A FUNCTIONALIST ANALYSIS OF EXPRESSIONS AND EXPRESSIVENESS OF HAUSA ORATURE IN DAMAGARAM

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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PhD) IN LITERATURE IN ENGLISH

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND LITERARY STUDIES,
FACULTY OF ARTS,
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA, NIGERIA.

SEPTEMBER, 2023

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis, entitled 'A Functionalist Analysis of Expressions and Expressiveness of Hausa Orature in Damagaram,' was carried out by me in the Department of English and Literary Studies, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. The information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of references provided. No part of this thesis has been previously used for another degree or diploma at this or any other institution.

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CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled ‘A Functionalist Analysis of Expressions and Expressiveness of Hausa Orature in Damagaram’ by Bounou Ousmane meets the regulations governing the award of Doctor of Philosophy of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and is approved for its contributions to knowledge and literary presentation.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the beloved memories of my dear father, Haj Issa Bounou Kodo, and my dear mother, Hajia Hadiza Yeloua Malam Adamou Malam Almadjir. May Allah forgive and accept them in His Jannat al-Firdaus.

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ABSTRACT

This study attempts a functionalist analysis of expressions and expressiveness of Hausa orature of Damagaram and demonstrates the social function each of the types fulfills. The study examines the functions and expressiveness of this tradition of Hausa orature in the region. It is important also to specify certain socio-cultural practices as a result of foreign contacts and attitudes of dispossession or distortion of the cultural values in Damagaram. The stifling of some features of ancestral values was accelerated through the education system at every level, leading to abandoning of the professional initiations and certain family occupations. This study was carried out of a very critical time for orature in Niger Republic, particularly in Damagaram because of a wave of deaths of some eminent artists of this area some of whom included Yerima Malam, Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo and Zabiya Hurera. Methodologically, for the primary source of data, four teachers were selected as research assistants for data gathering, identifying the most famous artists in Damagaram, their places of origin, their target audience and collecting some items of their performances. Later, the researcher conducted the validation of the corpus by attending to the artists and areas in different zones. The findings of the study revealed how the Hausa orature in Damagaram area from the point of view of expressions and expressiveness is relevant in the spectrum of orature in the social function it was supposed to perform. The form and the modes of expression are the same; but because of the diversity of the environment, the genius of expressiveness remains the base of authenticity. Also, it was found that Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo had different tunes and manners from Ɗankwairo not because the first was in Niger Republic and the second in Nigeria, but the fate of contexts played on the personality of each of the two and makes the first what he was, and not an adapter of the second. This is also valid between Ɗan Alalo and Zabiya Furera or Yerima Malam for the same arguments on the myth of human personality. The study concludes that each orature material – proverb, folktale, song, lullaby, sarcasm of women, epithet, innuendo, riddle, counting rhyme – carries specific message and function. Also, each performer uses his/her technique or manner – which is called expressiveness - to express oneself or pass on a message. And the more expressive a literary message is, the more likely it is to accomplish the social function to which it is destined for.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Hausa world played an important role in the North trans-Saharan Africa (from Morocco to Libya up to Egypt) and the forest in the South. On the Eastern side, Hausa people also had an old tradition of pilgrimage to Mecca from which they had developed deep-rooted contact with Chad and Sudan. In this geographically vast area, which subsumes the geo-cultural area of study, certain cultural complexities and peculiarities are glaring as some of the major challenges of Hausa orature. Salifou (1999) is of the opinion that one of the fundamental aspects related to this challenge is a matter of the phenomenal sensibility which seems to guide certain principles or certain decisions in this field and which often gets profoundly its source from history. The Hausa people have a long history of 'urban tradition,' but the overwhelming majority of this population has had a historically rural culture. The ancient traditions which go back up in time have formed themselves in every area and in all the sectors of common life, including the field of the arts.

Later, the religion of Islam came up and settled down gradually in the region, thanks to influential native tradesmen especially in the cities and around the traditional rulers. The expansion of Islam was no doubt one of the most striking features of the cultural life in the Hausa world, even if this impact was for a long time only a concern of social elites. Some conceptual, perceptual and even institutional reforms have gradually replaced the ancient practices in the cultural events in general, in the professional fields and in the daily social life as well. These reforms are shown by orality in its global prescription and by literature in its multiple social functions.

Moreover, the colonial incursion and the post-colonial realities are some of the developments that have impacted the life of the people. The most striking roles played by

colonisation is the laying of the foundation for a deep social change and for a progressive cultural deprivation by the colonial school. The colonial school did not intend to perpetuate the local values of the colonised people. Thus, it strove to deny them their cultural values through Western education. After political independence, the native authorities who took over the fate of their people did not pragmatilly do anything to change the trend, as they preferred playing the 'games' of their former masters with whom they negotiated the transfer of power.

Based on the socio-cultural gap expressed above, this study is predicated on the literary expressions and expressiveness of the Damagaram people in Southern Niger Republic. The study investigates some internal and external factors that characterise the nature of Hausa orature in Niger Republic. This work attempts to bring out something different by looking at the function and expressiveness of this old tradition of Hausa orature in the region. In connection with this study, it is important to specify certain socio-cultural aspects as a result of these contacts and attitudes of dispossession or distortion of the cultural values. The stifling of some features of the ancestral values was accelerated in the education at every level, leading to the abandonment of the professional initiations and certain family occupations. These included the disappearance of the communal practices of the *gayya* (community labour), reducing a whole generation of citizens to a state of deprivation with its attendant consequences.

According to Adeoti (2015), one of the factors to take into consideration in this cultural 'bending' is the loss of value and patriotism to home-grown values. In this regard, there is a paradigmatic shift in the value system of the people. For instance, imported products have become the favourite of the people, leading to the pauperisation of the masses and particularly the local artists and artisans. This situation worsened in many respects in the context of the recently independent Republic of Niger. Having said that, the institutional failures at all levels of the people's socio-economic life have further distorted the cultural

value and identity of the people. Accordingly, there has been a paradigm of losses and extinctions of vital aspects of the orature of the Damagaram region.

In this regard, one could say that this study has been undertaken at a very critical moment of orature in Niger Republic, particularly in Damagaram. This is because during the last four decades, there has been a wave of deaths of the dominant figures of orature of this area, some of whom included Yerima Malam, Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo and Zabiya Hurera. The question of what happens to the treasured value of the people after its balkanization by the Western colonization is a pertinent one. Similarly, the question about the successors to these cultural resource persons and icons should naturally arise. This is the space which this study in part intends to fill. It is noteworthy that without recording or seeing the emergence of new figures, there could be a tragic extinction of important elements of the people's culture, history and identity. It is unfortunate that there are less and less storytellers in the villages and the new generation remains oblivious of this sad reality.

Fortunately, this bending in the field of traditional creativity is not the only current factor of outstanding importance in the *'Hausaphonie'* in general and in Damagaram in particular. Recently, the emergence of the trend *'dandalin soyayya'* appeared as a real revolution of the traditional habits in its methods, its stylistics and its orientations of contents. At the supranational level, this intermediary trend between the 'traditional' performance and the so-called 'modern' reality has the advantage of listenership via the media and the cellular phones widely used by the youth. But this new trend is not strong enough in its inner dimension and its cultural form to effect significant changes among the new generation that has lost the main framework built by the old generations. The youth today confront a dilemma *"ba tsuntsu ba tarko"* (it has lost both the bird and the trap) particularly at various levels of acquisition in the traditional knowledge. Through the medium of orature, this researcher got to know that the pre-Islamic society built many foundations of knowledge in the domains of

the respective family occupations, the field of the celestial knowledge, in its relations with the rhythm of the seasons, the professional and cultural activities of the citizens and the communities. It also built virtues that ensured social integration and cohesion. These include the virtues of bravery, consistency, endurance, intelligence, skills and competence, to mention a few. It is however saddening that, today, this foundation seems to be collapsing (Mapanje & White, 1983).

1.2 Damagaram - Niger Republic

Niger Republic is an enclosed West African Sahel-Saharan country surrounded by seven countries, namely Libya and Algeria in the north, Mali in the north-west, Burkina Faso in the west, the Republic of Benin in the south-west, the Federal Republic of Nigeria in the south, and Chad in the east. Niger is a very wide country of 1, 267, 000 square miles divided into three main zones: the Sahara in the north, the Sahel-Sahara in the middle (pastoral zone - suitable for feeding and raising sheep and cattle) and the Sahel in the south (suitable for farming). The population of Niger was estimated at 23.3 million people by the World Bank in 2019. But, now we talk about 27 million people. The three main religions of the country are Islam (90% of the population), Christianity (8% of the population) and Animism (2% of the population). The country is divided into seven regions: Agadez, Diffa, Dosso, Maradi, Tahoua, Tlllaberi and Damagaram/Zinder. The Capital of the country is Niamey, located in the region of Tillaberi. The official language of Niger is French. Besides this official language, Niger has some native languages such as Hausa, Fulfulde, Kanuri, Arabic, Gourmancema, Toubu, Tamachek and Zarma. The Hausa language is spoken by almost 95% of the population of the country. The educational system is divided into three components: the primary, the secondary and the tertiary levels. The medium of instruction at the three levels is French (www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/dossiers-pays/niger/presentation-du-niger/, retrieved 26th May, 2017).

With regard to politics, since the National Conference held in 1991 which imposed the multiparty system, Niger Republic is now ruled by politicians under a parliamentary system composed of the executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary. Niger is a member of many regional and international organisations among which are the United Nations (UN), the African Union (AU), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel (French: *Comité permanent inter-États de lutte contre la sécheresse au Sahel* (*CILSS*)), the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), the G5 Sahel (recently created by five countries of the Sahel (Burkina Faso, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Chad) to face the Boko Haram threat in the Lake Chad zone, and the Jihadists' threat in the Sahel Zone in general.

The economy of the Republic of Niger is mainly based on the exploitation of uranium, gold and oil, the exportation of cattle, sheep, camels, donkeys, goats and beans to Nigeria, Senegal and Libya, and onions to Ivory Coast and Ghana. Niger also relies on the mobilisation of revenue services and customs duty to boost its economy. The currency of the country is the CFA Franc. Niger shares this currency with the other member countries of the Economic and Monetary West African Union (Salifou, 1999).



Figure I: The map of Niger Republic showing the seven regions

Damagaram is a historic entity, which owes its unity and influence to its regional capital Zinder, a famous city since the eighteenth century and the first capital of the Niger Territory. Zinder has played a leading role in the cultural transformation within which the diversity was not only a source of improvement and normal development of expressions and cultural values of the past, but also of inspiration, innovations, creations and authentic local creativities. Damagaram is composed of various ethno-linguistic and religious groups which include Muslims, Christians and Animists. The Hausa are located in the areas of Mirriah, Doungass, Wacha, Kance, Magaria, and others who came from Daura, Kano, Maradi, Tessaoua, among others …and settled down in the region; the Barebari (Kanuri) located in the areas of Damargu (Tanut) and Gouré, and others who came from Bilma, and the Manga (Goudoumaria, Maîné Soroa, Diffa, N'Guigmi, Borno, and settled down in the region), the Bouzaye (the Tuareg) who came from the northern part of Niger mainly Agadez; the Fulani

(scattered in the whole region); the Toubawa (who came from originally Chad and occupy the eastern part of Niger, and settled down in the region); the Arabs (who came from Libya, Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania and Chad); the Zabarmawa (who came from the western part of Niger); the Yoruba (who came from Nigeria and Benin Republic, and settled down in the region); the Gwarawa (who came from Nigeria, Benin Republic, Togo, Chad and Burkina Faso); the Banbarawa (who came from Mali and Guinea); and the Wolof from from Senegal (www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/dossiers-pays/niger/presentation-du-niger, Accessed June 18, 2021).

The main economic activities in the Damagaram region are trading, farming and the breeding of livestock. These three main activities have bridged the gap between these different communities which culturally and linguistically have almost nothing in common. Over time, the link between these different communities is definitely consolidated by the acceptance of the Hausa by these different groups as a language of communication. This language has become the language of communication of the region and has significantly contributed to the strengthening of the spirit of mutual understanding, brotherhood and cohesion in this melting pot now called Damagaram (Salifou, 1999).

1.3 Statement of the Research Problem

This study analyses expressions and expressiveness of Hausa orature in Damagaram, Southern Niger Republic. The study enumerates the forms of oral materials, the aesthectics, the bounties and the social functions. In doing so, the research contends that the frontiers of knowledge on the Damagaram orature face some indifference because of the influence of the French culture in the area. The imminent dearth of the valuable oral performances in the area makes it worrisome. Therefore, the study attempts to explore and capture the diverse richness of the Hausa orature in its resilience.

Again, in an era where the traditional custodians of these orature forms have been dying, it is incumbent on researchers to look for sustainable ways to preserve and hasten towards apprehending them before they die with their custodians. Glaringly, it is pertinent to unravel the functionality of expressiveness in Damagaram Hausa orature from its structural and original (pre-Islamic) ancient culture, though some of its constituents have undergone some minor changes. Some elements of the pre-Islamic cultures are generally perceived and treated as additional elements peculiar to a type of event or production into which their signs are perceptible or to which they are connected. Then the cultural or literary elements in question are very quickly given a connotation (semiotics, anthropology, among others), with very often some humiliating or subjective insinuations.

Moreover, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, there are only a few works on the Hausa orature of Damagaram. Therefore, this study seeks to explore and celebrate the artistry inherent in these oral traditional expressions in the Damagaram area. The study has become pertinent in view of the changes affecting the richeness and the visibility of the as expressed in various oral forms in Damagaram on the following propositions:

i. The literary forms of Hausa orature in Damagaram delineate the social structure of the people.
ii. Damagaram Hausa orature incarnates artistic and expressive qualities in most of the people's communicative resources.
iii. The oral form in Damagaram Hausa settings defines the usefulness of the ancient tradition in the region.
iv. The Hausa oral narratives of Damagaram reveal the mode of aesthetic expression and expressiveness; and

v. Documentation of Hausa corpus of Damagaram orature saves the cultural identity and values from extinction against the forces of civilisation, globalisation, postmodernity and fragmentation.

1.4 Aim and Objectives

This study uses the thoughts of Functionalism to analyse the different ways in which Damagaram orature fulfils its role in presesrving the cultural entities of the society. By so doing, the research investigates the expressions and the expressiveness of Hausa orature of the Damagaram people. Implicated in the foregoing is the identification and limitation of the constituent elements of this orature in their specific structural identity. In relation to this perception, the objectives of the study are set to:

i. identify and analyse forms of Hausa orature in Damagaram;
ii. examine and analyse on the artistic and expressive qualities of the orature;
iii. relate the oral forms to the ancient traditions of Damagaram people;
iv. discuss aesthetic and sociocultural functions of Damagaram oral art; and
v. assess the effects of Western civilisation, globalisation, and postmodernity on Damagaram cultural identity and oral traditions for the sake of proper documentation.

1.5 Justification and Significance of the Study

This study is important as it is orrinted to the exploration of the forms, contexts, meanings and dynamic changes affecting Damagaram orature. There are not two many studies with similar focus. The thesis. thus, strives to be a significant intellectual contribution to the Hausa orature in the Republic Nigeria.

This study depends on some internal factors in the understanding of the Hausa orature in Niger, but also on some historical, sociocultural and socioeconomic dimensions, some aspects of which are worth mentioning in order to grasp well its meaning and orientation.

First of all, it is important to mention that this is a local study and as such the effort to be made here is to bring out what makes it different from the other works undertaken so far when we know that the Hausa literature in general has an old tradition regarding its research (Funke, 1920; Prietze, 1904; Robinson, 2007). To these pioneers, it is necessary to add a new generation of researches advancing this study, especially in Nigeria, equipped with the firsthand materials of first-generation work based on non-specialized orientation (Skinner, 1980).

The oral cultural forms are wide in this area of Hausaland which was known in the past under the name of Central and Western Sudan. In the past, the Hausa people played an important cultural role in this area between the North trans-Saharian Africa (from Morocco to Libya up to Egypt) and the forest in the South. On the Eastern side, the Hausa people also had an old tradition of pilgrimages to Mecca, an experience that cemented old-age contacts with Chad and Sudan. In this geographically unlimited area with a certain cultural complexity, it is obvious that the challenge of literary critics be felt by all those who are concerned with this issue as one of the major challenges of Hausa orature.

One of the fundamental aspects related to this challenge is a matter of the phenomenal sensibility which seems to guide certain principles or certain decisions in this field and which often derives, profoundly, its source from history. The Hausa people have certainly a long history of ‘urban tradition,’ but the overwhelming majority of this population has a historic rural culture. With the passing centuries, the old practices and events have very significantly marked the perception, conception and the daily practices of Damagaram. The ancient traditions which go back up in the mists of time have formed themselves in every area and in all the sectors of common life, including the field of art; and one of the hypotheses of this work would draw its inspiration from this reality. The advent and expansion of Islam were no doubt the most striking elements of the cultural change in the region even though this impact

was only a concern of the social elites. Some conceptual and even institutional reforms have gradually replaced the animist practices in the cultural events in general, in the professional fields, in the daily social life. This has affected 'orality' in the Damagaram Hausa experience and in its several critical approaches.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study focuses on Hausa orature of the Damagaram in Southern Niger, which comprises dramatic enactments, poetic renditions and prose narratives. This area has a rich oral tradition. Consequently, the younger generation seems to be oblivious of the great tradition bequeathed to them by their forebears. Since the writer, according to Breytenbach, cited in Olaniyan and Quayson (ed) (2013:166), is an exponent of his people's tradition and aspirations, it then follows that any work that seeks to rescue a people's tradition from imminent extinction is a well-thought out one. Therefore, the selection of Damagaram community for the study was based on its rich cultural and linguistic activities which are worth exploring through research.

1.7 Research Methodology

This study is a qualitative and quantitative research which aims at functionalist analysis of the oral data as methodological framework. The primary source of data comprises data generated from oral interviews with Damagaram elderly men and women as custodians of the oral traditions in the region. The areas covered by the study are the following zones: Tanout in the northern part of Damagaram, Mirria and Magaria in the south-eastern part, Gouré in the eastern part, Kantché in the southern part and Tessaoua in the western part. For effective data collection, three steps were designed and followed:

i. The First Step

In each of the zones, four primary school teachers were selected for the data gathering on the basis of the following questions:

- Who are the most famous artists of Damagaram?

- What is their place of origin?
- Are they known beyond their place of origin?
- Supply examples of three items of their performances.

ii. The Second Step

The researcher collected data from the regional radio broadcasting office of Zinder.

iii. The Third Step

The researcher conducted the validation of the corpus took place through the means of fieldwork in the zones mentioned above as covered by the study. This fieldwork was to enable the assessment of the qualities of the collected items by the appointed teachers. It can also add to the corpus the following genres: the tales and title songs of young people which have not been taken into account by/in the first and the second step.

By and large, about 300 expressions from the data collected were transcribed, translated and analysed taking into account their literary qualities, such as their expressiveness. In the final analysis, the expressiveness has been assessed on the stylistic, thematic and performative criteria, but also on the artist's fields of performance (for instance, Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo is the emir's court singer; Zabiya Furera, Zabiya Amina, Ɗan Nana and Makaɗa Duda sing for ordinary people, Yerima Malam sings on the environment, nature, the emirs' courts, farmers, etc…).

It is worth mentioning that the tales and songs have been selected on the basis of their educational dimensions. The recorded interviews were transcribed and translated into English. The secondary sources of data consist of books and the Internet. The data were analysed using the theoretical framework of Functionalism.

Some questionnaires were used for data collection. A series of interviews were conducted in Zinder, Bakin Birji, Tirmini, Mirria, Matameye, Magaria and Kanche, where additional elements have been recorded.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

This study adopts functionalism as its tool of analysis. Functionalism is used to designate a variety of positions in some disciplines including psychology, sociology, philosophy, economics, linguistics, arts and architecture. The theory emerged in the late 19th century; the French Sociologist Emile Durkheim laid the primary foundations of Structural Functionalism. He originally wanted to explain social institutions as a shared way for individuals in society to meet their own biological needs. Another school other than Durkheim's was the Pole Socio-anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski's. His anthropological functionalism takes into account even the smallest cultural phenomena that are parts of a wider holistic approach to the social system. Social structure in his theory is subordinate to culture. In this approach, all cultures have the same value, as the primary goal of each culture is to meet the needs of the community. Despite the differences, the needs are the driving forces of socio-economic development. Understanding the mechanisms involved in meeting the needs cannot be achieved without the knowledge of the cultural contexts in which the phenomenon occurs. According to him, the culture is the stimulus for adaptation of the community and is determined by the natural environment. Culture is an indivisible whole, and its parts as things, actions, and attitudes are closely related. Each element assumes the function, which might vary depending on the context (Finnegan, 1991).

The earliest view that can be considered an ancestor of functionalism is Aristotle's theory of the soul (350 BCE). In contrast to Plato's claim that the soul can exist apart from the body, Aristotle (Polansky, 2007) argued that the (human) soul is the *form* of a natural, organized human body— the set of powers or capacities that enable it to express its "essential whatness," which for Aristotle is a matter of fulfilling the function or purpose that defines it as the kind of thing it is. Just as the form of an axe is whatever enables it to cut, and the form of an eye is whatever enables it to see, the (human) soul is to be identified with whichever

powers and capacities that enable a natural, organized human body to fulfil its defining function, which, according to Aristotle, is to survive and flourish as a living, acting, perceiving, and reasoning being. So, Aristotle argues, the soul is inseparable from the body, and comprises whichever capacities are required for a body to live, perceive, reason and act (Shields, 2009; Nelson, 1990).

The functionalists believe that the primary concepts within Functionalism are collective conscience, value consensus, social order, education, family, crime and deviance and the media. They all believe that without collective conscience/ shared values and beliefs, achieving social order is impossible and social order is crucial for the well-being of society. They also believe that value consensus forms the basic integrating principle in society. Even with or without similar identities, sharing values among the members of society helps in bolstering cooperation and avoiding conflicts. Value consensus also ensures that people share goals, roles and norms. Norms can be described as specific guidelines of appropriate behaviour, for example, queuing when buying things (The History Learning Site, www.histotylearningsite.co.uk, 25 May 2015). Tadi (2016) explains that in orature studies, functionalism is the view that all orature materials must have a particular function. As Glazer (1982: 106) points out, "here the expectation is that every proverb, tale, folk belief or ballad must satisfy some important cultural, social, or psychological function." The functionalist approach to the study of orature therefore stresses the role of orature in society. The functionalists believe that the orature can be fully understood only through knowledge of the people's culture. They view orature as a means of maintaining the social structure of society.

With regard to this work and in keeping with its aim and objectives, functionalism is considered as the main reference insofar as it is distinctiveness which is the main feature of difference between two elements. This distinctiveness is induced by the reciprocal functions of the two elements. Thus two elements *a* and *b* are different from each other by their forms

and the reciprocal function of each of the forms. In the same way as the phonologists claim that *m* of *mara* is different from *g* of *gara* and of *k* of *kara*, by their form and the distinctive function induced to each form, *wake* distinguishes itself from *waka* or from *gatana*, by their form and their function. It is what Malinowski, Durkheim and others mention above insofar as distinctiveness of forms is social. It is this theoretical framework which is the foundation of the whole development of this thesis where distinctiveness and its function are examined at the macrostructure (form/expression/genre), microstructure (expressiveness of sound (prosody)), syntactic and semantic (meaning) levels, etc. It is on the basis of this theoretical framework that the methodological model has been developed.

According to Skinner (1986), the notion of function was developed by various trends with some concerns which overlap when it comes to understanding the role of literature and orature in general in the development of African societies. So, for the anthropologist Malinowski (1931), the pioneer of the functionalist trend, the notion of function is essential to the understanding of any human society. For him, the function of any social artefact is to meet the needs of the society. So, by considering a social artefact and describing its function, we can, according to Malinowski (1931), reconstruct the functioning system of the society in question and understand its mode and philosophy. For Durkheim (1983), the concept of function is not only useful for the highlighting of social mechanisms but it is also a means to succeed in the smooth running of the whole society. The term function has two dimensions, it is sometimes a system of vital movements, abstraction made of their consequences; sometimes it expresses the relationship of correspondence which exists between these movements and some needs of the body. With regard to Malinowski or Durkheim, these perceptions are germane in many respects to the concerns of a literary description in its relationships with society. In the context of this study, social function is to be understood as

the regulating role played by orature at various institutional levels of the development of the society.

Functionalism as a theoretical mode of analysis emerged in response to evolutionism and diffusionism in early twentieth century. It is basically interested in what function or role several aspects of culture play in order to sustain a social system. Thus, Functionalism as a new paradigm was presented as a reaction against what was believed to be out-dated 1deologies (Lesser 1995). It emerged as an attempt to mnove away from evolutionism and diffusionism. These theories dominated American and British anthropology at the turn of the century. There was a shift in focus from the speculatively historical or diachronic study of CUstoms and cultural traits as 'survivals' to historical. Synchronic study of 'social institutions' within bounded functioning societies. Functionalist theorists presented their theoretical and methodological approaches as an attempt to expand socio - cultural inquiry beyond the bounds of the evolutionary conception of social history. That is, the evolutionary school of thought postulated that an observed cultural fact was seen not in terms of what it was at the time of observation, but in terms of what it must stand for in reference to what has formerly been the case.'

As a sociological theory, the Functionalist theory interrogates the social function of oral art forms. Thus, the interest of the functionalist is on the difference between oral art forms rather than similarities. This is why the functionalist approach emphasises the peculiarity of an oral art form. It essentially focuses on what function or role several aspects of culture play in order to sustain a social system. As a theoretical framework, it examines society as a system whose workings is determined by the collaboration between the units that make up the system. It describes the inter-relationship between several parts of any society and is largely concerned with both social structure and social function. The emergence of this

theory is largely tied to the activities of Anthropologists in their studies of folklore (which "means orally transmitted materials" (Finnegan 2012:5). According to Dundes (1965:277):

> The aspect is of folklore of least concern to literary folklorist but perhaps of great concern to Anthropological folklorists is function. The important question is not what is folklore, nor where does folklore originate, nor how is it transmitted? The important question is what does folklore do for the folks?

This suggests why the key proponents of this approach to folklore studies are largely Anthropologists some of them include the polish born British anthropologist Bronista Malinwiski, A. R. Raddiffe-Brown (British) Franz, Boas (American), Ruth Benediet (American). According to Canonici (1985: 32) their studies have concentrated on institutions in non-literate societies and how folklore functions in them and contributes to near maintenance". Other proponents include Evans-Pritchard Geoffery Lienhardt and Williarm Bascon. Cunningham (2011:440) mentions A.. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Bronislaw Malinowski, and Edward Evans-Pritchard as British ethnographers who tried to demonstrate the efficacy of functional theory whereas according to Cunningham, the Americans attempted to salvage the past and accepted functionalism later. Nevertheless, both groups produced classic ethnographies. Malinowski (1922) summarises the ethnographical method as “an attempt to grasp the native's point of view and see his world through his eyes". This captures the overall interest of the functionalist approach, that is, a content and context driven approach to folkloric studies.

From the functionalist perspective however, the evolutionary and diffusionist approaches, privileged speculative theorizing over the discovery of facts. Functionalist theorists believe that the reality of events was to be found in their manifestations of the present. Hence, if events were to be understood, it was their contemporary functioning that should be observed and recorded. The theory's emphasis is therefore, on the synchronic study

of culture and society. In orature studies, functionalism is of the view that all orature materials must have a particular function. Glazer (1980) points out that ‘here the exception is that every proverb, tale, folk belief or ballad must satisfy some important cultural, social, or psyhchological function. The functionalist approach to the study of orature there fore, emphasizes the role of orature in the society. The functionalists believe that orature can fully be understood only through knowledge of the people's culture. To this school, orature serves as a means of maintaining the social structure of society (Yerima: 2005). This school concerns itselt with where, who and what. The functionalists are interested in where performances take place and who performs what. The songs in which these feature, serve as the functional role of re-living and regenerating these values.

1.8.1 The Major Proponents of Functionalism

The major proponents of this theory are the British anthropologist, Radcliffe- Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski who championed the Functionalist framework. Malinowski is recognized as a functionalist while Radcliffe-Brown is mostly referred to as a Structural Functionalist. Thornton and Skalnik (1993: 21) state that Nietzsche, Mach, and Frazer were a major influence for Malinowski's formulation of his version of functionalism. According to them, "Malinowski championed a method (field-work) and a theoretical orientation (functionalism)" (Thornton and Skalnik, 1993: XI). The view of these scholars was further amplified by other functionalists like William Bascom. Radcliffe Brown developed interest in the relationship between kinship and social organization and emphasized the place of social value on the well - being of the society. Radcliffe opines that every custom and belief of a primitive people plays some determinate part in the social life of the community, just as every organ of a living body plays some part in the general life of the organization.' He sees function of an institution as helping in stability and cohesion of the society and the functions are seen to consist of 'the place they occupy in the mental, moral and social life' of the people.

Radcliffe emphasizes the function of the component parts of the society. Each element of a system has a definite role to play and thus Radcliff - Brown is concerned with the contribution each member or part contributes to the whole system. In relation to orature, therefore, it must be seen to be in the service of the social systerm. Commenting on Radcliffe's functional view of orature, Elvin Hatch states that in Radcliffe - Brown's thesis the principle of function is the governing factor behind institutions imply that cultural systems are not subjected to the vicissitudes of history... in Radcliffe - Brown's scheme, the necessary, objective conditions which constitute the sociological 'cause' of custom and which anchor institutions in place are the 'needs'" for stability and cohesion. Orature is thus portrayed as an instrument of validating the beliefs and customs of the people and of maintaining the status quo.

On his own, Malinowski also postulated a functional, utilitarian theory of culture in which he sees the duty of the anthropologist of the functional school as that of organizing his findings and relating “the custom, beliefs, ideas and practices to the fundamental core around which they are built. He further relates orature as a condition of healthy communal life' and as aiding in cultural development and progress.” In his works, Malinowski attempts to explain the parts institutions play within the interrelated whole of a culture. To this effect, he opines that institutions of a culture operate to satisfy the needs of the individuals and that of the society as a whole. Malinowski was of the view that every aspect of culture has a function to play in a society. According to Malinowski, the functional view of culture lays down the principle that in every type of civilization, every custom, material object, idea and beliefs, fulfills some vital function, has some task to accomplish, and represents an indispensable part with a working whole. To this end, Malinowski defines functionalism as the theory of transformation of organic that is, individual needs to derive cultural necessities and imperatives. In the functionalist approach, it is the job of the researcher to discover the specific functions of the element of culture within an integrated scheme. Functional analysis

of culture reveals that it is the handiwork of man and the medium through which he achieves his end. Culture should be understood as a means to an end that is instrumental or functional. Maliknowski is of the view that function is the primary basis of differentiation within culture. In other words, institutions differ in that they are organized around different functons According to Malinowski, all tales whether riddles, provertbs or songs have both communal and aesthetic function in their patterns:

> The aesthetic function occupies an important place in the life of the individual and society as a whole. The circle of people who come into direct contact with art is, however, limited to a considerable extent in the first place by the relatively rarity of aesthetic gifedness-or at least individual cases by its being limited to a particular artistic type-and, in the second, by the boarders of social affiliation (the restricted possibility of access to works of art and the level of education of certain social strata), Still, by its impact, art also has effects on people who are not directly connected with it (on the example of the influence of poetry upon the development of the language (system), while, besides that, the aesthetic function cuts across a much broader area than art itself (Mukarovsky 1999:30).

Here, Atricans are presented as people who revere their norms because they have the capacity to hold them together. Malinowski also stresses the importance of fieldwork, indepth study and knowledge of a particular society. He opines that it is only after this that the ethnographer can know what the real features and functioning of a society or culture entail. He asserts that without carrying out long term field work or having knowledge of the native language of a society, and without carrying out a participant observation, no ethnographer can come to terms with what is happening in a particular culture. This has gone a long way in the progress of anthropological literature particularly in producing ethnographies and monographs. It has also given an understanding of a functional relationship between institutions and social structures when large amounts of data are collected. To this end, functionalism as a school of thought and as an approach places emphasis on the study of culture and society, the way it works functions and the way it exerts influence on individuals.

To this end, orature is seen as a means of inculcating into the minds, the rules, normns, values and other societal expectations. Items of orature are therefore, in the service of human needs.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.0 Preamble

This section reviews works that are related to oral performances in the Damagaram region. The section examines a range of items in the field. In this regard, this study is designed to examine those critical works that define the nature of orature in Hausa, together with their conceptual, thematic and creative postures.

2.1 The Concept of Orature

In relation to the African oral performances, there are terms that are always used interchangeably: "orality," the "oral tradition," "oral literature," or "orature." Despite the fact that most sources use these terms interchangeably, Ngugi (1998), the Kenyan novelist, in a lecture titled "Oral Power and Europhone Glory," attempts to strike a line of demarcation between "orature" and "oral literature." Ngugi (1998) notes that the term 'orature' was coined in the 70s by Pio Zirimu, the late Ugandan Linguist in Lagos – Nigeria, during the Black and African Arts Festival (FESTAC). Ngugi (1998) observes that, although Zirimu initially used the two terms interchangeably, he later identified "orature" as the more accurate term, which indexed orality as a total system of performance linked to a very specific idea of space and time. The term "oral literature," by contrast, incorporates and subordinates orality to the literary and masks the nature of orality as a complete system in its own right. For this reason, "orature" is the preferred term in this study.

Finnegan (2016) argues that Orature is delicate as you hardly arrive at its mystery in the first and most basic characteristics. It is so because of the lack of constant attention to either its value or study, which highlights the significance of performance. To Finnegan (2016: 5), "Oral literature is by definition dependent on a performer who formulates it in

words on a specific occasion—there is no other way in which it can be realized as a literary product."

However, what constitutes the orature for getting autonomy as a field is still contestable. Having an independent and tangible existence about the format, number and publicising of other written copies can, though not irrelevant, be treated to some extent as secondary. Here, that is a distinction between the actual creation of a written literary form and its further transmission. Finnegan (2016) adds that the case of orature is different. The connection between transmission and very existence is a much more intimate one, and questions about the means of actual communication are of the first importance —without its oral realisation and direct rendition by singer or speaker, an unwritten literary piece cannot easily be said to have any continued or independent existence at all. In this respect the parallel is less to written literature than to music and dance; for these too are art forms which in the last analysis are actualized in and through their performance and, furthermore, in a sense depend on repeated performances for their continued existence.

Finnegan (2016: 7) buttresses the significance of performance in orature. Thus:

> Performance itself can make an important contribution to the impact of the particular literary form being exhibited. This point is obvious if we consider literary forms designed to be delivered to an audience even in more familiar literate cultures. If we take forms like a play, a sermon, 'jazz poetry', even something as trivial as an after-dinner witty anecdote—in all these cases the actual delivery is a significant aspect of the whole. Even though it is true that these instances may *also* exist in written form, they only attain their true fulfilment when actually performed.

Orality, according to Gunner cited in Irele and Gikandi (eds.) (2004:1), "was the means by which Africa made its existence, its history long before the colonial and inertial presence of the West manifested itself." Thus Africa had a tradition which in part was influenced, and in some instances extenuated by western imperial tradition in the guise of civilization. In a doctoral dissertation, Stephens (1981) presents a detailed exposition of the

Hausa narrative in the Republic of Niger. The work is titled 'The Relationship of Social Symbols and Narrative Metaphor: A Study of Fantasy and Disguise in the Hausa *Tatsuniya* of Niger", in which she collected 55 *tatsuniyoyi* (tales and riddles), largely from Southern and Eastern regions of the Niger Republic, and argues that there exist social relationships between social symbols (narrative horses, marriage partners, water and the Dodo), in both non-narrative and narrative contexts through metaphorical activities. Stephens posits that while in riddles, ambiguities occur, in tales, narrative ambiguity and conventions of fantasy and disguise facilitate the transformation of character roles and functions. The work by Stephens could be described as a taxonomic analysis of Hausa oral narratives prevalent in the southern region of the Niger Republic, the location of the present study. This means that aspects of Stephens' study would be beneficial to the current research.

2.2 Expressions and Expressiveness

The concept of expression and expressiveness in the works of art is delicate and Janus-faced. In other words, both expression and expressiveness are concepts that have their home in ordinary life and are then extended to the arts. According to Robinson (2007), both expression and expressiveness are concepts that have their home in ordinary life and are then extended to the arts through the account of artistic expression and then turn to artistic expressiveness. Therefore, the word "expression" is used for the author-centred aspect of expression as a whole, and the word "expressiveness" is used for the audience-centred aspect.

According to Robinson (2007), expression refers to a piece of behaviour that issues from somebody or other who is actually experiencing the emotion, and manifests or reveals that emotion in such a way that other people can perceive the emotion in the behaviour. Artistic expression has the same basic structure and function as expression in ordinary life. That is why it is properly called "expression." The Romantic poets, painters and composers who talked of themselves as expressing their emotions in their works thought of themselves as

revealing in their artworks the emotions that they themselves were actually experiencing or remembering, and thereby enabling other people (and maybe themselves as well) to understand what it is to be in that emotional state. The concept of art as expression derives from the Romantics, who thought that art could be a genuine outpouring by an artist of his real inner feelings.

The difference between expression in normal life and expression in art is subtle. Nevertheless, despite the analogies between much artistic expression and the expression of emotion in ordinary life, there are also significant dis-analogies that have often been noted. Robinson (2007: 68-69) delineates the following characteristics of expression:

i. Expression is an artwork which is often a long and deliberate process. Expression in ordinary life is obviously not usually a matter of intentionally putting out evidence that one is in a particular emotional state, and intending it to be perceived as such evidence. Ordinary expression is usually a good deal more spontaneous. Even the Romantic artists who explicitly acknowledge they are trying to express their emotions in a work are also careful craftsmen who, in the process of expressing their emotions, are constructing an art object.

ii. The idea that the emotions expressed in an artwork are the emotions of a persona or implied author rather than a real person suggests that when we call an artistic expression of emotion an *expression*, we are *treating* it as a genuine expression of emotion, even though this requires some imaginative activity on our part.

iii. Even when we are being shown in gestures and posture the way an agent feels about the world, these gestures and postures are not exactly like what we are accustomed to in real life. Dance movements in a ballet that express tender love or prideful disdain may be similar but not identical to such movements in

ordinary life. Nolde's Expressionist vision of his ecstatic dancers is obviously not what he actually sees as he looks about the world.

iv. Relatedly, artistic expressions are not just expressions. In addition to being expressions, they are usually aiming to be beautiful, graceful or formally interesting in some other way. Real grief is often ugly to behold. Grief in the graceful movements of a ballet dancer can be a delight. The whole point of calling a work of art an "expression of emotion" is that it seems, at least, to emanate from an artist or performer or character or persona who either is or appears to be in the throes of an emotion and who is laying bare his heart, as it were, to himself as well as to the rest of us.

Expressiveness, on the other hand, refers to a cognitive notion in expressions that reveal something about the nature of the emotion expressed. Relatively, expressiveness shows us only the person doing the expressing is in a particular emotional state. But if the expression is also relatively expressive, we are also shown something about what it is like to be in that state. When I see a person looking a bit glum, I infer that the person is feeling a bit glum, but when I see a person weeping, holding herself, moaning and rocking back and forth, I also get some sense of what this person is experiencing: the behaviour is far more revealing of the emotional state being expressed. For example, a person might express his state of mind verbally as Coleridge (1802: 1) states in "Dejection: An Ode" by saying:

> Or he can tell me of
> A grief without a pang, void, dark, and drear,
> A stifled, drowsy, unimpassioned grief,
> Which finds no natural outlet, no relief,
> In word, or sigh, or tear….

In the second expression of dejection that is so much more expressive than the first, one learns from it far more about how it feels to be in such a state. One important way in which expressiveness can be accomplished is by evoking the emotion expressed in other

people (from an appropriate cultural background) who are reasonably sensitive and perceptive. Sometimes, in observing expressive facial expressions, gestures and posture or hearing expressive vocal intonations, the evocation of emotion is direct and visceral. These are cases of emotional contagion, i.e. when our subjective emotional experiences are affected, moment to moment by automatic and unconscious mimicry of other people's facial expressions, voices, postures, movements, and instrumental behaviours. In this way, people tend to 'catch' others' emotions, moment to moment. At other times, the effects of emotional expressions on other people are cognitively mediated, as when we come to understand a person's (emotional) point of view by adopting or imagining that point of view. If we say a person is unreliable and deceitful, you can grasp my point of view cognitively, but if we say, more expressively, that he's a slimy snake, you get a better picture of how we regard him and thus of what our emotions are towards him.

According to Robinson (2007), emotional reactions to expressive emotional expressions do not always mirror the emotion expressed. Thus, one may have a contagious response to a person in the throes of grief and expressing grief in a very expressive way, this might have a compassionate or possibly a contemptuous response rather than simply grief. These reactions may be appropriate without being identical to the emotion expressed. So even in these cases the expressive way that the grief is expressed is what teaches us something of what it is like to be in that grieving state. It is simply that we may also have an emotional reaction to the person's being in that state. Just like expression, expressiveness in art mirrors expressiveness in life. Throughout the arts, there is a contrast between expressions that are relatively expressive and those that are relatively inexpressive. The more expressive an expression or literary element is, in other words, the stronger or more stressed the density of expressiveness is, the more the expression or literary element in question contributes functionally to the achievement of its social duty.

2.2.1 Expressiveness and Social Functions

With the exception of some isolated usages, the concept of ‘expressiveness ' was almost unknown in African literary studies. Among the reasons which could be at the origin of this technical absence, we can mention at least two. At first it is not obvious that the equivalent spelling of this term in English, “expressivity,” has the same meaning. On the French side, after Charles Bailly's works, this word seems to have lost its track, at least in a scientific conception upheld by a number of scholarly studies. And yet its vitality in use does not seem to be lacking. It is defined in the French dictionary, *Le Petit Larousse Grand Format 2007*, as “the character of what is expressive". We may therefore ask: Is expressive "what expresses firmly a thought, a feeling, an emotion: an expressive gesture/movement; the expressive quality of a sketch/hint; among others?" Nowadays, the vitality of the concept is doubtless. The decade 2000-2010 experienced so many symposiums and university conferences, as well as theses on the subject. Some thoughts were formed in many fields.

In the behavioural field, the works concerned especially the feelings and emotional reactions, the humours, the intentions, the attitudes (among others), but also the gestural act in human communication. Other works have concerned the musical expressiveness and the expressiveness of the body, among others. In connection with linguistics in general, works multiply in phonology (extension, intonation), in morphology, and in the field of syntax (including, very often, the stylistic function of the studied phenomena). In his article on "The Secret Expressiveness," Cotte (2008) reiterates that:

> The new expounded perspective is stimulating but before it as Saussure, Jakobson or Guillaume suggested it more radically, the style or something of the style, could be in the treasure of the language, in the heart of constraints, regularities and irregularities of grammar... Expressiveness is, let us accept, a relationship of suitability which establishes itself between the expressed thing and the way of expressing it," a "happy meeting". “Be it in the poetic text or not." (Translation mine)

There is another research that is related to this study on prosodic expressiveness. According to Rilliard (et. al.) it "is interested in expressive capacities of the prosody of the speech in communication. It is a question of quantifying the variations of acoustic parameters allowing the listeners to get a variety of information such as the expression of an emotion, an attitude or a realization of an 'attentional' focus on a part of the speech". In their view, the study of the variability of the prosodic parameters is the appropriate approach to report the interest of the expressiveness in this field:

> Expressing so many social affects as feelings or variations linked to the linguistic content of the spoken message, the prosody is transmitted in complex acoustic and visual parameters. To separate these functions makes it possible to study in detail the contribution of each of these methods in the global expressiveness of the message and ensures a better understanding of their interweaving. (Translation mine)

In the field of Stylistics, one of the fellows in favour of this discipline in its new perception, Mikel Dufrenne (1974) writes in an article published in the *Encyclopaedia Universalis*:

> The style is produced by a work and it at the same time singles out the production of the work and the experience it arouses at the consumer's of the product. We can express this idea by saying that the quality of a style is weighed up in the expressiveness of the work….

This view is widely shared by Bernard (2013: 27) who said clearly that "the composer has to examine the distribution of the poem between the narrative and the expressive." The reference to the composer is not fortuitous as far as the style is generally comprehended "as a personal way of behaving, a manner of speaking, a particular way every individual expresses most of the time, thanks to the resources of his language, his thought, his feelings." It is in this way that stylistics has often been considered as a "knowledge of the peculiarities of style" or as "the study of the particular resources of a language for expressive or esthetic purposes" (Bally (2013:217). So, "the style is expressiveness" and this function shows itself according to Guiraud et al. (1978: 217) in the aspect of the encoding. One of the most fruitful consequences of this approach has been the development of a stylistic method of analysis

relying on the "relevant features of the style," the association or assembly of which is represented by 'stylogrammes'. According to Guiraud et al. (1978: 217):

> The graphical representation of the gross or elaborate results of the experimental analysis or the formal stylistic analysis can be made in the form of stylogrammes. It is necessary to understand by stylogrammes some easily decipherable figures and which give information about/on eight relevant features (or more). To get a stylogramme we give ourselves a point of origin and eight branches onto which we shall put back after conversion according to an average value (this average can be pure convention and does not play a role of 'standard') or without preliminary conversion.

The representation of the style of a composer by means of stylogramme is the result of an analysis of the frequencies of the considered stylistic features. Besides, it is necessary to note that this model of stylistic analysis has especially been applied to the analysis of written works and it is not obvious that the described categories (essentially grammatical) can present the same degrees of relevance in terms of expressiveness when we apply them to poetic oral works. Unlike the stylistic approach mentioned above, the poetic approach, the object of which is the poetic art in general, draws the attention not only on the composer, but also on the composition, whatever, in addition, its form is. In this perspective, if a stylogramme is to be designed, it must not only be done on the basis of the grammatical peculiarities of the text of a composer, but has also to be intended for wider facts of styles. At this level, the 'convergence' of Riffaterre (2012:129) must be mentioned, considering the example of Melville's "Moby Dick":

There is here an accumulation of:

1) Abnormal order verb-subject;

2) Repetition of the verb;

3) Rhythm created by this compound repetition;

4) Intensive coordination (and,… and,…) which strengthens the rhythm;

5) A coined word (unrestingly) which by its nature would create a surprise in any context;

6) Metaphor accentuated by the unusual relationship of the concrete (tides) with the abstract (conscience) instead of the opposite).

It is such an accumulation of stylistic features that Riffaterre (2012) calls “convergence.” But as in the treatment with the stylogrammes, the 'convergence', according to Riffaterre (2012), limits itself to the strictly internal facts to the text and therefore presents a weakness with regard to our approach which aims at taking into account the following realities:

a) The behaviour or personal attitudes of the composer (his gestural habits, mimes, facial behavior, etc.);
b) The nature of the composition from the macro and micro structural point of view of the text;
c) The information on the quality of particular elements known classically in a composition of poetic art;
d) The kind of composition (in verse or in prose; lyric, dramatic, epic, satyric, funny, etc.);
e) The nature of the versification (rhyme, particular ‘phonétisme’ ….);
f) The strength of suggestion, sensation, feelings, impressions by some particular uses of the language; among others.

The notion of marker as basic 'expressive sign' of expressiveness makes the best of this approach. The notion of 'expressive sign' was used by Bally (1913) in *Language and Life* to indicate exactly the discreet element of the discursive series able to be interpreted as carrier of a substance which is the core of expressiveness. It is this discreet element which makes the difference between the 'pure', general intellectual production, and the sentimental one as it

was explained by Vaucher (1925) in his thesis, and which can be identified at every level of linguistic production; as an example, the demonstration of the particle 'very' by Bally in his "emotional syntax." According toVaucher (1925: 25-26), 'emotional syntax' is illustrative:

- He went out of his house *very* sad.

- He appeared *very* dirty before the agent in charge of public road network.

- The *very* powerful governor of Zinder.

'Very' marks a semantic nuance marking the interest that the speaker gives to the formulation of the fact he presents or that he wants to describe. Bally (1987) talks about 'expressiveness ' or 'expressive functioning' where in fact 'very' has a precise function, expressive function that we find in many examples of the literature object of this thesis or of Hausa literature in general. But if "very" can be identified with a certain ease as a carrier of the 'expressive function,' therefore as a marker of expressiveness, it is not always the case, because the expressive function can variably be given to a phonemic segment, to a series of phonemic segments, to a phrasal segment, and even beyond as illustrated in the following examples of expressive fields.

