oral literature will be obtained from a concentration on one dialect. I have adopted a similar view of the matter. I therefore feel that the songs from U'Manga and Peni are representative enough of Lelna poetic expression and are adequate for a work of this scope.

Some of the songs were recorded at drinking sessions at both U'Manga and Peni, where elderly men and women performed to the accompaniment of C'gula (talking drum). Other songs were recorded during M'seve (collective farm work by about twelve women), corn grinding, golmo (collective farm work by twenty young men working for their in-laws), corn threshing by the same golmo group and also during a performance to the accompaniment of molo (a two-stringed instrument). In each case, the group that performed the songs was visited, by prior arrangement, while it carried out those activities during which Lelna songs are usually

performed.

It was not possible to tape-record songs performed at M'gilø (a secret cult) because only initiated persons are allowed to participate in their performance. So, the full range of Lelna poetic expression was not available for analysis. Also, instances of self-consciousness, manifested in the urgings by some performers for haste to save the tape from wasting; shyness on the part of some and undue competition to be recorded on tape between others, indicated that a lot of the true picture of the performance of Lelna poetic expression was distorted in the process of recording. Over one hundred songs were collected, out of which twenty were selected for this work.

Transcription

Transcribing Lelna songs poses great difficulties due to the fact that there exists no standard orthography for the language. Though the 1934 attempt to establish an orthography for C'Lela is more up to date than that of 1914, it still contains many inconsistencies and scund misrepresentations. An attempt is made in this work to remove the inconsistencies and make the sound representations more phonetic.

The first inconsistency noticeable in the 1934

orthography is in representing the unrounded central vowel /ə/, either by the letter 'i' or by ellision. For example, /eɭàn/, (is doing, or, is at/in) is represented as 'elin', while /təm/ (I shall/will) is represented as 'tm'. In this study, we favour 'elun' and 'tum', respectively, which are more phonetic and consistent. Also, the word /əm/ (I) is represented as 'm', but we favour 'um'.

The 1934 orthography misrepresents the sound /e/. /e/ (it) is represented as 'i', while /tʃe/ (tree) is represented as 'ci'. We prefer 'e'and 'ce', respectively.

The sound /ɻ(:)/ is represented in three different ways in the 1934 orthography. /kɻtʃi/ (fowl) is represented as 'kuci'; /kɻlɻ/ (hawk) is represented as 'kulu'; /tɻ:kɻ/ (have/has eaten) is represented as 'teuku' and /tɻ:tʃu/ (three) is represented as 'tecu'. Thus /ɻ(:)/ is variously represented as 'u', 'eu' and 'e'. Apart from the inconsistency, none of the letters used phonetically represents the sound. We prefer 'ø' and its double form 'øø', which are more phonetic and consistent. Hence we have 'køci', 'kølø', 'tøøkø' and 'tøøcu', respectively.

In some cases, 'u' is used instead of 'o', so that /tʃopo/ (land) is represented as 'cupo', while

/rorka/ (always does, or, is too much) is represented as 'ruruka'. We favour 'copo' and 'rorka; respectively. Also, the sound /ua/ is represented in some cases as 'o' and in others as 'oa', so that /gua;na/ (to meet) is represented as 'gona', while /hua/ (to kill) is represented as 'hoa'. We prefer 'gwaana' and 'hwaa; respectively.

Another area of inconsistency is in affixation. A look at the use of articles in C'Lela shows that all nouns in subject position have their articles as suffixes. So that 'u'copo' (the land) becomes 'copu', as in 'copu kogno'(the land of Hausa people). But in the 1934 orthography, 'this land' is represented as 'cupo han', instead of 'copu hna', which we favour.

The use of articles in C'Lela observes a rule whereby nouns in object positions have their articles as prefixes. The word 'debe' (heart) in object position has /t /, represented by 'c', affixed to it to form 'c'debe' (the heart/hearts). Other articles usually affixed include 'v', 'd', 'k', 's', 'u' and 'm', depending on wether the noun is big, small, solid, liquid, living, non-living, and so on. The 1934 orthography has /dəhwe/ (the day as 'dihwi'; /dəkade/ (the bush) as 'dikade'; /səwe/ (the years) as 'suwe' and /vəninʔ/ (the/a tooth) as 'v'ninu', so that an 'i',

'u' or apostrophe follows the prefix. This is inconsistent. We prefer to place an apostrophe consistently after all prefixes, so that we have 'd'hwen', 'd'kade', 's'we' and 'y'ninę', respectively.

There is also inconsistency in affixing the 'k' inflection to perfect verbs. The perfect verb for 'napa' (to know) is represented in the 1934 orthography as 'napka' (have/has known), but that of 'hava' (to go) is represented as 'havaka' (have/has gone). The second vowel is ellided before the 'k' in the first instance, but it is not ellided in the second instance. Also, 'pota' (to germinate) is represented as 'potka' (has germinated), but 'hene' (to see) is represented as 'henike' (have/has seen). We favour 'napka', 'havka', 'potka' and 'henke', respectively, so that all vowels preceding the 'k' inflection are consistently ellided. Also, the 'n' inflection added to nouns in penultimate position to form plurals, so that 'nema' (bird) becomes 'nemna' (birds), is omitted altogether in the 1934 orthography. It has 'nem dikade' (wild birds) instead of 'nemna d'kade', which we favour.

Finally, the vowel 'ǫ' for /ɔ/ is included in this work to differentiate it from 'o' for /o/ and 'ǫ́' for /ɔ̃/. Also, double vowels are used to represent long sounds.

This helps to remove ambiguity in cases like 'a el ta po,' (they usually get tired), and 'a el ta po, (they usually force-ripe). Also 'i tiiki; (it is this thing/one).

Another problem of transcription encountered is in the inability to put down gesticulations, facial expression and voice modulation on paper. This makes it difficult to fully convey the picture of each performance as it took place. However, the problem is partially solved in the descriptions of performance that accompany the analysis of song texts in the main body of the work.

Translation

One major problem of translation is how to convey the full meanings of expressions and peculiar turns of phrase from one language into another with a different cultural background. Ahmed Issouf notes that '.....even the most unambitious translation exercise always reveals the complexity of language'[14]. More specifically, Ode Ogede, in his study of Igede oral poetry, notes the inability of English 'to capture the grandeur and associations of Igede'[15] and 'the loss of alliterations and assonanance'[16] in translation.

Similar problems were encountered in translating into English the Lelna songs used in this work. Alliteration, assonance and the evocative meanings of C'Lela expressions were unavoidably lost. I have acceeded, however, to Abimbola who reasons that valid translation should be 'as literal as possible so as to transfuse part of the cultural content, imagery and other literary characteristics of the material into the target language,' but not 'too literal, so as not to lose the designed effect.'17 The English phrases and sentences used, therefore, remained grammatical while still conveying as much as possible of the peculiarities of C'Lela.

Classification of Lelna Songs

Scholars of oral literature have increasingly expressed dissatisfaction with the existing criteria for classifying oral literature. The criteria scholars use for classification have always been influenced by the various approaches to the study of oral literature they adopt, hence the tendency of the classifications to reflect the weaknesses of such approaches. The dissatisfaction with classifications, therefore, is linked with such weaknesses as exist in the approaches.

Isidore Okpewho narrows down the numerous approaches to the study of oral literature to what he calls 'two basic strands' which he identifies as the 'formalistic' and the 'functionalistic' approaches[18]. According to him, 'the epitome of formalism, and the best manifestation of its weaknesses'[19] is in its arbitrary classifications of literary genres into such designations as legends, saga, myth, riddle, proverb, case, memoir, tale and joke. Okpewho shows, by comparing the legend and the memoir, that aspects of each designation can be found in the other, thus any distinctions between them are arbitrary.

The 'functionalistic' approach, Okpewho also argues, makes similar 'indifensible' distinctions between 'prose, proverbs, riddles, ballads, poems, tonguetwisters, and other forms of verbal art....'[20] and concludes that the functionalistic approach is just as inadequate as the formalistic, since careful scrutiny shows that the distinctions made cannot be sustained. This can easily be seen in trying to distinguish between a 'ballad' and a 'poem'. Okpewho also points out that the term 'prose' is not usefully applicable to oral narratives.

An example of the influence of formalism on the classification of oral literature is in S.A. Babalola's

suggestion for the classification of Yoruba poetry. He says, 'Yoruba poetry in general is best classified not so much by the themes as by the stylistic devices employed in recitals.'[21] He is supported by Olatunde Olatunji, who divides Yoruba poetry into two sweeping types; the 'chanting modes' and the 'features types.'[22] The inadequacy of this approach is seen in Olatunji's inability to make distinctions between the two 'types', for he shows that some characteristics of the 'features types' are found in the 'chanting mode,' and vice versa. Moreover, he says that 'oriki' (the most popular of Yoruba oral poetic genres)[23] 'is spoken, chanted or sung,'[24] indicating that it is impossible to identify the genre by its mode of presentation, or its form. He further states that 'Oriki is used to define its subject,'[25] indicating that it is more easily classified by its themes. There is therefore inconsistency in the formalistic approach adopted by Olatunji and Babalola.

An example of the functionalistic approach is in Kofi Awoonor's classification of WEwe poetry as 'occupational', 'work', 'social', 'Praise', 'blame' and 'love' songs.[26] Apart from the fact that occupation or work is more likely to provide the occasion, rather than the genre of a song, it is obvious that the so-called 'praise' song might be

performed in a 'work' or 'social', or even 'occupational' context. The same applies to 'blame' or 'love' songs. This arbitrary classification does not seem to take into consideration either how the composers themselves see the songs.

Advocating what he calls the 'qualitative' approach in oral literature studies, Okpewho suggests careful weighing of what informants say against the facts before the investigator, so that the investigator can draw valid conclusions. I have adopted a similar approach in classifying Lelna songs.

On seeking the opinions of Lelna performers, they offered suggestions that proved useful in classihying the genres of Lelna songs. In each case, they identified their songs promptly as either C'Bomo, C'Kemgte or Nam C'Debe. During play backs of some of the tape-recorded songs, a number of C'Lela speaking listeners who were well rooted in Lelna culture also promptly identified the songs played to their hearing as either C'Bomo, C'Kemgte or Nam C'Debe. A literal translation of the three Lelna words used in describing the genres of their poetry into English is 'praise','mockery' and 'sorrow', respectively. These correspond to the themes of the songs, which

identify their subjects much like Yoruba oriki.

Analysis of Lelna songs shows that C'Bomo tend to extol or advocate good qualities in persons or objects, and ressemble what might be called panegyric or praise poems; C'Kemqte songs tend to criticise or satirise vices abhored by Lelna and might thus be described as blame songs; and Nam C'Debe tend to express sorrow over loss or misfortune, and ressemble what might be called lamentations. This analysis shows that the genres are mutually exclussive and it agrees with the perceptions of Lelna performers and listeners about the genres of Lelna songs. There is enough empirical evidence, therefore, to consider the classification of Lelna songs used in this work as valid.

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26. Awoonor, Kofi. The Breast of the Earth: A Survey of the History, Culture and Literature of Africa South of the Sahara, New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1975. p. 355.

Chapter Two

THE MOBILIZING POWER OF THE WORD: C'BOMO(PRAISE)SONGS

Among the qualities cherished by Lelna people, hard work, achievement, social responsibility and social harmony rank the highest. It is in order to foreground these qualities as the desired modes of conduct that Lelna employ C'Bomo songs, whose distinctive features are eulogistic, tending to identify for praise persons and objects that exhibit such qualities most strikingly.

In many respects, their practice accords well with some standard definitions of praise poetry. According to Ruth Finnegan, praise poetry is made up of 'panegyric odes,' concerned with 'praise of rulers and other notables, with consequent emphasis on apostrophaic odes and i impressionistic evocation of the hero's exploits....' [1] Chukwuma Azuonye also lends support to this definition. For him, a hero is identified in Ohafia Igbo heroic tales by 'direct pointing', in which the hero is named and described, and by 'climatic foregrounding' of the hero's action and achievements[2]. In Daniel Kunene's words, Everthing is proudly employed to identify {the hero) more closely',through 'deverbative', 'metaphorical','descriptive ' and 'associative' eulogues[3]. praise poetry, from the above definiations, can be seen as being essentially concerned with hero identification through description and evocation of both the hero and his exploits. In their dominant concerns, as well as the poetic devices used in their composition, Lelna C'Bomo songs conform to the above views of priase poetry.

Performance of C'Bomo Songs

C'Bomo songs are performed at work occasions, as well as at liesure times. They are performed by various groups of persons and individuals, as described below.

Golmo Initiates

Golmo is a traditional organisation among Lelna, into which all prospective husbands have to be initiated. The initiates' main task is to work collectively for their in-laws. The work mainly involves weeding the future in-laws' farms, harvesting their crops or threshing their corn. During each of these activities, golmo initiates sing C'Bomo songs.

Golmo initiates are usually dressed in loin skins for their activities. Some of them also have amulets around their waists and arms, for protection against exhaustion and pain from being beaten by older initiates. With hoes for weeding or sticks for threshing, these form the costumes needed for their performances.

The C'Bomo songs golmo initiates sing include praises of their prospective wives, and praises of golmo heroes who are shown to reject indolence in favour of hard work.

M'Seve Groups

M'seve is a system of co-operative work among Lelna women. The women come together to help each other on their individual farms, or to work together for hire on other people's farms. Members are drawn from all age groups of women and young girls in the community, excluding those too young or too old to do

farm work.

C'Bɔmɔ songs performed by m'seve groups are often in gratitude for favours done by members of their communities. The songs sometimes advocate change for the better in relationships between husbands and wives.

Individual Workers

Domestic work, such as corn grinding, is often done by single individuals. Such work provides occasion for the performance of C'Bɔmɔ songs. Through the songs, routine work is turned into a dramatic performance.

C'Bɔmɔ songs by individual workers are usually directed at relatives who are typically praised for qualities that the performers admire in them, or favours the performers expect from them.

Performance at Liesure

Elderly members of Lelna communities sometimes meet at drinking places to dance to c'gula (talking drum). They sing C'Bɔmɔ songs during such occasions to praise their friends and relatives. When young boys and girls meet in the evenings to play, they sing C'Bɔmɔ songs, also in praise of lovers, friends and relatives.

Young men, either alone at home or before an audience at public play grounds, sing C'Bɔmɔ songs to the accompaniment of molo (a two-stringed instrument). They praise members of their communities who posses qualities valued by the performers. They praise useful objects, such as vegetables. Through all these performances at liesure times, Lelna recreate themselves after days of hectic agricultural work.

The Lead in Collective Performance

During collective performances, the performers take turns to lead the singing. Changes in lead position help to ensure that the songs do not flag. In work situations, this helps to sustain the momentum of the work. The changes also ensure that essential aspects of the songs are not missed out. This is supported by the fact that a member of the chorus often takes over the lead when the incumbent seems to be flagging, or misses out some essential lines.

The song thus takes on the aspect of collective reconstruction, giving credence to the theory of collective ownership of African songs, as put forward by Ulli Beier in his African Poetry: An anthology of Traditional African Poetry. According to Beier, all songs 'become common property.... Others take them up, change and modify them: nobody claims authorship'.[4] C'Bɔmɔ songs of this category thus also fit into Ruth Finnegan's typology of oral poems that are essentially ephemeral (works) of art, and (which have no existence or continuity apart from performance'.[5]

Lelna World View, Values and Beliefs in C'Bɔmɔ Songs

C'Bɔmɔ songs provide insights into Lelna world view, values and beliefs. In praising their heroes, the performers make reference to the values Lelna people attach to hard work, achievement, marriage, beauty, nature, supernatural forces, religion and death. The values and beliefs are thus used to mobilize members of Lelna communities for the productive and social activities that sustain the communities.

Hard Work

In an agrarian society like that of Lelna people, hard work is expected of every member of the community. This expectation is reflected in the descriptions of hard-working persons in C'Bomo songs. In a piece entitled 'Dabna Banka Golmo' ('Dabna Have called Golmo'), for instance, an initiate describes farm work as the ultimate means of getting a wife. He sings:

Solo: I say, my in-law, Dawa, to call for me
Chorus: Girgi the magician.
Solo: We shall go home;
Chorus: Girgi, intimacy without quarrel.
Solo: I say, when my mates,
Chorus: My mates show prowess at farm work;
I am trapped!
It is the neck! Stretch-the-loin-skin,
Owner of neck, Girga! (lines 9 - 16)

Because the initiate wants a wife, as shown by his desire that his in-law should call 'Girgi the magician' (the wife-to-be), he is encouraged ('trapped') to emulate the prowess his mates display at farm work. He thus declares hard work the best means to get a wife. The use of the nominalisation 'stretch-the-loin-skin' to describe the desired wife is another allusion to hard work because loin skins are stretched whenever a worker bends down to hoe the farm.

In the same song, the prospect of a wife causes the initiate to declare:

Solo: Girga Danga
Chorus: Has flashed by the Jaadas' home.
Solo: By the Jaadas' home, would she hear my,
Chorus: Would she hear my talk?
Solo: The type of talk....
Chorus: Sweet talk!

Solo: Yehe-e, Girga has marks of fish bone.
Chorus: Chieftancy, if I do not die,
Let me die later at farm work;
I shall find grass and turn to a mad one.
(Lines 141 - 150)

His yearning to have 'Girga' to talk to impels him to work hard. The hyperbolic expressions, 'die.... at farm work' and 'turn to a mad one' symbolise his enthusiam for work.

In another song, 'Dwaa Na Hwela' ('Set The Fire Burning'), an example of the typical reaction of a gɔlmɔ initiate when called to work hard is shown:

Solo: When they called the first gɔlmɔ;
Chorus: The first gɔlmɔ, ha!
Solo: I suddenly saw threatening clouds,
Chorus: Threatening clouds, ha!
Solo: I thought they would then let us off;
Chorus: Let us off, ha!
Solo: I just heard, 'Go out for gɔlmɔ!'
Chorus: Go out for gɔlmɔ, ha!
Solo: I took off, dɔk, dɔk, running!
Chorus: Running, ha!
Solo: I went off, kwek, kwek, running!
Chorus: Running, ha! (Lines 91-110, each sung twice).

In spite of 'threatening clouds', symbolising impending rain which would normally prevent farm work, the gɔlmɔ initiate does not hesitate to respond with alacrity when called out for work. The phonaesthetic expressions, 'dɔk, dɔk' and 'kwek, kwek', help create a vivid picture of the initiate's enthusiastic response as he runs to the place of work. There is correlation between the idea of 'call to duty' and the governing concept of 'enthusiastic response' in the lines, approximating what Ayo Bamgbose describes as

'parallelism of ideas.'6

Sometimes the C'Bomo songs make appeals to workers to put in more effort. These appeals take the form of the apostrophe. Treating similar occurrences in Ohafia Igbo heroic tales, Azuonye shows how 'an impassioned appeal is addressed to the hero,'7 to incite him to heroic exploits. In 'Set The Fire Burning,' an example of such an appeal is seen as the initiates sing:

Solo: Let us rise up and work, golmo initiates.
Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!
Solo: Let us rise up and work, golmo initiates.
Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!
Solo: Fire, fire!
Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!
Solo: Fire, set the fire burning!
Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha! (Lines 27 - 34).

'Fire' symbolises hard work. The golmo initiates are being called upon to consume the work like burning fire, that is, with great enthusiasm.

In this way, C'Bomo songs help to sustain the belief in hard work among Lelna people, making it easy to mobilize members for work when the need arises.

Achievement

Because Lelna believe that the result of hard work is success in life, achievement is highly praised among them. Marriage is considered one of the results of hard work. In 'Dabna Have Called Golmo,' the initiate yearning for a wife is advised to work first:

Solo: Girga, come let me marry you!
Chorus: Girga, child with marks, beads fit her.

As the beads fit her, the young man after that girl;
Perhaps it is stomach ache he would pretend,
And pretend guineaworms, then madness!

The protexts of stomach ache, guineaworms and madness to escape work are shown as futile: Only work can earn the desired wife 'Girga'. The point is emphasised by praising Girga's marks and decorative beads (usually worn in holes bored in the nose or ears) which make her more attractive. Girga thus symbolises that which can be obtained only through hard work.

Success could take the form of wrestling ability. In the song entitled 'I Go Proudly' (Sandam,Sandam), a woman praises her husband for being a successful wrestler:

So, Maalo, thing of wrestling,
It cannot be felled.
Kwooko, thing of wrestling,
It cannot be felled.
King of strength, overall, you follow Aiki. (Lines 45-49)

The names Maalo, Kwooko and Aiki all refer to the singer's husband, who is described as an unbeatable wrestler, second to none in strength. The use of the words 'thing' and 'it' to refer to the wrestler confers on him a mysterious source of prowess which defies opposition.

Good cooking is considered a great achievement among Lelna women. In the song 'I Meet a Woman Burdened' (Umu Gwantka Neta Bibibi), a man praises his wife's cooking ability by describing her efforts in procuring vegetables:

I meet a woman burdened.
Women had gone and got rototo, this person,
Women had gone and cut rototo.
Women had gone and plucked rototo, this person.

Women had gone and cut rotpto. (Lines 2-6)

and her efforts in seasoning soup is described, showing that she knows how to cook:

Woman went and put a pot on fire.
Four magi cubes she would grind,
Three magi cubes she would throw in.
Four locust-bean cakes she would grind, this person,
Woman had gone and dropped in salt. (Lines 10-14)

Praising success in C'Bomo songs helps to ensure that members of Lelna communities aim for high standards of achievement. In this way, words are used to mobilize Lelna people for productive activity.

Marriage

Lelna people, like most other African peoples, consider marriage as an indispensible stage in life. It marks a significant period in the growth of a man or woman from childhood to adulthood, and it accords so much respect to Lelna who achieve it that Lelna young men are willing to endure the seven years of golmo before they can get a patner.

