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HAUSA AND MAGUZAWA: PROCESSES OF GROUP DIFFERENTIATION IN A RURAL AREA IN NORTH CENTRAL STATE, NIGERIA

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PREFACE

I arrived in Nigeria with a research proposal heavy on theory but light on method. The study was to involve a comparison of two groups, focusing on questions of prestige and status differential. I chose a Moslem Hausa village which included both nomadic cattle Fulani and Maguzawa (non-Moslem Hausa) within its area, then ignored the latter two groups while gathering basic ethnographic data from the villagers. After a time, I realized that the villagers' perception of the Maguzawa was at variance with my own, and this variance seemed to be linked to questions of religious identification and relative status. I had a field problem.

I set to work to discover if the Maguzawa were culturally distinct from the villagers, who they were and why they were accorded such low status. The construction and use of a rural Hausa TAT had been part of the original research proposal, and this part of the plan was retained largely as insurance that at least some tangible, analyzable body of data would result from fieldwork. Much time was spent in collecting census and survey data and in a detailed ethnographic comparison of the two groups. TATs, survey data, ethnographic differences all were carried home and the effort begun to make sense and order of them. It became necessary to understand Hausa history, and in the end it was even useful to reconstruct some aspects of it. The resulting explanation of Hausa "Islamization" and differentiation between Moslem Hausa and Maguzawa seems to be plausible, but can hardly be taken as "proven." Too much rests on conjecture and supposition, too little is known of the details of rural Hausa history.

Few projects would reach completion without the advice and aid, the kindness and courtesy, of many individuals and institutions. To begin with the latter, fieldwork was financed by a National Science Foundation Doctoral Dissertation Grant (NSF GS 1838), the Senior Investigator of which was Prof. Robert A. LeVine of the University of Chicago. The Carnegie Corporation of New York provided funds for constructing a residence in the village. The Early Education Research Center of the University of Chicago paid the salaries of assistants in the field, then supported me for a year of data analysis and writing, back at home.[1] Ahmadu Bello University of Zaria (Nigeria) granted me a courtesy appointment as a Junior Research Fellow, thereby providing a base of operations. The personnel of the Rural Economy Research Unit of the Institute for Agricultural Research (A.B.U.) supplied invaluable information on field conditions and advice as to equipment, both of which were also offered by the good Christians of the C.M.S. Mission at Wusasa. The officials of the Zaria Local Authority were invariably cordial and helpful, and I am especially grateful to the Emir of Zaria, Alhaji Mohammadu Aminu.

Too many individuals to be listed are owed my thanks, and so only a few may be here mentioned. Of those who aided me either in England (where I prepared for fieldwork) or Nigeria, Dr. Francis Bernard, Senior Medical Officer of Ahmadu Bello University, must be singled out. Dr. Bernard not only healed my own illnesses, but also came out to the village and treated what seemed to be the better part of its population. In the process he

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[1]The research or work reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare through the Chicago Early Education Research Center, a component of the National Laboratory on Early Childhood Education. Contractors undertaking such work under government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of

taught me sufficient basic medicine for me to thenceforth take on the familiar anthropologist's role of local medicine man. Dr. Bernard was also kind enough to treat emergency cases brought to him from the village.

Many others provided material and moral support. Father James O'Connell and Dr. John Ballard of A.B.U. were ever-ready to supply conversation and advice when I would emerge from the bush. My colleague Harold Olofson repeatedly reminded me that I was supposed to be an anthropologist, and was only temporarily a villager. His gracious wife Mary repeatedly reminded me of the deficiencies of bush house-keeping. Jean Trevor shared with me her insights into the ways of Hausa women. C.B.C. Gidley of the School for Oriental and African Studies (University of London) taught me basic Hausa in a class consisting of two anthropologists and a missionary.

Closer to home, Prof. R. A. LeVine of the University of Chicago, thesis supervisor and sponsor, supplied his unfailingly optomistic encouragement and criticism over a period of six years. D. G. Freedman, also of the University of Chicago, helped me broaden my intellectual interests by explaining that Human Ethology (ever my love) needed a psychological anthropologist. My E.E.R.C. colleagues, Murray Edelman, Robert Marvin II, and Donald Omark together generated an atmosphere of intellectual ferment and camaraderie which kept the work aloft when it might have floundered.

But above all, my gratitude to the Hausa villagers and Maguzawa who teased me, taught me, befriended me. Tritely, tautologically yet truly, this study could not have been done but for them.

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the work. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Aims of the Study

This study investigates the nature of acculturation and Islamization in North Central State, Nigeria. It does this by comparing two Hausa-speaking communities--one of them a village of Hausa (or Hausa-Fulani) Moslems, the other a scattering of Maguzawa (non-Moslem Hausa) compounds distributed over several square miles. The study asks three questions about these communities and the individuals comprising them: (1) What are the sociocultural and psychological differences between the two groups? (2) What historical processes have led to these differences? And (3), what are the on-going processes that maintain or fail to maintain these differences? Data collected in the course of eighteen months of fieldwork will be presented in an effort to answer these questions.

Theoretical Orientation

The use of the term "process" in the preceding paragraph reflects the paradigm of this study.[1] Increasingly, social scientists have been moving away from traditional structural models of social and individual functioning, models with categories and principles which relate variables only in terms of linear causality (Barkow, 1967) and which confuse the concept of level of organization with the error of reductionism. Social

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[1]See the influential work of Kuhn (1964) for a discussion of the concept of "paradigm" and its role in scientific progress.

phenomena are metamorphic, marked by change. Social scientists dealing with nitty-gritty reality are led to the use of change-oriented concepts such as Goode's (1960) "role-strain"; or to theoretical frameworks such as processualism (Swartz, 1968) and decision theory. The lesson seems to be that careful empiricism demands theory which treats process.

Process-oriented theory need not be purely inductive and particularistic, closely knit to the phenomena from which it is abstracted. General systems theory provides an extremely broad and general process-oriented framework, potentially applicable to all social phenomena because of its "emptiness," "empty" because variables and the relationships among them must still be discovered (chosen) in traditional fashion.[1] Few theorists have actually attempted to apply formal systems theory to social phenomena (viz., Buckeley, 1967, 1968; Bowlby, 1969), and the present study makes no such effort. Rather, systems theory is here used as a paradigm, a set, a guide to expectations: and a source of vocabulary. The resulting orientation involves viewing structure as a generated product of a system, rather than as its immutable skeleton; considering variables as possible constraints on others or as feeding back to others (rather than simply causing them); looking for different levels of organization in which the elements at one level may themselves by systems at another; seeking for emergents as one ascends levels of organization; and even hoping to find self-organizing processes to account for the orderly (rather than entropic) nature of social phenomena. Such is the orientation or paradigm to be used in this study.

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[1] One of the difficulties with the application of systems theory to social phenomena is that it is generally applied to the same old concepts--such as role--that may have a built-in structural bias.

Plan of the Study

The present chapter will finish by briefly describing the area of the study and the peoples among whom it was carried out, as well as the methodology used. Chapter II will consist of an ethnographic description of the village of Wurinsalla and the people who live in it. A similar, though much briefer, ethnographic description of the Maguzawa will be included in Chapter III, which then goes on to meet the first aim of the study, describing the "sociocultural and psychological differences between the two groups." The psychological differences involved are not discussed in terms of psychodynamics, but in terms of self-presentation. Chapter IV explains the differences found between Moslem Hausa and Maguzawa in traditional historical fashion (Islamization), then proposes a process-oriented model (the conqueror-assimilation model) to account for the generation of the differences (aim 2). The same model implies the emergence of the Maguzawa as emically distinct from the Moslem villagers, the distinction being maintained in the short-run by a new process in which each group preserves its identity against the background of the other (aim 3).

The Region and Its Peoples

A particular village area in the northern portion of Zaria Emirate (near the Katsina border), in North Central State, Nigeria, was the locus of the study. This is orchard-bush country, rainy season-dry season savannah. Land is mostly flat, with an occasional stone outcropping. Trees--silk-cotton, baobab, eucalyptus, tamarind, locust-bean, etc.--are scattered, seldom occurring in groves or woods. From October (the harvest season) to April the land is dry, sere: in January-February the cold and dessicating

Harmattan blows. By March the weather is again hot and humid, and in April or May the rains bring the time of sowing. The dry season's dust turns to mud and then to verdure.

Two peoples live here, the pastoral cattle Fulani and the sedentary Hausa. The herds of the Fulani pass through the land, travelling north as the rains come, south as they recede. The Hausa remain in their villages and compounds throughout the year, growing millet and guinea corn as staples, cotton and ground-nuts as cash crops. The Fulani bring their cattle to browse on the stubble of the fields, receiving gifts of grain and potash in return for the fertilizing dung of the animals. Sometimes disputes break out over the damage the cattle do to crops, but mostly relations between sedentary and pastoral peoples are amicable. The two groups meet at the markets, where the practically craftless Fulani purchase their wants and sell an occasional old or ill bull to the Hausa butchers. It is the women of the Fulani who must provide their families with food, and they do this be selling the milk and butter of the cows to the Hausa. There is thus a complex interdependency between Hausa and cattle Fulani. The Fulani provide fertilizer, dairy products, and a ready market for the numerous craft-products of the Hausa. The latter provide rich food (stubble) for the cattle, gifts for their owners, a market for dairy products and aged or ill animals, and craft-goods such as clothing, calabashes, knives, etc. Hausa and Fulani therefore form two cultures, but a single society.

Links between the two peoples go far deeper than mere economic interdependency. In 1804-1810, during the famous jihad of Shehu dan Fodio, the Fulani conquered the sedentary Hausa, replacing the traditional Hausa ruling dynasties. Over time these dynasties have become quite "Hausa-ized," and the characteristic light skin and fine features of the Fulani have given

way to the darker, thicker Habe (a derogatory Fulani term meaning indigenous population, used in Hausa as well) look. In addition, many Fulani--perhaps the majority--farm in order to supplement the dairy income from their often-depleted herds. Sometimes a family will split, part of it travelling with the cattle and the rest remaining behind to farm. Ideally, to engage in agriculture is considered to be shameful by these pastoral nomads: but younger men say that his is only the opinion of the old, and nowadays farming is respectable. Over time many herds have been depleted and even destroyed by misfortune, forcing Fulani to farm. Recently cattle-deprived Fulani will claim that they are farming only until they can accumulate sufficient wealth to return to pastoral life, but most of them remain farmers and gradually assimilate to Hausa. By the third generation they have usually forgotten the Fulani language, though they will continue to hold themselves aloof from habe. Nigerians distinguish three categories of Fulani: cattle Fulani (Fulanin shanu) who remain pastoral nomads; town Fulani (Fulanin gida) who have become sedentary farmers, adopting Hausa residence pattern, language, food and dress; and ruling-class Fulani (masu-sarauta). Since so many Hausa in Nigeria are actually of Fulani origin it is more accurate to speak of the "Hausa-Fulani" than of the Hausa alone.

From an outsider's point of view, Hausa culture and society may be viewed as a continuum or hierarchy along three more-or-less parallel dimensions: degree of Islamic piety and learning; status and power; and urbanization. Urban areas house both the traditional rulers and the centers of Koranic learning, and city people are widely respected (if sometimes distrusted) by rural Hausa. Village Hausa are considered unenlightened in religion and boorish in manners by urbanites, though the rural settlements contain the village and hamlet heads who have power over the bush people,

and the villagers are Moslems who pray regularly and keep the fast of Ramadan. The bush Hausa are the most rural of all. Some of them are Moslems but the most isolated compounds, far away from road and market, belong to the pagan Hausa, the Maguzawa. The Maguzawa are at the bottom of the continuum in urbanization, in Islam, and in power and status. They are often treated contemptuously by villagers, who tend to see them as a separate people, not Hausa at all (even though it is the villagers who have an admixture of Fulani blood which the Maguzawa lack), and Maguzawa frequently complain that they are cheated and discriminated against by the authorities. The present study compares a Moslem Hausa[1] (or Hausa-Fulani) village with the Maguzawa in its area.

Political Organization

The jihad resulted in a Fulani Empire consisting of a number of kingdoms (or emirates). By the time of Nigerian independence from Britain (1960), the Empire had evolved into the Northern Region of Nigeria and the kingdoms into Native Authorities. In 1967, Nigeria was divided into states and the Native Authorities became Local Authorities largely controlled by these states. The power of the kings or Emirs (previously buttressed by the British) has, therefore, been undergoing severe attrition, though ordinary rural Hausa were (as of 1969) just barely aware of these changes and often unaware of reforms instituted long ago by the British (such as reduction in the powers of a Village Head).

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[1] The French anthropologist Guy Nicolas (1970, personal communication) objects to distinguishing between Moslem and non-Moslem Hausa, substituting instead a dynastic--non-dynastic dichotomy. It is true that distinguishing among the Niger Hausa (whom Nicolas has long studied) on the basis of religion would be arbitrary and unfruitful. The Islam of the Niger Hausa, who successfully withstood the Fulani jihad, is far more syncretic than that of Nigeria. But in Nigeria the distinction between Moslem and

The area of the Local Authority (or emirate) is divided into districts, each district having a District Head (hakimi) resident in its chief town. The districts are further broken down into village areas or subdistricts, each of which takes its name from the village in which its Head (dakace) resides. A subdistrict is further divided into hamlets or wards (unguwoyi, s. unguwa). Each hamlet has its own head (mai-unguwa). Hausa live in walled compounds, and at the base of the political system are the compound heads (masu-gida; s. mai-gida). Thus, the rural hierarchy consists of compound head, hamlet-head (omitted in the case of the village or town in which the Village Head is resident), Village Head, District Head. These officials function primarily as tax collectors, and also traditionally settle disputes, especially those involving inheritance, divorce, and general quarrelling. Officially, however, such affairs are the business of the alkali, the judge. Each district has such a judge who decides cases according to a mixture of Maliki law (the type of Moslem law prevalent in the Northern States of Nigeria) and local precedent.[1]

Maguzawa political organization differs slightly from that of other rural Hausa. For the Maguzawa, the equivalent of hamlet or ward-head (mai-unguwa) is the Sarkin Arna (Chief of the Pagans). The mai-unguwa is appointed by the Village Head with the consent of the District Head, while the

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non-Moslem is an important emic categorization, crucial to personal identity (as will be discussed in chapter iv).

[1]This summary of Hausa political organization barely touches on major structural features. For more detailed (if slightly dated) descriptions of Zaria political structure, see the work of M. G. Smith (1955[b], and especially 1960). For an analysis of how the system actually tends to function, Smith's article on "Historical and Cultural Conditions of Political Corruption Among the Hausa" (1964) is invaluable. Some of the forms of corruption he mentions have since been replaced by others, but there has been little basic change. Cohen's (1964) discussion of conflict between traditional and colonial demands experienced by a Kanuri District Head is about equally applicable to a Hausa District Head.

Sarkin Arna is appointed by the District Head with the approval of the Emir. Nevertheless, it is the Village Head who reports to the District Head whom the Maguzawa "want" as a leader (informants claim that this is largely a matter of bribery), and the Sarkin Arna (who in Zaria is always a Bamaguje [pl., Maguzawa]) is subordinate to the Village Head. The Sarkin Arna also differs from a mai-unguwa in that there can only be one of the former, and his area of authority is not a single ward or hamlet, but the entire village area.

Cattle Fulani enter into the local political system as they pass through the area. Each Village Head is responsible for collecting the jangali (cattle tax) from the Fulani in this area, though it is no easy matter to collect tax from nomads. Disputes between farmers and cattle-owners are usually first brought to the local mai-unguwa or to the Village Head. If he cannot settle the matter, he will escort the parties to the dispute to the alkali.

Rural Hausa political organization is summarized by the notion of hierarchy. For an ordinary man who does not head a compound, his compound head is his link with the system. If he must go to the ward-head to settle some matter, his compound head will either escort him or go in his stead. If he must deal with the Village Head, the ward-head accompanies him. If he must go to the alkali or the District Head, the Village Head will probably accompany him. Decisions of the various authorities depend on a mixture of principle, bribery, and public opinion.[1]

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[1] The importance of bribery and public opinion (rather than the abstract legal principles an Islamic political and legal system would ideally operate on) is a generalization from case histories of disputes collected in the course of fieldwork.

Methodology and Data Collection

Fieldwork was begun by touring a number of Zaria villages, seeking one which met these criteria: (1) Accessible by car but off a main road. (2) Having populations of Moslem Hausa, Maguzawa, and cattle Fulani within the immediate area. (At the beginning of the fieldwork, it had not yet been decided whether the study would focus on one, two, or all three of these groups.) (3) Having a population of about five hundred. And (4) receptive to having a resident anthropologist. The village of Wurinsalla in Zaki District[1] met these requirements. During the first seven months of fieldwork (April to October, 1968), a borrowed "guest's compound" was provided by the wealthy son of the Village Head. After this period a complete compound was built in semi-traditional style (mud walls, plaster of cement, corrugated iron roof). Ownership of a compound much simplified fieldwork, since it provided neighbors to chat with in the evening (hira) in the zaure (entrance room of a compound, functionally equivalent to a Western parlor); and it made it possible to offer hospitality to visiting Maguzawa. The first half of fieldwork was devoted almost entirely to language learning and studying the village of Wurinsalla. Considerable census and survey data were collected (see Appendix II). Maguzawa and Fulani were seen only as they visited the village, and no systematic work was attempted with either group.

Most of the Maguzawa of Wurinsalla are inaccessible during the rains, cut off by a stream. By October the rains have ended and the stream

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[1] These names are, of course, fictitious, in order to respect the privacy of the inhabitants. "Wurinsalla" translates as "place-of-prayer," since it contains the area's Friday Mosque (masallacin Jumma'a) where adult male Moslems gather for the afternoon prayers each Friday.

begun to vanish, so that it was in this month that regular visits to the Maguzawa were begun. A rough road was leveled off, going from the nearest dirt track to the compound of the Sarkin Arna, a location from which many other Maguzawa compounds were within hiking distance. Many Maguzawa soon acquired the habit of stopping at the large, new researcher's compound whenever they visited the village, since it was one of the few places there at which they were welcomed. Work with the Maguzawa was greatly facilitated by the friendship of the Sarkin Arna, who perceived the relationship as one which enhanced his prestige in the community. His assistant (Wakili) proved invaluable both as informant and as intermediary with other Maguzawa. Formal work was never attempted with cattle Fulani who did, however, receive the same hospitality (permission to sleep in the entrance-hut, drinking water, ect.) extended to the Maguzawa, so that several young Fulani men formed attachments to the compound, exchanged gifts, and expected the fieldworker's presence at family ceremonies.[1]

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[1]See Appendix I, "Establishment and the Role of the Fieldworker," for a more detailed discussion of some aspects of methodology.

CHAPTER II

THE VILLAGE OF WURINSALLA

Physical Lay-out

To reach Wurinsalla one turns off a tarmac road and follows a dirt track for several miles. (See Figure 1 for a map of Wurinsalla.) Each year the rains wash out the track, each year it is repaired by the Local Authority. The track passes through a cleared area containing a number of shelters: thatched roofs supported by poles, several half-open clay huts, more substantial structures of cement-plastered clay with corrugated iron roofs (built with the aid of the Local Authority). These are the market stalls (bukkoki, s. bukka) of Wurinsalla and twice a week a market is held here, coordinated with the others of the area so that one is always accessible any day of the week.

North of the market, a dispensary and a primary school are under construction.[1] Southwest of the school are several courtesans' (prostitutes') compounds (gidajen mata, s. gidan mata), the entertainment spots of the low-in-status.[2] Near the courtesans' compounds is the mashaya or beer-drinking place, where Maguzawa and some itinerant laborers meet to buy beer on market days.

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[1]The school began operating, in borrowed quarters, six months before the completion of fieldwork (and before its own building was ready).

[2]See Barkow (1970) for a discussion of courtesanship among the Hausa.

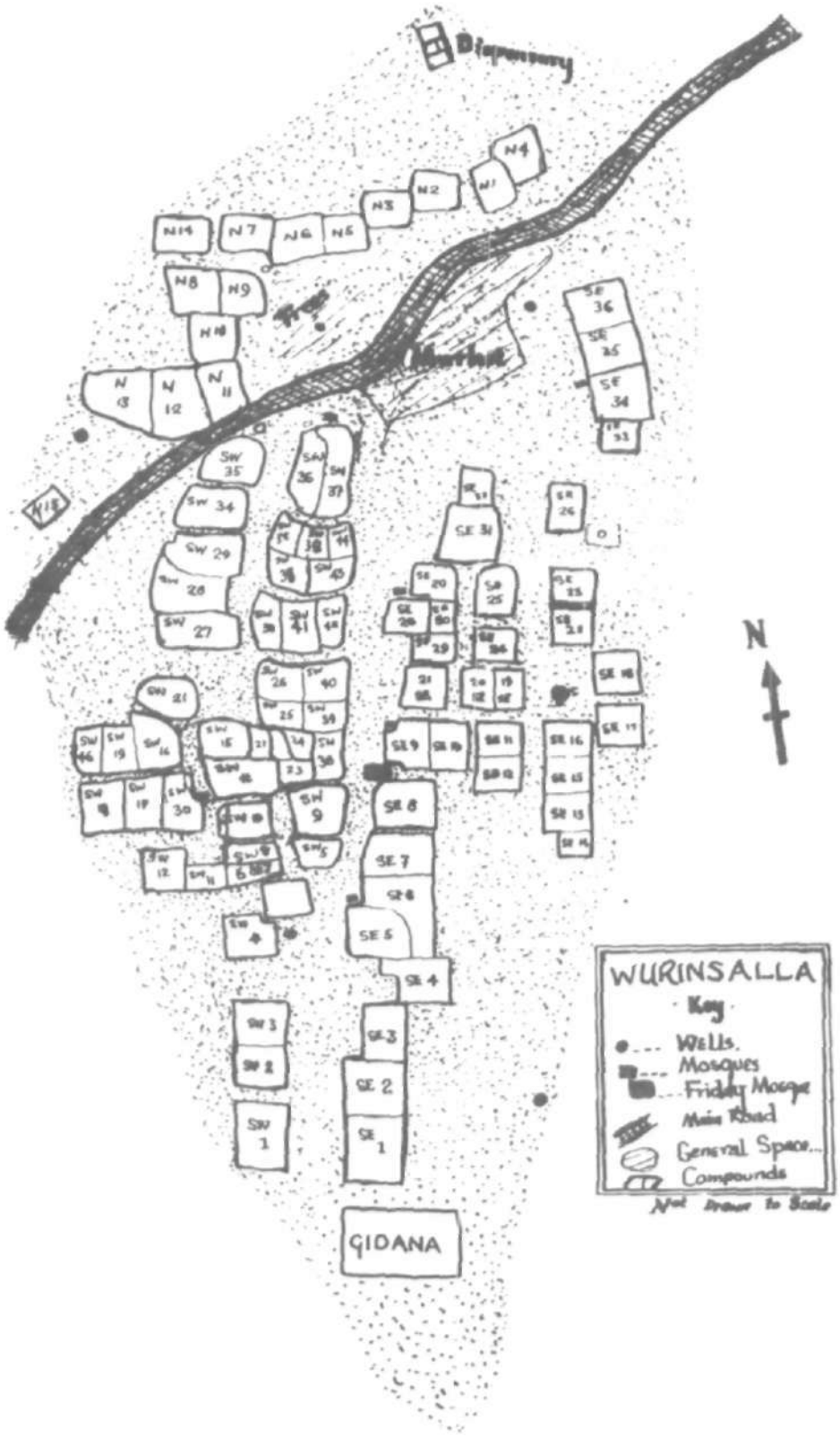


Fig. 1.-- ap of village of Wurinsalla. [illegible] the [illegible] which conditionally surround the village.

Considerably south of the market are the compounds of the Village Head and his wealthy son. These are the richest people in the village, and their compounds reflect this. Nearby is the Friday Mosque (Massallacin Juma'a), the main mosque of the subdistrict of Wurinsalla (which includes the village plus the hamlets and bush compounds in the area surrounding it). In addition to the Friday Mosque there are six smaller ones in the village, built by small groups of neighbors. Interspersed among the compounds are the pits (ramuna, s. rami) from which were dug the clay used in building, and which now serve as rubbish heaps (jujaye, s. juji) and traps for the unwary. And surrounding the village, for miles in every direction, are the fields of this farming community.

History and People

The village of Wurinsalla was founded before the turn of the century by a group of Fulani whose herds had become depleted.[1] For most of its history it has been a tiny, unimportant village, not even the place of residence of the Village (subdistrict) Head. Around 1940 the Native Authority (now the Local Authority) began digging wells, the latest of which (number six) was finished during the term of fieldwork.

Wurinsalla today is in a period of ferment, a time of rapid expansion and modernization. A school and dispensary are being provided, efforts are being made (primarily by the Local Authority and State officials) to distribute compounds in a regular grid pattern, spacing them so as to reduce the danger of fire. Population has been increasing rapidly, and some 46

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[1] Unlike many Zaria villages, Wurinsalla was not founded as a rinji or slave-village by wealthy nobleman. Or, at least, the elders of the village so claim. The original site is said to have been somewhat to the north of the present village, though only a shallow depression marks the spot.

per cent of compound heads have lived in Wurinsalla for five years or less.[1] (See Appendix II, Tables 9 and 10, for the origins of compound heads and their duration of residence in Wurinsalla.)

Wurinsalla's population growth is the result of several factors, not least of which is a Local Authority policy to encourage it. The village's tax rate is said to be lower than that of certain other (non-Zaria) areas, virgin bush is plentiful and wells provide water. Historically, British pacification initially resulted in a population much less concentrated in fortified settlements than formerly (see Chapter IV, p. 133), but now the children and grandchildren of those who cleared land for themselves in the bush are returning to comparatively urban areas such as Wurinsalla. By January of 1969, the village's population[2] had reached 598, with rate-of-increase estimated at a minimum of 10 per cent per annum.

Wurinsalla is a Hausa-Fulani village and some 26 per cent of its compound heads describe themselves as "Fulani" (Appendix II, Table 11). Many of these men are more accurately described as the descendants of Fulani slaves, while others can claim only a single grandparent of Fulani background: though still others are clearly genuine, retaining both Fulani language and physiognomy. Among the non-Fulani villagers, several ascribe diverse origins to themselves (e.g., Kanuri, Mandingo, etc.). Only a single man described himself as being of Maguzawa origin (which would be considered somewhat shameful), and no one admitted being of slave descent. This last fact is anomalous, since it has been estimated that as much as 50 per cent

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[1] The ethnographic present refers to 1968-1969.

[2] See Appendix II, Table 39, for a breakdown of Wurinsalla's population by age and sex.

of the Hausa of certain areas were slaves, prior to Emancipation (Smith, 1960, p. 86).

Hausa vary not only by ethnic but also by regional origin. Of those compound heads who have moved to Wurinsalla during the five years prior to the census-survey (1968), some 39 per cent came from Southern Katsina, while 11 per cent each came from Kano and Sokoto. Thirty per cent were born within twenty miles of Wurinsalla itself, and most of these came from bush hamlets or isolated compounds (see Appendix II, Table 10).

Compounds

Hausa live in compounds, in walled or fenced enclosures (Hausa gida, French enclos). A wall may be built of baked clay bricks, mortared and plastered with a clay-dung-straw mixture (katanga); or of cornstalks (danni); or a combination of cornstalks and straw mats (zana). A clay wall is most expensive, since it requires the most labor. It is also the most solid and prestigious, though it must be repaired each year after the rains. Building with cornstalks is cheap and simple, but the result brings no prestige, the flimsy fence invariably falls within a year and dogs and goats regularly breach it.

Figure 2 is a diagram of an ordinary man's compound, a man who has lived in Wurinsalla for many years and who is poor but not hungry. The compound contains a single adult male with his two wives and several children. Note that the entrance is baffled--a stranger looking through the open door-way cannot see inside the compound--indicating that the man probably keeps his wives in some degree of seclusion. The compound lacks a well so that the women must be permitted to violate seclusion and fetch water, hence the rear exit (which is usually kept closed). Since the women

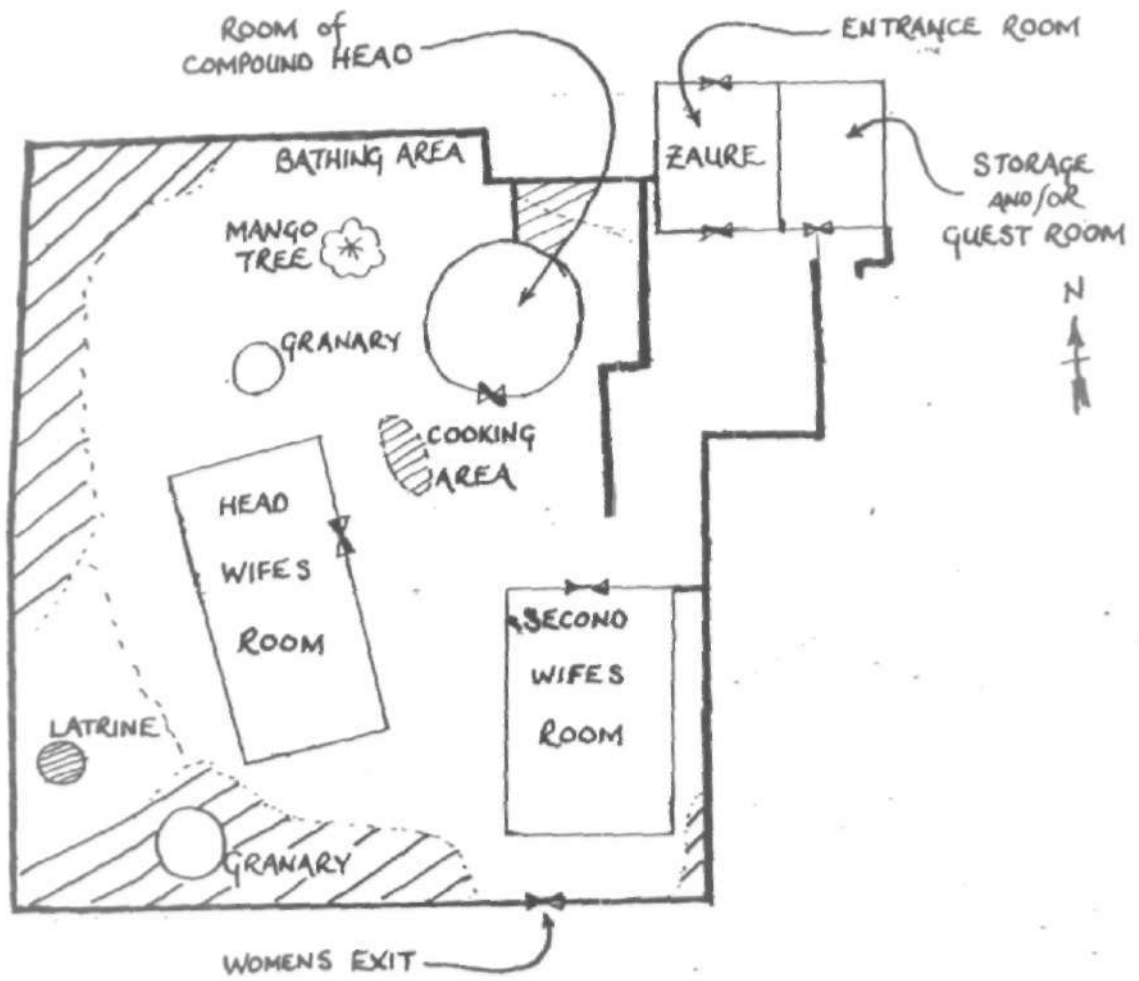


Fig. 2.--Diagram of an ordinary man's compound. Size is roughly 70 feet by 70 feet. The shaded area represents garden. ⋈ indicates a door.

are in seclusion, any agricultural work they do must be done within the compound itself, which, therefore, includes a garden. The cooking area shown can only be used during the dry season: when it rains the cooking must be done indoors. That there are only two small granaries in the compound indicates that the head has some source of income besides farming, since the granaries could not hold enough grain to feed his family from one harvest to the next. He has a bathing area but it is not fenced in, which is unusual. The existence of a pit latrine (which is enclosed) shows that he does not belong to the poorest stratum of the village. The mango trees provide not only fruit but also shade in which the women may pound corn and millet with mortar and pestle.

Figure 3 is the compound of a poorer man, one has lived in Wurinsalla for the past three years. He over-reached himself in his original building, and of the three rooms only one is in usable condition--like clay walls, clay huts must be repaired regularly, and this compound owner has neglected the task. He, his wife, and their small daughter must all sleep in the one good room. Much of the cornstalk fence of the compound is falling, destroying the seclusion in which his wife is (in theory) kept. Even the mats providing privacy about the latrine have fallen. The extensive area reserved for the wife's garden indicates that she cannot rely on her husband for other than bare necessities. There are no granaries, the wrecked rooms serving to store what little grain is accumulated.

When a man builds a compound he first concerns himself with a fence for privacy. Next, a room for sleeping. Finally, and often before he has completed a granary (rumbu), with a zaure or entrance-room. A wealthy man builds solely with baked clay and instead of thatching his roof, he may build a timber-supported clay dome (soro). If he is sufficiently wealthy,

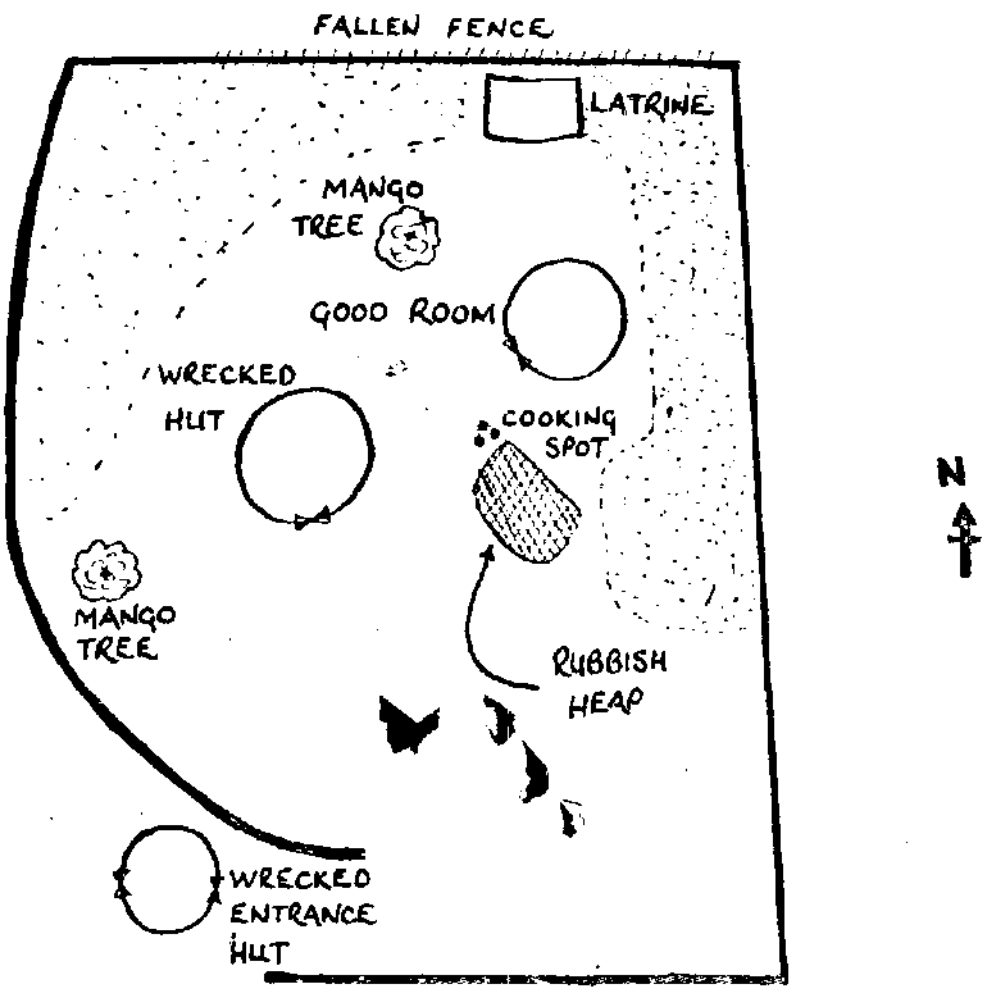


Fig. 3.--Poor man's compound. The shading indicates garden.

he may even have a corrugated iron roof, and his walls will be plastered with white-washed cement. Instead of packed earth, he will have a floor of concrete and windows with wooden shutters. The compound will be divided into sections, and the closeness of one's relationship to him will determine into which sections one may or may not penetrate.[1] In Wurinsalla, only the wealthy have such compounds and most of the villagers live in the sort of habitations shown in Figures 2 and 3.

The number of people per compound ranges from 1 to 48 in Wurinsalla, the mean being 5.94. It would be considerably higher for a village with a smaller percentage of newcomers and even higher for a town or city. (Tables 12 to 15 of Appendix II provide a breakdown of Wurinsalla compounds by age and sex.)

More interesting than the number of people in a given compound is the number of work-consumption units (gandaye, s. gandu) it contains. A gandu is the name given to the farm which is headed by a family's senior male and which provides the bulk of the family's food. For M. G. Smith (1955[b]), the ideal Hausa compound contains a single gandu, which means that all residents of the compound constitute a single economic unit. Other males in the compound, ordinarily sons or brothers of the head, rely on the gandu for basic subsistence for self and family, for tax payment, and for the many expenses involved in marriage. A compound may have more than one gandu, however, which means more than one work-unit, more than one farm. Having a separate gandu is associated with paying one's own tax and with being socially adult. Table 16 of Appendix II classifies a compound as containing more than one gandu if any male in it other than the head was

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[1] See Smith (1965[a], p. 130) for a diagram of a wealthy man's compound.

described as either paying his own tax or having his own gandu. Only 16 per cent of the Wurinsalla compounds had more than one gandu, with 14 per cent of the compounds having one or more dependent males in it. Hence, the usual pattern in Wurinsalla is for a man to be independent. To some extent this must be attributed to the newness of much of the population of Wurinsalla.

Kinship

Hausa kinship fits into no recognized system (Smith, 1965[a], p. 147) and permits a good deal of choice in both terms of reference and terms of address. The single most important distinction is that between junior and senior in age: younger brother is referred to as kani, younger sister as kanwa, and they must show respect and obedience to their elder brother wa and sister ya. The respect is seldom forthcoming until perhaps the age of seven, though it often continues in some form throughout adulthood. A man usually feels more free with his close friend (babban aboki) than with his wa. The bond between brother and sister is often quite close, however, especially when an older sister has served as surrogate mother for her younger brother--a common occurrence.

Ordinarily the terms wa and kani and their feminine equivalents are reserved for full siblings, half-brothers and sisters being referred to by the generic term 'yan'uwa (literally meaning "children of mother" but used to mean "brothers" in the sense of "people with whom I have a relationship of some kind"). If context indicates that an age or generational distinction is relevant, a speaker is likely to use the kani-wa terms, while if the same father-different mother aspect of a relationship is to be stressed, the term 'yan'uba (s. dan'uba), "child of father," is employed. Half-siblings whose mothers were co-wives usually acquire the women's mutual suspicion and envy,

so that the term for "half-brotherhood" ('yanubanci) has become synonymous with hostility. Half-brothers are usually rivals when the time for inheritance comes. Full brothers often continue to share the same gandu after the death of their father, with the senior becoming compound head; while half-brothers usually separate. At best they partition both compound and fields.

Between parents and children a strong shame-respect relationship exists, especially between fathers and sons. A young man is more likely to ask his father's sister (gwoggo) or mother's brother (kawu) for advice about marriage than he is to discuss the matter with his own father. Between parent and first-born in particular a strong shame-avoidance relationship exists, along with life-long mutual name avoidance. The shame diminishes with each successive birth, so that the first-born (dan fari) is often neglected and frequently given for adoption; while the last-born (auta) is stereotyped as the pampered, spoiled child. The extent to which this shame-avoidance behavior reflects genuinely felt emotion rather than a desire to meet the expectations of others is moot.

Cross-cousins are play-friends (abokan wasa) and tease and wrestle together, as do grandparents (kakani, s. kaka) and grandchildren (jikoki, s. jika). Parallel cousins tend to treat one another as siblings, and marriage between them is considered distasteful (if not quite incestuous) by villagers of non-Fulani origin who do, however, have preferential cross-cousin marriage. Villagers of Fulani origin consider both types of cousin marriage preferential.

Hausa kinship is not so much classificatory as it is opportunistic, individuals emphasising or ignoring relations as convenience and circumstance dictate. Children under the age of nine are generally very hazy as to the

exact relationship among the people of their compound. They make distinctions purely in terms of generation, other children being brothers and siblings ('yanuwa) and addressed by name; parental generation adults addressed as baba (if male) and mama or inna (if female); while older people are simply kaka. The important figure for them is the woman in whose room they sleep and who gives them food. Occasionally a child will near puberty without being aware of who his parents actually are, given Hausa generosity in matters of adoption.

With marriage a person acquires a new set of shame-avoidance relations, his in-laws (suruka). One is extremely shameful and respectful before the parents of one's spouse. The elder same-sex sibling of the spouse is given similar respect but the younger sibling is another joking relation: only karamin wasa, "small joking," verbal rather than physical. A woman addresses her senior co-wives respectfully as yaya, though if the age difference between them is small or reversed the junior wife will call the senior(s) by name.

Supplementing formal kin relations are various bond friendships. Almost every man in Wurinsalla has a babban aboki ("big friend") in the vicinity. Between two such friends is amana, trust, and they may enter each other's compounds freely. When a man must be away from his own home for a period, it is his babban aboki whom he will usually entrust with looking after wives and compound. Women occasionally "adopt" a younger man as a kanin rana (brother of the day), but friendships between women themselves (kawaye) are much more common.[1] A man will rarely have more than one babban aboki at a time, though a woman may have several kawaye.

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[1] See Mary Smith, 1955, pp. 191-206, for a discussion of bond friendships involving females.

A bond friend is often an abokin shawara as well, a friend to whom one goes for advice; and the giving of counsel is a sober and decorous matter in Wurinsalla. Bond friendships are always cemented with considerable formal exchange of gifts and services.

Activities, Settings, and Seasons

In the light of the false dawn each morning, women emerge from the compounds to draw water. Only the clanking of the buckets is heard. A little later some of the men shuffle out, perhaps to draw enough water to fill a buta (actually a kettle but formerly a clay vessel), used to hold water for morning ablutions. Men wash, then slip into the mosque for the first prayer of the day. It is only when a man has washed his face (washed his eye, in Hausa), and perhaps done his ablutions, that greetings begin--no one is tactless enough to greet someone who looks half asleep. Wife greets husband, son father, client patron. And especially, neighbor greets neighbor. These are lengthy, formal greetings. Later in the day briefer greetings will be acceptable, but now brevity would connote hostility.

Most women do not cook in the morning. Sometimes some of the thick paste of millet or guinea corn (tuwo) which is the chief foodstuff of the Hausa will have been set aside (gayan tuwo) the previous evening. It will be reheated to serve as breakfast. Several village women will have been up long before dawn, cooking large quantities of a sour gruel of guinea corn (koko), sometimes flavoring it with tamarind and sugar so that it becomes kunu. Children will be seen clutching pennies and half-pennies in their hands, sent to purchase breakfast for the family from these women, whose craft it is to cook this morning hot cereal. For some families there will be neither gayan tuwo nor money for koko or kunu. Perhaps a wife will make

up for her husband's lack of provision with money from her craft earnings. Perhaps she will even feed him, as well as their children. Or, perhaps, they will all go hungry.