2.2.2 Models of Expressives

	Devices	**Forms or models of expressives**	**Fields of Attestation**	
1	Inversion, reduplication/intensification and other 'asyntactic' games			
		Gudu babu, tsoro babu'	Self-praise	
		Kaba zobo mubu taba hibi kaba subu waba	Language of pairs	
		A ɗayan, a biyun, a sakata kwando, kiɗi da bori kacalla dubu	nursery/counting-out rhymes	
2	'Overpromoting'			
	-incitation	*'In kunna su* *In hura su* *Don kowa da bisa aikinai* *Sun san ni ma da gwanintata'* - Maman Garba (Maina)	Song (to the address of footballers)	
	-recontextualisation	*'In da lahira ana aza dambe da*	Song (to the	-The

	-incitation	*walakiri ya faɗa ma gaba nai'* - Ɗan Anace (Shago)	address of the boxer Shago)	Best of Ɗan Anace
	- Impressive images (Phonic motivation) -comparison	*'Samamago galma almakashin daji'* Makaɗa Naino - Jibji The farmer	Song (to the address of the digger Jibji)	- The Best of Makaɗa Naino
	- Impressive images (Phonic motivation) -description of character/nature (here satire)	*'Gingiro mai kwagiri da bakin doki Nasara'* Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo (Bodo)	Song (to the address of the colonizer Bodo)	-Satire of Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo
	-Emphasis by mutation of use of word/expression	*'Kura ta turnuke sama* *Kuma ta turnuke bisa'*	Song of Ɗan Anace (to the address of Ɗandunawa)	
3	Change of style or language			
	-threat (satirical)	*Rabe Makaho (Jandarma)*		- Humour of Rabe Makaho
	-threat (satirical)	*'Sai ne ji shehu lishi ɗan ya ce :* *Kayya sartse sarde* *Bandi salau la bandi antasho'* *Ni kau shehu, sai na sunne kalanguna na je gaba'* - Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo (Bodo)		
4	Praise – satire			
	Self-praise *(yabankai)* -reference to... -comparison (force of image)	*Ni ne na garba ƙirgin kura* *a kwan bugo, a wuni bugo* *Mutuwa na biya ta bashi* *Kaɗan ban kasha ba* *Mi taka ɗiba.'* Boxer		
5	Appeal for faith			
	-melody (rhythm) - thematic repetition -themes of gain or reward	*'Lada, lada, lada* *Lada, inna uwata* *Lada baba ubana* *Lada ta kewaye ku* *Ta muku dakin da za ku kwana'* - bara of almajirai		
6	Schemes of ordinary style (metaphor, metonymy …)			
	-Images, symbols -Comparison	'*Ɗan farin wata kalkashin gado -ƙwai'* Riddle		

7	Alternation(alternating1 model of performers) and 2(macrostructure of text)			
	1- Percussion and coherence of choices	*Karɓaɓɓeniya* - Ɗankwairo (Amadu Gawo)		
	2-incitation - percussion and coherence of choices	*Take-kirari-waka*		
8	Integration			
		Gatana-karin-magana-waka *Hira-karin-magana* *Waka/wake karinmagana*		
	- Thematic percussion	*Almara*		

Finally the attitude of the audience in what it has as significant influence in the success or failure of the performer and his performance/production.

In this study, these values around the performer/composer, the performance and the audience are taken into account to estimate the expressiveness of the performance in its strength or its weakness. In this strength or weakness being only the arithmetical sum of the coefficients around these three poles, we shall say that the more the overall coefficient is high, the more the global expressiveness of the performance/production is dense/strong. It is this analytical approach that have been adopted following the example of stylogrammes. Our analysis is based on a certain organisation of the gathered data with as objective a better justified legibility of the values which instigate the expressiveness of the poetic art in the region of Damagaram.

2.3 Hausa Orature in Damagaram

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, there is no general reference on the Hausa literature in the space of Niger. According to the objectives of the study in connection with expression (as a unit of production as opposed to other units according to its own forms), and expressiveness (with regard to the power utterance of the expression and consequently the profitability of the literary act or element, as an educational, cultural or training source,

because it is the sound base of these values in traditional Africa), the research for the exhaustiveness of elements in their spaces of production has been favoured. The classification based on the spaces of production has the forward-looking advantage of bringing us straight away on the various grounds of the key social functions that are educative, collective, individual- promoting and of functional religious implications. In detail, the approach based on the spaces of production has allowed us to identify and classify the productions or modes of expression according to their places of realisation, the specificity of the producers, the audience (listener, participant or addressee of the work) as it is shown by the preliminary inquiry. According to this approach, the main part of the verbal art in the region of Damagaram takes place in four main spaces of production:

a) The family space offers the field of production of the childlike literature with the *Tawai* of the moms to their babies, the tales, the bed songs, the riddles of the grandmothers to their little sons and the *karinmagana* (particularly in its *habaici* variant) of women between each other in their daily conversations.

b) The *fage* or *dandali* (public square/place) is the common community space of cultural exchange for the youngest, the teenagers and the adults with the various possibilities of exchanges offered every day in the different forms of *wasa*, and punctual or seasonal opportunities created by the holidays, the sporting events, the ceremonies (among others) which generate songs.

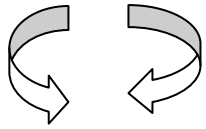
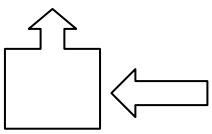
c) The professional practice ground is another space of creation and self-consumption because the song often remains the best companion of the worker; in many circumstances it is his galvanising pill. This space is also the one of productions of *take* (kind of anthem/hymn) and *kirari* (praise-epithet). In this space, we shall mention the “literature of farms,” of the king’s court, the performances at the address of various groups: butchers, hunters, smiths, among others.

d) We shall add the performance of the *bara* of *almajirai* and *gardawa* (pupils and students of Koranic schools).

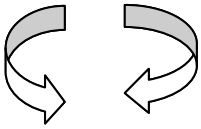
e) The space of elaborate professional or freely thought and orchestrated song; space by means of which some 'stars' are much known in the classic field as well as in that of *Ciko*, a form of sung expression specific to the Damagaram area.

Chart 1: Classification based on the spaces of production:

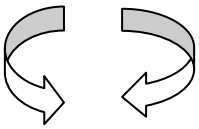
a. The family space

Space of productions		**Types**	**Nature of the type**		**Social Value**
FAMILY SPACE	Internal Production and consumption 	The ***Tawai*** (by mothers)	Sung poetry to rock a baby to sleep	Dominating Genre : (includes ***take***, ***kirari***, ***salsala***.. on the themes of ***fata***, ***yabo***, ***kamna***, etc.)	- General basic education on the early childhood level - social promotion: the child is drawn the picture of his destiny right from the first months of his life and this promotion depends strongly on the quality of the ***Tawai.***
		Gatana (here tales by grandmothers)	Linear narration with total or partial Integration	Dominating Genre : includes ***karinmagana***, ***waka***, uses ***emphasis*** repetitively	
		Tatsinniya (here riddle of parents including the elders)	Dialogue / questions-answers	**Unit(ing)** Genre (building of models based on relationship and their representation in their natural approach)	
		The ***waye*** (nursery/counting -out rhyme)	Sung Halting	**Unit(ing)** Genre: Initiation to phonetics and counting	
	External Production, reproduction in front of the house 	The ***waka*** by families' *griots (poets and musicians)*	Songs	Dominating Genre: **includes** the ***karinmagana alternating with*** the ***take***	Additional learning; knowledge broadening
		The ***bara*** of *almajirai*	Sung poetry	Religious islamic Themes	
		The ***tashe*** by age groups from different districts	Sung or recited poetry	Religious themes with animist background	

b. The *fage*

Space of performances		**Genres**	**Nature of the genre**		**Social Value**
The fage	Internal Production and consumption 	The ***wake*** (by young girls)	Sung poetry by young girls in harmony with a sporting dance	Dominating Genre: (includes the ***karinmagana,*** the ***habaici,*** some unchangeable expressions, etc..	General education on the mid-childhood and adolescence level
		Wasan samari (by teenagers)	Popular poetry sung by young boys in which they combine physical training used as game	Dominating Genre: includes the ***karinmagana***, the ***waye***, uses the ***emphasis*** repetitively	
		Tatsinniya (here riddle of parents including the elders)	Dialogue / questions-answers	**Unit(ing)** Genre (building of models based on relationship and their representation in their natural approach)	
		The ***waye*** (nursery/counting-out rhymes)	Sung Halting	**Unit(ing)** Genre: Initiation to phonetics and counting	
	Production shared between the front of the house and the *fage*	The ***wasa*** of holidays and ceremonies	Songs relating to a popular circumstance on the public place	Dominating Genre: **includes** the ***karinmagana alternating with*** the ***take***	Additional learning; knowledge broadening ; broadening of linguistic knowledge and some youth practices relating to culture
		The ***wasa of wargin ɗiya***	A wide range of events based on relationships mixed with genres	Themes of youth before wedding	
		The ***tashe*** by age groups of different districts	Sung or recited poetry	Religious themes with animist background	
		The ***almara***	Sketch shared by fine talker boys and the *fage* audience	Initiation to ***tadi*** or praise through a skillful control of expression	

c. The space of professional practice

Space of performances		Genres	Nature of the genre		Social Value
The Space of Professional Practice	Production intended for a professional of a caste or a family which identifies itself with a profession 	Song relating to a profession	Song relating to a profession sung by singers of a given profession (smiths' singers, hunters' singers, butchers' singers, etc.)	Is meant for a professional of a caste or his family. Themes: *yabo* (praise), *zambo* (depreciation), *ziga* (incitement to surpass oneself or transcend one's own capacities), etc.	General education of the community level; General sensitizing on topical themes, etc.
	Production by a professional liberal-minded singer	Song relating to a profession	Songs of professionals or of professional singers	Dominating Genre: Is meant for any citizen or nature for given reason Themes: *yabo* (praise), *zambo* (depreciation), *ziga* (incitement to surpass(ing) oneself or transcend(ing) one's own capacities), etc.	General education on the community level; General sensitizing on topical themes, etc.

The preliminary interview has enabled the spaces of production to be divided in two major classifications: it is possible to have an idea on the diversity of the types of literary expressions (or genres) according to some precise and specific criteria to each type, at the same time as it gives an analytical opening onto the relationships of feature between its elements. Before examining this second aspect, some precisions in the analysis of the diversity of genres and actors include social mechanisms of the literary act in our field of study.

2.3.1 Types of Artistes in Damagaram

With regard to the various types, we can classify the artists into three groups:

a. Those who produce lucratively within the framework of their social mission: the mothers who produce *Tawai;* the grandmothers who tell the tales to children; the travellers who narrate their short stories *(labarai)*, among others. They perform alone without musical accompaniment; they only rely on their personal talent made by the quality of their voice, the mastery of their subject and their style, and some knowledge they have of the language, among others.

b. Those who reproduce or produce lucratively for themselves (in particular in a playful frame), particularly the young people and the teenagers who act in public places *(fage)* or in a corner of the house. Their performances as games *(wasa)* are generally some products of the popular imagery or some works produced as amateurs. The *almajirai* and *gardaw*a who practise the *bara* can be classified in this group due to their age-range, with the difference that the performance of the latter are rewarded by their audience.

c. The class of the professional singers who perform alone, in duo or in more or less complex orchestras. Considering the terminological diversity which characterises this class, within the framework of this work, the following precisions are worth mentioning:

1. The singer, The *mawaki* (f. *mawakiya*, pl. *mawaka*), because of vocal qualities, intrinsic literary performances, is the most known performer. He or she improvises, composes or ' sings' [the *wakoki* (sg *waka*) songs], generally accompanied with three groups of collaborators: the ' drummers ' (*makada*), the chorus (*yan amshi*), and the group of what we call here 'griot' d(*Dan-kira*). When the *mawaki* is a woman (*mawakiya*), she is rather known under the name of *zabiya*.

2. The drummers (or drum players) [*makaɗa* (sg. *makaɗi*)] players of all kinds of tomtoms: *ganga*, *dundufa* for the '*gardawa*', *duma* (gourd/calabash) for popular festivities, *gunduwa* for wrestlers, *kotso* for *'yan gambara'*, *kalangu* for multiple performances, and so forth. These main musical instruments are accompanied by smaller ones called the *kolo*, the *kurkutu*, etc., carried by the '*kazagi'* (pl. *yɗan kazagi*), the smallest or the apprentices of the drummers.

Let us specify that the two terms, *mawaƙa* and *makaɗa*, in spite of the clarity of their basic meanings (singer for the first, drummer or player of musical instrument for the second), raise very often some problems in their current meanings because of their performances and role they play at the social level as well as within their orchestral group. At another level, no matter which role comes first/is dominating, the *mawaƙa* and the *makaɗa* are both *maroƙa* (sg. masc. *maroƙi*; fem. *maroƙiya*), which means "scroungers," as the purpose of their performance is 'to receive' *(a ba su)* from the person or group of persons at the address of whom the performance was intended. But *zabiya* (chief singeress conductor) is generally only *mawaƙiya* (singeress) even if it means that she is assisted by *maƙada* (drummers) who never substitute her in her function of chief singer.

3. The chorus (*yɗan amshi*, sg. *ɗan amshi*) is made up of three to five persons or even more to relieve the 'chief-singer' *(mawaƙi)* or *zabiya*. Their function (*amshi* or *karɓe* taking over), operates under many forms in relieving the 'chief-singer': the simple *karbe* is the most common form where the chorus relieves the main singer with the same tune like the chorus of Rabe Makaho. We also meet the *karɓeɓeniya* where the 'chief-singer' and the chorus (*yɗan-amshi* produce stanzas completely different in contents as well as in metric-value and in mind of the normal linearity of the text and the thought of the group (the most common example is the one of *yɗan-gambara* where each of the two perfomers is at the same time singer *(mawaƙi)* and 'reliever' (*ɗan-amshi*) alternately). Usually, the 'relievers' (*yɗan-amshi*) do not have

musical instruments, and if they have at all, they are musical instruments of accompaniment such as *ƙolo*, *kazagi*, *kurkutu*, among others.

4. The griots [*yân-ƙira* / *san kira* (sg. *ɗan-ƙira*)]: we know that this term was very widely spread in Africa to effectively mark the realities of some countries where colonisation had its first impacts on cultural life. In Hausa areas, it is not obvious that the term, "griot," shares the very honourable meaning of "master of words" given to it in Mali or Senegal. This term indicates, rather, a particular character who accompanies a performance group and who from time-to-time, and in an impromptu way, adds his own performances to draw the attention of the group directed by the chief singer or the *zabiya* on a special aspect of the audience or on a personality who deserves from him/her a particular praise. When it is a song which is open to artistic experimentations, the griot follows the evolution of the themes of the song and does not hesitate to add his "own little salt" (that is, his own words), if it highlights a value, draws the attention to a fact or on a character, or simply makes the audience laugh in general, raise the tone on the theme like *yabo* (eulogy), *zambo* (satire), among others, at the address of the addressee of the song. He can also praise the merit of the 'chief-singer' or the whole orchestra, all this on his own initiative. From this function, they are called *sanƙira* or *ɗan-kira*. Therefore, the semantic origin of this cannot be studied in detail within the framework of this study. The word '*ƙira'* means 'to create' or the process of creating, gives the lead that in the first instance, *sanƙira* means "someone who follows / those who follow / those who "create words," and in the second sense of meaning, these personae are themselves creators of their impromptu performance, not often in harmony with the linearity of the rhythm of the group. Elsewhere, the performer is called *ɗan-maba*, with a status that can be different from *ɗan-kira's*, insofar as he can alone (separated from the group) be responsible for his own performance going from the "vulgar conversationalist" to the genealogist recognised as such. It is necessary to mention that there is one of the fundamental-community

functions in which the griot (*ɗan-kira*) is the only master: *ɗan-kira* has always worked as the town crier or announcer of news in the community. Whatever the name, or the type of performance, *ɗan-kira* or *ɗan-maba* is, like *mawaƙa* and *makaɗa,* a "scrounger" with the title from now on common to his family of performers. He is *maroƙi.*

In Damagaram, there are at least six types of groups of artistes:

1- The "singleton" type of *ɗan-kama* who goes from market-to-market or from public-place to public-place with his *kotso,* to share his humour or satire with whoever wants to listen to him. There are also in this group the players of *garaya* (small single-string zither) who in their majority are not professionals, but amateurs, in particular young people avid to share their ideas with their peers. They usually perform in young peoples' meeting places, to break with the dullness of gossip or to interact with other "groups of games" in the *fage* (public square). The players of *garaya* are generally young, not professionals who venture into the love of musical instrument-playing and of self-fulfillment by the verb (song): (see for example Rafani of Mati of Gabawiri).

2- The "binomial" type of the *yan-gambara*: it is generally a group of two professional humourists, each with his *kotso,* and who through their exchange of words make the public laugh.

3- The groups of *makaɗa* (drummers) without specific singers (*mawaƙa*) and who produce only some music danced at a public square; the dancers may choose to intone a specific song in harmony with their dance like *takai* (satiric performance) and *faka* (race ends in buttock-to-buttock hit) are cases in point.

4- The group directed by a "chief-singer" *(mawaƙi*) accompanied by the *makaɗa*, *yan-amshi* and griots (*yan-kira*) as described above. In this type, we identify the groups of master-singer men [*makaɗa* X or Y] and those of mistresses of song *(zabiya)*. The latter are so many in Damagaram. These kinds of groups liven up two types of performance:

a. the performances around a specific professional activity during farming;
b. the orchestration of festivals/holidays/parties and other religious ceremonies.

5- *Almajirai* and *gardawa* performances livening up religious songs.

6- The types of popular performances by groups of young people who do the *wasa* for young boys and *wake* for the young girls.

2.3.2 Diversity of Genres in Damagaram Orature

The domains of performance can be classified into four fields: the narration field; the sung performances; the recitation and the ordinary dialogue.

- The narration field includes the tale (*gatana*) and the short story (*labari*).
- The song field includes *tawai, waka, wake, bara, tashe, motse (wasan samari)* and *waye*.
- The recitation genre consists of *kirari*.
- The field of "ordinary dialogue" includes *karinmagana* (proverbs), *almara* (fable), *wasan kwaikwayo* (drama), *tatsunniya* (folklore) or *kacici-kacici* (riddle).

Beyond their intrinsic characteristics, we can on the one hand see that these genres are not always homogeneous particles, and on the other, we can say that they can maintain, among one another, some types of relations. For example, there are relations of integration and relations of proximity or alternation. The relation of integration is governed by a style of governance where the dominating genre1 commands genre 2. The integration is illustrated by the passages sung in a tale, proverb, song, and in the interventions of *maroki* (praise-singer) in the course of a song (*waka*). While being a characteristic of expression in its structural dimension, the integration is an element of expressiveness in its textual function.

The relation of alternation of genres can be considered as a practical or functional chain where the links of the chain of the following can be displayed: genre 1 - genre 2 -

genre3; genre1 - genre 3 - genre 2; among others. The alternation is illustrated by the sequence *take-waƙa-kirari* or *take-kirari-waƙa*, as the context or artistry may demand such as realised in the *gayya* (communal labour), or in wrestling (*kokowa*), where the griot calls up or incites an individual by his eulogue (*take*) [genre1]. The individual answers or follows up with a *kirari* (epithet) [genre2]; then the griot moves on with a *waƙa* (song) [genre3]. The alternation has a function of making operational a system of production of literary acts in a context which requires it.

Chart 2: Transverse format

a. The integration

Dominanting Genre	**Total integration**	**Partial integration**
Song	nursery/counting-out rhymes, proverbs, idiomatic expressions	
Tale	nursery/counting-out rhymes, proverbs, idiomatic expressions	'Little' songs
***Wasa* (drama and other role playing games)**	nursery/counting-out rhymes, proverbs, idiomatic expressions	songs, little songs, tales, praise, *kirari* (self-praise)

b. The alternation

Space	**Introductory genre**	**Alternant I**	**Alternant II**	**Alternant III**
Gayya **(**community labour); ***kwambalar kokowa ko dambe*** (wrestling or boxing Competition)**;** ***farauta*** (hunting) **; etc.**	Praise (introduced by the *griot* with his drum)	*Kirari* (response of the invited or provoked hero by the *griot*)	*Waka* (song started by the *griot* for his hero)	*Kirari* (reaffirmation by the hero that he is on good terms with his drummer)

Another dimension of this literature is characterised by the important role played by common memory or the cluster of the popular imagery, the substrata of which still remains perfectly functional, and moreover, continues to inspire the current productions at many levels. The most illustrative case is the one of the *waƙe*, which has widely been a source of

inspiration for the *almajirai* in their religious psalmody (*bara*) and which is also one of the main contributors in the *ciko* innovation.

Example 1. Extract from *bara*

Lada, lada, lada !	(God's) Reward, Reward, Reward!
Lada inna uwata	Reward, where is my mother?
Lada baba ubana	Reward my father
Lada ta kewaye ku	May Reward protect you
Ta muku ɗakin	May Reward build a room for you
Da za ku kwana	Where you will sleep.

This example is doubly illustrative of the inspiration of the *waƙe*, which was a pre-Islamic creation in the religious performances of the *almajirai*. The use of the constant repetition with impressive character we find in the Agysimbian tales (*ya yi ta sha, ya yi ta sha, ya yi ta sha!*), and the recourse to the *'nanaye'* functions as a kind of metric calibration which is well known in Hausa classical oral poetry, such as illustrated in the first verse above. The third aspect is the unchanging character of this text which has become a kind of common heritage used and/or usable by any *almajiri*.

Chart 3: Classification according to the membership of the expression to the common imagination (popular creation) or to a known author

		Genres		Main characteristics
Hausa Orature	Popular creation	Songs**) by young girls**	Text, the source of which is the Popular imagination transmitted from generation to generation (with very often some innovations about which the	Sung only by young girls in accordance with a dance (playful, cultural and sporty)
		The courtyard games **(*Wasan fage*)** by young men *(motse/motsai)*		Sung and performed with a dance or a particular movement of the boby
		The indirect (***karinmagana)***		**Monosentence** expressing a popular wisdom
		The tale (***gatana)***		Narration often

			identification of the source could not be easy in many cases)	including a sung genre
		The ***tatsinniyoyi***		Questions-answers
		The nursery/counting-out rhymes ***(waye)***		Learning texts which are given rhythm to by sounds or figures
		The epithet (***take)***		Monosentence identifying itself to an individual and expressed by means of drum sounds to call the intended person
		Self-praise (***kirari)***		Text recited by an individual in answer to his call by means of the *take*
		Short Stories ***(almara)***		Skecth by 'masters of speech'
	Creation of a given author	Songs (***wakoki)***	Inspiration and self- creation	Texts of variable length sung to the address of an individual, an event or a thing **of nature**.
		Song poetry to rock a baby ***(Tawai)***		Sung text to a baby a mother

Chart 4: Classification according to religious inspiration

	Origin of inspiration	**Category / mode / genre of expressions**
	Animist culture	Family childlike literature: *Tawai, gatana/tatsinniya, waye,*
		Wasa of young boys and girls in various spaces, in particular the fage : wake-wake da raye-rayen motsa jiki
		The professional field (***sana'a /aiki***): - ***wakokin sana'a*** (Song of caste or socio-professional group *(wakar mahalba, wakar makera*, etc.)) - ***wakar-sana'a*** : the professional singers
		The integrated genres: *karinmagana* (proverbs), *habaici* (indirect speech); etc.
Hausa Orature	Intermediate productions (orarature)	The *tashe* of children during the Ramadan(fasting period) (source of inspiration : islamic, contained free little songs)

	Koranic school	Written songs by great *marabouts (teachers of the highest rank in islamic studies)*
		Songs and little songs of ***bara*** of koranic school pupils (*almajirai*) and students (*gardawa*)

2.3.3 Orature and Mass Media in Damagaram

The role of mass media in our life today cannot be overemphasised. In most instances, the media serves as the custodian of the oral values through which cultural information and messages are recorded and transmitted every day. They perform as the library corpus of verbal arts which now can be regarded as a means of recreating and representing the past. With the emergence 'Orature and Multimedia' as a novel interdisciplinary field of study, the role of the mass media in this aspect has now entered into a newly developed stage to harmonise with the globalized and digitalized age. According to Liman (2010:133):

> The interplay of orature and media is currently receiving serious attention from scholars. Media culture itself as the product of technological advancement which is currently bequeathed to the modern world by literate civilizations…. There is thus a remarkable difference between pre-industrial and post-industrial cultures. Modern societies are, therefore, no longer dependent on folk culture forms as means of identity expression or environment…. Modern societies are technologically driven. Scientific methodology is the organizing principle of social existence. Thus, the fundamental objective of scientific knowledge is the attainement of tecnologiacal bliss, progress and development.

As projected by Liman above, this is one of the realities in Damagaram. The mass media stations play a vital role in town. There are many forms of the mass media in Damagaram region (about 48): the community radios (31 in number) set up at the community level, the regional radios which broadcast their programs at the regional level within a 60 to 80 km radius around Zinder. Among these media we can mention the regional national radio and television stations (belonging to the government and whose programmes vary from the news broadcasting to the broadcasting of some elements of orature of Damgaram such as traditional songs, short stories, poems in Hausa recited by old wisemen of the region and the

well-known drama in Hausa by '*la troupe théatrale de l'ORTN de Zinder*' broadcast every Sunday and widely appreciated in Niger). There is also the Anfani radio, Al-Hudda radio, Ténéré radio television, the online press and a regional monthly newspaper called 'les Echos de Zinder', all of which are private.

The community radios set up at the community levels broadcast some programmes of sensitization intended for the masses on various themes related to health, education, culture, farming and some historical facts to enlighten the rural world in its diversity. We can add to those media other media which are based in Niamey (the Capital of Niger Republic) and which have some relay stations in Zinder (about ten of them) which through digital television broadcast some elaborate programmes on radio as well as television related to drama, sketch, question box where some time slots are given to some artists and wise men to recount some historical events namely the resistance against colonization led by different sultans of Damagaram.

2.3.4 Hausa Orature in Damagaram Schools

In 1971, the government of Niger Republic established two experimental primary schools: one in Zinder, the Capital of Damagaram; and another in Tillabéry, the western part of Niger. The experimentation consists of beginning the teaching programme of the two first forms of primary school in the native language of the area. In this way, the experimental primary school of Zinder began teaching in Hausa, the mother tongue of 95% of the children of the Damgaram region. In Tillabéry, the children were taught in Zarma, which is the dominant language of this area. The first assessment of the experimentation showed that right from the end of the second semester of the second form, the children trained at these two experimental schools were able to read perfectly any document written in French which was not the case of their friends of the fourth form of ordinary primary schools who, right from the first form, were taught in French.

Since 2000, the government of Niger Republic has, with the financial backing of technical and financial partners, begun a curriculum reform. From this perspective, the Department of Curriculum and Promotion of National Languages was created at the Ministry of Education. Within this department a project called Project for the quality of education came into being in 2012. Like the experience of the 70s, here again, the project consisted of opening or re-opening some experimental schools nationwide for the promotion of national languages. Initially, fifty schools were opened. But by the end of the year 2017, the number of experimental schools was estimated at 5000. From the first to the third forms, the teaching programme was bilingual combining French with one of the eight national languages of Niger depending on where the school is located. The particularity in the bilingual classes is that the French language is taught as a course. But from the fourth form, it is the opposite which is applied. From the secondary to the university level, the project should have been carried on with the two languages having the same status. Unfortunately it came to its end in 2017 when the World Bank stopped its financial backing.

2.3.5 Imprint of French Colonization on Cultures in Damagaram

Niger Republic was colonized by France. Though, she got independence in 1960, the country still bears the imprint of French invasion through direct rule. Unlike the British indirect rule, the French rule the colonized territories directly from Paris the Capital of Metropolitan France through their neo-colonial agents.

Among other characteristics, this direct rule manifests itself in many areas such as the creation of artificial structures by the colonial master bringing together different ethnic groups with culturally nothing in common. Moreover, there are significant phenomena of cultural assimilation with that of the Metropolitan France, Paris. There are strong contentions in the international politics that Paris has virtually done in all of its colonial empire, especially, from Maghreb through the Western and Central sub-Saharan regions. According to Wooton (2023),

conspicuously, this has left the colonized countries subjects for over sixty years with little autonomy since the so-called independence. France has managed to retain a hegemonic foothold to protect her interests through so called preserving the legacy of mastery.

Like other territories colonized by the French, these political elements of conquest from the interior have negatively impacted the cultural identity of the people of Damagaram and Niger Republic at large. These consequences can be seen in the abandonment of the existing traditional practices, disorientation of existing traditional structures, disappearance of the inherited traditional cultures and finally the assimilation and identification to the culture of colonial masters. Inadvertently, Damagaram region was the first victim of these colonial impacts mentioned above as the first Capital of Niger territory was set up by the colonial master in Zinder, the Capital of Damagaram.

2.4 Empirical Review

The empirical review of this study comes out of the analysis of previous works. It serves as a report of a kind of temporal, important gap between some works of high methodological and scientific reach carried out earlier during the colonial era and the time of this study: a gap of more than one century! Prietze published his *Hausa-Sprichworter und Hausa-lieder* in 1904 and *Hausa-Songer* in 1916. From Rudolf Prietze's works, we notice that Hausa orature could be classified into three groups, namely:

- The literature of inspiration composed by educated Muslims' written in Arabic classical verse and usually sung without accompaniment of musical instrument;

- The songs of singers and mobile tambourine players, songs which are not written but sung between two dances; their contents are not religious, though their rhythm is quantitative (quantitative verse in two hemistiches, but without Arabic metrics);

- Between the two groups, there is a poetry of the “master of song” whose female bears the name of *'zabiya'*.

The above precision is important, even if basically it would be difficult to make a distinction between the second and the third group or to assert the absence of religious features in the three cases. We should also note that in Rudolf Prietze's assertion, the term “literature” sends back to one or some categories of literary productions, namely those relating to song or poetry. Another aspect comes from the fact that Jahn (1965) handles this Hausa literature with the influence of the Arabo–Agisymbian literary tradition, with an experimental leaning to Swahili literature. This may be for methodological reasons or because he did not have enough elements of this literature at his disposal. Having noted this, we also notice that the “chamito-sémitique” debate of the end of the nineteenth century in connection with the genetic kinship of the Hausa language had an influence on the literary classification. We therefore assume that the traditional Hausa orature, in the context it is now, would have got the foundations of its diversity from two cultural sources: the literature of essentially animistic tradition and origin, by far the most important in its social, economic and cultural dimensions; and the one that arose from the development of the Koranic school with the introduction of Islam in this Sudanese area.

But this assertion is not enough or does not give enough structural criteria to classify the Hausa oral literary productions into two groups. To accept such a typology supposes that a fundamental prerequisite was settled: what types of productions does the Hausa orature consist of in general and on the basis of which criteria could the types be specifically classified into one group or the other? To our knowledge, such an ambition of global description is still in a process (Jahn 1965). However, there is virtually no serious research on heroic/praise oral poetry in Africa that could ignore the seminal contribution of Daniel Pule Kunene. Particularly, Kunene’s work in question here is his 1971 book, *Heroic Poetry of the*

Basotha, published as part of the series of the Oxford Library of African Literature. He commences his treatise by dismissing the uncritical dependence on Eurocentric notions of poetry in Africa. He argues that for the Eurocentric critic,

> ... a poem has to have rhyming lines and syllabic metre. As one modern Bantu language writer puts it, the alternation of weak and strong stresses must give you the impression of a galloping horse! Now, horses canter, sometimes they even walk... But no, the horse must gallop. Then you have rhythm, then you have poetry. (p. xii).

Probably, the most important contribution of Kunene to the analysis of heroic poetry is in his use of the term "eulogues," which he defines in the following words:

> eulogue is used to refer to the different kinds of praise reference: names such as deverbative nouns describing the hero according to his actions, or metaphorical names comparing the hero to natural phenomenon, and, for example, praise by association of the hero with some other person, whether himself (or herself) praiseworthy or not. These mechanisms for praising the hero are sufficiently important to the poem, and sufficiently unique, for a new term to be justifiable in referring to them. For obvious reasons, the new term is not eulogy. (pp. xxii -xxiii).

The deployment of the term eulogy as the building block of practically all praise poetry has been handled by the Hausa scholar, M. Y. Tsoho in his 2003 article, "Naming Eulogies in Hausa Praise Songs: The Case of Hausa Court Songs." The research has a considerable number of praise songs and should be enriched by the African proponents of eulogy.

The review of related literature would be incomplete without reference to the 811-paged pioneering study of the oral poetry of the Niger Republic Tuaregs by Ahmed Issouf. The doctoral dissertation which was completed in 1982 at Ahmadu Bello University (ABU), Zaria, entitled “The Content and Form of Tuareg Oral Poetry of the Azawagh,” is a

comprehensive treatment specifically of love and emotional songs of the Azawagh Tuaregs. It is an analysis "of a representative corpus of traditional, non-Islamic Tuareg Oral Poetry in the Azawagh and demonstrates that this poetry is essentially love poetry " (p.iii). And Issouf himself declares that the thesis is an "attempt to describe and characterise Tuareg Oral poetry in the Azawagh, as is practised by the speakers of the tawallamat dialect...it entails an account of how poetry is composed, performed, learnt, and transmitted; and it also entails a deep analysis of the functions poetry plays in Tuareg life."(18-19).

The Azawagh inhabit the mainly sandy and arid parts of the Niger Republic. Their nomadic lifestyle contrasts sharply with that of the sedentary Hausa farmers and traders in the Southern regions, my study area. Issouf's work brings together a rich collection of romantic and love songs, their composers, occasions for the compositions and the audiences for the compositions. Issouf also appends these songs in Azawagh and in English translation. One of the important conclusions reached by Issouf (1982: 377) which is relevant to the present research is his assertion that:

> Strong kingship traditions are known to be almost inseparable from panegyrics. Indeed, in Africa generally, praising the rich, the noble, and even the common man with the view of obtaining gifts may be regarded as an extension of the practice as it affects kings and chiefs. This is not to say that eulogies of various sorts are made for kings and chiefs alone. Rather, it seems that these happen to be more important, more powerful, and possibly richer than anyone else in any given society and can therefore best pay, as it were, for the psychologically beneficial eulogies which these poets offer.

Samuel (2015), in a study entitled "A Study of the Form, Content and Performance of Agatu Songs," analyses a corpus of Akpanchala and Okpeke Agatu songs. Similar to the analytical tool adopted for this research, Samuel also deployed a Functionalist approach to his exegesis of Agatu songs. The study, according to Samuel (2015: 4):

> ...is hinged on everyday experience and are heavily loaded with imagery and symbols of Agatu community. Agatu songs therefore, serve as a veritable link between the older generation and the younger ones. This is inevitable as the performances draw the attention of the audience of the various age groups.

Furthermore, Samuel argues that in orature, the context is everything. Here is Samuel (2015: 158) saying that:

> ...context determines the selected songs as their songs are a moment of creation, and the themes and arrangement of words are spontaneous. And because of the spontaneity of the themes and the arrangement of words, the singers depend on improvisation in the context of their songs performances especially the Ayom singer. The arrival of an important man or woman in performance arena produces another song.

Unlike the practice in Damagaram, not all the Agatu song performances are actually public or open to all and sundry. Samuel discusses the Ahyuku and says they are not performed for entertainment because even the "language used by Ahyuku song performers is so esoteric to even the native Agatu speakers because it is a religious song which belongs wholly to the 'initiated'. Ahyuku is a ritual song and its avowed intention is to transport the dead into the ancestral world" (Samuel, 2015: 35).

In a study in the Department of English and Literary Studies, ABU, Zaria, Sharu (2016) did an extensive treatment of oral poetry among the Nupe speaking people living predominantly in Niger and Kwara states of central Nigeria. Specifically, the title of the work is "Female Praise Singers in Nupeland: A Formalist Study of Fatima Lolo Bida and Hawawu Kulu Lafiagi's Selected Songs."

In addition to providing a thorough overview of the general state of orature of the Nupe, the work deploys the tool of Formalism to analyse the 12 selected songs of the two singers. The two professional singers focus on historical, occupational, topical and love songs. Sharu then does the analysis of the composition styles, form and contents of the two

singers in a comparative fashion. There is a consideration of the state of Nupe orature in the light of the socio-economic, cultural and political environments of Nigeria since independence and after. In concluding the study, Sharu (2016: 187) asserts that:

> First the songs are sung or delivered spontaneously during performances and not in any way written down. Secondly, there were no rehearsals prior to performances. It thus turned out that regular performance made deliberate memorization unnecessary... The Nupe traditional praise singer is spontaneously creative and does not follow any rigid rhyme or metre....

The study by Sharu (2016), though devoted entirely to two women singers, is still useful to this research in the sense that some of the singers we deal with in this study are African women and they sing on similar concerns, even though in the Hausa language and the semi-arid conditions of Damagaram.

These related studies reviewed in orature are mainly domiciled in Nigeria. Using Damagaram, Niger Republic, this work seeks to study the frontiers of Hausa orature in the Hausa speaking community at the level of expression and expressiveness. The study tends to explore the functionality of expressiveness in Damagaram Hausa orature and its structural and original (pre-Islamic) animistic cultures. These cultural phenomena espouse the types, beauty, bounties and social functions of the orature. Also, the English and the French influence the linguistic frontiers of Nigerian and Damagaram Hausa communities. Thus, it is imperative to capture the diverse richness of the Hausa orature as expressed in various rich oral traditions.

In conclusion, studies in African orature are assuming increasing relevance in the matrix of literary studies today. The reason is not far-fetched, as the West continues in the rampaging hegemonic mission of asserting its ideologies and global control of knowledge production. Across the world today, vignettes of the Western cultural touch are felt almost everywhere. Literature is not isolated in this regard. One of the immediate consequences of

this influence is the abiding interest of student researchers on written literature, rather than oral traditions. In this regard, everyone wants to explore the former to the detriment of the latter, which has unfortunately created a situation that could lead to the loss of identity and oral tradition in some African communities. The worst hit is the youth of today who are clearly oblivious of the traditions of their societies. The role of literary researchers in this regard is clear and urgent: to study these oratures in order to save them from extinction, and to assert their centrality in the social milieu. Accordingly, this research seeks to examine the expression and expressiveness of Hausa orature in the Damagaram area of Southern Niger. Among other things, the research aims to elucidate the beauty and intrinsic elements that underlie the language, as well as the social functions they play.

CHAPTER THREE

ORAL SONGS AND THEIR SOCIAL FUNCTIONS IN DAMAGARAM

3.0 Preamble

Examining the various social functions of orature in Damagaram on the base of functionalist approach, the chapter discusses values and roles the family environments incarnate in lullabies, riddles, counting rhymes, tales, challenges, plays, proverbs, innuendoes, idiomatic expressions, among others. Also, there is a provision on items such as amateur commitment, musical instruments, expressions of literature at the royal court, farming oral songs, praise-epithets and songs of occupation/professions.

3.1 Orature and Expressions in Damagaram

As identified within the framework of the research and mentioned in the classification introductory charts, the masters of the verbal art constitute a heterogeneous class of social actors who play a central role in the transfer/transmission of knowledge and skills in the social, economic and political development of the society. But in which social context does this transfer take place? In agreement with Salifou (1971), the social stratification of Damagaram of the 19th century would comprise the following socio-political sectors and social/economic organisations:

a. The political and administrative management device consists of (1) the sultan and his courtiers; (2) the government; (3) the army and; (4) the legal system.

b. The society consists essentially of the following two main social categories: the *yân-sarki'*, dignitaries of blood who get the legitimacy of their status from the genealogical kinship of the power (sultanal, provincial, or other); and the *'talakkawa'*, all the other members of the society, where the individual does not aspire to the legitimacy of power. It emerges from this aristocracy-based social and occupational dynamics that at the head of every sector or sub-sector is a

'chief' *(sarki)*, a kind of administrator appointed by the central power, *sarkin fada* (the administrator of the royal court), *sarkin kasuwa* (the administrator of the market), *sarkin makera* (chief of smiths), and *sarkin mahalba* (chief of hunters), among others.

c. The economic life is organised around agricultural activities, livestock farming, quarries and mining, industries and trade.

The main sectors of the craft industry are dyeing, weaving, forge, shoemaking, embroidery, tanning, pottery and basket-making. The "company" is for the family or individuals.

The market plays a leading role in the local exchanges and at the regional level.

- The cultural life is structured around art (in various sectors of production), customs and religion.
- The family is the basic organisation of the principle of society.

If we viewed it through cautious timeline lenses, we may conclude that the Damagaram society has not significantly changed. The device of sociopolitical and administrative management is now a new "bicameral" configuration with new social and occupational sectors developing (cf. the social description of Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo in Bodo). Fundamentally, the function of the "masters of words" has not significantly changed; it has largely adapted itself to the new context with its innovations and its "cultural decrees" as it is shown in the chart on the vitality of some genres or some forms of expression. Altogether and according to our theoretical and methodological approach, there is an attempt through this societal architecture to work out the literary expressions at the following social levels:

3.1.1 The Family Environment

The family is the first centre of insourcing of the values and the fixation of the standards. In a house, the child acquires an education based on discipline, the respect for certain social standards recognised as positive in this circle or this class or social caste. In another, it is the liberal perception which will be the base of the standards. In one case, we learn to be courageous, patient, audacious; elsewhere, we give more importance to the acquisition of strategies, planning and cleverness according to circumstances. The behavioural standards, attitudes and capacities are first closely linked to the family education before any communally shared responsibility.

The family is the real environment of the functional basic learning, and “orality” is at the centre of all the activities, namely the activities shared between the field of the practical learning (daily activities, professional learning) and that of the theoretical learning, articulated by “literature.” Thus, we learn the rites and professional initiations in the linguistic culture required by these learning. We learn basic counting by means of bed songs. We develop the relational logic through riddles. We cultivate the feelings, love of oneself and others by/through tale. The intellectual, physical and moral personality of tomorrow depends on the standards and values acquired through different interactions in the family environment. To be born and grow to be a "winner" or "loser" depends on the family which puts a lot into the function of the transmission of knowledge, skills, capacities, competences, as it can be shown through functional practices and literary expressions passed on/transmitted from generation to generation at the family level.

The family education acquired through the medium of literary expression is practised through the following genres: *Tawai*, tale, riddle and bed song. Another genre linked to the family is the formal frame called *bara*, sung by *almajirai* and the physically challenged (the

blind persons in particular) in front of the house, as well as the *tashe* of the young people of the district during the month of Ramadan. These ceremonies are presented in unique performances in the family environment as we can see the analysis later.

3.1.1.1 The Early Childhood Lullaby (*Tawai)*

Immediately after birth, the Hausa child receives regularly a sung message by the mother at best moments of joy as well as of sadness. She takes him or her up, raises him or her up, rocks him or her of her most pleasant expressions *(raudawa)* by intoning him or her some sweet little songs to show him or her all the intimacy and depth of love she shares with him or her or often reminding all the virtues around his or her person (such features or such characteristics of a parent or a great-grandparent, such appreciation of the own personality of the child, among others). The *tawai* is the first literary expression which accompanies the child from first weeks of life to the weaning period during which he or she will begin to familiarize him/herself with other sociocultural practices of his or her environment. In the following examples, *tawai* (lullaby) can only be the expression of deep love the mother shares with her child and the expression of the family deep-rootedness she establishes for this child. On the other hand, *tawai* shows that the mother can use this opportunity to laugh at her co-wife or even at her husband through some malicious insinuations or sarcasm *(habaici)*.

Lullaby 1 (*Tawai 1*) by Maryama Garba – Magarya

Warsugale Warsu	*Warsugale Warsu*
Warsu daddaɓen dawa	Warsu, the bush ground
In an ci a sha zawo	Eat it, be diarrhea infected
In an ƙi a sha yinwa	Refuse it, and remain starved
Kai ya wa tsaƙin taɓtso	With his head like rough mud
Huska iya ta raƙumma	His face like that of a she-camel

Ido ya zakuɗen kauci	with eyes like mixture of rough leaves

In this *tawai,* the mother of Warsu rocks him as a dilemma for her co-wife. For the mother, to love Warsu is always bitter and not to love him is even worse. The metonymic use of *zawo* (diarrhea) and *yinwa* (hunger) shows this dilemma. In the second stanza, this mother always attacks her co-wife who she does not love naturally and who she describes as ugly with her bushy-haired head *(kai),* her camel-like face *(huska),* her eyes *(ido)* as a mixture of dâ *(kauci).*

Lullaby 2 (*Tawai 2*): Ta Tata by (Mrs Nana, Zongo, Zinder)

Tashi tashi ke ta Tata	Wake up, wake up 'daughter' of Tata
Tashi Tata ta zo ta	Wake up Tata has come
Ta zo ta ta ɗauke ki	She has come to take you
Ta ɗauke ki zuwa reno	To take you for nursing
Ke ta Tata yɗal Maryama	You, the 'daughter' of Tata and Maryama
Maryama ba ta son kukanki	Maryama doesn't like your cry
Yal Sakina, yɗal Rayyana	The daughter of Sakina and Rayyana
Rayyana ba ta son kukanki	Rayyana doesn't like your cry
Ai nima ko?	So, don't I?
Shuru shuru ta Tata	Don't cry, don't cry, the daughter of Tata
Ta motsa, Yal Ungo	Wake up, the daughter of Ungo
Ungo ba ta san rikicinki	Ungo doesn't like your nagging
Kuma ba ta son kukanki	And she doesn't like your cry either
In kin san	If you know
Tashi tashi Tata ta kai ki	Wake up, wake up so that Tata can take you there
Yal Ungo	The daughter of Ungo
Ungo ba ta san raggwanci	Ungo hates laziness

In kin san	If you know
Tashi Yal gidan Babaye	Wake up, the daughter of Babaye
Babaye ba ya son raggwanci	Babaye doesn't like laziness
In kin san	If you know
Tashi, tashi sha nononki	Wake up, wake up to drink your milk
Ta Tata	The daughter of Tata
Tashi, tashi, kin sha barci	Wake up, wake up, you slept over
Ta Tata.	The daughter of Tata

Unlike *tawai 1* (lullaby 1) where the name of the child *'Warsu'* is clearly mentioned, in this *tawai* the name of the child is not clearly mentioned because of this symbolism which explains that a mother never calls her first and her second children by their real names. We, on the other hand, know that this *tawai* is about a girl by the determiner 'ta' (of/belonging to) 'ta Tata'. In addition and like any *tawai* of this kind, we read the line of descent of the child through the linking words *'ta* (of) X ', *'yâl* (daughter of) Y ', *yâl gidan* (from the house of/belonging to the house of) Z ,' etc. Beyond this are social and marks of which are sources of pride (to be born 'winner'). This indicates that, as projected by Jongeward (1978), we share the feelings of joy and love not to see the child crying, to see him or her sucking at mother's breast, to see him or her frisky and very strong, among others.

Lullaby 3 (*Tawai 3*)

Ga ni a hannu, a hannuna kamal lalle	Here it is in my hand, my hand like henna
Yal inuwal gidan Basiru	From the house of Basiru
Yal gidan Hwalalu mai tsoro	From the house of the crested Hwalalu
Tsoronku ya hi tsoron zakara yâl sarki	Your crest is better than the cock's one
Dumburin kara ba yauni ba yâl Azizu	Heaviless stem of millet, Azizu's daughter

Sungumin kara yâl goyon hakimi da Abdu Stem of millet, daughter of Hakimi and Abdu

Shara'arsu in ta ruɗe, su yi jira mana When their dust is rotten, they have to wait

Ba fata ba ba nukara ba sai gaskiya It is not a wish nor a hatred but the truth

Wannan kuwa ko ke ma Alla ya ba ki And that even you, God gave it to you

Sun gani wata rana. They will see it one day

hannuna kamal lalle yâl gidan mai tsoro My henna-like hand, daughter of crest bearer

3.1.1.2 Riddles, Nursery/Counting Rhymes and the Tales

The Hausa world does not violate the universal phenomenon that admits riddles, the nursery/counting rhymes and the tales as the first supports in the education of early childhood. Indeed, it is this period of the opening to his environment, of the understanding of the interrelations, of building of his own universe and to his own logic which is covered by tale, riddles and bed songs. The riddles create to the child his first relational universe alternate and crystallize the functions of information, identification, representation, value judgments (relation of identity or equality of form, greatness, capacity, etc.), through some games of invitation to observation, connection, comparison, analysis, reasoning (induction, deduction, among others).