In 'Set The Fire Burning', a golmo initiate gives the reason for enduring golmo as the prospect of gaining a wife:

Solo: Why I said I would suffer;
Chorus: I would suffer, ha!
Solo: My in-law's farm is at the foot of the hill!
Chorus: Foot of the hill,ha!
Solo: Where they beat me and dragged me over the stones.
Chorus: Over the stones, ha! (Lines 165-170)

The composer means that he willingly endures beating because he is working in order to get married. The

Vivid picture of being dragged over stones shows how much hardship the people are willing to endure in order to get a wife.

Some of the advantages to be gained from having a wife are spelt out in the song entitled 'Burn Pepper' (Dwaa Yaji) by a man who appreciates his wife as he sings:

Mother-of-home, marks on arms and legs;
She would marsh fura for me in the evening.
God is King, Gwensa:
God is King, Gwensa:
It is a maiden that I married;
Excessively comely.

The wife is presented as pleasing to the man's senses because of her marks and youthfull comeliness. She is also valued as the caretaker of the man's home and children as a mother. The imagery of a woman marshing fura (a millet porridge) for her husband at the end of a hectic day 'in the evening' adds to the picture of appreciation of a wife by her husband.

In spite of this high regard that Lelna show for marriage, however, Lelna youths sometimes express apprehension about leaving the freedom of childhood for the confinement of marriage. For example, in 'The Educated Ones' (An Kweleji) the youthful composer expresses dismay at the prospect of marriage and the end to childhood freedom:

We shall marry, sure we shall go and marry.
Swagger, let swaggering fashion be continued.
Swagger, let swaggering fashion be continued.
Fashion finishes, it is finished, fashion is finished.

The youth wishes that freedom (swagger) of youth should not end, but he is aware of the futility of his wish in a society that values marriage. That is why he juxtaposes his wish for endless

youth with the certainty of its end. In 'Child That Laughs' (Waa Kan Dariya), a maiden about to get married looks back to her pre-marriage era (gøbi) with nostalgia:

> I would not go home this year, I would not go home this year,
> If I were (still) gøbi I would not go home this year! (Lines 10-12)

In spite of this natural nostalgia for lost youth, however, Lelna youths accept marriage as inevitable, for marriage is 'home', like the end of a journey which the traveller is reluctant to see.

Beauty

Lelna people appreciate beauty, especially as manifested in physical stature, decorative marks indicated in the descriptions in C'Bomo songs of those people who meet the Lelna standards of beauty. For example, to heig hten the expectations of gǫlmǫ initiates about the wives they hope to marry, the song 'Dabna Have Called Gǫlmǫ' focuses on the physical attributes of an ideal wife:

> Girga turn the breasts to me,
> Those breasts as soft as mangoes;

She is the one who has a beautiful neck:

> My in-law, Dawa, has given me owner of neck!
> Owner of neck!

Her marks and decorative beads worn in her nose are the objects of admiration:

> Girga, child with marks, beads fit.

For the woman composer, it is the prospect of a husband who wears bangles, ripples with physical str ength and handsome looks that thrills her imagination. In 'I Go Proudly', she sings:

> At that time bangles are on the heels.
> The bangles jingle without being touched.

We are going far, do not obstruct for me;
I am going to Dere, do not obstruct Aiki for me.
Do not obstruct Aiki for me;
Thing of wrestling, it cannot be felled.
King of handsomeness, follow Kwɒɒkɒ.

She combines his dressing (bangles), his strenght or wrestling ability, and his appearance of handsomeness in giving a picture of beauty in a man.

In 'I Just Looked Up', the maiden focusses on her lover's hair style:

I just looked up only,
I just looked up only,
I just looked up only to see child with a haircut.
I just looked up only to see the child has had a haircut.
Let them fight, take a haircut;
Take a haircut, take a haircut, even if they fight!

The maiden alludes to the jealousy of her rivals when she defiantly dares them to fight over her lover because of his beauty, enhanced by his haircut.

Beacause Lelna do not see beauty only in physical terms, but also in terms of admired traits possesed by their members, descriptions of such persons are made using symbolic names. For example, in 'Dabna Have Called Golmo', Girga is referred to as 'worm of gogogo'; just as a worm destroys the hard wood, 'gogogo', Girga is viewed as being delicate but able to cause strong men to suffer at heart.

The composer of 'Burn Pepper' also uses symbolic names to Praise his wife:

Burn Pepper,
Gwensa, Maiden,

Gwensa, Eat-Chieftancy,
Gwensa, Owner of room.

The four lines respectively describe Gwensa as one capable of causing tears like burning pepper, as one who is youthful, as a chieftain of beauty and as one who controls her husband's room.

Appreciation of beauty, as expressed in C'Bǫmǫ songs, helps to explain why Lelna take the trouble to decorate themselves elaborately. These decorations are also reflected in beautification of Lelna huts and bins for storing grains. The words in C"Bǫmǫ songs mobilize Lelna to beautify themselves and their environment.

Nature

Lelna, being largely agrarian, live close to nature. This is reflected in the constant references to plants, animals and natural phenomena in C"Bǫmǫ songs. The references are often metaphorical descriptions of those praised in the songs. As we have seen, Girga is described as "worm of ǫǫǫgǫǫ" in "Daban Have Called Gǫlmǫ'. The song also compares the harsh leadership of gǫlmǫ to wild animals:

Solo: The Chief says we should not die;
Chorus: We should not die;
Solo: Hyena, Lion, says men should not;
Chorus: We should not die!

"Hyena" and "lion" are used together to refer to the chief in a compound metaphor to deptict the fearfulness of the chief"s character.

In "I Go Proudly", the composer employs animal imagery in referring to the terror her husband strikes in his wrestling opponents' hearts:

The child dreams in his sleep
And says leopards are at heel!
At that time the bangles are on the heels.

The bangles jingle without being touched.

The lines indicate that the appearance of the wrestler, with jingling bangles, strikes terror in the hearts of his opponents, like a child's nightmare about a leopard.

Fire is held in awe by Lelna because of its destructive power, a fact frequently displayed in its ferocious consumption of bushes in the dry season, and its use in iron smelting. In "Dabna Have Called Gǫlmǫ", the power of fire is alluded to in the repeated apostrophic calls to "Put out the fire." The fire connotes hardship against which the initiates are being enjoined to steel themselves. The ability to "put out the fire" will demonstrate their worthiness to get wives.

In "Set The Fire Burning", the singer makes allusion to thunder, which owes its effectiveness to thunder's destructive power and its signification of rain. Work ability and productivity are shown to ressemble the power of thunder and the resultant rain which nourishes the land. The ideophonic expression "radada", ressembling thunder's clap, is used as an injunction made to the initiates to face their work with zeal.

In praising her husband's wrestling prowess, the singer of "I Go Proudly" compares the good throws he gives his rivals at wrestling contests to the clap of thunder:

Kwɔ́ɔ́kɔ́, thing of wrestling,
It cannot be felled.
King of strength, overall, you follow Aiki!
Feeling of pleasure, Acca, Kill for me;
Let Kwɔ́ɔ́kɔ́ kill the lazy one;
Like the clap of thunder!

The mobilizing power of the word in C'Bǫmǫ songs is thus enhanced by the use of imagery drawn

from nature. The composers of Lelna C'Bomo songs use such imagery to praise members of their communities, to enjoin them to heroic deeds and to enhance productivity.

Religion and Magic

Traditionally, Lelna people are ancestor worshippers. Their most sacred diety, who is believed to embody the spirit of their ancestors, and who is referred to as M'Gilǿ (The Fearful One), Kwese (The Male One) or Baba (The Father), features prominently in C'Bomo songs. The god is invoked in 'Dabna Have Called Golmo' when the initiates sing:

Solo: Ha - a - aha - an!
Chorus: Hum - m - m!
Solo: Let us get on!
Chorus: Hum - m - m!
Solo: Blow, Baba!
Chorus: Hum - m - m!
Solo: Let us get on!
Chorus: Ha - aha - an, ha - a - an!

Baba is called upon to breathe life into the song.

When they feel strongly about something, Lelna men swear by M'Gilǿ. In 'I Met A Woman Burdened', a man is described showing great appreciation for his wife's cooking:

'Look, my husband, come and have a taste,'
this person,
The man got up hurriedly.
The man got up, mouth agape, this person,
The man went and tasted rototo.
The man said, 'Zemk M'Gilǿ. Baba....'

Seme, often pronounced 'Zeme 'when swearing, is the hill on which M'Gilo is believed to dwell. The man swears by both the diety and his dwelling place as an expression of appreciation for the soup rototo.

Though Lelna also believe in a supreme diety known as A'Silǿ (Owner of the sky or heaven), they did not refer much to Him in the past; believing that minor dieties served as intercessors to A'Silǿ for them. But as a result of the influences of Islam and Christianity, the composer of 'Burn Pepper' displays great emotion about his wife by praising God, using the islamic term Allah, Whom Lelna believe to be the same as A'Silǿ, as he calls his wife's name:

God (Allah) is King, Gwensa!
God is King, Gwensa!
It is a maiden that I married,
Excessively comely.

Lelna also believe in magic, hence the comparison of Girgi, the ideal maiden, with a magician because of the seemingly supernatural grip she has on every golmo initiate. In 'Dabna Have Called Golmo', the initiates sings:

Solo: Ye - e - e - ye - e,
Chorus: It is my in-law, Dawa, who would call for me Girgi the magician.
Solo: That we may go home;
Chorus: Girgi the magician.
Solo: I say, my in-law, Dawa, may call for me
Chorus: Girgi the magician.

The initiate is pleading with his in-law to give him Girgi because, like a magician, she has him entranced.

Lelna believe that medicine could be taken to make one immune to cuts or blows. Persons thus charmed are said to have 'eaten a knife' or 'eaten iron'. In 'Dabna Have Called Golmo', the initiate vows to follow his leader at golmo as if he were charmed against pain. In this way, he hopes to display his worthiness to marry Girga, the ideal wife. He sings:

Solo: Girga, worm of gǫǫgǫǫ!
Chorus: Gǫlmǫ is gathered.
Solo: Worm of gǫǫgǫǫ!
Chorus: Gǫlmǫ is gathered;
So, the rules of golmo say,
Hyena take the lead,
I ate a knife in order
To find golmo to my taste. (Lines 276-283)

By 'eating a knife', the initiate declares his readiness to obey the rules of gǫlmǫ which are enacted for the sake of Girga, the ideal wife.

But Lelna also believe that magic could be harmful, as expressed in 'Set The Fire Burning':

Solo: It is magic that finished Dabna.
Chorus: Finished Dabna, ha!
Solo: Whoever climbs and sits on an arrow;
Chorus: On an arrow, ha!
Solo: As each climbs and sits on an arrow;
Chorus: On an arrow, ha!
Solo: The arrow would be plucked out with intestines!
Chorus: With intestines, ha!

This mockery of magical display is to warn that magic should not be valued above hard work. In so far as religion and magic are employed in C'Bǫmǫ songs to emphasise the qualities praised in the objects of the songs, they contribute to the mobilization of Lelna for heroism and productivity.

Death

In Lelna society, the dead are believed to be in close contact with the living. Members of Lelna communities, therefore, express the desire to have their praises sung even after they have died. That is why the gǫlmǫ initiate in 'Dabna Have Called Gǫlmǫ' expresses the wish to leave behind a good image

when he dies:

Chorus: We should not die
Solo: So that
Chorus: We should meet a maiden with exotic marks.
Solo: Then, later, I might die;
Chorus: One day, I might die and the damsels would mourn me!

The singer means that anyone who survives golmo and gets married would be celebrated as a hero when he dies. The prospect of being praised after death is effectively used in the song to mobilize Lelna to heroic exploits and productivity.

Conclusion

C'Bomo songs, from their dominant concerns (to praise and advocate praise-worthy qualities), as well as from their stylistic features, conform to conventional theotetical concepts of praise poetry. Through the genre, also, insight is gained into the world view, values and beliefs of Lelna people, which are employed in the songs to mobilize the people for economic and social activities which help sustain Lelna communities.

Notes

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3. Kunene, Daniel. Heroic Poetry of the Basotho, London: Oxford University Press, 1971. pp. 20 - 49.

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6. Bamgbose, Ayo. 'Lexical Matching in Yoruba Poetry' in Yoruba Language and Literature, edited by Adebisi Afolayan, Ife: University of Ife Press, 1982. p. 83.

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Chapter Three

SOCIAL CONTROL THROUGH C'KEMGTE (BLAME) SONGS

Blame songs are not as widely discussed, as a distinct genre of poetry, as are praise songs in African oral literature studies. In fact, Finnegan expresses misgivings about their viability as a genre.1 She lists such poems as contain blame themes among 'poems of many diverse functions' which she calls lyrics.2 Though Kofi Awooner lists songs of blame among the genres of Ewe songs, he gives them no specific definition.3 However, Oyin Ogunba mentions satirical songs among Yoruba occasional festival songs which include songs that criticise evil, lampoons and self-derision.4 D.I. Nwoga also mentions satire as a viable genre of Igbo poetry which to him 'belongs to a functional group through which social control is exercised and amusement and reproach against offenders taken.'5

Apart from the fact that Lelna themselves recognise C'Kemgte as a genre of their poetry, analysis of C'Kemgte songs shows that their dominant concern is to rebuke persons who misbehave in society. The rebukes are sometimes didactic and sometimes satirical. C'Kemgte songs can therefore go under a general description as 'blame' songs.

C'Kemgte songs display the abhorrence Lelna people have for deviation from traditionally accepted modes of behaviour, as seen in laziness, irresponsibility, jealousy and chaos. The songs therefore provide insights into Lelna cultural values and beliefs which the songs help to uphold through social control.

Performance of C'Kemgte Songs

Like C'Bomo songs, C'Kemgte are performed during work as well as at liesure times.

Work Occasions

C'Kemgte are performed by golmo initiates, both at work and while resting, as described in chapter two. For example, the song entitled 'I Have a Headache' (Hik Cii Bo Me), was performed by golmo initiates at rest. It criticises laziness and deviance from tradition that may lead to chaos. 'Let Me Tell It' (Lag Na Me Um Vatte) is also performed by golmo initiates, but this time while working. It criticises laziness by satirising the death of a lazy person during work. Such songs discourage members of golmo groups from behaving in the manners criticised.

M'Seve groups (groups of women doing collective work for self-help or hire) also use the forum of collective work to sing C'Kemgte. For example, the song entitled 'There's No Strong One' (Beba Zada), which criticises laziness by satirising the clumsy behaviour of a lazy person, was performed by an m'seve group while working on a farm at Amanawa. Here also, the song discourages members from indolence or sluggishness. The rhythms of work and song complement each other, enhancing both efficiency at work and aesthetic enjoyment.

Occasions of Liesure

C'Kemgte are often performed by elderly persons dancing to drum music. For example, 'Let No One Be Vexed' (Kada Na Hwinsø), and 'The Old Ones' (Kongamna), were performed at drinking places by elderly persons, to the accompaniment of c'gula (talking drums). Both songs are didactic, advising persons in respected positions or of respected ages to stop behaving irresponsibly.

C'Kemgte are sometimes performed to the accompaniment of molo (a two-stringed instrument). 'I

Shall Tell You' (Tum Vece No), which talks about the evil tendencies of modern society, was performed by Reetu, aged thirty nine, to the accompaniment of molo.

Wherever they are performed, C'Kemgte songs help to control social behaviour by criticising, through didactism or satire, deviant persons in society.

Lelna World View, Values and Beliefs in C'Kemgte Songs

In criticising laziness, irresponsibility, jealousy and chaos, the composers of C'Kemgte songs provide insights into Lelna world view, values and beliefs. Criticising deviant behaviour helps Lelna people to uphold their cultural values.

Laziness

Laziness is one of the most common themes in C'Kemgte songs. Because Lelna people value hard work, and praise success, lazy persons are held in great contempt. In an agrarian society, where survival depends on individual and collective efforts, there is no place for indolence. Lazy persons, therefore, often attract satirical attacks. The songs describe lazy ones' actions. For example, in 'I Have a Headache', the lazy one's excuse for avoiding work is satirised:

> I have a headache, I have a headache;
> I have a headache, when the lazy one's back hurts:
> 'I have a headache!'

Farm work usually causes the back to ache. But a golmo initiate is expected to endure it silently. That is why when the lazy one complains of a headache, in the hope of obtaining relief from work, no one relieves him.

In 'Let Me Tell It', the death of a lazy per-

son is shown to be disgraceful, for he dies on his in-law's farm. Among Lelna, there is no greater abomination, for the lazy one will go to his grave with a bad name:

Solo: It is the lazy one who died,
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Over there at his in-law's!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: He suffered an ordeal!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: The ordeal killed him!
Chorus: Hain!

The aversion his mates have for this type of death results in their resolute declaration to attain the goals of gǫlmǫ which are marriage and respect:

Solo: I shall not die,
Chorus: That we may go to my in-law's, hain!

Going to the in-law's farm symbolises both the means (hard work) and the goal (marriage) of gǫlmǫ.

'There is No Strong One' expresses the uselessness of the lazy one's efforts due to clumsiness:

Solo: The strong bends to work clumsily,
Chorus: Ha - a - a - n!
Solo: Like a bottle of eye-shadow.
Chorus: Ha - a - a - n!
Solo: The bottle of eye-shadow is preferable;
Chorus: Ha - a - a - n!
Solo: It can be shaken and applied,
Chorus: Ha - a - a - n!
Solo: Applied to darken the eyes.
Chorus: Ha - a - a - n! (Lines 60 - 68)

The lazy person is sacarstically referred to as 'Strong one', and then derissively compared to a bottle of eye-shadow, a miniature gourd with a long neck, clumsy in appearance and hence an apt simile for the lazy one, and yet shown to have a use, an allusion to

the lazy one's uselessness.

Symbolic names are often used to describe lazy persons. For example, in 'Let Me Tell It', the lazy one is referred to as a log:

Solo: On the way to the hometown,
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: It is a log!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: It is a log!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: It is the lazy one who died,
Chorus: Hain!

A log of wood is a common sight in rural, agrarian communities. It appears huge, still, heavy, immoveable and useless, hence its use as a metaphor for the lazy one who is seen as unable to achieve anything. In fact, he is a log, a burden to his carriers on his way to his grave.

Abussive names are used on the lazy ones in 'There's No Strong One'. The workers sing:

Solo: Clumsy strong one;
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Useless strong one;
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Useless strong one;
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Strong one, cowardice fits you!
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Nothing but clumsiness;
Chorus: Ha - a - n! (Lines 83-87)

The songs often describe the consequences of laziness. 'I Have a Headache' predicts the forfieture of wives by those who desert <u>golmǫ</u>, thus emphasising the Lelna view that only the hard working deserve reward:

Solo: Those of you who deserted <u>golmǫ</u>,

Let the whiteman marry for you!
Chorus: Baba - a - a, those of you who deserted <u>golmo</u>.
Let the whiteman marry for you!

Traditional Lelna society never believed that a man could get a wife without undergoing <u>golmo</u>. They therefore laughed at the new christian converts and new job seekers because they believed the whiteman had no wives to give such deserters.

Lazy ones are warned in 'Let Me Tell It' that they would become topics of discussion:

Solo: Even if I will be killed,
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: I must tell it;
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: I shall tell about the lazy one!
Chorus: Hain! (Lines 83-87)

And in 'There's No Strong One', laziness is described as the cause of poor farm work. This shows the anxiety Lelna have about their farms and crops:

Solo: Chief, were there a strong one,
Chorus: Ha - a - m!
Solo: Were there a strong one, farm work would be done.
Chorus: Ha - a - m!
Solo: Farm work would be done happily,
Chorus: Ha - a - m!
Solo: Done happily,
Chorus: Ha - a - m!
Solo: But, chiefs, there is no strong one.
Chorus: Ha - a - m! (Lines 11 - 20)

The attacks on laziness help to curb indolence among Lelna people.

<u>Chaos</u>

Valuing orderliness, Lelna people abhor chaos

in their society. In 'I Have a Headache', a rumour monger is criticised for causing confusion:

Solo: Baba, Tøkø's advice,
Baba, Tøkø's advice,
Has turned to Gwenta's advice.
Chorus: Baba, Tøkø's advice,
Has turned to Gwenta's advice!
Solo: As soon as morning comes,
Gwenta talks until the tongue is burnt!
Chorus: As soon as morning comes,
Gwenta talks until the tongue is burnt!

An appeal is made to 'Baba', the Lelna diety, to witness how Gwenta makes Tøkø's affairs his own and, early in the day, starts talking about things that do not concern him. Gwenta does not rest until he wears out his tongue. This leads to social disharmony, as the singer declares:

Solo: But it is my neighbours, but it is my neighbours;
But it is my neighbours, but it is my neighbours;
If my name is soiled, it is my neighbours!
Chorus: Baba - a - a, if my name is soiled, it is my neighbours! (Lines56 - 59)

Fighting is also shown to be bad behaviour:

Solo: Pass on the way, my mate, I pass on the way,
You tighten your talisman!
Chorus: Pass on the way, my mate, I pass on the way,
You tighten your talisman!
Solo: Am I a buffalo, my mate, child,
Am I a buffalo or a rhinocerous?
Chorus: Am I a buffalo, my mate, child,
Am I a buffalo or a rhinocerous? (Lines 83-90)

A talisman around the arm is tightened in preparation for a fight in which the owner of the talisman

hopes to disable or kill his oponent. The person looking for a fight is thus depicted as inhuman. This is further supported by the singer's question wether he (the singer) is a buffalo or rhinocerous that deserves to be killed.