If it is either the rainy or harvest seasons, the village will drain of men perhaps an hour after the sun has risen. Chopping hoe (fartanya) on shoulder, or trenching hoe (galma) balanced on head, each man goes to his fields. Behind him march his sons, with perhaps a toddler trailing along uninvited but tolerated. As the men trickle off, some loud activity will be taking place near the compound of a wealthy man. The wealthy man is giving kwadugo, hiring farm help for the day or half-day, paying approximately 35 cents as a day's wage. A hungry man may do kwadugo, earning money for the day but neglecting his own fields, risking another hungry season next year. But, if a man has no food in his compound, his wife will leave him, and who then will cook his food? Or, if the Village Head is demanding tax money and threatening to have him sent to jail, what is he to do?

Even before the men have gone to the fields, the steady pounding (daka) of pestle in grain-filled mortar is heard as the women work. The rhythm of the pounding is omnipresent in a Hausa village, as the women thresh the grain. Later they will shift it from calabash to calabash, in the wind, so that the chaff may blow away. Then the grain must be put on a large, flat stone, and ground with a second, smaller stone.[1] The flour is then moistened and left to sour for a time before being cooked. Though a woman may begin food preparation early in the morning, she is usually not

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[1]During the term of fieldwork, a diesel-powered grinding machine was installed in the village. As one might expect, given the hand-callusing alternative, it was heavily patronized from the start. Only a young girl's catching her hand in the grinder diminished the general gratitude the villagers felt for the local entrepreneur who had installed it.

cooking for the noon meal. This meal almost inevitably consists of fura da nono, of millet balls and sour milk mashed together to form a nuts-and-yoghurt-tasting porridge. The milk is bought from the Fulani milkmaids who come to the village to sell their milk and butter, the fura from those village women whose craft it is to make fura. Since the women are in seclusion, they cannot hawk their own productions, but must rely on small children, girls in particular. Often a particular Hausa girl and Fulani girl or woman will form a silent partnership, moving about the village together in order to better sell their foodstuffs, perfectly illustrating the symbiosis of sedentary Hausa and pastoral Fulani.

Many men will try to return to the village for this noon meal, to sit in the shade and eat and rest with friends. Others will have food sent to them by their wives, the children serving their usual errand-running function. And some people will go hungry. As with breakfast, a husband may provide this noon meal for his family; or he may not. A woman may provide food for her children--especially her daughters--or she may not. Young boys are often on the look-out for any sort of small job, in order to buy their own day-time snacks.

After the noon meal some men will return to their fields. Others will do some other task, such as building. Many will rest until after the 2:30 prayer (sallan azahar). Young and dependent men will be free to leave the gandu work and go to their own gayauna, their private, individual farm plot, at about 2:30 P.M. Women will continue cooking, or doing their craft work. In general, the pace of activity during the afternoon will be slow, picking up only toward evening. A few men return to the fields late in the day to take advantage of its coolness but most head home, for dusk is the time of the day's main meal.

A man does not *have* to provide his family with food for the two earlier meals (though all informants agreed that it is best if he does), but he *must* provide food for the evening meal, the large meal of *tuwo da miya*. Tuwo is a thick, starchy paste of grain, usually guinea corn or millet.[1] *Miya* is a sort of stew, highly peppered. There are many different kinds of *miya*, though people agree that the best kinds contain meat (chicken, mutton, goat, or beef). Besides pepper, *miya* contains a large number of spices and leaves, all of which are sold in the market and some of which are available (in season) in the bush.

A man eats with his neighbors unless they are of a sharply different status level than he, or if they are his sons. When he comes home from work, he washes, then joins his neighbors in front of one of their compounds. In cold or wet weather, they will meet in a *zaure* (entrance hut). They sit and chat, and as they talk children bring them bowls of food. A prosperous man will have one bowl for the *tuwo* and another for the *miya*, but most have a single large bowl of *tuwo* with the *miya* poured over it. Nowadays the bowls are no longer calabashes but brightly-colored enameled basins with covers, owned by the women (who compete in amassing them). Unless they are waiting for an older member of the group (without whom they would not begin, out of respect), the men will start eating as soon as any one of them has been delivered his bowl of *tuwo da miya*. The *tuwo* is worked into a sort of ball with the first three fingers of the right hand, some *miya* being scooped up

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[1] *Tuwo* refers to the mode of preparation, and it can be prepared from any starchy food, e.g., *tuwon dawa* or guinea corn *tuwo*; *tuwon gero* or millet *tuwo*; *tuwon shinkafa* or rice *tuwo*; *tuwon masara* or maize *tuwo* (closely resembling cornmeal mush), etc. In Zaria, rice *tuwo* is preferred, but is considered by ordinary people to be a luxury food, rice being relatively expensive. The usual meal is guinea corn *tuwo*, which is preferred to that of millet. In other regions, where rice is cheaper and guinea corn more expensive, the latter is preferred to the former.

in the process. The men share each bowl as it is brought (ciyayya), regardless of its compound of origin. Perhaps one quarter of the food will be left in each bowl, to be given to the children (as an addition to their own serving) or to the Koranic students of the village (almajirai).

At the end of the meal, the conversation (hira), which has never really stopped, resumes with a vengeance. Sometimes men will remain where they have eaten, sitting and talking in a relaxed, expressive manner, expostulations bursting out from the general hum. Sometimes a man leaves the group to wash or to pray or attend to his business, sometimes another joins in. Hira may last much of the night, and to comment on a man's excessive morning drowsiness is to elicit the explanation, "Mun yi dogon hira" ("We were up late, chatting"). Yet there is a relaxed, satisfied air about a man who has spent his night engrossed in conversation. Despite the drowsiness, he feels good.

On occasion the daily schedule changes. Friday means not working during the afternoon. Instead, a man bathes, puts on his better clothing and goes to the mosque. If he is fully mature, perhaps in middle age (datijo), he will wear a turban. After prayer comes more hira, or possibly a visit to the market.

Visiting a market is perhaps the favorite village recreation. Markets are not merely for buying and selling, they are information exchanges, excuses for seeing friends and kin from neighboring hamlets, places for young people to tease and court. Moslem Hausa, Maguzawa, and cattle Fulani all frequent the market, intermingling physically if not socially. In one corner of the market are the slabs of the butchers; in another the Fulani milkmaids, sitting on their up-turned calabashes; while somewhat apart from the rest the Maguzawa drink their beer. Wurinsalla

market meets twice a week. Often there is an after-market dance for the unmarried girls, the rhythms of the drumming perhaps conflicting with the very different beat of the spirit possession (bori) dancing over in the courtesans' compound. Itinerant women often visit the village on a market day, and the prostitutes' compounds are likely to be full.

Agriculture and Crafts

Activity in a Hausa village, such as Wurinsalla, is governed not just by time of day but also by time of year. Season is crucial, for the agricultural cycle is closely tied to it and all the healthy men of Wurinsalla farm or own fields. ("Why live in a village if one does not farm?" queried one man when questioned as to his occupation.)

The rainy season (damuna) comes at the end of April and the beginning of May. Even before the rains have started, the villagers are at work clearing their fields of stubble, burning it off. With the very first rain the village is transformed. Men rush to complete new buildings and repairs on old ones, potters close up shop until the next dry season. The evening hira must move indoors and the village looks deserted as the men return to the fields. This decision to return, to sow, is a crucial one. By the beginning of the rains, the granaries are nearly empty, people have little money but much anxiety left. Some men cease to eat and even to chat with their neighbors, lest it become known that their miya has no meat, there tuwo is scanty. Yet, to plant immediately after the first rain is to gamble with one's precious seed, for the next rain may not come before the germinated millet has withered in the earth: while too much caution may mean real hunger before even the quick-ripening millet (in eight weeks) can be harvested.

Another dilemma is how much kwadugo, how much agricultural labor for hire, one should do. The poorest men of the village--and they are many--must each year choose whether to risk hunger (and, therefore, desertion by their wives) by devoting themselves to their own fields: or to earn money and buy food now, but risk being hungry once again the following year.[1]

Once the millet has been planted it is time (the end of May) for the guinea corn. The latter crop is planted on top of the ridges, the former at the bottom. When the guinea corn has been sown it is time to weed the millet. The rains bring with them hard work and long hours, and the traditional short-handled implements compel a man to work a sunkwiye, bent over. Backache is an occupational disease for the Hausa farmer.

With the food crops planted, it is necessary to see to the cash crops, the crops which will pay taxes and bridewealth. Groundnuts are planted simultaneously with or immediately after the guinea corn, often intercropped with the growing millet. The beginning of July is the time for planting rice (for those who have the necessary fadama or low, wet land), while the end of that month is the time for sowing cotton. Maize is often planted at the same time as millet, while for beans the time is late August or early September. Pepper is planted in July, koko yam (gwaza) in late June. Yams are planted very early, even before the millet, since they will not spoil even if the rains are late. Onions are planted in mid-July, while sugar cane must be planted in November and irrigated throughout the dry season. Cassava may be planted at any time during the rains but takes a full year to mature. Various other crops may also be sown, including garden vegetables such as tomato, squash, etc.

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[1] See Hill (1968) for a discussion of the difficulties of the poor Hausa villager.

The first harvest is that of the millet, in the middle of July, and it is a happy time, the end of hunger. Soon after the millet, the maize ripens. The slower-growing guinea corn is not ripe until kaka, the November harvest season. Before then, however, the groundnuts must be dug (October). Cotton is not ripe until December-January. Other crops, less important, are harvested at various times: but it is clear that the main agricultural tasks fall between May and October, and that from December to April there is relatively little to do in the fields.

The dry season, rani, is the time when the farmers of Wurinsalla find other tasks to occupy themselves. Most important of these is building and repair. In October, farm work has slackened off, the rains have ended but the ground remains soft and moist, easy to make clay bricks (tobali) with. The fields are full of cornstalks (kara) suitable for fences. Wise men do their building as soon after the rains as possible, rather than wait until bazara (around March), when preparing the fields competes with building for time, while the earth is hard and kara scarce.

Practically every man in Wurinsalla has some kind of craft or trade. Most of these are practiced at some level throughout the year, but craft activity flowers when the rains stop. Some crafts are semi-hereditary, such as being a butcher, builder, blacksmith, barber, or a praise-singer. These crafts are transmitted patrilineally, though a man is often willing to take on his sister's son as a sort of apprentice (dan gida). Other trades are open to those with skill and capital. The foremost non-farming trade is commerce. This commerce ranges from long-distance trading (fatauci) such as traveling far to the south to purchase kolanuts; to going to Zaria market to buy a sack of salt, re-selling it in 1/2 d. quantities. Wealthy men buy cattle, hiring pastoral Fulani to herd for them. Other men rent out bicycles,

the bicycle having replaced the donkey as the chief local means of transportation. Many men buy grain in the harvest season, when it is cheap, to sell it dearly in the hungry time before the new millet has ripened. Butchers sell not only raw meat but also hotly-peppered barbecue. A man with a patch of sugar cane or cassava sells his produce piece by piece at the market, rather than in bulk. Tailors make clothing to order (sewing machines are common in the village), while some men embroider the distinctive Hausa cap (kube) in their leisure time. Even in an area as rural as Wurinsalla, the number of crafts and trades is large.

Not everyone stays home to follow a trade during the dry season, however. Some men go cin rani, "eating the dry season," traveling in search of work and profit. Some of them become laborers elsewhere, but in a relatively prosperous village such as Wurinsalla, more men arrive from other areas doing cin rani than leave to seek it.

Holidays and Celebrations

The two chief holidays of Wurinsalla are Karamin Salla ("Little Salla" or Id-el-Fitr) and Babban Salla ("Big Salla" or Id-el-Kabir), the fasting time of Ramadan falling between them. Moslem holidays are geared to a lunar calendar which rotates with a thirteen-year cycle, so that the holidays are not fixed as to season.

The two id holidays are celebrated in much the same way. In the Hausa cities there is magnificent pageantry as the nobles come with their retinues to pay fealty to the Emir, or king, galloping their horses up to him in the traditional jefe (mounted salute). This is also the time when the bonds between pastoral Fulani and the descendants of the Fulani conquerors of Hausaland are demonstrated in the shaaro and shaadi, since these take place before the palace of the Emir. They are vigorous

mock-battles between young Fulani men who joust with swinging staffs, scattering onlookers. And while the young men show their courage by submitting to beatings, faces staring impassively into hand-held mirrors as staff cracks against ribs, the Local Authority ambulance stands by in case of miscalculation. The Fulani girls watch, beseech the beaters to be more gentle, and admire the bravery of the young men. Later they dance and sing to the accompaniment of drummers.

In rural areas the Fulani visit the larger villages and towns--including Wurinsalla--with their play and their beatings. They are not alone in using the village as a center for festivity, for rural Hausa from the outlying bush also come, as do Maguzawa. Cattle Fulani, Moslem Hausa, and Maguzawa may celebrate in Wurinsalla simultaneously, each group in its own section of the village, dancers oblivious to competing rhythms. The Id festivities belong to the young of all three groups, and they go yawon salla, "holiday walking," wandering from compound to compound begging for and receiving goron salla (holiday presents). Salla is always a time of dancing and courting, when each young man (saurayi) must give a substantial gift to his buduruwa (maiden, but best rendered as "girl friend" in the present context). It is also a profitable time for the praise-singers and musicians who, as entertainers and masters-of-ceremony, supply drumming and flattery in return for handsome gifts.

Salla is a time when a man must adorn his wives and small children with new clothing and buy himself a new outfit as well. Some wear their new gowns only once, during Id-el-Fitr, then pack them away for several months to put on again in pretend-newness during Id-el-Kabir. Each man goes to his social superiors and patrons during salla, greeting them with "Barka da salla"

(blessings on the holiday) and receiving goron salla (literally, salla kola-nuts but actually cash, goro being a euphemistic term for money).

A holiday belonging more to the young than the old is Sallar Cika-Ciki, the Moslem New Year's festival. Sallar Cika-Ciki translates as Full-Belly Holiday, and the day prior to it is a busy one for the local butchers: in April of 1968, two entire bulls and innumerable goats, sheep, and chickens were consumed in Wurinsalla. The mallams meet and make their predictions for the year on this day, but most of the village is more concerned with the sadaka (pious alms) distributed by the wealthy. The evening meal is a feast, preceded and followed by much dancing and drumming, the women celebrating within the compounds and the young people without. Joking friends tease one another by demanding kudin shara (lit., "sweeping money"). The joking relationships involved are not just those associated with kinship (cross-cousins, grandparent-grandchild), but also those between occupational and ethnic groups. Thus, blacksmiths joke with barbers, Maguzawa with Fulani; Fulani with those of Kanuri origin; butchers with barbers, leather-workers, and Maguzawa; and those of Kano descent with those of Zaria. Youngsters chase one another about, each claiming that it is the other who must pay.

Only one holiday is not described by Wurinsalla people as Moslem--Kalonkuwa. Kalonkuwa is a harvest season festival of about three days, its exact date varying from village to village. In 1968, in Wurinsalla, it took place during the third week of October, though not until the middle of November in most of the other villages of the area. In honor of the holiday, gambling (caca) is permitted, usually involving a game with (Western-type) playing cards (karta). The village fills to at least three times its ordinary population, with bush Hausa, Maguzawa, and Fulani, while itinerant prostitutes come from miles about. In the evening, the usual Hausa and

Maguzawa dancing takes place. A courting game typical of Kalenkuwa (though not limited to it) is kuance (releasing, untying). The game is similar to musical chairs in that the girls participating are seated on chairs in a long row, their suitors attracting the praise-singer's attention in order to announce the "untying" of a girl for such-and-such an amount (usually about 35 cents). The amount a boy gives indicates the depth of his love, and occasionally young men compete in "untying" a girl, much as if they were bidding for her (as in a sense they are).[1,2]

Dancing and praise-singing

During the traditional holidays, after some markets, and as part of most wedding and many naming ceremonies, dancing (rawa) takes place. And essential for dancing are the praise-singers (maroka, s. maroki), including the drummers (makida, s. makidi) and the masters-of-ceremony ('yan ma'abba, s. dan ma'abba). The drummers sit cross-legged on the ground, beating out their complex, changing rhythms. Often the drums talk, quoting humorous, ribald proverbs.[3] A man who wishes to make a speech must catch the eye of the dan ma'abba, who cries "Heyyyyyyyyy" in a hoarse roar of impressive amplitude, eventually stopping the music (including the drumming of the virtuoso who halts only after a thirty-second flourish). The speech-maker speaks a phrase at a time to the praise-singer, who repeats his words with

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[1]In Wurinsalla, the money collected is held by an agent of the Village Head, who takes a portion of it and distributes the rest to the praise-singers. In neighboring villages the money collected goes to the girls and the praise-singers.

[2]The play which M. G. Smith (1955[b], p. 101) calls taron tsaron juna and which Zaria City informants called misissi, does not exist in Wurinsalla. The village lacks the youth organization (samarta) that organizes it.

[3]Hausa is sufficiently tonal to make common sayings recognizable on the drum, at least for the cognoscenti.

increased volume and elegance (so that a gift of three pennies is transformed into thirty-tenths of a penny). Most of the men are young, and speech is usually in praise of one of the girls, asking that she dance by herself. Or in praise of a friend. Or to announce a gift to someone. Whatever the speech, it must conclude with the amount being given to the drummers and announcer and how it is to be distributed. The dan ma'abba shouts to the crowd in awed joy the amount of the gift, and how wonderful the man who has given it is. At any non-religious public function one finds the praise-singer, whether officiating at a kwance, announcing the arrival of guests at a biki (celebration), etc. Always he calls in the loudest possible voice, praising whomever he has spotted and assigning him an illustrious (and often fictious) genealogy; reminding the listeners of the new-arrival's past generosity, though actually the praise-singer may have learned his name from an on-looker and never before seen him.

The actual dancing of the girls is rather slow, most dances consisting of rhythmic foot-shuffling, several girls lined up, moving in ragged unison. The audience often seems more interested in making speeches than in watching the dancing. The girls dress up in their best for the dance, however, and precede it by cajoling boy-friends into paying the penny required for them to enter. As the evening progresses, individual couples form and drift off into quiet corners of the village for some quiet cuddling.

The girls sing as they dance, a leader singing the verses and the rest the chorus, the lyrics praising Allah and various mortals. The most common type of song is wakan kaftu (deep-planting songs).[1]

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[1]An entirely different type of song is sung at a dabe, a women's work-bee for pounding a packed-earth floor. On this occasion songs of unmitigated earthiness are bawled out.

Women[1]

Women are inferior creatures, say the men of Wurinsalla. A man who takes a woman's advice is a fool. Women cannot be trusted, they have no sense ("ba su da hankali"). Therefore a woman should always be respectful to a man. She must always obey father or elder brother. She must greet her husband gracefully in the morning by kneeling down to him. If he wants food, it must be brought. And a wife may never use her husband's name, even in reference, addressing him as mallam (ordinarily meaning teacher, but in this context better rendered as "sir"), and referring to him as her maigida (compound head, though one may politely refer to a man in this manner even when he is a dependent). A married woman must always be in seclusion, leaving the compound only with her husband's permission. When she does venture out her head and shoulders must be draped with a cloth (lullibi), her eyes modestly downcast. This is how a woman must be, say the men of Wurinsalla, and if she is not then she is *shameless* (rashin kunya).

Stages

A woman's life has perhaps six stages: yarinya or young girl; bera or pre-nubile girl; buduruwa or girl whose breasts have begun to grow but who is not yet married; matan aure or married woman; bazawara or woman between marriages; and tsofuwa or old woman (post-menopausal woman). The first stage, that of yarinya, is that of child, and it ends when the girl begins to bathe herself more often, to act flirtatiously with young men and try to wheedle small gifts from them. This stage is reached around the age of eight.

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[1] See Abel (1962) for a discussion of Hausa women. See also, J. Nicolas (1967) and M. G. Smith (1955[a]).

When a girl's breasts begin to swell she is called buduruwa and what women say is the happiest time of their lives begins. A buduruwa spends much time and all of her resources on clothing and cosmetics. She bathes often, and if there are young men about her walk is rhythmic, hip-swaying. Every male whose dignity permits him to teases and flirts with her. The buduruwa spends much time hawking the products of the secluded women of her compound. Tray on head she goes about the village or market crying "waina" (guinea corn and millet flour cakes, fried in groundnut oil) or "kosai" (bean-flour cakes), or whatever, her loud voice carrying over the village. To buy from her is to flirt with her, and perhaps the young man teasingly holding back the coin for her waina will that evening willingly pay the praise-singers so that she may dance. A buduruwa is seldom alone, is almost always with her girl friends, touching them, putting an arm about one, as they flirt with a group of boys en masse. Older women complain of the buduruwa, that she is never about when work is to be done within the compound--pounding or grinding or cooking: her favorite task is talla (hawking) in the market.

The buduruwa's flirting is not idle, since it inevitably leads to marriage. A boy expresses his interest by giving her gifts (toshi), usually small coins. When he begins to give her such gifts on a regular basis it is a sign that he wishes to marry her. In theory, her acceptance of toshi indicates that she accepts the giver as a future husband. In theory only, for many a girl receives toshi from several young men, and this money will have to be returned to the losers by the successful applicant before he may marry her. (We see now one of the experiences which lead Wurinsalla men to distrust women.)

Married life is a sharp discontinuity for a buduruwa. From freedom in her own compound she goes to seclusion in her husband's. She has a strong

shame-respect relationship with her in-laws (surukai), yet is likely to find herself under the direct orders of her mother-in-law.[1] If the husband is already married then the new bride (amarya) must be respectful towards her co-wives, especially the senior wife (uwargida). The Hausa term for co-wife is kishiya, from kishi, jealousy; and jealousy marks the relationship among co-wives. Indeed, many a would-be husband of two wives finds that either his first wife leaves him in anger while the second wife is yet a plan; or the first wife makes the newcomer so miserable that it is she who runs away; or else the first wife herself leaves because she perceives that the amarya is favored.

Marriage does not connote permanency in Wurinsalla. Divorce is a male prerogative under the Maliki law followed by the Moslem judges (alkalai) of the Northern States of Nigeria. But, in Wurinsalla most divorces seem to take place at the instigation of the woman.[2] The disgruntled wife appears before the local alkali and complains of her husband, the most common complaints (according to the alkali) being that the husband has ceased to have intercourse with her; that he is giving her insufficient food; that he has not given her her own room or the room is in poor repair; or that he beats her. Whatever the reason, divorce is frequent, and the average woman has two to three husbands before she reaches menopause and is no longer considered marriageable (see Appendix II, Table 30, for data on marital history of women).

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[1] Hausa marriage is initially patrilocal, then virilocal. Since young girls tend to marry young men still living with their parents, the new bride is apt to find herself subordinate to her husband's mother (or at least to the wife or wives of his father).

[2] Systematic data on divorce were not collected, but the impression that women tended to be the instigators of divorce was shared by informants, including the local alkali.

The divorced or widowed woman (bazawara) must observe a three-month period of idda before she can legally re-marry. In theory this is a period of continence, spent in seclusion in the home of her divorced (or deceased) husband. In practice the bazawara usually returns immediately to her father's or other patrilateral kin's compound (especially in the case of divorce), for idda. Ideally, a woman re-marries (immediately following idda. A divorced woman has a choice: The closer her behavior approximates the ideal behavior of a married woman--seclusion, modesty, no lovers--the more she will be considered to be "respectable." The more she reverts to the behavior of the buduruwa--teasing and flirting, wandering about unveiled--she will be thought "shameless." If she takes lovers and goes abroad in the daytime, and also moves to the compound of non-kin, she will be considered a karuwa, a courtesan or prostitute.[1] Most women do remain with patrilateral kin, often shifting from one set to another in order to improve their chances of making a good match. A bazawara takes lovers discretely, accepting their (usually cash) gifts. Eventually she marries one of them.

A woman may never become a bazawara until late in life; or she may be a bazawara (and sometimes a karuwa as well) a dozen times. But no matter how many her marriages, once she is past menopause she is an "old woman," a tsofuwa. A man will sometimes fail to divorce a tsofuwa, especially if she is the mother of his sons and he could not afford a younger wife anyway. Or he may take a younger woman as a second (or third or fourth) wife but retain his senior wife. However, it is very common for a woman to be almost automatically divorced when she reaches menopause, and 35 per cent of 45-plus

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[1] M. G. Smith (1959) and Yeld (1960) state that a woman who does not remarry following idda is considered a karuwa. Wurinsalla informants did not agree, arguing that it depends on the reputation of the woman and her family, possible circumstances delaying remarriage (such as lack of suitors), and above all, whether or not she is living in a "respectable" compound.

women in Wurinsalla re no longer married,[1] compared to only 4 per cent of the 30 to 44 age group (see Appendix II, Table 33). Many a tsofuwa lives with a son, and a childless old woman may find herself homeless as well.

But, if the tsofuwa may no longer be able to hold a husband, she is released from many of the requirements of Moslem modesty. She can move about freely, gaining an enormous trade advantage over her secluded younger sisters. Old women may hawk their own produce, even as they did as young girls; or they may have market stalls. It is not uncommon for an old woman to be wealthy. And wealthy or not, she may be respected by her own kin, turned to for advice, influential in arranging the marriages of the young. Her daughters-in-law will fear her--many marriages founder when these two women are unable to get along. The tsofuwa is probably the most outspoken and aggressive figure in a Hausa village, speaking more freely than any man, old or young. Yet, in the evening, it is the old woman, telling her many tales, who is encircled by the children.

A woman's life differs from a man's in both timing and quality. She marries and, therefore, becomes an adult (socially) perhaps seven years earlier than he, but she leaves married life much sooner (around the climacterium). All during her life, she is exposed to more formal restraints and less informal ones than a man. A female is under the control of father, guardian (wali), or husband until she becomes an old woman (tsofuwa). But informally, she is far more ready than a man to lose her temper, to shout and yell, to show grief and joy and even lubricity. There is less expectation that she will be a "good Moslem," so that her fast during Ramadan

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[1] This figure is probably a minimum estimate. Many "old women" move regularly from one son or brother to another, so that they were omitted from the census on grounds of not being "residents" of the compound being enumerated. Fifty per cent would perhaps be a more accurate figure.

may only be a token one, and no one will be terribly concerned over her lack of alacrity in praying. When she does reach the stage of tsofuwa she will be a "tougher" personality than her male equivalent, her quick, sharp tongue with its endless supply of cutting proverbs his very bane.

Children

Childbirth and Infancy[1]

When a man begins to amass a huge pile of firewood in his compound (for the post-partum ablutions), his neighbors know that his wife is pregnant. Pregnancy and childbirth are nervous subjects for men, and the friends of a father-to-be will tease him with such comments as "kana kokari!" (you have really been trying!). A husband is expected to make some effort to satisfy his pregnant wife's cravings (kwadayi) for various fruits and vegetables such as mango, gauta (bitter tomato of the Solanum species), gwaza (koko-yam), etc.; as well as for organ meats (kayan ciki) and hot spices (yaji): but he is not censured if he is financially unable to gratify her appetites, or if the desired food is out-of-season.

A multiparous woman delivers in her husband's compound, but for a first birth a girl returns to her parents' home (during the latter stages of pregnancy). Old women, usually kin, assist at the birth and occasionally a professional midwife (ungozoma) attends. Married female kin and co-wives may be present but unmarried girls must not be. In case of complications during pregnancy or delivery a small incision is made in the vagina (known as gishiri) in order to let out the "bad blood." (This is standard Hausa gynecological practice.) The child is born with the mother sitting on a

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[1] Interviewing on this topic was based on Madauci et al. (1968).

stone, other women sometimes pressing down on her "in order to prevent the infant from emerging through the anus." The neonate is washed as soon as the umbilicus is cut, and then washed several times a day for an indefinite period.

The new mother is also expected to wash, using water close to the boiling point. Scalding is not infrequent, and occasionally a young woman must be forcibly washed due to the pain of hot water on still-contracting tissue. Some informants described the washings as lasting 40 days, after which they are less frequent; others spoke of bathing twice a day for the first two months, then once a day for the next two months. A woman performing these post-partum ablutions is said to crave very hot, spicy foods, thought to be beneficial for her.

On the seventh day after the birth (if the infant has survived), the naming ceremony (suna) takes place. The father (or head of the compound) distributes kola-nut (goro) to friends, neighbors, and kin. The quality of the kola-nut indicates both the affluence of the family and the extent to which they respect their guests. Wealthy people send the kola-nut to guests as a traditional form of invitation but most villagers simply have small children and women spread the word of the suna, and distribute the kola to the assembled guests the morning of the ceremony. A mallam and a barber are always notified in advance. Praise-singers are not formally notified, it being their business to be aware of such events.

The ceremony itself usually begins shortly after the sun is up, perhaps 7:00 A.M. The mallam determines several appropriate names, based on the day on which the infant was born, and asks the father to select one of them. This name is called the sunan litafi or book-name, since it is chosen from the Koran, and will be the child's "official" name. The mallam

announces it and then prays (does addu'a), with the assembled guests shouting "amin" at the appropriate places. At the same time a white ram is slaughtered and then butchered within the compound. While the ram is being butchered the child is brought to the waiting barber (wanzami), who shaves his head and removes the uvula, then puts on his face and belly the markings which the family has chosen. Often the mother complains that the barber is hurting her child (as indeed he is), and must be restrained. Portions of the butchered ram are given as payment to the mallams and to the women who have assisted at the birth and often to the barber as well. A certain portion of the backbone is given to the mother. Cash gifts are also made to the mallams and barber, while the praise-singers who have been shouting the name of the child to the assembly must also receive their reward. The elaborateness of a suna depends on the sex of the infant (much less ceremony for a girl); the wealth of the family; and the time of year (since everyone is richer at harvest time than during the late dry season). In the evening there may be a small celebration with dancing and drumming, attended mainly by the women.

Various impurities and taboos are associated with childbirth. The first of these has already been mentioned, the required forty days of bathing with scalding water, without which it is believed the new mother will sicken and die. Another has to do with food. For the first seven days the woman is not permitted to cook and must eat separately. Other women will cook for her, or else a young girl will be assigned to do her work. After the first week a woman again takes up cooking and sharing a room with her husband (whenever it is her turn in polygynous marriages). But some men will feel kyama (aversion, disgust) toward eating her food. Though her husband himself will probably eat her cooking for fear of insulting her, he may find that a

neighbor with whom he usually shares the evening meal makes some excuse in order to avoid the nursing woman's cooking.[1] And even though they share a sleeping room, a man may not approach his wife until she has weaned their infant (usually after two or two and one-half years). If a woman becomes pregnant while nursing her last child it is not merely considered highly shameful: it is thought that the child at the breast will die because the milk will turn bad (mugun mama). Such a child is weaned immediately.[2]

Perhaps related to the impurities surrounding childbirth is the shame (kunya) relationship between parent and child. Shame and avoidance are strongest for the firstborn child, decreasing with each successful birth. A parent does not mention the name of a firstborn child, does not publicly show it affection. In extreme cases, new mothers must be scolded by older women into nursing the infant, and neglect of firstborn is common. As an expedient, such children are often adopted by others once weaned. The extent to which this shame-avoidance relationship between parent and child is a matter of formal appearance versus genuine feeling is a matter of individual variation. Some people, fathers as well as mothers, play freely with their children so long as others are not about. And some apparently ignore and avoid their children even when alone with them.

A child is weaned gradually. Almost from birth, he is given small amounts of gruel (kunu, koko). Sometimes he is force-fed, food crammed into his mouth and then his nose pinched shut, forcing him to swallow. As his weaning date nears, he is given special foods, gruel of millet and palm oil,

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[1]Many men will not buy the butter or milk of a lactating Fulani woman because of this aversion.

[2]Since the child is usually weaned to a gruel (koko) which is low in protein, he often dies anyway.

a soup of liver and various intestinal organs. Sometimes a noxious substance, such as pepper, is applied to the breasts in order to cure biting; but ordinarily the final stage of weaning comes when the child is given to another woman--an old woman or a co-wife--to care for. The other woman may or may not live in the same compound as the mother. At this time special food supplements to the child are stopped, so that he is weaned onto the usual low (animal) protein Hausa diet. (Naturally, this is the time when a great many infants die.) The child is usually returned to the mother after weaning, but sometimes is not. Adoption and child-giving are very common among the Hausa, and a fertile woman is almost obligated to provide a barren sister with a child. A firstborn (dan fari) especially is likely to be given to its "weaner" to raise, as well as to wean. The (expected) lastborn (auta), on the other hand, is weaned very late and is traditionally spoiled by his parents.

Small Children

Small children are considered highly attractive, and everyone wants to hold them, pet them, tease them. Even when only several weeks old, the infant is picked up by girls as young as five or six, wrapped on their backs (a goya) and carried about. The arrangement practically swaddles the infant against the back of the carrier. If he cries and cannot be quieted, he is taken back to his mother who gives him the breast. Infants are always first picked up, then offered the breast, when they cry. Once the child is weaned, he spends far more time with his siblings (both actual and classificatory) than with his mother. The infant or toddler is carried about everywhere, and sometimes a caretaker, forgetful of the burden on her back, may engage in strenuous games until another's rebuke reminds her to set the infant down. Until about the age of five, small children of both sexes stay with the

girls' play-group. After five, boys usually gravitate to their own play-groups, perhaps following an older brother instead of an older sister.

Young children carry about infants and care for them, and are in turn looked after by the next oldest group. A child addresses his senior respectfully and is expected to obey, while the elder acts as protector and caretaker. Yet the senior also teases, and children in Wurinsalla are subjected to an infinite amount of teasing-playing (ba'a). "Come and let me circumcize you," cries a twelve-year-old to a four-year-old, who screams and runs away. "That's the dodo (bogey-man)," whispers senior to junior while indicating a white-skinned visitor, and the small child scampers to his mother in fear. Tales of various frightful monsters in the bush are gleefully repeated by children who are not quite sure if they themselves disbelieve them. Yet the teasing, playing, grabbing, caressing, the carrying about of small children, are all done joyfully, merrily: and always someone in the group will comfort a genuinely frightened little one.

Older Children

Children go everywhere and anywhere. Though an adult male can rarely enter a compound not belonging to patrilateral kin (except for that of a close friend), a boy can enter any compound at all until he is circumcized (at about age seven). Girls enter everywhere. Village life is perhaps dull, and anything smacking of the out-of-the-ordinary draws children not just from the village itself but from the surrounding hamlets and bush. An after-market dance, an itinerant entertainer,[1] musicians in the prostitutes'

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[1] Hausa life is enlivened by a succession of itinerant entertainers. One charms snakes (gardi), while another plays with fire (dan babuli); one cannot be cut with a blade (dan tauri), while another juggles carelessly with the sharp and heavy galma or ridging hoe (dan hoto).

compound, a spirit possession dance, a farm-bee (gayya), a visit by a local official--all attract the children. The village youngsters know of every occurrence, every happening in every part of Wurinsalla. By the age of nine, a child will readily relate how his or her mother prepares a dozen kinds of miya, what the cycle of crops is, who secretly patronizes which local mallam, the names of hundreds of different plants and insects and animals in the bush and what their uses and dangers are, where the blacksmith gets his charcoal from, and whose wife was on the verge of leaving him when she discovered she was pregnant. By the age of nine, the children know most of what they will need to know for the rest of their lives[1]--they require only to live and practice.

The children of Wurinsalla work as well as play, though there is no necessary dividing line between the categories. The tasks of the two sexes differ somewhat. By the time a boy is four or five, he will be sent on errands, carry messages, make small purchases, and announce visitors.[2] Soon he is sent to perform small tasks, such as collecting firewood, or gathering grass for the animals, from the bush. At about five, he begins to accompany his father to the fields, often of his own volition and to the parent's amusement. But soon amusement fades, and the boy is given various tasks to do. By age seven, he is given a hoe (fartanya) and expected to work seriously. As children grow older, their mistakes are corrected with

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[1]Assuming the village is unchanging, that is, and the children grow up to be the rural horticulturalists their fathers are. The assumption is, of course, shaky.

[2]Since women are in seclusion, a male stranger may not simply enter a compound. Formally, he should announce his presence by calling "salamu aleikun," then wait until someone in the compound replies "aleikun salamu" and comes out. Often only women are within, so that confusion results. To avoid this calling and confusion, it is common to send a small child into the compound to announce one's presence.

increasing harshness (especially after circumcision). Most tuition is of the "this is how it is done" variety, so that the child learns more by imitation than verbal instruction. At about twelve the boy is given the heavy ridging hoe (galma). Perhaps at this time, or somewhat later, he will also be given a small farm plot (gayauna) on which to raise crops whose sale will enable him to meet his own requirements.

Besides farming and gathering grass and wood, boys collect various fruits and leaves from the bush, tend sheep and goats, draw water, do hawking (talla) for either parent (or other kin), pick vegetables and roots (such as cassava) for that day's consumption, rid clay walls and roofs of the grass growing on top of them, help with building, gather cornstalks from the field, and run errands without number.

Girls, too, begin work by being sent on errands, carrying messages to and fro, and making small purchases. By five they will be expected to vend (talla) trays of cooked foods (which implies the ability to make proper change). The small girl begins to sweep the compound, especially her mother's room, and to wash her mother's dishes and calabashes. She buys the ingredients for miya at the market or from another little girl, or helps collect the ingredients in the bush. She draws water and collects wood, though she will look after animals (kiwo) only if there are no boys in the family to do this work. The girl is taught to spin and to weave, and by around age ten will help her mother with the work of pounding grain, grinding, and cooking. From perhaps age five she will be caring for infants, and even when not assigned a specific task, she will probably have an infant or toddler on her back. If there is no well in the compound, she will probably also have to wash her mother's clothing for her (since her secluded mother cannot go outside to a well or a stream). When her mother does venture outside--perhaps

visiting in the evening, or going to a celebration (biki)--she will escort her. Whatever the mother's craft happens to be, she will learn that, too, until it becomes her craft as well. Girls seem busier than boys but, perhaps, because of the greater arduousness of farmwork, boys seem more weary in the evening, more likely to collapse and fall asleep in the middle of their play.

Girls and boys seldom play together, and those who do are usually either cross-cousins (who are joking relations), or are courting. Often one sees a group of boys and a group of girls playing in the same area, together yet apart. At work the two sexes are usually separated because the boys tend to be assigned to their fathers, the girls to their mothers. Two other factors tend to separate the sexes, at least symbolically: boys are circumcised, while girls are not clitorodectomized; and girls marry at least six years earlier than their male age-peers. (This last statement is not true for the sons of rich men, who may be married in early adolescence, little later than their sisters.)

Circumcision

Age at circumcision was uniformly described as seven, but in practice it was found to be highly variable. Some children were circumcised as early as three, others not until nine or ten. Seven would probably be average, however. Whatever age the boy is circumcised at, the season is always rani, around December-January. This is the coldest time of the year, and it is believed to be the healthiest season for circumcision. The child is not warned in advance (though some claimed to have guessed the day scheduled). The not-yet circumcised reflect the teasing of which they are the victims, for they are uniformly terrified of the operation.

Any number of boys may be circumcised together, but the usual number is perhaps two to four. The barber arrives with the sun and waits near the entrance to the compound while two (male) friends or relatives of the father arrange some mats (zana) to form a screen, for privacy. A small hole is dug in the ground. The boys are brought into the screened area one-by-one, so that they may not watch one another. The two men hold a boy, one keeping his eyes covered, the other gripping his legs, while the blood drains into the hole. The wound is dressed with a medicine containing potash. Three pieces of cornstalk are tied into a triangle with the boy's penis passed through it in order to prevent the wound from bouncing against his thighs and testicles. Foreskin and blood are buried in the hole.

The circumcised boys are put together in a hut with a guardian to spend nights with them. When they sleep, another device of cornstalk is inserted between their knees, again in order to prevent them from injuring themselves. They remain nude until healed, except for a gown slit to mid-thigh. The boys are not permitted to go far from their hut, but friends and kin visit them. The latter are likely to bring gifts of fortifying foods--chicken, various highly spiced dishes, and gruel made with potash (kunun kanwa). This is the part of circumcision older boys like to recall. The barber returns several times to check on their progress, for he does not get paid until they have healed--usually after four to six weeks. At the end of this time the boy bathes (previously he could wash only feet and legs), his head is shaved and he is given new clothes, including a new loincloth (bante).

Koranic school

Once a boy has been circumcised the teasing stops. Now he is expected to be more respectful to his parents, especially to his father. Discipline is more severe, and farming serious work rather than more play. A

circumcized boy is expected to begin to pray regularly and to start attending Koranic school (makarantar arabiya, mohammediya).

In its simplest form, Koranic school means learning about Islam from a mallam, beginning with the proper forms of prayer and going on to the memorization of portions of the Koran. Sometimes a mallam will go traveling about, collecting children who become attached to him as his pupils. Some ambitious parents send their children hundreds of miles away to study with a renowned scholar. In Wurinsalla, however, only a few children are being taught outside the village. Most remain in their parents' compounds, studying occasionally with the mallam to whom their parents give sadaka (alms given with pious intent). Some children, however, leave their parents' compound and become attached to their mallam, learning from and working for him as his almajirai (s. almajiri, pupil). Though they work in his fields, the mallam usually cannot (or does not) supply them with food and a place to sleep. The almajirai sleep anywhere, usually in any zaure (entrance hut). And in the evening, as people eat, the youngsters walk through the village with their bowls in their hands crying out "almajiri," begging for food. The women of the village send out left-overs for them, many purposely cooking a more-than-adequate amount, for feeding and giving a sleeping-place to students of the Koran is a sign of piety. When times are good, the children are adequately fed, when bad they suffer. Older children, finished with their Moslem education, often describe the period with their mallam as an unhappy, hungry time.

In a village such as Wurinsalla, Koranic school meets mostly during the dry season when work is light--during the wet farming season, the children are often too weary to study. No matter what the season, the school does not meet Thursdays or Fridays. "Meeting" means that the students cluster around

a fire of cornstalks early in the morning, and again after dark, each child with his wooden board (allo, serving as a slate). They recite what is written on the slate, committing it to memory, while older students correct their mistakes and threaten the unattentive with switches. The impression is chaos around a campfire, each child shouting something different in a loud voice, none understanding what it is that he is mouthing. In theory, after they have successfully committed the Koran to memory and been graduated (sauka), the students may be taught the meaning of what they read: in practice, few reach this stage. Girls, in particular, leave Koranic school very early, so that there are always two to three times as many boys around the fire as girls, and the latter are mostly younger than the former.[1]

Marriage

Courtship and Arrangement

Wurinsalla girls flirt from the age of five and may be betrothed by seven, but it is not their age-mates with whom they play. Rather, the girls often seem to find already-married young men, ten and fifteen years their seniors, most attractive. Play means teasing and flirting, but courtship implies gift-giving, the young man (saurayi) paying the dan ma'abba (praise-singer who serves as a combined announcer and public address system) to let his girl dance alone. And in the evening, as the men of the village sleepily converse and the women visit with one another, couples are to be found in odd corners, on logs and ledges, "chatting." Such is the nature of their

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[1] Many educated Nigerians are critical of the Koranic schools, complaining that many of the mallams are not scholars but exploiters of youngsters. Zaria City markets are full of thin children, mostly almajirai, anxious to carry a basket for a penny. Some pupils run away from their mammals to become beggars, thieves, street urchins. In a rural village like Wurinsalla, however, sending one's children to a Koranic school is a prestigious thing, and uneducated parents can hardly judge a mallam's qualifications.

conversation, however, that the word for "chat" in Hausa (tadi) has come to connote love-play ranging from mild snuggling to quick intercourse.

A boy must court not just his girl, but her family as well. Strong objections from any one of several relatives--either parent, a mother's brother--may end the match early. One of the ways in which a young man may show his respect for his possible future father-in-law is to hold a gayya, a work-bee, in the man's field. Such events are opportunities for the young men to show off their prowess at farming, their endurance, strength, and speed, before an audience which includes many of the village girls. The atmosphere is riotous as the boys work to the rhythm of a large drum (ganga), sometimes throwing the heavy ridging hoe (galma) high in the air in pure exhuberance. Participants in a work-bee (with the exception of the drummer) receive nothing but food and kola-nut, plus the tacit understanding that the holder of the gayya will attend any future bees held by his friends.