S/N	RIDDLE	ANSWER	REMARK
1.	***Bunnu-bunnu ta ƙi bunnuwa.*** We try to bury it and it refuses to be buried.	***inuwa*** shadow	
2.	***Ɗan farin wata ƙalƙashin gado.*** A small moon under the bed.	***ƙwai*** egg	
3.	***Ja ya faɗo, ja ya cahe.*** Red fell down, intercepted by red.	***Ɗan kalgo ya faɗo ɗan akuya ya cahe***. The fruit of kalgo-tree (red) fell down, and the he-goat (also red) caught it.	Identification and appropriation of colour

4.	***Ɗan tabkin kwalakwanda walƙiya babu ruwa.*** The small shining puddle without water.	***Madubi*** mirror	
5.	***Waccan sakaran da ta kunce kai wa take jira ya mata kitso?*** That stupid beast with ruffled hair, which does it wait for to do the braid for her?	***Goriba*** The fruit of palm tree.	
6.	***Yar tsimingiyar kan hanya shaudi yaro shaudi babba.*** Small whip which beats the child as well as the adult.	***Yinwa*** Hunger	
7.	***Shanuna dubu maɗarminsu ɗaya.*** I have one thousand cows tied together.	***Tsintsiya*** Broom	
8.	***Amaryar gidanmu kullun wanka.*** Our home bride spends all her time bathing	***Moɗa*** Cup/beaker	
9.	***Sarmayin gidanmu ya sha ɗamara.*** The young man from our home is 'well-harnessed.	***Rumbu*** Granary/attic	
10.	***Ku ci ku ci in ɗauke ku.*** Eat as you want later I will all carry you.	***Gado*** Bed	
11.	***Shanuna dubu Ƙyalle ta hi su daɗin nono*** I have one thousand cows but Ƙyalle has more milk than all**.**	***Takanɗa*** Sugarcane	
12.	***Ana haya-haya kutunku na tsaye.*** It is helter-skelter but buffalo is resolute**.**	***Turmi*** Mortar	
13.	***Gari duka ɗan kama*** The whole village is full of deramtic singers	***Hayaki*** Smoke	
14.	***Ɗan tabki da bagaruwa biyar*** A small puddle with five acacia trees	***Tahin hannu*** The palm of the hand	
15.	***Taka sau ban ga sau ba*** I put feet but I do not see tracks**.**	***Inuwa*** Shadow	
16.	***Abu na ruri ba hanji*** It has no entrails but it roars	***ganga*** Drum	
17.	***Abu na gina ba kai ba ƙafahu.*** It has neither head nor foot but it can dig.	***ruwa*** Water	

The Nursery Rhymes

The nature of the data collected with regards to the nursery rhymes is in three types of initiation:

a. A certain perfection or performance that controls the "phonetism" of language;

b. the preparation for the system of counting; and

c. the true or false elementary assessment following the example of riddles *(gatana).*

In connection with the first group of exercises, the emphasis is mainly put on the complex sounds, their succession, introduction to metrics, among others:

1. *Ɗan koko cike da tsaba tsap* (a small tumbler full of seeds): the exercise of phonation concerns the sounds **k** and **ts**.

2. *Da kwaɗo da ƙato suka je yawon ƙoto, ƙato ya yi ƙoto, ƙwado ya yi ƙoto, ƙwado ze ƙwace ƙoton ƙato ko ƙato ze ƙwace ƙoton ƙwado?* (A giant and a frog went to look for grain (subsidies); the giant found some, the frog found some too; is it the frog which is going to rob the giant of his grain or is it the giant who is going to rob the frog of its grain?): the exercise aims at the performance of the learner to reproduce correctly a long or complex sentence using the sounds **d** and **k.**

3. *Ban taɓa shi ba aka ce na taɓa shi, bari in taɓe shi in san da na taɓa shi* (I did not touch him, they said that I touched him, well I am going to touch him to make sure that I have touched him). Another type, as indicated by the expressive counting rhyme, prepares for counting and for the first stages of arithmetic *(lissahi)*. Through little songs in well ranged or moderate 'phonetism, the child makes his first steps in the learning/apprenticeship of numbers, arrangement or increasing or decreasing order of primary operations. The "literality" can be linear as in example C1 below or the rhyme-metric as in example C2.

Nursery/Counting Rhyme 1 (C1)

"A ɗayan, a biyun, a sa ka ta kwando kidî da bori kacalla dubu"

And 1, and 2, and in the basket the music and the bewitchment in figures … one thousand!

Nursery/Counting Rhyme 2 (C2)

Ɗaya, biyu, sha biyar	One, two, fifteen
Wa ya gaya maka sha biyar	who told you fifteen
Ni na gaya masa sha biyar	I am the one who told him fifteen
In karya nike sha biyar	and if I lie fifteen
Kilga ka gaya mana sha biyar	count and you will see fifteen

In both cases and according to well measured metrics, the child learns how to count, even if from the smallest figures [1, 2] to the last one [1000 for C1 and fifteen for C2]. The mirage is big: one can check for C2, but impossible in the basket of C1 (this gives a concern if this is not the beginning of the mirages of number)!

The third type consists of small little songs collectively livened up by children under the forms of questions-answers. The answers must be spontaneous and a false answer implies an automatic penalty which can vary according to the nursery rhyme.

Nursery/Counting Rhyme 3 (C3): *Darjin da Jini*

A group of children sings *'darjin da jini'* (where X has some blood) and each child should automatically answer "*darjin*," that is, "yes, he/it has some blood." If the created element/thing does not have blood, we say nothing/keep quiet, or we murmur *'m'm'* …meaning that one does not have blood. After the correction or the penalty, the game starts again until the objective is reached, that is, a perfect memorising of all the elements which have some blood:

TEXT	**TRANSLATION**
Darjin *da jini*	Darjin with blood
Darjin!	Darjin!
Kaza da jini	Hen has blood
Darjin!	Darjin!
Zomo da jini	Rabbit has blood
Darjin!	Darjin!
Fara da jini	Locust has blood
Darjin!	Darjin*!*

Here, the one who says ***darjin*** is immediately rushed on and beaten by his friends on the back as penalty. And the game continues/resumes

Darjin da jini	*Darjin da jini*
Darjin !	*Darjin !*
Jakki da jini	Donkey has blood
Darjin !	Darjin !
Zomo da jini	Rabbit has blood
Darjin !	Darjin!
Ganga da jini	Tom-tom has blood

Darjin ! (here again the one who spontaneously says *Darjin* is penalized, as Tom-tom does not have blood).

By this pedagogy of self-learning by the peers, the children memorise some directories or groups of objects sharing the same characteristics or a common distinctive feature; a real exercise preparing for team, genre or class spirit.

The Tale

The tale is the fundamental medium for education to sense, formation to virtue, feeling, all in all to the values on which the building of the personality is based. Depending on the case, the child discovers some realities which go from the daily real-life experience to the constructive imagination. In such tale, it is the curiosity of the child that explodes into an infinite adventure

(*yarinya mai ɗan-duma*/the young girl with a small calabash); in another it is the pity which inspires the exploitation of a child *(ruwan bagaji)*; and in others, it is virtues such as determination, courage, fearlessness and patience.

At the "literality" level, the tale presents the best examples of initiation to potentials such as narrating, reporting, contemplating and describing. It is also one of the examples of the "agisymbien" expressions of literature where the narrated alternates with the sung; the addressee can as well participate in the production as the narrator, as it can be seen in the tales below.

In addition, the tale puts the child in front of nature made by grass, trees, animals, in their interaction, but also in their relation with other creatures or other elements of nature such as human beings, animals and the rain. The children also learn the character of the hyena *(kura)*, always greedy and very stupid; of the rabbit *(zomo)* or the jackal *(dila)*, always very cunning; of the lion *(zaki)*, very impressive; of the spider *(gizo)* and praying mantis *(ƙoƙi)*, which make a good pair. They finally come to understand that these characters are those of men and women with whom they live daily, and the tale itself is a lesson of life which deserves meditation.

In tale 1, the child discovers gradually what nature is made up of and beyond it, what bestiality is in one of its dimensions, that of evil in its source, its sense (direction) and its vehicularisation, including unanticipated character traits.

In tale II, the girl symbolises typically the child who does not listen to anybody and who behaves as she pleases. But life is a theatre where each character plays the role he/she has chosen to play, even if it means facing the consequences. The girl will one day be confronted with a mystery; the fruit of the calabash is going to get loose from its stalk mother to follow her by intoning its complaint - *'kullun kwar da ni…. yau ko na gaji'* (every time she hits me and today I am fed up). Fortunately, at the end of the episode, an old woman (another

symbol) is going to find the outcome and the girl will be freed. This tale of agysimbien model brings together the narrated and the sung and the possibility for the audience to participate at any level.

Tale III appeals to the adolescent in their often-controversial loving boldness. ‘Every Paris can meet its Helène,’ as the saying goes. So is life where courage and bravery, just like the excelling of oneself, are also well shared personal virtues. In this development, can cowardice be tolerated? As in the following, a girl invited by her lover found/saw herself abandoned by the latter when she was in full danger in front of two lions. Back home, the cowardly ‘lover’ laid down on his bed and slept peacefully without caring about that poor girl he had invited and left in the middle of nowhere. But as in a dream, our cowardly young man is woken by the one he had abandoned in the bush, who comes to share the same bed with him.

Surprised by the event (he has not been able to resist the fact), he collapses right away and dies. A marabout will try to find a solution to the situation by brandishing a talisman he is going to throw into a fire and the rescuer of the life of the young man has to get the talisman out of flames and embers. Neither the mother nor the father of the young man is able to try the ultimate deed; it is the same girl who tries the exploit and succeeds in the miracle. Once brought back to life, the young man has to walk his fiancée back home. On their way, the two “lovers” meet a wasp and the marabout talks to the young man in these words: “if you leave this animal, your parents are going to die and if you kill it your fiancée is going to die.” What will the young man then do? It seems that beyond this dilemma, it is all the social philosophy of our society which is put on the table for debate: women are quicker to sacrifice themselves for their husbands than their husbands would. That is the prosition of Connie L. Stephens’ (1981), the Relationship of Social Symbols and Narrative Metaphor: A Study of Fantasy and Disguise in the Hausa ‘Tatsuniya’ of Niger (Tales of Mirria (Damagaram)).

3.1.1.3 Ordinary Family Interactions and Performances

Let us specify that the family environment does not have a particular literary field for the children. Even in this field, the *Tawai* has a variant status revisitable as far as it is essentially about a production of mothers to their babies, therefore presenting a very particular audience with regard to the production of children literature. Thus, the social life in the family environment has got other types of expressions like the *habaici* (indirect of women); the *karinmagana* (style of speech or proverb); the *gatse* (expression of incitement or formal demand); the *labari* (piece of news or short story). These forms of expressions are given specific treatments in the sub-chapters below.

a. The Space of Expression of Young People and Teenagers (*fage)*

«Mi ne ne ƙurciya?	what is adolescence*?*
Kunnan sabara ne	it is the leaf of jaboticaba tree
Ya toho da damana	it sprouts during the rainy season
Ya toho da rani	it sprouts during the dry season
In ya kakkaɓe	when it falls down
Ba ya toho ba	it will never sprout again
Ku bar mu	therefore let us
Mu yi yayinmu"	enjoy our time

- Extract from **« Study of *waƙe*»** by **Sanda Jibji** (Dissertation of Zinder Teachers' Training School, 1973).

Unlike early childhood, the family environment is almost the only source of learning and which more or less experiences passively the contributions of literary expression. Young people and teenagers are in the very centre of the literary creation very often self-produced and self-consumed by their groups of peers (*sa'anni*; sg. *sa'a*). Working usually in age groups, young people and teenagers share their expressive experiences at many levels:

- The level of *fage* (or *dandali*), public place for cultural exchanges for all ages, is the main place for *wasa* (performance) which is the source of physical, moral, intellectual and social development. From its polysemous meaning, t*wasa* offers a very wide field of "literality" at the same time as it expresses the frame for the "performance" of this literality (ludic literature).

- The level of amateur commitment where certain young people try in their leisure to learn to play some musical instruments, with which they are passionate, and to finally become in certain cases "not heirs" professionals. The stringed musical instruments, namely *gurmi* and *garaya* (small zither), but also other musical instruments such as *bambaro* (accordion), *kuntigi* and *goge* constitute the range of favourite amateur music and song instruments for the young boys, while the girls in their majority prefer *shantu*. The initiatory space of indoctrination and quartering in the barracks of the young people constitutes another opportunity for the initiation into the ritual language and other tests of the passage of the age group.

b. The Space of Joke (*Wasa*)

It paves the way for literary practices as "*gatse*;" the *karinmagana* under their double meaning of proverbs and set or idiomatic expressions; and the *habaici* (nasty trick of women) or simply what is usually called joke.

c. The Challenge (*Gatse)*

It is a kind of challenge or "formal demand" formulated as a joke by an interlocutor using all his illocutionary and semiological knowledge of the language. The syntax of the *gatse* is generally the one of the conditional challenge: if "P" is that "X" (or "Y")? Or if "P" then "X" viewed from this angle, the *gatse* is especially a linguistic instrument used by young girls to challenge their lovers. It is the linguistic weapon of trust and conquest. The success of this type of test will determine whether or not *soyayya* (love) can last long. According to the

answer or the reaction of the boy, the girl will see the attitude to adopt. But in the common social relations/public relations, the personalised use of the *gatse* is not allowed (or tolerated). The *gatse* is a matter of a certain skill of manipulation of the language *(iya baki)* which can be dangerously compromising in situations of inter-group negotiations. We then designate a professional of the manipulation of the language to conduct the negotiations *(wanda ya iya bakinsa).* On a third level it is likely to find the *gatse* encrusted in a song *(waƙa* or *waƙe)*, a tale *(gatana/tatsunniya)* or a drama performance *(wasan kwaikwayo).*

Below are two examples of challenges (*gatse*) from a girl who exclaims in front of a boy to challenge him in these terms:

***Gatse1* (G1)**: *"In ka isa ka yi kazar da ba ta ƙwai."* (If you claim to be very self-important, then create a hen which does not lay eggs.). This means: if the boy is her 'fiancé', which power does he have to prevent her from doing what she wants?

***Gatse2* (G2)**: *"Ci da cinyewa ma na in mai zama ne da kalaci"* (to come to the completion is a matter of the one who has the determination and time) This means: I challenge you to do something useful, in view of the fact that you never have time and devotion.

d. Proverb (*Karinmagana)*

Proverb (*karinmagana*) is a reference where the speaker generally wants to use his linguistic knowledge to dissuade more, strengthen his arguments, add more spice to or give more value to the subject or the object he is talking about. It is the most known of the mono-phrasal constructions treated as a full literary entity. On the educational level, proverbs contribute to the acquisition of a wide variety of knowledge, development of thought, building of knowledge by a certain effectiveness of the perception and a certain critical analysis of some values.

The proverbs cover all sectors and needs for life:

i- Social Relationships: *'Kwanta ka mutu ka ga mai ƙamnarka'* (lie down and pretend that you are dead; you will know your real friends).

ii- Building of Mind (or Science): *'Ruwa ba su tsami banza'* (water does not get spoilt without a reason).

iii- Acquisition of Real Values (which includes patience, courage, dexterity, stamina, practical intelligence): *mahaƙurci mawadaci* (he who knows how to endure will know how to win). Among the *karinmagana* in general, we distinguish between the *gatse* generally used by young girls and the *habaici* used by ladies/women.

e. Innuendo (*Habaici)* of Women

Women generally express their jealousy or dissatisfaction towards their co-wives or husbands with some expressions or "hurtful proverbs" or "indirect speeches" called *habaic*i (innuendo). *Habaici* is a strategy of attack used by women during some activities: the pounding or molding of millet, the drawing of water from the well, the washing, t*awai*, among others, to the settling of scores between them and the person who would have previously provoked them. These "indirect speeches" of women express a depreciation of behaviour, attitude, trait, incitation to contempt, hatred, intolerance; in short, all the elements which automatically show the conflicting nature of the relationship between the author of the *habaici* and the addressee. Below are some illustrations of ***habaici***:

1. *A bar mai tunjere da warinsa*

   Leave the abscess bearer with his stench.

2. *Ba a zama da mai kanwa a rasa bulbudî*

   You cannot live with a bicarbonate of soda seller without getting some.

3. *Ba ta da gashin wance tana son kitson wance*

She does not have as much hair as her friend but wants to have the same plait as her.

4. *Baƙar bunuwa bata baibaya*

   You cannot use black straw to thatch a roof.

5. *Baƙin kusu ka ci kai kaɗai, sai wurin aiki ka nuho dîya*

   The black moose never invites his kids to share his food, but when it is a question of working he appeals to them.

6. *Ɗigirgire ba na mai rawar kai ba ne*

   Balancing a load on the head is beyond the capacity of a jittery person.

7. *Zaɓi maƙwabci tun ba ka sayi gida ba*

   Choose your neighbour before you buy a house.

8. *Harara ba mari ba*

   Glaring at is different from slapping

9. *Gani nan bari nan*

   You leave it as you see it.

10. *In na rena kaza ko romonta bana so*

    When I don't like a chicken, I even reject a sauce made up of its meat.

11. *In na rena raƙuma ko nononta ba na sha.*

    When I don't like a she-camel, I even reject its milk.

12. *Ina tukunyar damo ina ta guza?*

    How can the Bengal monitor's pot be compared with that of water-monitor?

13. *Ko da gilgiza kurna ta fi magarya*

    Right from shaking, Christ's thorn is better than catch thorn.

14. *Komin nisan dare gari ya waye.*

    Whatever long the night is the day will show up.

15. *Kowa ya ga zabuwa da zanenta ya ganta*

Whoever saw a guinea hen, he saw it with its grey plumage speckled with white.

16. *Kowa ya rena tsayuwar wata ya hau ya gyara.*

    Whoever does not agree with the appearance of the new moon can go to the sky and correct it

17. *Masoyin kwaɗo ba na kifi ba ne*

    Who pets a frog does not pet a fish.

18. *Mi na sama ya ci balantana na ƙasa jeho mini*

    What has the one who is upstairs got so as to send to those who are downstairs?

19. *Mi ya kai hura ga zane?*

    How does gruel of millet stain the cloth?

20. *Rishin farin wata tarmamuwa ke haske*

    When there isn't moonlight, the stars shine.

21. *Yawon dare ba na ɗan akwiya ba ne*

    Walking at night is not for a lamb.

f. *Karinmagana* (Idiomatic Expression)

Karinmagana can be classified among the literary features that have some characteristics with proverbs. *Karinmagana* has syntagmas of possessive construction *(baƙin zare),* declaratives *(gama baki),* compositives *(baki da hanci)* (among others), which have acquired, with time, a set of meaning very different from their ordinary meaning if we consider the components word by word. For Hunter and Oumarou (Cited by Alhaji, 1998), these syntagmas belong to a metalanguage playing a determining role as metaphoric or metonymical construction. The metaphor is understood here as a semantic transfer through one or several semes and the metonymy as a rational association close to the simple association of ideas, and coming true under several forms: the symbol for the symbolised notion, the matter for an object (it is some copper), the capacity for the bowl (pint), among others (Tournier, 1985).

But it seems that the process occupies an important place in the systems of constructions in linguistic pragmatics. As we say in Hausa, *'a rabe da guzuma a halbi karsana'*. We start from the semantics of the first degree to move towards a system of semiotic modelling of the simplest constructions (*mashi* (assegai) > *mashi* (shooting star translating the death of an important person) towards complex morpho-semantic constructions. The following are *karinmagana* illustrations:

Baki biyu (speaking not a clear language)

Gama baki (a plot/to hatch a plot)

Baki da hanci (not far)

Kama baki (to keep silent)

Cika baki (arrogance)

Cin zara / cin zarahi (gidanshi suka zo suka ci mishi zarahi) (to humiliate)

Sayen baki (to corrupt)

Bakin zare (to understand/to find a solution to something)

Mugun baki (to curse)

Ɗanyen baki (indecent language)

Ɗacin rai (nervous/nervousity)

Ɗaukar kai (haughty attitude)

Ɗandana kuɗa (*sai ya ɗandana kuɗarshi*) (to pay for a fault by a severe sanction)

Daɗin kai (manoeuvrability)

Daɗin hannu (dexterity/skill)

Zurhin ciki (very discreet)

Saukin zuciya (very nervous)

Saukin kai (who learns quickly)

Taurin-kai (stubborn)

Sanyin-rai) (not bellicose)

Sanyin-hali (nonchalance)

Son rai (selfishness)

Taɓawa a ji (ya taɓa ya ji) (to pay for a fault by a severe sanction)

Shan kai (ya sha mini kai) (to harass)

Zahin-rai (very nervous)

Farin-jini (lovely)

Baƙin-jini (hated)

Kama jiki (gentleman)

Kame huska (stern)

Karnan farauta (hunting dogs)

Tsawon rai (living long)

Kan-gado (intelligent)

Ban-kumya (dissappointing)

Cin-zarahi (humiliation)

Cin-hanci (corruption)

Shan wuya (to suffer enormously)

Allahu yaa'lam (uncertainty)

Kihin rijiya (a well fish)

Hutun jaki da kaya (the rest of a donkey carrying load)

Cin karansa ba babbaka (to get an unexpected easy opportunity)

g. Performance (*Wasa*): Ludic Literature

In a form of this ludic performance (*wasa*), boys and girls are used to engage in competition which is full of entertainments. Boys and girls are located at the *fage* (performance ground). "Where are the boys? *'Ga su can fage suna wasa'* (they are in the open playing). You will see

each group playing his *wasa* in his/her own way: the girls on one side and the boys on the other. In both cases the actors are generally classified in age groups, lined either in semicircle or in a straight line, intoning a little song or reciting a poem, at the same time as they make some steps of dance or gestures in perfect accordance with what they intone and with some precise movements of the group. For example, in the group of girls one of them who jumps, runs towards the others and falls on the hands of the others who receive her by her back. In the group of boys, it is a series of individual and fast climbings up in turn and in agreement with the rhythm of the little song or poem. For the girls, these games are called "*wakɛ*." The performers sing while playing and moving the body. For the boys, for lack of a specific term, it remains the "*wasa*" as the general term of these ludic practices.

At the first sight, there is no fundamental difference in the shape or architecture of the texts, depending on whether to treat the "*wakɛ*" of the girls or the "*wasa*" of the boys. There is generally one member of the group who begins the song and develops it stanza-by-stanza, while the others repeat the chorus in the course of the game. It is on the thematic level that the cutting is very clear. Generally, at the level of the boys, it is the immediate physical training (case of *tasha*, *faka*, *lekumal*, among others) that is paramount, and if some themes are tackled, it is the courage, the ambition of better performance or better success that is of key importance (see the examples below). Among the girls, it is love, the judgment on others, the solidarity of consciousness (*habaici*) that are prominent in thematic and performance preoccupations. We can moreover suppose that this difference of orientation of thought be explained by the fact that the society gives to both groups some different vital modalities. The boys quickly have in mind that their roles lie in their physical capacity (such as required by hunting, farm works, wrestling or war), which are far from being the concerns of the girls who aspire to be personalities such as the most beautiful, the most intelligent and the strongest; what very often create conflicts among them – conflicts from which originates the

habaici for example (see *waƙe 1, 2* below). Besides, the *waƙe* of girls generally contains the best images and symbols which explain the linguistic sophistication exposed to young girls in society. Examples of popular songs of girls are as follows:

Song 1 (*Waƙe 1*): *Ni ta shuni* (I of the antimony) (by Nana Tabandaki, Mirria)

Ni ta shuni	I of the antimony
Ni ta lalle	I of the henna
Ba na ci amanar kwambulo ba	I will never betray kwambulo
Ni ta Moda	I of the tumbler
Ni ta karhi	I of the jar
Ba na ci amanar rijiya ba	I will never betray the well

Ke kika je ba ni na je ba	You are the one who went there, not I
Ke kika je gindin dabino	You are the one who went under the date palm
In ya miki sartse ba ruwana	If its scales graze you, you only are responsible

Alƙawali in gaskiya ne	If the commitment is sincere
Wuta ta kara ta kwana murhu	The fire of stalks has to burn all night long
Ruwa a maraƙi za su kwana	Water will remain in the sieve all night long

Sarmayina	My lover
Ɗan sadodo	Who is so charming
Ga saƙona nan gare ka	I will send you a message
Sa'ade sa'ata za ta baka	My agemate Sa'ade will give you
Jaudari na ya hi goro	My lip jewel is more than the colanut

In ka tamna	And if you crunch it
Ka ji zartsi	You will appreciate its strong taste
Kar ka zubda	Do not reject it
Sa'ade sa'ata za ka ba wa	Give to Sa'ade my pair of age
Amsar goron jaudarina.	The answer of my cola lip jewel.

Song 2 (*Waƙe 2*): *Soyayya hannu!* (Love is a hand!) (by Mariama Garba, Magarya)

Soyayya Na Layye, wasa ba faɗa	Love, Na Layye a game and not a fight
Soyayya ta ƙi bebe ta koma kurame	Love fled the deaf for the mute
Soyayya ta ƙi ɗan gari ta armi bako	Love fled a native for a foreigner.
In bi tudu in bi gangare, Mayaƙi za ni	I stride in dunes andvalleys to Mayaƙi
Ubana alwalina, ubana zan gaya wa,	My father my guradian, I'll tell my father
ya min laya ta baki	He provided me with mouth protection
Ko hudu ko biyar, ukku ma ni so nike yi	Either four or five and even three I like
Allah sarki baƙin mutun tara zai kashe ni	Oh God! The nineth beast wants to kill me.

Zai lahantani to bisimillahi na sha rubutu na yi yamma

He tends to hurt me, by God I am protected and I'll head the west

Ba iska ba ko guguwa, ba ta tsare ni	Neither wind nor typhoon can stop me.
Ba boka ba ko malami, bai ya tsare ni	Neither a sorcerer nor a marabout can stop me
Ba shege ba ko ɗan halak bai ya tsare ni	Neither a bastard nor a legitimate child can stop me.
Ba ƙorama ko kogi ba ya tsare ni	Neither a pond nor a river can stop me.
Uwakinta ba sarakkuwal kirki ba ce ba	A mother-in-law is not trustworthy.

Ta baka ɗan hatsi kaɗan ta ce da yawa ta ke ban

She gave you a few grain but pretended giving me much

Shigo daga ɗaki in baka labarin mijina	Come inside the room to talk to you about my husband
Ba manda ba ko daudawa bai ya saya min	He buys neither salt nor flavouring for me.
Sayowa magin miya ma sai na yi hamce	Before he buys a simple flavouring I have to get angry.
Sun tura ni rahi suka ga zaman za zama ne suka kama zabe .	They sent me fetched water from the well. They have started their selection thinking that I will not come back
Sun zabe tsara-tsaran sun zabe matasa	In the group they have chosen the youngest
Sun sarawa abun ɗauka ga hoto	They cut what can be filmed.
Sai suka ba ni ɗan digirgiri da bai san ba wasa	They gave me a useless pathetic guy.
Dibi ki ganshi baki kaman na busa bata	See…you see him with his ugly mouth!
Hannu ya wa hadarin marece	His hands like an afternoon cloud!
Ƙwabri ya wa jigon awakkai	His legs like a warped stalk.
Dibi ki gan shi gindi a tsuke ya wa kalangu	Look at his waist size like a double-headed drum.
Sai ki ganshi ƙirji yawa hilin makunta	His chest like a dry area.
Dibi ki ganshi hanci ya wa na taka hula	His nose like squashed hat.
Kunnai awa ganyan gamji	His ears like the leaves of ficus ovata.
Dibi ki gashin suma da daudar bara waccan	His dirty hair as if it has not been washed for two years.
Soyayya ƙwandala tana dukan ƙahwahu	Love is coin; it is in all feet.
Soyayya ɣal ɗari biyar ta haski wando	Love is worth five hundred; it lights the

trousers.

Diba wance, diba! soyayya kike so, Look my sister, look! You want to love,

Soyayya a hannu! love in a hand.

Song 3 (*Waƙe 3*): *Carmande* (by young girls from Mirria)

This *waƙe* (song), which is specific to the Damagaram area, shares lexical, phonetic and syntactic features with Hausa and Kanuri, such as *carmande*, *gorani*, *yayani*. The song is about a criticism of some outsiders to an environment who devote themselves to some practices against the morality of the environment as in "*da ɗan gari aka ci gari*" (it is only with the internal complicity a city can be conquered). The foreigner can commit crimes (here adultery) only with the internal complicity of some fellow countrymen. There is also a good reason to send back the terms of morality to the internal complicities of the foreigner in his hideous crimes: *kanwani* (my junior sister); *gorani* (my friend), *yayani* (my elder sister)… it is to this morality this *waƙe* devotes itself:

Carman dudu carman duduwa (Repetition of the expression)

Carmande *(Repetition of the expression)*

Akwai wani baƙo a gidan mai gari. There is a guest in the mayor's house.

Carmande *Carmande*

Ba ya salla ba ya lazimi He doesn't pray nor does his invoke God.

Carmande *Carmande*

Sai neman yan matan gari He does nothing but runs after the young girls of the village

Carmande *Carmande*

In ya nema wa zai bashi ma? Even if he runs after them, how can he get them?

Carmande *Carmande*

Ƙanwani gafarta mini My younger sister, I ask for your forgiveness/I am sorry.

Carmande *Carmande*

Gorani gafarta mini My friend, I ask for your forgiveness/ I am sorry.

Carmande *Carmande*

Yayani gafarta mini My elder sister, I ask for your forgiveness/I am sorry.

Carmande *Carmande*

Ke ma dai tabshen yakuwa You too soup of sorrel

Carmande *Carmande*

Ke ma dai tabshen gasaya You too soup of the bastard mustard plant

Carmande *Carmande*

Song 4 (*Waƙe 4*): *Kai Yara Iyero*: Night Performence (by young girls from Girnani, Mirria)

Kai yara iyero (Repetition of the expression)

Kai yara iyero (Repetition of the expression)

Wane naki Who is yours?

Kai yara iyero *Kai yara iyero*

Shi ne naki He is yours

Kai yara iyero *Kai yara iyero*

Dogon yaro The tall young man

Kai yara iyero *Kai yara iyero*

Ɗan siriri The slim one

Kai yara iyero	*Kai yara iyero*
Shi ne naki	He is yours
Kai yara iyero	*Kai yara iyero*
Amanata ne	He is my trustworthy
Kai yara iyero	*Kai yara iyero*
Amanar Dija	The trustworthy of Dija
Kai yara iyero	*Kai yara iyero*
Kai yara iyero	*Kai yara iyero*
Kai yara iyero!	*Kai yara iyero!*

Song 5 (*Waƙe 5*): *To Dai: (*A night performance by teenagers from Mirna, Mirria)

Gatan gatan ku	*Gatan gatan ku*
To dai	*To dai*
Ka jiya dai	Did you listen to me
To dai	*To dai*
Nike kama kusu	I am the one who catch the moose
To dai	*To dai*
Nike heɗe kusu	I am the one who skin the moose off.
To dai	*To dai*
Na shanya hwata	Dry it
To dai	*To dai*

Shirwa ta ɗauke	The sparrow-hawk took it off
To dai	*To dai*
Nike bi ta shirwa	I took after the sparrow-hawk
To dai	*To dai*
Sai ƙaramin tabki	Down to the small pond
To dai	*To dai*
Da ƙaramin tabki	From the small pond
To dai	*To dai*
Sai babban tabki	Down to the pool
To dai	*To dai*
Da babban tabki	From the pool
To dai	*To dai*
Sai ƙaramin kore	Down to the small valley
To dai	*To dai*
Da ƙaramin kore	From the small valley
To dai	*To dai*
Sai babban kore	Down to the big valley
To dai	*To dai*
Da babban kore	From the big valley
To dai	*To dai*
Na bata mari	I slapped her
To dai	*To dai*
Ta ɓalga zawo	She had diarrhoea
To dai	*To dai*
Nike kori shirwa	I am the one who chased away the sparrow-hawk

To dai	*To dai*
Ta ba ni mari	She slapped me
To dai	*To dai*
Nike kurtsa zawo	I had severe diarrhoea
To dai	*To dai*
Nike ce "wa yabbak?"	I asked "who gave it to you?"
To dai	*To dai*
"*Allah ya bani*"	"God gave me"
To dai	*To dai*
"Allah ko sata"	"God gave you or you stole it!"
To dai!	*To dai!*

Another song or type of performance is reported by young boys from Gangara, Mirria – they use this song *(wake)* during their (*wasa*) performance at night:

Indingare gare indingare	*Indingare gare indingare*
Iya	*Iya*
Ɗan dukulkushi	The colt
Iya	*Iya*
Bashi ruwa	Give it some water
Iya	*Iya*
Ka ga gudu	You will see how it runs
Iya	*Iya*
Kamar na mi?	Runs like what?
Iya	*Iya*
Kamar barewa ta hau gada	Like a doe on a bridge

Also, there is *Lekumal* that is a well-known popular song which is widely shared by teenagers of the Damagaram area. *Lekumal* is sung by young boys from Riga, Mirria – they use this *waƙe* during their *wasa* at night:

Lekumal *Lekumal*

Lekumal *Lekumal*

Lekumal ya nuna *Lekumal* is ripe

Yara ku karɓa ku taɓa ku ji Young children, you can test it

In masara ta nuna When the maize is ripe

Yara ku karya ku gasa ku ci Young children harvest, roast and eat it

Jan gero Red millet

Jan gero Red millet

Jan gero ya nuna Red millet is ripe

Yara ku karya ku tuma ku ci Young children, harvest, grill and eat it

Lekumal *Lekumal*

Lekumal *Lekumal*

Na yi hakan kwaciyar mutun Doing like this is the resting position of man

Na yi haka kwanciyar mutun Doing like this is the resting position of man

Na yi haka kwanciyar kare Doing like this is the resting position of dog

Na yi haka kwanciyar kare Doing like this is the resting position of dog

(The one who does not carry out the orders is excluded from the game)

*(*Reported by teenagers from Mirria – they use this song during their swimming games)

Na yi nitso na kamo kihi ko ruwa ban sha ba I dived and caught a fish without inhaling water

Jemage *Jemage*

Ɗan biri ka ci kanya A small monkey eats ebony fruit

Jemage Jemage

Kanyar ta ƙare ebony fruit is finished

Jemage *Jemage*

Ai ka ci da tsutsa You will eat the wormy one

Jemage *Jemage*

In har ba tsutsar When it is not the wormy one

Jemage *Jemage*

Yinwa ta zo ma You will be hungry

Jemage Jemage

Ai ka bar shillon You cannot go on the swing

Jemage *Jemage*

3.2 The Amateur Commitment and Musical Instruments

The pleasure to play with certain musical instruments (called instruments of young people) such as *gurum*i, *garaya, kuntigi, gidga* or *bambaro,* has led some young people to a certain creativity, particularly in the field of 'amateur song'. The performances deal especially with some themes related to their daily concerns, such as *soyayya* (love) and vicissitudes of life. These amateur literary productions of young people include the following:

***a. 'Rahwani'* (Uncle): A Lament by Mati Bubakar (Gabawuri)**

Rahwani ba uban Mati ne ba	An uncle is not the father of Mati
Ba kai kaɗai ba ne rahwanina ni	You are not the only uncle I have
Ina gidanmu ban aiki ko ɗai	I was at my parents' house sitting idly
Rahwani ya riƙa ni ya lalata ni	My uncle adopted me and destroyed my life
Ga yanzu ba ni sa turmi mala	Now, I have become a useless fellow
Rahwani ba uban Mato ne ba	An uncle is not the father of Mati
Ba kai kaɗai ba ne rahwanina ni	You are not the only uncle I have

Mai kungulum kamar kantun baiko	With his big penis like a pestle
Aikin cikin dawa, Mato sai ni	All the farming works are for Mato
Aikin cikin gida, Mato sai ni	All the house works are for Mato
Ɗaukar ruwan gidan, Mato sai ni	Fetching water for the familyt is for Mato
Aiki na rumbuna, Mato sai ni	Storekeeping granaries is for Mato
Arme ya taho ka ce wani ba ni ba	Now marriage's come, why not me?
Rahwani ba uban mato ne ba	An uncle is not the father of Mati
Ba kai kaɗai ba ne rahwanina ni	You are not the only uncle I have
Wani kashi da yayi can hanyar gona	As he defacated on the way to farm
Mota ɗari take kwasa kullun	Hundred lorries carried his excrement everyday

Jirgi ɗari yake kwasa kullun Hundred airplanes carried his excrement everyday

Shi bai ruɓe ba bai lalace ba The excrement doesn't rot nor spoil

Har yanzu ma da kingin birtsa shi It remains until now

Rahwani ba uban mato ne ba An uncle is not the father of Mati

Ba kai kaɗai ba ne rahwanina ni You are not the only uncle I have

b. A Song by a Young Lady Player of *Shantu* (a musical instrument of the family of calabash, gourd and ladle):

Cintum cin cin tum (sound of the musical instrument)

Duniya ta hore ni, kishiya ta tashe ni The world tought me bad experience, my co-spouse forced me out of my conjugal home

Kai ka saurare ni I want you to listen to me

Kai da kawo ni ka yi mini ɗakin kwana You are the one who brought me here and built a house for me

Wanda ya yi mini zancen kishiya The person who talks to me about co-spouse

Shekara tara ban dibe shi ba I will not look at him for nine years

Ko tuwona ba zan ba shi ba. I will not even give him my food

Ko hurata ba zan ba shi ba I will not even give him my *hura*

Uwal gida ko alkunkuma A first wife or ***devil***

Kishiyata ta tahi rijiya My co-spouse went to the well to fetch water

In ta je can bakin rijiya When she reaches the well

Kai kwaɗo shirkita shegiya May *a* frog frighten the bastard

Matsattseku ta tsakure ƴal kare May leeches sting her everywhere

Ka sani ke nan kai mai gida My husband I want you to know

Soyayyata ta huce kishiya 913 My love surpasses 913 co-wives.

3.3 Expressions and Praise Literature at the Royal Court: the *Sara*

It is not surprising that we begin this section by what is going on at the royal court for two reasons: to show at first the eminently important role of orature with regards to the link of the temporal power to a certain mystic or a certain transcendence on which it is based and relies on to build itself a certain power. This almost religious tie is today shared between Islam and the animistic inheritance which in this precise field stands more to decline. This is the foundation and meaning of *sara*, a regular session of reminding of the permanence of power. The session of *sara* takes place every Thursday night to remind people about peace and the presence of the sultan in the palace. The official griots of the royal court meet every Thursday night in front of the palace for this reminder. Initially *'sara'* means habit, something to which we are used, to remind the population about power (as there is no *sara* when the *sarki* is away) and the power he embodies, such as evoked by either:

- The moderate sounds of the *kakaki* (*'hattara, sarki ' 'ga sarki'*, among others) and of the *ganga*, the sounds that only the members of royal court are trained for their decoding, and

- The message in its hidden nature as that of the sound, punctually injected as a bludgeon on foliage, attentively listened to, as in slumber by the members of the court.

Griots in the Royal Court of the Sultan of Damagaram:

- *Gingatau!* Rainbow!

  (long pause)

- *Hattara gingatau!* Rainbow guarantor of culture!

  (long pause)

- *Gabas da yamma, gusum da arewa!* From east to west, from south to north!

(long pause)

- *Gabata, hattara* That's bravery, beware

(long pause)

- *Hattara mai nassara* Beware your highness

(long pause)

- *Gingatau mai kahon karo* Rainbow with horn of fighting

(long pause)

- *Jira hattara* The court is waiting for you highness

(long pause)

- *Fada jira; jiran mai shi* The court is waiting; waiting for its owner

(long pause)

- *Ɗamara tasa daidai* His waistband is befitting

(long pause)

- *Kuren daga, kuren nasara* Battlefield warrior, warrior victor

(long pause)

- *Fada ta samu* The court has got

(long pause)

- *Fada ta samu saƙo* The court has got a message

(long pause)

- *Saƙon gingatau* The message of the rainbow

(long pause)

- *Hattara ga mai shi* Beware, it has the owner

(long pause)

- *Baƙin dare* The dark night

(long pause)

- *Ga hana tahiya* The obstacle for any movement

(long pause)

- *Dolin doli ta sani.* Everyone must know it.

(long pause)

Sara can last for four hours: from *Maghrib* prayer till *Isha* prayer and beyond. It is not a performance devoted to the public audience. Only the members of the royal court are concerned.

3.4 Farming Oral Songs

This is very illustrative of the micro-context paradigms of the Agisymbien literary production (Yahn, 1969). *Gayyar noma* (farming community labour), for instance, is defined as a popular opportunity where young people and adults have to meet at an agreed date in the farm of a participant to help him to plough. The D-Day of *gayya* (community labour) is an opportunity of cultural and literary expression at many levels.

At the crack of dawn, all young men or adults participating in *gayya* (community labour) are reminded by the griot that they are expected to take part in the event. The reminder is notified by the sounds of the drum intoning the *take* of the person in question. Conventionally, every citizen knows his *take* which is a specific address to him, his nature or one of his characteristics. An example is, *"ku bar ganin kankantar allura, karfe ce"* (do not see its small size, the needle is a metal). This might mean, “do not assume he is small; he is as tough or stronger as you are.” In other words, “small physically, but mature mentally.”

Thus, *take* is the first sign of literary expression in this model. Young people thus go to the farm for *gayya* (community labour) and begin to work hard. But the griot is always there alone or with his group, always intoning by the sounds of his drums the *take* of one or the other of the participants. The person whose *take* is sung to has to produce *kirari* (praise-

epithet), which is his own answer to the griot and to the other participants of *gayya* (community labour).

Kirari (praise-epithet) is thus the second act of this type of expression where its author, often sweating and in a trance, has to by shouting tell his merit, value and personality. The *take* would have an incentive function; it is a call for putting an existence to work by action, a call for challenge, for surpassing oneself, among others. *Kirari* (praise-epithet) on the other hand is the answer of this call towards the challenge. This is to show to others that you are courageous, that you are completely in a space of unfailing commitment and even that you are there to challenge the others (be first in the lineage), to challenge time (work relentlessly all day long, by challenging one's force, one's fatigue, among others). Examples of *take* like *"Yaro man kaza ne, in rana ta yi narkewa yake*" (A child is like chicken's fat, it melts under heat) and "*Ta sahe ta yaro, in ka ji yammaci sai manya*" (Morning work is for children; working all day long is for adults) are meant for differentiating the level of experiences between children and adults.

Kalangu (drum) is the main musical instrument of the farming oral songs. The following are the kinds of literary forms in this field which are divided into short models and long models:

Short Models

***Kirari* 1 (Praise-Epithet 1)**

1. Aradu nake jihwar Allah. I am the lightening which God launches

2. Yaro bai sani bai ko ya goce. The child does not know it, so he cannot dodge it.

3. Tsoho bai gani ba ko ya sujada. The old does not see it, so he cannot prostrate himself (He does have time to pray to God for protection).

Kirari 2 **(Praise-Epithet 2)**

Cirrr!	Cirrr!
Kai lahiya	You, health
Kai ko hauka	And you, madness
Kai ko cinikin maza	And you, men's duty
Rishin albarka	Process from which you cannot step back.

Kirari 3 **(Praise-Epithet 3)**

Gudu babu	I will never run away
Tsoro babu	I will never be afraid
Da in yi gudu	For me to run away
Gara maikiya ta yi kiwo	I prefer to have my corpse eaten by a vulture
Ɗan maratay mai kore	I am the small perch where the calabash is kept.

Kirari 4 **(Praise-Epithet 4)**

Ɗan gigije nake	I am a little cloud
na tare da Allah	who has God with him
a toye ni, a toye Allah	when you burn me it is as if you burn God
a bar ni damana ta yi nisa.	you leave me, the rain will not fall.

Kirari 5 **(Praise-Epithet 5)**

Ɗan ƙaɗangare nake	I am like a small lizard
na bakin tulu	stuck on the opening of a pot
a kashe ni a kashe tulu	you try to kill me, the pot will break
a bar ni ruwa su gurɓata	you leave me, the water will contaminate.

Kirari 6 **(Praise-Epithet 6)**

Manya-manyan tohon gamji	Very big like ficus ovata leaves
Akuya ɗauki ɗai-ɗaya	The goat, take one by one

In kika yi zari kika ɗauki biyu	When you show yourself sparing with and took two
Ana yanka ki	your throat will be cut.

Kirari 7 **(Praise-Epithet 7)**

Yaro ka san baƙin duma na kosheyi	Boy, do you know the black melon of the cemetery.
Ka sha ka mutu	When you eat it, you will die
Ba ka sha ba ma ka mutu	Even when you don't eat you will die
Ɗan kusun uwa.	You, rubbish!

Kirari 8 **(Praise-Epithet 8)**

Kiiihuuu!	Kiiihuuu! (shouting)
Kayya shahwa! Kayya Ɗanna.	You Shahwa! You Ɗanna.
Kai mazadu kai da ka ja ni	You Mazadu, you who provoked me
Ka sani	You know
Ba ni gudu	I never run away
Kai ba ni gaida mai gudu	I don't greet the person who runs away
Kai ko ruwan da ke gudu ba na sha	I don't even drink the water which flows
IƊan na yi gudu	If I ran away
A kai ni maƙera	I should be taken to the forge,
A datse golo	cut off my testicles
A datse bura	and cut off my penis
Ɗan marataya mai kore	I am the small perch where the calabashes are kept.

Kirari 9 **(Praise-Epithet 9)**

Kiiihuuu!	Shouting!
Kayya Shahwa!	You Shahwa!
Kayya Ɗanna!	You Ɗanna!
Kai yaro mi ka ci?	You boy, what have you eaten?

Mi ka sha?	What have you drunk?
Kai mi uban gidanka ya ba ka?	What has your boss given you?
Ko ka ci kicik?	Have you eaten kicik?
Ko ka ci kicingiri?	Have you eaten kicingiri?
Ko ka ci tsamiya bisa dutsi?	Have you eaten tamarin on the hill?
Wadda ba ta hure	Which does not have flowers
Balantana ta yi yˆayˆa !	Even less to produce fruits.

Long Models

Kirari 10 **(Praise-Epithet 10)**

Kai mai kore	You, the owner of calabashes
Kai mai kore	You, the owner of calabashes
Ina hwadî kana hwadî	I talk, you talk.
Kai 97 aka tsayawa in hwadî	Can you wait until I finish talking?
Ka san zaman na hi ka!	You have to know that I am your superior!
Wata guda	After one month
Da kwana guda	and one day
Kai ba a aihuwa' dan madalla	a normal baby cannot be born
Wata biyu	After two months
Da kwana biyu	and two days
Kai ba a aihuwa' dan madalla	a normal baby cannot be born
Wata ukku	after three months

Da kwana ukku and three days

Kai ba a aihuwa' ɗan madalla a normal baby cannot be born

Wata takwas after eight months

Da kwana takwas and eight days

Kai ba a aihuwa' ɗan madalla a normal baby cannot be born

Wata tara after nine months

Da kwana tara and nine days

Kai yanzu ake aihuwa' ɗan madalla now a normal baby can be born

Ɗan marataya mai kore. I am the small perch where the calabashes are kept.

Kirari 11 **(Praise-Epithet 11)**

Tchirrrr ! *Tchirrrr !* (shouting)

Kayya kore You, a big drum

Kayya kore You, a big drum

Ka dakata Stop

Mu ba maza labari! Let us tell people!

Na yi gaba gabas I went to the East (Mecca)

Na samo lada I got God's benediction

Mai garin garinmu ya amshe The chief of my village took it from me

Na yi gaba yamma I went to the West

Na samo lada I got God's benediction

Mai garin garinmu ya amshe The chief of my village took it from me

Na yi gaba gusum I went to the South

Na samo lada I got God's benediction

Mai garin garinmu ya amshe The chief of my village took it from me

Na yi arewa I went to the North

Na samo lada I got God's benediction

Mai garin garinmu ya amshe The chief of my village took it from me

Na yi gaba sama I went to the sky

Na samo lada I got God's benediction

Mai garin garinmu ya amshe The chief of my village took it from me

Na yi ƙasa I went into the 'earth'

Na samo mutuwa I brought back death with me

Ni da mai garin garinmu sai tserayya A rally began between the chief of my village and I.

Ɗan marataya mai kore I am the small perch where the calabashes are kept.