The song entitled 'Let No One Be Vexed' employs rhetorical qustions to satirise the chaotic thinking of jealous persons who quarrel unreasonably:

> They are competing to be advisers.
> You have not tried your husband with meat;
> Would you try your husband with a testicle?
> Or try your husband with a penis?
> Would a man make a kitchen knife with a penis?
> Or his wife cut okro with a testicle? (Lines 21 - 26)

This shows that the competitors are disorderly. They think impossible things. They want glory without working. They are like a man who makes a knife with his penis - an impossible feat. In 'I Shall Tell You', the composer criticises the insecurity arising from coveteousness in mordern society:

> If I get a shilling, I would be injured,
> If I get two shillings, I would be killed.
> If I stand on the way, I would be eaten.
> But which way shall I go, my brethren?
> But which way shall I pass? (Lines 18-22)

The orderliness valued in traditional society is shown here to be lost, leaving a chaotic situation in which people kill for very little cause, not more than 'two shillings'' worth.

Laziness is also shown to lead to chaos in 'There's No Strong One':

Solo: He does not know
Chorus: How to lead a song, ha - a - n!

Solo: Not to talk of
Chorus: How to chorus, ha - a - n! (Lines 84-87)
Leading a song symbolises taking the initiative at work, while 'chorusing' symbolises supporting or following a leader at work, none of which activities the lazy one is capable of. His efforts, like a bad lead or chorus, spoil the song or work.

Jealousy

Jealousy is seen as an evil force in Lelna society. It leads to acts that deviate from traditionally accepted modes of behavious. For example, in 'Let No One Be Vexed', jealousy is shown to force a celebrant to take his feast to another community, as members of his own community display jealousy over his success as a hunter:

Young man did not eat.
For what reason?
It is because of Kiima's rhinocerous.
Let us go home, then!
Why, Kiima?
We shall take it to U'Daba!

The jealous one's behaviour is described as refusal to eat because of another's success. Since the jealous ones would not celebrate, the celebrant decides to take his feast to U'Daba, a community believed to embody Lelna culture and tradition. It is also an allusion to the deviance from culture and tradition by the jealous ones. Such criticism helps to control anti-social behaviour among Lelna people.

Irresponsibility

Among Lelna people, elderly people are expected to behave responsibly. They should uphold tradition and avoid chaos. When elderly persons behave irresponsibly, they are the subjects of C'Kem-

qte songs. For example, 'Let No One Vexed' criticises irresponsible behaviour of elderly persons. Their quarrels and jealousy are described as shameful:

> You do not fear shame!
> Whom shall I send to Toro?
> Today, it is lacking, no,
> The thing that killed Saida.
> Let us go home and leave them.
> What can they do with shame?

Because Saida is 'killed' by jealousy and is therefore unpredictable, the composer decides to send for Toro, a presumably more responsible person. The composer, the proud killer of a rhinocerous, decides to ignore the jealous ones and do without their company because they are shameless. He alludes further to their irresponsibility by invoking the responsible chief and praising him:

> As Køci Ayuba called me;
> Father of Naama,
> Chief (Husband) of Saake,
> Father of Gomma, I shall accept. (Lines 14-18)

The chief embodies order and hence, responsibility. He is described as a father and husband, as well as a judge. All these are symbols of responsibility, valued by Lelna people. It is in contrast to these qualities that the jealous ones are referred to as 'competitors' to show them as being chaotic; 'young man' to show them as being childish; and 'amateur' to show them as being irresponsible.

Irresponsibility is the main subject of 'The Old Ones'. It criticises gossip mongering among elderly persons:

> I say, the old ones talk mischief in this world;

Even if you did not say, they say you said.
They did not see, they say they have seen.
Even if they do not know how, they say they know how. (Lines 15 - 18)

Using lexico-structural repetition within and between lines, so that nagative and positive propositions are juxtaposed within the lines, helps to emphasise the idea of irresponsible behaviour. The song goes on to warn about the consequences of such behaviour:

Will it sit well at all like that?
Will it sit well again? (Lines 28 and 29)

This means that harmony is lost. The mischief maker is also warned of self-inflicted trouble:

If you do not know how to catch a thief,
The thief may slap you, do you know?
The thief may slap you. (Lines 48 - 50)

The proverbial lines help to show up the mischief makers as being foolish, laying traps for themselves.

Combining didactism and satire, C'Kemqte songs help to ensure that members of Lelna communities conform to their cultural values and beliefs by rebuking deviant behaviour. In the process, C'Kemqte songs both provide insights into Lelna world view, values and beliefs and provide aesthetic pleasure.

Notes

1. Finnegan, Ruth. Oral Literature in Africa, London: Oxford University Press, 1970. p. 147.

2. Finnegan. Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance and Social Context, London:Cambridge University Press, 1977. p. 13.

3. Awoonor, Kofi. The Breast of the Earth: A Survey of the History, Culture and Literature of Africa South of the Sahara, New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1975. p. 355.

4. Ogunba, Oyin. 'Yoruba Occasional Festival Songs' in Yoruba Language and Literature, edited by Adebisi Afolayan, Ife: University of Ife Press, 1982. pp. 37 -8

5. Nwoga, Donatus I. 'The Igbo Poet and Satire' in Oral Poetry in Nigeria, edited by Abalogu Achebulum et al, Lagos: Nigeria Magazine, 1981. p. 243.

Chapter Four

SOCIAL THERAPY THROUGH NAM C'DEBE (LAMENT) SONGS

When we turn to another category of Lelna songs, Nam C'Debe, we soon discover how they resemble those peoms which are described in oral literature as elegiac. According to Kofi Awoonor, elegiac poetry is a form of poetry that concerns itself with 'any calamitious occurrences that strike the poet as being important enough to be worthy of song.'1 For Oyin Ogunba, elegiac songs are those used 'when an individual, a group of people or a whole community (feels) grief-stricken....'2 In Finnegan's words, they are 'poems which take death or sorrow as their general themes....'3 An elegy is, therefore, any poem that expresses sorrow.

Nam C'Debe songs take their inspirations for composition from personal tragedies like loss of loved ones, loss of fortune or acts of injustice against the composers; they may therefore be described as elegies. The composers employ devices similar to those described by Awoonor as 'Statement, allusion, imagery created through simile and metaphor, and repetition,'4 to dramatise tragedy and incite pity. Often, however, the tragedies are presented with humour, displaying the resilience of the human spirit; its capacity to not only survive adversity but to create aesthetic pleasure from it.

Performance of Nam C'Debe Songs

Like other genres of Lelna songs, Nam C'Debe are performed collectively to the accompaniment of drums at drinking places; during collective farm work by female groups (M'seve); by individuals engaged in work; during funeral ceremonies; or by men, relaxing alone or before an audience, to the

accompaniment of molo (a two-stringed instrument).

However, Nam C'Debe songs are not common among golmo initiates. This is probably because the initiates are more concerned with encouraging achievement and discouraging indolence than with expressing sorrow through their songs. Young boys and girls also rarely sing Nam C'Debe songs because they are often more concerned with praising their lovers and expressing their hopes for the future, than with expressing sorrow.

Through Nam C'Debe, Lelna people express grievances without resorting to violence. In expressing their grievances, the composers create mental pictures of normalcy against which their 'abnormal' situations are placed in stark contrast, and to which they hope to return.

Communal Feelings

As an agrarian society, Lelna people are very community-conscious. All other tribes, no matter how closely related to Lelna, are treated as foreigners. This highly parochial tendency is resorted to by the composer of 'That I Should Depart' (Ai Um Unu), to elicit sympathy from her listeners, when she complains of her husband's estrangement from her:

Solo: That I should depart;
Chorus: That I should leave their home.
Solo: That I should depart;
Chorus: That I should leave their home.
Solo: As Danjuma
Chorus: Got a giver of water,
That I should pass on to Kombori, oh me!
That I should move on to Kulbawa. (Lines 7-16)

Though Kombori and Kulbawa are two neighbouring tribes, linguistically related to Lelna, the composer refers to them as foreign lands to which her husband

has banished her, symbolising his emotional estrangement from her. The effectiveness of the symbolism lies in its appeal to the parochial feelings of her Lelna listeners.

Lelna parochialism must have developed during the jihad of Othman Dan Fodio in the nineteenth century, when the Hausa-Fulani jihadists employed a scorched-earth policy in their bid to subject Lelna to their rule. This led to Lelna distrust of all foreigners and to their reference to Hausa people as Kogno ('stoney heads or hearts). This conclusion is supported by the complaint of the composer of 'Sit Quietly For Me' (Sweetam Bodo):

Solo: If it is the talk of religion,
Kogno have brought trouble;
Chorus: As they do insult me!
Solo: As the noise makers do insult me!
Let everyone insult the other.
Let everyone stand and speak, since they are making a noise!
Let everyone take the insult to the other.
(Lines 5-11)

Here she refers to the religious disunity among Lelna people introduced by Hausa people, appealing thus to the community feeling of Lelna to gain sympathy for her complaint against a relative who abuses her for sticking to Lelna tradition.

In 'I Shall Go Wisely' (Tum Nok Un Waayo), the composer appeals to similar parochial feelings to complain of maltreatment in her husband's house:

I shall go wisely;
People allow me to go home to the Gwentas'.
Go wisely, people, let me go wisely;
Let me go home to the Gwentas'.
The Gwentas', welcome, let me go willingly.
Let me go home, the Gwentas', welcome;

Let me go willingly.
As I got to the grove, the grove had leopards!
As I got to the brook, it belonged to Hausa
people. (Lines 1 - 9)

Using the symbolism of a journey to describe her desire to leave her husband's unfavourable environment for her parents' home, she juxtaposes the imagery of the brook (a familiar feature in Lelna terrain, symbolising normalcy), with the imagery of leopards (wild animals, symbolising a terrifying experience) and the imagery of Hausa people (a foreign people, symbolising abnormality), to show that her marriage is not ideal.

By associating misfortune or maltreatment with other people, therefore, the composers of Nam C'Debe songs appeal to parochial feelings to assure themselves that their causes are just and are backed by members of their communities. The feeling of communal support thus generated has the therapeutic effect of easing their grief.

Family Ties

Lelna people are not only community conscious but family conscious. Family ties tend to remain strong even when members, especially women, leave their primary homes for marriage elsewhere. When Lelna women feel agrieved in their husbands' homes, they often fall back on their primary families for support. This is evident in the resolution of the composer of 'I Shall Be Wise' (Tum Em Ge Waayo) as she sings:

I shall be wise and take it to my mother;
Let my going trouble you all!
I shall just be wise and take it to my mother;
Let my going trouble you all!

Elder, Tadi, carve me a calabash.
Elder, Tadi, carve me a calabash.
Let me go home for Diimo to marry me.
(Lines 15 - 22)

Feeling agrieved in her husband's home, the composer then resolves to go and seek comfort at her mother's home. By including her husband's relatives in her complaint, she brings two whole families (instead of two individuals only) into conflict, neither conceiving of herself as separate from her primary family ties, nor her husband as separate from his.

A calabash is a very important item among the things a wife takes to her husband's home because she would use calabash to serve him with corn meal and water. By asking her sister, Tadi, to help her carve a calabash, the composer is symbolically appealing for support to leave her current husband and go home where a more understanding person, diimo, would marry her.

In another song, 'That I Should Depart', the composer views the unjust manner in which her husband rejects her as a collective action by the husband and his primary family. She sings:

He says I should depart,
That I should leave this place.
That I should depart,
I should leave their home. (Lines 17-20)

By replacing 'this place' with 'their home', she places the husband's action within the context of his family ties.

The composer of 'I Shall Go Wisely' makes a strong appeal to her primary family ties when she feels desperately oppressed in her husband's home. She sings:

I shall go wisely;

People, allow me to go home to the Gwentas'.
Go wisely; people, let me go wisely;
Let me go home to the Gwentas'.
The Gwentas' welcome; let me go willingly.
Let me go home, the Gwentas', welcome;
Let me go willingly. (Lines 1 - 7)

Gwenta is the composer's father, and her appeal is to him and to every member of the family as well. To her, remaining in her husband's home would be a foolish thing to do; she implies this through the association of 'going home to her primary family with 'wisdom'. She also associates her primary family with freedom because she would go there 'willingly', to escape the oppression in her husband's home.

Employing family ties in Nam C'Debe songs helps the composers to stave off despair and get relief from their emotional crisis.

Religion

Composers of Nam C'Debe songs often bring their religious beliefs to bear in stating their cases of complaint. In fact, religion itself is the concern of 'Sit Quietly For Me.' The composer is complaining because a relative of hers who has converted to islam insults her for remaining in her traditional religion:

Solo: If it is talk of religion,
Hausa people have brought troubles;
Chorus: As they do insult me!
Solo: As the noise makers do insult me!
Let everyone insult the other.
Let everyone stand and speak; since they are making a noise. (Lines 5 - 10)

She not only asserts that the trouble is brought by Hausa people, but that her relative is now part of

them. She retaliates at the insults by referring to the moslems as 'noise makers', an allusion to the loudness of their prayers.

The composer even appeals to traditional Lelna belief in a supreme being, A'Silø (The Owner of the Sky), to argue that islam is not the only means of worshipping God. She sings:

Solo: Whoever insults, let him expect insults.
Chorus: As they are making a noise.
Solo: Every body gives his own birth,
God gives birth. (Lines 25 - 28)

'Birth' here symbolises creation. The composer is arguing that while human beings create different approaches to God, He is the ultimate creator and custodian of wisdom.

Lelna people believe in reincarnation. This differenciates their attitudes from those of christians or moslems who believe in the existence of heaven and hell. To Lelna people, the experiences of the present life helps later-reincarnated members of their communities to live better lives. This belief informs the resolution of the composer of 'I Shall Be Wise' when she sings:

If I one day reincarnate;
If I one day reincarnate;
I will surely not marry,
One day reincarnate;
I shall not marry into the same situation!
(Lines 10 - 14)

Because of her travails in her present marriage, she resolves to choose a better situation in her reincarnated life. She repeats several times the idea of reincarnation; this underlines her unshakable faith in the future.

From the foregoing it can be claimed that religious beliefs provide Lelna composers of Nam C'Debe

songs with therapeutic balms, enabling them to face social problems confronting them without resorting to violence.

Freedom of Expression

Lelna society is organised on principles of egalitarianism. The freedom of expression is one evidence of the social equality existing among the people. Except for those utterances which are considered as taboo for religious reasons, or for those situations when speakers impose control on their speech for the sake of diplomacy, every member of Lelna society is free to express himself or herself fully. The composer of 'Sit Quietly For Me' strongly asserts this freedom of expression in her retaliation against the insults of moslem converts as she sings:

> As the noise makers do insult me!
> Let everyone insult and spurn the other.
> Let everyone stand and speak; since they
> are making a noise. (Lines 8 - 10)

The singer declares that she would not take the insults of her detractors lying low, since the society gives her full freedom to speak out, insult or spurn, like everyone else.

The exchange between the composer of 'I Meet a Maiden' and the 'maiden', in which he proposes marriage but she rejects him, leading to his sorrow, is based on the full rights of the two persons to express themselves. Hence the composer sings:

> I go on the way, looking, this person,
> I meet a maiden.
> I had met a maiden,
> I then spoke to the maiden.
> The maiden told me her exact mind:
> 'I and my husband, we must marry.'(Lines 3-9)

Neither the composer nor the maiden feels any constraint in exoressing themselves. The one freely makes a request which the other refuses to grant.

In 'I Shall Be Wise', the singer also asserts her freedom of speech against the maltreatment she receives from her husband and his relatives when she sings:

I shall be wise and take it to my mother;
Let my going trouble you all!
I shall be wise and take it to my mother;
Let my going trouble you all! (Lines 1-4)

She means that her tormentors cannot stop her from telling her mother her problems: They can deprive her of other things, but not her freedom of expression.

There is no doubt that poetic licence gives Lelna people scope to express their feelings freely in songs, and the fsct that every grievance can be expressed in song is a reflection of the great freedom of expression which the Lelna have.

Freedom of Choice in Marriage and Divorce

The tradition of arranged marriage commonly found in many African societies is also practiced by Lelna. One of its advantages is that it helps prospective couples to grow up knowing each other very intimately. This practice is however being eroded as a result of growing individualism, as Lelna youths continue to express their freedom of choice in marriage more frequently, preferring their own choices to those of their parents.

It is while exercising this freedom that the composer of 'I Meet a Maiden' expresses his predicament. He meets a lady and declares his love for her, but she rejects him, causing him severe heartbreak:

I then spoke to the maiden.

The maiden told me her exact mind;
'It will not be possible that way,
'I and my husband, we must marry.'
I sat and emaciated totally. (Lines 6 - 10)

The singer's proposal to an already bethroded lady challenges the traditional institution of pre-arranged marriages. In rejecting the singer's advances, however, the lady bows to the weight of tradition. This is another evidence of the conflict between modern and traditional ideas.

The composer of 'I Shall Be Wise' relies on this freedom when she sings:

If I one day reincarnate;
If I one day reincarnate;
I will surely not marry;
One day reincarnate
I shall not marry into the same situation!
(Lines 10 - 14)

She looks forward to a time when she would have a choice in the matter; then suddenly she loses her patience and asserts her decision to not wait any longer before making the choice. She appeals directly to her relatives to support her to divorce her husband so that she may marry a man of her choice:

I shall just be wise and take it to my mother;
Let my going trouble you all!

Elder, Tadi, carve me a calabash,
Elder, Tadi, carve me a calabash,
Let me go home for Diimo to what?
Let me go home for Diimo to marry me. (Lines 17 - 22)

The composer means that by carving her a calabash her elder sister would be provising her with the dowry to take to her chosen husband.

The cause of lamentation by the composer of another song, 'That I Should Depart', is that her husband has exercised his freedom to divorce her as well as to marry another wife. She sings:

Solo: That I should depart;
Chorus: That I should leave their home.
Solo: As Danjuma
Chorus: Got a giver of water,
That I should pass on to Kombori, oh me!
That I should move on to Kulbawa. (Lines 9 - 16)

Serving a husband with water is a sign among Lelna that a wife is favoured by him. The composer is saying that it is because herhusband has got a 'giver of water', meaning a wife he now favours over the composer herself, that he has decided to divorce her.

Relationship to Nature

Composer of Nam C'Debe songs take full advantage of their natural environment in expressing themselves. They employ landscape features and objects commonly found in their agrarian environment. One of such pregnant references to nature is evident when, using the allegory of a journey, a composer creates a nightmarish picture of her problems by using the imagery of dangerous insects and animals:

I just get to the brook, the mosquitoes
are too much!
Oh my! Termites also bite me!
Black ants also sting me!
Hippoppotamus comes out and Aligator comes
out!
It is the Boa Constrictor that crawled out!
So the water snake has cut off my head?
Dawa, quick! The Rainbow has swallowed me!
('I Shall Go Wisely' Lines 12 - 18)

The brook stands for normalcy, since water courses are common in the Lelna landscape. This Heightens the shock of the realisation that the familiar terrain actually harbours dangerous animals. The dangerous animals are a symbol for the pain and terror, and other harrowing experiences of the composer in her husband's home.

The dietry and occupational aspects of Lelna life are employed in 'I Meet a Maiden' to heighten the impression of sorrow:

I sat, I would not take meals.
I sat, I would not eat meat.
I sat, I would not work on the farm.
I sat and emaciated totally. (Lines 12 -15)

Corn meal is the staple diet of Lelna. They also eat plenty of meat since meat is in plentiful supply both from the animals they rear at home and also from the games they hunt down. The composer's inability to partake of these major foods shows how great is his sorrow. The use of natural objects in Nam C'Debe songs not only provides pictures of the Lelna environment and gives poetic power to the songs, but helps the coposers to strengthen their arguments, elicit sympathy and alleviate their sorrow.

In so far as they express sorrow, Nam C'Debe

songs can be described as elegiac. Their composers employ imagery from the full range of Lelna life and environment to support their arguments and complaints. Thus elegy helps Lelna people to alleviate pain and resolve their conflicts.

Notes

1. Awoonor, Kofi. Guardians of the Sacred Word, New York: Nok Publishers Ltd., 1974. p. 24.

2. Ogunba, Oyin. 'Yoruba Occasional Festival Songs' in Yoruba Language and Literature, edited by Adebisi Afolayan, Ife: University of Ife Press, 1982. pp. 49 - 50.

3. Finnegan, Ruth. Oral Literature in Africa, London: Oxford University Press, 1970. p. 151.

4. Awoonor. Guardians of the Sacred Word, p. 24.

Chapter Five

TRAINING AND CAREER OF LELNA ARTISTS

As with several other African groups, the poets who exist among the Lelna tend to support Ruth Finnegan's claim that oral poetry in some African communities is largely produced by 'the most skilled proponents of the poetic art in cultures which....do not posses full-time literary specialists. '1
The situation among Lelna poets is similar to what Adeboye Babalola portrays it to be among the Yoruba ijala artists:

> (....) many an ijala artists takes to ijala chanting only as a hobby or sideline, (....) he is primarily a hunter, a farmer, a soothsayer or a diviner-physician.2

Like the ijala artists, the Lelna artists may depend largely on other economic activities for their livelihood. However, Lelna artists see themselves, and are recognised by members of their communities, as skilled proponents of the poetic art. The artists pursue their skills with vigour through long years of training.

Training

Lelna artists start their training from childhood. The informal training involves listening to older artists, imitating them, and then doing solo performances of their own. Some differences exist, however, between the type of training received by male artists and that received by their female counterparts.

Female Artists

Every female child, for instance, starts her training by listening to, and imitating, those

songs with which her mother and older sisters accompany their work. She also imitates the songs older girls sing at play. As she grows older, she learns daato (comming-of-age) songs performed by girls during U'hola (an annual festival to mark the end of the year) as they escort to the dance arena boys and girls who are celebrating their transition from childhood to adulthood. And later, she learns songs performed during m'seve (collective farm work by female groups).

Most female artists among the Lelna tend to be those who excel in performing at such occasions as described above. Valued for their excellence, they are often invited to perform at marriage, naming, title-taking and funeral ceremonies. Even when they perform alone, their songs are appreciated by those who happen to hear them.