Eventually, courting ends and couples sort themselves out, a one-eyed girl marrying a man with a limp, a rich man's son marrying a fair-skinned girl of good reputation, children of Fulani descent pairing with each other. The wealthy often betroth their sons and daughters very early, so that "marriage of the rich" (auren gata) is synonomous with "early marriage" (auren wuri). Ideally, a girl is married prior to puberty, and this ideal is often met. A grown man who marries a girl of nine or ten is expected to wait some time before consummating the marriage, lest he injure her, and many men claim to have so waited.

Negotiations for a girl's first marriage are formal and complex, though there is considerable variation from one case to the next.[1] The

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[1] See M. G. Smith (1955[b]) and Trimingham (1959) for slightly differing descriptions of Hausa marriage arrangements and types of marriages. The sequence described above is only one of many possible variations.

young man initiates the process by his regular gifts (toshi) to the girl, perhaps giving her a shilling (14 cents) each market day--or perhaps five shillings. A boy may continue such gifts for as long as several years, carefully keeping track of their total so that he may demand reimbursement if his suit ultimately fails. On each of the two major Moslem holidays of Id-el Fitr (Karamin Salla, "Little Salla") and Id-el-Kabir (Babban Salla, "Big Salla"), he will give her a substantial gift. When a young man finds that he definitely wishes to marry a girl and that she appears willing to accept him, he must inform a kinsman: not usually his own parents, with whom he would feel ashamed to discuss a subject indirectly involving sex, but a brother or sister of one of them. A representative of the boy's family[1] discusses the matter with the family of the girl, approaching them respectfully. If it appears that it will be possible to reach agreement, particularly as to the amount of bridewealth (kudin aure), the family of the boy presents to the family of the girl "kudin gaisuwa" or "greeting money."

This sum is actually two gifts, one from the family of the boy's mother, one from that of the boy's father. Each gift may be in the range of $5.00 to $15.00. The boy and his father and father's family then give the girl and her family a gift called toshin yarinya (the girl's toshi). This gift is not primarily cash, though some will be included. Rather, it consists of a suitcase filled with cloth, perfumes, and various cosmetics. After this gift, the wedding date is set. Most weddings take place between December and February (rani), when money from the sale of the harvest is still available.

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[1] Wherever "family" occurs in the above discussion, "kin-group" may be substituted. Both maternal and paternal kin are usually involved, and the range of participating relations varies considerably. The Hausa term for kin-group is dengi (dangi).

The night before the wedding the girl runs away, usually to be hidden by a girl-friend, while her other girl-friends gleefully search for her. She is inevitably led back in ample time for the wedding (which does not, however, actually require her physical presence). The morning of the wedding representatives of the two families meet together for the dauren aure (tying of the marriage). This is a religious-legal ceremony in which the portion of the Koran known as the fatiya is read. Additional gifts are given to the bride and her family at this time, including the sadaki, the sum of money (legally separate and distinct from the kudin aure or bridewealth itself) which is required by Moslem law for a marriage to be legal. The evening of the wedding there is a celebration (biki) at the compound of the bride (amarya). Another celebration takes place at the groom's (ango) compound whenever his friends escort his new wife there. A Hausa first-marriage is elaborate and includes many traditional details, such as the staining of the hands and feet of the couple with henna, a ritual washing, a heavily veiled "false bride" arriving at the groom's compound prior to the real one, etc. Yet the details of any particular ceremony vary from marriage to marriage, depending on economic circumstances, importance of the family, desires of the women who control and are most interested in many aspects of the ceremony, etc. After the first marriage, ceremony lessens sharply, as does bridewealth.[1]

Two days after the bride has been brought to her new compound and installed in her new room, her relatives arrive with the gara (loosely, "dowry"), consisting of rice, millet, guinea corn, several pounds cash, and a good deal of cooked food. A new bride is generally accompanied by a

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[1]See M. F. Smith (1955, pp. 85-99 and 111-18) for detailed descriptions of actual weddings.

female relative who stays with and cooks for her for a variable period, sometimes lasting as long as a year. Often she will not be left alone with her husband until this relative leaves. (A previously-married woman is expected to begin cooking and cohabitating immediately.) The older women of the compound do not consider a young bride an adult, and she can expect considerable supervision. Her ability to pound and grind and cook will be watchfully tested, her every action scrutinized by mother-in-law or co-wives. Even when she bears here first child, other women will guide and advise her in its care.[1] Nevertheless, marriage represents a drastic discontinuity in the life of a Hausa woman, and the complexities of marriage ceremonies and celebrations probably do function in part as an initiation ceremony (Smith, 1965[a]).

Functioning of a Marriage

The division of economic responsibility in a Wurinsalla marriage is elastic. The more wealthy a man is, the more likely he is to take responsibility for the needs of all the members of his compound, enabling the others to spend their income (even a rich man's wife has a craft or trade, and, therefore, an income) on ceremony and luxury. Everyone agrees that a man must provide food for the evening meal and new clothing for wife (wives) and children each Salla (twice a year). He must also pay his own tax, pay all agricultural expenses such as implements, fertilizer and seed, and pay for whatever luxuries (such as kola-nut) he may desire. It is also a man's responsibility to provide a wife for his son, though ideally (but infrequently)

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[1] Thus, when young mothers would come to me with a sick infant and an old woman as escort, the latter would do all the talking and the former merely stand there dumb. Sometimes the elder would be scornful of the young mother, loudly proclaiming her inability to care for an infant. Since a junior does not speak out before a senior in Hausa society, the young mother would say nothing at all.

a daughter's bridewealth provides for this. And every man is obligated to aid his relatives, friends, and neighbors when they hold celebrations (bikuna), and to give alms (sadaka) to the poor and to the mallams.

A woman is obligated only to provide basins and bowls (kwanoni, s. kwano), calabashes (kwaryoyi, s. kwarya), and pots (tukunyoyi, s. tukunya) for her cooking; to feed herself morning and afternoon if her husband does not; to furnish her daughter with gara (dowry); and to purchase whatever clothing (especially underclothing) she desires in addition to the two outfits a year provided by her husband. A woman has a great many ceremonial obligations which stress gift-giving, while her status among other women is partly determined by her expenditures on cosmetics, clothing, and the accumulation of enameled basins.

Except for the few rural women who have husbands both wealthy and generous, a woman's chief income comes from her craft. Practically every woman in Wurinsalla has some sort of craft or trade activity, in spite of being in seclusion. Women spin and weave, they thresh grain for hire, they keep chickens and goats, they garden and sell the produce. Above all, they prepare a huge assortment of cooked foods for sale, ranging from fried bean-cakes to peanut brittle, from millet balls to maize. For most of these activities the respectable married woman is dependent on others, since she is in seclusion. The woman who buys kerosene in four-gallon tins and sells it in tiny bottles needs a husband or brother to go to town to purchase it for her; the woman who makes foodstuffs requires a child to hawk them for her; even the woman who spins yarn needs someone to sell it at the market.

Husband and wife

In the 23 per cent of Wurinsalla marriages which are polygynous, each wife serves her husband in rotation, either one day at a time or two. The

wife whose turn it is to cook for her husband also spends the night with him. Even when a woman is not sexually accessible, due to lactation or menstruation, she takes her turn. And the husband must respect the principle of rotating supremacy among wives, for being caught alone with one who is not "on" may return him to monogamy. It is not for nothing that a woman refers to her co-wife as "my jealous one" (kishiyata).

A husband of several wives bears a burden of diplomacy. If he gives one a gift, all must receive gifts. And he must be prepared to prove that the gifts are of equal value, so that many a wise man dresses his wives identically. Internal conflict often takes the form of the older wives perceiving the most recent wife, the amarya, as being the favorite (and, indeed, she often is). The amarya usually begins somewhat wealthier than the others, due to the gara (dowry) she brings with her. Soon enough a senior wife accuses the newcomer of using her superior wealth to make special food (for example) for the husband, in order to reduce his affection for the older woman. Even when such disputes do not end in divorce, there is often much bitterness, so that if the amarya finds herself still barren after several years she will know whom to accuse of sorcery.

Though polygyny is a burden on a man, it is often sought as a solution to the problems of monogamy. Even in a polygynous marraige a wife can threaten to run away to her family. If she does, the husband must go humbly to his in-laws, with whom he has the strongest of shame-avoidance relationships, to beg for his wife back. He usually is given her--in-laws seldom have much desire to return bridewealth--but only at the cost of considerable embarrassment. Many women run away once each year, year after year. If a marriage is monogamous a deserted husband must cook his own food or else beg a relative or friend to provide for him, the second

alternative being only somewhat less shameful than the first. In a polygynous marriage, the husband always has another wife to fall back on, while the wife with thoughts of home must consider leaving the husband in the hands of her rival.

The distribution of power within a Hausa family is deceptive. Formally, men rule, women obey. Yet Hausa tend to value "face" and the appearance of obedience more than its reality, and a shrewd wife knows the considerable extent to which her husband is susceptible to pressure. Every man fears being left wifeless, being a gwauro, the comical figure whose wife has deserted him and who has failed to find another. Thus, women who are theoretically in seclusion readily secure permission to visit friends each evening, while few men would even attempt to prohibit their wives from attending the ceremonies of friends and kin, or from visiting home regularly. The heads of the 12 per cent of Wurinsalla compounds in which the women were not kept in seclusion were often visibly ashamed of having granted this freedom, but informants claimed that the women had simply refused to be kept in purdah.[1]

Hausa practice a sharp double-standard and a husband's unfaithfulness is not considered adultery (kwartanci). Nevertheless, if a man's wife finds him with another woman, she will instantly attack her. Most men are discrete enough to borrow a friend's room for such encounters. Since there are always a number of prostitutes in Wurinsalla, not to mention women between marriages (who are expected to take lovers), a man has opportunity

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[1] Most women interviewed claimed that they preferred to be kept in seclusion, on the grounds that it reduced their work-load and raised their prestige. The women who disdained seclusion were either former prostitutes accustomed to wandering freely; or else were from bush areas where seclusion is not practiced, since (as one informant put it), "who is there to see?"

equal to his purse: for few women will entertain advances without tangible proof of affection.

The married women of Wurinsalla, on the other hand, are modest and well-behaved. In the dry season, when many men are home, women remain in decent seclusion, waiting until the rains drive their men to the fields before they begin to emerge in daylight. And a group of Wurinsalla women traveling through the bush, away from the eyes of their men, are frankly adventurous. Accusations of adultery are frequent, though they seldom end in divorce. Rather, the aggrieved husband takes his wife's lover to court.

Religion

In Wurinsalla, religion (addini) means Islam, beliefs not linked to Islam being classified as "ignorance" (jahilci, duhun kai). Every man in Wurinsalla, with only one exception (a barely-tolerated laborer), calls himself a Moslem. The mallams of the village are its clerics. They are ranked in an informal hierarchy, headed by the liman (Moslem priest) who alone has official recognition as the local religious leader.

A proper Hausa Moslem prays five times each day, ideally in a mosque (masalaci) with his co-religionists. There are seven mosques in Wurinsalla, all but one constructed by small groups of neighbors. These local mosques are merely rooms of baked clay, not attached to any particular mallam, boasting only a muezzin (ladan) to call the faithful to pray. Little honor is attached to this office, its requirements consisting of a loud voice and an accurate sense of time. (Nowadays, the muezzin is likely to consult a watch before deciding prayer-time has arrived.) The seventh mosque of the village is the Friday Mosque (Masallacin Jumma'a), a large, well-built building, constructed by the wealthy son of the Village Head as a sign of

piety. It is here that the important men of the area pray each Friday afternoon.

The five prayers (salla) are the divisions of the day, and appointments are regularly set in terms of before-or-after a particular prayer. Before each prayer ritual ablutions must be performed (washing of hands, feet, and face; rinsing of mouth), and for this purpose men carry about a small container called a buta. Originally the buta was a locally-fired earthenware vessel, but nowadays small aluminium tea kettles (sahani) have replaced the buta and even usurped its name. In a world without taps, the spout of the kettle provides the only running water.

The first prayer of the day is sallan (sallar) asuba (dawn prayer), performed around 5:00 to 5:30 A.M. In Wurinsalla the call of the muezzin is the second cock's crow. Dawn is a sleepy prayer, and neighbors often tacitly postpone morning greetings until its performance has presumably awakened them. The second prayer of the day, sallah azahar, does not come until about 2:30 P.M., leaving the work-day unbroken. It is this prayer which, each Friday, is a social and religious event as the liman (priest), the more important mallams, the Village Head and other local notables, converge on the Friday Mosque. The third prayer is sallan la'asar, around 4:30 P.M. Shortly afterward comes sallan almuru (or mangariba, magariba), around 6:30 P.M., either just before or just after the evening meal. The last prayer of the day, sallan lisha, may be performed any time after perhaps 8:00 P.M. Occasionally a number of the older, more pious men perform sallan mangariba after eating, then do wazifa[1] until it is late enough for sallan lisha.

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[1]Wazifa is a type of prayer characteristics of the Tijani sect (H. Tijaniyya) to which most Wurinsalla Moslems belong.

No systematic data were collected on individual prayer regularity, but observation yields an impression of punctilio. Prayer is probably performed as often outside the mosque as within it. A man quietly leaves his hira (conversation) group of neighbors to move several yards away, faces towards the East,[1] fondles his rosary and begins to pray. He is ignored, since to interrupt him would be to "spoil" the prayer and force him to repeat it. One often sees a man alone in his fields, praying.

Besides performing the five daily prayers, there is perhaps only one other requirement for being a Moslem in Wurinsalla: keeping the fast of Ramadan (watan azumi). During Ramadan a Moslem may not eat or drink from sunrise to sunset. The Moslem lunar calendar causes holidays to rotate in a thirteen-year cycle, and when Ramadan falls during the cool dry season when work is light, it does not cause undue hardship. Men eat large meals just before dawn, then break their fast with gruel (kunu) or juicy sugarcane (rake) at dusk. But, when the month of Ramadan falls at the beginning of the rains, when heavy work must be done and done immediately, if hunger is to be avoided, azumi becomes a true trial. Yet most men do fast, so that at the end of the day the villagers are quiet, subdued, and it is not considered remarkable for an older man to collapse. Few consider it too important if women fast strictly or no, while boys fast for one day or several, then "rest." As a boy gets older breaking his fast brings teasing from his peers. Among adult males, breaking one's fast is too serious a matter to be teased about, and it draws the stronger sanction of gossip. But such gossip is rare for most men are thought to observe Ramadan strictly. Only the ill are exempt, and even they must compensate by fasting at another time.

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[1] Rural Hausa regularly pray facing due east, not realizing that Mecca is northeast of Nigeria.

Hausa distinguish between two types of prayer, salla or daily prayer; and addu'a, which is prayer whose purpose is roko, begging or beseeching Allah for a specific end. In time of crisis the community meets for such prayer under the leadership of the liman, the most common crisis being a lengthy gap between the first heavy rain of the year (after which everyone sows his millet), and the second. As the danger grows that the seed in the ground will be lost, plans are made to pray for rain. Large numbers of men gather at the Id prayer ground (masallacin idi) and pray together, while many women dress in men's clothes, and carrying talismans such as swords and Koranic slates (alluna), they march through the bush from hamlet to hamlet, begging Allah for rain (rokon ruwa).

Of the five "pillars of Islam"--profession of faith, the daily prayers, fasting during Ramadan, alms-giving, and pilgrimage to Mecca--all but the last is obtainable for most Wurinsalla residents. The three pilgrims (alhazai, s. alhaji) of the village belong to the ruling family, though there are two other men in the surrounding area who have made the trip to Mecca. The title of "alhaji" continues to be highly prestigious in Wurinsalla (in contrast to urban areas, where "alhaji" has come to mean "wealthy men who bought an airplane ticket"), and the return of a pilgrim from Mecca is a festive occasion. He arrives laden with gifts (guzuri), and his children share in the glory by wearing the hats called Alhaji-ya-dawo-lafiya (Alhaji has returned safely), which he brings for them.

The Role of the Mallam

A successful mallam receives alms (sadaka),[1] enjoys the free labor of children and is accorded high prestige. A mallam is usually an older

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[1] One form the alms given a mallam may take is auren sadaka, marriage-of alms. In this type of marriage, a girl's father has her suddenly brought

man, dignified in bearing, gracious to his equals and betters, stern with his social inferiors. One becomes a mallam by a sort of apprenticeship, beginning as a particularly attentive almajiri, often studying in another area and returning home to demonstrate one's knowledge and win the respect of one's neighbors.

A mallam has two sets of duties, one public and one private. Public duties involve teaching, ritual slaughtering (Moslems do not eat meat not slaughtered in accordance with ritual), and officiating at naming ceremonies, marriages, and funerals. Private duties are more complex, having to do with protecting clients against misfortune and avenging them on their enemies. Mallams, therefore, find themselves not merely in competition with one another for patronage, but also competing in terms of efficacy.

In the cities a successful mallam may be "kept" by a wealthy patron, but in rural areas, such as Wurinsalla, a mallam usually has a considerable number of clients. Men whose prosperity permits them to, visit their mallam regularly for rigakafi, prevention. This often takes the form of rubutu, "writing." An appropriate quotation from the Koran is written on a wooden slate, then washed off, the client drinking the wash-water. Another form of protection is the amulet. Again an appropriate passage is taken from the Koran, this time being written on a more flexible material than wood. It is carefully wrapped up, to be sewn in leather by a baduku (leather-worker) and worn by the client.[1]

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to the compound of a mallam, announcing that he is giving her to him in marriage as alms (no bridewealth). On the single occasion during fieldwork that this occurred in Wurinsalla, the mallam was reported to be quite content. Less content were the bride and her co-wife.

[1]There are a number of types of Hausa amulet, all containing either Koranic or herbal medicine. The types are: (1) Laya (pl. layu), a sort of small pouch of leather, sewn shut, usually worn around the waist or hanging

Men also frequent a mallam in time of personal crisis--illness, deaths in the family, poor crops, quarrels. The mallam provides rubutu, layu, and prayer to cure the ill, make the worried suitor prevail and the anxious trader successful. Few enterprises are begun without the blessing and aid of a mallam, who is rewarded with alms, sadaka. Most private of all his functions is the avenging of a client, the destruction of his enemies. There are parts of the Koran, men whisper, which when recited aloud can kill. A friend warns another that his enemy has a mallam reputed to be deadly, and the putative victim immediately goes to another mallam, one said to be even more powerful than that of his enemy. Eventually one of the disputants, or a member of his family, suffers some misfortune--an accident, a wife gone mad, illness--and the community discovers which of the mallams was indeed the more powerful. Sufficient patience always justifies faith in Koranic power, given the prevalence of misfortune (illness, poverty, accident, etc.) in Wurinsalla.

The Non-Moslem Supernatural: Bori

Islam is largely a man's religion, a religion in which females are legal minors and may not enter a mosque. Women are given relatively little Islamic education, often taught only to pray by their fathers. For women, religion often means bori, a curative cult marked by dancing and spirit possession.[1]

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from the neck and which may prevent illness, accident, and general misfortune; or bring good luck in love, hunting, etc.; or even preserve one from a maye (soul-eater). Mothers are prone to weighting their infants down with layu. (2) Guru, a tubular sort of belt containing Koranic writings. Its purposes are the same as those of the laya. (3) Kambu is similar to guru except that it is much smaller, being worn on the upper arm. It is especially favored by wrestlers and hunters. The particular effect of any amulet or charm depends on its contents alone.

[1]The best available account of Hausa bori is J. Nicolas (1967), Les Juments des Dieux (The Mares of the Gods).

There are a large number of bori spirits or gods (iskoki, s. iska), some informants specifying the total at one hundred.[1] Many are related to one another, so that they form a pantheon. Each spirit must be summoned by his own praise-song, played by musicians (masu-garaya). The adept dances to the song until she gives a large, backwards jump, the sign of possession. She takes on the attributes of the spirit, and is treated as that spirit until she sneezes, signifying either that the bori has left and been replaced by another, or else that the adept is awakening.

Entertainment bori, the kind found at the prostitutes' compound, must be carefully distinguished from "serious" bori. The former is marked by an abundance of musicians, a general air of levity with non-initiates dancing, often imitated by drunken men jumping up to parody their movements (considered to be hilarious). The dancers wear ordinary apparel. "Serious" bori is performed by married women on the occasion of some sickness or trouble. In the absence of musicians, hand-clapping may be substituted (since the purpose is not entertainment), and only initiated cult-members may dance, one to three at a time. The dancers are covered with white cloths. A jump backwards signifies possession, while a sneeze indicates a change of spirits or a recovery.

"Serious" bori has the curing of trouble, usually disease or barrenness, as its end. Members of the cults are often herbalists (uwar sowiya, uwal saye in the area studied by J. Nicolas) who can diagnose the spirit causing an illness and prescribe the correct root or herb to cure it. Or, they may find it necessary to "mount" (hau), so that the spirits may be interrogated directly. Often the cause of the problem is the love of a

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[1] For lists of spirits and the animals to be sacrificed to each, see Greenberg (1946), Leroux (1948), and J. Nicolas (1967).

particular spirit, who wants the victim for a "mount." In such a case the woman must be initiated into the cult, an elaborate and expensive business. Occasionally, a woman will consult a bori adept for the sake of a male (usually a son). But aside from a few men adepts, both dancing and consulting bori are the province of women.

Men profess to have no fear of bori cult members despite the often "dissociated" or "hysteric" look of such women (some informants claimed to be able to tell an adept on sight). Several men declared that they would never permit their wives to joint the cult, though one informant commented privately, "How would they stop them?" Men do not like bori.

Even more disapproving of bori than the ordinary men of the village are the mallams. They do not perceive bori as alien to Islam--the spirits are assimilated to the djinns, so that aljenni (from the Arabic) is synonymous with iska (H., spirit)--but it is considered bad magic, impious, black magic (cf. Greenberg, 1946, pp. 66-67). It is not impossible that the hatred of the mallams for bori is related to their competition for clients with the non-Moslem supernatural practitioners. Officially, bori does not exist in Wurinsalla, except for the entertainment variety in the prostitutes' compounds: or so strangers are told. Most serious performances take place late at night with a good deal of discretion.

The Non-Moslem Supernatural: Witches and Warlocks

The chief non-Moslem male practitioner of the supernatural is the boka. The boka is usually itinerant, traveling from village to village. There is always something unusual in his visage, his behavior somewhat strange. Thus, upon receiving a coin from a client, one boka showed it all about, whispering as if to onlookers, before pocketing it. (The client in

question was an assistant, assigned to pretend fear for his position and ask the boka what the future held for him.) A boka may or may not claim intercourse with spirits: some are mere herbalists, while others are male bori adepts. But the boka is held in considerable contempt by many villagers, and he must be a showman in order to attract patronage. He is often accused of being a charlatan and a trickster, since it is said that only those supernatural practioners deriving their power from Allah (like the mallams) may be trusted.

Where the mallam relies mainly on the power of the Word, spoken, written, or dissolved in water, the boka operates with animal and vegetable substances. Most commonly these are roots and leaves, herbs. Occasionally a prescription may involve cooking miya with chicken of particular color and markings, then bathing in or perhaps merely eating of the food. For offensive magic, the boka often advises that objects be buried in the compound of the enemy, or be left where he may pass by them. The boka is especially effective when he has some of the effluvia of the victim to work on, and many men regularly cover up or hide their cut hair or nails after grooming, lest an enemy seize them. Such behavior might be laughed at in a more sophisticated, urban Hausa area--but in Wurinsalla the barber is likely to return one's cut hair to one with neither request nor comment.

Similar to the boka is the sarkin maye, the chief of the soul-eaters. His praise-song (kirari) is sarkin maye ka ci dubu, sai ceto (Chief of the soul-eaters, you have eaten 1,000, nothing remains for you but rescuing). A soul-eater is a man who is believed to hunger for souls (kurwa) the way others hunger for food. He has colored pebbles or granules (kankara) like hailstones in his stomach, which he can bring up at will. Some say a man is born a maye and the condition is hereditary; others claim that one must purchase the

kankara from someone who already is a maye, then swallow them. A maye eats souls, and the man whose soul has been caught sickens and dies. But after consuming 1,000 souls the maye suddenly becomes a sarkin maye and is transformed into a benefactor. The manner of the itinerant sarkin maye, like the boka, is at once strange and theatrical. ("Ya taba hauka," "he is a little crazy," was the way one informant described him.) Men who suspect that their souls are in danger come to him for medicine when he passes through their area. Mothers concerned with the health of their infants are especially good customers of the sarkin maye, who supplies an herb to be put in a laya as cure, or else a root to be burned on charcoal as incense (turare).[1] Men often suspect a stranger, or newcomer, as a possible maye. The reasoning is that perhaps he was driven from his previous home for his soul-eating. A man who keeps to himself and is not cheerful is also suspect.

The Kangida

Most men in Wurinsalla have a kangida, a food taboo which descends patrilineally. One lineage cannot eat lizard, another jackel, another lion. These are not foods ordinarily eaten (or even available, for the last two), and people were unable to explain why they must not eat them. Nor was there agreement as to what happens if the taboo is violated, some informants convinced that it would be fatal, others speaking of illness, most professing ignorance. Questions as to the origins of the kangida elicited the explanation, "gadonmu ne" (it's our heritage").

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[1] The test for the genuineness of the sarkin maye is to ask him to do sanwa (boiling). This involves his putting a large number of roots and herbs into a pot and boil them in a public place. Every maye in the area must come out and kick a piece of burning wood further into the fire. Two informants claimed to have seen sanwa performed, and swore that this is exactly what happened.

Borderline Activities

Neither quite Moslem nor non-Moslem are the activities of two types of "mallams," the mallamin tsibbu and mallamin duba (mai-duba). The former is halfway between being a mallam and a boka. He may pretend to Koranic knowledge and will provide rubutu in the manner of a mallam, but he is usually very ignorant of Islam and often falls back on herbal remedies. He is also likely to be able to divine the future by casting cowries on the ground. The mallamin duba is a clairvoyant, telling you where to find lost or stolen property, and perhaps who the thief was. He may do this on the basis of a design drawn in the dust, or by putting threads into a copy of the Koran and asking his client to choose one, making his interpretation on the basis of the page opened. Such fortune-telling is prohibited in Wurinsalla, and on one occasion, the Village Head threatened a man who had (successfully) performed duba to find a petty thief. The criminal, however, confessed promptly and made restitution.

Illness and Trouble

The diseases to be found in Wurinsalla range from several types of intestinal parisites to kwashiorkor, and include malaria, tuberculosis, measles, schistosomiasis (bilharzia), bacillary and amebic dysentery, menningitis, syphilis, gonorrhea, tropical ulcer, guinea worm, and various eye and ear ailments. Burns are frequent during the cool dry season, when children tend to role or fall into the fire. During the rainy agricultural season, foot injuries abound as farmers hoe their toes instead of their fields. Troubles apart from disease and mishap range from lack of food to sexual rivalry. Wurinsalla people are not doctrinaire about what cures or

causes what: they try anything, and the amulet supplied by the mallam hangs next to the one from the boka.

Most wounds are treated pragmatically and are not explained in terms of the supernatural. General aches and pains, backache in particular, are treated by bleeding with cattle horns (the barber serving as physician). Most people know at least several herbal remedies, while each market includes a stall with a variety of items designed to cure anything from impotence to toothache. Western patent medicines and nostrums are also available at the market. Experts, such as mallam or boka, are generally consulted only when remedies of friends and family, as well as market, have all failed. As the last resort, there is the local dispensary (several miles away), whose injections are considered to be superior to traditional bleeding (putting something in instead of taking it out). A few people go all the way to Zaria General Hospital, though this is rare, since most villagers are frightened of it. But of the various remedies and practitioners, the most frequent resort is the mallam, with his rubutu to drink: and many people automatically prefer any medicine associated with Islam to all others. At least for a first attempt.

Disease, illness, accident, and death are all formally attributed to the power of Allah (ikkon Allah). But behind this ready verbal response often lies a private conviction that someone has plotted out and planned the misfortune--perhaps an enemy (with the aid of a mallam), perhaps a maye (soul-eater). The death of a young son, the barrenness of a wife: such misfortunes cause people to think back to their last quarrel and perhaps decide that it was not merely Allah who has brought on the trouble. Co-wives, especially, blame each other for illness, barrenness, and difficulties with children. Since the child mortality rate is approximately 43 per cent in Wurinsalla (see Appendix II, Table 31), much occurs which may be

blamed on the envy of others. And, since it is considered shameful to argue publicly (more for men than for women), while disputes over inheritance among brothers, over land among neighbors are common, an angry man has but two recourses: the alkali and the mallam, law and sorcery.

Death[1]

It is accepted, in Wurinsalla, that when one dies one goes to Lahira, to the Moslem Paradise (that is, one's rai goes to Paradise). Burial is quick, often completed within several hours of death. The mallams of the village assemble and the people pray (sallar gawa, prayer for the corpse). The body is washed by old people, people who in life would have been permitted to see the genitals of the deceased. This is a nervous business, for a corpse is a fearsome thing, and the soul (kurwa) of the dead person may take offense. The body is wrapped in a shroud, placed on its side facing east in a shallow grave at the rear of the compound, then covered with broken pottery (kasko) so that earth may not fall on it. For three days there will be no cooking in the compound of the deceased, and neighbors will supply food. (Though if it is an infant who has died, the haitus in cooking is not observed.) The morning of the third day after the death the mallams return for prayer (addu'an uku), repeating these prayers four days later (sallar bakwai). On that day the relatives of the deceased distribute food to those who assemble, and give the mallams their alms.

The fortieth day after the death a much larger gathering takes place (sadaka arba'in, addu'an arba'in), since friends and relatives from some distance have had time to become informed. Once again there will be mallams

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[1]See Trimingham (1959, pp. 178-82) for a more complete account of Moslem death ritual. Though he describes Sudanic practice in general, his account is accurate for Wurinsalla.

and praying, and the more distant relatives contribute food and money which the family of the deceased distributes as sadaka (alms), along with whatever it can gather by itself. A special funeral food is served after the prayer, gumba or crushed balls of millet, sweetened with sugar.[1] Neighbors and friends and relatives come to greet the family of the deceased, all repeating "Allah ya jikanshi" (May God have mercy on him) to each other. The sadaka arba'in is a solemn affair.

Women do mourning (takaba) for a husband for 130 days, during which they wear the same clothing and wash little. They are expected to spend most of their time indoors, comporting themselves in sober fashion. In practice, this means that they attend no celebrations or festivities. At the end of the mourning period they are ceremonially washed, then adorned in their best finery. In theory a woman spends the first three months of the period of mourning (idda) in the compound of her deceased husband: but, often she does not. Occasionally a woman does not even observe the full mourning period, especially after she leaves the husband's compound. Men do mourning for several days only, after which they may remarry.

One may not speak the name of a deceased parent, and, in general, one does not speak of the dead. No particular reason is given for this. The dead are not feared once they are buried, though corpses are.

Summary of Religion in Wurinsalla

Religion in Wurinsalla means Islam, and some informants deny that there are any non-Islamic beliefs among the people of the village--and if there are, they occur among the "ignorant." The only even semi-organized belief system challenging Islam is the bori spirit cult, belonging primarily

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[1] This is the only occasion on which gumba is made, with the exception of the celebration women hold the fortieth day after child-bearing, when they cease their hot bathing.

to the women: and this has been assimilated by the mallams to the Koran, so that spirits are considered to be djinns. The Moslem clerics of the village, the mallams, are not only the official religious leaders but also the chief supernatural practitioners. They are accorded considerable respect, and even a wealthy man salutes an important mallam with the ritual phrase Allah ya gafarta (May God forgive you). Other magical practitioners are considered to be less effective than the mallams, are granted less respect, and probably have fewer clients. Hausa are not doctrinaire in their approach to the supernatural, trying almost any kind of remedy or magic which comes their way, and even ordinary people may sell herbal medicines they happen to know of to one another. Diseases and other misfortunes are officially described as being due to Allah alone, but people privately blame spirits and the evil machinations of their enemies.

Evaluation and Prestige

Character (Halayya)

In answer to the question, "What kind of man do people like and respect?" informants replied that a man should have fara'a, kirki, korjini, mutumci, girmamawa, ladabi, and biyayya. The first of these is the easiest to translate, for fara'a simply means cheerfulness, a happy sort of disposition (ferin jini), a ready smile, rarely complaining or criticizing. A man with fara'a is likeable, with many acquaintances, and is always welcome for hira. If he comes to a new town he is soon liked and accepted. A man without fara'a is a dour type who keeps to himself. People gossip about him, suspect that he is plotting harm to his neighbors, that he may even be a maye. If such a man happens to be a stranger, without anyone to vouch for him, he may find himself unwelcome and suspect. So a man tries to present

a cheerful appearance to the world, and though ill and hungry, he attempts to keep smiling.

A man with fara'a is likely to have kirki. Kirki is kindness and generosity, two concepts which are inseparable in Hausa thinking. A man with kirki gives gifts to all who visit him and contributes much to his neighbor's celebrations. Can a poor man have kirki? The consensus among informants was that he could, but he would have a difficult time demonstrating it.

Korjini is a very different kind of trait, for it is the characteristic of an important man which legitimates his authority in the eye of his followers. It is akin to charisma, and implies both sternness and confident bearing, a mien which inspires respect and obedience. An important man, especially an aristocrat or title-holder (mai-saruata), must have korjini: but even an ordinary man should have it when he deals with his wives and children.

Mutumci is the complement of korjini, in the same way that noblesse oblige is the complement of noblesse. Abraham (1962) defines mutumci as "treating others with due respect." It means not so much respecting a superior as treating all others, higher and lower, with proper courtesy, dignity, gentleness and graciousness. To treat someone without this respect is cin mutumci, destroying his pride. If a prostitute grabs a man in the street and loudly demands money owed to her--thereby shaming him deeply--she is cin mutumci. If a superior publicly reprimands his subordinate, that too is cin mutumci.

Girmamawa, ladabi, and biyayya are the traits a subordinate must exhibit to his superior. Girmamawa means showing respect in general, while ladabi and biyayya are two of the means used to show respect. Ladabi is

respectful posture, actual physical position plus general set of the body. Thus, a pupil studying with his mallam sits with body close to the ground, one leg bent beneath him and the other slightly raised but also bent at the knee. He does not gaze directly at the teacher. Lack of ladabi indicates surliness, disrespect. Biyayya means both loyalty and obedience, two concepts not ordinarily separated in Hausa.[1] Following a command promptly and fully is biyayya, and so is defending a superior when others speak ill of him. Ladaɓi is always girmamawa, while biyayya is girmamawa only when it cannot be taken for granted. Obedience from one's wife is biyayya but not girmamawa, for it is taken for granted (publicly, at any rate), that wives obey: but when junior brother (kani) obeys his senior (wa), that is both biyayya and girmamawa.

One additional concept is essential in understanding Hausa evaluation of character: kunya. Kunya is loosely translated as shame, embarrassment. One reprimands a child by accusing him of lacking in kunya (rashin kunya, shameless). If a man's wife is unfaithful, he gets angry (hushi), she feels kunya. Thus, one feels strong kunya before one's father, or before one's in-laws. A wife should feel kunya in the presence of her husband, a pupil with his mallam, a client with his patron, a commoner (talaka) with a noble (mai-sarauta). If one goes through the motions of respect (girmamawa) without feeling kunya (perhaps because the one to be respected is lacking in korjini or kirki), one is likely to be accused of lacking ladaɓi (since lack of ladabi implies non-verbal communication of disrespect).

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[1]This is not to say that it is impossible to separate the two ideas. Jin umurni might be rendered as strict obedience, for example, while amana can indicate trust and loyalty.

Other Personal Characteristics

Of the various criteria of prestige-allocation in Wurinsalla, the one most permitting upward mobility is being a good Moslem. This means not just the bare minimum of regular prayer and observing Ramadan, but much study as well. In the dry season, many men, especially older men, spend their time studying Koran. Often a group of neighbors study together in the mosque they have built, the best-educated among them teaching the others. During the census of the village, many men avoided discussing their dry season occupation by calling themselves almajirai, students. The distortion involved was minimal, since for many a man the relative leisure of the dry season means time to study the Koran. And the more he studies and learns, the more he is respected.

But being a good Moslem means more than demonstrating learning. A good Moslem keeps his wife in strict seclusion, which means digging a well in his compound or else drawing the water himself (or having children do it). And it is not unusual for a man to do his wife's laundry himself, so that he does not lose status by her walking publicly to the outskirts of the village to launder in a stream there.

Wurinsalla conversation is full of references to Allah, direct or oblique. The equivalent of "seeya tomorrow" (sai gobe) may draw the reply "Allah ya kai mu," may Allah take us (to that next meeting); mention of a calamity elicits the ejaculation, "Allah ya kiyayye," "God forbid," while news of a death is greeted with "Allah ya jikanshi," "May God have mercy on him!" A child questions the truth of a comrade's statement by asking "Allah?" to which the reply is "Wallahi!" (by God!); while complimenting someone on good fortune causes him to say, "Mun gode Allah," "We thank God."

A standard entreaty is "don Allah!" (for God's sake!). But merely making frequent reference to Allah is not enough to be considered a pious Moslem. It is necessary to demonstrate one's pious attitude.

Piety in attitude means public acceptance of the will of Allah. Whatever happens to one, whatever fortune or misfortune, one must simply, fatalistically, accept it. Any show of strong emotion, positive or negative, is both impious and in bad taste. The proper, respected man has hakuri, patience, acceptance. He maintains the same quiet cheerfulness come what may, and if his infant son dies, he merely says "ya koma," "he returned"; or if his wife dies, he says, "kwanakinta sun kare," "her days ended." The child or woman who visibly shows grief at the death of a loved one is shouted at: "Yi hakuri!" "Be patient!" Again and again the child has it explained to him, "zaman duniya, sai hakuri," living in the world requires acceptance.

It is during disputes that one has his hakuri, his fatalism, tested. For it is strongly disapproved of to argue openly with anyone, and bystanders rush up to counsel "yi hakuri" at the first sign of overt hostility breaking loose. People in Wurinsalla are terrified of aggression and almost always separate quarrellers before the affair has reached the point of physical violence.[1] Indeed, in the Thematic Apperception Test administered, pictures interpreted as people quarrelling or fighting usually elicited the comments that the combatants would either be separated, or that in the absence of others to keep them apart one would kill the other.[2]

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[1]The exception is marital disputes. These take place privately, and often result in a wife being beaten. Sometimes she will run out of the compound and, once the quarrel is on public ground, neighbors rush in to counsel patience and stop the fight.

[2]See chapter v for a description of the TAT.

The way to deal with anger and antagonism without losing prestige and alarming one's neighbors is by subtle sign. A slight hesitation before greeting or even the omission of a greeting (yanga) if one is truly furious, conveys anger quite adequately.[1] Failing to invite someone to a ceremony, failing to offer kola when it would be appropriate to do so, even failing to smile regularly at fellow villagers: all signify anger. Many men do not use even these subtle ways to express their hostilities. Though convinced that a neighbor is a bitter enemy, perhaps a maye who is killing a kinsman of theirs, they continue to smilingly greet him, chat with him. Revenge is sought quietly, via the power of a mallam.

There is a contradiction between the norm of publicly demonstrating a properly pious attitude of fatalism and unemotional acceptance of whatever Allah and one's enemies perpetrate: and the tendency to take a personal view of the universe, to consider misfortune as due to the machinations of malicious men and spirits. It is perhaps this paradox which gives one the impression of very high conscious control among the men of Wurinsalla, a sense of self-conscious restraint. Often one hears the hira group of neighbors speaking in a sober, quiet manner, each statement made as if some important affair were under deliberation. It is difficult to say to what extent this control and the formal appearance of fatalism are due to sensitivity to the opinions of neighbors, and to what extent they are an expression of genuine Moslem piety. What can be said is that the public appearance of fatalism is a prerequisite for respect, especially in those already high in status.

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[1] This fact was learned in the early stages of fieldwork, when lack of fluency in Hausa made me hesitate at times in replying to a greeting. After one such fumble, the greeter remarked to his friend, as they walked away, "Bature yana yanga," "the white man is hesitant in greeting." An assistant rather embarrassedly explained that they thought that I was angry at them.

There are other personal characteristics which function as criteria of prestige allocation in Wurinsalla, characteristics dealing with physical appearance rather than character. A respected, admired person is expected to live and dress the part. His compound should be built with a maximum of clay and a minimum of cornstalks, his walls should be in good repair so that the seclusion of his wives is not violated by passers-by. He should have an entrance-hut (zaure) in which he and his neighbors may chat and eat during inclement weather. In personal appearance he must always be clean and neat, bathing as soon as he returns from the fields, wearing scent, performing the Moslem ritual ablutions (tsarki) after sex and defecation, having his face and scalp shaven regularly. His clothing should at least be clean, and much status is attached to having new, expensive, clothing. On a Friday, he should wear a full gown (babban riga), and if he is a compound head with sons, a turban (rawani).

To a limited extent a man's prestige also depends on his performance with the praise-singers (maroka). Men, especially young men, are occasionally susceptible to the flattery of the praise-singers. A man is expected to give to them to an extent commensurate with his social position, just as his distribution of sadaka should be proportionate to that status. But giving money to praise-singers is even more public than giving sadaka, so that one is tempted to try to raise that position by a show of generosity. This is possible to only a limited extent: while a man can get a reputation for being a miser (marowaci) by giving little or nothing, he can also get a reputation for being a fool, for lacking sense (rashin hankali), by giving too much. His neighbors know exactly what quality of food is cooked in his compound, and how he and his wife (wives) dress: should he give more than he appears able to afford, they are more likely to be contemptuous of him than to honor him. One man who

habitually gave in an extravagant manner to the maroka was disparagingly described as "neman suna," seeking to make a name for himself. Yet the hypnotic drums and loud announcements of one's greatness can be intoxicating, and a man may strip himself to a loincloth and throw his gown to the praise-singers, utterly immersed in the flowing stream of flattery.[1]

Praise-singers also play an important role in overt rivalry (takara), when two men compete in giving gifts to praise-singers, usually over a girl. This occurs during a dance or during kwance (the "untying" game), when one suitor ostentatiously gives a larger amount on a girl's behalf than another. Occasionally the men are long-standing rivals, and the object over which they are competing is merely symbolic. However, most takara, at least on the village level, is quite restrained, try as the praise-singers do to encourage it (since they are the financial beneficiaries).[2]

Social Structure and the Allocation of Prestige[3]

While personal characteristics are important in determining prestige in Wurinsalla, so too is social position (though the two are hardly separate and distinct). Social position depends on ethnic background and origin, occupation, wealth, degree of Islamic education and adherence to the local conception of Moslem behavior. Villagers of Fulani background consider themselves to be superior to those of habe, sedentary, origin. Descendants of slaves are of lower status than those of free origin, though this distinction is not as important in Wurinsalla as it might be, since so many villagers are

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[1]Ronald Cohen (1968, personal communication) is the originator of the suggestion that praise-singing is intoxicating.

[2]Cf. M. G. Smith (1957[a]).

[3]See M. G. Smith (1959) for a more traditional approach to this topic.

newcomers whose origins are not public knowledge. Those born in the village tend to consider themselves superior to those recently arrived, and may refer even to people who have lived for ten years in Wurinsalla as "strangers" (baki). Among the newcomers themselves, those arriving from relatively urban areas consider themselves better than those coming from the "bush."

There is a traditional hierarchy of Hausa occupations which remains relatively unchanged in rural areas such as Wurinsalla. At the top, of course, is ruling. Formally, the Village Head is the most important man in the village, and his assistants are also somewhat respected. Just below the Village Head are the mallams, headed by the limam (who probably receives more actual respect than does the Village Head, even though the latter confirms him in his position). Equal to the mallams in prestige are the merchants, with those engaged in long-distance trading (fatauci) the most esteemed. Other trades are generally respected to the extent that they involve commerce more than physical labor, with butchers and praise-singers at the very bottom.