3.5 *Waƙoki da Kirarin Kokowa* (Wrestling Songs and Epithets)

Kokowa (wrestling) is one of the most appreciated games/sports in the region of Damagaram. In the past, this activity was organised during the harvest period *(kaka)*, which is around September, October and November, marking the good harvests of the agricultural season. *Kokowa* (wrestling) is thus a moment of great joy for the season; it is coupled with other cultural activities such as *Faka*, *Wargin Ɗiya*, among others. Today, *Kokowa* as an occasional festivity showcases the the contingent elements of national life. Fortunately, it has lost the values and glory of yesteryears. It is a massive and popular festivity that has been coloured with multiple performances of the wrestlers *(makunta/yân kokowa)*, singers *(mawaƙa)* and

clowns *(calicali)*. One of the functions of the festival is preserving the literary paradigm with displaying in fields with thematic vocabularies. Calling out a wrestler is formulated by means of *take*; the wrestler answers with a *kirari* and the singer dedicates a made-to-measure song *(waƙa)* to him. Unlike the literature of fields, the "drummer" is the player of *gunduwa*, the biggest Hausa drum played in this kind of events. The following is *Take* of *Makunta* (Wrestlers):

1. *Ɗauki tuwanka da ƙoshiya, cokali tsokin yatsu yake.*

   Eat your food with a spoon, a fock stings the fingers

2. *Duk iya ɗaukar shirwa, jemage ya yi shimge*

   No matter skillfully a hawk snatches is, the bat is more skillful.

Also, below are examples of *Kirarin Makunta* (Wrestlers):

Kirari 1 **(Praise-Epithet 1)**

Na gunde ka saurare ni.	Na gunde I want you to listen to me.
Arne nike sai gayya	I am a pagan, to face me you need a gang.
Ba san maza ba sai na gidanmu	If you want to discover the real men, come to our house
Ko na gidanmu	And even in our house
Ɗan muna ci tare!	It's because we eat together

Da baƙar doguwa nika aiki	I work with the malevolent devil
Ta ba ni kaye	She gives me your head
In na je gida	In turn, when I go home
Rago naka ba ta	I will give her a ram
Ta sha jinni	She will drink its blood
Ta ba ni naman in ci!	And leave the meat for me

Kirari 2 **(Praise-Epithet 2)**

Kusu ga kaya	Moose, there is a load
Sai mussa	Thank you, give it to cat
Mussa ga kaya	Cat, there is a load
Sai kare	Thank you, give it to dog
Kare ga kaya	Dog, there is a load
Sai kura	Thank you, give it to hyena
Kura ga kaya	Hyena, there is a load
Sai damisa	Thank you, give it to tiger
Damisa ga kaya	Tiger, there is a load
Sai zaki	Thank you, give it to lion
Zaki ga kaya	Lion, there is a load
Sai mashi	Thank you, give it to sword
Mashi ga kaya	Sword, there is a load
Sai Allah	Thank you, give it to God
To ka gaya ma yan kwaɓala	Ok, tell all my challengers
Shigar kayar hannuna!	Get into my hand's thorn!

3.6 The Songs of Occupations/Professions and Hunting

There are performances that are related to a profession. We talk about *mawaƙan maƙera (*smiths' singers), *mawaƙan masaƙa (*weavers' singers), *mawaƙan farautaa (*hunters' singers), *mawaƙan saraki (*royal court singers), and so forth. If the context has changed with the thematic specificities, the literary trivalence remains the same with the *take*, the *kirari* and the *waƙa*, but put rhythm into them with different drums. The *kurya* is specific to the barbers, the *kotso* to certain courts, among others.

Hunting occupies a special place in the tradition of Damagaram. The city of Zinder owes its name to a hunter by the name of Zunder (cf. A. Salifou, 19, *Le Damagaram*). In the collective vision/perception, hunting *(farauta)* is an entertaining sport-activity, and as such, every person who wishes, whatever his/her social origin or status, can participate in it. But this activity is often managed by a class of professionals, *mahalba* (snipers unlike *yan farauta*, hunters). *Mahalba* (snipers) play the double function of royal court warriors and official professional hunters. Their boss, *Cikama*, is one of the most influential notables *(fadawa)* in the Sultan's royal court. His assistant, *Baushi*, is directly in contact with the hunters, whatever their geographical position in the palace. Because of this double position, the *mahalba* have the direct responsibility of the control of the entrances by the *garu* (wall belt of the city) and their security.

Yan farauta (hunters) organise a special hunting which can last over three months. They then look for *'sa'a'* (the favourable day and the right moment to go out) *(a ɗauki sa'a, a hudda rana ta tahiya)*. Once on the hunting ground, *yan farauta* choose the site where they are going to stay. The sites are generally chosen far from any ordinary housing environment. They proceed to a distribution of tasks. Some are appointed to cook food, others to look for water, others to hunt, others to place the traps, among other functions. The literature of hunting is so built with regard to the double function of Praetorian Guard and hunters of the royal court.

While the small ordinary *ganga* (drum) is the instrument of *farauta* (hunting), the main instrument of the singers of *yan farauta* is the *kuru*, played by professional singers of hunters *(mawaƙan yan farauta)* generally dressed in secretive dress as their masters. They sing of courage, perseverance, recklessness, boldness, of the human or animal dangers which they generally face. It is this poetry of merit that is illustrated by the *kirari* and *waƙa* below:

Ɗan Kaka makaɗin mahalba, Dogo Ɗan Kaka hunters' drummer, Dogo

Kirarin Galadima Umara Maina Baushi	The praise of Galadima Umaru Maina Baushi
Daudu Galadima Dogo jijiyâl gari	Daudu Galadima Dogo, nerve of the city
Ajiyâl sarkin damagaram	One of the notables of the Sultan of Damagaram
Hannun damal Cikama	Right hand man of Cikama
Ɗan amale Sadau maƙi gudu	Young fearless he-camel
Ya biya ni mi kyau da rataya	The elegant gentleman paid my performance well
Ɗan amale Sadau na Umaru	Young he-camel, friend of Umaru
Na Bajida namijin dawa	Husband of Bajida, master of the bush
Ɗan amale dodo na Bakattu	Young he-camel, husband of Bakattu
Ya biya ni	He paid me
Jiya da marece yana hucewa	On his way yesterday,
Ya tarda yâl hulani tana daka	He met a young Fulani girl pounding
Ta ce 'ehe', na wajanmu, lale	She said, '*ehe*, our own, you are welcome
Yabiya ni mai kyau da rataya	The elegant gentleman paid my performance well
Yan Zagoriya sun ga mai kwarare	People of Zagoriya saw the real man
Ɗan amale dodo na Bakattu	Young he-camel, the spirit, husband of Bakattu
Kihuu, kihuu!	*Kihuu, kihuu!* (Shouting!)
Kuwa ukku tabbatar kahurce	Three shoutings are the confirmation of paganism
Gaskiya ne Ɗan Kaka	You are right *Ɗan Kaka*
Mine ne ya hwaru ba ƙarya	What happened without telling lies?
Minene ya sa kake kiran	Why are you calling the names of
Ɗiya maza cikin gida gaban yân mata	young men at home in front of young girls?
In dadî ne a nemi yara da mata	Any thing which is mild, give it to children and women!
Gurin wuya a kai mu a dosa	For diffciult situations, leave that to us
Gudu babu tsoro babu	There is no running away nor fear

Da in gudu gara na hwaɗi	I would rather fall down than run away
ko da ba zan tashi ba	even if I'll never rise up
Irin gidanmu, gudu babu, tsoro babu	In our lineage, no running away nor fear
Ni furtumin ƙaɗangare sai bango	I am an old lizard, wall is my shelter.
Ni gidan rina nike a yaga a gudu	I am a beehive, touch it and run away
In an ƙiya jikin maza ya yi birdi	If not your body will have scars
Ɗan amale dodo na Bakattu	Young he-camel, husband of Bakattu
Yan maza na Zandar yake kira	He is calling all the young men from Zinder
Galadima na Bakattu	Galadima husband of Bakattu
Kai da garaje ka ƙi garaje	You are 'risky' while others never risk you
Buzun kura kai nake kira	I am calling the hyena-skin-like
Mai raban naman dawa na Bakattu	The bush meat sharer, husband of Bakattu
Galadima ya wuce sa'a	Galadima is superior to all his age mates
Mai raban naman dawa na Bakattu	The bush meat sharer, husband of Bakattu
Ya tsare hwage ya tsare dawa	He occupies the yard and he occupies the bush
Ya tsare gida ya tsare dawa	He occupies the house and he occupies the bush
Kiihuu, kiihuuu!	(Shouting!)
Ashe Ɗan Kaka ashe Ɗan Kaka	Is it true *Ɗan Kaka!* Is it true *Ɗan Kaka!*
Ka hwaɗa ma Cikama,	Tell *Cikama*,
In yana gaya ma anna gayya	If he can invite pagans for community labour
Ya yanka bunsuru mai wari	He has to slaughter an adult he-goat
Wutsiyal biri ta kere masaki	The monkey's tail is higher than a big calabash
Ba ƙanƙanan ba ham mayyansu	The children and the adults, I made no exception
Yaro ka nemi tambaya ga ubanka	Young boy, go and ask your father to protect you
Uban wani baya baka tambaya ka yi suna	Someone else's father cannot promote you

Ko ya ba ka ya karya saboda halin wata rana Even if he did your promotion, he won't do it honestly

Yaro mi ka ci? Young boy, what have you eaten?

Yaro mi ka sha? Young boy, what have you drunk?

Yaro ina ka je? Young boy, where have you been?

Ina aka sanka? Who knows you?

Ko ka gama da bargon maiki Even if you use the vulture's blanket.

CHAPTER FOUR

PROFESSIONAL ORAL SONGS IN DAMAGARAM

4.0 Preamble

In this chapter, we examine the classic performances of professional singers in Damagaram. Unlike the singers of *ciko*, the professional oral songs in Damagaram can be considered as a genre because of their environment, specificity and uniqueness. Normally, the professional singers live with the incomes out of their performances. In Hausa land, people hardly live with one source of income, though, the basic occupations of many of them are farming, breeding, storekeeping, smithwork, weaving, tailoring, among others. The second occupation is of the professional singers who identify themselves as imaginative repositories or experts who on their own initiative could organise musical performances, narratives or sung literary-creations, which are not addressed to anybody. In this category, we can mention some professional singers such as Yarima Malam of Kance, Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo of Zinder-city, Malam Ɗan Gujungu (to a certain extent), and some personalities known as narrators and singers of a stream of professional occupations.

4.1 Yarima Malam

Yarima Malam was born in Kance in 1896 and died in 1975 in his home town. Kance is the capital of Daura of Niger with *Dauranci* (a dialect of Hausa language spoken by the Daurawa) as lingua franca. Yarima Malam sang in a group and his team of drummers played the *kuru*, small-sized tomtoms used by *Maguzawa* or *Anna* of the Northern part of Daura. This team was composed of *kuru* players, Yerima himself and his "*Sanƙira*" who accompanied him regularly. Yarima Malam sang for people or important local persons known for their intrinsic values, such as the Sarkin Noma Allau, the Sultan Amadu Ɗan Basa, the Chief of Twareg Samro, and other persons who moreover rewarded him in their turn with some gifts such as

money and other goods in exchange for the performances dedicated to them, which raised their image.

Yarima Malam also sang for nature, for a given profession, for an event. All these were illustrated in his songs, such as *Waƙar noman Gyada* (groundnut-growing) and the *Aikin Goro (*colanut trading). It was this diversity of creativity which made him a professional singer who performed at social functions of his time. His style was dominated by his particularly lyrical voice *(zaƙi da tabshin murya)* in harmony with his choir *(yan amshi)*. His main themes were based on "*yabo*" (laudatory appreciation), "ziga" (incentive to surpassing oneself), using a lexicon rich in images and supported with long references to kinship. One was a son of his father and all the other members of the family: the brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts and cousins (*Ɗan wane jikan wane … na wance, mijin wance*).

Yarima Malam's song of *waƙar noman gyaɗa* (groundnut/peanut growing) remained an unequalled symbolic value to the colonial French governor, 'Echère' (the spelling is not guaranteed). This inspired vital economy policy on groundnut farming by making it the bedrock of society's local economy *(har barudu take yi* 'we can even make cartridges with it'). The songs which follow are not certainly the most representative versions of Yarima Malam's songs; they are simply illustrative samples of the artist's professional dexterity and accomplishments.

The songs of Sarki Ɗan Basa and Samro reveal the talent of a performance-genious, especially in relation to some attitudes and personal options the singer relies on in his performance. The professional singer can creatively sing marvellously in praise of the simple leaf of a tree and be very modest in his innovative resourcefulness. Besides, he can enact his creative energy to enhance the image of his host through *yabo* (praise), *ziga* (instigation), *karamtawa* (honouring); or destroy him forever through *zambo* (satire or slander). At the linguistic level and beyond, the specific lexical inflection of Raratau (a region of Kance) must

be noted by the reader of the texts below, taking account of the distinctive local identity of *Damagaranci* as mentioned in some expressions such as "*mi ji*" (*mai jin*: which hears and respects), "*a mas kidin riga*" *(a mishi ko a masa)* and *shi kwa (shi kuwa*: and he).

4.2 Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo

Native of Ɗandaka (of the ruling family of Katsina - Nigeria), his real name is Maman Mâazou Harouna. Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo came to Zinder when he was very young during the colonial era. He especially sang for the royal court and other fields relating to power. This was why, beyond the performances of addressing various dignitaries of the sultanate of Damagaram, he dedicated an important fresco of the colonial period to one of the masters of that time, Bodo. The ordinary drum was the main musical instrument he used for his narrative songs. Like many other Hausa traditional singers, Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo was always accompanied by a choir *(Yan amshi)*. His songs were full of humour, satire (as it was the case with Bodo), moderate praises, 'invitations' to know or to discover (oneself), as it could be seen in "*waƙar Sarki* Umar" (the journey of Sultan Umaru to Niamey). Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo died on December 27th, 2002, at the age of 107. He left a very rich repertoire of about two hundred meaningful songs. We shall examine two of them: *Waƙar Sarki Umaru* and *Bodo*.

4.2.1 *Waƙar* (Songs of) Sarki Umaru

Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo was, above all, a singer of the court of the Sultanate of Damagaram. His performances of addressing various dignitaries linked to the throne of the sultanate perfectly rooted him in the stylistics of *the song of kings*, praise songs *(yabo)*, excessive panegyric *(ziga)*, humour, jokes, satire *(zambo)*, mockery and sneering expression were also part of his artistic trademarks which had impactful interrogation on the excesses of power. In the song, *Sarki Umaru*, here is how the latter is presented:

Sarki Umaru zankon dutsi	Sultan Umaru, crest of the mountain

Zaki sa wani sarki tafi	The lion who makes other kings applaud
Hadari sa gabanka inda ka yi niyya	Tornado, take the direction you want
Babu mai tsare ma hanya	Nobody can stop you

Describing the king as the lion among other lions and tornado represents the majestic awe of his royal addressee. Beyond the person of Sultan Umaru, it is the whole relational and cultural geography between the Damagaram and the rest of Niger that the song makes us to discover. In Birnin Gaouré, for example, where the dignitary *Babarbare* (Sultan Umaru) is the host of the dignitary, *bahullace* (that is, the Chief of Birnin Gaouré), all the behavioural drifts of the former are depicted through the game of *nangi*, commonly known under the label of "Kinship of Joke." In Niamey, it is the approach of the relational dimension between the Sultan and the Governor that is paramount, on the one hand, and that with the other dignitaries, on the other. The artistic language of Ɗan Alalo also depicted the important place the Damagaram occupied in the political arena of that time. In the success of this geography of multidimensional spaces of construction, of evolution and of human survival, the artist could be appreciated and his mission considered as either accomplished or not by the society.

4.2.2 Bodo: An Epic Poem with a Bitter Taste

In *Bodo*, a satirical tribute by Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo', we encounter a song that has gained the reputation of a kind of epic of the modern genre, where we discover progressively the whole picture of the Damagaram of the past 30 to 50 years. The central persona, Bodo, the Governor-General who typically symbolised the height of colonial power (as also observed in Echère and Mai Buje, who came before him) was a figure who like most of his fellow countrymen had no consideration for the people of the area under his control. The colonial masters felt they had been invested with the "celestial" mission of bringing light and

civilization to the “primitive people of Africa.” It is this image of the cruel and pitiless coloniser that Ma’azu Ɗan Alalo tries to bring out through the depiction of Bodo in this song:

"Kai ne na Echère, Ɗan uwan Guro" (you are the friend of Echère and brother of Goureau)

"Arne mai kwagiri uban Abdu" (Pagan with a stalk, father of Abdou) [Abdu is his houseboy].

Ma’azu Ɗan Alalo describes Bodo, a megalomaniac whiteman, as “lugubrious” in the convicting phrase, *"gingiro mai kwagiri da bakin doki, nasara*" (the rude with a bludgeon and a black horse, the whiteman!). It is the colonialist “exploit” of this French administrator that Ma’azu Ɗan Alalo describes with all his talent in this song. The society is masterfully presented in all its dimensions. This includes the Sultanate, its spatial range and the dignified temporal space occupied by Sultan Matafa, a legendary ruler who is cited once. He is conspicuous in the artistic presentation and considered a presumed ally to Bodo: *"A yi niyaz zuwa gayyar Bodo na Sarkin Damagaram Matafa"* (get ready to take part in Bodo’s community labour, **the friend** (the emphasis is mine) of Sarkin Damagaram Mustapha). The various social and occupational sectors, including the ordinary citizens, the marabouts, the youth, “the third age,” are also presented. The imaginative horizon also accomodates the new social classes composed of such people as the\servicemen, houseboys and whores. In the performance of the song, these go on stage alternately by the order of Bodo, bearing the burden of the production of groundnuts imposed by and for the colonial power.

To all these different groups, it is necessary to add the role of the griot, who artistically paints the ambiguous picture of the general mobilisation of the People of Damagaram. The song, *Bodo*, is undeniably one of the real paintings of the bitter memory of the colonial era in its raw reality. Ma’azu Ɗan Alalo also chose to build an epic in a contemporary sense of the term. One of the characteristics of epics includes the elegance of imagery, verses, gestures and characters. The epics are considered to be of another time (if we refer to those of the kings

and their wars of the European Middle Age, for instance). But is it not here misreading the development of human thought where here and there, things are built or reinvented? For instance, Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo was known in Niger for his famous "modern" riddles. At some points, he exclaimed to his audience: "this mosque which is not one." If the audience did not respond, he himself gave the answer that it was the "mota" (automobile). And he explained it with the parallelism: "cabin of a vehicle / lodge of the imam in the mosque; travelers' waiting /followers' waiting; starting up with the imam's entering / departure with the driver's entering." What could be more metaphorical? In the same way there are riddles of the modern type.

There is no reason why modern epics should not exist and we think of *Bodo,* Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo's songs, for example. This is also the case with 'Shago' of Ɗan Anace. As for *Bodo,* which is our concern here, the poetic elegance is unquestionably heightened by the fact that the melody varies or changes with the style of singers ["*in na soma kiɗan Bodo, nasaran aiki* …" (If I start singing the song of Bodo the white hardworker …)] into a series of elegant rhythms played harmoniously between the singer and his choral team ["*in ba Bodo ba, wa ke sa kuturu shibka a ƙarangiya*!" (If it is not Bodo, who dares make lepers sowing in dry thorny grass!)]. The same scenes full of anxiety and irony, or irony and impotence, are described by the houseboys, their cigarettes on the lips; the very nervous soldiers, or the whores with their inviting/provocative looks, to which Bodo does not care [*"bai san gwarere ba*" (Bodo ignores that!)]. In the same way as Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo knows how to raise the voice to describe his hero, he also knows how to lower it to translate the pity of the fingerless (lepers) who have to peel groundnuts, or that of the blind persons who have to make seed holes.

4.2.3 Agisymbien Theatricality

G*ayya* (community labour) is the scenic space of the epic depicted by the artist, Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo. The griot of the royal court had to carry/transmit the message, nothing extraordinary in his normal function within the community. But the message was received as an order, an instruction [*Ya fada faɗa mini na faɗa musu'* (he ordered me and I delivered the message to them!)] and he had to participate with an extraordinary prerogative beyond his function of a simple singer ["*in an je, malamai wajensu daban ne*, X..,; Y *wajensu daban ne*… " (when you will be there, every professional group will work apart!)]. Thus, instead of the traditional role known to him in a situation like this (livening up, encouraging, stimulating), and of praise singer in alternation with *'take'* and other *'kirari'* known in *gayya* (community labour), the singer was transformed here into a motivated agent, asked to direct and enforce order in a completely new action ground different from the ordinary ground of traditional *gayya* (community labour), where the spontaneous and supported enthusiasm could give way to a tragedy, the origin of which is to be determined. He (the griot) knows what the society undergoes; and only the ruling power has the kind of influential verbal force he wields, even of abusing for some causes which are not often obvious.

Here is the controversy at the centre of the song of Bodo in all its dimension of an epic, invented/created by Ɗan Alalo. This singer created a valuable character (or better still, persona) even if he is bad. Bodo was not a king, but a character of circumstance entrusted with the mission of subjecting a population to the colonial order. But the epic is not all about the "king" only. When we speak/talk about the king, it is not only the old meaning of the word which is signified. We say, for example, "Pélé, king or god of soccer,"" and in some socio-cultual spheres, Pélé could have benefited from an epic literary reputation following the example of Shago, the well-known traditional boxer in the Hausa world. One of the conclusions to be drawn from this type of creation concerns directly the author in his

traditional educational function. We should not forget that Ɗan Alalo was an agent of the royal court whose first function was to educate the princes or the aspirants/royal lines to the throne. But he was a councilor not in the same way as the other *fadawa*, because he could not directly speak at the royal court. His style was indirect, a kind of indirect educational transmission, quite different from the vindictive strategies of women, as in *habaici*. Thus, he could mold out of the royal court a cultivated and respectable line of princely or royal personalities through the means of verses pregnant with vintage images, symbols and mesmerising rhythms.

4.3 Performances in the Religious Arena

One of the striking fields of the oral songs in Damagaram is the religious field which presents another form of specialised perfomances, which are divided into three groups:

a. The performances of animistic origins connected to the harvest (*kaka*) season: This has to do with a case like *wargin diya*; of the ending of certain rites or certain initiations, as in the instance of the *tashe*, the origin of which is older than the fasting during the period of which the *tashe* itself is now organised by teenagers.

b. The performances of *almajirai* (pupils) and students (*gardawa*) of Koranic schools: during their schooling, the pupils and the students of the Koranic schools devote a great deal of their time of training to the quest for nutriments for their survival. This quest is an integral part of learning performances which differentiate these *almajirai* and *gardawa* from the beggars we meet in the streets of cities today. Indeed, *bara* (begging) is not a fortuitous opportunity but an act of sermonising entrenched in its socio-religious beginnings by these age groups in question. We give them because we are convinced of the depth of the relevance of what they say and not because we feel sorry for them.

c. *Bara* (begging) of persons with visual impairment: It is common knowledge that the blind persons have become popular because of certain literary performances within the

framework of the *bara*. Unlike the *almajirai* and the *gardawa*, the blind persons put more humour and do not hesitate to change the image of everyday-life to liven up their scene and make the audience laugh (see song of Rabé Makaho).

4.3.1 Performances of *Almajirai* and *Gardawa*

The composition of *almajira*i and *gardaw*a in the Koranic-school system is of two levels:

i. The Primary Level (*almajiri*): the *almajiri* entrusted to his marabout by his parents is supposed to learn by himself, to build his life at all levels. He, at first, certainly learns the Koran, but within this learning process, discovers how to live with others, how to sew his clothes (generally in scrap), how to feed himself, among others. In this approach of self-construction, he is expected to develop a certain culture of competence/performance in some daily peripheral but fundamental practices like the *bara* (quest for charity). Unlike the current begging (in its negative meaning of the word) where the beggar asks "shamelessly" the passer-by in these terms, "*a bani sadaka* (give me charity)," the yesteryear *almajiri* learnt in his school the form and content of his "quest for charity." As a religious studies' student, he learns how to perform in his field, how to mix business with pleasure and therefore contributes, in his own way, to a certain consciousness of justified religious life made of devotion, solidarity and positive sharing.

- The Second Level (*gardi*): the acquired knowledge at the first level widens as much in the form of *bara* as in that of the performance to meet the needs of current life. *Bara* is more instrumented as in the use of *Fatuma*. The sung expression is longer and the themes deeper where the *gardi* even begs for his future wife *(har da mai sussuka mini)*. In summary, unlike the current practice of begging in the streets, the quest for charity is a religious act which answers/responds to some principles and literary performances which deserve appreciation and which are worth mentioning.

Performance 1: *Almajiri* from Mirria (Reported by Nababa)

Song	**Translation**
Ina iya, ina iya?	Where is mama, where is mama?
Kulle	*Kulle*
Ina baba mai gidan nana?	Where is the father, the owner of the house?
Kulle	*Kulle*
Ku tashi ku ba mu ta Annabi	Get up and give us the charity
Kulle	*Kulle*
In kun ba mu ta Annabi	If you give us the charity
Kulle	*Kulle*
Allah na rama muku	God will pay you back
Kulle	*Kulle*
Annabi na gode muku	The Prophet will thank you
Kulle	*Kulle*
Yal maraƙa da farar ƙafa	A small white-legged calf
Kulle	*Kulle*
Ku ɗauki kara ku ga ta gudu	When you take a stick it will run away
Kulle	*Kulle*
Ku ba ta hatsi ku ga ta tsaya	When you give it some millet it will stay

Kulle	*Kulle*
Ina Iya, Ina iya?	Where is mama, Where is mama?
Kulle	*Kulle*
Ina baba mai gidan nana?	Where is papa, the owner of this house?
Kulle	*Kulle*

Performance 2: By an *Almajiri* from Bilmari/Mirria (by Zaneidou)

Song	**Translation**
Lada, lada, lada,	Reward, Reward, Reward,
To!	To!
Lada inna uwata	Reward to my own mother.
To!	To!
Lada baba ubana	Reward to own my father.
To!	*To!*
Lada ta kewaye ku	May reward permeate you
Ta muku ɗakin da	And build you a room
Za ku kwana	Where you will sleep
To!	*To*!

Performance 3: A Song by a Group of *Gardawa* from Malam Mansour's Koranic School in Falki/Mirria

Song	**Translation**
Salatiya salama alekum	My prayer is peace upon you
Bakɔ na ga sallama	A guest is introducing himself
Bakɔ babu sallama mugu ne	A guest without introduction is criminal
Kulki ar rabo nasa	A bludgeon is his reward
Iya ni da ba mugun ba	Ma, that I am not criminal
A ƙofar gida na ke	I am in front of the house
Mai gida ka tashi ka yi babban bakɔ	Sir, wake up you have an important guest
Mai gida, bakɔn gardi mai bara	Sir, a guest who came for charity
Bakɔn da ba zai ci ɗan akuya ba	A guest who will not eat a he-goat
Ko kaza ba zai ci ba	Not even a chicken
Na zo ka ba ni ta Allah	I came to collect God's share
Ta Allah da Annabi	God and the Prophet's share from you
Mai gida a ba mu ta Allah	Sir, give us God's share
A ci saura da lahiya	And enjoy the rest safely
Maigida na zo wurin zancenmu na bara	I came for what we agreed on last year
Da ka ce za ka ban dame	As you promised to give me a bundle of grains

Ka ban dame, ka ba ni maɗauki	To give me a bundle of grains and what I will put it in
Har da mai sussuka mini	And the lady who will husk it for me

Performance 4: 'Fatima' by *Gardawa*

Song	**Translation**
Lagwai lagwai Hwatima	Gentle, gentle Hwatima
Hwatima baiwar Allah	Hwatima the servant of God
Baiwar ma'aikin Allah	The servant of Messenger of Allah
A bamu domin Allah	Give us in God's name
Domin ma'aikin Allah	In the Prophet of God's name
In ji mai bara Hwatima	From the beggar, Hwatima
Hwatima baiwar Allah	Hwatima the servant of God
Tsuntsun ma'aikin Allah	The bird Messenger of Allah
A bamu domin Allah	Give us in God's name
Domin ma'aikin Allah	In the Messenger of Allah's name
Fatima baiwar Allah	Hwatima, the servant of God
Baiwar ma'aikin Allah	The servant of Messenger of Allah

(Reported by a group of *Gardawa* from Malam Mahdi's koranic school, Birni Zinder)

4.3.2 Performances of the Blind

Bara (begging) as performance and way of earning a living is being practiced by *almajiri* (Quranic school pupils) and less-privileged people like the blind. The humour specificities of the blind perfomers have been some of the characteristics that enrich oral tranditions in the region of Damagaram. These oral songs are produced by some talented fellows in Damagaram. For instance, Rabe Makaho and his group are promoters of a vigorous and original style in this field. Rabe Makaho has produced some songs as *Rabe Matuƙin Mota, Jandarma*, among others. These songs are known beyond the national borders where they are often sources of imitation (see for example the imitations of Ɗan Ibro, another humourist of dandalin Soyayya).

Rabe Makaho was born in Dogo, in 1953. In his song, *'Matukin Mota'* (car driver), Makaho develops a kind of parable of the blind driver. His apprentice and conductor of the vehicle, persuades his fellow countrymen to avoid "the blind vote," that is, voting for his political opponent who uses all strategies in his quest for "'populism." The song comes out to become a very satirical and powerful metaphor used by the candidate of a political party in Niger. In his song *Jandarma*, it is another bitter criticism of our society, depicting the tyranny of the temporal greatness of certain government officials in relation to the common people. Here, a horrid pattern of exaction deployed by this class of citizens in uniform (the policemen, constables, servicemen, among others), hidden in a "compartment" of isolated habitation distant from the ordinary compartments of the common people, paints the picture of extreme political and bureaucratic class oppression. His ingenious artistry must have inspired a new fable we could entitle *'The law and the blindman*:"

Excerpts from *Jandarma* by Rabe Makaho

Assalama Alekum	Assalama Alekum
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau!
Assalama Alekum	Assalama Alekum
Allah Ɗan Allah	Oh God! For the sake of You
Ya jirgau!	Ya jirgau!
Al'umma ta wurin nan	All people who are here
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Sai ku saurare ni	I want you to listen to me
Zan wakar jandarma	I am going to sing the song of the constable
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Akwai faifanmu na soji	There is a song for servicemen
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Akwai na duwan hana salla	There is a song for customs officer
Mai ƙwace na bahili	The goods' confiscator
Ya bai ma Rabe makaho	He gave to Rabe the blindman
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Jama'a Ɗan Allah	People who are here
Ina bara a gare ku	I am asking you charity

Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Zan yi butun jandarma	I am going to talk about constable
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Jandarma ɗan gwamna	The constable 'son' of the governor
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Haba mutane bayi	I am talking to you people, servants of God
Jandarmu da ka gan su	When you see the constables

4.3.3 Performances of *Tashe, Amini* or *Wargin Diya*

In the past, the *tashe* was an event organised according to the quality of the rainy season and the crops drawn from it. But nowadays the same event has been transformed into a cultural phenomenon organised by the young (5-15 years old) during the month of Ramadan. They then organise "collection evenings" during which they pass from house to house in sex, district or affinity groups. During these passages, they usually perform some funny, grotesque, and rarely tragic short plays/dramas accompanied by amateur noisy music and songs. They attack certain unpopular characters in the society: the miserly, glutton, mediocre, among others, as in the following:

Examples of *Tashe* from Damagaram:

	Song	**Translation**
1.	*Na ci na kasa tashi*	I ate too much and couldn't get up
	Baba zari gare ka	Papa, it's because you were greedy
	Haba dadî ga maiƙon	Wow! The oily food is delicious
	Inna kin ɓata geme	Ma, you have stained the beard

	Na ci na kasa tashi	I ate too much and couldn't get up
	Baba ai sai ka san mum	Baba, you have to give us our share
	Ku kwatiran gari ni	You are troublesome boys
	Baba mun ɗarme halashe	Baba, we tied our tongue
2.	*Tashi mai kwaɗai*	Get up the greedy
	Ni ban na tashi sai an bani	I won't get up until I am given
	Ana jiranki can	You are waited for there
	Ni ban na tashi sai an bani	I won't get up until I am given
	Ana kiran ki ke	Someone is calling you
	Ni ban na tashi sai an bani	I won't get up until I am given

Unlike the *tashe*, the *amin*i or *wargin diya* concerns the adolescents/teenagers. The solidarity events in connection with this age group are also shared during some evening parties around common dishes followed by performances in amateur songs, in sketches and other creative devices.

4.4 The Songs of *Ciko*

Ciko is the hybrid expression from the meeting of two cultures: Kanuri and Hausa. Damagaram is actually a pivotal region between the Kanuri and the Hausa worlds. The songs of *Ciko* are then defined as productions sharing the poetic characteristics of both cultures which have been living in peaceful coexistence. The melody, the intonation and the basic rhythms of the song; its metrics, the specificity of its *nanaye*; the dance accompaniments, among others, belong more to Kanuri than Hausa 'styptiks', but as in hybrid/innovative cases, the influence of the "language-host" in its peculiar poetic stylistics and its spectacular experimentations participate strongly in this very original rendition. The analysis of the performance-cases taken as samples will allow situating clearly the mutual contributions of

the two cultures. As a performance, *Ciko* is generally a production of a group managed by a "leading singer" (if it is a man) or by a *zabiya*, a case of a woman leader of the group. The performances of *Ciko* are generally done in a public place chosen by the organisers called *fage*, or in front of the house of a host on the occasion of a ceremony, a party or a rite.

4.4.1 The Space of *Ciko*

Unlike the ordinary Hausa literature, the *Ciko* has generally been a popular cultural event of particularly modern nature *(bidi' a)*. The *Ciko* is rarely present (not to say non-existent) in farming rites or in the accompaniment of an ordinary economic or sport activity *(kira, harbi, kokowa, dambe, among others)*; and if it happens that an activist of this domain is mentioned in a song of *Ciko*, it is because of his participation or presence at the place where the *Ciko* event is taking place. There are mainly three permanent fields of the performance of *Ciko*:

i. The *fage* on the occasion of a local, regional or national holiday;

ii. The front of a house considered as a place of a naming ceremony, wedding or enthronement;

iii. The cultural tours of the performers/artists generally at sub-regional or regional level.

Whatever the space of performance, the *Ciko* has generally the same audience constituted by a certain class of socialites, mainly young people (young local heroes, young storekeepers, young civil servants, or others operating in the political sectors or the court of traditional rulers, among other engagements). The *fage* is the most revealing space of the revolutionary character of the *Ciko*. For the records, it is necessary to be reminded that the ciko movement emerged in the 60s from the cultural forces which raged at a moment of strong political pressures. The *Rassemblement Democratique Africain* (The RDA, translated as African Democratic Assembly), which came recently in the political arena, wanted to

control the everyday life of citizens and because of that it eventually repressed the cultural professionals. It is thus at this moment of cultural repression that the young people found the new niche, that of enjoying themselves, and the *fage* was actually redeemed by night parties with a new style of entertainment.

The popular former *wakɛ* got new forms with a generation of young performers who became the stars of *Ciko* later. At the same time of this rising dynamics in the region of Damagaram, there was an emergence of the *gwaigwai* movement in the region of Maradi, a movement which was in the same type of revolution with some performances like "*bodo*" taken up by Maman Garba Kwaro; "*sai wata rana*" by Isa Ɗan-na-Maye, among others. The *fage* has thus served as a statement of liberating entertainment of a youth age-group confined to undergo the political pressures of that time.

From the traditional, collective and popular *wakɛ*, we move to the modern *wakɛ*, the authors of which are young people eager "to let their hair down" in their life: with regard to their ambitions and personal relations, experimentations of community life with "new formulas" on a daily basis, with the view to escape the dullness and taciturn nights of the village, a complete youth renaissance whose foundational basis could be traced to the *Ciko*. The *Ciko* has very quickly moved from the individual amateur performance to a team performance of professionals or group made up of musicians (generally players of small ordinary drums called *ganga*). The leader of the team is "*makaɗa* X" (if it is a man) or "*zabiya* X" (if a woman). The choir (*yɗan amshi*) is made up of five to seven members accompanying the *zabiya*, or five to ten members accompanying the *makaɗa*. Whatever the nature of the group, it always has the company of a particular presenter, the *marɔki* or *san-kira*, who plays a determining role between the orchestra or group and its audience. It is these kinds of groups that liven up so many evenings, evening parties or ceremonies in the Damagaram and beyond, as is the case with Zabiya Hurera, Duda and many others.

4.4.2 Poetic Characteristics of *Ciko*

The metric dominance in the compositions of *Ciko* is based on one or two reference verses, known in this study under the name of *nanaye.* The *nanaye* is generally an onomatopoeic or impressive metric construction (which is semantically meaningless) and which has, in this case, no other functions but only those of laying the metric and melodic foundations of the song (see *nanaye* of type1). *Nanaye* is a particularly invaluable marker in the performances of *zabiya* who intones them at first at the very beginning of the song to give an idea of the tone of the song, its metrics and its melody. Then they are taken up by the chorus *(yân amshi)* as tune throughout the song. With some exceptions, *nanaye* can have three forms:

i- the case where *nanaye* is completely onomatopoeic (or impressive) [*nanaye* of type1], as it appears in the songs of Zabiya Hurera Kasamma:

"iye hayye yaraye iye nanaye

iye hayye yaraye iye nanaye"

or the example of Zabiya Amina Dagori

"- ayye ayye yereye nanaye

- yere dide iye nanaye

ii- the case where the two verses can be in artistic harmony, the first being onomatopoeic and the second rendered in an ordinary language (see *nanaye* of the type 2 in the chart below);

iii- and the rare case where both verses belong to a common language (*nanaye* of type 3). We can also distinguish the case where Zabiya Furera, for example, begins with some *nanaye* of type 2 which she eventually alternates with the *nanaye* of type 1 in the course of the song. This gives evidence of the

preeminence of *nanaye* in the directories of *ciko*, mainly in its female performances.

Nanaye

	Type	Example
	Type 1	Example 1: *Yere ye ayye dide* *Yere dide iye ayye riye*
		Example 2: *iye hayye yaraye iye nanaye*
	Type 2	*La'ilaa.. illallahu* *Ni dai na guji bakin duniya*
	Type 3	
	Alternating Evidence	Type 2 : *La'ilaa.. illallahu* *Ni dai na guji bakin duniya* …….. Type 1 : *Yere yee yere dide*

Whatever the type, it is regularly taken up as tune by the singer-in-chief, followed by her chorus. The relation of sequence between the (chief) *mawaki* or the *zabiy*a and the chorus *(yân amshi)* can change according to the performance. In some cases, the chorus intervenes only to reproduce the *nanaye* tune; it is about the simple *karɓeɓeniya* (taking up). In other cases, the *zabiya yân amshi* alternation can be made on the basis of other models such as *karɓeɓeniya* or *saɓi-zarce* where the chorus takes up and continues with his verses. The melody of the *nanaye* is in perfect harmony with the rhythm of the drums *(sagaratu)* and the dance (*langi)* of performers.

The potential presence of *nanaye*, particularly in female songs, shows also that the songs of *ciko* remind the *waƙe* of young girls from which they have been weaned. This

relationship between *waƙe* and the female songs of *ciko* is even more striking if we examine the thematic vocabulary. Indeed, in *waƙe* as in the *ciko*, the most commonly-used vocabulary comes out of relational structures such as:

i. *na*….. (possessive): *ni na… ; ke ta… ; na/ta wane /wance…*

ii. *mai*…. (possessive) : *mai gida na… ;*

iii. *gora* (f/friend) ; *ɗan /*yar *; jikan ; … uban ; uwar.. ; mijin*.. (showing the parental degree of the claimant);

iv. *gadaral duniya; ɗan zaki; gwanina*; (showing the challenge of life and at the same time the way to face it);

v. *soyayya ruwan zuma* (reciprocity of the depth of love, but also its fluidity).

vi. *doki* (horse); *turmi* (fabric); *jika* (one thousand/money) and so like.

Unlike the *waƙe*, the songs of *ciko* are less marked by some negative idiomatic expressions or the *habaici*. This is due to the fact that the *ciko* is essentially promotional. This is an atmosphere excluding negativity.

4.4.3 The Themes of *Ciko*

As mentioned above, the occasional village entertainment, the ceremonies and the parties constitute the current opportunities of the performances of *ciko* whose audience or followers are essentially a "socialite" class made up of young operators of all functions (storekeepers, civil servants, less conservative dignitaries, among others). It is an audience made up of a youth who generally aspire to a certain rise in social status, therefore looking for some opportunities such as popular events that could make them known and get social fame. This quest for popularity finds its guarantor in the performance of *ciko*. The singers themselves have emerged from this particularly rewarding social will. The evenings or the evening-

parties generate important resources, including considerable sums of money and other tangible assets. It is common to hear long monologues where, under the mesmerising melody and riveting rhythm of the group, the audience cheerfully appreciates how their articulations are appreciated by the zabiya or the master-singer. We can see it in this passage of Zabiya Hurera:

Mai ba ni zan wa waka	I will sing to my giver
Alheri ba zan mance ba	I cannot forget what he did to me
Bukari Sule zan ma waka	I will dedicate my song to Bukari Sule
Ku rangwada y'an mata	Young girls, I want you to swing"

Or in this passage of Zabiya Amina Dagori:

« --- *Zabairu dan Alhaji Abdu*	« ….Zabairu son of Alhaji Abdu
Mai jiye mana dadîn duniya »	The one who makes me feel happy"

Or in that of **Duda :**

« *Mahwautan kwarai nike zanawa*	« I will praise the good butchers
Wanda suke abin kirki	Those who do good things
Sarakuna suke min doki	The Chiefs used to give me horses
Hal yau su min shadda	And give me expensive clothes
Wa ne ya min doki	Who gave me a horse
Laminu na gode ma	I thank Laminu very well
Wannan yana Mirria	He is in Mirria
Dokin jika d'ari ya ban	He gave me a horse worth FCFA 100,000
Rabiya Mairam	Rabiya Mairam
Doki ta ba ni y'al Maman	Gave me a horse, the daughter of Maman
Kanwal Tijani gaishe ki »	I greet you, the younger sister of Tijani

The citizens need entertainment or recreation, but beyond this psycho-social function, some come out of such evening parties or public performances with increased stature. In return for the satisfaction they give, the performers receive enormous praises. We go back home happy to have been praised by such performers as Zabiya or Makaɗa, specialists in the art of galvanising the audience. But the praise is not the only theme of the songs of *ciko.* As mentioned above, the performances of *ciko,* just like those of *waƙe,* are opportunities of awakening of relationships of interest: interpersonal, of strengthening family ties, of better integration within the community or with professional colleagues. When he paid a visit to the butchers of the city of Mirria, Duda revealed some of their enviable social qualities and the passion with which they did their work. This promotional dimension of *ciko* can be seen in many respects.

4.4.4 Some Famous Performers of *Ciko*

4.4.4.1 Zabiya Hurera (Kasamma)

Zabiya Hurera (popularly known as Zabiyal Kasamma) was born in 1960 in Kasamma where she grew up and got acquainted with *waƙe* as any other girl of the village. Her personal fondness for singing led her to manage *waƙe* of the public square of her district before becoming famous in the domain. Her first performances are very reminiscent of *waƙe* origin of *ciko*. The girls sing to their own addresses: for themselves or in an indirect way to the address of their fiancés, but in spite of these marks, the songs keep their impersonal characteristics as in example 1 below. But Zabiya Hurera was very fast going to succeed as a singer of *fage* of her Kasamma village. Her performances were gradually going to spread in the Damagaram where the regional radio broadcasting of Zinder recorded for the first time her very first songs in 1978. It was for her the beginning of a successful career which would lead

her to Niamey on the occasion of important events as the youth festival organised every year under the regime of Seini Kountché.

Zabiya Hurera owed her success at first to her personality: a simple, very courteous young woman in her group, a marvellous singer with her very nice voice. The audience always had difficulty parting from it. She created her own style of *Langi*, the secret of the metrics, the melody and internal chain of which she and her five-member chorus (*Yan amshi*) and her *San Kira*, jealously preserved. Her favourite song (*bakandamiya*), dedicated to the wrestlers, she did not fail to announce her lessons: *mai rabo ya samu*... (the lucky will get…). Zabiya Hurera died in the prime of life in her fortieth year, in 2000, leaving a legacy rich with her artistic originality and of her role in the history of *ciko*. She has, with Duda, been one of the best stars of *ciko*.

One of the performances of Zabiya Hurera:

Song	**Translation**
Kiɗa…	Drum..
Sanƙira…	Town Crier
La'ila, illallahu	There is no diety except Allah (invocation)
Gangara ta gidan Sarkin Bula	Gangara of the Sarkin Bula House
Yan amshi**:** *La'ila, illallahu*	**Choir:** There is no diety except Allah (invocation)
Gangara ta gidan Sarkin Bula	Gangara of the Sarkin Bula House
Ni ta Bawa ɗiyâl Umma	I, the wife of Bawa, daughter of Umma
Ke ta Balki da Balkisa	You, sister of Balki and Balkissa
Yan amshi**:** *Ke ta Balki da Balkisa*	You, sister of Balki and Balkissa
Lamariya ƙanwal Dogo	Lamariya, younger sister of Dogo

In na ce tayar tela	When I cite the tailor
Kan zare in ya ƙare	When the thread is finished
In zare kan ya ƙare	When the thread is finished
Tela ko da waya dîmka mini	Tailor, even with wire, sew my clothes
Yan amshi**:** *In zare kan ya ƙare*	When the thread is finished
Tela ko da waya dîmka mana	Tailor, even with wire, sew our clothes.

Yere ye, ayye dide	Yere ye, ayye dide
Yere dide iye ayye raye	Yere dide iye ayye raye
Yan amshi**:** *Yere ye, ayye dide*	Yere ye, ayye dide
Yere dide iye ayye raye	Yere dide iye ayye raye

4.4.4.2 Ɗan Nana (Anguwal Magaji - Mirria)

Ɗan Nana (Anguwal Magaji - Mirria) started his career as a singer in his village of Anguwal Magaji, with *ciko* as his main preoccupation, and gradually adopted the style of classic song. Despite this transition, he continued his music with the small ordinary drums and rhythmic connection to them. He also kept the same substrata of the *nanaye* with which he intoned the song of certain dignitaries of the region:

Ayye! ɗan Garba…	*Ayye*! son of Garba…
Ayye raye iye nanaye	*Ayye raye iye nanaye*
Sarkin dare da rana Allah	Allah, the Master of day and night
Allah wasa ne ko malami dubu wasa ne	If Allah is absurd moreso thousand spiritualists
Kowa ya san kowa	Each knows one another
Sai mai tambayar rishin albarka	Only those who ask unmanneredly
Ga wasa na rana haushin bami	A beginner cannot follow the rhythm of our game

Yara wane rago da buzun kura	Children, the timid can never get the hyena's skin
Kallam ɗan marayan Allah	Kallam, the young poor orphan
Bakallamiya ta kwana	Bakallamiya, has slept over
Kai dîya maza artabu	Gentlemen, fight with adventure
A sai darai a nemo suna	Venture your life in quest of reputation
Ga wani ya saida ransa bai samo ba	Behold the one who sacrificed his life in vain

Kai yara	Hey! Young people
Duna kowa da kowa ya zo	Everybody is here
Ga baba riga ya ba ni	He gave me a big traditional gown
Kuma ya koma ya ban doki	Then he gave me a horse
Duniya sai Allah	Only God can suffice for the world's problems

4.4.4.3 Zabiya Amina (Tsam Kaka)

Zabiya Amina was one of the eldest of this cultural movement. She was also one of the few singers of *ciko* who sang for political leaders:

Lahaula la ƙuwwata	No power nor strength (invocation for protection)
Da bakin duniya	From people's gossip
Innar Maman	I, the mother of Maman
Nakan guji baki duniya	I avoid people's gossip
Yaraye innar Maman	Yaraye, I, the mother of Maman
Nakan guji bakin duniya	I avoid people's gossip

RDA, karɓa Dije	RDA, repeat it Dije
RDA taka mulkin duniya	RDA is ruling the country

Alhaji Issa Ibrahim	Alhaji Issa Ibrahim
Mai jiye mana dadîn duniya	He does everything to me
Ilimi mai ban inuwa	Knowledge that grants shade for people
Jirgi mai kai maza gabas	The airplane which transports people to Mecca
Uban Babaye	The father of Babaye
Mai gidan Hajiya Ladi	The husband of Hajiya Ladi
Mai jiye mana dadîn duniya	He does everything to me

Iye na Hamani Jori	Iye, you, the friend of Hamani Jori
Na Jambala manyan duniya	Friend of Jambala, leaders of the country
Na Bubu Hama	Friend of Bubu Hama
Gatan Jambala Maiga	Best friend of Jambala Maiga

Har na kanti na ran hajiya	I have to cite Hajiya
Hajiya Mairo gaddaral duniya	Hajiya Mairo, a world treasure

Wai ni ina ma zan koma	Where shall I go now?
Na kantina mai ba ni	I have to think of my givers

Ayye ga mai bani	Ayye here is my giver
Mai jiye mana dadîn duniya	He does everything to me

Wai na hwadî ni na ƙara	I say and I repeat
Tijani ɗan Sahiya yaron Shatu	Tijani the son of Saahiya, servant of Shatu

In tuna ran mai takalma	I have to think of the shoe maker
Mijin zuwaira gadarar duniya	The husband of Zuwaira, a world pride
Ayye mai takalma	Ayye the shoemaker
Mijin Zuwaira gadarar duniya	The husband of Zuwaira, a world pride
Mai gidana ɗan Garba	My boss, son of Garba
Mu na Balki gadarar duniya	Husband of Balki, a world pride
Mai gidana Sufiyana	My boss, Sufiyana
Na Salame gadarar duniya	Husband of Salame, a world pride
Zabairu ɗan Alhaji Abdu	Zabairu, the son of Alhaji Abdu
Mai jiye mini dadîn duniya	He does everything to me
Alhaji Musa ɗan Hajiya	Alhaji Musa, son of Hajiya
Mai jiye mana dadîn duniya	The source of my worldly pleasure
Na Laminu da yâr Baba	The friend of Laminu
Ɗan Hadiza gwanina	The son of Hadiza, my hero
Yan mata ku ce mini Laminu	The chorus, you have to cite Laminu
Mai jiye mana dadîn duniya	The source of my worldly pleasure
Gora na fadî na ƙara	My friend, I said and I repeat
Laminu Manzo na Baba na Tela	Laminu Manzo, friend of Baba and Tela
Ayye ayye yere iye nanaye	*Ayye ayye yere iye nanaye*
Yere dide iye nanaye	*Yere dide iye nanaye*
Dara duniya labari	Dara, the world is school
Mai gidana ina gaishe ka	I greet you, my boss.