Some of the female artists receive more formal training in later years. For example, Cige and Eska, two women aged 48 and 46, respectively, whose songs were recorded at Peni to the accompaniment of drums, explained that they were further trained by their aunt, Kwanci, to both brew beer and sing to entertain their customers. According to Cige:

> Each customer would come with his or her song and Kwanci would sing it while we back her up. We would also chorus for her as she sings songs she had composed herself. We learnt to sing that way. (Interview with Cige and Eska on 3rd April, 1992).

The trainees thus learn by providing accompaniment to the master artist. As time goes on, the trainees would be allowed to sing on their own until they become artists in their own right.

The skill of budding artists such as Cige and Eska is enhanced by the frequency with which they perform, which is as often as they have beer to sell, in addition to their performances during other occasions. Though encouraged to improve their performances by gifts of money from impressed customers, however, the income from such gifts is not enough to encourage specialization. The artists still depend mainly on the beer they brew for their livelihood.

Male Artists

Like their female counterparts, Lelna male children hear and imitate songs performed both at work and at liesure by their elders. Then when they join magiro (a secret cult that controls the worship of M'Gilɸ, the major Lelna diety), the boys get further training. They learn to sing the ritual songs of the cult. The boys take advantage of this training later in composing and singing songs to the accompaniment of molo (a two-stringed instrument).

At about the age of fifteen, the male child would be initiated into golmo (a forum for colletive farm work by prospective husbands for their in-laws), where he must listen to and memorize the songs of his group for about two years. Thereafter, he must compose at least one of his own. All songs thus composed would be sung at the composer's funeral by his age mates; so each initiate faces the task of composition seriously.

Those who excel in performing the group's songs become either laaje (leading singer) or booku (assistant singer) for their golmo group. Laaje and booku are highly valued as the songs they lead help to maintain enthusiasm, enhancing the

group's efficiency in farm work.

Laaje and booku are also valued at funeral ceremonies and are indispensible to successful threshing activities. Their songs entertain the workers and help relieve the tedium of work. On completion of golmo, the laaje or booku may go on to become a popular molo artist.

Composition and Performance

According to Mohammed NaAllah, one of the leading performers whose songs I recorded during golmo and corn-threshing activities, Lelna artists compose their songs by carefully selecting words to suitably express the composer's feelings or observations. The song is then practiced, usually in the company of others, until the composer feels satisfied. As soon as the song is performed in public, as Ulli Beier has pointed out about African poems in his African Poetry: An Anthology of Traditional African Poetry,3 the song becomes the property of the community; all who hear it take it up and adapt it to their needs. In this respect, Lelna differ from the Tswana among whom, according to Schapera, 'original poems are considered the property of their composer....'4

Adaptation

Most Lelna artists are good at adapting songs. Golmo initiates frequently simplify the task of composition by substituting some words in old tunes to suit their current needs, similar to the way in which the Ewe people of Ghana substitute new texts for old tunes, as described by Daniel Avorgbedor in his 'The Preservation, Transmission and Realization of Song Texts: A Psycho-musical Approach.'5

The skill of Lelna artists at adapting songs accounts for the movement of songs from one community to another. According to Cige, a female artists whom I interviewed, 'When people visit other communities to attend ceremonies, they adopt songs they like from there and take them home and sing them in the way they like.' Cige recognises the fact that an adapted text does not remain exactly the same as the original.

Adaptation also helps Lelna artists to compose songs on the spur of the moment, As NaAllah, who is aged 35, testified, songs composed on the spur of the moment are usually adaptations of old tunes to which suitable new words are added.

The process of oral artistic creation among Lelna fits Finnegan's general characterization of the process in African oral literature, for it is also one involving 'different combinations of the process of composition, memorization and performance....'6

Appreciation and Criticism

In some Lelna communities, there is general agreement as to the identities of the leading artists. For instance, Cige and Eska are generally acclaimed as the best female artists in Peni, about twenty kilometres from Zuru. In U'Manga, another Lelna community, fifteen kilometres from Zuru, however, opinions differ on the identities of the leading artists. While some people acclaim Alande, a corn beer seller, now in her fifties, as the leading artist in U'Manga, she is criticised by Nakere, another corn beer seller, aged fifty, as having a harsh and noisy voice. Nakere claims that Tarena, a thirty years old artist, is better than Alande because of her soft and clear voice.

Nakere's attack on Alande may be due to their rivalry as corn beer sellers. Her criticism is therefore, of dubious value.

Alande, on her own part, says Tarena is an upstart artist patronised by Nakere, Alande's rival corn beer seller, to attract customers for Nakere's drinks. Though this criticism is largely motivated by envy, Alande is supported in her opinion by NaAllah, the gɔlmɔ song artist, who claims that Tarena lacks voice modulation.

It seems that there is a lively tradition of appreciation and criticism of songs among the Lelna. The two major criteria used for judging a performance are the voice quality of the performer and the aptness of the imagery used in the song to treat its theme. The second criterion is similar to what Babalola calls 'wisdom' used in judging ijala artists. However, criticism among Lelna is not always objective, as the artists may be over-praised by their patrons or under-praised by their opponents. Still, the criticism encourages the artists to strive for improvement in their performances.

Career Prospects of Lelna Artists

Those Lelna artists who wait for seasonal activities like farm work during which to diplay their skills spend little time in improving their ability to compose or sing. Consequently, with fewer occurrences of traditional cultural and economic activities, the occasional artists are in danger of disappearing with the onset of modernism.

Some of the more regular performers rely only indirectly on their skills as singers for a livelihood. The corn beer sellers, for instance, devote time to improving their skills as singers main-

ly because it helps them to retain customers for their drinks. This indicates that such art depends for its existence on the corn beer industry; the art alone cannot sustain the artist.

The expressed hope by Reetu, a molo artist of fourty, to become an itinerant musician, much like the popular Hausa artists, indicates that some Lelna poets are becoming inclined towards specialization. Reetu hopes that someone might take enough interest to promote him on a wider scale. His belief that he needs a promoter, however, might slow down the process of specialization because such promoters do not exist among the Lelna. Meanwhile, Reetu earns his livelihood through various other occupations as a labourer, farmer, carpenter and dog meat seller.

It is evident that if Lelna poetic expression is to survive, Lelna artists must be able to earn enough incomes from their skills to sustain them, through wider exposure and greater specialization.

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7. Babalola. 'Ijala Poetry among the Oyo-Yoruba Communities,' pp.9 - 10.

Chapter Six

CONCLUSION

By focusing on three genres of Lelna poetry, namely C'Bɒmɒ (songs that extol those qualities valued by Lelna, otherwise known as praise songs); C'Kemgte (songs that satirise acts abhorred by Lelna, or blame songs); and finally, those songs terms Nam C'Debe (or songs of lament), this study has attempted to give prominence to a specific minority ethnic group's folklore. The study has, for the first time, presented a detailed analysis of some genres of Lelna songs. The songs serve many important functions in the lives of the Lelna.

The Functions of Lelna Songs

Lelna songs, apart from their basic functions as sources of entertainment, also provide information about Lelna society, and help to control social behaviour. They both reflect and influence society, and are in turn influenced by society.

By raising their awareness of good and evil, songs encourage morality among Lelna people. For instance, sexual immorality is considered as evil and is severely criticised through songs. Culprits are made to feel ashamed as the songs are ued to expose their actions to the community. This results into very few known cases of sexual misbehaviour.

Lelna songs provide an essential aspect of Lelna festivals. Without songs, Lelna ceremonies would be drab affairs, giving no joy to the participants. It is through the funeral dirges at memorial rites, for instance, that the deceased's lives are evocatively recounted, helping to reduce

the mourners' sorrow.

Through songs, Lelna children learn about many aspects of their culture. They get informed about Lelna views on marriage, magic and religion. They also get to know about the types of plants and animals in their environment mainly through the songs.

One important way in which society in turn influences songs is through audience participation in performances.

The Influence of the Audience on the Performance of Lelna Songs

Audiences at the performances of Lelna songs participate in the performances by joining in the chorus, clapping and dancing, and also passing critical comments. This helps the performers to perform according to the expectations of the audience. This seems to support Ruth Finnegan's statement that 'The audience....affects the nature and purpose of performances of oral poetry in various ways.'1

For instance, the performers of songs during corn threshing are golmo initiates, who do the actual threshing. The audience is made up of elderly men, young boys, elderly women and girls. The elderly men's task is to sweep off the husks of the threshed corn. They also urge the threshers to work harder and they pass critical comments whenever the songs are poorly performed. The boys help to beat the threshed husks further with whips. They imitate the threshers' movement and songs, thereby learning the performance.

The women and girls supply the threshers with food and water. They also pass comments on

the performance and applaud when moved to do so. Consciousness of the presence of such members of the audience encourages the performers to put up a good performance. Further research should reveal more facts about the influence of the audience on the performance of Lelna songs.

Threats to the Survival of Lelna Poetry

Lelna poetic expression is so closely tied to cultural and economic activities that the artists do not regard singing itself as a source of livelihood. This has made it easy for Lelna poetic expression to expire along with those cultural and economic activities which are being eroded by modern influences.

The largely informal training also makes it easy for Lelna artists to abandon their poetry and embrace modern influences that do not encourage such poetry. The training of Lelna artists resembles, in some respects, that of the Tswana whereby the learning process is tied to some other cultural activity. As Schapera puts it, 'the composition of poems....was one of the tasks imposed upon all boys going through the initiation rites....'2 Hence, those who avoid the initiation rites do not get the training in composition that the rites provide. The abandonment of the initiation rites could gradually lead to the demise of some forms of Lelna poetic expression.

Future Prospects For Lelna Poetry

It may not be possible to stem the demise of such traditional institutions among Lelna people as golmo and death anniversaries, together with the poems for which they provide avenues of expression,

but, happily, some Lelna artists are already adapting Lelna poetry to modern changes and are, therefore, pioneers of a new type of creativity in the future. One example of such artists is Reetu Bature, who makes tape recordings of his songs and performs the songs to mixed audiences of traditional and modern Lelna. He also makes use of borrowed words from Hausa and English in his songs to express new ideas. This indicates an inclination towards professionalism.

One way of encouring the emergence of new forms of Lelna poetry is to introduce both old and new forms into local schools, so that Lelna sons and daughters will be made familiar with an important aspect of their cultural heritage. Some of them may even become modern poets like Okot p'Bitek, Kofi Awooner and Wole Soyinka, who take the themes and styles of their poetry from the oral traditions of their people.

Another step towards continuity of Lelna poetic expression is to expose molo artists and female singers to the accompaniment of c'gula (talking drums) to a wider audience. This will encourage professionalism among them and lead to the emergence of Lelna artists similar to Hausa professional singers like Haruna Oji, Dan Maraya Jos, and Hajiya Lolo. For as Chinweizu, Onwuchekwa Jemie, and Ikechukwu Madubuike say, 'We do need to reclaim and rehablitate our genuine past, in order to acquire a secure launching pad into our future.'3

Possible Areas of Further Research

This study has not considered the dirge as a distinct genre of Lelna poetry. It has also not been possible to examine songs performed in secret

cults and other rituals among Lelna. These are areas that could throw greater light on Lelna poetic expression if researched.

Another possible area of future research which this study has not touched on is the link between the organisational structure of Lelna society. In Ruth Finnegan's words, 'It is natural.... to speculate that certain kinds of poetry - heroic epic for instance - may fit especially well with certain type of social order....'4 This will help to explain why such forms as the epic seem to be absent among Lelna. Other poetic forms that could be researched include children's songs and lullabies.

Lelna oral artists who get converted to christianity sometimes produce poetry in praise of God or in enjoining their fellow christians to be of good character. The development of Lelna poetry along this line should make profitable research. It should also be of great interest to examine the possibilities of the existence of formulae in Lelna poetic expression, as is found in Zulu praise poems.5 This will enable an in-depth comparative analysis of Lelna poetry and that of other African languages.

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3. Chinweizu, Onwuchekwa, Jemie, and Ikechukwu, Madubuike. Toward the Decolonization of African Literature, vol. 1, Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing Co. Ltd., 1980. p. 256.

4. Finnegan, Ruth. Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance and Social Context, p. 246.

5. Gunner, Elizabeth. 'Wand or Walking Stick? The Formula and its use in Zulu Praise Poems,' in The Oral Performance in Africa, edited by Isidore Okpewho, Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd., 1990.

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APPENDIX I

C'BOMO (PRAISE) SONGS

I

'DABNA HAVE CALLED GOLMO'

Performers: NaAllah, Germace, Gada, Hassan and Awaace.

Accompaniment: None.

Occasion: Golmo (collective farm work for in-laws).

Place: U'Manga, Zuru, Kebbi State of Nigeria.

Date: 18th September, 1991.

Solo: He - e - e - e - he - e - ya-a-ye-e, then,
He-e-e-he-e-ya-a-ye-e, then,
My in-law, Dawa, might call for me

Chorus: Girgi the magician.

Solo: Ye-e-e-ye-e,

Chorus: It's my in-law who would call for me
Girgi the magician.

Solo: That we may go home;

Chorus: Girgi the magician.

Solo: I say, my in-law, Dawa, might call for me

Chorus: Girgi the magician.

Solo: We shall go home;

Chorus: Girgi, intimacy without quarrel.

Solo: I say, when my mates

Chorus: My mates show prowess at farm work;
I am trapped! The neck, it is; Stretch-the-loin-skin, Owner of neck, Girga!

Solo: Ye-ye-ye-e, golmo initiates do not start;
It is Baba's golmo!

Chorus: Mammamma-a-a!

Solo: Ye-he-e!

Chorus: Mammamma-a!

Solo: Haiye-e, it is Dabna who called;*

Chorus: Dabna have called golmo.

Solo: Put out the fire!

Chorus: For what reason, then?
Solo: That my in-law, Dawa, should call for me
Chorus: Girgi the magician.
Solo: My in-law, Dawa, might call for me
Chorus: Girgi the magician.
Solo: No quarrel, it is Girgi who does not quarrel;
Chorus: Girgi, the intimacy without quarrel,
My mates show prowess at farm work,
I am trapped! Neck, it is, Stretch-the-loin-skin, Owner of neck, Girga!
Un hum-m hum-m!

Solo: Husband of Dada, Tradition, welcome;
My Kasa is coming, lo!
Chorus: Mammamma-a!
Solo: Ye he-e!
Chorus: Mammamma-a!
Solo: Ye he-e!
Chorus: Dabna have called <u>golmo</u>.
Solo: Put out the fire!
Chorus: Why is it, then?
Solo: I say, my in-law, Dawa, to call for me,
Chorus: Girgi the magician.
Solo: I say, my in-law, Dawa, to call for me,
Chorus: Girgi the magician.
Solo: Pat those deserving with leaves;*
Chorus: Girgi the intimacy without quarrel.
Solo: Chief, my mates,
Chorus: When my mates show prowess at farm work,
I am trapped! The Neck, it is! Stretch-the-loin-skin, Owner of neck, Girga!
Uhum-m hum-m!
Solo: Wø-wø-wø-ø, put out the fire;
Drums at Dere, Daato* starts dancing,

Chorus: He says he would do golmo,
Hammamma-a!
Solo: Ho-o yo-o-o!
Chorus: Mammamma-a!
Solo: Iye-e-e, Dabna have called,
Chorus: Dabna have called golmo.
Solo: Put out the fire, please!
Chorus: For what reason, then?
Solo: That my in-law, Dawa, should call for me
Chorus: Girgi the magician.
Solo: My in-law, Dawa, to call for me
Chorus: Girgi the magician.
Solo: I say, Girgi the intimacy of;
Chorus: Girgi the intimacy without quarrel.
Solo: When my mates show strength at work,
I am trapped! The Neck, it is! Stretch-the-loin-skin,
Owner of neck, Girga.
Uhum-m hum-m!

Solo: Ho-yo-o ho-yo-o, the child tied coins,
Chorus: I took them to sell.
Solo: Why, Girga, poke me with breasts!
Chorus: It is so, the child tied coins,
I took them to sell.
Girga pokes me with breasts,
I bow my head and smile.

Solo: Girga turn the breasts to me,
Those breasts as soft as mangoes;
Chorus: Girga, turn the breasts to me,
Those breasts as soft as mangoes.
Solo: Girga, turn the breasts to me,
Those breasts as soft as mangoes.
Chorus: Girga, turn the breast to me,

That breast as soft as a mango.

Solo: Girga, do not spread the ribs, spread the thighs;
Do not lead me astray to insult the chief!

Chorus: Girga, do not spread the ribs, spread the thighs;
Do not lead me astray to insult the chief!

Solo: Girga, do not spread the ribs, spread the thighs;
Do not lead me astray to insult the chief!

Chorus: Girl, do not spread the ribs, spread the thighs;
Do not lead me astray to insult the chief!

(Interlude)

Solo: Ha-a-a-n, Blow, Baba-a,

Chorus: Hum-m!

Solo: Let us get on, time is gone.

Chorus: Ha-a ha-a-an!

Solo: Let us get on.

Chorus: Ha-a ha-a-n, hum-m!

Solo: Ho-o-ye-e, ye-e, ha-ye-e-e, then,
Ho-o-ye-e, ye-e, ha-ye-e-e, then;
Girga, come let me marry you.

Chorus: Girga, child with marks, beads fit.
The beads fit, therefore the strong man after that girl;
Perhaps it is stomach ache he would pretend,
And pretend guinea worms, then madness!

Solo: O, that the chief might intervene, for my mates,

Chorus: My mates beat me,
Chief, they beat me.
The rules of gǫlmǫ say,
Danda, you are the gǫlmǫ initiates!

Solo: The year is bad, hoyo-o-o-o ho-o-yo-,
Chief, welcome;
I say, Girga Danga, it's the years that have passed.
Chorus: Girga, come let me marry you.
Girga, child with marks, your beads fit.
The beads fit, therefore, the young man after that girl,
Perhaps he would pretend stomach ache,
And pretend guinea worms, then madness!

Solo: O, that the chief might intervene,
for my mates,
Chorus: My mates beat me.
Chief, they beat me.
The rules of gǫlmǫ say,
Danda, you're the initiated of gǫlmǫ.

Solo: You had tied coins, I went and sold them;
Girga pokes me with breats,
I bow my head and smile.
Chorus: You had tied coins, I went and sold them;
Girga pokes me with breasts,
I bow my head and smile.

Solo: Ho-ye-e-e-e-e, ho-o-oyaye-e-e, then,
Ho-ye-e-e-e-e, ho-o-oyaye-e-e, then,
Girga Danga has flashed by the Jaadas' home.

HO-ye-e ho-ye-e yayo-o-o,
Chief, welcome!
Girga Danga
Chorus: Has flashed by the Jaadas' home.
Solo: By the Jaadas' home, would she hear my
Chorus: Would she hear my talk?
Solo: The type of talk;
Chorus: Sweet talk!
Solo: Yehe-e, Girga has marks like fish bone.
Chorus: Chief, if I do not die,
Let me die later at farm work;
I shall find grass and turn to a mad one.

Solo: Ye-wo-wo-wowo, wiri hajja-a-a!
Tradition, welcome, my Kasa comes yonder!
Chorus: Hammamma-a!
Solo: Long ago!
Chorus: Hammamma-a!
Solo: Hoyo-o-o, Dabna have called;
Chorus: Dabna have called golmo.
Solo: Put out the fire!
Chorus: For what reason, then?
All: Girga Danga has flashed by the Jaadas' home!
Girga Danga has flashed by the Jaadas' home!
Would she hear my talk?
The type of talk is
Sweet talk.
Girga has marks like fish bone.
Chiefs, if I do not die,
Let me die later at farm work;
I shall find grass and turn to a mad one.

Solo: Ha-ye-e-ye-eye-e, ha-ye-e-e, then.
Little strong one, this round stomach,
As if you have drunk marshed corn meal;
Woe, my in-law!
Little strong one, you did not turn up,
Chief says, why?
Chorus: For what reason, then?
Solo: Girga, worm of qoqoqo;
Chorus: Girga, qolmo is gathered.
Solo: Yo-yo-yo-o, Girga, worm of qoqoqo,
Chorus: Girga, qolmo is gathered.
So, the rules of qolmo say,
Hyena, take the lead,
I ate a knife, that is why
I find qolmo to my taste.

Solo: Yo-yo-o-yo, put out the fire;
Golmo goes quiet,
Eater of daato breaks into a dance,
He says he would do qolmo!
Chorus: Hammamma-a-a!
Solo: What was that?
Chorus: Hammamma-a-a!
Solo: What was that?
Chorus: Dabna have called qolmo.
Solo: Put out the fire!
Chorus: For what reason, then?
Solo: I say, Girga worm of the wood,
Chorus: Girga, qolmo is gathered.
Well, the rules of qolmo say,
Hyena take the lead,
The child ate a knife, that is why
He found golmo to his taste.

Notes

*Line 18: 'Baba' is another name for the main Lelna diety 'M'Gilø'.

*Line 22: 'Dabna' is a community of Lelna generally believed to be the original Lelna group.

*Line 49: 'Pat....leaves,' is a Lelna way of saying 'Pat on the back.'

*Line 57: 'Daato' is the group preparing for initiation into gǫlmǫ.

*Line 178: 'gǫǫgǫǫ' is a hard wood.