Wealth, people say, should not be respected for its own sake, since being wealthy is merely the will of Allah (ikkon Allah).[1] Unless a man has good character, he will not be respected even if he is very rich--ideally. In practice, failing to respect such a man may mean his refusal to give one a loan with which to buy seed, or to give one work when the granary is empty. So failing to respect wealth is a luxury only the prosperous may enjoy.

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[1] As one might expect, there is considerable muted hostility to the wealthy. People delight in explaining that the way to get rich is to engage in some form of abnormal sexual intercourse, such as with another man, or with a donkey. If one is not caught, wealth results: but if caught, the would-be rich man is doomed to perpetual poverty. One young man was found by some of the children having intercourse with a donkey, an act explained by ambition rather than lust. Another expression of hostility towards the wealthy is suspecting the rich man of having a dodo (see chapter iii, p. 115).

Theoretically, one may distinguish between an individual's formal position in the status system of his community or society, and the prestige allocated to him by his family, friends, and neighbors. In practice, the two conceptions are sometimes difficult to separate. The high status Fulani rulers of Wurinsalla are also considered among the most pious Moslems and have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. Though they are not themselves mallams, they enjoy the friendship and services the most important Moslem clerics of the area and, in return, support them with much sadaka. When they engage in a craft, it always involves commerce. In appearance they are usually gracious and perhaps a bit aloof, though almost always cheerful in demeanor. For one of them to get publicly angry is rare and shocking to the other villagers. They are not lacking in such qualities as korjini, though there are whispers about the extent of their kirki. Cleanliness and fine dress are made simple by their wealth. On the whole, therefore, at the top of Wurinsalla social structure are individuals who embody most of the ideal behaviors that are generally rewarded with prestige.

The situation is similar at the bottom of the social status hierarchy. These individuals--praise-singers, butchers, itinerant laborers, wifeless men who rent huts in their compounds to prostitutes--are mostly poor, very ignorant in Islam, often permitting strong emotions to show. There is an absence of the control that is so typical of their betters, they speak more loudly and more carelessly, laughing, shouting. They may take little care to be respectful, lack of ladabi revealing their true feelings, their lack of kunya, of shame. Such men are not respected.

In the middle are the bulk of the villagers. These men try to win the approval and esteem of their fellows as best they can. They attempt to be self-controlled, cheerful and generous, respectful of and obedient to their superiors. They sometimes skimp on food in order to dress better,

and spend much time studying and discussing the Koran. For the villager without much prospect for wealth, with no capital to become a trader, caught in the trap of having to sell his grain at harvest time when it is cheapest and buy it back during the planting time when it is most dear: for such a man the only road to prestige and respect is Koranic study. He may not be able to change his position and become a mallam, but he can win the respect of those about him, who are not mallams either. And so, during the empty afternoons of the dry season, one comes across villager after villager, bent over his board, studying the Koran with a patient diligence.

Age

The relationship between age and prestige is rather similar to that between the latter and social structure--certain personal and behavioral characteristics tend to be associated with it, but one must distinguish between a man's prestige among his age-peers (tsara) and the amount of prestige (or at least respect) attached to the age itself. As a very general rule, a man increases in status as he grows older, until he reaches the point of senescence and rapidly loses all prestige, power, and sometimes even respect. Social position factors, such as occupation, may override the factor of age so that, for example, an old blacksmith owes a young mallam respect.

The general prestige allocation standards of behavior and character presented in previous sections are those appropriate to the socially adult male (from perhaps 30 to 65). Young men (samari, s. saurayi) allocate prestige among themselves according to standards very similar to those of their elders, but with the addition of a certain emphasis on physical ability. A prize wrestler is respected and even envied by the other young men, while he who excels during a gayya (work-bee) is much admired. As men grow older, stress moves from physical ability to proper deportment and Koranic learning.

A young man may spend his day in open anger and his evening in the prostitute's compound, and merely be thought senseless (rashin hankali); while an older man would be much more heavily censured for such behavior, losing all claim to respect and prestige.

Sharp Status Differentials

When status differential between individuals is sharp, girmamawa, respect-giving, becomes hyperbolic. And, when it occurs in the context of a social inferior soliciting aid from one much his superior, display of abasement is excessive. The inferior squats on the ground, right hand raised with closed fist facing outwards in the traditional gesture of commoner greeting mounted nobleman, repeating "rank ya dade, rank ya dade!" (long life to you, long life to you!). The ordinary Hausa smile of fara'a becomes an obsequious grimace that can only be described as a "shit-eating grin." Voice is whining, pleading, begging. The favor received--and noblesse oblige urges that at least a gesture towards gratifying it be forthcoming--the suitor withdraws with a litany of thanks and praise which fades only in the distance.

CHAPTER III

THE MAGUZAWA

The previous chapter presented a summary ethnography of the Moslem Hausa-Fulani village of Wurinsalla. The present chapter presents the Maguzawa of the subdistrict of Wurinsalla in the context of the material already covered. Thus, this chapter is comparative, and it will be possible to omit discussion of areas in which any differences between the two groups are too fine-grained for present purposes.

Ethnography

Physical Lay-out

If one continues to follow the dirt track which passes through Wurinsalla market and then turns due south to follow a meandering path into the bush, one eventually comes to the compound of the Sarkin Arna, the chief of the pagans, of Wurinsalla. There are several compounds spaced within one mile of his, the nearest half that distance. In almost any direction from the Sarkin Arna's compound one finds Maguzawa. Sometimes a compound is several miles from its nearest neighbor, sometimes only a few hundred yards, but they never cluster enough to form a true hamlet. When one does find a hamlet, the inhabitants invariably turn out to be Moslem Hausa, quick to deny that they are Maguzawa. Here and there, scattered in the bush and often outwardly identical to a small Maguzawa compound, is one belonging to "bush Hausa," isolated rural people who consider themselves Moslems.

Authority Structure

It will be recalled from Chapter I that the Maguzawa are under the direct authority of the Sarkin Arna, who is primarily a tax collector (though a non-Moslem). As authority figures generally do throughout Hausa society, he also functions as a peace-maker, advice-giver (particularly in financial matters), marriage counselor, and general mediator. In issues such as adultery, wife-beating, divorce, inheritance, damage by Fulani cattle, etc., the Sarkin Arna attempts to resolve the difficulty. If he cannot get the parties to agree, then he must take them to the Village Head of Wurinsalla; and if this resort also fails, then all of them go to the local Moslem judge, the alkali. Maguzawa greatly distrust anything to do with Moslem officialdom, claiming that they are treated contemptuously and cheated constantly. Therefore the bulk of disputes tends to be settled at the level of the Sarkin Arna who is, after all, one of their own.[1]

The rival of the Sarkin Arna in prestige is the Sarkin Noma, the "king of farming." The title is given to a very successful, wealthy, generous farmer. Formerly it was part of traditional political structure (Greenberg, 1947, p. 96), and even today its bearer is liable to be more respected and better liked than the Sarkin Arna who is, after all, associated with the Moslem hierarchy and a tax collector; but the Sarkin Arna is the more feared. Among the Moslem villagers, the title "Sarkin Noma" is given in jest to any farmer known for bountiful harvests, or even for his enthusiasm in the field.

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[1]So great is the distrust of the Maguzawa for anything with the faintest aroma of officialdom that they even refuse to go to a dispensary. There are reasons for their distrust, not all of them historical.

The People

Like the Moslems of the village of Wurinsalla, the Maguzawa of the subdistrict include many newcomers. Some 76 per cent of the Maguzawa sampled have lived in this region for five years or less (as compared to 46 per cent of the Moslem villagers).[1] Some three-fourths of the compound heads came from various areas in Southern Katsina (Appendix II, Table 10), drawn by the ready availability of virgin bush.

Determining the historical origin of the Maguzawa of Wurinsalla is a somewhat confusing task. The majority of those sampled do call themselves Maguzawa and trace their ancestral origin from the Kutumbawa of Kano. The Kutumbawa were the pre-jihad ruling group of Kano (Greenberg, 1946, p. 12), and many of those in rural areas remain pagan. The Wurinsalla Kutumbawa Maguzawa clearly belong to the same group as the people studied by Greenberg in 1938-39 in Kano, and their facial markings are identical to the Kutumbawa markings illustrated in Meek (1925, p. 48). For this group, there is no confusion about origins, even though many of them have come to Zaria not from Kano but from Katsina.

Some of the Maguzawa, however, describe themselves as Katsinawa (Katsina people) and point to their facial markings as evidence. Their clan names and observances are different from those of the Kutumbawa, though culturally they are indistinguishable. Some of these Katsinawa are reluctant to be called Maguzawa, though this is the term which the Moslem villagers apply to them. The Kano Maguzawa describe the Katsinawa derisively as repairers of broken calabashes and leather buckets, citing the proverb "gerte

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[1] See Appendix II, Table 9.

karshen sana'a" (making buckets is the last craft" [before thievery]). But all Maguzawa agree that nowadays there is much intermarriage between Kutumbawa and Katsinawa, and there is no longer any difference between them.

Eliciting stories of origin also provides evidence for a certain lack of uniformity among the Maguzawa. Many simply give the standard Hausa myth of origin, in which Bayajidda, son of a king of Baghdad, visits the ancient Hausa kingdom of Daura and kills a snake which has been preventing people from drawing water from a well. He marries the queen, and their son Bawo and his six sons go on to become the founders and rulers of the seven traditional (pre-jihad) Hausa states (Hausa bakwai).[1] The telling of this myth by a Bamaguje (pl. Maguzawa) would seem to indicate that he did not think of himself as being separate and distinct in origin from Hausa in general. However, this myth was not the only one elicited.

A Kutumbawa informant described the origin of the Maguzawa with the following fable. During the time of Mohammed lived a man named Bama. Bama would never pray, and when called to prayer would always reply, "gobe" (literally "tomorrow" but with the connotations of manana). Since he would always run away from prayer, people would call him "Bama-gujen-salla" (Bama-runner-away-from-prayer). He ran away from the Prophet, all the way to Kano, where he founded the Maguzawa, so that a Maguzawa man is still called a "Bamaguje." One of the sons of Bama went to Katsina and there founded the Katsina Maguzawa. This myth explains the existence of two co-existent branches of Maguzawa.

Questioning Wurinsalla Moslems as to the origins and composition of the Maguzawa sheds little light. The villagers use "Maguzawa" as a synonym

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[1] Many versions of the Daura legend are available. For example, see Hassan and Na'ibi (1962, pp. 1-3); Hodgkin (1960, pp. 54-57); Hogben and Kirk-Greene (1966, pp. 145-50); and Tremearne (1910, p. 773).

for arna (pagans). Younger people, especially children, describe the Maguzawa as being of another tribe, "like the Gwari." More sophisticated villagers, like one old mallam, describe the Maguzawa as the people exiled from Kano because they would not pray (i.e., become Moslems).

Among themselves the self-referent term employed by the Maguzawa depends upon context. All of them accept the appellation "Maguzawa" in opposition to their term for Moslem Hausa-Fulani, 'yan riga (s. dan riga, "wearer of a gown," even though nowadays Maguzawa also wear gowns). In other contexts, however, they distinguish between Kutumbawa and Katsinawa. And, in a discussion of various "tribes" (kabiloli, s. kabila), they categorize themselves together with the 'yan riga as Hausawa (Hausa people).

Interestingly, just as some villagers were happy to describe their neighbors as descendants of slaves, some Maguzawa clans are described as the slaves of other clans, retaining a joking relationship with them as a vestige of their former status. However, every individual interviewed claimed to be of a slave-owning group, rather than of slave stock himself. All agreed that such distinctions are no longer of any importance.

The Compound

Maguzawa compounds are constructed much as those of Wurinsalla village are, except for perhaps five differences: (1) they lack a zaure or entrance hut, (2) they are invariably fenced with a cornstalk danni rather than a clay katanga, (3) they lack a latrine, and a bathing place as well, (4) their entrances are not baffled, so that one may see in, and (5) they are larger.[1]

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[1] See Greenberg, 1946, p. 15, for a diagram of a Maguzawa compound.

The first three differences make a Maguzawa compound look rather like that of a poor Hausa villager. But, since Maguzawa do not keep their women in seclusion, they have no need to baffle the entrance. Nor would an entrance hut be useful, since they permit visitors to enter freely and need no special room in which to receive guests. Since Maguzawa stress hygiene considerably less than do the villagers (for whom cleanliness is a matter of prestige and status), there is no bathing place; while for people living in empty bush the lack of a latrine is not a hardship.

The larger size of Maguzawa compounds is explained by their greater average number of residents. The mean number of people per compound (in the area sampled) is 12.72, compared to only 5.94 for the village. Since the Maguzawa population includes a larger percentage of recent arrivals then that of the village of Wurinsalla (see Appendix II, Table 9), this size discrepancy has probably been minimized. Nevertheless, Maguzawa compounds are better than twice as populous as village Moslem ones.[1] In a similar fashion, some 68 per cent of Maguzawa, compared to 40 per cent of village compounds, contain more than one adult (tax-paying) male. Some 22 per cent of Maguzawa compounds had more than one economic unit (gandu), compared to 16 per cent for the village. Informants explained that ideally a compound contains but a single gandu, and the reason that most compounds violated this rule was the newness of the community: many newcomers were temporarily staying with kinsmen or friends, prior to building for themselves (see Appendix II, Tables 12 to 15).[2]

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[1] In some areas, Maguzawa compounds may have as many as several hundred residents, so that in effect the compound is a clan-village.

[2] The typical rural Hausa pattern in moving to a new region is to arrive without family and to stay with kin while planting a crop. Once a farm is prepared and a start made on building a compound, the newcomer fetches his family.

Kinship and the Clan

Maguzawa kinship terms are identical to those of the Wurinsalla villagers and so are most kinship practices and avoidances. For example, a shame-relationship exists between parents and first-born, while cross-cousins are abokan wasa (joking relations). In arranging a marriage, both groups discuss the same set of kinsmen who would be involved, consulted, or at least notified of the affair. But where Wurinsalla villagers of Fulani descent consider parallel cousin as well as cross-cousin marriage a preferred match, and even non-Fulani villagers consider parallel cousin marriage possible, for the Maguzawa parallel cousin marriage is incest: incest because it violates clan exogamy.

Unlike the Moslem villagers of Wurinsalla, the Maguzawa have agnatic, exogamous clans. Each clan has its own praise-song (kirari), chanted on ceremonial occasions; its own food taboo (kangida); its own facial and abdominal markings (tsaga); its own set of customs and observances (al'addu); its own name; and its own major and minor spirits (iskoki, s. iska) and ways of propitiating them. Clans even have stereotypes of the character of one another's members. What the Maguzawa clan does not have is structure, for the unit of social organization (just as among the Moslem villagers) is not the clan but the compound. Relationships with extra-compound clan members are maintained on the basis of personal choice. Even the usual manner of distinguishing among clans is to speak of irin gida, kind of compound; for the Hausa term usually translated as "clan" (dengi) is actually as vague as the American term "relatives," and is better rendered as "kinsmen." One may then speak of dengi na wando (trouser relatives) as paternal kin, and dengin

uwa or dengin nono (mother relatives, milk relatives) as maternal kin. (See Greenberg, 1947, for an extended discussion of the Hausa clan.)

Social Organization of the Compound

The head of the Maguzawa compound, the maigida, is ordinarily the oldest active male. Occasionally a younger brother will have been the first to move to a new region and build a compound, and if his senior brother joins him, the former will retain the headship. But, in such a case, the elder will probably build his own compound eventually.

To become a compound head, one leaves one's father, clears land and builds a new compound. Alternatively, the father assigns a married son more and more land as he grows older, until the son's personal farm plot (gayauna) has become the family farm (gandu) and the father has grown physically feeble. An old man, sitting at the light labor of making rope while younger men work in the fields, freely--even proudly--asserts that it is now his son who is the maigida, for he himself has grown old (ya tsufa).

All members of a Maguzawa compound work on the family farm (gandu): men and boys, women and girls. Only the very young and very old are exempt. Family members, the maigida excepted, work on the gandu six days a week, from early morning until perhaps 2:00 P.M. Evenings and Sundays (and when work is light and the maigida releases them), each is free to work on his own gayauna--and everyone over the age of perhaps ten, in a Maguzawa compound, has one. Women work slightly different hours than the men. Friday through Sunday are free of gandu work for them, and they may spend the time on their own fields, crafts, or cooking. But women are not as favored as they appear to be.

From the gandu produce a man meets his own needs, clothes his family, buys farm implements and pays taxes for all male compound members old enough

to be taxed, supplies funds for religious ceremonies and marriages, and feeds the family from the beginning of the rains until the new harvest--perhaps five months. For the rest of the year it is largely the women who feed the family, using their gayauna and craft produce. "Our women feed us" is a common Maguzawa statement. Young men must supply their own needs (which chiefly involve courtship) from their gayauna produce, while ideally a girl's produce is set aside for her until she is married. In practice the arrangements are more flexible, for often it is necessary to dip into everyone's reserves for emergencies.

Women

Maguzawa women are both more free and more encumbered than their Moslem village sisters. They are not in seclusion and may frequent the local market. They are not expected to veil themselves or comport themselves with exceptional modesty--unlike Moslem women they are habitually bare-breasted, except when pregnant. But Maguzawa women work hard, and instead of devoting themselves to their crafts must devote themselves to raising food for their families. The only non-agricultural crafts that they engage in, in contrast to the Moslem female plethora of activities, are spinning and weaving, and brewing beer. By far the brewing of beer is the major Maguzawa woman's craft--some 63 per cent of those sampled brewed beer as their only craft (see Appendix II, Table 38). Of her gayauna produce, a woman will set aside perhaps one-half with which to feed her family; with the other half she will buy herself and her daughters clothing, and meet her various other ceremonial and social needs.

Maguzawa women marry later than do the Moslems, the ideal being for a woman to be married shortly after puberty (as opposed to the village ideal of marriage prior to puberty). But, like the village women, Maguzawa wives

often change husbands--the average number of marriages of women aged approximately forty-five or over was 1.76 compared to 2.04 for village women (see Table 30, Appendix II), using data collected from the men. Unlike the Moslems, the Maguzawa women observe no period of idda, of continence between marriages. A woman goes from one husband to the other and, indeed, is unlikely to initiate a divorce until there is an acceptable suitor in the wings. There are relatively few bazawarai among the Maguzawa. As with the villagers, instances of adultery are common, and Maguzawa men would agree with the Moslems that "women are not to be trusted." One of the chief tasks of the Sarkin Arna is to reconcile disputes caused by adultery accusations, as well as dealing with wives attempting to end their marriages--or running away from wife-beating husbands. Ending a marriage is a process of negotiation between the husband and wife and their respective kin-groups, the aid of the Sarkin Arna being enlisted as mediator. In theory his permission is needed to secure a divorce, and dissatisfied parties may take the affair to the Village Head or to the alkali. Since these figures of Moslem authority are not trusted by the Maguzawa, matters tend to end with the Sarkin Arna.

In general, there is little formal difference between Moslem village and Maguzawa marriage. Maguzawa lack idda, and also lack the Islamic limitation of polygyny to four wives. However, the largest number of wives of any Maguzawa man in the Wurinsalla subdistrict is three, and only 21 per cent of Maguzawa men sampled have polygynous marriages (compared to 23 per cent of the villagers), so the difference is academic (see Appendix II, Table 23).

Informally, the relationship between Maguzawa men and women would appear to be slightly more relaxed than that between the Moslem men and their wives. The Maguzawa speak less hostilely about women, more respectfully of them. They mention their economic dependence, and point out that the bride-wealth for a Maguzawa girl is usually higher than that for a Moslem (despite

the status differential) because of this. And Maguzawa women are the practitioners of the bori cult and so function both as healers and as important intermediaries with the spirits (or gods).

Children

Birth and infancy

Maguzawa deal with childbirth much as the villagers of Wurinsalla do. For both groups, women give birth squatting into a little hollow, and the afterbirth is buried in the same room in which the delivery has taken place. Mothers follow a series of scalding washings for some time after delivery. For the Maguzawa there is no suna (naming ceremony), but occasionally a wealthy Bamaguje will hold a religious celebration (sadaka) instead,[1] in imitation of the Moslems. An infant is given one name on the basis of his day of birth, another (a nickname) on the basis of some personal trait.

A child is weaned around the age of two. Since there is a postpartum sex taboo which lasts until the child is weaned, weaning probably takes place earlier in monogamous households than in polygynous ones. Long before weaning, the infant is introduced to gruel and to beer: no child is considered too young to be given beer. Final weaning may take place by the application of pepper to the nipples[2] or, more commonly, by sending the child to the compound of a sister of either of his parents. Occasionally, he is adopted by his "weaner," and one who refused a sister (or sister-in-law) a

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[1] Sadaka ordinarily refers to alms given with pious intent and is a Moslem tradition: but Maguzawa use sadaka in an additional, totally different way, to indicate a ceremony involving animal sacrifice to the spirits.

[2] Despite the extreme spiciness of Hausa foods, one occasionally encounters individuals who dislike pepper strongly, instructing their wives to cook without it. It is tempting to hypothesize that these are the children of mothers who pepper-weaned their babies.

child would not be thought well of. Toilet-training is largely unconscious on the part of both children and socializing agents (parents, siblings, any person in the area). By the age of four, a child is toilet-trained (reported informants), weaning having been completed perhaps eighteen months earlier.

Later childhood

Until the age of five, children are either carried on someone's back (mother or sister) or watched after by the slightly older female children. At five the sexes part company, boys going to farm with their father and girls with their mothers. Almost immediately, the child is given a tiny plot of land, the gayangayan, which will eventually grow into the gayauna or personal field. With practice one can judge the age of the owner of such a future gayauna by the state of the field; and as the child grows, so does the pride he takes in his own little farm. Unlike the village adolescent who must look for any kind of odd job for pocket money, the Bamaguje begins earning as a child the same way he will as an adult--by farming.

Since Maguzawa have few crafts, and since their women are not in seclusion, children are not needed to fetch and carry and, above all, hawk cooked foods and other items (in the manner of village children). Children farm, they do not wander from compound to compound and even from market to market with trade as their excuse. Girls help their mother to cook and brew beer, boys help their fathers to build and repair and hunt, and both sexes farm with their parent of the same sex. In many ways the Maguzawa children grow up in a much more circumscribed world than do their Moslem brothers, for Maguzawa live largely in isolation. They would have to wander many miles in order to see as much activity and as many people as the village child may view in yards.

Puberty

One may or may not refer to the Maguzawa futo (coming out) as an initiation ceremony. For the boys, it involves circumcision (kaciya), practiced just as the villagers do and with equally little ceremony, the sole difference being that it is performed at about the age of ten (instead of the Moslem age of seven). Informants explained that formerly the ceremony was actually held around puberty, or shortly before. There is a small celebration when the boy is healed, and various relatives may come to visit him and his parents. He is given the same gifts on this occasion that a village boy receives, and is also expected to thenceforth comport himself in a more adult manner than previously.

In the case of the Maguzawa girl, there is no doubt that the futo is a genuine rite de passage, or, at least, the remnant of one. Informants at first claimed that this ceremony was held on the occasion of a girl's first menses, then modified their explanation when the fieldworker actually saw a futo and refused to believe that the girl had just reached puberty. Once a girl has had her futo she can get married and, indeed, it is shameful if she does not marry almost immediately. But when faced with a nubile daughter who does not have a fiancé, families postpone the futo until marriage arrangements have been completed. In practice, then, the futo has apparently been moving closer and closer to the actual wedding ceremony and possibly should now be classified as part of it (albeit occurring several months prior).

A girl's futo, like a boy's, is a totally secular occasion and like a boy's, it involves pain and blood: though not the pain of circumcision but the pain of the bikin 'yar kirji, the chest-celebration. In this ceremony the girl sits leaning against an up-ended mortar with her best friend

(kawa) sitting on top of it, surrounded by a number of other girl-friends. All the girls sing to the drumming of several entertainers while a barber (wanzami) makes a complex series of shallow incisions over her chest and breasts, into which he rubs charcoal powder. The girl is much shamed if she shows any evidence of pain, except perhaps for glazed eyes by the end of the ceremony. The result of the barber's skill is an intricate bluish design which is perhaps better described as "tattooing" than sacrification.[1]

The 'yar kirji is the only type of Maguzawa scarification done ceremonially. Sometime before puberty both boys and girls have their clan markings cut onto face and abdomen, without formal notice being taken of the occasion. An elaborate design is put on the face, though it may be that this practice is becoming less prevalent. Facial scarification provides the only means by which one may distinguish a Bamaguje from a Moslem Hausa man without asking him (see Figure 4).

Courtship and Marriage

Unlike the young Moslem villagers, Maguzawa have a youth organization (samarta). The organization is more formal than functional, and its chief activity is organizing, each dry season, a series of dances which rotate from compound to compound. The girls dance and sing and the young men give the praise-singers gifts in their behalf, much as in the village at an after-market dance. Yet there is a difference.

Hausa village girls dress up for their dances, covering themselves from chin to ankle: Maguzawa girls strip down to a brief, colorful, undergarment (dan tofi). Hausa village dancing is slow, sedate, shuffling: Maguzawa dancing is vigorous, involving much shaking of breasts and buttocks

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[1] There is some irony that the Maguzawa are dependent on Moslem barbers to circumcize their sons and tattoo their daughters.

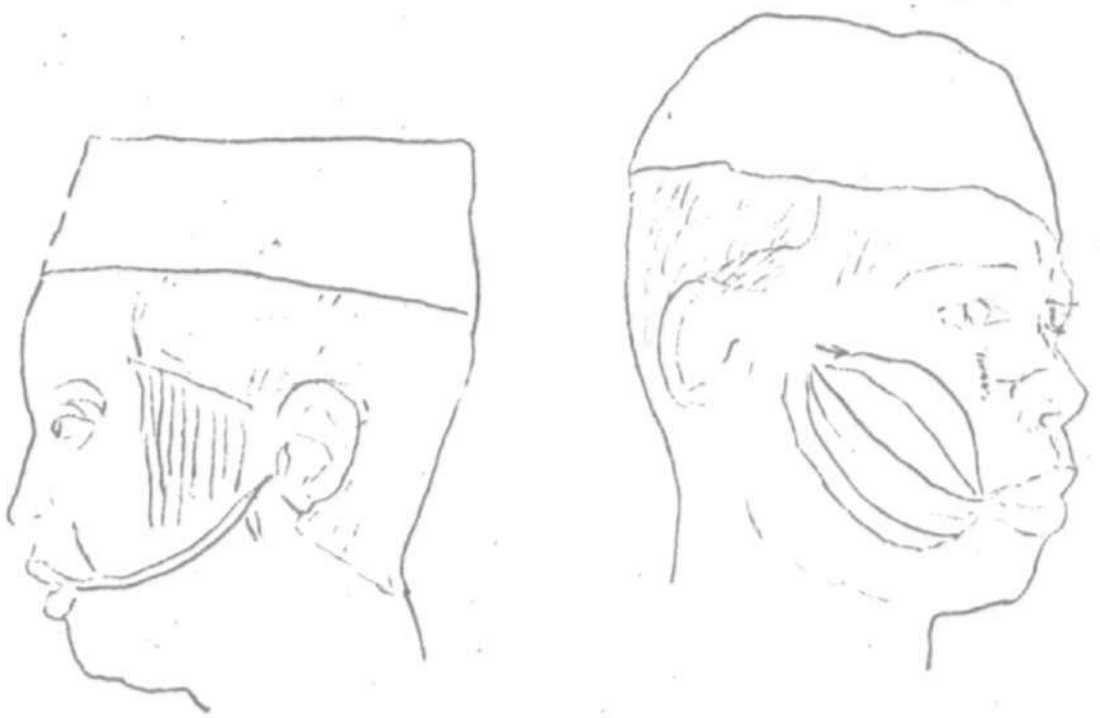


Fig. 4.--Maguzawa facial markings. On the left are Kutumbawa, on the right, Katsinawa.

(gwatso). As the dancing continues, couples pair off for hira (conversation, as it is euphemistically called).[1]

Maguzawa adolescents cannot flirt and play during the day, since they live in isolation. But groups of young people often go to the nearest village market (a walk of some miles), both for its own sake (ci kasuwa, to take in the market) and to meet friends. Every celebration, ceremony, holiday, is an opportunity for socializing. Often several couples, or a mixed group of young people, spend the night together in love-play which, in theory, stops just short of intromission. Quick marriages are arranged when practice and theory differ, and on the whole, Maguzawa young people are under much less discipline regarding sexual matters than are village youth. Not only do Maguzawa girls habitually go about bare-breasted, they and the boys freely engage in mixed bathing (at least they do during the rainy season, when there is water in the stream-beds). Among the villagers this would cause the mallams a good deal of upset, and respectable families would beat such shameless daughters. Maguzawa elders remain nonplussed.

Another difference between village and Maguzawa courtship is that the age-discrepancy between boys and girls who court and marry is less for the non-Moslems. A rough estimate would be three years difference for the Maguzawa couples, and at least twice that for the villagers. Maguzawa girls grow up later than their village sisters. Not only do they marry later, they begin to show concern over dress and cosmetics at a later age. A nine-year-old village girl knows how to flirt, a Maguzawa girl is only just beginning to learn.

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[1] The villagers call love-play tadi, chatting; while the Maguzawa refer to it as hira, conversation. This is typical of the very minor dialect differences existing between the groups.

Maguzawa marriage arrangements are essentially the same as those of the Moslems. One difference involves the gifts which a boy gives to his intended each Salla (twice a year). Among the villagers, the boy supplies these gifts himself, while for the Maguzawa he may rely on his mother to provide them. The actual marriage arrangements in both cases involve a series of negotiations between the two families in which the relatives of the boy must accept a formally lower status than the relatives of the girl. Negotiations among Maguzawa are smoothed not by gifts of kola-nut, but by copious quantities of beer. Another difference is that instead of only the bride-to-be ritually running away prior to the wedding, the groom-to-be also goes into hiding (with the contrivance of his friends).

The reason given for the running-away is always kunya (shame), and marriage is a time of considerable embarrassment for the young people. For some time after the marriage, both bride and groom will go about with eyes downcast, head and shoulders covered with a cloth in shameful modesty (lullubi).[1] The ritual washings of the couple, in their separate compounds prior to the actual marriage ceremony, is also a time of unmitigated embarrassment (one young man giggled incessantly as the old women bathed him). The marriage ceremony (dauren aure) itself is the Moslem one, performed either by a Moslem mallam, or else a Bamaguje who (through conversion followed by subsequent apostasy) has sufficient Koranic knowledge. A female relative of the bride remains with her for some time after the wedding, cooking in her stead. For a previously-married woman, all ceremony is sharply truncated, there often being little more than the dauren aure, and she begins to do her own cooking immediately ("ta saba," she is used to it, as the Maguzawa say).

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[1] Apparently, when the Hausa adopted Islamic ideas of female modesty, they adapted their own marriage custom of lullubi, in place of the Arab veil.

Activities, Seasons, and Rounds

The yearly cycle of crops is identical for villagers and Maguzawa, both groups planting with the rains and harvesting in October and November. Perhaps the chief difference in farming activity is that the Maguzawa do more of it. Even among the Moslem villagers, the Maguzawa have a deserved reputation for being serious, successful farmers. Rarely does the Bamaguje have any craft other than his horticulture. He embroiders no hats, engages in little commerce or trade (not surprising, since he is living isolated in the bush). When the harvest is in and the villager goes about his dry season occupation, the Maguzawa talk about hunting. A Moslem stereotype of the Maguzawa is that they are hunters, and again this is an accurate image.[1] Every man has his bow and arrow, and some a dane-gun (bindaga a daka); though game is no longer very plentiful. Even an enthusiastic hunter must use part of the dry season to repair compounds, thatch roofs, etc. But few Maguzawa hunt for work elsewhere (cin rani), or do kwadugo (daily farm labor at a wage), preferring to spend their time on their own land.

Men farm, hunt, and build; while women prepare food, spin and weave, and pick cotton, pepper, and beans. Both sexes sew, wash clothing, raise poultry, sheep, and goats, and fetch wood and water. Beer is brewed by both men and women, but the former prepare it only for a celebration (biki), the latter as a craft. A woman sells beer to her husband, she gives him only enough to arouse his interest.

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[1] I am indebted to R. A. LeVine (1966) for an appreciation of the unique utility of stereotypes as sources of insight.

Daily rounds

A woman may cook either late at night before sleeping or before dawn. In either case a large meal must be ready by perhaps 9:00 A.M. In the rainy season a man arises at perhaps dawn, washes his face, then greets the other men in the compound. If he has neighbors or relatives living within half of a mile, he will probably greet them, then go off to the field. The men of the compound may arrive in the field together, or the compound head may precede them: but he is expected to be the first to begin the day's work, and the last to end it. At about 9:00 either the men will return home to eat a large meal of tuwo da miya, or else the women will bring the food out to them. After the meal the women begin their day's farm labor, either on the gandu or their own gayauna. At perhaps noon or somewhat later, another meal will be eaten, usually lighter than the first. It will consist of either fura da nono (millet balls mashed with soured milk purchased from Fulani) or tuwo remaining from the morning. This meal is usually taken in the field. At approximately 2:00 to 2:30 the maigida dismisses the others to work on their own plots: but in the beginning of the rainy season, when anxiety over the emptying granaries runs high and some must race hunger to get the new crop planted in time, all of the gandu workers may remain until evening. Since it is the rainy season, the food for the first two meals of the day has come from the gandu produce; but, for the third meal, usually a very light one, the gayauna must produce the food. This third meal is taken after dark, at home, when all have returned from the fields and washed themselves. Evening means hira, conversation, often at the compound of a senior person in the area, or at one's own compound, with kin. If available, beer (burukutu) is consumed during hira.

During the dry season, the routine is more relaxed and flexible, for now most tasks will suffer little if postponed. A man still arises at dawn--a habit difficult to break--but, perhaps, he does not work until his wife serves him food; her work is changed less by the seasons than is his. Then, perhaps, he goes to his field and collects some dried cornstalk for building purposes. While he is there, his wife brings him drinking water and some more tuwo. Later he returns home, and together with his son he rides a donkey to a stream, where he and the boy bathe. Home again, he puts on a less-soiled gown and goes to greet the Sarkin Arna. If beer is available, he may stay until late at night: no beer, he will perhaps leave and go to visit a friend or neighbor. Probably he returns home around sunset, drinks some fura, and converses with the other men of his compound until they all grow drowsy. It is perhaps 1:00 A.M. when he enters his wife's hut, awakens her for sex, then goes to sleep. His wife's day has perhaps been busier, for she has had to cook--women cook once a day--and then spend the rest of the day brewing beer, an involved and laborious process involving much cooking of the millet involved.[1]

Recreation and leisure

For Maguzawa men, recreation and leisure mean hira and giya, conversation and beer. The last is purchased from their women, who leave the dussa (broken husks, bran) from the brewing in front of the compound as a beer advertisement. The drink is sold by the gourd (gora), each one holding perhaps two gallons. Men chatting or resting together take turns buying, and the man who is always ready with a coin is praised; while he who never buys

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[1] Maguzawa beer takes seven days to produce from start to finish and will then last for up to three weeks. Much of the process involves boiling, so that Maguzawa say that they "cook" beer (dafa giya).

is despised as a miser (marowaci). A man whose finances are at a low ebb may stop drinking with his friends, lest he be thought ungenerous, and a common way to speak ill of a man is to describe him as one who never buys the beer.

A Ramaguje offers a guest beer much as a Moslem host would offer him kola-nut, and a prosperous man with no refreshment at hand offers his (lower-status) guest a coin with the admonition, "go and buy some beer." When there is a fresh gourd available, the men sit in a circle, someone of sober character in the center, pouring beer from the gourd into a calabash bowl. The bowl is handed to whoever's turn it is, and the drinker quaffs it without withdrawing the bowl from his lips--over a pint at a time. Then, the bowl is returned to the pourer, who refills it and hands it to the next man. The cycle is broken only by a new arrival, who is immediately urged to drink and handed the bowl; or by the exhaustion of the beer. A visitor demonstrates that he is human by sitting down and joining the circle, while refusing to drink is the mark of the outsider, so that conversation pauses for a bare instant and then resumes with somewhat more restraint.

Maguzawa burukutu[1] is weak stuff, gritty with sediment and containing so much food value that one must drink huge quantities in order to become intoxicated. But, if the supply is sufficient, the required quantity will be consumed. Conversation gradually becomes incoherent as eyes glaze, but most men are able to remain amazingly sober in deportment. Perhaps, because so much behavior is ritualized, formalized, a man who is staggeringly drunk, swaying from side to size, his words slurred, can greet a respected kinsman with perfect protocol; and so long as the forms of correct behavior are met, no disapprobation attaches to intoxication.

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[1] Burukutu is the specific type of beer (technically, wine) which the Maguzawa brew. It is usually referred to as giya, the general term for alcoholic beverage.

Maguzawa celebrations differ from those of the villagers in the drinking of beer, forbidden to followers of the Prophet. Every dance, every celebration, involves the circle of men, perhaps around someone pouring, perhaps around a fire, but always around some beer.

Religion

Maguzawa do not pray, do not fast during Ramadan, do not go to Mecca, do not call themselves Moslems. Yet, they do acknowledge Allah as the supreme deity, and they do have tremendous respect for Moslem learning, ritual, and clerics. While the Maguzawa mentioned "spirits" in the TAT (Chapter V) more than twice as often as did the Moslems, their average mention of "mallam" was not less than that of the villagers. In the midst of traditional ceremonies, they weave Moslem prayers, while one of the chief bori spirits, Mallam Alhaji, is described as a Moslem and a pilgrim.[1] If the Maguzawa cannot be described as Moslems, they certainly can be portrayed as Moslem sympathizers or fellow-travelers.

But traditional Maguzawa religion is a clan affair, and each compound head functions as its priest. The religion centers around the spirits or gods (iskoki) of the clan, usually a major iska and several others which may or may not be inherited by the sons of the compound head. Occasionally a bori initiate will diagnose a disease or other misfortune has due to a spirit not previously related to the compound, and that spirit will thenceforth be included in the regular sacrifices (becoming one of the minor spirits of the compound, though not of the entire clan).

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[1] Greenberg (1946), after all, has written an entire monograph on the extent of Islamic influence in Maguzawa religion, though he limited himself to the bori spirits and did not remark the Moslem admixture in ceremony. Possibly this syncretism was not as pronounced in the area, or at the time, he did his work.

Clans vary considerably in the extent and nature of their cult (tsafi). For some a sort of altar or sacred place (wurin al'adda) is prepared within the compound; for others, it is a tree (jigo) planted near the entrance to the compound; and for still others, the nature and location of the wurin al'adda must be kept secret from non-clan members.

Propitiation of a spirit involves sacrificing the appropriate animal to it, "appropriate" meaning not just species but specific markings. The compound head (maigida) cuts the throat of the animal at the wurin al'adda in such a manner that its blood pours into a small depression previously prepared at the spot. Incense (turare), consisting of a particular root, bark, leaf, or herb burned on a piece of charcoal, is another type of offering to the spirits. Sacrifice and offerings are usually accompanied by supplication (roko). For some clans, the tsafi involves direct communication with the spirits, via a member of the bori cult.

Bori

Maguzawa bori is in most respects similar to the serious (as opposed to prostitutes') bori of Wurinsalla village women. In both cases, women must be initiated in order to join, the initiation being a process involving a "medicine" containing some ninety-nine different herbs and roots, formal training in the attributes of the various bori spirits, and ceremony akin to that which takes place during a wedding. In both cases too, bori functions as a curative cult whose members are almost entirely female, and which is above all resorted to in cases of barrenness. But, in addition, many Maguzawa religious ceremonies require or are enhanced by direct contact with the iskoki, the gods or spirits.[1] Female clan members who are also initiates

[1] J. Nicolas (1967) translates iska as "dieu," others render it as devil, spirit, or djinn. In the context of non-Moslem Hausa or bori cult

dance and are possessed at such times, and are duly paid for their services. In the village, women are both the main practitioners of bori and the main clients of its initiates; while among the Maguzawa men, too, seek aid from bori.

An important difference between village bori and its Maguzawa form is the relative lack of repression enjoyed by the latter. Maguzawa remain extremely sensitive to Moslem intolerance of traditional religion, and an enumeration of bori initiates was found to be impossible: only the wives of trusted friends and informants would admit having been initiated. But the Maguzawa themselves have considerable respect for the cult, and no man among them would claim, as village men sometimes (often falsely) claimed, to have forbidden his wife to be initiated into it.

Religious ceremonies

Maguzawa religious ceremonies take place at: (1) marriages, (2) funerals, (3) the end of the dry season (bazara), and (4) in time of trouble.

Marriages

Maguzawa marriages often include a Moslem dauren aure, but they always include a more traditional religious ceremony as well. Just prior to the ritual washing of the groom, several of the oldest compound heads of his clan gather, the drums playing the praise-songs of the clan's spirits. The drums cease and the elders bow their heads in silent prayer or beseeching (roko) of the spirits, the whole compound stilled. After several minutes,

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members, "god" is a better translation; while Moslem Hausa tend to think of the iskoki as spirits. The term is here translated as "spirit" throughout, but it should not be forgotten that one man's god is another man's spirit; and one man's spirit is another man's devil.

they quietly disperse and the elders of the girl's clan take their place, again to the drumming of their spirits' praise-songs. They, too, bow their heads to pray, quietly, solemnly. But once they have finished, laughter and lavishly flowing beer again well up, and the drums resume their ribald commentary.

Funerals

Like the Moslem villagers, the Maguzawa bury a corpse within hours, wrapping it in a shroud and placing it in a shallow grave, the body covered with broken pottery. For an infant, there is little ceremony and relatively little grief, though close friends and kin of the parents will visit briefly to commiserate with them. For an older child, there will still be little ceremony, but there will be more grief and the women will wail, even the men often weeping openly. Maguzawa do not share the Moslem Hausa value of control of strong emotion, and there is nothing shameful in the display of grief and mourning. Especially for the death of a man not yet old, there will be much show of sorrow. But, when a very old man dies, there is little grief and sometimes almost joy. One informant explained that this was due to gratitude at having parted with him well ("Mun raba da shi lafiya").

At the death of a man of some importance, nearby relatives and friends converge on the compound, bearing sheep and goats. These are slaughtered over his grave, the blood poured on it. Part of the meat returns home with the donors, part of it remains with the family of the deceased. A large quantity of millet is crushed and mixed with water, the resulting milky fluid then being poured over the grave much as the blood of the animals was. The crushed millet is pounded and ground, cooked into small lumps or balls to make gumba, then distributed to the guests.[1]

[1]Informants uniformly claimed ignorance as to whether the kurwa (soul) of the deceased drank the blood and millet-water poured over the

A wife does mourning (takaba) for five months. She is not to go barefoot, nor should she move about rapidly or rush. Her hair is tied with a short white cloth. Each night she oils her body with butter. At the end of the mourning period, she is washed by old women, who also do her hair (kitso) and apply henna to her hands and feet. She then must slaughter a cock with red feathers on her husband's grave, giving the fowl to the old women to eat. After this process of coming out of mourning (fitar takaba), she is officially a bazawara and may remarry. After the fortieth day of mourning, a woman may return (if she chooses) to her parent's or brother's compound, and she must leave her deceased husband's home by the end of takaba. As with the Moslems, children are left behind, except for those still at the breast (who may be recalled later). A widower has a much easier time of it, since he does takaba for only three days, not leaving his room and wearing his clothing inside-out.

When the deceased is an old or particularly important compound head, an additional ceremony takes place, the sadaka arba'in. This ceremony differs considerably from its Moslem namesake, which is held forty days after a death (arba'in means forty). A Maguzawa sadaka arba'in takes place any time from several months to a full year after death; and it is a festival, a joyous occasion. Hundreds of guests may come and, as in the previous funeral ceremony, they supply sacrificial animals whose blood, along with the millet-water from the making of gumba, is poured over the grave. This part of the ceremony finished, the remainder is essentially a celebration of the advent of the successor to the deceased, in a "the king is dead, long live the king"

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grave. Note that sacrifices to the spirits also involve pouring blood into the earth, and in this case at least some informants felt that the spirit did drink the offering.

fashion. For perhaps two days festivities take place which may include boxing and wrestling (over the grave), horse racing, dancing, the antics of many praise-singers and musicians, and of course much beer.