4.4.4.4 Makaɗa Duda (Tsam Kaka)

Makaɗa Duda (Tsam Kaka) was born in Tcham Kaka, in 1965. He is one of the rare singers of *ciko* who inherited singing from his parents. Duda is one of the sons of Zabiya Amina Dagori.

He must also have produced the richest directory in a completely authentic and mesmerising style. Duda has given performances in all parts of Damagaram and other regions of the territory of Niger. He has sung to all categories of people: common citizens, professionals of a given field, businessmen, politicians, among others. His directory is widely used by national and international radios. Duda owes his talent to his voice, his style of pause (metric and intonation), his style of entertainment on stage and the coherence of group-in-harmony with his chorus:

Waƙar Mahautan Karkarar Mirria	**Butchers' Song of Mirria Region**
Zan zana mahautan gaske	I am going to cite the born and bred butchers
Wanda suke abin kirki	Those who do good things
Sarakuna suke min doki	The Chiefs give me horses
Hal yau su min shadda	And expensive clothes
Wane ya min doki	Who gave me a horse?
Laminu na gode ma	I thank Laminu very much
Wannan yana Mirria	He resides in Mirria City
Dokin jika ɗari ya' ban	He gave a horse worth FCFA 100,000
Rabiya Mairam	Rabiya Mairam
Doki ta ba ni ɗan maman	She gave me a horse, the daughter of Maman
Ƙanwar Tijani gaishe ki	I greet you, the sister of Tijani
Yayazu uban ɗakina	Yayazu, my godfather
Doki ya bai Duda	He gave Duda a horse
In gaida mai gidan Maryama	Let me greet the husband of Maryama
Yar Maigari Nana	Nana, the daughter of Maigari
Zuwaira uwar gidana ce	Zuwaira is my "boss"

Saniya ta ba Duda	She gave Duda a cow
Ina abunda na ce maƙa	Where is the promise you made me
Sani nake so ɗan ƙirana	Ɗan kira, I am talking about Sani, son of Amina
Duda ƙanan Laminu na Hinda	I have to cite Laminu, husband of Hinda too
Aku na Audu mai waƙa	Parrot, the singer, friend of Audu
Bakinka ne abokinka	Your mouth is your friend
Matan na Nana su biyu ne	The husband of Nana has two wives
A da Nana ɗaya lak ce	Formerly Nana was my only wife
To yanzu na yi amarya	But now I have a bride
Na Salmai gwanin waƙa	The good singer, husband of Salmai
Duda na Nana bi-biyu ce	Duda, husband of two Nana
Mai gida tubarkalla	Congratulations!

Waƙar Waziri Lawan	**The Song of Waziri Lawan**
Gyara Waziri Lawan baban zaki	I am going to cite Waziri Lawan, the big lion
Ko mi na ce ya bani yana bani	Whatever I asked him to give me, he did it
Yawona yak ai nigidan Maman	My backpacking led to Maman's house
Sai na tarda Lawan a gaban mata	I met Lawan in front of a group of women
Sai ya ce mini yaushe ka zo Duda?	He asked me, "Duda, when do you come?"
Baba ina gajiya?	Baba, how do you feel?
Barka da zuwa jikan Ali	You are welcome, the grandson of Ali
Ayye Waziri Lawan baban Sani	Ayye Waziri Lawan, father of Sani
Baba ina gajiya da zaman gado?	Baba, how about the leadership?
Ka ga ba gajiya kai dai	There is no problem about the leadership
Zan maka tambaya ɗaya Ɗan Garba	I want to ask you one question, Ɗan Garba

Amma kumyal ka nike ji Ɗan Garba	But I am ashamed of you/ hesitate, Ɗan Garba
Sai ya ce Duda bari jin kumya	He told me, Duda, not to be ashamed
Yaro tambayar ni man ka ji dadî	Just ask me and I will get a good answer
Yaushe wankan sarauta Ɗan Garba	Ɗan Garba, when shall we celebrate the coronation
Yaro kana ga damana ta cabcabta	I will not do it now as it is the rainy season
Diba mun sanya hatsi mun sa dawa	Behold we've seeded sorghum and millet!
Bana zan yi wankan sarauta na shirya	I'm ready to celebrate coronation this year
Ni zan maka zaɓen doki Ɗan Garba	I will choose a horse for you, Ɗan Garba
Ce mishi kal ya hau shuɗin doki	Tell him not to get on a grey horse
Mai tsanwa-tsanwa kadda ka hau Maman	Don’t also get on a green-like one Maman

CHAPTER FIVE

EXPRESSIVENESS OF ORAL SONGS IN DAMAGARAM

5.0 Preamble

This chapter examines the micro and macro-contextual organisation of oral songs' expressiveness in terms of dry literary, alternated productions and integration. Similarly, the chapter presents oral songs from Damagaram. It also discusses the identification of linguistic and poetic markers, expressive signs, the artist, the level of versification, morphosemantisms and the stimulating factor of the audience.

5.1 Expressiveness in Micro and Macro-Contextual Organisation of Texts

Intratextuality and intertextuality constitute the first opportunity of observation of certain expressive dimensions of a text. The context is one of the fundamental dimensions which characterise expressiveness at the micro and macro-structural levels. At the macro-structural level, there are some types of relationships that can exist between the expressions or literary texts. Indeed, the first "highlightings" of the aesthetic function or of the textual aesthetics in Hausa begin with the organisation of these elements in the concrete situation of production or fulfilment. This question/situation can be examined at three relational levels:

i. **"Dry" Literary Production:** this refers to literary texts of varying lengths (proverbs or assimilated genres, short stories, songs, among others) as isolated, independent productions not associated with other elements which depend on their literality without having recourse to another genre.

ii. **"Alternated" Production:** this refers to literary performances which intervene or occur alternately one after the other in the same temporal and spatial context. It is the case of *take* (hymn) produced by the drummer at the address of "his character." The character reacts in one way or another (*kihu*-answer; trance-answer). The drummer intones a *waƙa* (song) in addressing his character and intercedes with a *kirari* (praise-epithet). The alternation would be

take-waƙa-kirari, and it is not accidental. It makes the literary act more functional and gives all its meaning to its vitality in the social function(s) it is involved in. This perception is valid because the difference and that of the field of application are not the same.

iii. **The Integration or 'Embedding' of Genre:** this is the most common example of literary production in our corpus. This process, which some linguistic trends have handled in the theory of government and charm (Kayes, Lowentaim), seems functionally to be more obvious in literature than in the Chomskian discipline. Who does not indeed know the system of the "stowage" of sung-elements punctually repeated throughout a tale, giving to the latter its liveliness, energy, "didacticity," all qualities showing/translating its expressiveness? Who does not know the multiple recourses to an "idiomatic expression," a proverb in a song or even the chorus of a stanza in a chat, giving its best dynamics to the song, or its best punch to the chat?

5.1.1 Expressiveness in 'Dry' Productions: Rahwani of Mati Bubakar of Gabawuri

Song	**Translation**
Rahwani ba uban mato ne ba	An uncle is not the father of Mati
Ba kai kaɗai ba ne rahwanina ni	You are not the only uncle I have
Ina gidanmu ban aiki ko ɗai	I was at our home sitting idly
Rahwani ya riƙa ni ya lalata ni	My uncle adopted me and destroyed my life
Ga yanzu ba ni sa turmi mala	Now I am physically destroyed
Rahwani ba uban Mato ne ba	An uncle is not the father of Mati
Ba kai kaɗai ba ne rahwanina ni	You are not the only uncle I have
Mai kungulum kamar kantun baiko	With big penis like as a prewedding cake
Aikin cikin dawa, Mato sai ni	All the farming works are for Mato
Aikin cikin gida, Mato sai ni	All the house works are for Mato
Ɗaukar ruwan gidan, Mato sai ni	Fetching water for the family, not Mato's duty

Aiki na rumbuna, Mato sai ni	Providing grains for granary, it is Mato's duty
Arme ya taho ka ce wani ba ni ba	The marriage comes but you reject responsibility
Rahwani ba uban mato ne ba	An uncle is not the father of Mati
Ba kai kaɗai ba ne rahwanina ni	You are not the only uncle I have
Wani kashi da yay yi can hanyar gona	One day he relieved himself on his way to the farm
Mota ɗari take kwasa kullun	One hundred lorries carry excrement everyday
Jirgi ɗari yake kwasa kullun	One hundred airplanes carry excrement everyday
Shi bai ru-e ba bai lalace ba	The excrement doesn't rot nor spoil
Har yanzu ma da kingin birtsa shi	It remains until now
Rahwani ba uban mato ne ba	An uncle is not the father of Mati
Ba kai kaɗai ba ne rahwanina ni	You are not the sole uncle I have

This song was dedicated by a young man to his maternal uncle *(Rahwani)*. Although Mati is an amateur in the art of singing, he enjoys singing this song with his *gurumi* in front of his friends when they meet in the evening at the public place. It is his way/manner of dedicating a *zambo* to his uncle who took him very young from his parents with the intention of bringing him up as his father would do, but who, instead, makes him suffer. He does all the works related to his uncle's household, but when the time for him to get married dawns, the uncle jibs.

Here is the appreciation of the audience of Mati's song: "Mati sings very well; he has a nice voice and there is a perfect harmony between his *gurumi* and his *kalami* (speech). Morever, he knows what he says *(ya san abinda yake hwaɗi*"). In other words, the (percussive) voice of Mati, the good concordance of the music and the flow of the words of the singer are explicit aspects of appreciation, while two other aspects are to be looked for from the response of the audience. These are the audience's reactions ("Mati sings very well" and "he knows what he says") which we discover from their attitudes

to the text. The song is built from a tune of two verses of 10 feet (in the case of the first one) and eleven (with regard to the second). This tune alternates with rhymes of three, five and five verses each, the enjambment 10/12 maintained.

Looking at Mati's song closely, one may think that it is not the composition of an amateur, but it is. Mati has only shown that he is a talented, budding artist who progressively masters the form and content of the elements of his performance. Undoubtedly, Mati knows perfectly well how to compose, but what comment can we make about what he says? The *zambo* is built here on a basis of direct speech *(Ba kai kaɗai ba ne rahwani na ni*/ You are not the sole uncle I have), followed by a story full of elementary bad language which unfortunately shows that Mati is an amateur who ignores the elements of stylistic cleverness. His use of comparison *(Mai kungulum kamar kantun baiko /* With big penis like a prewedding cake), just like the use of the vocabulary of ironisation in the last stanza, shows only his good capacity to use common language where a professional would have used a metaphor for the first case and the metonymy for the second.

Nevertheless, even without the control of these classic linguistic and poetic values, the "amateur artist," Mati, has reached his informative and educational goals respetively. He has succeeded in revealing certain social defects in connection with this well-known practice in the society, which is often indulged, showing the inequity in the treatment of the children you are in charge of: your own and those you have adopted from your relatives. The main elements put forward by the audience to consider Mati as a good singer are the following main marks of expressiveness: his percussive voice, the sense of harmony between the metrics of his composition and the rhythm of his music.

Target field	**Expressiveness Markers**	**Message key themes**
Education	- Voice of the artist - Quality of metric	Awakening the consciousness of people on

	composition - Vocal and musical harmony	the inequity of treatments in the family; injustice towards adopted children: *'dîyan ruko'*
	Level of language : ordinary ; common language	

Also, another expressiveness in "dry" production is *almara* (fable):

Almara

Da tsohuwar kibiya da sabuwar kibiya, sai aka game su wuri guda; da aka game su wuri guda sai aka ce yara su zo su zaɓa. Da aka ce yara su zaɓa sai suka zaɓi sabuwar kibiya suka bar tsohuwa. Ita sabuwar kibiya sai ta kama harshen gujiya, ita tsohuwa sai ta game amfanin gona duka. Sai aka ce ma makaho, ya je ya ɗauko kibban nan ya ga mai amfani. Da makaho ya je sai ya lalabo tsohuwar kibiya, sai idanshi ya buɗe, da idanshi ya buɗe sai ya ga Alla ya nuna mishi komi daga ciki, ke nan wadda yara suka ɗauka gujiya ce ba ta yi dîya ba; da ta yi dîya ba a neman tsohuwar kibiya.

Translation

An old and a new arrows were put together. After being put together, a group of chidren was asked to go and choose one. When the children were asked to choose, they chose the new arrow and left the old one. Then the new arrow pierced just one groundnut leaf. As for the old arrow, it brought together the whole crops of the farm. Then a blindman was asked to look for the two arrows and tell which one is useful. In his search the blindman came across the old arrow and immediately recovered his sight. When he recovered his sight, God showed him everything from this experience. The conclusion here is that the arrow chosen by the children

was a growing groundnut plant which had not reached the stage of producing nuts, for if it had produced nuts, the old arrow would not have been looked for.

First of all, it is necessary to mention that the *almara* has always been a brief expression (unlike a story) and closer to reality (unlike the tale) and generally marked with a fantastic or extravagant plot. The present text does not make an exception. Its expressiveness is based on a series of symbols very close to real life. The opposition of age by the two arrows and the choice of the youth for the new arrow identify themselves with this typical reality where the youth goes with his time. Here is all the paradox: who is blinder than "the blind" person who confidently makes the wrong choice thinking he is right?

In the text above, there is the mixture of a series of symbols:

- New arrow opposed to old arrow, both exposed on the scene of choice as we would have done in prefering a girl to an old lady in matters relating to marital decisions;
- The arrows themselves personified in their choice (selective for the youngest; synthetic for the old one).
- The young people who are supposed to be enlightened/visionary, have been sentimentaly affected in their choice, and in a turn of events, it is the choice of the blind man that draws the lesson, which shows how really blind the new generation can be.

So, we can say that the expressiveness in the text is based on the "intellectual" dimension attributed to the image in its multiple functions:

- The enunciative function which includes it in all the elements of its textual coherence, the image does not at all affect the ordinary syntax of the text; on the contrary, it livens it up in its perspicacity, in its eloquence.
- The impressive function: the text drawing its expressiveness through resorting to indirect references or ordinary figures such as metaphor, metonymy and hyperbole.
- The function of avoidance: it is the art of the artist that distinguishes him from the master of

the class of the ordinary users and raises him to the rank of master of words; the whole audience wants to see and listen to.

What is *kibiya* (arrow), which moreover can seem double-sided: “young,” “new,” or “old,” “aged?” Only the social context of the *almara* (fable) has the answer or the secret, and there beyond one ordinary semantics. We shall talk about the semiological function of image, which reinforces more expressiveness.

Wake **(Song) 1:** By Hajiya Nana, 82 years old

Song	**Translation**
Ni ta shuni	I of the antimony
Ni ta lalle	I of the henna
Ba na ci amanar Kwambulo ba	I'll never betray Kwambulo
Ni ta Moda	I of the tumbler
Ni ta karhi	I of the jar
Ba na ci amanar rijiya ba	I'll never betray the well
Ke kika je ba ni na je ba	You are the one who went there, not I
Ke kika je gindin dabino	You are the one who went under the date palm
In ya miki sartse ba ruwana	If its scales graze you, you are responsible
Alkawali in gaskiya ne	If the taken commitment is sincere
Wuta ta kara ta kwana murhu	The fire of stalks has to burn all night long
Ruwa a maraki za su kwana	Water will remain in the sieve all night long
Sarmayina	My lover
Ɗan sadodo	Who is so charming
Ga sakona nan gare ka	I will send you a message
Sa’ade sa’ata za ta baka	That Sa’ade, my agemate, will give you
Jaudari na ya hi goro	My lip jewel is more than the colanut

In ka tamna	And if you crunch it
Ka ji zartsi	You will appreciate its strong taste
Kar ka zubda	Do not reject it
Sa'ade sa'ata za ka ba wa	Give Sa'ade, my agemate
Amsar goron jaudarina.	The answer of my cola lip-jewel.

Unlike the song of Mati, this *wake* is a product of the popular imagery which has been transmitted from generation to generation. As any *wake*, it is a part of the directory of the playful literature sung by young girls during their recreational evenings in the *fage*. The text consists of five stanzas of 3, 3, 3, 3 10 verses, and of 4/8 feet metrics, giving a tone and a very expressive vigour to the dance which accompanies it. But more than the rhythm which is linked to its metrics, it is its stylistic form which draws the attention. The first two stanzas are built on the basis of a series of metaphors of rare beauty, with a contextual transposition worthy of a game of love, humour and beauty, the antimony of which has the henna and the lipjewel make the strong and clean image as the tumbler which swims daily in the jar.

However, all these symbols of created relationships tend to embellish more the message of trust and reference to the contract which links her to her lover who is sitting with his other friends in a corner of the *fage*, listening. It is in reality a dialogue voluntarily chosen to be indirect, because the addressees of the message, that is the boys, are in a corner of the *fage*. "I am for x, you are for y and she for z and we do not intend to betray them." This is the message of the first two stanzas. "But beware, if I know very well what I want, you can do what you want and it is at your risk, be careful, choose a tree with smoother branch than to cling to the date palm tree, if it hurts you, I will not feel remorse for you. Thus choose a tree without scales." The last stanza is a conclusion of the message that she hopes to be received and understood well by her addressee, the one that she loves/her lover.

Target audience	**Social field**	**Key themes of the message**	**Expressiveness markers**
Young people and teenagers	Education/training to social life	Self-knowledge of one's personnality and a right choice for a husband to be	- Metric composition of the text - Vocal harmony with rhythm of the dance - stylistic construction of the text marked by a series of metaphors
	Level of language: language of humour and sensuality		

5.1.2 Expressiveness in an "Alternated" Production

Generally, the professional context, namely the *gayyar noma* (farming community labour), wrestling, boxing, hunting, among others, are the favourite fields of performance where the *makaɗa/mawaƙa* and their heroes compete alternately and excitedly in their respective performances. These performances are generally based on three literary genres: the *take* (praise), the *waƙa* (song) and the *kirari* (epithet). The interaction of these three forms is justified by the complementarity of their cultural and professional functions. The general community service (*gayya*) , dedicated to all kinds of works of public interest as sporting events, are opportunities/occasions of exhortations to solidarity, self-promotion and

professionalism. The achievement of these values can only be gotten by the quality and capacity of the process to include the three forms of literary performances in their respective roles.

The Case of *Take* (Praise)

The *take* is the hymn of the hero, a symbolic sentence having the label which characterises him. It is at the same time the symbol of his intrinsic qualities, competence and merits. It is through the *take* that the griot calls up, individually, every citizen by the sound of his drum when the circumstances require it. This may arise from a situation of conflicts or surprise-attacks where, spontaneously, everybody is informed through their individual *take* and are expected to react consequently. It is the central point of call-activation (through the drummer) to the citizen who can, by an "*ihu*-answer," show that he has got the message. So, the *take* has a significant function of single-channel communication within the community to the people.

In the case of events like of *gayya* (community labour) and *farauta* (hunting), the drummer/singer (*makaɗi/mawaƙi*) uses alternately the *take* (epithet) of every participant in the current activity to get something from each targeted fellow. X is targeted by the drummer by his/her *take*(epithet); everybody has not only their eyes on him, but also their hearts with him, because he is going to react forcefully following the sounds of the drummer(s) and song *(waƙa)* addressed to him. The *take* is thus the starting point of a series of *take-waƙa-kirari*. It is a "uniphrastic" genre of the family of proverbs articulating human praiseworthiness and the significance of participant individuals.

***Take*:**

***Take 1* (hymn 1):**

Ku bar ganin ƙanƙanta allura ƙarhe ce. (Don't consider its smallness, needle is metal.)

***Take 2* (hymn 2):**

Ta sahe ta yaro, in ka ji yammaci sai manya. (That of morning is for children, while that of evening is for adults.)

In *take* 1, the eulogised person is identified by two valuable themes: his stockiness and his courage, tenacity and resistance. The indexation of these two values explains the metaphoric nature of this *take*. This metaphor gets its substance from the similarity between the needle and the small man; both being small physically but strong in terms of resistance.

On the other hand, *take* 2 is formulated by a metaphor comparing two capacities; the first is that of the child with the limit to the morning, and that of the adult that can last all day long. The image of the morning-freshness associated with the frail nature of childhood is opposed to the hot one, that of the evening, which suits only the adults. In conclusion, we can say that, in general, the *take* mobilises individuals and galvanises them by means of metaphoric expressive images:

Target audience	**Social field**	**Key themes**	**Expressiveness markers**
Young people, teenagers, adults	- Personnality building - communication	- Self-knowledge of one's personnality - activation of others in situations of production (griot side) - capacity awakening; motivation	- impersonal syntax - metaphoric images
	Level of language: lexis determining the character and relationships		

***Waƙa* (song) and *kirari* in an alterned series:**

Another song and praise-epithet *(kirari)* of hunters by Ɗan Kaka, the griot of hunters (Dogo) in alternance with Galadima Umara Maina Baushi (for praise-epithet *(kirari)*):

Ɗan Kaka (*Kirari*)	**Translation**
Daudu Galadima dogo jijiyal gari	Daudu Galadima Dogo, nerve of the city
Ajiyàl sarkin damagaram	the treasure of the Sultan of Damagaram
Hannun damal Cikama	the right hand of Cikama
Ɗan amale Sadau maƙi gudu	Sadau, a fearless brave he-camel
Ya biya ni mi kyau da rataya	He paid my performance well with attire
Ɗan amale Sadau na Umaru	Young he-camel, son of Umaru
Na Bajida namijin dawa	Husband of Bajida, master of the bush
Ɗan amale dodo na Bakattu	Young he-camel, husband of Bakattu
Ya biya ni	He paid me
Jiya da marece yana hucewa	on his way yesterday,
Ya tarda yàl hulani tana daka	he met a young Fulani girl pounding
Ta ce 'ehe', na wajanmu, lala na	She said, "ehe, my brother, you are welcome"
Yabiya ni mai kyau da rataya	He paid my performance well with attire
Ɗan Zagoriya sun ga mai ƙwarare	The people of Zagoriya saw the real man
Ɗan amale dodo na Bakattu	Young he-camel, husband of Bakattu

***Kirari* by Galadima Umara Maina Baushi**

Kirari	**Translation**
Kihuu, kihuu!	(Shouting, shouting!)
Kuwa ukku tabbatar kahurce	Three shoutings are the confirmation of paganism
Gaskiya ne Ɗan Kaka	You are right, Ɗan Kaka

Mine ne ya hwaru ba ƙarya	What happens?
Minene ya sa kake kiran	Why are you calling the names of young men
Ɗiya maza cikin gida gaban yan mata	at home in front of young girls?
In dadi ne a nemi yara da mata	If it is mild, give it to children and women!
Gurin wuya a kai mu a dosa	If it requires tremendous effort, leave it to us!
Gudu babu tsoro babu	There is no running away nor fear
Da in gudu gara na hwadi	I would rather fall down than run away
Ko da ba zan tashi ba	Even if I will never rise up
Irin gidanmu, gudu babu, tsoro babu	In our lineage, no running away nor fear
Ni furtumin ƙadangare sai bango	I am an old lizard, only a wall can shelter me
Ni gidan rina nike a yaga a gudu	I am the beehive, touch and run away
In an ƙiya jikin maza ya yi birdi	If not your body will have scars

Waƙar Ɗan Kaka

Song	**Translation**
Ɗan amale dodo na Bakattu	Young he-camel, husband of Bakattu
Ɗan maza na Zandar yake kira	He is calling all the young men from Zinder
Galadima na Bakattu	Galadima husband of Bakattu
Kai da garaje ka ƙi garaje	You are risky, others never risk you
Buzun kura kai nake kira	I am calling the hyena-skin-like
Mai raban naman dawa na Bakattu	The bush meat sharer, husband of Bakattu
Galadima ya wuce sa'a	Galadima is superior to all his age mates
Mai raban naman dawa na Bakattu	The bush meat sharer, husband of Bakattu
Ya tsare hwage ya tsare dawa	He protects the yard and he protects the bush
Ya tsare gida ya tsare dawa	He protects the house and he protects the bush

Kirari **by Galadima Umara Maina Baushi**

Kirari (Praise-Epithet)	**Translation**
Kiiihuu, kiihuuu!	(shouting, shouting)
Ashe ɗan Kaka ashe Ɗan Kaka	Is it true, Ɗan Kaka! Is it true Ɗan Kaka!
Ka hwaɗa ma Cikama,	Tell Cikama,
In yana gaya ma anna gayya	If he invites pagans to community labour
Ya yanka bunsuru mai wari	He has to slaughter a bad smell he-goat
Wutsiyal biri ta kere masaki	Monkey's tail is higher than a big calabash
Ba ƙanƙanan ba hal mayyansu	The young and the adults, no exception
Yaro ka nemi tambaya ga ubanka	Boy, ask your father equipping with charms
Uban wani baya baka tambaya ka yi suna	Someone's father never charms you to fame
Ko ya ba ka ya karya saboda halin wata rana	Even if he does, he'll spoil it in the future
Yaro mi ka ci	Young boy, what have you eaten?
Yaro mi ka sha	Young boy, what have you drunk?
Yaro ina ka je	Young boy, where have you been?
Ina aka sanka	Who knows you?
Ko ka gama da bargon maiki	Even if you use the vulture's blanket.

The Ɗan Kaka's song, which addresses *Galadima* (Chief) of hunters, is a typical song of this model. Generally, the expression of the singer revolves around the following main themes: the *yabo*, by referring to the multiple achievements and challenges his hero has experienced/recorded and by emphasising the merit of his filiation and other personal virtues he possesses; the *ziga* is the excessive expression of the *yabo* with the effect of leading the hero to "surpass himself" in the context, which is a context of the action. In case of the "excessiveness" of excess, the *lallashi*, which is an appeal to calming down, is allowed.

Ɗan Kaka's song essentially uses/has recourse to the following techniques:

- The recourse to the vertical or genealogical filiation which results in an exploration of the hero's capabilities, attitudes and praiseworthy behaviour:

Ɗ*an Amale Sadau maki gudu* Sadau, a fearless brave camel

The hero mentions somewhere that he deserves this filiation (that of those who do not run away). The recourse to the horizontal filiation (other than that of blood) puts forward sociological relationships (married to a woman of such rank or such virtue; protected by such atmosphere/hierarchy of power, among others).

« *Ɗan amale dodo na Bakkatu* (his wife)»

Young he-camel, husband of Bakattu

« Ajiyal sarkin Damagaram »

Under the protection of the Sultan of Damagaram

« Hannun damal Cikama"

Right hand of Cikama

The recourse to the intrinsic qualities of the hero:

«Na Bajida namijin dawa»

Husband of Bajida, master of the bush

«Ya tsare hwage ya tsare dawa»

He protects the yard and he protects the bush

«Buzun kura kai nike kira»

I am calling the hyena-skin-like

Ya tsare gida ya tsare dawa

He protects the house and he protects the bush

The recourse to his personal relationship with his hero who gives him everything, and to whom he expresses his gratitude:

«Ya biya ni mi kyau da rataya»

The well-dressed gentleman paid well my performance

The recourse to the witnesses of his virtues or heroic deeds:

«Yan Zagoriya sun ga mai kwarare»

The people of Zagoriya saw the real man

All these recourses are expressed through exciting metaphoric images, such as *Ɗan amale dodo*; *buzun kura*. These recourses and the images used constitute the substance of the expressiveness of this song which, in addition, has the promotional merit for the hero raised by his singer to the rank of the defender of the community:

Ya tsare gida ya tsare dawa.

He protects the house and he protects the bush

The *kirari* of Galadima, third element of the alternation, is an answer to this song. The hero is praised; he has to show that he deserves it (at least orally here), because as it is said in this proverb of Damagaram (collected at Ɗan Gudau), *Rangwadawar jiki daga baki ta yi ido*: "it is the mouth which opens its eyes to the body's expressiveness." First of all, let us note that the *kirari* is not a sung speech but a recited one in a state of the particular awakening of the body, the arms put up laterally following the generalised trance of the body, translating the alertness of the hero who is ready to face any situation without fear or hesitation. And as the *mahalba* (beyond their public function of professional hunters) constitute the praetorian guard of the Sultan, the hero asks the commander of the troops, the *Cikama*, to know how to make his choice between the "soft" and the "bitter." He points out to him that they, of the hard wing, are on the side of the *wuya*, the grueling test:

« In dadî ne a nemi yara da mata»

The good things are for children and women

« *Gurin wuya a kai mu a dosa»*

Leave the grueling test to us

« Gudu babu tsoro babu »

No capitulation/no running away no fear

« Ka hwaɗa ma Cikama, in yana gaya ma anna gayya »

Tell Cikama if he invites pagans to community labour

« Ya yanka bunsuru mai wari »

He has to slaughter an adult he-goat

« Wutsiyal biri ta kere masaki »

The tail of the monkey is taller than a big calabash

5.1.3 The Integration

We are going to limit ourselves to the tale as a typical case of this model. The example chosen of *tale 2* is addressed to children of early childhood between 4-6 years old. The story is about the excessive behaviour of a little girl who harasses a small “calebasson” (small fruit of the calabash plant) since it burgeoned, until it is fed up of the behaviour of the girl. It gets loose, against all expectations, from its stalk of tie to pursue the little girl. The latter runs up in search of help but everywhere where she gets to, she is left alone to face her fate, especially when people see the angry calebasson pursuit her and humming:

"Everyday she 'bends' me"

"Everyday she 'bends' me"

"Today I am fed up, I calebasson"

"Today I am fed up, I calebasson"

Finally, it is an old woman who is going to stop the mystery and teach the girl a lesson. There is nothing original in the architecture of this tale. As any other Hausa tale, it begins with attracting children to a story and checking from time to time if they are attentively listening *(kun ji dai! -to /umhum!).* To maintain their attention more, the story teller arranges the strategies of narration with various educational merry-go-rounds, which include the use of expressions such as ***duk***… (every time); ***sai*** ….(then); ***ko da***… (as soon as), making the children spellbound at every stage. And if these markers are not sufficient, some other discursive strategies, such as the use of the emphasis are deployed: ***ana nan, ana nan***… "while we are there, while we are there"); ***tana ta gudu, tana ta gudu*** **(**"she was running, ……running"). The use of impressives or "idéophones," even though limited, also does not go unnoticed in this initiative: ***suka ga duma ya nuho*** (they saw the small calebasson coming towards them) ***ɓingir, ɓingir, ɓingir*** (…an ideophone translating the rotation of the small calebasson in its race). At the end, the old woman ends by this well known conclusion: ***'Kurungus kan ɗan bera'***" (Stop on the head of mouse) and ask the children for what they have got from this story and as if by chance, in the tale, the lesson is drawn by another old woman. The storyteller has no other advice as buttressed in this question: "Would you be like this girl who does not listen to the advice of her mother?" They naturally answer: "No!"

Altogether, and by considering the integration itself as the most striking form of expressiveness in the tales, the following general imports are to be taken into acount:

Target audience	**Social field**	**Key themes**	**Expressiveness markers**
Early childhood and young people	- education/training about behaviour (or about behavioural standards)	- The respect of behavioural values begins at early childhood	- simplicity of syntax - usage of clutches, reiteratives, simple

			impressives able to improve children's language. - integration of sung elements at children's level
	Level of language: lexis determines the character and the relationships		

Gatana 2

Gatan gatan ku'

Ta je ta koma

Kun ji dai wannan dai, wata yarinya ce da uwarta, suna da yar garkarsu, inda uwar ta shibka duma. Duk in uwar za ta garkar tata sai ta tahi da ɗiyar. Amma ita ɗiyar ba ta jin magana. Ana nan ana nan duma ya saka wani ɗan ɗa. Duk in yarinya ta bi uwarta garka sai ta je wurin ɗan duma ta ce ta taɓa shi, ta ga in ya nuna. Amma kullun uwar tana hana ta.

Wata rana sai ta tahi garka ita ɗaya, uwar ba ta sani ba. Ko da yarinya ta je garka, sai ta ruga wurin ɗan duma. Da zuwa sai ta taɓa shi, shi kuma ɗan duma sai ya ɓilla; yarinya da ta ga haka sai ta zabura, ta ruga ; ɗan duma kuwa ya bi ta ɓingir, ɓingir, ɓingir…

Yarinya tana ta gudu, tana ta gudu, sai ta tsinkayi wasu mata suna sussuka; mata suka ce: ke yarinya, ke yarinya, mi kike ma gudu?

Yarinya ta ce, abun da ke bi na ba ku iya mini maganinshi. Suna nan sai suka ga ɗan duma ya nuho su ɓingir, ɓingir, ɓingir, yana cewa:

Kullun ƙwar da ni

Ƙwar ƙwar da ni,

Ƙaramin duma

Yau kau na gaji,

Ƙaramin duma,

Yau ko na gaji,

Ƙaramin duma!

Ko da suka ga haka sai suka ce, a'a'aaa! Yarinya ba mu iyawa.

Kuma sai ta ruga ta ci gaba. Tana ta gudu, zuwa can sai ta ga wasu maza suna sari ; mazan suka ce: Ke yarinya! Ke yarinya! Mi kike ma gudu?

Yarinya ta ce, abun da ke bi na ba ku iya mini maganinshi. Ko da suka duba baya sai suka ga ɗan duma yana nuho su ɓingir, ɓingir, ɓingir, yana cewa:

Kullun ƙwar da ni

Ƙwar ƙwar da ni,

Ƙaramin duma

Yau kau na gaji,

Ƙaramin duma,

Yau ko na gaji,

Ƙaramin duma!

Sai suka ce: wuuu! Ba mu iyawa!

Yarinya ta ci gaba da gudu. Tana ta gudu sai ta tarda wata tsohuwa tana niƙa. Tsohuwa ta ce mi kike ma gudu haka? Sai yarinya tace abun da nike ma gudu ba ki iya tare mini shi. Tsohuwa ta ce tsaya nan; yarinya ta tsaya ; ta ce bari karkarwa ; yarinya ta bar karkarwa. Tsohuwa ta ce ke ce wadda ba ki jin nan k? Yarinya ta ƙyale. Zuwa can sai ta ce ba na ƙarawa. Sai ga ɗan duma ya taho ɓingir, ɓingir, ko da ya zo sai ya fara:

Kullun ƙwar da ni

Ƙwar ƙwar da ni,

Ƙaramin duma

Yau kau na gaji,

Ƙaramin duma,

Yau ko na gaji,

Ƙaramin duma!

Tsohuwa ta ɗauki ɗan dutsin niƙan ta buga mishi. Sai ɗan duma ya fashe; sai ƙuda buuuu…! daga cikinshi. Tsohuwa ta ce kin yi sa'a; yanzu zan maida ki gidinku, kuma ki ci gaba da ƙin ji.

Ƙurungus kan kusu!

Tale 2 (Translation): A young girl and a small fruit of gourd

Gatan gatan ku

Ta je ta koma

Are you listening (to me)?

Yes, we are.

Once upon a time, there was a young girl and her mother. They had a small garden where the mother grew gourd/marrow. Anytime the mother decided to go to the garden, her daughter came with her. But the daughter was a very turbulent and frisky girl.

After some months the ground got a fruit. Anytime the young girl came to the garden, she went straight to the gourd to see if the fruit was ripe. The mother always forbade her to touch the fruit. One day, she went to the garden without her mother knowing. When she entered the garden, she went straight to the small fruit and touched it; and the small fruit jumped over. Frightened by this movement of the small fruit, the young girl dashed off and the small fruit chased her ***ɓingir, ɓingir, ɓingir***….

On her stampede, the young girl caught sight of a group of women who were threshing. The women asked her, "Hey! Young girl, Hey! Young girl, why are you running like that?"

The young girl said, "You don't have the remedy of what is chasing me."

Meanwhile, they saw the small fruit coming towards them ***ɓingir, ɓingir, ɓingir***, saying :

Kullun ƙwar da ni	She always treads me
Ƙwar ƙwar da ni,	*ƙvwar ƙwar da ni,*
Ƙaramin duma	Small fruit!
Yau kau na gaji,	Today I am fed up
Ƙaramin duma,	Small fruit!
Yau ko na gaji,	Today I am fed up
Ƙaramin duma!	Small fruit!

After witnessing what was going on, the women said "*a'a'a'a*! There is nothing we can do for you young girl."

Then she continued on her way. After running for a while, she met a group of men who were sowing. They stopped sowing and asked her, "Hey! Young girl, Hey! Young girl, why are you running like that?"

The young girl said, "You don't have the remedy of what is chasing me."

Meanwhile they saw the small fruit coming towards them ***ɓingir, ɓingir, ɓingir,*** saying:

Kullun ƙwar da ni	She always treads me
Ƙwar ƙwar da ni,	*Ƙwar ƙwar da ni,*
Ƙaramin duma	Small fruit!
Yau kau na gaji,	Today I am fed up
Ƙaramin duma,	Small fruit!
Yau ko na gaji,	Today I am fed up
Ƙaramin duma!	Small fruit!

After witnessing what was going on, the group of men said, "*wuuu!* There is nothing we can do for you young girl."

Then she continued on her way. After running for a while, she met an old woman who was grinding millet.

The old woman asked her, “Why are you running like that?”

The young girl said,” You don’t have the solution to the thing that makes me run.”

The old woman said to the girl, “Stop where you are!”

The young girl stopped where she was.

The old women said to the girl, “Stop shivering!” The young girl stopped shivering. The old woman then said, “You are that turbulent girl who doesn’t listen to anybody, aren’t you?” The young girl kept silent. Later on, she said, “I will never do anything wrong again.” Later on, the small fruit came ***ɓingir, ɓingir, ɓingir*** and started saying:

Kullun ƙwar da ni	She always treads me
Ƙwar ƙwar da ni,	*Ƙwar ƙwar da ni,*
Ƙaramin duma	Small fruit!
Yau kau na gaji,	Today I am fed up
Ƙaramin duma,	Small fruit!
Yau ko na gaji,	Today I am fed up
Ƙaramin duma!	Small fruit!

The old woman took the grounding stone and smote the small fruit with it. The small gourd got split and some flies came out of it *buuuu*…!

The old woman said to the young gild, “You are lucky. I will take you home. When you go home now, I want you to continue to behave wrongly.”

This is the end of this story.

5.2 Identification of Markers and Expressive Signs in Damagram

The use of certain expressive modes can be realised through the macrostructure of Hausa oral texts. This sampled work within the framework of a pre-survey has been expanded to the

whole corpus of expressions presented in the first part to have a more representative range of expressive markers known in the verbal art of the region of Damagaram, as well as the categories to which they belong. To be precise, this work is based on two models of research: the first one anchors on the identification of markers in some samples presented to a range of listeners from which a work of categorisation was operated. A second model on the evaluation of the performances of the identified markers has allowed the validity of the reflection on the transfer and the relevance of which is hardly to be demonstrated in such context.

The resources of genres result from a series of processes aiming at isolating any event/fact likely to provoke a feeling, a reaction, or an emotion. This fact can be linguistic, gestural, iconic, …. the expressive appearance of which affects, spontaneously, the auditor or audience. In this approach/initiative of identification of markers, the results of our pre-survey are as follows:

Question 1: You are used to appreciating and admiring Hausa orature. If yes, what are the main reasons?

- It is the main reference of my culture
- It is a real source of knowledge
- There are many scholars in this literature
- Its function in education is indisputable
- It covers many fields; from literature in general to religious literature
- Everybody gets something out of it: the old men, the young people, the members of a religious order
- Many fellows got known; thanks to this literature
- There are real famous singers

- I listen to the tales' programmes for the children on the radio; but these programmes are also very useful and educational for the adults

- There are various styles

Question 2: Which literary genre(s) or expression(s) of the region of Damagaram do you know? And which one(s) do you like the most, and why?

- Songs

- The *wasan kwaikwayo* (the popular drama)

- Songs of young girls

- Tales

Question 3: Which Hausa literature-actors or producers of the region of Damagaram do you like the most, and why?

- Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo
- Duda
- Yarima Malam
- Zabiya Furera
- Rabe Makaho
- Gambu
- Ɣan Farauta
- Ɗan Nana
- Zabiya Amina
- Geshe
- Others

Answer 1: Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo

- I like his style very much

- I like the way he describes his characters: Bodo, Sarki Umaru and many others

- He uses very descriptive words full of imagery

- He knows how to depict the society

- He is coherent in his songs; the chains of ideas are really good in *Sarki Umaru*

- He knows how to play with the tones, for example, *in ba Bobaud ba, wake sa kuturu shibka, a karangiya*

- There is a good harmony with his *maroka*

Answer 2: Yerima Malam

- I like his voice very much

- I like his themes, for example, when he sings for groundnuts

- It is how he sings in concordance with his *Yan amshi* (chorus) I really like

- He knows how to appreciate those for whom he sings

- He is a singer of big farmers

Answer 3: Duda

- He is very dynamic when he sings

- He knows how to liven up the stage; his gestures are very vigorous

- He has a good voice and a very peculiar melodic style

- There is a good harmony between his voice and that of his *Yan amshi*

Answer 4: Zabiya Hurera

- She has a very nice voice

- There is a perfect harmony between her, her *yan amshi* (chorus) and her music

- She knows how to appreciate her friends

- She knows how to combine the song with the dance

- There is a good harmony between the song, the music and the swing dance of the group

- She has a fascinating/mesmerising voice

- She has a highly rich and varied directory

- She has a good melody

Answer 5: Rabé Makaho

- He has a nice voice

- His theatrical style makes one to laugh

- He has a very good sense of humour

- He is the blind person who has the art of the verb

- He has the sense of images

- He knows how to ally humour and moral ethics

Answer 6: Gambou

- I like his style of *ciko*; how he plays his tomtom in accordance with his songs

- He is a big stage organiser; he is very quick with language

Answer 7: Ɣan Farauta

- Their music is distinctly compelling (the originality of music)

- The images with which they describe their men

- The *kirari* are mesmerising

- They know how to incite their men with their music and their song

- They are real builders of men and consciousness

- They have their way of bringing their hero to a trance

It appears, from this not-so exhaustive synopsis of the results of the pre-survey, that expressiveness has significant main sources of influence and fulfilment on the actors' personality with fascinating performance, use of language and the environmental influence where performance is carried out. The outcomes of work, when conducted on these vectors in their interaction with the social functions, are synthesised as follows:

On the trail of markers		**Functions and fields**								**markers**
		intellectual, moral and physical education, training: early childhood; teenagers and adults				**Individual and collective promotion and strengthening of solidarity: developing; putting too much emphasis on; depreciation**			**Mystical and religious Function**	
		Early child hood	*Childhood*	*Adolescence*	*Adult Age*	*Individual*	*Collective*	*Solidarity*	*Mystical and religious education*	
The tale	**The storyteller** - The audibility - The rhythm and flow - Knowledge of tales'	-openness to the external world; - education of characters, logic of relationships, morality. - linguistic training -knowledge and local practices				*-lessons to be drawn from different specific themes of a tale:* • Development of an attitude, of a behaviour • Honourable behaviour to pass on the group • Collective			*- lessons to be drawn from different specific themes of a tale* -	Multiple examples helping to draw a lesson in this field: - imitation of

	style	(environment, hygiene, exhange…)			commitment	gestual(s) - products - practices	characters; -role of some animals; -use of multiple, emphatic techniques (reiterative repetition; use of clutches, use of some profusatives ;…) - symbolism of tales
	The environnement -familial quiet -available audience						
	The language : - simple vocabulary (fondamental or basic) - repetitive approach -use of adapted markers: clutches, markers of emphasis ;						

	- integration ; - simple symbols								
The riddles	**The language** (set language – popular imagery) - Relational syntax (binary concordance)	- building of space (orientation, forms, colours, quantity,..) and of time; -initiation to symbolism and to logic of relations			- personal competence				- particular syntax of riddles; - expression of space and time; - expression of images and symbols
The countin	**Age group superior to age group**	-initiation to counting and			individual competence				- specific counting rhymes

g /nursery rhymes	**of little children:** - Perfect command of the element of popular imagery -Speech fluency	number; -initiation to the phonetics of the language -initiation to the metrics of genre			nce				syntax
	Language -set language - chanted text; -respect of metrics - mixed language (nursery rhyme,								

	phonetics; metrics)									
	House courtyard (*pre-fage*) freedom space guaranteed									
The *Tawai*	**The lullaby** - good linguistic and poetic competence				Sources of inspiration or personal knowledge of the lullaby which are the basis	It is the beginning of individual promotion : right from his first months, the society knows he is in his social and familial				The mention of descendants re-lationships is a source of solidarity feeling; the beneficiary of *Tawai* discover
	The language -symbolism of human values -language of filial love, humour,									

	'indirects'. -integration (proverbs, ideomatic expressions, etc)				of her com-peten ce and her perso nal perfo rman ce	taking root			s it later and works to maintain and rein force it
Bara of *almajir ai* and *garawa*	***Almajirai* and *gardawa*** - Religious discipline -directory of simple *bara* -lyric poetry; psalm		- religious education; -mixed literary education language of coran- Hausa poetics			- knowing and dissemination of popular religious knowledge; - knowing the promoters of the best performances;			-religious symbolis m the *bara*; -mixing of coran poetics/ Hausa poetics -metrics of *bara*
	The language - religious								

	symbolism - simple vocabulary of moral philosophy						
Tashe	**Bright children and teenagers** know the popular imagery of this field; -sense of games of roles, imitation and comedy		-education to the symbolism of seasons and related activities; -initiation to popular theatricalisation and games of roles; -initiation to the poetics of culture or of Hausa language		Knowledge-maintenance and promotion of popular values in the community	-substrate languag e of animist culture	-form of theatrical isation/ games of roles; -metrics of little songs; harmony between the style of the dance and that of little songs.
	The language -funny						

	expression; -vocabulary of scenes of daily life		-initiation to verbal art and dance				-form of comedy or tragedy
Wake of young girls	**Young people and teenagers** -young people and teenagers stimulated -good knowledge of popular *wake* -movement of the body in harmony with the metrics and		-education to sense, love, personnality - youth aspiration; -initiation to culture, verbal art and dance		Promotion of popular culture		-images and symbols in the *wake*; - Specific syntax forms and metric functions ;intonation ; melody,...

	melody of *wake*						
	The language: -symbols and images of love, of the youth in its motivation-capacities -metrics of *wake*. -language of freedom						
	The environment Total freedom of the space of *fage*; freedom of						

	expression						
The *wasa* of young boys	**Young people and teenagers** - young people and teenagers stimulated; - knowledge of popular *wasa* -rhythm of verses and sport-dance		-education on responsibilty, imagination , creativity , solidarity , obstacle and avoidant response. - physical training of the body; -game-rules ; - linguistic education				-physical health of the body; -voice, intonation ; - language and symbols;
	The environment Freed expression						
	The language						

	-symbol and image of capacities, responsibilities and motivations: -metrics in harmony with the ludic and sports-rhythms							
-The *karinmagana* -The ideomatic expressions	Used and implemented by all (audience)	- education on linguistic performance - study of character types - education on figures of style - various popular knowledge			- individual performance which is a source of promotion	- common popular knowledge (common pride of the society)		- specific use (integration; 'dialogic' use) - specific syntax; - symbolism of
	Environment - unlimited society							
	The							

	language -scholarly and speciality language - various stylistic uses						proverbs and fixed expressions
The *waka*	**The hunters** -perfect command of the language, social values and strategies of media coverage		- personal knowledge of the artist; -education on musical art and poetry and/or literary values; -education on personality (with regard to capability, attitude and aptitude…).	- personal talent of the artist - personal future of the hero	- stimulating environment (of festivals, ceremonies and other activites of the community); - specific marks of friendship in concrete situations	- education/art of religious sensibilty (songs of pupils and students of islamic schools	- evocation /mention of descendants; -the *yabo* and *zambo* of personal address; -the
	The environme						

	nt unlimited society					or animist songs of hunters or other professionals of the region	artist or group's style and own talent; -the recourse to such or such categories of linguistic expressivities – audience and circumstance
	The language Speech and language of culture in general						
Take and *kirari*	Young people, adults in various circumstances		-education on social values; - mystic culture; -education on self-reliance *(zuciya*) and	-nature of *take*; - personal competence of the	-recourse to descenDants; - shared values	- vocabulary of mystical values;	- semiology of *take* and *kirari*; specific

	Various circumstances: *gayya*, ceremonies, festivals; particular rituals, community service		other vehicles for magnifying values; - personnality building (knowledge, know-how, manners), capacity, aptitude…	hero -			syntax of *take* and *kirari*; 'Textuality' of *kirari*; - specific vocabulary; - emotive sources (recourse to descendants and shared values; musical rhythm)
	Language : evocative Language						

The data presented above show all the scope of the subject in its interaction with the expression of the social functions. As Cotte (2008) points out, expressiveness remains the main value of the literary expression to stimulate the necessary energies for the educational, promotional and mystic motivations at varying scales of the various sectors of the social

stratification. This variability also concerns the production at a double level: situational (subject of the expression and the context or environment in which the expression is produced) and "objectal" (nature of the expression). With respect to these main sources of artistry at the centre of expressiveness, the gathered data direct us to look into three main aspects: the artist, the context of the production and the language of this production. But before getting into the details of these elements, it will be necessary to address certain concerns observed during the inquiries and as the data of the picture above compels.