I

'Dabna Banka Gǫlmǫ'

Solo: He-e-e-he-ya-aye-e, kaana,
He-e-e-he-ya-aye-e, kaana.
Mǫǫre, Dawa Dams me
Chorus: Girgi mai dabo.
Solo: Ye-e-eye-e,
Chorus: I mǫǫre damsum Girgi mai dabo.
Solo: Bat cin gyøø;
Chorus: Girgi mai dabo.
Solo: Mi mǫǫre, Dawa, damsum
Chorus: Girgi mai dabo.
Solo: A ca gyøø;
Chorus: Mi, Girgi hyan cun ba i'dama.
Solo: Mi, babo, hyaare;
Chorus: Hyaare wa un c'ørmø un waala;
Gwanka me! Tǫrǫ yo-o! Jaa d'bada
Kan Tǫrǫ, Girga!
Solo: Ye-ye-ye-e, an gǫlmǫ, an taka la da;
I gǫlmi Baba!
Chorus: Mammamma-a-a!
Solo: Ye-he-e!
Chorus: Mammamma-a!
Solo: Haiye-e, Dabna banka;

Chorus: Dabna banka gǫlmǫ.
Solo: Hwaa hwela!
Chorus: Remun ye, kaana?
Solo: I mǫǫre, Dawa, damsum
Chorus: Girgi mai dabo.
Solo: Mǫǫre, Dawa, damsum
Chorus: Girgi mai dabo.
Solo: Ba i'dama, i K'Girgi ba i'dama;
Chorus: Girgi hyan cun ba i'dama,
Hyaaren wa un c'ørmø un waala;
Gwanka me! Tǫrǫ yo-o! Jaa d'bada
Kan Tǫrǫ, Girga!
Uhum-m, hum-m!

Solo: Wør Dada, Gado maraba;
Kasa ri lan bǫ!
Chorus: Mammamma-a!
Solo: Yehe-e!
Chorus: Mammamma-a!
Solo: Yehe-e!
Chorus: Dabna banka gǫlmǫ.
Solo: Hwaa hwela!
Chorus: Remun ye, kaana?
Solo: Mi mǫǫre, Dawa, damsum
Chorus: Girgi mai dabo.
Solo: Mi mǫǫre, Dawa, tu damsum
Chorus: Girgi mai dabo.
Solo: A na caa k'va-a;
Chorus: Girgi hyan cun ba i'dama,
Solo: Gǫmǫ hyaa-a,
Chorus: Hyaarenwa un c'ørmø un waala;
Gwanka me! Tǫrǫ yo-o! Jaa d'bada,
Kan Tǫrǫ, Girga!
Uhum-m, hum-m!

Solo: Wø-wø-wø-ø, hwaa hwela-a-a;

C'gǫngǫ Dere, daato kes un hevo,
Chorus: U ze ai tu gǫlmǫ!
Hammammamma-a!
Solo: Ho-o yo-o-o!
Chorus: Mammamma-a!
Solo: Iye -e-e, Dabna banka,
Chorus: Dabna banka gǫlmǫ.
Solo: Hwaa hwela!
Chorus: Remun ye kaana?
Solo: I mǫǫre, Dawa, damsum
Chorus: Girgi mai dabo.
Solo: Mǫǫre, Dawa, damsum
Chorus: Girgi mai dabo.
Solo: Mi Girgi hyan cun;
Chorus: Girgi hyan cun ba i'dama.
Solo: Hyaren wa-a-a;
Chorus: Hyaren wa un c'ørmø un waala;
Gwanka me! Tǫrǫ yo-o! Jaa d'bada
Kan Tǫrǫ, Girga!
Uhum-m, hum-m!

Solo: Ho-yo-o ho-yo-o, wa gagka c'dala,
Chorus: Um ǫmǫ um baba,
Solo: Haba, Girga, dǫǫ me un c'don!
Chorus: Hǫdun lo, hǫdun lo, wa gagka c'dala,
Um ǫmǫ um baba.
Girga dǫn me un c'don,
Um kidisi um nømsø.
Solo: Girga balumsam m'don bada,
Don cun bǫd bǫd an c'mangoro;
Chorus: Girga balumsam m'don bada,
Don cun bǫd bǫd an c'mangoro.
Solo: Girga balumsam m'don bada,
Don cun bǫd bǫd an c'mangoro;
Chorus: Girga balumsam m'don bada,
Don cun bǫd bǫd an c'mangoro.

Solo: Girga av pan la u'sok da, pan i'kutu;
Kada uv del me um yanga um reb gǫmǫ!
Chorus: Girga av pan la u'sok da, pan i'kutu;
Kada uv del me um yanga um reb gǫmǫ!
Solo: Wanta av pan la u'sok da, pan i'kutu;
Kada uv del me um yanga um reb gǫmǫ!
Chorus: Wanta av pan la u'sok da, pan i'kutu;
Kada uv del me um yanga um reb gǫmǫ!

(Interlude)

Solo: Ha-a-a-n, Hura Baba-a,
Chorus: Hum-m!
Solo: Ci em na-a, dav tǫǫkǫ,
Chorus: Ha-a ha-a-n!
Solo: Ci em na-a.
Chorus: Ha-a ha-a-n, hum-m!

Solo: Ho-o-ye-e, ye-e, ha-ye-e-e, kana,
Ho-o-ye-e, ye-e, ha-ye-e-e, kana.
Girga, han um gaa vo.
Chorus: Girga, wa a s'panna, køndøm gwanka.
Køndøm gwanka, tǫ bebu nun rein un wantaun lo;
Bat i samkon wa bøølø;
U bøøl tǫngnǫ, sai m'na!
Solo: Ganu gǫmǫ dama, tǫ hyaarene,
Chorus: Hyaarene bøøkø me,
Gǫmǫ a bøøkø me.
Saa cun gǫlmǫ ze,
Danda, nuan rein an gǫlmǫ!

Solo: Wee naaka, ho-yo-o-o, ho-oyo-o, gǫmǫ maraba;
Mi Girga Danga, wee san taagine.
Chorus: Girga, han um gaa vo.
Girga, waa a s'panna, køndøm gwanka.

Kǫndǫm gwanka, tǫ bebunun rein un
wantaun lo;
Bat i samkon wa bǫǫlǫ,
U bǫǫl tǫngnǫ, sai m'na!
Solo: Ganu gǫmǫ dama, tǫ hyaarene,
Chorus: Hyaarene bǫǫkǫ me,
Gǫmǫ a bǫǫkǫ me.
Saa cun gǫlmǫ ze,
Danda nuan rein an gǫlmǫ!

Solo: Uv gagka c'dala, um hava um baba.
Girga dǫǫ me un c'don,
Um kidisi um nǫmsǫ.
Chorus: Uv gagka c'dala, um hava um baba.
Girga dǫǫ me un c'don,
Um kidisi um nǫmsǫ.

Solo: Ho-ye-e-e-e-e, ho-o-oyaye-e-e, kana,
Ho-ye-e-e-e-e, ho-o-oyaye-e-e, kana.
Girga Danga hyatk uv Jaadana.
Ho-ye-e, ho-o-ye-e yayo-o-o,
Gǫmǫ, maraba-a!
Girga Danga
Chorus: Hyatk uv Jaadana.
Solo: Uv Jaadana, tu ses me,
Chorus: Tu ses me lalko?
Solo: Hǫdun lalko;
Chorus: Lalku d'keme!
Solo: Yehe-e, Girga panka tel genne.
Chorus: C'gǫmǫ, am ta wǫ wǫ da,
Caa um wǫ nu gǫvǫ;
Ma kum c'gwe, um vaaka un laago.

Solo: Ye-wo-wo-wowo, wiri hajja-a-a!
Gaado, maraba-a, Kasa ri lan zo!
Chorus: Hammamma-a!

Solo: Bezo-o!
Chorus: Hammamma-a!
Solo: Hoyo-o-o, Dabna ba....
Chorus: Dabna banka gǫlmǫ.
Solo: Hwa hwela! Remun ye-e-e?
Chorus: Remun ye, kana?
All: Girga Danga hyatk uv Jaadana!
Girga Danga hyatk uv Jaadana!
Tu ses me lalko?
Hodun lalko;
Lalko d'keme!
Girga panka tel genne.
C'gǫmǫ, am ta wǿ wǿ da,
Caa um wǿ nu gǫvǫ,
Ma kum c'gwe, um vaaka un laago.

Solo: Ha-ye-e-ye-e, ha-ye-e-e, kaana,
Waa beba, bǿtk hun rǫm rǫmǫ,
Zai uv sǫǫkǫ c'gedmo;
Kya! Mǫǫre!
Waa beba, uv ta wrøn da,
Gǫmǫ ze, remun ye?
Chorus: Remun ye, kaana?
Solo: Girga zǫm gǫǫgǫǫ,
Chorus: Girga, gǫlmǫ gwanka.
Solo: Yo-yo-yo, Girga zǫm gǫǫgǫǫ,
Chorus: Girga, gǫlmǫ gwanka.
To saa cun gǫlmǫ ze,
Kura jaa gaba,
Um yaa yaa k'vana,
Um hente keme dun gǫlmǫ!

Solo: Yo-o-yo-yo-o, hwaa hwela;
Gǫlmǫ resa,
Yaa daato kes un hevo,
U ze ai tu gǫlmǫ!

Chorus: Hammammamma-a-a!
Solo: Ye zo-o?
Chorus: Mammamma-a-a!
Solo: Ye zo-o?
Chorus: Dabna banka gǫlmǫ.
Solo: Hwaa hwela!
Chorus: Remun ye, kana?
Solo: Mi Girga zǫm gǫǫgǫǫ,
Chorus: Girga, gǫlmǫ gwanka.
Solo: Mi Girga zǫm vun ce,
Chorus: Girga, gǫlmǫ gwanka.
Tǫ, saa cun gǫlmǫ ze,
Kura jaa gaba,
Waa yaa yaa k'vana,
U hente keme dun gǫlmǫ.

II

'Set The Fire Burning'

Performers: Golmo group.
Accompaniment: The rhythm of threshing.
Occasion: Corn threshing activity.
Place: U'Manga, Zuru, Kebbi State of Nigeria.
Date: 14th November, 1991

1st Solo: Set the fire burning!
Chorus: Ha-a ye-e, ha!
Solo: Fire, set the fire burning!
Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!
Solo: Of the elders, Mighty Elephant!
Chorus: Mighty Elephant, ha!
Solo: Of the elders, Mighty Elephant!
Chorus: Mighty Elephant, ha!
Solo: Kwanki, you come in with swaggering!
Chorus: Swaggering, ha!
Solo: Kwanki, you step in swaggering.
Chorus: Swaggering, ha!
Solo: It's magic that finished Dabna.
Chorus: Finished Dabna, ha!
Solo: It's magic that finished Dabna.
Chorus: Finished Dabna, ha!
Solo: It's magic that finished Dabna.
Chorus: Finished Dabna, ha!
Solo: Whoever climbs and sits on an arrow;
Chorus: On an arrow, ha!
Solo: As each climbs and sits on an arrow;
Chorus: On an arrow, ha!
Solo: The arrow would be plucked out with intestines!
Chorus: With intestines, ha!
Solo: The arrow would be plucked out with intestines!
Chorus: With intestines, ha!

Solo: Let's rise up to work, golmo initiates.
Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!
Solo: Let's rise up to thetask, golmo initiates.
Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!

(Another Solo takes over)

2nd Solo: Fire, fire!
Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!
Solo: Fire, set the fire burning!
Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!
Solo: Of Elders, mighty Elephant!
Chorus: Mighty Elephant, ha!
Solo: Of Elders, Mighty Elephant!
Chorus: Mighty Elephant, ha!
Solo: The thing that took me to U'Daba;
Chorus: To U'Daba, ha!
Solo: It's magic that took me to U'Daba.
Chorus: To U'Daba, ha!
Solo: It's magic that took me to U'Daba.
Chorus: To U'Daba, ha!
Solo: But it's magic that finished Dabna!
Chorus: Finished Dabna, ha!
Solo: But magic finished Dabna!
Chorus: Finished Dabna, ha!
Solo: He who climbs and sits on an arrow;
Chorus: Sits on an arrow, ha!
Solo: Whoever climbs and sits on an arrow;
Chorus: Sits on an arrow, ha!
Solo: The arrow would be plucked out with intestines!
Chorus: With intestines, ha!
Solo: The arrow would be plucked out with intestines!
Chorus: With intestines, ha!

(Another Solo takes over)

3rd Solo: Dabna say it is a heritage!

Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!

Solo: Iye-e, Hoh horiye!

Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!

Solo: Iye-e, embed the digger.

Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!

Solo: Dabna say it's a heritage!

Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!

Solo: Iye, hah hariye!

Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!

Solo: Iye, sos soriye!

Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!

(Another Solo takes over)

4th Solo: Give me, let me tell it, golmo initiates.

Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!

Solo: Give me, let me tell it, golmo initiates.

Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!

Solo: The year I followed children of golmo;

Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!

Solo: The year I followed children of golmo;

Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!

Solo: I say, during the fourth month, golmo initiates;

Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!

Solo: The year's fourth month, golmo initiates;

Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!

Solo: When they called the first golmo;

Chorus: The first golmo, ha!

Solo: When they called the first golmo;

Chorus: The first golmo, ha!

Solo: I fell, dǫk, dǫk, running!
Chorus: Running, ha!
Solo: I fell, kwek, kwek, running!
Chorus: Running, ha!
(Another Solo takes over)
5th Solo: When they called the first gǫlmǫ;
Chorus: The first gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: When they called the first gǫlmǫ;
Chorus: The first gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: I suddenly saw threatening clouds;
Chorus: Threatening clouds, ha!
Solo: I suddenly saw threatening clouds;
Chorus: Threatening clouds, ha!
Solo: I thought they would then let us off;
Chorus: Let us off, ha!
Solo: I thought they would then let us off;
Chorus: Let us off, ha!
Solo: I just heard, 'Go out for gǫlmǫ!'
Chorus: Go out for gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Instead, I heard, 'Go out for gǫlmǫ!'
Chorus: Go out for gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: I took off, dǫk, dǫk, running!
Chorus: Running, ha!
Solo: I went off, kwek, kwek, running!
Chorus: Running, ha!
Solo: So I was to fall and break my calabash!*
Chorus: Break my calabash, ha!
Solo: So I went and fell and broke my calabash!
Chorus: Broke my calabash, ha!
Solo: So that calabash pained gǫlmǫ initiates!
Chorus: Gǫlmǫ initiates, ha!
Solo: So that calabash pained gǫlmǫ initiates!
Chorus: Gǫlmǫ initiates, ha!
Solo: Gǫlmǫ initiates broke my arm, gǫlmǫ

initiates!

Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!

Solo: Golmo initiates broke my arm, golmo initiates!

Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!

Solo: Things are not well!

Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!

Solo: How can things be well, I ask you?

Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!

Solo: How can things be well with golmo initiates?

Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!

Solo: If you are too small, they beat you at golmo!

Chorus: At golmo, ha!

Solo: You're too big, they beat you at golmo!

Chorus: At golmo, ha!

Solo: You're too small, they beat you at golmo!

Chorus: At golmo, ha!

Solo: The worst thing happens only at golmo!

Chorus: Only at golmo, ha!

Solo: Tommorrow is daato again, then golmo!

Chorus: Then golmo, ha!

Solo: I fell, dok, dok, running!

Chorus: Running, ha!

Solo: Until I arrived, kam, kam, running!

Chorus: Running, ha!

Solo: Things are not well, golmo initiates!

Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!

Solo: There is no smallness at golmo!

Chorus: At golmo, ha!

Solo: There's no bigness at golmo!

Chorus: At golmo, ha!

(Another Solo takes over)

6th Solo: Well, setthe fire burning, do!
Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!
Solo: The year I followed children of golmo;
Chorus: Children of golmo, ha!
Solo: They beat me and dragged me on stones!
Chorus: On stones, ha!
Solo: They beat me and rubbed me on stones!
Chorus: On stones, ha!
Solo: Chorus, 'radada!'* golmo initiates!
Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!
(Another Solo takes over)
7th Solo: So I would not die, but I would suffer!
Chorus: I would suffer, ha!
Solo: I had thought golmo was easy!
Chorus: Golmo easy, ha!
Solo: Suffer at what? Suffer at golmo!
Chorus: Suffer at golmo, ha!
Solo: Why I said I would suffer;
Chorus: I would suffer, ha!
Solo: My in-law's farm is at the hill's foot;
Chorus: Hill's foot, ha!
Solo: Where they beat me and dragged me over the stones!
Chorus: Over the stones, ha!
Solo: Well, chorus 'radada!' golmo initiates!
Chorus: Golmo initiates, ha!

Notes

*Line 39: 'U'Daba' is the home of 'Dabna', a community believed to be the forebear of Lelna.

*Line 111: Calabashes are always carried for drinking water by golmo initiates.

*Line 157: 'radada', is a phonaesthetic word that

represents the crash of thunder.

'Dwaa Na Hwela'

Solo: Dwaa na hwelana!
Chorus: Ha-a ye-e, ha!
Solo: Hwela, dwaa na hwela!
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Saka un dǫkǫv Kwanki, da!
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Na Manya, Turun Giwa!
Chorus: Turun Giwa, ha!
Solo: Kwanki ka shigo a yangana!
Chorus: Yangana, ha!
Solo: Kwanki ka shigo a yangana!
Chorus: Yangana, ha!
Solo: Malgon taasin Dabna.
Chorus: Taasin Dabna, ha!
Solo: I malgon taasin Dabna.
Chorus: Taasin Dabna, ha!
Solo: I malgon taasin Dabna.
Chorus: Taasin Dabna, ha!
Solo: Un wa ela u soota un deela;
Chorus: Un deela, ha!
Solo: Un wa ela u soota un deela;
Chorus: Un deela, ha!
Solo: Ana kan kan deela a c'menna!
Chorus: A c'menna, ha!
Solo: Ana kan kan deela a c'menna
Chorus: A c'menna, ha!
Solo: Na ǫmǫ na deke, an gǫlmǫ.
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Na ǫmǫ na deke, an gǫlmǫ.
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!

Solo: Hwela-a, hwela!
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!

Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Iye-e, hah hariye!
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!

Solo: Nee me um vatte, an gǫlmǫ.
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Nee me um vatte, an gǫlmǫ.
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Weu num gabtin aknan gǫlmǫ;
Chorus: Aknan gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Weu num gabtin aknan gǫlmǫ;
Chorus: Aknan gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Mi, hudu da wata, an gǫlmǫ;
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Hudu da wata, an gǫlmǫ;
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Ana bantin gǫlmǫ m'ete;
Chorus: Gǫlmǫ m'ete, ha!
Solo: Ana bantin gǫlmǫ m'ete;
Chorus: Gǫlmǫ m'ete, ha!
Solo: Um koba, dǫk, dǫk, un kweeve!
Chorus: Un kweeve, ha!
Solo: Um koba, kwek, kwek, un kweeve!
Chorus: Un kweeve, ha!

Solo: Ana bantin gǫlmǫ m'ete;
Chorus: Gǫlmǫ m'ete, ha!
Solo: Ana bantin gǫlmǫ m'ete,
Chorus: Gǫlmǫ m'ete, ha!
Solo: Um hene hene yønø kun menke!
Chorus: Yønø kun menke, ha!
Solo: Um hene hene yønø kun menke!
Chorus: Yønø kun menke, ha!
Solo: Um el ai na laa laa nan bat co;
Chorus: Nan bat co, ha!
Solo: Um el ai na laa laa nan bat co;

Chorus: Nan bat co, ha!
Solo: Um hong hong, 'Yøø na yo gǫlmǫ!'
Chorus: Yøø na yo gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Um hong hong, 'Yøø na yo gǫlmǫ!'
Chorus: Yøø na yo gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Um tǫu zo, dǫk, dǫk, un kweeve!
Chorus: Un kweeve, ha!
Solo: Um tǫu zo, kwek, kwek, un kweeve!
Chorus: Un kweeve, ha!
Solo: Ase ma hava um hyaa um heeke d'hono!
Chorus: Heeke d'hono, ha!
Solo: Um hava um hyaa um heeke d'hono!
Chorus: Heeke d'hono, ha!
Solo: Ase hono dun lo sǫnk an gǫlmǫ!
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Ase hono dun lo sǫnk an gǫlmǫ!
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: An gǫlmǫ getk me a koma, an gǫlmǫ!
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: An gǫlmǫ getk me a koma!
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Lafiya zada!
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Pen na bǫ lafiya, bǫ la?
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Tehun na bǫ lafiya, ba an gǫlmǫ?
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Av kala, na buu vo un gǫlmǫ!
Chorus: Un gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Uv lǫgko, na buu vo un gǫlmǫ!
Chorus: Un gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Uv kalka, na buu vo un gǫlmǫ!
Chorus: Un gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Wawan guru, sai gǫlmǫ!
Chorus: Sai gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Buku tømø daato, sai gǫlmǫ!

Chorus: Sai gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Um koba, dǫk, dǫk, un kweeve!
Chorus: Un kweeve, ha!
Solo: Um cau zo, kam, kam, un kweeve!
Chorus: Un kweeve, ha!
Solo: Lafiya zada, an gǫlmǫ!
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Kalac zada ba an gǫlmǫ!
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Lǫgǫm zada ba an gǫlmǫ!
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!

Solo: He, dwaa na yo hwela!
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Weu num gabtin aknan gǫlmǫ,
Chorus: Aknan gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Na buu me, na huku num'taare!
Chorus: Num'taare, ha!
Solo: Na buu me, na soka un c'taare!
Chorus: Un c'taare, ha!
Solo: Kab na radada, an gǫlmǫ!
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Ase um za na wǿ da, koba dan ma yaa!
Chorus: Koba dan ma yaa, ha!
Solo: Um lak um henk kala dun gǫlmǫ!
Chorus: Kala dun gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Koba dun ye? Koba dun gǫlmǫ!
Chorus: Koba dun gǫlmǫ, ha!
Solo: Rinum zein koba dan ma yaa,
Chorus: Koba dan ma yaa, ha!
Solo: Belu mǫǫre paatun seme.
Chorus: Paatun seme, ha!
Solo: Na buu me, na huku num'taare!
Chorus: Num'taare, ha!
Solo: Kab na yo, 'radada!' an gǫlmǫ!
Chorus: An gǫlmǫ, ha!

III

'I Used To See'

Composer: Døssi.

Performers: Døssi, Nemɔ, Tawaaga and a chorus of nine others.

Accompaniment: None.

Occasion: 'N'Seve' (collective farm work by female group).