Sometimes included in the activities is a san tsara, a "bull of age-peers." This play was originally a competitive bidding over the meat of a butchered bull, the participants being the age-peers of the new compound head. Its point was for the participants to boast of and demonstrate their wealth, the provision of the bull having been a provocative act on the part of the new compound head.[1] Nowadays the san tsara has become a mere collective purchase of the meat of a bull, the flesh being put into piles and the peers of the new maigida each purchasing one at a fixed price, demonstrating their lack of poverty if not their wealth.

The end of the dry season

Sometime during May, at the end of the dry season and the beginning of the rains, each Maguzawa compound holds a ceremony misleadingly called the sadaka bazara (the bazara sacrificial ceremony, misleading because the season of bazara has usually ended before the sacrifice has been held). Though the ceremony is held on a compound basis, guests usually include extra-compound clan members, as well as non-clan Maguzawa and Moslem Hausa (assuming the tsafi permits outsiders to attend). The compound head sacrifices appropriate animals to the clan spirits, and usually to the spirits in general, at the compound's reserved spot. Occasionally, in Wurinsalla, he requests a Moslem guest to do the sacrifice, to slaughter the animal according to Islamic ritual. The advantage here is that Moslems may then partake of the cooked flesh (and Moslems are likely to be present in the

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[1] This description and interpretation is that of two trusted informants, since the fieldworker did not witness a san tsara.

form of barbers, praise-singers, etc.). Usually one-half of the meat of the sacrificed animals is given to the female clan members (baraukai, s. baraukiya), whether or not they dance bori. Sometimes several clan elders pray (roko) to the spirits, in the same manner as they do during a wedding. Often the one sacrificing the animals speaks to the spirits, calling their attention to what is being given them and reminding them that good fortune is expected in return. Bori dancing may take place in the evening, with those clan women who are initiates providing direct communication with the spirits. There is usually praise-singing and drumming, and the dancing of the unmarried girls. Large quantities of beer are a sine qua non. The actual details of a particular sadaka bazara, such as its timing, the animals sacrificed, the occurrence or absence of bori and roko (beseeching, supplication), depend largely on the customs of the clan involved, on its tsafi. And, of course, the amount of festivity is heavily dependent on the financial status of the compound.

In time of trouble

In time of trouble, a Bamaguje has much the same set of alternatives as the Moslem villager: the mallam, the bori initiate (who may also be an herbalist, uwar sowiya), and the boka. He may go to one, or all of these, for the same problem; but his first choice will depend on the nature of the difficulty. If he suspects that he has offended a spirit, perhaps by killing a snake or destroying a termite mound (the first a possible form of a spirit, the second a possible home to one), then the 'yar bori (bori initiate) is the specialist indicated. If he is anxious about an enemy, then the powers of the mallams are said to be great: though a boka might also prove effective. And, if it seems possible that the kurwa of a recently dead relative is at the root of the problem, then perhaps a visit to a boka should be the first

recourse. To the Maguzawa a boka is merely a male member of the bori cult, and not someone to be despised (as the villagers profess to feel).

None of the various practitioners claim to have special powers: they claim knowledge, or else a way to obtain that knowledge from the spirits. The knowledge is the power, for it consists of knowing the proper herb for a particular purpose, the proper offering to be made to achieve a specific goal. In the case of the mallam, the Word, in the form of writing or speech, is the agent (replacing herbs). Most people know at least a few remedies for various difficulties, and some know many. Someone connected with the spirits is likely to have learned of a great many from that source. But power, for healing or injuring, depends on herb or word, and it is rare for the spirits to directly interfere in human affairs. The one exception is when they have been insulted, perhaps by the destruction of a tree or termite mound in which they had taken up residence, perhaps by the neglect of their sacrifices or violation of one's tsafi.

Various perils

There are no supernatural perils known to the Maguzawa that the village Moslems have not heard about, but Maguzawa talk about them more readily (without shame or self-consciousness, unlike the villagers), are far more knowledgeable about them, and fear them more.[1] Among these perils are: (1) the dodo, (2) the kurwa and rai, (3) the maye, and (4) the fatalwa and various evil spirits.

Dodo

When a man is growing rich with bountiful harvests, even as the members of his family sicken and die one-by-one, then people will suspect

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[1] This last statement is, of course, a personal impression.

he is mai-dodo, the possessor of the evil spirit called dodo. Some say that this spirit is actually just one's clan spirit, with which one has made a special pact; but others disagree. In one version, he who wishes wealth must sacrifice a red and black rooster at the base of a termite mound, begging the spirit which dwells within to come to him. In the night, he sees a black snake (a form this type of dodo may take), which tells him he must provide him with a member of his family. The dodo repays by providing wealth but from time-to-time renews his demand. Informants relate how in one case the residents of a compound began to die, until after several deaths the survivors all moved away and left the compound head alone with his wealth. In another case, the residents of the compound were less wise, and all perished except for the mai-dodo himself. A boka or 'yar bori is often able to diagnose the presence of a dodo, but the most effective medicine against one is flight.[1]

For the Moslem villagers, dodo refers to a sort of bogeyman, used to frighten children. Some older people know variants of the Maguzawa version, though few are willing to talk about it. Yet, when a villager happened to find a large termite mound in the midst of a new compound he was staking out, he left it there and built the compound around it. The rest of the enclosure (filin gida) was carefully leveled and smoothed but the termite mound, the builder explained, was "bad" (mugu).

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[1]The dodo explanation for how people get rich is the Maguzawa equivalent of the villagers' belief that one may obtain wealth through sodomy. See chapter ii, p. 82, footnote 1.

Kurwa and rai

Everything alive has its kurwa, its immaterial soul or essence; as well as its life, rai.[1] Rai is what a Moslem Hausa describes as going to Lahira, the Moslem heaven; kurwa is the spirit of a dead person which may menace those who wash the corpse.

For Maguzawa the kurwa travels about during the night, returning each morning. Sometimes it meets spirits (iskoki) and converses with them, but it is not a spirit (iska) itself. The kurwa is dangerous only when it belongs to an old man who has died feeling angry or vengeful towards the members of his compound. He attacks members of his family, sometimes killing them. Bori initiates are usually called when a kurwa is the suspected cause of illness. In one account, they removed a white object from an ill child's neck using a pair of tongs.

Maye

Like the Moslem villagers, the Maguzawa are troubled by mayu (s. maye, soul-eater). Both groups agree that the condition is probably hereditary and that the maye is, therefore, no danger to his or her own kin (unlike mai-dodo and kurwa), since they are likely to also be mayu. Rather, the maye will only eat the soul (kurwa) of a non-kin living person. One informant claimed that the origin of maita (soul-eating) is Fulani, and Maguzawa became mayu by intermarrying with the cattle people. But another Bamaguje explained that originally only the 'Yan Tama (ore-diggers) clan, among the

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[1] See Leroux (1948) for an interpretation of kurwa and rai based on work among Niger Hausa. The present explanation owes much to Trimingham (1959, p. 59).

Maguzawa, were mayu; but that intermarriage with this group has spread the contagion among all clans.

Fatalwa and evil spirits

A fatalwa is a tall ghost, the spirit of a dead person. It lives in its grave and may kill an unwary traveler. No one knows what its origin is. The bush in general is said to be the home of many evil spirits (iblissai, s. iblis), which catch and eat men. In the TAT, Maguzawa tended to identify that which appeared strange as iblis.

Conversion to Islam and Christianity

Maguzawa religious beliefs and practices are shot through with Islamic influences, so that one might suspect that conversion to Islam is a simple matter for a Bamaguje. But it is not.

Conversion means that a man should stop sacrificing to the spirits, including his clan spirits. People agree that this would result in retaliation from the neglected spirits, so that part of being converted is receiving various protective medicines. Some claim that even a new Moslem continues to make the sacrifices, though in secret. More serious, a new Moslem must stop drinking beer. Beer is the Maguzawa symbol of conviviality, generosity, humanity. To stop drinking beer is to stop engaging in hira, in conversation. It is to cut oneself off from society. The Maguzawa community is quite tolerant towards flirtation with Islam, and a converted brother who returns to the fold finds that his new religious knowledge increases, rather than decreases, his status. But he who stops drinking beer is ostracized and eventually departs to live among Moslems.

Most new Moslems also attempt to practice some degree of wife seclusion, often limiting it to preventing their wives from farming. But this

is enough, for it imposes a greatly increased share of farm-work on the husband himself. It is no coincidence that the Moslem villagers are often either doing or giving kwadugo, agricultural wage-labor, while labor shortage is rare among the Maguzawa. Informants told tales of people who had converted to Islam, only to be forced by near-starvation to return to the traditional fold.

Nevertheless, Maguzawa do convert, the reason most often given being love of a Moslem (invariably a bush Hausa, not a village girl). Informants also claimed that the rate of conversion is increasing, and there seems to be evidence for it. Maguzawa traditionally have large, conspicuous facial markings, so that even if they travel to Mecca the sign of their birth is forever visible. The marks are cut on by a barber before puberty, usually by the twelfth year. Increasingly, informants report, the practice is slackening. A man with the markings cannot merely convert, he can convert and pass.

Conversion to Christianity is much less common than to Islam, since the former religion lacks prestige. Because Maguzawa represent the most rural segment of the general Hausa population, they have little contact with modern Nigeria, and in colonial days had little contact with the British. For other groups modernization is associated with Christianity, but not for the Maguzawa of Zaria. Nevertheless, both Baptist, Roman Catholic, and Christian Mission Society missionaries are active in Zaria and in Southern Katsina, though almost no attention is paid to the group of Maguzawa in the Murinsalla area. Only four men had had enough contact with missionaries to be able to read (in Hausa), and only one of these had actually modified his life-style, consciously limiting his intake of beer, refraining from intoxication. But the ability to read and do basic arithmetic is highly valued,

since the Maguzawa perceive themselves as being cheated by the Moslems in tax matters and in the sale of their produce, and are anxious to acquire sufficient knowledge to protect themselves. (The fieldworker and his assistants were frequently asked to check arithmetic involving the sale of crops.)

Review of Differences Between Moslem Villagers and Maguzawa

The chief differences we have found so far between the Moslem Hausa-Fulani villagers of Wurinsalla and the non-Moslem Maguzawa living within the subdistrict but outside of the village proper are in: settlement pattern and clan structure; religion; economic pattern and the position of women; puberty ceremonies and child discipline; and, for lack of a better term, ethos.

Settlement pattern and clan structure

The villagers live in a compact village, while the Maguzawa live in the bush in widely-separated compounds. Maguzawa compounds average more than twice the number of residents than do those of the villagers, but for both groups the compound is agnatically-based and is the fundamental unit of social organization. Maguzawa have patri-clans, lacking among the villagers but having the same range of functions and loose organization as any villager's group of kinsmen.

Religion

The villagers are Moslems of varying degrees of learning and piety. Non-Moslems are despised by them as dirty and ignorant, and intermarriage with them is forbidden. Moslem holidays are observed and meat is ritually slaughtered. The cleric group of mallams is highly respected and is the chief source of supernatural aid, though a non-Moslem women's spirit

possession (bori) cult is also active. Maguzawa are not Moslems, even though Islamic practices permeate their traditional religion and the Moslem mallams are respected and frequented. Religion is a clan matter, each clan having its own set of rites, taboos, and observances, all clans sacrificing specific animals to their respective spirits or gods.

Economic pattern and the position of women

Village men generally have a craft which they follow in the dry season and whenever lack of farm work permits it. Their women are in seclusion and the men are, ideally, the sole providers for the family. Village women practice many crafts, but their earnings are devoted solely to their own requirements. Maguzawa men are purely farmers and rarely have another craft or trade. Their women are not in seclusion and devote much of their time of farming. They seldom have any craft besides the brewing of beer, and are responsible for feeding the family for much of the year. Maguzawa appear to have a higher opinion of women than do the villagers and pay a higher bridewealth for them.

Puberty ceremonies and child discipline

The Moslem villagers lack puberty ceremonies, male circumcision taking place with a minimum of public notice; while the only puberty ceremony of a girl is her marriage, which ideally takes place prior to the onset of menses. Maguzawa male circumcision also occurs with little ceremony, but their females are scarified in an elaborate ritual just before marriage. Marriage itself takes place after the onset of menses. The Moslem villagers tend to be harsher and more restrictive towards children than are the

Maguzawa, though severity of child discipline is related to social status among the former group.

Ethos

This last area encompasses Maguzawa permissiveness or looseness, as opposed to Moslem strictness or harshness in the following areas: (1) beer-drinking, (2) feminine modesty, (3) adolescent sex-play, (4) provocative dancing, (5) cleanliness, and (6) public display of emotion and general spontaneity and expressivity. Because differences in ethos have not been dealt with as a whole in previous sections, and because they are of crucial theoretical importance (see Chapter IV), they will be discussed in some detail.

Ethos, Self-presentation, and Prestige

Many of the various criteria or rules for the allocation of prestige discussed in Chapter II are equally applicable to the Maguzawa. Concepts such as fara'a, kirki, biyayya, korjini, etc. belong to both groups. Both distrust the man who habitually frowns, both love the man both wealthy and generous. But the Moslem village stress on control and restraint, on lack of any display of emotion, is alien to the Maguzawa.

Maguzawa self-presentation is quite similar to that of the lowest status groups of the village of Wurinsalla: the itinerant laborers who frequent the prostitutes' compounds. Loud conversation and laughter are quite permissible, anger is acceptable so long as it stops short of physical violence. Where the villager finds it shameful to drink and outrageous to be drunk, the Bamaguje disapproves of committing incest while intoxicated.

Paralleling Maguzawa permissiveness toward display of emotion and general spontaneity and expressivity is their acceptance of adolescent

sexuality, their relative casualness toward modesty and enjoyment of provacative dancing. Maguzawa are simply not as "uptight" as the Moslems. Theirs is a more relaxed, noisy, aggressive, sexy, dirty existence.

Allocation of Prestige

The Maguzawa do not allocate prestige on the basis of careful emotional control as do the villagers. And surely they are not concerned with outward appearance of Islamic piety. It is the wealthy and generous man who is prestigious in Maguzawa society, just as he is among the Moslems. But for the latter group wealth tends to be associated with self-control and a very careful presentation of constant, almost aloof, cheerfulness. Among the Maguzawa to be wealthy and generous is to boast of it, to display it ostentatiously. Boastful ostentation is for the Maguzawa the ultimate sign of success and the quality which incites envy in others.

The Thematic Apperception Test

Because subjective impressions are notoriously unreliable, a means of quantitatively measuring aspects of village and Maguzawa self-presentation was sought. A TAT of thirteen especially-drawn cards was made up and administered to 139 Moslem village and 86 Maguzawa males.[1] An analysis in terms of psychodynamics was not attempted. Instead, the TAT was treated as a sample of behavior in a more-or-less standardized situation, and a count was made of the number of times certain topics were mentioned. The rationale was that the mention or failure to mention various affect-laden subjects and situations could be validly construed as a verbal component of self-presentation. At the same time, the concept "ethos" was operationally

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[1]See chapter v for a complete description of the creation and administration of the TAT, the cards and samples of the stories which they elicited, methods of analysis and checks on reliability: and the results.

defined in terms of "shared aspects of self-presentation," thereby justifying the discussion of group differences in mean mentions of specific topics as differences in ethos.

Results and conclusions

Maguzawa mentioned sexual activity, adultery, and commission of a shameful act some two to four times more frequently than did the villagers (see Chapter V, Table 2). On a rating scale of conscious control and constriction (as shown in the TAT), Maguzawa were rated as less constricted than the villagers. These results are in accord with prediction and verify impressionistic differences in ethos between Moslem villagers and Maguzawa.

The Self-status-rating (SSR)

Administered at the same time as the TAT was the SSR (also discussed in Chapter V). This was a 14 cm. line with "Emir of Zaria" indicated at the left end and "leper" at the right. The goal was to have the extremes of the line represent the theoretical endpoints of the status continuum. Each respondent was then asked to rate himself. Since Hausa language often describes relative status in terms of physical position metaphors, the task was often understood. The mean Maguzawa score was significantly higher (closer to the leper) than that of the villagers (see Appendix III, Table 11), which seems to indicate that Maguzawa are lower in self-esteem than the villagers, and accept their formally lower status. Note that the SSR did not compare the groups against each other, but in effect, represented an absolute rating.[1]

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[1]Interestingly, similar (though not statistically significant) results were obtained when villagers of Fulani origin were compared to those of non-Fulani origin. Once again predicted results were obtained, since those of Fulani origin rated themselves as higher than those of non-Fulani origin rated themselves. The validity of the SSR thus appears to be confirmed.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION: WHERE DID THE DIFFERENCES COME FROM?

Introduction

Having described the chief differences between the Moslem Hausa-Fulani village of Wurinsalla and the Maguzawa living in the subdistrict named for that village, it becomes necessary to discuss the origin of these differences. To do this it will be necessary to first reconstruct the outlines of the society in which the jihad of 1804-1810 took place, then to analyze the effects of that jihad on rural Hausa.

Documents describing pre-jihad Hausaland do exist, but these tend to be either travelers' accounts or political histories of rulers and wars. In order to reconstruct pre-jihad Hausa society it will be necessary to rely on contemporary ethnographic accounts of those areas of Hausaland that either repelled the Fulani during the jihad or subsequently overthrew them. Most of these areas are in what is now Niger, where Hausa culture is in many respects similar to that of the Wurinsalla Maguzawa described in Chapter III; evidence that both societies retain many characteristics of their (more or less) common pre-jihad ancestor.[1]

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[1]The most active ethnographer of Niger Hausaland is Guy Nicolas, and his works, as well as personal communication with him, are heavily relied upon in the account below. See especially Nicolas (1960 and 1967), as well as Mainet and Nicolas (1962). Also useful for Niger Hausa society are Leroux (1948), Raulin (1962), and Smith (1967). Greenberg (1941, 1946, 1947) has described the non-Moslem Hausa of Kano. The royal refugees of Zaria who fled the conquering Fulani set up a kingdom in Abuja resembling their previous

Reconstruction

Prior to the Jihad of 1804-1810, there is no evidence that a distinction existed between Maguzawa and other Hausa: both were habe.[1] The Hausa were organized into a number of hierarchically-ordered states, and warfare and slavery were rife. The political and religious institutions of these states were thoroughly integrated (as they still tend to be in Niger) with a syncretic Islam co-existing without conflict with a traditional pantheon of gods (now demoted to spirits by the Moslems). Islamic influence goes back perhaps one thousand years in Hausaland, and the Hausa rulers considered themselves Moslems. Their attachment to Islam did not, however, prevent them from performing the various sacrifices to the gods deemed necessary for the health of the state and well-being of the people (much as a Maguzawa compound head still performs sacrifices on behalf of the entire compound). In at least one case, that of Gobir, the sacrifices were occasionally human (Leroux, 1948, p. 627).

Hausa religion was organized along clan and occupational lines. Some occupations were associated with particular patrilineal clans, the head of the clan making sacrifices to the god who was patron of that craft, while others

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one, described in Hassan and Na'ibi (1962) and Smith (1960). For a general history of each of the Nigerian Hausa kingdoms, see Hogben and Kirk-Greene (1966). Smith (1962) provides a concise discussion of some of the issues involved in the jihad, while Trimingham (1959, 1962) provides an excellent analysis and account of Islamic influence in West Africa, as a whole, with numerous references to the Hausa. Froelich (1966) is essentially a brief summary of the process of Islamization, while Means (1965) largely applies concepts found in Trimingham to Nigeria. Finally, Barth (1962) and Mary F. Smith (1955), in very different ways, provide descriptions of what it was like to actually live and travel in nineteenth century Hausaland.

[1] Habe is a Fulani word meaning "indigenous population," with the same connotation of inferiority as the English "natives." In the process of becoming Hausa, habe has largely lost its derogatory implications.

were open to those who could afford the initiation ceremony. Thus, a woman of any clan might join the spirit possession curative (bori) cult, which was headed (at least in Zaria) by the eldest daughter of the king, the Magajiya or Iya. Similarly, any man who could afford the potlatch-type ceremony which conferred the title sarkin noma (king of farming) could join the highly prestigious order of those with special agricultural powers and medicines. Some ceremonies involved both a particular occupation-clan group, and the king or his representative. Thus, royalty partook in the ritual hunt that opened the bush to hunting, once the crops were safely in. As part of this bush-opening ceremony (budal daji, buden daji, budal dawa--depending on dialect), the entrails of various animals would be examined to determine what that year would bring. This ceremony coincided with the harvest-celebration of salla cika-ciki, the festival of filling-the-stomach (Leroux, 1948, p. 667).

Settlement pattern varied but usually (in rural areas) emphasized mobility, since whole villages would be moved when the fertility of the land slackened. Some groups, however, maintained permanent residences and merely built temporary shelters near each year's fields. A village would often (perhaps always) consist of a single clan, organized as a compound and enclosed by a single fence or wall.[1]

Judging from the similarities between Zaria Maguzawa and Niger Hausa,[2] the pre-jihad society must have strongly resembled these two contemporaneous

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[1]Such villages still exist, though they are quite rare. They are referred to by the ordinary term for compound, gida, even when they contain hundreds of people. If gida was originally the term for a settlement, rather than having its present meaning of (small) compound, that would perhaps explain why contemporary Hausa words for village (kauye) and hamlet (unguwa) are relatively vague, not necessarily connoting fixed boundaries.

[2]"Zaria" Maguzawa are specified here because there are also Maguzawa in Niger, though they are integrated into general Hausa society and retain considerable political power: rather than being the despised cultural

groups in the areas of economic organization, the role of women, religion and the supernatural, and even ethos and prestige-allocation. In the area of economics and women, for example, it seems apparent that the division of responsibility between the sexes was much the same as it is now among Zaria Maguzawa, except that the pre-jihad population probably had a large variety of crafts and occupations for both sexes--as they still have in Niger.

In terms of religion and the supernatural, the chief difference between Niger Hausa and Zaria Maguzawa is that the former have a far more elaborated ceremonial life and a more coherent set of explanations of the supernatural. Thus, Nicolas (1967) describes the cult of the sarkin noma or chief of farming in great detail, explaining that the bearers of this title were so influential and prestigious that, after the jihad, the new Fulani rulers probably modeled themselves after these men of traditional power (p. 202). But among Zaria Maguzawa, only the title itself and a vestige of prestige remain--the ceremony and power are lacking. In a similar fashion, the Maradi (Niger) explanation of the kurwa or soul (Leroux, 1948, pp. 642-45) is more elaborate and complete, yet perfectly consistent with, the Zaria Maguzawa version. It seems clear that the Niger Hausa retain a culture closer to that of pre-jihad Hausa than do the Zaria Maguzawa: but that the differences between the two groups are relatively minor, and

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remnant they have become in Nigeria. The term "Niger Hausa" obviously represents an oversimplification, since it implies a non-existent historical and ethnographic homogeneity in the area. Only the extremely high level of generality of the present discussion permits the use of the expression "Niger Hausa" without any gross distortions resulting. But the level of generality is necessary if one is to sketch a picture of Hausa society in which no account is taken of regional differences existing prior to the jihad.

that the pre-jihad Hausa had a system of beliefs essentially similar to that shared by the two contemporary groups.

Even the prestige system and ethos of Niger Hausa seem close to that of the Zaria Maguzawa, and very distant from the controlled self-presentation of the Moslems of Wurinsalla. G. Nicolas (1967) describes the ceremony (the dubu) by which a man obtains the coveted title of sarkin noma in Kantche (Niger) as a potlatch, in which an individual (or his clan) accumulates enormous quantities of wealth in order to squander it all at once. Not the accumulation of wealth, but its despoiling, accompanied by loud speeches about how far he has surpassed his rivals, gains a man prestige. And, just as with the Zaria Maguzawa, ". . . generosity is the foundation of the social prestige of the 'chiefs of farming' . . ." (p. 201, author's translation). Even the religious ceremonies of the Niger Hausa tend to take place in a noisy atmosphere, replete with interjections (Raulin, 1962, p. 262). One can conclude that the ethos and prestige system of the pre-jihad Hausa emphasized ostentatious generosity and placed little emphasis on control of emotions and self-presentation.

A visitor to pre-jihad Hausaland, familiar with both Niger Hausa and Zaria Maguzawa, might at first notice but a single difference between then and now: in clothing. In Zaria, Maguzawa men always wear gowns, though more shabby and less costly than those of the Moslems and much less important as a mark of status. Many Niger Hausa retain the traditional goatskin garment for work, but wear gowns when they wish to "dress up" (G. Nicolas, personal communication). So a hypothetical visitor would notice only the absence of gowns and the prevalence of goatskin in pre-jihad Hausaland. Other differences he might later become aware of would be in the political and religious spheres, where integration would hold, rather than antagonism (as among

Zaria Maguzawa). In general, Niger Hausa and Zaria Maguzawa must be viewed as cultural remnants of a former time. The Maguzawa, in particular, may be seen culturally as holders of a Redfieldian "little tradition," for which the "great tradition" no longer exists. Therefore, except for the particular topics discussed above, Chapter III's description of the Maguzawa may be assumed to hold for pre-jihad Hausaland.

The Jihad of 1804-1810[1]

For centuries pastoral Fulani had been arriving in Hausaland from the East (from Senegal originally), for the most part living peaceably with the sedentary Hausa. Also arriving from the East were Tokolor, an urbanized Moslem Fulani-speaking group of Senegalese origin. With them came their clerical caste, the Torodbe, including the famous Shehu dan Fodio (Sheik Uthman dan Fodio), a renowned Islamic scholar and holy man.

In 1802, tensions arose between the Hausa king of Gobir and dan Fodio over freedom to practice and proselytize the Moslem religion. Two years later came dan Fodio's flight from the military power of the king, his hejira or flight-from-the-infidel. Dan Fodio and his brother Abdullahi gathered their followers and defeated the armies of the Gobir king who, in alarm, alerted his fellow Hausa kings to the danger; but the war spread. Disputes still rage over the extent to which the resulting jihad was actually a holy war motivated by love of Allah and not merely a Hausa-Fulani war.[2] Most of the pastoral Fulani were not Moslems at this time, and not all of them were willing to follow Torodbe leadership. There were Fulani and Hausa on both sides, and the Hausa rulers themselves claimed to be Moslems. Dan Fodio

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[1] This account owes much to Trimingham (1962).

[2] See Smith (1962) for a review of the various arguments.

argued that the Hausa kings were too tolerant of paganism, even to participating in its rites themselves, to be considered part of Islam. He gave flags (tutoci, s. tuta) to various of his followers, who would, in turn, organize the pastoral Fulani and any others who might join them and wage war. Dan Fodio himself remained the scholar, the mallam, while his brother Abdullahi played the part of general and the flag-holders organized their campaigns. By 1810, most of the Hausa states were under Moslem Fulani (or Torodbe) leadership, so that this date may be said to mark the formation of the Fulani Empire. Only parts of Gobir and Katsina (now in Niger) remained unconquered. Dan Fodio created his capital of Sokoto, then retired in favor of his son, Bello. The latter proclaimed himself Sarkin Musulmi, King of Moslems, a title which the Emir of Sokoto holds to this day. The Fulani Empire which dan Fodio had created soon lost much of its theocratic nature; yet, in spite of much warfare and slave-raiding, it continued through the British conquest and even to the present (though it has largely been shorn of its power since 1968).

The new Moslem Fulani rulers destroyed the traditional places of worship (wurarem tsafi) in an effort to destroy Hausa religion--an effort that, at least in the capitals, was largely successful. Governmental structure, however, was largely maintained, only some offices (titles) being altered (though personnel were changed). Apparently the touch of Islam which the Hausa claimed was enough to protect them from the full brunt of the Moslem Fulani fervor, since other pagan groups were treated far more harshly (Trimingham, 1962, p. 200). For political reasons, the conquering Fulani classified the non-Moslem Hausa under the Koranic category of majus (Zoroastrian), the category of those who may retain their own religion provided they pay jizya (Greenberg, 1946, p. 13 n; Trimingham, 1959, p. 39;

1962, p. 200 n). From majus came the term Maguzawa, which has come to mean "pagan Hausa."

Huge numbers of slaves were taken during the jihad itself, and the years of Fulani rule (prior to British emancipation) were marked by never-ending enslaving. Meek (1925, pp. 257-58) remarks that: "Slaves were the general currency, and under the extensive system of slavery there was an absence of social cohesion, the mass of the subject pagan peoples being reduced to a state of complete economic and moral paralysis." Large numbers of slaves were settled in hamlets (rumada, s. rinji) as part of the estates of Fulani nobles. A great percentage of the Fulani empire's population was composed of slaves with estimates as high as 50 per cent for some areas (Smith, 1960, p. 87). Slaves tended to become Moslems, whether by the sword or because the disorganization of enslavement rendered the practice of traditional religion impossible and left a vacuum for Islam to fill. By the turn of the century, perhaps 50 per cent of the population of the Fulani empire were Moslems (Trimingham, 1962, p. 230).

Even as the success of the Fulani jihad changed the character of the populace, so too did it change the new rulers. Gradually Hausa replaced Fulani as their native tongue, while intermarriage diluted the thin-nosed, light-skinned distinctiveness of their Fulani features. Only their adherence to Islam increased, for the religion legitimized their rule.

The Fulani had always considered themselves far superior to other peoples (to this day the cattle herder retains his contempt for habe); but the jihad had taken place in the name of Islam, and Shehu dan Fodio did not send out his flag-holders to replace the Hausa kings they fought against. Yet replace them they did, so that their Fulani superiority became multiplied by the pride of power. Robinson, writing of a visit to Kano just prior to the British conquest, describes the ruling Fulani:

> Their haughty demeanour and look of conscious superiority betoken the fact that they are the ruling caste in the country. As we stand still for a moment to study the features of those around us, we are rudely jostled by a Fulah mounted on a richly caparisoned horse, followed and preceded by several of his slaves. He is perhaps on his way to the division of the market where slaves are sold, to part with some unruly slave or to purchase another. His straight, thin nose, well-cut features, and slender limbs make it easy to recognize his nationality [1900, pp. 140-41].

The British Arrive

With the turn of the century came the British conquest of the Fulani Empire, which thenceforth (until 1967) was known as Northern Nigeria. British occupation had perhaps four major effects on Hausaland: (1) it kept the other European powers, notably the French, out; (2) it strengthened Fulani power through the policy of indirect rule; (3) it pacified the area so that warfare finally ceased; and (4) it emancipated the slaves.

Even in terms of geography, the European partition of Hausaland largely followed the old lines of Empire. Thus, the Hausa unconquered during the jihad are largely in what is today Niger; while the Fulani empire remained intact first within the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, then the section of the colony of Nigeria which bore that name, and finally as the Northern Region of the independent nation of Nigeria. Only the division of the three sections of Nigeria into twelve states, in 1967, ended the ability of the Fulani kings (emirs, as the British styled them) to wield power as a block. This longevity is ironic in the light of the disunity of the Empire at the time of occupation. The British were apparently so taken with the pageantry and splendor of Fulani rule, and so impressed with Islam as the dominant and "natural" religion of the area, that they made but little change in the system of government which they found in operation. (Not the least factor influencing them was the thriftiness of indirect rule.) The result was that the great prestige of the British (due to their military success),

as well as small numbers of their troops, were in effect put in the service of the emirs. And since Islam was the religion of the area, in the British view, Christian missionaries with their Bibles and dispensaries and schools were strongly discouraged.[1]

Pacification coupled with the lack of Christian competition to make the British myth of a Moslem Northern Nigeria a near reality. Islam had always enjoyed high "cultural prestige" (Trimingham, 1959, p. 30), but now the mallams could travel freely to proselytize; while the British penchant for roads and lorries (eventually) made travel and communication not just safe, but simple. The population became more mobile, and city people coming to the bush in search of virgin land brought their urban Islam with them; while rural people could now visit the city and thus be exposed both to Islam and to the contempt urban Moslems show rural Hausa.[2] Traditional Hausa religion is tied to the farm and the compound, to special spots for sacrifice in or near the homestead. Mobility created a religious vacuum which Islam filled. And for the former slaves and near-slaves, conversion to Islam meant a gift of dignity, citizenship in a world community.[3] And a promise of Paradise.

African slavery is often favorably compared with its American version, but this is hardly a recommendation. While many slaves lived as basically part of the family of their owners (as described in Mary F. Smith, 1955,

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[1] Which, of course, resulted in Northern Nigeria becoming the most economically backward region of Nigeria, a condition which ultimately led to the tragic events of 1966-1970.

[2] It should be noted that the contempt of the Moslem villagers for the Maguzawa is similar to, if stronger, than the urban Hausa contempt for villagers.

[3] The parallel with the American Black Muslim movement is striking.

pp. 67-68, 119-20), those with absentee owners were probably considerably worse off. The present extreme servility of many rural Hausa to the wealthy and powerful (cf. Chapter II) is probably best explained as a remnant of slave-behavior toward feared masters. British emancipation was, therefore, a revolutionary act, though it initially resulted more in the cessation of further slave-raiding than in the freeing of slaves. Slaves tended to become serfs rather than free men, after emancipation, though some fled to clear bush and farm on their own, or to cloak themselves in a Moslem identity and engage in commerce.

The Origin of the Differences

Having described certain aspects of pre-jihad Hausa society and culture, then sketched in the effects of the Fulani conquest and taken the story through the British occupation, the time arrives to make use of this historical background to discuss the origin of the differences between the Moslem Hausa-Fulani of the village of Wurinsalla, and the Maguzawa of that subdistrict.

Historical Identities

It is clear that the Maguzawa are pagan Hausa and have no special history prior to the jihad. Those Maguzawa who gave the standard Bayajidda myth of origin were in better touch with their historical identity than were those who told the story of Bama, the runner-away-from-prayer. In accepting the appellation "Bamaguje," a rural Hausa man is accepting an identity created by Moslem jurists for the convenience of Moslem rulers, and is implicitly accepting a status lower than that of other Hausa. It is not surprising, then, that some "Maguzawa" preferred to refer to themselves as "Katsinawa"

or "Kanawa." Their refusal has historical justification, for "Maguzawa" was never any people's name for themselves.

The origin of the Wurinsalla villagers is perhaps less clear. Without doubt, many of them are descended from slaves and serfs. A few others have come from Zaria City in order to take advantage of the abundant fertile bush of Wurinsalla. Many are descendants of cattle Fulani who lost their cattle, and some of these have brothers who still herd. But probably the majority are the descendants of the pagan Hausa who are now called "Maguzawa."[1]

Settlement Pattern and Clan Structure

Three questions must be answered here: (1) Why do Maguzawa live exclusively in the bush, while Moslem Hausa tend to cluster in villages? (2) Why are Maguzawa compounds better than twice as large as those of the village? (3) Why are Maguzawa described as having patrilineal clans, while the Moslem Hausa apparently lack them.

1. The first question, why Maguzawa are always bush people, is related to why they are not Moslems. Hausa whose ancestors lived in towns all converted to Islam long ago, for they were far more exposed to the religion, and to the influence of the Moslem rulers and the mallams, and to all the various social psychological pressures involved in "Islamization" (see below). People who lived in rural areas largely escaped these Moslem influences, while <u>those who wished to escape</u> from them probably left the urbanized areas

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[1]Actually, the term "Maguzawa" was probably used only in some areas. Thus, Maguzawa informants claimed that no Maguzawa came from Zaria, just from Kano and Katsina. This would indicate that "pagans" were either never given a separate legal designation or that the entire population was assumed to be Moslem. One informant claimed that there were "bush Hausa," deeply isolated, who while not Maguzawa did practice a <u>tsafi</u>. Since these activities were secret and reaching inaccessible bush compounds not simple, it was not possible to check on this information.

(where they were scornfully called "pagans"), and moved to more rural places. Still others moved to the bush for the love of hunting, or for the desire for virgin bush land, pacification having made it possible to do this safely. Maguzawa are, therefore, descended from people who either escaped Islamic influence because they were rural, became rural in order to escape Islamic influence, or became rural for love of hunting or farming and thereby (inadvertently) escaped Islam.

2. Equally involving religion is the question of why Maguzawa compound-size is greater than that of the villagers. For part of the Wurinsalla population, the answer is probably quite simple: as the descendants of Fulani slaves, they had no tradition of large lineages or compounds behind them. The same is true of the descendants of cattle Fulani become sedentary, since the pastoral Fulani family unit is seldom more than a single extended family. However, to explain the compound size of those villagers descended from non-slave Hausa, it is necessary to return to the old, pre-jihad compound-village.

The village-size clan compounds of pre-jihad Hausa were probably held together by two factors: security, since smaller settlements would have been dangerous in a time of warfare and slave-raiding; and religious sanctions, since leaving one's clan settlement might anger the spirits (just as leaving one's father's compound before his death is dangerous and shameful for a Bamaguje today). The first factor was cancelled out when British pacification made the land safe, while the second was weakened by the spread of Islam. Given the normal internal frictions of the Hausa community, the slackening of the two centripetal factors probably combined with the lure of virgin bush to result in small compounds. Maguzawa compounds remain larger than those of the villagers (though not nearly as large as in pre-jihad days),

because the old supernatural sanctions are still operative among them, even if probably weaker than formerly. The dispersal of the large compounds (and to some extent of the walled cities) has left maps of Hausaland looking as if they have been peppered with tiny hamlets.

3. The loss of clans among the villagers and their retention among the Maguzawa is once again a matter of religion. The unit of Hausa social organization is the compound, a relic of the time when a "compound" was a clan-village. Outside of the compound, the clan has no organization, no function. Among the Maguzawa it is retained largely on the basis of religious solidarity, but it plays little role in the life of the individual. Among the Moslems there is not even any religious solidarity possible to it, so it has vanished. Of course, for the part of the population of slave-descent, there is no question as to why they no longer have clans.

Economic Differences and the Position of Women

In this section, it will be necessary to explain why Maguzawa of both sexes have fewer crafts than do the villagers of Wurinsalla; and why Maguzawa women are food-providers and farmers, while their Moslem sisters practice their crafts solely on their own behalf.

Maguzawa male craft-activity involves only traditional, clan-associated activities such as hunting, praise-singing, smithing, etc. They lack all those trades touching on commerce in which the village men constantly engage. This is undoubtedly a self-selection phenomenon. As Trimingham (1959, p. 28) puts it, "Islam is a necessary passport for animist traders working in Muslim areas. They become Muslims less from convictions than as a matter of course, just as they adopt their de-nationalizing dress." Those Hausa who were at all interested in trade would not only have become Moslems,

they would have moved to relatively urban areas. Deep bush is not conducive to commerce. On the other hand, it is conducive to farming, so that the Maguzawa retained and perhaps even attracted those interested in agriculture but uninterested in commerce.

Maguzawa women apparently retain the pre-jihad pattern, so that it is necessary to explain why the villagers do not.[1] Once again the answer is "Islam." Wife seclusion was followed by the Moslem rulers, and so much prestige was attached to it. As Hausa began to convert to Islam, they began to take their women from the fields and place them in purdah. An alternative (though possibly supplementary) explanation is offered by Trimingham (1959, p. 189). Female agricultural labor was associated with slave-status, so that after emancipation women refused to work in the fields. This does not explain why women who had been slaves should suddenly refuse farmwork, nor does it explain why women in regions where emancipation has also occurred but Islam has not been entirely successful (e.g., Niger), still hoe bare-breasted in the sun. Today the first thing a Bamaguje newly-converted to Islam does is to order his wife out of the fields. It would seem that male desire for the prestige associated with having a wife-of-leisure, rather than a female revolt against "slave work," is the key to the difference between the respective roles of Maguzawa and Moslem woman.

The relatively lower status of women among the villagers must also be ascribed to the direct and indirect influence of Islam. In pre-jihad Hausaland women often held high office; both Daura and Zaria history tell of

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[1] Maguzawa economic patterns may well hark back to a time more ancient than "pre-jihad." Maguzawa women are basically the food-providers, and the gandu produce is treated almost as an emergency reserve. The older pattern may well have been that the women did all the farming, while the men were primarily hunters (a reputation Maguzawa still enjoy) and farmed only as a safety measure, or when game was scarce.

female rulers. Among modern Maguzawa, women are respected for their valuable economic contributions and as the bearers of the important bori cult. In the village, women make comparatively minor economic contributions; their bori cult is considered "disreputable" by the most important males; and the mallams transmit the Islamic teaching of the inferiority of women (who remain legal minors throughout life, under Koranic law). Male chauvinists reign supreme in Wurinsalla.

Religion and Consequences

The preceding section has indulged in a considerable amount of reification of Islam and the present discussion continues that trend, which will be reversed in the section entitled "Ethos, Prestige, and Islamization." Given conversion to Islam, a number of consequences generally obtain, described below.

Cleanliness

Washing and bathing have long been associated with Islam, beginning with the ritual ablutions preparatory to prayer. Cleanliness is a mark of status, and the pious wear clean clothes. In the absence of children, some men will draw water so that their wives may bathe and do laundry in seclusion. The villagers tend to bathe regularly, scrubbing with a sponge (soso) of pounded fiber. Maguzawa, as non-Moslems, lack this special interest in cleanliness.

Puberty rites and scarification

Islam is officially opposed to scarification, though the mallams do not look askance at the small markings Wurinsalla villagers generally bear. The elaborate Maguzawa facial designs (which are, of course, traditional Hausa markings) are frowned on and thus have been eliminated, while the

female puberty rite has probably been dropped because (1) it is largely a scarification ceremony, and (b) a rite which takes place after the beginning of menses is necessarily omitted when girls are ideally married prior to puberty (so that the marriage ceremony itself becomes a sort of initiation rite).

According to Maguzawa informants, male circumcision formerly took place at puberty; and this is in accord with the expectation that the boy comport himself in an adult manner after the operation. The effect of Islam has apparently been to lower the age of circumcision to approximately age ten for the Maguzawa and perhaps seven for the Moslems. Some villagers are now circumcizing their children by age five, apparently on the theory that the earlier the better (and in contradiction to the mallams who teach that seven is the proper age).

Beer

Islam is strongly opposed to alcohol, and in the village a man who drinks publicly automatically places himself in the lowest social stratum. Instead, the villagers rely on kola-nut to fill the social role played by beer among the Maguzawa. The latter group, however, is sparing in its use of kola, preferring to spend their coins on gourds of beer.

Modesty

Islam has a strong puritannical strain, and the mallams have redefined female modesty in terms of the covering of face and breasts, rather than limiting the concept to the genitals as do the Maguzawa. In the same vein, Moslem adolescents are more carefully watched over, mixed bathing is forbidden, and the girls' dancing bowdlerized.

Naming and funeral ceremonies

Here it is only necessary to point out that the Wurinsalla villagers have adopted Moslem birth and death customs, while the Maguzawa have done so only in part. The Maguzawa sometimes use the name of a Moslem ceremony for a traditional ritual. Thus, both groups hold a sadaka arba'in after a death, but for one group this is a religious ceremony held some forty days after burial, for the other a festival of animal sacrifice and happy celebration, almost a coronation held after perhaps one year. The term sadaka itself is an Arabic word meaning alms, which the Maguzawa use to mean a ceremony involving the sacrifice of animals.

Holidays

On the whole the Moslem holidays have simply replaced those of pre-jihad Hausaland for both Moslems and Maguzawa. In at least one case, however, a traditional celebration has been given a Moslem interpretation and retained. This is the celebration of salla cika-ciki, the full-belly holiday. Originally, this was a harvest-celebration which took place at about the same time as the opening-of-the-bush. This last ceremony has not been retained by either Moslems or Maguzawa: instead, a part of it, the prophecy-ritual involving the entrails of animals, has been transferred to cika-ciki. Of course it is now the mallams who prophesy, using the Koran rather than internal organs.