When we refer to the authorship of the texts or their production, we realise that the Hausa literary expression must be subdivided into two categories:

1- Texts inherited from the common popular imagination which are generally fixed, sung or recited in certain genres as *waƙe*, *wasa*, *karinmagana*, *waye*, and many others;

2- And those, either produced by authors (ex-officio: case of songs/*waƙa*) or resulting from permanent rearrangements as it is the case of tales *(gatana)*, modified at will according to the inspiration of the storyteller or depending on certain educational necessities.

Another aspect (and not the slightest) is that the producers of *waƙe* (song) or *wasa* (play) are producers and consumers of their own productions. In this case, there is good reason to ask ourselves the question on the appreciator of expressiveness, and how these texts act, based on the research-inquiries of the present study. These two observations exclude naturally the cases where the *waƙe* or *wasa* of recent creation are productions of known authors (what our survey did not identify) or the cases of songs of the festivals of the period of Seyni Kountche, written by a presenter and sung by young girls, which are not also part of the collected directory. These reports do not mean that texts of the common popular imagination are divested of expressive characters, but rather, these texts do not share the same modes/methods of appearance and appreciation of the expressive dimension.

5.3 The Artist, Poetic Expression and Linguistic Dimensions

Sequel to the remarks made above, questions on the following three levels have been examined:

a. The level/side of the artist in the broad sense of the word (main actor in the production / musician-singer / storyteller/);

b. The environment of expression;

c. The poetic and linguistic dimension of the subject

5.3.1 The Artist Side

Whoever he could be *makadî (*drummer), *(mawaki)* singer, *zabiya (*opera singer), storyteller or stage actor of *wasan kwaikwayo* [theatre]), the artist, Jannet Beik points out, "is the key of the enigma" in these dynamics of expressiveness. He is at the centre of the whole process. His social role/knowledge and his specific strategies of conveying a message are inherent qualities in the fulfillment of his mission. In this functionalist perspective, which is also ours, the artist projects the main thrust of an article by Schechner (1981: 16) that:

> Endowed with knowledge and power in front of his audience, he has always showed his availability in his social mission or to bring something to the society. We remember him when he is away, we expect his entertainment or his rescourse once he is around, we tell his life and the good examples which he has left when he is dead.

In Damagaram, artists (men and women) are many who have this profile, from Yarima Malam, Duda to artists like Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo, Zabiya Furera, Ɗan Nana and Gambu. Their collective strength is, basically, in their perfect command of the language. They are masters of speech and of the language of their field; masters of the sociology of their artistic environment and the collective and individual psychology of their audience. In sum, they do not want anything to escape their observation and commentary as they relate their angle of interest to the perceptive and alert audience. As Gidley (1967: 60) points out, "the Ɗan Kama

needs a good knowledge of everyday's affairs and a good sense of humour, along with a watchful sense of the audience's reaction and a skillful manipulation of it. "

With respect to the professionalism of the artist, Ɗan Inna (1978: 79-80) emphasises that to achieve success, it should have taken some time for the Ɗan Kama to create a very deep relation with his art. This relation might well lie in the 'functionalisation' of certain serial values around his personality, his socio-psychological skills, his poetic and linguistic knowledge, and some other skills. Regarding the first two poles, we would probably not be able to make a more instructive submission than Ruth Finnegan. Finnegan (1977: 69) states that "expressiveness of tone, gesture, facial expression, dramatic use of pause and rhythm, the interplay of passion, dignity, or humour, receptivity to the reactions of the audience, etc.," inform the artist's magisterial relevance to the audience. This validates our pre-survey inquiries on the audience's choice-artists as restated below:

Question 3: Which Hausa orature actors or producers of the region of Damagaram do you like more and why?

Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo

Duda

Yarima Malam

Zabiya Furera

Rabe Makaho

Gambu

Yan farauta

Ɗan Nana

Zabiya Amina

Geshe

Others

Answer 1: Ma' azou Ɗan Alalo

- I like his style very much

- I like the way he describes his characters: Bodo, Sarki Umaru and many others

- He uses very descriptive words full of imagery

- He knows how to depict the society

- He is coherent in his songs; the chains of ideas are really good in Sarki Umaru

- He knows how to play with the tones, for example, *in ba Bobaud ba, waƙe sa kuturu shibka, a karangiya*

- There is a good harmony with his *maroka*

Answer 2: Yerima Malam

- I like his voice very much

- I like his themes, for example, when he sings about groundnuts

- It is how he sings in concordance with his *Yan amshi*

- He knows how to appreciate those for whom he sings

- He is a singer of big farmers

Answer 3: Duda

- He is very dynamic when he sings

- He knows how to liven up the stage; his gestures are very vigorous

- He has a good voice and a very peculiar melodic style

- There is a good harmony between his voice and that of his *Yan amshi*

Answer 4: Zabiya Hurera

- She has a very nice voice.

- There is a perfect harmony between her, her *Yan amshi* and her music

- She knows how to appreciate her friends

- She knows how to combine the song with the dance

- There is a good harmony between the song, the music and the swing dance of the group

- She has a fascinating/mesmerising voice

- She has a highly rich varied directory

- She has a good melody

Answer 5: Rabé Makaho

- He has a nice voice

- His theatrical style makes one to laugh

- He has a very profound sense of humour

- He is the blind person who has the art of the verb

- He has the sense of images

- He knows how to ally humour with moral ethics

Answer 5: Gambou

- I like his style of *ciko,* how he plays his tomtom in accordance with his songs

- He is a big stage organiser; he is very quick to language

Answer 6: Yan Farauta

- Their music is particular (the originality of music)

- The images with which they describe their men

- The *kirari* are mesmerising

- They know how to incite their men with their music and their song

- They are real builders of men and consciousness

- They have their way of bringing their hero to a trance

We note that the "functionalization" of these values as main matrices of expressiveness depends on every individual artist who extends it to his poetic and linguistic competence. The professional competence of the artist does not limit itself only to socio-psychological factors, to training and to the storage of strategies of approach; it extends to the

control of the literary techniques in all forms. We may ask, for instance, that who better than Ma azu Ɗan knows how to give the highest “poéticité” to the story, to translate the “gradual” between the foundation of a tragic representation and the tragic itself? Who better than him knows how to use impressive phonetic values to build up his own style of imagery which suits the nature of his central character? Who better than him has given the social portrayal of a whole time, reflecting the social sectors, the nature of power, the economy, the relationships, the testimony of a whole model of colonial tragedy in a rocking style, accepted and appreciated by virtually everyone? It is this embracing charm of the Damagaram “poéticité,” the art of producing the tragic in the comic that we find in a work like Bodo, but also in *Jandarma Ɗan Gwamna* of Rabé Makaho, or in the performances of Ɗan Kaka, the singer of mahalba. In this superlative display of rhythms and melody, there is also a high talent of choice of words exhibited by the artist to reach the targeted goal.

With reference to the artist’s deep involvement with his performance-experimentations, showcasing expressed or recognised individual talent, Turner (1982) talks about "Human seriousness of play." Thus, when we talk about a performance of the humour-laden *ɗan gambara* compared to a scene of “*bori*,” there are in both cases some specific literary expressions with deep differences in the modes, forms or expressiveness of message. In one or the other case, the same metaphor can be used by the artist without having the same effects on the actors, the auditors or the audience as the case may be.

Still on “the manner” (imaginative deployments) of the artist, the realism he conveys as well as the “whim” (Skinner, 1971), the humour as well as the seriousness in the expression are all characteristic features of expressiveness which remains the fundamental tool in the construction of the literary function, be it educational in the broad sense of the word or normative in precise fields. The characteristic features of expressiveness that exhibit the spontaneous (or natural) recourses to the classical figures of style (such as metaphors,

parables, similes), linguistic values (as in morphosemantisms) and semiological indicators (images, symbols, for instance) are the powerful channels towards the realisation of aesthetic goals which work according to a normative process based on creation/creativity/expressiveness/and transfer.

The characteristic features of expressiveness are in the first position of the transference-competence of the artist (such as singer, storyteller or theatre actor) from whom we expect something. Jannet Beck gives a beautiful illustration of the observation above with reference to Oumarou Neino, an actor of the Ɗan Bassa Theatre Company of Zinder. Beck (1984: 257) reiterates that "Actor Oumarou Neino's Maman Arrivé was a magistral portrait of blustery bravado. Oumarou created a character with a quick temper, loud voice, and rude asservitiveness, both impolite and unpredictable…."

In this art of the best, it is necessary to add some intrinsic values, like the capacity to improvise in the context of the culture of "oralité." The more the artist has the tact in this art, the better his success is ensured. We shall note other qualities necessary for the talented artists in this field who are first and foremost "masters of speech" but also the real professionals of language (Jakobson, 1960).

	Matrices of expressiveness on the artist's side	**The effect on the audience will be analysed in the transfer section**	
Musical style, dance, verbal expression	-melody		
	- rhythm		
	- Flow/density/promptness of speech		
	-coordinated harmony		
Entertainment	Body gestures		

on stage	Facial expression		
	Receptivity/audience's reactions		
	Aptitude of improvisation		
	Sign of passion for one's art		
	Sense of humour		
	Recourse to illustration or example		
personnality of the artist (character's features)	Body appearance		
	Particularity of voice		
	Sense of dignity		

We can not reach the functions of expressiveness without understanding this process in its nature and its operational outline, and in proceeding, we easily realise that we can not deal with the expressiveness of the artist without linking it to the expressiveness of the language.

5.3.2 Linguistic Dimension and Poetic Approach to Expressiveness

5.3.2.1. Linguistic Functions

A perceptive mind may ask a very valid question in the following way concerning expressiveness in the Damagaram oral form: "Is it about the lyric or chanted text of *almajirai,* the chanted *wake* of young girls in *fage* (public place), the galvanising song of the drummer during *gayya* (community labour) or the "weird" monologues of the humourist *ɗan gambara*? The literary text potentially sends back to some people's certain significant aesthetic markers known and developed for a long time by professionals such as rhetoricians, specialists in stylistics and pragmaticians. It would be difficult to give the details of each of these fields within the framework of the present study. We will rather focus on certain aspects or values

known and common to the analysts and critics of expressive texts. The idea is to bring out certain general principles governing the language or the Hausa literary speech as they emerge from the creations of the "masters of words" in the Damagaram. The concept of "master of word," far from being a flattering label, is the recognition of a certain competence or a body of recognisable skills that the artist possesses. The artist is appreciated at the strict level of language use and wisdom conveyed in his performances.

Professionally, the master of word shows a perfect knowledge of the code and the linguistic register he uses in agreement with the personality of his audience. His motivated speech itself is based on a motivated language generally tackled at two levels: that of the semantic motivation around which are built the classical figures of style (metaphor, metonymy) and that of competence peculiar to the artist establishing the originality of his work. In his process of production, the singer, for example, operates some choices at all levels: that of his style of prose or versification (his discursive pragmatics) and that of the words that he prefers to use (his lexical motivation). According to the factors identified above and the context or circumstances of the production, the text of the singer is able to generate expected effects, behaviours, attitudes, feelings through the strength of its linguistic and pragmatic resources. What are the ingredients of this mobilisation?

5.3.2.2 The Level of Versification

At the level of versification, the close analysis of each type of song would give the opportunity to appreciate the mobilised resources and the modes or styles peculiar to this artistic creation. As an example, the beginning of the song *Bodo* by Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo sounds like a tale or an ordinary report, *in na soma kiɗan Bodo nasaran aiki*… (If I begin the song of Bodo, the white hardworker …) that evolves gradually in rhythm and from a kind of tragic to comic event. Another example illustrated by the classical patterns known to old *waƙe* is the "calibrated stanza" at the outset, at first by a type of tune called *nanaye*. This *nanaye* consists

of one or two verses, the functions of which are essentially metric and melodic or rhythmic and therefore do not necessarily have an ordinary syntactic and morphosemantic dimension. Made up of a continuation of impressives, they do not have another meaning other than the one of showing the metric appearance of the production. The songs of *ciko* movement have drawn their inspiration from this model (see the songs of Zabiya Furera or Zabiya Nana)

Illustration I: *Nanaye* of classical *waƙe*

	Song	**Tranalation**
Chief singer:	*Kai yara iyero*	*Kai yara iyero*
Chorus:	*Kai yara iyoro*	*Kai yara iyoro*
Chief singer:	*Wane naki?*	Who is your lover?
Chorus:	Kai yara iyero	*Kai yara iyero*
Chief singer:	*Shi ne naki!*	He is your lover
Chorus:	*Kai yara iyero*	*Kai yara iyero*
Chief singer:	*Dogon yaro*	The young tall man
Chorus:	*Kai yara iyero*	*Kai yara iyero*

The chief singer has laid the metric and melodic foundations at first and everything else would be built on this basis.

Illustartoin 2: *Nanaye* of classical *waƙe*

	Song	**Tranalation**
Chief singer:	*Carman dudu carman duduwa*	Carman dudu carman duduwa
Chorus*:*	*Carmande*	Carmande
Chief singer:	*Akwai wani baƙo a gidan Maigari*	There is a foreigner at Maigari's house
Choir:	*Carmande*	Carmande
Chief singer:	*Ba ya salla ba ya salati*	He doesn't pray nor invoke God.
Choir:	*Carmande*	Carmande
Chief singer:	*Sai bin yan-matan gari*	Just running after the young village girls
Choir:	*Carmande*	Carmande

These verses are generally sung at first by the main singer of the group of *waƙe* (case of *waƙe*) or by the *zabiya* mistress of the song (case of *waƙa* of *ciko* style), who launches them to make them repeat afterward as tune of the *waƙe* or *waƙa* (as the case may be) by the chorus. This model has inspired many singers in their compositions (see the case of Makaɗa Naino in his song of Jibji):

Ayye re iye nanaye

Ayye re iye dide

The *nanaye* have constituted an important source of inspiration for the singers of *ciko* (see for example this form by Zabiya Furera)

Iyyeeee, yere dide iye nanaye!

The general architecture of a song is thus a fundamental element for an appreciation, but beyond the form, the more the verses are significantly marked by the sense or their meaning, the better they are capable of generating immediate effects (the trances for example)

or in the long term where the song joins the memory of the community. The concept of sense and meaning will be treated here on the frame of "morphosemantic" motivation.

5.3.2.3 The Morphosemanticisms

A literary text is a kind of place of convergence of a will of imagination to create a message endowed with meaning, style and likely to create in the auditor some feelings, sensations, pleasure, fury, even annoyance, or any other behaviour because of the artistic and meaningful characteristics of the element. This dimension of the literary art concerns certainly the versification in its general structuring, but also the nature of the words which contribute to it because of their morphology and semantism.

The verse consists of a sequence of words which impress because of some of their characteristics: their tone, their internal rhythmics, the image they contain or evoke, or the symbolism they send back. The "overloaded" or motivated nature of a word or expression is traditionally examined within the framework of morphosemantic studies (see Tournier, 1984; Mijinguini, 1986). In connection with the theoretical and methodological frame of this study, there is a need to examine this aspect with regard to certain 'lexematic' resources of language. But we work on the assumption that whoever the actor may be, the use of the motivated dimension of the lexicon conveys a certain degree of knowledge which this actor has of his language. As a process opposed to the arbitrary power of the sign, the morphological motivation sends back to some regular processes of the construction of signs known under the name of diversion, composition, or redoubling. Indeed, why are ***gida*** (house), ***mashi*** (assegai), ***waƙe*** (bean), ***gabji!*** (What a quantity! What a blunder!), ***kamuda*** (hoe), ***ido*** (eye) called so? Maybe the first Hausa speakers arbitrarily wanted things to be so and gradually maintained this convention as we find it in all the languages of the world. Subsequently, they gradually widened the field of their experiences, and in line with the normal development of societies and their cultures, certain inflections occurred. From ***gida***, for example, they thought

of creating ***mai gida*** (owner of the house), ***bagidaje*** ((savage (without house?)), [fém. ***bagidaza,*** pl. ***gidazawa***], ***magidanci*** (responsible person, who has a family experience). This process of lexicalization, known under the name of morphosemantic motivation, has significantly widened (and in a structured way) the lexical field of the community, which recognises through some signs or markers such and such lexical category necessarily created. And the literary motivation draws at will in this stock. It is not surprising that such text (prose or versification) is marked by a predominance of the use of statif ((a) ***gaugauce*** "precipitated;" (b) ***matse*** "pressed" (urgent"), among others); of the flexion of the verb of degree 5 or 6, (such as ***gaugautar da*** - "to make accelerate" -; ***gaugautowa*** – "to accelerate towards oneself "-). But the process is more perceptible when it emerges from an impressive dimension of the *agysimbien* stylistics known in the expression and construction of the motivated Hausa meaning. The feature of emphasis will be examined at three levels here:

1- the semantic overload known with some morphemes as ***ci*** (to eat) and ***sha*** (to drink) authorising a lot of construction of the field of metaphor or metonymy.

2- The very frequent "reiterative" emphasis in tales and other anecdotal constructions: ***ya yi ta sha, ya yi ta sha, ya yi ta sha!*** - "He has been drinking, drinking, drinking! -". These constructions are very frequent with clutches like ***ta, dinga, kwage, rika***.

3- The qualitative use of interjectional or onomatopoeic impressives, but especially the profusatives shaped on the basis of their double motivational capacity, the phonic motivation and morphological identity usually identified with the language: ***gingiro mai kwagiri da bakin doki, nasara*** - "the rude with a bludgeon and a black horse, the whiteman"- (Ma'azu Dan Alalo). *Gingiro, kwagiri* are both profusatives, that is, some onomatopoeic impressives which owe their meaning to their sound-form, and their category to the male nominal inflection which characterises them (finale-o,-i) (Mijinguini, 1986).

As they usually do, and as in many other societies, the Hausa people have adopted in this kind of production some sounds which have ended up identifying themselves with some values other than those phonologicals traditionally known so that, for example ***a*** sends back to something wide (*tabki* [large puddle], *wargajeje* [widely opened], *gabtawa* [take off a wide portion]); ***u*** to something big or deep (*tuje* [bustard], *rumbu* [attic]; ***i*** to something fine, young, (*mitsitsi* [very little]).; ***g, k, d***, express hardness, severity; ***f, s, y*** a, signify movement of foliage. The substitution of ***r*** by ***y*** in childish language is also important to note, as common in tales with a certain personification of animals.

We meet all the cases presented above in concrete situations, depending on whether we are dealing with a singer or a well-inspired storyteller (*ɗan kama*), the comic or a singer for professional people or the royal court. This set of artists all put them to good use and participate in the life of a semiology of Hausa culture..
In a general way, the phonic motivation relies on the relationship “sound > sense” to build a lexical model where the echo of the word creates in the consciousness of the speaker a sense or a given meaning. This motivation finds its linguistic foundation in the process according to which, and to paraphrase Jackobson, “the average sound without appropriate meaning allows the formation of meanings.” This is the case in the performance of most of the singers: see *gingiro in mai kwagiri da bakin doki, nasara* (Ma’azu Ɗan Alalo) or *Samamago, galma almakashin daji* by Makaɗa Neino. In the first case, the use of the velar sound in an environment so acute, wide, green and rounded [g i g i o kw a g i i ba k i d k] shows all the hardness of the character of Bodo as described by Ɗan Alalo. In the second case, the sibilant of the beginning (s), sends back to the noise of the ploughman in his contacts with the ground and the herbs he uproots, supported by the metaphoric image of *galma* (the plow). This is how the use of the phonic motivation plays a significant role in the poetic function of the literary element. The sounds, in their impressive nature or the morphophonic production of the word,

are enough to allow the auditor to appreciate and give a meaning to the word, the phrase/syntagm or the whole verse in its construction as mentioned above. It is one of the essential barometers of the linguistic competence of the artist.

To get back to the motivation in general, there is cause for specifying the multiple possibilities the artists use in the construction of their stylistic devices, especially the transfer of meaning feature (semic feature), the transposition, the analogy, and other important devices. The word, which at first is "unmotivated," finds itself with two or three meanings in the literary text*: giwa daduma Ɗan Ango* (the elephant, destructive, son of Ango). Here, the singer calls his hero the elephant for the blind use he makes of his strength in his plowing. This blind force of penetration would be the common seme between *giwa* (elephant) and the big ploughman, Jibji. The metaphor of *giwa* can in addition express the competence the author has developed in the field of animal symbolism (see Tournier (1984)). Such person is known under the name of *dila* for his guile; the other one is known under the term *kura* (hyena) for his rustic character. *Shirwa* (sparrow hawk) is used for somebody who is very lively and fast. In addition, it is common to hear the use of a negative expression to attribute a positive characteristic: *gwabro!* (single man: negative) is commonly used for "outstanding" (positive); *shege!* (bastard) for somebody extraordinarily acute (…what an expert!). We meet these semantic neologisms at every level of orature, from tale to amateur or professional song. The case of *mashi* evokes another problem: in the sky, it refers to the shooting star; and when we qualify somebody as *mashi* (as in *take*), it means somebody who wins definitely. From another point of view, the semantic motivation is widely shared in the constructions of minima of style of speech which are *'Karinmagana, salon magana and iya-baki'* (proverb, stylistics and profundity).

Beyond the stylistic devices examined above, the "métasémie" has particularly developed at the level of other links of the chain of speech known in Hausa through some

terms as the style or art of speech (*salon Magana)*, the segment of speech (*karin-magana)*, sense of moderation/linguistic command (*iya baki)*, among others. These are some categories of the language the artists have regularly recourse to in their literary creations.

The *Karinmagana*

With regard to their syntactic structuring and their pragmatic, stylistic and semiotic functions, we can classify them into two categories:

1- the category of what is traditionally known under the term of proverbs (and whose equivalent of translation remains *Karinmagana*), and

2- the ideomatic or set expressions (the *kalma - tade*).

The *Karinmagana*, commonly used negatively by women, is known under the name of *habaici* (see in the first part the chapters specific to these categories). The orature has regular recourse to *Karinmagana* and *kalma-tade*, just like the good speakers *(iya-baki*) in their *tadi* or their *salon magana* (see chapter related to it in the first (1^{st}) part). Their contents and their expressive power justify the massive recourse to the elements of this genre. They constitute or contain in them the most expressive means of use of metaphors, of metonymical constructions, and many other classical elements known in the studies of style. Altogether, the will of the artist is to see the success of his work. He tries to build such an aesthetic presence which in itself is based on the metric quality of the versification or the measures of pause in prose; the quality of the sound form of the language (to allude to Roman Jakobson); the quality of the specific uses of certain word classes or statement of the language.

		linguistic/language matrices of expressiveness	
	Metric quality		
		Metric boundary (use of *nanaye* for example)	
		Arrangements	
	Sound quality	Intonation	
		Use of impressives	
		Repetition / put rhythm into an element	
	Quality of uses of some elements of grammar or style	Uses of some clutches to regulate the style	
		Use of reiteratives	
		Use of comparison, of metaphor…	
	Group composition	Style choral (*karɓe/karɓeɓeniya*..)	
		With music or not	
		Alternation/integration	

5.3.2.4 The Ludic Dimension

In the cases of *waƙe* (song) of young girls and *wasa* (performance) of young boys, this field has a double special feature; the producers are at the same time consumers of their production

and the literary expression is generally accompanied with a dance with which it makes harmony. The expressiveness derives from the conjunction of two vectors (song and dance), the result of which would have effect on the physical education of the body, and also on the artists' skills and competence, or in other words, the psychology and sociology of the group within the framework of a culture based on team competence. We learn by the game made of behavioural and inferential rules like…if **a**, then **b**… also called "hypothesis conclusion" in the principles of logical implication.

«*Darjin da jini* » (if wounded there is blood) Answer > *jini* (yes, there is)

«*Tumkiya da jini*» (sheep gets blood) A > *jini* (yes, it does)

«*Tsuntsu da jini* (bird gets blood) A > *jini* (yes, it does)

‘’ ‘’ ‘’ ‘’

« *Hwara da jini* (locust gets blood) A > !? Here the one who dares to answer by 'jini' is automatically punished because blood is not a part of the componential definition of locust (*hwara*).

In this kind of exercise, we can see that expressiveness depends on the good formulation of the statement which is already about a set of expressions which are narrated and sung as inherited. Young people internalise it and chant it in accordance with the steps of their dance. In another case, it is a real initiation into physical confrontation, an organised hand-to-hand fight. As we noted at the beginning of the first part, this kind of dramatic confrontation is a school that teaches lessons of life. Also, respecting and obeying the instruction depend on the expressiveness of the message which is generally formulated in a

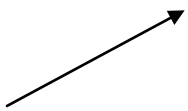
“disguised” language as illustrated in the example below: "if you have no child, then come yourself and get it by the strength of your fists!"

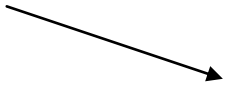
«Shallenku!»	A >	*mage!*
«Mi kuka tchi! »	A >	*kan kare*
What are you eating	A >	head of a dog
«Ina nawa? »	A >	*aiko yaro*
Where is my share?	A >	send a boy
“Ba ni da yaro”	A >	*tattara ƙullinka ka sha ruwa yaro!*
I don’t have a boy	A >	Sermon your courage and get it by fist strength!

	Matrices of expressiveness		
	Logic of utterance		
	Accessibility of expression		
	Propositional universality		

5.4 The Stimulating Side of the Audience

The obvious fact here is the more or less stimulating reaction of the audience. This stimulation has no other function than (to) increase the strength or density of the global expressiveness of the production.

	Artist competence/skill	**Reaction of the audience**	**Expressiveness of the production**
	Production globally positive	**The more favorable the reaction is, the higher the ratio of the density of expressiveness of the production gets**	

	Production globally nasty	**The more negative the reaction of the audience is, the lower the global ratio of the density of expressiveness gets**	
	Intermediate production	**The more the artist uses a strategy of repairing, or self-correction of his performance, the curve of the ratio can vary favourably (tendency towards an average positive or negative style)**	

Here the ratio of expressiveness is globally comprehended as far as the contents of the text can be worthless, but this worthlessness is made up for by the expressiveness of the artist himself in his body movements, the rhythm of his dance, among others.

CHAPTER SIX

EFFECTIVENESS OF EXPRESSIONS AND EXPRESSIVENESS IN DAMAGARAM

6.1 The Density of Expressiveness

From the instances of the Damagaram various performances, orature would have played its social role when, by the relevance of its expressions, it brings a plus in the management of the daily life of people. The relevance of a literary expression would be the result of a sum of values some of which have been examined above. For example the talent of an artist cannot be limited only to the percussion of his voice. It contains other values such the stylistic dimension of his performance, the semantic relevance of the elements with regard to the society and the moment, but also the critical attitude of the audience or all the concerned society of the artist. The sum of all these constructive values of the quality of the performance would constitute the density of expressiveness. So, the density of expressiveness (DE) would be gotten by the arithmetical sum of the expressive contributions of the artist (ECA), the intrinsic quality of his textual composition (IQTC) and the stimulating or repulsive attitude of the audience (SRAA).

$$\mathbf{DE} = \sum_{\text{SRAA}}^{\text{ECA}} \text{IQTC}$$

ECA: personal quality of the artist (his/her personality) in his innate qualities, attitudes and behavior on stage or even in the society

IQTC: sum of literary values of the text or composition

SRAA: receptive or repulsive attitude of the artist and his/her composition as basis of analysis of the transfer

Whatever the basis of calculation (10 or 100) of the total of the values given to these markers is, the index of the global expressiveness of the production is always 1. From this global grade-related point, we can calculate the index of the other aspectual values of production, that is the index of each marker that matches the value (or mark) given to the marker by the investigated people/persons. As an example, the index of the intonative and melodious expressiveness in Zabiya Fourera 1 is 0.4 showing all the appreciation of the audience on this marker in the global density of the assessed performance of Zabiya Fourera 1.

Intonative and melodious value of the *nanaye* in Zabiya Furera 1	4
Remainder of the poetic value	2
Expressive value of the artist	3
Expressive value of the audience	1

Total density of expressiveness in Zabiya Furera 1	10 (over 10)

The total index of expressiveness of production being 1 is (10/10) and that of intonation would be 0.4 (that is 4/10).

Intonative and melodious value of the *nanaye* in Zabiya Furera 2	3
Remainder of the poetic value	2
Expressive value of the artist	2
Expressive value of the audience	1

Total density of expressiveness in Zabiya Furera 2	8 (over 10)
Intonative and melodious value in Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo 1	2
Remainder of the poetic value	4
Expressive value of the artist	1
Expressive value of the audience	2

Total density of expressiveness in Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo 1	9 (over 10)

Therefore, this kind of appreciation allows us to have a precise idea on the quality of markers inside a performance, while giving the possibility of having compared densities between two or several performances of an artist or different artists, as far as the expressive density can be nil, average or excellent as the case may be. Zabiya Furera can be more alert, more agile in her bodily expression than Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo and the latter more poetic than the first, the audience assesses it so. And as announced in the main hypothesis of this study the more the expressiveness of a performance is dense and varied, the more the audience is satisfied, the better the aimed social function (s) is/are reached.

This analysis is valid for any production, even the 'monophrasal' one such as 'riddles' or 'proverbs' can be nasty than another and the choice of the nastiest in situation of integration can disqualify the artist in situation of competition for example. In the same way a simple and clear riddle will facilitate its accessibilty to a child and therefore has more effect for the social function (level of the transfer) than another complex structuring. E.g. *'ja ya faɗo ja ya cahe'* (the red fell down and the red picked it up). The analogy of color is here an educational alibi in the construction of the reality at the child (cf. Piaget for example). We can multiply the

examples with case studies as in the two following stylistic values.

6.2 The Expression of Humour in Rabé Makaho

The humour is one of the main matrices of expressiveness source of a certain intra group easing of tension in situation of communion (in a space of artistic or literary production). In Hausa culture in general this style of verbal behavior is associated with two categories of artists: *yân gambara* usually performing in pairs and *ɗan kama* always alone in his comedies or his comic behavior. *Ɗan kama* generally plays more the act than the word to which he resorts furtively for any kind of ridiculous in the positive sense of the term. Unlike *ɗan kama, yân gambara* have as preferred means of expression a kind of song chanted in 'bi choir' by the two real comedians on their occasional stage: corner of a market, street, public space, etc. Now in the absence of these types of groups, a blind man emerges cheerfully from his *bara*. This man is Rabé Makaho (of his real name Maman Rabiou). He has begun his hikes at the age of twelve. He evolved around his home town Dogo before prospering in the entire region and beyond. It is in Zinder, the administrative headquater of the region, he is going to get acquainted with the 'socialite' society; the civil servants who come from other places, but also his local fellow countrymen and their perception, behavior, all in all their everyday life.We easily understand why his two successes, *'Jandarma Ɗan Gwamna'* his long declamation but a real dramatization of his relationships with the gendarmes/constables working in Zinder, with him featured as a helpless but perceptive beggar and *'Rabé Makaho dureba*' the allegory of the blind driver, are artistic master pieces. They are imaginative acts that bring out the creative genious of an artist with expressive powers that mutually absorb and engage him, his audience and his environment.

At first Rabé Makaho evolves with his group, as it is the custom with the blind beggars of the Hausa ‘world’ the style of whom he has kept intact: a main 'singer' relieved by two or three other blind persons acting as choir. They go from village to village where they

perform without the least hint of embarrassment in front of houses, in the streets, at the market, among others. In their songs they develop some themes of moral lessons, solidarity etc.. But very early Rabé Makaho abandoned the types of performances of the classical *bara* to innovate at least on the level of the form of performances and that of the theme on stage.

On the thematic level, there is no taboo subject, everything can be dealt with. The ethics deals with every topic. There is no reason for *yân bara* (beggars) to confine themselves to the perpetual logic of the exchange ' if you give alms to me, it is God who is going to pay you back '. No, we look at the society in what it has as good or evil and we make with. Rabé Makaho 'the driver' is a satire which the commentators do not hesitate to attribute to the phenomena which came with time: the leadership. The humour is based on this metaphor of the leader "who sees no further than the end of his nose", and who surrounds himself with the blind as him to ‘drive’ the 'societal' boat, and come what may. Now that everybody is embarked on this blind persons' truck, for what a destination …! This is how Rabé from his image or the image of his group has succeeded in putting on/outlining a very funny scenario intended to make ignorance ridiculous.

In *Jandarma Ɗan Gwamna,* it is another problem which is subjected to test. The Niger Republic post colonial society works with certain controversies created since the colonization. The new class of civil servants is isolated on all the facets from the ordinary society by its attitudes of distance from the other citizens: exogenous medium of communication, isolated house from the village (nobody knows what is going on inside it), images of a body of suppression, image of those who have everything free, etc. The image of the gendarmes is very symbolic on this point of view. Entrenched somewhere in an angle of the village, they enjoy a life of "arrived" only them have the secret. And when it is Rabé Makaho who uncovers this secret, everything can go well in the best of the world. That he the blind person gets over the veranda of this impassable house, it is 'the surprise in humour' which is made to

him because of his handicap. But the welcome was not just like the honor as indicates it the comic intonation which follows: *"He dit donc, l'aveugle, Hey*! You, blind person."

6.3 *Ziga* of Drummer-Singer and Social Functions of Integration and Alternation

The question is examined here within the framework of a better understanding of the social function of alternation and integration, in particular in connection with the mechanisms brought into play in the process of transfer. The vocabulary in this field: *ziga*, *washi, yabo, zambo* (being able to lead to the suicide, the definitive exodus of the targeted person)

Let us remind that as phrasal practice of the literary production process, alternation expresses a style of paradigm of common life made of positioning, transfer, transformation and reproduction or any other stable or turbulent evolution. The phrase-structure of literary alternation in the process is not thus a fortuitous phenomenon, a simple occasional arrangement; it transcends a single individual will, because it makes participate, at the same time, the society, the individual, let us say all the actors of the space as actors of a dynamics to its birth, in its transformation and its outcome. The griot drummer is the master of the click. From the sound of his drummer he announces the event (the *gayya* for example). The announcement is directed at the whole society, but in the course of its evolution, it specifies, splits into more personalized messages through *take*, the main social identifier of the individual in contrast to others. E.g. *"ku bar ganin ƙanƙanta allura ƙarhe ce"* is the social identifier of such person and he only, and all the members of the society recognize the call of that person from the sound of the drum by this identifier which is different from theirs.

As such, the *take* carries in its inner self some intrinsic values recognized to an individual by the society. These values are drawn from the classic stock of the positive or negative values of the society conveyed in a stylistic arrangement peculiar to the construction of *take* (see chap. dealing with the *take*). At first there is the society and the virtual individual

clearly defined who is going to be introduced on to the stage which can be a space of plowing, hunting, wrestling or other field of competition. The stage of the second link of alternation, less virtual than the first one makes more committed social functions intervene. It is the space of production of dedicated song, song of hero, galvanizing song, song of change that locates each actor virtual or present on stage. The song incites to the *kirari*, also identity value poem, where the hero introduces himself in his most remarkable values *('gudu babu tsoro babu, in na yi gudu a kai maƙera a sare bura'*- There is no fear no running away in me, and if I flee, I should be brought to the forge and be cut off the penis) (see the theme of *kirari* handled above).

But the scene of the second link is long, it lasts all day long or the days and nights the event will continue, offering thus the multiple opportunities of mystic and other supernatural practices to show the power of heart or mightiness of the heroes. The analysis of the alternating function of the literary production is one of the means giving the opportunity to get into the depth of the social function of the 'literality' as it is clarified by the function of integration examined above.

6.4 The Convergence of Facts of Overestimation

*In **kunna** su*	I will 'light'(incite) them
*In **hura** su*	Will 'instigate' (pump) them
Ɗan kowa bisa aikinai	Everyone in his job
Sun san ni ma da gwaninta ta	They have to know I have some skill

Maman Garba

This small paragraph of Maman Garba summarizes the main part of our concerns: the mission of the singer is thus decisive. His audience has to know that everyone has a skill in his job. In this particular case, his knowledge/skill is 'to light them' then 'to instigate them' to bring them to their maximal efficiency, until they ‘waste away’, if they are not up to this obsession. The singer so much galvanized his hero, he has so much heightened him by words and by trying to be up to what his singer is expecting from him, the hero can simply 'go up in flames' at the end of his obsessions. It is moreover known, in particular with Ɗan Anace who cries out to his hero "*bari su kashe ka gaba dai"* (to let them bring you to death).

And the vocabulary of Maman Garba, that ordinary fire, explains this assertion of Ɗan Anace to the address of Shago: "if you follow me (or if you listen to me), I shall be the source of your destruction " [he has so much instigated him that he will eventually ‘waste away’ by abuse of his obsessions]. We actually light the excitement of the hero as we light fire, and if he weakens we instigate him. And by steps we galvanize [*ziga*] him and still more to bring him to the height which suits him in the society.

While he undergoes the pressure of the singer and his consciousness or his faithful heart, he 'condenses' (to take up this expression of Freud) and gets into a " very huddled up form of substitute conduct which allows to release immediately an emotional tension under a conscious or unconscious form". The image that the drummer-singer creates in him in this style of constraint condenses in a constellation of meanings bringing him to the symbolic engaging of attitudes or spontaneous hysteric behavior such as the flow of sweat, trance, the logical verbal consequence of which is the *kirari*. In this alternating process, expressiveness should be look for on two levels:

a. The drummer-singer or his group with all the hyperbolic formulae with which they assail the hero;

b. The hero himself led to ecstasy and the ultimate expression of which is the *kirari*.

On one side, the singer's expressiveness is built on the excessive use of hyperboles, formal demand, incitement to surpassing of oneself, by a measured and progressive choice of the language of *yabo* (positive appreciation) if it is not the *zambo* which can lead in the worst case to the definitive exodus from the community or to suicide. Expressiveness in situation of *yabo* can vary in verbal intensity depending on whether we are in phase of *kunne*, *hure*, *ziga* or *washi*. Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo for instance begins the *kunne* in prose in Bodo, while the singers of *ciko* begin it generally with general appreciations after the *nanaye.*

Iye…..

Iye…..

Alheri ba na manta ba ……..

6.5 Transfer and Features of Relevance

As defined, expressiveness is summarized to all the values which contribute to the construction and regulation of the social function. But this construction or regulation requires some procedures, principles and parameters which would not be dealt with within the framework of the present study. We shall then limit ourselves to the principle of relevance in its interaction with transfer, considered simply as the process of transmission of a value of an actor A to another actor B. It is what is happening between a storyteller and his audience, between a singer and his audience, among others, and it is what in the long run justifies the transmission of knowledge from generation to generation. The poles of relevance of transfer within the framework of this study will be naturally organized around the artist who has a

message to give/convey, the receiver of the message is the channel by means of which the message will be passed on.

6.6 The Artist and His Message

Ross (1981) states that the artist or the producer owes his title to his talent which gives him the right of production, and he does not hesitate to use the multiple possibilities he has to achieve his goal. Among these possibilities, there is his own/proper nature (his gestural, facial and presenter's capacities) and the textual processes he uses:

- The techniques of persuasion, the satire, the recourse to the tragic, the comic, the practical joke, the vulgarity;

- The virtues to promote, the defects to banish, all of which participating in the 'development of people' or in social changes aiming at the development or at the positive construction of the community. For that purpose, he also has recourse to thematic spaces generally inspired by topical interests (plagues, hygiene, peace, public-spiritedness, idleness, among others).

The audience learns from the performance, takes it over and considers the product as its nature study (see the idleness in Bodo of Ɗan Alalo, the peanut in Yerima Malam, the comic in Rabé Makaho, the logic of the number, the color, in such or such riddle, the sense of endurance, the devotion,….. in such or such tale, etc., the element is often reproduced by the individual (former auditor)) who often makes it his/her working companion (the example of the song of such or such person). The message of the artist escapes him to become the property of the audience and the community.

6.7 Productions and New Myths

The formal consequence of the transfer is its assimilation and its integration in the stock of the cultural production of the country/land. In the past, we talked about the common heritage,

about the popular product and it happened that a song lands in a distant part of the country, without an author, with however some new myths, those produced by *'Yan ruwa'* (the children of water). These '*Yan Ruwa'* generally come out of 'bad puddles' at night and devote themselves to some *wake* which were passed on, we do not know by who, in the 'network of the community great journeys' as anonymous and popular productions. If it was a part of realities of the last century, we shall say that the inspiration was very fruitful in the Damagaram, rich of its literary heritage, one of the most varied and the most prestigious in Niger.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

7.1 Summary

The present study has allowed us to "make a point" on the Hausa orature of the region of Damagaram on the double levels of expression and expressiveness. On the level of expression, there is an attempt at a typological overview around the genre in its diversity by first engaging in its classification along the lines of artistic production and its reception by or impact on the collective imagination of the audience. This has also involved a critical look at the context(s) and stylistic formats of production, including details revolving around religious inspiration (orature of animistic inspiration opposed to that of Islamic inspiration), the size of the text (complete uniform, alternation, integration) and the spaces of production.

This study opted for the critical strategy depicted above as far as it assured a great deal of latitude to investigate concerned stakeholders such as individual artists/performers, the family, the region and beyond; and as far as certain productions are today known as national or even transnational in scope. Therefore, the question of genre remains unsettled in its theoretical dimension, but the varying dimensions of the inquiry to ascertain which literary form are found in particular social or socio-economic spaces.

In this exercise, it is not the artistic element which resists definitive scholarly opinion, but the abstract size of the orature cosmos of Damagaram. The concept of game as observed in the *wasa*, for example, appears as something whose meaning is not easy to sort out in a dictionary approach, but rather, something encyclopaedic in nature. Its universe accommodates oral elements (tale, song, riddle, proverb), gestural/oral features (the *wasan kwaikwayo of yan gambara*) or the association of physical education to a verbal style (the *boyayayyoniya*, for example). But this is not all about its abstract identity. The inclusion of

wrestling, boxing and/or hunting is an extended attribute that makes this "oral" activity to be fittingly defined as *wasa*, embracing its physical, sociological, mythical and cultural dimensions; the orature element being another *wasa*, which involves the dexterity of another class of actors.

As a "more widened" *wasa*, many other concepts/elements can provoke the ones intense surprise and contemplation. In Ouagadougou (in the "full Mossi country"), for instance, it is a nightclub which carries the appellation of *wasa* because of its attribute of being the "name of a place for entertainment." In the view of this study therefore, *wasa* encompasses a world of multiple performative acts and discourses that complicate a simple way of knowing or defining in terms of skills, spatial platforms, audiences and appearances. It exhibits a unique capacity for latitudes of expression evoking the most embracing performances of creative expressiveness.

This last element, expressiveness, has been examined in this study as a multi-form or multidimentional tool of the macrostructure of the text (prose, versification, story, comedy, tragedy) in the behaviour of the "master of games" (*mawaki*) and of the audience.

7.2 Conclusion

This study, examining the expression and expressiveness of Hausa orature in the Damagaram area of Southern Niger, elucidates the beauty and intrinsic elements that underlie the language, as well as the social functions they play. As expressiveness remains the base of authenticity from the diverse environments, it is obvious that Ma'azu Ɗan Alalo has different tunes and manners from Ɗankwairo's. For example, not because the first one is in Niger Republic and the second in Nigeria, but the fate of contexts played on the personality of each of the two makes the first what he is, and not an adapter of the second. This is valid between Ɗan Alalo and Zabiya Furera or Yerima Malam for the same arguments on the myth of

human personality such as poetics, stylistics, psychology and school apprenticeships, sociology of the language, among others.

Furthermore, the study demonstrates the role played by expressiveness in the perception and assimilation of the literary messages in multiple social functions. The demonstration has not always been easy in view of the parameters being taken into account, but mainly there is an attempt to validate the thesis according to which the more expressive a/an (literary) element is, the more likely it is to accomplish the social function to which it is destined for. In other words, the more expressive a message is, the more it joins one of the networks of constellations of the values which are the base of knowledge, skills and competences, founding the competence of every citizen and making him an operational being in the normal and normative functioning of his community. It is in that sense that it has been examined expressiveness on what it brings to education in general and to the promotional process of the individual and the group.

The thesis throws considerable intellectual lights on little known, uncelebrated children oral arts of Damagaram. These include lullabies, riddles and nursery counting rhymes. Similarly, there is a focus on tales and tale-telling, proverbs, innuendos and traditional performances of Hausa girls and boys in Damagaram. A variety of oral song performers and performances also receive attention, there are the amateur and semi-professoinal singers of occupational groups such as farmers and hunters and the royal praise performers of the palaces of Damgaram. The second category of performers discussed consists of the professional oral singers. Other singers analysed are the Islamic religious singers as well as the blind songs. The songs of Chiko get elaborate treatment. The thesis fully acknowledges the social economic, political and climatic changes affecting Hausa orature in Damagaram. As a consequence, the state of Damagaram orature is analysed against the background of French colonialism and Western globalisation as a whole.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I : TALES

TALE 1:

Tatsunya ta daya : kunama da miciji

Gatan gatanku1

Ta je ta komo 2

Kun ji ko

Muna ji

Wannan dai3

kunama ce

To!4

Wata rana sai kawai ta tashi ta tahi wurin maciji.

To !

Da ta tarda maciji sai ta ce mishi : maciji, abun da ya kawo ni wurinka shi ne, ka ba ni dahi yanda in na halbi mutun nan take zai mutu. Maciji ya yi dogon lunfashi ya ce: ke kunama, na san halinki, hassada gare ki, ban na baki dahi. In na ba ki abun nan da kike nema, duk sai kin ƙare rayun mutane kuma bayan haka, cuta da yawa za ki yi kusancinki.

Kunama ta ce : a'a zan yi hankali.

Maciji ya ce : to na ji, je ki gida har gobe sai ki dawo; sa'annan na yi shawarra.