Place: Amanawa, Manga, Zuru, Kebbi State of Nigeria.

Date: 16th September, 1991.

Solo: I used to see,
I used only to see,
I used only to see far away;
I used only to see far away.
My husband has come close to me;
My husband has come close.

Chorus: I used to see,
I used only to see,
I used only to see far away.
My husband has come close to me;
My husband has come close.

Solo: Lo! It has come close to me!
Chorus: Lo! It has come close to me!
Solo: Before, it was my blouse;
My blouse, my husband;
My blouse
Chorus: I do not take it off!
Solo: My underwear
Chorus: I couldn't take it off!
Solo: My hat
Chorus: It couldn't be taken off!
Solo: My skirt

Chorus: I dared not take it off!
Solo: If I took it off,
Chorus: Was I to stay naked, my husband,
If I took it off, was I to go naked?

III

'Lak Tum Heno'

Solo: Lak tum heno,
Lak tum heno heno,
Lak tum heno heno um nak zo;
Lak tum heno heno um nak zo.
Wøri ceka kosa bad ri;
Wøri ceka kosa.

Chorus: Lak tum heno,
Lak tum heno heno,
Lak tum heno heno um nak zo.
Wøri ceka kosa bad ri;
Wøri ceka kosa.

Solo: Gǫt bǫ i ceka kosa bad ri!
Chorus: Gǫt bǫ i ceka kosa bad ri!
Solo: Lak i kusi ri;
Kusi ri, wøri;
Kusi ri
Chorus: Za tum hǫl da!
Solo: Ǫndǫ ri
Chorus: A nan hǫl da!
Solo: Pogla ri
Chorus: A nan hǫl da!
Solo: Fatari ri
Chorus: A nan hǫl da!
Solo: Am hǫlǫ,
Chorus: Um soot tan le, wøri,
Am hǫlǫ um soot tanle?

IV

'Burn Pepper'

Composer: Bonge.
Performers: Cige and Eska.
Accompaniment: C'gula (talking drums).
Occasion: A beer-drinking session.
Place: Peni, Zuru, Kebbi State of Nigeria.
Date: 30th September, 1991.

Burn pepper,
Gwensa, maiden,
Gwensa, Eat-Chieftancy,
Gwensa, Owner of room,
Where shall we meet?
People are at Sabon Birni.*
Marks stand out, Burn Pepper.
As it has not touched you,
What can be done to Gwensa?
People are marketting,
You, people, just go home;
It does not cause you shame!

Cige, my mother,
Listen to my mother's complaint.
Cige sent me for maggi,*
I went to buy maggi for one naira;
I bought maggi for four naira.
As I got there, I met my girl.
As I got there, I met my counsel.
As I got there, I met my friend.
That's where the maggi fell, mother;
All the maggi got lost!

Mother-of-home, marks on arms and legs;
She would marsh fura* for me in the evening.
God is King, Gwensa!

God is King, Gwensa!
It's a maiden that I married;
Excessively comely.
If you wish, say I married a Tiv*,
Suffering will kill you, surely, I have married!
*Line 6: 'Sabon Birni' is a market town in Zuru Local Government Area.
*Line 15: 'Maggi' is popular seasoning.
*Line 24: 'Fura' is a corn or millet porridge.
*Line 29: 'Tiv' is a tribe in Benue and Taraba States of Nigeria.

IV

'Dwaa Yaaji'

Dwaa Yaaji,
Gwensa, Waawanta,
Gwensa, Yangǫmǫ,
Gwensa, Mai daki,
'Pec cin gwaana?
Na el un Sabon Birni.
Pans kudku, Dwaa Yaaji.
Ai ta hadin vo da,
Na can na ema Gwensa le?
Na el un c'hwaala,
Gyɛɛ na bano;
A ti em no m'en da!

Cige, mamav ri,
Hong na dami mamav ri.
Cige comk me un magi.
Um havk um wan magiv naira;
Um wan magis nairas naase.
Am cai ne, um gwanta wantav ri.
Am cai ne, um gwanta kan shaura.
Am cai ne, um gwanta kwesuv ri.
Vunun magi hyain bǫ, mama;

Magi yang kwe!

Uwargida, span skoma a snaa na.
Tu belete me fura na rimø.
Allah Sarki, Gwensa!
Allah Sarki, Gwensa!
Wanta um gaine;
Wantac rorka.
Tonø un ze K'Tivi um gaine,
Wahala ti hwaa no d'hwee, um gaa gaa!

V

'Bouncing, Bouncing'

Composer: Anhi.
Performer: Anhi.
Accompaniment: The rhythm of a grinding stone.
Occasion: Grinding of corn.
Place: Gøzi, U'Manga, Zuru, Kebbi State of Nigeria.
Date: 29th September, 1991.

Bouncing, bouncing, I belong to what?
Bouncing, I the sister of Acca;
Bouncing, I the sister of Kwøøkø.
The child dreams in his sleep
And says leopards are at heel!
At that time bangles are on the heels.
The bangles jingle without being touched.
We're going far, don't obstruct for me;
I am going to Dere,* don't obstruct Aiki for me.
Don't obstruct Aiki for me;
Thing of wrestling, it can't be felled.
King of handsomeness, follow Kwøøkø.
For pleasure, Acca, do kill!
Those who are handsome, follow Maalø.
For pleasure, Aiki, kill; let Aiki kill for me!
Acca, Kwøøkø, kill for me
Kwøøkø, kill the lazy one for me,
Acca, kill the lazy one for me,
Like the clap of thunder!

Bouncing, bouncing, I belong to what?
Bouncing, bouncing, I the sister of Acca;
Bouncing, bouncing, I the sister of Kwøøkø.
The child has a dream;
Leopards are at heel!

At that time, the bangles are on the heels.
Leopards do not shake in vain!
The bangles will jingle like zonga* stones.
On our way to Dere, we were obstructed.
We're going to U'Reba, don't obstruct Aiki for me.
Obstruct Kwøøkø for me, thing of wrestling;
Behold, Acca, thing of wrestling,
It can't be felled.
Kwøøkø, thing of wrestling;
It can't be felled!
King of handsomeness, follow Kwøøkø;
Feeling of pleasure, Acca, you kill for me.
Handsome ones, follow Aiki;
Feeling of pleasure, Acca, kill; Acca, Acca, kill for me.
Do you want Maalø to kill the lazy one for you?
Let Kwøøkø kill for you; let Maalø kill for you;
Maalø kill the lazy one for you!
Kwøøkø only killed, let Acca kill for you;
Kwøøkø kill the lazy one for you,
Like the clap of thunder!
So, Maalø, thing of wrestling,
It can't be felled.
King of strength, overall, you follow Aiki!
Feeling of pleasure, Acca, kill for me;
Let Kwøøkø kill the lazy one,
Like the clap of thunder!
Kwøøkø, thing of wrestling,
It can't be felled.

*Line 9: 'Dere' is a town in Sakaba Local Government Area of Kebbi State.

*Line 27: 'Zonga stones' are the seeds of a flower used for a game.

V

'Sandam, Sandam'

Sandam, sandam, mi na ye?
Sandam, mi na høn Acca;
Sandam, mi na høn Kwøøkø.
Waa tu kọs un beena
U ze gwiimin elun s'na.
Canga cun mak cun vigumsi ba na dọv cø?
Cin hav m'naka, na hwels me;
Tum hav Deere, na hwels me børi Aiki da.
Hwels me børi Aiki;
Ri c'mødi a ti hyee da!
Gọmọv c'kempa, gab na Kwøøkø.
Heno d'keme, Acca hwaa na yo!
A c'kempa, gab na Maalø;
Heno d'keme, Aiki hwaa na; caa Aiki hwee me!
Acca, Kwøøkø, hwee me!
Kwøøkø, hwee me gyọbo!
Acca hwee me gyọbo!
Zai dumd menke!

Sandam, sandam, mi na ye?
Sandam, sandam, mi na høn Kwøøkø.
Waa tu kọs un beena,
Gwiimin elun s'na!
Daa vun lo, cangac elun s'na.
Gwiimin ta mak ta vigmsi da!
Canga cun mak cun vigmsi họd c'zonga.
Ai cin hav Deere, na hwels co.
Cin hav U'Reba, na hwels me børi Aiki da.
Hwels me børi Kwøøkø, ri c'mødi;
Gọt na Acca, ri c'mødi,
A ti hyee da.
Gọmọv c'kempa, gab na Kwøøkø.
Hongo d'keme, Acca, hwaa na yo.
A c'kempa, gab na Aiki:

Hongo d'keme, Acca hwaa, Acca, Acca, hwee me!
Un tǫn tǫn ai Maalø hwee no gyǫbe?
Caa Kwøøkø hwee no; caa Maalø hwee no;
Maalø hwee no gyǫbo!
Kwøøkø hwaa hwaa dei, caa Acca hwee no;
Kwøøkø hwee no gyǫbo;
Zai i dumd menke!
Ase Maalø, ri c'mødi,
A ti hyee da.
Gǫmǫv m'wes kwee, gab na Aiki!
Hongo d'keme, Acca hwee me;
Kwøøkø hwaa gyǫbo,
Zai i dumd menke!

VI

'I Go On The Way'

Composer: Reetu.
Performer: Reetu.
Accompaniment: Molo (a two-stringed instrument).
Occasion: Relaxing after work in the evening.
Place: Amanawa, Zuru, Kebbi State of Nigeria.
Date: 30th Sptember, 1991.

I go on the way, looking, hear me,
I meet a woman burdened.
Women had gone and got rǫtǫtǫ,* hear me,
Women had gone and cut rǫtǫtǫ.
Women had gone and cut rǫtǫtǫ, hear me,
Women had gone and plucked rǫtǫtǫ.
Women had gone and hacked rǫtǫtǫ, hear me,
Women had gone and notched rǫtǫtǫ.
Women had gone and notched rǫtǫtǫ, hear me,
Woman went and put a pot on fire.
Four maggi cubes she would grind,
Three maggi cubes she would throw in.
Four locust-bean cakes she would grind, hear me,
Woman had gone and dropped in salt.
Woman had gone and taken a laddle, what,
Woman went and tasted rǫtǫtǫ.
Woman went and tasted rǫtǫtǫ, hear me,
Woman said, 'Kwes M'Gilø!'*
'I shall eat gari* in the morning!
'Look, my husband, come and have a taste.
'Look, my husband, do have a taste,' hear me,
The man got up in a rush.
The man got up, mouth agape, hear me,
The man went and tasted rǫtǫtǫ.
The man said, 'Zemk M'Gilø!* Baba,
'In the morning, hear me, I shall eat gari

in the morning!'

Kwes! Rǫtǫtǫ, o rǫtǫtǫ, o rǫtǫtǫ!

*Line3: 'rǫtǫtǫ' is a slimy vegetable climber, used for making soup.

*Line 18: 'Kwes M'Gilø' is a way of swearing by the Lelna when excited!

*Line 19: 'gari' is a meal from cassava powder.

*Line 25: 'Zemk M'Gilø' is the hill on which M'Gilø dwells, invoked by Lelna in swearing.

VI

'Um Nok Un Leve'

Um nok un leve, tum gǫtǫ, ǫpǫ,
Um gwanta neta, bibibi.
Netan havk a emk rǫtǫtǫ, ǫpǫ,
Netan havk a rigk rǫtǫtǫ.
Netan havk a rigk rǫtǫtǫ, ǫpǫ,
Netan havk a kaak rǫtǫtǫ.
Netan havk a lǫpk rǫtǫtǫ, ǫpǫ,
Netan havk a vǫtk rǫtǫtǫ.
Netan havk a vǫtk rǫtǫtǫ, ǫpǫ,
Neta havk u sakka i'doro.
Magi i'naase tu vota.
Magi i'tøøcu tu bona.
Landac naase tu vota, ǫpǫ,
Neta havk u bata i'gumu.
Neta havk u omko i'gwamba, iye,
Neta havk u lekk rǫtǫtǫ.
Neta havk u lekk rǫtǫtǫ, ǫpǫ,
Neta zeka, 'Kwes M'Gilø!
'Tum yaa gare num zana!
'Goto, wøri, han yo uv leke!
'Goto, wøri, han yo uv leke!' ǫpǫ,
Ørum hav u unu kagaga.
Ørum hav u unu yakaka, ǫpǫ,
Ørum havk u lekk rǫtǫtǫ.

25 Ørum zeka, 'Zemk M'Gilø, Baba,
'Num zana, ǫpǫ, tum yaa gare num zana!'
Kwes! Rǫtǫtǫ, o rǫtǫtǫ, o rǫtǫtǫ!

VII

'The Educated Ones'

The educated ones, they don't farm, yet they have.
The educated ones don't farm, yet they have.
Hevena, hear what Hevena says.
Hevena, hear what Hevena says.
Hevena, hear Hevena's words.
Jiniya, is Jiniya around, Jiniya.
It's Jiniya that is called.
Hevena, may God only grant health.
Hevena, may God only grant health.
Hevena, indeed health is to be prefered.
Baby, proud, Baby, proud.
Yooha, yoheyoheyo, pride.
Swagger, to go to the child who gives counsel.
Counsel, who gives counsel, who gives counsel.
Counsel, who gives counsel, who gives counsel.
We shall all marry, surely we shall all go and marry.
We shall all marry, surely we shall all go and marry.
Swagger, let swaggering fashion be continued.
Swagger, let swaggering fashion be continued.
Fashion finishes, it is finished, fashion is finished.
Fashion finishes, it is finished, fashion is finished.
The child with sweets, child with sweets, child with sweets.
The child with sweets, child with sweets, child with sweets.
Swagger, Dazuga has given me chewing gum.
Fanta*, Ayuba drank fanta.
Fanta, that Ayuba might drink plenty of fanta.
Compulsion, compulsion, Auta, compulsion.

Compulsion, compulsion, Auta, compulsion.
I say, authority, Raabi, child with authority.
Authority, Raabi, child with authority.
Authority, only theirs, well then, only theirs.
It's left to them, left to them, Baby, left to them.
Health, may God grant health.
Health, may God grant health.
Because health, because health is preferable.
Preferable, I say, health is preferable.
Boy, so what's the worth of chieftancy?
Boy, so what's the worth of chieftancy?
Daato is suffering, daato is suffering.
Daato is suffering, suffering, daato is suffering.
Suffering, going for daato is suffering.
Suffering, what's the worth of getting a flat-breasted one?
What's the worth, what's the worth of a flat-breasted one?
I say, where're you from? Naraba, go home, where're you from?
Boy, boy, baby, boy.
Owners of skirt*, I had seen owners of skirts.
Cloth, this child has cut a length of cloth.
Cloth, they cut cloth yesterday.
Fitting, it did exactly fit.
Children who fit, children who fit, children who fit.

*Line 26: 'Fanta' is a popular brand of soft drink.
*Line 47: 'Skirt' (C'Lela 'Buuje') is a fast disappearing short skirt worn by women.

VII

'An Kweleji'

An kweleji, an kweleji ta gǫv da a taarka.
An kweleji, an kweleji ta gǫv da a taarka.
Hevena, hong bǫ lalkuv Hevena.
Hevena, hong bǫ lalkuv Hevena.
Hevenø, hong bǫ lalkuv Hevenø.
Jiniya, ai Jiniya elle? Jiniya.
Jiniya kenan u pǫgine.
Hevena, Baba Allah lag dei lafiya.
Hevena, Baba Allah lag dei lafiya.
Lafiya, kai lafiya pøtk un daraja.
Beebi gaaye, gaaye, Beebi gaaye.
Yooha, heeyo heeyo heeyo, gaaye.
Gaaye, hevete waa kan shaura.
Shaura, kan shaura, kan shaura.
Cin geele, cwan ge ci hav cin geele.
Cin geele, cwan ge ci hav cin geele.
Kan gaaye, na dinga yayen gaaye.
Kan gaaye, na dinga yayen gaaye.
Yaye taa, i taaka, yayen taine.
Yaye taa, i taaka, yayen taine.
Waa kan minti, kan minti, waa kan minti.
Waa kan minti, kai Røbuda, waa kan minti.
Kan gaaye, Dazuga neek me cingǫmme.
Cingomme, Dazuga neek me cingǫmme.
M'fanta, Ayuba sǫǫk m'fanta.
Fanta, Ayuba sǫǫ be c'fanta.
Dole, dole, Auta, dole.
Dole, dole, Auta, dole.
Mi, iko, Raabi, waa kan iko.
Iko, Raabi, waa kan iko.
Iko, sai u nø, tǫ ge sai u nø.
Sai u nø, sai u nø, Beebi, sai u nø.
Lafiya, Baba Allah lag dei lafiya.
Lafiya, Baba Allah lag dei lafiya.

Don lafiya,don lafiya pøtk un daraja.
Daraja,mi lafiya pøtk un daraja.
Yaro,tǫ gǫmǫ laa laa i baakin ye ?
Yaro,tǫ gǫmǫ laa laa i baakin ye ?
Daato i wahala, daato i wahala.
Daato i wahala,wahala,daato i wahala.
Wahala,hevem k'daato i wahala.
Wahala kumum k'rakta i baakin ye ?
Baakin ye,kumum k'rakta i baakin ye ?
Mi pen haine,Naraba,gyøø na,i pen haine ?
Yaro,yaro,Beebi,yaro.
A d'buuje, um henk de akna d'buuje.
Yaadi,wai na ged ged de k'yaadi,
Yaadi,dede na gɘd ged yaadi.
Seeti,emk la deidei seeti.
An seeti,an seeti,aknan seeti.

VIII

'I Just Looked Up'

Performers: Husse,Atuna,Tunti and Tani.
Accompaniment: None.
Occasion: U'Køn (a gathering of young people).
Place: Amanawa,Zuru,Kebbi State of Nigeria.
Date: 7th October,1991.

I just looked up only,
I just looked up only,
I just looked up only to see the child with a haircut.
I just looked up only to see the child had had a haircut.
Let them fight, take a haircut;
Take a haircut,take a haircut,even if they fight.

Child,people,indulge in laughter,
Child,people,indulge in laughter,
Child,people,indulge in laughter as the boy has had a haircut.
Child,people,indulge in laughter as the boy has had a haircut.
Let them fight,take a haircut;
Take a haircut,take a haircut,even if they fight.

I shall not plat zaane,*
I shall not plat zaane,
I shall not plat zaane,Børmøni knows how to weave.*

I shall not plat zaane,Børmøni knows how
to weave.
Let them fight,take a haircut;
Take a haircut, take a haircut,even if they
fight.

D'Goga is far,that's why,
D'Goga is far,that's why,
D'Goga is far,Asibi you would have escorted
me.
D'Goga is far,Asibi you would have escorted
me.
Let them fight,take a haircut;
Take a haircut, take a haircut,even if they
fight.

Child,slim,
Child,slim,
Child,slim,child,boy,where shall we meet?
Child,slim,child,boy,where shall we meet?
Let them fight, take a haircut;
Take a haircut,take a haircut,even if they
fight.

Slim,slim,
Slim,slim,
Slim,slim,Husseni call counsel for me.
Slim,slim,Husseni call counsel for me.
Let them fight,take a haircut;
Take a haircut,take a haircut,even if they
fight.

Child,son of the house of Gaba,
Child,son of the house of Gaba,

Child,son of the house of Gaba,when shall
I see my companion?
Child,son of the house of Gaba,when shall
I see my companion?
Let them fight, take a haircut;
Take a haircut,take a haircut, even if they
fight.

Just that it's far,
Just that it's far,
Just that it's far, Naraba Sallah,I would
have sent you.
Just that it's far,Naraba Sallah, I would
have sent you.
Let them fight,take a haircut;
Take a haircut,take a haircut,even if they
fight.

I just shall not plat zaane,
I just shall not plat zaane,
I just shall not plat zaane,Boy knows how
to weave.
I just shall not plat zaane,Boy knows how
to weave.
Let them fight,take a haircut;
Take a haircut, take a haircut,even if they
fight.

Goode,no compare,
Goode,no compare,
Goode,no compare,is child,my likeness
around,Bena?
Goode,no compare,is child,my likeness
around,Bena?

Let them fight,take a haircut;
Take a haircut, take a haircut,even if they
fight.

*Line 13: 'Zaane'is a style of Platting the hair.
*Line 15: 'Weave' is another style of platting.

VIII

'UM Wølk Wølk Ge'

Um wølk wølk ge,
Um wølk wølk ge,
Um wølk wølk ge um hen hen waa olka d'baaba.
Na dama,sha baaba,
Sha baaba, sha baaba,tǫn na dama.

Waa sha na dariya,
Waa sha na dariya,
Waa sha na dariya, an yaro oltin baaba,
Waa sha na dariya, an yaro oltin baaba.
Na dama,sha baaba;
Sha baaba, sha baaba,tǫn na dama.

Am gaa ge zaane da,
Am gaa ge zaane da,
Am gaa ge zaane da,Børmøni løøkø s'wivi,
Am gaa ge zaane da,Børmøni løøkø s'wivi.
Na dama, sha baaba;
Sha baaba,sha baaba,tǫn na dama.

Gogad nak naka,
Gogad nak naka,
Gogad nak naka,Asibi lak tuv swii me,
Gogad nak naka,Asibi lak tuv swii me.
Na dama,sha baaba;
Sha baaba, sha baaba,tọn na dama.

Waa lenge,
Waa lenge,
Waa lenge,waa yaro,pen cun gwaana?
Waa lenge,waa yaro,pen cun gwaana?
Na dama,sha baaba;
Sha baaba, sha baaba,tọn na dama.

Lenge,lenge,
Lenge lenge,
Lenge lenge,Husseni pegem shaura.
Lenge lenge,Husseni pegem shaura.
Na dama,sha baaba;
Sha baaba,sha baaba,tọn na dama.

Waa dan gidan Gaba,
Waa dan gidan Gaba,
Waa dan gidan Gaba,naman ma hen kaa sweeta?
Waa dan gidan Gaba,naman ma hen kaa sweeta?
Na dama,sha baaba;
Sha baaba,sha baaba,tọn na dama.