Ethos, Prestige, and Islamization

The preceding sections have attributed much causal efficacy to "Islam" and have traced most of the differences between the Moslem villagers of Wurinsalla and the non-Moslem Maguzawa of the region to the religious

difference. Left unanswered is the question: "Why is there a religious difference in the first place?" To explain that the Moslems no longer drink beer because they have become Moslems is circular, and reifies the religion so that it becomes a causal agent. Hence it will be necessary to interpret "Islamization" as an acculturative process that generated the differences between the groups as it differentiated them. But before presenting the process "conqueror-assimilation" model, it will be necessary to return to the conquerors, to the Fulani who waged the jihad.

Fillatanci

Fillatanci (or fillanci) may be loosely translated as "Fulani ways," or merely as "Fulani-ness." It is defined by Abraham (1962) as meaning variously, "bashfulness," "bearing pain without wincing," and "deceit." The Fulani are renowned for their emotional control and aloofness throughout West Africa (cf. Forde, 1958, p. vii), and their fortitude and hardiness are legendary. Compare the description of Fulani shaaro and shaadi of Chapter II (pp. 31-32) with Robinson's Fulani nobleman (quoted in Chapter IV, p. 133). The Hausa stereotype of the Agwai (Fulani herdsman) is someone who knows no affection for his wife, no love for his children, no interest in his own physical comfort, and concern for nothing but cattle. If one offends him, he will give no sign until the time that he comes quietly by night to murder.

A theory of conqueror-assimilation

The conquering Fulani were the role-models for the defeated populace. Islam had been respected long before the jihad, and the Hausa were accustomed to rulers who called themselves Moslems. The Fulani victory vindicated the strength of the religion, while it legitimated those who claimed power in its name. A process began that resulted in the change of traditional rules for

the allocation of prestige and ultimately differentiated the Moslem Hausa from the Maguzawa. That process is presented below, divided into five stages for heuristic purposes.

1. Initial imitation or modeling of the conquerors by the subject Hausa populace, a process facilitated by perception of the Fulani as legitimate replacements for the prior ruling dynastics. The mechanisms operating here to cause this modeling are basically similar to those involved in "identification with the aggressor," "status envy," and even "reference group" theories. The assumption here is that the individual tends to perceive and behave in such a manner as to maximize self-esteem, and therefore tends to first perceive himself as similar to those with power and high status, then to imitate them. Perhaps the initial overt step would have been the adoption of the Moslem gown in place of the traditional Hausa goatskin garment.

2. As individuals begin to judge their worth partly on the basis of their similarity to Fulani, they automatically apply the same standards to others. When enough individuals apply these new standards the prestige-allocation rules of the entire society change, so that a person's prestige now begins to depend on his success in modeling himself on the new Fulani rulers. Previously this modeling was its own reward, since imitating a powerful figure increases one's self-esteem: but now there is a greater reward as one's neighbors begin to respect one more. The incentive to model is, therefore, much increased, while the modeling now depends less on direct imitation and more on transmitted standards. For example, there would have been an imitation of the Fulani ethos of lack of emotional display. But, since this control of affect is, on the level of individual Fulani, the result of socialization experiences; and since Hausa are imitating the result

of these experiences and not the whole process of socialization itself, a transmutation, rather than a duplication, would occur. What for the Fulani are automatic, unthinking reactions, a habitual presentation of self, become, for the Hausa, a matter of conscious control. The Hausa acquire not new psychodynamics but a new concept of "proper" or formal behavior. At the same time, other values are acquired as incidental Fulani-Moslem characteristics: cleanliness, Koranic study, verbal fatalism, etc. And there would be a conscious attempt on the part of parents to inculcate these new values in their children.[1]

3. As increasing numbers of individuals and their children begin to adopt the new Islamic-Fulani values in an effort to gain prestige and maximize self-esteem, general societal rules for the allocation of prestige must continue to change, so that the more wide-spread a particular practice or value became, the less it was positively valued; while its lack became negatively valued. Thus, merely wearing a gown would soon cease to improve an individual's standing, while not wearing one would earn him contempt and eventually, exclusion from the community. In general, early-accepted values would tend to become mere signs of group identity, and prestige-striving individuals would have to adopt other aspects of Islamic-Fulani behavior, such as keeping the fast of Ramadan, building a mosque, etc.

4. An indefinite number of repetitions of steps 2 and 3, in a positive feedback. As individuals model themselves more and more closely on their conquerors of old, there is a progressive effort to provide children with the experience which will guarantee them prestige even under the more

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[1]The notion of parents consciously trying to teach to their children values likely to be adaptive in the future is derived from LeVine (1969).

stringent rules of the future. Thus, at present, almost all of the children of Wurinsalla receive some formal Koranic training.

5. New models present themselves, old models change or disappear, and the entire process begins again. Thus, today Wurinsalla adolescents wear dark glasses in imitation of Europeans and their own government officials. But the label invariably left pasted on them shows that their function is not glare-reduction but adornment and conspicuous consumption, and example of transmutation (step 2).

Process vs. reification

The conqueror-assimilation model is the process theory which must now be substituted for the previous reifications of Islam. "Islam" did not "cause" anything, nor did people become Moslems because of pacification or even proselytization (though both factors increased the amount of exposure to Moslem models). Individuals became Moslems in an effort to increase their status and dignity, and eventually to be granted membership in a prestigious group. Part of the search for greater self-esteem and prestige led to the giving up of beer and elaborate scarification, forbidding one's wife to work, etc.; and in the process that which was Fulani and that which was Islam became totally confused. It might be said that the prestige-allocation rules of the village of Wurinsalla are the result of the process of Islamization: it would be more accurate to say that those rules are Islamization, viewed synchronously.[1]

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[1]This statement is in line with the systems theory paradigm, which views structure as generated by process, the latter being the focus of theoretical interest and the former, by comparison, almost epiphenomenal.

Criticisms of the model

It could be argued that what differentiated the Moslem Hausa villagers from the Maguzawa was simply the influx of Fulani who had lost their cattle, into the former group. This was undoubtedly a contributing factor, but is hardly sufficient by itself. Cattle Fulani who became sedentary were poor, else they would purchase more cattle and resume a nomadic existence. Such people could hardly qualify as powerful figures to be emulated. Nor could they win deference as Islamic scholars, for to this day the cattle Fulani tend to be quite ignorant of Islam, and at the time of the jihad were largely pagan. What prestige did accrue to them came because they were of the ethnic group which had conquered the land; and because their "natural" emotional restraint epitomized a quality which the Hausa were already striving to attain. To some extent, then, there was probably modeling of cattle-less cattle Fulani by ambitious Hausa. But it should not be forgotten that the Fulani learned much of farming, and even of Islam, from these same Hausa, so that there might well have been reciprocal imitation. The result seems to have been a narrowing of the gap between Hausa of Hausa origin and Hausa of Fulani origin.[1] But reality is rarely elegant, and the conqueror-assimilation model is certainly an oversimplification of the processess which actually occurred.

Most serious is that the model totally neglects women. Hausa women probably had much less contact with the ruling Fulani and prosyltizing mallams

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[1]With practice one can learn to distinguish a young man with Fulani parents (or occasionally grandparents) from one of "pure" Hausa stock or of very distant Fulani descent. The chief difference between them will be in deportment, for a Fulani of 25 has the sobriety of a Hausa of 40. But, if a man's family has been "Hausa" for several generations, one learns little by finding that a grandparent (or great-grandparent) was indeed Fulani.

than did their men. Islam is not a woman's religion, and females are not permitted to enter a mosque. And so Wurinsalla women hold to older standards of behavior and to the traditional religion (bori). They are more demonstrative than their men, more emotional. They quarrel and fight openly, where men might mask their anger. So men describe women as shameless, for the women operate by different rules of prestige allocation. Indeed, in many ways Wurinsalla women resemble Maguzawa. And the somewhat greater respect Maguzawa men have for their women is perhaps partly due to the lack of great discrepancy between behavioral standards for the sexes, such as exists among the Moslems.[1]

Group differentiation

Step 3 of the conqueror-assimilation model implies the beginning of a new process, that of group differentiation. A value or behavior (aspect of self-presentation) which has become so common that it ceases to yield prestige (elicit deference) of itself, may still serve to increase an individual's self-esteem if he interprets it as a symbol of belonging to a superior group. Thus, the wearing of gowns, the ritual invocation of Allah, the refusal to drink beer (for example), became signs of solidarity, of reference group. Ordinarily such a new group adopts a distinguishing name for itself, to affirm its distinctiveness from the parent body. Since this new group already had a name--Moslems--it went further and renamed the traditional Hausa, calling them "Maguzawa" (instead of Katsinawa, Kanawa, Gobirawa, etc.). The new name implied both separateness and inferiority.

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[1]That men were more affected by "Islamization" is consistent with sociology's theory that men, as heavier participants in extrafamilial institutions, are the mediators of social change to their families (cf. Aberle and Naegele, 1952). I am grateful to R. A. LeVine for this suggestion.

The groups having differentiated, now begins the process of maintenance of group identity. The very existence of the Maguzawa reinforces the villager's self-conception as Moslem, provides a pagan ground against which he figures as one of the Faithful. The villager may himself be considered a near pagan, ignorant of Islam, by the city man; but the sight of the Maguzawa in their boisterous drunkenness at the edge of the market twice each week reaffirms his sense of being Moslem, of identity with the Nation of Islam. To remind him that his grandfather very likely behaved much as the Maguzawa do now is to threaten this Moslem identity and, therefore, his self-esteem. So he perceives the Maguzawa in such a way as to maximize their separateness, ignoring the common language, dress, food, customs, etc.; and concentrating on the difference in religion.[1] He tends to see the Maguzawa as being more similar to the dog-eating Gwari[2] than to his own Hausa, whom he describes as being similar to the (culturally very different) cattle Fulani.

This view of the Maguzawa may do much for Moslem self-esteem, but it does little for the Maguzawa themselves. They therefore have developed various ways of dealing with Moslem authority that protect somewhat against the contempt they are shown. A Bamaguje typically goes through the formal motions of Hausa deference and even obsequiousness, but with a voice which recites the correct ritual flattery in too loud a tone, a gesture of compliance made with just a little too much vigor. Often the effect is of intoxication, yet there is no particular act which can be pointed to as offensive.

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[1] Some villagers were amazed when I told them that most of the Maguzawa customs were identical to their own. On one occasion a member of our hira circle corroborated my statement, but in a rather apologetic manner, and it seemed clear that many in the group were reluctant to accept the idea.

[2] The Gwari traditionally serve as the butt of Hausa jokes about stupid foreigners, similar to American Polish jokes.

The role is not quite analogous to Elkin's (1961) description of the American slave's "Sambo complex," for it reflects not a regression to childhood and infantile dependency in the face of overwhelmingly powerful authority (though this regression does occur among some rural Hausa of slave descent); but a conscious role, a "put on" which is recognized as such by other Maguzawa. The Moslems, of course, "benefit" from the performance by having their stereotype of the shameless, drunken, aggressive, Bamaguje confirmed.

This masked display of hostility reflects Maguzawa resentment of the Moslems. Maguzawa were quick to describe Moslems as untrustworthy people, deceitful liars. Moslem women were said to be more unfaithful, the Moslem divorce rate much higher (though this fact was not borne out by the survey data). Maguzawa portray themselves as kinder (having more kirki), more generous than the Moslems. They deny that there is any connection between themselves and the Gwari, stating that they definitely have never eaten dog.[1] Nevertheless, Maguzawa do admit that the Moslems are higher in rank (daraja) than they.

The self-status-rating demonstrated that the Maguzawa, as individuals, tend to see themselves as being of lower social status than do the Moslem villagers. Apparently they resent the Moslems but feel inferior to them, so that their self-esteem suffers. Appropriate epidemiological data could not be collected during the period of fieldwork, but possibly the frequency of drunkenness and quarrelsomeness among Maguzawa may be interpreted as self-destructiveness. One might predict a higher rate of psychopathology among the Maguzawa than among the villagers, except that the latter group, too, is

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[1] However, Mainet and Nicolas (1966, p. 79) report that Niger Hausa do indeed eat of dog-flesh, at least ceremonially--indicating that it was probably consumed during pre-jihad times. The Gwari are notorious as eaters of dog.

exposed to stress (though stress resulting from the social expectation of emotional control rather than from low esteem). For the Maguzawa, so completely have some of them accepted the negative self-image which the Moslems provide that they have developed a myth of origin tracing their origin to the time of the Prophet and justifying their present low status (the story of Bama, who would not pray).

Implications for Theory and Research

The Utility of Contrast

The comparative study remains a rarity in social science, despite its obvious advantages. In anthropological research it is of special utility, given the global quality of ethnographic inquiry. Nothing is actually proven in a comparison study (Campbell, 1961, p. 344), but explanation in terms of the difference between two groups is usually more plausible than that dealing with a one-of-a-kind. Being limited to the differences between groups narrows one's focus to the point where it becomes possible to make sense out of the variables (though, on occasion, it may be found that it is impossible to study certain areas because the groups do not differ in the appropriate respects). One may either choose the subject to be studied and select two groups which differ suitably, or first choose the groups and then look for an interesting set of differences between them. In anthropological inquiry the second alternative is preferable to the first, since it is only at a rather advanced stage of fieldwork that one has sorted out the differences from the similarities. The present study profited from having had local informants define the two groups to be studied. Emically defined groups (outsiders, even urban Hausa, see very little difference between village Hausa and Maguzawa) are almost certain to be of special significance.

Metamorphic vs. Static Models

Social and even psychological anthropology have departed from synchronous, static, structural models only when forced to by confrontation with modernizing, revolutionary, societies. Actually, a static model is always unsatisfactory except heuristically, since social reality is by its very nature metamorphic. The question is one of rate of change, not presence-absence of it. Even analyses of acculturation tend to substitute a simpleminded causal explanation--with the causal agent a reified construct--for the processes actually involved. Compare, for example, the reified-Islam set of explanations for the differences between the Moslem Hausa and the Maguzawa with the conqueror-assimilation theory. General systems theory is an appropriate paradigm for social science, because the complexities of social reality are best understood in terms of interacting systems at many levels of analysis, feeding into one another, much as the process of Hausa individuals imitating the Fulani eventually generated new rules for prestige-allocation and ultimately led to the emergence of a distinct Maguzawa identity. And at no point was it necessary to reduce the process to a purely psychological level (e.g., identification with the aggressor) or to a sociological level (e.g., the jihad changed norms).

Ethos and Erving Goffman

Neglected in this study were the theoretical links between the concepts of ethos and self-presentation, concepts equally neglected by the field of psychological anthropology in its obsession with culture and personality. Bateson (1958, p. 118) defines ethos ". . . as the expression of a culturally standardized system of the instincts and emotions of the

individuals." In the present study, the "instincts and emotions" dealt with were those connected with self-esteem and prestige-striving. Though Goffman slights the concept of ethos by redefining it as "group atmosphere" (1963, pp. 96-97), he does recognize the central role the desire for self-esteem and prestige (deference) plays in social life (1967, p. 50). Goffman's (1959) concern is with presentation of self, which seems to involve the individual's defining himself and his situations so as to maximize deference and minimize overt antagonism. He deals almost exclusively with the situational aspects of self-presentation, ignoring the regularities individuals show across situations, and the regularities which members of particular groups (cultures, social classes, etc.) tend to have in common: yet, the latter set of commonalities (and not "group atmosphere") is what constitutes ethos.

In the present study, aspects of self-presentation were measured by totalling the number of times certain topics were mentioned, since ethos was defined in terms of shared aspects of self-presentation and the TAT protocols interpreted as a sample of individual behavior in a more-or-less standardized situation. Group differences were, therefore, taken to reflect ethos differences, rather than differing psychodynamics or modal personality (which is not to deny that such differences may exist, merely that they were not the focus of the study). For a full study of ethos and self-presentation less clumsy standardized situations could undoubtedly be devised, along with data-recording techniques which did not exclude non-verbal communication. Ultimately, it might be possible to relate measures of self-concept (or identity) to self-presentation and the symbolic meanings of religion and ritual to ethos.

Prestige and Self-esteem

This study originally grew out of an interest in the tendency for social interaction to generate status differential. The theory is that homonid evolution put basic primate behavioral dispositions in the service of the acquisition and maintenance of cultural behavior, in the usual opportunism of biological evolution. One of these dispositions was the primate tendency for the individual to seek the highest position he can in the group, which on the human level is spoken of in terms of the maximization of self-esteem. It goes beyond the scope of the present study to discuss a theory of the maintenance of self-esteem, which it seems to lead to, a theory linking status hierarchy and hence social organization to a disposition to ensure that there be those below one; defines cognitive dissonance reduction as a self-esteem maintaining device; and predicts psychopathology if the individual is unable to perceive anyone at all below himself (in a status hierarchy in which he places himself, i.e., his reference group). The initial Hausa identification with the conquering Fulani was essentially an effort to increase self-esteem, as was adherence to changing prestige-allocation rules. In a sense the entire process of Hausa Islamization, including the formation of a new social identity called "Maguzawa," may be viewed as having been generated by the interaction between the homonid disposition towards the enhancement of self-esteem, and the social environment, over the course of many generations.

CHAPTER V

THE THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Introduction

This final chapter must be considered as being separate and distinct from the four previous ones, for it is essentially a description of the methodology involved in preparing, administering, and analyzing the TAT. Those results relevant to the comparison of villagers and Maguzawa were presented in Chapter III; but there were other results, and many fruitless efforts, which did not lend themselves to unambiguous conclusions. These are dealt with here.

Purposes

The TAT was neither designed nor administered to be the chief instrument for finding psychological differences between the Maguzawa and the Hausa villagers: that instrument was the fieldworker. Rather, the TAT was chosen as a sifter of hunches, an empirical check on impressionistic findings. Other instruments might have been used in its stead--sentence completions, the Rorschach, collection of life histories, favorite tales or songs, etc.--but the TAT seemed most attractive in that it could provide a bank of data both rich and quantifiable, a fund rich enough to cover hypotheses formulated only after the completion of fieldwork. Other goals or hopes behind the use of a TAT were that unsuspected group differences might emerge, and that lessons on the allocation of prestige might be learned. Even before the

final assembly of the TAT, however, it became clear that the latter goal probably would not be met.

As an additional source of data on prestige and social status, therefore, a self-status-rating (SSR) was administered along with the TAT. The SSR was a 14 cm. line labelled "Emir of Zaria" at its left end and "leper" at its right. Subjects were asked to mark the position at which they considered themselves to fall. The endpoints were chosen to mark the theoretical extremes of the local status hierarchy, since no one could imagine anyone lower than a leper or higher than the Emir.

Preparation

A total of fifty-four pictures were drawn and tested, most of them drawn by Emmanuel Ayangaor, a student at Zaria Government Secondary School. Several additional pictures were drawn by Mrs. Margaret Lee.[1] The pictures were at first modeled on those used by the Keils[2] in their study of the Tiv, though none of these survived the sifting process. Over a period of several months, it was attempted to develop a TAT set which would (1) elicit stories, (2) elicit stories with enough variation to make analysis possible,[3] (3) cover a wide range of scenes and areas of life, and (4) illustrate several

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[1] I am grateful to Prof. S. G. Lee of the University of Leicester for his advice on the selection of TAT pictures and on analysis of the protocols. The analytic scheme finally adopted owes much to his work (Lee, 1955). I am also grateful to his wife Margaret, who drew the final pictures for the set. Prof. W. E. Henry of the University of Chicago also supplied helpful advice on how to assemble a TAT, as well as advice on TAT analysis.

[2] Charles Keil, 1967, personal communication. I am grateful to the Keils for their helpful correspondence and advice, and especially for the copy of the Tiv TAT set they were kind enough to send.

[3] I am indebted to Prof. Ronald Cohen of Northwestern University for his advice to select pictures eliciting sufficient variation in response to make analysis possible. Since one's set in assembling a TAT is to find pictures for which there is some uniformity of perception, the tendency is to eliminate too much variation.

stereotyped modes of prestige-striving. Each picture was pre-tested at least six times with non-local Moslem Hausa or Maguzawa, most of whom were either visiting relatives or seeking work. Most pictures were dropped for failure to meet either criteria (1) or (2)--failing to elicit any stories at all, or failing to elicit non-stereotyped stores. For example, a picture of a mother carrying a baby on her back would be identified as such, and only after much prompting would a subject make any further comments. A picture of a man and boy looking at a field of ripe guinea corn met with the same problem. A picture of a monster in a cleft between mountains resulted in no story at all. Eventually, however, thirteen pictures were retained.

Unfortunately, none of the final thirteen met one goal: none of them illustrated prestige-striving. A picture of a man replacing his guinea corn stalk fence with a mud wall, in emulation of the neighboring, rich-looking compound, elicited only the comment: "Here is a man improving (repairing) his wall." Further probing on this, and similar pictures, invariably failed to elicit any mention of prestige or relative status. The TAT, therefore, failed to serve one of its original purposes--revealing attitudes towards prestige striving--even before it was administered.

Administration

Simultaneous with the selection of the pictures were the testing of various ways of administering the TAT, several versions of the instructions, and a number of transcription methods. The first decision made was to use Hausa administrators: a white-skinned foreigner with a strong accent would have had understandable difficulty in establishing rapport with people who had rarely seen and never before spoken with such a creature. Two administrators were eventually used, one for the Maguzawa and one for the Hausa.

The Maguzawa's administrator was my chief assistant, known to his subjects because he had accompanied me on most of my visits to the Maguzawa, had conducted a census among them, and had made a number of Maguzawa friends. His readiness to drink the Maguzawa's beer offset his being a Moslem,[1] and he was instructed to purchase beer as a rapport-building device whenever it was obtainable. For the Hausa villagers, the local school-teacher was hired to serve as administrator, since he was known and respected among them. He was instructed to offer two shillings (28 cents) to each subject to hire someone to farm for him, while he was taking the TAT. My assistant also administered TATs to some twenty-nine of the Hausa villagers as well, so that inter-administrator reliability could eventually be assessed.

Among the rejected methods of administration was providing the subject with one or two standardized "sample stories"; sample stories proved to be excellent generators of carbon copies of themselves. The probe, "what are they feeling?" was also abandoned, on the grounds that it usually elicited an "I don't know." Structuring the test so that the subject was asked to choose among several possible alternatives as to what was happening in the picture ran up against most subjects' strong suspicion that there were right and wrong answers. "You know, you tell me!" was a response second in frequency only to "I don't know." The solution adopted was to leave the test relatively unstructured, relying on the directions to convince the subject that we wanted him to "invent" a story, rather than find a right answer. The administrators were also trained to keep in mind that the goal was a story with a beginning, a middle, and an end, and to use the probes "what's happening?" "what led up to it?" and "how will it come out in the end?" whenever applicable. In addition, for some of the pictures, certain

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[1] Islam, of course, proscribes the imbibing of alcohol.

standardized probes to tap specific problem-areas were developed (see below, discussion of individual pictures).

The Maguzawa's administrator was trained in TAT procedures over several months; the school teacher for six weeks. Training proceeded initially by role-playing, with the two future administrators and myself repeatedly exchanging roles. This role-playing was followed by a period of supervised administration (with non-sample subjects), then by unsupervised administration with the resulting protocol or tape-recording discussed by all three of us. Tape-recording the entire TAT administration was abandoned in favor of the administrator taking down everything said in the original Hausa.

The Samples

A census of the Maguzawa had been completed only several months before the TAT administration was begun, while the Hausa village census had been done the previous year; it was on the basis of these two censuses that the sample was drawn. Since it would not have been possible for male administrators to make use of female subjects among the wife-secluding Moslem Hausa, the sample was limited to males. To further reduce the sample, it was limited to married or formerly-married males, which in practice meant males of at least age twenty. For the Hausa villagers, the names of all married males present in the village at the time of the census were selected in random order, so that if circumstances forced administration to cease before completion, the sample would still be representative. In the end, nineteen men were not tested, thirteen of them because they had left the village temporarily or permanently. There were two refusals which did not yield to persuasion (and numerous others which did). Three people were unable to cooperate, apparently due to age and concomitant senility. One

man, who had a reputation for being "crazy" (hauka), could not be made to understand the directions.

The start of the rainy season made the Maguzawa quite difficult to reach, and many compounds were found to be completely inaccessible. To simplify this problem of reaching respondents, all the married males within a limited, circumscribed area were taken as the sample. There were no refusals, though four subjects had to be omitted on ground of deafness, poor vision, and senility. The final total of subjects was 225, consisting of 86 Maguzawa and 139 Moslem Hausa villagers.

Problems

"All I know is my hoe and my beer!" exclaimed one elderly Bamaguje (pl., Maguzawa) upon seeing the first TAT picture. Few subjects had had previous experience with representational art, so that it had been necessary to remove pictures heavily dependent on perspective from the final set. Many subjects had to be carefully watched so that they held the pictures right-side-up. Telling an original story (as opposed to a traditional tale) was a novel task for all subjects. "Do you want me to lie?" complained one man. It was the rainy season when the TATs were administered, and subjects were concerned about losing time from their farms, lest the granary empty before the new millet crop be ripe. A few subjects were frankly terrified and none could see much sense in the TAT (though others obviously enjoyed it). The administrators would occasionally grow impatient and attempt to browbeat responses from their subjects. Probes, especially those specified for each picture, would be forgotten as an administrator raced to finish. Subjects would ask to be excused for a moment and then not return and have to be hunted up later. Only the fact that the administrators were considered to have very high status in the community, and in some way be connected with

officialdom, with "the authorities," accounts for the cooperation received. But the final result, the stories ultimately collected, reflect the various problems encountered. Stories are sparse, filled with the Islamic verbal piety Hausa typically hide uncooperativeness and anxiety behind. Probing is inconsistent and erratic. Can TAT stories of such poor quality yield meaningful insights? A preliminary analysis was carried out in order to answer this question. It will be discussed after the individual pictures are described.

The Pictures

Picture I

Description

A beardless male wearing a short gown, short trousers, and a cap. His dress could be that of a peasant, or of a school-boy, except that he is not wearing shoes. A hand grasps each of his arms, while a third hand is visible at the back of his neck. The administrators are instructed to probe, if the figure is described as being held or grasped, as to why he is being held. The usual response is either that he is being held because he is a criminal, or because he is ill and may fall. In the former case the next probe should be, "what is his crime?"

Typical responses

(1) I see a picture of a man. (?What is he doing?) I see that he has been caught by some hands . . . at the neck; and also by both arms. (?What will happen?) Well, maybe he's in some trouble, right? (?What will happen?) Only, here are the authorities! That's all.

(2) Well, this picture, I see, here's a man and he's being held by the arms. Also, here a hand has been put on his neck, perhaps he is being choked. Or maybe he is not well and is being supported. (?Why is he being held?) Well, so that he doesn't fall to the ground, because he is ill. (?Anything else?) Well, that's what I see.

(3) This is a picture of a man, standing. That's all. (?No, that's not all!) That is what I see. That's all.

(4) This man is standing, but he is held by the neck and the hands. He stands quietly and has closed his eyes as if he is not well. Maybe he is a thief and has been caught. (?What will happen?) They will take him to the prison and lock him up. That's all.

(5) This is a man. I see someone holding him from behind. (?Why is he holding him?) He has done wrong. (?What will happen?) He is going to be imprisoned. That's all.

Picture II

Description

In the foreground is a large, very well-dressed man with full gown, turban, shoes. In the background is a figure dressed as in the preceding picture, so that he is either a peasant or a school-boy. He has his hands behind his back and is looking at the well-dressed figure who, however, is facing away from him.

Originally the well-dressed figure was drawn to portray an important and successful traditional man, perhaps a mallam (Koranic scholar) or chief. The figure in the background was meant to be either a peasant or a school-body. It was hoped that this picture would tap generational conflict, or the relationship between high and low status individuals, or the choice between the traditional and the modern paths to success. However, the picture is generally seen as important man (usually described first) and his servant, retainer, or police escort. This is probably because important men never appear in public unaccompanied. An interesting question was whether the non-Moslem Maguzawa would see the figures as a mallam and student as often as the Moslems did.

Typical responses

(1) This is a man going on a visit. He called his son to escort him. (?What will happen?) They will return home, after that. That's all.

(2) I see a man with a turban, with a member of the Emir's personal guard behind him. (?What are they doing?) The Emir and his policeman have come to look at the town, to see what improvements the country needs. (?What will happen?) They will return home and make preparations for the work to begin. That's all.

(3) And this is a mallam with a turban and a long red cap. He is wearing a full gown. He might be going to a naming ceremony. He is with his son. That's all.

(4) Who is this? He is a nobleman. And maybe this one is either a policeman or a soldier, but I don't know who or what he is. That's all.

(5) Here is a teacher and his pupil, standing. Maybe he called him to send him. That's all.

Picture III

Description

A picture of an unimproved road or path, in the bush. In the foreground is a man in traditional but simple dress. In his right hand is what may be a staff or stick, or spear. Considerably behind him is an indistinct female figure going in the same direction he is. She is veiled with a sort of shawl, in traditional Islamic modesty, and is therefore a married Moslem woman. The administrators were instructed to ascertain if the two figures were seen as being together or related in some way, or as being separate.

Typical responses

(1) Well, here is an old man going in the bush with a stick in his hand. And here is a woman, behind him; but he does not know that she is following behind him. (?Where are they going?) They came from a certain village and are going to town. That's all.

(2) This is a picture of a man. I see that he is standing, holding a stick, or perhaps a pen, in his hand. There is a woman with him. He is discussing going someplace, or perhaps they are waiting for something. Here they are, standing. (?Well, what will happen?) They are waiting for something which is going to be brought to them. That's all.

(3) This is a man, but he is an old man, and there is even a woman behind him. That's all.

(4) Well. . . ? (?Let us continue.) Well, I see a picture of a man, he and a boy. (?) I think that they are going to a certain compound. I think that they will go there to the boy's mother, and he'll beg her to let the boy come and stay there for a while, before returning home.

(5) Here is a mallam holding a stick upright. And here is a woman behind him. Here is a tree near them. Well, these people are going visiting, perhaps to a naming ceremony, or another kind of celebration. Or maybe they are going to see their relatives, to greet them. That's all.

Picture IV

Description

Four men, dressed as farmers or laborers, sprawling under a tree in the bush. The question the administrators are asked to keep in mind is, are they ill or in trouble, or are they merely resting? The picture is intended as an index of optimism vs. pessimism.

Typical responses

(1) Here are some men lying down under a tree, resting. (?What happened to them?) They worked and got tired and lay down to rest. That's all.

(2) These are men lying down. Or they may be devils. I don't know these men. That's all.

(3) Well, and this one, what kind is it? Here is someone in the middle? Well, what is this? (?What is it like?) Oh, these are like birds. (?What are they doing?) There are five of them, well, what has brought them? Perhaps they have come to look for something. Well, that is all for this one. Perhaps they won't find food to eat. That's all.

(4) Here are four people. They are lying down. I see that one of them has no head. Maybe they were fighting and someone cut off his head with a sword. These people are also lying down, they couldn't run away. Well, if someone comes all of them will be arrested. (?Why will they be arrested?)

It will be said that it is they who have killed him, and they will be taken before the chief. (?Well, what will happen?) They will be put in prison. That's all.

(5) Here is a picture of four men. One put his foot on the other and held his neck; another rolled himself up and rested his hands on another; one put his hands on his stomach. (?What are they doing?) Well, I suppose that they are not well. That's all.

Picture V

Description

A man resting his head on his hand, half-bent over. He is sitting on a Hausa-style bed, in darkness (or at least the shading is meant to indicate darkness). His physical position is one connoting distress and worry for the Hausa, who have a single word (tagumi) which describes it. This picture is meant as an index of general anxiety and pessimism.

Typical responses

(1) Here is a man sitting on a bed. Perhaps he has just awaked from sleep. He has closed his eyes and put his hand to his head. That's all.

(2) Well, this thing here, he has lowered his head. Perhaps he is working, or perhaps he has bent down to put some load on his head. But he has not straightened up so we can't see where he is facing. Or perhaps the way that he has bent over, that is the way Allah made him, bent over. Or maybe he has bent over and hasn't gotten up yet. We really don't know. That's all.

(3) This is a man. He has bent down his head. What is wrong with his forehead, that he should be holding it? His hand is on his knee. (?Well, what will happen?) Well, he either has eye trouble or ear trouble. Well, he should go to the hospital. That's all.

(4) Here is an old man who is worried by illness. (?What is he suffering from?) He is suffering from stomach trouble. (?What will happen?) He should go to the hospital. That's all.

(5) This is a woman sitting with her head resting on her hand and her head lowered. Perhaps she is thinking about something. (?What is she thinking about?) Something is troubling her. (?Like what?) Only she knows. That's all.

Picture VI

Description

Two figures, indoors. One is lying supine on a bed, with his hands under his head and his eyes closed. He is beardless. The other is standing, leaning over him, a stick in his right hand. He may have a beard. The question for the administrators is whether the standing figure is attempting to help, or to harm, the supine one. Attitudes toward the old is the general area this picture is designed to tap.

Typical responses

(1) Here is a picture in which an old man is in front of his son. Perhaps he has died, or perhaps he is sleeping. Or maybe he is not well. Here he is, lying on his bed, and here is also the old man in front of him, standing and crying. Perhaps the old man has come to help him, to take him to the hospital. That's all.

(2) These are two people. Here is one standing and leaning on a stick. Here is also someone, lying down.

(3) Good! For this one I see a fine picture of people. Well, though, he is a man but also looks like a wild animal. Hey, this picture is good, but if it is a wild animal is is also good. Well, here is something else on the bottom--a picture of a girl, here are her eyes. This girl is pretty. That wild animal has come close to her but hasn't touched her. That's all.

(4) Here are two people and one of them has a spear. Well, I don't know what kind of thing they are in the middle of doing, he's just sitting all alone. He is holding his head--I think that maybe he is thinking, or perhaps some matter is bothering him. (?Well, what will happen?) Well, he should get up and get to work. That's all.

(5) Here are two people, men. The one standing is lame, and one of them is lying down. The lame man is begging from the one lying down. The one lying down, he seems to be dead. Has the lame man beat him with the stick and killed him? Well, there he is, lying down. That's all.

Picture VII

Description

Two women, inside a compound. One of them has her hands around the neck of the other, whose eyes are closed and hands hang down loosely. There are cooking pots in the background. This picture was included in an effort to obtain data on female relationships inside the compound, where quarrelling is reputed to be common. Administrators were instructed to probe as to why the women are fighting.

Typical responses

(1) These are two women who are fighting. One of them is choking the other, perhaps they are co-wives. (?What are they fighting about?) They are fighting over their husband, because he loves her, the girl (younger wife) more: or perhaps they are fighting about cooking, since there are some pots. (?Well, what will happen?) Well, the older will kill the younger, because she is stronger. That's all.

(2) I see this one choking another woman. They are fighting. The one being choked will suffer if no one separates them. But I see no one nearby to separate them. (?Well, what will happen?) If they are not separated she will kill her. That's all.

(3) Here is a woman holding a girl by the throat. Now, this one that is held by the throat, is she her daughter, or her co-wife? If she is a co-wife then she can tell the husband that the treatment the other one is giving her is not good. And he can come and rebuke them. But if she is her elder sister, she can rebuke her but not strangle her. She should rebuke her as an elder is supposed to. That's all.

(4) And here are two women fighting, and one is holding the other by the throat: probably she wants to kill her. (?Why are they fighting?) Because they are cooking and the one pushed the other's pot. That is why they are fighting. That's all.

(5) Here are two women, prostitutes. They are fighting. (?) Because of men. Some man was looking for that one, then he came back and sent after the other one. Well, both of them love (want) him, and that is why they are fighting. That's all.

Picture VIII

Description

Three people. In the foreground are two men, one of them pointing a forefinger at the other in a manner which, among Hausa, connotes anger. In the background is a well-dressed woman, watching them. The administrators were instructed to probe as to what the relationships among these three are. The goal was to see the extent to which the woman would be viewed as having caused the quarrel.

Typical responses

(1) Here are three people, two men and a woman. One is pointing at the other. Perhaps they are fighting. (?Why are they fighting?) Perhaps it is because of the woman, who looks like a prostitute. (?What will happen?) They will part and each one will go home.

(2) Here are two men. One of them is warning the other because he is courting (chasing after) his wife. (?) The woman is swearing that this man is not interested in her. That's all.

(3) Well, here is another picture, with two men and also a woman. She is the wife of the man standing in back. He is travelling with his wife and they met this old man, who annoyed him, and he is warning him to stop. Well, if that is not the case, how is it that the boy is pointing at the old man? Or is it that he is looking for good fortune in this travelling? Well, then, the old man has stopped and is looking at him, he is laughing at him. And the woman has stopped and is just watching them. That's all.

(4) Here are three people, two men and a woman. They are talking. And she is standing by and looking at them. (?What are they talking about?) I don't know what they are talking about. That's all.

(5) I see a picture, of three people. One is in the middle and he is pointing at the other. Perhaps he will give him something, I don't know. Or maybe he is pointing at him because he has wronged him. (?What kind of wrong?) He chased after his wife. (?Well, what will happen?) He will beat him. That's all.

Picture IX

Description

Two men, standing facing one another. The one on the left is pointing at the one on the right, who has his hands behind his back. Administrators were instructed to determine if the two men are merely talking, of if they are quarrelling.

Typical responses

(1) In this picture there are two men. One is wearing a full gown and is pointing at the other, who stands quietly with his hands behind his back, respectfully. Perhaps it is his elder brother scolding him as elders do. That's all.

(2) I see a woman and a man. The woman has her hands behind her back and they are talking about where they will go. (?Where are they going?) They are going to a hamlet. (?What will they do at the hamlet?) They will greet relatives. (?And besides that?) They will show good feeling, and then go home. That's all.

(3) Well, here is another picture. This one is wearing Yoruba dress, and the other one is a Hausa. Their pictures were taken together. He is pointing at him. Also, he is looking at him contemptuously (uselessly) because he, the Yoruba, despises the Hausa. (?Why does he despise him?) Well, because he is a Yoruba, and the other is a Hausa. But he is not thinking, because he knows that a Hausa is better than a Yoruba. That's all.

(4) And here are two men. One is pointing at the other and the other has put his hands behind him. I don't know what they are about. They may be fighting, but I don't know. That's all.

(5) This is a picture of two men, friends. But one friend has wronged the other, and he has come to rebuke him. (?What kind of wrong?) I don't know what kind of wrong he has done to him. (?What will happen?) They are going to fight. That's all.

Picture X

Description

Two boys, stripped to the waist, one without a cap and the other wearing one. The figure on the right has his hands around the neck of the other, who looks as if he is trying to break the hold. This last figure is shown somewhat more in the background than the other and therefore is drawn slightly smaller. Subjects who are unfamiliar with perspective describe him as being smaller or younger than the other. Administrators' instructions were to probe to see if the two are perceived as boys just playing; professional wrestlers; or as seriously fighting. The readiness to see aggression is being tapped here.

Typical responses

(1) These are wrestlers. One of them has a good hold on the neck of the other. He has braced himself because he wants to throw the other one down. (?Well, what will happen?) Well, he will throw the boy, who will suffer. That's all.

(2) Here are two men fighting of wrestling. But if they are fighting, the bigger (older) is stronger than the boy. And there is no one to separate them. That's all.

(3) Here is a man embracing a woman. Or, they are wrestling. Or is he whispering to her? (?What will happen?) He is taking her to his house. That's all.

(4) Here are two boys who are wrestling. One of them is holding onto the other's neck and refuses to let go. Well, it looks like this boy is in trouble, since his eyes are bulging out. (?Well, what will happen?) Well, he should let him go, since he is stronger than the other, unless he wants to kill him. That's all.

(5) These are two wrestlers. One is stronger than the other, but he is unable to throw the boy down. The boy is very brave. That's all.

Picture XI

Description

In the foreground is a woman, old-looking. In the background is a man or boy, looking at her, though she is looking away from him. This picture was included in an effort to tap male-female relations. The administrators were instructed to probe concerning the relationship between the two figures.

Typical responses

(1) Here is a woman with her boy, going (moving, travelling). But they have stopped. (?Where are they going?) They are going to the market to buy things. That's all.

(2) Here is a woman. It is a policeman who is behind her? (?Where are they going?) Well, she has been summoned. (?Where has she been summoned?) Is it by the authorities? (?What will happen?) He is going to listen to the offense she committed. That's all.

(3) This is a woman with a small boy. They are standing. Perhaps he is her son. Here he is, following her. They are going someplace. (?Well, where are they going?) They are going to visit her girl-friend. She said that he should escort her. He is therefore following her. That's all.

(4) Here is somebody with his wife. They are on their way, coming from somewhere. Or else they are going somewhere, like a naming ceremony or a celebration; or perhaps visiting relatives.

(5) Here is a woman with her son, or her husband. She called him to send him to the market. (?To do what for her?) He is going to buy meat for her. That's all.

Picture XII

Description

Two men. The one on the right has a stick-like object raised in his right hand, as if to strike the other, who is standing with head bowed and a

hand over his eyes. The picture was intended to represent one man about to strike another with a stick, and the victim apparently ready to meekly accept the blow. Administrators were instructed to discover why one wished to strike the other, and why the intended victim should be willing to accept the blow. The intent here was to tap attitudes towards aggression, and towards being the victim of aggression.

Typical responses

(1) Here are two men, but one of them is a madman, the one who has lifted something in his hand. He has struck the other one in the eye, and he (the latter) has put his hand to the eye. This one has injured him, since it is in the eye that he has struck him; he has no way to run away. That's all.

(2) Here are two men. One is holding his chin in his hand; the other has lifted up a stick. Whether they are going to fight or not, we don't know what circumstances they are in. That's all.

(3) Here are two more people. This one has lifted up something and he'll stab the other with it. He (the latter) is half-covering his eyes. Well, whatever is going to happen between them, whatever is going to happen, may Allah settle whatever is between them. That's all.

(4) These, too, I see a picture, maybe of people, I don't know, maybe of spirits, I don't know. I just see the picture. For these, too, I don't know what they come to do. (?In what state are they?) I just see them standing. I don't know what circumstances they are in. That's all.

(5) Here are two men. One has lifted something up in his hand, like a stick, to strike the other. But the other is standing quietly, holding his head. That's all.

Picture XIII

Description

A picture of a man wearing a large, loose gown. He is covering his face with his right hand. The picture was intended to be of someone covering his face in the Hausa gesture of extreme shame. The probe was, "why is he ashamed?" The intent was to test the Hausa stereotype that Maguzawa are less concerned with shame than Moslem Hausa.

Typical responses

(1) This one, well, is a White Oryx, a wild animal. The White Oryx has a nice cry. Among all the animals none has a nicer cry than it. If it sees a man in the distance it will lower it's head to the ground. Then it will say, well, that one that I've seen, he'll do me mischief. Well, he just doesn't trust men very much. That's all.

(2) This one is also a man. He has put his hands over his eyes. Certainly, his eyes are troubling him--because of the sun. That's all.

(3) Confusion! But just confusion! This is a heavy drinker. He has lit a cigarette and put it in his mouth. He is wobbling it about because he is really drunk! (?) But the beer is all gone and he is looking for some more. That's all, but could you dash this picture to me, so that I can put it in my room?

(4) This one is an important man. And he has covered his eyes, he doesn't want people to see him. Well, you can see that he is not honest. That's all.

(5) This man has a very large head. He is indeed a giant, and his feet have tails. Maybe he is a devil: and maybe his head is aching. That's all.

The Preliminary Analysis

Since the TAT was expressly chosen as a field-instrument because it is capable of yielding quantifiable data (and quantification was required as a check on intuitive-impressionistic insights), a clinical mode of analysis would not have been appropriate. Therefore a preliminary analysis was designed to determine if: (1) the TAT data were of sufficient quality to justify any sort of quantitative analysis, and (2) to test different methods of analysis.