Da gari ya waye sai maciji ya huta shan iska. Bayan ya huta ita kunama sai ta zo gidan nashi; da ba ta ganshi ba sai ta laɓe cikin ramin nashi har ya dawo. Da maciji ya dawo, wurin shiga raminsa sai ya danni kunama. Ita kunama da ta ji an danne ta sai ta ji zahi ta halbi maciji. Maciji ya zabura, ya yi ta wandaƙa, ya rasa inda zai sa kanshi, azaba ta dame shi. Zuwa can sai ga kunama, ta matso, ta ce mi ya same ka ?

maciji ya ce haba, kunama, yaushe kika zo ?

kunama ta ce ai na jima nan, ban iske ka ba.

Maciji ya ce, ke rabu da ni, da shigowa ramin nan nawa wani abu ya halbe ni. Kunama ta ce : ai ni ce ; da ka zo wurin shiga sai ka bi ta kaina, ka murje ni, ni kuma da na ji zahi sai na saka maka œarina.

Da maciji ya ji haka sai ya ce to ! da ma na ce, kunama in kin samu dahi kin ƙare duniya.

Kunkurus kan kusu, in ba dan gizo ba da na yi karya5.

Translation: Scorpion and Snake

Gatan gatanku

Ta je ta komo,

Are you listening (to me)?

Yes, we are.

Once upon time, there was a snake.

Go ahead!

One day Scorpion went to see Snake.

Go ahead!

When she met Snake, she said to him, “Snake, I came to ask you to give me venom so that when I sting a person, the person will die right away.”

Snake let out a deep sigh and said, “Scorpion, I know you perfectly. You are a very wicked person. I cannot give you the venom. If I give you what you are looking for, you will use it to destroy all living creatures (human beings, animals and so on) and do much harm to your neighbors and surrounding.”

Scopion said, “I swear I will not. I will pay attention to my neighborhood and my surrounding.”

Snake said, “Ok, I accept what you have said, but give me some time to make up my mind about it. You can come back tomorrow.”

The following day Snake went out for a walk. Shortly after leaving home Scorpion came to Snake’s‘house’(hole). When she realized that he is not in, she placed herself in a corner of the entrance of the house so that she cannot be seen, and waited.When Snake came back home, at the entrance he unintentionally trod on Scorpion. In reaction to Snake’s unintentional act, Scorpion stung him violently. Snake jumped and writhed in pain in all directions. Later on Scorpion came out of her hiding place and asked Snake, “What happened to you?”

Snake said, “Scorpion, when did you come in?”

Scorpion said, “I have been here for while.When I came you were away.”

Snake said, “Shut up! Scorpion, hardly did I get into the house when something stung me.”

Scorpion said, “I am the one who stung you. While you were coming into the house, you trod me violently. As I felt hurt, I stung you”

When Snake heard that from Scorpion, he said, “Scorpion, I have already said that if you get venom, you will destroy the whole world.”

This is the end of this story.

TALE 2:

Tatsunya ta biyu: Yarinya da Ɗan duma

Gatan gatan ku

Ta je ta koma

Kun ji dai ! wannan dai, wata yarinya ce da uwarta, suna da yar garkarsu, inda uwar ta shibka duma. Duk in uwar za ta garkar tata sai ta tahi da ɗiyar. Amma ita ɗiyar ba ta jin magana. Ana nan ana nan duma ya saka wani ɗan ɗa. Duk in yarinya ta bi uwarta garka sai ta je wurin ɗan duma ta ce ta taɓa shi, ta ga in ya nuna. Amma kullun uwar tana hana ta.

Wata rana sai ta tahi garka ita ɗaya, uwar ba ta sani ba. Ko da yarinya ta je garka, sai ta ruga wurin ɗan duma. Da zuwa sai ta taɓa shi, shi kuma ɗan duma sai ya ɓilla ; yarinya da ta ga haka sai ta zabura, ta ruga ; ɗan duma kuwa ya bi ta ɓingir, ɓingir, ɓingir…

Yarinya tana ta gudu sai ta tsinkayi wasu mata suna sussuka ; mata suka ce : ke yarinya, ke yarinya, mi kike ma gudu?

Yarinya ta ce, abun da ke bi na ba ku iya mini maganinshi. Suna nan sai suka ga ɗan duma ya nuho su ɓingir, ɓingir, ɓingir, yana cewa :

Kullun ƙwar da ni

Ƙwar ƙwar da ni,

ƙaramin duma

Yau kau na gaji,

ƙaramin duma,

Yau ko na gaji,

ƙaramin duma !

Ko da suka ga haka sai suka ce, a'a'aaa ! yarinya ba mu iyawa.

Kuma sai ta ruga ta ci gaba. Tana ta gudu, zuwa can sai ta ga wasu maza suna sari ; mazan suka ce : ke yarinya ! ke yarinya ! mi kike ma gudu ?

Yarinya ta ce, abun da ke bi na ba ku iya mini maganinshi. Ko da suka duba baya sai suka ga ɗan duma yana nuho su ¬ingir, ¬ingir, ¬ingir, yana cewa :

Kullun ƙwar da ni

Ƙwar ƙwar da ni,

Ƙaramin duma

Yau kau na gaji,

ƙaramin duma,

Yau ko na gaji,

ƙaramin duma !

Sai suka ce : wuuu ! Ba mu iya !

Yarinya ta ci gaba da gudu. Tana ta gudu sai ta tarda wata tsohuwa tana nika. Tsohuwa ta ce mi kike ma gudu haka ? Sai yarinya tace abun da nake ma gudu ba ki iya tare mini shi. Tsohuwa ta ce tsaya nan ; yarinya ta tsaya ; ta ce bari karkarwa ; yarinya ta bar karkarwa. Tsohuwa ta ce ke ce wadda ba ki jin nan ko ? yarinya ta ƙyale. Zuwa can sai ta ce ba na ƙarawa. Sai ga ɗan duma ya taho ɓingir, ɓingir, ko da ya zo sai ya fara :

Kullun ƙwar da ni

Ƙwar ƙwar da ni,

Ƙaramin duma

Yau kau na gaji,

Ƙ/aramin duma,

Yau ko na gaji,

Ƙaramin duma !

Tsohuwa ta ɗauki ɗan dutsin nika ta buga mishi. Sai ɗan duma ya fashe ; sai kuda buuuu…! daga cikinshi. Tsohuwa ta ce kin yi sa'a; yanzu zan maida ki gidanku, kuma ki ci gaba da kin ji.

Ƙunƙurus kan kusu/ɗanɓatya, in ba dan gizo ba da na yi ƙarya.

Translation: A young girl and a small gourd fruit

Gatan gatan ku

Ta je ta koma

Are you listening (to me)?

Yes, we are.

Once upon time, there was a young girl and her mother. They had a small garden where the mother grew gourd/marrow. Anytime the mother decided to go to the garden, her daughter came with her. But the daughter was a very turbulent and frisky girl.

After some months, the ground got a fruit. Anytime the young girl came to the garden, she went straight to the gourd to see if the fruit was ripe. The mother always forbade her to touch the fruit. One day she went to the garden without her mother knowing. When she entered the garden, she went straight to the small fruit and touched it; and the small fruit jumped over. Frightened by this movement of the small fruit, the young girl dashed off and the small fruit chased her ɓingir, ɓingir, ɓingir….

On her stampede, the young girl caught sight of a group of women who were threshing. The women asked her, “Hey! Young girl, Hey! Young girl, why are you running like that?”

The young girl said, “You don’t have the remedy of what is chasing me.”

Meanwhile they saw the small fruit coming towards them ɓingir, ɓingir, ɓingir, saying :

Kullun kwar da ni She always treads me

kwar kwar da ni, kwar kwar da ni,

Karamin duma Small fruit!

Yau kau na gaji, Today I am fed up

Karamin duma,Small fruit!

Yau ko na gaji, Today I am fed up

Karamin duma ! Small fruit!

After witnessing what was going on, the women said, “a’a’aaa ! there is nothing we can do for you young girl.”

Then she continued her way. After running for a while she met a group of men who were sowing. They stopped sowing and asked her, ““Hey! Young girl, Hey! Young girl, why are you running like that?”

The young girl said, “You don’t have the remedy of what is chasing me.”

Meanwhile they saw the small fruit coming towards them ɓingir, ɓingir, ɓingir, saying :

Kullun ƙwar da ni She always treads me

Ƙwar ƙwar da ni, Ƙwar ƙwar da ni,

Ƙaramin duma Small fruit!

Yau kau na gaji, Today I am fed up

Ƙaramin duma, Small fruit!

Yau ko na gaji, Today I am fed up

Ƙaramin duma ! Small fruit!

After witnessing what was going on, the group of men said, “wuuu ! there is nothing we can do for you young girl.”

Then she continued her way. After running for a while she met an old woman who was grinding millet.

The old woman asked her, “Why are you running like that?”

The young girl said,”You don’t have the solution to the thing that makes me run.”

The old women said to the girl, “Stop where you are!”

The young girl stopped where she was.

The old women said to the girl, “Stop shivering!”. The young girl stopped shivering.The old women then said, “You are that turbulent girl who doesn’t listen to anybody, aren’t you?”The young girl kept silent. Later on she said, “I will never do anything wrong again.” Later on the small fruit came ɓingir, ɓingir, ɓingir and started saying:

Ƙullun ƙwar da ni She always treads me

Ƙwar ƙwar da ni, Ƙwar ƙwar da ni,

Ƙaramin duma Small fruit!

Yau kau na gaji, Today I am fed up

Ƙaramin duma, Small fruit!

Yau ko na gaji, Today I am fed up

Ƙaramin duma ! Small fruit!

The old woman took the grounding stone and smote the small fruit with it. The small gourd was split and some flies came out of it buuuu…!

The old women said to the young gild, “You are lucky. I will take you home. When you go home now, I want you to continue to behave wrongly.”

This is the end of this story.

TALE 3:

Tatsunya ta uku: Sodo ɗan fayamci

Gatan gatanku

Ta je ta koma.

Kun ji dai?

To.

Wannan dai;

Wani sarmayi ne ana ce ma shi Sodo, da budurwashi Nani. Kullum Sodo sai ya tahi fayamci garinsu Nani. Wata rana da ya je suka yi hira sai ya ce ma Nani. Ina so yau mu tahi ki gano garinmu. Nani ta ce ina ? Sodo ya ce garinmu, in muka kwana da sahe sai in maido ki. Bayan wata ɗaukar zuciya sai Nani ta ce to! Na yarda, mu tahi.

Sai suka tashi, suka kama hanya suka tahi. Suna tahiya, suna tahiya sai suka tarda wasu ruwa kwance. ko da suka iso bakin ruwa sai Sodo ya ce « to Nani ; lokacin da na huce ruwan nan bai kawo kamar haka ba. Amma yanzu da aka yi haka, sai ki tsaya nan har in shiga in gani ; in mai ratsuwa ne, in komo mu tahi tare, in kuma ya yi zurhi kawarai, muga yanda za mu yi. Saboda in muka shiga tare ruwa ya cinye ki sai in yi kumya. Nani ta ce “to!”

Sodo ya shiga korama, yana tahiya har ruwa ya kawo mishi ga kirji. Sai ya waiwayo, ya dubi Nani. Sa’arda ya waiwayo mi ya gani? zakuna biyu sun sa Nani gaba, suna harin ridar ta. Da dai Sodo ya ga haka, sai ya juya baya ya yi ta kanshi. Ya ketara ruwa ya bar Nani nan. Da ya zo gidansu sai ya shige ɗakinshi ya yi kwancinshi.

Bayan haka, sai Alla ya cire ma Nani duk haɗarran da ke gewaye da ita, zakuna suka tahiyarsu. Da ta sami kanta sai ta biyo sarmayin nata har gidansu. Ta iske shi kuma ɗakinshi yana kwana. Sai ta ketara shi ta kwanta bayanshi.

Zuwa can da Sodo ya falka, sai ya ji mutum a jikinshi. Ya ce “wa ne ne kuma nan?” sai Nani ta ce : « da wa ka taho ? »

Da jin muryar Nani sai ya sunkuye kai ya zube, a mace, Nani dai ba ta san ya mutu ba. Washe gari, sai ta tashi ta tahiyarta, ta koma garinsu. Gari na wayewa, sai ta ji ana cewa « ai Sodo ya mutu ». Samari suna cewa « jiya jiya Sodo ya zo nan muka yi wasa tare, an ce babu shi ya rasu, mu tahi wurin makoki». Da suka je suka iske ba a binne shi ba.

Lokacin nan ne wani malami ya ce samari su gina rami gaba arba’in. Nan da nan samari suka yi gina gaba arba’in.

Malam ya ce a kawo icce kai arba’in, da ciyawa kai arba’in. Su ma aka kawo, kuma ya ce a zuba su duka cikin ramin ; aka ɗunguma su duka.

Sa’annan Malam ya huddo wata yar laya, ya ce : « to jama’a, za a kunna ma itacen nan da ciyawar nan wuta ; zan jefa wannan yar layar cikin wutar ; idan aka sami wani mai kokari ya huddo yar layan nan, to in aka jika ta aka ba Sodo ya sha, zai tashi da yardar Alla.

Da jin haka sai uwar Sodo ta zaburo, ta ce za ta ɗauko wannan laya. Ko da ta matsa wuta ta laso ta sai ta zahuce, ta yo baya. Ta ce ma mijinta « kai na gidanmu, mu je mun haihi wani ! »

Da ta faɗi haka, sai mijin nata ya zaburo yana mata faɗa : «mutumniyar kawai, ja daga nan, ba ni wuri ki gani ; ki ɗauko yar laya sai kice wai mun haihi wani ! gusa ba ni wuri !». Uba ya yi

niyya za ya shiga, ya tunkari rami da wuta, wuta ta bugo shi ya zahuce, ya jayo baya. Sai ya ce « gaskiyar ki, ta gidanmu, zancen naki shi za a yi ; mu je mu Alla ya ba mu wani ».

Da gani da jin haka sai kowa ya yi tsurum ! an rasa abun da za a yi.

Sa'annan Nani sai ta matso ta ce : « malam wai kowa ma in ya ɗauko layar aka jika mishi ya sha ya tashi ? » Malam ya ce kowa ma !

Nan take sai Nani ta dira cikin wuta. Da faɗawarta sai wuta ta mutu. Ta duka ta ɗauko laya, ta huto. Ta bada aka jika aka ba Sodo. Ko da ya sha sai ya tashi. Ana ta mamaki, kowa ya shiga sha'aninshi, sannu sannu wuri ya watse. Da marece, Nani ta ce za ta gida. Sodo ya ce barin in raka ki.

Da malan ya ji haka sai ya ce musu : « to, in ka raka ta, sa'arda za ku rabuwa, za ku ga wani damo ya nuho ku ; in ka kashe damon nan uwayenka sun mutu ; kuma in ka barshi da rai to Nani za ta mutuwa.

To in ku ne mi za ku yi ?

ƙunƙurus kan kusu/ɗanɓarya, ba dan gizo ba da na yi ƙarya; da ma ita ce nike shiryawa.

Translation: Sodo the lover

Gatan gatanku

Ta je ta koma.

Are you listening (to me)?

Go ahead!

Once upon time;

There was a young man called Sodo with his girlfriend Nani. Everyday Sodo pays a visit to Nani to her village.

One day he said to Nani, "I want you to come and see my village today."

Nani asked, « What? »

Sodo answered, "Yes, my village. We will sleep there and come back early in the morning the following day."

After a deep sigh Nani said, "Ok, I accept your invitation."

They took the road to Sodo's village. On their way, they came across a puddle.When they reached the waterside, Sodo said, "Nani, by the time I went across this puddle the level of water was not as much as high. But as it was so you have to wait here. Let me get into it and estimate its depth. If it is not deep I will come back and we will go across it together. But if it

is too deep we shall see what to do. Now that I don't know how deep it is, if I try to go across it with you, if we get together into it and you drown I will be ashamed."

Nani accepted.

Sodo got into the river. He walked into it until the level of water reached his chest. Then he turned his head to look at Nani. Surprisingly, what did he see: two lions in front of the girl ready to attack her. How did Sodo react? He simply turned his head, tried to reach the other side of the river and ran away, leaving the girl to meet her fate. Sodo got home and slept peacefully as if nothing happened.

Despite the danger in front of her, i.e. the two lions, Nani did not panic. A few moments later the two lions left. Nani too left after the lions. But instead of going back to her village, she continued to Sodo's village. When she came to his place, she got into his room and found her man sleeping peacefully. Instead of waking him up, she just lay down on his side. Later on when he woke up, he felt a human boby on his side. Then he said, "Who is that again?"

Nani said, "With who did you come? »

By hearing her voice, he shamefully bowed his head and died. But Nani didn't know that he was dead.The following day she heard people saying, "Sodo is dead"

The young people commented, "Sodo came here yesterday and we played together. Now that his death is announced, let's go for the condolence."

When his friends came to Sodo's place for the condolence, they found that he was not buried yet.

At this moment a marabout asked the young people to dig a hole forty metres deep. Immediately the young people dug the forty-metres-deep hole.

Then the marabout asked the young people to bring forty pieces of firewood and forty bunches of straw and put them altogether into the hole.

After that, the marabout brought a small amulet out of his pocket and talked to the gathering audience, in these words, "Look people! We are going to set fire on what is inside the hole. I will throw this small amulet into the hole on fire and invit a courageous volunteer to bring it out of this fire. If I put the burning amulet in water and have Sodo drink this water, by the grace of God he will wake up."

By hearing that, Sodo's mother volunteers to bring the amulet out of fire. But when she came up to the hole on fire, under the pressure of the heat, she gave up. Then she said to Sodo's father, "My hunsband, it is better we go and think of having another baby."

When she said that, her husband got very angry and told her off, "Useless woman. What is difficult in taking the amulet out of the hole to save the life of our dear son, Sodo? Instead, you suggest to sacrifice him and conceive a new baby. Clear off! I will show you that I love my son."

The father got ready to get into the hole to pick up the small amulet. When he came up to the hole on fire, under the pressure of the heat he moved backward and said, “You are right, my wife. We will do what you have suggested. Let’s pray God to give us a new son.”

The father’s surrendering declaration buried definitely any hope of rescuing Sodo.

At this moment, Nani came up to the marabout and said, “Excuse me Malam, can anyone get into the hole on fire and pick up the small amulet?”

The marabout answered, “Yes, anyone can.”

Nani jumped into the hole on fire right away. Hardly did she get into it than the fire went off. She bowed, took up the amulet, came out and gave it to the marabout who immediately put it in water and had Sodo drink that water. Sodo woke up immediately. Everybody was surprised. Gradually the crowd banished. At night, Nani decided to return to her village.

Sodo said, “I will come with you.”

When the marabout heard that, he said, “Ok, when you come with her, as you see each other off you will see a lizard coming to you. If you kill it your parents will die, but if you leave it alive Nani will die.”

If it were you what would you do?

This is the end of this story.

TALE 4:

Tatsunya ta hudu: ɗan mutun da kada

Wata rana, wani ɗan mutun ne, ya huto yana yawatawa. Shi ma kada ya huto shan iska, bai sani ba har ya yi nisa da korama. Da ya gaji, kanshi ya bace sai ya kwanta gindin wani tikire. Yana nan sai ga ɗan mutun. Ko da ɗan mutun ya ganshi sai ya ce: “kada mi kake yi nan? Wa ya kawo ka ma nan? »

kada ya ce: “wallahi na huto shan iska, sai lahwai ta huce gaba na da ɗiyanta; tana ja na har muka zo nan. Ko da ta gewaya wannan tikiren sai ta tashi. Ni kuwa na gaji, ban na iya maida kaina ruwa.

Ɗan mutun ya ce : « yanzu kada in na maida ka ruwa, ba ka bijire ka cuta mini ba ? in yi maka rana ka mini dare!”

kada ya ce : « haba mutun ! billahillazi ba na cuta ma ba ; tahi ka nemo bawa, ka ɗaure ni, ka ɗauke ni ka maida ni cikin ruwa ».

Ɗan mutun ya tahi ya nemo bawa, ya ɗarme kada, ya ɗauke shi ya tahi da shi har bakin ruwa. Da ya shiga ruwa bakin kwabri, sai ya ce ma kada to bari in aje ka nan. Sai kada ya ce : « haba ɗan mutun, don alla kara gaba da ni ».

Ɗan mutun ya cira da shi ya ci gaba inda ruwa yake kama mishi ga cibiya. Ya ce « kai kada nan zan aje ka ! » Kada ya ce bai san wannan ba, ɗan mutun ya kara gusawa dai da shi.

Ɗan mutun ya gusa da kada inda ruwa yake kama mishi ga gaba. Sa'annan kada ya ce « alhamdulillahi, aje ni nan, ya isa ». Ɗan mutun ya aje kada ya sunce shi. Ya waiwaya zai koma ya huta daga ruwa, sai kada ya ride shi, ya ce shi yinwa yake ji, baya barin ɗan mutun ya huta. Ɗan mutun kuwa ya ce bai san hakanan ba, sai ya shiga kokowa da kada. Suna kokowa sai ga Bukala tana hucewa. Ko da ta ga ɗan mutun sai ta ce : « kai ! ɗan mutun da tahe-tahe kake ! mi ka zo biɗa nan ? » Ɗan mutun ya gaya mata duka yanda aka yi. Bukala ta ce ma kada : « mutun a nan ! mi kake jira da shi ? duk cikin ruwan nan muna da makiyi irin mutun ? ka ga ni nabar ma wurin ! » Bukala ta shiri. Kokowa ta rukuma tsakanin kada da ɗan mutun. Suna kokowa sai ga doki. Daga bakin ruwa sai doki ya hange su, suna kokowa, ya ce : « kai lahiya kuke tada ruwa ! » suka gaya ma doki duk abun da ya faru. Da doki ya ji haka sai ya ce ma kada « ka yi yanda kake iyawa da shi ; duk zaman gida da muke da shi gana muu azaba kaɗai ya sani » ; ya sha ruwanshi ya shiri.

Jim kaɗan sai ga barewa da fakara sun zo lokaci ɗaya za su shan ruwa. Da suka tsinkayi kada yana kokowa da ɗan mutun sai suka ce « kai kada yau kai ne kake kokowa da ɗan mutun ? mi ya kawo haka ? » kada da ɗan mutun suka gaya musu sai barewa ta ce duk dajin nan babu wanda ya addabe su kamar ɗan mutun ; ita kuwa fakara sai ta ce kasa da sama tsuntsaye ba su da makiyi kamar mutun. Suka sha ruwasu suka tahi suna cewa « madalla, yau fa mai ba mu ana bashi ! ya taɓa ya ji in da daɗi ».

Ɗan mutun da kada suka koma kokowa. A faɗi nan a tashi nan sai ga zomo. Sarkin wayo, daga nesa sai ya fara cewa : « haba, haba, mi ne ne wannan ? bai kamata ba ! da kumya a gane ku kuna kokowa ! ku tsaya mi ya faru ? » Suka tsaya, ɗan mutun ya bayyana abun da ya faru, zomo ya yi shiru kuma sai ya ce : « tunda haka ne, kai ɗan mutun gwada mini yadda ka yi !» Ɗan mutun ya lalubo bawa ya ɗarme kada tam tam, ya ce ga yadda na yi. To hita da shi har inda ka ɗauko shi in gani. Da ɗan mutun ya hita daga ruwa sai zomo ya ce: "to tahi da shi garinku, in ana cin kada ku cinye shi!" Ɗan mutun ya sungumo kada ya nuho gida, zomo yana rake da shi. Da tunkarar gidansu sai wani yaro ya rugo yana baba! Baba! Autaɓ na nan rai hannin Alla ! an ce ko mi za ka yi ka je ka nemo antar zomo !

Da jin haka sai ɗan mutun ya ce : antar zomo ? abu mai sauki ! ga wani nan tare da ni.

Da jin haka zomo ya daka tsalle ya hurce, yana cewa : lalle kada ya isa maciyin amana, amma kai ɗan mutun ka hi shi !

Ƙunƙurus kan kusu/ɗanɓarya, ba dan gizo ba da na yi ƙarya; da ma ita ce nake shiryawa.

Translation: Man and Crocodile

One day, Man came out for a walk. Crocodile also went out to get some fresh air. But Crocodile did not realize that he went far from the river. On his temptation to get back to the river, he got lost. After trying several times in vain, he felt tired and slept under a tree. Shortly after, Man came and saw Crocodile under the tree. Then he asked him, "Crocodile what are you doing here and who brought to this place?"

Crocodile answered, “I honestly go out to get fresh air when a partridge came and passed before me with her chicks. She gradually lured me until we came here. Then she turned round this tree and flew away. As I am too tired and cannot go back into the river, I stopped here.”

Man said, “Crocodile, if I take you back into the river, will you not betray me, i.e. to return good by evil?”

Crocodile said, “Man, how can you imagine me doing such a thing? I swear by God I will not betray you. Go and look for a rope, you tie me tight with it and take me back into the river.”

Man got a rope, tied Crocodile well and took him to the riverside. But Crocodile asked Man to get into the river with him. Man got into the river with Crocodile, he went deeper until the level of water reached his knee. Then he said to Crocodile, “Crocodile, I will leave you here.”

On hearing that, Crocodile said, “No,no, no…please, Man, go a little deeper with me.”

Man went deeper into the water with Crocodile until the level of water reached his navel.

Then he said, “Crocodile, now I will leave you here.”

Crocodile insisted that Man should go deeper with him. On Crocodile insistence, Man went deeper with him into the river until the level of water reached his chest.

Then Crocodile said, “Thank you very much Man. Now you can leave me here.”

Man dropped Crocodile down and untied him. Hardly had he turned his back to get out off water when Crocodile harassed him violently. Crocodile finally attacked Man and tried to kill him because he said he (Crocodile) was too hungry. Man tried to defend himself and a fierce fighting broke between the two.Then ¬Bukala came. When she saw Man, she stopped and said, “Man, what are you doing here? You move a lot!” Man explained to Bukala in detail what happened.

Bukala said to Crocodile, “A man here! What are you waiting for to deal with him? In this water do we have an enemy more dangerous than man? Off, I go!”Bukala left. The fighting between Crocodile and Man started again. Then Horse came. From the bank of the river when he saw them fighting he said, “What is wrong with you?” They explained to Horse in detail what happened.

When Horse heard this explanation, he said to Crocodile, “Deal with him as you can; our living together with man is nothing but suffering » ;

Horse drank his water and left.

A few moments later Doe and partridge came at the same time to drink water. When they saw Crocodile and Man fighting, they said, “Crocodile, why are you fighing Man?” When they gave them the reason of their fighting, Doe said, “There is no other being who disturbs us like Man in this bush.” Partridge added, “On earth and in the sky we don’t have an enemy that can be compared to man.”

They drank their water and left saying, “The one who maltreats us is being maltreated in his turn. Let him experience what maltreatment is.”

The fighting resumed fiercely between Man and Crocodile. Then Hare, the clever came. From a distance he said, “Please, please, what is wrong with you? The way you behave is not good. What you are doing is a shame. Can you explain to me the reason of your fighting?”They stopped fighting and Man explained what happened. Hare listened carefully to Man’s explanation and said, “As it is so, Man, show me how you proceeded.”

Man got a rope and tied Crocodile tightly and said, “This is how I proceeded, Hare.”

Then Hare said, “Now, I want you to take him out off water.”

When Man took Crocodile out off water, Hare added, “Now, I want you to bring him to your village. If people in your village eat the meat of crocodile then you can slaughter him and share his meat among your people.”

Man followed by Hare took Crocodile on his shoulders and started his journey home. At the entrance of Man’s house they were welcomed by one of his children who said, “Daddy! Daddy! Auta is at death’s door and to save his life you have to bring the liver of hare.”

When Man heard that, he said, “Liver of hare? This is an easy matter!I have one here with me.”

When Hare heard that he jumped out, ran away saying, “I agree Crocodile is a traitor but Man is more a traitor than him.”

This is the end of this story.

Notes:

1. Gatan gatanku is an introductory expression used by the story-teller at the beginning of most of the Hausa tales/stories.
2. Ta je ta komo is a ‘standard expression’ used by the listener(s) at the beginning of most of the Hausa tales/stories to tell/show the story-teller that they are ready.
3. Wannan dai is another ‘standard expression’ used by the story-teller at the beginning of most of the Hausa tales/stories.
4. To! Is a ’yes’ marker.
5. Ƙunƙurus kan kusu, in ba dan gizo da na yi ƙarya is a ‘standard expression’ marking the end of most of the Hausa tales/stories.
6. Auta means in Hausa language, the youngest child of the family/the last born and the particularity of an auta in Hausa tradition is that he is the most pampered of the children by the parents.

APPENDIX II : SONGS

THE PROFESSIONAL SONGS

EXAMPLE OF YARIMA MALAM

Waƙa ta 1 : waƙar ALLAU	Song 1 : song of ALLAU
Allau mijin Doko Ɗan Kaba	Allau, husband of Doko, son of Kaba
Mijin Baka shirya ka mai gidan	Husband of Baka, get ready!
hatsi da yawa	You, the big producer of millet
Allau mijin Doko ɗan Kaba	Allau, husband of Doko, son of Kaba
Allau ya mai gidan	Allau the boss
Allau ɗan Attumbu ya mayi ɗan Dodo	Allau son of Attumbu and Dodo
Ɗan tarika Ɗan mala	Son of Tarika and Mala
Ɗan Tasalla da ɗan Baba	Son of Tasalla and Ɗan Baba
Sha kirari baran Mai Tama	You are praiseworthy, servant of Mai Tama
Abokin su Baki	Friend of Baki
Tara gero jikan Tsari mijin	Produce more millet, grandson
Doko ɗan Kaba	of Tsari, husband of Doko, son of Kaba
Mai maganin yinwa Allau	The ‘hunger healer,’ Allau
mijin Doko Ɗan Kaba	husband of Doko, son of Kaba
Allau jikan Lahirarshi na gode	Thank you Allau ! Grandson of Lahirarshi
Allau mijin Doko ɗan Kaba	Allau husband of Doko, son of Kaba
Allau ba dashe ba ne shibka ce,	Allau, you have not been planted, you are a seed
Ubanshi shi ne Sarki a maguzawan	His father was the chief ofMaguzawan
Daura ta baya	of Daura
Kai kuwa ta zo gare ka	It is your turn now
Kai ne sarki a yanzu	You are the chief now

Allau ya ɗauki fartanya da gatari da hauya Allau has taken a hoe, a cutlass and a

'hauya'	(another ploughing instrument)
Ya kandame dawan Ɗankari	He weeded the bush of Ɗankari
Ya kashe dawan Zugubi ya yi madawaci	He transformed the bush of Zugubi into a plain
Na wajen Kumci assalamu alekum	Those of the village of Kumci get ready (because he will not spare you)
Da ku da Zamna ku kai gaisuwa ta kurɗi zambar ɗari biyar	You and the people Zamna village have to pledge your allegiance by paying zambar ɗari biyar
Ɗan Ta Yarima banga-banga a rage dawa	Ɗan Ta Yarima, you have to spare a little space in the bush
Mu samubigen shibka dawa mu shibka dumasow	So that we will get a little space to gourd seed
Tara gero jikan Tsari mijin Doko ɗan Kaba	Produce more millet, grandson of Tsari, husband of Doko, son of Kaba
Mai maganin yinwa, Allau mijin Doko ɗan Kaba	The 'hunger healer,' Allau husband of Doko, son of Kaba
A wajen sha da maida ɗan wanzami da loba sun shiga	In the area of sha da maida a traditional barber and an uncircumcised boy got into
Du sun shiga cikin ɗakwara don su yi hwashi	A hawthorn and operate as gangesters
Bas sa leƙa gona, yinwa in ta zo su hwaɗa tabki	They don't go to the farm,when hunger comes,they get into the pond
Su kama kwaɗɗo su gama da yakuwa	Catch frogs and mix them with sorrel
Su ci birdiddigi da rani cinikin garinsu juyen sema	They eat toad during the dry season and in their village there is no serious

economic activity

Tara gero jikan Tsari mijin — Produce more millet, grandson

Doko ɗan Kaba — of Tsari, husband of Doko, son of Kaba

Yarima na ki matar gawa — Yarima refuses to marry a widow

Lalle Gyamba ne ki matar gawa — It's true I refuse to marry a widow

Ni ko ina gwabranci ta so ni — Even if I am a bachelor,

ban na auren ta — I won't marry her

Ko kana ba ta zane biyar — Even if you give her five new clothes,

mijin baya takan tuna — she will always think of her dead husband

Ƙiyar matsiyaci, ta samu auren — The daughter of a poor man, marrying a rich man,

mai arziki huririta ta samuhuntuwa ta zannuwa ya sami gaban — this will be an occasion of kamar mai yinwa shiga vanity and extravagance for her.

hwarau-hwarau — A poor lady now dressed with new clothes will behave like a hungry man in front of a calabash of a liquid food made of powder of cereals, sour milk and water.

Tara gero jikan Tsari mijin — Produce more millet, grandson of Tsari, husband

Doko ɗan Kaba — of Doko, son of Kaba

Aduwawa da ni da ku kámna ce — People of the village of Aduwawa, there is nothing between you and I but mutual consideration

Diyan Aduwawa ma kai kiyama — Not only here on earth but even hereafter

Ba duniya ba ma Allau za ya yo riga — Allau is organizing a riga feast, he consulted

Ya kai shawara wurin ɗan mijici — ɗan mijici and Kara and together they came

Da shi da Kara su ka ce — to my place so that we can discuss about it

A je gidana in mas kiɗin riga	
Ko da ya tashi ya biya Bukudu, Kagarawa, kwajalawaYa je rigar Aji ya je shi Kanɗa, ya je Dishe	He went to Bukudu, Kagarawa , rigar Aji, Kanɗa and Dishe
Ya biya ta Tunhwahi ya gangara Gidan Kwabo	He went to Tunhwahidown to Gidan Kwado
Ya biya ta Harɗa ya je Matankari, Mazayya je Kame	He went to Harɗa, Matankari Mazayya and ya kame
Ya gangara zuwa Yawuri ya biya Galadimawa	He went down to Yawuri by Galadimawa
Dare gida na can yammacin Kiru	Dare my home village north of Kiru
Ya ishe babu ni gida ya tahi Magirami ya je Godo	He found out that I was not around then he continued to Magirami and Godo
Ya je shi Tasau ya kwan a Kance sai ya biya Kurni	He went to Tasau, slept at Kance and continued to kurni
Ga shi Kurnawa ya biya wajen Da Mayu	He was in Kurnawa continued to Da Mayu
Ya je Kudiddihi ga shi Gayamba ga shi Gawo ya kwanaBan dawa, ya tahi yan	He went to Kudiddihi,Gayamba, Gawo he slept at Ban dawa and went to yan
Tsamiya a can Baushi(Allau) ya taran ni	Tsamiya Bauchi (Allau) met me

Can a iyakar Maradî dan mu yi zancen kiɗin riga	At the frontier with Maradi in order to talk about Riga ritual feast
Ba waƙar Riga ba ko neman saniya kake sai in ba ka	Not only the song of Riga but even if you are looking for a cow, I can give it to you
Kan ga yan matana guda biyar	Here are my five daughters
Duba zabi yàl budurwa mai hankali	Choose among them the cleverest
Ciroma Anne ya ɗaura aure kyauta na baka ‘annan na gudu’	Ciroma Anne will celebrate the wedding, and you won’t pay any dowry

Waƙa ta 2 : waƙar Mato (ta noma) Song 2 : A song dedicated to Mato (about farming)

Ɗan Yarinya mai hatsi da yawa Son of Yarinya, big producer of millet

Mato na Babban Anne na Ɗan Buzu Mato, friend of Babban Anne and Ɗan Buzu

Gona ta biya ka jikan Malan The farm paid you, grandson of malan

Ani ta Mato na Ɗan Buzu Mato, friend of Ɗan Buzu

Gona ta biya ka jikan malan The farm rewarded you, grandson of malan

Bado ɗauke ɗan Fatsuma na Umaru Help people, son of Fatsuma friend of Umaru

Mato na Dije jikan Ganau ƙanen Diddili Mato, husband of Dije, grandson of Ganau, junior brother of Diddili

Ɗan Bawa ɗan Kurege na Yauci Son of Bawa and Kurege, husband of Yauci

Mato ɗan Yarima Gayya na ɗan Tumkiya Mato, son of Yarima Gayya, friend of Ɗan Tumkiya

Na Umaru bai ya wuni gida sai gona The friend of Umaru doesn't spend the day at home, he spends it at the farm

Jikan Ganau da zuwa dawa kan bar Aboki Grandson of Ganau, the difference between friends is the farming work

Na Abzin ya hi masu barcin rana The husband of Abzin is superior to those who take a nap

Bada ɗauke ɗan Fatsuma na Umaru The giver dauke15, son of Fatsuma, friend of Umaru

Mato na Dije jikan Ganau Kanan Diddili Mato, husband of Dije, grandson of Ganau, junior brother of Diddili

Mu je mu gan ɗan Fatsuma na Umaru Let us go and see the son of Fatsuma, Friend of Umaru

Mato na Dije jikan Ganau kanan Diddili Mato, husband of Dije, grandson of

	Ganau, junior brother of Diddili
Dokin zage na Ladi jikan Ganau	Horse of parade, husband of Ladi,
Kanan Diddili	grandson of Ganau, junior brother of Diddili
Ɗan Bawa ɗan Kurege na yauci	Son of Bawa and Kurege, husband of Yauci
Wasa gobe ɗan Na Daushi aiki gare ka	I remind you,son of Na Daushi, there will be a Riga tomorrow, which is not an easy task
Ɗan Ganau cida raggo ɗan Saluhu mai gari da malan Musa	Son of Ganau, you, who feed the lazy man, son of Saluhu Mai Gari and malan Musa
Yana Riga ɗan ɗan Daudu shi da Sarkin Mata	He is organizing a Riga, the son of Ɗan Daudu and Sarkin Mata
Bada ɗauke ɗan Fatsuma na Umaru	You are the giver of dauke, son of Fatsuma, friend of Umaru
Mato na Dije jikan Ganau	Mato, husband of Dije, grandson of
kanan Diddili	Ganau, junior brother of Diddili
Ɗan Bawa ɗan Kurege na Yauci	Son of Bawa and Kurege, husband of Yauci
Mato ɗauki galgaɗìna komi dare	You have to take my advice
gari wayewa yake	Mato: whatever longer the night is, it will be replaced by the daylight
Wallahi komin nisan dare gari	I sware by God: whatever longer the night is,
wayewa yake	it will be replaced by the daylight
Rabo bai kare ba, mai hasada	A jealous cannot thwart God’s will
shi kan yi baya	
Mato da ya so ya yo riga ya	When Mato has taken the decision of
kai shawara ga Kaura	organizing a riga, he went and saw Kaura for advice
An nemi Abdu ga karhe tun	We look for money with Abdu who is guarantor
irin na Gwati	of old deposit

Saura jika ɗàri tun da na	It remains one thousand as I
zo Mai Garau ko wata shekara	come to Mai Garau every year
Ina yin neman kudì ina Tarawa	I look for money and save it
Ga ya ma Kaura Ga jan sile dubu	'Tell kaura these are 1000 red shillings zambar goma (10000)'
don in wanke wasan riga mu	To make the Riga ritual feast more successful
san sai baya	and good souvenir for the coming generations
Bada ɗauke ɗan Fatsuma na Umaru	The giver ɗauke, son of Fatsuma, friend of Umaru
Mato na Dije jikan Ganau	Mato, husband of Dije, grandson of Ganau,
kanan Diddili	junior brother of Diddili
Ɗan Bawa ɗan Kurege na Yauci	Son of Bawa and Kurege, friend of Yauci
Sannu da aiki na Dije jikan	Diddili Congratulations, husband of Dije,
Ganau ƙanen	grandson of Ganau, junior brother of Diddili
Ai kun ji dokin zage na Ladi jikan	He is the horse of parade, husband of Ladi, grandson
Ganau ƙanen Diddili	of Ganau, junior brother of Diddili
Dokin zage na ladi jikan	Horse of parade, husband of Ladi, grandson
Ganau ƙanen Diddili	of Ganau, junior brother of Diddili.
Ya biya mu bai yi tange na	He paid us without hesitating,
Ladi jikan Ganau ƙanen Diddili	husband of Ladi, grandson of Ganau, junior brother of Diddili
Ɗan Bawa ɗan Kurege na Yauci	Son of Bawa and Kurege, friend of Yauci

Waƙa ta 3 : waƙar gyaɗa Song 3 : song of groundnut

*Murna ta cika ni iko ya zo na mushe Yakub*a

Thank God ! The Commander, friend of Mr Yakuba, came

Ya nemi Gimba in mishi waƙar gyaɗa da waƙar iko

He invited me to sing for groundnut and power

Kumandan ya nemi Gimba in mas waƙar gyaɗa da waƙar iko

The Commander invited me to sing for groundnut and power

Mai Magarya miji galgaɗinshi bai ya barci da rana

The Commander of Magarya, whoever listens to your advice

will never have a nap in the afternoon

Kumandan maji galgaɗinshi bai ya barci da rana

The Commander, whoever listens to your advice will never have a nap

Masu sarushi a kama aikin gujiya da gaskiya

All the civil servants have to take the growing of groundnut seriously

Ƙusa sai tana da maiko kan tashi

No machine or engine can function without oil.

Hal barudu gujiya ta kan yi in ji kumandan

"You can even make a rifle with groundnut", the Commander said.

A kama noman gujiya da gaskiya

Take the growing of groundnut seriously

Mai Magarya maji galgaɗinshi bai ya barci da rana

The Commander of Magarya, whoever listens to your advice

will never have a nap in the afternoon

Tsorona kumanƊan bai san wasa ba

Beware with the Commander, he doesn't play a joke

Shi kwa ba a mas in ji Gimba ya ki maras gaskiya

And I tell you not to play it to him. He too doesn't like the hoodlums.

Ɓarayi ba su samu jaɓin bai a wurin ubangina

My boss (the Commander) has no pity for thieves/he won't support the thieves

Mai Magarya maji galgaɗinshi bai ya barci da rana

The Commander of Magarya, whoever listens to your advice

will never have a nap

Masu sarushi a kama aikin gujiya da gaskiya

All the civil servants have to take the growing of groundnut seriously

Ƙusa sai tana da da maiƙo kan tashi

No machine or engine can function without oil.

Sarkin Daura Haru da Sarkin Malawa

Chief Haru of Daura and the Chief of Malawa

Zana Sarkin Washa da yâlo har Sarkin Kance

You have to mention the Chief of Washa and Chief Yalo,

and the Chief of Kance

Har Jibo zakin Bande Kwadde

Jibo, the lion of Bande, Kwaddeis also to be mentioned

Kowanne Bokicin gyaɗa tasa zambar dubu dubu

Each of them is imposed/supposed to bring Thousands of thousands of buckets of groundnut

Sarkin Ɗan Ciyau da Dingas har ga Lawal na Manjau

Chiefs of Ɗan Ciyau and Dingas to Lawal of Manjau

Babba ya zaburo Abdalahi hal mutan Gushi kowa yana ta murna

Babba also came Abdalahi too shows up the population of Gushi too; everybody is happy

Duka galgaɗin kumandan mun so shi mun ji daɗî

All of us appreciate the Commander's advice

Raggo yake darura ko a cikin saraki, raggo yake darura

A lazy man is always anxious even among the Chiefs

Mai Magarya maji galgaɗinshi bai ya barci da rana

The Commander of Magarya, whoever listens to your advice

will never have a nap

Masu sarushi a kama aikin gujiya da gaskiya

All the civil servants have to take the growing of groundnut seriously

Ƙusa sai tana da da maiƙo kan tashi

No machine or engine can function without oil.

Ramin ƙarya tsayin gajere ne, lokacin sarushi

There is no need to lie during the colonial period

Dagwal za mu ji daɗi

With De Gaulle we will be happy

Kai masu gwantanci lokacin sarushin Dagwal za mu ji daɗi

Listen to me all the chiefs, I am telling you that during De Gaulle's ruling we will be happy

A yi dogarai a sake sanhur munahuci duka ya ƙaura

You can have your bodyguards, can change your manner of ruling,

there is no room for plot now

Ku kwa yɗan bariki sai mu sha birgima

As for you, the colonial civil servants, now is the time for rejoicing

Ihu ake ga Itila ya barta ya yi kuka

People are yelling, Hitler capitulated and ran away crying

gwaiwa kamal budo har da hutar bajau ɗan karan kaushi

with his testicle like gallon with cicatrices

Mai Magarya miji galgaɗinshi bai ya barci da rana

The Commander of Magarya, whoever listens to your advice

will never have a nap

Mai isa na sarke ma ji galgaɗinka bai ya barci da rana

The haughty and arrogant Commander, whoever listens to your advice

will never have a nap

Masu sarushi a kama aikin gujiya

All the civil servants have to take the growing of groundnut seriously

Har barudu gujiya takan yi inji kumandan

"You can even make a rifle with groundnut", the Commander said.

A kama noman gujiya

You have to start growing groundnut

Mai Magarya maji galgaɗinshi bai ya barci da rana

The Commander of Magarya, whoever listens to your advice

will never have a nap

Saran yan maza na sarke ma ji galgaɗinka bai ya barci da rana

The boss of all civil servants, whoever listens to your advice

will never have a nap

Mai Magarya maji galgaɗinshi bai ya barci da rana

The Commander of Magarya, whoever listens to your advice

will never have a nap

Masu sarushi a kama aikin gujiya da gaskiya

All the civil servants have to take the growing of groundnut seriously

Har barudu gujiya takan yi inji kumandan

"You can even make a rifle with groundnut", the Commander said.

A kama noman gujiya

You have to start growing groundnut

Kumandan ma ji galgaɗinshi bai ya barci da rana

Commander, whoever listens to your advice will never have a nap

Shi ya gay aga mushe Yakuba

He instructed Mr Yakuba

Kai ma wajen magabatan nan naka

You too, concerning your enemies

Mushe Yakuba kai ma wurin magabatan naka

You too, Mr Yakuba concerning your enemies

Duk ɗokacin yɗan lakwal kowa ya yi gonal gujiya

Every student should get a farm

A ɗan mutun bai noma ba sai yai kaso na wata biyar

If a person doesn't go to the farm he will be jailed for five months

Ya huta bai je gadonai da kwana ba.

Without sleeping home

Mai Magarya maji galgaɗinshi bai ya barci da rana

The Commander of Magarya, whoever listens to your advice

will never have a nap

Mai isa na sarke ma ji galgaɗinka bai ya barci da rana

The haughty and arrogant Commander, whoever listens to your advice

will never have a nap

Inji kumandan a ƙara hemar gujiya

"The groundnut growing ground should be augmented", the Commander said.

Waƙa ta 4: waƙar Sarkin Damagaram Amadu Ɗan Basa

Song 4: Song dedicated to the Sultan of Damagaram Amadu Ɗan Basa

Baba ya yi shirin yaki ɗan Ɓaleri

Baba is ready for war, son of Ɓaleri

Amadu ya ceci duniya

Amadu saved the world

Sa gudu ɗan Baba, ɗan Mai ɗaki

The one who makes others run away, son of Mai ɗaki

Baran fara mahawayi

Junior brother of Fara, l'invincible

Mai shirin yaƙi ɗan Ɓaleri

The one who is always ready for war, son of Ɓaleri

Uban gijin Hajo

The boss of Hajo

Mijin maza makawayi

'Husband of men,' the crown

Ga bajinim ɗan Ɓaleri ya mai asafa

Here is the sire, son of *Ɓ*aleri

Uban gijin Hajo

The boss of Hajo

Kauda maza uban gijin murima

The conqueror of men, master of murima

Uban Turaki da Yaji, uban gijin Gulbi

Father of Turaki and Yaji, master of Gulbi

Mamado uban Matahwa ɗan kiyari

You are Mamado, father of Matahwa son of æiyari

Baba uban Jeka hwada

Baba father of Jeka hwada

Baban Jarma Haru da Sarkin Shanu

Father of Jarma Haru and Sarkin Shanu

Mai shirin yaki ɗan Ɓaleri

The one who is always ready for war, son of ¬aleri

Ya ma asufa uban gijin Hajo

The boss of Hajo

Mijin maza makawayi

'Husband of men,' the crown

Ga bajinim ɗan Ɓaleri ya mai asafa

Here is the sire, son of Baleri

Uban gijin Hajo

The boss of Hajo

Amadu ɗan Tanimu ƙarhe da wuta wuyar a dahwa

Amadu son of Tanimu, you are the iron that cannot be touched when it is hot

Kai ne bakin miciji wa ka tabaka

You are the black snake, who can touch you?