Laa laa i m'naka,
Laa laa i m'naka,
Laa laa i m'naka,Narba Sallah,lak tum com vo.
Laa laa i m'naka,Narba Sallah,lak tum com vo.
Na dama, sha baaba;
Sha baaba, sha baaba,tọn na dama.

Am gaa ge zaane da,
Am gaa ge zaane da,
Am gaa ge zaane da,yaro lǿǿkǿ s'wivi
Na dama,sha baaba;
Sha baaba,sha baaba,tǫn na dama.

Goode ba kama,
Goode ba kama,
Goode ba kama,waa kamav ri elle,Beena?
Goode ba kama,waa kamav ri elle,Beena?
Na dama,sha baaba;
Sha baaba,sha baaba,tǫn na dama.

(Same composer and performers as song VIII).

IX

'Child That Laughs'

Child that laughs,child that laughs
Biti Baayǫ,no!
Wayyo !* Biti Baayǫ,child that laughs.

Made me laugh,made me laugh,
Biti Baayǫ,no !
Wayyo ! Biti Baayǫ made me laugh

Let's meet at Sokoto,let's meet at Sokoto
Make a phone call !
Wayyo ! Make a phone call,let's meet at Sokoto.

I wouldn't go home*this year ! I wouldn't
go home this year;
If I were gøbi.*

Wayyo!If I were gøbi, I wouldn't go home
this year!

Child that laughs,child that laughs,
Slim boy,child that laughs!
Wayyeha! Slim boy,child that laughs.

Give me a hand,lest I fall, support me,
lest I fall,
Child Husseni,no !
Wayyo! Child,Husseni,support me,lest I fall.

Take a haircut, let's go home;take a
haircut,let's go home;
Hali Danga,no!
Wayyo Hali Danga,take a haircut let's go
home.

Made me laugh, made me laugh,
That boy,no!
Wayyo! That boy did make me laugh.

Baby donkey, we shall go home;Baby donkey
we shall go home.
Short child!
Wayyo! Short child,baby donkey,we shall
go home.

Child that laughs, child that laughs,
Slim child,no!
Wayyo! Slim child that laughs.

Give me a hand lest I fall,prop me lest
I fall
Bɔmbɔi of Sooma, no!
Wayyo! Bɔmbɔi of Sooma,prop me lest I fall.

Platting of bejebeje,* platting of bejebeje
Hajera,no!
Wayye! Hajera,platting of bejebeje.

*Line 3:'Wayyo'is an exclamation of joy.
*Line10:'home'refers to marriage.
*Line11:'gøbi'is the age group just before marriage.
*Line34:'bejebeje' is the weaving of the hair into locks.

IX

'Waa Kan Dariya'

Waa kan dariya,kan dariya,
Biti Baayɔ,da!
Wayyo!Biti Baayɔ,waa kan dariya.

Neek me dariya,neek me dariya,
Biti Baayɔ,da!
Wayyo!Biti Baayɔ,neek me dariya.

Ci gwaana Sokoto,Ci gwaana Sokoto,
Buga weya!
Wayyo!Buga weya ci gwaana Sokoto.
Am gyøø weu hun da,am gyøø weu hun da,
Am wa be gøbi !
Wayyo! Am wa gøbi am gyøø weu hun da.

Waa kan dariya, waa kan dariya,
Lengen yaro waa,
Wayyehe!Lengen yaro waa kan dariya.

Gwaa me kada um hyaa da, gwaa me kada
um hyaa da,
Waa Husseni da!
Wayyo!Waa Husseni,gwaa me kada um hyaa da.

Ol baaba,nan yøø,ol baaba,nan gyøø,
Hali Danga,da!
Wayyo! Hali Danga,ol baaba,nan gyøø.

Neek me dariya,neek me dariya,
U yaro,da!
Wayyo!La be yaro neek me dariya.

Waa bingi cin gyøø,bingi cin gyøø,
Gajere,waa!
Wayyo!Gajere waa bingi cin gyøø.

Waa kan dariya,waa kan dariya,
Lengen yaro waa!
Wayyo! Lengen yaro waa kan dariya.

Gwaa me kada um hyaa da,gwaa me kada um
hyaa da,
Bɔmbɔi Sooma, da!
Wayyo! Bɔmbɔi Sooma gwaa me kada um hyaa da.

Gaasud bejebeje,gaasud bejebeje,
Hajera, da!
Wayyo! Hajera gaasud bejebeje.

Appendix II: C'Kemgte (Blame)Songs.

'I Have A Headache'

Performers: NaAllah,Germace,Gada,Hassa,Awace.
Accompaniment: None.
Occasion: Golmo.
Place: U'Manga,Zuru,Kebbi State of Nigeria.
Date: 28th September,1991.

Solo: (He says)I have a headache, I have a headache;
(He says)I have a headache, when the lazy one's back hurts,
(He says)I have a headache!
Chorus: Baba - a - a,when the lazy one's back hurts,
(He says)I have a headache!
Solo: When the lazy one's back hurts,
(He says)I have a headache!
Chorus: Baba-a-a,when the lazy one's back hurts,
(He says)I have a headache!

Solo: Let us meet you with a motor-vehicle,
Let us meet you with a motor-vehicle,
Those of you who deserted golmo,
Let us meet you with a motor-vehicle!
Chorus: Baba-a-a,those of you who deserted golmo
Let us meet you with a motor-vehicle!
Solo: Those of you who deserted golmo,
Let the whiteman marry for you!
Chorus: Baba-a-a,those of you who deserted golmo,
Let the whiteman marry for you!

Solo: This child has made a mark at his in-law's,
And even created a fashion out of it.
Chorus: This child had made a mark at his in-law's,
And even created a fashion from it.
Solo: Made a mark at his in-law's,
And wove a fashion from it.
Chorus: This child has made a mark at his in-law's,
And wove a fashion from it.
Solo: To marry modernity, marry modernity,
It takes patience to marry modernity!
Chorus: It takes patience to marry modernity!
Solo: It takes patience to marry modernity!
Chorus: Marry modernity, it takes patience,
To marry modernity!
Solo: Marry modernity, it takes patience to marry
Chorus: Modernity, it takes patience to marry
modernity.

Solo: What's the rule here, that makes golmo
initiates to be harsh?
What's the rule here?
Golmo initiates like quarrelling.
Yo - ho - yo - o, just so.
Chorus: What's the rule here, that makes golmo
initiates harsh?
What's the rule here?
Golmo initiates love to quarrel;
Solo: Yo - ho - yo - o, just so.
Chorus: What's the rule here that makes golmo
initiates quarrel?

What's the rule here?
Golmo initiates just quarrel.

Solo: Baba,Tøkø's advice,
Baba,Tøkø's advice,
Has turned to Gwenta's advice!
Chorus: Baba,Tøkø's advice
Has turned to Gwenta's advice!
Solo: As soon as morning comes,
Gwenta talks until the tongue is burnt!
Chorus: As soon as morning comes,
Gwenta talks until the tongue is burnt!

Solo: But it is my neighbours,but it is my neighbours;
It's my neighbours,it's my neighbours;
If my name is soiled, it's my neighbours!
Chorus: Baba-a-a,if my name is soiled,it's my neighbours!
Solo: But it's my neighbours,my name is soiled it's my neighbours!
Chorus: Baba-a-a,if my name is soiled,it's my neighbours!
Solo: Without mentioning me,without mentioning me;
Where shall people meet without mentioning me?
Chorus: Where shall people meet without mentioning me?
Solo: Without mentioning me;where shall people meet.
Without mentioning me?
Chorus: Where shall people meet without mentioning me?

Solo: Golmo rebukes,it's better to be patient
Chorus: Rebukes, it's better to be patient.
Solo: Golmo rebukes, it's better to be patient;
Chorus: Golmo rebukes,it's better to be patient.

Solo: Friendship is preferable,friendship is preferable;
Friendship is preferable,friendship is preferable;
To some blood relation,friendship is preferable!
Chorus: Baba-a-a,to some blood relation,friendship is preferable!
Solo: Friendship is preferable,to some blood relation,
Friendship is preferable!
Chorus: Baba-a-a,to some blood relation,friendship is preferable!

Solo: If I pass on the way,my mate,if I pass on the way,
You tighten your talisman!
Chorus: Pass by,my mate,I pass by,
You tighten your talisman!
Solo: Go along,my mate,I go along,
You tighten your talisman!
Chorus: Pass on the way,my mate,I pass on the way
You tighten your talisman!
Solo: Am I a buffalo, my mate,child,
Am I a buffalo or a rhinocerous?
Chorus: Am I a buffalo,my mate,child,
Am I buffalo or a rhinocerous?

Solo: Am I a buffalo,age mate,
Am I a buffalo or a rhinocerous?
Chorus: Am I a buffalo,age mate,
Am I a buffalo or a rhinocerous?

I

'Hik Ci Bǫ me'

Solo: Hik ci bǫ me hik ci bǫ me;
Hik ci bǫ me,bøi a sǫn roggo;
'Hik ci bǫ me!
Chorus: Baba-a-a,bøi a sǫn roggo;
Hik ci bǫ me!
Solo: Bøi a sǫn roggo;
'Hik ci bǫ me!!
Chorus: Baba - a - a,bøi a sǫn roggo:
'Hik ci bǫ me!!

Solo: Ci gattoi bǫ no mota,
Ci gattoi bǫ no mota;
Nua na nan somin gǫlmǫ,
Ci gattoi bǫ no mota!
Chorus: Baba-a-a,nua na nan somin gǫlmǫ,
Ci gattoi bǫ no mota!
Solo: Nua na nan somin gǫlmǫ,
Caa bature gee ne!
Chorus: Nua na nan somin gǫlmǫ,
Caa bature gee ne!

Solo: Wau hun gaaka zaane un buu mǫǫro,
Hal u emka yaaye u ze ai tu gyøø.

Chorus: Wau hun emka zaane un buu mǫǫro,
Hal u emka yaaye u ze ai tu gyøø.
Solo: Tatka zaane un buu mǫǫro,
Hal u tatka yaaye u ze ai tu gyøø.
Chorus: Wau hun gaaka zaane un buu mǫǫro,
Hal u emka yaaye u ze ai tu gyøø.

Solo: Na gaat zamane,gaat zamane,
Sai hankuri na gaat zamane!
Chorus: Sai hankuri na gaat zamane!
Solo: Sai hankuri na gaat zamane!
Chorus: Gaat zamane, sai hankuri
Na gaat zamane.
Solo: Gaat zamane,sai hankuri na gaat
Chorus: Zamane,sai hankuri na gaat zamane!

Solo: Danda saa saa tahna, an gǫlmǫ dama,
Danda saa saa tahna;
An gǫlmǫ ba dama.
Yo-ho-yo-o, hǫdun lo.
Chorus: Danda saa saa tahna,an gǫlmǫ dama,
Danda saa saa tahna;
An gǫlmǫ dama.
Solo: Yo-ho-yo-o,hǫdun lo - o!
Chorus: Danda saa saa tahna,an gǫlmǫ dama,
Danda saa saa tahna;
An gǫlmǫ dama.

Solo: Baba,shaura Tøkø,
Baba,shaura Tøkø,
Vaak un shaura Gwenta!
Chorus: Baba,shaura Tøkø,
Vaak un shaura Gwenta!
Solo: Hongin zanum zanka,
Gwenta,sai a na dwaaka d'reme!

Chorus: Hongin zanum zanka,
Cwenta, sai a na dweaka d'reme!

Solo: Bat i an ese,bat i an ese,
Bat i an ese,bat i an ese,
Dind naa me,bat i an ese!
Chorus: Baba-a-a,dind naa me,bat i an ese'.
Solo: Bat i an ese, dind naa me,bat i an ese!
Chorus: Baba - a - a,dind naa me,bat in an ese;
Solo: Ba na tana me,ba na tana me;
Pen nan sømønnø,ba na tana me?
Chorus: Pen nan sømønnø,ba na tana me?
Solo: Ba na tana me, pen nan sømønnø,
Ba na tana me?
Chorus: Pen nan sømønnø,ba na tana me?

Solo: Gǫlmǫ damka,gama na em hankuri;
Chorus: Damka,gama na em hankuri.
Solo: Gǫlmǫ damka,gama na em na hankuri.
Chorus: Gǫlmǫ damka,gama na em na hankuri.

Solo: Gamma c'bara,gamma c'bara;
Gamma,c'bara,gamma c'bara;
Hønu a hyan, gamma c'bara!
Chorus: Baba - a - a,hønu a hyan,gamma c'bara!
Solo: Gamma c'bara,hønu a hyan,gamma c'bara!
Gamma c'bara!
Chorus: Baba - a hønu a hyan, gamma c'bara!

Solo: Ama tǫǫ un leve,hyaare,ma tǫǫ un leve
Uv hǫd v'gudu
Chorus: Ma tǫǫ un leve,hyaare,ma tǫǫ un leve
Uv hǫd v'gudu.

Solo: Tǫǫ un leve,hyaare,ma tǫǫ un leve
Uv hǫd v'gudu.
Chorus: Tǫǫ un leve,hyaare,ma tǫǫ un leve
Uv hǫd v'gudu.
Solo: Um laa laa kǫbe,hyaare waa,
Um laa laa kǫbe,ko geeve?
Chorus: Um laa laa kǫbe,hyaare waa,
Um laa laa kǫbe,ko geeve?
Solo: Um laa laa kǫbe,hyaare waa,
Um laa laa kǫbe,ko geeve?
Chorus: Um laa laa kǫbe,hyaare waa,
Um laa laa kǫbe,ko geeve?

II

'Allow Me To Tell'

Performers: NaAllah,Germace,Gada,Hassan and Awace.
Accompaniment:Rhythm of farm work.
Occasion: Golmo.
Place:U'Manga,Zuru,Kebbi State of Nigeria.
Date:28th September,1991.

Solo: Co - o! Hamarma!*
Co - o! Hamarma!
Co - o
Chorus: Hum!*
Solo: Co - o!
Chorus: Hum!
Solo: Allow me to tell;
Chorus: Hain!*
Solo: Allow me to tell
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: I say,even if I'll be eaten,
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: I say,even if I'll be eaten,
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: I say,allow me to tell;
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Let me tell about the lazy one!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Let me tell about the lazy one!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Let me tell about the lazy one!
Chorus: The lazy one, hain!
Solo: I say, whoever dies,
Chorus: Hain!

Solo: I say, whoever dies,
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: I insist, I must tell!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Oh, no!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Oh, no!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Oh, no!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Even if I will be killed,
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Even if I will be killed,
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: I must tell, indeed!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Tell of who died;
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Tell of the lazy one;
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: I shall not die,
Chorus: That we may go to my in-law's hain!
Solo: I shall not die,
Chorus: That we may go to my in-law's, hain!
Solo: Oho - o!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Oho - o!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Allow me to tell;
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: The useless one;
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: It's he who died;
Chorus: Hain!

Solo: While at work!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: I shall not die,
Chorus: That we may go to my in-law's,hain!
Solo: I shall not die,
Chorus: That we may go to my in-law's hain!

II

'Lag Na Me Um Vatte'

Solo: Co - o! Hamarma!
Co - o! Hamarma!
Co - o!
Chorus: Hum!
Solo: Co - o!
Chorus: Hum!
Solo: Lag na me um vatte;
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Lag na me um vatte;
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Mi,ko nan hwaa me,
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Mi,ko nan tøø me,
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Mi,lag na me um vatte;
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Lag um vatt k'roggo!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Lag um vatt k'roggo!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Lag um vatt k'roggo!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Mi,ko wen wøine;

Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Mi,ko wen wøini,
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Mi la,sai ge um vatka!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Baabo!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Baabo!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Baabo!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Ko nan hwaa me,
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Ko nan hwaa me,
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Sai ha um vatka!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Vatk un wøini!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Vatk k'roggo!
Chorus: Hain !
Solo: Am wøø da,
Chorus: Na ryiit uv mǫǫre,hain!
Solo: Am wøø da,
Chorus: Na ryiit uv mǫǫre,hain!
Solo: Oho - o!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Oho - o!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Lag na me um vatte;
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Kingǫ,hawwe;
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Unwan wøini,

Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Daavun waala!
Chorus: Hain!
Solo: Am wøø da,
Chorus: Na ryiit uv mǫǫre,hain!
Solo: Am wøø da,
Chorus: Na ryiit uv mǫǫre, hain!

* Line 1: 'Co-o!' Sound to encourage work.
* Line 4: 'Hum' is a response to encouragement by workers
* Line 8: 'Hain' is same as above.

That I should move on to Kulbawa.

*Line 5: 'Kømbøri' = a people in Niger State of Nigeria,symbolising distance.

*Line 6: 'Kulbawa' = same as above.

II

Ai Um unu

Solo: Ai um unu;ai um soma;
Sai ge um unu bønø.
Ai um unu,sai ge um unu tahna
Av Kuztin me, Cambo,
Lag um nok Kømbøri,børi,
Ai um tǫǫ um nok kulbawa.
Solo: Ai um unu
Chorus: Ai um unu bønø
Solo: Ai um unu;
Chorus: Ai um unu bønø.
Solo: An Lanjumma
Chorus: Kumtin negum hǫǫ,
Solo: An Danjumma
Chorus: Kumtin negum hǫǫ,
Ai um tǫǫ um nok kømbøri weri,
Ai um tǫǫ um nok kulbawa.
Solo: U ze ai um unu,
Ai um unu tahna.
Ai um unu,
Az um unu bønø.
An Danjumma
Chorus: Kumtin negun hǫǫ,
Uze ai um tǫǫ um nok,kømbøri,weri,
Az um tǫǫ um nok kulbawa

III

I Shall Be Wise

Composer: Husse (18)
Performer: Husse
Accompaniment: None
Occasion: Weaving another girl's hair
Place: Gǿzi, Umanga.
Date: 29th September, 1991.

I shàll be wise and take it to my mother;
Let my going trouble you all.
I shall be wise and take it to my mother;
Let my going trouble you all!
If I one day reincarnate,
Karya, laisi,
If I one day reincarnate,
If I one day reincarnate,
If I one day reincarnate;
I will surely not marry;
One day reincarnate;
I shall not marry into the same situation;
I shall be wise and take it to my mother;
Let my going trouble you all.
I shall just be wise and take it to my mother;
Let my going trouble you all!
Elder, Tadi, ca e me a calabash,
Elder, Tadi, carve me a calabash.
Let me go home for Dimo ta what?
Do let me go home for Diimo to marry me.
I shall go home for Dazi to what?
Do allow me to go home for Darve to marry me.

Jimme, Dazi to marry me,
As Dazi does not what?
Dazi to marry me, Jimme, Dazi to marry me,
As Dazi doesn't like what touches me.

My elder, Tadi carve me a calabash,
Elder, Tadi carve me a calabash,
My elder, Tadi, carve me a calabash.
Elder, Tadi, carve me a calabash.
Let me go home for Dimo to what?
Let me go home for Diimo to marry me.
I shall go home for Dazi to what?
Do allow me go home for Dazi to marry me,
As Dazi doesn't what?
Dazi to marry me, Jimme, Dazi to marry me,
As Dazi hates anything that disturbs me.

III

Tum Em Ge Waayo

Tum ɛmge waayo um seve mama na;
Sai dei um hava um dama no!
Tum em ge waayo um seve mama na;
Sai dei um hava um dama no!
Am buka wrøn nu waa,
Karya,laisi,
Am buka wrøn nu waa,
Am buka wrøn nu waa,
Karya, laisi,
Am buka wrøn nu waa,
Am buka wrøn nu waa,
Am gaa dei børi da;
Buka wrøn nu waa.
Am gaa dei børi go dun cøn da!

Tum em ge waayo um seve mama na;
Sai dei um hava um daama no!
Tum em ge waayo um seve mama na;
Sai dei um hava um dama no!
Yeeyee,Taadi,kweeke me i'hono,
Yaya,Taadi,kweeke me i'hono.
Lag um gyøø Diimo ye?
Lag na yo um gyøø Diimo gaa me.
Tum gyøø Daazi ye?
Lag na yo um gyøø Dazi gaa me,
Jimmo,Dazi gaa me.
Daazi zain tu ye?
Daazi gaa me,Jimme,Daazi gaa me,
Daazi zain tu tɔn un mi da

Taadi,kweeke me i'hono.
Yaya na,Taadi,kweeke me i'hono,yaya,
Taadi,kweeke me i'hono.
Lag um gyøø Diimo ye?
Lag um gyøø Diimo gaa me.
Tum gyøø Daazi ye?
Lag na yo um gyøø Daazi gaa me,
Jimme,Daazi gaa me
Daazi zain tu ye?
Daazi gaa me,Jimme,Daazi gaa me,
Daazi zai tu tɔn un mi da.

IV

I Shall Go Wisely

Composer: Anhi
Performer: Anhi
Accompaniment: Rhythm of the grinding stone
Occasion: Griding corn.
Place: Gøzi,Umanga.
Date: 29th September,1991.

I shall go wisely;
People,allow me to go home to the Gwentas!
Go wisely;people,let me go wisely;
Let me go home to the Gwentas'.
The Gwentas' welcome;let me go willingly.
Let me go home,the Gwentas,' welcome;
Let me go willingly.
As I got to the grove,the grove had leopards!
As I got to the brook,it belonged to Hausa people.
I got to the brook,got to the brook,
Maiden,when I got to the brook;
I just got to the brook,the mosquitoes are too much!
Oh my! Termites also bite me!
Black ants also sting me!
Hippoppotamus comes out and Aligator comes out!
It is Boa Constrictor that crawled out!
So the water snake has cut off my head?
Dawa,quick!the rainbow has swallow me!
Red Hill! It is the falling off from the palm tree!