The minimal goal of the analysis was to test a number of specific hypotheses; the maximal goal was that of opportunistic empiricism, the hope that unexpected findings would emerge. Two analytic techniques were employed on a total of 67 protocols, 36 village and 31 Maguzawa. The first method was the "total protocol method," consisting of totalling the number of times per

subject each of fourteen variables was mentioned, with a limit of one mention per story for any variable. The two groups were then compared by examining their respective mean number of mentions per topic (variable). Variables included those relating to specific hypotheses, plus a number of general theoretical (i.e., opportunistic) interest. Since most of these variables were included in the final analysis, they will not be described here. In general, variables related to hypotheses differed significantly in the predicted direction; while "opportunistic" variables either did not differentiate between groups or differentiated in a manner which defied explanation.

The second mode of preliminary analysis was the "individual story method." This technique was based on the original questions each picture was designed to ask and about which the administrators had been instructed to probe (as discussed in the previous section, "The Pictures"). For example, for Picture I, in which a figure is being held from behind, the rater was asked whether or not the figure was described as being held, and if so, was he held because he was a criminal, or because he was ill. If "criminal" was checked, he was further asked to indicate which of the crimes listed on the coding sheet the criminal was guilty of. Similarly, for Picture VIII (in which there are two men and a woman), the rater was asked whether the two men were quarrelling and, if so, whether they were quarrelling over the woman. In this last case, the rater was asked to check the specific manner in which the woman has caused the quarrel; and finally, whether she was attempting to end it. The method, therefore, is one of layered options, in which equivalence of interpretation is held constant at a level just above that of the item being scored, permitting the scoring and subsequent analysis of rather fine differences of interpretation. The difficulty is that, as one goes down the layers, cell-sizes become increasingly small. The method is

therefore is one of layered options, in which equivalence of interpretation is held constant at a level just above that of the item being scored, permitting the scoring and subsequent analysis of rather fine differences of interpretation. The difficulty is that, as one goes down the layers, cell-sizes become increasingly small. The method is therefore applicable only to very large samples. And since the lower options are obtained empirically, it is difficult to predict how groups will differ in their choices; and equally difficult to interpret such differences as are obtained.

The results of the individual story method of analysis, given that the relatively small sample-size precluded use of the upper-layer options, were meager and ambiguous. The only exceptions to ambiguity duplicated the findings of the total protocol analysis. Given the relative simplicity and unambiguity of the latter mode of analysis, and the difficulties of the former (e.g., a computer program had to be specially written for its statistical analysis), the final TAT analysis makes use only of the total protocol mode. Nevertheless, this method clearly slights the data-potential of the TATs and represents a minimal analysis which is uneconomical in terms of the amount of labor involved in designing a TAT and administering it 225 times. It is hoped that eventually some combination of the individual protocol (or layered option) method and clinical analysis will retrieve the investment which the TAT represents.

The Final Analysis

The major portion of the final analysis was based on the "Total Protocol Analysis" of the preliminary analysis (discussed in the last section). The raters were given a list of seventeen items, detailed descriptions of each of these items, and instructions to rate each story of each protocol for

presence-absence of each item. The number of times an item occurs in a protocol is its score for that protocol; the mean protocol score constitutes the variable. The items are briefly listed and described below:

A. Mention of death.--Any mention of death, dying, or a corpse. During the formation of the TAT, a picture containing a figure intended to represent a corpse had to be discarded because none of the subjects appeared to perceive it as such. This seemed to be related to the ethnographic observation that washing a corpse put one in danger from its ghost (kurwa). It was suspected that this corpse-dread was stronger among the Maguzawa than the Hausa, and that therefore the former would mention "death" less often than the latter.

B. Mention of illness.--Illness seemed to be a Moslem preoccupation. It occurred frequently in the stories and in conversation as well. If the observation that the villagers were more obsessed with illness than the Maguzawa were supported, this would provide evidence for differing interpretations of illness in the two groups due to different modes of revenge and witchcraft. It also seemed reasonable that the illness score could be used as an index of general fear and anxiety which seemed, impressionistically, to be higher among the villagers than among the Maguzawa.

C. Mention of sleep or repose. It seemed possible that the Maguzawa reputation for being hard-working farmers, and the impression that they were more serious workers, would be confirmed if Maguzawa were less likely to see individuals as sleeping than did the Hausa villagers.

D. Chatting.--This variable was purely speculative. Chatting and conversation occupy important places in Hausa (both Moslem and non-Moslem) life.

E. Official punishment.--Any mention of jail, prison, the "authorities," a judge, Village or District Head, or policeman.

F. Unofficial punishment.--This item included scolding, rebuking, berating, warning, etc. Unofficial and official punishment are described as being mutually exclusive in the instructions to the raters. The goal here was to determine if there was any difference between the two groups in the ratio of official to unofficial sanctions. It was predicted that unofficial sanctions would be relatively more important than official ones for Maguzawa, as compared to Moslem villagers.

G. Mention of quarrelling, fighting, scolding.--Impressionistically, it appeared that the villagers had far more latent, covert hostility in them than the Maguzawa, and would therefore score higher on this variable.

H. Identification of a figure as female.--Given the very different roles of women in the two groups, it seemed possible that there might be a difference in the readiness to perceive women.

I. Mention of lack of food.--It was suspected that the earnestness of the Maguzawa about their farming might be linked to subsistence anxiety. Hence, it was predicted that they would score higher than the villagers on this item.

J. Mention of a spirit.--This item is a measure of the relative strength of traditional religion. The prediction, of course, is that Maguzawa would see more spirits than Moslem Hausa.

K. Mention of shame, or having done something shameful.--This was a stereotype-testing item. Moslem Hausa describe the Maguzawa as "shameless" (rashin kunya). Since it was the fieldwork impression that Maguzawa are less consciously controlled and constricted than Hausa and this relative spontaneity is interpreted by the Moslems as rashin kunya, the prediction was that

Maguzawa would mention shame or describe a picture as involving shame more often than the villagers. Picture XII was intended to represent a man feeling strong shame.

L. Adultery.--This item, like the preceding one, tests the observation that Maguzawa are less inhibited than are Moslem Hausa and, therefore, would mention adultary more often than the Moslems. Picture VIII, of two men apparently quarrelling with a woman standing on the side watching, was specifically intended to stimulate stories of adultery. In this it was quite successful.

M. Mention of sexual activity.--This is another member of the "inhibition" series, the prediction having been that Maguzawa would mention overt sexual activity more often than the Moslem villagers.

N. Mention of farming.--This is another stereotype-tester. If the Maguzawa actually are the hard-working farmers they are described as, it seems reasonable that they should mention farming more often than the villagers.

O. Mutilation.--Most descriptions of physical deformity or mutilation resulted from lack of familiarity with Western pictorial convention, and especially with the inability to perceive perspective. No difference between the groups in mutilation score would indicate equal familiarity (or unfamiliarity) with artistic convention.

P. Mention of a mallam (Koranic scholar).--This item, like "mention of spirits," tests comparative strength of religions. In this case, however, the prediction is that Maguzawa are as much influenced by Islam, or nearly so, as the Moslems and therefore should see mallams as often as the Moslems themselves do.

Q. Mention of a bird or animal.--This was a frankly exploratory item.

The Conscious Control Rating

The items dealing with shame, adultery, and sexual activity all represented indirect attempts to confirm the impression that Maguzawa were less inhibited than Hausa. An attempt was also made to directly rate conscious control and constriction along a four-point scale. The raters were instructed to study the relevant passage from Henry (1956, p. 128), in which these concepts are defined and discussed. Henry (p. 128) defines the terms as follows:

> It is obvious that no individual can go through life with a satisfactory sense of balance without some use of societal-determined rules to guide him in situations which he cannot integrate directly into his own inner need-systems. The use of these rules and principles may be called conscious control. When there is excessive emphasis upon guidance by these rules and a concomitant loss of personal spontaneity, the individual may be called constricted [italics Henry's].

Three examples of stories were also provided for each of the four scale points. The protocols were rated as wholes, not story-by-story.

Reliability

It was necessary to determine reliability for three sets of individuals: (1) the administrators, (2) the translators, and (3) the raters.

Reliability of administrators

It was not possible for the TAT administrator for the village to test any Maguzawa, since he was the village school teacher and was not free to spend an extended period in the bush. Therefore the Maguzawa administrator was asked to administer a total of twenty-nine TATs to randomly selected villagers. The means on the seventeen total protocol scores and the Conscious Control Rating for this group of twenty-nine were compared via a

T-test with the means of the remaining village subjects. On the four items shown in Table 1, the differences reach statistical significance.[1]

TABLE 1

TAT ITEMS LOW IN INTER-ADMINISTRATOR RELIABILITY

Item	Mean of Group of 29	Mean of Group of 110	Significance Level
Illness	1.620	2.190	.05
Unofficial punishment	1.965	2.303	.05
Farming	.620	.290	.05
Mutilation	.482	1.109	.005

It is difficult to explain these differences between administrators. Why should one group mention farming more often than the other, for instance? Probably the simplest explanation is that the twenty-nine reliability subjects were not chosen randomly at all. After a demonstration of the "calabash method of randomization" (in which slips of paper with the identification numbers of subjects are stirred in a large calabash), the administrators were left to make the actual drawings themselves. It is not impossible that they let considerations other than those of random selection influence them.

[1]The problem of statistical significance is a murky one in the TAT analysis. Since the "samples" used are essentially populations, there would be justification for omitting tests of significance altogether. Taking the populations as samples seems to imply that the Moslem Hausa and Maguzawa included are somehow representative of all Hausa and Maguzawa--a foolhardy notion in view of the enormous diversity of Hausa civilization. As a working solution, tests of significance were used, but used only as guides. Results which cohered meaningfully with other findings and interpretations have been retained even when not quite "significant." Other results, statistically significant, but of small magnitude or ambiguous in interpretation, have

Reliability of translators

There were three translators: the investigator himself (70 protocols), a Hausa man fluent in English (105), and a Hausa man with somewhat more limited English (50). An analysis of covariance was computed with group (village-Maguzawa) as variable. (This analysis of covariance was, therefore, equivalent to a two-way analysis of variance with group as the second variable.) Significant differences were found for two variables: mutilation and the Conscious Control Rating.

For mutilation, the F-ratio was 4.619 with a probability of .01. The adjusted means were 1.03 (70), 1.08 (105), and .56 (50). Apparently the phrasing of the least-skilled translator "hid" descriptions of mutilation.

For the Conscious Control Rating, the F-ratio was 5.373 with a probability of .005. Adjusted means were 2.52 (70), 2.89 (105), and 2.74 (50). It would appear that the raters permitted themselves to be influenced by the quality of the translation.

Reliability of raters

All ratings were done by a single person, with a second rater rerating a random selection of twenty-five protocols. The resulting coefficients of reliability (Pearson Product-Moment coefficients of correlation) are presented in Table 2. While all correlations are significant at least at the .05 level, two of them are low enough for their meaningfulness to be questionable: unofficial punishment and the Conscious Control Rating.

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been mentioned in passing and then simply dismissed. On all statistical matters, including this matter of the significance of significance, I am heavily in debt to my colleague Murray Edelman. He refuses, however, to accept responsibility for my mistakes.

TABLE 2

TAT INTER-RATER COEFFICIENTS OF RELIABILITY[a]

Variable	r
Death	.944
Illness	.930
Sleep	.764
Chatting	.668
Official punishment	.949
Unofficial punishment	.352
Fighting	.766
Females	.844
Lack of food	.714
Spirits	.996
Shame	.901
Adultery	.948
Sexual activity	.974
Farming	.904
Mutilation	.675
Mallam	.764
Animals	.969
CCR	.389

[a] N = 25 (random sample).

Discussion of the meaning of the various deficiences in reliability will be deferred until after a presentation of the results of the village-Maguzawa comparisons.

Results

Table 3 gives the Moslem Hausa-Maguzawa comparisons of mean scores on the TAT variables.

Results and reliability

Before interpreting the above results, it is necessary to review them in the light of the various statistical estimates of their reliability previously calculated. Items which differentiated between groups with statistical significance at the .05 level or above, but were found to be unreliable, were: illness (lack of administrator reliability), unofficial punishment (lack of administrator and rater reliabilities), and the Conscious Control Rating (lack of translator and rater reliabilities).

The traditional disposition of low-reliability variables is to discard them. An alternative approach is to view lack of reliability as a special case of high error variance, so that significant differences between groups which occur in spite of low reliability are especially meaningful. The judgment which must be made is whether the low reliability represents systematic bias, as opposed to random error, and this judgment must be made variable by variable.

Since the Maguzawa were tested by one administrator and since 110 of 139 villagers were tested by another, any administrator bias in presentation or probing could not "average out." Therefore it seems wise to remove the unofficial punishment and illness variables. The illness item is

TABLE 3

MEAN SCORES ON TAT VARIABLES FOR VILLAGE HAUSA AND MAGUZAWA

N Item	139 Village Mean	86 Maguzawa Mean	Significance Level
Total words	611.604	609.154	....
A. Death	1.165	1.627	.05 (two-tailed)
B. Illness	2.071	1.313	.005 (one-tailed)
C. Sleep	1.733	1.790	....
D. Chatting	1.323	1.418	....
E. Official punishment	1.064	1.093	....
F. Unofficial punishment	1.474	1.848	.05 (one-tailed)
G. Fighting	2.791	3.023	....
H. Females	3.517	3.906	.005 (two-tailed)
I. Lack of food	.194	.627	.005 (one-tailed)
J. Spirits	.345	.883	.005 (one-tailed)
K. Shame	.086	.244	.005 (one-tailed)
L. Adultery	.208	.337	.05 (one-tailed)
M. Sexual activity	.050	.2220	.005 (one-tailed)
N. Farming	.359	.465	....
O. Mutilation	.973	.755	....
P. Mallam	.496	.500	....
Q. Animal/bird	.223	.209	....
R. Conscious-Control-R	2.870	2.465	.005 (one-tailed)

especially suspect, since the administrator reliability sample means are similar to the results for the Moslem Hausa-Maguzawa comparison.

For the Conscious Control Rating, however, there is no reason to suspect any systematic bias in either of its reliability failings, since protocols were assigned to translators and raters at random. Indeed, the high error variance implied by the lack of reliability makes it surprising and impressive that the CCR was able to differentiate between groups at all. The CCR, therefore, will be retained.

Results and meaningfulness

The results for sexual activity, adultery, shame, and the CCR, form a predicted pattern of differences between Hausa and Maguzawa. Sexual activity and shame, especially, were mentioned two to four times as often by the Maguzawa as by the Moslem villagers. Thus, the fieldwork impression of more spontaneity and expressiveness on the part of the Maguzawa, and greater restraint on the part of the Moslem Hausa, is empirically confirmed by the TAT. The Conscious Control Rating was designed to directly estimate the variables of conscious control and constriction, which the sex-adultery-shame items were designed to tap indirectly. Unfortunately, this direct rating is the weakest supporter of the predicted pattern: a difference of .405 between groups, on a rating scale of one to four, is not impressive (even if statistically significant). One can only point to the large amount of error variance introduced by the low reliability of the item as a partial explanation of the smallness of the difference. But perhaps the lesson is that "conscious control and constriction" is too nebulous a construct to be tapped directly, rather than indexed.

The two religion variables, spirits and mallams, also form a pattern: a pattern which confirms that Maguzawa have a far more syncretic religion

than do the Hausa. Maguzawa acknowledge Allah as the supreme being, and accept the efficacy of prayer and Moslem magic. But they also retain their traditional conception of the spirit-gods, along with a degree of agnosticism as to which system is the more powerful. A syncretism prevails. For the villagers, though, the old spirit religion is in full retreat and survives only among the women and the low-in-status. Even though the spirits have been partially assimilated to Islam (the Moslems refer to them not by the traditional Hausa term iska [wind or spirit], but by the Arabic term aljeni [genie]), they remain in disfavor. So Maguzawa mention spirits far more often than do the village Hausa, in response to the TAT; but also mention mallams just as often as do their formally Moslem brothers.

The difference between the villagers and Maguzawa for the mention of death variable was statistically significant: unfortunately, the difference was not in the predicted direction. The expectation had been that the Moslems would more readily identify figures as being dead, or mention death or dying, than the Maguzawa. This prediction was based on the speculation that the Moslems were less fearful concerning corpses and dying than the Maguzawa, a lack of fear having to do with religious differences. The interpretation that mentioning death meant lack of fear resulted from the TAT pretesting of a picture of a corpse with a bloody wound and a knife at its side. Of eight subjects, not one could or would identify it as a corpse, so that the picture had to be discarded. However, on the basis of this experience, it was concluded that high death anxiety was indicated by low death or corpse mention scores; and that therefore the converse must be true. Since the TAT results have not shown that Maguzawa mention death more often than do village Hausa, it must be concluded that the former are not more fearful of corpses and death than the latter, and possibly less so. "Possibly," because the

Maguzawa high death-mention score may merely reflect the lack of constraint and inhibition previously demonstrated by their high sex-shame-adultery scores.

Maguzawa mention lack of food better than three times as often as the Hausa villagers, confirming a prediction based on the Hausa stereotype of the Maguzawa as earnest and serious farmers: a stereotype shared by agricultural innovation than do Moslem Hausa. It seemed possible that the concern with farming might reflect high subsistence anxiety, a hypothesis supported by the lack-of-food item. An alternative interpretation is that, given the Maguzawa ability to speak of unpleasant and shameful subjects, relatively frequent mention of food deprivation might be just one more reflection of this generalized uninhibitedness. Some support for this alternative interpretation is offered by the fact that the Maguzawa did not mention farming significantly more often than the Moslem Hausa, though the trend was in the predicted direction. The subsistence anxiety hypothesis cannot be accepted as proven.

Another ambiguity is generated by the higher Maguzawa score on mention of females. While statistically significant, the magnitude of the difference is not very great (.389). This difference could be interpreted as greater need for women among the Maguzawa, or as reflecting the higher status of women among the non-Moslems. Or merely a result of the lower Maguzawa inhibitedness. The meaningfulness of this group difference therefore remains dubious for lack of related data.

To conclude this section on a clearer note, the lack of difference between the groups in mutilation and total wordage scores indicate that they were matched for degree of familiarity with Western representational art,

and that there was no overall difference between them in responsiveness to the TAT.

The Self-Status-Rating

Administered along with the TAT, and partially compensating for its lack of usefulness in the areas of prestige and status, was the self-status-rating (SSR). Since the "Emir" was on the left side of the 14 cm. line, and the "leper" on the right, the higher the score (measured in centimeters) the lower the respondent's self-status-rating. It is possible to speak of relative social status in positional metaphors in Hausa (indeed, the idiom itself sparked the idea of this type of rating scale), so that the task was not a totally strange one for the respondents. Nevertheless, many subjects were confused by it. To increase the validity of the test, the endpoints were dropped out--anyone who considered himself within 2 cm. of the Emir or of a leper probably did not understand the scale or was being facetious. A further reduction of the sample size occurred inadvertently when it was discovered that the Maguzawa TAT administrator had not remembered to administer the SSR until after his first ten days in the field. The coming of the rains made it impractical for him to return to most of these omitted respondents.

TABLE 4[a]

MEAN SELF-STATUS-RATINGS FOR VILLAGERS AND MAGUZAWA

	N	Mean
Village	92	6.423
Maguzawa	48	7.562

[a]Difference between means significant at the .05 (one-tailed) level.

As shown in Table 4, Maguzawa rate themselves, on the average, as being closer to a leper than do the Hausa villagers--that is, Maguzawa rate themselves as being lower in status in accordance with prediction. It may therefore be said that, to a considerable extent, Maguzawa accept the lower position which the larger society accords them. Note that the two groups were not asked to rate themselves vis-a-vis each other, but to the symbolic extremes of the social spectrum.

Within-group Differences

Though the focus of this study is a comparison of Moslem Hausa and Maguzawa, and variables were derived from the TAT accordingly, it would seem uneconomical to restrict the analysis to just those two groups. Data were, therefore, collected on ethnic origin, age, wealth, and birth order. This section represents a brief and opportunistic exploration of the TAT data via these variables. Mean scores will be presented only when they approach statistical significance.

Ethnic background differences

This section is applicable only to the Hausa villagers. Though there were several types of Maguzawa, these were largely intermarried and intermingled, and they themselves said that the differences were purely of the past and carried no present-day significance. Observation seemed to bear out these statements. For the villagers, however, it was clear that those of Fulani origin held themselves apart. It might be said that they constituted the upper-class of the village. There were all degrees of Fulani background, ranging from those who claimed it but were known to be merely the descendants of slaves of the Fulani; to those who had given up a pastoral life within their own life-times, and whose physiognomy, dress, carriage, and accent

were clearly Fulani. For purposes of the census enumeration, and therefore for the TAT, "Fulani" was defined by the respondent himself. Anyone who described himself as "Fulani" was labelled Fulani. While this method no doubt resulted in the inclusion of pretentious Hausa and the exclusion of modest Fulani, it seemed the most appropriate way--short of the collection of in-depth genealogies--to differentiate between Fulani and non-Fulani.

A T-test was run between those villagers who described themselves as being Fulani (31) and those who did not (108). Only a single variable differentiated between them, chatting. Mean non-Fulani score was 1.453, mean Fulani score .870, differences significant at the .05 level (two-tailed). Since some nineteen variables were compared, it is doubtful that a single significance at the .05 level is in any way meaningful.

For only one variable was there actually a prediction made, the self-status-rating (SSR). Since village Fulani are acknowledged by all to be of higher status, and certainly so described themselves, it seemed reasonable to test if they rated themselves as being higher. The mean of the non-Fulani group (N equals 72) was 6.652, that of the Fulani-origin group 5.600 (N equals 20). Endpoints were omitted, as discussed previously. The difference between the two groups is not statistically significant, but the trend is in the predicted direction and the absolute difference between the groups is comparable to that between the Hausa villagers, as a whole, and the Maguzawa. Individuals describing themselves as being of Fulani origin rate themselves as being higher in status (further from the leper and closer to the Emir) than do those of non-Fulani origin.

Age differences

Age estimates for the villagers could easily be checked by the investigator, but those for the Maguzawa were more difficult. On the whole,

therefore, the two groups of age classifications are not comparable, and village Hausa and Maguzawa must therefore be compared separately.

Hausa villagers

A one-way analysis of variance with the three age-groups (under 30, 30 to 44, over 44) was done. For no TAT-derived variables were there significant F-ratios. However, for the self-status-rating, with endpoints removed, a difference did emerge, with F equals 3.779 (2 df.) significant at the .03 level (see Table 5).

TABLE 5

SSR MEANS FOR THREE VILLAGE AGE-GROUPS

Age-group	Mean	N
Under 30	5.55	18
30 to 44	7.07	55
Over 44	5.17	17

Interestingly, the relationship between age and SSR might almost be described as curvilinear: the young and the old consider themselves more important than the middle-aged. Since the SSR may be regarded as having been validated by its congruence with observed status differentials among groups (Moslem Hausa, Maguzawa, Fulani), this curvilinear relationship between age and self-rated-status must be regarded as a real phenomenon. The years between 30 and 45 objectively represent a time of relatively low status (compared to the old) but relatively high responsibility. In the village of Wurinsalla, most men in this age category are independent, faced with heavy responsibility but with few resources. Probably they see themselves as less

important than they did as carefree youths, and not as important as they will feel when they are older, with grown sons of their own. That this difference is not found for the Maguzawa probably is due to the fact that most Maguzawa men in this age category are not compound heads, and are therefore under less strain.

Maguzawa

For the Maguzawa, a similar one-way analysis of variance was done for the three age-groups. Three variables were found to differ significantly: unofficial punishment, adultery, and mention of a mallam (see Table 6). The first will not be discussed owing to its low reliability.

TABLE 6

TAT ADULTERY AND MALLAM MEANS FOR THREE MAGUZAWA AGE-GROUPS

Item	Under 30	30-44	Over 44	F-ratio	Significance
Adultery	1.00	.22	.29	6.441	.003
Mallam	.88	.61	.31	2.939	.05
N	9	36	41	.....	....

The age-difference in adultery scores does not seem to be of overwhelming significance, probably reflecting the fact that young men think more of adultery (and are more likely to be frequent adulterers) than older ones. But the difference in mallam scores may reflect a generational, rather than developmental, variable. It seems clear that Moslem influence on the Maguzawa is stronger now than ever before, and this influence apparently has influenced the perception of figures in the TAT drawings.

Wealth differences

For neither the Hausa nor the Maguzawa was there any significant relationship between wealth rating and a TAT variable. The wealth ratings were just that--ratings of economic success made by local judges. Apparently economic success among Moslem villagers and Maguzawa has little to do with the type of variables derived from the TAT.

The single relationship found with wealth was to the SSR, for the Maguzawa only. Even this did not reach statistical significance (.07). The mean SSRs for the three wealth categories are presented in Table 7. The least wealthy rate themselves lower in status than do the more prosperous categories, further corroborating the validity of the SSR.

TABLE 7

MEAN SELF-STATUS-RATINGS FOR EACH OF THREE MAGUZAWA WEALTH CATEGORIES

Wealthy	6.85
Average	6.53
Poor	8.54

Birth order differences

Given the shame-relationship existing between first-born and parents, it seemed interesting to compare early-born with later-born individuals on the TAT and also on the SSR. Table 8 compares the means of first-born individuals with those of the later-born, for those items on which there is some birth order effect (or at least trend) for either the village Hausa or Maguzawa. For both groups, first-born tend to see more illness, adultery, and sexual activity than later-born, and less conversation (chatting).

TABLE 8

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BIRTH ORDER AND MEAN TAT SCORES AND SELF-STATUS-RATINGS FOR VILLAGE HAUSA AND MAGUZAWA

Variable	Moslem Hausa		Maguzawa	
	First Born	Others	First Born	Others
N	28	111	19	67
Illness	2.464*	1.972	1.526	1.253
Chatting	.785**	1.459	.894*	1.567
Adultery	.428**	.153	.631**	.253
Sex	.142*	.027	.315	.194
Farming	.285	.378	1.000**	.313
N	19	73	12	36
SSR	5.578	6.643	8.750	7.166

All tests are two-tailed.

*Significance at the .05 level.

**Significance at the .005 level.

Maguzawa first-born see more farming than later-born, though this relationship does not hold true for the Moslem Hausa. None of the SSR differences were statistically significant, though the fact that birth-order effects are reversed for the two groups is certainly intriguing. It is unfortunate that additional data on differential treatment of first-born are lacking.

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has described the process of constructing a Hausa TAT, its administration and subsequent analysis. The primary purpose of the TAT was to validate observer intuition and impression, and in this it was successful. The chief behavioral difference between Moslem Hausa and Maguzawa revealed by participant observation was that the Maguzawa are less inhibited, more spontaneous, more relaxed, less formal. On the TAT, Maguzawa mentioned sex, adultery, and shame more often than the Hausa, and were also rated as less psychologically constricted on a scale of conscious control and constriction. Thus, the TAT data confirm ethnographic impression.

As a secondary purpose, it was hoped that the TAT would reveal unsuspected relationships. In this it was successful more in pointing out some of the areas in which further research is needed, rather than in revealing definite facts. Serendipitous results were occasionally striking, but generally ambiguous for lack of relevant data.

APPENDIX I

ESTABLISHMENT AND ROLE OF THE FIELDWORKER

Rural Hausa retain more of their colonial heritage than do their urban brothers: white skin means high status. Arriving in the village with a knowledge of basic Hausa,[1] but little real speaking ability, made conversation at first impossible. The presence of a retinue consisting of a cook, interpreter, and man-Friday combined with the high-status skin to indicate that I did not speak to them directly not so much because I could not, but because I was too important to. After all, a peasant speaks to the lesser nobles and not to the Emir himself! My efforts to at least greet people were simply ignored. And my assistant and interpreter, not unwilling to shine in reflected glory, did little to reduce my status to ordinary human proportions.

High status meant high wealth to the villagers, and many of them were frankly exploitative. Thus, immediately on taking up residence in the village, I was approached by a man wishing to become my client, selling merchandise for me. Another asked for a tractor. Another, confusing me with the fair-skinned agricultural extension workers of colonial days (Turawan gona) asked for manure. (Unfortunately, the interpreter rendered taki, manure, with the term usually reserved for translating kashi, human excrement. This was rather unsettling.) Others, in the village, expected

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[1] The basic Hausa was obtained during a single semester at the School for Oriental and African Studies (University of London), under the tutelage of C.B.G. Gidley.

gifts in return for the smallest service, or no service at all. For the fieldworker, conscious of a limited budget yet perceived as limitlessly wealthy, there was an ambience of greed restrained by convention. But just barely restrained.

Many villagers, of course, made no demands. Some supplied gifts. The wealthy son of the Village Head even lent a small "guest's compound" as a residence. Yet they all expected something, even though they did not know what it would be, and looked forward to being pleasantly surprised. There was the vague but strong belief that the presence of a white man in the village should somehow change things, improve things, make some difference. There was, for the fieldworker, the "uncomfortable feeling . . . of being the focus of unvoiced expectations" (Read, 1965, p. 108). As time went on and these expectations were not met, the villagers felt cheated and there was disgruntlement. The wealthy alhaji who had provided living accommodations now hinted that he might need the room back, and lodged a series of other guests in the room opposite it (originally promised to my assistants). An angry employee (the cook) spread rumors of how unkind and ungenerous I was, how I really had come to the village to "spoil" their maidens, and how I constantly ate pork. Since I was unmarried--a highly anomalous and shameful state by Hausa standards--and a non-Moslem (and thus free to eat pork, though in fact it was practically unobtainable)--these allegations were believed by many.

No single solution solved all these problems, and probably time and patience on the part of all concerned deserve the largest share of credit. Isolation from the villagers was handled by concentrated language study and by constant, unescorted walks about the village. Since it was considered unnatural for a high status person to walk unescorted, practically the first

Hausa I learned was, "Kai kadai, kana yawo?" (you are walking around all by yourself?). Hausa greet each other at considerable length early in the morning, and by appearing at dawn I was automatically included in the hum of ritual questions and answers. Hausa also joke and tease constantly, and soon a routine of pleasurable banter established itself.[1]

It was also necessary to curb the increasingly forceful demands for gifts from the Village Head. While small gifts--usually of European foods brought from town--were readily given at first, these demands escalated. A visit to the Emir of Zaria served to impress the Village Head, as did visiting (and in time becoming friends with) the District Head. Asking a relative of one of my assistants to visit me, a very respected old Hausa man and a former title-holder, also helped to impress upon the Village Head that I was not to be considered a dangerous, alien, un-Moslem interloper; but that I was accepted and respected by the traditional "establishment" (from the Emir on down).

Nevertheless, the ordinary villagers still expected something. And I certainly agreed that they should derive some benefit as recompense for the inconvenience of entertaining a nosy stranger among them, one who asked odd questions and turned up everywhere. The solution was to become the local "doctor," as so many other anthropologists have done. Dr. Francis Bernard, Senior Medical Officer of Ahmadu Bello University, was kind enough to spend a day in the village treating many villagers and teaching me the rudiments of medicine. Though there was a dispensary only four miles from

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[1] For example, a tired-looking man would be told to leave old women alone, the implication being that he was losing his strength by having intercourse with women older than himself. Or an old man would tell me how old I was growing. And anyone asking for money in public was told that I was so poor I was hungry. Or that I was the guest in the village, and he should give me gifts--a rather shaming statement which would bring nods of agreement from onlookers.

the village, many villagers refused to visit it. They complained that they had to pay for services, an allegation which was untrue; they automatically would give the dispensary attendant gifts upon receiving treatment, but experiment showed that he treated these gifts as optional, and would not turn away those who repeatedly did not pay. Not only were many villagers unaware that payment was unnecessary, they also thought that the same drugs supplied by the dispenser were more efficacious when received from a white man's hands. Patients with illnesses too severe for the limited skills of a one-day doctor were offered transportation to Zaria General Hospital. Dr. Bernard was kind enough to treat emergency cases brought to him.

A less successful attempt to be of service was an offer to teach reading to those adults who wished to learn (there was no school in the village until some six months before my departure). This effort was abandoned after several months when it became clear that the students would not attend regularly enough to make the attempt worthwhile. I assigned my "man-Friday," who was thoroughly literate in Hausa, to continue to tutor those who came to him. He was also able to take over much of the routine of medical care (dispensing aspirin, washing wounds and applying antiseptic, etc.).

Real work with the Maguzawa did not begin until after seven months residence in the village. At first I feared that the Moslem villagers would resent my paying attention to the despised Maguzawa. However, as my assistant explained it, everything I did was considered to be so crazy anyway that no one was surprised to see me visiting Maguzawa. When I finally moved into my new compound (which I had built), a pious and respected village mallam led the prayers to ensure that all would be well with the new habitation; after

which, Maguzawa girls performed their usual bare-breasted dances, and then the bori adepts their spirit-possession ones.

No difficulties whatsoever were experienced in gaining rapport with the Maguzawa. In part this was because much less fieldwork was attempted among them--I visited Maguzawa, deep in the bush--but I lived in the Moslem Hausa village. The Maguzawa were, in general, so flattered to have a high-status person (a white) paying attention to them, that it was only necessary to assure them that I was neither a missionary nor a government official. Drinking (and paying for) their beer established that I was a human being, while the gift of several bottles of Star beer to the chief (Sarkin Arna) demonstrated that I was even better than a human being. In the end, the main difficulty was persuading them that I did not want to marry one of their girls. The assistant to the Sarkin Arna, his Wakili, had had some missionary education. He was extremely intelligent and capable, and became a good friend and reliable informant. It was possible to send him out interviewing his own relatives and friends, bringing back reliable notes on his questions and their answers. It cannot be denied that I personally felt more comfortable and certainly was more readily accepted among the Maguzawa than among the Moslem Hausa. This probably reflects some of the differences between the two groups described in Chapter III.

APPENDIX II

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF SURVEY DATA

Introduction

Considerable survey data were systematically collected during the first six months of fieldwork in Wurinsalla. The village was mapped and each compound assigned a coded designation. Then, one by one, the compound heads were intensively interviewed. Interviews were standardized and were conducted by the fieldworker with an assistant. Most interviewees were given two shillings (28 cents) as compensation for time lost from their fields, while the more wealthy were given kola-nut (which is almost always appropriate to give in Hausa society). Topics covered included demography, residence history, marital history of each resident of the compound, number of economic units within the compound and any dependency relationships, crafts or dry-season occupations, number of children, Koranic education, and work pattern of children.

All data on women are of suspect validity, since they were obtained exclusively from interviews with males (women being in seclusion). In general, data on women who were still in their first marriage are likely to be trustworthy; but for women married previously, there is no reason to assume that their husbands were fully informed as to their past histories.

When fieldwork with the Maguzawa was begun, an interview similar to that used for the village was administered. An assistant with personal characteristics pleasing to the Maguzawa (he was an alcoholic) was assigned to be administrator, assisted by the Wakili (assistant) of the Sarkin Arna.

Since it was not possible to conduct an aerial survey, it is possible that some compounds were missed, though not likely, since each person was regularly asked as to his neighbors. In general here, too, interviewees were usually senior males: questioning women would have been considered a strange and possibly alarming action. Rather than give interviewees two shillings each (as done with the villagers), the administrator spent the money on beer. This increased rapport and loosened inhibitions, though it slowed down the rate of work and may not have been unrelated to the quantity of motorcycle accidents the administrator was involved in (since he rode a Honda in the field).

After the village and Maguzawa surveys were completed, it was decided (as an afterthought) that perhaps the isolated Moslem Hausa--called "bush Hausa"--had been neglected. In general, these Hausa closely resemble the lowest social stratum of the village, which as a matter of fact is largely of bush origin. Just as analysis of the village showed that this stratum is the closest to the Maguzawa in demeanor, deportment, and status, so too does the survey largely show that these bush Hausa are, as a whole, intermediate in a variety of dimensions between the villagers and the Maguzawa. Unfortunately, the rainy season had already begun by the time the bush Hausa were interviewed, and transportation was exceedingly difficult. Therefore, only a small number of bush Hausa--all those living along a particular path perhaps two and one-half miles in length--were surveyed. It is not at all clear that this group should be considered as representative of any particular population. For example, if they are to be considered representative of those Hausa who are more rural than a village the size of Wurinsalla without, however, being Maguzawa, then are they also representative of those hamlets which consist of four to five large compounds? Being rural is a

matter of degree. Nevertheless, for whatever interest they may hold, the bush Hausa are included in those tables for which data on them are available.

The survey data are presented in the form of tables, with the discussion keyed to the tables, rather than the other way around. The tables may be roughly categorized into four groups: those dealing with whole compounds, with adult males, with adult females, and those dealing with children.

Table 9--Duration of Residence in Area for Three Groups, by Compounds

This table clearly shows that both the villagers and the Maguzawa are newcomers to this region. The compound heads of 46 per cent of village and 71 per cent of Maguzawa households arrived in their respective areas less than five years prior to the survey. Only 10 per cent of the villagers and none of the Maguzawa originally came from the Wurinsalla area or arrived there as dependent children. In contrast, more than half of the bush Hausa have either lived in their area over 25 years or are natives. Since the census on which this table is based was conducted, this influx has continued (at least into 1970).

Table 10--Origin of Those not Native to Region, by Compounds

This table shows that Wurinsalla owes much of its population growth first to Southern Katsina, then to the surrounding hamlets and bush. It has already been seen (in Table 9) that the bush population is growing little compared to that of the village; now we see evidence that much of its population is actually moving to the village. When such people were asked why they had come to the town from the nearby bush, they would first reply that

TABLE 9

DURATION OF RESIDENCE IN AREA FOR THREE GROUPS, BY COMPOUNDS[a]

Group	Time in Area					N	Average Years in Area for Non-natives
	Native, or Arrived as Small Child	Over 25 Years, but not Native	5-25 Years	2-4 Years	One Year or Less		
Village	10	5	38	24	22	98	6.79
Maguzawa	0	0	30	56	15	54	3.85
Bush Hausa	45	9	18	27	0	22	11.00

[a] Figures are given in percentages.

TABLE 10

ORIGIN OF THOSE NOT NATIVE TO REGION, BY COMPOUNDS[a]

Group	Origin						N
	Within 20 Miles of Present Residence	Elsewhere in Zaria Emirate, Beyond 20 Miles	Kano	Southern Katsina	Sokoto	None of the Above	
Village	30	6	11	39	6	8	93
Maguzawa	11	11	0	76	2	0	54
Bush Hausa	75	8	0	8	8	0	12

[a] Figures are given in percentages.

they came because they like people and were lonely, second that there was little water in the bush during the dry season and the Local Authority had dug wells at Wurinsalla. Since Table 9 showed that none of the Maguzawa were born in their present area, the 11 per cent in the "within 20 miles of present abode" category have apparently made more than one move in their life-times. This is not uncommon for either Moslem Hausa or Maguzawa.

Table 11--Ethnic Origin of Wurinsalla Residents, by Compounds

Unfortunately, comparable data were not collected for bush Hausa (though most of them would probably have fitted into the "Hausa only" category). This "Hausa only" category means that, whatever their origin may originally have been, the people now think of themselves as "Hausa." Some of them may be of Maguzawa origin, but this shameful fact would of course be hidden. Only one man in the village admits to being a former Bamaguje, and he is given the derisive name of Arne, "pagan." Many of those calling themselves "Fulani" have only recently lost their cattle and still speak the language, but most of them claim only that their fathers or grandfathers spoke it. Some of the children gleefully corrected me when I referred to certain people as "Fulani," saying that "they are Mangarawa, bayin Fulani," descendants of Mandingo slaves of the Fulani.

Tables 12 to 15--Breakdown of Population by Compound

The compound is the basic social and economic unit of Hausa life, so that it seems logical to begin a demographic analysis by first looking at it. We have already seen that many of the inhabitants of this area are newcomers, so that they have not yet had the opportunity to build up large compounds. Compounds range in population from 1 to 48, but in older Maguzawa

TABLE 11

ETHNIC ORIGIN OF WURINSALLA VILLAGE RESIDENTS, BY COMPOUNDS[a]

Origin						N
Hausa Only	Fulani	Maguzawa	Gobir	Kanuri	Buzu (Tuareg Serf)	
69	26	1	1	2	1	99

[a]Figures are given in percentages.

TABLE 12

ADULT MALES[a] PER COMPOUND, PER GROUP[c]

Group	Number of Adult Males per Compound					N	Mean
	0-1[b]	2	3	4-5	Over 5		
Village	70	17	7	3	3	99	1.59
Maguzawa	35	26	13	9	17	54	3.07
Bush Hausa	68	18	15	9	0	22	1.55

[a]"Adult" means married or formerly married, or pays own tax.

[b]One compound in the village, that of an old woman, contained no adult male.

[c]Figures are given in percentages.

TABLE 13

ADULT[a] FEMALES PER COMPOUND, PER GROUP[b]

Group	Number of Adult Females per Compound					N	Mean
	0-1	2	3	4-5	Over 5		
Village	55	20	12	8	5	99	1.96
Maguzawa	28	28	7	15	12	54	3.35
Bush Hausa	41	32	3	14	0	22	2.00

[a]"Adult" means married or formerly married.

[b]Figures are given in percentages.

[c]N = number of compounds.

TABLE 14

BOYS AND GIRLS PER COMPOUND, PER GROUP[a]

Group		Number of Boys and Girls per Compound					Mean	N[b]
		0-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	Over 8		
Village	Boys	85	6	8	0	1	1.38	99
	Girls	88	11	0	0	1	1.03	
Maguzawa	Boys	56	15	11	11	7	3.61	54
	Girls	59	11	11	6	4	2.69	
Bush Hausa	Boys	91	9	0	0	0	.91	22
	Girls	95	0	5	0	0	.64	

[a] Figures refer to percentage of that horizontal row.

[b] "N" refers to number of compounds.

TABLE 15

TOTAL RESIDENTS PER COMPOUND, PER GROUP[a]

Group	Number of Residents per Compound					Mean	N
	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-19	Over 19		
Village	61	30	5	2	2	5.94	99
Maguzawa	22	37	17	2	22	12.72	54
Bush Hausa	73	18	5	5	0	5.09	22

[a]Figures refer to percentages of compounds.

settlements a single compound may contain as many as several hundred people. However, in Wurinsalla most of the village and bush Hausa live in compounds that contain one to five residents, while those of the Maguzawa tend to be considerably larger. The mean number of inhabitants of a Maguzawa compound is 12.72, more than twice as many as the 5.94 village Hausa mean or the 5.09 of the bush Hausa. The sex-breakdown reveals that, for all groups, there appears to be more females than males among the adults, but more males than females among the children. This demographic impossibility represents a social reality which the census reflects; marriage is what distinguishes child from adult among the Hausa, and girls marry much earlier than boys. No age data is available, but boys marry perhaps six years later than do girls. This helps to prevent the shortage of women otherwise caused by polygyny, and by the belief that a woman grows "too old" to be married much sooner than does a man.

Table 16--The Gandu System

A gandu is the name given to the farm which is headed by a family's senior male and which provides the bulk of the family's food. For M. G. Smith (1955[b]) the ideal Hausa compound contains a single gandu, meaning that all residents of the compound constitute a single economic and work unit. Other males in the compound, usually sons or brothers of the head, rely on the gandu produce for their basic subsistence, tax payment, and usually marriage payments as well. A compound may contain more than one gandu, however, in which case the compound consists of more than one economic unit (work unit), and contains more than one economically independent male. Paying one's own tax is usually associated with having one's own gandu (though occasionally adolescents pay it from their gayauna produce), or at least with being economically independent. Table 16 classifies a compound as containing more

TABLE 16

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF COMPOUNDS, BY GROUP[a]

Group	Who Pays Tax in Compound				N[b]
	One Individual Only Eligible	Compound Head Pays for Others	Other Taxpayers Present	Compound Head Does Not Pay Tax	
Village	61	14	16	8	98
Maguzawa	32	28	40	0	54
Dush Hausa	68	23	9	0	22

[a] Figures refer to percentages of compounds.