Ɗan Malan Yaro ɗan uwan Mandara

Son of Malan Yaro, relative of Mandara

Bi garaje ɗan Malan Yaro ɗan uwan Mandara

You don't like the zealous, son of Malan Yaro, relative of Mandara

Gagarau na malan Gabto mijin Iya baƙi ɗan Baba

The undefeated, friend of Malan Gabto, husband of Iya baki, son of Baba

Wa garin wani hwango

The transformer of a city into emptiness

Mai shirin yaƙi ɗan Ɓaleri

The one who is always ready for war, son of Ɓaleri

Uban Turaki Abzin baban Mayana, baban Tarno

Father of Turaki Abzin, Mayana and Tarno

Uban Galadima Yari har Ciroma ɗan Manzo

Father of Galadima Yari and Ciroma ɗan Manzo

Ya hi ƙarhin komi Uhudu na Ɗanara

He has everything Uhudu na Ɗanara

Cika dawa ƙarhi sarauta Ɗan Basa mai sa'ida

The dominator/master of the bush, the powerful Ɗan Basa, the undeafeated

Shi ne ya bida Sokoto har Linge har Kano har na Haɗeja

He was the one who conquered Sokoto, Lingi, Kano and Haɗeja

Yan Damargu suna shawara

People of Damargu are concerting themselves

Wa ya taryi Karnen Magaran magajin Gimsau.

Who could challenge the junior brother of Magaran, senior brother of Gimsau?

Mai shirin yaƙi ɗan Ɓaleri

The one who is always ready for war, son of Ɓaleri

Waƙa ta 5: waƙar Samro

Song 5 : Song dedicated to Samro

Sa maza ladam jikan Dije

The one who dominates men, grandson of Dije

Arziki ya zamna wurin na Tunhwana mijin Tawa tsayayye

The well-known wealthy man, friend of Tunhwana, husband of Tawa

Mai hana karyar maza na Tunhwana mijin Tawa tsayayyen gwarzo

The powerful one, who dominates men, friend of Tunhwana, husband of Tawa

Ɗan Shehu gaji Mahaman Balarabe

Son of Shehu, successor of Mahaman Balarabe

Ɗan Algabi ya hi gamka

The Son of Algabi cannot be compared to someone else

Samro na gwamna yau ku ne ma su zamani

Samro, friend of the President, the world is in your hands today

Ikon duniya yana hannu

The power is in your hands

Mai duka Samro na gwamna yau ku ne masu zamani

Samro, you have everything, friend of the President, the world is in your hands today

Ikon duniya yana hannu

The power is in your hands

Mai ƙarhi a bi ka tilas ko an ƙi

The stronger, people have no choice but follow your injunction

Wanda ya rena taka sa a yi mas daddaƙal Yan awaki

The person who refuses to follow your injunction will be castrated as a he-goat

Samro don yana duba ciki na haihuwa

Samro takes into consideration some social elements

Mai iko Samro don yana duba ciki na haihuwa

If he is not taking into consideration some parental link

Da daddaƙe magabatan nan masu gasar wawa

He will castrate his enemies

Ɗan Shehu gaji Mahaman Balarabe

Son of Shehu, successor of Mahaman Balarabe

Ɗan Algabi ya hi gamka

The Son of Algabi cannot be compared to someone else.

Samro na gwamna yau ku ne ma su zamani

Samro, friend of the President, the world is in your hands today

Ikon duniya yana hannu

The power is in your hands

Mai duka Samro na gwamna yau ku ne masu zamani

Samro, you have everything, friend of the President, the world is in your hands today

Ikon duniya yana hannu

The power is in your hands

Raƙumi huɗu rannan ya bani

He gave me four camels that day

Doki da saniya ya kabatta ya ba ni gaji Mahaman

He gave me at the same time a horse and a cow, the successor of Mahaman

Da takarkarai guda biyu ya bani gaji Mahaman

He also gave me two bulls, the successor of Mahaman

Barhe guda biyar ya ƙidanya ya bani gaji Mahaman Balarabe

He also gave me five barhe cash, the successor of Mahaman Balarabe

Ɗan Algabi ya hi gamka

The Son of Algabi

Samro na gwamna yau ku ne ma su zamani

Samro, friend of the President, the world is in your hands today

Ikon duniya yana hannu

The power is in your hands

Wuta ba ta toya korama ko wani ya ji ya gani

Fire can't absorb the river. And if someone has witnessed it, he can tell us

Komin arzikin makaho jagora ce ido nasa

Whatsoever rich the blind man is, his guide is his eyes

Ɗan Shehu gaji Mahaman Balarabe

Son of Shehu, successor of Mahaman Balarabe

Ɗan Algabi ya hi gamka

The Son of Algabi

Samro na gwamna yau ku ne ma su zamani

Samro, friend of the President, the world is in your hands today

Ikon duniya yana hannu

The power is in your hands

Rakumma na zo ka ban Malan Samro

I came to you to collect some camels Malan Samro

Kar ka ban doki bai ya kasuwa

Don't give a horse, it is worthless nowadays

Ko kwa ka ban jika tamanin kai ke da arziki

Or you can give me eighty thousand, which is nothing for a richman of your calibre

Rakumman ka ban guda goma in ja in kai gidana

I want you to give me ten camels I will bring home

Kanti nike ina adakar gyaɗa arzikin Samro.

I will transport groundnut to the scale with them because of your riches Samro

EXCERPTS FROM MA'AZU ƊAN ALALO'S SONGS

Bodo (transcribed by A. Mijinguini, 1974)

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : In na soma kiɗan Bodo nasaran aiki

Komin yawan taron mutane

Komin yawan kaɗan ɗin mutane

Ko mu kaɗan ne

Ba a rasa ɗan kason Bodo a cikinsu

Gaya masu ni ma na taɓa kaɗan

Yan amshi : Nasaran aiki Bodo

Kai ne na Ishar ɗan uwan Guro

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Arne mai kwagiri uban Abdu

Kai ne na Ishar ɗan uwan Guro

Yan amshi: Nasaran aiki Bodo

Kai ne na Ishar ɗan uwan Guro

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Shi dai arne Bodo

Kai da bugu ya sa an yi gyaɗa

Da bugu ya sa an yi rogo

Arne shi dai ya sa an yi Ɗankali

Arne shi ka ce musu ina gayya

Nasaran aiki…

Han na yi niyyat tafiya da safe ya ce mini « mai karkaɗe »

Tsaya gayyal daga Birnin Damagaram

Banda mutan kauye su dakata

Ba a bar kowa ba

Ya gaya mini na gaya musu

Annasara ya ce mutun ko sharifi ne

Nasara ya ce ko balarabe

Mutun ko malami ne

In ji annasara ya ce

Ko da soji, ko da gwabi-gwabi,

Annasara bai bari ba

A gaya wa kilakawa, matan soji,

Annasara bai bari ba ko da matan aure

Domin shi kafiri ne

Ko yan mata yan talla, ko mafauta, ko yan koli,

Da gurdugai, da makafi, da kutare, Bodo bai bari ba

Ko mai saida gyaɗa ba zai bari ba

Yan amshi: Nasaran aiki Bodo

ko mai saida gyaɗa ba bari ba

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Anne bai bar kowa ba

Tsohuwa ta kasa gyaɗa da dogon kara

Amma Bodo ya ce

Ko ita ma bai bari ba, tana iyawa

Ko ba ta iyawa, ko da jan gindi ne

Ai Bodo ya faɗi, ba zai bari ba

Yan amshi: Nasaran aiki Bodo

Ai ya faɗi ba zai barinta ba

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Anasara ba ha'inci, sai na yi gargaɗin mutanen Birni,

Da mutanen Zango da na Bariki

A yi niyaz zuwa gayyar Bodo na Sarkin Damagaram Matafa

A da gandun sarkin Damagaram

Hakimi ashirin da guda biyu ne

Kowa mutun ɗari ɗari ya kawowa

Sai mun yi kwana bakwai ba mu ƙare gandun sarki ba

Radda Bodo ya yi gayya

Rannan sai mu gama kamin da walluha

Yan amshi: Radda Bodo ya yi gayya

Rannan sai mu gama kamin da walluha

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo : Hadda mutanen ƙauye, kai y̓an birni

Gayyar Bodo ce

Wanda duk ya tsaya ya sha bugon tsiya

Yan amshi: Gayyar Bodo ce

Wanda duk ya tsaya ya sha bugon tsiya

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo: Arnen bay a bi ta ƙofar gida, sai bayan gida

Gingiro mai kwagiri da baƙin doki nasara

In ya tashi tsiyarsa, b aya hawan mota sai baƙin doki

Kwantsam mai dogon doki nasara

Ba ya bi ta ƙofar gida sai ta bayan gid amai kwagiri

Sai ka ji duka sai kace kare

Yan amshi: Nasaran aiki Bodo

ya hana hutawa cikin gari

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo: Ka bi rariyar Damagaram

A rariya rariya kana bi babu kowa

Yan amshi: Bodo ya hana hutawa cikin gari

Nasaran aiki Bodo ya hana hutawa cikin gari

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo : Kai da na tara mutane ine faɗì, nasara mai aiki

Da na tara mutane ina faɗì

Bai bar ku ba kowa da maza da matanku

Mai kwagiri yana zuwa

In ya buge ka shari’as sai Allah

Kowa ya tafi ga noman gyaɗa

Kowa ya je ga noman gandu

Amma da ma ya gaya mana idan an je

Gurdugai a ba su ɓarar gyaɗa

Da ma Bodo ya gaya mana

Malamai wajensu daban ne

Gurdugai wajensu daban ne

Kutare wajensu daban ne

Makafi wajensu daban ne

Shariffai wajensu daban ne

Malamai wajensu daban ne

Matan aure wajensu daban ne

Karuwai kilakawa wajensu daban ne

Soji da matan soji wajensu daban ne

Boyi boyi ma daban ne

Kai ka sanya kiɗa Bodo yana tahe

Yan amshi: Nasaran aiki Bodo

sanya kiɗa arnen yana tahe

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Ni dai nasara mai aiki da na yi gargaɗinsu

Mutunen Birnin Damagaram da ƙauyen Damagaram

Da mutanen Birni da mutanen Zango

Na ce musu gobe gayyar Bodo ce

Kowa ya yi niyya

Sai na ji yan mata suna faɗi

« wance ina kike kwana mu kwana ko mu goma

Ban na zuwa gun saurayina"

Sai na ji yan bariki suna faɗi

"ina kake kwana mu kwana ko mu goma

Ban na zuwa kiran budurwata”

Sai nace musu “ku ke shawara”

Ni dai sai kun zo dai

Ko zakara bai san hutarmu ba

Yan amshi: Ni dai sai kun zo dai

Ko zakara bai san hutarmu ba

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo : Ni dai sai kun zo dai

Ko zakara bai san hutarmu ba

Yan amshi: Ni dai sai kun zo dai

Ko zakara bai san hutarmu ba

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo : Sai na sabko gandun Damagaram

Na yi sabko

Ashe komin sabkonka malami ya fi ka

Da na yi sabko na ishe malamai sun fi guda dubu

Ga riguna guda bibiyu, ga rawanin turmi

Kuma ga wandon turmi

Malamai sun riƙe haiwa sun yi tsaitsaye

Yan amshi: A rannan sai ga malan

an riƙe haiwa sun yi tsaitsaye

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo : A rannan kalangu gaban malan

Ina fadîn malan a noma malan

Malan ya ja tsaye ya yi shiru

Na ce a noma malan,

Kafiri bai san Alla ba, a noma malan

Sai malan yace mana ‘ina nomawa ɗan Alalo’

Amma na yi gargadîn malamai

Ba a noma da riga

Tuɓe rigarka fa, i rawani arnen yana tahe

Yan amshi: Tuɓe rigarka fa, i rawani arnen yana tahe

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Malan bai yi gardama ba, kan a jima ya tuɓe rawani

Yan amshi: Malan bai yi gardama ba, kan a jima ya tuɓe rawani

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Malan bai yi gardama ba, kan a jima ya tuɓe rawani

Yan amshi: Malan bai yi gardama ba, kan a jima ya tuɓe rawani

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Na ce noma malan ko in ya iso ka ba shi tausayi

Sai na ji malan yana faɗi

'Subahanal walhamdu lullahi

Wala'ilahu illallahu allahu akbar'

Arnen bai san Alla ba

Kan ya iso ka sha bugun tsiya

Yan amshi: Arnen bai san Alla ba

In ya iso ka sha bugun tsiya

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Malan ya ba ni tausai

Kan a jima ya bani dariya

Yan amshi: Malan ya ba ni tausai

Kan a jima ya bani dariya

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Hallau na koma wajen shariffan Alla tare da larabawa {maimaitawa}

Ashe balarabe da sharihi basu taɓa noma ba

Sun yi tsaye suma, wani yana kuka

Na ce Alla ya ji daɗinku, kafiri ya tashi

Arne mai gongon ga wuya, Bodo mai aiki

Na ce a noma Sidi, Sidi ya yi shiru

Sai na ce ku noma sidi, sidi ya noma

Ya ce mana 'Alhaji ɗan Alalo, ba na noma da ɗai ni'

Sai na ji yana faɗin : « allazi daaa fiya, allazi daaa fiya ;

Aiwa kanan malan ; aiwa kanan sidi »

Wallahi tallahi Sidi

Ban taɓa yin noma ba za ni da ɗai !

Yan amshi: Tun da Alla yai ni Sidi

Ban taɓa yin noma ba ni da ɗai

{maimaitawa}

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Sai yau na ji sunan noma

Radda Alla yai ni Sidi

Ban taɓa yin noma ba za ni yi

Yan amshi: Radda Alla yai ni Sidi

Ban taɓa yin noma ba har hannu yana ruwa

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Sai na koma wajen kilakawa

An yi ɗarmin ɗagwar an lulluɓe rana

Rannan kilake an sha rana

Suna faɗin "ba Ɗan Bodo ba, da ina a katifata rigingine"

Yan amshi: ba Ɗan Bodo ba, da

Ina a katifata rigingine

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Sai na ce ku dai mata, abunda na ba ku labari

Ga farin ido, ga kwalliya, ga zannuwa

Ga iya tsayiwa ga kilakawa

Ku noma daidai karuwai

In ya zo…, kai ku nuna ido kwa tashi tsai-tsaye

Yan amshi: In ya zo…

Kai ku nuna ido kwa ba shi tausayi

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : In kun nuna ido ya ji tausayinku

Arne mai kwagiri ya bar ku ku je inuwa

Hallau na koma wajen matan soji

Kun san matan soji babu ragguwa

Daga bazabarma, sai bamaraɗa, sai bagobira, sai ko bazamfara,

Sai ba'adara, kun san babu ragguwa

Sai babambara…

Suna faɗi su rannan murna suke

A rannan su murna suke an kawo kilakawa a gona sun sha rana

Ma su cin mazansu ɗaiɗai

Nasaran aiki Bodo

Ya hana hutawa ana ciki

Yan amshi: Nasaran aiki Bodo

Ya hana hutawa ana ciki

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: Ai sun duƙa suna faɗi suna murna

« Bodo na gode ma, tun da kilakawa suna ciki »

Yan amshi: Bodo na gode ma,

tun da kilakawa suna ciki

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Alla na gode ma

Annabi na gode ma

Ai Bodo na gode ai tunda kilakawa suke ciki

Yan amshi: Alla na gode ma tunda kilakawa suke ciki

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Alla na gode ma

Annabi na gode ma

Ai Bodo na gode ai tunda kilakawa suke ciki

Yan amshi: Alla na gode ma tunda kilakawa suke ciki

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Na ji su murna har na koma wajen soji

Da na ji su murna

Sai na koma wajen soji marmarin daga nesa

Soji marmarin daga nesa

Maida gari toka ka wara

… sai ka wara !

Soji marmarin daga nesa sun yi guda dubu

Sun riƙa hauya sun yi gardabu

Soji sun riƙa hauya sun yi gardabu

Na matsa na ce ku noma soji

Soji sun riƙa hauya sun yi shiru

Sai na matsa na ce ku noma soji

Soji sun ƙyale, ni kau sai na ja baya

Na matso na ce « a noma shehu »

Shehu ya ƙyale, ni kau sai na ja baya

Na matso na ce « shehu, lishidan, sarjan, litinan, a noma »,

Sun ƙyale, ni kau sai na ja baya

Sai na ji shehu lishidan ya ce

'kayya sartse sarɗe bandi salau la bandi antasho !'

Yan amshi: kayya sartse sarɗe bandi salau la bandi antasho !

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : kayya sartse sarɗe bandi salau la bandi antasho !

(maimaitawa)

Ni kau shehu, sai na sunne kalanguna na je gaba.

Yan amshi: Ni kau shehu, sai na sunne kalanguna na je gaba.

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : ashe dai sun gaya mana

Ba Bodo ba ko Dagwal ya iso, bama noma wa

To kai…

Yan amshi: Ba Bodo ba ko Dagwal ya iso

ya san zaman da mu

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Ba Bodo ba ko Dagwal ya iso

ya san zaman da mu

Yan amshi: Ba Bodo ba ko Dagwal ya iso

ya san zaman da mu

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo : Hallau na koma wajen boyi-boyi

Ni dai boyi ɓarawon nasara

Shiga goma sata goma

Boyi sun yi guda dubu

Boyi da farin panjama

Boyi da farar kappoti

Boyi da farin parmangwalo

Da parak kaptani boyi

Boyi da farfarin takalma

Ya kunna taba boyi

Shi ma ya riƙe taba sun yi tsaitsaye

Yan amshi: a kama boyi boyi a riƙe taba a yi tsaitsaitsaye

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo : wannan hannu da hauya, wannan taba

Boyi ya riƙe hauya ya yi tsaitsaye

Yan amshi: a kama boyi boyi an riæe haiwa an yi tsaitsaitsaye

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo : Sai na ce bai san kwalliya ba

Bai san gwarere ba

In ya iso kwa sha bugun tsiya

Ku noma boyi, ku noma boyi

Sai boyi suka ce “annen bai san Alla ba

Tsaya mu noma ɗan Alalo, wannan daidai ne »

Sai na ji boyi sun kama

“Ba Ɗan Bodo ba, da, ina a gidan Aljimma mai dalo”

Yan amshi: Ba Ɗan Bodo ba, da, ina a gidan Aljimma mai dalo

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo : “Ba Ɗan Bodo ba, da, ina a gidan mata rigingine”

Yan amshi: “Ba Ɗan Bodo ba, da, ina a gidan mata rigingine”

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo : “Ba Ɗan Bodo ba, yanzu sai mu yi soye, sai mu sharike”

Yan amshi: “Ba Ɗan Bodo ba, yanzu sai mu yi soye, sai mu sharike”

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo : Boyi dai ya ba ni tausai, sai na ga panjama cikin ca¬o

Yan amshi: Boyi dai ya ba ni tausai, sai na ga panjama cikin ca¬o

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo : Hallau na koma wajen ha¬en binni

Na zarce wajen ha¬en birni

Kun saba ? mun saba.

A gaishe ku ha¬en binni

Na biya wajen gurdugai suna a gindin gawo

An basu buhu ashirin sai sun ¬are

Na ce æaæa ne gurdugai kun ¬are yana zuwa

Witar æarhe takwas yana zuwa

Bodo nasaran aiki

Suka ce mana mun kusa ɓarewa

Na ce æaæa makahi, ku ke sari

Kun sare koko a’a

Suka ce mana mun kusa sarewa

×aƙa kutare, kun shibke koko a’a

Suka ce mana mun kusa shibkewa

Hallau na koma wajen gurdugai

Na gaya masu gurdugai

Ku yi ɓaral gyaɗa, Bodo yana zuwa

Bai san tausai ba Bodo

In ya iso kwa sha bugon tsiya

Yan amshi: Bai san tausai ba Bodo

In ya iso kwa sha bugon tsiya

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo : Hallau na koma wajen gurdugai

Gurdugai suka ce mana mun kusa ɓarewa

Sai na ga makahi na sari

Makahi suna sari

« badan Bodo… » suna faɗi

Amma suna sari suna waƙa

In ba Bodo ba waƙe sanya makaho zai yi sassabe

Yan amshi: In ba Bodo ba wa ke sanya makaho zai yi sassabe

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo : In ba Bodo ba wa ke sanya makaho zai yi sassabe

Yan amshi: In ba Bodo ba wa ke sanya makaho zai yi sassabe

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo : Makahi sai ku yi sari domin in ya iso ya baku… to kai !

Yan amshi: Sai ku yi sari in Bodo ya iso kwa ba shi tausayi

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo: Hallau suka ce mana ai mun kusa sarewa

Na koma wajen kutare

Kai ! rannan na ga abun tausai wurin kuturu

Kuturu abun tausayi ne

An ce ya yi shibka ya matse ƙoƙo da hannu

Da ƙwara ƙwara yana ɗauka da yatsa

Yatsan biyu ne

Yana ƙwabtarawa yana jefawa kuturu ya ba ni tausayi

Rannan dai abun da ya ba ni tausayi

Babu kamar kuturu yana shibka

Nasara shi ne bai san tausayi ba

Sai na ji kutare suna faɗi

Na ce ku shibka kutare annasara na zuwa

Sai na ji sun faɗi « muna shibkawa ɗan Alalo »

Nasaran aiki, nasara, shi ne fa yana zuwa

Yan amshi: Nasaran aiki, nasara, shi ne fa yana zuwa

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Nasaran aiki, nasara, shi ne fa yana zuwa

Yan amshi: In ba bodo ba wa ke sa kuturu shibka ƙarangiya

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : In ba Bodo ba wa ke sa kuturu shibka a tsaido

Yan amshi: In ba Bodo ba wa ke sa kuturu shibka a tsaido

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Sha khallahu, shari kalahu labbaika godiya

Yan amshi: Sha khallahu, shari kalahu labbaika godiya

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Ga rana ga zahi, babban kuturu ya soma dajine

Yan amshi: Ga rana ga zahi, babban kuturu ya soma dajine

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Ji¬i ya kama, har babban kuturu ya soma dajine

Yan amshi: Nasaran aiki Bodo ya hana hutawa Damagaram

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo : Nasaran aiki wanda ya hana hutawa muna gani

Yan amshi: Nasaran aiki wanda ya hana hutawa muna gani

Translation of the song Bodo

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: When I start singing the song of Bodo, the white hardworking man

Whatever the number of people

Will it be a crowd or a few people

There will be among them at least one who has once been put in jail by Bodo

Tell them, I (Ma'azu ɗan Alalo) myself has been

Chorus:Bodo, the white hardworking man

You are the friend of Echère and relative of Guro

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: The pagan, with a bludgeon, 'father' of Abdu

You are the friend of Echère and relative of Guro

Chorus: Bodo, the white hardworking man

You are the friend of Echère and relative of Guro

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: Bodo, the pagan

Was the only person to force people grow groundnut

Was the only person to force people grow cassava

Was the only person to force people grow sweet potato

Was the only person to tell people he was organizing a gayya

The white hardworking man

One morning, I was about to travel when he told me, "You the griot,

You have to wait and attend the *gayya* of Birnin Damagaram

Everybody is concerned"

He told me and I told them

Everybody is concerned: the arab, the marabouts, the servicemen,

The houseboys, the whores, the servicemen's wives

The whiteman doesn't even spare the married women because he is a pagan

The young girls, the butchers, the hawkers are not spared either

Nor are the disabled: blindmen, lepers and others, no one is spared

Even the old lady who sells groundnut is not spared

Chorus: Bodo, the white hardworking man

Even the old lady who sells groundnut is not spared

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: The pagan doesn't spare anybody

An old woman has displayed her peanut for sale

But Bodo said he didn't spare her, he said she could

Even by crawling, she could

Anyhow he said he wouldn't spare her

Chorus: Baudaud, the white hardworking man

Anyhow he said he wouldn't spare her

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: He didn't like the dishonest persons, I drew the attention of people

of Birni and Zango as well as the civil servants

Everybody should be ready to attend Bodo's gayya, the friend of

Matafa sultan of Damagaram

We used to spend more than a week working on the sultan's farm

with one hundred men from each of the twenty two cantons of the

Damagaram sultanate without being able to plough it

But the day Baudaud organized his gayya, we had been able to finish

The same work within four hours, i.e. from 8:oo am to 12:00 am

Chorus: But the day Bodo organized his *gayya*, we had been able to finish

The same work within four hours, i.e. from 8:oo am to 12:00 am

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: People from the countryside, people from town, you were all informed

of Bodo's *gayya*

The person who refused to attend it would be beaten seriously

Chorus: It's Bodo's *gayya*

The person who refused to attend it would be beaten seriously

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: The pagan didn't go past a house, he went by the back

The rude with a bludgeon and a black horse, the whiteman!

The day he wanted to show his wickedness, he didn't use his car

For his movement, he used his black horse

Unexpectedly! You would see him in front of you on his black horse

He didn't go past a house, he went by its back, the pagan with a bludgeon

His victim would get nothing but a blow of his bludgeon as a sign of his presence

Chorus: Bodo, the white hardworking man forbade the movement of people in town

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: Check all the streets of Damagaram

In none of the streets you could see somebody

Chorus: Bodo forbade the movement of people in town

The white hardworking forbade the movement of people in town

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: I gathered people and told them that the white hardworking ma

He didn't spare anybody, men as well as women

The whiteman with a bludgeon was coming

When he beat you, only God could take your defence

Everybody had to attend this collective growing of groundnut

Everybody had to attend the ploughing of the collective farm

He told us before that while on the site people would work separately

The disabled would bare the groundnut

Bodo had already told us

People would work in groups

There would be the group of:

disabled

marabouts

lepers

blindmen

married women

whores

servicemen

houseboys

Accelerate the music because Bodo is coming

Chorus: Bodo, the white hardworking man

Accelerate the music the pagan is coming

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: I informed all people about the whiteman's *gayya*

People of the city and the counyrtside of Damagaram

People of the districts of Birni and Zango

I told them that Bodo's community labour will take place tomorrow

Everybody should be ready

I heard the young girls saying, “My sister where are you

going to sleep. Let’s form a group of ten and sleep together.

My boyfriend will not see me this night.”

I heard the civil servants saying, “My brother where are you

going to sleep. Let’s form a group of ten and sleep together.

My girlfriend will not see me this night.”

And I told them, “ It’s up to you to decide.”

All I know is that I will get there early

Even the cock will not wake up earlier than me

Chorus: All I know is that I will get there early

Even the cock will not wake up earlier than me

Ma’azu dan Alalo: All I know is that I will get there early

Even the cock will not wake up earlier than me

Chorus: All I know is that I will get there early

Even the cock will not wake up earlier than me

Ma’azu dan Alalo: I got early to the collective field

I got early

I have never known that whatever early riser you are,

The marabout is early riser than you

When I got there early I met more than one thousand marabouts

Each of them dressed in a double African robe (bubu), large

Traditional trousers and a huge turban wound tightly round the head

They gathered in the field each holding a haiwa (ploughing tool) and waiting

Chorus: That day one could see malan (marabout)

holding a haiwa (ploughing tool) and waiting

Ma’azu dan Alalo: That day I use my music to encourage malan to go ahead with the

Ploughing

I said, “Go ahead malan”

Malan stood still and kept quiet

I told Malan to go ahead with the ploughing

‘Go ahead with the ploughing because the pagan (Bodo)

Doesn’t believe in God’

Then Malan said , ‘I am doing it, Ɗan Alalo’

I warned all the Malans that it’s impossible to plough with

the type of clothes they were wearing

I asked them to remove all their clothes before Bodo came

Chorus: I asked them to remove all their clothes before Bodo came

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo: Malan accepted my proposition and removed immediately his turban

Chorus: Malan accepted my proposition and removed immediately his turban

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo: Malan accepted my proposition and removed immediately his turban

Chorus: Malan accepted my proposition and removed immediately his turban

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo: I said to malan, ‘Go ahead with the ploughing malan, maybe when

Bodo comes and sees how you are affected physically by the

Ploughing, he will feel sorry for you’

I heard malan say, ‘Subahanal walhamdu lullahi

Wala’ilahu illallahu allahu akbar’

The pagan Bodo didn’t believe in God

If he came and saw that you were nàt ploughing,

He would beat you seriously

Chorus: The pagan Bodo didn’t believe in God

If he came and saw that you were not ploughing,

He would beat you seriously

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo: I will feel sorry for Malan

But later on he made me laugh

Chorus: I will feel sorry for Malan

But later on he made me laugh

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: I turned to the Arab

I have never known the Arab don't know how to plough

They stood up holding the haiwa, one of them was even crying

I said to one of them, 'Go ahead with the ploughing Sidi.'

He looked at me but didn't react

I repeated again, ''Go ahead with the ploughing Sidi.'

This time the Arab reacted and made a motion of ploughing

Then he said to me, 'Alhaji Ɗan Alalo, I will never plough again'

I heard him saying in Arabic , 'allazi daaa fiya, allazi daaa fiya ;

Aiwa kanan malan ; aiwa kanan sidi'

Then he added, ' I have never plough in my life and I won't do it now'

Chorus: I have never ploughed in my life and I won't do it now

I have never ploughed in my life and I won't do it now

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: I have never ploughed in my life and I won't do it now

Chorus: Since I was born, I have never ploughed in my life until my hands swelled up

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: Then I turned to the whores

All of them had tightly wound their headscarf to protect

Their heads from the sun heat

That day the whores had seriously been burnt by the sun rays

And I heard them say, 'If there is not Bodo's *gayya* I will be at

home having a nap on my soft mattress'.

Chorus: 'If there is not Bodo's *gayya* I will be at home having a nap on my soft

mattress'.

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: I told them, 'I know you are capricious, you have white eyes,

You know how to walk elegantly but I want you to plough'

When he comes, whatever you do he won't feel sorry for you

Chorus: When he comes whatever you do he won't feel sorry for you

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: If you make sheep's eyes at him, he will feel sorry for you

And may briefly allow you to stay in the shade

Then I turn to the servicemen's wives

The servicemen's wives are known to be courageous women

Most of them are Zarma, Katsinawa, Gobirawa, Zamfarawa,

Adarawa and Bambara

And they say that this is a happy day for them.

They are happy because all the whores are forced to come to the

collective farm and work under the scorching sun

The whores are the ones who snatch their husbands

The white hardworking man said no social group would be spared by his

measures

Chorus:Bodo, The white hardworking man said no social group would be spared by his

Measures.

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: All the servicemen's wives happily sang

"Bodo, thank you very much! As the whores are not spared by your

measures"

Chorus: Bodo, thank you very much! As the whores were not spared by your measures

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: I thank my Lord, Allah!

I thank my Prophet!

I thank Bodo! As the whores are not spared by your measures

Chorus: I thank my Lord, Allah! As the whores were not spared by your measures

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: I thank my Lord, Allah!

I thank my Prophet!

I thank Bodo! As the whores are not spared by your measures

Chorus: I thank my Lord, Allah! As the whores are not spared by your measures

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: I heard them expressing their happiness until I turned to the servicemen

When I heard them expressing their happiness

I turned to the servicemen the ones whose career was admired

When you were not enrolled

The ones who could transform a city into ash

There were about one thousand servicemen

In the collective farm each holding a farm hoe and standing in

A military position

I came close to them and said, "Soldiers, go ahead with the ploughing"

The servicemen held their farm hoes and kept silent

I came close to them and said, " Soldiers, go ahead with the ploughing"

The servicemen didn't react, then I slightly moved backward

Again I moved forward and said, "Shehu, go ahead with the ploughing"

Shehu didn't react, then I slightly moved backward

Again I moved forward and said, "Shehu, lishidan, sarjan, litinan,

go ahead with the ploughing"

They didn't react, then I slightly moved backward

Then I heard Shehu lishian saying, " kayya sartse sarde bandi salau la

bandi antasho!"

Chorus: kayya sartse sarde bandi salau la bandi antasho!

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: kayya sartse sarde bandi salau la bandi antasho!

Then I hid my small drum and continued

Chorus: Then I hid my small drum and continued

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: The servicemen said, "Not Bodo, even it was General De Gaulle
Who came here we were not going to plough."
It was serious….

Chorus: Not Bodo, even if it was General De Gaulle who came here
he had to learn how to leave with us

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: Not Bodo, even if it was General De Gaulle who came here
he had to learn how to leave with us

Chorus: Not Bodo, even if it was General De Gaulle who came here
he had to learn how to leave with us

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: Then I turned to the houseboys
The thief of the white man
Hundred of times he would enter his boss's room,
Hundred of times he would steal something
There were at least one thousand houseboys that day
Each of them wearing white trousers, a white coat, a
White cap, white shoes and smoking a cigarette

Chorus:: Go ahead with the ploughing, but they stayed where
they were smoking their cigarettes

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: With one hand they held the and with the other
A cigarette
Each of them held a farm and waited

Chorus:: Go ahead with the ploughing houseboys, you shouldn't
hold the farm hoe and wait

Ma'azu ɗan Alalo: I said, " He didn't care about your making up, well dressing
and your whims
When he came you would seriously be beaten
So, go ahead with the ploughing houseboys

The houseboys said, “You are right Ɗan Alalo. Ploughing is the only solution for us because the white pagan doesn’t believe in God.”

I heard the houseboys say, “If it is not because of Bodo’s *gayya* I will now be at Aljimma’s bar”

Chorus: If it is not because of Bodo’s *gayya* I will now be at Aljimma’s bar

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo: If it is not because of Bodo’s *gayya* I will now be at the underworld

Chorus: If it is not because of Bodo’s *gayya* I will now be at the underworld

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo: If it is not because of Bodo’s *gayya* I will now be frying meat and sucking sugarcane

Chorus: If it is not because of Bodo’s *gayya* I will now be frying meat and sucking sugarcane

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo: I felt sorry for the houseboy when I saw mud stain on his white trousers

Chorus: I felt sorry for the houseboy when I saw mud stain on his white trousers

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo: Then I turned to the disabled who were sitting under a gawo tree

They had almost finished treating twenty sacks

I asked them if they had finished because he (Bodo) will come very soon

At 08:00 am he will come

Bodo, the white hardworking man

They told me that they had almost finished

I asked the blindmen how they made the sowing holes

“Did you finish making the holes or not?”

They said they had almost finished

Then I turned to the lepers and asked them,

“What of you the lepers, did you finish sowing?”

They answered me that they had almost finished

Then I turned again to the lower limbs disabled

And told them, “Hurry up to husk the groundnut, Bodo is coming

And he is pitiless. If he comes and you haven’t finished, he will seriously beat you”

Chorus: Bodo is pitiless

If he comes, you will seriously be beaten

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo: I turned again to the lower limbs disabled

The lower limbs disabled told me they had almost finished

I saw the blindmen making the holes

The blindmen making some holes

“If it’s not Bodo……”, they sang

“…who will make the blindmen clear the ground”

Chorus: If it’s not Bodo, who will make the blindmen clear the ground

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo: If it’s not Bodo, who will make the blindmen clear the ground

Chorus: If it’s not Bodo, who will make the blindmen clear the ground

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo: The blindmen, you have to make the holes because if he comes

He would ….It’s serious!

Chorus: You have to make the holes, when Bodo cmes and he looks at you,

maybe he will feel sorry for you.

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo: Again they told me that they had almost finished

I turned to the lepers

This day whoever you are, you will feel sorry for the lepers

A leper is a person to feel sorry for

He is asked to sow maintaining the small container containing

the seed with what remains of his other hand

One leper is making the holes, another is sowing with his two remaining

fingers. It’s really pitiful!

That day what I really felt sorry for was to see a leper sowing.

But the whiteman is pitiless

And I heard the lepers saying, “We are sowing ɗan Alalo”

The white hardworking man, the whiteman, he is the one, he is coming

Chorus: The white hardworking man, the whiteman, he is the one, he is coming

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo: The white hardworking man, the whiteman, he is the one, he is coming

Chorus:If it’s not Bodo who can make a leper sow in **karangiya**

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo: If it’s not Bodo who can make a leper sow in **tsaido**

Chorus: If it’s not Bodo who can make a leper sow in **tsaido**

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo : Sha khallahu, shari kalahu labbaika godiya

Chorus: Sha khallahu, shari kalahu labbaika godiya

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo : It was a sunny and very hot day, one of the lepers started complaining

Chorus: It was a sunny and very hot day, one of the lepers started complaining

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo : They were all dripping with sweat and started complaining

Chorus: Bodo, the white hardworking man forbade resting in Damagaram

Ma’azu ɗan Alalo : Bodo forbade resting and there was nothing we could do

Chorus: Bodo forbade resting and there was nothing we could do.

EXERPTS FROM THE SONGS OF RABE MAKAHO

Example of blindman’s performance: Jandarma of Rabe makaho

Assalama Alekum	Assalama Alekum
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Assalama Alekum	Assalama Alekum
Alla dan Alla	In the name of God
Ya jirgau !	Ya jirgau !
Al’umma ta wurin nan	All people who are here
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Sai ku saurare ni	I want you to listen to me
Zan waƙar jandarma	I am going to sing the song of the constable
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau

Akwai faifanmu na soji	There is a song for servicemen
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Akwai na duwan hana salla	There is a song for customs officer
Mai kwace na bahili	The goods' confiscator
Ya bai ma Rabe makaho	He gave to Rabe the blindman
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Jama'a Ɗan Alla	People who are here
Ina bara a gare ku	I am asking you charity
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Zan yi butun jandarma	I am going to talk about constable
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Jandarma ɗan gwamna	The constable 'son' of the governor
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Haba mutane bayi,	I am talking to you people, servants of God
Jandarmu da ka gan su	When you see the constables
Ka ga taninsu daban ne	Their uniform is different from the others'
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Hallau galonsu daban	And their stripe is different from others'
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Masu tsanwal bere	They wear a green beret
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Inda nike tsoronsu	Where I am afraid of him
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Sai tahiya ta tashi	When you are to travel
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Daga nesa wajen mil goma	At a distance of about one thousand miles
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau

Jandarma ɗan gwamna	Constable, the son of the governor
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Doli ake tsoronsu	You have no choice but be afraid of them
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Ai ba don komi ba	The reason is that
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Saboda wawan mari	Because of their violent slapping
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Ga kutuho ga habri	And their heavy punch and knock
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Kuma ga kwala hwaranshi	Their fluent French speaking
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Jandarma ɗan gwamna	Constable, the son of the governor
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Haba mutane bayi	I am talking to you people, servants of God
Mai gaskiya iya tsoronsu	The honest man is afraid of you
Marar gaskiya iya tsoronsu	The dishonest one too
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Ni da a kai ni gidansu	I'd rather get into fire than
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Kara a kunna wuta in hwaɗa	be brought to their office
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Gwamma in hwaɗa rami	Or fall into a well
In na yi targaɗe a gyara	Even if I have a sprain, the doctor will take care of it
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Saboda wawan mari	Because of their violent slapping
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau

Ba ni ba Rabe makaho	Not even me Rabe the blindman
Ko aljani iya tsoronsu	The devil himself is afraid of them
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Bayan wannan malan	Not only that/Apart from that
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Akwai wani inji nasu	They have a motorcycle
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Shi ne baƙi ribɗeɗe	A very large and black one
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Tura san swasanti	The power of its engine is 360
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Shi ne injin jandarma	This is the motorcycle of the constable
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Larancinsa gudun wata mota	Its stopping state is the high speed of another vehicle
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Gudinshi tashin jirgi	Its speed can be compared to the speed of a plane
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Muje butun jandarma	Let’s go ahead with constables matter
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Da ni da su mun saba	They and I are friends
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Sai na je buro arar subdu	I went to their office on Saturday
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Bakin buro da na je ni	When I went there
Na sa bara sun kyàle	When I started my bara song, they remained silent
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau

Ina bara sun kyàle	I went on but they remained silent
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Sai na ce ikon ya motsa	I understood there was something wrong
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Haba haba yan amshi	Chorus, I think you think so
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Jandarma ɗan gwamna	Constable, the son of the governor
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
In suka kama ɓarawo	When they caught a thief
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
A can buro jandarma	At the constables' office
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Akwai wani ɗaki nasu	They have one special room
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Ku tambaye ni ku sha labari	Ask me and I will tell you what is happening in it
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Tsaya ku ji sunan ɗakin	Let me tell you the name of that room
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Sunan nasa zaɓi da kanka	They call it 'choose by yourself'
Ga bulala saba'in a cikinshi	There are seventy whips in it
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Bayan wannan malan	Not only that/Apart from that
Mala'iku huɗu ne a cikinshi	There are four angels in it
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Masu ribɗar kato	Who seriously beat the hoodlums
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Jandarma ɗan gwamna	Constable, the son of the governor

Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Su mala'iku jandarma	The 'angels constables'
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Kowanne na san sunanshi	I know the name of each of them
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Tsaya ka ji sunan nasu	Let me tell you their names
Ga sunan zan zana	I am going to cite them
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Guda dai Abdul muki	The first one is Abdul muƙi
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Wannan sarkin kulli ne	Punching is his speciality
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
In ya naɗa maka kulli	When he punched you
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Tsakar bayanka ta karye	Your backbone would break
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Hallau gindinka ya karye	Your hip too (would break)
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Guda kuma Abdul zabgi	The second one is Abdul zabgi
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Wannan shi mai bulala	Whipping is his speciality
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Guda dai Abdul habri	The third one isAbdul habri
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Akwai sunan babbansu	Then the fourth one who is at the same time the boss
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Tsaya ka ji sunan nashi	Let me give you his name

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Shi ne Abdul gaudì His name is Abdul gaudì

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Idan ya mari ɓarawo When he slaps a thief

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

To yanzu idon zai fara mugunya His eyes will stink

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Jandarma ɗan gwamna Constable, the son of the governor

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Bayan wannan malan Not only that/Apart from that

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

In laihi ya kamo ka When you are guilty

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Sai su ba ka wandon tanti They will give trousers-tanti-made

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Wai ka sa daga cinya To put/be put on from the thighs

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Amma ka hutar daga ka And take off out of the head

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

In ka kiya su ɗìɗɗìbge ka When you refused, they would seriously beat you

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Jandarma ɗan gwamna Constable, the son of the governor

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Akwai wani ankur nasu They have some handcuffs

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Wanda idan aka sa ma kato When they handcuff a hoodlum with

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Sai ka ji ya sa kukan mussa He will miaow

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Da na je bara hwa gidansu When I went to their office

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Sun yi kurum sun kyale They remained silent

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Bakin buro da na je ni I stood in front of the office

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Na sa bara tun karhi I started singing my bara song loudly

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Babban iya can kurya Their boss was sitting inside the office

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Sai kau ya tashi ya mike Then he stood up

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Daga can ya kwala hwaranshi From inside, he spoke in french

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Ya ce didan labegil[1] He said, “didan labegil (you blindman!)

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Toi monte ici la[2] Come up inside "

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Bayan wannan malan After that

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Sai na ce kwana ya kare I came to the conclusion that it was the end of my life

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Sai in shigo daga kurya I went inside the office

Ya jirgau Ya jirgau

Na tsaya a bakin tabil And stood in front of the table

Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Na tsaya ina karkarwa	Shaking all over with fear
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
In na ce in tsere	If I tried to run away
Ga bindiga tana kallo na	There was a gun ‘looking at me’
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Ya ɗauko bulala	He took up a whip
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Ga usar ya busa	Then blew the whistle
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Sai kau ya kara hwaranshi	And spoke in French again,
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Toi asse ici la[3]	“Sit down here!”
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
In zamna a gurin nan	A command to sit down there
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Na zamna kujeral karhe	I sat down on an iron chair
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Haba mutane bayi	You, servants of God
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Ga usar ya busa	He blew the whistle
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Wannan na kiran mayya ne	It was a signal to call the officers
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Sarjan, kaparan, ajidan la[4]	That was: the sergeants, corporals and other warrant officers
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Ale farme la portu[5]	“Shut the door!”

Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Il faut tire labegil[6]	"Go with this blindman!"
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Sai na ce fa bara na tsaida	I took the decision not to ask for charity again
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Kaparan ya zo shi	The corporal came
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Ga sarjan ya zo shi	The sergeant too came
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Ga shap ya zo shi	The boss came
Sai kau ya kara hwaranshi	He spoke in French again
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Ya ce didon labegil	He said, "didon labegil(you blindman!)"
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Toi ti be manje?[7]	"Do you want to eat?"
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Sai na ce mishi doli a cilas	I have no other choice but say 'yes'
Kar in kiya ya mammare ni	Because if I refuses he will slap
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Haba mutane bayi	You, servants of God
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Ga abinci nan an kare	The food was ready
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Ga ruwa nan mai sanyi	With cold water
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Hallau ga wani nan kan tabil	And another plate of food on the table
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau

Ya ɗoko bulala	He took up a whip
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Ya nuna min yatsa	He pointed the finger at me
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Sai kau ya kara hwaranshi	He spoke in French again
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Ya ce didon labegil	He said, “didon labegil (you blindman!)”
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Tuwa labe la me la[8]	“Wash your hands !”
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Il po shante jandarma[9]	“Sing the song of jandarma!”
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Si je si shante la[10]	“If you sing that song…”
Il po done kado la[11]	“…You will be rewarded”
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Amma si ya pa shante la[12]	“But if you don’t sing that song, ”
Il po done kutuho la[13]	“You will be punched”
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Har na ji zawo ya kamo ni	I felt a threat of diarrhoea
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Sai na ce hwa bara ta kare	I concluded that was the end of the bara
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Jandarma ɗan gwamna	Constable, son of the Governor
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Ai a cikin jandarma	Among the constables
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Na san Kemu kakarfa	I know Kemu, the brave

Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Iya Maine Soruwa	He was in Maine Soruwa
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Yanzu Yame ya koma	Now, he is transferred toYame (Niamey)
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Haba mutane bayi	You, servants of God
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Ya zamna a garin nan	He worked in this town
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Lokacin da ya zamna nan	When he was working here
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Da ya zamna nan Zandar	When he was working here in Zandar (Zinder)
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Ɗan ɓarya ma baya sata	Even a moose couldn’t steal
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Don tsananin iya iko	Because of his ruling skill
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Shi ne in ya kama ɓarawo	When he caught a thief
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
In ya kashe shi da mari	When he slapped him
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Tun daga birnin Zandar	From the city of Zinder
Dogon Dutsi ake jin marin	One could hear the noise made by the slapping In Dogon Dutsi (which is at least 600 km from Zinder)
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Sai ka ce an kwala madahwa	As if it was a machine gun shot

Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Kemu dogon jandarma	Kemu, the tall constable
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Jakite na san shi	I also know Jakite
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Haba mutane bayi	You people, servants of God
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau
Mu je bara yan amshi	Chorus, let's go ahead with the bara song
Ya jirgau	Ya jirgau

Notes

1. *didan labegil-* (Dis donc, l'aveugle (standard) – Hey! or say!, blindmen) (here the singer imitates the way the gendarme/constable speaks in vernacular French). This expression and those coming after are commonly used by 'people in uniform' namely the soldiers, policemen and constables to mystify, minimize or give order to the person they are dealing with. The vernacular language used in this song shows the lower level of education of 'people in uniform' of that time.
2. *Toi, monte ici là* - (Monte ici ! (standard) - Come up here!).
3. *Toi asse ici la-* (Il faut t'asseoir ici (standard) – Sit down here !).
4. *Sarjan, kaparan, ajidan-* (Sergent, caporal, adjudant (standard) – Sergeant,corporal,warrat officer).
5. *Ale farme la portu-* (Il faut fermer la porte (standard) – Shut the door !).
6. *Il faut tire labegil-* (Amenez l'aveugle (standard) – Bring the blindmen up !).
7. *Toi ti be manje-* (Tu veux manger ? (standard) – Do you want to eat?).
8. *Tuwa labe la me la-* (Il faut aller te laver les mains (standard) – Go and wash your hands).
9. *Il po shante jandarma-* (Il faut chanter la chanson 'Jandarma' (standard) – Sing the song titled *'Jandarma'*).
10. *Si je si shante la-* (Si tu chantes cette chanson (standard) – If you sing that song).
11. *Il po done kado la-* (On va te faire un cadeau (standard) – You will be given a present).

12. *Amma si ya pa shante la-* (Mais si tu refuses de chanter (standard) – But if you refuse to sing).

13. *Il po done kutuho la-* (On va te boxer (standard) – You will be punched).