IV

Tum Nok Un Waayo

Tum nok un waayo;
Laga um gyøø uv Gwentana
Nok un waayo,laga um nok un waayo;
Lag um gyøø uv Gwentana.
Gwentan Maraba.lag um nokta tɒntɒnɒ.
Lag um gyøø,Gwentan maraba,
Lag um nokt a tɒntɒnɒ.
Caa caa zugu,zugu a gwimini!
Caa caa k'gen,genk kɒgnɒ!
Caa k'gen,Caa k'gen,
Wanta am caa ge k'gen;
Ca k'gen ge løntum rorka!
Mi rusmun baa eple!
Zɒndene baa cwetla!
I hømsu wrøn zu, rakasa wrøn zu la!
I obul pee ba ganda!
Ase gwøniv gedk me d'hi!
Dawa,maza! Ronga tɒlk me!
Semu Gyozo! I koba dun kwakwa!

V

I Meet A Maiden

Composer: Reetu
Performer: Reetu.
Accompaniment: Molo
Occasion: Relaxing at home after the day's work.
Place: Amanawa,Umanga.
Date: 30th September,1991.

I go on the way,looking,this person,
I go on the way,looking.
I go on the way,looking,this person,
I meet a maiden.
I had met a maiden
I then spoke to the maiden.
The maiden told me her exact mind;
It won't be possible that way
I and my husband we must marry.
I sat and emaciated totally
I sat and felt nostalgic.
I sat, I wouldn't take corn meals.
I sat,I wouldn't eat meat.
I sat I wouldn't do farm work.
Reetu sat and emaciated totally.
I sat and emaciated totally.
I remembered the maiden.
Reetu sat and emaciated totally.

V

Um Gwanta Waawanta

Um nok un leve tum gǫtǫ ǫpǫ,
Tum nok un leve tum gǫtǫ,
Um nok un leve tum gǫtǫ,ǫpǫ
um gwanta waawanta

III

' Let No One Be Vexed'

Composer: Bɔnge.
Performers: Cige and Eska.
Accompaniment: C'gula (talking drums).
Occasion: Liesure,drinking corn beer.
Place: Peni,Zuru,Kebbi State of Nigeria.
Date: 6th October,1994.

Let no one be vexed,
Let no one be vexed,
Saida fills up the town.
You are never understood.
I need someone to send to Tɔrɔ;
I need someone to send to Daabe,
Tomorrow.
You do not fear shame!
Whom shall I send to Tɔrɔ?
Today,no one knows,
The thing that killed Saida.
Let's go home and leave them.
What can they do with shame?
As Køci Ayuba called me;
Father of Naama,
Chief (husband) of Saake;
Judge, I shall accept;
Father of Gomma, I shall accept.
Competitors over a rhinocerous.
Say I should first inform the advisers.
They're competing to be advisers.
You've not tried your husband with meat;
Would you try your husband with a testicle?
Or try your husband with a penis?

Would a man make a kitchen knife with
a penis?
Or his wife cut okro with a testicle?
Young man did not eat.
For what reason?
It's because of Kiima's rhinocerous.
Let's go home then!
Why,Kiima?
We shall take it to U'Daba.
Kiima is well born,that's why!
Cwøøgo,son of the drummer,call Gooro,
quickly!
Let's go out.
Kiima has brought a name home;
The amateur weeps.

III

'Kada Na Hwinsø'

Kada na hwinsø,
Kada na hwinsø.
Saida cika gari da dama,
A nan keese c'rov da.
Um kum be u'm comin bad Tǫrǫ;
Am kum be u'm comin bad Daabe,
Hwedun buku.
A tun gel m'en da.
I wen tum com bad Tǫrǫ?
Tente na robk,da,
Rihnun hwain Saida.
Na gyøø na lag nø.
El ta em m'en lo?
Køci Ayuba pǫgin me;

Baban Naama,
Gǫmǫ,na Saake,
Saka,tum sese;
Baban Gomma,tum sese.
Baase baase nun geeve,
Az um baa sevase na s'lako,
Elun baase baase na s'lako.
Uv ta magde wørvu un k'nøm da,
Mak uv magde wørvu un k'naage?
Uv magde wørvu un k'rindi?
Ørmø wa em d'senge un k'rindi?
Ko netav ru em c'kwønbø un k'naago?
Waa kempa ta yaaka da,
I remun ye?
I remun geevev Kiima.
Ci gyøø na yo!
I remun ye,Kiima?
Cin sǫv U'Daba.
Kiima meteke yo!
Cwøøgø,waa wene,pǫg Cooro,maza!
Na rwøø.
Kiima giitkø suna n'ile;
Lømbø ǫnǫ.

IV

'I Shall Tell What I've Seen

Composer: Reetu Bature.
Performer: Reetu.
Accompaniment: Molo (a two-stringed instrument).
Occasion: Relaxing at home.
Place: Amanawa,Zuru, Kebbi State of Nigeria.
Date: 12th September,1991

I shall tell you what I've seen.
My kin,listen, let me tell you.
Kith and kin,listen to my words.
Things are no longer understood,why?
I no longer understand,but why?
It requires patience to live in this world.
It needs care to live in this world.
My kin,please,listen,I implore you.
You see,what Reetu wants;
Let God leave everyone in health.
May God leave everyone in health.
My kin.....
You see how.....
My kin,tomorrow is a day.
The day after is also a day.
Three days hence is also a day.
My kin,listen,I admonish you.
If I get two shillings,I would be injured;
If I got a shilling,I would be killed.
If I stand on the way,I would be eaten.
Now where shall I go,my kin?
Where shall I pass?
Remember, my kin,the hereafter!

My kin,remember paradise.
My kin,we are just passing time.
My kin,the visitor is like dew.
My kin,we're visitors like dew.
One day,the visitor departs,my kin.
One day,it's only a story.
Money,money kills,
Money,money kills.
Money,money is trouble,my kin.
Man,you should remember.
Sister,I'm in love with you.
If you love me,I will love you.
If you scorn me,I will scorn you.
My kin,listen to my words.
I no longer understand,why?
How come I no longer understand?
Money causes suffering, my kin.
Marriage causes suffering my kin.
In Nigeria,in Nigeria.
My kin.....
You see now.....
My kin.....

IV

'Tum Vece No'

Tum vece no rihnum henine.
Yan uwana,tǫ honga,um vecete no.
A nan gane tømø da,remun yene?
A tum gane tømø da, remun ye?
Zaman duniyan nan,sai hankuri.
Zaman duniyan nan,noka sasa.
Yan uwana,tǫ honga,um demeke no.
Ka gani rihnun Reetu rein num tǫnǫ,

Baba Allah lag la kowe m'hǫknǫ.
Baba Allah lag la kowe m'hǫknǫ.
Yan uwana....
Ka gani fa.....
Yan uwana,tǫ gobe rana ce.
Ka gani,kuma, jibi rana ce.
Ka gani,kuma, gata rana ce.
Yan uwana tǫ honga um cemeke no.
Um kum v'sule,nan hwese me.
Am kum v'dala,nan hwaa me.
Am es un leve,nan tøø me.
Ai i levun pe kaanan tum gabtc,yan uwa?
Ai i levun pe kaanan tum tǫǫte?
Yan uwana, tǫ gobe kiyama.
Yan uwana, tǫ gobe lahira.
Yan uwana,na ęl gə un rigø.
Yan uwana, tǫ bako raba ce.
Wata rana bako ya tashi,yan uwa.
Wata rana sai ge labari.
Mǫni,mǫni kil peson.
Mǫni,mǫni kil peson.
Mǫni,mǫni palava,yan uwa.
Mista man make yu rimemba.
Sista,I am lǫvin yu.
Ivin lǫvin mi,I am lǫvin yu
Ivin yabin me,I am yabin yu.
Yan uwana,tǫ hanga um vecete no.
A tum gane tøm da,I remun yene?
A tum gane tøm da,I hǫdun pe?
Kwiddi na da wahala,yan uwa
Aure na da wahala,yan uwa.
Cikin Nanjeriya,Nanjeriya.
Yan uwana.....
Ka gani fa.....
Yan uwana.....

V

'There's No Strong One'

Composer: Nemlo.
Performers: Daada,Nemlo,Døssi and a chorus of nine others.
Accompaniment: The rhythm of farm work.
Occasion: M'Seve (collective farm work by women).
Place: Amanawa,Zuru,Kebbi State of Nigeria.
Date: 16th September,1991

Solo: Hoboryo,biha!*
Chorus: Ha - a - n!*
Solo: Horiryo!
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Chiefs,* there's no strong one.
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Look, no strong one.
Chorus: Ha - a - m!
Solo: Chiefs,there's no strong one.
Chorus: Ha - a - m!
Solo: Chief,were there a strong one.
Chorus: Ha - a - m!
Solo: With a strong one,farm work would be done.
Chorus: Ha - a - m!
Solo: Farm work would be done happily.
Chorus: Ha - a - m!
Solo: Done joyfully,
Chorus: Ha - am!
Solo: But,chiefs,there's no strong one;
Chorus: Ha - a -m!
Solo: Were there a strong one,
Chorus: Ha - a - m!
Solo: With a strong one farm work would be done.

Chorus: Ha - a - m!
Solo: Farm work would be done happily.
Chorus: Ha - a - m!

Prompter: Listen,yonder!Crows call you!
Listen,yonder!Distractors call you!
Don't respond,mad one!

Solo: Clumsy strong one;
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Useless youth;
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Useless youth;
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Youth,cowardice fits you!
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Nothing but clumsiness!
Chorus: Ha - a -n!
Solo: Like a bottle of eye-shadow!
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: The bottle of eye-shadow is preferable.
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: It contains something;
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Used for darkening the eyes.
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Hobobo!
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Hobiryo,biha!
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Chiefs,there's no youth,
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Chief,were there a youth,
Chorus: Ha - a - n!

Solo: Farm work would be done happily.
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Now there's no youth.
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: The youth works clumsily,
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Like a bottle of eye-shadow;
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: The bottle of eye-shadow is preferable;
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: It can be shaken and applied,
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Applied to darken the eyes.
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Hobobo!
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Hobiryo,biha!
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Big for nothing!
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Big
Chorus: For nothing,ha - a -n!
Solo: Big
Chorus: For nothing,ha - a - n!
Solo: Look at the sluggish youth.
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Look at
Chorus: The sluggish youth,ha - a - n!
Solo: The youth doesn't know
Chorus: How to lead a song,ha - a -n!
Solo: Not to talk of
Chorus: How to chorus,ha - a - n!
Solo: Big for nothing,
Chorus: Ha - a - n!

Solo: Clumsy one,
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Like a bottle of eye-shadow,
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: The bottle of eye-shadow is to be preferred;
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: It can be shaken out and applied,
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Applied
Chorus: To darken the eyes,ha - a - n!

*Line 1: 'Hoboryo,biha' is a sound of work rhythm.
*Line 2: 'Ha - a - n! is a response to above by Chorus.
*Line 5: 'Chief' refers to the leader of 'M'Seve (Female work group).

V

'Beb Zada'

Solo: Hoboryo, biha!
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Horiryo!
Chorus: Ha - a - m!
Solo: Gǫmgǫmna beb Zada,
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Gǫmǫ,beb Zada,
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Gǫmgǫmna beb Zada.
Chorus: Ha - a - m!
Solo: Gǫmǫ, beb wa be,
Chorus: Ha - a - m!
Solo: Beb wa be nan gǫvǫ,
Chorus: Ha - a - m!

Solo: Nan gǫvǫ na hene d'keme,
Chorus: Ha - a - m!
Solo: Hong d'keme,
Chorus: Gǫmgǫmna beb Zada;
Chorus: Ha - a - m!
Solo: Beb wa be,
Chorus: Ha - a - m!
Solo: Beb wa be nan gǫvǫ
Chorus: Ha - a - m!
Solo: Nan gǫvǫ na hong d'keme
Chorus: Ha - a - m!

Prompter: Hongo zo! Yǫgn Ci Vu!
Hongo zo! Tan Ci vu!
Av ses la da lago!

Solo: Beb kun Kibibi;
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Beb kun banza;
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Beb kun banza;
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Beba, tuv Sa k'gela!
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Banda u'kibibi,
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Hǫdun kwǿǿ kun Magwidi!
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Gamma kwǿǿ kun magwidi,
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Nan rakumse, nan suku;
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Nan sukun isǿ ti rimǿ
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Hobobo!
Chorus: Ha - a - n!

Solo: Hobiryo,biha!
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Gǫmgǫmna beba Zada.
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Gǫmǫ,beb wa be,
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Nan gǫvǫ na nong d'keme
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Un tǿmǿ beb Zada.
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Beb tu deke ƙibibi,
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Hǫdun kwǿǿ kun magwidi.
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Gamma kwǿǿ kun magwidi;
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Nan rakumse nan suku,
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Nan sukun isǿ ti rimǿ.
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Hobobo!
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Hobiryo,biha!
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Katon banza!
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Katon
Chorus: Banza,ha - a - n!
Solo: Katon
Chorus: Banza, ha - a - n!
Solo: Gǫt na beb kun ritǫ.
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Gǫt na.

Chorus: Beb kun ritǫ,ha - a - n!
Solo: Ba ka wa lø
Chorus: Hǫd nu humu,ha - a - n!
Solo: Belle ka
Chorus Hǫd nu kabo,ha - a -n!
Solo: Katon banza,
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Beb kun kibibi,
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Hǫdun kwøø kun magwidi
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Gamma kwøø kun magwidi;
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Nan rakumse nan suku,
Chorus: Ha - a - n!
Solo: Na sukun
Chorus: Isø ti rimø, ha - a - n!

VI

'The Old Ones'

Composer: Alande
Performers: Alande, Matila, Wabso, Jega, Dada and Germace.
Accompaniment: C'gula (Talking drums) by Tebe and Aiki, with Kala (rattle drum) played by Webe.
Occasion: Corn beer drinking session.
Place: Umanga.
Date: 22nd September, 1991.

Female: Ha-a-ha-a ye-eha-a, ye-ha-a, ye-ha-a,
Iye-e-ye-e ye-e ye-e-ha-a
Ye-he-eha-a, ye-ha haiya-e!
Allow me, allow me to tell.
Beat the kwombo style.
Beat the drum of kwǫmbǫ.
Tebe, beat the drum of kwǫmbǫ.
If I speak twice, you take over.
If I miss the farm, take over.
If I miss the farm, take over.
It's I who puts the song right.
Start the song well;
I shall start the song very well.
I say, it's the old ones.
I say, the old ones talk mischief in this world;
Even if you didn't say, they say you said.
They didn't see, they say they've seen.
Even if they don't know how, they say they know how.
Look, if you don't know how to catch a thief;

The thief will smash you,do you know?
The thief will slap you!
Male: Ha-aha-a yeha-a ye-eha-ye-eha-a,
Iye-e ye-e ye-e ye-eha-a,
Yehe-e-ha-a,ye-ha haiye-e!
Women are spoil with mischievious talk.
If you didn't do,they say you did.
If you didn't do,they say you did.
Will it sit well at all like that?
Will it sit well again?
Female: Ha-aha-a yeha-a,ye-e ha-a,ye-e ha-a
Iye-e ye-e ye-e ye-eha-a,
Yehe-e-ha-a,ye-ha haiye-e!
The old ones talk mischieviously,
Listen,all the old ones talk mischieviously.
If you haven't seen,you say you've seen
If you don't know,you say you know.
Chorus: Ha-a Iye-e,haiye-e ye-eha-a,
ye-e ha haiye!
All: Start then,tell it properly,
So that the women may support you.
Look,if you can't give it to me first.
You're to lead the old ones,
That I may follow properly.
Women talking mischieviously,
The old one is down there talking mischievously.
Old one you didn't see,you say you saw.
You don't know,you say you know.
If you don't know how to catch a thief
The thief may slap you,do you know?
The thief may slap you.

Lines 1-3 'Yeha-a,etc' = Huming to set the tune.
Line 5: 'kwɔmbɔ' =From Hausa 'Kwambo' or 'kwankwanba',meaning a type of dance for

boys' and girls which is very vigorous
because of the lively drum beat.
It also means decoration.It is used here
to mean lively drum beat or pride.

VI

'Kongamna'

Ha-a-ha-a ye-e ha-a,ye-ha-a,ye-ha-a
Iye-e ye-e ye-e ye-e-ha-a
Ye-he-eha-a ye-ha haiye-e!
Iag na me, lag na me un vata.
Buga kidin kwǫmbǫ,
Buga kidin kwǫmbǫ
Tabe,buga kidin kwǫmbǫ.
Am vat C'ilǿ uv deete
Am bat U'bela undeete.
Am bat U'bela undeete.
I mi mai jara waka.
Taka U'sepa a d'kemne;
Mi tum taka u'sepa a d'kemne.
Mi kongam na,
Mi kongam ne,kongam na un c'kata
un duniya.
Ko uv ta vat da,a ze uv Vatka.
Ata hen da,a ze a henke.
Ko a ta lǿǿ da a ze a lǿǿlǿ
Ǫǫtǫ,avta lǿǿ ɓup mun hiv da
Hivi tu cakasa vo,uv n apke?
Hivi tu cakanna vo!
Ha-a ha-a yeha-a,ye-e ha-a ye-e ha-a,
Iye-e ye-e ye-e ye-e ha-a,
Yehe-e-ha-a,ye-ha haiye-e!

Netan nak un c'kata,
Av ta em da,a ze uv emka
Av ta em da a ze uv emka
Ti sweeta børu hǫdu ne?
Ti sweeta børu tømi?
Ha-a ha-a yeha-a,ye-e ha-a ye-e ha-a
Iye-e ye-e ye-e ye-eha-a,
Yehe-e-ha-a,ye-ha haiye e!
Kongamna un C'kata.
Honga,mankun kwe un C'kata.
Av ta hen da,uv ze uv henke.
Av ta nap da,uv ze un napka.
Ha-a iye-e,haiye-e ye-e ha-a,
ye-e ha haiye!
Taka na yo, vat na a d'kemnenne,
ko netan ta ba onka.
Gǫtǫ av ta lø da uv ba nes me,
Ai uv takuvta ta kongamna,
Bat tum kab a d'kemnenne.
Neta na un c'kata,
Kongama elo zo un C'kata,
Komgama uvta henda, uvze uv henke.
Uv ta nap da,uv ze uv rapka.
Avta løø sipmun hiv da,
Ai hivi tu gonanna vo,uv napke?
Hivi tu gonanna vo!

Appendix III:

Nam C'Debe (Lament) Songs

I

Sit Quitely For Me

Composer: Alande.
Performers:Alande,Matila,Wabso,Jega,Dada,Germace.
Accompaniment: C'gula,played by Tebe and Aiki;kala (rattle drum) by Mebe.
Occasion: Corn beer drinking.
Place: Umanga
Date: 22nd September,1991.

Solo: Sit quitely for me,
Chorus: Sit quitely,Auta.
Solo: Sit,kak!*
Chorus: Sit quitely,
All: If it's talk of religion,
Hausas have brought trouble;
Chorus: As they do insult me.
Solo: As the noise makers do insult me!
Let every one insult and sporn the other.
Let everyone stand and speak;since they are making a noise!
Let everyone take the insult to the other
Sit quitely.
Chorus: Sit quitely,auta.
All: If it's about religion,
Hausas have brought trouble
Chorus: As they are making a noise.
Solo: They insult me completely.
Chorus: As they're making a noise.
Solo: They insulted me,

Chorus: As they're making a noise
Solo: Look,whoever insults,and points at the other,
Everyone can do the same they are making a noise.
They insulted me!
Chorus: As they're making a noise.
Solo: Whoever insults should expect insults.
Chorus: As they're making a noise
Solo: Everybody gives his own birth,
God gives birth
Line 3: 'Kak' = phonaesthetic word to give impression of firmness.

I

SWEETAM BǪDǪ

Solo: Sweetam bodo
Chorus: Soot bodo,Auta.
Solo: Sweetam kak!
Chorus: Soot bodo,amma.
All: Awaz i lalkum addini,
Kǫgnǫ saka søbøbi
Chorus: A rein ha ta reb me!
Solo: Ana hǫrmǫ rein ha ta reb me!
Kowe reba u deke hyan.
Kowe esa u vato, a rein hana hǫrmǫ!
Kowe reba u seve hyan.
Soot bodo,
Chorus: Soot bodo,Auta
All: Awaz i lalkun addini,
Kǫgn saka søbøbi
Chorus:Rein ha na hǫrmǫ

Solo: Na robin mc kwo
Chorus: Rein ha na hǫrmǫ
Solo: Na reba me,
Chorus: Rein ha na hǫrmǫ.
Solo: Gǫtǫ,un wa reba u seve hyan,
Kowe reba u vato,na rein hana hǫrmǫ.
Na reba me!
Chorus: Rein ha na hǫrmǫ.
Solo: Un wa reba u kigǿ
Chorus: Rein ha na hǫrmǫ
Solo: Kowe el un macu ru,
Sila el nu maco!

II

That I Should Depart

Composer: Døssi
Performers: Dada, Nemlo, Døssi and a chorus of nine others.
Accompaniment: The rhythm of farm work.
Occasion: M'seve (collective farm work by women)
Place: Amanawa, Zuru
Date: 16th September, 1991.

Solo: That I should depart, that I should run;
I must depart their home.
That I should depart, that I should leave this place.
As you have divorced me, Gambo,
Let me go to Kømbøri as for me;
That I should pass and go to Kulbawa.
Solo: That I should depart;
Chorus: That I should leave their home.
Solo: That I should depart;
Chorus: That I should leave their home.
Solo: As Danjumma
Chorus: Got a giver of water
Solo: As Danjumma
Chorus: Got a giver of water,
That I should pass on to Kømbøri, oh me!
That I should move on to Kulbawa.
I should leave their home
As Danjumma
Chorus: Got a giver of water
Solo: As Danjumma
Chorus: Got a giver of water,
He says I should pass on to Kømbøri,
o me!