[b] "N" refers to number of compounds.

than one economic unit if any male in it was described during the census interview as either paying his tax or having his own gandu. We have already seen that Maguzawa compounds are larger and contain more adult males than do their village equivalents: we now see that Maguzawa compounds are more likely to contain additional ganduna (s. gandu)--that is, to be multiple-compound--than are village Hausa. In 40 per cent of Maguzawa compounds there is more than one gandu, while 28 per cent of their compounds contain dependent adult males; but only 16 per cent of village Hausa compounds contain more than one work-unit (gandu), and 14 per cent have dependent adult males. Thus, Maguzawa compounds containing adult males are more likely to have these males economically independent than are village compounds. However, this fact may be an artifact of the newness of the Maguzawa settlements. Many of these economically-independent adults are only temporary compound members--they will build for themselves once they have cleared and prepared a farm. Evidence for the temporariness of these multiple-gandu compounds comes from the bush Hausa. They are the oldest group in the Wurinsalla area, and also have lowest percentage of compounds with more than one adult male.

To summarize, Maguzawa compounds usually contain more than one male eligible to pay tax, and he is more likely to be economically independent of the compound head than he is to be dependent. For village Hausa, the majority of compounds contain only a single eligible tax-payer, and if there are others they are as likely to be economically independent as dependent.

Table 17--The Practice of Wife Seclusion

This table is based on whether the compound head described the women of the compound as being in seclusion or not. For reasons of simplification, no distinction was made between the two degrees of seclusion, kulle (locked) and tsare (guarded). Maguzawa are excluded because they do not practice wife seclusion. Some 88 per cent of the village and 21 per cent of the bush Hausa claimed to practice some degree of wife seclusion; in actual practice the figures would probably be lower, particularly for the bush Hausa. These latter would often explain in an apologetic manner that they did not seclude their wives because, "who is there to see them, in the bush?" Among village Hausa who did not practice seclusion, the usual explanation would be that they were of bush origin and there is no kulle in the bush, but in the future (i.e., when they changed wives), they would practice it.

TABLE 17

PERCENTAGE OF COMPOUNDS PRACTICING WIFE SECLUSION, BY GROUP

Group	Seclusion	None	N
Village	88	12	94
Bush Hausa	21	79	19

Table 18--Percentages of Adults in Age and Sex Categories, by Group

This table's data imply either that the three groups differ considerably by age-breakdown or that the age data are unreliable. All ages

are, of course, estimates. The purpose of such rough categories was to counter the suspected lack of reliability, a purpose which apparently has not been accomplished. Census data were collected for the village by myself, for the Maguzawa and the bush Hausa by an assistant. Though some time was taken in training him to make age estimates, it was apparent at the time that the assistant had a strong tendency to overstate ages. For this reason, differences among groups shown in the table should be dismissed. (In addition, in those analyses of the TAT which include age as a variable, it should be borne in mind that these data include much error variance.)

TABLE 18

PERCENTAGES OF ADULTS IN AGE AND SEX CATEGORIES, BY GROUP

Group	Sex	Age Category			N
		Under 30[a]	30-44	Over 44	
Village	Male	32	41	28	158
	Female	59	29	12	193
Maguzawa	Male	15	46	39	156
	Female	36	41	23	180
Bush Hausa	Male	24	44	32	34
	Female	48	30	23	44

[a]"Under 30" means under age 30 and is or has been married, or is single but economically independent.

Table 19--Percentages of Adult Males Doing and Giving Wage-labor, by Group

This item was originally included as an index of economic status. The rationale was that the poor would have to do agricultural wage-labor (kwadugo); while the more successful would either never give it nor do it, or would both give and do it, though on separate occasions. The index appears to be successful in categorizing the villagers by economic status, though the "does" category has probably been underestimated due to the pride of those interviewed. Settlement pattern makes kwadugo less important for bush Hausa and Maguzawa. Living in relatively isolated compounds, they are unlikely to hear of people either needing or hiring kwadugo. Maguzawa also have less need of extra labor than others, with their larger compound size and women in the fields.

TABLE 19

PERCENTAGES OF ADULT MALES DOING AND GIVING WAGE-LABOR, BY GROUP

Group	Wage-labor			N
	Does	Both[a]	Gives	
Village	26	37	37	155
Maguzawa	8	92	1	156
Bush Hausa	12	62	26	34

[a]"Both" indicates either both does and hires wage-labor (on different occasions); or else does neither.

Table 20--Economic Independence and Dependence of Adult Males, by Group

In Table 16 we saw that Maguzawa compounds are more likely to contain independent males than are village compounds. But now we see that if we take the individual male as the unit, rather than the compound, differences among the groups practically vanish. Putting all those who have *separate compounds* together with those men *who share* a compound but have their own gandu, we find that for all three groups, approximately 75 per cent of the adult males are economically independent. Of those who are dependent, about 10 per cent are dependent on their own fathers and (for villagers and Maguzawa) an additional 10 per cent on other paternal kin. (Of course, the definition of "adult male" used in the census minimized the number who might be considered dependent, since those who were neither married nor possessors of a gandu were classified as "children." This was in accord with emic categorisation.) That only one mallam is listed as "dependent on alms" indicates that he was the only one to describe himself as solely dependent on alms, the others owning farms (as almost all villagers do, whatever other occupations they follow). Naturally, there are no mallams among the Maguzawa.

Table 21--Mean Number of Children Sired, Alive and Dead, for Adult Males, by Group

This table represents an attempt to get some estimate of child mortality rate. It is not totally successful, since there is no way of knowing the ages at which the children died. The village data probably represent an underestimate of the number of children dead, judging from the other two groups. It will be noted that adding the number of children

TABLE 20

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE AND DEPENDENCE OF ADULT MALES, BY GROUP[a]

Group	Economic Independence/Dependence						N
	Indepen.	Dep. on Fa.	Dep. on Fa-s[b]	Dep. Other[c]	Elderly[d]	Dep. on Alms[e]	
Village	80	8	6	3	3	1	157
Maguzawa	76	10	7	0	6	0	153
Bush Hausa	79	12	8	0	0	0	34

[a] Figures indicate percentage of adult males.

[b] Dependent on father substitute (agnatic kinsman).

[c] Dependent on non-agnatic kin.

[d] Aged, formerly independent individual.

[e] Mallam (Koranic scholar)

TABLE 21

MEAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN SIRED, ALIVE, AND DEAD, FOR ADULT MALES, BY GROUP

Group	Mean Number of Children						Alive/Sired	Dead/Sired
	Sired	N[a]	Alive	N[a]	Dead	N[a]		
Village	3.27	81	2.42	152	1.40	82	.74	.26
Maguzawa	5.64	142	2.67	156	3.00	142	.47	.53
Bush Hausa	4.24	34	1.44	34	2.79	34	.34	.66

[a]"N" refers to the number of adult males used in computing each mean. Note that the Ns differ.

alive to the number dead does not produce the number sired, since the Ns are different for each category. The difference for the village group between the sum of alive and dead (3.82) and the number sired (3.27) indicates a serious lack of reliability. This difficulty may stem from the fact that all those who remembered how many children of theirs were dead could also remember how many children were alive, but the converse was not true; many men could recall how many children they had alive, but not how many they had dead. And this latter category seem to have remembered far more alive than did those who could remember both alive and dead. The answer is probably that the older men, with their larger number of children, were mainly the ones who could not recall the dead as well as the alive. The net effect would be to underestimate the dead/sired ratio, the child mortality ratio. To judge from the Maguzawa and bush categories, in which this difficulty has apparently not (for reasons unknown) occurred, it seems fair to say that the average man has 4 to 6 children, of whom less than half are presently alive. Table 31, which uses data pertaining to adult women (though supplied by the same respondents who provided the male data), probably provides a much better estimate of child mortality.

It is interesting that the ranking of the three groups by fertility is the inverse of the ranking by child-mortality. This fact will be discussed in connection with Table 31, where it is repeated.

Table 22--Occurrence of Patronage and Clientage Among Adult Males

This table demonstrates that patron-client relationships, discussed by Smith (1959), are essentially urban phenomena. Only 10 per cent of village Hausa are clients, and these men are the clients of only three patrons. The occurrence is even less among Maguzawa, and does not occur

at all in the population of bush Hausa studied. The reason for this is simple: rural peasants have little need for clients who are associated with the aristocracy, with merchants, and with some skilled craftsman. The rural peasant will have not a client or servant, but a dan gida, a son of the compound. This is almost always a relative, usually agnatic, who in effect is an adopted son. Such "clients" were included in Table 22 only when they were not kin to the compound-head or one of its members and had not been present in the compound since childhood. There is, of course, no sharp line between this near-adoption and actually being a client. Indeed, the clientage relationship itself may be said to be modeled after the kinship relation.

TABLE 22

OCCURRENCE OF PATRONAGE AMONG ADULT MALES[a]

Group	Clientage and Patronage			N
	Client	Neither	Patron	
Village	10	86	3	157
Maguzawa	2	97	1	156
Bush Hausa	0	100	0	34

[a]Figures indicate percentage of adult males.

Table 23--Marital Status of Adult Males

Marriage is considered the normal state for an adult. To be independent but to never have been married is anamolous, and the less than one out of twenty adult males in this state are either orphans, or young men who have left home in search of land and are newcomers to Wurinsalla. All of

them plan to marry as soon as they accumulate sufficient funds. Even more anamolous and shameful is the state of having been widowed or divorced, but not having remarried. Some of this latter category (approximately 10 per cent of all groups) consists of very old men, feeble and/or senile. Most of it consists of men too poor to remarry or with behavior not deviant enough to be considered mad, yet deviant enough to dissuade any woman from marrying them. The two groups of unmarried men share the problem of getting cooked food. It is considered so shameful as to be unheard of for a man to cook for himself, even if he were willing to neglect his farm for the hours Hausa food preparation requires. So most unmarried men rely on relatives or close friends for food or an old woman; or, if they can afford it, on a courtesan whom they take to live with them. In the last case, the cooking function of the courtesan is seen as the primary one.

TABLE 23

MARITAL STATUS OF ADULT MALES, BY GROUP[a]

Group	Marital Status						N
	Never Married	Formerly Married	One Wife	Two Wives	Three Wives	Four Wives	
Village	4	8	64	18	4	1	157
Maguzawa	5	10	65	17	4	0	155
Bush Hausa	3	9	71	15	0	3	34

[a]Figures indicate percentages of adult males.

As might be expected, most men (60 to 70 per cent) have only one wife, though Moslem law permits up to four. A wife is a major expense,

and a poor man must content himself with but one. For the village and Maguzawa groups, approximately 15 to 18 per cent have two wives, 4 per cent have three, and 0 to 1 per cent have four. Altogether 23 per cent of the village men, 21 per cent of the Maguzawa, and 13 per cent of bush Hausa have polygynous marriages.

Table 24.--Frequencies and Means of Marriages, Divorces, and Widowerhoods, for Adult Males, by Group

It should be noted that this table gives data for all adult males in each group, including those unmarried and those never married. Thus, the figure of 2.12 mean marriages per adult male village Hausa does not indicate that the average villager is married 2.12 times during his lifetime, but that he has been married that number of times at the point the census was taken. Surprisingly, the bush Hausa appear to both marry and divorce with considerably lower frequency than do village Hausa and Maguzawa, even though they are widowered at approximately the same rate. This lower divorce rate may be related to their lower frequency of polygynous marriage. Maguzawa men seem to both marry and divorce with considerably higher frequency than the villagers. A simple computation reveals the relative importance of divorce as opposed to widowerhoods in ending men's marriages. Of marriages ended, 27 per cent of village, 23 per cent of Maguzawa, and 55 per cent of bush Hausa marriages, ended in widowerhood rather than divorce. Thus, three times as many men's marriages end in divorce as end in bereavement for both village Hausa and for Maguzawa. Bush Hausa differ sharply, apparently because of their lower divorce rate.

TABLE 24

FREQUENCIES AND MEANS OF MARRIAGES, DIVORCES, AND WIDOWERHOODS, FOR ADULT MALES, BY GROUP

Group		Per Cent Adult Males per Category					Mean	N
		0	1	2-3	4-5	6-8		
Village	Marriages[a]	3	41	41	8	6	2.12	153
	Divorces	56	27	12	1	0	.64	154
	Widowerhoods	81	16	3	0	0	.23	153
	Div. and Wid.[b]	46	35	16	3	0	.86	153
Maguzawa	Marriages[a]	4	30	45	14	7	2.39	148
	Divorces	49	27	19	4	2	1.01	150
	Widowerhoods	76	18	6	0	0	.31	150
	Div. and Wid.[b]	39	31	22	5	4	1.32	147
Bush Hausa	Marriages[a]	0	56	35	9	0	1.68	34
	Divorces	82	6	12	0	0	.29	34
	Widowerhoods	79	15	6	0	0	.26	34
	Div. and Wid.[b]	68	15	18	0	0	.53	34

[a] Inclusive of present marriage(s).

[b] Divorces plus widowerhoods.

Table 25--Frequency of Koranic Study by Adult Males, by Group

For this table, "Koranic study" means that the respondent replied affirmatively to the question, "have you ever, or do you, engage in Koranic study?" Since respondents were embarrassed to say "no," the figures are probably somewhat overstated. What is more, the vagueness of the question enabled people who knew little more than how to pray to reply "yes." The interesting finding, therefore, is not the breakdown into percentages, but the fact that almost all the village and bush Hausa--that is, almost all of the Moslems--claimed to have studied Koran. The Maguzawa, not being Moslem, do not ordinarily study Koran. The 3 per cent who have represent individuals who have either considered coverting to Islam or actually have, but then returned to the pagan fold.

TABLE 25

FREQUENCY OF KORANIC STUDY BY ADULT MALES, BY GROUP

Group	Per Cent Koranic Study		N
	Study	None	
Village	91	9	154
Maguzawa	3	97	150
Bush Hausa	100	0	33

Table 26--Percentage of Adult Males with Extra-compound Kinsmen Dwelling within the Same Community, by Group

More than half of all adult males, in all groups, do not have relatives within their immediate area of residence. While most of these do have relatives within the village area of Wurinsalla, the willingness of Hausa to settle some distance from kin is striking and demonstrates the relative lack of importance of kinship among Moslem Hausa and Maguzawa, as compared to many other African peoples.

TABLE 26

PERCENTAGE OF ADULT MALES WITH EXTRA-COMPOUND KINSMEN DWELLING WITHIN THE SAME COMMUNITY, BY GROUP

Group	Kinsmen	None	N
Village	45	55	149
Maguzawa	43	57	156
Bush Hausa	41	59	34

Table 27--Percentage of Adult Males Exposed to Secular Education, by Group

This table does not indicate incidence of actual literacy in Hausa (none of the population had had exposure to English), but merely whether they had ever had any experience with any kind of secular education. For the villagers, almost all of those so exposed had had their experience with Yaki da Jahilci (Adult Education) lessons from the village scribe, who was literate in Hausa. For the Maguzawa, those exposed had

been taught by missionaries or by local students of the missionaries. Since missionaries were rarely active in the area of the study, most of them had had this experience before coming to Wurinsalla. Bush Hausa, being too far from the village for Yaki da Jahilci and being ignored by the missionaries (since they are Moslems), are untouched by secular education.

TABLE 27

PERCENTAGE OF ADULT MALES EXPOSED TO SECULAR EDUCATION, by GROUP

Group	Exposure to Education		N
	Exposure	Not	
Village	25	75	156
Maguzawa	8	92	155
Bush Hausa	0	100	33

Table 28—Percentages of Village and Maguzawa Males Falling into Three Wealth Categories

As a rough estimate of wealth, the question was asked of a committee of informants whether men bought grain during the just-before-harvest season when it was most expensive, whether they neither bought nor sold grain during this period, and whether they sold it. This procedure provided the three wealth categories. However, since the two groups were categorized by different sets of judges, the possibility arises that the resulting classifications are not comparable. Assuming that the two

groups were of equal wealth, Table 28 seems to indicate that the two sets of judges did apply the same standards.

TABLE 28

PERCENTAGES OF VILLAGE AND MAGUZAWA MALES FALLING IN THREE WEALTH CATEGORIES

Group	Wealth Category[a]			N
	One	Two	Three	
Village	12	27	61	110
Maguzawa	14	33	53	86

[a]One represents "prosperous," two represents "average or ordinary," and three represents "poor."

Table 29--Marital Status of Adult Women, by Group

It is considered unnatural and rather shameful for a woman to be unmarried. The only exception is the tsofuwa, the post-climacterium woman. Table 29 probably underestimates the number of unmarried women for two reasons: (1) many unmarried women are itinerant, either because they are prostitutes or because they are visiting several relatives in rotation (both for pleasure and to ensure meeting interested males); (2) because there was a tendency for compound-members to neglect to mention very old and often ill women living in the compound. On several occasions such women were discovered only when I was invited to actually enter the compound and happened to see them. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the ideal that women be married between puberty and menopause is largely met. The category, "not with husband," includes women who are not presently

living with their husbands either because the latter are away for some business reason, or because the women are old and prefer to remain with relatives, or must cook for a son who is currently wifeless (auren daukisanda, marriage of pick-up-a-staff, or auren takalmi, marriage of shoes--indicating a marriage in which husband and wife do not live together).

TABLE 29

MARITAL STATUS OF ADULT[a] WOMEN, BY GROUP

Group	Percentage			N
	Married	Not with Husband[b]	Not Married[c]	
Village	94	3	4	200
Maguzawa	94	1	6	181
Bush Hausa	91	0	9	44

[a]"Adult" means presently or formerly married.

[b]Married but not living in compound of husband.

[c]Either between marriages or "old woman."

Table 30--Frequency of Marriage for Adult Women, by Group

Since data on number of marriages were collected from the men, often from the husbands themselves, this table probably underestimates the number of times a woman has been married. The ethnographic estimate was that a woman is married three times during her life-time. If one uses only women in age category 3 (over 44), the average number of marriages rises to 2.04 for village women, 1.76 for Maguzawa and 1.44 for bush

Hausa women. So it is probably safe to say that the minimum estimate for number of marriages per woman for her life-time is between two and three, and perhaps closer to two. Of course, some women marry but once, and others change husbands regularly every several years. The lower marriage and divorce rates of bush Hausa, first seen in the data on men, are here confirmed. The mean number of marriages is less for women than for men (see Table 24), reflecting either a larger number of women than men, or male ignorance of women's pasts (since the men were the one's interviewed). The latter interpretation seems most plausible, and it is unfortunate that a female interviewer was not available.

TABLE 30

FREQUENCY OF MARRIAGE[a] FOR ADULT WOMEN, BY GROUP

Group	Percentages in Number-of-Marriages Categories				N	Mean
	1	2	3	4-6		
Village	60	23	10	7	193	1.67
Maguzawa	52	38	8	2	181	1.59
Bush Hausa	74	21	5	0	39	1.31

[a]Includes present marriage, if any.

Table 31--Mean Number of Children Born, Alive, and Dead for Adult Woman, by Group

This table provides for the women data equivalent to that dealing with the men in Table 21. The average woman has given birth three to four times, and approximately half of those children survive. It should be

TABLE 31

MEAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN, ALIVE, AND DEAD, FOR ADULT WOMEN, BY GROUP

Group	Mean Number of Children per Woman					Al/T[b]	D/T[c]
	Alive	N[a]	Dead	N[a]	Total		
Village	1.93	194	1.45	174	3.39	.57	.43
Maguzawa	2.40	181	2.00	180	4.40	.55	.45
Bush Hausa	1.29	42	2.36	42	3.64	.35	.65

[a]"N" indicates number of women for whom data were available.

[b]Ratio of mean children alive per woman over mean total born.

[c]Ratio of mean deceased children per woman over mean of total children born.

noted that, as was also shown in Table 21, Maguzawa appear to be considerably more fertile than either of the other two groups.

It will be recalled that Table 21 included a rather unsuccessful attempt to estimate the child mortality rate using data on male fertility. Table 31 appears to have been more successful. For Moslem village and Maguzawa women, approximately 43 to 45 out of every hundred of their children are dead. In order to approximate a true infant (or at least child) mortality rate, the ratio between children dead and children born was calculated separately for women in age category 1 (under thirty) only. The results indicate that some 37 per cent of village children and 45 per cent of Maguzawa children born to women presently under thirty are deceased. Of course, the children may have died anywhere from at delivery to perhaps age fifteen. Since the results do not differ greatly from those obtained for all age categories of women taken together, it seems likely that mortality is much greater earlier, rather than later, in childhood. The Maguzawa rate may reflect their greater reluctance to use the local dispensary (some miles away from their main concentration). The higher Maguzawa fertility rate may actually be the result of the higher mortality rate, since the post-partum sex taboo ends automatically with the death of an infant, so that children are quickly replaced. The bush Hausa data only partly confirms this hypothesized inverse relationship between fertility and infant mortality rates, since even though they have the highest mortality rate, they are only slightly more fertile than village Hausa and considerably less so than Maguzawa. The high bush Hausa mortality rate may reflect not just a reluctance to use the dispensary, but physical isolation compounded by a compound size much smaller (on the average) than

that of the similarly-isolated Maguzawa, so that aid for the ill or parturient is less obtainable than for the other groups.

In summary, child mortality ranges from a high of over 60 per cent for bush Hausa to a low of around 35 per cent for villagers. There is some evidence for an inverse relationship between fertility and infant mortality, apparently since the latter shortens the post-partum sex taboo.

Table 32--Mean Number of Years with Present Husband, for Adult Women, by Group and Age Category

Ethnographically, it is easy for one accustomed to low Western divorce rates to get the impression that Hausa marriages are brief and frequent. Even allowing for considerable overstating of length of marriage, it is apparent that many Hausa marriages are stable and long-lasting.

TABLE 32

MEAN NUMBER OF YEARS WITH PRESENT HUSBAND FOR ADULT WOMEN, BY GROUP AND AGE CATEGORY

Group	Age Category							
	Under 30	N[a]	30-44	N[a]	Over 44	N[a]	Total[b]	N[a]
Village	6.53	111	14.26	46	31.23	13	10.27	177
Maguzawa	6.33	64	15.26	73	23.25	40	13.98	178
Bush Hausa	6.90	21	15.77	13	23.00	9	12.95	43

[a] "N" indicates number of women for whom data were available.

[b] "Total" indicates mean number of years for all age categories taken together.

Table 33--Marital History of Adult Women by Group and Age Category

This table provides information partly equivalent to that given for adult males in Table 23. Unlike that table, the present one deals with all marriages, since it deals with women (the number of marriages is equal to the number of women, rather than the number of men, due to polygyny). From 30 to 40 per cent of all marriages in existence at the time of the census, among the village Hausa and Maguzawa, were first marriages for both partners; while 58 per cent of bush Hausa marriages were first ones. Marriages in which the husband is or has been married, but the wife has not, are several times as frequent as those in which the contrary is true, in accordance with the Hausa ideal. An interesting finding is that approximately one-third of all women forty-five and over are still in their first marriage. It should also be noted that the percentage of unmarried women increases from around zero in the under thirty group to 27 to 44 per cent for the over forty-four group. This reflects the Hausa feeling that a woman past the menopause is too old to be married, even though men usually remain married until they actually become enfeebled.

Table 34--Percentage of Children in Age-Sex Categories, by Group

Inspection of this table reveals two striking effects, those of the high child mortality rate and of the early age at which girls marry. The 1 to 5, 6 to 10, and 11 to 15 intervals were made equal in size in order to assess child mortality, and in each successive interval the number of children decreases. By the last interval the number of girls

TABLE 33

MARITAL HISTORY OF ADULT WOMEN BY GROUP AND AGE CATEGORY

Group	Age Category	Per Cent Women per Marriage Category					N
		First Marriage for Both Husband and Wife	First Marriage for Wife but not for Husband	First Marriage for Husband but not for Wife	First Marriage for Neither Husband nor Wife	Not Presently Married	
Village	Under 30	50	18	5	27	0	109
	30-44	27	8	4	57	4	49
	Over 44	35	0	0	30	35	20
	Total	41	13	4	37	5	185
Maguzawa	Under 30	39	25	8	26	2	61
	30-44	28	22	3	47	0	68
	Over 44	24	3	0	46	27	37
	Total	32	19	4	39	7	167
Bush Hausa	Under 30	76	10	5	10	0	21
	30-44	46	15	0	38	0	13
	Over 44	33	11	0	11	44	9
	Total	58	12	2	19	9	43

TABLE 34

PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN IN AGE-SEX CATEGORIES, BY GROUP

Group	Sex	Age Category					Mean[b]	N
		Under 1 Year	1-5 Years	6-10 Years	11-15 Years	Over 15 Years[a]		
	M	11	39	29	12	9	6.91	139
Village	F	11	43	29	17	1	5.85	108
	Total	11	40	29	14	5	6.45	247
	M	2	33	30	14	21	9.26	209
Maguzawa	F	6	41	40	12	1	6.19	150
	Total	4	36	34	13	13	7.98	356
	M	11	37	16	11	26	8.79	19
Bush Hausa	F	23	31	15	23	8	7.38	13
	Total	16	34	16	16	19	8.22	32

[a] Over 15 but not independent.

[b] Mean age.

drops precipitously, reflecting that girls marry between 11 to 15, while boys do not. The higher mean age of boys for all groups, as well as their greater number, also reflect the fact that for the Hausa a boy remains a child--unmarried and economically dependent--far longer than does a girl.

Table 35--Presence-absence of Real Parents in Compound, by Group

Informants speak of how frequent adoption is, yet the table seems to indicate that the vast majority of children live with their own parents. If the table is to be credited, a child has better than a 90 per cent chance to remain with both of his parents through age five. Neglecting bush Hausa (for whom cell sizes are very small), a child has better than a 65 per cent chance of spending his first fifteen years with both parents. For almost every age category, more children have their father than their mother as the only parent in the compound, reflecting Maliki law (which gives the children to the father upon the termination of a marriage). Having neither parent in the compound is very rare until the 6 to 11 age group, when 15 per cent of the villagers and 6 per cent of the Maguzawa have been adopted by others. For both village and Maguzawa, by the time a child reaches fifteen, he has about a 50 per cent chance of having neither parent living with him.

Much caution must be used in interpreting this table. Hausa are always reluctant to admit that a child was not actually born to the woman in whose hut he lives. And it is easy, in Hausa, to fail to distinguish between classificatory and consanguineal parents. Nevertheless, every effort was made to keep this distinction clear during the interviewing.

TABLE 35

PRESENCE-ABSENCE OF REAL PARENTS IN CHILD'S COMPOUND, BY AGE CATEGORY AND GROUP[a]

Age Category[b]	Presence-Absence of Parents in Compound				N
	Both Present	Father Only	Mother Only	Neither	
Village					
1	100	0	0	0	27
2	95	2	2	1	100
3	75	6	4	15	72
4	66	11	6	17	35
5	54	0	0	46	13
Total	83	4	3	10	248
Maguzawa					
1	100	0	0	0	14
2	90	7	2	2	130
3	85	8	2	5	123
4	79	9	0	12	43
5	26	11	5	58	9
Total	83	8	2	7	329
Bush Hausa					
1	100	0	0	0	5
2	91	9	0	0	11
3	60	20	0	20	5
4	50	25	0	25	4
5	67	17	0	17	6
Total	77	13	0	10	31

[a] Figures are given in percentages.

[b] 1 = Under one year, 2 = 1 to 5 years, 3 = 6 to 10 years, 4 = 11 to 15 years, and 5 = over 15 but not married.

Table 36--Percentage of Village Children Studying Koran, by Age-Sex Categories

Comparable data were not collected for bush Hausa children, and, of course, the Maguzawa are not Moslems. From age six through adulthood, over 50 per cent of both males and females are described by their compound heads as studying the Koran, and the figure approaches 75 per cent for the males. The age for beginning Koranic study appears to be between six and ten, after which the percentage of active students decreases for boys and holds steady for girls. But it should be noted that these figures are rather exaggerated--many of these children were only once in a very great while to be found around their mallams, particularly the girls. By age fifteen, approximately 18 per cent of the boys and 28 per cent of the girls still have had no Koranic education, while 12 per cent and 17 per cent of them, respectively, have finished it. It is interesting to recall Table 25, in which over 90 per cent of adult village males claimed to study the Koran, at least on occasion.

Table 37--Percentage of Village and Maguzawa Children Who Farm, by Age and Sex

Data were not available for Hausa children and since Moslem village girls do not farm, they are omitted.

For village boys and Maguzawa children of both sexes, more than half are farming by age ten and practically all by age fifteen. However, 24 per cent of the 11 to 15 year old group of Maguzawa girls are not farming at this age, according to their fathers. This last fact disagrees with observation, with informants, and with many of the girls themselves. Thus, we see evidence of a response bias toward the Moslem, rather than Maguzawa,

TABLE 36

PERCENTAGE OF VILLAGE CHILDREN STUDYING KORAN, BY AGE-SEX CATEGORIES

Age Category	Sex	Koranic Education			N
		None	In Past Only	Studying	
1 to 5 years	M	80	0	20	54
	F	84	2	13	45
6 to 10 years	M	15	10	76	41
	F	40	7	53	30
11 to 15 years	M	18	12	70	17
	F	28	17	56	18
Over 15 years[a]	M	17	25	58	12
	F	0	0	100	1

[a] Over 15 years old but unmarried.

TABLE 37

PERCENTAGE OF VILLAGE AND MAGUZAWA CHILDREN WHO FARM, BY AGE AND SEX

Sex-Age		Farms	Does Not	N
Village Children				
Male	1 year[a]	0	100	15
	1 to 5 years	9	91	46
	6 to 10 years	66	34	35
	11 to 15 years	94	6	16
	Over 15 years[b]	100	0	12
Maguzawa Children				
Male	1 year[a]	0	100	5
	1 to 5 years	6	94	69
	6 to 10 years	52	48	63
	11 to 15 years	100	0	39
	Over 15 years[b]	100	0	41
Female	1 year[a]	0	100	9
	1 to 5 years	2	98	61
	6 to 10 years	57	43	60
	11 to 15 years	76	24	17
	Over 15 years[b]	100	0	1

[a] Under one year of age.

[b] Over 15 years old but unmarried.

ideal. It should be noted that respondents generally meant "serious" farming. Actually, very young children may follow their fathers to the fields and play at farming, and it is a bit arbitrary to determine the point at which their "play" becomes "work."

Table 38--Crafts of Women

To a considerable extent, group membership makes more difference to the women than to the men. Whether a bush or a village Moslem, or a non-Moslem Bamaguje, a man will be primarily a farmer. But for the women, her group membership will determine what her craft or work is. A total of nineteen different crafts were mentioned by men when asked what were the crafts of specific women. Many women have several crafts--almost all women spin, for example--but only the first mentioned was used in the table. Only 10 per cent of village women did not have a trade, and this was probably the result of reluctance on a husband's part to mention anything having to do with finances to a distrusted white figure identified with the tax-collector. For Maguzawa, all women were primarily farmers, except for the very old, and 23 per cent had no other craft. A majority of women, however, made beer in addition to farming. The bush Hausa data is highly suspect--certainly it is unreasonable that 73 per cent of them be idle. While it may be that the census-taker was here remiss, it is probably true that all of the bush Hausa women, like the Maguzawa, are farmers. Unlike Maguzawa, bush Hausa are ashamed to mention this, since it violates the Moslem ideal that women be in seclusion and do no outside work.

TABLE 38

CRAFTS OF WOMEN

Group	Craft	Per Cent	N
Village	Spinning	29	58
	Snacks	15	29
	Millet balls (fura)	14	28
	Peanut products	13	25
	Weaving	6	11
	Other	13	25
	None	10	19
	Total	100	195
Maguzawa	Beer	63	116
	Locust bean preparation	3	6
	Farming only	23	42
	Other	7	13
	None	4	8
	Total	100	185
Bush Hausa	Spinning	27	12
	Other	**	**
	None	73	32
	Total	100	44

Table 39--Total Population Pyramid by Sex and Group

It is immediately apparent that the bush Hausa represent a sharply different population from the other two, a much older population. This is probably due to the village Hausa and the Maguzawa populations consisting largely of new-comers: presumably, the young migrate more often than do the old. In addition, we have seen evidence that bush Hausa are themselves migrating to the village, and if we again assume that it is the young who move, it is not surprising that the bush Hausa population is an old one.

TABLE 39

TOTAL POPULATION PYRAMID, BY SEX AND GROUP[a]

Sex	Age Categories in Years				Total	N
	0-15	16-29	30-44	Over 44		
Village						
M	43	21	22	15	297	598
F	36	38	19	8	301	
Maguzawa						
M	45	18	19	17	365	695
F	45	20	22	12	330	
Bush Hausa						
M	26	25	28	21	53	110
F	21	39	23	16	57	

[a]Figures are given as percentages.

The village and Maguzawa groups are typical of developing nation populations in that over 40 per cent of them are under sixteen. A strange disparity exists in the number of women--Maguzawa have considerably fewer females, relatively, than do the Moslem villagers. This is especially true of the 16 to 29 age group. The village Hausa have more females than males in the under thirty group, while this is reversed for the Maguzawa. Disregarding the suggestion of Mainet and Nicolas (1962) that the practice of spirit possession is fatal for some women (due to the girka or bori initiation), the answer apparently is that the villagers are importing women, the Maguzawa exporting them. As Mainet and Nicolas also point out, the relative wealth of Hausa communities can be determined by tracing the origins of their women. Wealthy communities import women, poorer ones export them. Unfortunately, information on female origin was not systematically collected, so the importation hypothesis cannot here be tested.

APPENDIX III

RATING AND CODING SCHEMES FOR THE THEMATIC

APPERCEPTION TEST

Instructions for Coding Variables A to R on the
TAT Coding Sheet (February 1970)

The horizontal rows on the coding sheet refer to the thirteen TAT pictures (which are numbered, confusingly enough, 1 to 54). Each of the protocols should have a story for each picture, in the order listed on the coding sheet. Letters A to Q, which head the vertical columns, refer to the seventeen items each sheet is to be coded for.

Take one story at a time, and put a check in the appropriate box whenever an item is present. If the item is not present, leave the box blank. Do only one picture (story) at a time. Explicit descriptions of the items are to be found in the paper headed, "Descriptions of TAT Variables." Study these descriptions carefully before beginning to code, and be sure to refer to them frequently. When you have finished rating all of the stories of a given protocol, sum the checks for each item and write the total in the "totals" row. Remember that an item only can be checked once per story. Since there are thirteen stories, thirteen is the highest possible score which can be entered in the "totals" row for any item.

Item R is to be rated only after you have finished with items A to Q. It differs from the previous items in that it refers to the protocol as a whole--individual pictures are not scored or rated. Study the paper "Control-Constriction Rating" before attempting to rate item R.

Description of TAT Variables
(February, 1970)

Variable A: Mention of death.--Include any mention of death, dying, the possibility that someone will die, or mention of a corpse. Include statements such as, "he may be asleep, or else he is dead."

Variable B: Mention of illness.--Include if illness is mentioned as either a possibility or a definite fact. "He is sleeping, or maybe he is not well," would be included, even if the respondent later decides that the figure is really just sleeping. Mention of blind people, lepers, cripples, the lame, etc., are not to be considered as "ill" unless they are <u>also</u> described as unwell or sick. But statements of deformity or mutiliation, such as "she has no fingers," are not to be scored as illness.

Variable C: Mention of sleep or repose.--Include any mention of sleeping, resting, relaxing, or the possibility thereof.

Variable D: Chatting.--Include any mention of chatting, conversation, talking, discussing. Do <u>not</u> include any mention of quarrelling, warning, scolding, or rebuking.

Variable E: Official punishment.--Include any mention of jail, prison, imprisoning, punishment by the "authorities," seeing a judge (<u>alkali</u>), being brought before a village or district head, being arrested, being stopped by a policeman.

Variable F: Unofficial punishment.--Include any mention of scolding, rebuking, berating, warning, laughing at in derision. Include anything which can be interpreted as an informal negative sanction. The same phrase <u>cannot</u> be scored as both official and unofficial punishment (items E and F), though the same <u>story</u> may be scored as containing both items.

Variable G: Mention of quarrelling.--Include any mention of quarrelling, fighting, warning someone, abusing someone, scolding or rebuking someone, attacking someone. (Keep in mind that the same term in Hausa, fa'da, may be translated by any one of the above terms, depending on the translator's ability.) The same phrase may be scored as both unofficial punishment and quarrelling (items F and G).

Variable H: Identification of a figure as female, or mention of the possibility that she is female, no matter what the order of alternatives and possibilities.--Include any mention of a girl, woman, or wife. But do not include spirits or animals unless it is also suggested that they may be (female) human beings.

Variable I: Mention of lack of food.--Include stories in which an individual is described as being worried about having no food, on his way to find food, being hungry, etc. But do not include if the hungry figure is definitely identified as a beggar (or as a cripple, leper, etc., with the implication that he is a beggar), since in that context "looking for food" is a colloquial Hausa expression meaning "seeking alms." Do not include if the individual is described as being on his way to eat, as in the phrase, "he'll wash and then he'll eat," or, "he is angry at his wife because she has refused to cook." There should be some implication of deprivation or hunger. Include even if the hungry figure is a bird, animal, or spirit.

Variable J: Mention of a spirit.--Include any identification of a figure as possibly being a spirit, djinn, genie, ghost, fairy, or devil.

Variable K: Shame.--Mention of having done something shameful, of feeling ashamed or being shamed, even if this is only given as a possibility. For example, the following would be scored as indicating shame: "Maybe

he has eye trouble, or he has done something wrong and is covering his face."

Variable L: Adultery.--Mention of adultery or accusation of adultery, or intent to commit adultery. Phrases such as "running after" a married woman, or "looking for" a married woman, or "calling" a married woman, are to be coded as adultery even when given only as a possibility. But omit adultery between a married man and an unmarried woman or prostitute.

Variable M: Mention of sexual activity.--Include references to actual intercourse and whenever the terms "chatting with" or "working with" occur, since these two phrases are Hausa euphemisms for sexual intercourse or activity. Do not include accusations of adultery unless some sexual activity is also mentioned.

Variable N: Mention of farming.--Include any mention of a farm or field, or farmwork, or of sowing, weeding, and harvesting, or of a hoe.

Variable O: Mutilation.--Include any mention of a cripple, blind person, leper, deaf person, lame person, deformed or mutilated person. But do not include the phrase, "one arm (or leg) is shorter than the other," a perception resulting from lack of familiarity with pictorial art.

Variable P: Mention of a mallam (Koranic scholar).--Include any mention of the word "mallam" or Imam or Liman, or Koranic scholar, in any context.

Variable Q: Mention of a bird or animal.--Include identification of any figure in the story as a bird or animal.

Constriction-Control Rating (TAT Item R)

Before attempting to rate the degree of conscious control and constriction for each TAT protocol, the following excerpt from Henry's, The

Analysis of Fantasy (1956, p. 128), should be studied carefully, along with the illustrations of the scale points provided below.

> It is obvious that no individual can go through life with a satisfactory sense of balance without some use of societal-determined rules to guide him in situations which he cannot integrate directly into his own inner need-systems. The use of these rules and principles may be called conscious control. When there is excessive emphasis upon guidance by these rules and a concomitant loss of personal spontaneity, the individual may be called constricted. Constriction may take two forms, formalized and unformalized. Formalized constriction is a conscious control in which the preceding elements are outstanding. Unformalized constriction refers to situations where the same underlying need for external control is present but the techniques for acquiring it are inadequate or where the anxiety which the control should allay is still active. . . .
>
> The use of conscious control is suggested by logical organization in stories, by relevant references to external world demands, and by outcomes in keeping with reality. High degrees of conscious control, constriction, reflect the lack of personal spontaneity. Constriction is seen in stories of high degrees of organization, in a rigid and unvarying manner of approach to the stories, and in content that denies personal feelings and motivations. Such persons have a tendency to concentrate more upon references to control, prohibition, external demands, and conformity. Unformalized constriction partakes of the same qualities, but erratically and with flashes of inner feeling breaking through from time to time. References to conformity and control tend to be inappropriate and mechanisms for integrating the control aspects into inner life markedly inadequate.

Conscious control and constriction is to be rated along a four-point scale, in which a rating of "1" indicates high conscious control but no constriction and much spontaneity, and "4" indicates a very high degree of formalized or unformalized constriction. Each of the scale points is described in greater detail, below, after which three illustrations of each point are supplied. It should be kept in mind that this rating applies to all thirteen stories of an individual protocol as a group, rather than to single stories.

Description of the four-scale points

1. Conscious control but no constriction. Story is organized but much spontaneity, non-stereotyped responses common. Except perhaps

for first story, requires little probing from administrator. Considerable ability to depart from concrete givens, tendency to mention feelings and internal states of figures.

2. Some variety in general approach and in thems. Tendency to give more than one interpretation of picture, without actually developing any plot. Requires some probing from administrator, even after first story. Few, if any, enumerative responses.

3. Little variety in approach and thema, many enumerative responses. Considerable probing required from administrator, though probing not always successful in eliciting a meaningful response. Some tendency to complain to administrator about difficulty of task. Feeling states are not described. Few or no non-stereotyped responses. Stories tend to contain references to "control, prohibition, external demands, and conformity."

4. Little or no variety in approach, most stories enumerative responses. Frequent probing unsuccessful in eliciting stories, some outright refusals to continue or add to a given story. Stories very brief and concrete, containing little or no plot. Thema (if any) stress prohibition and control.

Sample stories illustrative of scale points

Point 1

9. Here is a man walking with a stick. He is very tired. Perhaps he is going to Mecca. And there is someone else behind him. Maybe it is a woman. Perhaps she is also going to Mecca. Well, if she is going by herself, she must be an old woman. But I think that they are going together, since she is his wife.

20. Here is a very poor man. He is holding his head in his hand and is thinking about how to get rich. Should he become a trader? Or should he borrow money to plant a lot of cotton this year, so that next year he will not be poor?

23. One man is leaning over another. He has come to greet him, but he is asleep. Or, if it is his father, he has come to wake him up, in order that they go to the market. But the boy was chatting with his friends until very late, and he is still sleeping.

Point 2

1. I see a man with five arms, two of them holding one pair of arms, and one of them holding his neck. Or maybe there is someone behind him. If there is someone behind him, perhaps they are playing.

5. These men were working in the field. They have grown tired and are resting. Or maybe they are dead.

40. Here is a Yoruba pointing his finger at a Hausa man. But the Yoruba is very stupid. The Hausa has put his arms behind his back. He is being very patient with the Yoruba.

Point 3

27. I see two people. (What are they doing?) They are standing, one has her hands around the neck of the other. (?What happened before?) She put her hands around her neck. (?What is going to happen?) Perhaps they will fight, and one will kill the other.

38. These are three people, two men and a woman. (?What is happening?) One is pointing with his hand at the other. And the woman is watching. That's all.

46. One is holding the other off the ground. (?What are they doing?) They are fighting. (?What will happen?) I don't know. That's all.

Point 4

49. (?Go on.) I see a person. (?What is happening?) He is standing. (?What will happen?) He will go home and eat food. That's all.

52. I see lines. (?What is happening?) Perhaps they are birds. (?What will happen?) I don't know what will happen. That's all.

54. How big! (?What is happening?) He is very big, a giant! Is he a spirit? (?What will happen?) Who can say what a spirit may do? (?What has happened?) Maybe he is standing. That's all.

TAT CODING SHEET (FEBRUARY, 1970)

Cols	5-7 serial	8-14 ident #	15 coder #	16 adminis #	17 trans #	18 origin	19 age	20 wealth	21 dwl	22-23 # div	24-25 SSR	26-27 ROM	28-29 ROF	30-31 fav-pic	32-33 ugh-pic	34-37 tot wds

	A death	B ill	C sleep	D chat	E ofpun	F unoff	G fight	H females	I food	J spirit	K shame	L adult	M sex	N farm	O mutil	P malam	Q anim	R CCR
1																		
5																		
9																		
15																		
20																		
23																		
27																		
38																		
40																		
46																		
49																		
52																		
54																		
Totals Cols	38-39	40-41	42-43	44-45	46-47	48-49	50-51	52-53	54-55	56-57	58-59	60-61	62-63	64-65	66-67	68-69	70-71	72

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